

FREEMASONRY AND PROVINCIAL CULTURE: WORCESTERSHIRE 1733-1850

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a reassessment of a topic much neglected by academic historians – namely, Freemasonry as a social institution. It examines what attracted 1169 men to freemasonry in Worcestershire between 1733 and 1850 and evaluates their contribution to the social and economic development of the county during that period. The research is based on extensive use of both masonic and non-masonic primary sources. Data extracted from locally and centrally held masonic records have been integrated with non-masonic data to create a historic record of the activities of those freemasons. Based on the information gathered, it is argued that Freemasonry, through its values and structure, enabled its members to contribute to the social and economic development of Worcestershire. As an organisation it straddled the roles traditionally attributed to business networks and benevolent institutions so that, not only were freemasons actively involved in the industrial development of the area, but they were also promoters of the well-being of local communities facing the social challenges of industrialisation.

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TIMELINE OF KEY EVENTS

Year	Event
1646	Elias Ashmole initiated into Freemasonry at Warrington
1676	'Accepted masons' referred to in the Press in <i>Poor Robin's Intelligence</i>
1686	'Society of Free-masons' referred to in Plot's <i>Natural History of Staffordshire</i>
1717	Formation of the <i>Grand Lodge of London and Westminster</i> (later known as the <i>Grand Lodge of England</i>)
1721	Election of John, 2 nd Duke of Montagu, as first noble Grand Master
1723	First edition of <i>Anderson's Constitutions</i> published
1723	William Cowper appointed first Grand Secretary and first Grand Lodge Minutes produced
1729	Charity Committee receives first donations from lodges
1733	Consecration of a Lodge meeting at the Talbot Inn, Stourbridge (M -119) *
1738	2 nd Edition of <i>Anderson's Constitutions</i> published
1751	Formation of the <i>Most Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons according to the Ancient Constitutions</i>
1757	Consecration of a Lodge meeting at the Stonemasons' Arms, Worcester (A-60)
1763	Consecration of a Lodge meeting at the Wheatsheaf, Bewdley (A-107)
1767	Consecration of a further Lodge meeting at the Talbot Inn, Stourbridge (A-154)

1771	Staffordshire and Worcestershire Canal opened
1772	Consecration of a Lodge meeting at the Raven, Kidderminster (A-178)
1775	Consecration of the Lodge of Hope, meeting in Stourbridge (M-375)
1784	Consecration of Harmonic Lodge, meeting in Dudley (M-457)
1786	Consecration of St John's Lodge, meeting in Bromsgrove (M-487)
1788	Consecration of Freedom Lodge, meeting in Dudley (A-246)
1790	Consecration of Worcester Lodge, meeting in Worcester (M-574)
1792	Dudley Canal opened
1793	First section of the Stratford upon Avon Canal opened
1799	Freemasonry exempted from Suppression of Radical Societies Act 1799
1793 - 1815	French and Napoleonic Wars
1813	Formation of United Grand Lodge of England (UGLE) from the merger of Antients and Moderns Grand Lodges
1815	Worcester and Birmingham Canal fully opened
1816	Consecration of Lodge of Faithful, meeting in Kidderminster (UGLE-680)
1818	Consecration of Lodge of Mercy and Truth, meeting in Evesham (UGLE-703)
1824	Consecration of Hope and Charity Lodge, meeting in Kidderminster (UGLE-791)
1828	Weavers' strike in Kidderminster

1844	Consecration of Royal Standard Lodge, meeting in Kidderminster (UGLE-730)
1846	Consecration of Semper Fidelis Lodge, meeting in Worcester (UGLE-772)
1849	Consecration of Clive Lodge, meeting in Bromsgrove (UGLE-819)
1849	Consecration of Stability Lodge, meeting in Stourbridge (UGLE-824)

*M/A/UGLE = Lodge number initially allocated by Moderns/Antients/UGLE Grand Lodges respectively

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and Context

The Georgian period witnessed the birth and subsequent growth of voluntary societies throughout England. Referring to this phenomenon, Peter Clark comments: 'By the eighteenth century the image and concept of the voluntary society increasingly penetrated every nook and cranny of British social and cultural life.'¹ In the Midlands these ranged from gentlemen's clubs such as the Friendly Association of Worcestershire Gentlemen, to societies embracing Enlightenment ideals such as the Lunar Society, to political clubs such as the Birmingham Bean Club.² The object of the Library Society of Worcester (1790) was 'the disseminating of useful knowledge in every branch of science and polite literature and the promotion of harmony and good society'.³ Some had a religious mission. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge established charity schools for the working class, while others directed their philanthropy towards the social and health issues raised by prostitution and 'molly houses'.⁴ Later, societies whose aim was to financially help specific groups came to the fore such as friendly societies, annuity societies to help widows and children, and land clubs to enable the lower social classes to acquire property. The Premier Grand Lodge was founded in London in 1717 and Freemasonry went on to become a significant part of the society movement of the age. A second, competing Grand Lodge appeared in 1751 (The Most Ancient and

¹ Clark, P., *British Clubs and Societies, 1580 - 1800*, (Oxford: 2002), p. 4.

² Clark, P. *British Clubs and Societies*, pp. 99-100.

³ Clark, P., *British Clubs and Societies*, p. 110.

⁴ Hunt, M. R., *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender and the Family in England 1680 -1780* (London: 1996), pp. 102-123.

Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons according to the Ancient Constitutions) and over time these both grew nationwide to rank among the largest voluntary societies in England.

According to Clark, 'undeniably from the seventeenth century Britain saw the emergence of a major new form of institution which was to have a powerful effect on many aspects of society.' He, Margaret Hunt, Robert Morris and John Money have extensively researched societies and they have revealed the people involved and the impact of these associations on English society.⁵ A notable exception, however, is how relatively little is known about the role and influence of Freemasonry. It has not attracted many academic historians with the result that the subject has been studied mainly by masonic antiquarians and fantasists who write 'not by the successful search for new facts, but by the use of imagination, [which] is to revert to the mythical or imaginative treatment of the subject.'⁶ It follows that much existing research has not been subject to the rigour of evidence-based methodology, contextual analysis and logical discussion; indeed, the material written by the fantasists has produced a mythology which bears little resemblance to reality.

Worcestershire between the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries experienced significant social and economic change, although the nature and speed of change was not uniform throughout the county. The North, which was at the forefront of the Industrial Revolution, forming part of what became known as the

⁵ Clark, P. *British Clubs and Societies*; Hunt, M.R., *The Middling Sort*; Morris, R., 'Voluntary societies and British urban elites 1780-1850: an analysis', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 26 (1) (March 1983), pp. 95-118; Money, J., *Experience and Identity* (Manchester: 1977).

⁶ Roberts, J., *The Mythology of the Secret Societies* (St Albans: 1974) p. 25.

Black Country, experienced most change.⁷ It witnessed industrialisation, large population growth in towns such as Dudley, urbanisation through migration from both the local countryside and from afar, and challenges to the established church through the growth of Nonconformism. Although the South was less subject to industrialisation and retained a more rural economy, it nevertheless faced change in the form of new means of communication, new industries, and changed agricultural practices, through implementation of various enclosure acts. The speed and nature of the changes which took place in Worcestershire, combining traditional ways of life with the novel industrialised world, makes it an appropriate case study in social and economic history.

The aim of this thesis is to contribute to the historiography of Worcestershire by examining a previously unresearched area, namely how freemasons participated in the county's socio-economic development between 1733 and 1850. The period starts with the date of the first Worcestershire lodge and ends in 1850, after which the growth of Freemasonry in Worcestershire moved to the East of the county, following the formation of a Provincial Grand Lodge in 1847. The research is of significance in several ways. Andrew Prescott has written that 'the history of British Freemasonry will only begin to make sense if we interpret it in the light of wider history' and, to this end, the study considers the input of freemasons against the backdrop of events

⁷ The Black Country is traditionally the geographical area of the '30-foot coal seam' which was located in south Staffordshire and north Worcestershire, encompassing towns such as Dudley, Walsall and West Bromwich. The derivation of the name is subject to debate, but the most commonly given reasons are the black colour of the land caused by the coal seam stretching to the surface, and the black atmosphere caused by soot and smoke emanating from the industrial workshops, factories and forges.

affecting Worcestershire generally, rather than as a 'stand-alone' phenomenon.⁸ It is based on five questions, designed to draw out the factors to be addressed in measuring the contribution of freemasons. Finally, it offers a methodology which can be used to measure masonic involvement in the development of other regions of the country, thereby enabling future historians to produce comparable research for other areas of England.

1.2 Literature Review

For a country which gave birth to Freemasonry there has been, with certain notable exceptions, an absence of interest in the subject from academic historians. John Roberts claimed that historians never became excited about Freemasonry in England because, compared with the Continent, its impact on English society and politics has not been perceived as controversial.⁹ A further factor may have been a perception that reliable evidence is hard to come by because of the secrecy of the organisation - as was illustrated in the 1970s when Margaret Jacob was refused access to the archives of the then Library and Museum of Freemasonry because she was not a mason.¹⁰ Unfamiliarity with the terminology, symbolism and rituals of the organisation may also have posed problems of interpretation and understanding. According to John Saltmarsh, masonic history is 'a department of history which is not only obscure and highly controversial, but by ill luck the happiest of all hunting grounds for the light-headed, the fanciful, the altogether unscholarly and the lunatic fringe of the

⁸ Prescott, A., 'A History of British Freemasonry 1425 - 2000' in: Önnersfors, A. and Péter, R. (eds.), *Researching British Freemasonry 1717 - 2017*, (Sheffield: 2010), p. 12.

⁹ Roberts, J., 'Freemasonry: Possibilities of a Neglected Topic', *English Historical Review*, Vol. 84, (1969), p. 323.

¹⁰ Jacob, M., *The Origins of Freemasonry: Facts and Fictions* (Philadelphia: 2006), p. 5.

British Museum Reading Room'.¹¹ It may be that academics avoided the subject because they did not want to be associated with such people. However, it could be argued that it was precisely because academics vacated the topic that the unscholarly flourished.

This neglect by academics has meant that masonic antiquarians have carried out most of the research undertaken and it was not until the 1930s that the first academic work appeared. Undoubtedly enthusiastic, these individuals tended to concentrate on domestic aspects of the society – its development at national and local levels, 'famous' masons and events, and the organisation's ritual and symbolism. Rarely has any attempt been made to relate the society to the community of which it is a part or to assess its social and economic significance.

The separation of masonic history from general history has resulted in academic historians remaining largely unaware of how Freemasonry and individual masons contributed to developments both at a local and national level. While masonic antiquarians, in the main, lack the awareness of events happening in society and the country at large to be able to marry these to the world of Freemasonry, there have been voices calling for Freemasonry to be placed in context. In 1969 Roberts wrote:

...the preliminary to any historical construction must be the establishment of firm sociological knowledge about English freemasonry. The records exploited by masonic historians to provide narratives of their order ... can

¹¹ Saltmarsh, J., 'Review of An Introduction to Freemasonry: Knoop and Jones', *Economic History Review*, (Nov. 1937), p. 103.

be re-examined to throw light on recruitment. The first and most important facts to establish are who became freemasons and why.¹²

In 2007, Prescott stated: 'In short, the history of British freemasonry will only begin to make sense if we interpret it in the light of wider history. Freemasonry cannot be explained by Freemasonry.'¹³ For his part, Aubrey Newman is of the opinion that there is little to be gained from analysing Freemasonry if it does not include consideration of why a person decided to join, and that analysis of motives may go some way in explaining why Freemasonry developed in some areas and not in others.¹⁴ However, with certain notable exceptions, these calls have gone largely unheeded.

Because of the large amount of material produced by masonic historians, this review concentrates on those who have focused on topics and contributed findings which can be viewed as adding to academic research. Quatuor Coronati Lodge (QCL) was formed in 1886 as the premier research lodge for Freemasonry. Its research transactions, most of which have been written by non-academics, are published annually in the *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* (AQC). A perusal of its index reveals that few papers between 1886 and 2020 deal with Freemasonry and local communities – indeed, there are more papers on Freemasonry in foreign countries.

¹² Roberts, J., 'Freemasonry: Possibilities of a neglected topic', *English Historical Review*, Vol. 84, (1969), pp. 334-335.

¹³ Prescott, A., 'A History of British Freemasonry 1425-2000', in: Önnersfors, A. and Péter, R. (eds.), *Researching British Freemasonry 1717-2017* (Sheffield: 2010), p. 12.

¹⁴ Newman, A., 'The Significance of the Provinces for the Masonic Historian,' *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, Vol. 112 (1999), p. 2.

Where an article in *AQC* has relevance to the issues explored in this thesis, reference is made to it, and it is included within the bibliography.

The earliest works of weight are those of R.F. Gould who was a Founder of *QCL* and contributed 25 papers to *AQC*. His seminal work was *The History of Freemasonry*, which outlined the history of Freemasonry up to the time of writing and was originally published in three volumes between 1883 and 1887. While Gould undoubtedly set a precedent by seeking to support his writings and research with evidence, its relevance in the twenty-first century is limited. Much of the primary material now available was not available at the time of writing and, moreover, the absence of this material has affected the validity of certain of his conclusions. Additionally, in writing the volumes, he frequently did not differentiate between primary sources and the views of other writers which were not based on similar evidence; this failure to recognise the qualitative difference detracts from the quality of the study. The work is a 'traditional history' which pays scant attention to socio-economic developments and, as such, cannot contribute meaningfully to this dissertation.

Around the same time – and moving into the early 1900s - were W. H. Rylands and W. Hughan. Rylands was a freemason with an interest in Freemasonry, genealogy and heraldry, who edited several volumes for the Harleian Society and left his library and works to the Bodleian Library. He contributed to *AQC* and masonic magazines and had a particular interest in Lancashire and Cheshire. Hughan revised Mackey's *Encyclopedia of Freemasonry*, wrote a book on the *Old Charges* and also

contributed to AQC.¹⁵ At a local level, Hughan co-wrote the first catalogue for the Worcestershire Masonic Library and Museum. Unlike Gould who wrote about Freemasonry in a wide context, these two wrote on particular topics using an evidence-based approach. Rylands's work on Cheshire provides material to support (and dispel) arguments made by later writers about events in that county, while Hughan's book on the *Old Charges* brings together, for ease of comparison, facsimile copies of manuscripts held in geographically dispersed areas.¹⁶ Many lodges dating from the eighteenth century have lost their records and the writings of both these authors (and to an extent Gould) provide evidence of masonry of that time. However, because of their topical and narrative approach, neither contributes to the socio-economic aspects of Freemasonry.

The *Centre for Research into Freemasonry and Fraternalism*, founded in 2000, was based at Sheffield University until 2010, when its activities were suspended. Its Founding Director was John Prescott and its aim was research into Freemasonry and related fraternal associations. It published three volumes of *Sheffield Lectures on the History of Freemasonry and Fraternalism*. The first two contain little of relevance to this thesis consisting of research into Freemasonry and Fraternalism in the Middle East and in eighteenth-century Russia, respectively. The third volume, *Researching British Freemasonry 1717-2017*, contains three articles written by experienced masonic historians, which provide information about lodge membership in Lancashire. The article by John Astbury examines the founder members of the first

¹⁵ Mackey, Albert G., *An Encyclopedia of Freemasonry and its Kindred Sciences* (New York and London: 1914).

¹⁶ Rylands, W., 'Freemasonry in the 17th century: Warrington 1646', *Masonic Magazine*, Vol. 9 (102), (1881), pp. 221–236 and Rylands, W., 'Freemasonry in the 17th century: Chester 1650- 1700'. *Masonic Magazine*, Vol. 9 (103), (1882), pp. 266–280.

recorded lodge in Lancashire and, using genealogical databases, he identifies most of them.¹⁷ They were in the main merchants (particularly textile merchants) and those who would have encountered them, such as victuallers and butchers. He is also able to identify some of their activities outside masonry, with almost half serving as civic officers. A lack of surviving records meant Astbury was unable to chart membership between 1727 and 1754 when the lodge was erased from the register and so he could not identify later members, their occupations and social and business networks. Another article, by John Acaster, attempts to build a membership record of all lodges formed in Manchester and Salford between 1727 and 1813, being the date of the union of the rival Moderns and Antients Grand Lodges.¹⁸ He draws his information from returns made to the grand lodges in the period rather than from lodge records. The data should be the same but in practice they are not; for example, a member who had not paid his dues locally may not be returned to London to avoid having to pay dues to the Grand Lodge. From this data Acaster prepares a table of occupations of members joining lodges, showing the aggregates for 1757-79, the 1790s, 1813, 1816 and 1835. This information is useful in detecting trends in occupations (although he does not analyse this aspect). Because the analysis is split between the Moderns and Antients for the 1790s and 1813, it is possible to compare the nature of the membership of the two organisations. Possibly because of the volume of members, the study, with few exceptions, does not identify how masonry

¹⁷ Astbury, J., 'The Lodge at the Kings Head, Salford in 1727- the first recorded lodge in Lancashire' in: Önnersfors, A. and Péter, R. (eds.), *Researching British Freemasonry 1717-2017* (Sheffield: 2010), pp. 57-70.

¹⁸ Acaster, J., 'The Composition of Masonic Membership in Manchester and Salford during the period of early Industrialisation before 1814' in: Önnersfors, A. and Péter, R. (eds.), *Researching British Freemasonry 1717-2017* (Sheffield: 2010), pp. 41-55.

contributed to the community by looking at the role played by members in local society.

The article by David Harrison and John Belton examines Freemasonry in North-west England during the nineteenth-century by looking at the fortunes of four lodges in Bolton, Stockport, Warrington and Oldham.¹⁹ It is statistical, providing *inter alia*, data on years of candidate scarcity in aggregate, new members by lodge by year and a three-year moving annual total of the same. It also includes a table showing the composite occupations by category (such as professional and manufacturing), analysed by decade between 1800 and 1899. Fluctuations in membership numbers are linked to local events while the table on occupations shows trends and an increasing move towards middle-class membership by the end of the period. Shortcomings of the article are a failure to provide details of the constituent parts of each occupational category or to state whether a recognised social classification scheme has been used. By grouping the occupations of the members of all four lodges together, it is not possible to identify whether there were any differences between Moderns and Antients Lodges. The research set out in the three articles, however, is useful in identifying the social groupings and occupations of lodge members in the North-west of England, which enables comparison with Worcestershire and other areas.

Ric Berman is a historian who has written extensively on various aspects of the history of Freemasonry. His book, *The Foundations of Modern Freemasonry: The*

¹⁹ Harrison, D. and Belton, J., 'Society in flux: the Emergence and rise of Middle Class Civil Society in nineteenth century in Industrial North-west England', in: Önnersfors, A. and, Péter, R. (eds.), *Researching British Freemasonry 1717-2017* (Sheffield: 2010), pp. 71-97.

Grand Architects and the Scientific Enlightenment 1714-1740, concentrates on the development of Freemasonry between 1720 and 1740. He argues that this mirrored economic, political and religious change during the early eighteenth century and that Freemasonry, in turn, may have influenced these changes.²⁰ The methodology consists of detailed prosopographical research into persons he identifies as key individuals, ‘the Founders’, in the development of the Premier Grand Lodge, their personal friendships, and their networks within London. These networks included certain lodges, the Westminster and Middlesex Magistrate Benches, the Royal Society and aristocratic nobles predominantly of a Whig persuasion. He demonstrates that a significant number of individuals who shaped the development of the Premier Grand Lodge in the period up to c.1740 shared interests outside masonry – political, intellectual and society membership. However, he does not provide a sustainable argument to support his statement that:

The central threads that *defined Masonic change in the eighteenth century* included its pro-Hanoverian and pro-establishment stance, the social imprimatur of an elite celebrity aristocratic leadership, a strong association with Newtonianism and the egalitarian fraternalism on offer.²¹

A significant weakness in his approach is that his research is predominantly concentrated on the institution of the Premier Grand Lodge and the London society of the elite. He produces little evidence to demonstrate that what was happening in the London of the Grand Lodge and ‘the Founders’ was also happening in the provinces

²⁰ Berman, R., *The Foundations of Modern Freemasonry: The Grand Architects and the Scientific Enlightenment 1714-1740*, (Brighton: 2012).

²¹ Berman, R., *The Foundations of Modern Freemasonry*, p. 6 [Italics by author of thesis].

and in other areas of London. He deals with twenty years of the eighteenth century but does not address the later years. That period witnessed a decline in the number of London lodges in the 1740s and 1750s and significant growth in the number of lodges in the provinces – by the end of the century there were 546 lodges of which 260 were in the provinces as compared to 98 in London.²² The second half of the century also saw the rise of the rival Antients Grand Lodge which attracted different social classes into Freemasonry, both in London and the provinces, and whose ethos was very different from that of the Premier Grand Lodge. Perhaps most telling is Berman's conclusion that:

The Masonic superstructure established by Desaguliers and his circle would remain *in situ* ... but Freemasonry's profile and purpose would later be altered ... to the point where many of its principal concerns had become substantially divorced from those of its founders.

which acknowledges that Freemasonry changes over time, and seems to considerably weaken his earlier statement, set out above.²³ His thesis, nevertheless, usefully contributes to the contextualisation of early English Freemasonry, particularly in London, within the broader social and economic trends of the age, and can be used as a comparator for research carried out for this study.

The final category of material produced by masonic historians derives from the practice of lodges to produce publications at different milestones in a lodge's life – for example, its 500th meeting and its centenary. These booklets frequently contain

²² Lane, J., *A Handy Book to the Study of the Engraved Lists*, Appendix I; Lane, J., *Masonic Records 1717-1894*, pp. 34-86.

²³ Berman, R., *The Foundations of Modern Freemasonry*, pp. 6-7.

information and anecdotes about members and events that are not recorded in the formal records, such as minute books and membership registers. This information can be usefully incorporated, provided that it can be properly verified by reference to independent third-party evidence. It can paint the social backgrounds of members and supply details of events affecting the lodge, such as local economic downturns and membership splits. Several lodges in Worcestershire have produced such material, details of which are included in the bibliography.

Turning to academic writers, the 1930s and 1940s witnessed the unique partnership of Douglas Knoop and G. P. Jones. Knoop was a freemason and economist while Jones was an economic historian. They were prolific authors publishing papers and articles *inter alia* in *AQC*, the *Economic History Review*, *Economic History* and the *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*.²⁴ They also produced publications on masonic catechisms and pamphlets, and their efforts in finding and locating seventeenth and eighteenth-century primary masonic documents constitute an invaluable resource for later historians interested in those aspects of Freemasonry. Their major work, *The Genesis of Freemasonry*, traces what they consider to be the development of Freemasonry from the medieval period to the mid-eighteenth century. In the preface they state:

whereas it has been customary to think of Masonic history as something entirely apart from ordinary history ... we think of it as a branch of social

²⁴ Knoop, D. and Jones, G., *The Genesis of Freemasonry* (Manchester: 1947), p. vi.

history ... to be investigated and written in exactly the same way as the history of other social institutions.²⁵

However, as observed by both Berman and Peter Kebbell, their methodology views Freemasonry from an economic rather than a social perspective.²⁶ Over forty per cent of the book is devoted to the development of the Premier Grand Lodge in London between 1717 and c.1750 with little reference to what was happening in the provinces. Likewise, while there is discussion of the main individuals involved in the development of the Premier Grand Lodge, there is little or no examination of who was joining the organisation, their motives and background, either in London or the provinces. It is a useful, and in the main, reliable repository of 'masonic facts' but does not add much by way of explanation of the underlying determinants of masonic development and change.

Margaret Jacob's academic writings mainly focus on continental Freemasonry during the period of the Enlightenment.²⁷ Many of her observations are not relevant to the English context although, as explained below, she tends to assume that extrapolation is possible. In addition, she wrote *The Origins of Freemasonry: Facts and Fictions* in which she maintains that early eighteenth-century Freemasonry evolved from the medieval guilds.²⁸ In reviewing that book, David Stevenson concluded that 'Jacob's knowledge of British masonry is limited'.²⁹ It is difficult to

²⁵ Knoop, D. and Jones, G., *The Genesis of Freemasonry*, p. v.

²⁶ Berman, R., *The Foundations of Modern Freemasonry* (Brighton: 2012), p. 12; Kebbell, P., *The Changing face of English Freemasonry 1640-1740*, (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Bristol, 2009), p. 6.

²⁷ Jacob, M., *Living the Enlightenment* (New York: 1991) and *The Radical Enlightenment* (London: 1981).

²⁸ Jacob, M., *The Origins of Freemasonry: Facts and Fictions* (Philadelphia: 2006).

²⁹ Stevenson, D., 'Review of the Origins of Freemasonry', www.history.ac.uk/reviews/517, [Accessed: 7 August 2015]

disagree with his conclusion because Jacob sees masonry in Britain as being 'British', whereas Freemasonry in Scotland and Ireland were very different from that in England, and this leads her to arrive at a number of incorrect conclusions. Her works are helpful in providing contextual background to events in England during the period of the Enlightenment, but they do not provide a meaningful perspective on masonic developments within England.

Stevenson's two books on Freemasonry in Scotland are well researched using modern methodologies which contain relevant detail, while retaining a readable format.³⁰ His theory is that Freemasonry in England had its roots in Scotland. While this theory has its adherents it can be challenged, not so much through a different interpretation of the facts upon which he has formed his views, but rather from aspects which he has not considered. Because his research is primarily centred on Scotland, he has not considered socio-economic changes in England and the impact that they may have had on developments there. In addition, he has not considered the plethora of *Old Charges* which exist in England, where they appeared and why this phenomenon occurred. In the context of research for this thesis his books provide a well-documented analysis of developments in Scotland against which the arguments of those who maintain that the English experience mirrored that in Scotland can be evaluated.

Two academics, Prescott and Newman, have written on a wide cross-section of masonic topics. Subjects dealt with by Prescott include the *Old Charges*; the 1799 Unlawful Societies Act; Freemasonry in Wales in the long eighteenth-century and

³⁰ Stevenson, D., *The Origins of Freemasonry* (Cambridge: 1988) and *The First Freemasons – Scotland's early Lodges and their Members* (Aberdeen: 1988).

Freemasonry and the early trade unions. In 2010, he wrote *A History of British Freemasonry 1425-2000* in which he suggested a periodisation for studying Freemasonry's development and concluded that its study sits most comfortably in the subject field of the history of religion.³¹ Newman has written articles on the contribution of masonic provinces to the development of Freemasonry; the significance of provinces to the masonic historian; politics and Freemasonry in the eighteenth century, and a book, *A History of the Masonic Province of Leicestershire and Rutland*.³² The comprehensiveness of the research of both authors usefully adds background to this thesis and helps with the interpretation of matters and events referred to in it, albeit that none of the research specifically relates to Worcestershire.

Peter Clark's exploration of societies plots the growth of Freemasonry in England and includes several statistical tables and diagrams showing the spread of lodges at different dates.³³ It also attempts to analyse membership by social class but does not include the Midland counties. Moreover, the sample sizes for the provinces are small, covering 44 Moderns lodges and no Antients lodges. He makes great play of the importance of the 'federal structure' and 'provincial grand lodges' in the development of Freemasonry. However, this is to overstate their significance in the period covered by this thesis, because the Antients did not have a federal structure and many of the Provincial Grand Masterships of the Moderns were sinecures in the gift of the Grand Master, with the appointees never setting foot in their masonic province.³⁴

³¹ Prescott, A., 'A History of British Freemasonry 1425-2000', in Önnersfors, A. and Péter, R. (eds.), *Researching British Freemasonry 1717-2017*, (Sheffield: 2010), pp. 9-40.

³² Newman, A., Peacock, D. and Hughes, D., *A History of the Masonic Province of Leicestershire and Rutland*, (Leicester: 2010).

³³ Clark, P., *British Clubs and Societies*.

³⁴ Clark, P., *British Clubs and Societies*, p. 331.

Nevertheless, Clark introduces Freemasonry solidly and has produced research data which can serve as comparators for events and trends in Worcestershire.

More recently, some historians have researched Freemasonry in the British Isles within a social and economic context. Petri Mirala's review of Freemasonry in Ulster is a regional study which seeks to bridge the gap between studying the subject at a national and lodge level, by examining its links to both religion and Irish politics, including the Orange Order and the United Irish.³⁵ Unlike other historians who have relied on centralised Grand Lodge records, Mirala makes extensive use of primary records held at the Grand Lodge and those held locally by lodges. He rejects the view that Freemasonry was uniformly egalitarian and finds some evidence that masonry reflected social divisions because some lodges were exclusively 'Protestant' or 'Catholic' and some had an upper-class profile. He also maintains that links between Freemasonry and radical movements in Ireland were more nuanced than previously stated by other historians.

Roger Burt has written on freemasonry in the mining areas of Cornwall in the Victorian era and on travelling masons in the nineteenth century in his book *Miners, Mariners and Masons: The Global Network of Victorian Freemasonry* and his articles 'The Travelling Mason in the Nineteenth Century' and 'Freemasonry and Business Networking during the Victorian period'.³⁶ Running through his publications is the argument that two aspects of Freemasonry - charitable support of members and the opportunities to network - were of significance to those in mobile occupations. Using

³⁵ Mirala, P., *Freemasonry in Ulster, 1733-1813* (Dublin: 2007).

³⁶ Burt, R., "Wherever dispersed" – The Travelling Mason in the Nineteenth Century', *REHMLAC*, Vol. 10(1) (2018), pp. 1-34; Burt, R., *Miners, Mariners and Masons: The Global Network of Victorian Freemasonry* (Exeter: 2020); Burt, R., 'Freemasonry and Business Networking during the Victorian period', *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 56(4) (2003), pp. 657-688.

mariners and miners as examples, Burt demonstrates how these groups used charitable assistance as an 'insurance' while travelling. He also holds that attending lodge meetings offered an opportunity to network, seeing lodges as 'information exchanges'. In his article on Cornwall he expands on the business networking theme by examining six lodges from the mining areas of Cornwall for the period 1850 to 1900. He determines, by reference to primary sources, the age profile, principal occupations and social class of members and assesses the potential for networking by comparing membership returns with published annual lists of mine owners and managers. Burt concludes that Freemasonry was business-friendly and that his analysis of lodge memberships does not bear out previously expressed views that Freemasonry was 'socially exclusive' and based on 'horizontal social ties'.³⁷

Burt and Mirala both go some way to address John Roberts's claim about the neglect of English Freemasonry by academics, and they demonstrate the value of researching the history of Freemasonry within a general historical context. Their findings make useful comparators for the research into the social composition and networking of freemasons in Worcestershire, but the different chronology of the periods examined acts to limit the validity of some of the potential comparisons and conclusions reached.

The literature review has highlighted several shortcomings in historical research into Freemasonry in England, in terms of academic rigour, methodologies and topics subject to investigation. This thesis focuses on an unresearched area, namely the participation of freemasons in the economic and social development of

³⁷ Burt, R., '*Freemasonry and Business Networking*', p .663.

Worcestershire between 1733 and 1850. The research is underpinned by five research questions.

The first two questions ask, 'In what ways was Freemasonry's national and provincial development between 1733 and 1850 impacted by continuity and change?' and 'Why did men join Freemasonry?' The men who are the subject of this thesis were all freemasons, but without knowing the nature of Freemasonry and what attracted men to it, we are unable to ascertain the role it played in their lives. The answers contextualise Freemasonry's place in the changing social and economic conditions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and, by anatomising Freemasonry's social capital, it identifies the material benefits and social advantages derived from joining and remaining a member.

The third research question asks: 'In an era of relatively rigid divisions in society, to what extent was Freemasonry socially diverse and religiously inclusive?' As a social institution, Freemasonry grew to be one of the largest in the period but there has been scant academic investigation into its sociology. However, knowledge of Freemasonry's social base is essential to determine whether its membership was restricted, drawing from one or a limited number of social or religious groups, thereby making the organisation insular and divisive; or whether it brought together diverse groups, creating a heterogeneity and inclusivity which was not present within society at large.

The fourth research question poses: 'In what ways did freemasons, individually, and Freemasonry organisationally, contribute to the economic development of Worcestershire between 1733 and 1850?' Worcestershire underwent considerable economic change in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The part played by freemasons and Freemasonry in this economic development is an unresearched

area. The answer to the question will establish the involvement of freemasons in the structural changes, and regional industries and service sectors which fuelled the growth of the economy. Networks are recognised as playing an important role in business development and, in responding to the question, Freemasonry's potential for business networking is examined, including by way of comparison with other known family and religious business networks.

The final research question is, 'To what extent did the efforts of freemasons to alleviate social deprivation and disadvantage in Worcestershire between 1733 and 1850 contribute to the civil society of that era? Between 1801 and 1851 Worcester, and the principal towns in the north of the county, experienced major expansion with the populations of Dudley and Stourbridge growing by 368% and 232% respectively.³⁸ By-products of this expansion included strains on infrastructure and housing, urban deprivation and increased demands on health care and education. In the absence of any meaningful 'welfare state', these issues were primarily addressed through the Poor Law and by philanthropists. There has been no academic research into how freemasons addressed the social and economic problems faced by the disadvantaged of Worcestershire. In answering the question, the concept of 'civil society' and its relationship with the 'state' is examined. The chapter proceeds to examine philanthropy and its changing nature during the period of the thesis. Further sections look at masonic philanthropy, as practised by both lodges and individual masons, including examples of its practice in Worcestershire.

³⁸ Turberville, T.C., *Worcestershire in the Nineteenth Century* (London: 1852); percentages computed from tables at Appendix A, p. 328.

1.3 Methodology and Sources

Micro-history is the intensive historical study of a relatively well-defined and small area of research, a key feature of which is extensive use of primary sources. It is widely applied, from the social historian examining how local events affect the lives of residents, to the military historian plotting the conduct of a battle, to the genealogical research of a family historian. It differs from a case study because of its objectives; namely, to 'search for answers to large questions in small places'.³⁹ It is a methodology which lends itself well to the subject matter of this thesis, which is clearly defined by both timescale and the limits of geography, with the 'large questions' being the research questions outlined above. Two further factors militate in favour of its use. Firstly, the absence of secondary sources about freemasons in Worcestershire necessitates utilisation of primary sources to obtain the requisite and relevant information necessary to achieve the objectives of the thesis. Secondly, Worcestershire comprises urban, industrial and rural areas, and a micro-history provides the opportunity to identify differences and similarities between these areas and to take these into account when assessing the contribution of freemasons to the development of the county.

As the subject matter of the thesis is local, the research needs to place events and trends within a wider socio-economic context to create a backdrop against which to examine masonic activity. Contextual research has used primary records complimented by secondary sources to illuminate the social and economic factors at play in Worcestershire during the period studied. The author has constructed a

³⁹ Joyner, C., cited in Magnusson, S.G. and Szijarto, I.M. *What is Microhistory? Theory and practice* (London: 2013), p. 5.

biographical database of Freemasons using data gained from original research within masonic and non-masonic records to place freemasons and their activities within this contextual background. It contains personal data such as age, date of joining Freemasonry and address, and has been linked with information obtained on their social, civic, business and philanthropic activities. The database has been interrogated and the findings recorded in tables within the thesis, particularly in the chapters on the social composition of Freemasonry and the participation of masons in the economic development of Worcestershire.

‘Interdisciplinary history’ refers to ‘historical scholarship which uses methods or concepts of one or more disciplines, other than history’.⁴⁰ It can take two forms. The first is where individual historical researchers draw on theories and tools from other disciplines to assist their research. The second is where teams of researchers, drawn from different disciplines, research different aspects of a subject. Some commentators, such as Peter Weingart, view outputs produced by the interdisciplinary approach as having less rigour than those associated with single discipline research.⁴¹ Others, on the other hand, consider that interdisciplinary research can bring into focus issues which may have been overlooked or not properly addressed within a discipline. Cheryl McWatters believes that it is particularly useful ‘for those who seek novel ways to examine old and long-standing questions and debates’.⁴² G. Strauss and P. Whitfield consider that the first form is

⁴⁰ Horn, T. C. R. and Ritter, H., ‘Interdisciplinary history: A historiographical review’, *The History Teacher* Vol. 19(3) (1986), p. 428.

⁴¹ Strauss, G. and Whitfield, K., ‘Research Methods in Industrial Relations’, in: Strauss and Whitfield, (eds.), *Researching the World of Work: Strategies and Methods in Studying Industrial Relations*, (Ithaca: 1998), pp. 22-23. pp. 22-23.

⁴² McWatters, C., ‘Historians but not necessarily so’, *Accounting History Review*, Vol. 27 (3) (2017), p.220.

the “more fruitful”; an opinion shared by McWatters who observes that in adopting the second form ‘it is no elementary exercise to move beyond the relative security of what we know, to engage with those whose ways of knowing and doing research differ from our own.’⁴³

The extent to which research methods and findings derived from other disciplines can add to historical research depends on the discipline and the nature of the research subject. E.H. Carr identified a close correlation between history and social science, asserting:

scientists, social scientists and historians are all engaged in different branches of the same study: the study of man and his environment, of the effects of man on his environment and of his environment on man.’⁴⁴

The present study differs from those examined in the literature review in that it views Freemasonry through the eyes of its members, and poses questions not addressed by those earlier studies, such as ‘Who were these men?’ ‘How did they contribute to their local community’, ‘And why?’ Sociology is a branch of social science, and the research undertaken by several sociologists is considered. It affords new insights into the objects of the thesis and the inclusion of the sociologists’ findings ensures that a more holistic response to the research questions is obtained.

An approach based on micro-history depends on the existence of good-quality primary source material which, in this case, is drawn from both masonic and non-

⁴³ McWatters, C., ‘Historians but not necessarily so’, p. 220.

⁴⁴ Carr, E. H., *What is History*, cited in Horn, T. C. R. and Ritter, H., ‘Interdisciplinary History: A Historiographical Review’, p. 441.

masonic sources. The approach adopted, described by Tosh as 'source-orientated', has been to examine each piece, irrespective of its origin, to extract whatever is of interest and value in addressing the research questions posed.⁴⁵ The following paragraphs assess the strengths and limitations of the various sources and due weight has been given to these considerations when analysing and interpreting matters identified during the research undertaken. As evidenced by the literature review, little reference has been made to masonic sources in the context of social and economic history and their use in this study of Worcestershire is entirely novel. The non-masonic sources have been available for several years, albeit their accessibility has greatly increased through improved cataloguing and internet access. Application of the methodology of micro-history has enabled this material to be revisited and analysed afresh to assess the impact of social and economic events on communities.

Masonic sources can be split between those held at the Museum of Freemasonry (MF) in London, those held locally in Worcestershire, and those which can be accessed digitally. An important category of primary documentation held by the MF is the lodge membership registers which commence in 1751 for the Antients and in 1768 for the Moderns. The information contained is dependent on what was provided by the lodge secretary to the Grand Lodge, but the Moderns' registers typically contain names, date of joining, age, town of residence, profession, details of other lodges of which a member, and the delightfully termed 'remarkable occurrences'. The Antients' registers typically contain names, date of joining, amounts paid to Grand

⁴⁵ Tosh, J., *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of Modern History*, (New York: 2010), p. 99.

Lodge for charity and 'remarkable occurrences' – albeit they are not specifically described as such. These registers were prepared from Annual Returns submitted by lodges to their respective Grand Lodges and, where they survive, these also are held at the MF. In the early years these Returns were no more than letters or schedules attached to letters, but they became more formalised in the later part of the century. They frequently reveal more information than that recorded in the Registers, such as changes in profession, leavers and deaths, and changes in meeting places. Records were standardised after the union of the Grand Lodges in 1813 to present the information given by the Moderns set out above and, in addition, details of fees paid by individual members. The data gathered by Grand Lodges is skewed towards persons joining a lodge and it can, therefore, give a picture of those joining Freemasonry. It does not provide information such as the length of membership of individuals, whether a lodge is growing or shrinking (because of the lack of information on leavers), changes in residence, and changes in occupation. Prior to the period covered by this thesis, the Moderns Grand Lodge produced lists of lodge members in 1723, 1725, and 1730, which provide snapshots of the membership.

Also held by the MF are the minute books of the three Grand Lodges. These contain information relating to individual members, such as petitions for charitable assistance, which are useful in building a picture of the social and economic aspects of the lives of the individuals concerned. They also contain information on the lodges themselves, such as donations made to central charities and administrative matters such as acceptance of petitions to form a new lodge and dates of formation of lodges. Each lodge has a 'Lodge file' at MF which contains a miscellany of documentation relating to the lodge, including correspondence from the lodge to Grand Lodge and vice versa, letters from individual members to Grand Lodge and

vice versa, general correspondence and newspaper cuttings. Perusal of this material can provide information about the lodge and its members not included within the formal documents referred to earlier.

There are two digitised sources. Finding out where and when lodges met can be ascertained by reference to the digitised version of *Lane's Masonic Records*.⁴⁶ This resource includes the various numbers by which a lodge was known, as a result of the re-numbering of lodges made from time to time by the Grand Lodges. This facility is helpful in identifying where members who joined a lodge from outside Worcestershire came from, because lodge records frequently only give the number of the lodge from which the joining member transferred. Following collaboration between UGLE and *Ancestry.com* a searchable digitised index to nearly two million freemasons has been made available online at *Ancestry.com*. The data was extracted from the lodge membership registers maintained between 1751 and 1921 and a copy of the register is available online when a freemason has been identified in a search. This facility helps to track masons who joined a lodge in Worcestershire but where the lodge secretary had not recorded either the number or the name of the lodge from which the member had transferred. In addition, searching the registers of the lodges from which a joining member transferred can also provide information missing from the Worcestershire records, such as age or occupation. Unfortunately, because the *Ancestry.com* database is built on lodge registers – some of which no longer exist or are incomplete because of missing returns – it is not a complete record of freemasons in the period covered by the thesis.

⁴⁶ *Lane's Masonic Records*, version 1.0. (Published by HRI Online Publications ISBN 978-0-955-7876-8-3), www.hrionline.ac.uk/lane/

Local records comprise those held by lodges, Provincial Grand Lodges and Royal Arch chapters and Provincial Royal Arch Chapters. Individual lodges hold two principal primary documents, namely Books of Declaration and Minute Books. Books of Declaration typically include the full name and address and profession of the candidate together with the names of his proposer and seconder into the lodge. The names of the proposer and seconder are relevant as they indicate an existing network prior to the individual joining masonry, which can be researched further for other possible connections. Although Minute Books are often written in a 'standardised' manner they record information about the life of a lodge and its members such as charitable donations to third parties, assistance given to members of the lodge and to other masons, details of social activities, and participation in local events such as church and civic services. The information obtained from Minute Books and Books of Declaration can be augmented from other sources held by lodges, such as cash books and lodge histories. Cash books may include details of items such as annual dues, names of recipients of charitable assistance and fines levied on members for non-attendance. Lodge histories are not strictly primary sources, but they are useful in supplying information about members not normally found in lodge records of the type outlined above. It is, however, necessary to corroborate this information as the histories are not contemporaneous records and errors are sometimes introduced by their authors.

Provincial Masonry is derived from the Moderns Grand Lodge because the Antients Grand Lodge was more centralised and did not operate such a system. The Moderns appointed Provincial Grand Masters which, according to Newman, was to give rank and precedence to favoured individuals within Grand Lodge, rather than to

assist with the administration of Freemasonry.⁴⁷ Sometimes they were appointed to provinces which had no lodges; when Robert de Cornwall was appointed Provincial Grand Master of the Western Shires in 1753, there was only one lodge in Worcestershire.⁴⁸ After the union of the Grand Lodges in 1813 to form UGLE, the position of Provincial Grand Master was retained and it continued to be concentrated on noblemen and others of high rank and standing. Newman notes that there were frequent complaints over the failure of UGLE to appoint a Provincial Grand Master to a Province, and about the failure of those who had been appointed, to work with local freemasons.⁴⁹ A position which is well-described in an article of 1858:

Notwithstanding the great general advancement of Masonry, the [Provincial] Grand Lodge is a mere annual fair for collars and aprons, and the Lodges are languishing; so that considerable towns are without a Lodge ... A purgation of the Provincial Grand Lodges is urgently required, if Masonry is to be represented as an institution engaged in the pursuit of the moral sciences ...⁵⁰

In response to this growing level of complaints UGLE, in 1857, obtained returns from each Provincial Grand Lodge, detailing meetings held in the previous ten years and specifying which were attended by the Provincial Grand Master.⁵¹ Perhaps stemming from the findings of these returns, after the end date of this thesis, the role of the

⁴⁷ Newman, A., 'Contribution of the Provinces to the Development of English Freemasonry' *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, Vol. 117 (2004), pp. 68-82.

⁴⁸ The Western Shires were Shropshire, Worcestershire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire and Monmouthshire; the Worcestershire lodge was the Talbot I.

⁴⁹ Newman, A., 'Contribution of the Provinces', p. 71.

⁵⁰ *The Freemasons' Monthly Magazine*, 1 October 1858, p. 50.

⁵¹ Newman, A., 'Contribution of the Provinces', p. 71.

Provincial Grand Master was formalised and Provincial Grand Lodges became more active in administering Freemasonry at a Provincial level.

Between 1733 and 1850 separate records were maintained by some Provincial Grand Lodges, and in other instances, details of their annual meetings were recorded in lodge minutes. These can supply useful information about Provincial Grand Masters, masons appointed by them to hold rank at Provincial level, and the annual meeting itself. The history of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Worcestershire at *Appendix 6* reveals it to be one of the provinces which suffered from the inertia of UGLE referred to by Newman. In consequence, there are no Provincial Grand Lodge records which can be used as a primary source for this thesis.

Appendix 7 contains a brief history of Royal Arch masonry in England and its development in Worcestershire during the period of the thesis. Royal Arch chapters and Provincial Grand Chapters maintained records similar to those kept by lodges and Provincial Grand Lodges. However, because Royal Arch masons had to be members of a lodge, the information within Royal Arch records mainly duplicates information already held, but it can fill gaps where lodge secretaries had not fully completed member details. Because there were fewer chapters than lodges, membership can help to identify the intermixing of freemasons drawn from different lodges. To a certain extent, membership of the Royal Arch may be seen as a measure of attachment and commitment to Freemasonry but, as with Freemasonry, the reasons for joining the Royal Arch varied from individual to individual. *Appendix 7* reveals there are no Royal Arch records prior to 1844, and most members of the two Worcestershire Royal Arch chapters between 1844 and 1850 belonged to the lodges to which the chapters were linked. There was no Provincial Grand Chapter of

Worcestershire in the period of the thesis. As a result, Royal Arch records do not constitute a significant resource for this thesis.

Non-masonic primary sources include newspapers and directories. Newspaper articles provide information about the activities of masonic lodges within their communities as well as naming individuals. Together with local papers such as *Berrow's Worcester Journal* and *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, and the national *Gentleman's Magazine*, there are two masonic magazines, namely the *Freemasons' Magazine* and *The Freemasons' Quarterly Review* dating from 1793 and 1834 respectively.⁵² The *Gentleman's Magazine* regularly contained references to Freemasonry from its inception in 1731, while the two masonic magazines provide contemporary views on Freemasonry and reports on masonic events and gatherings. Care needs to be taken in interpreting written sources as they may be biased. However, reports on masonic events in the masonic magazines, and also in newspapers, are more akin to what Marc Bloch called 'the evidence of witnesses in spite of themselves' in that they are primarily descriptive of the event and the persons involved, and written with little thought for posterity.⁵³ One aspect which may be applicable when dealing with a closed society such as Freemasonry is whether reports on issues which appear to be 'non-masonic' are based on incomplete information. For example, looking at the elections of the 1830s and 1840s in Kidderminster, some contemporary newspapers linked Richard Godson's election as MP to the activities of the 'Operative Tories'. Would their views have been different if

⁵² <http://www.masonicperiodicals.org/>

⁵³ Bloch, Marc, *The Historian's Craft*, (Manchester: 1954), cited in Tosh, J., *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the study of Modern History*, p. 61.

they knew that two of the 'Operative' leaders, Regan and Tuck, and Godson himself were freemasons in the town? The *London Gazette* has helped in identifying business-related matters such as changes in partnerships and insolvencies as well as civic and military posts held by masons. Trade directories are helpful but, by definition, their usefulness is limited to those who were in business or were 'notable people' of an area. However, masonic lodges contained many businessmen whose businesses were of a size to be included in directories, making these a valuable resource in identifying commercial activities and the freemasons involved. Due to the variable quality of record-keeping by lodge secretaries, directories have been invaluable in filling gaps where details of a member's profession/occupation or precise address are missing. Other directories and registers such as the Bromsgrove School Register and the Clergy of the Church of England Database provide full and accurate information on their members, thus providing details about individual masons which are not contained within masonic records.

A variety of other primary resources has been referred to, including government acts, parliamentary and other papers, census returns and official/enquiry reports, which have helped to build an understanding of the county, its social conditions and economy. Probate records have been important in identifying levels of wealth and business interests, especially before trade directories became more commonplace. In several instances primary resources are unique to an individual and have provided information about why he interacted with others in Worcestershire. For example, Eli Shaw was a member of a lodge in Kidderminster but resident in Yorkshire; only by reference to records in Yorkshire was it possible to identify why he was a member of a Worcestershire lodge – namely, he was a wool mill-owner who sold wool to carpet manufacturers.

For completeness, it is important to identify how missing source material may have affected the outcome of the research. This includes personal correspondence, missing masonic records and limitations within religious records. Other than the correspondence within the lodge files held by MF, no letters written by any mason who was a member of a Worcestershire lodge in the period have been found. It has not therefore been possible to locate any evidence of a mason stating personally why he joined Freemasonry or why he introduced anyone into Freemasonry. Likewise, there is no evidence that any commercial relationship arose purely because of masonic connections. As a result, in determining reasons for joining Freemasonry and the existence of commercial transactions between masons, it is necessary to consider relationships within the wider masonic, professional, family and socio-economic networks between men, and to form judgments accordingly.

Nonconformist, Quaker, Jewish and Roman Catholic records for the county are generally limited and this has made identifying 'excluded groups' that much more difficult. There are individuals who are known to have come from Ireland and who have Irish surnames but in the absence of Catholic church, census or other records it has not been possible to establish with absolute certainty whether they were Roman Catholic. Likewise, there are several recognisably Nonconformist Black Country names, but the same issues arise.

The effect on research outcomes is that the size of 'excluded' groups is likely to be understated and it is difficult to find networks based on religion. There are no lodge records of any type either in Worcestershire or at MF for two lodges, Moderns 119 and Antients 154, both of which met at the Talbot, Stourbridge. Accordingly, the thesis contains nothing about the membership of 119. It has, however, been possible to obtain membership information about 154 from the minutes of the

Antients Grand Lodge and lodge records of St Paul's Lodge Birmingham, and of Lodge 77 in Wolverhampton, both of which were regularly visited by members of the Stourbridge lodge.⁵⁴ Although the members so identified are unlikely to comprise the total membership, they are indicative of the membership composition of the lodge.

1.4 Thesis Outline

The thesis comprises nine chapters consisting of this Introduction, a further seven themed chapters and a conclusion. Chapter 2 addresses the question 'In what ways was Freemasonry's national and provincial development between 1733 and 1850 impacted by continuity and change?' In his book, *The Origins of Freemasonry*, David Stevenson illustrated the link between the ancient stonemason trade and Freemasonry in Scotland. Some historians have likewise tried to define Freemasonry in England by reference to a continuum whereby stonemasons evolved into freemasons, even though stonemasonry in the two countries was very differently organised. Others have treated it as an eighteenth-century phenomenon rooted in Enlightenment ideals and values. In this chapter it is argued that these embryogenic approaches misunderstand Freemasonry. Instead, it contextualises the evolution of Freemasonry within changes to homosociality arising from the social and economic development of England during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Research question two - 'Why did men join Freemasonry' - is considered in Chapter 3. The hypothesis presented is that men joined Freemasonry for personal reasons, which varied from person to person, but there were attractions, centred on the organisation's underlying values, which were common to all members. The

⁵⁴ MF - BE166(43) SAI (CD) – Minutes of St Paul's Lodge 43, Birmingham (1760-1800); BE140 GRA (ANTS) – Minutes of the Antients Grand Lodge; Minutes of Lodge 77 (1769-1790).

concept of 'social capital' is explored, along with an examination of the constituent parts of Freemasonry's social capital, and how they attracted prospective, and retained, established members. These factors affected the social composition of the membership, and the ability of the organisation to function both as a business network, and a philanthropic presence within civil society.

Chapters 4 and 5 address research question three, namely: 'In an era of relatively rigid divisions in society, to what extent was Freemasonry socially diverse and religiously inclusive?' Chapter 4 investigates the concept of social class and the difficulties surrounding social classification. The social profile of lodge membership is analysed to enable comparison between the memberships of the competing Grand Lodges, and the memberships of lodges based in the North and South of the county. The classification scheme used is a variant of that developed by Richard Trainor in his *Black Country Elites, the Exercise of Authority in an Industrialised area, 1830-1900*. Trainor's scheme, which relates to the industries of North Worcestershire, has been adapted to cater for a wider range of industries and the agricultural activities of the South.⁵⁵ Findings are compared with those derived from research conducted in the North-west of England, which underwent industrialisation around the same period, and in Wolverhampton, which had similar characteristics to towns in North Worcestershire. Where relevant, comparison is made at a national level utilising the findings of Clark in his *British Clubs and Societies*. Most statistics have been prepared for two periods - up to 1813, and between 1814 and 1850, to enable changes in membership patterns over time to be identified.

⁵⁵ Trainor, R. H., *Black Country Elites: The Exercise of Authority in an Industrialised Area* (Oxford:1993), pp. 385-390.

Chapter 5 examines the religious profile of England and the divisions caused by sectarianism. The First Charge requires religion to be left at the door of the lodge and all masons to 'be good men and true, or men of honour and honesty'.⁵⁶ In consequence, Freemasonry was religiously plural with a membership which straddled the religious spectrum, and it offered its members the opportunity to socialise and network across faith groups. The chapter establishes that there were differences in the incidence of Nonconformity between lodges in the North and the South of the county and it identifies differences in the social profile of members of the different Nonconformist groups.

Chapters 6 and 7 are devoted to Research question 4: 'In what ways did freemasons, individually, and Freemasonry organisationally, contribute to the economic development of Worcestershire between 1733 and 1850?' Chapter 6 reviews the changing geographic and economic background of Worcestershire and tests these changes against the theory of 'proto-industrialisation'. Because of inadequacies identified, it proposes that the process of change in Worcestershire is better explained by examining three interconnected aspects, namely, agricultural change, the development of transport infrastructure, and industrialisation. It identifies the participation of local freemasons in the three phases and demonstrates how freemasons permeated business life with over 80 per cent of the membership involved in the agricultural, industrial, dealing, and service sectors, with a further 10 per cent being gentlemen of independent means.

⁵⁶ Quatuor Coronati Lodge, *Anderson's Constitutions*, p. 50 (1723 Constitutions).

Research into business networks consistently identifies trust and honesty as key characteristics for their successful operation. Chapter 7 compares Freemasonry with the features of known networks based on kinship and religion. It is argued that the evidence obtained reveals that the three networks shared a commonality of features, such that Freemasonry constituted a business network similar to those based on kinship and religion. The concept of 'the rational actor' (that a person who joins an organisation will take advantage of the benefits offered), is examined and applied to membership of Freemasonry, and several transactions involving members of Worcestershire lodges. Where a business network is informal and does not have a constitution or set of rules governing how members behave, as is the case with the three networks examined, it is difficult to prove that transactions take place, because of membership of the network. However, the Chapter concludes that Freemasonry provided the potential for networking and that a rational actor would have sought to take advantage of the opportunities offered.

Chapter 8 discusses Research question 5, 'To what extent did the efforts of freemasons to alleviate social deprivation and disadvantage contribute to the civil society of the era?' The concepts of 'civil society' and philanthropy are examined. The chapter considers various studies on the nature of philanthropy, what motivates and shapes the approach of donors, and the role played by beneficiaries. It also examines how, in the period, philanthropy changed from being something that arose primarily in the provisions of wills, to become charitable acts funded by individuals during their lifetimes. Drawing on examples from primary sources, the charitable endeavours of individual masons and masonic lodges are assessed in respect of relief extended to freemasons and their families, and to the local communities in which the lodges were located.

Chapter 9 draws together the findings of the individual chapters to arrive at an overall conclusion regarding the impact of freemasons on the social and economic development of Worcestershire in the period studied. While considering the wider implications of the findings for the study of the history of Worcestershire and of Freemasonry in England, it also suggests possible areas for further research.

CHAPTER 2: FREEMASONRY – A SOCIAL INSTITUTION

2.1 Introduction

The first research question asks: 'In what ways was Freemasonry's national and provincial development between 1733 and 1850 impacted by continuity and change?' The nature of, and background to, Freemasonry in England in the eighteenth century is crucial to this thesis, as assessment of its impact on the lives of its members is dependent upon understanding what it stood for, and how it functioned. As a subject it has attracted the attention of both academic and masonic historians. In some instances an organisational approach has been followed, as when seeking to establish a linkage between Freemasonry and stonemasonry, or evaluating the impact of a group of individuals on the philosophical tenets and establishment of the Moderns Grand Lodge.¹ A second approach has been to concentrate on individual lodges, where their histories are microscopically analysed but seldom placed within a local socio-economic context.² Both methodologies share a common shortcoming in that, although Freemasonry revolved around men and would have ceased to exist had they not joined, they both pay little regard to its members – the freemasons. The approach followed in this study is to integrate an examination of the generic nature of Freemasonry with a micro-history of Freemasonry in the county of Worcestershire. The objectives are twofold. To gain an understanding of the features and traits of

¹ An example of the former approach is Carr, H., 'Freemasonry before Grand Lodge' in Frere, A. (ed.), *Grand Lodge 1717-1967* (Oxford: 1967), pp. 1-46, and of the latter, Berman, R. A., *The Architects of Eighteenth-Century English Freemasonry, 1720-1740* (PhD thesis, University of Exeter, 2010).

² An example of a lodge history is Vernon Lodge, *Vernon Lodge 150th Anniversary Celebration 1849-1999* (Stourport: 1999).

Freemasonry which made it attractive to men to join; and to illustrate, by means of a case study of Worcestershire, how these features facilitated the participation of freemasons in its socio-economic development.

The thesis explored in this chapter is that Freemasonry was not linked to a process or an event, after which it was immutable, but that it changed over time, with its evolution linked to the changing social and economic conditions of England during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The chapter traces Freemasonry's transformation from loose gatherings of men to the formalised and institutional membership of the Grand Lodges. It acknowledges the role of Enlightenment values in the formation of the Moderns Grand Lodge, but challenges the weight attributed to them, by some researchers, in Freemasonry's wider development in the provinces and London. Later chapters constitute a regional study which encompasses a larger and more representative membership base than one obtained from a single lodge. Linking these members to their local communities, provides a basis to evaluate their contribution to the socio-economic development of Worcestershire.

Some historians have sought to define Freemasonry by placing it within a continuum whereby stonemasonry, the trade of the medieval stonemason, evolved into the Freemasonry of the eighteenth century. This approach, often referred to as the 'Authentic School', was championed by Gould in the late 1880s and was followed into the late twentieth century by others such as Harry Carr and Jacob.³ In his book, *The Origins of Freemasonry*, David Stevenson constructs a compelling argument

³ Examples of antiquarians and historians of the 'Authentic School' include Carr, H., 'Freemasonry before Grand Lodge' in Frere, A. (ed.), *Grand Lodge 1717-1967* (Oxford: 1967), pp. 1-46; Jacob, M., *The Origins of Freemasonry: Facts and Fictions* (Philadelphia: 2006) and Gould, R.F., *The History of Freemasonry* (Edinburgh: 1885).

that, in Scotland, this was the case, including evidence that twenty-five freemasons' lodges in Scotland can trace their roots back to stonemasons' lodges existing in 1710.⁴ The underlying assumption of the Authentic School that masonic evolution in England mirrored that in Scotland has been heavily criticised: John Hamill concludes that 'their work, in fact, gives the appearance of a search for evidence to fit a preconceived theory ... [and] they often took such evidence out of its context and made assumptions for which only tenuous substantiation existed'.⁵ The methodology can be criticised on several counts. It viewed Freemasonry solely through the prism of its structural development and ignored historical context, including the effects of economic, political and religious change. In addition, no account was taken of the fact that there were two Grand Lodges in the eighteenth century whose background and views on the nature of Freemasonry differed considerably. A further deficiency is that the human aspect – the motives of freemasons themselves - was not considered. As Newman contends, there is not much to be gained in any analysis of Freemasonry if it does not include consideration of why individuals joined the organisation.⁶

Hamill, while highlighting the shortcomings of the Authentic School, did not provide an alternative thesis. However, so effective was Hamill that he achieved a paradigm shift in the study of English Freemasonry whereby the Holy Grail of linking stonemasonry to Freemasonry gave way to viewing Freemasonry as a phenomenon of the eighteenth century. This view treats Freemasonry as a *prolem sine matre creatam* (a child without a mother) where 'there was no unique thread that joined pre-

⁴ Stevenson, D., *The Origins of Freemasonry*, p. 234.

⁵ Hamill, J. *The Craft. A History of English Freemasonry* (Wellingborough: 1986), pp. 17-19.

⁶ Newman, A. 'The Significance of the Provinces for Masonic Historians', *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, Vol. 112, (1999), p. 2.

mediaeval and mediaeval stonemasonry to what was to develop in the eighteenth century'.⁷ Those looking for a point of origin, irrespective of the date, share an embryogenic view of explanation, in that they are looking for an origin on the 'conviction that the nature of x is completely specifiable in terms of its causal antecedents, its originating conditions'.⁸ In other words, Freemasonry is either inextricably linked to the stonemason craft or the Enlightenment ideals of the eighteenth century. Prescott holds that this is to misunderstand Freemasonry. He maintains that the Premier Grand Lodge of 1717 was influenced and shaped in the decades up to 1750 by the scientific and philosophical interests of certain officers of the Grand Lodge and, later, by events during the period of the French Revolution, and again in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁹ He could also add that for over sixty years, starting in the mid-eighteenth century, there were two Grand Lodges which had different formation dates and very different philosophies.

This chapter argues that Freemasonry, like other social institutions, was not set in aspic, but evolved over time. It traces Freemasonry from when it existed as informal and ad hoc social gatherings of men, some of whom had a connection with the stonemason craft and its 'secrets', to when it became a structured association divorced from the stonemason craft, where the secrets of the stonemason had become the esoteric secrets of the association. It seeks to identify the changes, their

⁷ Ovid, *Metamorphoses Book II*, line 553; Berman, R. A., 'The Architects of Eighteenth-Century English Freemasonry, 1720-1740' (PhD thesis, University of Exeter, 2010), p. 68. Révauger, C. advances a similar argument to Berman in 'Anderson's Freemasonry: the True Daughter of the British Enlightenment', *Cercles: Revue Pluridisciplinaire du monde anglophone* (2008), p.1.

⁸ Cherry, C., 'Measures and Idols of Origin', *The Philosophical Quarterly*, Vol. 35 (1985), pp. 59-60.

⁹ Prescott, A., 'The Old Charges Revisited', <http://www.freemasons-freemasonry.com/prescott07.html>, pp. 8-9. [Accessed: 23 March 2019].

causes and effects, and to place them within changing social and economic conditions. The chapter is in five sections. The first examines the evolution of Freemasonry in the seventeenth century. It places Freemasonry within the context of social and economic change in England and, especially, how men socialised. The second section places Freemasonry within a continuing social evolution as the associational world of voluntary clubs and societies first appeared, and then grew, in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Over time these clubs and societies became more formal, gaining membership structures, fee structures and regulations. The next two sections examine 'institutionalised Freemasonry', a term adopted to describe Freemasonry within the formal structure brought about by the creation of the two Grand Lodges. A conclusion summarises the findings of the research.

2.2 Freemasonry and social change in the seventeenth century

In the early part of the seventeenth century most people in England lived in rural hamlets and villages, where the manor house was central to domestic, social and economic life. According to Linda Pollock, it was an economic unit which accommodated the blood-related family and, also, provided a living for servants, apprentices and labourers who worked on the estate.¹⁰ A symbol of power, it required deference but, in return, its owners included the extended household on occasions such as Christmas, the marriage of a family member, and in social events such as hunting.¹¹ However, over the course of the century, and continuing into the

¹⁰ Pollock, L., 'Little Commonwealths I: The Household and Family Relationships', in Wrightson, K., (ed.), *A Social History of England 1500-1750*, p. 60.

¹¹ Gaskill, M., 'Little Commonwealths II: 'Communities'', in Wrightson, K., (ed.), *A Social History of England 1500-1750*, pp. 88-89.

eighteenth century, the position of the manor house, and how its owners socialised, changed dramatically. In consequence, the historic unities of family and home, and occupation with locality, came to be superseded by informality and privacy, and a life which was less concentrated on the domestic residence.¹² The remainder of this section records these societal changes and places Freemasonry within them.

Acquisition of town properties by the gentry started in the 1620s and accelerated after the 1640s. Several reasons lay behind this trend, and the associated pattern whereby socialising started to take place away from the manor. As landowners, the gentry were involved in the governance of their locality. This drew them into towns to attend county committees and meetings of the Assizes and Sessions. When infrastructure projects such as turnpike roads and canals were undertaken, many of which ran through their land, they were appointed trustees. Trustee meetings of these projects were also held in local towns, in hostelries such as the Talbot Inn in Stourbridge, which hosted the meetings of the Stourbridge turnpikes.¹³ As the gentry placed increased importance on widening their networks beyond those built within the vicinity of the manor, they started to educate their sons at grammar schools and public schools rather than, as previously, at home using tutors.¹⁴ This, in turn, widened social horizons, including the pool of eligible partners, so that, in marriages involving the gentry in Worcestershire and Warwickshire between 1606 and 1640, 53.5 per cent and 66 per cent respectively of brides were not residents of the

¹² French, H., 'Gentlemen: Remaking the Ruling Class', in Wrightson, K., (ed.), *A Social History of England 1500-1750*, p. 280.

¹³ Palfrey, H. E., *Gentlemen at the Talbot* (Stourbridge: 1954), pp. 18-19.

¹⁴ French, H., *Gentlemen: Remaking the Ruling Class*, p. 276.

county.¹⁵ Urbanisation itself was a further factor, with towns such as Chester and York developing as regional centres for sociability, while others, such as Bath and Scarborough, became resorts.¹⁶ With these changes the country house became less of 'an open house' for the extended household and, instead, became a place where peer groups were entertained when the family was in residence, so that:

... the great household of family, personal servants ... tenants and retainers broke down, and the nuclear family and its social orbit were separated from all those who served it and generated its income.¹⁷

Diaries of the landed gentry document these changes and, in addition, Clark refers an apprentice shopkeeper in Makerfield's diary, where 20 per cent of the entries related to visits to ale houses to socialise and do business, evidencing that the change in pattern had filtered down to the middling classes.¹⁸ Between 1577 and the 1690s, the number of inns in 30 counties grew by over 80 per cent and the number of ale houses quadrupled; both statistics indicating the magnitude of the change in lifestyles.¹⁹ Similar patterns of socialising occurred at Oxford and Cambridge universities where the young gentry and professional classes were attracted by an experience which was 'like a fashionable holiday camp ... time being spent on hunting, gaming and feasting, often in the company of men from the same shire'.²⁰

¹⁵ Silcock, R. H. 'County Government in Worcestershire 1603-1660', (PhD thesis, University of London, 1974), p. 319.

¹⁶ French, H., *Gentlemen: Remaking the Ruling Class*, p. 276.

¹⁷ French, H., *Gentlemen: Remaking the Ruling Class*, pp. 279-280.

¹⁸ Clark, P., *British Clubs and Societies*, p. 83.

¹⁹ Clark, P., *British Clubs and Societies*, pp. 36-39.

²⁰ Clark, P., *British Clubs and Societies*, p. 37.

A diary entry of Elias Ashmole places Freemasonry within this changing pattern of social intercourse.²¹ It records that he was 'made a Free-Mason at Warrington in the presence of seven members of the lodge'.²² Rylands explored the social backgrounds of the meeting's attendees and found that several were landowners or from a gentle background, before concluding 'there is not a scrap of evidence that there was a single operative mason [stonemason] present on the afternoon of the 16th October 1646'.²³ However, present at the meeting was Richard Sankey whose son, Edward, had transcribed a copy of the *Old Charges* bearing the date of the meeting. This shows that at least one person present had some knowledge of the stonemasons' craft and, although not mentioned in Ashmole's diary, it is also possible that the document was used in a ceremony at which he was made a freemason. The meeting thus places the making of a mason within an occasion of conviviality, away from the home, where gentlemen of the area met to socialise and enjoy themselves.

According to Robert Plot, similar gatherings took place across England at which eminent persons met to admit men into the 'Society of Free-masons' using 'a large

²¹ Hunter, M., *Ashmole, Elias (1617-1692)*, astrologer and antiquary, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-764> [Accessed: 12 January 2021]. Ashmole was born in Lichfield, Staffordshire, and became a famous astrologer and antiquary, after whom the Ashmolean Museum was built and named, to hold his collections.

²² Gunther, R. T. *The Diary and Will of Elias Ashmole, edited and extended from the Original Manuscripts* (Oxford: 1927), pp. 26-27.

²³ Rylands, W., 'Freemasonry in the 17th century: Warrington 1646', *Masonic Magazine*, Vol. 9 (102), (1881), p. 223.

parchment volume they have amongst them, containing the History and Rules of the craft of masonry'.²⁴ He explains that when someone was to be admitted:

they call a meeting (or Lodge as they term it in some places) ... and entertain with a collation according to the custom of the place ... [and] ... they proceed to the admission of them, which chiefly consists in the communication of certain secret signes, whereby they are known to one another all over the Nation ... for if any man appear though altogether unknown that can show any of these signes to a Fellow of the Society, whom they otherwise call an *accepted mason*.²⁵

From Plot we learn that the term 'lodge' is synonymous with a meeting rather than a grouping of stonemasons, and that it was called only when someone was to be made a mason. Furthermore, the meeting included a meal and attendees were, as in Warrington, eminent men. The 'large parchment' is a reference to a copy of the *Old Charges* which, when taken with the copy dated when Ashmole was made a freemason, suggests that part of these meetings involved reference to the history and practice of the stonemasons' craft.

Evidence of the meetings described by Plot is patchy, but there are several manuscripts and items of press coverage, which expand on his writings. Randle Holme III wrote 'I cannot but Honor the Fellowship of the Masons because of its antiquity; and the more as being [myself] a member of that society called Free-

²⁴ Turner, A. J., *Robert Plot (1640-1696)*, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22385> [Accessed 3 November 2020]. Plot was a renowned antiquary and natural scientist who was a member of the Royal Society and curator of the Ashmolean Museum.

²⁵ Plot, R., *The Natural History of Stafford-shire* (Oxford: 1686), pp. 316-317.

Masons'.²⁶ This sentence is significant because it clearly differentiates between stonemasons in the 'Fellowship', and Free-masons in the 'Society'. It also suggests that the ancientness of the stonemason's craft may have been a reason why Freemasonry was linked to it; Holme would have been aware of this as he owned a copy of the *Old Charges* written in his own handwriting. Included among Holme's possessions was a piece of paper with twenty-six names and amounts of money, dated between 1672 and 1675, which has been presumed to be a voting slip and fees for the admission of candidates to Freemasonry in Chester.²⁷ Analysis of the names reveals that they were leading building trade employers in the area and others not linked to the trade.²⁸ Berman suggests that it was a meeting of the Chester Guild, which had become, by the late seventeenth century, a largely non-operative social/dining club. This is unlikely, as the Guild of Masons continued to exist until it merged with the Plasterers in 1705 and Holme's reference to a 'society' rather than a Guild points to it being a meeting of gentlemen of the area unrelated to any trade organisation.²⁹

Also found among Holme's possessions was a scrap of paper stating:

There is sevrall words and signs of a free mason to be revailed to ye
wch as ye will answ: before God at the Great & terrible day of Judgmt
ye keep secret & not to revaille the same to any in the heares of any

²⁶ Holme, R., *Academy of Armoury* Vol. 3 (Chester: 1688), pp. 88-96.

²⁷ Rylands, W., 'Freemasonry in the 17th Century: Chester 1650- 1700', *Masonic Magazine*, Vol. 9 (103), (1882), p. 272.

²⁸ Carr, H., *Freemasonry before Grand Lodge*, p. 30.

²⁹ Berman, R. A., *The Foundations of Modern Freemasonry*, p. 20; Thacker, A. T. and Lewis, C. P., 'A History of the County of Chester', *Victoria History of the Counties of England*, Vol 5. (Pt II), (London: 2008), p. 123.

pson but to the Mr and fellows of the said society of Free Masons so
helpe me God, xt.³⁰

This wording expands on Plot, to reveal that the making of a mason involved an initiation ceremony where words as well as signs were communicated to the candidate, who took an oath to keep them secret, and to not reveal them other than to fellow freemasons.

2.3 Freemasonry and early eighteenth-century club culture

A further evolution in social habits identified by Clark, which first occurred late in the seventeenth century and accelerated in the following century, was the emergence of societies in towns. In his opinion 'the decades before 1688 marked the infancy of British clubs and societies, the first stumbling steps of a new social institution', while Linda Colley observes that, by the mid-eighteenth century, voluntary associations 'were breaking out like measles over the face of Britain and the rest of Europe, especially in towns, and almost exclusively among men'.³¹ Roberts sees these changes as a part of a movement away from the religious and political upheavals of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as men turned away from 'the hope of building a community on inherited subordination or confessional unity ... to envisage a secular and voluntary society which could be a true community.'³² Initially, gatherings were in coffee houses and, although some continued to meet in such venues, the trend was towards using private rooms in hostelries. Morris observes

³⁰ Rylands, W., *Freemasonry in the 17th century: Chester, 1650 – 1700* p. 272.

³¹ Clark, P., *British Clubs and Societies*, p. 59; Colley, L., *Britons forging the Nation 1707-1837* (London: 2003), p. 88.

³² Roberts, J. M., *The Mythology of the Secret Societies* (St Albans: 1974), p. 17.

that, in late seventeenth-century London, a feature of these societies was that they 'had little more than a time and place of a meeting and an identity'.³³

Two further entries in Ashmole's diary refer to a meeting to make masons, which was arranged in such a manner. The entry on 10 March 1682 states that at about 5 p.m. he received a summons to attend a Lodge to be held the next day at Masons' Hall, London. The entry on 11 March records:

Accordingly, I went, and about noon were admitted into the fellowship of freemasons, Sir William Wilson [et al] ... I was the senior fellow among them (it being 35 years since I was admitted); there were present besides myself the fellows after named ... Mr William Stanton. We all dined at the Half-Moon Tavern in Cheapside, at a noble dinner prepared at the charge of the new accepted masons.³⁴

This was a meeting of 'the Acception', which Matthew Scanlan describes as an 'enigmatic association' attached to the London Masons' Company. Its members were mostly members of the Masons' Company and leading lights in the building trade but, over a period, it also admitted gentlemen unconnected to the trade.³⁵ The meetings appear to have been infrequent but entries in the cashbook of the Company refer to dinners being held and non-members paying double the joining fee of members of the Masons' Company.³⁶ The purpose of this gathering and the social composition of the attendees were akin to the meetings described by Plot and Holme. But it was

³³ Morris, R.J., 'Clubs, Societies and Associations', in Thompson, F., (ed.), *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950* (Cambridge: 2008) Vol. 3, p. 398.

³⁴ Gunther, R. T., *The Diary and Will of Elias Ashmole*, pp.119-120.

³⁵ Scanlan, D. J., 'The Origins of Freemasonry', *Handbook of Freemasonry*, Bogdan H. and Snoek, J. A. M., (eds.) (Leiden: 2014), pp. 73 – 78.; Conder, E., 'The Hole Crafte and Fellowship of Masons', cited by Carr, H., in Frere, A. (ed.), *Grand Lodge 1717-1967* (Oxford: 1967), p. 25.

³⁶ Scanlan, D. J., 'The Origins of Freemasonry', pp. 75-76.

also different, in that it was one of a series organised by a group where the meetings were structured so that the making of masons took place at a different venue from where the group dined. It was also more formal in that records were kept, and a membership fee structure had been established. In his directory of London, Edward Hatton describes the Masons' Company as 'having been called *Free Masons*, a Fraternity of great account, who have been honored by several Kings and very many of the Nobility and Gentry being of their Society'.³⁷ Irrespective of whether, or not, this is a reference to the Acception, it is evidence of a linkage, through membership, of members of the stonemasons' craft with the aristocracy and gentle classes.

A parchment roll running from 1712 to 1730 reveals that regular and organised meetings linked to Freemasonry were held outside London. It is essentially a membership register showing where and when individuals were made masons in the 'Old Lodge at York'. Most meetings were held in York but, in 1713, one was in Bradford where '...18 Gentlemen of the first families in that Neighbourhood were made Masons'.³⁸ Its membership extended beyond the gentle classes referred to by Plot and Holme to include members of the aristocracy including Sir Walter Hawksworth, Bt., who served as High Sheriff of Yorkshire.³⁹

London newspapers of the era report activities involving freemasons – a fact that, of itself, indicates that Freemasonry had gained a public presence and had become more than just a group of men dining and socially mixing in private. A divertissement with a satirical twist, in *Poor Robin's Intelligence* for October 1676, alludes to

³⁷ Hatton, E., *A New View of London, or an ample account of that City* (Vol. II), (London: 1708), p. 611 [Free Masons is italicised in the original text].

³⁸ Hughan, W. J., 'The York Grand Lodge', *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, Vol. 13 (1900), pp. 4-17.

³⁹ Hughan, W. J., 'The York Grand Lodge', p. 11 – Hawksworth noted as a member on 24 June 1713.

Freemasonry's secrecy and links it to the coffee house culture of the period. It stated that the Company of Accepted Masons, along with three other groups, were to dine together on the 31 November (sic) at the Flying Bull, and that:

All idle people that can spare so much time from the coffee house may repair thither to be spectators of the solemnity. But are advised to provide themselves spectacles of malleable glass, for otherwise 'tis thought the said societies will ... make their appearance invisible.⁴⁰

Satire featured in two editions of the *Tatler* which refer to the freemasons' means of recognition. In an edition dated 1709 a group named the 'Pretty Fellows' is said to 'have their signs and tokens, like Free-masons'. Another edition in 1710 refers to a group called 'The Order of the Insipids' whose members 'had some secret Intimation of each other, like the Free-masons ...'⁴¹

2.4 Institutionalised Freemasonry – the Moderns Grand Lodge

As the eighteenth century progressed, there were several changes in how societies and clubs operated. According to Morris, although clubs which had dining and pleasure as their object continued, others sprung up with different aims, so that societies covered a gamut of activities, as varied as bellringing, religion, the arts, involvement in social issues such as gambling and the relief of poverty. As the centre of government, London hosted various political clubs ranging from the Whig Kit-Kat and Hanover Clubs to the Tory Board of Brothers and the Tory Loyal Brotherhood. These were part of a trend towards institutionalisation whereby societies adopted

⁴⁰ *Poor Robin's Intelligence*, 16 October 1676, p. 3.

⁴¹ *The Tatler or the Lucubrations of Isaac Bickerstaff*, Vol. 1, (London: 1774) 7 - 9 June 1709, pp. 76 - 77 and Vol. 3, 29 April – 2 May 1710, pp. 223-224.

rules and regulations to govern matters such as the objects of the association, subscriptions, and membership criteria. Morris considers that distinguishing features of these later societies included 'subscriber democracy' whereby each member had a vote, and a leadership and control provided by an oligarchy of higher-status members.⁴²

The formation of the Moderns Grand Lodge in 1717 saw Freemasonry progress to a structured society akin to that described by Morris; having a constitution and a leadership provided by noblemen and others drawn from the gentle classes. The background to its formation lay in a meeting at the Apple Tree tavern in Covent Garden where four lodges agreed to form a Grand Lodge, and elect a Grand Master.⁴³ At a further meeting held at the Goose and Gridiron on 24 June 1717, Anthony Sayer was elected the first Grand Master.⁴⁴ It would appear from *Anderson's Constitutions* that, up to 1721, the limited purpose of the Grand Lodge was to enable freemasons to meet socially at an annual feast where a new Grand Master was elected: it did not perform any regulatory function nor did its orbit reach beyond London and Westminster.

Table 1, which lists the Grand Masters and Wardens prior to 1721, shows that they were drawn from a cross-section of society, including from the stonemason craft.⁴⁵ The first Grand Master successfully petitioned Grand Lodge three times for relief, receiving £15 on the occasion of 21 April 1724.⁴⁶ The diversity of membership,

⁴² Morris, R. J., 'Voluntary Societies and British Urban Elites 1780-1850: An Analysis', *The Historical Journal* Vol. 26 (1) (March 1983), pp. 95-118.

⁴³ Quatuor Coronati Lodge, *Anderson's Constitutions 1723 and 1738*, p. 110, (1738 Constitutions).

⁴⁴ Quatuor Coronati Lodge, *Anderson's Constitutions*, pp. 109-110, (1738 Constitutions).

⁴⁵ Quatuor Coronati Lodge, *Anderson's Constitutions*, pp. 109-110, (1738 Constitutions).

⁴⁶ Quatuor Coronati Lodge, *Anderson's Constitutions*, pp. 110-111, (1738 Constitutions).

and the pleas for relief, indicate that the London membership contained some who were significantly less affluent than the 'eminent men' of the 'Acception' or who met in the North of England. Although described as a gentleman, little is known about Sayer, leading J. W. Hobbs to conclude, after research, 'I have not discovered our Brother himself or his parentage'.⁴⁷ George Payne, who was an official of the Commission for Taxes, drafted the Regulations governing the operation of Grand Lodge while John Desaguliers, a Huguenot clergyman with an interest in physics, became a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1714.⁴⁸ He was a friend of Anderson and given the sobriquet '*Homo Masonicus*' by Berman, who considered him to be influential in shaping the early years of the Grand Lodge. Although described as a mathematician, in 1732 Ware was also a printer and bookseller at Ludgate Hill, in Amen Corner.⁴⁹

Between 1721 and 1730 there were several watershed moments as the Grand Lodge transitioned from an organiser of social gatherings in London to a governing body whose writ extended to the provinces and overseas. Berman and Hamill reveal the driving forces behind these changes to be Desaguliers, Payne and their close associates, such as W. Cowper.⁵⁰ They had no links to the stonemasons' craft but, instead, 'within each ran the threads of pro-Hanoverian politics, a belief in the rights

⁴⁷ Hobbs, J. W., 'Mr. Anthony Sayer- Gentleman: First Grand Master of Masons 1717', *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, Vol. 37 (1924), p. 226.

⁴⁸ Royal Society Collections: Past Fellows – J. T. Desaguliers, [Search Results \(royalsociety.org\)](#) [Accessed: 23 April 2021].

⁴⁹ Le Clerc, S., *A Treatise of Architecture, with Remarks and Observations etc* (London: R. Ware, 1732). [Ware was a printer at the Bible and Sun in Amen Corner, near Paternoster Row].

⁵⁰ Hamill, J., *The Craft. A History of English Freemasonry*, pp. 42-43; Berman, R. A., 'The Architects of Eighteenth-Century English Freemasonry', pp.111-163.

Year	Grand Master	Senior Warden	Junior Warden
1717	A. Sayer Gentleman	J. Elliot Captain	J. Lamball Carpenter
1718	G. Payne Tax Official	J. Cordwell Carpenter	T. Morrice Stone Cutter
1719	J. T. Desaguliers Cleric	A. Sayer Gentleman	T. Morrice Stone Cutter
1720	G. Payne Tax Official	T. Morrice Stone Cutter	R. Ware Mathematician

Table 1: Occupations of Moderns early Grand Masters and Wardens.

and power of the establishment, and a commitment to the scientific Enlightenment'.⁵¹ The most pertinent changes were the appointments of a noble Grand Master and a Grand Secretary; the drafting of a Constitution to govern lodges and Grand Lodge; establishment of a charity; and the role played by Enlightenment thought and values.

In 1721, John, 2nd Duke of Montagu, was elected the first noble Grand Master, a practice which continued until the Moderns Grand Lodge ceased in 1813. This raised the profile of Freemasonry, with increased reports on the Grand Lodge's activities in both the provincial and London press, such the *London Evening Post* article in 1724 on a meeting held 'at the Crown Tavern, behind the Royal Exchange'.⁵² It would also appear that a noble Grand Master encouraged the upper and gentle classes in London to join Freemasonry, with the *Stamford Mercury* reporting on a lodge meeting in London in 1724:

At a great Lodge of the ancient Society of Free-Masons holden last week at the Horn Tavern ...at which were present the Earl of Dalkeith,

⁵¹ Berman, R. A., 'The Architects of Eighteenth-Century English Freemasonry', p. 111.

⁵² *London Evening Post*, 22 February 1724, No. 2274, Editorial.

Grand Master, the Duke of Richmond, and several other Persons of Quality, the Lord Carmichael, Col. Carpenter, Sir Thomas Pendergrast, Col. Paget, and Col. Sanderson were accepted FREE-MASONS, and went home in their leather aprons and gloves.⁵³

Moves to institutionalise the Grand Lodge started in 1723 with the publication of *Anderson's Constitutions* and the appointment of a Grand Secretary. That the Constitutions were described as applying to lodges 'in and about London and Westminster' demonstrates that, six years after its formation, the Grand Lodge was still London-centric. They were in three parts – a History, the Charges, and a set of Regulations. The history draws from the *Old Charges* and plots the evolution of Freemasonry, starting with Adam, working its way through the Old Testament and into the Christian era, until it arrives in Britain. It claims that Freemasonry declined in England after the accession of James VI, but the British 'genius for Masonry ... reviv'd the drooping Lodges of London [so that] this fair metropolis flourisheth, as well as other parts, with several worthy lodges and an annual grand assembly...'⁵⁴ An accurate history was not Anderson's purpose. His goal was to write a document, a piece of propaganda, which glorified Freemasonry and constructed a past which demonstrated its historical importance and increased its attraction to potential members.

The main object of the Charges was to instruct masons on how to behave towards one another and non-masons. Under six headings – God and Religion; Civil Magistracy; Lodges; Masters, Wardens, Fellows and Apprentices; Craft

⁵³ *Stamford Mercury*, 2 April 1724, Editorial.

⁵⁴ Quatuor Coronati Lodge, *Anderson's Constitutions*, p. 47, (1723 Constitutions).

Management, and Behaviour - they are supposedly a synthesis of charges extracted from the records of stonemasons' lodges in Britain and overseas.⁵⁵ However, the First Charge on religion appears to be particularly novel. Instead of advocating adherence to Christianity it requires masons not to be atheists or libertines and, instead, to adhere to the 'moral law'; that is to be good men and true or men of honour and honesty. By doing so Freemasonry was to become 'the center (sic) of union and the means of conciliating true friendship among persons that must have remain'd at a perpetual distance'.⁵⁶

The Regulations, which covered individual lodges as well as the Grand Lodge, reveal a Grand Lodge starting to exercise authority and control. Those relating to lodges governed their formation and their day-to-day administration, with each lodge required to adopt by-laws, maintain minutes and keep membership records. Masters and Wardens of lodges were expected to represent their lodge at Grand Lodge and ensure that their members visited other lodges 'for cultivating a Good understanding among Free-masons'.⁵⁷ The Regulations appertaining to the Grand Lodge also dealt with administrative matters, where decisions were by majority vote with each attendee having one vote and the Grand Master, two. The Regulations reveal a Grand Lodge with the attributes of the societies described by Morris but, an important difference was that, not only did they apply to individual masons, they also created a federal structure, so that any lodge which wanted to become associated to the Grand Lodge had to agree to observe the Regulations.

⁵⁵ Quatuor Coronati Lodge, *Anderson's Constitutions*, pp. 49-57, (1723 Constitutions).

⁵⁶ Quatuor Coronati Lodge, *Anderson's Constitutions*, p. 50, (1723 Constitutions).

⁵⁷ Quatuor Coronati Lodge, *Anderson's Constitutions*, p. 61, (1723 Constitutions).

Regulation 13 provided for the establishment of a grand charity 'for the more handsome Relief of poor Brethren'. A committee tasked to recommend a structure for a charity had its report agreed at a meeting of Grand Lodge in February 1726. However, three years later in March 1729, the charity's treasurer reported that 'he was extremely concerned that in so long a time he had not received one shilling from lodges or any brother'.⁵⁸ This seems to have galvanised lodges into action as the first donations to the charity, totalling £ 9 8s 6d, were received at the meeting held in November 1729; thereafter, Grand Lodge minutes record details of donations made by lodges.⁵⁹ The relief granted, and refused, covered a range of circumstances and amounts. Brother Perkins, who was blind, was awarded £10 but Brother Pritchard was denied relief, as he had declined a place offered in a local workhouse.⁶⁰ Brother Lillington was awarded 5 Guineas, but with conditions, namely that 1 Guinea was to be paid immediately with the balance at 7d per week.⁶¹ In 1736 Brother Reid was given £10 towards 'some necessities he now stands in need of.'⁶²

William Cowper was appointed Secretary in June 1723, a position he held until 1727; following which he became Deputy Grand Master.⁶³ Cowper brought considerable experience to the position of Secretary because, at the date of his appointment, he was Clerk of the Parliaments and Chair of the City of Westminster

⁵⁸ QCA Masonic reprints Vol. 10, *Minutes of the Grand Lodge of Freemasons of England 1723-1739*, p. 104.

⁵⁹ QCA Masonic reprints Vol. 10, *Minutes of the Grand Lodge of Freemasons of England 1723-1739*, p. 109.

⁶⁰ QCA Masonic reprints Vol. 10, *Minutes of the Grand Lodge of Freemasons of England 1723-1739*, Minutes of meetings held 29 May 1733 and 15 December 1730

⁶¹ QCA Masonic reprints Vol. 10, *Minutes of the Grand Lodge of Freemasons of England 1723-1739*, Minutes of meeting held 29 May 1733.

⁶² QCA Masonic reprints Vol. 10, *Minutes of the Grand Lodge of Freemasons of England 1723-1739*, Minutes of meeting held 17 June 1736.

⁶³ QCA Masonic reprints Vol. 10, *Minutes of the Grand Lodge of Freemasons of England 1723-1739*, p. 49 and p. 71.

Bench.⁶⁴ Minutes of Grand Lodge meetings and membership records commenced with his appointment and, during his tenure, control over the membership and lodges increased. Two lists of members by lodge were produced in 1723 and 1725. Also produced in 1723, and annually thereafter until 1778, was a *List of Lodges* (Figure 1) which included the sign and address of the tavern at which each lodge met, together with the days on which it met. These lists, which were the first record of regular lodges recognised by the Grand Lodge, also served as a directory for use by individual freemasons who wished to visit lodges other than their own. Of note is the iconography of the illustrations whereby King Solomon's Temple links Freemasonry to a biblical past and the coat of arms portray the aristocratic pedigree of its Grand Master.

The activities of Desaguliers, Payne and their associates, and their attachment to Enlightenment ideas and ideals, have led certain scholars to place the Freemasonry of the Moderns Grand Lodge within the scientific and secular culture of the Enlightenment.⁶⁵ Berman considers that Desaguliers and associates created, a structure that combined latitudinarian religious tolerance with ... the quest for and disbursement of scientific and general knowledge: ideas that can be considered to be at the core of the English Enlightenment'.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ History of Parliament Online, <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/cowper-william-1721-69> [Accessed: 25 November 2019].

⁶⁵ Such scholars include Berman, R.A., 'The Architects of Eighteenth-Century English Freemasonry, 1720-1740' (PhD thesis, University of Exeter, 2010); Révauger, C. 'Anderson's Freemasonry: the True Daughter of the British Enlightenment'; Jacob, M., *The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons and Republicans* (London: 1981).

⁶⁶ Berman, R. A., 'The Architects of Eighteenth-Century English Freemasonry', p. 102.



Figure 1: Engraved List of Lodges 1725, p. 1.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ Museum of Freemasonry, BE 16 LIS (IL 25486), Pine, J., *List of Regular Lodges constituted 'till 25 March 1725* (London: 1725).

He proceeds to assert that 'aristocratic Grand Masters and a network of relationships within the learned societies, professional associations and the magistracy were central to Freemasonry's metropolitan and provincial success'.⁶⁸

Berman establishes that between 1720 and 1740 the Moderns Grand Lodge was controlled by a Whig-supporting cabal drawn from the upper echelons of society. They associated with like-minded men in institutions such as the Royal Society and the Society of Antiquaries, with whom they shared a common interest in the Enlightenment.⁶⁹ He also demonstrates that the lodges with which this group and their associates were linked, such as the Rummer, the Old King's Arms ('OKA') and the lodge in Bath, regularly held lectures at their lodge meetings on topics such as architecture, human physiology and industrial processes.⁷⁰ It is this structure and these activities that led Révauger to conclude that Anderson's Freemasonry was 'the true daughter of the British Enlightenment', albeit arguably the more appropriate adjective would be 'English'.

Berman's methodology and detailed research supports his conclusion that Desaguliers and his associates, coupled with a linkage to Enlightenment ideals, played an important role in appointing noble Grand Masters and shaping the Charges and Regulations of the Grand Lodge. There are, however, several reasons to challenge the view that the Grand Lodge was 'the structure' of Freemasonry and that networks of learned and professional associations, together with the magistracy, were 'central' to the success of metropolitan and provincial Freemasonry. Firstly,

⁶⁸ Berman, R. A., 'The Architects of Eighteenth-Century English Freemasonry', p. 305.

⁶⁹ Berman, R. A., 'The Architects of Eighteenth-Century English Freemasonry', pp. 70-164.

⁷⁰ Berman, R. A., 'The Architects of Eighteenth-Century English Freemasonry', pp. 257-296.

Berman's research centred on the group forming the cabal and its associates; in particular, there is little consideration given to the social and occupational composition of the membership of other London lodges and provincial lodges. Secondly, there was little research into the activities of London and provincial lodges not frequented by the cabal. Lectures presented in other London lodges such as the Stewards' Lodge and the Lodge of Friendship are mentioned, but these had a similar membership to the Rummer and OKA, as shown by the Lodge of Friendship having a by-law that required debates to be held.⁷¹ The bibliography of Berman's thesis indicates that provincial lodge records were not examined. Evidence of lectures given in the provinces is therefore derived from secondary sources, including a lodge where it is 'believed' lectures occurred and lectures held at the Saracen's Head in Lincoln, which Berman himself describes as OKA's 'sister lodge'.⁷²

This, therefore, raises questions as to whether the London-based Grand Lodge and the lodges frequented by the cabal and its associates truly reflected the membership of the Moderns in the period, and whether Enlightenment values permeated the Freemasonry of Moderns lodges. The inability of a Lodge in Bolton to pay its two guineas to charity and the payment by the Stourbridge Lodge of 10s 6d as part contribution of its charitable dues suggest that membership of these lodges was not of the same social standing as Desaguliers and his colleagues.⁷³ Likewise, research by Clark on membership lists of Moderns Lodges in London around 1730

⁷¹ Stewart, T., *English Speculative Freemasonry – some possible Origins, Themes and Developments*, Prestonian Lecture 2004 <http://web.mit.edu/dryfoo/www/Masonry/Misc/TS-Origins.pdf> [Accessed: 12 January 2019].

⁷² Berman, R. A., 'The Architects of Eighteenth-Century English Freemasonry', pp. 279 - 280.

⁷³ MF - GBR 1991 HC8/F/2 – Letter dated 2/12/1732; QCA Masonic reprints Vol. 10, 'Minutes of the Grand Lodge of Freemasons of England 1723 - 1739', 17 December 1736.

reveals a membership different from that referred to by Berman, with over 50 per cent being artisans, 19 per cent in the distributive trades and only 9 per cent described as landowners and gentlemen.⁷⁴ The records of Lodge 163, which was constituted in 1737 and met in London, reveal a similar membership profile. In his review of its records, W. Wonnacott establishes that its membership comprised one gentleman and two apothecaries with the remainder in trades such as glovers, bakers, and jewellers.⁷⁵ Table 7 in Chapter 4 shows that the membership profile of Moderns lodges in Worcestershire between 1762 and 1813 was similarly wide with only 1 per cent being drawn from the aristocracy and esquires.

In the provinces, there is evidence that Whig politics did not hold sway throughout masonry. In the York Lodge the Presidents/Masters included Tory MPs, including Robert Benson and William Robinson, who represented York and neighbouring constituencies from 1705 to 1713 and from 1698 to 1722, respectively.⁷⁶ Likewise, past masters of the Newcastle Lodge included Sir Walter Blackett and John Fenwick who were Tory MPs for Newcastle and Northumberland.⁷⁷ The first worshipful master of the only lodge in Wales up to 1740 was Sir Edward Mansell who was a Tory and a member of a Tory club known as the Society of Sea Serjeants which, over its life, included eight MPs and others suspected of being Jacobite supporters.⁷⁸ Indeed, the

⁷⁴ Clark, P., *British Clubs and Societies*, pp. 320-321.

⁷⁵ Wonnacott, W. 'The Friendly Society of Free and Accepted Masons', *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, Vol. 29 (1916), pp. 107 - 227.

⁷⁶ Benson, Robert <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/benson-robert-1676-1731> [Accessed: 14 January 2019]; Robinson, William <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/robinson-sir-william-1655-1736> [Accessed: 14 January 2019].

⁷⁷ Money, J., 'Freemasonry and the Fabric of Loyalism in Hanoverian England' in E Hellmuth (ed.), *The Transformation of Political Culture: England and Germany in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: 1990), pp. 256 - 257.

⁷⁸ Jenkins, J., 'Jacobites and Freemasons in Eighteenth Century Wales', *Welsh History Review*, Vol. 9 (4) (1979), pp. 394-398.

presence of Jacobites in Freemasonry prompted someone using the pseudonym 'Jachin' to write: 'I think that no Government ought to suffer such clandestine assemblies, where plots against the State may be carried on, under the pretence of Brotherly love and good Fellowship.'⁷⁹ Therefore, evidence suggests that, outside the Whig bastion of Grand Lodge, Freemasonry was compatible with and attractive to a range of political beliefs, and that the social composition of the membership, including in Worcestershire, was wider than the aristocratic and gentle classes, both in the period studied by Berman and later in the century.

In his review of the minutes of Lodge 163 Wonnacott determined that no lectures had been held and that the business of its meetings mostly comprised the proposing and making of masons and consideration of the welfare of members.⁸⁰ There are no minute books of the eighteenth century extant for any of the five Moderns lodges in Worcestershire. However, the minute books of three Moderns lodges in the neighbouring counties of Warwickshire and Staffordshire for the 1760s onwards reveal that lodge activities were confined to matters such as ceremonies, charity, festivals and church processions; lectures given were on masonic ritual with no lectures on topics linked to the Enlightenment.⁸¹ Lodge 77 meeting in Wolverhampton is of particular interest. Its Worshipful Master until his death in 1774 was John Ward, 1st Viscount Dudley and Ward, who was Grand Master of the Moderns in 1742/43.⁸² He was also a member of the 'prestigious' Corner Stone Lodge meeting at the Bear

⁷⁹ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, April, 1737 [Reprinted article from *The Craftsman*, 16 April 1737].

⁸⁰ Wonnacott, W. 'The Friendly Society of Free and Accepted Masons', *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, Vol. 29 (1916), pp. 107-227.

⁸¹ MF - BE166(43) SAI (CD) – Minutes of St Paul's Lodge 43, Birmingham; Minutes of Noah's Ark Lodge 77, Wolverhampton; Minutes of Apollo Lodge 301, Alcester.

⁸² Hamill, J., *The Craft. A History of English Freemasonry*, p. 158.

and Harrow in London and he was noted as an attendee at a lecture by Desaguliers at the Bath lodge in 1737.⁸³ As shown in *Table 2* membership of the Wolverhampton lodge was not confined to a narrow elite group, but rather it had a spread of members, similar to that of Worcestershire. Moreover, it was regularly visited by members of the Antients Lodge meeting in Stourbridge, which had a similar broad membership. That the membership of two lodges of which the most senior freemason of the Moderns Grand Lodge was a member should be so different in their social profile suggests that those responsible for the development of the Grand Lodge were not representative of the overall membership. Likewise, the differences in lodge business suggests that the role played by Enlightenment values varied across the Moderns Grand Lodge and was, in large part, dependent on the character of individual lodges and their members. Paul Elliott and Stephen Daniels conclude that 'local geography [and] political and socio-economic factors may well have given provincial masonry a very different flavour from the Whig Newtonian character that is supposed to have predominated in the metropolis in the 1720s'.⁸⁴ The memberships and activities of the lodges in Birmingham, Wolverhampton and Stourbridge support this view.

⁸³ Berman, R. A., 'The Architects of Eighteenth-Century English Freemasonry', p. 265; MF – GBR 1991 P10/16/40 – photograph of portrait and masonic biography of 1st Viscount Dudley and Ward.

⁸⁴ Elliott, P. and Daniels, S., 'The School of True, Useful and Universal Science? Freemasonry, Natural Philosophy and Scientific Culture in eighteenth-century England', *British Journal for the History of Science*, Vol. 39 (2) (2006), p. 229.

Classification	No.	%
Aristocracy	2	4
Industrial	5	11
Dealing	14	30
Professional	18	38
Gentlemen	7	15
Other	1	2
Total	47	100

Table 2: Wolverhampton Lodge 77 occupations.⁸⁵

Initially, club culture was predominantly a London phenomenon, but Clark observes that by the 1740s and 1750s clubs had spread to larger towns and several smaller ones.⁸⁶ Examples of the spread into the West Midlands include the *Friendly Association of Worcestershire Gentlemen* - a social club based around dining and fox-hunting which met in rotation across the major towns of Worcestershire.⁸⁷ In Warwickshire, *The Birmingham Bean Club* was unusual in that it represented Anglican and Tory interests in a town often perceived to have a tradition of Radicalism. Members included 'representatives of the magnates of the county, the gentlemen and tradesmen of the town, the clergy and the officers from the barracks'.⁸⁸ The *Lunar Society*, also based in Birmingham, brought together leading

⁸⁵ Extracted from Register of Admissions: Moderns Grand Lodge, County and Foreign Vol II unnamed Wolverhampton Lodge 77 p. 23, adjusted for memberships included within the minutes but not notified to London for inclusion within the Register.

⁸⁶ Clark, P., *British Clubs and Societies*, p. 84.

⁸⁷ Money, J., *Experience and Identity: Birmingham and the West Midlands 1760-1800* (Manchester: 1977), p. 99.

⁸⁸ Money, J. *Experience and Identity*, pp. 99-102.

philosophers, intellectuals and industrialists such as James Watt, Matthew Boulton and Erasmus Darwin to become, in Jenny Uglow's view, 'a think-tank and powerhouse of ideas'.⁸⁹

Figure 2 shows that the geographical expansion of Moderns lodges out of London followed the pattern outlined by Clark. From the four lodges referred to by Anderson, total numbers increased over time so that by 1730 there were 76 lodges, rising to 187 by 1740, 432 in 1775, 546 by 1800 and 388 in 1813 at the date of Union.⁹⁰ The first lodge recorded as meeting outside London was founded in 1724 and met in Bath.⁹¹ By 1730 eighteen lodges met in the English counties, most of which were located in county towns such as Bath and Chester, whereas the Midlands and North-east were deserts with one lodge each in Warwick and Scarborough, respectively.⁹² Newman remarks that some lodges were, in effect, extensions of London lodges, citing as examples Bath, where the membership was 'high society' and Scarborough where the petition to form the lodge gave as a reason 'several good masons meet in Scarborough in Yorkshire in the summer season'.⁹³ A lodge at St. Rook's Hill (now St. Roche's Hill), Chichester, met only once a year on the Tuesday of Easter week.⁹⁴ By 1740 there were 54 provincial lodges, including some in industrial towns such as Wolverhampton, Liverpool and Birmingham, together with the first in Worcestershire,

⁸⁹ Uglow, J. 'Oxford Dictionary of National Biography', *Lunar Society of Birmingham*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:ondb/59220> [Accessed 21 December 2019]; for Peter Jones the *Lunar Society* offered a platform to investigate experimental science and innovation as well as religious denomination; Jones, P. M., *Industrial Enlightenment* (Manchester: 2008).

⁹⁰ Lane, J., *A Handy Book to the Study of the Engraved Lists* (London: 1889), Appendix I. The drop in 1813 arises from an 'audit' of lodges and the removal of those which were not active at that date.

⁹¹ Lane, J., *Masonic Records 1717-1894* (London: 1895), p. 46.

⁹² Lane, J., *A Handy Book to the Study of the Engraved Lists*, Appendix I; Lane, J., *Masonic Records 1717-1894*, pp. 34-56.

⁹³ Newman, A., 'The Significance of the Provinces for Masonic Historians', *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, Vol. 112 (1999), p. 3.

⁹⁴ Lane, J., *Masonic Records 1717-1894*, p. 54.

in Stourbridge.⁹⁵ Expansion continued in succeeding decades so that by 1800 there were 260 provincial lodges.⁹⁶ In Worcestershire growth of Moderns lodges was slow as a second lodge, also in Stourbridge, was not formed until 1775 . A further two, in Dudley and Bromsgrove, were formed in the 1780s. The last lodge in Worcestershire, formed in 1790, was also the first in the south of the county, in Worcester City.⁹⁷

Newman concludes that the increase in provincial lodges up to the 1770s was similar to that of other local societies.⁹⁸ However, there is nothing in Grand Lodge

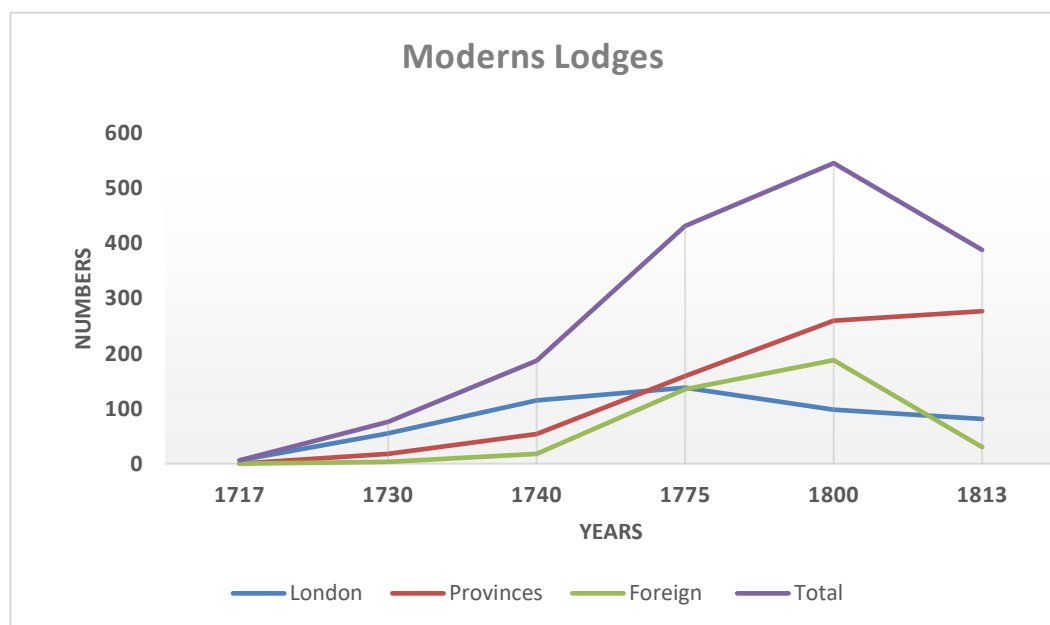


Figure 2: Chart of growth of Moderns Lodges between 1717 and 1813.

⁹⁵ Lane, J., *A Handy Book to the Study of the Engraved Lists*, Appendix I; Lane, J., *Masonic Records 1717-1894*, pp. 34-86. [Stourbridge Lodge formed 1 August 1733 meeting at the Talbot Inn every Wednesday].

⁹⁶ Lane, J., *A Handy Book to the Study of the Engraved Lists*, Appendix I.

⁹⁷ Further details of these lodges are given in Appendix I.

⁹⁸ Newman, A., *The Significance of the Provinces for Masonic Historians*, p. 3.

records to suggest that this growth was a policy of Grand Lodge, and there is some evidence that it did not entirely support expansion. Grand Lodge minutes of December 1733 record:

a complaint being made by several masters of lodges that the Minutes and proceedings of Grand Lodge had not been sent to their respective lodges ... to the great discouragement of masonry in general, but especially to the Country lodges.⁹⁹

No action was taken, resulting in a further complaint at a meeting in December 1736. In April 1737 the matter was finally addressed, when a charge of 2s 6d was levied for any lodge which wanted a copy of the minutes.¹⁰⁰

As shown in *Figure 2*, growth of lodges in London stalled after 1740, leading the author Horace Walpole to remark in 1743: 'The Free Masons are in so low repute now in England ... I believe that nothing but a persecution could bring them into vogue again here.'¹⁰¹ The reasons for the drop in popularity and numbers are numerous but include two of significance to this study. The first was the poor leadership of the Premier Grand Lodge. The driving forces of Desaguliers, Payne and Cowper had left the scene, to be replaced by Grand Officers who were lax in their duties, resulting in 'the dysfunctional management of the English Grand Lodge, most particularly in the 1740s as it stumbled into bureaucratic incompetence'.¹⁰² In

⁹⁹ QCA Masonic reprints Vol 10, *Minutes of the Grand Lodge of Freemasons of England 1723 - 1739*, 18 December 1733, p. 237.

¹⁰⁰ QCA Masonic reprints Vol 10, *Minutes of the Grand Lodge of Freemasons of England 1723- 1739*, 27 December 1736 and 13 April 1737, p. 280 and p. 285.

¹⁰¹ The Lewis Walpole Library – Horace Walpole's Correspondence, Letter 4 May 1743 to Sir Horace Mann, <http://images.library.yale.edu/hwcorrespondence/viewpage.asp?bn=70&fn=72&np=2> [Accessed: 22 December 2020].

¹⁰² Berman, R. A., 'The London Irish and the Antients Grand Lodge', *Eighteenth Century Life*, Vol. 39 (1) (2015), p. 104.

Hamill's opinion, this endured beyond the 1740s, causing dissatisfaction among lodges, until Lord Blayney became Grand Master in 1764.¹⁰³ Poor leadership had consequences at a national level and in Worcestershire. An audit of lodges in 1755 found that of the 271 lodges on the register, no fewer than 72 had ceased to exist.¹⁰⁴ The second reason was the formation in July 1751 of a rival Grand Lodge, The Most Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons according to the Ancient Constitutions ('The Antients').

2.5 Institutionalised Freemasonry – the Antients Grand Lodge

London had a substantial Irish population, and the Antients Grand Lodge was formed by Irishmen who had joined Freemasonry in Ireland but found that they could not practice it in London. The practical obstacle to them joining lodges in England was that the Moderns Grand Lodge, in the 1730s, had reversed the pillar words (secret words) in the first and second degrees to stop claims on its charity by non-masons pretending to be masons, but these changes also prevented Irish and Scottish masons gaining admission.¹⁰⁵ Some historians have argued that a further factor was the social exclusion of the Irish in Britain and, in the context of the Moderns Grand Lodge, that the Irish were considered of too low social standing to be admitted to lodges whose members were 'gentlemen masons'.¹⁰⁶ There is some

¹⁰³ Hamill, J., *The Craft. A History of English Freemasonry*, pp. 45-47.

¹⁰⁴ Hamill, J., *The Craft. A History of English Freemasonry*, p. 47.

¹⁰⁵ Redman, G., and Hamill, J., 'Still more of our Yesterdays', *Freemasonry Today*, <https://www.freemasonrytoday.com/ugle-sgc/ugle/speeches/still-more-of-our-yesterdays> [Accessed: 6 December 2019].

¹⁰⁶ Historians expressing this view include Berman, R. A., *The London Irish and the Antients Grand Lodge*, p. 104 and Péter, Róbert, 'The Mysteries of English Freemasonry: Janus-faced Masonic Ideology and Practice between 1696 and 1815', (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Szeged, 2006), pp. 136-137.

support for this view in that the noble Grand Masters of the Antients Grand Lodge were drawn from the Irish and Scottish peerages, and the Grand Lodges of Ireland and Scotland recognised the Antients Grand Lodge but refused to recognise the Moderns. The formation of a rival Grand Lodge, which was not rooted in the evolution of Freemasonry in England, by men who had not been made masons in England, had profound implications for Freemasonry's future development in England. These revolved around key differences between the Grand Lodges in the areas of membership, charity, and philosophy, which are examined below.

Berman's analysis of the Antients' membership between 1751 and 1755 shows that a substantial proportion were skilled and unskilled workers such as weavers, bricklayers, and tailors.¹⁰⁷ About a quarter of the membership was 'middling, semi-middling and skilled artisan' such as jewellers, goldsmiths, wine merchants and clockmakers. Professionals comprised 2 per cent, and 5 per cent were described as gentlemen, but Berman queries the accuracy of the description based on conflicts with other evidence, such as addresses.¹⁰⁸ Entries in the Antients membership registers illustrate the itinerancy and poverty faced by some of its members, such as an Alex Shand who was excluded for non-payment of dues on 12 January 1753 and a Jno Flinter who was recorded (undated) as 'Gone to Ireland'.¹⁰⁹ According to Hamill, over time the composition changed as English artisans, tradesmen and professionals predominated and brought their business skills with them into Freemasonry.¹¹⁰ It is not clear from the text as to whether Hamill was referring to the

¹⁰⁷ Berman, R. A., *The London Irish and the Antients Grand Lodge*, p. 116.

¹⁰⁸ Berman, R. A., *The London Irish and the Antients Grand Lodge*, pp. 114-115.

¹⁰⁹ QCA Masonic reprints Vol. 11, 'Early Records of the Grand Lodge of England according to the Old Institutions', pp. 34-35.

¹¹⁰ Hamill, J., *The Craft. A History of English Freemasonry*, p. 50.

Antients in London or in England but *Table 7* in Chapter 4 shows that the membership of the Antients in Worcestershire widened to include 24 per cent within industry and 16.8 per cent within the professions.

A further aspect of membership was the high incidence of Roman Catholics and Nonconformists. In Ireland, where 'one's political and economic rights depended on whether one was Anglican, Dissenter or a Roman Catholic', the non-denominational nature of Freemasonry was an attraction.¹¹¹ Mirala gives the example of a masonic lodge in Belfast marching in 1784 to a Roman Catholic 'mass-house', where the priest preached before them.¹¹² Laurence Dermott, who was secretary of the Antients Grand Lodge between 1752 and 1771 and, later, Deputy Grand Master, published the *Ahiman Rezon* in 1756 - the first constitutions of the Antients.¹¹³ Subscribers included five recognisably Jewish names, pointing to the inclusion within the membership of a further 'excluded group'.¹¹⁴ Révauger summarises the impact of the Antients Grand Lodge on Freemasonry in England as '[it] allowed a significant number of Irish immigrants ... to join lodges along with local artisans and men of lower extraction than members of the Moderns;' this, together with the inclusion of excluded religious groups, increased the appeal of Freemasonry in England.¹¹⁵

It took the Moderns Grand Lodge twelve years to establish an operative charity. In contrast, the Antients Grand Lodge, doubtless because of its members' social profile, addressed the topic of welfare as early as September 1752, when it was resolved

¹¹¹ Mirala, P., 'Masonic Sociability and its Limitations: the Case of Ireland' in Kelly, J. and Powell, M. J. (eds.) *Clubs and Societies in Eighteenth Century Ireland* (Dublin: 2010), p. 326.

¹¹² Mirala, P., 'Masonic Sociability and its Limitations: the Case of Ireland', p. 330.

¹¹³ Hamill, J., *The Craft. A History of English Freemasonry*, p. 50.

¹¹⁴ Adams, C., 'Ahiman Rezon', *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, Vol. 46 (1933), p. 245.

¹¹⁵ Révauger, C., *Anderson's Freemasonry: The True Daughter of the British Enlightenment*, p. 7.

that each sick member should receive 1d per week from every registered member in London and Westminster.¹¹⁶ A 'Charitable Fund for the relief of Indigent Free Masons' (also known as 'The Grand Fund') was set up in January 1753, to which each member in London contributed 4d per month. The following month saw rules established on the application of its funds. One stated that a lodge was responsible for supporting a brother for the first month and that it would be reimbursed from the Grand Fund in the following month 'up to 10s per week to a sick member and 7s per week to a member confined for debt'.¹¹⁷ The latter relief is a telling commentary not only on the social make-up of the membership, but also on the difficulties and uncertainties faced by small businesses in that era. The amounts of the relief described contrast with those of the Moderns, being considerably smaller and capped in amount to £5, except in unusual circumstances. It is also the case, as demonstrated by the examples given, that the Antients' charity was narrower in scope being concentrated on relieving sickness and injury.

If, as suggested above, there is a question mark over the extent to which Enlightenment ideals influenced members of Moderns Lodges outside the core leadership and its associates, there is little disagreement over the driving forces behind the Freemasonry of the Antients. In the view of Révauger: 'it reflects the estrangement of a large part of the population with the Enlightenment values which gave birth to modern Freemasonry'.¹¹⁸ Péter goes further and argues that the

¹¹⁶ QCA Masonic reprints Vol. 11, 'Early Records of the Grand Lodge of England according to the Old Institutions', 2 September 1752, p. 10.

¹¹⁷ QCA Masonic reprints Vol. 11, 'Early Records of the Grand Lodge of England according to the Old Institutions', 3 January 1753, p. 17 and 2 February 1753, p. 18.

¹¹⁸ Révauger, C., in Péter, R. and Révauger, C. (eds.) *British Freemasonry, 1717-1813: Institutions* (Vol 1) (New York: 2016), p. lxxi.

Antients were the 'popular representatives of the Irish Counter-Enlightenment'.¹¹⁹ Philosophically, the Antients were more conservative than the Moderns and looked to maintain closer links with the provisions of the *Old Charges*. There was a clear demarcation between the Grand Lodges around religion. The Moderns excluded atheists and libertines but otherwise was deist. In contrast the Antients were not 'to be induced to follow the arrogant professors of atheism or deism ...'¹²⁰ They kept closer ties with the Christianity of the *Old Charges* and included prayers in their ritual, including one which was openly Trinitarian.¹²¹ Moreover, they considered that the Royal Arch, a 'fourth degree' based on the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem, was 'the root, heart and marrow of masonry'; this degree had no equivalent in the Moderns Grand Lodge.¹²²

A hallmark of the Antients Grand Lodge was the practical utility with which it addressed the needs of its membership. Mutual aid would have been an important consideration for the itinerant Irish in London who had no roots in the area nor family to support them in times of hardship. It would have been equally attractive to the English artisans and middling classes who would have seen the merits of such support when state assistance was rudimentary. Membership certificates were issued to those in good standing, which Berman suggests would have been seen as testament to a member's moral probity and financial standing.¹²³ In addition, these acted as a passport, which entitled the bearer to financial support, and was a

¹¹⁹ Péter, R. *The Mysteries of English Freemasonry: Janus-faced Masonic Ideology and Practice between 1696 and 1815*, p. 138.

¹²⁰ Dermott, Laurence, *Ahiman Rezon*, (2nd Ed. 1764), p. 14.

¹²¹ Dermott, Laurence, *Ahiman Rezon*, (2nd Ed. 1764), p. 41.

¹²² Dermott, Laurence, *Ahiman Rezon*, (2nd Ed. 1764), pp. 42-46.

¹²³ Berman, R. A., *The London Irish and the Antients Grand Lodge*, pp. 121-122.

facilitator of visits to other lodges, which would have been important to Irishmen living in England. It has been estimated that, in the eighteenth century, English was not the first language for nearly half of the Irish and therefore the opportunity to converse in their native language would have been an attraction, particularly when they often found difficulty in gaining acceptance within the local community.¹²⁴

Lectures, when presented, were recitals or explanations of ceremonies rather than on science and engineering, or Enlightenment values. This undoubtedly differentiates Antients lodges from lodges attended by those at the head of the Moderns Grand Lodge. On the other hand, similar lectures were delivered at lodge meetings held by the Moderns lodges in Wolverhampton and Birmingham; for example, lectures on 'the first step in masonry' were given at meetings of St. Paul's in 1768 and 1780.¹²⁵

As shown in *Figure 3*, total lodge numbers increased from the six which met to form the Grand Lodge, to 131 in 1775, rising to 217 by 1800 and 260 at the date of Union in 1813.¹²⁶ The first two lodges recorded as meeting outside London were both established on 17 October 1753, and met in Bristol.¹²⁷ By 1775 sixty-two lodges were based in the English counties.

¹²⁴ Wrightson, K. 'Framing Early Modern England', in Wrightson, K., (ed.), *A Social History of England 1500-1750*, p. 13.

¹²⁵ MF - BE166(43) SAI (CD) – Minutes of St Paul's Lodge 4 July 1780 and 18 February 1768.

¹²⁶ Lane, J., *A Handy Book to the Study of the Engraved Lists* (London: 1889), Appendix II.

¹²⁷ Lane, J., *Masonic Records 1717-1894* (London: 1895), pp. 52-53.

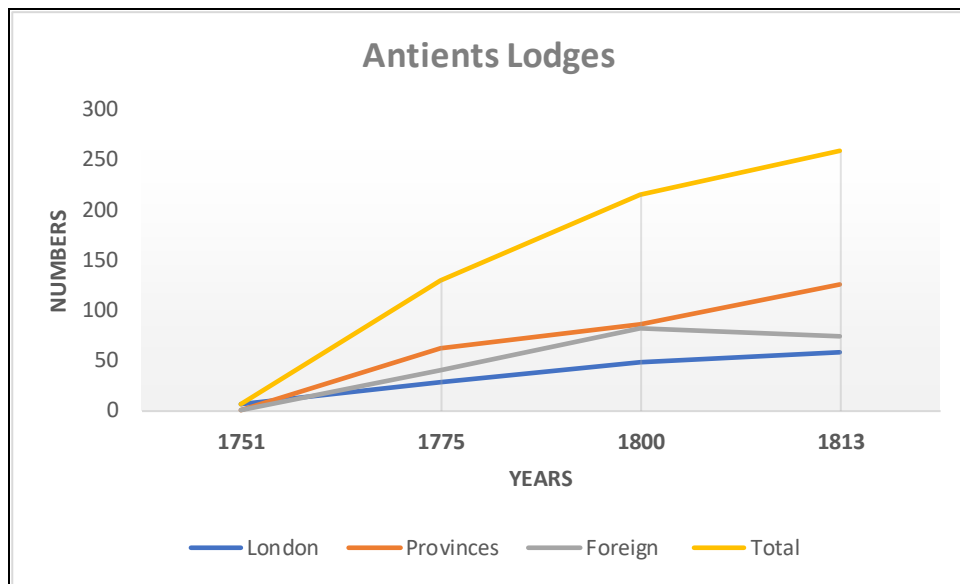


Figure 3: Chart of growth of Antients Lodges between 1751 and 1813.

In the early years, many were in ports and towns with a settled Irish population, such as Bristol and Liverpool. Gradually, representation spread into county towns such as Shrewsbury, Bath and Norwich. The Antients were particularly strong in industrial towns in the North and Midlands including Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Sheffield, Newcastle, Stockport and Macclesfield.¹²⁸ Worcestershire followed this pattern where, although the first lodge formed was in Worcester city in 1757, the majority were located in the industrial North in Bewdley (1763), Stourbridge (1767), Kidderminster (1772) and Dudley (1788).

2.6 Freemasonry in Worcestershire in context

This chapter has examined the nature and expansion of Freemasonry in England. However, growth was not uniform across the country so that, although Freemasonry was widely dispersed, the extent to which it was embedded within communities

¹²⁸ Lane, J., *Masonic Records 1717-1894* (London: 1895), pp. 34-208.

varied between counties. This section evaluates Freemasonry's presence in Worcestershire by comparing it with two neighbouring counties and national statistics.

A commonly used measure of embeddedness is the number of towns/cities in each county in which there is masonic representation. This is a rudimentary measure because the result is affected by the size of counties and the nature of their economic development, particularly the rate of urbanisation, while the strength of the masonic presence in terms of numbers of masons is not measured. Nevertheless, it does give a basic indication of masonic growth and community penetration. A national survey conducted in 1859 revealed wide variations, with some counties such as Hampshire and Cornwall having masonic presences in fifteen and fourteen towns, respectively, while Rutland had none.¹²⁹ *Table 3* reveals that nearly 44 per cent of the thirty-nine historic English counties had masonic representation in fewer than six towns. In 1850, the end date of this thesis, Freemasonry was represented in five Worcestershire towns while its larger neighbours of Warwickshire and Staffordshire had representation in eight and eleven towns, respectively.¹³⁰

An alternative measure of penetration is the number of lodges formed over a period. This approach identifies the ebbs and flows of Freemasonry which can be linked to, and used to identify, social and economic changes in a town or region.

¹²⁹ *The Freemasons' Monthly Magazine*, 9 March 1859, pp.440 – 441.

¹³⁰ Extracted from Lane's Masonic Records, version 1.0 www.hrionline.ac.uk/lane/ (Published by HRI Online Publications ISBN 978-0-955-7876-8-3). The numbers shown exclude military lodges which, by definition, moved when the regiment moved and therefore had less in common with the towns in which the regiments were based.

Counties	Towns with a lodge
4	1
4	2
4	3
2	4
3	5
5	6

Table 3: Counties and towns with 6 or less lodges in 1859¹³¹

Table 4 analyses lodges formed by town, and by Grand Lodge, in Worcestershire, Warwickshire and Staffordshire in the periods before and after the formation of UGLE. It reveals that, in Worcestershire, lodges had been formed in, or near to, the county's major conurbations. Up to 1813, there were lodges in the Northern industrial towns of Dudley, Kidderminster and Stourbridge, and Bewdley, the gateway to the Severn. In the remainder of the county there were lodges in Worcester and in the nail-making town of Bromsgrove which also drew members from the nearby spa and salt town of Droitwich. The needle-making town of Redditch, in the East, was an anomaly. Its masons travelled seven miles across the county border to attend

¹³¹ Table based on figures included in *The Freemasons' Monthly Magazine*, 9 March 1859, p.440.

	Up to 1813		1814 - 1850
Towns/County	Antients	Moderns	UGLE
Bewdley	1		
Bromsgrove		1	1
Dudley	1	1	
Evesham			1
Kidderminster	1		3
Stourbridge	1	2	1
Worcester	1	1	1
Worcestershire	5	5	7
Alcester		1	
Birmingham	4	5	2
Coventry	2	2	
Fazeley		1	
Henley in Arden		1	
Kenilworth		1	
Leamington			1
Nuneaton			1
Stratford on Avon		1	
Warwick		1	1
Warwickshire	6	13	5
Bilston			1
Burslem	1		2
Fazeley		1	
Handsworth		1	1
Hanley	1		
Leek			1
Lichfield	1	1	1
Longnor/Lane End	1	2	1
Newcastle u Lyme	3	1	
Stafford			2
Stoke	1		1
Tamworth		1	
Uttoxeter			1
Walsall			1
Wolverhampton	1	2	2
Staffordshire	9	9	14

Table 4: Lodges created by town and by Grand Lodge 1733 - 1850

a lodge in Alcester (Warwickshire). Two areas lacked a presence. One was the South-East, in and around Evesham and Pershore. A John Brown wrote to the Grand Secretary of the Moderns in December 1771 requesting information on the cost of a warrant and how to establish a lodge in Evesham. There is no record of a reply and the masons referred to in the letter did not proceed to form a lodge.¹³² The North-East comprised small villages and hamlets such as Kings Norton, Northfield and Yardley and was predominantly agricultural.¹³³ It was without representation because it lacked the population density to support a lodge, particularly given the difficult travelling conditions of the era.

In the UGLE era between 1814 and 1850 a lodge was established in Evesham which drew members from neighbouring Pershore, with lodge meetings held in both towns in 1826 and 1827. Other lodges formed in the period were in towns which previously had a masonic presence. The absence of lodges in the North-East was not addressed until late in the nineteenth century and the twentieth century. In 1911 Kings Norton, Northfield and Yardley were incorporated within Birmingham under the 'Greater Birmingham Extension Act', but they remained part of the masonic Province of Worcestershire.¹³⁴ Freemasonry flourished in these three locations, so much so, that by the end of the twentieth century nearly half of 'Worcestershire masons' were members of lodges which met in Birmingham.

¹³² MF – GBR 1991/HC7/1: letter dated 11 December 1771 from John Brown, Mercer, to Grand Secretary Heseltine.

¹³³ Willis-Bund, J. W., and Page, W., (eds.), 'A History of the County of Worcester' in *The Victoria History of the Counties of England – Worcester* (Vol. 3), (London: 1913), pp. 179–201.

¹³⁴ 1 & 2 Geo V c. 36 – Local Government Board Provisional Order Confirmation (No. 13) Act, 1911.

County	Males 20-74	Lodges	Lodge/Males Ratio
Worcestershire	66,326	7	1:9,475
Warwickshire	125,254	11	1:11,386
Staffordshire	166,045	11	1:15,095
Total/Average	357,625	29	1:12,332

Table 5: Lodge/males ratio in 1850

Table 5 uses data extracted from the 1851 Census to compute the accessibility of Freemasonry to its target population – namely, the ratio of lodges to the male population of each county aged between 20 and 74.¹³⁵ Worcestershire has the lowest ratio, indicating that Freemasonry in Worcestershire was more accessible than in the other two counties; this, in turn, is a function of demand, as a lodge is formed, and will continue to exist, only when there is a demand for one. *The Freemasons' Magazine* commented on the state of Freemasonry in Warwickshire in 1859, observing 'we consider this Province decidedly backward and it will require great exertions on the part of Bro. Lord Leigh [Provincial Grand Master] to bring it to a state of efficiency'.¹³⁶ These views are reinforced by the fact that, in the thirty-six years up to 1850, only five lodges were formed in Warwickshire (*Table 4*). Staffordshire's ratio is the lowest, indicating that it was the least accessible to Freemasonry. In the absence of published research into the factors affecting the development of Staffordshire Freemasonry, it is not possible to pass meaningful comment. However, a contributory factor may have been lodge retention. Of the lodges formed before

¹³⁵ Census of Great Britain, 1851: Population tables – Ages, civil conditions and birthplace of the people, Vol. I, (1854), p. 425; lodge numbers as at 1850 have been extracted from Lane's Masonic Records, version 1.0 www.hrionline.ac.uk/lane/.

¹³⁶ *The Freemasons' Monthly Magazine*, 9 July 1859, pp.5–8.

1814 only one remained in 1850, and several were short-lived, with two lasting only one year and another, three years. Similar circumstances prevailed between 1814 and 1850, where four lodges formed in that period had ceased to exist by 1850.

County	Males 20-74	Members	Member/Males Ratio
Worcestershire	66,326	252	1:263
Warwickshire	125,254	328	1:382
Staffordshire	166,045	234	1:710
Total/Average	357,625	814	1:439

Table: 6 Members/ Male population ratio for 1850¹³⁷

A snapshot of lodge membership in 1850 reinforces the strength of Freemasonry in Worcestershire relative to its neighbours. *Table 6* reveals that there was 1 subscribing Worcestershire mason for every 263 males in Worcestershire aged between 20 and 74. For Warwickshire and Staffordshire the corresponding ratios are significantly higher at 1:382 and 1:710 respectively.

As set out in *Appendix 6*, there was either no Provincial Grand Master of Worcestershire or, when one was appointed, he was not resident in Worcestershire, and made no contribution to its development. Similarly, there was no Provincial Grand Lodge (PGL) until 1847, and between then and 1850, its sole contribution was to hold three annual meetings. When making the case for establishing a PGL in Worcestershire, Roden stated:

¹³⁷ Worcestershire and Staffordshire for 1850 – figures extracted from Membership Registers of UGLE; Warwickshire for 1856 - figures extracted from *The Freemasons' Monthly Magazine*, 9 July 1859, p7; two lodges did not submit returns for that year so estimates based on previous years have been used.

Lodges could not be blind to the advantages which would accrue from the establishment of a Grand Lodge for they must all have noticed the fact that masonry flourished more rapidly and exclusively ... where Grand Lodges existed.¹³⁸

A converse view was put in *The Freemasons' Monthly Magazine* of October 1858, namely that a PGL was only for pomp and ceremony and served no useful purpose in promoting Freemasonry because 'the [Provincial] Grand Lodge is a mere annual fair for collars and aprons, and the Lodges are languishing'.¹³⁹

In summary, Freemasonry was represented in the major towns of Worcestershire throughout most of the period of the thesis. In 1850 there were seven lodges with an average membership of thirty-six masons per lodge, and the Province had the best ratio of masons to the male population, at 1:263, of the three neighbouring Provinces examined. Freemasonry's development in Worcestershire up to 1850 was achieved without any contribution from a Provincial Grand Master and, in its short life, the activities of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Worcestershire were undeniably confined to 'pomp and ceremony', as it performed no administrative function. Given its position relative to its two neighbours in 1850, both of which had Provincial Grand Masters and Provincial Grand Lodges for most of the period covered by the thesis, the evidence suggests that Freemasonry in Worcestershire was well rooted in the main urban

¹³⁸ Minutes of Royal Standard Lodge – Minutes of meeting held 12 February 1847.

¹³⁹ *The Freemasons' Monthly Magazine*, 1 October 1858, p. 50.

areas of the county and that it had not been materially disadvantaged by its inability to secure a Provincial Grand Master or Grand Lodge.¹⁴⁰

2.7 Observations and Conclusion

A question which awaits a definitive answer is why stonemasons in England mixed socially with others outside the trade and, in doing so, made them freemasons.

Knoop and Jones, Jacob, Stevenson, Harrison, Kebbell and Berman have all proposed theories and none has totally withstood the probing of Popperian falsifiability and testability.¹⁴¹ If Anderson is correct that some ancient manuscripts 'were too hastily burnt by some scrupulous brothers that those papers might not fall into strange hands', it may be that the evidence to provide an answer no longer exists.¹⁴² Nevertheless, Freemasonry did exist and this chapter has examined its evolution from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth century.

The first research question asks: 'In what ways was Freemasonry's national and provincial development between 1733 and 1850 impacted by continuity and change?' The constant throughout the period was the place of the *Old Charges*. Various copies exist but they all, *inter alia*, provide guidance on how a man should lead his life. Prior to the formation of the Grand Lodges the evidence suggests that they formed part of meetings dedicated to 'making a mason'. With the formation of the Moderns Grand

¹⁴⁰ Staffordshire dates its first Provincial Grand Master and Provincial Grand Lodge from 1791: <http://www.staffordshirefreemasons.org.uk/province.asp> [Accessed: 28 January 2019]; Warwickshire dates its first Provincial Grand Master and Provincial Grand Lodge from 1728: Russell, R. G., *Freemasonry in Warwickshire 1728-1978* (Birmingham: 1978), p.21.

¹⁴¹ Knoop, D. and Jones, G., *The Genesis of Freemasonry* (Manchester: 1947); Jacob, M., *The Origins of Freemasonry: Facts and Fictions* (USA: 2006); Stevenson, D., *The Origins of Freemasonry* (Cambridge: 2010); Harrison, D. 'The Masonic Enlightenment. Symbolism, Transition and Change in English Freemasonry during the Eighteenth Century', (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Liverpool, 2007); Kebbell, P., 'The Changing face of English Freemasonry 1640-1740' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Bristol, 2009).

¹⁴² Quatuor Coronati Lodge, *Anderson's Constitutions*, p. 111, (1738 Constitutions).

Lodge, Anderson drafted 'The Charges of a Free-Mason' which he stated were compiled from various copies of the *Old Charges* and similar documents. These Charges set out the qualities required of every man who joined Freemasonry in the period of the Grand Lodges and, by doing so, differentiated Freemasonry from other societies of the era.

Prescott has written that: 'Freemasonry is part of history, and like all institutions it changes in time. It is that process of constant flux and change that we must study.'¹⁴³ The approach advocated by Prescott has been followed in this chapter and, in response to the first research question, Freemasonry is revealed to be a social institution which evolved over time in response to changes in society and how men socialised. Crucially, the evolution brought about significant changes, so that the Freemasonry of the late seventeenth century was significantly different from that of the late eighteenth century. Irregular meetings held to make masons had made way to regular meetings held on specific days of the week; the eminent men were still there, but most of the membership was drawn from other social classes and, although not a 'mass movement', Freemasonry had spread to the cities and many of the towns in England.

The entry in Ashmole's diary of the meeting at Warrington records a new form of social intercourse whereby men of diverse occupations met in small groups to socialise outside the family. The meeting can be differentiated from others because the socialising had a specific purpose, namely the making of masons. Ashmole and Holme, who were both freemasons, provide an insider's view on how these meetings

¹⁴³ Prescott, A., 'The Old Charges Revisited', *Pietre-Stones Review of Freemasonry*, <http://www.freemasons-freemasonry.com/prescott07.html>, p. 8. [Accessed:4 August 2016].

revolved around socialising and how membership included an initiatory aspect and, most probably, use of the *Old Charges*. From Plot we learn that the attendees were drawn from the upper social classes, and later historical research has established that they included those drawn from the stonemason and building trades. The presence of these two trades was significant, as it was through them that the *Old Charges* and initiatory rituals of the stonemason craft were imparted to the non-masons present.

The late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries witnessed the advent of Clark's 'club culture' which initially saw regular club meetings taking place in coffee houses and hostelries and, later, a formalisation whereby associations gained constitutions, membership structures and specific aims. The 'institutionalisation' of Freemasonry during this period places it firmly within this context. It was also a period of increased public awareness of Freemasonry. *Divertissements* and newspaper reports indicate that the Freemasonry of private gatherings of men who knew each other had become more visible, and that Freemasonry was known to the readership.

The step-change in Freemasonry's evolution was the formation of the Moderns Grand Lodge in 1717; more particularly, how its development was shaped by a group, with no connection with the stonemasons' craft but which, instead was committed to Whig politics, the monarchy and the ideals of the Enlightenment. They engineered a Grand Lodge which reflected their Enlightenment ideals and gave it an administrative structure. Approximately thirty years later, the Antients Grand Lodge was created. It was born of rejection; the Moderns Grand Lodge had barred from membership those who were to join the Antients Grand Lodge and it, in turn, rejected the philosophical underpinning of the Moderns Grand Lodge. The result was competition between the two Grand Lodges, but the widened appeal benefited

Freemasonry, as both grew in membership, with the Antients more strongly represented in the North-west and industrialised areas and the Moderns having strong representation in the North, North-east, South-west and East Anglia.¹⁴⁴

Meetings of freemasons in the seventeenth century included members linked to the stonemasons' craft, whereas those held following the formation of the Grand Lodges could take place without any member of the stonemasons' craft being present. A consequence was that membership widened, both in terms of social class and occupation. The speed of change was remarkable. In the early 1700s the Old Lodge at York comprised solely those drawn from the upper social classes; by 1730, Moderns' membership lists included dealers, shopkeepers and artisan trades, who comprised 53 per cent of the total.¹⁴⁵ Membership of the Antients Grand Lodge contained few drawn from the upper echelons of society, with Clark estimating that 72.9 per cent came from artisanal and other trades.¹⁴⁶ So, while Desaguliers, Payne and their associates continued to reflect the social class of those who joined Freemasonry in London and in the North, Moderns and Antients lodges elsewhere in London, and in the provinces had acquired a much wider social base.

Prior to the formation of the two Grand Lodges, the *sine qua non* of meeting was to 'make a mason' but, following their formation, meetings were held without necessarily making a mason. The be-all and end-all of Freemasonry was no longer meeting friends in a social setting to make masons; the reasons for becoming a freemason had changed and attendance at meetings was motivated by other

¹⁴⁴ Clark, P., *British Clubs and Societies*, p. 314.

¹⁴⁵ Clark, P., *British Clubs and Societies*, p. 321.

¹⁴⁶ Clark, P., *British Clubs and Societies*, p. 322.

concerns. Socialising, and discussing Enlightenment themes would have been an attraction for Desaguliers and his associates. However, as illustrated in this chapter, other lodges had a different social composition, together with a different lodge business at their meetings. Outside of Freemasonry others were joining different societies with a range of objects including socialising, mutual aid, and self-help, philanthropic and cultural.

This leads naturally to the second research question, 'Why did men join Freemasonry?'

CHAPTER 3: FREEMASONRY AND ITS SOCIAL CAPITAL

3.1 Introduction

In 1903 Edward Conder mused:

But the most difficult question for the student is to find an answer to the following: - What induced men like Ashmole and others to be made Masons early in the seventeenth century? Was it for 'Cake and Ale?' Surely not. Was it for company sake? Perhaps; but then why so much mystery? It is certain that men like Dr. Plot, John Aubrey, Randle Holme, and Elias Ashmole were attracted to the subject for something more than what we find given at length in the MS. Constitutions.¹

The question posed by Conder is important. Freemasonry is a social institution and, if it had no members, it would not exist. As Conder himself hints the answer lies not in the structural aspects of Freemasonry, but in its relationship with its members.

Commenting upon this relationship Coney Turnbull concludes: 'Freemasonry ... is a network of small groups called lodges which provide an extensive social network of friends and strangers trusted as friends ... [which] can serve to increase social capital for its members, and for the society in which it exists.'² Building on Turnbull's view and Conder's question, this chapter seeks to answer research question 2: 'Why did men join Freemasonry?'

¹ Conder, E., 'Some Notes on the Legends of Masonry', *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, Vol. 15 (1903), p.15.

² Turnbull, C. R., 'Trust, Perceived Cohesion, Social Explanatory Styles in Canadian Freemasons' (MSc thesis, University of Liverpool, 2017), p. 11.

It does so by examining the nature of the social network that was Freemasonry, and how it created social capital for its members. There are four sections. Drawing on research by sociologists, the first defines the concept of 'social capital' and identifies its role in the decision-making processes of individuals when they consider whether, or not, to join a social institution such as Freemasonry. It examines the key attributes - the bonding and bridging ties - required of any organisation that is looking to possess social capital. The second section looks at those features of Freemasonry which combined to provide it with a social capital, sufficient to attract men to join and remain members of it. These features are compared with those of other contemporary societies in the third section, and the final section concludes on the findings of the research.

3.2 Social Capital

The term 'social capital' is an academic construct, which describes the process whereby individuals secure benefits by virtue of their membership of social groupings. Put simplistically: 'It's not what you know, but who you know'. According to Pierre Bourdieu, individuals look to social relationships to access resources, which they want or need, where they can identify that these needs are shared by and can be satisfied by those social groups and structures. The desired resources cover a broad spectrum ranging from the intangible such as friendship and status, to the practical such as acquiring knowledge and expertise, to the economic such as obtaining finance and business connections. Over time, through their membership, individuals themselves become embedded in the social structure and they, in turn, add to the collective social capital of the group. Bourdieu further observes that there

is a tendency for these relationships to become formalised within organisations.³ In the opinion of James Coleman, social capital is no different from any other form of capital, in that 'it makes possible the achievement of certain ends that, in its absence, would not be possible'.⁴ It can, however, be differentiated because its effectiveness lies not in the tangible, such as finance injected or machinery acquired, but in the relationships created between members of a group.⁵

Research has identified that the ability of an organisation to provide its members with social capital is dependent upon several factors. The first of these is trust. According to Coleman: 'a group within which there is extensive trust can accomplish much more than a comparable group without that trustworthiness ...'⁶ It plays a key role in any willingness to share knowledge, and in the context of economic transactions, it is essential. It is not static because, as members interact and get to know each other better, trust can increase, which acts to strengthen the social capital over time.⁷ Bourdieu considers that interactions based on trust increase respect, which, in turn, can lead to friendship and a stronger social capital within the group.⁸

A second aspect is the existence of a stable and reliable basis through which members can relate to each other. In dealing with this aspect, Ikeda refers to 'tacit knowledge' while Coleman introduces the concept of 'closure'.⁹ These are

³ Bourdieu, P., 'The Forms of Capital' in J.G. Richardson (ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (USA:1986), pp. 241-258.

⁴ Bourdieu, P., 'The Forms of Capital', p. 249.

⁵ Coleman, J., 'Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital', *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 94 (Supplement), p. S 98. [Supplement pages are referenced S1 etc].

⁶ Coleman, J., 'Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital', p. S101.

⁷ Ikeda, S., 'The Meaning of Social Capital as it relates to the Market Process', *The Review of Austrian Economics*, Vol. 21 (2), (2008/09), p. 172.

⁸ Bourdieu, P., 'The Forms of Capital', p. 249.

⁹ Coleman, J., 'Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital', p. S105; Ikeda, S., 'The Meaning of Social Capital as it relates to the Market Process', p. 171.

interconnected and, together, they facilitate some actions and restrain others. 'Tacit knowledge' is an understanding among members that there are sufficient ties between them to guarantee the observance of agreed and accepted norms. Sometimes these may be formalised in rules, but often they exist as unwritten understandings. 'Closure' is the penalty that a member may suffer from failing to observe the accepted norms. Coleman gives as an example the reduced likelihood of misfeasance amongst diamond traders in New York. That market is dominated by Jewish traders who work in a closed community, based upon religious and family ties, as well as the knowledge and trust gained from the frequency of transactions between them; if a trader were to breach the norms, he would risk ostracism and forfeit the ability to continue to trade with the other dealers.¹⁰

The final factor is an established and effective means to realise the benefits sought by members of the group. Rational choice theory postulates that individuals will act 'within given specific constraints and on the basis of the information which they have' to achieve the maximum benefit for themselves.¹¹ The key interactions whereby social capital enables benefits to accrue to individuals are those brought about by 'bonding ties' and 'bridging ties'. The former are connections between 'people like us'; namely, people of a similar background with shared values, such as families, co-religionists and good friends. These ties comprise a high degree of trust, tend to be protective and inward-looking and, because of the latter feature, can be

¹⁰ Coleman, J., 'Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital', pp. 98- 99.

¹¹ Kovalainen, A., 'Social Capital, Trust and Dependency' in S. M. Koniordos (ed.). *Networks, Trust: and Social capital: Theoretical and Empirical Investigations from Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate), pp. 71-88.

limiting.¹² 'Bridging ties' link people across divides such as class, religion, and even geographical distance. They complement bonding ties because they enable individuals to access resources and knowledge beyond the limits imposed by bonding ties.¹³ Rational choice theory points to individuals engaging in relationships only for so long as benefits persist and, in this context, Smith, Anderson and Moore see bridging ties playing a vital role, because 'for formal associations ... to survive, they must continually recruit and maintain members; that is, they must exist beyond specific [bonding] social networks.'¹⁴

3.3 Reasons for joining Freemasonry

In 1794 the Rev Jonathan Ashe summarised Freemasonry's social capital as:

Masonry is a moral science, calculated to bind men in ties of true friendship, to extend benevolence, and to promote virtue ... we learn to subdue passions, act upon the square, keep a tongue of good report, maintain secrecy, and practice charity ... It unites men of the most opposite religions, of the most distant countries, and of the most contradictory opinions, in one indissoluble bond of unfeigned affection, and binds them by the strongest ties to secrecy, morality

¹² Smith, J. W., Anderson, D. H. and Moore, R. L., 'Social Capital, Place Meanings and Perceived Resilience to Climate Change', *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 77 (3) (2012), p. 385.

¹³ Smith, J. W., Anderson, D. H. and Moore, R. L., 'Social Capital, Place Meanings and Perceived Resilience to Climate Change', p. 386.

¹⁴ Smith, J. W., Anderson, D. H. and Moore, R. L., 'Social Capital, Place Meanings and perceived resilience to Climate Change', p. 384.

and virtue. Thus, in every nation a Mason may find a friend, and in every clime he may find a home.¹⁵

What Ashe describes is an organisation with a universalist philosophy which looked beyond the contemporary religious and nationalist divisions visible in European countries of the period. It had a strong ethical bent, placing the onus on its members to be respectable, of sound morals and charitable in outlook. However, Freemasonry was a secretive organisation, and unless a man knew a freemason, he was unlikely to receive an invitation to join. Moreover, because of its secrecy, it was unlikely that he would have a comprehensive understanding of what he was about to join. In effect, therefore, his joining was based on trust: namely, he trusted his proposer's explanation of what membership entailed and, also, his proposer's judgement that he would find Freemasonry compatible with his likes and needs. Remaining a freemason depended upon the accuracy of the proposer's judgement and whether Freemasonry's social capital continued to meet personal needs.

The remainder of this section identifies and examines the key elements of Freemasonry's bonding and bridging ties and how they made it attractive for men to become and remain freemasons. These elements are considered under four groupings, namely: the mystical; the ideological; sociability; and member support. Quantifiable evidence is generally absent as to the extent to which each of these elements influenced decisions to join, but contemporary evidence exists revealing

¹⁵ Ashe, Rev, J., 'Sermon preached to The Royal Arch Lodge, Dublin, 17 December 1794', *The Scientific Magazine and the Freemasons' Repository*, (March 1797), p. 184.; Westby-Gibson, J., *Jonathan Ashe, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://doi-org.ezproxyd.bham.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/748> [Accessed 28 May 2019].

how individual masons viewed various aspects of Freemasonry, and reference is made to this where appropriate.

3.3.1 The Mystical

Freemasonry's ancient history, mystery, and secrecy – features strangely at odds to those associated with the enlightenment thinking which spanned the eighteenth century – was an attractive proposition for some. *Anderson's History* depicts Freemasonry as the scion of an ancient craft dating back to biblical times. This gave it a lineage which impressed a population for whom legends carried weight. Such a pedigree acted both as an attraction to membership, and a means of binding together those who were members. Two members who were attracted by the historical legend were Holme, who wrote, 'I cannot but Honor the Fellowship of the Masons because of its antiquity', and the natural philosopher William Stukeley, who commented that it was curiosity of this aspect that led him to be 'initiated into the mysteries of masonry, suspecting them to be the remains of the mysteries of the ancients.'¹⁶

The importance of secrecy is emphasised in the *Ahiman Rezon* which dedicates nearly ten pages to its need and merits, and references to secrecy and mystery were powerful tools in masonic literature from an early date.¹⁷ The 'Enter'd Prentices Song' alludes to the exclusivity of masonry's secrets:

The World is at pain

Our secrets to gain

¹⁶ Holme, R., *Academy of Armoury* Vol. 3 (Chester:1688), pp.88-96; Elliott, P. and Daniels, S., 'The School of True, Useful and Universal Science? Freemasonry, Natural Philosophy and Scientific Culture in eighteenth century England', *British Journal for the History of Science*, Vol. 39 (2) (2006), p. 222.

¹⁷ Dermott, Laurence, *Ahiman Rezon, or a help to all who are would be Free and Accepted Masons* (London: 2nd Edition 1764), pp. 1-10.

And still let them wonder and gaze on;

They ne'er can divine

The Word or the Sign

Of a free and accepted mason ¹⁸

A key element of Freemasonry's secrecy and esotericism was its initiation ceremony. Ceremonies and oaths were common among seventeenth and eighteenth-century societies; for example, the Tory Loyal Brotherhood had an initiation ceremony and a ritual which incorporated oaths and toasts.¹⁹ However, Freemasonry's claims of ancient origins and a ceremony linked to the distant past set it apart from others; so much so, that in Roberts's opinion, the ceremony and possession of secrets linking the society to the ancient stonemasons met emotional needs and added potency to the organisation.²⁰ Lionel Tiger argues that secrecy and initiation, together, provide 'an opportunity for male affiliation under conditions which are both predictable and satisfying'.²¹ The frequent references to initiations, mystery and secrecy in newspapers, and by commentators such as Plot, demonstrate that they were perceived as distinguishing features of Freemasonry. Importantly, through this widespread publication, they were known to exist and were in the public domain.

Mention has been made of the views of Holme and Stukeley as to the importance of mysticism and esotericism in attracting an individual to Freemasonry. A further indication may be found in the number of 'side orders' that were established and

¹⁸ Quatuor Coronati Lodge, *Anderson's Constitutions*, p. 84 (1723 Constitutions).

¹⁹ Allen, D., 'Political Clubs in Restoration London,' *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 19 (3) (1976), pp. 561-580; Handley, S. 'Political Clubs' <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/survey/appendix-xxi-political-clubs>.

²⁰ Roberts, J. M., *The Mythology of the Secret Societies*, p. 42.

²¹ Tiger, L., *Men in Groups* (London: 1970: revised 2007), pp. 130-131.

which also incorporated mysticism. Although not directly linked to Freemasonry, membership of these 'side orders' required an individual to be a freemason. There is evidence of the 'Orders of Knights Templar and Knights of Malta' being worked in England in 1777.²² The Templar Order is about a pilgrim who becomes a Christian knight after being entrusted with secrets and taking an oath, and the Malta Order tells the story of the Knights Hospitaller in their journey from Palestine to Malta. Leaders included the Dukes of Kent and Sussex in 1804 and 1813, respectively.²³ After 1850 further 'side orders' appeared, including the Order of the Red Cross of Constantine and Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia. Each of these looked backwards in a search for distant pasts and ancient secrets. Their existence lends credence to the view expressed by Roberts that mysticism and esotericism may have been attractive to those wanting to join Freemasonry; certainly, membership of Freemasonry seemed to inspire some members to further their interest in the mystical.

Freemasonry's secrets and values were imparted to its members through ritual. However, the ritual of the eighteenth century was very different to the ritual of the later decades of this study. In the eighteenth-century lodges met in a tavern around a table replete with wine, ale and pipes, with a supper provided later in the evening. The ritual consisted of catechetical lectures, toasts and song. After the ritual changes agreed by UGLE in 1816 the meeting became more formalised with the ritual separated from the social aspect, which was incorporated into a 'festive board'(meal) and toasts held after the ritual.²⁴ The revised ritual comprised three playlets around

²² Its full title is the United Religious, Military, and Masonic Orders of the Temple and of St. John of Jerusalem, Palestine, Rhodes and Malta, in England, Wales and Provinces Overseas.

²³ Hamill, J. *The Craft. A History of English Freemasonry*, p. 122.

²⁴ Hamill, J. *The Craft. A History of English Freemasonry*, pp. 80-81.

the relationship between the master and workmen involved in the building of King Solomon's temple. The tools of a stonemason, such as the square and plumb rule, allegorically conveyed the values of Freemasonry, which required a mason to embrace 'brotherly love, relief and truth', be law-abiding, good and true, believe in God, and observe the moral law.²⁵ The ritual had to be memorised and it was delivered by officers of the lodge who moved around the room and interacted with the candidate.

Examining the impact of ritual, Danny Kaplan is of the view that the secrecy surrounding it (it was not officially published until the mid-nineteenth century) was of itself a recruitment mechanism as it 'captures the curiosity of bystanders, sending them a message that they are missing out on something'.²⁶ Historians and sociologists have commented upon its bonding role among members. For Stevenson, the process proved to the candidate that he was worthy of his exclusive status while re-emphasising to existing members the privilege of that status. Tiger agrees that ritual reinforced selectivity and exclusivity but, in addition, in his opinion the initiation ceremony was an insurance of the 'fit' between the newcomer and the existing members of the group.²⁷ Referring to research which demonstrated that ritualised activities transform members' emotions into solidarity, enthusiasm and morality, Kaplan concludes that 'masonic rituals provide a central vehicle for forging [a] sense of cohesive fraternity'.²⁸ This view finds support from John, a mason, according to whom: 'The ritual is a friend ... It's a basic tool for connecting with one

²⁵ Quatuor Coronati Lodge, *Anderson's Constitutions, The Charges*, pp. 49 - 57, (1723 Constitutions).

²⁶ Kaplan, D., 'The Architecture of Collective Intimacy: Masonic Friendships as a Model for Collective Attachments', *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 116 (2014), p. 86.

²⁷ Tiger, L., *Men in Groups*, p.131.

²⁸ Kaplan, D., 'The Architecture of Collective Intimacy', p. 87.

another ... It helps, otherwise there would be no connection ...'²⁹ Commenting on the self-improvement derived by having to learn ritual and to deliver the same, another mason states:

We learned patience, conquest of our storming blood and our hurrying tongue. We got used to skills which were unthinkable without repetition, the knowledge of which will be helpful and useful and will save us through life, in many respects.³⁰

3.3.2 The Ideological

Social and economic change saw the growth of voluntary societies, with a gamut of objects, in late seventeenth and eighteenth-century England. Many were founded on socialising and made no pretence that anything else was on offer. The Blundering Club required its members to take an oath to behave 'contrary to truth and reason' while the Apollo Club had its rules in Latin, including this 'hair of the dog' advice: '*Si nocturna tibi noceat potatio vini. Hoc tu mane bibas iterum, et fuerit medicina*' (If an evening of wine does you in; more, the next morning, will be your medicine).³¹ For other societies socialising was secondary to more specific objects set out in their constitutions. The stated aim of the Garrick was 'the purpose of bringing together the patrons of the drama and its professors', and offering literary men a rendezvous.³²

²⁹ John, cited in Kaplan, D., 'The Architecture of Collective Intimacy', p. 87.

³⁰ A mason, cited in Kieser, A., 'From Freemasons to Industrious Patriots. Organising and Disciplining in eighteenth century Germany', *Organisation Studies*, Vol. 19 (1) (1998), p. 57.

³¹ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, March 1732, [Reprinted article from *Fog's Journal*, 11 March 1732]; Timbs, J., *Clubs and Club life in London from the Seventeenth-century until the present day* (London: 1872), p. 11.

³² Timbs, J., *Clubs and Club Life in London from the Seventeenth-Century until the Present Day*, p. 219.

The Reform Club and the Carlton had clearly stated political aims, and Christianity was promoted by religious societies such as SPCK which, in April 1699, resolved:

Whereas the growth of vice and immorality is great owing to gross ignorance of the principles of the Christian Religion, we ... agree to meet together ... [that] we may be able by due and lawful methods to promote Christian Knowledge.³³

Industrialisation and urbanisation lessened the bonds and support networks found in village communities and, because state provision was rudimentary, yet other societies sought to alleviate the hardships faced by the less fortunate in society. These included 'box clubs' and friendly societies which addressed such issues on a self-help basis. In the eighteenth century these were generally based in villages and towns, and members made small regular contributions to protect themselves against the consequences of unemployment due to injury or unemployment, to pay funeral costs, and to support widows and orphans. An example was the Castle Eden Friendly Society whose rules provided for payments in cases of sickness and infirmity, together with £5 to widows on the death of a member.³⁴ Early in the nineteenth-century, nation-wide 'affiliated orders' of friendly societies started to appear, including the Oddfellows and Foresters which, after the period of this thesis, grew to become an important source of help, particularly to the lower social classes.

A feature of both *Anderson's Constitutions* and the *Ahiman Rezon* is that little mention was made of the objects and nature of Freemasonry itself. Instead, the

³³ Allen, W. O. B. and McClure, E., I., *Two Hundred Years: The History of the SPCK* (London: 1898), p. 29.

³⁴ Castle Eden Friendly Society, *Rules and Regulations of the Castle Eden Friendly Society* (London: 1798), p. 26.

emphasis was on the personal standards expected of individual freemasons. In both publications the *Charges* dealt with this and, summarising the *Charges* of the 1738 *Constitutions*, which are replicated in the *Ahiman Rezon*, a freemason was required to obey the moral law, be a peaceable subject and not to plot against the State. Masons had to be of good report and behave courteously inside and outside the lodge. Within the lodge, they were not to bring personal piques and quarrels and they had to refrain from discussing religion and politics. A mason had a duty to relieve another mason in need of help. Outside the lodge a mason was expected to be a good family man, a good neighbour and respectful of others.³⁵

The preceding requirements point towards an expectation that freemasons, irrespective of their social class, were to be respectable members of society. Both *Anderson's Constitutions* and the *Ahiman Rezon* were published, and therefore the standards expected of masons were publicly known. Also known to the public, from articles in the Press and public processions, was that membership included the respectable classes including the aristocracy, the gentry and the clergy. Reinforcing the importance of this aspect of membership, the *Ahiman Rezon* urged Antient freemasons to ensure they had 'a thorough knowledge of the character and circumstance' of every candidate they wished to introduce so as to avoid 'the miserable wretches of low life ... some of whom can neither read nor write' becoming members.³⁶ In similar vein, in a paper delivered to a Moderns Lodge in 1728, John Oakley exhorted its members not to propose for membership 'persons illiterate and of

³⁵ Quatuor Coronati Lodge, *Anderson's Constitutions (1738 constitutions)*, summary formulated from *The Charges*, pp.143-149.

³⁶ Dermott, Laurence, *Ahiman Rezon* (2nd Ed. 1764), pp.18-19.

mean capacities; and especially beware of such who desire admittance with a selfish view of gain to themselves'.³⁷

The perception thus created of a society with high standards and a membership of quality, formed an important aspect of Freemasonry's social capital. It was an effective 'recruiting sergeant' in an era when 'respectability' was something to be aspired to. Part of the social capital of single-issue societies was the belief among members that, by bonding together with like-minded people, they could achieve a common goal. In contrast, for freemasons, that membership consisted of those who were respectable and honourable was, per se, important. These were men who would look after each other and their families in times of need or, if in business, would honour the terms of a contract – an aspect of particular importance in an era when the law of contract was less developed than in present times. These values impacted on the perception of freemasons within society so that, as considered in *Chapter 8*, it led to freemasons being considered for positions of trust, such as trustees of charities.

The first Charge in *Anderson's Constitutions*, entitled 'Concerning God and religion', required masons not to be atheists or libertines but to:

oblige them [selves] to that religion in which all men agree, leaving their particular opinions to themselves; that is to be Good men and true, or men of Honour and Honesty, by whatever denominations or persuasions they may be distinguished; whereby Masonry becomes the center (sic) of the union and the

³⁷ Oakley, E., 'A Speech delivered to the Worshipful Society of Free and Accepted Masons at a lodge held at the Carpenters' Arms etc', in Creak, B. and Cole, B., *The Antient Constitutions of the Free and Accepted Masons neatly engraved on Copper Plates* (London: Creak and Cole, 1731). pp. 28-29.

means of conciliating true friendship among persons that must have remained at a perpetual distance ...³⁸

Although the reference to God in the title limited membership to monotheists it did not, in practice, act as a barrier because the main religious groups at the time believed in one God. The equivalent charge in the *Ahiman Rezon* is the revised first charge included in the 1738 edition of *Anderson's Constitutions*. It includes references to the Old Testament whereby 'all [masons] agree in the 3 great Articles of Noah, enough to preserve the cement of the lodge'.³⁹ It is Stevenson's view that the reference to Noah provided a basis to the moral law, thereby making the Charge more acceptable to those Christians who had reservations about the 1723 wording and membership of Jews.⁴⁰

The latitudinarian wording of the Charge gave Freemasonry an inclusivity, which made it attractive to those who were not Christian and to members of Christian denominations which suffered discrimination because of the protected position of the Church of England. A measure of this inclusivity is its condemnation by those who disapproved, as revealed in a letter to a newspaper, stating: '... they not only admit Turks, Jews, Infidels, but even Jacobites, Non-jurors and Papists'.⁴¹ In North Worcestershire dissenting denominations were strongly represented in Dudley, Kidderminster and Stourbridge. They are reflected in the lodge membership of those towns, with several members holding influential positions within Nonconformist

³⁸ Quatuor Coronati Lodge, *Anderson's Constitutions*, p. 50 (1723 Constitutions).

³⁹ Quatuor Coronati Lodge, *Anderson's Constitutions, The Charges*, pp.143-144 (1738 Constitutions).

⁴⁰ Stevenson, D., 'James Anderson: Man & Mason', in (eds.) Weisberger, R. W., McLeod, W. and Morris, S. B., *Freemasonry on both sides of the Atlantic: Essays concerning the Craft in the British Isles, Europe, the United States and Mexico* (Boulder: 2002), p. 227.

⁴¹ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, April, 1737 [Reprinted article from *The Craftsman*, 16 April 1737].

churches.⁴² The carpet and weaving trades in Kidderminster attracted Catholic Irish immigrants to work in the area and several with recognisably Irish names became members of Hope and Charity Lodge. On the other hand, although Freemasonry offered an open door to all religions, uptake in some instances was constrained because of the stance taken by the religious hierarchy. Amongst some Nonconformist groups Freemasonry was seen as heretical and the Roman Catholic Church issued various injunctions, culminating in 1884 when membership was considered a grave sin punishable by excommunication.

The attractions of inclusivity to 'excluded groups', and their willingness to take advantage of them when an opportunity presented, is well described by Voltaire:

Take a view of the Royal Exchange in London ... There the Jew, the Mahometan, and the Christian transact together, as though they all professed the same religion and give the name of infidel to none but bankrupts. There the Presbyterian confides in the Anabaptist, and the Churchman depends on the Quaker's word. At the breaking up of this pacific and free assembly, some withdraw to the synagogue, and others to take a glass. This man goes and is baptized in a great tub, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost: that man has his son's foreskin cut off ... Others retire to their churches, and there wait for the inspiration of heaven with their hats on, and all are satisfied. ⁴³

⁴² Rollason, A. A., *The Old Non-Parochial Registers of Dudley* (Dudley: 1899), pp. 32-36; Bate Philips Penn of Freedom Lodge was a trustee of the Independent Chapel, King Street, Dudley; Joseph Pitchfork of Harmonic Lodge was a trustee of the Unitarian Chapel in Dudley.

⁴³ De Voltaire, François-Marie, *Letters concerning the English Nation* (London: 1733), p. 44.

Business networks based on religion are known to have existed among Quakers, Nonconformists and Jews but, by definition, these were closed and difficult to access. The example of the Royal Exchange demonstrates that, given the right circumstances, businessmen could work together outside of networks based on religion. The extent to which Freemasonry's inclusivity enabled it, also, to act as a business network is considered further in *Chapter 7*.

3.3.3 Sociability

Socialising brings people together, and it was important in Freemasonry throughout its evolution, from the private dining of Ashmole to the lodge suppers of the eighteenth century held in taverns and public houses. At the meal men could talk, socialise, bond together and enjoy each other's company. Robison suggested that the sociability of English lodges was not replicated on the Continent. In England the supper was 'a pretext for passing an hour or two in a sort of decent conviviality, not altogether void of rational occupation'. Whereas, on the Continent, it was to be avoided lest it 'excite in me some of that fanaticism or, at least, enthusiasm, that I saw in others and perceived to be void of any rational support'.⁴⁴ Lodge membership offered only one form of conviviality amongst many in London, but in provincial towns, where the variety of clubs was smaller, it seems to have been of greater significance. In Worcestershire, of the six lodges formed before 1780, only one was in Worcester city (which was short-lived) with the others in the smaller towns of Bewdley, Stourbridge and Kidderminster.

⁴⁴ Robison, J. *Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe*, pp. 2-3.

Socialising was also a bridging tie. Masons visited other lodges, and some were members of more than one lodge, both of which increased the opportunity to socialise outside the circle of the local lodge. Visits made by Worcestershire masons to lodges in Warwickshire and Staffordshire include Stourbridge masons visiting Lodge 77 in Wolverhampton and St. Paul's Lodge in Birmingham, while in June 1785 members of Harmonic Lodge, Dudley, attended a joint meeting at St Paul's along with members of the Wolverhampton Lodge 77.⁴⁵ The popularity of, and closeness brought about by, visiting lodges is well exemplified in a letter from the Worshipful Master of Noah's Ark Lodge, Bilston, to Harmonic Lodge in which he invites all the brethren of the lodge to dine at their meeting on 14 September 1831.⁴⁶ Most visitors to Worcestershire lodges were from nearby lodges but some came from further afield, including from abroad, as in July 1828 when Harmonic Lodge was visited by Bro. Evans from London and Bros. Woolley and Ryley (? Riley) from Paris.⁴⁷

Membership of more than one lodge, of which only 64 instances were identified, mostly occurred when a mason was a member of both lodges in the same town. However, in addition, there is evidence of linking business with pleasure. Montague Alex, an itinerant dentist based in Cheltenham, visited patients in Kidderminster, when the dates of his visits coincided with those of lodge meetings in the town.⁴⁸ Towards the end of the period under review, lodges gained as members 'commercial travellers' whose residences were outside Worcestershire, in London, Glasgow and

⁴⁵ MF - BE166(43) SAI (CD) – Minutes of St. Paul's Lodge 27 December 1768; Minutes of Lodge 77 Wolverhampton, 24 June 1769 and 17 May 1785.

⁴⁶ Harmonic Lodge minutes dated 6 September 1831.

⁴⁷ Harmonic Lodge minutes dated 1 July 1828; Evans from Lodge 6 – Friendship and Woolley/Ryley from Lodge 58, Paris.

⁴⁸ Montague Alex was a member of Royal Union Lodge 307 in Cheltenham and Royal Standard Lodge 730 in Kidderminster.

Doncaster. The attraction of lodges to itinerant businessmen is emphasised by Burt who observes that, after the period covered by this thesis when commercial travellers became more numerous, single-occupation lodges of commercial travellers sprang up in major commercial centres, including Birmingham.⁴⁹

Masonic socialising also occurred in the public space, causing Money to comment that 'despite the veil which shrouded its internal proceedings, the Craft's most significant feature was not its secrecy but the openness with which it proclaimed its possession of a secret'.⁵⁰ Parading was an intrinsic part of Freemasonry, particularly on the two St John's days. The minutes of Lodge 77 describe the parade in June 1769 as follows:

About 11 o'clock the procession set out from Lodge 77... when the Bro. Rev James Marsh and Bro. Rev John Downing preceded by Bro. Blakemore ... followed by the following Bros processed to the Chapel of St John where they were received by the Rt. Hon. Worshipful Master of Lodge 77, Lord Dudley and Ward. The service was ... distinctly and decently read by Rev. Bro. Downing and a most excellent sermon preached by the Rev. Bro Marsh ... After the sermon the procession was as before with the Rt. Hon. Worshipful Master in his chariot, from the Chapel thro' innumerable spectators who behaved decently ... to the Swan Inn, preceded by a band of music ...⁵¹

⁴⁹ Burt, R., *Miners, Mariners and Masons: The Global Network of Victorian Freemasonry* (Exeter: 2020), p. 127.

⁵⁰ Money, J., *Experience and Identity: Birmingham and the West Midlands 1760-1800* (Manchester: 1977), p. 139.

⁵¹ Minutes of Lodge 77 dated 24 June 1769.

Often the parades were combined with civic events, as when the masons of Kidderminster marched from the town hall to the church along with the clergy, the Corporation and other dignitaries, to celebrate the Coronation of William IV.⁵² Sometimes parades were linked to purely masonic events such as the funeral of a brother or the consecration of a new lodge. The minutes of Lodge 77 record the consecration of Harmonic Lodge in Dudley:

In consequence of the invitation received from the Harmonic Lodge ... our Worshipful Master with his proper officers and most of the other members attended the Installation and procession to church, where a most excellent sermon was preached by Rev. Bro. Hodgetts the new installed master ...⁵³

In a society which was conscious of rank and social status, membership of Freemasonry 'was a sign of a certain degree of respectability, something to aspire to for groups seeking a higher position in society'.⁵⁴ Parading, in particular, allowed masons to demonstrate their 'status'; the grocer and innkeeper in Lodge 77 would be seen to be associating with the Clergy, professionals and lesser gentry who, in turn, would be seen to be in the company of some of the most influential people in the county such as the Lord Dudley and Ward and Sir John Wrottesley, Bt. In the words of a contemporary, masonry is 'no small advantage to a man who would rise in the world, and one of the principal reasons why I would be a mason'.⁵⁵

⁵² *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, Issue 6715, 22 September 1831, p. 3.

⁵³ Lodge 77 Wolverhampton Minutes – note to Minutes of meeting held 3 December 1784.

⁵⁴ Mirala, P., *Freemasonry in Ulster, 1733-1813*, p.103.

⁵⁵ Dodd, A., *The Freemason's Accusation and Defence: in six Genuine Letters* (London: 1726), letter 4, p. 23.

3.3.4 Member support

At a time when state aid under the Poor Law was rudimentary, for some masons access to financial support through brotherly benevolence was a consideration. Mutual aid was both a bridging and bonding tie, which crossed social classes. At the heart of Freemasonry, it was recognised that:

men, in whatever situation they are placed are still, in a great measure, the same. They are exposed to similar dangers and misfortunes ... All of the human species are, therefore, proper objects for the exercise of charity.⁵⁶

Institutional relief of freemasons came from Grand Lodges, Provincial Grand Lodges and lodges. Reference has been made earlier to the Grand Charities set up by the two Grand Lodges in London. After their union to form UGLE, it continued to provide help to masons from the combined charitable funds. A Worcestershire mason benefited when Faithful Lodge petitioned UGLE on behalf of a brother who was a weaver in the carpet industry, and who had lost a limb in an industrial accident.⁵⁷ The Grand Lodges set up further charities which extended relief beyond the member to his family. The Moderns set up the Institution for Girls in 1788 which ran a school for daughters of indigent and deceased freemasons. The Antients set up a charity for boys in 1798, which did not run a school, but made grants to deserving cases. The Moderns set up a similar charity in 1808 and in 1817 the two merged to form what became the

⁵⁶ Preston, W., *Illustrations of Freemasonry* (London: 1812), pp. 17-18.

⁵⁷ LMF: GBR 1991 HC1/ - to HC8/ - letter dated 20/12/1819 to UGLE from Bro. Skeats of Faithful Lodge.

Royal Masonic Institution for Boys. Entry to the girls' school and grants from the boys' charities were obtained by way of petition by the lodge of the deceased or indigent mason.⁵⁸

As noted in *Appendix 6*, Worcestershire did not have a Provincial Grand Lodge until 1847 and, because there was no Provincial Charity in the period of the thesis, the existence of provincial relief would not have been a factor in any decision to join or remain in Freemasonry in Worcestershire. The local masonic Provinces of Warwickshire and Staffordshire likewise did not have provincial charities until after 1850. Where provinces did have charitable funds, these were used to augment the aid given by local lodges.

Lodges administered much of the relief locally and their records evidence the unpredictability of life referred to by Preston. Some lodges raised funds by way of a levy on members, while others were more formalised and established a benevolent society to dispense grants. Because amounts raised were limited to the funds contributed by the members, lodges were unable to commit to long-term funding and, therefore, grants tended to be 'one-offs' in nature. An example of the aid given involves a member of Harmonic Lodge who was a businessman in the print trade, who had nearly 'been brought to the brink of ruin'.⁵⁹ He received £10 from the lodge together with the proceeds of a collection held on a lodge night. Another example demonstrates how assistance stretched beyond the member, to his wife and children, and beyond

⁵⁸ Royal Masonic Trust for Girls and Boys - <http://www.rmtgb.org/aboutus/history> [Accessed 12 May 2020]

⁵⁹ Harmonic Lodge, Dudley, Minutes dated 7/9/1841.

the grave, to his widow. Bro. Stuart had acted as Worshipful Master of Lodge 77 in Wolverhampton on several occasions, and on his death, the lodge aided the widow and then petitioned the Moderns Grand Charity on the grounds that 'the unfortunate widow and children merit[ing] the generous assistance of the benevolent and humane'.⁶⁰

In addition to relieving members, lodges extended help to other masons in need. In practice this was also extended to a mason's family. This facility would have been attractive to those masons who travelled outwith their local area for work and other reasons. By definition, these masons were removed from family and the availability of alternative support would have been of considerable assistance in an era of little state support.

3.3.5 Anti-masonic influences

The preceding sub-sections of this chapter have sought to identify what attracted men to Freemasonry. However, as a novel and secretive organisation, what was seen by some as an attraction of membership, was seen as by others as undesirable. Consequently, Freemasonry was the subject of attack from several quarters. There were several exposures of masonic practices, including those that purported to reveal its secrets. The first of significance was Samuel Prichard's *Masonry Dissected* (1730). Published with a hostile intent, it has been suggested that, in practice, it and others like it, were used by masons as *aides memoire*, because ritual was not officially published until the nineteenth century.⁶¹ Similar

⁶⁰ Minutes of Lodge 77, Wolverhampton, 12 June 1780.

⁶¹ Gilbert, R. A., 'Freemasonry and Literature' in *Handbook of Freemasonry*, in Bogdan, H. and Snoek, J.A.M. (eds.), *Handbook of Freemasonry*, pp. 525 – 526.

exposures were found in newspapers as when, in 1724, a 'Gentleman' supplied the wording of a ceremony which he claimed to have overheard in a tavern.⁶² In 1770, a Mrs Bell claimed to have spied upon a military lodge and 'knowing herself to be the first woman in the world that ever found out that Secret is willing to make it known to all her sex' – by applying to an advert she placed in a newspaper. In the context of Worcestershire, a review of the main newspapers of the era, *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* and Worcester's *Berrows Journal*, has revealed references to Freemasonry in the context of meetings, processions and funerals. However, no articles or cartoons critical of the organisation were identified.

Others satirised Freemasonry – both in writing and by way of cartoon. William Hogarth, who was a freemason, produced several cartoons ridiculing Freemasonry, such as a procession of Gormagons which literally aped the Freemasons by including an ape and a donkey.⁶³ His cartoon, *Night*, ridiculed the drunkenness associated with some festive boards. An anonymous pamphlet published in 1724, *The Grand Mystery of the Free Masons Discover'd*, purported to contain details of the ritual and secrets. In response Jonathan Swift wrote a comical answer which, *inter alia*, claimed to show that the secret words were linked to the Hebrew alphabet.⁶⁴ Yet others mocked the practice of freemasons to process publicly in their regalia. One which had a modicum of success was the procession of the 'Scald Miserables' in 1741 in the Strand, where people riding jackasses and bearing cows

⁶² *Stamford Mercury*, 2 January 1724; *The Newcastle Weekly Courant*, 4 January 1770.

⁶³ *The Mystery of Masonry brought to light by the Gormagons..*

⁶⁴ Sadler, H., *Masonic Reprints and Revelations*, 'A Letter from the Grand Mistress of the Female Free-Masons, to Mr. Harding the Printer' (London: 1898), pp. 367-381.

horns mocked the processions of freemasons on Feast Days. Some years later, in 1747, Grand Lodge took the decision to cease such parades.

In 1738 the Roman Catholic Church issued *In eminenti apostolatus specula* which banned Roman Catholics from becoming freemasons. Despite the ban, Roman Catholics served as Grand Masters of both the Antients and Moderns Grand Lodges, and research for this thesis has identified at least one who was a member of a Worcestershire lodge. In Ireland, Mirala is of the view that restrictions on the forms of sociability available to Catholics increased the importance of Freemasonry to them.⁶⁵

The final decade of the eighteenth century saw governments in Europe alarmed by possible conspiracies to topple governments and monarchies. In Britain all secret societies, such as the avowedly republican United Irishmen, were viewed with suspicion; as was Freemasonry of whom a leading critic was John Robison.⁶⁶ A bill was introduced in 1799 which banned the United Irishmen by name, along with every other society which required members to take any secret oath. After representations by both the Antients and Moderns Grand Lodges, freemasons were exempted from the provisions of the Act provided that an annual declaration of the number and names of members was sworn before a J. P.

In summary, although Freemasonry was subject to criticism in various forms, it continued to grow both nationally and in Worcestershire. It can be concluded, therefore, that exposure to adverse commentary did not materially affect its appeal or image as an organisation in Worcestershire in the period under review.

⁶⁵ Mirala, P., 'Masonic Sociability and its Limitations: the Case of Ireland', p. 327.

⁶⁶ Robison, J. *Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe carried on in the secret meeting of Free Masons ...* (London: 1798),

3.4 Comparable societies

Section 3.3 has examined the constituent parts of Freemasonry's social capital together with the views of historians, sociologists, and importantly, individual freemasons, as to why they considered it sufficiently appealing to attract and retain members. This section compares Freemasonry with other contemporary societies to assess how its social capital compared with that on offer elsewhere.

3.4.1 The Mystical

Other societies in the eighteenth century claimed historic roots, engaged in ritual, and held initiatory ceremonies. The Gormogons, purported to have arrived in England through the efforts of a Chinese mandarin and the Noble Order of Bucks purported to be descended from Nimrod in ancient Babylon.⁶⁷ The Oddfellows of the eighteenth century was first and foremost a convivial society, which made little of historical legend, but its members dressed up, took oaths, proposed toasts and performed ritual.

Despite the similarities, these societies differed from Freemasonry in several respects. Most only had one branch so that the membership was less, and when a member moved out of area, connection with the society was lost.⁶⁸ Possibly linked to the fact that most were single units, many were short lived, so that the Khaibarites lasted only fourteen years between 1724 and 1738.⁶⁹ A limited number had more than one branch such as the Bucks, which had about a dozen clubs in London and

⁶⁷ Rylands, W. H., 'A Forgotten Rival of Masonry: The Noble Order of Bucks', *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, Vol.3 (1890), pp. 140 – 162.

⁶⁸ *The Morning Chronicle*, 'Guildhall Sessions', 18 November 1801; *New Lloyds Evening Post*, 14 May 1800.

⁶⁹ Rylands, W. H., 'A Forgotten Rival of Masonry', p. 141.

five in the provinces, and the United Order of Oddfellows which claimed 39 clubs in London and several in provincial towns.⁷⁰ The evidence therefore suggests that, in the eighteenth century, although various societies used the appeal of the mystical, Freemasonry was the largest, most organised and of the greatest longevity. Moreover, its secrecy and ritual attracted the most interest, with it being commented upon in the press, satirised and various claims being made, such as in *Masonry Dissected*, to publish its 'authentic ritual'.⁷¹

In the eighteenth-century Friendly Societies and 'box clubs' were self-help organisations designed to help members in times of poverty and distress.⁷² However, following the enactment of the Friendly Societies Act of 1793, a new breed of Friendly Societies, termed 'affiliated orders', started to appear.⁷³ They were larger, with branches spread across the country. Several started in the industrialised north of the country, such as the Oddfellows (1810) and Rechabites (1835) in Manchester, and the Foresters (1834) in Leeds. They continued to provide benefits to members on a self-help basis, but their *modus operandi* differed. Many had a legend; the Rechabites were named after the eponymous biblical tribe, and the Foresters claimed a lineage from the Royal Foresters. As with Freemasonry, these legends indicated to members that they were part of a long tradition. They also had secrets, ritual, initiation ceremonies, and peculiar modes of dress. These were adopted for the

⁷⁰ Ismay, P., *Trust and Strangers*, p. 126.

⁷¹ Pritchard, S., *Masonry Dissected: Being a Universal and Genuine Description of all its branches from the original to this Present Time* (London: 1730).

⁷² Wallace, E. K., 'The Needs of Strangers: Friendly Societies and Insurance Societies in late Eighteenth-century England', *Eighteenth Century Life* Vol. 24 (3) (2000), p. 54.

⁷³ *An Act for the Encouragement and Relief of Friendly Societies 1793* (33 Geo III, c.54).

same reasons they were present in Freemasonry; namely, they created an impression of solidarity and community, and helped to bind members together.

Nationally, Freemasonry and the affiliated orders coexisted in the three decades leading up to 1850. The affiliated orders therefore did not exist for most of the period under review in this study. Looking at the two largest affiliated orders in the context of Worcestershire, the Foresters had only two courts (lodges) in 1850 with a combined membership of 55.⁷⁴ In 1856 the Oddfellows (Manchester Unity) had 3675 members in Worcestershire, equating to c. 5 per cent of adult males aged 20-74 in the 1851 Census.⁷⁵ However, the membership is overstated as the Stourbridge and Dudley Districts included several lodges that were based in Staffordshire, and 59 per cent of the membership was in the industrial towns of Stourbridge and Dudley. The low numbers of Foresters and the restricted geographical membership of the Odd Fellows suggests that affiliated orders were not, in this period, deeply rooted in Worcestershire as a whole.

3.4.2 The Ideological

Freemasons, irrespective of their social class, were expected to strive to be respectable members of society. Various aspects of this desired respectability were addressed by other organisations in the eighteenth-century. Churches and the Society for Propagating the Gospel advanced the case for morality in society; various Loyalist Associations promoted loyalty to the monarch and the state; and numerous,

⁷⁴ Neison, F.G.P., 'Some Statistics of the Affiliated Orders of Friendly Societies (Odd Fellows and Foresters)', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* Vol. 40 (1) (1877), p. 64.

⁷⁵ *A list of Lodges composing the Independent Order of Odd-Fellows (Manchester Unity Friendly Society)* (Manchester: 1856), p. 228; Census of Great Britain, 1851: Population tables – Ages, civil conditions and birthplace of the people, Vol. I, (1854), p. 425.

often local, societies endeavoured to help the disadvantaged and poor. But, until early in the nineteenth century and the advent of the affiliated orders, while many societies had the aim of improving various aspects of society, Freemasonry was unique in advocating the need for its members to lead the life of a 'respectable man'.

An early edition of the *Oddfellows Magazine* stated that 'The Order of Oddfellows was originally initiated on Masonic principles, the object of which is to cement more firmly the bonds of social feeling and sympathetic intercourse between man and man'.⁷⁶ This mirroring of Freemasonry by the Oddfellows, and other affiliated societies, can be found in their governing deeds, ritual and lectures.⁷⁷ The Foresters aimed to 'provide against the common misfortune of humanity and ... to aid every kindly effort to promote the well-being of the weak and distressed'; while, for the Buffaloes 'life has no pleasure higher or nobler than Friendship ... [and man] is strong to do good, strong to resist evil'.⁷⁸

However, there were differences. A Friendly Society member could only participate in these wider aims to better himself and society, if he had first subscribed to fund benefits to relieve himself and his family. There was no such linkage in Freemasonry. Membership of Freemasonry was by invitation, and it is reasonable to assume that a proposer and seconder were satisfied that their candidate was predisposed to bettering himself for the good of society at large. Membership of the affiliated orders was by application. It is arguable that there was a disconnect

⁷⁶ *Oddfellows Magazine* 1, (1829), p. 68.

⁷⁷ *Laws for the government of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows (MU)*, (Manchester: 1847); *The Lectures used by The Manchester Unity of The Independent Order Of Odd-Fellows, Sanctioned and Approved by The Bristol A.M.C., June, 1846* (Huddersfield: 1870).

⁷⁸ Durr, A., L., 'Ritual of Association and the Organisation of the Common People', *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, (Vol. 100) (1987), p. 98.

between the objects of the founders of the movement to build a better society and an improved man, and the object of members to provide for themselves and their family in an era of poor state provision. Perillo is of the view that friendly society membership declined after the passing of the National Health Insurance Act 1911 because of increased benefits offered in return for contributions to a state scheme.⁷⁹

3.4.3 Sociability

Freemasonry was one of many clubs in England for which, in the eighteenth century, socialising and conviviality were facets of membership. However, Freemasonry with its large number of lodges and its national coverage enabling members to visit lodges out of area, was by far the largest in that century.

In the nineteenth century the affiliated orders replicated Freemasonry in the use of socialising to cement associational solidarity and mutuality. Lodge meetings were at regular intervals where drinking, and conviviality followed the business and ritual of the evening. They, also, paraded with banners on 'feast days', and in many instances attendance at funerals was obligatory. As with Freemasonry, their lodges were spread across the country, and visiting could take place, as when a member had to move out of area for work.

In summary, throughout the period studied, there were societies, other than Freemasonry, which offered men the opportunity to socialise in a convivial setting. The fact that some men chose Freemasonry instead of, or as well as, another society reinforces the research finding that men joined Freemasonry for a range of reasons.

⁷⁹ Perillo, L., 'The British Friendly Society and the Rise of the Welfare State', (Undated paper held by Hamilton College, Bothwell Road, Hamilton, ML3 0AY), (n.p.).

Equally, if a man chose not to join Freemasonry, it is unlikely that it was solely because the social experience at another society was perceived to be better than that offered by the local masonic lodge.

3.4.4 Member Support

Both Freemasonry and the affiliated orders supported members, but the composition of the membership and the nature of the support differed. Occupations in the affiliated orders varied according to the local economy in which a lodge was located. In the opinion of Ismay, 'the biggest concentrations of friendly societies were found in industrial, northwestern, urban centers (*sic*) and seemed to comprise a largely working-class membership'.⁸⁰ This view is supported by Dot Jones and Daniel Weinbren. The former researched Friendly Societies in Glamorgan and found that, between 1855 and 1860, membership comprised 75 per cent heavy and light labour, and 19 per cent miners; for his part, Weinbren estimated the membership composition of the Odd Fellows around 1845 to be 47 per cent skilled/semi-skilled workers and 15 per cent labourers.⁸¹ As outlined in *Chapter 4*, membership of masonic lodges also varied across the country, and there is evidence that it varied over time. However, in Worcestershire, between 1814 and 1850, the biggest membership groups were professions at 35.38 per cent and the dealing sector at 37.38 per cent; working men comprised less than 1 per cent.⁸² There was therefore a

⁸⁰ Ismay, P., *Trust and Strangers: Friendly Societies in Modern Britain*, p. 3.

⁸¹ Jones, D., 'Did Friendly Societies Matter? A Study of Friendly Societies in Glamorgan, 1794-1910', *Welsh History Review*, Vol. 12 (1984), p. 339; Weinbren, D. *The Oddfellows 1810 – 2010* (Lancaster:2010), p.67.

⁸² *Chapter 4*, Table 12, p. 163.

significant difference in the social composition of masonic lodges in Worcestershire and lodges of the affiliated orders.

The affiliated orders offered set levels of benefit in return for the payment of a subscription to cover the same. Typically, benefits comprised funeral costs, pensions to widows, and income compensation, when a member was unable to work through illness or injury. Generally, the subscription, and the associated joining fee, were graduated and increased with age.⁸³ However, all societies set criteria to be met before a person could become a member, which operated to exclude certain groups. Most had an upper age for joining which, typically, was between 35 and 45. In other instances, men were barred because their employment was perceived as increasing the claims risk: included in this category were stone and coal miners and those in the soap industry.⁸⁴ In the case of Freemasonry, membership subscriptions were the same for all age groups and the only rule-based barrier was that members had to be 21 or over.

It is undoubtedly the case that many members received benefits in accordance with the rules of the affiliated order of which they were a member. However, in the period covered by this thesis, there were several shortcomings in the affiliated orders' model of operation. The first is that 'the great majority are insolvent, without any doubt whatsoever.'⁸⁵ Insolvency arose because subscription rates were insufficient to cover administration costs and benefits promised under the rules. Between 1848 and

⁸³ Independent Order of Odd Fellows, *Minutes and other Documents of the Grand Committees*, p.263 [Minutes of Meeting held 26 - 28 May 1828]; Neison, F.G.P., 'Some Statistics of the Affiliated Orders of Friendly Societies (Odd Fellows and Foresters)', p.70.

⁸⁴ Gorsky, M., 'The Growth and Distribution of English Friendly Societies in the early Nineteenth Century', *Economic History Review*, Vol. 51 (3), (1998), p. 506.

⁸⁵ Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons and Command 1849, *Report from the Select Committee on the Friendly Societies Bill etc*, Vol. XIV, (1849), p.219.

1850, 280 Odd Fellow lodges closed with 9743 members affected.⁸⁶ Ismay observes that, when societies closed, the balance of the fund was paid out to the remaining members.⁸⁷ However, she fails to point out that this 'refund' is likely to have been less than they had contributed, because their subscriptions had been used to pay for administration costs and benefits to other members; in short, the remaining members lost money through the maladministration of the society. A second shortcoming was the high membership churn rate and its consequences. Between 1848 and 1850, 43074 members left the Oddfellows, and in this period, membership fell overall; corresponding figures for the Foresters are not available.⁸⁸ According to Neison the number of friendly society members lapsing their membership through non-payment of subscriptions was high, particularly among the young.⁸⁹ Although a part of their subscriptions was to secure future benefits, societies did not refund any of the subscriptions paid, so that leavers lost money, having paid for a benefit they did not receive. This created intergenerational unfairness as the majority lapsing were young and those benefiting were the older members. A third shortcoming was that subscriptions were used to pay for the administration of the society. A commentator in 1845 remarked, 'the vast sums expended in relieving the sick ... have been dwelt upon, but nothing has been said of the great expense incurred in matters unconnected with the real objects of the Society.'⁹⁰ Lack of accounting rules to

⁸⁶ Neison, F.G.P., 'Some Statistics of the Affiliated Orders of Friendly Societies (Odd Fellows and Foresters)', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* Vol. 40 (1) (1877), p. 57.

⁸⁷ Ismay, P., *Trust and Strangers: Friendly Societies in Modern Britain*, p. 185.

⁸⁸ Neison, F.G.P., 'Some Statistics of the Affiliated Orders of Friendly Societies (Odd Fellows and Foresters)', p. 46.

⁸⁹ Neison, F.G.P., 'Some Statistics of the Affiliated Orders of Friendly Societies (Odd Fellows and Foresters)', p. 48.

⁹⁰ *The Oddfellows Quarterly Magazine*, October 1845, pp. 396–397.

control expenditure meant that the average amount per member per annum spent on administration varied considerably, from 2 shillings in Bolton to 7s 6d in Manchester with the highest being 13s 21/2d; some lodges actually spent more on administration than 'in relieving the sick and burying their dead'.⁹¹ The matter was compounded in the Oddfellows because funds were commingled and not separated between administration and benefits until the Annual Moveable Committee (AMC) in 1845. This laxity in accounting undoubtedly contributed to the financial instability issues of the period.

In Freemasonry all charitable funds were held separately from lodge or Grand Lodge funds. Nationally, they were held by the Grand Charities of the various Grand Lodges, or in the charities set up for assisting girls and boys. Unlike the affiliated orders, none of the money donated by members was used to fund administration costs of Freemasonry. Likewise at lodge level, charitable and alms collections were kept separate from lodge funds. In consequence, no freemason could lose money through paying for a benefit which he did not receive either through the insolvency of his lodge or his resigning from Freemasonry. Likewise, because assistance was not guaranteed, either in nature or amount, the question of insolvency did not arise.

Aid dispensed by the affiliated orders was contract based; the member paid his subscription in the expectation that the society would pay out the aid he had contracted to acquire. In Freemasonry aid was dispensed on a mutual aid basis. Donations were made to the Grand Charities without any contractual entitlement. The member literally trusted his lodge to make a case to the trustees that he and his

⁹¹ *The Oddfellows Quarterly Magazine*, October 1845, p. 397.

family were deserving of support, and that the trustees would grant the request. Similarly, at lodge level, a member was dependent on his fellow members honouring their commitment to help a mason in distress. A major advantage of the masonic system was that the nature of the assistance could be tailored to the needs of the member, rather than being tied to a particular contractual obligation.

The low paid were excluded from both Freemasonry and the affiliated orders, largely because of subscription costs. The lower social profile of the affiliated orders suggests that the certainty of social benefits featured high in any decision to apply, given the rudimentary state provision of the first half of the nineteenth century. The Moderns Grand Lodge recognised how these guaranteed benefits complimented those offered by Freemasonry when it formed the Masonic Benefit Society in 1799, urging Provincial Grand Masters in 1800 to recommend it to their members.⁹² The Society continued into the era of UGLE before being wound up in 1830. A group of Antients lodges established the 'Newcastle upon Tyne Ancient Masonic Benefit Society' in 1811 which was open to members of the Antients Grand Lodge and the Grand Lodges of Scotland and Ireland and any other place 'in union with the Antients Grand Lodge'.⁹³

Weinbren and Burt refer to cross-membership of masonic lodges and affiliated orders in Norfolk between 1867 and 1915 and in Cornwall between 1863 and 1900, respectively but, in the absence of affiliated order records, no such cross-membership has been identified in Worcestershire up to 1850.⁹⁴ However, as

⁹² *The Masonic Voice Review*, Vol.15 (1856), p. 303.

⁹³ *Articles, Rules and Regulations of the Newcastle upon Tyne Ancient Masonic Benefit Society* (Newcastle: 1811).

⁹⁴ Weinbren, D., 'Freemasonry and Friendly Societies' in Bogdan, H. and Snoek, J.A.M. (eds.), *Handbook of Freemasonry*, p. 395; Burt, R., 'Miners, Mariners and Masons', p. 228.

recognised by the three Grand Lodges, the benefits of the two organisations were different and, to an extent complementary, and, therefore, it would be logical for Freemasons who wanted a greater certainty of benefit provision to join an affiliated order to secure the same.

In summary, comparison with other societies of the eighteenth century has established that the constituent parts of Freemasonry's social capital were also found in other societies. However, none of them included all the different elements. The Bucks were convivial and mystical, but not charitable; the Churches and religious societies addressed man's moral worth but were not convivial; box clubs looked after members' material needs but were neither mystical nor social.

Societies of the kind identified in the eighteenth-century continued to exist into the first half of the nineteenth century when, from around the 1820s onwards, they were joined by the affiliated orders of Friendly Societies. These mirrored Freemasonry in their claims of a mystical past, providing relief in times of hardship, socialising and aiming to creating a better society. There was, however, a critical distinction between the two. Freemasonry was a society which men joined because it had a wide social capital whose different elements appealed to different men. To become a member of the affiliated orders a man had first to become a subscriber to the package of reliefs offered, before being able to access other aspects of their social capital. That the guaranteed reliefs were attractive to the lower social classes is evidenced both by their high level of representation and the high level of membership churn, with Neison noting that 88 per cent of leavers were through non-payment.⁹⁵ Historians have

⁹⁵ Neison, F.G.P., 'Some Statistics of the Affiliated Orders of Friendly Societies (Odd Fellows and Foresters)' [per centage computed from statistics provided by Neison], p. 63.

identified freemasons who also became members of affiliated orders and, *vice-versa*; sometimes referred to as 'cross-membership'. Burt suggests that the likely reason that members of affiliated orders joined Freemasonry is 'that there were aspects of Masonry that were not provided by [Forestry].'⁹⁶ It is plausible to argue that the same applied to those freemasons who subsequently joined the affiliated orders, and for many, the main attraction would have been the guaranteed benefits. Attempts by the Moderns Grand Lodge and Antients Lodges in Newcastle, to offer similar benefits to Freemasons illustrate their attraction to the membership. However, in the decades leading up to 1850 they were not available to freemasons within Freemasonry and, therefore, those freemasons who wanted to obtain guaranteed benefit provision for themselves logically would have joined the affiliated orders.

3.5 Observations and Conclusion

Social capital, with its bridging and bonding ties, lies at the root of all social groupings, both informal, such as the family, and formal, such as societies. Its bonding ties are the glue that binds like-minded people together, while its bridging ties act as a lubricant to enable people to contact others outside of a bonded group. Features common to both kinds of ties are the tangible and intangible benefits they bring to members of the group. If a social group does not bring benefits to an individual member, it is unlikely that they will remain a member, and if the group ceases to bring benefits to its membership, its future will be called into question.

Research question two asks: 'Why did men join Freemasonry?' The hypothesis underlying this chapter is that men joined Freemasonry because of its social capital

⁹⁶ Burt, R., '*Miners, Mariners and Masons*', p. 82.

and its associated strong bonding and bridging ties. Which ties appealed to each mason varied according to his personal inclinations and circumstances, and there is no reason to believe that there was any general motive for joining. Moreover, the reasons for becoming a member may have been different from those for remaining, because, after a period of membership, other aspects of Freemasonry's social capital may have become more apparent and pertinent. The key aspects of Freemasonry's bonding and bridging ties remained constant throughout the period covered by this thesis. However, just as different aspects appealed to different members, so the groups to whom they appealed changed as society and the economy continued to evolve. Mention has been made of the increase in commercial travellers later in the period and Chapter 4 at *Table 15* reveals similar increases in the professions.

The absence of a clear statement of purpose for Freemasonry in either *Anderson's Constitutions* or the *Ahiman Rezon* differentiated Freemasonry from other contemporary societies. It did not confine itself to a particular object but, instead, concentrated on what were the desirable characteristics expected of its members. Accordingly, its social capital was considerably wider than that of societies with clearly defined objects. Applying a phrase sometimes used to describe the Church of England, Freemasonry was a 'broad church' whose social capital enabled it to appeal to a wide cross-section of male society.

Comparison with other societies of the eighteenth century has revealed Freemasonry to be unrivalled in the breadth of its social capital and its national coverage. In Worcestershire the situation remained the same until the 1830s when the affiliated orders of friendly societies appeared in the county. These ostensibly possessed a similar social capital, but differences have been identified. The affiliated orders did not permeate society to the extent of Freemasonry having a less socially

diverse membership which tended towards the lower middle and skilled working classes. There was a restriction on membership imposed by the requirement to subscribe for benefits to be able to access the other more social aspects of their social capital. Relief provided by the affiliated orders was contractual, being linked to contributions paid, which made it less flexible than that provided by Freemasonry, which could be tailored to the needs of the claimant. Although both Freemasonry and the affiliated orders offered support to members who travelled, the support of the orders was often limited by time or place, whereas there were no such restrictions within Freemasonry. In Worcestershire, in the period of the thesis, the Foresters had only 55 members and, although the Odd Fellows were stronger, they were limited geographically with the over half the membership in two towns in the North.

Throughout the period covered by the thesis, Freemasonry offered men a social capital which possessed a wide range of bridging and bonding ties. Although other societies possessed some of the ties, research has established that no other offered the same mix nor was able to attract a membership which was as socially diverse. This gave Freemasonry a 'unique selling point' which made it attractive to the broad section of society from which its membership was drawn. The remaining chapters examine how the various elements of this social capital helped freemasons to participate in the social and economic development of Worcestershire.

CHAPTER 4: SOCIAL CLASS AND WORCESTERSHIRE FREEMASONRY

4.1 Introduction

The structure of English society was relatively constant until the late eighteenth century. It was essentially a pyramid with the aristocracy and landed families at the top, professionals, artisans, merchants and clergy below, and labourers, cottagers and paupers at the base. Historians estimate that the peerage owned 15-20 per cent of the landed wealth in 1700 and up to 25 per cent in 1800.¹ In comparison, the bottom three groups formed c. 56 per cent of the population.² However, socio-economic developments starting in the latter part of the eighteenth century saw the position of the aristocracy and landed gentry challenged by an aspiring group of businessmen and professionals. In large part their wealth stemmed from the industrial development which followed land enclosures and investment into the country's infrastructure. Industrial growth, in turn, led to increased urbanisation and an increase in the 'waged' economy, as immigrants and country dwellers moved into towns to meet the labour needs of industry. The processes of urbanisation and industrialisation continued up to the end date of this thesis so that, by 1851, 35 percent of England's population lived in towns with a population more than 20,000, and some cities had developed large immigrant populations, such as Liverpool and

¹ Cooper, J. P., 'The Social Distribution of Land and Men in England, 1436-1700', *Economic History Review* Vol. 20 (3) (1967), pp. 431-440; Thompson, F.M.L. *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century*, (London: 1963), cited in Houston, R. A., 'British Society in the Eighteenth century', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 25 (4) (1986), pp. 436-466.

² Porter, R., *English Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London: 1990), p. 48.

Manchester, which had 23 per cent and 13 per cent respectively of their inhabitants born in Ireland.³

The third research question asks: 'In an era of relatively rigid divisions in society, to what extent was Freemasonry socially inclusive and religiously diverse?' This chapter, which addresses the social aspects of the question, progresses as follows. Firstly, it examines the concept of social class, and assesses the relative strengths and weaknesses of methodologies commonly employed. Secondly, using a methodology designed to suit the period and the region, lodge membership is divided into different social groupings. These are analysed over the periods 1762 to 1813 and 1814 to 1850, to determine the social composition and whether that composition was static or varied over time. Data about individual members in the membership records are linked with information contained in non-masonic sources to produce a prosopographic portrait of individual masons and the social profile of masonic membership. Provision of prosopographic data produces a more detailed and informative picture of the membership than that one gleaned from the bald occupation details contained in membership records. The social profile is compared and contrasted with lodge memberships in the North-west of England and in Wolverhampton, respectively - a geographical area which underwent industrialisation in the same period and an industrialised town in the neighbouring county of Staffordshire. The section concludes with the research findings.

³ Anderson, M., 'The Social Implications of Demographic Change', in F.M.L. Thompson (ed.), *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950* (Cambridge: 1990), p. 6.

4.2 Social class

'Social class' as a concept has attracted the interest of both sociologists and historians and has been extensively researched within both disciplines.⁴ Its complexities are such that Richard Dennis commented: 'The road to class analysis crosses a minefield with a sniper behind every bush.'⁵ Part of the complexity resides in the definition of 'class' with it sometimes being unclear which definition is being used. At one level, class is a *classification* to which an individual is assigned because of shared common characteristics: typically, occupation or income levels. Alternatively, class can be a *consciousness or perception* where individuals are grouped because of shared attitudes and behaviour. Both approaches involve subjectivity, and this is a particular issue in the 'perception' approach which, to be relevant, needs to reflect how the individuals being analysed considered themselves. Working in a period that is devoid of contemporary social questionnaires and surveys poses particular difficulties in determining how individuals of that period felt and, therefore, allocation to classes involves a significant degree of subjectivity. A weakness of the 'classification' approach is the absence of an agreed stratification scheme. William Armstrong devised a model, based on a modification of the General Register Office Classification Scheme of 1951, which he considered could be applied retrospectively to the nineteenth

⁴ See Halsey, A. H., *Change in British Society* (Oxford: 1981); Cannadine, D., *The Rise and Fall of Class in Britain* (New York:1999); Elias, P., Appendix 6 of *ESRC Review of OPCS Social Classifications: A Report on Phase I to OPCS* (Swindon: 1995); Armstrong, W. A., 'The Use of Information about Occupation' in E. A. Wrigley (ed.), *Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data* (London: 1972); Rubenstein, W.D., 'Wealth, Elites and the Class Structure of Modern Britain', *Past and Present*, No. 76 (Aug. 1977); Thompson, E. P., *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: 1963).

⁵ Dennis, R., *English Industrial Cities of the Nineteenth Century: A Social Geography* (Cambridge: 2003 2nd Edition), p. 187.

century.⁶ Researchers have utilised this model but they, in turn, have modified it to suit the purposes of their own research, making comparisons of research outcomes more difficult.⁷ Other models compound this difficulty; one estimate is that over one thousand different measures and stratifications of class have been applied.⁸

Some argue that the social structure of England prior to industrialisation comprised a single division: in the words of D. C. Coleman, that between 'Gentlemen and Players'.⁹ Power and influence lay with the aristocracy and the rural gentry (the 'Gentlemen') because land ownership could be inherited thereby ensuring both wealth and continuity; the remainder of society constituted the 'Players' or 'Commoners'. W. B. Rubenstein slightly diverges from this model following research within probate records. He considers that there was a small middle class: the 'Old Corruption', composed of the Church, wealthy financiers and merchants resident in London, who were not landed, but who were close socially to the 'Gentlemen'.¹⁰

The language of 'class' was first applied to social structure in the eighteenth century with the terms 'middle class' and 'working class' dating from 1766 and 1789, respectively.¹¹ The 'consciousness/perception' approach relates to this period onwards and is divided between those who adopt a two-class or a three-

⁶ Armstrong, W.A., *The Use of Information about Occupation*, pp. 191-310.

⁷ Dennis, R., *English Industrial Cities*, pp. 188 – 190.

⁸ Connelly, R., Gayle, V. and Lambert, P. S. 'A Review of Occupation-based Social Classifications for Social Survey Research', (2016) *Methodological Innovations*. doi:[10.1177/2059799116638003](https://doi.org/10.1177/2059799116638003). [Accessed 19 July 2019].

⁹ Coleman, D.C., 'Gentlemen and Players', *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 26 (1) (1973), pp. 92-116.

¹⁰ Rubenstein, W.D., 'Wealth, Elites and the Class Structure of Modern Britain', pp. 113-142.

¹¹ Royle, E., *Modern Britain: A Social History 1750-2011* (London: 2012), p. 103.

class methodology. Engels and later Marxist historians such as E. P. Thompson see class as based on productive relationships consisting of providers of capital ('the bourgeoisie') and labour ('the working class or proletariat'): that is, the exploiter and the exploited.¹² Several criticisms can be levelled at this model. Being confined to two classes, it lacks subtlety, so that groups such as the aristocracy and the self-employed are omitted or have to be subsumed within one of the classes. The underlying assumption is that both classes are homogenous whereas, in practice, capitalists in different parts of the country had different interests and, in the case of the working class, 'lumping them together ... leads to an excessive simplification which in the end is hardly illuminating'.¹³ Other researchers, such as Harold Perkin, have adopted a three-class model. This approach was influenced by industrialisation and urbanisation, and came to the fore between 1789 and 1833, resulting in a middle class, a working class and an aristocratic (upper) class whose respective incomes were based on profits, wages and rent.¹⁴ The three-class model seeks to obtain more precision than the two-class model, but it suffers from the same shortcoming: namely the 'lumping together' of different sub-groups. Researchers, aware of this deficiency, have created their own sub-classes to suit their research, as is the case with Richard Trainor who divides the middle-class

¹² Thompson, E.P., *The Making of the English Working Class* (Toronto: 1991); Engels, F., *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844* (F. Wischnewetzky, Trans.), (New York: 2008).

¹³ Bedarida, F., 'A Social History of England 1851-1975' (London: 1979), cited in Dennis, R., *English Industrial Cities*, p. 193.

¹⁴ Perkin, H.J., *The Origins of Modern English Society 1780-1880* (London: 1969), pp. 218-270.

into upper middle/middle middle/lower middle when examining Black Country elites.¹⁵

Referring to nineteenth-century society generally, Armstrong remarks that, for most individuals, information available to determine class is limited, though details of occupation are used the most often. In his opinion 'occupation may be only one variable in a comprehensive theory of class, but it is the variable which includes more, which sets more limits on the other variables, than any other criterion of class'.¹⁶ Authors of a paper presented to the Royal Statistical Society in 2013 support this view. They contend that 'many things might indicate stratification positions, but occupations make the most plausible single option' because data on occupations are reasonably easy to record and are reasonably stable over time and over the course of an individual's lifetime.¹⁷

Given the shortcomings in the 'consciousness/perception' approach and the close correlation of occupation with social class, the 'classification' approach is considered the most appropriate for this piece of research. In the absence of a generally accepted scheme of social classification the 'functional scheme' devised by Trainor in his book *Black Country Elites* has been adopted with two modifications.¹⁸ The scheme is occupation-based, tailored to those of the Black Country. One modification widens the base to cater for south Worcestershire which

¹⁵ Trainor, R., *Black Country Elites: The Exercise of Authority in an Industrialised Area 1830-1900* (Oxford: 1993), pp. 387 - 388.

¹⁶ Armstrong, W. A., 'The Use of Information', p. 202.

¹⁷ Lambert, P., Griffiths, D., and Zijdemans, R., 'Measures of Social Stratification and their Consequences: Occupational Measures in the Study of Social Stratification and Mobility', *Royal Statistical Society, Social Statistics Ordinary Meeting 29 May 2013*, p. 3.

¹⁸ Trainor, R., *Black Country Elites*, pp. 385-387.

was less industrialised, and another increases the industrial categories to include the glassmaking industries of Stourbridge and Dudley. The scheme, and its classifications (*Appendix 3*), has been adopted because of its suitability to the region and to enable research findings to be compared with others which utilise Trainor's scheme, or variants thereof. A 'Worcestershire Masonic Database' (WMD) utilising standardised working procedures has been created (*Appendix 4*). All tables included within this chapter are derived from the WMD and information relating to individual masons is based on both masonic and non-masonic sources consulted.

Two primary sources provide masonic membership data, namely membership records maintained by individual lodges and records compiled by the various Grand Lodges from returns submitted by lodges. In theory, the two sets should mirror each other but, in practice, they may not for several reasons. These include illegible handwriting of lodge secretaries and the reluctance of lodges to return to London the names of members who had not paid their dues, part of which had to be remitted to the Grand Lodges. The nature and quality of lodge records varies considerably between lodges and, over time, within individual lodges, as they were dependent on the assiduity of the lodge secretary at the time of transcription. The earliest Grand Lodge records simply show the dates and names of members joining a lodge but, later, further details were added, including age at date of joining, occupation and residence (usually confined to the town). Consistency and quality of data improved following the formation of UGLE when standardised returns were introduced, commencing in 1814. A further methodological limitation is that both sets of records are skewed towards the date of joining a lodge, making it difficult to assess lengths of membership and changes in member circumstances.

The records are often general in their descriptions and seldom contain any indication of the sizes of businesses or the wealth of members. Thus, John Dent, who owned the largest glove manufactory in Worcester, was a 'merchant' in the annual return of 1807. However, it has been possible to augment information about individuals from sources such as wills, trade directories, newspaper adverts and obituaries, which serves to reduce the imperfections of the membership records. The addition of such information renders the findings less subject to the shortcomings inherent in research based solely on the records of returns made to Grand Lodges in London. In summary, despite the methodological imperfections identified, the data compiled in the membership records comprise the most comprehensive source of information about freemasons in Worcestershire in the period covered by the thesis, and they are considered the most suitable available for the purposes of this research.

4.3 Lodge membership 1762 to 1813 – social profile

Table 7 records the social profile of members joining lodges affiliated to the Moderns and the Antients Grand Lodges prior to their union to form UGLE in December 1813. Although *Appendix 1* shows that there were five lodges affiliating to each Grand Lodge there is no membership information extant for the first Moderns Lodge (Stourbridge, 1733) and, in the case of the first Antients Lodge (Worcester, 1757), it has been possible to identify only one occupation. The data in the tables of this section are, therefore, derived from eight lodges spanning the period 1762 to 1813. The following paragraphs provide a commentary on the social profile of Worcestershire Freemasonry revealed in the tables.

	<i>Antients Grand Lodge 1762-1813</i>		<i>Moderns Grand Lodge 1762-1813</i>	
	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>
Aristocracy/Esquires	0	0.00	3	1.20
Industrial- <i>Table 8</i>	30	24.00	46	18.40
Dealing – <i>Table 10</i>	62	49.60	95	38.00
Agricultural	0	0.00	4	1.60
Professions/commerce- <i>Table 9</i>	21	16.80	51	20.40
Middle Class – unspecified – <i>Table 11</i>	4	3.20	31	12.40
Lesser white collar	4	3.20	8	3.20
Working men	0	0.00	0	0.00
Other	<u>4</u>	<u>3.20</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>4.80</u>
	<u>125</u>	<u>100.00</u>	<u>250</u>	<u>100.00</u>
Number of occupations/ <i>Lodges</i>	<u>61</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>98</u>	<u>4</u>

Table 7: Occupations of men joining Freemasonry 1762-1813.

Table 7 shows a membership which encompassed a wide spectrum of occupations and social classes, with the most striking omission being the group ‘working men’, which comprised unskilled workers in industry and agriculture. There are several possible reasons for their absence from the membership. Firstly, the unskilled faced practical difficulties in attending lodge meetings. Lodges often met in the evening, and on occasion earlier, which would have been inconvenient for employees with no flexibility in their work pattern. Penelope Corfield observes that hours worked in industry were long, typically 12-13 hours, and over time, work

became more organised with the introduction of shifts, which further increased the inflexibility faced by industrial workers.¹⁹ Agricultural labourers also worked long hours and, in addition, they needed to travel to a town to attend a lodge meeting. Two factors combined to make attendance almost impossible for agricultural labourers. Firstly, most would have been unable to afford a horse or carriage in which to travel and travelling was time-consuming because roads in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were generally poorly maintained. A further reason may have been that divisions between the social classes of the era acted to exclude unskilled working men. To become a freemason, it was necessary to be proposed and, because the unskilled did not mix in the same social circles and participate in the 'club culture' embraced by the middling and upper classes, it is unlikely that many would have received an invitation to join.

Another obstacle were the costs of membership. These included joining fees, dining costs, charitable donations on at least a monthly basis and membership subscriptions. The absence of the unskilled in Worcestershire is consistent with the membership profile of the Antients lodges in London, upon which Berman concluded: 'Antients freemasonry was not for the poorest in society' and 'those unable to fund the costs were obliged to resign or expelled for non-payment.'²⁰ Later, in the Victorian era and referring to Cornwall, Burt concluded:

¹⁹ Corfield, P., *The Impact of English towns 1700-1800* (Oxford: 1982), p. 85.

²⁰ Berman, R., 'Over the hills and far away – Irish and Antients freemasonry in eighteenth-century Middle America', *Academia*
https://www.academia.edu/38111808/Over_the_Hills_and_Far_Away [Accessed 11 October 2019].

Only the very poorest unskilled occupational groups appear to have been excluded, and then only probably because they could not afford membership rather than clear rules of social exclusivity.²¹

In the period up to 1813 there was no requirement for lodges to maintain accounting records and research performed for this thesis identified only two partial cashbooks of which one referred to initiation and joining costs, but neither referred to subscriptions or dining costs. Likewise, research performed on the oldest existing minute books for Worcestershire, Warwickshire and Staffordshire found no reference to dining costs or membership costs. The Apollo Lodge in Alcester had members living in Worcestershire, but it had no members in the unskilled worker category. In the 1790s, its cashbook shows that it charged £2 2s 6d to be initiated, and a Guinea to be made a Master Mason or to join from another lodge.²² The absence of a charge for the second degree (between initiation and Master Mason) may have been because, at this time, the first two degrees were often conferred on the same evening.²³

In Worcestershire a miner in Dudley earned 10 shillings per week in 1780 and an employed glover in Worcester earned between 10 shillings and 12 shillings per week in 1795.²⁴ The position of an agricultural labourer is complicated by the practice of paying a low wage and, in addition, providing victuals and boarding. According to W. Hasbach the average daily rate for an agricultural labourer across

²¹ Burt, R., *'Miners, Mariners and Masons'*, p. 35.

²² Apollo Lodge cashbook – 20 August 1794 and 3 June 1795.

²³ Hamill, J., *The Craft. A History of English Freemasonry*, p. 50.

²⁴ Lyes, D. C., *The Leather Glove Industry of Worcester in the Nineteenth Century* (Worcester: 1976), Appendix 2, p. 62; Raybould, T.J., 'The Development and Organization of Lord Dudley's Mineral Estates, 1774 -1845', *The Economic History Review* Vol. 21 (3) (1968), p. 537.

England, excluding London and the south, between 1767 and 1770 , was 1s 2d (7 shillings for a six day week); he cites Arthur Young who stated that the rate did not change up to 1793.²⁵ In effect, it would have cost a miner and an industrial worker over a month's wages and an agricultural worker nearly six weeks wages, just to join. Given the high level of entrance fees charged by a lodge having members from Worcestershire (Apollo), it is reasonable to conclude that these costs, relative to the wages of unskilled workers, would have been exclusionary to these groups. A measure of the population excluded from membership because they were unskilled workers is provided by Peter Lindert, who computed that, between 1670 and 1811, 14.03 percent of men were labourers in industry and agriculture; conversely, it means that membership of Freemasonry was open to c. 86 per cent of the male population.²⁶

Two further groups with no representation among the Antients lodges and low representation among the Moderns, were 'aristocracy/esquires' and 'agricultural'. John Willis-Bund argues that the Crown and the Church owned large parts of Worcestershire, and, therefore, it did not have a powerful territorial aristocracy, with the exception of the Earls of Dudley, at Dudley Castle; the seats of other county landowners, such as the Beauchamps and the Mortimers, were not in Worcestershire.²⁷ This seems to have affected Freemasonry in Worcestershire in

²⁵ Hasbach, W., *A History of the English Agricultural Labourer* (London: 1908), pp. 119 – 120; citing Young, A., *Annals of Agriculture and Other Useful Arts*, Vol. 43 (Bury St. Edmunds: Author, n.d.), p.38.

²⁶ Lindert, P. H., 'English Occupations 1670-1811', *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 40 (4), (Dec. 1980), pp. 685-712; figures computed from Table 3 using an average of his profiles for the period 1801-1803 and the year 1811, pp. 702-704.

²⁷ Willis-Bund, J. W., and Page, W., (eds.), 'A History of the County of Worcester' in *The Victoria History of the Counties of England – Worcester* (Vol. 2), (London: 1906), p. 198.

this period as no lodge had an aristocrat as a member. Although the Viscount Dudley and Ward was a member of lodges in London and Staffordshire, there is no record of him being a member of a Worcestershire lodge. Included in the 'aristocracy/esquire' category are a yeoman, and two members of Worcester Lodge who owned substantial estates. Samuel Wall owned property in Worcestershire and in Hampshire while John Hampton Hampton owned the Henllys and Bodior estates in Beaumaris and Holyhead, in Anglesey.²⁸ Indicators of their social standing include Wall serving as a Deputy Lieutenant and JP for the counties of Hampshire, Herefordshire and Worcestershire and acting as the Lt. Col. of the Worcestershire Local Militia, whilst Hampton was Sheriff of Anglesey in 1813 and Mayor of Henllys in 1823.²⁹

The agricultural category comprises three members of Harmonic Lodge, two of whom owned farms in Hartlebury near Kidderminster; a third was a husbandman and may, therefore, have been a tenant farmer rather than a landowner.³⁰ The fourth member was a farmer in St John's Lodge. According to Lindert, 11.50 percent of the population, excluding labourers, was involved in agriculture.³¹ There are two probable reasons for the considerably lower representation of agriculture within Worcestershire Freemasonry. The first is the structure of the Worcestershire economy, where the highly industrialised north made it atypical of that of the

²⁸ Burke, J., *Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland* (London: 1846), p. 1494; Gwynedd Council Archives: D2/15670 – letter dated 29 December 1823; *London Gazette* No. 16702, 9 February 1813, p. 301.

²⁹ Willis-Bund, J. W., and Page, W., (eds.), 'A History of the County of Worcester', p. 198.

³⁰ WAAS -12165/705:550 – correspondence on the estates of the Wheeler family of Hartlebury in the eighteenth to twentieth centuries; Buck, R. W., *Cases in Bankruptcy*. (Vol.1) (London: 1820), pp. 319-322– transfer of land to J. Mallen, farmer.

³¹ Lindert, P. H., 'English Occupations 1670-1811', figures computed from Table 3 using an average of his profiles for the period 1801-1803 and the year 1811, pp. 702-704.

nation. The second is that lodges were town-based and poor travel connectivity outside of the turnpike roads made it more difficult for country dwellers to participate.

North Worcestershire, like Birmingham, experienced considerable industrialisation from the second half of the eighteenth century onwards. Jones identifies the creation of a monied middle-class whose wealth, in many instances, derived from industrial success and, from the emergence of this societal group, an increase in professional classes such as attorneys, bankers and surgeons, to service its needs.³² In *Table 7* the higher percentage of industrial members in the Antients lodges reflects a North-South divide. All Antients Lodges were in towns in the industrialised North as compared to only two Moderns Lodges. The analysis of industrial occupations in *Table 8* illustrates how these varied between lodges according to the industries located in each lodge's vicinity; so, for example, Stourbridge lodges reflected the local glass industry, and the Bewdley lodge reflected pewter and tin manufacture. In every lodge at least fifty percent of the industry-based membership operated in the primary industries of the town in which the lodge met.

The industrial category includes several successful entrepreneurs who had the trappings of wealth alluded to by Jones, of whom four are given as a representative sample. John Pidcock (Talbot II) inherited the Dial Glasshouse in Stourbridge from his uncle, Joshua Henzey.³³ During his lifetime he continued to run the glasshouse,

³² Jones, P. M., *Industrial Enlightenment (Science, Technology and Culture in Birmingham and the West Midlands)* (Manchester: 2008), pp. 25-32 and p. 62.

³³ TNA – PROB 11/688/413 – will of Joshua Henzey, 15 dated April 1738.

building another larger one, which produced both bottle and broad glass, and diversifying into a colliery and the Lydney Forge in Gloucestershire.³⁴ He was a JP and owned a large house named 'The Platts' near Stourbridge, which illustrate his status in society.³⁵ William Bancks (Wheatsheaf) inherited the pewter-making business of his father which, with his brother, he developed into one of the largest pewterers in the country. Like Pidcock, he also diversified, acquiring a colliery in Shropshire and partnering John Read and John Onions to run Gospel Oak Ironworks and Broseley Ironworks, respectively.³⁶ Indications of his wealth and social position include his appointment as Commissioner for Bewdley Bridge and his ownership of the large 'Corbyn's Hall', together with a further property in Bewdley.³⁷ Joseph Pardoe (Raven) was a carpet manufacturer who traded with his brother-in-law, James Hooman, as 'Pardoe & Hooman' in Kidderminster and from an outlet in London. He owned 'Winterdyne', a large house near Bewdley, and his will refers to four other properties located in Kidderminster.³⁸ Thomas Watkins (Worcester) initially practised as a solicitor before setting up a carpet manufactory in Silver Street in partnership with William Michael. In 1788 it received royal patronage, being renamed 'The Royal Carpet Manufactory'.³⁹

³⁴ *London Chronicle* 27-29 January 1763, p. 98 – reference to colliery; GA - D421/T104 – assignment of Lydney Forge to Messrs Pidcock, Stourbridge, 8 November 1790.

³⁵ *Gentleman's Magazine*, November 1791, p. 1067 – obituary.

³⁶ *London Gazette* No.15418, 17 October 1801, p. 1268; *London Gazette* No.16638, 30 January 1810, p. 160; TNA – PROB 11/1408/273 – will of William Bancks, dated 3 February 1803.

³⁷ TNA – PROB 11/1408/273 – will of William Bancks.

³⁸ TNA - PROB 11/1314 – will of Joseph Pardoe, carpet manufacturer of Kidderminster.

³⁹ Green, V., *The History and Antiquities of the City and Suburbs of Worcester* (Vol. 2), (Worcester: 1796), p. 864.

Industry	<i>Wheatsheaf</i> <i>Bewdley</i>	<i>St Johns</i> <i>Bromsg've</i>	<i>Freedom</i> <i>Dudley</i>	<i>Harmonic</i> <i>Dudley</i>	<i>Raven</i> <i>K'minster</i>	<i>Talbot II</i> <i>Stourb'ge</i>	<i>Hope</i> <i>Stourb'ge</i>	<i>Worc'ter</i> <i>Worc'ter</i>
Carpet making			1		7		1	1
Glass			1	2		2	5	
Pewter/ tin	4				2		1	
Engineering			3					
Iron Founder				2		1		
Ironmonger*		1	1	9	1			1
Timber merchant			1					
Miller*	1			1	1			1
Printer					2			1
Silk maker					1	1		
Glove making							1	6
Silversmith								1
China manufacture								1
Nail making								
Paper making		1		1				
Coal agent				1				
Needle making		3						
Sundry		3		1			2	
Total	5	8	7	17	14	4	10	12

Table 8: Antients and Moderns lodges 1762-1813: joiners in the industrial sector.

**(Two mills were involved in the industrial processes of paper and silk manufacture; because of the geographical location of the other two, it is unlikely that they were corn mills. Ironmongers are included because, as well as being stockists, they bought raw materials which were sent for fabrication, particularly in the nail trade).*

The evidence indicates that these large industrialists did not purchase landed estates, even though they were sufficiently wealthy to do so. An example was Pidcock who leased, rather than purchased, land from Sir Robert Throckmorton Bt.⁴⁰ This behaviour supports Lawrence Stone's conclusion that 'they mostly

⁴⁰ SBT – DR5/1659, lease of cottage, land and farm at Chaddesley Corbett to J. Pidcock for 99 years.

preferred to build villas on the outskirts of the towns where they worked and continued to centre their lives on their businesses'.⁴¹

The industrial category also includes smaller and medium-sized businesses with less socially privileged proprietors. For example, five of the seven glovers in *Table 8* appear to have run very small businesses, with none recorded in directories of the time and three ending up bankrupt.⁴² Likewise, six involved in the carpet industry do not appear in directories of the period. At that time the industry operated on a 'putting out' system with various processes performed by outworkers who employed their families in cottages, or had a small workforce; it is likely that these six fell into that category. An example of a medium-sized business was glove manufacturer, William Shuck (Worcester). He was a partner in two different partnerships which were of sufficient size to appear in directories.⁴³ In addition, they were large enough to train apprentices, with Shuck being the principal for two.⁴⁴ Another medium-sized business was that of Joseph Connard (St John's). He ran a needle and fish hook manufacturing business, for a time together with his son Joseph, until the partnership of 'Connard and Son' was dissolved in 1812.⁴⁵ The manufacturing was sited at the water-powered Wychbold Mill at Stoke Prior where

⁴¹ Stone, L. and Stone, J. C. F., *An Open Elite? England 1540-1880* (Oxford: 1995), p. 285.

⁴² *London Gazette* No. 17900, 1 March 1823, p. 348 – John Bennett (Worcester) bankruptcy; *London Gazette* No.15323, 27 December 1800, p. 1459 – John Shuck (Worcester) bankruptcy; WAAS -899:749/8782/20/D4214 – assignment of personal and real assets of George Wainwright to his bankruptcy trustees.

⁴³ Grundy, J., *Worcester Royal Directory* (Worcester:1794), p. 70 – 'Shuck and Wormington, Glovers'; Tunncliffe, W., *Directory and Account of Worcestershire* (Worcester: 1788), p. 26 – 'Shuck and Waldron, glovers.'

⁴⁴ TNA – IR1/63 *Board of Stamps: Apprenticeship Books*, Country 1784, p.26–26 July 1783 W. Shuck, principal and Joseph Hodges, apprentice.

⁴⁵ Lewis, S., *Worcestershire General and Commercial Directory 1820*, (Stourbridge: 1820), p. 141; *London Gazette* No. 16583, 14 March 1812, p. 504.

a further son, James, was employed to 'supervise the servants and apprentices'.⁴⁶ Illustrating the size of the business, apprenticeship records show a steady stream of apprentices, of whom one, Ann Heath, was prosecuted for attempting to poison a fellow apprentice.⁴⁷

In his ground-breaking article, Alan Everitt differentiates between 'country(side)' and 'county'.⁴⁸ The latter is man-made, arising from armed struggle or Act of Parliament, as when Halesowen was moved from Shropshire to Worcestershire.⁴⁹ The former is a natural phenomenon, which occurs both within and across counties, such as the coal seam in North Worcestershire which stretched across the border into Staffordshire. Everitt identifies the importance of 'country(side)' in economic and social development, arguing that it led to the growth of towns which became 'inland entrepôts' with a greater occupational diversity, and a concentration of the professions. Adopting Everitt's definition, Worcester and Dudley were the inland entrepôts of Worcestershire, housing 77.8 and 63.1 percent of the legal and medical professions, respectively.⁵⁰

The legal profession was concentrated within the Moderns lodges of Worcester and Harmonic. A sample of nine articles of lawyers in the table revealed, from the father's occupation stated in the articles, that they came from middle-class and

⁴⁶ WAAS – 1/1/569/67 Worcestershire Quarter Sessions - Examination of James Connard, Needler.

⁴⁷ WAAS – 1/1/525107 Worcestershire Quarter Sessions – Examination of John Meachamp and Ann Rea, apprentices to Joseph Connard, needlemaker.

⁴⁸ Everitt, A., 'Country, County and Town: Patterns of Regional Evolution in England', in Borsay, P., (ed.) *The Eighteenth Century Town, a Reader in English Urban History 1688-1820* (London: 1990), pp. 83-115.

⁴⁹ The Counties (Detached Parts) Act 1844.

⁵⁰ Extracted from *Table 5* – legal profession Worcester 6, Dudley 8; medics Worcester 5, Dudley 7; clerics Worcester 5, Dudley 1.

relatively wealthy backgrounds.⁵¹ This finding accords with that of Robert Robson who researched Stamp Office Registers for the social profile of parents who paid premiums to principals in the early to mid-eighteenth century. However, his research between August 1799 and May 1803 points to Worcestershire possibly having become less representative in this later period, as he concludes that ‘these records suggest that many men of humble birth and modest means could become an attorney’.⁵²

Profession	<i>Wheatsheaf</i>	St Johns	<i>Freedom</i>	Harmonic	<i>Raven</i>	<i>Talbot II</i>	Hope	Worcester
	<i>Bewdley</i>	Bromsgrove	<i>Dudley</i>	Dudley	<i>K'minster</i>	<i>Stourbridge</i>	Stourbridge	Worcester
Clerics		1		1	2	1	1	5
Law	1	1	1	7	1		1	6
Medicine	1		2	5	4	2		5
Merchants	1			2			1	6
Banking				1				4
Sundry			4	2	1			2
Total	3	2	7	18	8	3	3	28

Table 9: *Antients* and Moderns lodges 1762-1813: Joiners in the professional/commercial sectors.

According to Robson, ‘the attorney [was] in touch with local life at a large variety of points and occupying a position near the head of the hierarchy of the provincial town’.⁵³ Industrialisation and developments in commerce, transport and agriculture caused them to diversify from property-based transactions linked to the landed

⁵¹ The Attorneys and Solicitors Act 1728 (2 Geo 2, c23); Continuance of Laws Act 1749 etc (22 Geo 2, c46); Results of the sample of occupations of fathers– 1 landowner; 4 gentlemen; 2 solicitors; 1 manufacturer and 1 Clerk of the Salt office (Droitwich).

⁵² Robson, R., *The Attorney in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: 2013), pp. 55-58.

⁵³ Robson, R., *The Attorney in Eighteenth-Century England*, p. 73.

gentry, to provide new services for new clients, including industrialists and investors in commerce and transport.

Research into early Freemasonry and the medical profession identified members of the Company of Barber Surgeons within the early minute books of the Moderns Grand Lodge (1723-1771), leading to the conclusion that it was probable that a large number of medical practitioners were members at that time.⁵⁴ Three surgeons in *Table 9* have been traced to the privately produced *Medical Register* but, because the profession was unregulated, there is no reliable record of medical professionals practising in Worcestershire from which to identify how many joined Freemasonry.⁵⁵ However, an indicator of the popularity of Freemasonry in Worcestershire to the profession is that c.5 percent of all joiners between 1762 and 1813 had a medical background. Moderns members were equally split between Worcester and Dudley, whereas the Antients membership was spread across Dudley, Bewdley, Stourbridge and Kidderminster. One member, John Evans (Talbot II), who owned large tracts of land in Merionethshire, was knighted in 1817, when he was also High Sheriff of that county.⁵⁶ The family backgrounds of others entering the profession include three who were landowning, two whose father was described as a gentleman and another who was a freeman of Worcester. Due to a lack of primary documentation the social background of the others has not been identified. Although it is not possible to comment conclusively on the social make-

⁵⁴ Clarke, J.R., 'The Medical Profession and early Freemasonry', *Ars Quatuor Coronati*, (Vol. 85) (1985), pp. 298-311.

⁵⁵ Johnson, J., *The Medical Register for 1783* (London: 1783) – named are J. Badger, R. Jones and G. Read Shaw.

⁵⁶ Grazebrook, H. S., *The Heraldry of Worcestershire: being a Roll of the Arms borne by the Noble, Knightly and Gentle Families etc* (London: 1873), p. 192.

up of the profession, the backgrounds of those identified tend to support Porter's view that the medical profession was an example of the 'middling classes' protecting their interests by means of a 'closed shop'.⁵⁷

Eight freemasons were represented within the banking industry, of whom the five in *Table 9* were in the banking profession and three were 'sleeping partners' who provided capital but were not involved in day-to-day operations. Worcester had two banks – Berwick, Lechmere and Isaac (also known as Worcester Old Bank), and Farley Johnson & Co. Partners in the former included Elias Isaac and Samuel Wall (both Worcester).⁵⁸ Isaac, like his father, was a banker, whereas Wall was an investor.⁵⁹ Described in the membership register as an 'accomptant', Samuel Swan (Worcester) was the Clerk of the Old Bank.⁶⁰ He was of some wealth and standing, owning land at Burlish and having a wall plaque containing masonic symbols erected in his memory in St Martin's Church.⁶¹ Thomas Hughes (Worcester) was Cashier of the Old Bank.⁶² Benjamin Johnson and John P. Lavender (both Worcester) were partners in Farley Johnson.⁶³ After training as a barrister, Johnson became the Town Clerk of Worcester, a position he held between 1801 and 1829.⁶⁴ He came from a wealthy background, having inherited

⁵⁷ Porter, R., *English Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London: 1990), p. 75.

⁵⁸ Leekey, G., *Stamp Office List of Country Bankers* (London: 1813), p. 86.

⁵⁹ Twigg, T., *Twigg's corrected List of the Country Bankers of England and Wales* (London: 1830), p.80.

⁶⁰ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 10 July 1828.

⁶¹ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 17 January 1829; Butler, C. and Wright, S., *St Martin in the Cornfield Church – Statement of Significance* (Worcester: 2019 (Revised)), Section 3.3.

⁶² Russell, W. O. and Regan, E., (eds.), *Crown Cases reserved for Consideration and decided by the Twelve Judges of England 1799-1824* (London: 1825), p.106.

⁶³ Twigg, T., *Twigg's Corrected List*, p. 80.

⁶⁴ Turberville, T.C., *Worcestershire in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 325.

properties, land and farms within Worcestershire from his father.⁶⁵ Because neither his will nor the directories of the period describe him as a banker, it may be concluded that he invested in the bank for commercial return. Lavender is an example of social mobility in the period. Made a freeman of Worcester in 1792, described as a 'whitesmith', he traded as an ironmonger in the Shambles, Worcester until 1822.⁶⁶ Initially, he was a sleeping partner in the bank but trade directories after he ceased trading as an ironmonger, along with his will in which he left his share in the bank to his son-in-law, indicate that he was a banker when he died.⁶⁷ In the north of the county William Blow Collis (Talbot II) and his relative, William Robins, founded Bate & Robins Bank (also known as Stourbridge Old Bank) in 1762.⁶⁸ Collis was a mercer and is likely to have been an investor, albeit a note drawn on the bank signed by him has survived.⁶⁹ Charles Cresswell (Harmonic) was described as a 'banker's clerk' but it has not been possible to identify the bank.

All clerics were Anglican and graduates of Oxford colleges and, irrespective of whether they were members of Antients or Moderns lodges, shared similar, prosperous family backgrounds. Of the Moderns, three came from the gentry, three had fathers who were clergy and one inherited from a baronet; the background of one has not been identified. Of the Antients one was descended from the landed

⁶⁵ TNA – PROB 11/992 – will of Benjamin Johnson, Snr, proven 17 November 1773; Grundy, J., *Worcester Royal Directory*, p. 47.

⁶⁶ Grundy, J., *Worcester Royal Directory* - Hall and Lavender, p. 59; *London Gazette* No. 17829, 25 June 1822, p. 1061.

⁶⁷ Bentley, J., *Bentley's Directory of Worcestershire* (Birmingham: 1840), 'Alterations', no page reference; TNA – PROB 11/2039, will of JP Lavender, proven 17 July 1846.

⁶⁸ Orbell, J. and Turton, A., *British Banking: A Guide to Historical Records* (London: 2001), p. 99.

⁶⁹ Midland Bank, *Midland Bank Historical Collection - Notes and Cheques of Private Banks* (London: n.d.), no page number.

Downings of Halesowen Furnace, one married Sophia, a grand-daughter of Sir George Stonehouse Bt. and the Rev. Francis Severne (Raven) came from an established Abberley family, succeeding his father as Rector of Abberley.⁷⁰ Although the son of a clergyman, the Rev. William Baty had a less fortunate upbringing; he was orphaned and spent his early years in a school for maintaining and educating poor orphans of the Clergy'.⁷¹ There is some evidence of a 'clerical network' within Freemasonry in the South of the county. Sir Thomas Cookes Bt. of Bentley founded Worcester College, Oxford and the grammar school in Bromsgrove, stipulating that his heirs should appoint the headmaster of the school.⁷² In 1776 the Rev. Thomas Cookes, the great-grand-nephew of Sir Thomas, was a member of Worcester Lodge and he appointed fellow graduate of Worcester College, the Rev. John Best (St John's), as headmaster. The low number of clerics in Dudley relative to its size, derives in part from its religious composition; it had a significant Nonconformist presence which reached forty per cent of the adult population in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁷³ Although members of Nonconformist congregations became freemasons, none of the clergy did, with a consequent effect on the statistics.

The 'sundry professions' in *Table 9* comprises a range of occupations with differences between the North and the South and the Antients and Moderns lodges. In the South there was an accountant and an architect/surveyor in

⁷⁰ Torrens, H., 'The Downings of Halesowen Furnace', *The Geological Curator*, Vol. 3 (4) (1982), pp. 239-241.

⁷¹ Constitutions of the Society of Stewards and Subscribers for maintaining and educating poor Orphans of the Clergy (London: 1766).

⁷² Griffith, George, *The Free Schools of Worcestershire and their Fulfillment* (London: 1852), p. 52.

⁷³ Trainor, R., *Black Country Elites*, p. 113.

Worcester Lodge. The latter, John Collingwood, was of some standing as his will refers to rents and profits from properties in Worcester.⁷⁴ He practised in Worcester, renovating several church buildings, before moving to Gloucester where he became both the County and Diocesan Surveyor.⁷⁵ In the North, several masons were professionals in industrial sectors and the details of two, having identical names, are given as examples. William Underhill (Harmonic), the son of the Rev. J. Underhill, was a canal engineer who oversaw the construction of the 11-mile Dudley No. 2 canal and Lapal Tunnel, which linked Dudley to the Worcester and Birmingham Canal at Selly Oak.⁷⁶ His practice appears to have been sizeable as he was also involved with other canals such as the Dorset and Somerset, and the Kennet and Avon, and he trained at least two apprentices, one of whom married his daughter, Mary.⁷⁷ William Underhill (Freedom), a coal bailiff, and five others entered into a 120-year lease to exploit coal below land at Tipton; the other five entered into a further lease to exploit the buildings and land above the coal seams. One partner was a coal merchant and four invested for a commercial return, which suggests that Underhill was a partner because of his expertise in coal mining. He sold his 14.5 per cent of the partnership to his co-partners for £6500 in May 1802.⁷⁸ The membership of the Antients lodges in the

⁷⁴ TNA – PROB 11/1790 – Will of J Collingbrook, proven 24 September 1822.

⁷⁵ Dinn, J., *Worcester in 50 Buildings* (Stroud: 2018), Sections 3 and 36; Brooks, A. and Pevsner, N., *The Buildings of England – Worcestershire* (London: 2007), p. 390.

⁷⁶ TNA – RG4/piece 2882 – Register of burials at the Independent Chapel, Gornal – burial of Rev. J Underhill 1 January 1792.

⁷⁷ Skempton, A. W., Chrinies, M. M., Cox, R.C. et al (eds.), *Biographical Dictionary of Civil Engineers in GB and Ireland 1500 – 1830* (Vol. 1), (London: 2002), pp. 733-734; TNA – IR1/piece 67 – Register of Duties paid for indentures of apprenticeship: G Allcock to Underhill, dated 29 July 1794.

⁷⁸ Leach, J. and Tamlyn, J., *Reports of Cases decided in the High Court of Chancery* (Vol. 1), (London: 1831), pp. 250 - 251.

north was less reflective of the traditional professions and included a bailiff, Town Crier and limner.

Trade	<i>Wheatsheaf</i>	St Johns	<i>Freedom</i>	Harmonic	<i>Raven</i>	<i>Talbot II</i>	Hope	Worcester
	<i>Bewdley</i>	Bromsgrove	<i>Dudley</i>	Dudley	<i>K'minster</i>	<i>Stourbridge</i>	Stourbridge	Worcester
Drinks trade	4	5	10	17	5	2	1	15
Mercer/drapery	2	1	1	7	2	2	3	9
Grocer/butcher etc		2	7	1				3
Craftsmen	3	4	10	8	11	2	10	8
Service operators			1					1
Total	9	12	29	33	18	6	14	36

Table 10: *Antients* and Moderns lodges 1762-1813: Joiners in the dealing sector.

The 'dealing' sector was the largest for both the *Antients* and Moderns and accounted for nearly half of the membership of the former. The membership of both Grand Lodges is similar in each constituent category in *Table 10*, but with some differences of note. The 'drinks trade' of the Moderns includes six hop merchants in Worcester which is located near to the hop farms of South Worcestershire: five belonged to Worcester Lodge and one to Harmonic. Worcester city and Stourbridge were prosperous urban areas catering for the local gentry and middle classes, and their lodges included wine merchants and spirit merchants to cater for their tastes: Worcester Lodge (5) and the Talbot II Lodge (1).⁷⁹ The mercer/drapery trade was dominated by the Moderns lodges of Worcester, and Harmonic in Dudley. Possible reasons for the dominance of the Moderns are that Dudley and Worcester were the two most populated centres and

⁷⁹ Jones, P. M., *Industrial Enlightenment*, p. 31.

that, by grouping in one lodge, they gained the opportunity to network. The most likely reason that Daniel Fullard (Freedom) did not join the other mercers of Dudley in Harmonic Lodge was that he, together with his brother William, were Founders of the Antients Freedom Lodge.⁸⁰

The craftsmen category covers a diversified range of trades in both Antients and Moderns Lodges, including carpenters, cordwainers, saddlers and hatters/cappers. There were no significant differences between the North and South but there is evidence of specialist craftsmen being members of lodges where their expertise serviced local industries; examples include Henry Perrin (Raven) who made weaving-harnesses in carpet manufacturing Kidderminster, and Benjamin Bate (Freedom) who was a bellows-maker in the glass manufacturing and iron foundry town of Dudley.⁸¹

Originally the term 'gentil' meant noble but over time its meaning changed so that 'nobility' described those with a title and 'gentleman' came to represent those who did not work manually to generate an income. According to Corfield: 'Gentlemanly status was not a matter for law, but for social negotiation and different groups became recognised as gentlemanly at different times.'⁸² As England increasingly became a trading nation in the eighteenth century, successful commercial and professional men were recognised and, later in the century, 'there were individual vintners, brewers, tanners, theatre-managers and dancing-masters

⁸⁰ MF - GBR 1991 AR/SN1111 – Annual Returns of Freedom Lodge.

⁸¹ MF - GBR 1991 AR/SN1111 – Annual Returns of Freedom Lodge (MF); GBR 1991 LF/SN844 – Lodge File of Raven Lodge.

⁸² Corfield, P. J., 'The Rivals: Landed and other Gentlemen,' in Harte, N. B. and Quinault, R., *Land and Society in Britain, 1700-1914* (Manchester: 1996), p. 12.

Occupation	No.	%
Landowners	4	11.4
Merchants and Dealing	4	11.4
Professionals	5	14.3
Independent Means	5	14.3
Manufacturers	2	5.7
Other	15	42.9
Total	35	100

Table 11: Occupations of gentlemen joining Worcestershire lodges 1762 -1813

(The constituent parts of the *Table* follow those in the survey of directories performed by Corfield – see below.)

who used the title'.⁸³ Corfield's survey of directories of sixteen towns in the 1770s and 1780s identified 1375 gentlemen, of whom 43.7 percent had no identifiable occupation, 42.3 percent were in the professions, 13 percent were in commerce and banking, and less than .01 percent were in manufacturing.⁸⁴

Thirty-one of the members described as 'gentlemen' belonged to Moderns lodges, with Harmonic and Worcester having eight and twenty-one respectively; only four belonged to Antients lodges. Partly this reflects the North-South split, with Worcester city having farms and estates in its hinterland as compared to the industrialised North. A further factor was that, while there were undoubtedly rich industrialists in the Antients lodges, they identified themselves within masonic

⁸³ Corfield, P. J., 'The Rivals', p. 13.

⁸⁴ Corfield, P. J., 'The Rivals', p. 13.

records by reference to their industries (such as glass manufacturer), rather than by the generic 'gentleman'. Consistent with the foregoing, only two in *Table 11* were identified as manufacturers which, although a higher percentage than the <0.01 per cent identified by Corfield, is still the smallest in the category.

Four gentlemen, all with a similar background, were landowners, and two are given as examples. John Merry (Harmonic) lived in Aylesbury House and owned the Packwood estate, both in Warwickshire, together with land in Kings Heath and properties in central Birmingham.⁸⁵ Thomas Downing (Talbot II) owned land in Kingswinford together with land through which the Stourbridge Canal was cut.⁸⁶ Several held civic positions, such as Richard Chambers (Worcester) who was High Sheriff of Herefordshire, and Downing was a trustee of one of the Stourbridge turnpike roads.⁸⁷ They were similar to the Esquires examined earlier but with smaller land interests.

Three of the merchants owned substantial businesses. Herbert Bury (Wheatsheaf), who was descended from a land-owning family in Abberley, was a mercer/haberdasher whose business was large enough to employ five apprentices between 1767 and 1773. In his will, he bequeathed messuages and farms in Kidderminster and in Suckley, South Worcestershire.⁸⁸ Thomas and Denis Vernon (Worcester) were partners in Vernon & Banester, distillers and importers, of

⁸⁵ NTA - PROB 11/1352 - will of John Merry.

⁸⁶ DUDA - D6/1/D4/6 and 7 – mortgage dated 25 July 1788 between T. O. Downing and J. Robins secured on property and lands within Kingswinford; 16 Geo III c.28 – Stourbridge Canal Act 1796, 'Reference to the Plan of the Intended Canal' and p. 17.

⁸⁷ *London Gazette* No. 13385, 31 January 1792, p. 77 appointment of R. Chambers as High Sheriff; WAAS - 899:31/BA3762/4/(iv) – Stourbridge Turnpike (2 Geo3 c78) Minute Book, minute 6 December 1763.

⁸⁸ TNA -PROB 11/1448 – will of Herbert Bury, gentleman, Bewdley.

Tewkesbury.⁸⁹ That Thomas was Chamberlain (Treasurer) of Tewkesbury in 1827 and a Captain in the Tewkesbury Volunteer Infantry at its formation in 1803 affirms their high social standing.⁹⁰ In contrast, the fourth merchant, James Stokes (Worcester), was a hop merchant and chapman but he seems to have been a poor businessman as he became bankrupt on two occasions.⁹¹ Four members were local merchants: John Chambers (Hope) was a glass merchant in glass-making Stourbridge; Joseph Smith (Worcester), who lived in rural Stourport, was a corn-merchant; and Jonathan Hopkins (Worcester) initially was a grocer/wine merchant but later became a hop-merchant and chapman.⁹² John Dent ran a glove manufactory in Worcester and his description of himself as a 'merchant' is an interesting observation on the conduct of the glove trade.⁹³ Dents were one of the largest glove producers in England but, given the outsourced nature of the production process, Dent perhaps saw his business as securing orders from retailers in London (merchanting) rather than manufacturing. Although the nature of their merchanting activities is unknown, both James Hipkins (Harmonic) and John George (Worcester) appear to have been wealthy as Hipkins lived in Berwood House and estate in Erdington (near Birmingham), and George was a 'principal

⁸⁹ Morewood, S., *An Essay on the Inventions and Customs of both the Ancients and Moderns in the use of Inebriating Liquors* (London: 1824), p. 304.

⁹⁰ Bennett, J., *The History of Tewkesbury* (London: 1830), p. 194 and p. 315.

⁹¹ *London Gazette* No. 16297, 12 September 1809, p. 1489 and No. 17273, 2 August 1817, p. 1701.

⁹² TNA– IR1: piece 1 - Register of Duties paid for apprentices' indentures, entry 6, J Hopkins, St. Nicholas, Worcester, Grocer; *London Gazette* No. 16530, 12 October 1811, p. 2005 – insolvency of J. Hopkins, hop merchant, dealer and chapman.

⁹³ MF - GBR 1991 AR/SN905 – Annual Returns of Hope Lodge; *Holden's Annual Directory 1816/17* (London: W. Holden, 1818), p. 245.

inhabitant' of the township of Rushwick.⁹⁴ Masonic records give no indication of the size or nature of the trade of the other merchants. However, their absence from directories of the time probably points to them not being of significant size.

The professionals, who were all members of Moderns lodges, practised across a variety of professions. Samuel Wyatt (Harmonic), who was a land surveyor based in Burton upon Trent, was actively involved as a Commissioner for Enclosure Acts, being appointed by leading families in the area.⁹⁵ His expertise was acknowledged by William Pitt in the foreword to his review of Staffordshire.⁹⁶ Samuel Hayes (Worcester) was a writing master and accomptant; a person of the same name was a member of the Wheatsheaf Lodge but there is insufficient evidence to link the two. Louis D' Egville, who was of Huguenot descent, was a dancing-master in Worcester, operating initially in College Yard and later in Britannia Square.⁹⁷ He was wealthy, having built several mansion houses in the Square and, with his wife, owned other properties and land, which he used as security for a loan from Farley, Johnson and Lavender.⁹⁸ The two remaining professionals were linked to Worcester Cathedral. William Kenge was organist and choirmaster from 1807 to 1813, before becoming professor of music and organist at St James's Church,

⁹⁴ Wrightson, R., *Wrightson's New Triennial Directory* (Birmingham: 1818), p. 64 and p. 161; The Patentees, *The Universal British Directory of Trade, Commerce and Manufacture* (Vol. IV), (London: 1791), p. 865.

⁹⁵ Wyatt is named in the 38 Geo III c.72 -Thurcaston Enclosure Act 1798; 38 Geo III c. 73 – Swithland Enclosure Act 1798; 15 Geo III c. 33 – Kingswinford Enclosure Act 1776.

⁹⁶ Pitt, W. *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Stafford: with Observations on the Means of its Improvement* (London: 1796).

⁹⁷ TNA - RG4/piece 4593 - Births, marriages and deaths surrendered to the Non-Parochial Registers Commissions of 1837 and 1857: Eglise de l'Artileries, Spitalfields, marriage of Pierre d'Egville to Marie La Hond, 11 July 1734 (Grandparents).

⁹⁸ Britannia Square Residents' Association - <http://britanniasquare.org/househistoriesproject.aspx> [Accessed 3/01/2020]; WAAS 899: 749/8782/17/C31/13 – indenture 1835 between Farley, Johnson, Lavender and the D'Egville.

Guernsey, and Joseph Shelton was Lay Clerk of the Cathedral from 1782 until his death in 1848.⁹⁹

The five masons of 'independent means' were described in directories and in obituaries as 'gentlemen' or 'principal inhabitants', without reference to occupation, suggesting that they had investment income and assets. Both manufacturers were members of Worcester Lodge. William Shirley was a carpet manufacturer in Kidderminster - either in partnership with or working for his father.¹⁰⁰ John Dillon was a glover in Worcester and records show that he employed at least one apprentice; he was Mayor of Worcester in 1804.¹⁰¹ The 'unknown' category comprises masons who described themselves as gentlemen in lodge records, but for whom no evidence has been found concerning their occupation, wealth or position in society. At 42.9 percent this group is very similar to Corfield's 42.3 percent; the most likely reason for the high percentage is the paucity of records available from which to identify them more precisely.

Two occupations dominated the 'Lesser white collar' group in *Table 7*: there were six schoolmasters and four Excise Officers, together with a postmaster and a bookkeeper. Eight belonged to Moderns lodges, including all the teachers while three of the four members of Antients lodges were Excise Officers.

The final category in *Table 7* of 'other' occupations includes ten linked to military regiments who joined between 1791 and 1801 - of whom nine were in the

⁹⁹ Everitt, D., 'The Ancestry of William Morris: the Worcester Connection', *Journal of William Morris Studies* (Summer 2014), pp. 34 - 59.

¹⁰⁰ Pigot, J. *Commercial Directory for 1818-1820* p. 182; *Gloucester Journal* – 6 December 1802 reporting the death from smallpox, at Hereford of William Shirley, carpet manufacturer.

¹⁰¹ Gundry, J., 'The Worcester Royal Directory 1794', p. 55; TNA- IR1/ piece 66 – Board of Stamps: Apprentices Books – apprenticeship of Edward Hooper, 19 March 1791; Philips, R., *The Monthly Magazine* (Vol. 37), 1 April 1814, p. 280.

regular army and one in a local militia. This period, the time of the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars, witnessed a wave of patriotism and nearly 400,000 volunteered for service in the militias.¹⁰² Joseph Hall (Worcester), who was a Lieutenant in the Worcestershire Provisional Cavalry, was a tobacconist trading as 'Hall and Morris' in Worcester.¹⁰³ That he was a tobacconist by trade and described as a 'Gentleman' in the *London Gazette*, but chose to describe himself as an army Lieutenant is an interesting illustration of how the patriotism of the period determined the way individuals viewed themselves. Of the remaining eight, one was a Quartermaster and the rest were officers and, with one exception, it has not been possible to link them to the locality of the lodges of which they were members. The evidence suggests that they joined while stationed in the respective towns and moved on with the regiment; for example, Harry Lowe and Charles Turner were initiated into Worcester Lodge in 1800 and 1801, respectively, but they were not included in Returns made under the Unlawful Societies Act 1799 for their year of initiation or any subsequent year.¹⁰⁴ The exception was Captain Alexander Wood of the 31st Regiment of Foot when he was initiated into Hope Lodge (Stourbridge) in 1792, who died in Stourbridge in 1817.¹⁰⁵ Thomas Jackson was Proctor of the Cathedral and Secretary to the Officers of the Infirmary.¹⁰⁶ He

¹⁰² Cookson, J.E., 'The English Volunteer Movement of the French Wars, 1793-1815: Some Contexts' *The Historical Journal* Vol. 32 (4), (1989), p. 867.

¹⁰³ MF - GBR 1991 AR/SN 1184 – Worcester Lodge; *London Gazette* No. 15019, 26 May 1798, p. 449; *London Gazette* No. 16059, 22 August 1807, p. 1119.

¹⁰⁴ MF - GBR 1991 AR/SN 1184 – Worcester Lodge; WAAS - B496.5 BA9360/A23/Box1 – Annual returns 1799-1806 made by the Worcester Lodge (No 483) under the 1799 Unlawful Societies Act.

¹⁰⁵ MF - GBR 1991 AR/SN905 - Hope Lodge; *Monthly Magazine*, 1 February 1817 – reports death in Stourbridge of Lt-Gen A Wood, late Governor of St Lucia.

¹⁰⁶ Chambers, J., *A General History of Worcester* (Worcester: 1820), p. 226 and p. 307.

also had military connections and was described as a 'gentleman', when he was appointed Captain in the East Worcestershire Local Militia.¹⁰⁷

The remaining 'other' members comprise another Proctor of the Cathedral, a musician and four artists. One artist of note was Robert Hancock who joined the Worcester Porcelain Company in 1756/57. He was an accomplished engraver who developed a transfer-printing technique which revolutionised the production of porcelain artefacts. His will describes him as a 'gentleman', he owned two large properties in Worcester and was known to have made considerable financial losses through the failure of a bank in which he had invested.¹⁰⁸

Table 12 analyses the age profile of members of the Antients and Moderns Lodges. The average (mean) age of the Antients at 30 years and the median at 31.5 years demonstrates that most members were around 30 when they joined. The Moderns have a slightly higher average at 32 years but the much higher median at 35 years indicates that a cohort of younger members pulled the average age away from the more typical older age of those joining the Moderns. The principal reason for the differences lies in the social mix, where the higher representation of gentlemen and professionals among the Moderns increased the age profile, because they joined later in life. There was no marked age difference between the various Moderns and Antients lodges. There was, however, a difference in age profile between the North and the South of the county with the

¹⁰⁷ *London Gazette* No. 16353, 20 March 1810, p. 423.

¹⁰⁸ TNA – PROB 11/1598 – will of Robert Hancock, proven 27 September 1817; Puetz, A., 'Hancock, Robert (1731-1817)' <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12186>, [Accessed 15 August 2017].

	Antients	Moderns
Mean	30 years	32 years
Oldest	52 years	56 years
Youngest	17 years	18 years
Median	31.5 years	35 years

Table 12: Age profile of members of Antients and Moderns Lodges¹⁰⁹

North having a younger membership, which is explained by the fact that there were more Antients lodges in the North, which had a lower average age of joining.

4.4 Lodge membership 1762 to 1813 – comparison with the North-west

John Acaster, and John Belton with David Harrison have researched lodge membership in Manchester/Salford during between 1757 and 1813, and in four towns in the North-west between 1800 and 1819, respectively.¹¹⁰ This section compares their findings to those outlined above.

Their research identified no farmers or ‘esquires’, indicating that two higher class social groups found in lodges both in the North and South of Worcestershire were unrepresented in Manchester and towns in the North-west. Harrison and Belton’s survey revealed nine per cent of members were engaged in manufacturing.¹¹¹ For

¹⁰⁹ Data extracted from the database contained in *Appendix 4*.

¹¹⁰ Harrison, D. and Belton, J., ‘Society in Flux: the Emergence and Rise of Middle-class Civil Society in Nineteenth-century Industrial North-West England’, in Önnersfors, A. and Péter, R. (eds.), *Researching British Freemasonry 1717-2017* (Sheffield: 2010), pp. 71 - 98; Acaster, J., ‘The Composition of Masonic Membership in Manchester and Salford during the Period of early Industrialisation before 1814’, in Önnersfors, A. and Péter, R. (eds.), *Researching British Freemasonry 1717-2017*, pp. 41-56.

¹¹¹ Harrison, D and Belton, J., ‘Society in Flux’, p. 76.

his part, Acaster shows that 18.8 per cent of joiners of Moderns lodges, whose occupation was known, were in the manufacturing, engineering and machine-making sectors; the corresponding percentage for the Antients lodges was 6.5 per cent.¹¹² These statistics reveal that, while Moderns lodges in Manchester/Salford had similar levels of industrial membership to Worcestershire, Antients lodges both in Manchester/Salford and other towns in the North-west had significantly lower representation. The most likely explanation for the variation is the social class of the membership of the Antients lodges. In Worcestershire several industrialists came from higher social classes and, of the remainder, many were proprietors of businesses with employees, whereas 44.4 per cent of the membership of the North-west was engaged in the cotton industry as weavers, spinners and dyers.¹¹³

Comparison with Harrison and Belton shows that a much lower percentage (3.6 per cent) of joiners in the North-west were professionals (no split available between Grand Lodges or professions).¹¹⁴ Acaster reveals that no lawyers joined the Antients in the 1790s and they comprised only 2.5 per cent of those joining Moderns Lodges; moreover, membership appears to have been short-lived as, at the date of union in 1813, there were no lawyers in any lodge in Manchester/Salford.¹¹⁵ As with lawyers, the North-west shows a lower representation of medics with three joining Moderns lodges in Manchester/Salford and none in the Antients, and possibly some in the unanalysed eight professionals

¹¹² Acaster, J., 'The Composition of Masonic Membership in Manchester and Salford', 54-55.

¹¹³ Acaster, J., 'The Composition of Masonic Membership in Manchester and Salford', pp. 54-55; the percentage of the total membership (i.e., including those whose occupation is unknown) is 22.4%.

¹¹⁴ Harrison, D. and Belton, J., 'Society in Flux', p. 76.

¹¹⁵ Acaster, J., 'The Composition of Masonic Membership in Manchester and Salford', pp. 54 - 55.

joining lodges in North-west towns.¹¹⁶ No bankers were identified in Manchester/Salford and, while Harrison and Belton identified eight professionals, bankers are likely to have been lower due to the social mix of the membership in the North-west. A theme consistent to all three researchers is the lower class composition of the North-west membership. Acaster observes that in 1813 about a quarter of lodge membership comprised weavers and spinners who were mostly recent immigrants.¹¹⁷ Harrison and Belton remark that, during the first half of the nineteenth century, 'much of the membership was composed of working men, skilled labourers or owners in the smaller mills'; the tables included in the article suggest that this was also the situation in the late eighteenth century.¹¹⁸ Much of the membership in the North-west would therefore have had little call on legal and other professional services and, from a networking perspective, this would have made lodge membership less attractive to members of the professions as compared to Worcestershire with its different social mix.

The number of clerics in Worcestershire was higher than in the North-west. Two were identified in Manchester/Salford and, while some may have been included in the unanalysed eight professionals in the four North-west towns, they are likely to have been fewer.¹¹⁹ Reasons for the lower representation may include Worcester being a cathedral city, where some of the appointments were benefices of the Cathedral. Both Acaster and Harrison and Belton refer to high levels of

¹¹⁶ Acaster, J., 'The Composition of Masonic Membership in Manchester and Salford', p. 51; Harrison, D. and Belton, J., 'Society in Flux', p. 76.

¹¹⁷ Acaster, J., 'The Composition of Masonic Membership in Manchester and Salford', p. 51.

¹¹⁸ Harrison, D. and Belton, J., 'Society in Flux', pp. 75 - 89.

¹¹⁹ Acaster, J., 'The Composition of Masonic Membership in Manchester and Salford', pp. 54-55; Harrison, D. and Belton, J., 'Society in Flux', p. 76.

immigration, including from Ireland, and the resultant influx of Roman Catholics whose priests were barred from joining Freemasonry under a Papal Bull, may also have had an effect.¹²⁰

Eight merchants joined Manchester/Salford lodges in the 1790s, showing a higher incidence than in Worcestershire.¹²¹ The most likely reason for the difference is that the Manchester/Salford conurbation was more populous and required more merchants to service its needs, thereby providing a greater pool of potential members. The population exceeded 70,000 in 1801 compared with a combined total for Worcester, Dudley and Stourbridge of 26,200 in 1800.¹²²

Acaster identified eleven members with military connections, of whom ten were in the ranks (all from Antients lodges) and one was an officer and a member of a Moderns lodge.¹²³ This finding contrasts with Worcestershire where all bar one of the military were officers, with six drawn from Moderns lodges and three from Antients lodges. The difference is probably due to the social composition of the lodges where the lower social class profile of the North-west lodges meant that it was less likely that their members would have held officer rank.

Because research carried out in the North-west did not incorporate ages it has not been possible to compare age profiles with those of Worcestershire.

¹²⁰ *In Eminenti Apostolatus Specula* issued by Pope Clement XII, 28 April 1738.

¹²¹ Acaster, J., 'The Composition of Masonic Membership in Manchester and Salford', p. 51.

¹²² Rodgers, H. B., *Encyclopaedia Britannica* -<https://www.britannica.com/place/Manchester-England> [Accessed: 20 December 2019]; Jones, P. M., *Industrial Enlightenment*, p. 29.

¹²³ Acaster, J., 'The Composition of Masonic Membership in Manchester and Salford', p. 54.

4.5 Lodge membership 1762 to 1813 - findings

The preceding sections have demonstrated that, between 1762 and 1813, membership of Worcestershire lodges, irrespective of Grand Lodge affiliation, had a broad social profile. The only excluded group was unskilled workers in industry and agriculture whose members were not represented, most likely because of work patterns and the financial costs of membership. Employees generally, were poorly represented, and were confined to banking, Anglican Church office holders, and one member of the regular army who was not an officer. The reasons for low levels of employee representation are likely to be similar to those causing the lack of representation of unskilled workers in industry and agriculture.

The Moderns were more biased towards the 'respectable classes', having greater representation among esquires, professions and gentlemen: c. 34 per cent as compared to c. 20 per cent for the Antients. Clark researched the composition of Moderns' lodges in the South-west, South-east and the North (but not the Midlands) for the period 1768 to 1770, where the corresponding percentages for the respectable classes were 43.6, 36.6 and 16.9 respectively.¹²⁴ Clark's statistics confirm the membership differences between Worcestershire and the North-west identified in the research undertaken for this thesis and, at a national level, they support the argument that membership of Freemasonry was not homogenous but varied across regions. Interestingly, the percentages also suggest a pattern whereby the mix was less elitist the further north the lodges were located. The Antients had a greater concentration (nearly half) in the lower social class 'dealing

¹²⁴ Clark, P., *British Clubs and Societies, 1580-1800*, p. 322, Table 9.3. [North defined as Cheshire, Lancashire, Durham, Cumberland, Northumberland, Westmorland, Yorkshire].

group' but, nevertheless, their membership also included those with a higher social profile such as clerics, professionals, gentlemen and several wealthy industrialists. These findings indicate a wider social base among the Antients than that identified in the North-west by Acaster and Clark.¹²⁵

Interrogation of the database has revealed that the heterogeneous social profile at county level also existed at lodge level. Using sixty percent as a measure of exclusivity, no lodge had any social category with that level of membership. This plurality of membership at lodge level contrasts with Clark's findings from research into Moderns lodges in other provinces, using a higher seventy per cent factor of exclusivity. He found sixty-seven percent of Moderns lodges in the North were exclusive between 1768 and 1770, dropping to 60 percent in the 1790s; in both cases dominated by the 'lesser trades'.¹²⁶ In southern England, Clark found exclusivity of the upper social classes, with exclusive lodges rising from 30 percent between 1768-1770, to nearly 50 percent in the 1790s.¹²⁷ Unfortunately, Clark did not perform exclusivity tests on Antients lodges against which to compare the findings of this thesis.

This study has established that Freemasonry in Worcestershire was diverse in both Antient and Modern lodges, although the overall social mix differed between the two. It has also established that, unlike in London and provinces which have been the subject of research, this broad social mix existed at individual lodge level, so that Freemasonry at lodge level was heterogeneous and no lodge had an

¹²⁵ Acaster, J., 'The Composition of Masonic Membership in Manchester and Salford', pp. 54 - 55; Clark, P., *British Clubs and Societies*, p. 322.

¹²⁶ Clark, P., *British Clubs and Societies*, p. 323.

¹²⁷ Clark, P., *British Clubs and Societies*, p. 323. [Southern defined as East Anglia, S.W and S.E].

'exclusive' membership. Importantly, by establishing the link between membership and local economic activity, the research has demonstrated a close correlation between lodge membership and the local community; as a result, the industries reflected in the membership varied across the county. The topographical differences revealed when comparing membership across England also support the thesis that there was a linkage between lodges and their locality. Finally, the research undertaken, including comparison with the findings of other researchers, illustrates how Freemasonry's wide social capital appealed to different sections of society nationally and how, at the local level, it contributed to the diverse nature of individual lodge membership within Worcestershire.

4.6 Lodge membership 1814 to 1850 – social profile

The methodology adopted to establish the social composition of masonic lodges in the period from 1762 to 1813 involved identification of the various occupations present within the membership, together with a granular examination of the social backgrounds of a cross-section of individual members. Having thus established a picture of the Worcestershire membership, the approach for the period between 1814 and 1850 is one of comparison, to identify and explain changes in membership characteristics from the earlier period. *Table 13* analyses members joining lodges in Worcestershire between 1814 and 1850 together with comparisons to those who joined in the period to 1813 *in toto* and to those who joined lodges in Wolverhampton between 1835 and 1872. The latter comparison is

expressed as percentages, computed by reference to John Morfitt's analyses, which also use Trainor's classification of occupation and social class.¹²⁸

In overview, the table shows that lodge membership in Worcestershire continued to encompass a broad spectrum of occupations and social classes, along with an increase in the number of occupations represented. Reflecting the growth in Freemasonry nationally, memberships in the 36-year period up to 1850 show an increase over those in the 51 years up to 1813, and the growth was evenly split between lodges in the North (330) and those in the South (323).¹²⁹ This increase is accompanied by changes in the composition of the membership whereby, as compared to 1762 to 1813, there were reduced percentages of members in the industrial and dealing sectors, and a very large increase in the professional/commercial category. These trends accelerated over the period. *Table 14*, which analyses joiners in the first and last decades of the period, shows that, in the last decade, new members drawn from the professions totalled c. 46 per cent of all joiners while those in industry and dealing had dropped to c. 10 per cent and c. 32 per cent respectively.

The aristocracy/esquires were predominantly members of lodges situated in South Worcestershire and their percentage is essentially unchanged from the previous period. There are, however, two features which distinguish them from the pre-UGLE era. Firstly, they included two members of the aristocracy: Sir William Rouse-Boughton Bt. (Mercy & Truth) and Sir Edmund Lechmere (Semper Fidelis).

¹²⁸ Morfitt, J., 'Freemasonry in Wolverhampton 1834-1899', *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, Vol. 108 (1995), pp. 175-187; Data extracted from Table 6.

¹²⁹ South being lodges in Worcester, Evesham and Bromgrove, and the North being lodges in Stourbridge, Kidderminster and Dudley.

	Moderns/Antients Grand Lodges		UGLE		Wolverhampton
	1762-1813		1814-1850		1834-1872
	Total	%	Total	%	%
Aristocracy/Esquires	3	0.79	5	0.77	0.40
Industry - <i>Table 15</i>	76	20.21	88	13.48	9.20
Dealing – <i>Table 18</i>	157	41.76	247	37.83	39.30
Agriculture	4	1.06	9	1.38	0.00
Professional/commercial – <i>Table 16</i>	72	19.41	231	35.38	35.00
Middle Class – unspecified - <i>Table 17</i>	35	9.31	42	6.43	5.00
Lesser white collar	12	3.20	10	1.53	9.60
Working men	0	0.00	1	0.15	0.00
Other	<u>16</u>	<u>4.26</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>3.05</u>	<u>1.50</u>
	<u>375</u>	<u>100.00</u>	<u>653</u>	<u>100.00</u>	<u>100.00</u>
Number of occupations/Lodges	<u>98</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>129</u>	<u>9</u>	

Table 13: UGLE joiners 1814-1850 compared with total joiners 1762-1813 and in Wolverhampton between 1834-1872.

Sir William was MP for Evesham and Sir Edmund was MP, after the period of the thesis, for Worcestershire West and, later, Bewdley. He also served as a JP, High Sheriff and Deputy Lieutenant of Worcestershire.¹³⁰ The family seat of Rouse-Boughton was Downton Hall in Shropshire and he also owned estates in

¹³⁰ Williams, W.R., *The Parliamentary History of the County of Gloucester* (Hereford: 1898), p. 257.

Worcestershire.¹³¹ The latter, who became third baronet in 1856, owned a substantial estate in Hanley Swan, Worcestershire.¹³² The second feature was their increased involvement in local militias and high civic office. Henry Charles Vernon, who owned the Hilton Park estate in Staffordshire and property near Malvern in Worcestershire, was a JP, High Sheriff of Staffordshire in 1867 and

	1814-1823		1841-1850	
	Total	%	Total	%
Aristocracy	1	0.72	4	1.08
Industry	29	20.87	37	9.95
Dealing	57	41.00	117	31.45
Agriculture	1	0.72	5	1.34
Professional/commercial	31	22.30	171	45.97
Middle Class - unspecified	13	9.35	19	5.11
Lesser white collar	2	1.44	5	1.34
Working men	0	0.00	1	0.27
Other	<u>5</u>	<u>3.60</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>3.49</u>
	<u>139</u>	<u>100.00</u>	<u>372</u>	<u>100.00</u>

Table 14: Comparison of initiates/joiners in Worcestershire between 1814 - 1823 and between 1841 – 1850

¹³¹ History of Parliament Online - <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/rouse-boughton-william-1788-1856>, [Accessed 18 Sept 2015]; The Royal Society, *List of Members 1660-2007* (London, July 2007) – Ref EC/1814/04.

¹³² Hanley Swan website – www.hanleyswan.net/history/families/Lechmere

Deputy Lieutenant of the county in 1886.¹³³ Robert Blayney, who inherited substantial landholdings in and around Evesham and in Gloucestershire, was appointed Captain in the Worcestershire Regiment of Militia and was a JP for Worcestershire, Warwickshire and Gloucestershire.¹³⁴

Table 15 reveals changes from the earlier period in the industries represented within the membership. In some instances, these arose from changes within Freemasonry. For example, Bromsgrove was a needle-manufacturing centre but the lodge in Bromsgrove closed prior to 1813 and the absence of a replacement until 1845 meant there was no representation of the trade. Similarly, the absence of glassmaking in Stourbridge stemmed from the lodge closing in the early 1800s and its replacement not being formed until 1849. In other cases, membership changes derived from economic factors which caused some industries to cease, others to expand, and yet others to commence in the area. Members in silk manufacturing in Kidderminster fell because the industry itself ceased due to changes in fashion. Conversely, Kidderminster became one of the largest carpet manufacturing towns in England, leading to a large increase in its representation within Freemasonry, including the creation of a second lodge in the town. Increased levels of printing books, newspapers and broadsheets are reflected in an increased representation of the print industry within lodges. Another new industry

¹³³ Burke, J., *Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland* (London:1863), p. 1575; *London Gazette* Nos. 23215 and 20606, 2 February 1867 and 22 May 1846, p. 611 and p. 1886 respectively.

¹³⁴ TNA – PROB 11/ 1905 – will of Thomas Blayney, father, proven 28 January 1838; Memorial inscription St Thomas a Beckett Church, Chapel-en-le-frith, Stone; *London Gazette* No. 20246, 28 July 1843, p. 2548; *Victoria County History – Worcestershire* (Vol. 4) (1924), pp. 111-118; *London Gazette* Nos. 20698 and 22303, 5 February 1847 and 2 September 1859, p. 411 and p. 3302 respectively.

	<i>Clive B'grove</i>	<i>Worc'ter Worc'ter</i>	<i>Semper Fidelis Worc'ter</i>	<i>Mercy &Truth Evesham</i>	Harmonic Dudley	Hope & Charity K'minster	Royal Standard K'minster	Stability Stourb'ge	Faithful K'minster
Carpets						15			3
Glass					4				
Iron Founder			1		6				1
Ironmonger		5			1		1	1	
Timber						1	1		
Miller		1				1			
Glover		6	2						
Silversmith		1							
Tin/pewter						2			
China		1	1						
Nailmaking								1	
Coal				1	3			1	1
Papermaking			1	1					
Brazier					1				
Brushmaking		1	1						
Coachbuilding	2								
Newspaper		1	1						
Printing		1	1	1	1		1	1	1
Engineering					3				
Other					3	3			1
Total	2	17	8	3	22	22	3	4	7

Table 15: Analysis of joiners between 1814-1850 in industry.
(Lodges in the *South* of the county are italicised)

to the region was railway-carriage construction, which commenced to satisfy the increasing demands of the railways in the early and mid-nineteenth century, and which was represented within Clive Lodge, Bromsgrove.

As in the earlier period, industrialists included successful entrepreneurs from across a range of industries. Two drawn from industries not represented between 1762 and 1813 provide examples. Thomas William Kinder, an engineer, in partnership with Richard Johnson (both Clive) introduced railway-carriage building to Worcestershire, operating from premises in Bromsgrove and Oldbury.¹³⁵ They also contracted to operate the Shrewsbury and Birmingham Railway and the Midland Great Western Railway in Ireland. All businesses were successful and his personal standing increased: Kinder served as an officer in a local militia and lived in Rigby Hall. He later became the Master of the Hong Kong Mint and Director of the Japanese Imperial Mint. Alexander B. Cochrane (Harmonic) founded Cochrane & Co. in 1846, operating from the Woodside Ironworks and Foundry. It manufactured cold blast pig and iron castings and became one of the largest manufactories in the area, manufacturing inter alia, the Holborn Viaduct, Runcorn Bridge, the cast pillars of the Crystal Palace and 18,000 tons of pipes for the Melbourne Waterworks.¹³⁶

Most industrial undertakings were, as in the previous period, medium-sized and small. The expansion of the carpet industry in Kidderminster saw an influx of Irish

¹³⁵ Hanashiro, R. S., *Kinder, Thomas William (1817–1884)* *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/100919>, [Accessed 12 Jan 2016]; *London Gazette* No. 21968, 17 February 1857, p. 553.

¹³⁶ Alexander Brodie Cochrane - [http://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Alexander_Brodie_Cochrane_\(1786-1853\)](http://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Alexander_Brodie_Cochrane_(1786-1853)) [Accessed: 23 July 2015].

immigrants involved in the various stages of carpet production. They were self-employed, sometimes employing family members and other workers in processes such as wool sorting, dyeing and weaving. As such, they bolstered the numbers of smaller businesses within the ranks of Freemasonry in North Worcestershire.

Of the nine farmers within the agriculture category, two were in the North around Kidderminster and seven were in the South in the neighbourhood of Worcester and Evesham. Evidence obtained suggests they were like those of the earlier period, owning small to medium-sized farms which they farmed personally. William Clemens was unusual as he was not an owner but an affluent tenant farmer, being the 'highly respected tenant' of Birlingham Hall and estate of 196 acres, which he initially farmed as the partnership 'Clemens and Skinner', and later as sole proprietor.¹³⁷

The nineteenth century witnessed considerable growth in the professions, a phenomenon that T.R. Gourvish ascribes to 'an increasing and increasingly prosperous population, together with its concentration in urban settlements and the diversification of the industrial structure with increased emphasis upon the service sectors'.¹³⁸ In consequence, by 1841, forty-eight percent of the population lived in urban areas and the service sector comprised forty-four percent of Great Britain's national income.¹³⁹ The increase was, in part, due to growth in the traditional professions of law, medicine and education but it was augmented by new professions and 'white-collar' occupations. The heavily urbanised and

¹³⁷ *London Gazette* No. 19942, 19 January 1841, p. 167; *The Law Times*, 29 May 1847, p. 190.

¹³⁸ Gourvish, T. R., 'The Rise of the Professions' in Gourvish, T.R. and O'Day, A. S., (eds.) *Later Victorian Britain 1867-1900* (London: 1988), p. 13.

¹³⁹ Gourvish, T. R., 'The Rise of the Professions', p. 14.

industrialised areas of Wolverhampton and North Worcestershire possessed the characteristics referred to by Gourvish, and the large increase in professional memberships recorded in *Table 16* is consistent with the socio-economic changes of these local areas.

Table 16 shows large increases in the traditional professions of law and medicine but, because of entrants into other professions, the percentages fell,

Profession	1814-1850		1762-1813	
	No.	%	No.	%
Clerics	23	10	11	15
Law	51	22	18	25
Medicine	47	20	18	25
Merchants	6	3	10	14
Sundry other	104	45	14	14
Total	231	100	72	100

Table 16: Analysis of joiners between 1814-1850 and 1762-1813 in the professions.

albeit both remain around twenty per cent. There were larger percentage declines in the clergy, which remained confined to those of the Anglican faith, and merchants. The decline in the clergy is arguably more apparent than real. There was little church building in the period and therefore clergy numbers remained relatively static, making the growth in numbers of the other professions a contributory factor to the clergy's reduced percentage. A member in this period was the Rev. Thomas Baker Morrell (Royal Standard) who, after serving as a Curate in Kidderminster, became Bishop Coadjutor of Edinburgh in the Scottish Episcopal

Church and a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.¹⁴⁰ The decline in merchants, both numerically and in percentage terms, was probably linked to the growth of factors and commercial travellers, and changes in the way that goods were promoted and sold in the nineteenth century.¹⁴¹ A factor placed production orders among a multitude of small manufacturers and employed commercial travellers to market the finished goods to retailers. Popp suggests a further role was conveying market intelligence to small manufacturers on what goods the market required, as fashions and technology changed.¹⁴² Michael French's observation that factors were linked with the Birmingham jewellery and the West Midlands hardware trades is of relevance in the context of the industrialised North of the county.¹⁴³

The 'sundry other' category in *Table 16* comprises the 'new' professions and white-collar occupations, including three factors and twenty-four commercial travellers. While the factors were businessmen, the commercial travellers were employees and, as such, increased employee representation in the membership compared to the earlier period. There are four further numerically large professions. The presence of eleven accountants reflects the growth in the profession as industrialisation continued. Because the profession was unregulated at this stage, little has been obtained by way of supporting information about this group, but their absence from directories points towards them being employees

¹⁴⁰ Bertie, D. M., *Scottish Episcopal Clergy 1689-2000* (Edinburgh: 2000), p. 376.

¹⁴¹ Popp, A., 'Building the Market: John Shaw of Wolverhampton and Commercial Travelling in early nineteenth century England', *Business History* Vol. 49 (3) (2007), p. 322.

¹⁴² Popp, A., 'Building the Market', p. 325.

¹⁴³ French, M., 'From Commercial Travellers to Sales Representatives: the Evolution of the Sales Profession in Britain, 1930s to 1960s', *Zeitschrift für Unternehmensgeschichte* Vol. 159 (2) (2014).

and small businessmen. A second group comprised seventeen architects/surveyors, the majority of whom were self-employed. The two other numerically large groups were eleven auctioneers and twelve described as 'engineers', of whom three have been identified as civil engineers, including one, Charles John Woolcott (Harmonic), who was employed by the Royal Navy. A further group consists of five in the 'public sector', namely, a Chief Constable, two Superintendents, a gaoler and a Magistrates' Clerk. The remainder were an assortment of professions, including a schoolmaster, land agents and a Town Clerk.

In both periods most 'gentlemen' in *Table 17* were members of lodges in the South. However, unlike between 1762 and 1813, when land-owning gentlemen were spread throughout the county, all lived in the South. With one exception, they were comparable with their counterparts of 1762 to 1813 in terms of the size of estates owned and standing in society. The exception was Thomas Bund (Worcester) who owned land in Worcestershire and Gloucestershire and was more akin to the members of the aristocracy/esquires group, in that he served as a JP and Deputy Lieutenant of Worcestershire, and was a member of various local militias, achieving the rank of Colonel of the Worcestershire Regiment of Militia.¹⁴⁴ Their increase in number and percentage is primarily attributable to the increased numbers of lodges in the South of the county as compared with 1762 to 1813, and the fact that Worcester Lodge was not formed until 1790, which limited its impact on membership in the earlier period.

¹⁴⁴ *London Gazette* No. 20236, 23 June 1843, p. 2113; Foster, Joseph, *Alumni Oxoniensis: the members of the University of Oxford 1715-1886* (Oxford:1888), p. 190.

The drop in professionals terming themselves 'gentlemen' within masonic records needs to be considered in the context of the overall increase in professional memberships. This numerical decline may simply be an expression of personal choice, given that the three in *Table 17* had a similar professional and social profile - a solicitor, chemist and auctioneer - to those included within

Occupation	1814-1850		1762-1813	
	No.	%	No.	%
Landowners	10	23.8	4	11.4
Merchants	1	2.4	4	11.4
Professionals	3	7.1	5	14.3
Independent means	6	14.3	5	14.3
Manufacturing	4	9.5	2	5.7
Sundry other	18	42.9	15	42.9
Total	42	100	35	100.00

Table 17: Occupations of 'gentlemen' joining masonic lodges between 1814-1850 and 1762-1813.

Table 16. The six of 'independent means' were described as 'gentlemen' in directories and obituaries, without reference to any occupation and, as with the earlier period, it has been assumed that they lived from the income of assets owned; that two of them inherited wealth and several held civic offices supports

this assumption.¹⁴⁵ One of the manufacturers, Richard Johnson (Clive), was in partnership with T.W. Kinder in the carriage manufactory in Bromsgrove. He lived at Bricklehampton Hall, served in a local militia and held civic office as Deputy Lieutenant and High Sheriff of Worcestershire in 1860 and 1867, respectively.¹⁴⁶ William Holl (Worcester) was similarly successful. He was the proprietor of the *Worcester Herald* and several publications on nature including *The Naturalist*, for which he became a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society.¹⁴⁷ At his death his estate included houses in Worcester and in Kensington, London.¹⁴⁸ Having trained as a solicitor, John Lilly (Worcester) entered into partnership with Walter Chamberlain (a freemason and his brother-in-law) trading as Chamberlain & Co., which was the largest porcelain manufacturer in Worcester and the forerunner of what was to become 'Royal Worcester'.¹⁴⁹ In 1851, Lilly was living in the Commandery, a significant building in Worcester, of which he was an Alderman

¹⁴⁵ Examples include: TNA PROB 11/1337 – will of Abiathar Hawkes (Senior) leaving Abiathar Hawkes (Harmonic) a substantial legacy; History of the Mayor of Dudley – www.mayorofdudley.org.uk [Accessed: 17 March 2017] shows Hawkes as Mayor of Dudley in 1824; Accounts and Papers relating to corporate offices Vol. 45 (1834), p. 115 shows Edward B Penrice (Worcester) as Bailiff of Droitwich in 1833.

¹⁴⁶ *London Gazette* Nos. 22353 and 23216, 3 February 1860 and 5 February 1867, p. 381 and p. 616, respectively; *London Gazette* No. 22501, 17 April 1861 – resignation of Johnson as Lieutenant in the Queen's Own Regiment of Worcestershire Militia.

¹⁴⁷ Royal Geographical Society, *Proceedings of the Geographical Society of London* (Vol. 2) (Nov 1833-June 1838), p. 468; Green, Valentine, *The History and Antiquities of the City and Suburbs of Worcester* (Vol. 2) (Worcester: 1796), p. 26.

¹⁴⁸ Principal Registry - Wills 1870/folio 189: will of William Holl, Newspaper proprietor of 72 High Street, Worcester, proved 23 March 1870 [Worcester].

¹⁴⁹ TNA Series 11, ClassKB106/3 Court of Kings Bench Articles of Clerkship; *London Gazette* No. 20343, 14 May 1844, p. 1648.

and Mayor in 1843.¹⁵⁰ The final member of the manufacturers was Henry Kinder, a relative of T.W. Kinder, who was a coach builder in Leicester.¹⁵¹

An element of the 'sundry other' category in *Table 17* are masons who described themselves as 'gentlemen', but for whom no evidence has been found concerning their occupation, wealth or position in society. This group of unknowns is less numerous than its equivalent for the period 1762 to 1813, most probably because more have been identified in the other categories, from the increased availability of information with which to identify them. Also included in the group are two MPs and the managing director of a railway. William Patchett (Clive), who was Superintendent of the joint London and North Western and Great Western railways, had business dealings with Kinder and Johnson who proposed him into Clive Lodge.¹⁵² He was a Major in the 3rd Battalion Kings Light Infantry (Shropshire Regiment) and served as a JP for Worcestershire and Shropshire as well as being Deputy Lieutenant and High Sheriff of Merioneth.¹⁵³ Richard Godson (Royal Standard) was a barrister who wrote a seminal work on patents and copyright.¹⁵⁴ He represented eleven carpet weavers from Kidderminster who faced charges in connection with the Weavers' Strikes of 1828, securing seven acquittals and reduced charges for the other four; in gratitude for his efforts the weavers

¹⁵⁰ Hunt, E., *Hunt & Co's Commercial Directory for the Cities of Gloucester, Hereford and Worcester*, (London: 1847), p. 174; Turberville, T.C., *Worcestershire in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 324.

¹⁵¹ TNA – 1861 Census, Leicester, living at 55 London Road, Leicester, 'a coach builder employing 33 men and 11 boys.

¹⁵² *Montgomery County Times and Shropshire and Mid-Wales Advertiser* – obituary 7 July 1900.

¹⁵³ *Montgomery County Times and Shropshire and Mid-Wales Advertiser* – obituary 7 July 1900.

¹⁵⁴ Richard Godson MP, <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/godson-richard-1797-1849>, [Accessed 17 Sept 2015].

presented him with a 'handsome hearth rug'.¹⁵⁵ These cases illustrate the inclusivity of Freemasonry in that another member of Royal Standard Lodge, Thomas Hallen, was the Town Clerk who read the Riot Act during the strikes and also brought the cases to court.¹⁵⁶ Godson went on to become the first MP for the constituency of Kidderminster in 1832, being re-elected on several occasions.¹⁵⁷ John Best (Royal Standard), whose father was the first mayor of the town, came from a wealthy and well-connected Kidderminster family.¹⁵⁸ After graduating from Cambridge University he became a barrister and practised on the Oxford circuit, before succeeding as MP in 1849; on losing his seat in 1852 he reverted to the practice of barrister.

Although the dealing sector grew in numbers compared to the earlier period, it shrank as a percentage of the membership by nearly 5 per cent, to be slightly smaller than the same sector in Wolverhampton. The segment showing the biggest numerical fall was that of mercers/drapers, where mercers fell from sixteen to two. According to Tammy Whitlock the nineteenth century saw big changes in the retail sector, as small shops gave way to larger establishments and 'linen drapers' and 'haberdashers' shops became a transitional form in the evolution of the department store.¹⁵⁹ She also refers to two trends, whereby haberdashers and drapers set

¹⁵⁵ *History of Parliament online, Richard Godson*; TNA – HO 52/11/205 – letter 3 October 1830 from High Bailiff of Kidderminster enclosing depositions naming rioters, reading of the Riot Act and requesting permanent barracks to deal with future riots; Turberville, T. C., *Worcestershire in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 273.

¹⁵⁶ TNA – HO 52/11/205; Burton, J.R., *A History of Kidderminster with Short Accounts of some Neighbouring Parishes* (London: 1890), p. 224.

¹⁵⁷ *History of Parliament online, Richard Godson*.

¹⁵⁸ Turberville, T. C., *Worcestershire in the Nineteenth-Century*, p. 327.

¹⁵⁹ Whitlock, T. C., *Crime, Gender and Consumer Culture in nineteenth century England* (London: 2005), p. 4.

fixed prices for cash sales instead of selling on credit; and drapers expanded their product range to include items traditionally sold by mercers and haberdashers.¹⁶⁰ This combination of factors is the likely reason for the reduction in mercers in masonic membership. Partly offsetting this decline was the growth in the food supply segment. Reflecting continuing population expansion, particularly in towns and cities, it grew both in number and as a percentage of the sector, to meet increased food demand.

Trade	1814 -1850		1762- 1813	
	No.	%	No.	%
Drinks	82	34.6	59	37.5
Mercer/drapers	31	13.1	27	17.4
Grocer, butcher etc	32	13.5	13	8.2
Craftsmen	81	34.2	56	35.6
Service operator	5	2.1	2	1.3
Bookseller/stationer	6	2.5	-	-
Total	237	100	157	100.00

Table 18: Joiners in the dealing sector between 1814-1850 and 1762-1813.

A new group appears in the form of 'bookseller/stationer', which reflects the growth of printers. A member of this sub-group who would appear to have been of a higher social class than that indicated by his occupation was Benjamin Maund (Clive). His

¹⁶⁰ Whitlock, T. C., *Crime, Gender and Consumer Culture*, p. 28.

publications on nature, such as *The Botanist*, gained him Fellowship of the Linnean Society and made him wealthy; so that he became a director of a bank and the 1841 census indicates that his family had three servants.¹⁶¹

The 'lesser white collar' group is almost a mirror image of the earlier period, comprising four schoolmasters, five excise officers and a glass-house clerk. One of the schoolmasters, Rev. George Banastre Pix., was proposed into Clive lodge by his fellow cleric, the Rev. X. N. Paszkovicz, who, also, was a teacher at Bromsgrove School. Pix had a similar privileged background to the other clerics, coming from a farming family in Sussex which owned Baron's Grange and farm of 260 acres in Iden.¹⁶² Joseph Pitchfork (Harmonic) was the headmaster of Baylies School, which was a charity school set up by Unitarian dissenters in Dudley.¹⁶³

The final group in *Table 13*, 'other' occupations, is an eclectic mix drawing predominantly from the arts and the military. Two dance-masters, three music professors, two musicians, two artists and a sculptor represented the arts. One of the dance-masters, James Hervet D' Egville, was the son of Louis D' Egville who lived in and operated from Britannia Square in Worcester, the property previously occupied by his father.¹⁶⁴ Newspaper adverts of the period show that members of these occupations provided services across a number of towns. Therefore, their absence from directories and the fact that two of the professors and the dance-master were members for only eighteen months, suggests that they may have

¹⁶¹ Cooper, Margaret, 'Maund, Benjamin', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18376>, [Accessed 15 Sept 2015].

¹⁶² TNA - 1841 Census, Iden, Goldspur Hundred, Sussex, Baron's Grange; 1861 Census, Iden, Rye District, Sussex, Baron's Grange.

¹⁶³ Rollason, A. A., *The Old Non-Parochial Registers of Dudley*, p. 52.

¹⁶⁴ TNA - 1861 Census, Claines, Whiston Tything, Worcester - living at 32 Britannia Square.

been peripatetic and moved from area to area to suit the needs of their business.¹⁶⁵ The sculptor, Joseph Stephens, was a ‘member of the most important monumental carvers in Worcester’, inheriting the business on his father’s death.¹⁶⁶ He attended the Royal Academy schools in 1828 and exhibited at the Royal Academy on three occasions.¹⁶⁷ He was a freeman of Worcester and sole proprietor of the business and its property in Copenhagen Street, Worcester.¹⁶⁸ William Marshal (Royal Standard), was a renowned organist and Choirmaster at St. Mary’s In Kidderminster, who was elected an Honorary Fellow of the Royal College of Organists.¹⁶⁹

The military was represented by two from the Royal Navy and three from the army. The end of the Napoleonic Wars was followed by forty years of relative peace. The size of the army reduced from 250,000 in 1813 to c. 91,000 in 1838, which is reflected in reduced army representation within the membership.¹⁷⁰ Two army members were drawn from the regular army and as, in each case, lodge membership did not exceed two years, they are likely to have moved with their regiment. The third was Captain William Emmott (Clive) who served in the Royal Horse Guards in the Peninsula War and at Waterloo. On the formation of the Worcestershire Yeomanry Cavalry in 1831, he was appointed Captain and Adjutant

¹⁶⁵ *Worcestershire Chronicle* - advert for dancing services in Kidderminster, Malvern, Ledbury *et al*, p. 1.

¹⁶⁶ Brooks, A. and Pevsner, N., *The Buildings of England – Worcestershire* (London: 2007), p. 63.

¹⁶⁷ Stephens, J., *Mapping the Practice and Profession of Sculpture in Britain and Ireland*, University of Glasgow History of Art and HATII, http://sculpture.gla.ac.uk/view/person.php?id=msib7_1219752898 [Accessed: 21 May 2020].

¹⁶⁸ *London Gazette* No. 21867, 1 April 1856, p. 1244; WAAS - B496.5/BA9360/A15/Box 2/2 – Freeman record of Joseph Stephens, first born son of Joseph Stephens, sculptor.

¹⁶⁹ Sharp, R. F., *Marshal, William (1806–1875)*, rev. Nilanjana Banerji, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1815Z>, [Accessed 19 June 2016].

¹⁷⁰ Chandler, D. G. and Beckett, I.(eds.), *Oxford History of the British Army* (Oxford: 2003), p. 143 and p.164.

by the Earl of Plymouth.¹⁷¹ Personal money spent by the Earl on armaments and uniforms, combined with ‘the incessant and meritorious exertions’ of Captain Emmott, gained the Earl freedom of the City of Worcester for the services provided by the regiment.¹⁷² At his funeral in 1865, Emmott’s dedication was acknowledged when an estimated seven thousand mourners attended, including the Lord Lieutenant and Viscount Dudley and Ward.¹⁷³

Both naval officers were members of Mercy and Truth Lodge. Captain James Wilkes Maurice was an officer during the Napoleonic wars who gained fame, not by commanding ships, but by harassing the enemy from island fortresses under his command, such as Diamond Rock in the West Indies and Anholt in the Baltic.¹⁷⁴ The son of a bookseller, he rose through the ranks from Able Seaman to Rear-Admiral at his retirement in 1846.¹⁷⁵ The other officer was Thomas Snepp. A purser, he married Anne, the daughter of Sir Henry Wakeman Bt. in 1820 and, on retirement, he lived in Warwickshire.¹⁷⁶ Described as a ‘gentleman’ in directories, he served as a JP for Worcestershire.¹⁷⁷ Another member of the lodge was naval surgeon, Barry Edward O’Meara, who is included within the ‘professional category’ in *Table 13*. An Irishman, he had an eventful life serving as Napoleon’s surgeon on

¹⁷¹ Clive, R. H., *Memoranda relative to the Worcestershire Yeomanry Cavalry...raised by Other Archer, 6th Earl of Plymouth* (London: 1843), p. 1.

¹⁷² *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, Obituary of the Earl, July 1833, p. 78.; Clive, R. H., *Memoranda relative to the Worcestershire Yeomanry Cavalry*, p. 7.

¹⁷³ *Bromsgrove and Droitwich Messenger*, Obituary, 29 April 1865.

¹⁷⁴ Lambert, A. ‘Maurice, James Wilkes (1775-1857)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://doi-org./10.1093/ref:odnb/18386> [Accessed 9 May 2019].

¹⁷⁵ Lambert, A., *Maurice, James Wilkes*.

¹⁷⁶ Murray, J., *The Navy List corrected to end December 1819* (London: 1819), p. 116.

¹⁷⁷ TNA ADM/45/2/487 – correspondence between Executor and the Navy, including a copy of the marriage certificate; Pigot & Co, *Pigot’s Directory of Cheshire ...Yorkshire 1821-1822* (Manchester: 1822), p. 823; Parliamentary Papers Vol. 43 – A Return of persons qualified and liable to serve under the provisions of the Act Geo 4 c.50 in the year ending 31 December 1835, p. 80.

St. Helena and, after naval service, he became a member of the first committee of the Reform Club, which agitated for electoral reform. He was also a strong supporter of Daniel O'Connell in his campaigns for Catholic emancipation and repeal of the Acts of Union with Great Britain.¹⁷⁸ He married well, becoming the third husband of Theodosia Boughton, daughter of Sir Edward Boughton Bt. and relative of Sir Edward Rouse-Boughton Bt. The remaining 'sundry other' members include the Proctor of Worcester Cathedral, two working on the railways, a nurseryman and a 'serving brother' (a lodge member who waited on the other members and, in return, did not pay an annual subscription).

In the period of the UGLE the average age of members increased to 34 which was identical for lodges in the North and in the South. The median further increased to 40, from 31.5 for the Antients and 35 for the Moderns, indicating an overall increase in the age at which members joined Freemasonry. The age range was 20 to 65 with the oldest initiate being E. Penrice (Worcester). A major factor in the higher average age was the increased number of professionals joining Freemasonry who joined later in life. The industrialists, also, were older than in the previous period, particularly some working in the carpet industry in Kidderminster, causing Hope and Charity Lodge (Kidderminster) to have an average age of 36. However, because there was also an influx of younger members in the carpet trade, its median at 33 was considerably below that for the county as a whole. In the North, Harmonic 'compensated' for Hope and Charity by having an average age of 33, largely brought about by the younger members represented in the

¹⁷⁸ Baigent, E., 'O'Meara, Barry Edward (1770-1836', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/20755> [Accessed 11 December 2018].

dealing sector. There were no other lodges showing a significant variance from the average age of membership for the county.

4.7 Lodge membership 1814 to 1850 – comparison with the North-west and Wolverhampton

In overview, the North-west did not experience Worcestershire's growth in membership having 150 initiates/joiners in the decade between 1810-1819 reducing to 128 between 1840 and 1849.¹⁷⁹ According to Acaster, total membership in Manchester/Salford lodges fell from 266 in 1813 to 101 in 1835 – prompting him to remark that 'by any standards this is remarkable'.¹⁸⁰ Acaster suggested that the lower-class membership of the North-west would have been badly affected by the Luddite riots and additional labour released onto an already depressed market following the end of the Napoleonic War.¹⁸¹ Harrison and Belton express similar views about the lodges in Oldham and Stockport, with the latter probably badly affected by an influx of unskilled Irish labour. In contrast, they believe that the lodges at Warrington and Bolton were less affected, because the former had a more diverse industrial base and the latter had a more middle-class membership, and a cotton industry which was less damaged owing to its bias towards better-quality 'fine count' products.¹⁸²

Looking in detail at the various membership social groups, Harrison and Belton make no reference to aristocracy/esquires within the membership - an unchanged

¹⁷⁹ Harrison, D. and Belton, J., 'Society in Flux', p. 76.

¹⁸⁰ Acaster, J., 'The Composition of Masonic Membership in Manchester and Salford', p. 52 and p. 55.

¹⁸¹ Acaster, J., *The Composition of Masonic Membership in Manchester and Salford*, pp. 51-52.

¹⁸² Harrison, D. and Belton, J., *Society in Flux*, pp. 72- 87.

position from the earlier period. Staffordshire had a presence but, in the absence of detail, the precise composition is not known. In Worcestershire esquires were present through the period of the thesis and, in the period after 1814 the aristocracy appeared among the membership, which shows a widening of the membership which was not replicated in the North-west.

Between 1810 and 1849 19 percent of members in the North-west were engaged in 'manufacturing', which is considerably higher than Worcestershire and Wolverhampton.¹⁸³ As this was a period when membership declined in the North-west, it could be that the lower attrition of the manufacturing membership, combined with the absence of an increased professional presence, affected the composition of its membership and related percentages. According to Harrison and Belton, five professionals (3.3%) joined lodges in the North-west between 1810 and 1819 and twenty-one (16.4%) between 1840 and 1849.¹⁸⁴ Although showing an increase between the two decades, the continuing lower percentages compared to those of Worcestershire and Staffordshire are likely to be linked to the social composition of Freemasonry in the North-west, referred to previously.

The split of social classes in Worcestershire and Wolverhampton is similar except for industry and lesser white collar, where the former comprised 13.48 percent of Worcestershire and 9.20 percent of Staffordshire and the lesser white-collar group stood at 1.53 per cent and 9.60 per cent, respectively. It is not possible to comment upon the larger 'lesser white-collar' group in Staffordshire because of the absence of a breakdown of the underlying occupations. The larger industrial

¹⁸³ Harrison, D. and Belton, J., 'Society in Flux', p. 76.

¹⁸⁴ Harrison, D. and Belton, J., 'Society in Flux', p. 76.

presence in Worcestershire is likely to stem from the large industrial sector in the various towns of North Worcestershire.

4.8 Observations and Conclusion

Membership in Worcestershire, throughout the period covered by the thesis, was drawn from a wide economic base encompassing rural and urban-based occupations. It was not static, and changes in its composition reflected changes in the economy and in the fortunes of Freemasonry. As new industries commenced in the county, so they started to appear in the membership, and as did new occupations, such as factors and commercial travellers, when new products came to market, and distribution channels changed. On the other hand, economic change caused Freemasonry to lose representation in some towns. It ceased in Bewdley following the construction of the canal port of Stourport, which caused trade to move from Bewdley to Stourport. Likewise, a drop in glass production from 1811 onwards, caused by increases in glass taxes, saw masonry cease in Stourbridge in 1828.

Because lodges recruited mainly from their local populations, their social complexion was, in large part, determined by the economic activities of the area. As a result, lodge membership was not uniform across the county but varied between lodges. Those in the more industrialised North of the county had a higher percentage of industrialists so that, in the periods up to 1813 and between 1814 and 1850, 74 percent and 68 percent of industrialists, respectively, belonged to lodges in the North.¹⁸⁵ The geographical split of occupations was reflected in the

¹⁸⁵ Percentages computed from tables 8 and 14.

memberships of the two older Grand Lodges: the Northern Antients lodges had more industrialists and members in the dealing sector whereas the Moderns lodges in the South had more of the professions and 'gentlemen'.

There were two significant changes in the social complexion of the membership during the timeframe of the thesis. There was a large increase in the professions in the later period of the study, which coincided with increases in the same within the economy, fuelled by the demands of industry and an increasingly prosperous urban population. The increase to c. 35 per cent of members altered the balance of the membership, making it more 'middle class', particularly when taken together with the 'gentlemen' who represented over 6 per cent of members. This change was mirrored in Wolverhampton and, later, in the North-west, causing Harrison and Belton to remark that 'the number of professionals rose very sharply in the 1860s marking a permanent change in the membership of these lodges'.¹⁸⁶ The second notable change was the increase in employees within the membership as newer, less manual occupations, whose work patterns were more flexible than those in industry and agriculture, grew within the economy. Occupations showing particular growth were accountants and commercial travellers, with the latter comprising 15 per cent of the membership of Semper Fidelis Lodge.

The social base of Freemasonry in Worcestershire was wider than comparators in other parts of England. The North-west had a less diverse membership throughout and a higher proportion of the lower social classes, which made it less representative of its region's population. For his part, Clark found that the South

¹⁸⁶ Harrison, D. and Belton, J., 'Society in Flux', p. 74.

also had a less diverse membership. Research for this thesis has established that plurality of membership was also present at lodge level, with no evidence of individual lodges in Worcestershire being elitist or representative of a particular social grouping. This contrasts with the findings of both Clark and Newman, who found elitism in several London lodges; for example, the lodge meeting at the Horn Tavern had forty 'esquires', ten MPs and two foreign ambassadors.¹⁸⁷ Mirala found a similar pattern in his study of Ulster Freemasonry, while Clark found evidence of individual lodges in the north of England being skewed towards the lower social classes.¹⁸⁸

The one excluded group in both periods was unskilled manual workers in industry and agriculture who were excluded for reasons such as financial considerations, inflexibilities in work practices and the difficulty in travelling into towns for agricultural workers. The absence of this group was not confined to Worcestershire masonry. Morfitt found that unskilled workers were unrepresented within the membership of lodges in nearby Wolverhampton. Although Acaster's analysis of membership in Manchester/Salford does not include a category of 'working men', the probability is that they were excluded, as it is unlikely that they would have been subsumed into any of his other membership categories.¹⁸⁹ Harrison and Belton's article on the North-west also does not have a category for 'working men'. They mention 'working class' but this appears to refer to skilled

¹⁸⁷ Newman, A., 'Politics and Freemasonry in the eighteenth century', *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, Vol. 104 (1991), pp. 34-35.

¹⁸⁸ Mirala, Petri, *Freemasonry in Ulster 1733-1813: A Social and Political History of the Masonic Brotherhood in the North of Ireland* (Dublin: 2007), pp. 108-109.

¹⁸⁹ Acaster, J., 'The Composition of Masonic Membership', pp. 54-55.

workers such as bricklayers, weavers and shuttle-makers rather than the unskilled.¹⁹⁰

The omission of the unskilled from membership does not appear to have been unique to Freemasonry. Clark observes that the exclusion of manual workers extended to most societies, citing as reasons membership costs and the fact that the rules of some societies specifically excluded them.¹⁹¹ In his opinion, manual workers instead turned to friendly societies, such as the Oddfellows and Foresters, because they provided help outside of the family circle when unemployment or illness struck. John Foster observes that friendly societies remained free of the bourgeoisie and clerics and did not develop an upper- and middle-class membership; thereby creating a division between the unskilled and the professional and skilled - albeit that in this instance the excluded groups were reversed.¹⁹²

Research question three asks: “In an era of relatively rigid divisions in society, to what extent was Freemasonry socially inclusive and religiously diverse?’ This chapter has considered the first part of the question. Membership of Freemasonry in Worcestershire was overwhelmingly drawn from the local population. However, by including a wide range of social classes in its membership, it did not reflect the social divisions in that society, and every lodge had a co-mingling of social classes. The findings point to Freemasonry in Worcestershire being a social catena which bridged all bar one of the social class differences of the era, supporting the view of

¹⁹⁰ Harrison, D. and Belton, J., ‘Society in Flux’, p. 78.

¹⁹¹ Clark, P., *British Clubs and Societies*, p. 130.

¹⁹² Foster, J., *Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution* (London: 1977), pp. 216-217.

one commentator that, while the aim of unity was not unique to Freemasonry, it was very successful in 'turning ideology into practice'.¹⁹³ It was an agent of social diversity which not only provided a form of social connection which crossed boundaries, but it also provided a means by which members with diverse and different interests could meet, share experiences and engage in projects to promote those interests, however they may be defined.

¹⁹³ Clark, P, *British Clubs and Societies*, p. 320.

CHAPTER 5: RELIGION AND WORCESTERSHIRE FREEMASONRY

5.1 Introduction

Research question three asks, 'In an era of relatively rigid divisions in society, to what extent was Freemasonry socially inclusive and religiously diverse?' This chapter addresses the religious aspects of the question. In the timeframe of this thesis England was overwhelmingly Christian with a small Jewish presence in London. However, the Christian faith was fragmented on account of schisms, the greatest of which arose from the Reformation in the sixteenth century, which saw the split from the Roman Catholic Church and the founding of the Church of England. Further divisions within the Anglican Church, arising from the Puritan movement and a desire for simpler forms of church governance, saw the later establishment of Nonconformist denominations.

In Michael Watts' opinion, people in the nineteenth century were profoundly influenced by religion. It instilled moral values and motivated care of the less fortunate in society, as well as being a determinant in their education, choice of marriage partners, and how they brought up their children.¹ Religion, however, also had negative characteristics. There was a ban on Nonconformists graduating from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge throughout the period of the thesis, and those who were not Anglicans were prohibited from holding public office until the repeal of the Test Acts in 1828; both factors created divisions in society. This chapter addresses the research question by, firstly, examining the religious composition of

¹ Watts, M. R., *The Dissenters: The Expansion of Evangelical Non-Conformity 1791-1859* (Oxford: 1995), p. 1.

England and how the different denominations interacted with each other. It proceeds to explore the religious make-up of lodges in Worcestershire, together with the role of religion within Freemasonry. The final section concludes on the research findings.

5.2 Religion in England – profile and interdenominational relations

Estimating religious adherence is fraught with difficulty because individual churches were responsible for the maintenance and retention of records. In the absence of a national policy on record retention, the quality and availability of information is variable, and that which does exist is biased towards recording births, deaths and marriages rather than membership. Moreover, the Census of Religious Attendance of 1851 measured church attendance on one day, with the result that differing methodologies have been devised to express the results in terms of memberships. Watts has produced granular analyses at county level which can be aggregated to produce a national picture. In contrast, Clive Field has concentrated on the national picture so that 'purely local sources will be deliberately avoided'.² Reference is made to their research findings in the following sections of this chapter.

Throughout the period of the thesis the Anglican Church remained dominant but the growth of Nonconformism was exponential. Watts and Field estimate there were between 356,000 and 385,000 Nonconformists in England and Wales around 1720, comprising about 6 per cent of the population, growing to 3,144,000 in 1840 (Field) and 3,336,885 in 1851 (Watts), with the latter figure estimated to represent c. 18.6 per cent of the population.³ Using Field's statistics, between 1720 and 1840 Jews

² Watts, M. R., *The Dissenters*; Field, C. D., 'Counting Religion in England and Wales: The Long Eighteenth Century c. 1680- 1840', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 63 (4), pp. 693–720; citation at p. 694.

³ Watts, M. R., *The Dissenters*, Table 3, p. 29; Field, C. D., 'Counting Religion', Figure 1, p. 710.

increased marginally from 0.1 per cent to 0.2 percent of the population while Quakers fell from 0.7 per cent to 0.1 per cent. In the same period Roman Catholics doubled from 1.3 per cent to 2.7 per cent. This increase mostly occurred after 1800 when there was large-scale immigration from Ireland, which Field considers was transformational, both in terms of numbers and the nature of English Catholicism.⁴

The social composition of Nonconformity has been the subject of much debate among historians. Watts holds that Nonconformity was strongest where poverty and illiteracy were prevalent or, as was the case in the Black Country, living conditions were poor and epidemics regular.⁵ He further argues that high levels of literacy and more sophisticated ways of life were reasons why Nonconformity made less headway in large conurbations and in the north of England.⁶ Geoff Robson disagrees with Watts as regards the Black Country. He sees it as an anomaly, being the only area of the country where industrialisation and urbanisation improved church attendance and Nonconformist attendances exceeded Anglicans. In his opinion the composition of the working population of an area is an important factor, noting that in 1851, 85 per cent of the working population of the Black Country came from the surrounding local counties, bringing with them the church adherence habits of their rural roots.⁷

The Nonconformists, however, were not a homogenous group and there were important denominational differences. The most detailed analysis of denominations is to be found in Watt's, county-by-county, tables.⁸ Taking England as a whole, the

⁴ Field, C. D., 'Counting Religion', Figure 2, pp. 711-713; statistics for Quakers computed by the author by reference to Figure 1, p. 710.

⁵ Watts, M. R., *The Dissenters*, pp. 70-130.

⁶ Watts, M. R., *The Dissenters*, pp. 70-130.

⁷ Robson, G., 'Between Town and Countryside: Contrasting Patterns of Churchgoing in the early Victorian Black Country', *Studies in Church History*, Vol. 16 (1979), pp. 401-403.

⁸ Watts, M. R., *The Dissenters*, pp. 719 - 774.

unskilled are consistently underrepresented among the Independents, Baptists and Quakers, and overrepresented only among the Primitive Methodists. On the other hand, retailers, the higher-skilled and businessmen regularly show overrepresentation among the Independents, Quakers, Baptists and, on occasion, the Wesleyan Methodists. With specific reference to the Midlands, Jones is of the view that Nonconformity included many wealthy and high-status individuals, but the most numerous were in the lowest stratum of the working class.⁹ This view is supported by Trainor who notes that, while there was a high level of working men among the Methodists and Baptists, by the mid-nineteenth century most Unitarians and Congregationalists (Independents) 'were small traders or above'.¹⁰ Seed concurs, citing the fact that Unitarians in Birmingham customarily selected the Low Bailiff, and that affluent and educated Presbyterians met each Sunday in the 1770s and 1780s at the Presbyterian Chapels in Manchester, Birmingham and Bristol.¹¹

The multitude of denominations was a cause of friction and division. There was antagonism between the Anglican Church and the Roman Catholic Church, with Catholics, under the Corporation Act 1661 and various Test Acts, barred from holding civic office until the enactment of Sacramental Test Act in 1828. In the Anglican Church's efforts to entrench its position as the established church, Nonconformists and Jews were also banned from holding civic office and graduating from Cambridge and Oxford universities. However, it was a split within the Anglican Church, when two thousand ministers who refused to adhere to the Act of Uniformity in 1662 were

⁹ Jones, P. M., *Industrial Enlightenment*, pp. 174 - 179.

¹⁰ Trainor, R. H., *Black Country Elites*, pp. 178-180.

¹¹ Seed, J., 'Gentlemen Dissenters: the social and political meanings of rational dissent in the 1770s and 1780s', *The Historical Journal* Vol. 28 (2) (1985), p. 306.

ejected, that created the roots of Nonconformism. As noted by Field, further religious division occurred when denominational demarcations within Dissenters, such as the doctrinal splits occurring in the Methodist and Baptist denominations, became more sharply drawn in the nineteenth century.¹²

At the extreme, these splits manifested themselves in violence, as when tensions between Anglicans and Nonconformists contributed to the 'Priestley Riots' in Birmingham where churches, homes and businesses of Nonconformists were attacked by rioters, leaving the city 'divided into two parties who hate each other mortally'.¹³ A more enduring outcome was that the churches, and societies linked to them, were schismatic and exclusive, as demonstrated in Leeds, when a non-denominational society to relieve the poor fell apart to be replaced by three, representing Anglicans, Dissenters and Roman Catholics.¹⁴

5.3 Freemasonry in Worcestershire - its religious profile

As outlined in Chapter 2, Freemasonry's approach to religion was inclusive and deist, with *Anderson's Constitutions* stating: 'yet 'tis now thought more expedient only to oblige them to that Religion in which all men agree, leaving their particular opinions to themselves.'¹⁵ This approach made Freemasonry more ecumenical than society at large and, in theory, more attractive to those who wanted to look outside the narrow confines of their own denomination. The remainder of this section examines the

¹² Field, C. D., 'Counting Religion', p. 696.

¹³ James Watt, cited in Rose, R. B., 'The Priestley Riots of 1791', *Past and Present* Vol. 18 (1960), p. 83; J. Atherton suggests that the animosity continued into the trials following the riots with the damages awarded being less than those awarded following the Gordon Riots in London: Atherton, J., 'Obstinate Juries, Impudent Barristers and Scandalous Verdicts? Compensating the Victims of the Gordon Riots of 1780 and the Priestley Riots of 1791', *Historical Research*, Vol. 88 (2015), pp. 650 - 673.

¹⁴ Morris, R. J., *Voluntary Societies*, p. 108.

¹⁵ Quatuor Coronati Lodge, *Anderson's Constitutions*, p. 50 (1723 Constitutions).

religious profile of lodges in Worcestershire to determine whether membership was, in practice, more open and inclusive.

Between 1754 and 1837, the start of civil registration in England, all marriages had to be in the Church of England and, because most non-Anglican churches did not have a graveyard, burials were mostly in Anglican churchyards. The methodology adopted has therefore placed an emphasis on identifying non-Anglicans (36) by reference to non-Anglican church records, wills, and references to a member's religion in other sources, such as newspapers. It has been possible to precisely identify Anglicans (370) by reference to baptismal records, clergy records, office holders such as Proctors, and references to a member's religion in other sources. The remaining members, based on the research of Watts and Field, are likely to have been overwhelmingly members of the Anglican Church but, in the absence of surviving church records, the precise split cannot be computed. Membership of the Anglican church includes 34 clerics; no member has been identified as a cleric of a Nonconformist denomination or of the Roman Catholic Church. There is evidence of masons who, rather than being nominal members, were actively committed to Anglicanism and its work. Twelve served as church wardens, across the North and South of the county, including William Bancks (Wheatsheaf) and John Redgrave (Worcester).¹⁶ Others held posts such as organists, lay clerks and Proctors of Worcester Cathedral. Four Dudley masons donated to the fund set up to build the new St Thomas' Church in Dudley.¹⁷ Two others served the Anglican denomination in

¹⁶ Cooper, C. F., 'Relief of the Poor People of Bewdley' in Snell, L.S. (ed.), *Essays towards a History of Bewdley* (Bewdley: 1972), p. 29; *Worcestershire Chronicle* article of 'Her Royal Consort'.

¹⁷ *Dudley Guardian*, 21 July 1814, letter to the Editor. The masons named were E. Guest, R. W. Hawkes, F. Downing (all Harmonic) and R. Powell, (Freedom).

a professional capacity: John Collingwood (Worcester) was the Diocesan Surveyor for Gloucester between 1817 and 1831 and William Bourne (Harmonic) was the architect of St John's and St James' churches in Dudley.¹⁸

Table 19 provides a geographical split and analyses the denominational and occupational groups of members who belonged to other than the Anglican Church. It is likely to underestimate their numbers because of the difficulty in identifying faith from church and other records available. The table shows that, in a period when religion was divisive and a barrier to social integration, Freemasonry attracted members from across the religious spectrum. The Nonconformists were the most dominant group outside Anglicanism and their membership reveals a North-South split, with twenty-seven being members of lodges in the industrialised North and only two in the more rural South: this is consistent with research which shows Nonconformism strongest in industrialised areas. Those of the Jewish faith are the next highest in representation with five, split as to three in the South and two in the North, over three lodges. Quakers and RCs have one member each.

Nonconformity is often split into 'New Dissent', which for the purposes of *Table 19* is Methodism, and 'Old Dissent' (indicated by an asterisk in the table), which were the groups existing before Methodism emerged in the late eighteenth century. The lodge with the largest number of Nonconformists, with c. 52 per cent of the total, is Harmonic but this is distorted because it existed for considerably longer than other lodges in the North. Methodism has been found only in the two lodges in Dudley, one

¹⁸ Heighway, C., *Gloucester Cathedral and Precinct* (Gloucester: 2003), p. 10; Clark, C. F. G., *The Curiosities of Dudley and the Black Country from 1800 to 1860* (Birmingham: 1881).

Lodge/Faith	<i>Independent*</i>	<i>Jewish</i>	<i>Meth'dist</i>	<i>Presbyt'an*</i>	<i>Quaker</i>	<i>RC</i>	<i>Unitarian*</i>	Total
Faithful	1							1
Freedom	3		1				1	5
Harmonic	6	1	7				1	15
Hope				3				3
Hope & Charity	1					1		2
Raven							1	1
Royal Standard		1						1
Semper Fidelis		3						3
St John's				1				1
Talbot II				1				1
Wheatsheaf				1				1
Worcester	1					1		2
Total	12	5	8	6	1	1	3	36
Class analysis:								
Industrial	7		1	3				11
Dealing	2	3	6	3		1	2	17
Professional	3	2	1		1			7
Lesser white collar							1	1
Total	12	5	8	6	1	1	3	36
North	11	2	8	5		1	3	30
South	1	3		1	1			6
Total	12	5	8	6	1	1	3	36

Table 19: Analysis of Nonconformist, Quaker, RC and Jewish membership between 1762 and 1850.

of which was a Modern and the other, an Antient; but with all the masons attending the same chapel. Seventy-five per cent of the Methodists were shopkeepers, together with one industrialist – the iron founder, Joshua Harvey of Dudley, and Joseph Moore who was a horse dealer. In July 1778, the latter conveyed land which he owned to trustees to hold on behalf of the King Street Wesleyan Chapel, Dudley,

and construction of the building commenced in November 1778.¹⁹ Although the profile differs markedly from the 'working men' membership identified by Jones and Trainor, this is likely to stem from the fact that 'working men' were underrepresented within masonic lodges, as compared with the population at large. By comparison, the occupations of the 'Old Dissent' accord with Trainor's analysis of 'small traders and above', with nearly fifty per cent involved in industry. They included a glass cutter and a machine-operated wool spinner as well as those in ironmongery and the carpet industry, professionals such as chemists and a surveyor, a gentleman, and a schoolmaster. The 'Old Dissent' was predominantly drawn from higher social classes than the later 'New Dissent'. Several of the Presbyterians and Independents date from the eighteenth century, and thereby support Seed's thesis but, arguably, they also widen it, because they were resident in the less populous towns of north Worcestershire rather than in the large towns identified by him.

In a similar manner to masons of the Anglican persuasion, Nonconformist freemasons provided leadership and assumed positions of responsibility across the various denominations. Examples within the 'Old Dissent' include Bate Phillips Penn and William Whitehouse (both Freedom) who were trustees of the Independent Chapel in King Street, Dudley, and Joseph Brookhouse and Richard Parkes (Freedom) who were trustees of the Unitarian Chapels in Warwick and Dudley, respectively.²⁰ Among the Methodists, Thomas Lester and Robert Shedden (both Harmonic) were trustees of three Methodist chapels in Dudley and its vicinity.²¹

¹⁹ Rollason, A. A., *The Old Non-Parochial Registers of Dudley*, p. 43.

²⁰ Rollason, A. A., *The Old Non-Parochial Registers of Dudley*, p. 26 and p. 36; Wykes, D. L., 'The Reluctant Businessman: John Coltman of St Nicholas Street, Leicester (1727-1808)', *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, Vol. 69 (1995), p. 83.

²¹ Leese, R., 'The Impact of Methodism in Black Country Society 1743 - 1860', (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Manchester, 1972), p. 378.

Perhaps the one issue which united Nonconformists was their opposition to having to pay Church Rates to support the Anglican Church; on this matter Joseph Pitchfork (Harmonic), a member of the Unitarian Chapel in Dudley, was an active campaigner who, in 1837, had property seized in satisfaction of unpaid Church Rates.²²

The sole definitively identified Roman Catholic was Patrick O'Leary (Hope and Charity) who was born in Ireland and was a clothier in Kidderminster. He was a member of a committee set up to establish the first Roman Catholic Church in Kidderminster.²³ Of a radical disposition, O'Leary was involved in the Chartist movement where, as a member of the Kidderminster Co-operative Independent Land Society, he was allotted four acres at the land scheme in Great Dodford, near Bromsgrove.²⁴ John Wheeley Bevington (Worcester) is the only Quaker identified in the membership. A partner in Bevington and Sons, he was a prosperous leather and glove manufacturer who had a property with servants in London, as well as a house in the prestigious Britannia Square in Worcester.²⁵

The presence of Jews amongst freemasons in Worcestershire was first recorded in 1842 when Levi Plahto was initiated into Harmonic Lodge. Directories variously describe him as a 'travelling jeweller' and a 'manufacturing jeweller' operating from premises in Birmingham.²⁶ Although his business was in Birmingham, the lodge minutes show him as living in Dudley, and presumably he was a member of the small synagogue established in Dudley in 1848 to service an estimated Jewish community

²² Clark, C. F. G., *The Curiosities of Dudley and the Black Country from 1800 to 1860*.

²³ *The Catholic Magazine and Review*, Vol. 1 (1831-1832), pp. 124-125.

²⁴ Smith, L. D., *Carpet Weavers and Carpet Masters*, p. 240.

²⁵ *London Gazette* No.21894, 20 June 1856, p. 2178; TNA - 1861 Census – Sydenham District 2, living at Malvern House in Lewisham.

²⁶ Minutes of meeting held on 3 May 1842; White & Co, *The History and General Directory of the Borough of Birmingham* (1849), p. 233, Slater., I., *National Directory of Ireland ... to which are added Classified Directories of Important English Towns* (1846), p. 22.

in the town of no more than one hundred.²⁷ The records of Duddeston Hall Lunatic Asylum, into which he was privately admitted, record his death in 1851 as due to 'exhaustion'.²⁸ Montague Alex was initiated into Hope and Charity Lodge in 1843 before joining Royal Standard Lodge in 1844. A dentist in Cheltenham, he also practised in various towns in Gloucestershire and Worcestershire.²⁹ According to Brian Torode, he was actively involved with the Cheltenham synagogue, serving several times as President and Secretary.³⁰ Like Plahto, he also suffered from mental health issues, being admitted to the Gloucester Lunatic Asylum, from which he was discharged in June 1871 having 'recovered'.³¹ His practice would appear to have been successful as in 1841 he was living in High Street, Cheltenham with his wife, two children and three servants.³²

A third Jew was Maurice Solomons who was an optician living in Cheltenham in a period when there were a number of Solomons practising as opticians in London and Ireland. Little is known about him other than that he emigrated to Calcutta where he practised, under the name of Solomons & Co, in partnership with a Rajkissen Mitter.³³ Jacob and Israel Moses were brothers and variously described as outfitters and pawnbrokers.³⁴ Israel became a member of the same synagogue in Cheltenham

²⁷ Lipman. V. D., 'A Survey of Anglo-Jewry in 1851', *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society* Vol. 17 (1951-52), p. 181.

²⁸ TNA – MH 94/9, Commissioners in Lunacy – Lunacy Patients' Admission Records entry 10962, dated 29 October 1851.

²⁹ *London Gazette* No.19987, 11 June 1841, p. 1560 [details towns in which he practised].

³⁰ Torode, B., *The Hebrew Community of Cheltenham, Gloucester and Stroud*, (Cheltenham: 1989), pp. 67-68.

³¹ TNA – MH 94/21, Commissioners in Lunacy – Lunacy Patients' Admission Records entry 47936, dated 26 August 1870.

³² TNA - 1841 Census – Cheltenham District 6, High Street, Cheltenham.

³³ *London Gazette* No. 21760, 10 August 1855, p. 3050; MF - GBR 1991 AR 1342 – Membership Register of Lodge Humility with Fortitude.

³⁴ *Pigot's Directory of Gloucestershire 1842*, Israel Moses, pawnbroker, p. 94; TNA – 1851 Census for 31 The Cross, Worcester – Israel Moses, general outfitter.

as Montague Alex, where he went on to serve as Treasurer.³⁵ His businesses seem to have been successful as he had two servants when he lived at The Cross in Worcester in 1851 and, when he died, he was described as a gentleman. Less is known about Jacob who had moved out of the area in 1851 to Gloucester and then in 1861 to Liverpool where he was described as a jeweller, living with his family and a servant.³⁶

5.4 Observations and Conclusion

While religion in England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was overwhelmingly Christian, it was practised within a fractured setting with various churches competing against each other. With this competition came division, as each faith group held fast to its own beliefs, attended its own churches and spawned societies whose membership was confined to that faith group. The largest denomination throughout was the Anglican Church, which was also the Established Church, and until the second quarter of the nineteenth century members of other churches and faiths paid a price for its dominance. They were discriminated against, including being banned from holding civic office and from graduating from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

Table 19 discloses a diversity of religious adherence in twelve lodges located across the county; a diversity which may have been present also in the other five lodges, where it has not been possible to identify religious adherence from records. Several of these members were clearly committed to their denomination, with some

³⁵ Torode, B., *The Hebrew Community of Cheltenham*, p. 66.

³⁶ TNA – 1851 Census for Gloucester, St Aldgate – Jacob Moses, Silversmith and pawnbroker; TNA – 1861 Census for Liverpool, 8 Ranelagh St – Jacob Moses, Jeweller.

acting as trustees or wardens of their churches, while others donated cash or land to fund the construction of new places of worship. Nevertheless, they felt able to sit in lodges with members of other denominations and faiths. Also included within the membership were members of the Anglican clergy who, likewise, were prepared to put aside doctrinal differences and sit in lodge and at the festive board with their fellow masons. Consequently, membership included the major Christian denominations (except the Baptists) and members of the Jewish faith. The reason for the absence of Baptists can only be speculated upon but it is probably linked to the poor availability of records and the relatively low representation of Baptists in the population where, apart from Dudley, which was between 3% and 4.9%, it lay between 1% and 2.9% in the North of the county, and less in the South.³⁷

The research findings demonstrate that Freemasonry in Worcestershire had the capacity to bring men from different faith groups together. Its diversity of membership coupled with the fact that no lodge (where religious records could be found) was exclusively of one faith point to the conclusion that Freemasonry was more an accommodator of religious diversity than a reflector of the disunion existing in the community at large.

³⁷ Watts, M. R., *The Dissenters*, Map 43, p. 831.

CHAPTER 6: FREEMASONRY AND ECONOMIC CHANGE

6.1 Introduction

Originally part of the Mercian Forest, Worcestershire is an inland county in central England. As shown in *Figure 4*, in the eighteenth century it had several detached areas (exclaves) including Dudley, which was surrounded by Staffordshire. The period between 1733 and 1850 was one of significant agricultural change, increased industrialisation, and major transport infrastructure development - all combining to produce a transformation of both the physical landscape and the economy of the county. A measure of the physical effect is that, by 1868, the forested area had receded so much that, of the county's 472,165 acres, approximately two thirds were arable with a further 100,000 acres used as pasture or meadow. Moreover, parts of the remaining woodland were used to support industries such as hop growing, which used wooden hop-poles, and ironmaking with its charcoal fed furnaces.¹

The historiography of Worcestershire's economic development includes material based on towns and their industries, such as L.D. Smith on Kidderminster's carpet industry, and J. Ellis on the glass industry in Stourbridge and Dudley.² In other works Worcestershire is considered as part of a larger area or region, such as T. Raybould on the Black Country, and Marie Rowlands and Peter Jones in their studies of the

¹ GENUKI www.genuki.org.uk/big/eng/WOR/Gaz1868, transcription of *The National Gazetteer of Great Britain and Ireland (1868)*, [Accessed: 20 July 2016].

² Smith, L. D., *Carpet Weavers and Carpet Masters – the Handloom Weavers of Kidderminster 1780-1850* (Kidderminster: 1986); Ellis, J., *Glassmakers of Stourbridge and Dudley 1612-2002* (Harrogate: 2002).

West Midlands.³ This has created a lacuna. There is no ‘integrated’ analysis of the county’s development which illustrates and explains how the various aspects of its development interacted with each other to produce a county with a heavily industrialised north and a less industrialised, more agricultural south. Building on the author’s article, *The Contribution of Freemasons to Social and Economic Development in North Worcestershire c. 1766-1824*, the object of this chapter is to produce a review of the diverse elements of the county’s economic evolution together with, for the first time, an evaluation of how freemasons participated in the same.⁴

Research question four asks: ‘In what ways did freemasons, individually and Freemasonry, organisationally, contribute to the economic development of Worcestershire between 1733 and 1850?’ This chapter addresses the first part of the question by examining the involvement of individual freemasons in the county’s economic development. It does so firstly, by examining the theory of ‘proto-industrialisation’ to test its applicability to Worcestershire. The chapter proceeds to examine, in turn, the agricultural, transport infrastructure and industrial components of Worcestershire’s economic transformation, identifying participation of freemasons in each. The final section concludes on the research.

³ Raybould, T., *The Economic Emergence of the Black Country* (Newton Abbot: 1973); Jones, P. M., *Industrial Enlightenment (Science, Technology and Culture in Birmingham and the West Midlands 1760-1820)* (Manchester: 2008); Rowlands, M. B., ‘Continuity and Change in an Industrialising Society: the Case of West Midlands Industries’, in Hudson, P., (ed.), *Regions and Industries: A Perspective on the Industrial Revolution in Britain* (Cambridge: 1989).

⁴ Robertson, A. T. ‘The Contribution of Freemasons to Social and Economic Development in North Worcestershire c.1760-1824’, *Midland History*, Vol. 45 (74) (1), pp. 55-74.



Figure 4: Map of Worcestershire 1814⁵

⁵ Cary, J., *Cary's Traveller's Companion* (London: 1814).

6.2 Proto-industrialisation and Worcestershire

The changes experienced by Worcestershire as it moved from an agricultural to an industrial economy were not unique, and some historians have attempted to develop a theoretical framework, known as proto-industrialisation, to explain why, how and when such changes materialised. According to the theory, which was developed by the historian Franklin Mendels. 'pre-industrial industry' is a phase of economic development leading to 'machine industrialisation', where goods are produced by machinery in workshops/factories, and urbanisation increases in consequence. There are variants on Mendel's theory, but the essence is that a region experiencing proto-industrialisation will be propelled, in stages, towards machine industrialisation by several factors. Key among them are an expanding population, competition among large numbers of small industrial units causing returns to diminish, and the concentration of capital required for business investment in a small group of merchants and local landowners.⁶

D. C. Coleman challenges the proposition that the transition from proto-industrialisation to industrialism is automatic by showing that only a minority of proto-industrial areas moved on to what he calls 'industrial revolution'.⁷ With specific reference to the West Midlands, Rowlands casts further doubt on the theory when she identifies the critical drivers of industrialisation in the region as: 'diversity: of soils, of sizes of community, of products, of tenurial relations, of modes of organisation, of units of production and capitalisation, and of levels of wealth and poverty'.⁸ In

⁶ Mendels, F., 'Proto-industrialisation: The First Phase of the Industrialization Process', *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 32 (1) (1972), pp. 241-244.

⁷ Coleman, D. C., 'Proto-Industrialization: A Concept Too Many', *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 36 (3) (1983), p. 443.

⁸ Rowlands, M. B., 'Continuity and Change', p. 103.

addition to the aspects identified by Rowlands, two further factors in the development of Worcestershire which do not fit easily with the theory are improvements in transport infrastructure and 'human capital'.

The North of the county in the early eighteenth century already housed primary industries, such as coal mining and limestone extraction, which were worked by men whose main livelihood was farming. Because of the poor state of the roads and the lack of navigable rivers, other than the Severn, these businesses were only profitable when they supplied local markets. Mined raw materials fed local iron mills which were also manned by men who primarily worked on the land.⁹ However, the product of these mills was used by those who had little or no connection with agriculture – namely, artisans and manufacturers of a wide range of hardware. The construction of turnpike roads and, later, canals enabled these raw materials to be transported out of the county to Birmingham, the North of England and London to meet the demands of artisans and manufacturers in those areas. In turn, this increased demand fuelled growth in the local coal and limestone industries and created employment for full-time miners, who replaced the part-time agricultural labourers. Improved transport also enabled regional artisans and manufacturers to meet increased demand for their products such as cask nails, cane cutters and slave collars for the sugar cane industry in the West Indies. It also, as mentioned by Rowlands, boosted the export of hardware to Sweden and Russia by merchants who imported iron and timber from the same countries.¹⁰ Contemporaneously, the domestic market expanded from a greater demand for manufactured goods such as snuff boxes and metal buttons,

⁹ Rowlands, M. B., 'Continuity and Change', pp. 107-108.

¹⁰ Rowlands, M. B., 'Continuity and Change', p. 115.

while changes in taste, such as glass drinking vessels instead of pewter, increased the demand for glassware manufactured in Stourbridge and Dudley.

Both Mendels in developing his theory, and Rowlands in rebutting its applicability to the Midlands, make little reference to the role played by 'human capital'. While agricultural changes, new manufacturing techniques, and improved transport infrastructure increased demand for products and contributed to economic development, implementation of these changes was dependent on 'human capital': individuals who identified opportunities and exploited them. The vision and entrepreneurial skills and, on occasion, financial capital, of these individuals were important contributory factors in the development and industrialisation of the region.

In summary, while the theory of proto-industrialisation usefully brings together aspects of historical research which have at times been considered separately, such as economics and demographics, for the reasons outlined above it is less relevant to the development of Worcestershire than perhaps elsewhere. Accordingly, rather than measure Worcestershire's economic development against the pre-determined schema of proto-industrialisation, this chapter concentrates on what are considered to be the three major and interlinked drivers of economic growth: namely, agricultural change, improvements in transport infrastructure, and industrialisation.

6.3 Worcestershire freemasons and agriculture

Worcestershire started the period as an agricultural county with no significant urban growth outside Worcester city.¹¹ The period covered by the thesis witnessed the

¹¹ West Midlands Regional Research Framework for Archaeology
http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/wmrrf_he_2016/downloads.cfm?part=papers&group=407.

development of large urban populations in Dudley, Stourbridge and Kidderminster. It also saw changes in land use as livestock replaced cereals, agricultural land was made over for industrial purposes, and levels of mineral extraction increased. This section examines how these changes came about, and the participation of freemasons in the same.

According to William Pitt, the most fertile parts of the county lay in the middle, south and west and in the lower elevated areas around Kidderminster and Stourbridge.¹² The county was self-sufficient in wheat, oats, and rye, and produced a surplus of barley, which was sent to Birmingham for sale. Root crops, which were used for both human and animal consumption, were extensively grown throughout the county, with excess potato production sent to market both in Birmingham and Staffordshire.¹³ Hops were grown in the sheltered conditions of both the Teme and the Severn valleys. Hops were hoarded and traded by speculators who hoped to profit by selling in the years of a poor crop, but they often sold in years of a glut, so pushing prices down, with consequent adverse effects on growers.¹⁴ According to T. C. Turberville, the 6000 acres under cultivation in 1800 had dropped to 1625 by 1850, as farmers turned to cereal crops and livestock for more stable incomes.¹⁵

Open field cultivation was the key characteristic of the medieval period but from the fifteenth century onwards open landscapes started to be enclosed as farmers rationalised the use of land and landowners marked out their estates.¹⁶ However, the speed of enclosure increased in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries

¹² Pitt, W., *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Worcester (1813)* (London: 1813), pp. 7-8.

¹³ Pitt, W., *General View of the Agriculture*, pp. 92-103.

¹⁴ Pitt, W., *General View of the Agriculture*, pp. 119-120 and p. 131.

¹⁵ Turberville, T. C., *Worcestershire in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 6.

¹⁶ Worcestershire County Council/English Heritage, *Worcestershire Farmstead Character Statement* (Worcester: n.d.), p. 6.

through parliamentary enclosures so that, across Britain, common land was enclosed by 2005 Enclosure Acts between 1800 and 1830.¹⁷ Because of the efficiency gains and improved farming practices arising, improved agricultural output, nationally, was sufficient to meet the needs of a population which increased by 6.5 million (over seventy per cent) between 1701 and 1801, with few additional imports.¹⁸ Moreover, this increase was achieved by a workforce employed in agriculture, fishing and forestry which decreased between 1801 and 1851 from 35.9 percent to 21.7 percent of the total labour force.¹⁹

In Worcestershire changes in landholdings and agricultural methods affected the North and South of the county differently. In the South, for landowners such as the Earls of Coventry and of Plymouth, Enclosure Acts enabled them to invest in farming and transport infrastructure. They experimented with land drainage, with the former being particularly successful in putting dairy cattle, such as the Holderness breed, on previously waste land.²⁰ Because enclosed land could be better kept and manured, it produced a more fertile and nutritious grass. This, in turn, supported better breeds of livestock compared with the 'common or wasteland sheep', which grazed on the Malvern and the Lickey Hills, with excess production used to feed horses working on the canals and in the mines. The better-reared stock produced higher-quality meat, hides and wool – the last benefiting the worsted industry in Kidderminster, Worcester and Stourbridge and the carpet industry in Kidderminster.²¹ According to Gilbert, the

¹⁷ Fairlie, S., 'A Short History of Enclosure in Britain', *The Land Magazine*, Issue 7 (Summer 2009), pp. 16-31; Turberville, T. C., *Worcestershire in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 6-7.

¹⁸ Chambers, J. D., and Mingay, G. E., *The Agricultural Revolution, 1750-1880* (London: 1966), p. 3.

¹⁹ Chambers, J. D., and Mingay, G. E., *The Agricultural Revolution*, p. 208, citing Deane, P. and Cole, A. W., *British Economic Growth 1688-1959*, Chapter 2, (Cambridge: 1962).

²⁰ Pitt, W., *General View of the Agriculture*, pp. 190-192.

²¹ Pitt, W., *General View of the Agriculture*, pp. 56-57.

coarser wool produced by the better-fed sheep was suitable for 'Kidderminster stuff', whereas the finer wool of the wasteland sheep was more appropriate for the worsted trade in Worcester.²²

The agricultural benefits seen in the South also appertained to farmland enclosed in the North. However, in the North, the Earls of Dudley and other large landowners actively promoted land enclosure for non-agricultural reasons. Rather than increase crop yields and improve livestock, the primary motivation was to exploit the minerals under the land and, thereby, to develop the iron and other trades; so much so that:

... many of the allotments made to Lord Dudley lay on either side of the thick-coal outcrop along the slopes of Brierley Hill ... [and under the Acts] Lord Dudley was entitled to work all minerals under the enclosed area no matter who owned the surface.²³

This difference in emphasis was to have significant implications not only for the future development of North Worcestershire, but the county as a whole.

The overall effect of enclosures was to replace cereal with livestock farming, but the population effect depended upon what was being enclosed. Enclosure of waste land increased the population because more labour was needed, but enclosure of common fields caused population falls because larger farms needed proportionately less labour for the same acreage.²⁴ Neeson, and Chambers and Mingay, observe that, in the Vale of Evesham, large areas of arable land were converted into pasture while in the Midlands generally, c. 75 per cent of the area enclosed was arable -

²² Gilbert, N., *A History of Kidderminster* (Chichester: 2004), pp. 35-37.

²³ Raybould, T. J., 'Lord Dudley and the Making of the Black Country', *The Blackcountryman*, Vol. 3 (1970), pp. 55-56; Raybould, T. J., *The Economic Emergence of the Black Country*, pp. 35-44.

²⁴ Pitt, W., *General View of the Agriculture*, pp. 53-55 and p. 58.

both pointing to a reduction in rural labour.²⁵ Between 1801 and 1851 there was considerable population growth in Dudley and Stourbridge whose populations grew by 268 per cent and 132 per cent, respectively, but in the rural townships of Evesham and Pershore, increases were only 62 per cent and 42 per cent, respectively.²⁶ The population increases of Dudley and Stourbridge, fuelled in part by the coal and other minerals under the enclosed land, are consistent with a reduced need for agricultural labour. Unable to support their families, the workforce migrated to urban areas, to meet the growing needs of industry. *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* made this point as early as 1766, when it highlighted the rural depopulation arising from farmers changing their land from arable to pasture and landowners using land to raise game - a trend which later increased as the needs of industry were added to the mix.²⁷

The most prominent and active land-owning freemason in the county was the 2nd Viscount Dudley and Ward whose estate of nearly 4000 acres straddled the Worcestershire-Staffordshire border.²⁸ A major factor in the industrialisation of the North were three Enclosure Acts involving his estate, introduced between 1777 and 1786. The land subject to the Ashwood Hay Act remained substantially agricultural and was a source of produce for the increased population living in the industrialised Black Country. However, although the stated purpose of the Pensnett and the Dudley Wood Acts was to convert land to tillage, the true reason was to gain access to the rich underground mineral deposits. Along with other freeholders, the Viscount

²⁵ Chambers, J. D., and Mingay, G. E., *The Agricultural Revolution*, p. 94; Neeson, J. M., *Commoners: Common Right, Enclosure and Social Change in England 1700-1820* (Cambridge: 1993).

²⁶ Turberville, T. C., *Worcestershire in the Nineteenth Century*, derived from Appendix A, p. 329.

²⁷ *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 26 May 1766.

²⁸ Lodge 77 Wolverhampton, Minute Book 1768 – 1811 (Minutes of Meeting 24 June 1769 refers to the Viscount as a member); Raybould, T. J., 'The Development and Organization of Lord Dudley's Mineral Estates', p. 529.

increased the size of his estate by obtaining common land pro-rata to land which he owned and by gaining land by way of compensation for enabling copyholders to become freeholders.

Other freemasons who participated in enclosures in the North included two members from each of the Raven and Wheatsheaf Lodges in Kidderminster and Bewdley, respectively. They all were businessmen and were awarded land under the Kidderminster Enclosure Act 1774.²⁹ John Pidcock (Talbot II), together with the Viscount, presented a Bill for the enclosure of Kingswinford and he was awarded land under the resultant Act.³⁰ Pidcock's interests were similar to those of the Viscount as he owned a coal mine, a coalmasters and a crucible clay manufactory.³¹ A professional who was actively involved in enclosures was Samuel Wyatt (Harmonic). A land surveyor based in Burton upon Trent, he was appointed Commissioner, under various Enclosure Acts, by leading families in the Midlands, including the Viscount.³² Freemasonry was poorly represented in the South, having only one lodge. As outlined in *Chapter 4*, included within the membership in the period up to 1814, when enclosures were at their highest, were several large landowners and four farmers. Presumably they benefited from the improvements in farming practices and the improved quality of livestock, but there is no evidence which points towards them individually being innovative or otherwise contributing to agricultural change.

²⁹ WAAS -899:31, BA3762/2 – Kidderminster Enclosure Act 1774, 14 Geo III c. 52. (John Baker and John Brown – Raven; John Ingram and George Clarke – Wheatsheaf).

³⁰ Kingswinford Enclosure Act 1776, 16 Geo III c. 33.

³¹ *Pigot's Worcestershire Directory 1835*, p. 657.

³² Examples include 38 Geo III c.72 -Thurcaston Enclosure Act 1798; 38 Geo III c. 73 – Swithland Enclosure Act 1798; 16 Geo III c. 33 – Kingswinford Enclosure Act 1776.

Land enclosure paved the way for improved agricultural practices which increased crop production and improved livestock quality. Both of which helped to feed the growing population and provide raw materials for industries such as glove and clothes making and, later, carpet manufacture. It was also a component of urbanisation as people moved from the countryside into towns to meet the growing demands of industry. In the North enclosures provided improved access to the mineral wealth which lay under the surface of the land enclosed, which contributed to industrial expansion, both locally and nationally in two ways. It provided raw materials which were incorporated into various products, and it provided the fuel used to drive machinery involved in production processes.

The paragraphs above illustrate how freemasons who were landowners, and one professional, participated in land enclosure. Undoubtedly, the most visionary was the Viscount Dudley and Ward whose actions led to agricultural improvements, but whose more lasting impact was to pave the way for the urbanisation and industrialisation of the North of the county both during, and after, his lifetime.

6.4 Worcestershire freemasons and transport

In the early eighteenth century the principal means of moving raw materials and finished goods was by road, using pack horses and horse-drawn carts. Roads were generally poorly maintained, and in North Worcestershire the movement of coal, limestone and fabricated goods became almost impossible in the winter and during periods of heavy rainfall, when the weight of the cargo caused ponies to slip and wagons to get bogged down. William Albert observed that petitions for turnpikes in the Severn Valley mentioned the problems caused by vehicles carrying goods to and

from the river along the numerous roads converging on the river port of Bewdley.³³

The mode of travel of individuals was determined by the distance to be travelled and the cost. For local journeys people would walk or use local carriers. For longer distances, various types of stagecoaches were used to move around the country. However, regular changes of horses and coachmen to crew the journey made the stagecoach an expensive means of travel, which restricted its use mainly to the wealthy.

By the end of the period Worcestershire had a much-improved transport infrastructure, which made it easier and quicker to transport goods and humans. Moreover, the infrastructure was able to transport heavier loads and cope with higher volumes of traffic. This section examines the underlying drivers of change, and the steps taken to meet the demands arising; it also provides examples of how freemasons in Worcestershire participated in the improvements achieved.

Stemming from legislation introduced in the mid-sixteenth century, local parishes were responsible for the upkeep of roads, and their poor state of maintenance has been viewed by Dan Bogart and others as attributable to the neglect of the parishes.³⁴ Michael Freeman puts forward an alternative 'development by shortage' thesis, arguing that their poor condition reflected rising traffic levels.³⁵ This latter view finds resonance in transport developments in both North and South Worcestershire. Industrialisation in the North, and a growing population which required feeding, led to demands for better connectivity with the agrarian South of the county to facilitate the

³³ Pitt, W., *General View of the Agriculture*, p. 41.

³⁴ Bogart, D., 'Turnpike Trusts and the Transportation Revolution in 18th Century England', *Explorations in Economic History*, Vol. 42 (4) (2005), pp. 481-482.

³⁵ Freeman, M. J., 'Introduction', in Aldcroft, D. H., and Freeman, M. J., (eds.), *Transport in the Industrial Revolution* (Manchester: 1983), p. 21.

transport of agricultural produce. Contemporaneously, industrialists demanded better communications to transport raw materials around the area, and to send finished goods and extracted minerals to markets outside the county. These needs resulted in the creation of turnpike trusts, set up by acts of Parliament, which collected tolls for the maintenance of the principal highways within the county. *Figures 5 and 6* show the major turnpikes created in Worcestershire and how they linked with the main transport arteries to the North and South of the country. The majority were built after 1750, with routes concentrated around the food-producing areas of Worcester, Droitwich, Evesham, and the industrial areas of Dudley, Stourbridge and Kidderminster – a pattern which highlights the importance of these areas for the county's economy.

In addition to the turnpikes there was locally inspired road construction to ease the transport of fresh produce. Improvements made by the 'Vale of Evesham Road Club' caused one commentator to state that 'they now have to congratulate themselves ... on a safe and pleasant communication: an agreeable embellishment ... is the practice ... of fixing the name on some conspicuous place at the entrance of every village.'³⁶ Another commentator quantified the Earl of Coventry's improvements to local roads in the South, saying: 'Judge Perrott frequently [said] that Lord Coventry had brought a million of money into Worcestershire from his skilful exertions in making roads throughout the county'.³⁷ In the North, the 2nd Viscount Dudley and Ward was likewise responsible for the construction of many local roads

³⁶ *The Agricultural Magazine*, Vol. 9 (1811), p. 235.

³⁷ *The Agricultural Magazine*, Vol. 9 (1811), p. 261.

on his estate which, in this instance, was aimed at furthering the fortunes of industry in the area.³⁸

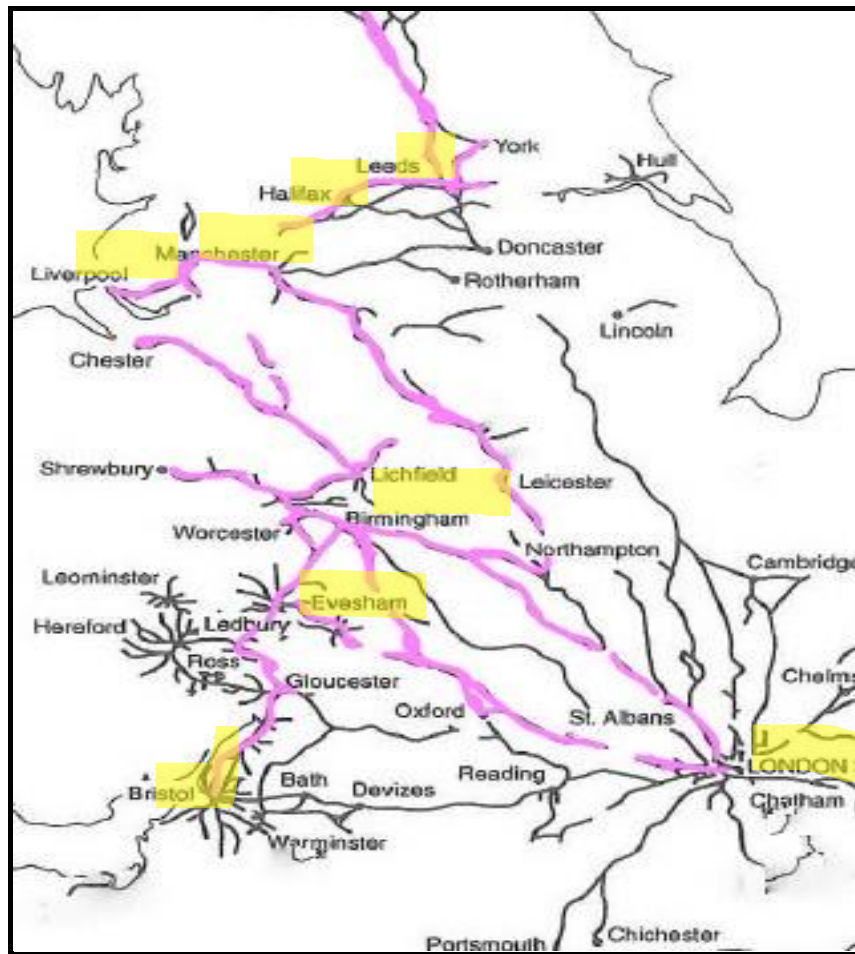


Figure 5: Main turnpikes in 1750 from Worcestershire to Birmingham, London, the North, the Severn and Bristol. ³⁹

Improved roads led to greater freight-carrying capacity, cost reductions and speedier travelling times. The maximum weight permitted to be carried set by various Highways Acts increased from 30 cwt in 1667 to 120 cwt by 1765: a 400 percent

³⁸ Raybould, T. J., 'Lord Dudley and the Making of the Black Country', p. 55.

³⁹ Map based on Pawson, E., *Transport and Economy*, Academic Press (London: 1977), cited in Albert, W., 'The Turnpike Trusts', p. 38.

increase over the century.⁴⁰ Increased weights, combined with lower feed and other expenses, resulted in reduced operating costs, to the benefit of business.

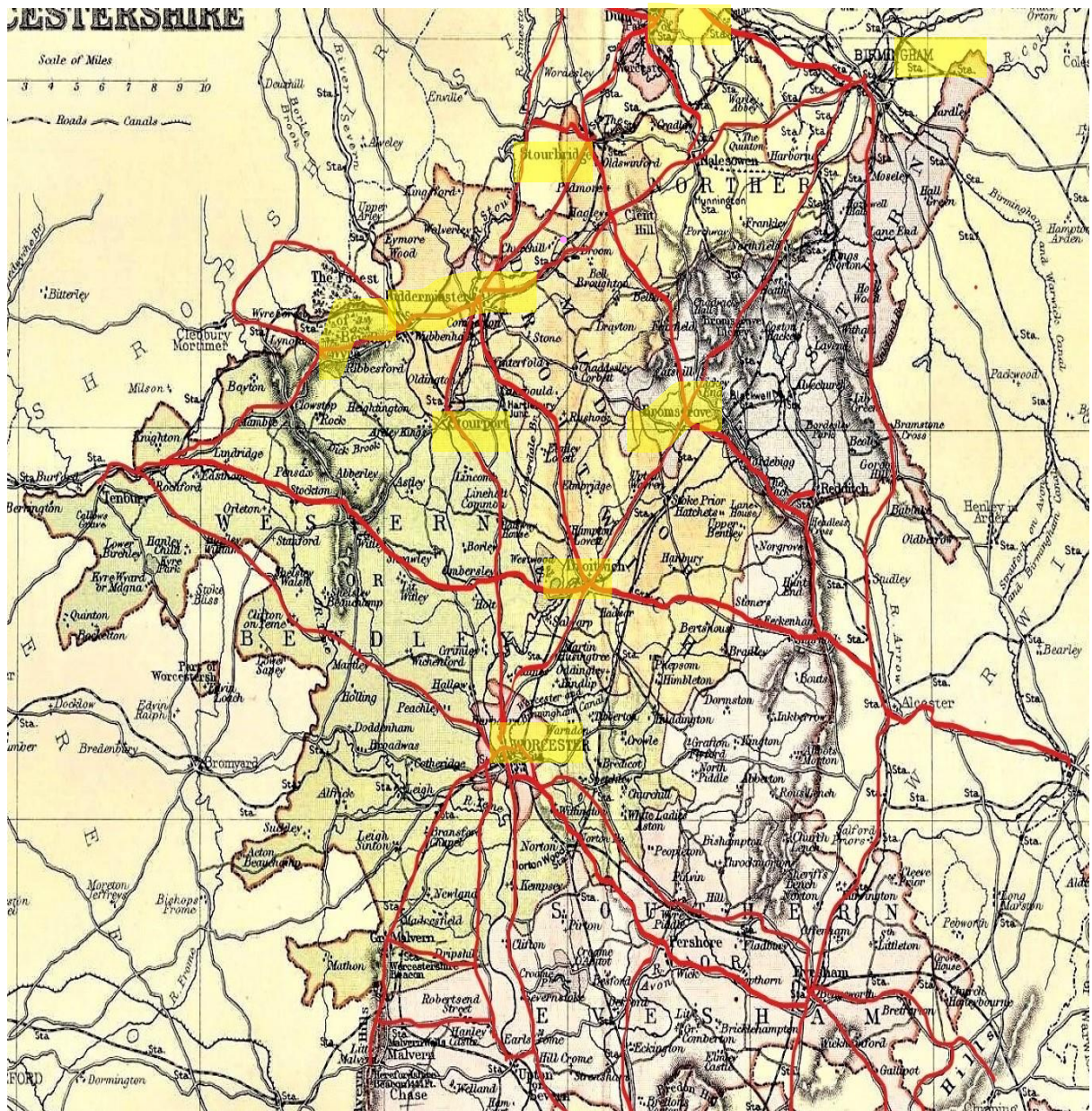


Figure 6: Map of principal Worcestershire Turnpike roads c. 1825.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Albert, W., *The Turnpike Trusts*, pp. 55-56.

⁴¹ Map from Brabner, J. H. F., *A Comprehensive Gazetteer of England and Wales* (London and Edinburgh: 1894-1895); roads in red inserted by author based on *Researching Historic Buildings in the British Isles*, [map Worcs turnpikes.jpg](http://www.buildinghistory.org/buildings/tollhouses.shtml) (2167x1586) and <http://www.buildinghistory.org/buildings/tollhouses.shtml> [Accessed: 21 June 2021].

One observer in the 1750s claimed that ‘carriage in general is now thirty percent cheaper than before the roads were amended by the turnpikes’.⁴² As regards carriage travel, the biggest impact of improved roads was speedier journey times. Bogart has computed that average miles per hour increased from 2.6 to 8.0 by 1829.⁴³ He identifies the ‘flying machine’, a coach which travelled faster by changing horses more frequently, and the better breeding of horses as contributory factors in achieving increased speeds.⁴⁴ As well as cheaper haulage and quicker travel times, Porter observes that these ‘Georgian motorways’ produced an economy of their own, by generating trade for inns along their routes and by creating coaching services which employed coachmen and ostlers.⁴⁵

The principal navigable river in Worcestershire was the Severn, which flowed through Bewdley, Stourport and Worcester before entering the sea through the Bristol Channel. Navigable for 180 miles from the sea to Bewdley, vessels of 80 tons and 60 tons could reach Worcester and Bewdley, respectively. It was an important trade artery from medieval times where ‘trows’ ferried agricultural produce, clothes, wool and, from c.1570, coal from ports such as Bridgnorth and Bewdley. However, situated in the west of the county, the Severn was poorly placed to move extracted minerals and manufactured goods from the Black Country. King contrasts the situation with the Shropshire coalfield around Broseley where its coal was sold in towns the length of the Severn.⁴⁶ As with improvements in the road system, the construction of canals came about, in large part, because of pressure from

⁴² Albert, W., *The Turnpike Trusts*, p. 56.

⁴³ Bogart, D., ‘Turnpike Trusts and the Transportation Revolution’, p. 484.

⁴⁴ Bogart, D., ‘Turnpike Trusts and the Transport Revolution’, pp. 484-489.

⁴⁵ Porter, R., *English Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London: 1990), p. 191.

⁴⁶ King, P. W., ‘Black Country Mining before the Industrial Revolution’, *Mining History: The Bulletin of the Peak District Mines Historical Society*, Vol. 16 (6) (Winter 2007), p. 35.

businessmen looking for alternatives to the road network to distribute their products, particularly the movement of bulky goods and goods of low value such as coal. Moreover, the pressure was not confined to North Worcestershire. The 'principal inhabitants of Ledbury' presented a petition to Parliament in favour of the proposed Stourbridge Canal, which they saw as 'a great public utility', which would much improve the supply of coal as compared to obtaining it from the Severn 'at great price'.⁴⁷

In the last quarter of the eighteenth and in the first two decades of the nineteenth centuries five major canals were constructed in Worcestershire, namely, the Dudley; Droitwich; Staffordshire and Worcestershire; Birmingham and Worcester, and Stratford upon Avon canals. The main carried goods were coal, ironstone, glass and other manufactured goods of the Black Country, together with salt from Droitwich and fresh produce from the South of the county.⁴⁸ The Staffordshire and the Birmingham canals were major commercial arteries. The former ran from Stourport and the Severn, past Kidderminster, to link up with Stourbridge and the Trent and Mersey canal, so enabling goods to be exported by accessing London and the ports of Bristol and Liverpool.⁴⁹ The latter ran from Birmingham to link up with the Dudley and the Stratford upon Avon canals before entering the Severn just south of Worcester. It provided a direct link between the Severn and Birmingham and, through its junction at Birmingham, to canals going to Liverpool and the trading towns in the North of England. Its junction with the Stratford upon Avon canal provided a trade route to

⁴⁷ *Parliamentary Papers, Journal of the House of Commons* Vol. 41 (reprint 1803), pp.442-443.

⁴⁸ Priestley, J., *A Historical Account of the Navigable Rivers, Canals and Railways of Great Britain* (London: 1831), pp. 205-209.

⁴⁹ Priestley, J., *A Historical Account of the Navigable Rivers*, pp. 583-584.

London and export markets. In the view of Porter, as well as facilitating the movement of bulk freight, canals caused the economic balance of power to shift between areas. Thus, Bristol lost its pre-eminence as industry moved up the Severn towards the Black Country and Shropshire, while Bewdley, a river port, lost out to Stourport when the latter became a major canal hub.⁵⁰ The River Stour gained an unexpected attribute from what now would be considered as industrial pollution. Kidderminster carpets were renowned for the brilliance and permanence of their colours, and it has been suggested that this was due to washing wool in the Stour whose chemical properties were in part caused by discharges from manufacturing plants located along its banks.⁵¹

Freemasons participated in the development of these transport networks through investment, political influence and trusteeship. The 2nd Viscount Dudley and Ward built local roads on his estate and was also involved in the construction of turnpike roads, including those from Stourbridge to Dudley and from Dudley to Wednesbury; by 1779 he had loaned £6200 to help finance various Black Country turnpike trusts.⁵² Recognising the role which canals could play in the exploitation of his estate he participated in the construction of both the Dudley and Stourbridge canals which were set up by acts of Parliament. As a member of the House of Lords' committee which scrutinised private bills, he exerted influence on the legislation. The Stourbridge Navigation Act made specific reference to his mines, it being designed 'with collateral branches to the coal mines in Pensnett Chase and the Moors'. The minutes of the Dudley Navigation Co. recorded appreciation of the Viscount 'for his

⁵⁰ Porter, R., *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 202-207.

⁵¹ Porter, R., *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 249.

⁵² Raybould, T. J., 'Lord Dudley and the Making of the Black Country', p. 55.

very powerful and successful exertion in Parliament in support of the extension of this canal'.⁵³

Canals were attractive to glass manufacturers to convey both raw materials and finished goods, as moving glass on pack horses caused high levels of breakage. Proprietors of the Stourbridge Navigation Co. who were glass manufacturers included Pidcock and George Ensell (both Talbot II) and William Geast (Harmonic) as well as Richard Croft (Talbot II), who was an iron master and probably recognised the merits of the canal for moving raw materials. Ensell and Daniel Matthews (Talbot II) both spoke in favour when the Bill was discussed in the House of Lords. The Commissioners responsible for adjudicating disputes between the company and landowners included the Rev. John Downing, and his brother Thomas Downing (both Talbot II); Thomas additionally benefited from owning land through which the canal was cut.⁵⁴ A further landowner who benefited was Thomas Savage (Talbot II) who signed a petition to Parliament in support of the plans to build the canal.⁵⁵ William Whitehouse (Freedom), who was a wharfinger and carrier with his brother John, operated a coach service to London from Dudley. In 1835 they leased land at Tipton from the Earl of Dudley's trustees from which they ran flyboats into Regent's canal basin, London.⁵⁶ Pidcock was involved in transport development outside Worcestershire at his forge at Lydney, Gloucestershire, where 'Pidcock's Canal'

⁵³ The Stourbridge Canal Act 1776, (16 Geo. III, c. 28); 'Reference to the Plan'; Dudley Canal proprietors' Minute Book, 5 Sept. 1785, cited in Hadfield, C., *The Canals of the West Midlands* (Newton Abbot: 1966), p. 77.

⁵⁴ The Stourbridge Canal Act 1776, (16 Geo. III, c. 28), p. 2 and p. 17; *House of Lords Journal* Vol. 37 (1783-1787), pp. 471-483.

⁵⁵ *Parliamentary Papers*, Journal of the House of Commons, Vol. 41 (reprint 1803), p.443.

⁵⁶ Johnstone, Andrew, *Johnstone's London Commercial Guide and Street Directory* Vol. 4, (London: 1818) p. 56; DUDA – DE1/8/16. Lease of land in Tipton between William and John Whitehouse of Dudley, Wharfingers and Canal Carriers, and the trustees of Earl of Dudley.

linked two parts of the site; as an aside, the Black Country expression for a canal - 'the Cut' - used at Lydney to this day to describe 'Pidcock's Canal'.⁵⁷

In the North of the county freemasons were to be found amongst landowners, manufacturers and other businessmen who participated in and benefited from the development of road transport. William Blow Collis, George Collis, Pidcock and Croft (all Talbot II) and other freemasons, were trustees of the Stourbridge Turnpike Trust.⁵⁸ Its trustee meetings from 1762 onwards were held at the Talbot Hotel in Stourbridge, of which Savage (Talbot II) was the proprietor. H.E. Palfrey records that the Staffordshire and Worcestershire Canal Co. held meetings at the Talbot from 1771, and that the Stourbridge Navigation Co. held almost all its meetings there.⁵⁹ Pidcock and Croft, who were trustees of the Stourbridge-Dudley Turnpike, also acted as secretary and treasurer, thereby having day-to-day responsibility for running the trust. Each entered into contracts with the other trustees whereby, on payment of a fixed sum of money, they ran the turnpike but retained the tolls.⁶⁰ In addition, Pidcock provided a £150 security bond when his son was appointed secretary and treasurer.⁶¹ In 1775, when the trust experienced cashflow problems the Viscount and Pidcock loaned money on mortgage in the amounts of £45 (making £2000 in total) and £110, respectively.⁶²

⁵⁷ Morris, P., 'The Factory Cottages Lydney' *Gloucestershire Society for Industrial Archaeology Journal*, (2010), pp. 23-27.

⁵⁸ Palfrey, H. E., *Gentlemen at the Talbot* (Stourbridge: 1954), pp. 18-19.

⁵⁹ Palfrey, H. E., *Gentlemen at the Talbot*, p. 19.

⁶⁰ WAAS - 899:31 BA3762/4(iv) - Minutes of Stourbridge-Dudley Turnpike, Meetings 19 December 1774 and 27 July 1772.

⁶¹ WAAS - 899:31 BA3762/4(iv) - Minutes of Stourbridge-Dudley Turnpike, Meetings 24 July 1775, 2 October 1775 and 27 November 1775.

⁶² WAAS - 899:31 BA3762/4(iv) - Minutes of Stourbridge-Dudley Turnpike, Meeting 13 December 1775.

In the South of the county Benjamin Johnson and Thomas Carden (Worcester) along with George Lingham (Stonemasons' Arms) and Samuel Dangerfield (Mercy and Truth) were proprietors of the Birmingham-Worcester Canal Co., and six members of the Worcester Lodge served as Commissioners of the company.⁶³ J. B. Hyde and Samuel Wall (both Worcester) were proprietors of the Droitwich Canal Co. where Wall also served as a Trustee.⁶⁴ Freemasons also participated in turnpike roads in the south, including J. P. Lavender and five other members of Worcester Lodge who were trustees of the Droitwich Turnpike; Lavender also invested in the Evesham Turnpike.⁶⁵ Later in the period under review, Archibald Cameron (Worcester) and Thomas Hallen (Royal Standard) were, respectively, clerks to the Worcester Turnpike Trustees in 1835 and the Kidderminster Turnpike Trustees in 1838.⁶⁶

Freemasonry was also a casualty of transport development. The Wheatsheaf Lodge was founded in Bewdley in 1762 when that town was a bustling port on the Severn. The Staffordshire and Worcestershire canal opened to trade in 1772, entering the Severn at the newly constructed port of Stourport. It replaced Bewdley as the river's commercial gateway because, as a trans-shipment centre where goods were loaded and unloaded from canal narrow boats to river boats, and vice versa, it was able to handle much larger volumes. Bewdley's decline is alluded to in a letter

⁶³ The Birmingham – Worcester Canal Act (31 Geo. 3, c. 59); TNA - PROB/1866, Will of S. Dangerfield, Gentleman of Evesham refers to shares in the Company; named in the Act as Commissioners were R. Mugg-Mence, B. Johnson, T. Bund, T. Carden, E. Isaac, F. Hooper.

⁶⁴ WAAS - B497 BA8445/Parcel 4 – Minutes of Droitwich Canal Co, 1837- 1850, minutes 1840, p. 34 and minutes 1841, p.37; Droitwich Canal Act (5 Geo 4, c. 33).

⁶⁵ WAAS - 2295/264 – Minutes of the Evesham Turnpike (Oversbury to the London Turnpike) 1789-1808, Minute dated 25 October 1793 refers to Lavender as proprietor; Droitwich Turnpike Act (5 Geo 4, c. 33) names Lavender, Bund, Johnson, Hooper, and Isaac as Commissioners.

⁶⁶ *Pigot's Worcestershire Directory 1835*; *House of Commons Papers* – Turnpike Trusts Will IV Ac. 3 & 4 c. 80.

dated 1797 from the Wheatsheaf to the Grand Secretary of the Antients which stated that the lodge could not pay its subscriptions because of diminishing numbers and that it had been 'discontinued for upwards of three months'.⁶⁷ A later letter from the lodge advised that members had left the town and were residing at too great a distance to attend regularly; one of these had moved to Kidderminster where he became a member of Faithful Lodge.⁶⁸

Transport development contributed to the industrialisation of North Worcestershire by facilitating the movement of goods and providing access to markets. It also benefited the whole county by enabling food to be moved from the South, where crops were grown and animals reared, to the urbanised north where mouths had to be fed. As was the case with agricultural reform, the Viscount Dudley and Ward was a leading proponent of change in the North, supported by other freemasons who contributed through investment, management, and political lobbying. The involvement of freemasons in the South was less and different in nature. The lower level of participation is, in part, a reflection of the lower masonic presence in the area, with only the Worcester Lodge having a continuous presence. In the North, freemasons tended to be businessmen whose businesses would have directly benefited from better communications. In the South, with the possible exception of Hooper who was a maltster, freemasons who participated in transport development were gentlemen and professionals whose motivation was more likely to have been obtaining a return on investment.

⁶⁷ MF – LF SN 535a - letter dated 7 September 1797 from John Lewis, Secretary, to Robert Leslie, Grand Secretary

⁶⁸ MF – LF SN 535a - letter dated 23 December 1805 from John Lewis to Robert Leslie, Grand Secretary; member joining Faithful was Thomas Bullock, Supervisor of Excise.

6.5 Worcestershire freemasons and industry, trade, and the professions

The period covered by the thesis was transformational. Some industries, such as the worsted trade in Kidderminster, existed at the start of the period but had ceased by the end. Other industries, such as coal mining and other extractive industries, benefiting from improved transport links and technical innovation, expanded and were much larger than at the start of the period. Yet others were new, such as carpet manufacture in Kidderminster. In the sub-sections which follow the major business sectors of Worcestershire are analysed, together with an evaluation of the participation of freemasons in each. Because freemasons were largely drawn from their local communities, correlation between the fortunes of local industry and masonic lodges is also examined.

6.5.1 Extractive industries

The ancient forest that once covered much of Worcestershire played a significant role in the industrial development of the county, whereby its decaying bark bequeathed coal and fireclay in the North of the county. The coal provided much of the power used in trades as diverse as iron smelting, glass manufacture and salt production. The fireclay was used in products which required a heat-resistant material - ranging from bricks for refractories used in glassmaking, to chimney pots for houses and factories.⁶⁹ They were mined in the Lickey Hills, the Wyre Forest, and the South Staffordshire coalfield, with its 'ten-yard seam', which extended into North Worcestershire around Dudley and Stourbridge.⁷⁰ In addition, the area had

⁶⁹ National Environment Research Council, *British Geological Survey, Mineral Planning Factsheet* (2006), pp. 1-10.

⁷⁰ Willis-Bund, J. W., and Page, W., *A History of the County of Worcester*, pp. 258-266.

substantial limestone deposits which were also to play a role in its industrial development. The successful exploitation of these natural resources had several facets, which are examined in the succeeding paragraphs.

Much of the land in the Black Country was held on 'copyhold tenure' whereby the copyholder could mine only with the permission of the Lord of the Manor who, in turn, could not mine without infringing the rights of the copyholder. This led to small-scale mining under licence granted by the Lord or, where the freeholder held the land, they granted leases to mine rather than mine themselves.⁷¹ Following the right given to the 2nd Viscount Dudley and Ward to mine for minerals under the land enclosed by various Enclosure Acts, he set about exploiting the significant reserves of limestone, fireclay and 'coal sufficient to supply the markets for upwards of a thousand years'.⁷² A measure of his success in increasing extraction, and developing a transport system to move product to market, was that the price of coal fell because of the higher volume coming to market.⁷³

A further important facet was technological change. Water extraction and flooding was a major problem. The inefficiency of horse gins and 'soughs' (gutters) in extracting water confined mining to shallow mines, and even these were regularly abandoned because of flooding. The invention of Savery's 'Miner's Friend' and the Newcomen engine, which used steam power to pump water from mines more efficiently, allowed new mines to be sunk, which were deeper, larger and more

⁷¹ King, P. W., 'Black Country Mining', p. 40.

⁷² Correspondent to *Aris's Gazette* cited in *The Journal of Transport History* Vol. 27 (2006) www.journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.7227/TJTH.27.1.3 [Accessed: 13 December 2016].

⁷³ King, P. W., "Black Country Mining", p. 47.

economical to work.⁷⁴ One of the most dangerous aspects of mining was the build-up of poisonous and inflammable gases which caused explosions that drove:

before [them] a roaring whirlwind of flaming air, which tears up everything in its progress, scorching some of the miners to a cinder, burying others under enormous heaps of ruins shaken from the roof.⁷⁵

Inventions such as the Davy Safety Lamp and ventilation systems went some way to reducing the dangers of underground working.

Additional factors were changes in working practices and marketing of the products. The Viscount engaged Charles Beaumont, a distinguished mining engineer from Newcastle, as his mineral agent. He changed employment practices to replace the 'butty' system, where miners were employed by gangmasters, to direct employment, which achieved savings by eliminating the middlemen.⁷⁶ He also secured a wider market for the mined products by targeting the more populous London and the south of England; so much so that the estate was producing over 400,000 tons of coal per annum in the 1790s at prices below that extracted from pits in Newcastle.⁷⁷

Limestone was extracted in the east, west and centre of the county and at a significant outcrop at Dudley known as the Wren's Nest.⁷⁸ Lime was used to improve soil quality, and in the building industry to make mortar and plaster as well as

⁷⁴ King, P. W., 'Black Country Mining', p. 42.

⁷⁵ Rev. John Hodgson, cited in *The Industrial Revolution, coal mining, and the Felling Colliery Disaster* <http://wp.lancs.ac.uk/lettersandthelamp/sections/the-industrial-revolution-coal-mining-and-the-felling-colliery-disaster/> [Accessed: 12 December 2019].

⁷⁶ Raybould, T. J., 'The Development and Organisation of Lord Dudley's Mineral Estates', pp. 536-537.

⁷⁷ Raybould, T. J., 'The Development and Organisation of Lord Dudley's Mineral Estates', pp. 531-534.

⁷⁸ Wilkes, N., *Lime Kilns in Worcestershire* (n.d), p. 4; Davies, V. L. and Hyde, H., *Dudley and the Black Country 1760-1860* (Dudley: 1970), p. 54.

'limewash' to waterproof exterior walls. A lime solution was used as part of the tanning process to remove hairs from hides used in glove manufacture and it was also used as a flux in the blast furnaces of the Black Country.⁷⁹

Because of drainage issues, most fireclay was extracted from open-cast workings and shallow mines around Stourbridge and Pensnett. The clay varied in constituency which led, in the second half of the nineteenth century, to specialisms developing, such as firebricks in Brierley Hill, and earthenware in the Brettell Lane area.

According to Plot:

the clay which surpasses all others of this country is that at Amblecote, on the bank of the Stour ... The goodness of which clay, and the cheapness of coal hereabouts, no doubt has drawn the glasshouses ... into these parts ...⁸⁰

As well as the Viscount, members from four Worcestershire lodges were represented in a variety of occupations within the extractive and allied industries between 1788 and the 1830s. Another mine owner was Pidcock who owned a coal mine in partnership with Benjamin Brettell. They installed a ventilation system invented by a Richard Blackwell, for which Pidcock gave a reference, which describes the efficiency of the system and the problems faced by miners of the time:

We applied to him to erect one at a colliery of ours ... and we do hereby certify the same to be the most useful machine ever invented for the benefit of all miners. The pit ... is upward of 50 yards deep and is

⁷⁹ Wilkes, N., *Lime Kilns in Worcestershire*, pp. 6-8; Brown, D., 'The Industrial Revolution, Political Economy and the British Aristocracy: the Second Viscount Dudley and Ward as an Eighteenth-century Canal Promoter', *The Journal of Transport History*, Vol. 27 (2006), p. 17.

⁸⁰ Plot, R., *The Natural History of Stafford-shire*, pp. 121-122.

continually subject to sulphurous damp, which has often taken fire ... but by the working of this machine, in about four hours the cause has been so effectually removed that the workmen could safely take down a lighted candle ... without any fear or apprehension of danger.⁸¹

Edward Edwards (Freedom) was described as a 'miner' in 1788 – an indication that, by that date, mining was an occupation rather than a part-time job running alongside farm work. Several others were involved at management level, such as James Mallen and William Underhill (both Freedom) who managed mines as lime and coal bailiffs respectively, with the latter known to have worked for the Viscount. Francis Downing (Harmonic) was the Viscount's mineral agent. Although Raybould refers to 'the shortcomings of Downing's administration', he was held in high regard by the Viscount, who appointed him an executor of his will and also as one of three trustees who ran the estate for the twelve years following his death.⁸² Downing served as Mayor of Dudley on three occasions when it was akin to a fiefdom of the Viscount and his family.⁸³ A further five masons were involved in the industry as coalmasters, coal merchants and mine agents.

John Eades (Harmonic) was a large clay-pot and firebrick manufacturer at works in Delph. Originally in partnership with William Hughes, the business supplied the glassmaking industry as well as manufacturing retorts for gasworks.⁸⁴ John Orme Brettell (Harmonic), was a land agent/surveyor whose practice was of sufficient size

⁸¹ *The London Chronicle*, 27-29 January 1763, p. 98.

⁸² Raybould, T. J., 'The Development and Organization of Lord Dudley's Mineral Estates', p. 540.

⁸³ Torrens, H., *The Downings of Halesowen Furnace*, p. 239.

⁸⁴ Pigot & Co, *National Commercial Directory 1835* (London: Pigot & Co, 1835), p. 657; *London Gazette* No. 19113, p. 2362, dissolution of partnership of Eades and Hughes as of 24 June 1830.

to train apprentices. He performed land surveys for the 4th Viscount, and other landowners, to assist them in developing their mineral estates.⁸⁵

6.5.2 Glassmaking

The establishment and subsequent growth of glassmaking in North Worcestershire can be attributed to the natural resources of the area; emigration from France of Huguenot glassmakers; and technical advances in methods of production. Glass manufacture requires silica sand, potash and limestone, clay to make heat-resistant crucibles and fuel to generate the heat required, which were all in abundance in north Worcestershire.⁸⁶

Religious conflict with the majority Roman Catholic population, combined with oppressive taxation of glass, caused French Protestant Huguenots with glassmaking skills to emigrate to Protestant nations, including England.⁸⁷ A 'Henzey' (anglicised from de Hennezel) was baptised in Eccleshall in 1586 and Huguenot names are found in Kingswinford and Old Swinford parish registers between 1612 and 1615.⁸⁸ By the early eighteenth century English names started to replace the European names as a result of:

childless sons and fecund daughters marrying Englishmen [which] meant that 'Henzey' was replaced by Lloyd, ... Brettell, ... , Dixon..., 'Tyzack' gave way to Hill, ... Hawkes, ... and 'Bague' lost its identity to Hodgetts.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ DUDA - DE/16/3/113 and DE/16/3/51, Surveys by Brettell for the Viscount.

⁸⁶ Guttery, D., *From Broad-glass to Cut Crystal* (London: 1956), pp. 38-45.

⁸⁷ Ellis, J., *Glassmakers of Stourbridge and Dudley 1612-2002*, p. 43.

⁸⁸ Sandilands, D. N., 'The History of the Midland Glass Industry', (Unpublished M Comm thesis, University of Birmingham, 1927), p. 10; Ellis, J., *Glassmakers of Stourbridge and Dudley 1612-2002*, pp. 43-58.

⁸⁹ Guttery, D., *From Broad-glass to Cut Crystal*, p. 73.

Moreover, locals who gained knowledge of the industry by working in it began to own facilities which were unconnected to the extended Huguenot families. Guttery gives the example of Humfrey Batchelor who had learned his trade at Henzey's.⁹⁰ Around the same time, other local families of wealth and standing, such as the Penn family, who combined glassmaking with hop trading, started to invest in glass manufacture because of its commercial prospects.⁹¹

Initially, manufacturing used wood to heat the fireclay containers and it is unclear when coal was used as an alternative fuel, but once established, the large coalfields surrounding Stourbridge and Dudley made both towns prime areas for glassmaking.⁹² The use of coal enabled glassmakers to build permanent glasshouses with larger furnaces and production capacity, which increased efficiency and reduced costs. The industry also gained from advances in the field of industrial chemistry, such as the research of Stourbridge glassmaker James Keir into annealing, and the invention in 1674 of lead-glass (commonly called crystal) by the London glassmaker George Ravenscroft, which produced a clearer glass that was easier to manipulate.⁹³

From the late seventeenth century onwards glasshouses in Stourbridge, such as those in Audnam, were built near to turnpike roads and canals to take advantage of the transportation facilities offered. In 1766 the first of five glasshouses constructed in the second half of the eighteenth century was built in Dudley. According to Davies and Hyde, workers in the town's nail-making industry, who had experience of working

⁹⁰ Guttery, D., *From Broad-glass to Cut Crystal*, p. 47.

⁹¹ Guttery, D., *From Broad-glass to Cut Crystal*, p. 48; Ellis, J., *Glassmakers of Stourbridge and Dudley 1612-2002*, pp. 295-300.

⁹² Ellis, J., *Glassmakers of Stourbridge and Dudley 1612-2002*, p. 53.

⁹³ Louw, H., 'Window-glass making in Britain c.1660-c1860 and its architectural impact', *Construction History*, Vol. 7 (1991), p. 50.

with molten materials, provided a workforce which could be easily retrained for the new industry.⁹⁴

The fortunes of glassmaking fluctuated with changes in the market and in government taxation policy. Expiry of patents for plate glass in the late seventeenth century reduced costs, and the growth in popularity of crystal, particularly on the Continent, led to increased production. These factors, in turn, caused oversupply and bankruptcies such as that of 'Samuel Tizack, late of Kingswinford, Staffordshire, Glassmaker'.⁹⁵ Others, such as Hill and Waldron, were more successful and moved up the social ladder: described as glass manufacturers in 1771, by 1789 they were 'bankers and glass manufacturers'.⁹⁶ There is also evidence of glassmakers branching out into other industries, such as Littlewood and Wheeley who started to manufacture firebricks.⁹⁷

In 1696 a 'window tax' was introduced at a flat rate of 2 shillings per building and at a variable rate on windows in excess of ten. This led to the blocking up of existing windows and the introduction of 'blind windows' as a feature of Georgian design. In 1745 further taxation in the form of a 'glass excise duty' was introduced which continued to be levied until its repeal in 1845. The impact of these levies was to reduce demand so that national consumption fell from 417,911 cwts in 1811 to an average of 264,931 cwts per annum between 1812 and 1814, after which it remained relatively static until 1835.⁹⁸ As a result, glasshouses in Stourbridge reduced from 14

⁹⁴ Davies, V. L. and Hyde, H., *Dudley and the Black Country*, p. 74.

⁹⁵ Sandilands, D. N., *The History of the Midland Glass Industry*, p. 21; *London Gazette* No. 6190, 13 August 1723, p. 5.

⁹⁶ Guttery, D., *From Broad-glass to Cut Crystal*, p. 84.

⁹⁷ Guttery, D., *From Broad-glass to Cut Crystal*, p. 112.

⁹⁸ Turberville, T. C., *Worcestershire in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 9-10.

in 1746 to 11 in 1833.⁹⁹ In contrast, Dudley, which mainly made cut glass, was less affected by the window tax, and it had 5 glasshouses both in 1805 and 1833.¹⁰⁰ The comparative profitability of cut glass as compared to plain glass used in windows is illustrated by Thomas Badger in his evidence to the Commission on Excise, viz: 'Since the year 1826, upon the cut glass we have made a handsome profit, and this has been swallowed up by the loss upon the plain; I venture to say we have not made 2 per cent upon our own capital.'¹⁰¹ The industry did not fully recover until mid-century when the window tax was repealed and the country entered a housing boom.

Lodge records show twenty-three freemasons represented in the glass industry in Stourbridge and Dudley between 1745 and 1846. Membership covered a wide range of occupations from manufacturers and glass cutters to manufacturers of bellows and glaziers' vices, and it comprised a mix of descendants of Huguenots and others who were new to the industry. Examples of each are given to demonstrate the extent of masonic involvement in the industry. George Ensell and John Pidcock were descended from Huguenot families. Ensell was initially in partnership with his brother-in-law Richard Bradley and Pidcock. The partnership lasted from 1768 until around 1774 after which Ensell ran the business as a sole proprietor.¹⁰² He was responsible for two important inventions. The first was a process which increased the area of plate glass from 4 square feet to 6 square feet, thereby enabling the

⁹⁹ Anon, *Contributions towards a History of Glassmaking and Glassmakers in Staffordshire* (Wolverhampton: 1894), p. 6; Turberville, T. C., *Worcestershire in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 9-10.

⁹⁹ Anon, *Contributions towards a History of Glassmaking and Glassmakers*, p. 6; Sandilands, D. N., *The History of the Midland Glass Industry*, App. 3(b).

¹⁰⁰ Anon, *Contributions towards a History of Glassmaking and Glassmakers*, p. 8; Sandilands, D. N., *The History of the Midland Glass Industry*, App. 3(b).

¹⁰¹ Ellis, J., *Glassmakers of Stourbridge and Dudley 1612-2002*, p. 303.

¹⁰² Ellis, J., *Glassmakers of Stourbridge and Dudley 1612-2002*, pp. 162-163.

production of larger windows and mirrors; for this he received an award in 1778 from the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce.¹⁰³ The second was a tunnel-type *lehr* for annealing, which replaced the old kilns; this enabled the manufacture of thicker glass and, with that, the creation of a new style of deeply cut (engraved) glass.¹⁰⁴ Pidcock ran a number of glass manufacturing businesses, starting in 1738 when he inherited the business of his uncle Joshua Henzey in Brettell Lane, Stourbridge.¹⁰⁵ He manufactured both plate glass and bottles and in 1788 he built a new glass house on the banks of the Stourbridge Canal, which also had access to the turnpike road in Audnam.¹⁰⁶ An entrepreneur by nature, he is an example of a glassmaker who diversified his commercial interests. In partnership with his sons, he became the owner of the Lydney Forge in Gloucestershire and he also invested in coal mines and a clay manufactory.¹⁰⁷

A business not of Huguenot descent, was that run by Richard and Serjeant Witton (Hope). They inherited the Heath Glassworks (*Figure 7*) in 1778 from their uncle, Edward Russell.¹⁰⁸ This was a substantial operation in Stourbridge consisting of an 'extensive manufactory' and a large house with walled garden 'fit for a genteel family'; the business also owned land in Lye, under which were several clay mines.¹⁰⁹ It traded until 1801 when Serjeant Witton, by then the sole proprietor,

¹⁰³ The Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, *Transactions of the Society with the Premiums offered in the Year 1784* Vol. 2 (London: 1789), p.110.

¹⁰⁴ Ellis, J., *Glassmakers of Stourbridge and Dudley 1612-2002*, pp. 165.

¹⁰⁵ Ellis, J., *Glassmakers of Stourbridge and Dudley 1612-2002*, p. 68 and pp. 172–173.

¹⁰⁶ Ellis, J., *Glassmakers of Stourbridge and Dudley 1612-2002*, p. 397.

¹⁰⁷ GA - D421/T104 – assignment of Lydney Forge to Messrs Pidcock, Stourbridge, 8 November 1790; WAAS - 4000/750:260 parcel 8 – assignment of lease of property in Audnam Field, Kingswinford to John and Thomas Pidcock previously held by John Pidcock (Snr.) comprising a house, clay mill and mines for 61 years from 25/3/1800 at rent of £31 10s, p/a.

¹⁰⁸ TNA - PROB/1046 – Will of Edward Russell, glassmaker.

¹⁰⁹ *London Gazette* No.15390, 25 July 1801, p. 922.

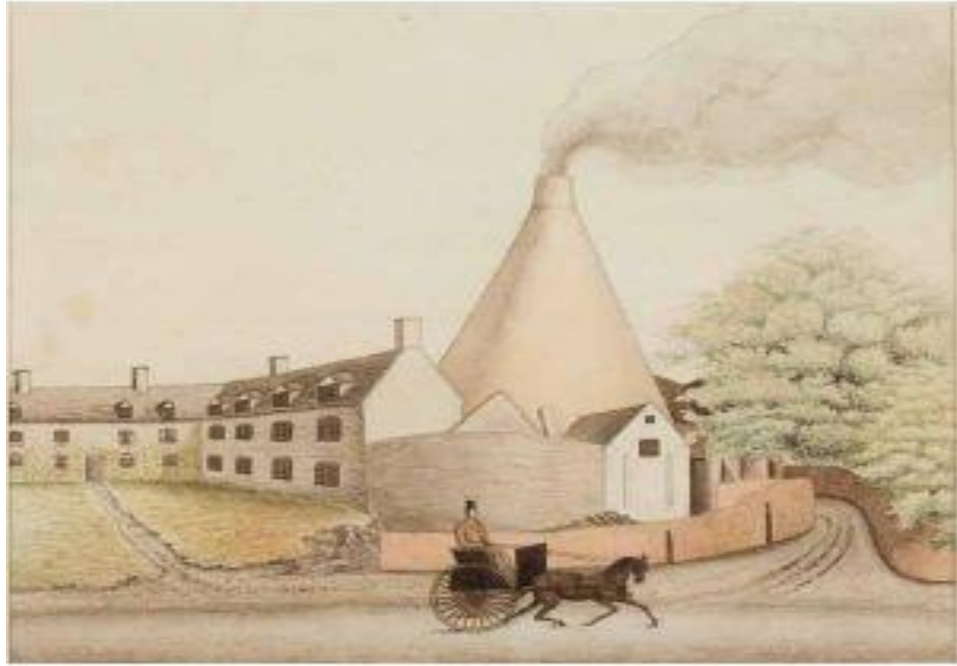


Figure 7: Cone and outbuildings of Heath Glassworks.¹¹⁰

became bankrupt following the downturn in the industry. His bankruptcy, combined with the fact that it was financial difficulties that forced Humfrey Jeston to sell the business to Edward Russell in 1745, illustrates the volatility of the industry referred to earlier. James Keir operated the Holloway End Glasshouse in Stourbridge between 1770 and 1778. He was a freemason, having joined Freemasonry in Scotland, although there is no record of him having joined a lodge in Worcestershire.¹¹¹

Glass cutting was a different aspect of the industry and included within lodge membership were two glasscutters who introduced major technological change to the

¹¹⁰ Unknown Artist: Dudley Museums.

¹¹¹ Ellis, J., *Glassmakers of Stourbridge and Dudley 1612-2002*, pp. 78-81; Priestman, M., *The Poetry of Erasmus Darwin: Enlightened Spaces, Romantic Times* (Burlington, U.S.A.: 2013), pp. 13-14. (Reference to Keir joining Lodge in Edinburgh).

sector, namely James Dovey (Hope) and John Benson (Freedom). Dovey's obituary in the *Birmingham Gazette* stated him to be:

... a man generally respected. He was the first person who introduced glass cutting to the county of Staffordshire, and to his ingenuity and highly talented exertions that now flourishing business has been much indebted.¹¹²

He operated a workshop located on the edge of the Stourbridge Canal, leased from the Stourbridge Navigation Co. which, according to Guttery, used water-powered machinery.¹¹³ He introduced new styles such as 'double mitre' and 'double hollowstone' to cut patterns into glass.¹¹⁴ Contemporaneously, in Dudley, John Benson developed a steam-driven glass cutting machine, and in 1791, he installed one in Dovey's premises; at least one further was built, as Benson left a machine to his son in his will.¹¹⁵ This invention increased the volumes of cut glass which could be produced and, in Roger Charleston's view, 'was a development in the industry which spread gradually in the last decades of the eighteenth century'.¹¹⁶

6.5.3 Carpet and textile manufacture

Kidderminster was a textile-producing town with an enviable reputation for its 'Kidderminster stuff', which was a worsted product used mainly for wall and bed coverings, and furniture. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, however, the

¹¹² *Birmingham Gazette*, Obituaries, 18 June 1827.

¹¹³ WAAS – BA 4000/705:260/282 – lease between J. Dovey and the Stourbridge Navigation Co. dated 15 December 1790; Guttery, D., *From Broad-glass to Cut Crystal*, p. 108.

¹¹⁴ Guttery, D., *From Broad-glass to Cut Crystal*, p. 108.

¹¹⁵ WAAS – BA 4000/705:260/282 – mortgage between T. Pidcock and J. Evans secured on workshop and engine; TNA - PROB 11/1608 – Will of John Benson, glasscutter of Dudley.

¹¹⁶ Charleston, J. R., 'Wheel Engraving and Cutting: some Early Equipment', *The Journal of Glass Studies*, Vol. 7 (1965), p. 48.

industry was facing decline because of competition from cotton and lighter worsted products such as cheyney and harateen. This challenge was to stimulate change and the emergence of two new industries.

One industry arose from the mixing of fabrics to produce new cloths for clothing - such as 'linsey-woolsey' and 'bombazeen'. The former combined wool and linen to make a warm fabric used in dresses, jackets and trousers. The latter, which comprised silk and worsted, was used in women's clothing and, with its figure enhancing qualities, it gave rise to the rhyming expression 'bum-be-seen'.¹¹⁷ These new products also led to changes in the way the industry operated. The worsted industry was controlled by 'master weavers' who weaved personally and, in addition, engaged journeymen weavers to produce the cloth. In the new structure the master weavers became 'clothiers' who travelled to secure customers for their products instead of relying on trade factors in London and elsewhere.¹¹⁸ They ceased to operate looms personally and, instead, purchased the yarn and supervised its transformation into the finished product by independent weavers.

The other new industry was carpet manufacture, the introduction of which, in 1735, is generally credited to John Pearsall.¹¹⁹ Initially, carpets were just another form of wall covering. The innovation lay in the dyeing of the wool before weaving – dyeing in the grain or 'ingrain' – which enabled the carpet to be reversible. A further development was the acquisition in 1749 of a new type of loom by John Broom, who started producing 'Brussels' carpet which was placed underfoot rather than on walls.

¹¹⁷ Boot, Sly – poem 'Bombazeen' in *The Spirit of the Public Journals*, Vol. 10 (1806), p. 228.

¹¹⁸ Gilbert, N., *A History of Kidderminster*, p. 53.

¹¹⁹ Smith, L. D., 'Industrial Organisation in the Kidderminster Carpet Trade, 1780-1850', *Textile History*, Vol. 15 (1) (1984), p. 76.

This set the town in competition with Wilton as a carpet-making area, albeit their products were not the same: Brussels carpet is a loop carpet whereas Wilton has the loops cut to give a softer velvet-like surface.

The textile industry expanded in the 1750s and 1760s, with carpet manufacturing still taking second place. However, by the end of the 1770s the position had reversed. The completion of the Staffordshire and Worcestershire canal with its links to the national canal network gave the carpet trade access to Bristol and exports, London, and the towns of the north. At the same time the textile trade was facing severe competition from lighter and more colourful cotton goods. The result was a rapid drop in looms to 700 by 1780, and by 1815 there were only 5 cloth manufacturers left, of whom three also made carpets.¹²⁰ The only cloth being made in any quantity was bombazine and ultimately this fell from favour, with the industry falling into decline in the 1820s.¹²¹

The success of the carpet industry attracted new entrants with the number of manufacturers in directories increasing from 10 in 1783 to 27 in 1828.¹²² Expansion differed from that of the glass industry in that it was primarily the result of increased numbers of looms based on existing technology, rather than increased production from new technologies. This accounts for the surge in the population of the town from 6,110 in 1801 to 14,981 in 1831, and it was this heavy reliance on labour and failure to adapt which led to significant difficulties for the industry.¹²³ Because of falling demand the rates paid to weavers between 1810 and 1817 fell and many went out of

¹²⁰ Smith, L. D., *Carpet Weavers and Carpet Masters – the Handloom Weavers of Kidderminster 1780-1850* (Kidderminster: 1986), p. 8.

¹²¹ Smith, L. D., *Carpet Weavers and Carpet Masters*, p. 80.

¹²² Smith, L. D., *Carpet Weavers and Carpet Masters*, pp. 9-12.

¹²³ Smith, L. D., *Carpet Weavers and Carpet Masters*, p. 2.

business. The result was arson attacks against manufactories such as those of Pardoe, Hooman and Pardoe, and Lea and Newcombe – the latter causing 400 weavers to lose work.¹²⁴

A major financial crash in December 1825 affected much of British industry and the carpet industry in Kidderminster faced additional problems because of competition from carpet manufacturers in northern towns.¹²⁵ To improve profitability the manufacturers gave notice in March 1828 of their intention to further cut the rates paid to weavers. The response was ‘the Great Strike’ organised by the weavers and supported by a trades committee of other workers, which lasted five months. The strike was acrimonious, involving violence, troops being called in by the High Bailiff, the arrest of destitute weavers as vagrants, and an end brought about by the starvation of the weavers.¹²⁶ Paradoxically, the attempt to improve profitability had the opposite effect because the strike caused market share to be lost to carpetmakers in the North and in Scotland, as well as to new businesses started up locally in Stourport and Bridgnorth.¹²⁷

The dispute also sowed the seeds of radicalism with a General Political Union being formed in 1830, the leaders of which included James Tuck (Hope and Charity) and William Regan (Faithful) who had been active in the weavers’ strikes.¹²⁸ Following the Great Strike eleven weavers were charged with various offences and, in defending them, a barrister, Richard Godson, secured acquittal for the majority and much reduced sentences for the rest. Gaining almost hero status following his

¹²⁴ Gilbert, N., *A History of Kidderminster*, pp. 80-82.

¹²⁵ Smith, L. D., *Carpet Weavers and Carpet Masters*, pp. 13-15.

¹²⁶ Gilbert, N., *A History of Kidderminster*, pp. 90-93.

¹²⁷ Smith, L. D., *Carpet Weavers and Carpet Masters*, pp. 13-14.

¹²⁸ Smith, L. D., *Carpet Weavers and Carpet Masters*, pp. 226-228.

successes he went on to become a Tory MP, winning the Kidderminster seat in 1832, greatly assisted by the help of the Political Union.

The industry fell further behind its competitors when Crossley of Halifax acquired the patent rights to tapestry warp printing (a new colourful type of carpet) and also adapted the power loom to Brussels carpets. As a result, Kidderminster manufacturers had to pay royalties to make the one and use the other. The town and the industry were badly hit as the population fell to 14,499 in 1841 and the number of firms decreased from 28 in 1835 to 22 in 1850.¹²⁹ However, after the period of this thesis, Kidderminster manufacturers invested in power machines and new processes, and the industry recovered to subsequently become a major employer and competitor in the world market.

Membership records reveal forty-five freemasons in the carpet-making industry, six in the silk and worsted industry, and six who were in support industries. The carpet manufacturers, including John Newcomb and Joseph Pardoe (both Raven), were from well-connected local families. Pardoe was a partner with his brother-in-law in Pardoe & Hooman. It had a factory in Kidderminster and an outlet at 26 Newgate Street, London and, in the early nineteenth century, it was the largest manufacturer of 'Brussels' carpet in the UK.¹³⁰ Similarly, Newcomb traded firstly in partnership with his son and later as 'Lea and Newcomb'; they, also, had a factory in Kidderminster and a warehouse in Cheapside, London.¹³¹ Little is known about a further manufacturer, Thomas Rouse (Raven), other than that he leased premises

¹²⁹ Smith, L. D., *Carpet Weavers and Carpet Masters*, p. 2 and p. 14.

¹³⁰ *Kent's Directory of London*, (1803) p.150; Review Publishing Co., *History and Manufacture of Floor Coverings* (New York: 1899), p. 13.

¹³¹ *Kent's Directory* (1803), p. 144 – reference to Newcomb & Son at Aldermanbury, London; *Post Office Annual Directory* (1814), p. 194 – reference to Lea and Newcomb at Cheapside, London.

from Pardoe and Hooman.¹³² In Worcester city Thomas Watkins traded in partnership with William Michael as 'Michael & Watkins'. They gained royal patronage and were the second largest carpet maker in the city, operating eleven looms.¹³³

The operatives in the trade, the majority of whom were outworkers such as dyers, sorters, weavers and wool combers, totalled forty-one. Seventeen were either known to be Irish or had Irish surnames, which illustrates how the industry's expansion at the turn of the nineteenth century acted as a magnet, drawing people into Kidderminster. Those involved in supporting the industry included two weaver-harness makers, a wool-comb maker, and three 'textile engineers', of whom two joined Lodge of Faithful in Kidderminster in 1820 from Lancashire; possibly transferring skills learnt in cotton mills to carpet production.

Although the worsted and silk trades failed in Kidderminster, the worsted trade continued in Bromsgrove due to an invention of Joseph Brookhouse (St John's). A Presbyterian, born in Leicester, he invented the worsted spinning machine.¹³⁴ Partly because of the perceived threat to hand spinning and, possibly because he was a Presbyterian, machines installed in Market Harborough and Melton Mowbray were destroyed by mobs from Leicester concerned about the impact on jobs.¹³⁵ Brookhouse left the area, first moving to Birmingham, and then to Bromsgrove. There, operating from a converted former cotton mill, he entered partnership with Messrs Coltman and Adams in c.1788, which went on to become Bromsgrove's

¹³² TNA – IR 23/97 – Land Tax quotas and assessments 1798, Worcestershire, Kidderminster, p. 229.

¹³³ Green, V., *The History and Antiquities of the City and Suburbs of Worcester*, Vol. 2 (Worcester: 1796), p. 864.

¹³⁴ Wykes, D. L., 'The Reluctant Businessman: John Coltman of St Nicholas Street, Leicester (1727-1808)', *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, Vol. 69 (1995), pp. 80-82.

¹³⁵ Wykes, D. L., 'The Reluctant Businessman: John Coltman of St Nicholas Street, Leicester (1727-1808)', p.81.

largest employer.¹³⁶ Later, in 1796, Brookhouse left Bromsgrove to enter partnership with two Unitarians in Warwick, to form Parkes, Brookhouse and Crompton, of which he was a partner until his retirement in 1814.¹³⁷

The records of the two Kidderminster lodges provide a social commentary on the effects of the industrial strife on Freemasonry and on the town. An undated return from the Lodge of Faithful to UGLE (most likely 1823 because of the dates therein) shows ten members in arrears with their subscriptions, of whom seven were in the carpet industry.¹³⁸ Membership fell from 36 in 1823 to 7 in 1833, illustrating the effects of the decline of carpet manufacturing on Freemasonry.¹³⁹ In 1833 the lodge wrote to the Secretary of UGLE, commenting: 'We are sorry we have given the trouble we have but thought of giving the lodge up, but have since altered our minds on that subject.' In the event it was erased in 1844, but as no Returns were submitted after 1833 it is likely that it remained in a dormant state - a victim of the depression which hit the town.¹⁴⁰

The other Kidderminster lodge, Hope and Charity, was founded in 1824. It had sixteen members in the carpet trade but, by 1830, only three remained.¹⁴¹ The minutes regularly refer to members being in arrears. Faced with a deteriorating position, it was resolved, on 29 September 1828, that those in arrears must come to an arrangement to pay by Christmas and that they should 'deposit their certificates in

¹³⁶ Fox, C., *The Monthly Repository and Review of Theology and General Literature* Vol. 5 (London: 1831), pp. 498-499; Wykes, D. L., 'The Reluctant Businessman: John Coltman of St Nicholas Street, Leicester (1727-1808)', p. 82.

¹³⁷ Fox, C., *The Monthly Repository and Review of Theology and General Literature*, p. 499.

¹³⁸ MF – SN 1681, Lodge of Faithful Annual Return.

¹³⁹ MF - Data extracted from Annual Returns submitted to UGLE.

¹⁴⁰ MF – SN 1681, Lodge of Faithful – letter dated 20 November 1833 from Thomas Stanley, Secretary.

¹⁴¹ MF - Data extracted from Annual Returns submitted to UGLE.

the pedestal'. On 6 December 1828 it was resolved that any who failed to deposit their certificate would no longer be considered a member.¹⁴²

6.5.4 Iron and steel

Iron and steel working was prevalent in the North of the county in the middle of the seventeenth century when there were fifteen water-powered furnaces, forges and slitting mills in the area.¹⁴³ These operations were run by ironmasters, some of whom built large businesses, such as the Foleys of Stourbridge who operated forty iron mills across north Worcestershire, south Wales and the Forest of Dean. Others, such as the Downings of Cradley, ran smaller but, nevertheless, successful operations.¹⁴⁴ The manufactured product was sold to ironmongers, who acted as middlemen, selling the raw material to handicraftsmen and purchasing their finished goods for sale to customers. The product range manufactured was extensive, including agricultural implements, guns and ammunition for the military, chains, nails and locks.

The sector expanded during the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century because of increased demand for its products and advances in production processes through technological innovation. Domestic demand was fuelled, in part, by a trend towards 'decencies', which were goods that were desirable for reasons of comfort or adornment, such as metal and fabric buttons and snuff boxes.¹⁴⁵ O'Brien identifies two effects of agricultural change on the market for manufactured goods.

¹⁴² Minutes of Hope and Charity lodge dated 29 September and 6 December 1828. [Placing the certificate in the Worshipful Master's pedestal was to prevent a member from applying for membership of another lodge while having outstanding subscriptions due to the lodge.]

¹⁴³ Rowlands, M. B., 'Continuity and Change in an Industrialising Society: the Case of West Midlands Industries' in Hudson, P., (ed.), *Regions and Industries: A Perspective on the Industrial Revolution in Britain* (Cambridge: 1989), pp. 107-108.

¹⁴⁴ Rowlands, M. B., 'Society and Industry in the West Midlands at the end of the Seventeenth Century', *Midland History*, Vol. 4 (1) (1977), p. 51.

¹⁴⁵ Rowlands, M. B., 'Continuity and Change in an Industrialising Society', p. 116.

Firstly, the replacement of agricultural labour by animals and machines to improve productivity stimulated demand for harnesses for animals, chains, and similar products. Secondly, the release of farm labourers into the higher-paying industrial economy meant that they had more income to spend on 'decencies' and similar products.¹⁴⁶ Porter notes that, in responding to this demand, Birmingham and its surrounding area was free of the restrictive practices of Guilds and Corporations and was, therefore, well placed to adjust to these new products and market opportunities.¹⁴⁷ Specific to North Worcestershire, its natural resources also played a role, as when Dudley and its surrounding villages replaced Birmingham as the centre of the nail trade when the industry moved westwards in search of wood for smelting and easier access to iron.

The overseas market expanded to a large extent on the back of the Empire. Construction of wooden buildings in North America fuelled demand for nails and the triangular slave trade between Africa, the slave plantations and Europe stimulated exports to America, the West Indies and Africa. Ron Findlay argues: 'There is little doubt that British growth in the eighteenth century was "export led" and that manufactured goods to the New World and re-export of colonial produce from the New World led the way.'¹⁴⁸ This view is supported by a further study, which found that Europe's economic expansion between 1500 and the early 1800s was almost

¹⁴⁶ O'Brien, P., 'Agriculture for the Home Market for English Industry 1660-1820,' *English Historical Review*, Vol. 34 (1985), pp. 779-780.

¹⁴⁷ Porter, R., *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 199.

¹⁴⁸ Findlay, R., 'The Triangular Trade and the Atlantic Economy of the Eighteenth Century: A simple general-equilibrium model' in Findlay, R., (ed.), *Trade, Development and Political Economy: Essays of Ronald Findlay* (London: 1993), p. 342.

entirely accounted for by countries with access to the triangular trade.¹⁴⁹ Sugar cane plantations in the West Indies needed agricultural implements and slave collars while, in exchange for the slaves, the Africans imported both light textiles and metalware from Europe. Statistics reveal the importance of metal goods and exports to growth in the sector. Around 1700, manufactured goods accounted for 88.5 per cent of British exports to the Americas and the West Indies but by 1804-1806 this had reached 97 per cent; in the context of England and Wales, metalwares grew from three per cent of manufactured exports in 1699-1701 to nine per cent in 1752-1754; no separate figure exists for the Midlands, but it must have been significant.¹⁵⁰

In the early part of the nineteenth century iron and steel production continued to expand as furnaces increased from 11 in 1794 to 50 in 1812, with several located in the Tame Basin near to the canal.¹⁵¹ The scale and output of the industry also increased with the introduction of new processes. The use of round furnaces and curved bricks increased production by twenty-five per cent.¹⁵² Likewise the invention of the steam blast engine, the use of coke instead of charcoal for smelting, and Cort's improved 'puddling process' all brought about a large expansion in output.¹⁵³ At the other end of the spectrum, in terms of scale, machines such as olivers and fly presses speeded up production and reduced the manpower necessary in industries which used the raw product, such as nail and lock manufacturers.

¹⁴⁹ Acemoglu, D., Johnson, J. A., and Robinson, S. 'The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation', *American Economic Review* Vol. 91 (5) pp. 1369-1401, cited in Barbier, E., *Scarcity and Frontiers: How Economies have developed through Natural Resource Exploitation* (Cambridge: 2010), p. 330.

¹⁵⁰ Barbier, E., *Scarcity and Frontiers*, pp. 320-321; Rowlands, M. B., 'Continuity and Change in an Industrialising Society', p. 115.

¹⁵¹ Davies, V. L. and Hyde, H., *Dudley and the Black Country 1760-1860*, pp. 33-34.

¹⁵² Davies, V. L. and Hyde, H., *Dudley and the Black Country 1760-1860*, p. 37.

¹⁵³ Raybould, T. J., *The Economic Emergence of the Black Country*, p. 134.

Membership included ten members described as iron founders or iron masters of whom three, chosen from across the period, are given as examples. Richard Croft (Talbot II) and his family were ironmasters at the Cradley Works from about 1750 to 1788 and at the Powick Works until 1771, when they were respectively sold. According to Angerstein, Cradley had blast and reverberatory furnaces, a forge and a slitting mill; he estimated the annual production to be 700 tons and a slitting capacity of 20-25 tons per week.¹⁵⁴ The Powick Works were substantial and located by the Team, which was navigable to the Severn. It comprised a forge, 3 fineries, a slitting mill, a dwelling house and workers tenements; it drew its 'full employ' from Worcester city and neighbouring villages.¹⁵⁵ Samuel Hallen (Harmonic) was a large-scale ironmaster. In partnership with his brother, he ran the Wednesbury Ironworks which they inherited from their father in 1786. It was a large industrial complex standing in 2.5 acres, near to the Birmingham canal, with workmen's houses and coal, ironstone and clay mines.¹⁵⁶ In addition, he owned the large Hardwick, Prescott and Rotherham Forges in Shropshire.¹⁵⁷

In 1840 A. B. Cochrane (Freedom and Harmonic), along with his son and another partner, founded the Woodside Ironworks and Foundry near Dudley.¹⁵⁸ Trading as Cochrane & Co., it became one of the largest manufactories in the country making castings for many important structures, including the Crystal Palace, Victoria Docks, Copenhagen Gas and Water Works, and the Melbourne Water Works, to which it

¹⁵⁴ Angerstein, R. R., *R. R. Angerstein's Illustrated Travel Diary, 1753-1755: Industry in England and Wales from a Swedish Perspective* (translated by T. and P. Berg) (London: 2001), pp. 179-180.

¹⁵⁵ *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, Advert, 24 January 1771.

¹⁵⁶ *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, Advert, 20 January 1800.

¹⁵⁷ TNA - PROB 11/1147 – Will of Samuel Hallen, ironmaster, father of Samuel Hallen [Harmonic].

¹⁵⁸ [https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Alexander_Brodie_Cochrane_\(1786-1853\)](https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Alexander_Brodie_Cochrane_(1786-1853)) [Accessed: 23 July 2015].

supplied 18,000 tons of pipes.¹⁵⁹ It was estimated that it produced 800-900 tons of castings per week and it was 'perhaps the most famous house in the world' producing some six miles of piping per week.¹⁶⁰ Like Hallen's Wednesbury Ironworks it, also, was located close to a canal and had its own coal mines on site; in addition, the Oxford, Worcester and Wolverhampton Railway, which ran alongside the works, delivered raw materials such as ironstone and limestone in bulk.

Aaron Manby (Harmonic) was an engineer who, in partnership with Joseph Smith, owned and operated the Horseley Coal and Iron Co. in Tipton.¹⁶¹ It was a large concern with coal mines, blast furnaces and workshops on site. During the canal construction era the company was a prolific builder of iron bridges and, later, railway bridges; *Figure 8* shows a bridge built at the junction of the Birmingham and Fazeley canals. He was an early 'recycler', patenting in 1813 a process of casting refuse slag from the blast furnaces to make bricks for buildings.¹⁶² It was, however, a further patent obtained in 1821 for an 'oscillating engine', a steam engine for marine use, that was to make him famous. He proceeded to make an iron vessel in pieces at Horseley: these were shipped by canal to Surrey Canal Dock, where they were assembled to make the first sea-going iron-hulled steamship, named the 'Aaron Manby'.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁹ https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Woodside_Ironworks_and_Foundry [Accessed: 20 March 2019].

¹⁶⁰ https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Woodside_Ironworks_and_Foundry

¹⁶¹ Wolverhampton History and Heritage Website - <http://www.historywebsite.co.uk/articles/Tipton/Horseley.htm> [Accessed: 6 December 2019].

¹⁶² Prosser, R. B., 'Manby, Aaron (1776-1850)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17917> [Accessed: 6 December 2019].

¹⁶³ Skempton, A. W., Chrines, M. M., Cox, R. C. *et al.* (eds.), *Biographical Dictionary of Civil Engineers in GB and Ireland Vol.1, 1500 – 1830* (London: 2002), pp. 431-432.



Figure 8: Cast-iron bridge (made by Horseley Iron Works) at the Old Turn canal junction, Birmingham ¹⁶⁴

While continuing to run Horseley, Manby went on to build further vessels and found an engineering group in France, employing 350 workers from England.¹⁶⁵ He sold the Horseley works in 1845.

6.5.5 Pewtering

Pewter is made by mixing tin with a range of other metals to produce a silvery-coloured product. 'Lay pewter' is the most basic, comprising tin and lead, whereas

¹⁶⁴ Photograph: David Stanley, CC BY 3.0, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=523851830> [Accessed: 1/07/2021].

¹⁶⁵ Skempton, A. W., Chrinies, M. M., Cox, R. C. *et al.* (eds.), *Biographical Dictionary of Civil Engineers in GB and Ireland*, p.432.

'fine' pewter is pure tin with a small amount of a hardening agent. The domestic use of pewter started in the fourteenth century when the nobility used it to bridge the gap between vessels made of gold and silver and those made of wood and clay. The Church was the largest non-domestic consumer using it for chalices and plates.¹⁶⁶

English pewter was noted for having a quality whereby vessels were 'as brilliant as if they were of fine silver, and these are held in great estimation'.¹⁶⁷ Expansion of output up to the mid-eighteenth century was partly attributable to demographics, with the growing population requiring utensils such as pots, pans, and spoons. Further factors were the demand for 'decencies', and institutional purchases by universities and City Companies, often stamped with their coats of arms, with some universities acquiring more than a cwt of pewter in a year.¹⁶⁸ The American colonies/US, South Africa and the East and West Indies formed a healthy export market increasing from 150 tons per annum between 1700 and 1709 to 1000 tons per annum in the 1790s.¹⁶⁹

Sited on the Severn, Bewdley was ideally placed for pewter manufacture with tin from the mines in Cornwall being transported up the river and the finished product sent down to Bristol to export markets. Fuel for heating the melting pots and soldering the product was easily transportable from nearby coalfields in Worcestershire and Shropshire. As shown at *Figure 6*, Bewdley was well served with turnpike roads which facilitated distribution to the surrounding area as well as to Birmingham, Shropshire and Wales. Production declined in the second half of the

¹⁶⁶ Hatcher, J. and Barker, T. C., *A History of British Pewter* (London: 1974), pp. 24-43.

¹⁶⁷ Hatcher, J. and Barker, T. C., *A History of British Pewter*, p. 66.

¹⁶⁸ Hatcher, J. and Barker, T. C., *A History of British Pewter*, p. 112.

¹⁶⁹ Hatcher, J. and Barker, T. C., *A History of British Pewter*, p. 290.

eighteenth century and appears to have ceased by the mid-nineteenth century. It was a victim of technology and changing tastes. 'Britannia metal', invented in Sheffield c. 1770, was a pewter-type product fabricated by spinning and stamping sheets; the product was thinner, thereby using less tin, and it was easier to manufacture, making it cheaper on both counts.¹⁷⁰ Drinking tastes changed as teas and coffees replaced beer, leading to the use of pottery for cups and plates. An indication of the magnitude of the change is the increase in tea imported, from one million to fifteen million pounds per annum between the 1730s and 1780s.¹⁷¹

According to Malcolm Dick, the pewter trade in Bewdley existed from the sixteenth century, but it was not until the turn of the eighteenth century that major manufacturing can be dated, with the emergence of two large manufacturers.¹⁷² In 1697 a Christopher Ban(c)ks arrived in Bewdley from Wigan. The Bancks were long-established pewterers, and it may have been that Christopher moved to join relatives, as an uncle in Bewdley left him brass and pewter pattern boxes in his will. John Duncombe set up business in Bewdley, having served his apprenticeship with master pewterer William Wood, in Birmingham. On his death the business passed to his son and, on his death in 1767, the business passed to John Ingram who was his sister's son. Ingram entered partnership with Charles Hunt, his brother-in-law, and they continued to run the business until the early nineteenth century when it was sold to the Crane and Stinton partnership.

¹⁷⁰ Hatcher, J. and Barker, T. C., *A History of British Pewter*, p. 287.

¹⁷¹ Hatcher, J. and Barker, T. C., *A History of British Pewter*, p. 281.

¹⁷² Dick, M. M., 'An Innovative Metal Industry: Pewter and Mass Production in Bewdley', <http://www.revolutionaryplayers.org.uk/an-innovative-metal-industry-pewter-and-mass-production-in-bewdley> [Accessed: 27 February 2016].

William Bancks (great grandson of Christopher) and John Ingram were both members of the Wheatsheaf Lodge in Bewdley. The Ingram operation was substantial, with its records revealing considerable dealings with traders in London and, more locally, in Ludlow, Hereford, Gloucester and Bath.¹⁷³ There is also evidence of an export trade with a large amount of Ingram and Hunt pewter found in America, which suggests that goods were exported there, either directly or through London traders.¹⁷⁴ As well as manufacturing 'sadware' (plates and dishes), the business specialised in spoon manufacture, producing in excess of one hundred thousand per year in the early 1800s.¹⁷⁵ It would appear that Ingram had other interests in the metal sector as he was described as a brass founder when he was made a burgess of Bridgnorth.¹⁷⁶

William Bancks ran the business with his brother until around 1790 when it passed to William's son, Christopher.¹⁷⁷ It was one of the largest in the area, making products for sale as well as 'blanks' to be worked by other pewterers. As with Ingram, it sold product into the American Colonies/US, including tankards and baluster measuring jugs.¹⁷⁸ William also had other business interests, including partnerships in four substantial ironworks and forges in Staffordshire and in Shropshire.¹⁷⁹ In doing

¹⁷³ Homer, R. F. and Hall, D. W., *Provincial Pewterers* (London: 1985), pp. 68-69

¹⁷⁴ Homer, R. F. and Hall, D. W., *Provincial Pewterers*, p. 68.

¹⁷⁵ Hatcher, J. and Barker, T. C., *A History of British Pewter*, p. 69.

¹⁷⁶ Homer, R. F. and Hall, D. W., *Provincial Pewterers*, p. 67.

¹⁷⁷ Homer, R. F. and Hall, D. W., *Provincial Pewterers*, pp. 74-76.

¹⁷⁸ <https://pewterbank.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/The-CM-Verification-Mark-Another-version.pdf> [Accessed: 1 February 2021].

¹⁷⁹ *London Gazette* No. 15418, 17 October 1801; *London Gazette* No. 16638, 30 January 1810; *London Gazette* No. 15942, 2 August 1806; TNA - PROB 11/1408 – Will of William Bancks.

so he appears to have been following his father who was described as an 'iron and brass founder, pewterer and brazier' at his death in 1788.¹⁸⁰

Pewter manufacture was a stimulus to other local businesses which supplied components, such as glass for tanker bottoms and baize for candlestick bases.¹⁸¹ In addition, grease was purchased to lubricate machinery and, possibly, as a flux, which would have supported the local farming industry.¹⁸²

6.5.6 Glove manufacture

Reference to glove manufacture in Worcester appears in cathedral records in the thirteenth century and, until the late eighteenth century, it competed with textile manufacture in the city. However, broadcloth production declined because of the absence of a large market and a tendency of Worcester manufacturers to overstretch the product. Contemporaneously, changes in fashion increased the market for gloves as they evolved from a utility product used in industries such as farming, to become a fashion accessory.¹⁸³

Worcester was ideally placed for glove manufacture having ready access to materials used in the tanning process. Salt was available from nearby Droitwich, while lime and bark were available locally and could be imported through the Severn. The local water was soft, which was important for the tanning process, and the decline of the textile industry provided a source of labour which had transferable

¹⁸⁰ Dick, M. M., 'An Innovative Metal Industry: Pewter and Mass Production in Bewdley', <http://www.revolutionaryplayers.org.uk/an-innovative-metal-industry-pewter-and-mass-production-in-bewdley> [Accessed: 27 February 2016].

¹⁸¹ Dick, M. M., 'An Innovative Metal Industry: Pewter and Mass Production in Bewdley', <http://www.revolutionaryplayers.org.uk/an-innovative-metal-industry-pewter-and-mass-production-in-bewdley> [Accessed: 27 February 2016].

¹⁸² Homer, R. F. and Hall, D. W., *Provincial Pewterers*, p. 70.

¹⁸³ Lyes, D. C., *The Leather Glove Industry of Worcester in the Nineteenth Century* (Worcester:1976), p. 9.

skills.¹⁸⁴ The key operatives were those who prepared the hides: parers, dyers, stainers and leather cutters, who served a seven-year apprenticeship. The glove sewers ('gloveresses') were female. Sewing was outworked and 'colonies' grew up in certain parishes of the city such as St Martin and St Peter which had 462 and 443 gloveresses, respectively, in 1851.¹⁸⁵ As the industry expanded the catchment was widened to meet increased demand for gloveresses, initially from rural areas such as Crowle and, later, from further afield in Herefordshire.¹⁸⁶

The raw material was skin from local sheep and lambs, augmented by supplies from abroad including Ireland and France, which supplied kid skins. London was the major centre for skins, and it was also the main wholesale market for finished goods, selling the bulk into America. There was therefore a large two-way trade on the canal network between Worcester and London. Interestingly, gloves destined for Europe were sent to Birmingham to be exported with other products from the region.

Price estimates that in 1799 there were 70 masters and around 6000 workers engaged in the trade, commenting: 'The beauty and excellent quality of Worcester gloves have not only attracted the attention of home consumers but have likewise acquired an excellence in the estimation of foreign merchants.'¹⁸⁷ Between 1799 and 1816 growth was five per cent per annum as a result of increased demand from changes in fashion, and the industry's monopoly position under an Act of 1766 which imposed fines on attempts to import gloves from overseas.¹⁸⁸ Despite these

¹⁸⁴ Lyes, D. C., *The Leather Glove Industry of Worcester in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 8-10.

¹⁸⁵ Lyes, D. C., *The Leather Glove Industry of Worcester in the Nineteenth Century*, Appendix IX extracted from the 1851 Census.

¹⁸⁶ Price, J., *The Worcester Guide. Containing an Account of the Ancient and Present State of that City etc* (Worcester: 1799), p. 48.

¹⁸⁷ Price, J., *The Worcester Guide*, p. 48.

¹⁸⁸ Lyes, D. C., *The Leather Glove Industry of Worcester in the Nineteenth Century*, p.11; percentage computed from Appendix III.

favourable conditions, French competitors were undercutting British manufacturers in 1816 by 15-20 per cent in America and by more in Europe.¹⁸⁹ But, as with the glass industry, it was government policies that most affected the fortunes of the industry.

Tax was levied on the weight of uncut leather rather than the weight of hides trimmed for use, which meant that British manufacturers paid tax on leather which was not used, thereby increasing costs. The situation deteriorated further after 1826 when French gloves were allowed into the British market on payment of a relatively low tariff. Production between 1826 and 1832 is estimated to have fallen by two thirds so that the low unemployment of 1825 had risen to c. 42% with a further c. 47% being in 'partial employ' in 1832.¹⁹⁰ Unemployment is reflected in increased cases relieved by the Poor House which rose from 170 in January 1825 at a cost of £13 19s to 445 in January 1832 costing £40 11s.¹⁹¹ Tariffs on imports fell during the 1840s and were eliminated by 1860, causing the number of manufacturers to decrease from 108 to 24 between 1830 and 1851, with many going bankrupt.¹⁹² A further feature was the emergence of dominant firms such as Fownes and Dent Allcroft who, after the period under review, went on to become global players, establishing tanneries in France and Italy, while maintaining sewing in Worcester.¹⁹³

Twenty-three members were involved in the leather trade, of whom sixteen were glovers or glove manufacturers. Two of these are examined by way of example. By far the biggest was John Dent who, with his brother William, inherited the business

¹⁸⁹ Lyes, D. C., *The Leather Glove Industry of Worcester in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 19-23.

¹⁹⁰ Hull, W. Jnr, *The History of the Glove Trade with the Customs connected with the Globe* (London: 1834), pp. 58-59 quoting from a Statement made by the 'Committee of Operative Glovers of Worcester'.

¹⁹¹ Hull, W. Jnr, *The History of the Glove Trade*, p. 59.

¹⁹² Lyes, D. C., *The Leather Glove Industry of Worcester in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 29.

¹⁹³ Lyes, D. C., *The Leather Glove Industry of Worcester in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 32-35.

set up by his father in 1777; later, in 1822, Jeremiah Allcroft, who had been his apprentice, joined the partnership.¹⁹⁴ By 1833 the business had factories in Worcester and London and employed 133 people directly, with many others engaged as outworkers; using the generally accepted ratio of gloveresses to cutters of 12:1, this would suggest approximately 1600 outworkers.¹⁹⁵ Evidence presented to Parliament in February 1832 stated that 578 operatives were in full or partial employment, so Dent's 133 suggests a dominant position in the sector.¹⁹⁶

In 1851 John Redgrave was described as a glover with 35 direct employees.¹⁹⁷ As such he was the second largest glover (excluding Dent's) identified by Lyes in his review of the 1851 Worcester Census.¹⁹⁸ He was a leading proponent of improving techniques for printing on leather, arranging visits to manufacturers by a French printer and a silk dyer from Coventry to experiment with different printing techniques. The Chamber of Commerce supported these efforts by sponsoring prizes to leather printers who produced the best prints in 1848.¹⁹⁹ He appears to have been an astute businessman, because at his death, he lived in the prestigious Britannia Square in Worcester.²⁰⁰

There were two leather merchants, of whom one was John Bevington, who joined Worcester Lodge in 1846. Quaker families were a powerful force in gloving. When the Society of Glovers was formed in Worcester in 1786, eight out of the ten

¹⁹⁴ WAAS B496.5BA9360/A15/Box 2/1 – Allcroft made a Freeman of Worcester as an apprentice of John Dent, glove manufacturer.

¹⁹⁵ Lyes, D. C., *The Leather Glove Industry of Worcester in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 25; Grace's Guide -https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Dent,_Allcroft_and_Co [Accessed: 1 July 2016].

¹⁹⁶ Lyes, D. C., *The Leather Glove Industry of Worcester in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 26.

¹⁹⁷ TNA – 1851 Census, St Martin's Parish, Worcester, 8 New Street.

¹⁹⁸ Lyes, D. C., *The Leather Glove Industry of Worcester in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 29.

¹⁹⁹ *Worcestershire Chronicle*, 28 January 1848, p. 4.

²⁰⁰ TNA – National Probate Calendar, 1884, p. 58.

signatories were Quakers, including a relative of Bevington.²⁰¹ He was a partner in Bevingtons and Sons, a large leather manufacturing business operating from Bemondsey, in London and at Three Springs in Worcester.²⁰² The glove manufactory at Three Springs, which was overseen by Bevington, was located on the canal and, after the period of the thesis, it was enlarged with additional warehousing.²⁰³ Bevingtons and Sons also imported skins which it prepared and sold to manufacturers, to be made into shoes, fancy goods and gloves.²⁰⁴

The remaining members comprised a leather cutter and four tanners, of whom two were based in Droitwich and Bromsgrove. It is unknown whether they supplied the glove trade but, as most towns had tanners, it is possible that they catered for a more local market. The Bromsgrove tannery of Oliver Williams (St John's) was a large complex of 2 acres consisting of a dwelling house, offices, tan yard and two adjoining tenements housing labourers; the tannery had its own water supply to drive machinery and 115 pits for dipping skins.²⁰⁵

6.5.7 Porcelain manufacture

Worcester was well placed to manufacture porcelain as the Severn provided good access to the raw materials required – china clay and stone from Cornwall, fireclay from Stourbridge, marl from Broseley, and ox bones. The supply of ox bones was critical, as their use differentiated English porcelain ('bone china') from that made in

²⁰¹ WAAS – B496.5 BA 9360/C9 Box 2/3 - Articles of Agreement to be observed by a Society of Glovers in the City of Worcester.

²⁰² *London Gazette* No. 21894, 20 June 1856, p. 2178.

²⁰³ WAAS – B496.5 BA 10827/330 – planning application for additional premises at Three Springs.

²⁰⁴ AIM 25 – GB 0074 ACC/1616 – Identity Statement re Bevingtons and Sons Ltd (Leather manufacturers). https://aim25.com/cgi-bin/vcdf/detail?coll_id=13303&inst_id=118&nv1=search&nv2=basic [Accessed: 12 November 2020].

²⁰⁵ *Worcester Herald* – advert, 10 January 1829.

Europe and China and made it a superior product for decoration purposes.²⁰⁶

Production started in Worcester in 1751 when Dr. John Wall, William Davis and 13 businessmen in Worcester set up the Worcester Porcelain Factory.

In 1756 Robert Hancock (Stonemasons' Arms) joined the company having served an apprenticeship as an engraver. Hancock went on to become an accomplished engraver and invented the process of transferring prints onto porcelain, which were then coloured by hand painting.²⁰⁷ With his arrival 'the factory had access to one of the country's finest ceramic engravers and their ... printed ware was brought to a high degree of perfection'.²⁰⁸ In 1776 Wall sold out to Davis who, in turn, sold the company in 1783 to its London agent, whose sons, Joseph and John Flight, proceeded to run it. It gained a Royal Warrant from George III, followed by further warrants from the Prince and Princess of Wales, after which it traded under the name 'Royal Worcester'.

In 1783, Robert Chamberlain, who was head of the decorating department, left Royal Worcester to establish his own business. Initially, the new company painted blanks acquired from other manufacturers but, by the late 1780s, it was making its own wares at a factory in Severn Street, Diglis. Chamberlain established an enviable reputation, obtaining orders from Lord Nelson and the Marquis of Abergavenny and a Royal Warrant from the Prince Regent in 1807.²⁰⁹ By 1817 there was a showroom in London and goods were being exported across the world, including an order for 7000

²⁰⁶ Binns, R. W. and Evans E. P., *A Guide through the Royal Porcelain Works* (Worcester: 1895), pp. 11-15.

²⁰⁷ Binns, R. W. and Evans E. P., *A Guide through the Royal Porcelain Works*, p. 30.

²⁰⁸ Printed British Pottery and Porcelain - www.printedbritishpotteryandporcelain.com/who-made-it/hancock-1731-1817-engraver

²⁰⁹ Binns, R. W. and Evans E. P., *A Guide through the Royal Porcelain Works*, p. 41.

pieces from the East India Company which was the largest order ever made at Worcester.²¹⁰

By the mid-1800s, competition in the industry and changes in the general economic climate, led to the merger of the larger Chamberlain's with Royal Worcester in 1840 to form Chamberlain & Co. At that date Chamberlain's was run by Walter Chamberlain (Worcester), grandson of the founder, and John Lilly (Worcester) who was a solicitor by training and Walter's brother-in-law.²¹¹ Walter Chamberlain was a leading figure in Victorian encaustic tile-making and, encouraged by the Worcester architect Harvey Eginton (Worcester), Chamberlain's produced replicas of medieval floor tiles, which were included in buildings such as Malvern Priory and Slebech Church, Pembrokeshire.²¹² Following the merger competition continued, especially from the six pottery towns in Staffordshire where White's *Directory* of 1851 indicates that the population of Burslem increased from 6,578 in 1801 to 16,091 in 1841 as people moved into the area because of the expanding pottery sector.²¹³ In 1851 Walter and Frederick John Lilly (son of John) sold out to William Kerr whose wife was the daughter of Walter's sister and whose family business was Chamberlain's agent in Ireland. After the period covered by this thesis Kerr entered partnership with R. W. Binns and they went on to revive the fortunes of the business by revamping the factory, introducing new machinery and changing working practices.²¹⁴

²¹⁰ Museum of Royal Worcester - <https://www.museumofroyalworcester.org.uk--'Chamberlain'>

²¹¹ *London Gazette* No. 19041, 19 April 1833, p. 778; MRW - Box D3 of Chamberlain family papers: Lilly married Ann Margaret .

²¹² Tiles and Architectural Ceramics Society Conference papers 2006, pp. 2-3
www.tilesoc.org.uk/events/conference_2006/papers/pdf/vanlemmen.pdf [Accessed 23 August 2017]

²¹³ White, W., *History, Gazetteer and Directory of the County of Staffordshire* (Sheffield: 1851), p. 268.

²¹⁴ *London Gazette* No. 21260, 7 November 1851, p. 2914.

Thomas Grainger, who had been apprenticed to Robert Chamberlain, established a third Worcester manufactory in 1801, with a partner John Wood. Their product was differentiated from its competitors by its use of Japanese Imari patterns and, in the 1830s and 1840s, by a neo-Rococo style adopted when George Grainger took control of the business from his father.²¹⁵ His younger brother Henry (Worcester) also worked in the business being variously described as a 'china manufacturer' and 'retired china manufacturer'.²¹⁶

Other members of Worcester Lodge involved in the trade were James Chamberlain and George Sparkes who were described as a 'chinaman' and 'china dealer', respectively. Chamberlain later left the trade to become a wine merchant in Worcester city.²¹⁷

6.5.8 Other industries, trades and professions

To gain an appreciation of the variety of occupations represented within the membership, this section examines a cross-section of occupations in addition to those examined above.

Nearly ten per cent were involved in the licensed trade as innkeepers as well as hop, liquor, wine and spirit merchants. The custom that a lodge should not meet at an inn run or owned by the Worshipful Master often caused lodges to move meeting places. Thus, between 1824 and 1843, Hope and Charity Lodge in Kidderminster met at 13 different inns, with several of the changes occasioned by the Worshipful

²¹⁵ <https://www.museumofroyalworcester.org.uk> – 'Grainger's Worcester Porcelain'.

²¹⁶ TNA – 1871 Census, Claines District 9, 2 Rainbow Hill Terrace; TNA – National Probate Calendar, March 1897, p. 221.

²¹⁷ TNA – 1851 Census, St Peter's Worcester, 157 Green Hill, described as Alderman and Wine Merchant.

Master of the year running the inn at which the lodge met.²¹⁸ Freemasons of note in the trade include Thomas Hanson (Harmonic) who, with his wife Julia, the daughter of John Mantle (Harmonic), founded a beer and spirits business which, in the next generation, became known as Holden's Brewery. Charles Gassiot (Worcester), together with his brother, owned Martinez Gassiot, which by 1849 was the largest shipper of port and sherry into the UK. He was a Master of the Vintners' Co. and, on his death, he left his paintings to the City of London where they form the core of its Victorian Collection, and a large bequest to St Thomas' Hospital, which named a wing after him.²¹⁹

There were thirty-seven Anglican clergy, of whom thirty-five were subscribing and two Honorary, and seventeen belonged to the Worcester Lodge. Chronologically, membership was spread throughout the period with a concentration in the 1830s and 1840s. Most were church clerics but five were schoolmasters. One was Headmaster of Bromsgrove Grammar School along with three others who were assistant headmasters at the school; another ran a school privately.

No fewer than sixty-eight were solicitors or solicitor's clerks. The lodge with the highest number was Worcester Lodge, having thirty-five with the remainder split fairly evenly between lodges in the North and the South. The landowning gentry in the South provided a ready source of work for solicitors, while businesses made like demands on those in the North. As well as serving private clients several acted as trustees in bankruptcy, and others served in public office, such as Thomas Hallen

²¹⁸ Lane's Masonic Records, version 1.0, www.hrionline.ac.uk/lane/ [Accessed:1 October 2017]

²¹⁹ Sellers, C., *Oporto, Old and New; being a Historical Record of the Port Wine Trade* (London: 1899), p. 168.

who was Town Clerk and Solicitor for Kidderminster, and Archibald Cameron who served as Clerk to the Worcester Turnpikes.²²⁰

The medical profession was represented by twenty-two chemists/druggists and thirty-nine surgeons/chiropractors spread throughout the county, with the first surgeon becoming a member in 1773. In the period of the thesis chemists and druggists offered a wide range of services ranging from making prescriptions, sale of non-prescribed medicines, beauty products and even the making up of family recipes. Hilary Marland demonstrates that it was a growing profession and that, in Wakefield and Huddersfield, chemists and druggists increased from four in 1790 to thirty-five in 1853 and physicians from thirteen to forty-eight.²²¹ Henry Hickman (Harmonic) sold his patented 'Hickman's Aperient Effervescing Powders' to relieve 'indigestion, heartburn and habitual costiveness...' while William Perrins (Worcester) and his partner established shops in Malvern, Worcester and London where their catalogue of over three hundred products appealed to the upper and affluent middle classes – including the Queen.²²² They also went on to manufacture the world famous 'Lea & Perrins' sauce.

Twenty-six members were involved in the print trade including paper and parchment makers, book sellers, printers and three newspaper proprietors. Benjamin Maund (Clive) ran a printing and book-binding business in the High Street, Bromsgrove. A keen botanist, he experimented with seeds and plants in his garden

²²⁰ Luke Minshall as trustee in bankruptcy – *London Gazette* No. 20224, p.1573; Thomas Hallen - Turberville, T.C., *Worcestershire in the Nineteenth Century*, p357; Archibald Cameron – *Pigot's Directory* (1835), p. 670.

²²¹ Marland, H., 'The Medical Activities of Mid-nineteenth century Chemists and Druggists, with special reference to Wakefield and Huddersfield', *Medical History*, (Vol 31) (1987), p. 419.

²²² Henry Hickman – advert in *Bentley's Directory of Worcestershire* (1840), p. 60; William Perrins - Shurtleff, W. and Aoyagi, A., *History of Worcestershire Sauce (1837-2012): Extensively Annotated Bibliography and Source Book* (USA: 2012), p. 5.

and published the *Botanic Garden*, *The Auctarium* and the *Floral Register*. In addition, in conjunction with William Holl (Worcester), he wrote *The Naturalist*.²²³ For his research he was elected in 1827, a Fellow of the Linnean Society.²²⁴ Henry Deighton (Worcester) entered partnership with Harvey Berrow Tymbs in September 1822 to become co-owner of *Berrow's Worcester Journal*. The paper supported the Tory cause and local Tory MPs. The partnership dissolved in August 1836, when Deighton entered into partnership with two further masons of Worcester Lodge – J. B. Hyde and G. Bentley who were sleeping partners, being a solicitor and estate agent, respectively. Deighton died three years later but his wife, Anne, took over and ran the publication for thirteen years, supported by the continued investment of the sleeping partners.

In addition to his publication with Maund, Holl published *The Analyst*, a quarterly journal on science and natural history.²²⁵ He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society in 1838. Succeeding his father, he produced the *Worcester Herald* newspaper in partnership with his brother Chase Armstrong Holl (Worcester). This publication was established with the encouragement of Lord Sandys in opposition to *Berrow's Journal* and although, in 1819, Chambers deemed it 'free from all party violence', others consider that it carried the Whig/Liberal flag for many years.²²⁶ A third newspaper proprietor was James Knight (Worcester) who owned the *Worcestershire Chronicle* in partnership with Isaac Arrowsmith until 1854, when he

²²³ Cooper, Margaret, 'Maund, Benjamin', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18376>, [Accessed: 15 Sept 2015].

²²⁴ Confirmed in email of 22 July 2015 from E Charwat MSc, MCLIP. – Deputy Librarian of the Society.

²²⁵ Proceedings of the Geographical Society of London, (Vol II.) (1833-1838), p. 468 – elected Fellow on 11 May 1838; *Bent's Monthly Literary Adviser*, 11 January 1836 - Advert, p. 83.

²²⁶ Chambers, J., *A General History of Worcester* (Worcester: 1820), p. 370; for an alternative view of the paper's politics see www.worcesterpeopleandplaces.org.uk [Accessed: 12 October 2016].

became the sole owner.²²⁷ It was a weekly paper, founded in 1838, with a Liberal leaning.

In the North of the county George Gower (Raven) traded in Kidderminster as 'Gower and Pennell'.²²⁸ His early work was dominated by the printing of educational and religious texts, including *The Briton's Prayer* by the Rev. G. Butt who was the vicar of Kidderminster and Chaplain in Ordinary to George III.²²⁹ The 1790s saw a rise in loyalist sentiment triggered by the war with France and, in 1793, he published *Gower's Patriotic Songster* containing songs urging loyalty to the Crown and adherence to conservative British (as opposed to republican French) values.²³⁰ It was ground-breaking in several ways. It was cheap at 6d, very portable, and ideal for use among assembled crowds. It was also distributed directly, thus breaking down eighteenth-century monopolies on publishing.²³¹ Although Joseph Ebsworth viewed it as 'a capital specimen of the prejudiced and almost brutal John Bull of the period', Robin Fitch-McCullough views it as one of several 'patriotic and nationalist songs and songbooks [that] had become a fundamental and defining part of popular British culture'.²³²

²²⁷ *London Gazette* No. 21508, 3 January 1854, p. 23.

²²⁸ Pigot, J. *Commercial Directory for 1818-1820*, p. 182.

²²⁹ Butt, G., *The Briton's Prayer* (Kidderminster: 1787); Aston, N., *George Butt*, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4221> [Accessed: 23 April 2019].

²³⁰ Gower, G., *Gower's Patriotic Songster* (Kidderminster: 1793).

²³¹ Fitch-McCullough, R., 'Rough Specimens of a Prejudiced Period: British Songbooks in the Age of Revolution', *University of Vermont History Review*, (Vol. 27) (2017), p. 5.

²³² Fitch-McCullough, R., 'Rough Specimens of a Prejudiced Period', p. 3; De Vaynes, J. and Ebsworth, J., (eds.), *The Kentish Garland Vol II: On Persons and Places* (Hertford: 1882), p. 675, cited in Fitch-McCullough, 'Rough Specimens of a Prejudiced Period', p. 2.

6.6 Observations and Conclusion

Research question four asks, 'In what ways did freemasons, individually and Freemasonry, organisationally, contribute to the economic development of Worcestershire between 1733 and 1850?' This chapter has addressed the first part by identifying the key phases of Worcestershire's economic development and how individual freemasons participated in each.

Enclosure acts contributed both directly and indirectly to the county's economic development. The direct contribution was the introduction of better farming techniques and improvements in livestock, which increased agricultural production to feed the growing urban areas and improved the quality of raw materials used by local industries. The indirect contribution stemmed from access gained to minerals beneath the surface in the North of the county, which were exploited by landowners and industrialists as part of the industrialisation of the area. Several freemasons participated in enclosures but the most influential was the 2nd Viscount Dudley and Ward who became the 'leading mine owner in the Black Country', and who played a significant role in enabling the industrialisation of North Worcestershire.²³³ There were farmers and smaller landowners within the membership who presumably benefited from enclosures, but none have been identified as having played a significant part in livestock development or improved farming practices.

Development of the region's transport infrastructure was critical to the county's economic development. It enabled easier transportation of agricultural produce from the South to the industrialised North. But its main importance was the easier and

²³³ Raybould, T. J., 'The Development and Organization of Lord Dudley's Mineral Estates', p.529.

quicker transportation of raw materials into the county, and the distribution of finished product throughout Britain and, through access to the large ports, to export markets. The Viscount privately invested in the infrastructure of his own estate, and in addition, he was politically and financially involved in developing the transport systems of the North Worcestershire. Other masons, both in the North and South of the county, participated in building and managing the improved infrastructure. In the North they were mainly businessmen who were involved in financing and building turnpikes and, later, in constructing canals. Some played an active role in the day-to-day management of these projects, as trustees and managers. In the South the involvement was more by way of investment for a financial return.

The improved infrastructure enabled businessmen to build businesses which met the demands of customers and provided employment in the region. Throughout the period covered by the thesis businessmen in the industrial and dealing sectors, and the professions, were strongly represented within Freemasonry. *Table 7* shows representation of 89.8 percent and 76.8 percent in Antients and Moderns lodges, respectively, and in *Table 13* the corresponding figure in the UGLE era was 86.7 percent. Freemasons were represented in all the major business sectors of the county and as summarised in *Appendix 8*, several made significant contributions as pioneers and leaders in their sector. There was no Chamber of Commerce in Worcester until 1839 and historians of individual business sectors, such as Ellis and Smith, do not refer to any permanently established trade bodies.²³⁴ It is therefore not unreasonable to conclude that, for most of the period under review, Freemasonry as

²³⁴ *Lascelles & Co.'s Directory and Gazetteer of the City of Worcester [etc]* (Worcester:1851), p. 31.

an organisation in Worcestershire housed the broadest cross-section of businessmen in the county.

In answering the first part of research question four this chapter has evidenced that freemasons participated in the economic development of Worcestershire, and some made important contributions. The question arises, however, as to why so many businessmen were freemasons. Was it coincidence? That is unlikely given the numbers concerned, the geographical spread, the breadth of the sectors involved and the length of the period covered. Was it because membership of Freemasonry gave them a specific masonic identity? Research has established that membership of a common religion, or of an extended family has helped members of those religions and families to contribute to successful businesses.²³⁵ The next chapter examines whether Freemasonry, the social network, was also a business network with attributes which were attractive to the businessman.

²³⁵ Rose, M., *Firms, Networks and Business Values: The British and American Cotton Industries since 1750* (Cambridge: 2000), pp. 61-75; Seed, J. 'The Role of Unitarianism in the Formation of Liberal Culture 1775-1851: a Social History', (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Hull, 1981), pp. 220-21.

CHAPTER 7: FREEMASONRY AS A BUSINESS NETWORK

7.1 Introduction

Business transactions in England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were conducted within a legal framework which set out the rights and obligations of vendors and purchasers, and the remedies available where breaches occurred. This 'law of contract' evolved over time and was supplemented by legislation such as the acts to aid collection of small debts.¹ In practice, however, few businessmen relied solely on legal arrangements; these were reactive because they corrected something which had gone wrong, and they were expensive to initiate because of professional costs and time lost in pursuing the remedy.

Therefore, to reduce business risk businessmen 'prefer[red] to deal with individuals of known repute and to base their decisions to trade on information about reputation from reliable sources, and on their own past dealings ...'.² Everybody has a network of friends and family who they can trust and turn to for help, and the creation of a 'business network' is the extension of the personal network into the commercial world. The object of this chapter is to address the second part of the fourth research question: 'In what ways did freemasons, individually and Freemasonry, organisationally, contribute to the economic development of Worcestershire between 1733 and 1850?'. It concentrates on whether Freemasonry possessed the attributes of a business network, which freemasons could utilise to participate in and contribute to the county's economic development. It does so, firstly,

¹ For example, 'An Act for the more easy and speedy Recovery of Small Debts in the Parish of Old Swinford', (17 Geo 3 c.19).

² Pearson, R. and Richardson, D., 'Business Networking in the Industrial Revolution', *Economic History Review*, Vol. 54 (Nov 2001), p. 657.

by determining the attributes commonly found in successful business networks and reviewing their operation in two networks previously identified by researchers. It proceeds to examine Freemasonry with a view to determining the extent to which it possesses the characteristics of a business network. A third section reviews a series of business dealings involving masons to demonstrate the types of transactions which potentially could have been entered into through the operation of a masonic business network. A final section concludes on the research undertaken.

7.2 Characteristics of a business network

There are several important elements to a business network. Many researchers consider that the most important component - the cement - is trust, which has been defined as a: 'confident and warranted belief that the other party will honour their obligations'.³ In the opinion of Pearson and Richardson, important components of trust are shared values and common moral attitudes which, taken together, reduce the risk and cost of commercial transactions.⁴ Peter Mathias identifies a further component, namely that the success of business networks is contingent upon strong notions of obligation and reciprocity among members.⁵ For Magee and Thompson trust is all-pervasive, something they regard as 'central to all analysis of networks'.⁶

To conduct their business efficiently and to determine business strategy, businessmen required reliable information. In industrialising economies

³ Casson, M. and Della Giusta, M., 'Entrepreneurship and Social Capital: Analysing the Impact of Social Networks on Entrepreneurial Activity from a Rational Action Perspective', *International Small Business Journal* Vol. 25 (3) (2007), p. 229.

⁴ Pearson, R. and Richardson, D., 'Business Networking', p. 657.

⁵ Mathias, P., 'Risk, Credit and Kinship in Early Modern Enterprise' in McCusker, J. J. and Morgan, K., (eds.), *The Early Modern Atlantic Economy* (Cambridge: 2000) cited in Magee, G. B. and Thompson, A. S., *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World* (Cambridge: 2010), p. 53.

⁶ Magee, G. B. and Thompson, A. S., *Empire and Globalisation*, p. 52.

communications were rudimentary, particularly across distances, and this made gaining good quality information difficult and, conversely, when gained, very valuable. Alvesson and Lindkvist highlight the important role played by networks as information carriers and stress how data collated by networks were considered reliable and reflective of the values of members, because the network, itself, comprised members with common ideas and values.⁷ Human and Provan also refer to the importance of information sharing within networks but posit a further aspect, namely that networks which included competitors resulted in members gaining greater knowledge of the industry and of their own business's strengths and weaknesses.⁸

Because of the importance of trust and shared values it is unsurprising to find early networks centred on two groups rooted in those qualities: families and religious groups. For her part, Mary Rose sees business strategies developed by family firms as the practical application of the values of trustworthiness and common moral attitudes.⁹ Both Rose and Gillian Cookson emphasise how kinship and intermarriage played important roles in improving information flows and creating vertical structures. Cookson, who researched family firms in textile engineering in Yorkshire, concurs with Rose that the business environment was 'one of high trust', but extends the ambit of trust beyond the family unit into relationships with the wider business

⁷ Alvesson, M. and Lindkvist, L., 'Transaction Costs, Clans and Corporate Culture', *Journal of Management Studies*, Vol. 30 (1993), p. 430.

⁸ Human, S. E. and Provan, K. G., 'External Resource Exchange and Perceptions of Competitiveness within Organisational Networks' in Reynolds, P. D. and Birley, S. (eds.) *Frontiers of Organisational Research* (Wellesley, MA, USA: 1996), pp. 240-267, cited in Besser, T. L., Miller, N. and Perkins, R. K. 'For the Greater Good: Business Networks and Business Social Responsibility to Communities' in *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development* Vol. 18 (2006), p. 323.

⁹ Rose, M., *Firms, Networks and Business Values: The British and American Cotton Industries since 1750* (Cambridge: 2000), pp. 61-75.

community.¹⁰ She argues that, by doing so, family businesses were strengthened because the network of contacts was extended into areas where the family unit itself may not have been strong. Cookson gives as examples, capital being provided by customers, and textile engineers diversifying from their original business by building weaving and spinning operations which were run by members of the family and associates.¹¹ Rose remarks that the bonds and ties initially formed in business networks had wider application. She is of the view that they helped members to play a role in society at large because, when combined with regular social contact, they enabled members of family firms to act together as a group in non-business fields.¹²

Pearson and Richardson studied the relationships of four investor groups which established fire insurance companies in Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester and Wiltshire between 1776 and 1824.¹³ It is a wide ranging and granular study covering kinship and religious ties as well as links to political, social and common business interests. Supporting Rose's argument, they demonstrate that, through the web of business connections, a 'common value system' developed, which created personal loyalties beyond those of the family. As a result, common business interests bridged sources of division evident in society, such as religion and politics. Pearson and Richardson view such relationships as a virtuous web whereby social and cultural contact among different families created the personal loyalties necessary to access finance and skills for the development of the family firm; skills which were not held within the family.¹⁴

¹⁰ Cookson, G., 'Family Firms and Business Networks: Textile Engineering in Yorkshire, 1780-1830,' *Business History* Vol. 39 (1) (1997), pp. 1-20.

¹¹ Cookson, G., 'Family Firms', p. 7 and p. 14.

¹² Rose, M., *Firms, Networks and Business Values*, pp. 61-75.

¹³ Pearson, R. and Richardson, D., 'Business Networking', pp. 657-679.

¹⁴ Pearson, R. and Richardson, D., 'Business Networking', p. 672.

Research into business networks based on religious affiliation has largely been concentrated on those created by Jews and Nonconformists (including Quakers). The characteristics of both groups are similar and reference is made in the following paragraphs to research into Nonconformist networks to illustrate these.¹⁵ Referring to Quaker networks, which were particularly strong in the iron, textile and country banking sectors, Prior and Kirby maintain that trust based on a common religion and its values facilitated cooperation between entrepreneurs which, in turn, helped to achieve business efficiency.¹⁶ George Fox, its founder, required Quakers to act honestly and justly in business, and Prior and Kirby point to the important role played by the local Meeting in vetting business proposals and monitoring conduct, particularly in the areas of credit and bad debts. In their opinion the result was that 'transaction costs were reduced as confidence increased ... credit flowed more easily ... [thus] expanding business opportunities'.¹⁷

Unitarians have also been identified as having strong business networks. Referring to the Lancashire cotton trade in the mid-nineteenth century, Rose comments that intermarriage between Unitarians created a web of contacts and powerful families, and that the Unitarian Chapels in Manchester served both as religious meeting places and social institutions to bring members together.¹⁸ Seed observes that, although there were two chapels in Manchester, many Unitarians attended both, thereby extending the network. He also quantifies the level of

¹⁵ Jewish networks are examined in Bernstein, L., 'Contract Governance in Small-world Networks: the Case of the Maghribi Traders', *Northwestern University Law Review*, Vol. 113 (5), (2019), pp. 1009-1069.

¹⁶ Prior, A. and Kirby, M. W., 'The Society of Friends and Business Culture 1700-1830' in Jeremy, D. J. (ed.). *Religion, Business and Wealth in Modern Britain* (London: 1998), pp. 66-85.

¹⁷ Prior, A. and Kirby, M. W., 'The Society of Friends and Business Culture', p.78.

¹⁸ Rose, M., *Firms, Networks and Business Values*, p. 75.

intermarriage by reference to chapel trustees where, in some years between 1809 and 1830, up to 30 per cent married other Unitarians.¹⁹ In addition to Manchester, Seed identified Unitarian business networks across the North of England in Hull, Newcastle and Wakefield. He concludes that they all operated in a similar manner and that in Newcastle, just as Rose identified in Manchester, it was the 'interlocking circles of professionals, merchants, and manufacturers [that] gave the Unitarian chapel its influence in local affairs'.²⁰

7.3 Freemasonry as a business network

When asked to define Freemasonry, the candidate replies that it is 'a peculiar system of morality, veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols'.²¹ The significance of morality and values to masons in the period of the thesis is also found in their writings. In 1776, William Dodd wrote that masonry was 'an institution founded on eternal reason and truth ... [and which had] the immoveable support of those two mighty pillars, Science and Morality'. In 1784, a Worcestershire freemason, the Rev. John Hodgetts (Harmonic), maintained that: 'Truth is a divine attribute and the fountain of masonic virtues.'²² In addition to the written word, evidence of Freemasonry as a value-based institution can be found in the actions of lodges to protect masonic values and the good name of the lodge. For example, in 1822, S. Gibson (Faithful) wrote to the Grand Secretary of UGLE stating that a member, John

¹⁹ Seed, J. 'The Role of Unitarianism in the Formation of Liberal Culture 1775-1851: a Social History', (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Hull, 1981), pp. 220-21.

²⁰ Seed, J., 'The Role of Unitarianism', pp. 225-247.

²¹ Emulation Lodge of Improvement, *Emulation Ritual* (London: 2013), p. 107.

²² WMLM- 1891/527.9 – Dodd, W., *An Oration delivered at the Dedication of Free-masons' Hall, Great Queen Street, on Thursday May 23, 1776*; MF – A83 COU – Sketchley, J., *Unparalleled Sufferings of John Coustos etc etc* (Birmingham: 1790), [Includes sermon by Rev. J. Hodgetts at the consecration of Harmonic Lodge, Dudley].

Taperell, should be excluded on the grounds that 'his conduct was not sound enough to bear investigation'; Taperell was excluded in July 1822.²³ The emphasis on morality and truth within Freemasonry provided its members with the same level of assurance to be found in family and religious business networks of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The preceding paragraphs have referred to how a wide spectrum of expertise is essential for a business network to succeed. In this context, Pearson and Richardson have emphasised how important it is for networks based on kinship and religion to work with people possessing skills and capital outside the family or religious grouping, to achieve the requisite breadth of skills and connections needed. Chapter 4 illustrated the wide representation of professionals, industrialists and others in the dealing and service sectors within masonic lodges in Worcestershire. This breadth made Freemasonry less restrictive than networks based on kinship and religion and, therefore, it was better placed to obtain the wide spectrum of expertise required for a network to be successful. It was more akin to a 'chamber of commerce', offering its members a network with shared values, individuals with a wide range of skills, and access to capital and credit. In fact, a comparison of masonic membership in Worcestershire with that of the first chamber in the Midlands, the Birmingham Chamber founded in 1783, reveals that Worcestershire lodges had a more widely-based membership.²⁴

²³ MF - LF/SN1681: Lodge of Faithful – letter dated 10 June 1822 from S. Gibson to W. White.

²⁴ Bennett, R. J., 'Network Interlocks: the connected emergence of Chambers of Commerce and Provincial Banks in the British Isles 1767-1823', *Business History*, Vol. 55 (8) (2013), p. 1289 and index of members. www.geog.cam.ac.uk/research/projects/chambersofcommerce/birmingham.pdf [Accessed: 11 August 2019].

The important role of networks as sources of reliable information has been emphasised. Magee and Thompson comment that the power of gossip, word of mouth and personal experience, is often overlooked as a means of gaining knowledge on socio-economic issues.²⁵ The ‘festive board’, where masons dined and engaged in social intercourse across a range of subjects, provided the ideal setting and means to discuss such matters. According to Simon Deschamps, Lodge Eastern Star played precisely such a role when it was formed ‘in the interest of the Honourable East India Company’s Navy’.²⁶ Arguably, the usefulness of the festive board as a means of transmitting information was increased by the practice of visitors attending lodge meetings. Their presence augmented the circle of experience and knowledge and it also meant that the network itself was not static, because membership fluctuated according to the composition of visitors.

Commentators have identified characteristics within Freemasonry not observed in other networks, which they consider added to its credentials as a business network. Burt is of the view that Freemasonry offered two benefits to the itinerant businessman.²⁷ In an era when the state provided few benefits, Freemasonry provided ‘roadside assistance’ to masons and their families who had to move out of area for employment, by providing them with money for their upkeep. In Burt’s opinion, this feature acted as a recruiting agent and enabled greater mobility among masons, both domestically and internationally. The second benefit he identifies is ‘access’; access to a friendly face to help the mason to settle down in a new area,

²⁵ Magee, G. B. and Thompson, A.S., *Empire and Globalisation*, p. 205.

²⁶ Deschamps, S., ‘Merchant and Masonic Networks in Eighteenth-Century Colonial India,’ *Revue de la Société d’études anglo-américaines des XVII et XVIII Siècles* (2017), <http://journals.openedition.org/1718/828> [Accessed: 10 June 2019].

²⁷ Burt, R., “Wherever dispersed” – The travelling Mason in the Nineteenth Century’, pp. 1-34.

and access to a widely based membership which could inform and advise on local business affairs. This view is supported by Hyam in his book on the British Empire, in which he argues that Freemasonry was a mechanism which reduced the problems of travel and distance, and also by Keiser, who sees a similar role played by Freemasonry in the German Empire.²⁸

Keiser identifies two further features which, in his opinion, distinguish Freemasonry from other networks. Firstly, because membership was voluntary and not tied to a religion or a family, one of Freemasonry's strengths was that it attracted men who wanted to broaden their horizons away from being confined within the barriers of religion or social estate. The second feature was the educational role it played in enabling members to develop organisational and personal skills. He observes that lodges constructed the first hierarchies which were divorced from kinship or feudal tradition. As they moved up the hierarchy, members learnt new skills which, in the opinion of one, meant that: 'We learnt patience, conquest of our storming blood ... We got used to skills ... the knowledge of which will be helpful and useful and will save us through life.'²⁹

The preceding paragraphs have examined the positive attributes of Freemasonry as a business network. However, from the late nineteenth century, there have been accusations that men joined Freemasonry for material or social gain.³⁰ The feature which permits the possibility of abuse is the closed nature of the institution rather than its ritual or secret handshakes. It is a feature which is common also to religious

²⁸ Hyam, R., *Britain's Imperial Century 1815-1914: A Study of Empire and Expansion* (London: 2002), p. 298; Keiser, A., 'From Freemasons to Industrious Patriots. Organising and disciplining in Eighteenth- Century Germany', *Organisation Studies*, Vol. 19 (1) (1998), p. 55.

²⁹ Keiser, A., 'From Freemasons to Industrious Patriots', pp. 55-57.

³⁰ Hamill, J. *The Craft. A History of English Freemasonry* (Wellingborough: 1986), p. 152.

and family networks, but they have attracted less attention, possibly because they lack the mystique of Freemasonry. An example of 'market abuse' by a closed network in the eighteenth century involves Quakers in the leather industry. In 1778 Timothy Bevington, a Quaker and leather manufacturer, tried to establish a cartel. He wrote to Quaker import merchants in London asking them to act together to secure a better price for Italian hides, rather than 'suffer the Italians to put their hands in our pockets and take what they please'.³¹ The aim was to get lower prices; not to pass them on to customers, but to increase the manufacturers' profit margins. In the context of current commercial mores, the conduct of Bevington may be considered to be unacceptable. However, in historical context, it can be viewed as being in keeping with what Pearson and Richardson described as 'the collusive character of British capitalism' in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.'³²

That criticism of possible 'rent-seeking' behaviour by freemasons started in the late nineteenth century – after the end date of this thesis and a full century after the example given in the preceding paragraph - points towards a change in *mores* and a change in how 'the collusive character of British capitalism' is viewed. All closed networks are made up of humans and it is possible that some might dishonestly try to personally benefit from membership. The critical issue, however, is what society at any point in time considers to be acceptable behaviour and what is considered to be dishonest. In the context of the period covered by this piece of research Freemasonry continued to grow and membership did not appear to attract levels of

³¹ Coopey, Richard, 'The British Glove industry 1750-1970: the advantages and vulnerabilities of a regional industry' in Wilson, J.F. and Popp, A., (eds), *Industrial clusters and regional business networks in England 1750-1970* (Aldershot, 2003) p. 183.

³² Pearson, R. and Richardson, D., 'Business Networking', p. 676.

criticism which dented its popularity or reputation.

7.4 Freemasonry and business opportunities

The analysis of occupations in *Tables 7 and 13* of Chapter 4 reveals a high representation of business members throughout the period of this study. As membership was voluntary, the presence of such high numbers of businessmen within lodges, of itself, points towards Freemasonry being conducive to business networking. Deschamps provides evidence that men were aware of the practical attractions and advantages of Freemasonry as a business network. He describes how lodges in India were recognised for their networking opportunities and how men, before moving there, would join lodges in England on the eve of their departure.³³ Maurice Solomons (Semper Fidelis), an optician, is an example of this practice. He progressed through his three degrees in three consecutive months shortly before moving to Calcutta, where he joined Lodge Humility with Fortitude in 1852.³⁴

Magee and Thompson describe how business networking involves ‘bonding opportunities’, where members of the same trade reinforce their common interests, and ‘bridging opportunities’ where members in different businesses interact with each other to mutual benefit.³⁵ *Appendix 4* shows that each of the lodges had a mix of occupations and, therefore, considerable potential to present bridging and bonding opportunities. The following paragraphs analyse three lodges in more detail to illustrate the occupational mix and business transactions which took place within them.

³³ Deschamps, S., ‘Merchant and Masonic Networks’, <http://journals.openedition.org/1718/828> [Accessed: 10 June 2019].

³⁴ MF - GBR 1991 AR 1342 – Membership Register of Lodge Humility with Fortitude.

³⁵ Magee, G. B. and Thompson, A. S., *Empire and Globalisation*, p. 49.

The Talbot II and Hope Lodges (Stourbridge) had seven members who were glass manufacturers/cutters, and others including wealthy gentlemen, an attorney and representatives of several other trades. Likewise, the Wheatsheaf Lodge (Bewdley) contained the two largest pewter manufacturers in the area, and other members included a wealthy gentleman, an attorney and various other trades. The grouping of members in the glass, pewter and other industries provided bonding opportunities. Potential areas of common interest would have been infrastructure projects and procedures which helped debt collection. In the period of road and canal construction (c. 1750 - c. 1790) nine out of twenty members of the Talbot II Lodge in Stourbridge (45%) and nine out of forty-one members of the Bewdley Lodge (23%) invested in canals and turnpikes. Six members of the Stourbridge lodges and three from the Bewdley Lodge (including both pewterers) were appointed Commissioners for the collection of small debts.³⁶ In an example of a bridging opportunity involving members of the Talbot II Lodge the surgeon John Evans and the businessman John Pidcock made loans to John Dovey, glass-cutter, to enable him to build a glass-cutting shop in Stourbridge.³⁷ Also involving the Talbot II Lodge, Bate & Robins Bank, of which W. B. Collis was a partner and member of the lodge, lent money secured by a mortgage on property to T.O. Downing, a gentleman lodge member.³⁸

Further examples of bridging opportunities are found in the south of the county. Walter Chamberlain (Worcester) inherited the Worcester Porcelain Company on his

³⁶ Named in 'An Act for the more easy and speedy recovery of Small Debts within the Borough and Foreign of Kidderminster in the County of Worcestershire', (12 Geo. III, c 66) and 'An Act for the more easy and speedy Recovery of Small Debts.....Old Swinford, (17 Geo III, c 19).

³⁷ WAAS - 4000/705:260 parcel 282 –assignment of lease in trust to sell (1791) as security for loans £230 at 4.5% p/a from Pidcock & Co and J. Evans to James Dovey to construct engine house and glass-cutting works on wharf.

³⁸ DUDA- D6/1/D4/6 and 7 – mortgage dated 25 July 1788 between T. O. Downing and J. Robins (Bate & Robins Bank) secured on property and lands within Kingswinford.

father's retirement in 1833 and J. B. Hyde (Worcester) became a partner. A practising solicitor, Hyde had invested for a return and played no role in the management of the business.³⁹ Another example involving the same lodge arose when the partnership of H. B. Tymbs and H. Deighton (Worcester), which published *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, was dissolved in 1836.⁴⁰ Deighton entered partnership with Hyde and G. Bentley (Worcester) who was an auctioneer. Neither played an active role in the business but obtained a return on their investment. In some instances, members of the same lodge were partners in the same business, such as Thomas Cantrill and Henry Proctor (both Freedom) who were in partnership as grocers; William Turton and William Underhill (both Harmonic) who were in partnership as miners, and W. L. Phelps and S. Kinsey (both Mercy and Truth) were attorneys.⁴¹ Sometimes business and family relationships were intertwined, as was the case with Joseph Strickland (Worcester). He was in partnership as a linen draper with James Horsley (Worcester) and he married a Miss Handy whose brother George, also a linen draper, was a member of the lodge.⁴²

In describing the role played by the Viscount Dudley and Ward in promoting enclosure acts in the north of the county, Raybould states that 'it was no accident' that the Viscount benefited from the allotment of land under which the minerals lay, but he does not proffer evidence to support the statement.⁴³ Research into the individuals concerned demonstrates both the bridging and bonding opportunities

³⁹ *London Gazette* No. 20032, 29 October 1841, p. 2663.

⁴⁰ *London Gazette* No.19422, 23 September 1836, p. 1667.

⁴¹ *London Gazette* No. 16910, 21 June 1814, p. 1282 – re Proctor and Cantrill; Leach, J. and Tamlyn, J., *Reports of Cases decided in the High Court of Chancery* Vol. 1 (London: 1831), p. 250 – re Underhill and Turton; *London Gazette* No. 17704, 8 May 1821, p.1005.

⁴² *London Gazette* No. 16581, 10 March 1812, p. 457 – re Horsley and Strickland.

⁴³ Raybould, T. J., 'Lord Dudley and the making of the Black Country', pp. 55-56.

offered by Freemasonry. The Viscount himself was a member of Lodge 77 in Wolverhampton.⁴⁴ When the Pensnett and Dudley Wood Bills were presented in Parliament they were considered by two committees which had the same Chairman, Sir John Wrottesley, who also was a member of Lodge 77.⁴⁵ As Lord of the Manor, the Viscount was entitled to appoint an Enclosure Commissioner and he appointed the Samuel Wyatt for both acts. The Viscount's mine agent with responsibility for running the Viscount's estate and exploiting the minerals beneath it, was Francis Downing. Both Wyatt and Downing were members of Harmonic Lodge and Downing's intimate knowledge of coal seams and mineral workings would undoubtedly have been available to Wyatt. Further evidence of masonic involvement between the Downings and the Viscount is to be found in Downing's uncle, the Rev. John Downing (Talbot II), who regularly preached at services arranged by the Viscount and Lodge 77.⁴⁶ The Kingswinford Enclosure Act of 1776 is another example of the potential for masonic networking in land reform.⁴⁷ On this occasion Wyatt again acted as commissioner, while the landowners involved included the Viscount and John Pidcock (Talbot II). Pidcock would have socialised with the Rev. Downing, who was a member of the same lodge, and he also visited Lodge 77, of which the Viscount was a member.

The connections illustrated in the preceding paragraphs relating to the activities involving the Viscount are important for two reasons. Firstly, they crossed lodges and lend credence to those who argue that festive boards and visitors attending the same

⁴⁴ Lodge 77 Wolverhampton, Minutes of Meeting 24 June 1769.

⁴⁵ *Journals of the House of Commons* 18 May 1874 - 1 December 1785, pp. 108-109.

⁴⁶ MF - GBR 1991 AR/SN1025) - Harmonic Lodge Membership records.

⁴⁷ Kingswinford Enclosure Act 1776 (16 Geo 3 C. 33).

were important elements of networking within Freemasonry. Secondly, the Talbot II Lodge was an Antients lodge whereas Lodge 77 was a Moderns lodge; the visitations between the two and the preaching of sermons by the Rev. Downing suggest that the well-documented animosity between the two Grand Lodges in London was not replicated in the provinces.

Many masons are recorded as having passed through the county, while others came and joined Worcestershire lodges. Lodge records detail the 'roadside assistance' referred to by Burt, including entries in the cashbook of Freedom Lodge which show 'relieved John Brown - Lodge 205, 5s' [St. Edwins Hythe, Kent] and 'relieved W. Marshall Lodge 52 Scotland, 1s 6d' [Lodge St Andrew].⁴⁸ Some who joined a lodge continued to live outwith Worcestershire, such as Eli Shaw who lived in Golcar, Yorkshire, where he owned a woollen mill with his two brothers. He was proposed into Harmonic Lodge by Bros. Shedden and Hope who were both drapers in Dudley and, therefore, were likely to have been customers for goods manufactured at the mill.⁴⁹ Montagu Alex, a dentist, was initiated into Hope and Charity Lodge and later joined Royal Standard Lodge, being proposed, and seconded by Bros. W. Roden and T. Roden, who were both doctors. He lived and practised in Cheltenham, but he also operated a peripatetic practice which included Kidderminster. An advert in the *Worcestershire Chronicle* stated that he would be in attendance in Kidderminster between 9 and 14 November 1846 and the Minutes of Royal Standard

⁴⁸ Cashbook of Freedom Lodge 2 October 1814 and 6 August 1816.

⁴⁹ Minutes of Harmonic Lodge – meeting held 3 March 1829; *Supplementary Report of H. M. Commissioners appointed to collect Information in the Manufacturing Districts as to the Employment of Children in Factories Part II* (25 March 1834), Item 87 J. J. and E. Shaw, pp. 153 - 154.

Lodge show him present at a meeting on 13 November 1846.⁵⁰ These examples highlight how the ability of a mason to attend any lodge enabled masons to combine pleasure with business, and to take advantage of the bonding and bridging opportunities offered.

Identifying other networks in Worcestershire has been problematic because the literature review did not uncover any research papers, articles, or books on business networks in the county. However, research for this thesis has identified the possible existence of two networks based on religion. In his article on carpet manufacturers, Smith includes a table which ranks carpet manufacturers in Kidderminster, by the number of looms which they operated in 1832. Comparing this list with the town's trustees of the New Meeting House (Unitarian) between 1814 and 1840 reveals that four firms, including the second and sixth largest in the town, were owned by Unitarians. In addition, a large bombazine manufacturer, W. Penn, who had diversified into carpet manufacturing following the decline in the 'stuff' trade was also a member.⁵¹ Ensuring continuity of ownership was an important aspect of business planning for family firms. In a section referring to the financing of the industry, Smith describes how George and Henry Talbot (Unitarians) passed over their shares in the partnership to their children together with 'generous gifts', thereby ensuring family control of the business by the next generation.⁵² None of the members of the businesses identified above are known to have been masons.

⁵⁰ *Worcestershire Chronicle*, 4 November 1846 – advert stating he would be in attendance in Kidderminster at Mrs Charles', Town Bridge between 9 and 14 November; Minutes of Royal Standard Lodge 13 November 1846.

⁵¹ Smith, L. D., 'Industrial Organisation in the Kidderminster Carpet Trade', p. 93: carpet firms owned by Unitarians being Broom, Talbot, Hopkins and Watson; Priestley-Evans, E. D., *A History of the New Meeting House Kidderminster 1782-1900* (Kidderminster: 1900), pp. 174-175.

⁵² Smith, L. D., 'Industrial Organisation in the Kidderminster Carpet Trade', p. 90.

In his article on the glove industry, Coopey observes that when the Society of Glovers was established in Worcester in 1786, eight out of ten signatories to the Articles were Quakers.⁵³ The Register of Births of the Worcester Quaker Meeting gives the occupation of the father from November 1799 onwards. In the period 1800-1820 thirteen fathers are recorded as glovers, along with several others who were in the allied trades of skimmers and shoemakers, suggesting that the presence of Quakers in the leather trade was strong.⁵⁴ Coopey states that there were strong links between Quakers in Worcester and London.

7.5 Observations and conclusion

The objective of this chapter is to address the second part of research question 4, ‘In what ways did freemasons, individually and Freemasonry, organisationally, contribute to the economic development of Worcestershire between 1733 and 1850?’ Namely, to determine the extent to which Freemasonry constituted a business network.

It has been demonstrated that Freemasonry possessed attributes akin to those of business networks based on kinship and religion. Masons shared common values which contributed to building trust, which is arguably the most important component of all networks. They met each other regularly, including with visitors from other lodges, and the festive board provided a social venue; all of which contributed to ease of information-sharing and the making of new contacts. The range of

⁵³ Coopey, R., ‘The British Glove Industry 1750-1970: the Advantages and Vulnerabilities of a Regional Industry’ in Wilson, J. F. and Popp, A., (eds.), *Industrial and Regional Business Networks in England 1750-1970* (Aldershot: 2003), p. 182; WAAS - B496.5 BA9360/C9/Box2 – Articles of Agreement to be observed by a Society of Glovers in the City of Worcester.

⁵⁴ WAAS - B900.40301 BA9392 (i)-(iv) – Worcester City Society of Friends Registers of births 1660-1837.

occupations present in lodges was wider than that of networks based on religion and family, which were largely confined to specific segments of the economy. This wider composition could facilitate cross-fertilisation of ideas and increase the potential for commercial transactions to be undertaken between different business sectors. Indeed, this feature differentiated Freemasonry from the other networks examined, where the narrowness of the membership meant that the network had to look outside its members to secure services and skills.

Ultimately, the test of any network is its ability to service the needs of its membership. Examples have been given which record interactions between freemasons across a selection of business transactions including equity investment, credit provision, partnership, and teamworking among freemasons from different lodges. The question to be addressed is the extent to which membership of freemasonry facilitated these transactions. A counterfactualist might argue that the transactions would have happened without masonic involvement. This argument is rejected because, for it to be plausible, it is necessary not only to assume that masonic connections were purely coincidental, but also that they had no influence whatsoever upon how members interacted.

Casson and Della Giusta observe that social networks, of which business networks are one form, consist of social capital: an 'invisible structure comprising high-trust relations between members ... support[ing] intangible flows involving the communication of information and knowledge'.⁵⁵ This invisibility and intangibility poses difficulties when assessing the precise level of influence a business network

⁵⁵ Casson, M. and Della Giusta, M., 'Entrepreneurship and Social Capital: Analysing the Impact of Social Networks', p. 224.

has on a specific business transaction. Moreover, the more informal the networking, the more difficult it is to obtain objective evidence; an aspect particularly applicable to Freemasonry where, in relation to business networking, it had neither membership rules nor a constitution.

Casson and Della Giusta introduce the concept of the 'rational actor': a person who, when a member of an organisation, will use all the benefits of that organisation because it is in their interests to do so. Referring to business networks they categorise the benefits as 'instrumental', as in the promotion of productivity and trade, and 'intrinsic', as in personal recognition and support, and conclude that 'a rational actor will pursue both'.⁵⁶ The examples of transactions between freemasons given above all contain 'instrumental benefits': the lender earns interest, and the borrower obtains his glass-cutting machine; the Viscount gets his mines and the surveyor gets paid. Arguably, Downing as an employee, obtains an 'intrinsic' benefit by way of recognition from the Viscount for his efforts. It is also the case that the high percentage of businessmen in Worcestershire lodges throughout the period of the thesis, point towards Freemasonry's networkability as a factor in their membership.

Research for this thesis has established that Freemasonry, as an organisation, possessed characteristics which were similar to those identified by researchers of family and religious business networks. It is also the case that the transactions between freemasons, given by way of example, have produced instrumental and intrinsic benefits to the participants. It can therefore be concluded that Freemasonry had the potential to be a business network which could assist its members in running

⁵⁶ Casson, M., and Della Giusta, M., 'Entrepreneurship and Social Capital: Analysing the Impact of Social Networks', p. 222.

their businesses. However, because of the nebulous nature of the underlying social capital, and in the absence of independent evidence to support the examples given, it has not been possible to directly correlate the transactions undertaken to membership of Freemasonry.

CHAPTER 8: CIVIL SOCIETY AND MASONIC PHILANTHROPY IN WORCESTERSHIRE

8.1 Introduction

The fifth research question considers, 'To what extent did the efforts of freemasons to alleviate deprivation and disadvantage in Worcestershire between 1733 and 1850 contribute to the civil society of that era? The question is addressed in five sections. The first examines the concept of 'civil society' and its relationship to the 'state'. The second explores philanthropy and its application, by considering benefactors and their motives, relationships between benefactors and beneficiaries, and the changing nature of philanthropy in the period covered by the thesis. The next section applies the generic findings of Section 2 to the mutual aid extended by lodges and Grand Lodges to freemasons and their families. How lodges and individual freemasons contributed to civil society by alleviating disadvantage in local communities is considered in Section 4. A final section concludes on the research findings.

8.2 Civil Society

Attempting to define 'civil society' has been described as 'akin to nailing jelly to the wall' because the definition has changed over time.¹ In late medieval thought civil society was barely differentiated from the state in that it was considered that civilisation was made possible because people lived in law-governed associations protected by the state; the alternative was a kind of social Darwinism and the 'survival of the fittest.' In the Enlightenment era thinkers such as de Tocqueville saw civil society, which was often manifested

¹ Edwards, M. *Civil Society* (Cambridge:2014), p. 16.

through the medium of voluntary associations, as separate from the state, acting as a defence against its intrusions into individual rights and freedoms.² In the twentieth century civil society formed part of the debate as to how society could resolve collective problems. In the opinion of M. Edwards, state-based solutions, such as developing the NHS to address the health needs of the nation, were in most favour from the end of the second World War up to the 1970's. He identifies a period up to the 1990s when market economics found support as a means of addressing society's issues. Dissatisfaction with the failures of both models led to another model which saw the state, the private sector and a third grouping, 'civil society', working together to address problems facing society.³ The World Economic Forum views civil society as performing a particular role as 'the glue that binds public and private activity together in such a way as to strengthen the common good.'⁴

Helmut Anheier defines civil society as:

the set of institutions, organisations and behaviours situated between the State, the business world and the family. This would involve voluntary organisations of many different kinds, philanthropic institutions ... forms of social capital ... social values and the values and behavioural patterns associated with them.⁵

A definition more specifically applicable to the UK is:

civil society refers to individuals and organisations when they act with the

² Edwards, M. *Civil Society*, p. 18.

³ Edwards, M. *Civil Society*, pp. 19 - 23.

⁴ World Economic Forum, *The Future Role of Civil Society* (Geneva: 2013), p .5.

⁵ Anheier, H. K., *A Dictionary of Civil Society, Philanthropy, and the Third Sector* (London: 2005), p. xv.

primary purpose of creating social value, independent of state control. By social value we mean enriched lives and a fairer society for all.⁶

The latter definition is wider because it recognises that individuals can play a role; thus, in the UK, the contribution of recognised philanthropists such as the Cadbury family along with that of numerous individuals who devote time, effort and finance to improve the lot of their local communities. In the twenty-first century the institutions referred to typically include community-based organisations, professional associations, youth groups, and in an international context, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) such as the Halo Trust, which performs mine-clearance in former war zones. In the period covered by the thesis the range of organisations was more restricted, consisting of those established to help the less fortunate and disadvantaged, and those which sought to address society's problems through the principles of mutuality. The remainder of this Chapter examines philanthropy as a concept and how, by putting it into practice, freemasons contributed to the civil society of the late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries.

8.3 Philanthropy

Philanthropy has been defined as 'love of one's fellow man, an action or inclination which promotes the well-being of others'.⁷ At face value it is altruistic, with individuals motivated by a consideration of others' needs rather than their own; for example, the anonymous blood donor who does not benefit from the giving of his/her blood. However, the assumption that philanthropy equates with altruism has been

⁶ DCMS, *Civil Society Strategy: Building a Future that works for Everyone: Executive Summary*, p.1.

⁷ Prochaska, F., *The Voluntary Impulse: Philanthropy in Modern Britain* (London: 1988), p. 7.

questioned by some historians. They argue that it is an act of self-interest, whereby the dominant classes control the poor; according to Engels: 'The English bourgeoisie is charitable out of self-interest; it ... regards its gifts as a business matter ... saying 'if I spend this much on benevolent institutions ... you are thereby bound thereby to stay in your dusky holes.'⁸ In the nineteenth century, there is evidence that some in the upper social classes held the views ascribed by Engels – he himself refers to a letter in the *Manchester Guardian*.⁹ It is also the case that commitment to maintaining social order was a motive in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, caused by increased crime and fear that the revolutionary fervour of France could spread across the Channel. Page holds that it was such considerations that led to a burst of philanthropic activity, in part to satisfy an 'establishment' desire to preserve social stability.¹⁰

However, there is a body of evidence which contradicts the view that the aim of charitable relief was control of the lower classes. Frank Prochaska demonstrates that philanthropy existed within as well as between classes, with the poor instrumental in helping each other, and to ignore this aspect is to reduce charity to a reflection of class conflict.¹¹ Moreover, charitable relief was not confined to the poor so that charity within the privileged classes, such as relief of widows and the aged, was one of the fastest-growing forms in the late eighteenth century.¹² Inherent in the thesis that relief was used to control is the assumption that the poor were passive recipients

⁸ Engels, F., *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844* (F. Wischnewetzky, Trans.). (New York, 2008), p. 279; see also Morris, R. J., 'Voluntary Societies and British Urban Elites 1780-1850: an analysis', *The Historical Journal* Vol. 26 (1) (March 1983), pp. 95 - 118.

⁹ Page, R. M., *Altruism and the British Welfare State* (Aldershot: 1997), p. 278.

¹⁰ Page, R. M., *Altruism*, p. 24.

¹¹ Prochaska, F., 'Philanthropy', in Thompson, F. M. L. (ed.), *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950: Social Agencies and Institutions* Vol. 3, (Cambridge: 1996), p. 360.

¹² Prochaska, F., 'Philanthropy', p. 374.

of relief whereas, in practice, the philanthropic activities of the middle and upper classes were often a response to the complaints and aspirations of the poor.¹³ Also inherent in the thesis is the proposition that the controlling classes were united in their goal but, as identified by Morris, the middle class was not homogenous and there was often rivalry over the objectives of philanthropists.¹⁴

A theory advanced by some economists contends that a charitable gift is not a voluntary act intended to benefit the recipient. Rather it is an 'economic act of exchange' whereby the charitable contribution is made in expectation of an emotional or prestige-based benefit – such as the 'warm glow' of self-satisfaction or increased status among peers.¹⁵ Research supporting this view shows that those who donate are likely to report a higher degree of happiness than those who do not.¹⁶ On the other hand, the 'economic act of exchange' hypothesis does not account for why individuals support particular causes or for why they may support different causes to different extents.

John Brewer, referring to masonic philanthropy, argues that masonic self-help extended beyond the relief of social misfortune to include business debt relief, because 'masons would rally round a brother whose creditors threatened to foreclose on him'.¹⁷ Brewer's view is supported by Jacob who concluded that Dutch, French and English masons had a desire to 'mitigate and negotiate the effects of the

¹³ Prochaska, F., 'Philanthropy', p. 371.

¹⁴ Morris, R. J., 'Voluntary Societies', p. 108.

¹⁵ Barman, E., 'The Social Bases of Philanthropy', *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 43 (2017), p. 276.

¹⁶ Smith, C. and Davidson, H., *The Paradox of Generosity: Giving we receive, Granting we lose* (Oxford: 2014) cited in Barman, E. 'The Social Bases of Philanthropy', p. 282.

¹⁷ Brewer, J., 'Commercialization and politics' in McKendrick, N., Brewer, J., and Plumb J. (eds.), *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-century England* (London: 1982), p. 220.

market'.¹⁸ However, based on Worcestershire's experience outlined later in this chapter, most relief dispensed to fellow masons was for reasons unconnected to business affairs. Therefore, although joining Freemasonry for the possible benefits of debt relief may have motivated some, it is considered that business relief was only a minor aspect of masonic relief of its members.

Philanthropy is a personal act and the theories examined above seek to explain it by reference to the motives of benefactors. However, W. K. Jordan observes that personal motives 'remain buried deep in the recesses of our nature, immune, perhaps happily, from the fumbling probe of the historian'.¹⁹ Building on this observation, Barman argues that consideration of donors' motives alone is insufficient to account for why donations are made, and he concludes that the 'decision to give [is] shaped by the networks and norms of the local social context in which they [donors] are imbedded'.²⁰ This view is supported by research undertaken by the Centre for Charitable Giving and Philanthropy (CGAP), whose findings established that the 'philanthropic autobiography' of individual donors is influenced by their own social experiences and personal backgrounds, so that 'people support causes that mean something to them'.²¹ The research further established that donors prefer that their contribution makes a difference and is not lost among some greater relief effort.²²

¹⁸ Jacob, M., 'Money, Equality, Fraternity: Freemasonry and the Social Order in Eighteenth-century Europe' in Haskell, T. L. and Teichgraeber, R. F. (eds.), *The Culture of the Market: Historical Essays* (Cambridge: 1993), p. 115.

¹⁹ Jordan, W. K., *Philanthropy in England 1480-1660* (London: 1959), cited in Harrison, B., 'Philanthropy and the Victorians', *Victorian Studies* Vol. 9 (4), 1996, p. 354.

²⁰ Barman, E., 'The Social Bases of Philanthropy', p. 278.

²¹ Breeze, B., *How Donors choose Charities; Findings of a study of Donor Perceptions of the Nature and Distribution of Charitable Benefit* (Centre for Charitable Giving and Philanthropy (Occasional Paper 1), (London: 2010), p. 9.

²² Breeze, B., *How Donors Choose Charities*, p. 9.

When considering the motivational factors impinging upon philanthropists, it is important to observe that the nature of relief, and the vehicles used to deliver it, changed substantially over time. Until the late seventeenth century most charitable relief was funded from endowments and will trusts. An examination of wills up to 1660 shows that large and increasing sums of money were left to found almshouses and charitable doles. Because the data were extracted from large estates – thereby omitting benefactions from smaller estates - the amount of funding is likely to be understated.²³ A parliamentary enquiry in 1788 estimated that the annual income of charitable trusts was £258,700, which equated to thirteen percent of the average spent on Poor Law Relief between 1783 and 1785; a percentage which Slack considers to be understated because of the methodology used.²⁴

From the eighteenth century onwards endowments and wills were replaced as the main sources of charitable relief by *inter vivos* settlements made during the benefactor's lifetime, and collectively funded charities where monies were raised through subscriptions from numerous subscribers. Page sees the latter as the application to philanthropy of the mercantilist principles of the era, whereby investors pooled their resources.²⁵ Morris notes that much of the activity was undertaken by the middle classes who, while having social and economic authority, were often excluded from state power 'by religious restrictions, franchise limitation, and often the lack of any appropriate State agency'.²⁶ These benefactors were alive when they made their gifts and were aware of the shortcomings of the Poor Law and

²³ Slack, P., *The English Poor Law* (London: 1990), pp. 49 - 51.

²⁴ Slack, P., *The English Poor Law*, p. 30 and p. 52.

²⁵ Page, R. M., *Altruism*, p. 22.

²⁶ Morris, R. J., 'Voluntary Societies', p. 113.

workhouses in providing relief; they wanted a more active role than simply paying rates to fund the Poor Law.²⁷ Philanthropy had therefore become a populist activity driven by the personal preferences and experiences of benefactors who wanted to make a difference in their lifetime, rather than leaving funds to be managed after their death. A consequence of this change was that the number of 'good causes' promoted increased beyond the construction of almshouses and funding doles, to reflect the diverse interests of the individual benefactors. Charitable relief played an important role in welfare provision at a time when state involvement was rudimentary. However, because the nature of the relief provided was primarily determined by the preferences of the benefactors, it was not focused and varied from area to area, both in terms of its purpose and value.

A shortcoming in the historiography of philanthropy identified by Prochaska is its concentration on prominent institutions at the expense of local initiatives, which restricts our knowledge of the aims of local philanthropists.²⁸ However, it is possible to identify some broad themes to demonstrate the width of the relief given. Religious conviction and humanitarian concern were common causes backed, in part, by Protestant theologians who saw charity as a demonstration of faith. These were the driving forces behind charities such as the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and, at a local level, Foundling Hospitals and Magdalen Hospitals for 'fallen women'. Page identifies support for economic advancement as the reason behind efforts in the areas of healthcare and child welfare. This manifested itself in the provision of schools and specialist education to meet future labour needs,

²⁷ Page, R. M., *Altruism*, pp. 23-24.

²⁸ Prochaska, F., *The Voluntary Impulse*, p. 25.

together with numerous schools established by locals to provide an education to children of the poor.²⁹ As reinforced by the findings of CGAP, Prochaska suggests that the plethora of local charities supporting diverse causes stems from local philanthropists who had an intimate knowledge of their neighbourhoods and who, therefore, were well placed to identify the needs of their local community.³⁰

All the activities of freemasons and Freemasons' lodges considered in the next two sections are philanthropic in nature. Those considered in section 8.4, which are described as 'charitable' in lodge and the Grand Charities' records, relate to assistance given by freemasons to freemasons by lodges and the Grand Charities of the various Grand lodges. Section 8.5 examines the actions taken by lodges and freemasons, individually, to benefit their local communities.

8.4 Relief of freemasons

Charity is indelibly imprinted within freemasonry, being referred to in the first *Book of Constitutions*, the *Ahiman Rezon*, and in the 'charity address' delivered to every initiate.³¹ Both the Moderns and Antients Grand Lodges established charitable funds to benefit poor and distressed masons. The Moderns created a Committee of Charity in 1727, with the first recorded donation from a Worcestershire Lodge (Talbot I) noted in the minutes of the meeting of 27 December 1736: 'Stourbridge in Worcestershire, 10s 6d.'³² The 'Rules and Orders' contained in the *Morgan's Register* of the Antients Grand Lodge required lodges to make annual returns on each St. John's Day

²⁹ Page, R. M., *Altruism*, p. 22.

³⁰ Prochaska, F., *The Voluntary Impulse*, p. 9.

³¹ Quatuor Coronati Lodge, *Anderson's Constitutions*, pp. 55-56 (1723 Constitutions); *Ahiman Rezon, or a Help to All who would be Free and Accepted Masons*, p. 35.

³² MF - Minutes of the Quarterly Communication of the Moderns Grand Lodge, 27 December 1736.

together with a payment of 1s per member to help indigent masons.³³ Membership registers maintained by the Antients Grand Lodge record the annual contributions made by lodges. For example, the register for Lodge 107 (Wheatsheaf) states 'rec'd for G Charity £1/1/-' for both 1773 and 1774 while that of Lodge 178 (Raven) records 'Gr Charity £2/3/6d' for 1772 and 'Gr Charity for 1773 £1/1/-'.³⁴ Such was the demand on funds that a Committee of Charity (which subsequently became the Stewards' Lodge) was set up in 1754 to deal with petitions for relief from members. In 1814, shortly after the formation of UGLE, a Fund of Benevolence, later to become the Board of Benevolence, was established as a successor to the Committee of Charity and the Stewards' Lodge.

Lodge minute books record the petitions made to the Grand Lodges - naming the brother concerned and, on occasion, the reason for the claim. The Lodge of Faithful submitted a petition stating that Brother Meeton had suffered an injury with 'his arm being taken off within four inches of his shoulder and his body sorely bruised so that his illness will be a tedious one...'; an award of £5 was made.³⁵ As Meeton was a wool sorter in the carpet industry there is a high probability that this claim arose from an industrial injury. Between 1830 and 1838 three claims were submitted by Hope and Charity Lodge on behalf of Brothers Foxall, Long and Hunt. In the case of Hunt, the reason was severe illness and, in the case of Long, it is likely to have been illness as there was a later petition on behalf of his widow; the reason for Foxall's petition is unknown.³⁶ Petitions were also made on behalf of families of deceased members

³³ MF -GBR 1991 ANT 3/1/1 – 1751 preface to the Antients Grand Lodge Membership Subscription Register ('Morgan's Register').

³⁴ MF – Athol Register G, Vol. 7 (1771-1813- Country, Foreign Military), Nos. 25-229.

³⁵ MF - GBR 1991 HC1 to HC8 - Letter dated 20 December 1819 to UGLE from Bro. Skeats of Lodge of Faithful.

³⁶ Minutes of Hope and Charity Lodge 1 November 1830, 8 March 1836 and 16 October 1838.

such as those submitted by Hope and Charity Lodge to help the widow of Brother Long and the sons of the late Bros. Jeavons and Hutchinson.³⁷

In addition to donating to the London-based charitable funds, lodges raised monies from members to dispense relief locally. Mercy and Truth Lodge levied 2s per annum by way of a benevolence levy while Harmonic Lodge established a benevolent society, the meetings of which were held immediately after the lodge closed.³⁸ Many members of Hope and Charity Lodge worked in the carpet industry, having migrated to Kidderminster from Ireland or from the cotton industry in the North-west of England. These brethren could not rely on family for support and, in recognition of this, the minutes of 6 January 1824 record a more systematic approach to relief whereby members paid 3d per week each 'to any brother of the lodge who is sick and incapable of work'. The records of other lodges reviewed are silent on how monies were raised but, if current practices had been followed, it would have been by means of alms collections or by inclusion within annual subscriptions. There is evidence that the provision of relief was more proactive than simply raising and paying out funds. At least four lodges nominated a lodge member - a 'Relieving Officer' – whose responsibility was to identify cases of need and to liaise with those in receipt of relief.³⁹

When dispensing payments minutes record the name of the member receiving assistance in some instances but, in others, it is simply the amount paid and the numbers assisted. Thus, in 1827 Hope and Charity Lodge minutes record a payment

³⁷ Minutes of Hope and Charity Lodge 8 March 1836 and 3 May 1836.

³⁸ Minutes of Harmonic Lodge 3 March 1841 and 5 May 1829; Darricotte, F., *A Short History of the original Evesham Lodge, Mercy and Truth No. 703* (Evesham: 1954), p. 8.

³⁹ Minutes of Harmonic Lodge 7 March 1843, Hope and Charity Lodge 23 February 1829 and Royal Standard 9 February 1848; the Worcester Lodge No. 349 Relief Book refers to a 'Receiving Officer'

of 10 shillings to Brother O'Brien 'on account of his having sickness in his house for many months' and in 1848 Harmonic Lodge paid £10 'as the affairs of Brother Bytheway were in a very unsettled state'; in 1814, the cashbook of Freedom Lodge records a payment of 5 shillings to Brother Johnson (no reason recorded).⁴⁰ In contrast, the cashbook of Freedom Lodge for 16 January 1816 and 30 January 1816 merely records 'relieved 3 brothers 4/-' and 'relieved 2 brothers 10/-', respectively. Mirroring petitions sent to Grand Lodges, lodge funds were used to support families of deceased members, as when Harmonic Lodge paid 2 Guineas and £5 to benefit the widows and children of Brothers Hammond and Hewlett, respectively.⁴¹

Minutes detail the care taken in assessing applications for relief and ensuring that money went to deserving causes. Those of Harmonic Lodge indicate that applications were considered by the lodge, with the minutes of 4 September 1832 stating that the petition of Bro. J. Hope was heard 'and agreed it be sent to Grand Lodge with the recommendation of the Worshipful Master, Wardens and brethren present'. The minutes of 3 February 1829 declare that the petition of Bro. Sharylocke had been dismissed because 'after considering paperwork it was not considered to be genuine' and, in the same year, an application to join Hope and Charity Lodge by a Bro. W. Allen of Stourbridge was 'blackballed' because it was considered that the reason he was applying was to petition for relief.⁴²

As outlined earlier, Brewer considers that Freemasonry was attractive because it offered a collective insurance against commercial misfortune. As an example,

⁴⁰ Minutes of Hope and Charity Lodge 5 November 1827; Minutes of Harmonic Lodge 4 April 1848; cashbook of Freedom Lodge 2 February 1814.

⁴¹ Minutes of Harmonic Lodge 8 April 1847 and 6 December 1848.

⁴² Minutes of Hope and Charity Lodge 9 January 1829.

Harmonic Lodge minutes record help given to a brother with business difficulties. Relief of £10 was granted to Bro. Rann 'who under very peculiar circumstances had been most harshly and unjustly brought to the brink of ruin'; the minutes further record that the Brethren at the meeting 'most handsomely added from their pockets a further sum'.⁴³ This example is interesting as it combines the financial help alluded to by Brewer, with the use of charitable funds, presumably to assist the family to deal with the adverse effects of Rann's business problems.

Society in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was mobile and Slack refers to some parishes having a fifth of their population as unsettled.⁴⁴ By combining a network of lodges throughout England with an obligation to help fellow masons, Freemasonry was ideally placed to assist itinerant masons and free them from the threat of removal under the vagrancy and 'settlement' laws. Lodge records detail the assistance given to the wider masonic community, including those who were not members of English Grand Lodges. The cashbook of Freedom Lodge records 'relieved John Brown - Lodge 205, 5s' [St Edwins Hythe, Kent] and 'relieved W. Marshall Lodge 52 Scotland, 1s 6d' [Lodge St Andrew]. Harmonic Lodge minutes detail a payment of 5s 'to George Robertson, a brother in distress of Apollo Lodge 569, Beccles' while the brethren of Mercy and Truth Lodge paid 1s 6d to a 'foreigner' in 1828.⁴⁵ Royal Standard Lodge minutes outline aid given to the widow of a mason who was not a member of the lodge and, in doing so, illustrate how local knowledge can better inform the circumstances of a claimant. Despite being refused relief by the

⁴³ Minutes of Harmonic Lodge – 7 September 1841.

⁴⁴ Slack, P., *The English Poor Law*, p. 38.

⁴⁵ Cashbook of Freedom Lodge 2 October 1814 and 6 August 1816; Minutes of Harmonic Lodge 2 February 1830; Darricotte, F., *A Short History of the original Evesham Lodge*, p. 8.

Grand Charity, because her husband was an Irish freemason and not a member of UGLE, the members decided that Mrs Thomas was in distressed circumstances, and that a collection should be made on her behalf.⁴⁶ The 'Relief Book' of Worcester Lodge, which commences in 1844, records about thirty applications per year to relieve itinerant masons, including several from ship-wrecked mariners making their way to their home port. In 1850 there were claims from refugee former Polish and Hungarian soldiers – presumably after the quashing of the Hungarian Revolution in 1849.⁴⁷ The lodges in Kidderminster - Hope and Charity and Royal Standard - decided on a different approach, by agreeing to set up a 'Joint Fund for the Relief of Travelling Brethren' with a committee of six, three drawn from each lodge.⁴⁸

Burt considers that, in late nineteenth-century West Cornwall, this 'roadside assistance' played a major part in assisting the region to adjust to changing economic circumstances.⁴⁹ The role played in Worcestershire appears to be different. Apart from those members of Hope and Charity Lodge who were in the carpet industry and were Irish or from Lancashire, most masons in Worcestershire were from the county or neighbouring south Staffordshire. Accepting that surviving records are incomplete, there is no evidence of 'roadside assistance' having been paid to members of lodges in Worcestershire who joined from out of area. It may have been that it was an attraction, and they were fortunate enough not to require it, but payments made suggest that it was used to assist masons moving through the county in search of employment outside Worcestershire, or to return to their home.

⁴⁶ Minutes of Royal Standard Lodge – 12 April 1848.

⁴⁷ Talbot, J. L., *A Concise History of Worcester Lodge No.280 1790-1990* (Worcester: 1990), (no page).

⁴⁸ Royal Standard Lodge Minutes – Meeting 13 November 1844.

⁴⁹ Burt, R., "Wherever Dispersed": The Travelling Mason in the Nineteenth century', p. 29.

The affiliated orders of Friendly Societies issued 'travelling cards' to members for a specified period to enable them to claim benefits while travelling to look for work. Records maintained by the Oddfellows for the quinquennium 1848-1852, reveal that 4721 cards were issued (c. 945 each year) and around £4468 was paid out in benefits.⁵⁰ A total membership of 93,675 at the end of 1852 and 945 per annum registering to make a claim equates to one per cent of the membership travelling to seek work. This suggests that job mobility within the membership was relatively low and that, at this stage in the development of the affiliated orders, job seeker support may not have been as big an attraction as it was to become later in the nineteenth century.

In the absence of a Provincial Grand Lodge for most of the period covered by the thesis, there was no assistance available from Provincial funds or from a provincial charity to assist Worcestershire masons or travelling masons.

8.4 Relief in the community

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries large families were the norm and those affected by the vicissitudes of life would look to their family and the kindness of neighbours and friends for support. Population movement from the countryside into urban areas meant that town dwellers were frequently separated from their families. Consequently, when they were faced by the uncertainties of the labour market and the industrial economy, they were more reliant on the Poor Law and charitable support as cushions against social and economic misfortune. This section looks at how masonic lodges and individual freemasons, using their knowledge of their local

⁵⁰ Neison, F.G.P., 'Some Statistics of the Affiliated Orders of Friendly Societies (Odd Fellows and Foresters)', p. 79.

communities, helped to alleviate disadvantage in those communities.

At lodge level relief was administered using monies raised by members. This approach enabled all masons, irrespective of their wealth, to contribute to the communal good by 'pooling' their giving and, as such, it is an example of the 'collective funding' model of philanthropy which first appeared in the late eighteenth century. The relief provided was in the form of charitable grants, which were made to a wide range of locally based deserving causes, and institutions dedicated to aiding the disadvantaged in society. The first recorded was a contribution of five Guineas, in 1773, by the Talbot II Lodge towards the new hospital in Worcester. An example of a grant to a deserving cause was £5 paid by Harmonic Lodge to a fund for families of workers killed and injured in a boiler explosion at Harts Hill Iron Works near Dudley; coincidentally, a business owned by a member of the lodge, A. B. Cochrane.⁵¹ Institutions supported by lodges cared for a cross section of age groups. The young were helped by a five Guinea grant from Freedom Lodge to its local Sunday School, and the ill and needy were helped by a series of grants of between £2 and £6 from the Harmonic Lodge to the Dudley Sick and Indigent Society.⁵² Likewise both sexes were catered for. Harmonic Lodge made grants on several occasions, at amounts between £5 and £8, to the Truss Society and the Lying-in Society.⁵³ Other institutions receiving grants included Clothing Societies who helped to clothe children and the poor, a Soup Society, and the Dudley Dispensary which provided free medication to the poorest in Dudley. In 1844 Royal Standard Lodge resolved to

⁵¹ Minutes of Harmonic Lodge - 4 July 1848.

⁵² Cashbook of Freedom Lodge - 27 December 1813; Minutes of Harmonic Lodge - 1 January 1845 to 5 March 1850.

⁵³ Minutes of Harmonic Lodge - 7 January 1845, 5 April 1846, 7 March 1848, and 6 March 1849.

'support charitable institutions in Kidderminster'; as an example, its minutes record that 'noting the distress in the town it was resolved to donate 3 Guineas from Lodge funds and members are requested to add to the sum if they wished'; later minutes record an additional £12 8s was raised.⁵⁴

Just as lodges helped masons from out of area, so they also helped itinerant non-masons who moved into the locality. The potato famines of the mid-1840s had a deleterious effect on both Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland, causing mass emigration, including into Worcestershire. Unsupported by the State, many were workless and lived in poverty - a position recorded in the minutes of Harmonic Lodge where the proceeds of an Annual Ball were used 'for the relief of distressed Irish and Scotch'.⁵⁵

Individual masons also played a role in alleviating the adverse conditions faced by the poor and disadvantaged in society. Because their assistance was determined by the preferences of masons concerned, it was wide ranging in nature, but it was largely concentrated on education, health, and social welfare. The contribution varied from donations in money and in kind, to the giving of time and expertise. The following paragraphs provide a picture of the involvement of freemasons in their local communities.

Prior to the late nineteenth century there was little state involvement in education. The elite sent its children to private schools and provision for other children fell to the church, charities and some grammar schools established in the Tudor era. In consequence, many children received rudimentary or no education. Its provision

⁵⁴ Minutes of Royal Standard Lodge – 11 December 1844; minutes of Royal Standard Lodge of 8 January 1847 and 12 February 1847.

⁵⁵ Minutes of Harmonic Lodge - 6 April 1847.

attracted diverse forms of support from Worcestershire freemasons. Several schools were built with their assistance. The Viscount Dudley and Ward donated £100 to build the new Dudley Free School and gifted land, in 1792, on which the Reddal Hill Charity School near Rowley Regis was constructed.⁵⁶ John Mackmillan (Harmonic) designed and built the Rowley Regis Charity school on land donated by his brother and he, personally, donated materials to build the master's house.⁵⁷ A. B. Cochrane (Freedom and Harmonic) built, and maintained at his own expense, Holly Hall School for the children of employees of his Harts Hill Iron Works.⁵⁸ In the South, Corbett Holland (Mercy & Truth) built the school at Quinton in Gloucestershire and created an endowment to support its running costs.⁵⁹ John Partridge (Harmonic) committed to pay 14 shillings per annum from 1804 onwards to the Wilcox Charity to support fourteen children of the parish of Bloxwich chosen by the vicar.⁶⁰ Trainor observes that the rapid expansion of towns in the North between 1780 and 1830 had outstripped the resources of the relatively few schools in the area, so the provision of these schools undoubtedly filled a need, and demonstrates the importance of local knowledge in meeting that need.⁶¹

Yet other masons created endowments to incentivise children. John Dent (Worcester) sponsored a prize for Greek verse at Dudley Grammar School while Cochrane, J. Brettell and G. Hickman (all Harmonic) each donated £5 to create an

⁵⁶ Lewis, S., *A Topographical Dictionary of England*, Vol. 3, (1840), p. 627; Glew, E. L., *History of the Borough of Walsall*, pp. 191 - 192.

⁵⁷ Griffith, G., *The Free Schools of Worcestershire*, p. 145; Lewis, S., *A Topographical Dictionary*, p. 627.

⁵⁸ Davies, V. L. and Hyde, H., *Dudley and the Black Country 1760-1860*, p. 28.

⁵⁹ Kelly & Co, *Kelly's Directory of Gloucestershire* (London: 1885), p. 553.

⁶⁰ Pigot and Co, *National Commercial Directory 1835* (London:1835), p. 670; Griffith, G., *The Free Schools*, p. 444; Glew, E. L., *History of the Borough and Foreign of Walsall*, p. 192.

⁶¹ Trainor, R. H., *Black Country Elites*, p. 312.

endowment to fund annual prizes.⁶² Similarly, the widow of Richard Wattell (St. John's) donated £200, at his behest, to fund prizes to classics scholars attending Bromsgrove Charity School.⁶³ Local schools also benefited from the expertise of freemasons who acted as trustees. Gilbert Read Shaw (Harmonic) was trustee of the Dudley Grammar School in 1815. During his trusteeship much of its land was sold under an Act to regenerate Dudley, with the proceeds used to acquire land and properties from the Viscount Dudley and Ward.⁶⁴ A new school was built and the properties were let to generate an income for the school.⁶⁵ The Rev. John Downing (Talbot II) was appointed 'visitor and judge' of the Blue Coat School, Dudley and charged with ensuring that its investment income was properly applied.⁶⁶ In the North of the county other masons served from 1787 onwards as trustees of free schools in Dudley, Kidderminster and Stourbridge, including Richard Burford who was trustee of the Unitarian Pearsall School in Kidderminster.⁶⁷ In the South the Rev. John Shaw (Mercy and Truth) was a trustee of Bengeworth School and treasurer of the John Martin Charity whose object was to teach catechisms to children.⁶⁸ Wattell and O. Williams (both St John's) were trustees of the Bromsgrove Charity School and four members of Worcester Lodge were trustees of the Queen Elizabeth School in Worcester.⁶⁹

Health provision for the sick, aged, and infant poor in the eighteenth and early

⁶² Griffith, G., *The Free Schools*, p. 163 and p. 434.

⁶³ Bromsgrove School, *Bromsgrove School Register 1553-1905* (Bromsgrove: 1908/10), pp. 56 - 57.

⁶⁴ Lewis, S., *A Topographical Dictionary*, p. 627.

⁶⁵ Griffith, G., *The Free Schools*, pp. 143 - 145.

⁶⁶ Griffith, G., *The Free Schools*, p. 166.

⁶⁷ WAAS – 1531/750:134 parcel 98(9) - In a Lease J. Pidcock and W. B. Collis are named as trustees of the Stourbridge school in 1787; WAAS – 4444/898.4 parcel 4(i) - Tripartite indenture dated 17 December 1794 in which Richard Burford is named as a trustee.

⁶⁸ Griffith, G., *The Free Schools*, p. 19.

⁶⁹ *Bromsgrove School Register*, p.37 and pp. 56 - 57; Chambers, J., *A General History of Worcester* (Worcester: 1820), p. 291 J. Ballard, T. Carden, C. Copner, B. Johnson are named as trustees.

nineteenth centuries was administered at local parish level and funded from the Poor Rate. Research has established that freemasons tried to help working families who struggled to fund healthcare. As outlined in *Chapter 6*, Kidderminster was severely affected by the weavers' strikes of the late 1820s and early 1830s, with many in the industry left destitute and in extreme poverty. Two members of Lodge of Faithful and four members of Hope and Charity Lodge signed a letter petitioning the Poor Law Commission to set up a Poor Law Union in Kidderminster to relieve the destitution caused by the strikes.⁷⁰ In the same town, Dr. W. Roden (Hope and Charity) addressed the issue by setting up 'The Kidderminster Provident Institution for Ensuring Medical and Surgical Aid to Poor Persons in times of need', a scheme whereby workers could pay in small amounts regularly to fund medical care costs when the need arose.⁷¹ A Parliamentary Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress considered that this type of institution provided a method of insurance for medical aid which 'enabled the working classes to preserve a spirit of independence instead of resorting to the Poor Law or charity'.⁷² In Dudley, freemasons went further by helping to provide free healthcare to the needy. The founding committee of a dispensary established in 1845 to provide free medical relief to residents who could not afford private care, included four members of Harmonic Lodge; as noted above, Harmonic lodge regularly provided grants to run the dispensary.⁷³

As with education, freemasons were involved in the wider aspects of health. In Worcester, Edward Corles set up a will-charity to provide Christmas gifts to the

⁷⁰ TNA - MH 12/14016/19 - Letter 31 May 1836 from Bird and Brinton Solicitors to the Poor Law Commission.

⁷¹ *The Medical Times*, Vol. 13 (27/9/1845-28/3/1846), p. 77.

⁷² *The British Medical Journal*, 27 November 1909, p. 1540.

⁷³ DUDA – DDIS 1/1/1 - Meeting and Annual list of Subscribers (1845-1866); Harmonic members were A. B. Cochrane, J. Griffin, J. Bolton and T. Lester.

residents of local almshouses, while J. P. Lavender and J. Dent were trustees of the Gouddings Hospital and Fleet's Almshouses, respectively.⁷⁴ Dr. Roden was on the committee which established Kidderminster's first hospital in St Mary's Street.⁷⁵ William Whitehouse (Freedom) was an advocate for better health in an area which, today, would be considered health and safety at work. A witness in a Select Committee enquiry into the working practices of canal carriers, he argued that barges should not operate on Sundays, so that men could rest and/or attend church, which would be better for their physical health.⁷⁶

Masons were attracted to institutions based on the principle of self-help whose aim was to improve social and economic conditions. The building society movement started in the Midlands. These were 'terminating societies' where individuals, typically artisans and craftsmen, pooled funds to build properties and, once the houses had been built, the society ended.⁷⁷ Masonic involvement included Mackmillan who was a Founder and Treasurer of the Rowley Building Society, which was formed in 1792, and George Jones who was Treasurer of the Dudley Building Society in 1779.⁷⁸ Land societies, like building societies, aimed to provide housing, but a secondary purpose was to increase the electorate because the franchise at the time was property-based. Dr. Roden was active in this sector, being a trustee of both the Welcome Guest and Avenue Road Land Societies, with the latter road being renamed Roden Avenue in

⁷⁴ *An Account of all the Charities in the City of Worcester that are under the Management of the Worcester Charity Trustees etc etc* (Worcester: 1842), p. 62 and p. 71.

⁷⁵ Kidderminster Civic Society
<http://kidderminstercivicsociety.btck.co.uk/SOMELOCALPEOPLEOFNOTE>
[Accessed 18 January 2018].

⁷⁶ House of Lords Sessional Papers 1841 Vol. 21, pp. 535-537 - *Report of a Select Committee into Restraining the Practice of carrying Goods on Sundays*, pp. 535 - 537.

⁷⁷ Price, S. J., *Building Societies: Their Origin and History* (London: Franey, 1958), p. 9.

⁷⁸ Price, S. J., *Building Societies*, pp. 26 - 29.

recognition of his contribution.⁷⁹ Simon Cordery sees annuity societies as being based on 'collective self-help and independence from control'.⁸⁰ The Bromsgrove Annuity society established in 1788 had three board members from St John's Lodge.⁸¹ Although based in Bromsgrove, it drew members from Lichfield, Henley-in-Arden and Kings Norton.⁸² In the North of the county, founders of the Dudley Annuity Society in 1792 included four members of Harmonic Lodge and two members of Freedom Lodge.⁸³ Later, in 1826, three members of Worcester Lodge were trustees and two were directors of the Worcester Friendly Institution which aimed to relieve members in cases of infancy, old age and sickness. It was more sophisticated and restrictive in its membership than other societies, having ten different classes and requiring that the majority of trustees be 'substantial householders' with properties assessed to the Poor Rate at no less than £50.⁸⁴

Figure 9 reveals that, of individual masons who have been identified as philanthropists, nearly 80 per cent came from the professions, including the clergy, and those in the dealing sector; the next biggest group was industrialists followed by the middle class without occupation, including gentlemen of independent means. This composition accords with Trainor's view that, although in the early part of the nineteenth century, philanthropy was dependent on 'peers, clergymen and a few

⁷⁹ Gilbert, N., *Kidderminster's Land Clubs* <http://www.nigelgilbert.co.uk/pdf/KLClubs.pdf> [Accessed 21 June 2016].

⁸⁰ Cordery, S. 'Friendly Societies and the Discourse of Respectability in Britain, 1825-1875', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 34 (1), 1995, p. 36.

⁸¹ Rev. John Best (Chair), R. Wattell, a solicitor, (Secretary) and T. Green, cabinetmaker and property owner (committee member).

⁸² *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 29 August 1791 and 29 May 1809.

⁸³ DUDA - DSCAM/4/4/2/1-2 -Minutes of inaugural meeting of the Dudley Annuity Society on 1 October 1792: J. Bourne, G. Hickman, S. Bennitt, R Parsons, J. Brettell and R. Powell named as trustees.

⁸⁴ Rules, Regulations and Tables...of the Friendly Institution established at Worcester...', pp. 3-4: Trustees were J. Dent, E. Isaac, J. P. Lavender; Directors were T. Carden and T. H. Bund.

great employers', it subsequently spread to dealers and the middle classes.⁸⁵

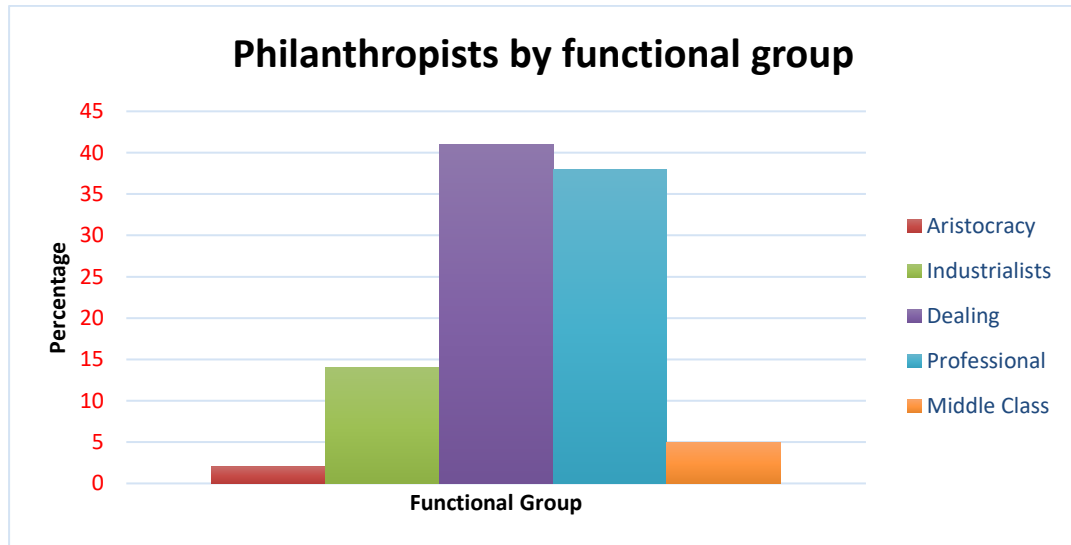


Figure 9: Philanthropists by functional group.

8.5 Observations and conclusion

The fifth research question asks: 'To what extent did the efforts of freemasons to alleviate deprivation and disadvantage in Worcestershire between 1733 and 1850 contribute to the civil society of that era?' Acts of philanthropy fall within the orbit of civil society and this chapter has looked at the philanthropic activities of freemasons in three contexts: namely, masons helping fellow members through mutual aid; lodges relieving their local communities; and individual masons acting in a personal capacity. At a general level, the examples given are a telling measure of the conditions faced by many urban dwellers in an era of minimal state involvement, and of the level of relief extended by freemasons to their own and to their local communities.

When lodges, and their Grand Lodges, provided relief to members they did so as

⁸⁵ Trainor, R. H., *Black Country Elites*, p. 313.

part of civil society, because they were voluntary societies attempting to 'enrich lives' through the relief of poverty, sickness and like conditions. In the period researched there were other organisations in Worcestershire which helped their members, such as annuity societies which provided support to widows and children in the event of illness or death of a husband/father, and friendly societies which offered relief in times of sickness and contributed to funeral costs; in 1824, thirty-one were registered in Worcestershire under the Friendly Societies Act 1819.⁸⁶ Later, the affiliated orders of Friendly Societies provided similar benefits on a national scale. However, the distinguishing feature of freemasonry was that, unlike the other associations, relief extended was not a factor of what the member had contributed, and neither was the mode of relief restricted by the terms of a governing document.

All freemasons contributed at the same level, irrespective of their age or occupation, and the relief extended to those who required help was geared to their perceived needs; this could have been an important consideration for members whose incomes were low or vulnerable to the swings of the economic cycle. The approach was more flexible and directed than a restrictive, contribution-based approach, thus ensuring that relief was applied where it was needed most. Relief was not guaranteed, but the examples given demonstrate how knowledge of the personal circumstances of members resulted in the deserving being attended to either by fellow members or by petition to Grand Lodges, while the undeserving were refused relief.

Every masonic lodge was in a town which had to face the effects of urbanisation

⁸⁶ Parliamentary Papers Vol. 18 (Session 3/2/1824 – 25/6/1824), *A List of Friendly Societies or other Institutions registered under Act 59 Geo. 3 c. 128*, pp. 1 - 23.

and industrialisation. Effects such as those described by William Lee in a report on Dudley:

All dirty, pallid, disease and some idiots. The people complain, even in the midst of their filth, of want of water. All so bad ... a man almost dying; a woman with half a face; children almost devoured with filth; prostitutes and thieves. The physical and moral condition of this place is indescribable.⁸⁷

These challenged traditional approaches to philanthropy, which had mainly addressed issues stemming from a rural environment, so much so, that ‘to translate the person-to-person charity from the village or the small town to an urban slum seemed, and indeed was, an impossible hope.’⁸⁸ As a consequence, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw the development of ‘associational philanthropy’ with ‘charitable societies serving as intermediaries between the individual philanthropist and beneficiary... [Thus] the nineteenth century saw the charitable organisation come to full, indeed almost rankly luxuriant, bloom.’⁸⁹

As illustrated in *Section 8.4* above, charitable associations were formed throughout Worcestershire to address the various problems faced by urban dwellers. Masonic lodges acted as enablers, raising funds which were donated to these charitable organisations to enable them to help the disadvantaged within local communities. As such lodges were, in effect, ‘associational philanthropists’

⁸⁷ Lee, W., *Report to the General Board of Health on a preliminary enquiry into the Sewerage, Drainage, and Supply of Water and the Sanitary Conditions of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Dudley in the County of Worcester* (London: 1852), cited in <https://www.blackcountrydiscovered.biz/the-most-unhealthy-place-to-live-in-england-2/> [Accessed 29 April 2019].

⁸⁸ Owen, D., *English Philanthropy 1660 – 1960* (USA: Harvard University Press, 1964), p. 138.

⁸⁹ Owen, D., *English Philanthropy 1660 – 1960* (USA: Harvard University Press, 1964), p. 92.

augmenting the funding which had hitherto been provided in wills or by individual philanthropists. The examples of grants made demonstrate how relief was concentrated in the localities in which the lodges were situated, and how local knowledge and experience played an important part in identifying causes to be supported. It is also argued that the diversity of lodge membership, both in terms of occupation and social class, meant that lodges were more alert to the wants of the locality than other organisations whose membership was restricted to one social class or religion.

Research undertaken has established that the efforts of lodges to relieve the hardships faced by members and to fund the charitable activities of local charitable associations enabled freemasons to contribute to civil society and the betterment of their localities. The methodologies were different. Help to fellow masons was direct and in the form of mutual aid, whereas help in the community was indirect and involved putting third parties in funds to enable them to help the less fortunate. Mutual aid of fellow members tended to be of low value, shillings rather than pounds, and the larger amounts were directed to families rather than to the member – for funerals and the support of widows. Funding of local community projects involved larger amounts. The absence of, and the quality of existing records, pose difficulties in ascertaining the relationship of mutual aid to community aid. It may also be that some lodges did not record mutual aid because collections were made on the night and given to the 'relieving officer' to distribute as he saw fit. One lodge which has substantially complete records is Harmonic. Between 1844 and 1850 it dispensed £46 0s 10d as mutual aid to masons, over forty-three occasions (the number of masons involved is indeterminable because records do not always specify the numbers helped), and in the same period it funded £134 5s over twenty-four

occasions to seven different community organisations.⁹⁰ It is also known that Royal Standard lodge in Kidderminster set up a fund to support local charitable institutions and £15 8s was donated on one occasion (see above) but no records of other funding have been found. The split in number and value of the mutual aid and community aid transactions of Harmonic Lodge cannot be meaningfully extrapolated across other Worcestershire lodges. However, taken together with the knowledge that, in another town, a lodge established a fund specifically to help local causes, it forms a good pointer to the nature of the activities undertaken by Worcestershire lodges to better the position of fellow masons and local communities.

As well as contributing to civil society through the activities of their lodges, several freemasons contributed to the betterment of society in a personal capacity. *Section 8.4* illustrates their many and varied contributions. It has been demonstrated that the charitable activities of individual freemasons were wider than those of lodges, reflecting their personal priorities and preferences. In addition, those who participated in annuity societies and building societies can be seen as part of the phenomenon identified by Prochaska; namely, members of the middle-class providing relief to the middle-class. Although individual freemasons practised philanthropy across Worcestershire there was a difference between the North and the South in how they contributed to civil society. Many charities had been set up by wealthy residents in the city of Worcester by the seventeenth century and, consequently, much of masonic philanthropy in the South consisted of masons acting as trustees of existing charities. In comparison, because the towns in the North developed at a later stage,

⁹⁰ Figures extracted from the Minutes of Meetings of Harmonic Lodge between 3 September 1844 and 5 November 1850.

the emphasis was more on founding charitable bodies, such as hospitals and free schools, to ameliorate the adverse conditions caused by industrialisation and urbanisation.

Undoubtedly these individual freemasons contributed to civil society in a personal capacity. However, to what extent did membership of Freemasonry influence their behaviour? Sociologists are of the view that the charitable activities of an individual are essentially personal in nature. However, based on research among donors, Breeze concludes that a key 'non-needs-based' criterion behind any decision by a donor to donate is 'a charitable outlook' - a characteristic which is acquired over a number of years and is influenced by personal experiences and associations.⁹¹ Barman refers to research carried out by sociologists which found that donor decisions were shaped by the networks and the norms of the local social context in which they lived.⁹² Both these findings point towards membership of Freemasonry as being a formative experience capable of influencing a member in his attitude towards charity in his personal life.

Every freemason mixed with others who both embraced the principle of charitable relief as set out in *Anderson's Constitutions* and exercised that relief in practice, by helping their fellow brethren and funding local charitable institutions. The potential influence of masonic networking is also to be found in the fact that several instances have been identified where masons acted together, outside of the lodge, to further charitable objects: such as the founders of the Dudley Dispensary who were members of Harmonic Lodge and the trustees of the Swinford school who were

⁹¹ Breeze, B. *How Donors Choose Charities*, p. 31.

⁹² Barman, E., 'The Social Bases of Philanthropy', p. 278.

drawn from the Talbot II Lodge. An examination of the membership of the Worcester and Harmonic lodges (the largest in the South and North, respectively) for the period 1814 to 1850 reveals that 8.4 and 10.4 per cent, respectively, of the membership were personally involved in philanthropic activities outside of Freemasonry. As research into the social profile of freemasons in Worcestershire set out in *Chapter 4* did not identify any significant variations in profile between lodges, it is reasonable to view these levels of participation as being reflective of Freemasonry as a whole in Worcestershire. Moreover, because the unskilled social classes, who were the most likely to benefit from charitable assistance, were excluded from Freemasonry it is likely that participation by individual freemasons in philanthropic activities was higher than in the population at large. However, although the findings suggest that masonic membership may have influenced the actions of individual freemasons, in the absence of research into the precise relationship of masonic membership to personal philanthropy, it is not possible to draw definitive conclusions on the extent of that influence. Therefore, Jordan's comment that the philanthropic motives of individuals 'remain buried deep in the recesses of our nature' holds true in this regard.

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSIONS

It is over fifty years since John Roberts urged historians to obtain: ‘a firm sociological knowledge’ of Freemasonry because, once obtained, it may offer new information about Freemasonry and suggest new approaches to the study of the eighteenth century.¹ A limited number of academics and historians have accepted his challenge and glimpses of the material awaiting to be discovered have appeared. Granular analyses of lodge memberships in the North-west of England and Wolverhampton have provided occupational analyses of who joined Freemasonry in those areas in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.² Ric Berman has revealed how a social network comprising the aristocratic and gentle classes shaped the early years of the UGLE by producing the *Book of Constitutions*, appointing noble Grand Masters, and determining the operation of the Grand Lodge itself.³

In their books and articles Roger Burt and Petri Mirala move beyond social and occupational analyses.⁴ Burt’s research includes consideration of why men joined Freemasonry in the Victorian period and, in the context of tin mining in Cornwall, the extent to which Freemasonry constituted a social and business network which facilitated interactions in a business context. Petri Mirala also looks at what attracted

¹ Roberts, J., ‘Freemasonry: Possibilities of a Neglected Topic’, p. 335.

² Morfitt, J. ‘Freemasonry in Wolverhampton 1834-1899’, *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, Vol. 108 (1995), pp. 175-187; Acaster, J., ‘The Composition of Masonic Membership in Manchester and Salford during the period of early Industrialisation before 1814’ in: Önnersfors, A. and Péter, R. (eds.), *Researching British Freemasonry 1717-2017* (Sheffield: 2010), pp. 41-55; Harrison, D. and Belton, J., ‘Society in Flux: the Emergence and rise of Middle Class Civil Society in Nineteenth Century Industrial North-west England’, in: Önnersfors, A. and Péter, R. (eds.), *Researching British Freemasonry 1717-2017* (Sheffield: 2010), pp. 71-97.

³ Berman, R., *The Foundations of Modern Freemasonry: The Grand Architects and the Scientific Enlightenment 1714-1740*, (Brighton: 2012).

⁴ Burt, R., “Wherever dispersed” – The Travelling Mason in the Nineteenth Century’, *REHMLAC*, Vol. 10(1) (2018), pp. 1-34; Burt, R., *Miners, Mariners and Masons: The Global Network of Victorian Freemasonry* (Exeter: 2020); Mirala, P., *Freemasonry in Ulster, 1733-1813* (Dublin: 2007).

men to Freemasonry, but he does not perform detailed analysis of membership at lodge level. He examines aspects which impinge on the wider history of eighteenth-century Ireland, such as the split of lodge membership between Roman Catholics and Protestants, masonic involvement in radical politics and the role of the Orange Order.

This thesis is the first in which a micro-history of a county has been undertaken in response to Roberts's challenge. It examines the social and economic development of Worcestershire in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and contextualises the participation of freemasons, both within its economic growth, and mitigating the adverse social effects of the same. It seeks to be significant in several ways. Firstly, it addresses a number of research questions aimed at conceptualising Freemasonry and its social capital; determining who joined Freemasonry and their participation in Worcestershire's social and economic development; and evaluating the extent to which their membership of Freemasonry influenced the same. It also offers an insight into a methodology for studying the contribution of freemasons to the development of other areas of England. Although the research concentrates on Freemasonry in Worcestershire, it has produced research findings which have wider implications for the study of Freemasonry and the history of Worcestershire, generally. Finally, in conducting the research, areas have been identified where further research might be undertaken to deepen the perspective of this and future similar studies.

9.1 Research question findings

9.1.1 Research question 1

The first research question queries the extent to which Freemasonry's development between 1733 and 1850 was impacted by continuity and change. The history of Freemasonry in England has been widely debated for many years and various

interpretations have been advanced. They are all embryogenic in that they look for a starting point to which the contemporary form of Freemasonry can be linked.

Anderson's history in the *Book of Constitutions* links the Freemasonry of the early eighteenth century to the stonemasons' craft which, in turn, is linked to Adam and other biblical characters. This was not a history of Freemasonry, capable of validation by reference to people and events. It was a glorification of Freemasonry, designed to provide the new Moderns Grand Lodge with a past that demonstrated its importance in eighteenth-century society.

The 'Authentic School' also sought to establish a link with the mason craft. In this case it tried to establish the link through the existence of lodges. Stevenson makes a compelling case that freemasons' lodges in Scotland had close links to the lodges of craft masons.⁵ However, the stonemason's craft in England was organised differently from that in Scotland and, as demonstrated by Hamill, there is no evidence of stonemasons in England morphing into freemasons.

More recently, some historians have held that the starting point was linked to the formation of the Moderns Grand Lodge and the ideals of the Enlightenment. The logic underlying this interpretation is that those who established the Grand Lodge, and their associates in lodges with a similar elite membership, were predominantly of a Whig persuasion and attracted to the Enlightenment. *Ergo*, Freemasonry is rooted in the early eighteenth century and in the ideals of the Enlightenment.

When considering Herodotus's history of Greece E. H. Carr commented:

Our picture of Greece in the 5th century B.C. is defective not primarily because so many of the bits have been accidentally lost, but because it

⁵ Stevenson, D., *The Origins of Freemasonry* (Cambridge:1988).

is, by and large, the picture formed by a tiny group of people in the city of Athens.⁶

This criticism can also be levelled at the contention that Freemasonry started with the formation of the Moderns Grand Lodge. It has been argued in this thesis that such an interpretation is based on a methodology that is narrow in scope, both in terms of the period covered, and the social group involved in the establishment and early years of the Grand Lodge. In consequence, the Freemasonry identified is not representative of Freemasonry of the era. This study has demonstrated that, elsewhere in London and the provinces, lodges included members drawn from a much wider cross-section of society and, in the provinces, included Tory politicians. Research has also identified lodges that were unable to pay charity dues, which is indicative of a less wealthy membership, and lodges whose meetings did not include lectures on Enlightenment related topics. It has also been established that the Viscount Dudley and Ward, a Grand Master of the Moderns Grand Lodge, was a member of an 'elite' lodge and, also, a provincial lodge which had a much wider social base and was a lodge whose business did not include lectures on topics unrelated to Freemasonry and its ritual. Elliott and Daniels conclude that, because of local factors, provincial Freemasonry may have been very different from the Whig Newtonian character of London and the Grand Lodge.⁷ This thesis supports that conclusion and suggests that it can be widened, because there were lodges in London, which were likewise

⁶ Carr, E. H., *What is History?* cited in Carr, Helen, 'E. H. Carr and the Truth', *New Statesman*, May 10-May 16, 2019, pp. 48-49.

⁷ Elliott, P. and Daniels, S., 'The School of True, Useful and Universal science? Freemasonry, Natural Philosophy and Scientific Culture in Eighteenth-century England', p. 229.

very different from those frequented by individuals closely linked to the formation of the Grand Lodge.

Having highlighted the shortcomings inherent in the embryogenic approach, an alternative approach has been proposed; namely, that Freemasonry was a value-based organisation and a social institution which evolved over time in response to social and economic changes occurring in England. The constant throughout the period studied was the place of the *Old Charges*. Various copies existed but a theme common to all was guidance and instruction on how a man should lead his life. Prior to the Grand Lodges the evidence suggests that they formed part of meetings dedicated to 'making a mason'. With the formation of the Moderns Grand Lodge, Anderson drafted 'The Charges of a Free-Mason' which he stated were derived from various copies of the *Old Charges* and similar documents. Anderson's *Charges* laid out the values of Freemasonry and the personal qualities required of every man who joined Freemasonry in the period covered by this thesis. Their sole emphasis on the personal qualities of members differentiated Freemasonry from other societies of the era which, instead, had diverse objects including, *inter alia*, socialising, education, benevolence, politics, and philanthropy.

The late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were periods of significant economic and social change of which one was increased homosociality, as men looked to socialise outside the home environment. Over time the format evolved from informal dining by like-minded individuals, to meetings in fixed locations such as coffee-houses, culminating in Peter Clark's 'club culture' of formalised clubs with constitutions. The argument advanced in this thesis is that Freemasonry was part of this evolution, and it is by considering this evolution, and why men wanted to join the organisation, that an understanding can be gained of what Freemasonry constituted.

The Freemasonry of the late seventeenth-century, attended by Ashmole and described by Plot, coincided in time and format with other meetings of men who assembled for social purposes away from their homes. The description of the meetings of the Old Lodge at York in the early eighteenth century, as well as the satirical meetings described in the *Tatler* between 1709-1710, indicate that meetings of freemasons had become more formalised. Again, this format coincided with that of other clubs of the era which in 1714 'were increasingly regarded as a necessary component of public social activity, particularly in the big cities.'⁸

According to Clark, further formalisation of clubs became increasingly common in the early eighteenth century. Older societies such as the Royal Society Club formally adopted rules, and new societies were established with a constitution.⁹ The same period witnessed a growth of quasi-secret societies such as the Gregorians and the Gorgomons.¹⁰ It is argued that it is against this background that the formulation of, and later adoption by, the Moderns Grand Lodge of its *Book of Constitutions* in 1723, must be seen. With the creation of the Grand Lodge, occasional meetings to make masons were replaced by regular meetings in fixed locations, held on specific days of the week. The purpose of the meetings had widened and was not solely to initiate someone into Freemasonry. Eminent men were members, but most of the membership was drawn from other social classes and, as Freemasonry spread to the regions, membership reflected its local community.

In answering the first research question it has been argued that Freemasonry was a social institution which evolved over time in response to social and economic

⁸ Clark, P., *British Clubs and Societies*, pp. 68-69.

⁹ Clark, P., *British Clubs and Societies*, p. 71.

¹⁰ Clark, P., *British Clubs and Societies*, p. 76.

changes occurring in society. During its evolution, it changed from social gatherings restricted to 'eminent men' whose meetings revolved around 'making masons', to become an institution with a considerably wider social base whose meetings were not confined to making masons. Freemasonry thus answered a perceived need by men for social intercourse but, throughout this evolution there was a constant, namely what was expected of members as freemasons and how they interacted with society at large. It was a vision that is well encapsulated in the words of Joseph Addison: 'Men are thus knit together, by a love of society ... combined for their own improvement, or for the Good of others.'¹¹ This vision was originally set out in the *Old Charges* and then in *Anderson's Constitutions* and it was this emphasis on personal behaviour and values that differentiated it from other organisations.

9.1.2 Research question 2

The second research question is concerned with why men joined freemasonry. It is argued in this thesis that, to understand Freemasonry, it is necessary to know why men joined and remained a member, and that a major factor was the attraction of its social capital. Social capital is the benefit which an individual obtains from being a member of a social grouping. The desired benefit varies from individual to individual, and can take various forms from the intangible, such as friendship, to the tangible, as when a businessman uses connections to grow his business. At the heart of social capital are its bonding and bridging ties; the former bind like-minded people together, while the latter enable people to interact with others outside a bonded group. Social capital is an important element of all social groups because, if a group does not bring

¹¹ *Spectator*, No. 9, 10 March 1711.

benefits to an individual, it is unlikely that they will join, and if a group ceases to benefit members, it is unlikely that they will continue as members.

There was a multitude of social groupings in the eighteenth century alongside Freemasonry but, in the opinion of Clark: 'Freemasonry... was an object lesson in associational achievement during the eighteenth century.'¹² Much of this success lay in the strong bonding and bridging ties of Freemasonry's social capital. These ties remained constant throughout the period of the thesis, and it was this constancy which allowed Freemasonry to remain attractive, thus enabling different social groups to become represented in the membership as society and the economy evolved.

There are three elements to Freemasonry's social capital which differentiated it from other societies in the eighteenth century. Most clubs and societies had specified objects which brought like-minded individuals together, in membership. However, rather than confine itself to a specific social or philanthropic object, Freemasonry centred on the desirable characteristics expected of its members. The emphasis in the *Charges* on respectability and decency, combined with a membership known to include the aristocracy and gentry, marked Freemasonry out as a sought-after association of high quality. In consequence its social capital was considerably wider than that of societies with narrowly defined objects, which enabled it to appeal to a wider cross-section of the male population than other societies.

Politics, by definition, is divisive and in the eighteenth century there was also religious division, stemming from the multitude of different faith groups. These potential sources of conflict were addressed within the *Charges*. As regards religion, a deist approach enabled men of different faiths and denominations to unite in a

¹² Clark, P., *British Clubs and Societies*, p. 348.

common belief in the existence of a God, combined with the need to lead a life of honour and honesty. As regards politics, a similar lowest common denominator approach was followed, whereby freemasons committed to be 'peaceful subjects' and never to be involved in plots and conspiracies against the state. The 'festive board' acted as a unifying force as it brought together members drawn from different social backgrounds and occupations, and the practice of having visiting brethren to dine, further widened the social network. The inclusivity thus created enabled Freemasonry to appeal to those who wanted to cross the divides caused by politics, religion and social class.

The *Charges* contained an obligation to care for fellow Freemasons in distress. Other societies provided member benefits, commonly based on contributions made by the member. Freemasonry differed, because help was based on an assessment of need rather than what had been contributed and, in addition, help could be extended to freemasons who were not members of a particular lodge. This latter aspect was particularly valuable to freemasons who were new to an area and to masons who had to travel out of area, whether for family or business purposes. The overall approach recognised that anyone, irrespective of their station in society, could require assistance; in an era when state provision was limited, this philanthropic model would have been attractive, particularly to those who may have found the financial commitment of the contributory approach difficult to meet.

In addition to the three elements considered above, Freemasonry had other ties which may have appealed to men. Some may have been attracted by the mystique and the ritual. Others may have found its 'history' compelling, while yet others may have joined to be able to mix with others outside their religion or to be in the company of different social classes. The ties which appealed to each mason varied

according to his personal inclinations, and nothing has been identified to suggest that there was any general or common motive for joining.

Aubrey Newman contended that there is not much to be gained in any analysis of Freemasonry if it does not include consideration of why individuals joined the organisation.¹³ Men joined Freemasonry because of its social capital. It has been demonstrated that its attributes were sufficiently attractive for men to want to join and remain a member, and the social spread of the actual membership, as outlined in the tables of this thesis, is testament to its breadth and quality.

9.1.3 Research question 3

The third research question enquires: “In an era of relatively rigid divisions in society, to what extent was Freemasonry socially inclusive and religiously diverse?’ This study is the first to examine the social and religious composition of Freemasonry in a single English county over a prolonged period of years. The findings paint a comprehensive picture of who joined Freemasonry in Worcestershire between the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, together with trends in that membership, and comparisons with memberships in other areas of England.

Freemasonry in Worcestershire had a wide social base, representing both rural and urban occupations. Membership was not uniform across lodges because it was reflective of its local area and therefore the occupational and social profile varied across the county. However, all social classes were represented in the membership except the unskilled working class in industry and agriculture. In this regard Freemasonry was not unique, as it was common for societies of the period not to

¹³ Newman, A. ‘The Significance of the Provinces for Masonic Historians’, p. 2.

include the unskilled in their membership: indeed, as has been demonstrated, some societies were set up to improve the conditions of the working poor and destitute. The barriers to their entry are as likely to have been the cost of membership, work commitments and travel difficulties which prevented attendance at meetings, as class segregation. Later in the period, employee membership increased as employees who were not tied by work patterns started to appear in the membership, including commercial travellers, accountants and those in the public sector.

Membership was not static, and changes have been identified which reflect changes in the local and national economy. With the decline of the pewter industry in Bewdley and the worsted trade in Kidderminster, pewterers and those in the wool clothing industry ceased to be members of lodges in Bewdley and Kidderminster. Conversely, the growth of the carpet industry in Kidderminster saw weavers, spinners and similar trades appearing in the membership; likewise, the coming of the railways saw carriage makers and their employees appear in the records. Later in the period, as the service sector grew and changes occurred in the way in which goods were marketed and sold, membership saw large increases in the professions and commercial travellers. The period with the most dramatic change in the composition of the membership was the first half of the nineteenth century. Joiners from industry fell from 20.87% between 1814 and 1823 to 9.95% between 1841 and 1850; the dealing group likewise fell from 41% to 31.45%. These drops were matched by an increase in professionals from 22.30% to 45.97%. As a result, although Freemasonry remained widely based socially, the balance of the membership changed and, arguably, became more middle class.

Worcestershire Freemasonry had a wider social base and was more socially inclusive than comparators referred to in the study. Membership in the North-west

was less diverse throughout, with a higher incidence of the lower social classes, making it less representative of its region's population.¹⁴ Growth in professional memberships occurred earlier in Worcestershire than in the North-west of England. The reasons can only be speculated upon, but Worcestershire had a wider range of businesses represented in its lodges, which may have made lodge membership more attractive to the professions from a networking perspective. In the period of the Moderns Grand Lodge, London lodges were also less representative of the local population but, in their case, the membership was more middle and upper class. Despite changes in the social composition of the membership over the period studied, plurality of membership in Worcestershire continued to exist at lodge level, with no evidence of individual lodges being representative of a particular social grouping. In contrast, both Clark and Newman found elitism in several London lodges, including those meeting at the Bear and Harrow and at the Horn Tavern which included within their membership dignitaries such as Lords, MPs, and foreign ambassadors.¹⁵ In the north of England Clark found individual lodges which were representative of a particular social grouping but, in this instance, skewed towards the lower social classes.

Reflecting the population, Freemasonry in Worcestershire was overwhelmingly Anglican by faith. However, all Nonconformist denominations, with the exception of the Baptists, were represented together with adherents of the Jewish and Roman Catholic faiths. The absence of Baptists could stem from the fact that, as a faith

¹⁴ As with Worcestershire, the 'lowest social class', the unskilled in industry and agriculture, were excluded from membership.

¹⁵ Newman, A., 'Politics and Freemasonry in the Eighteenth Century', pp. 34-35; Clark, P., *British Clubs and Societies*, p. 323.

group, it had low representation in the county. Instances of members who were committed to their faith were found, including those who served as clerics and wardens in the Anglican Church, trustees of Nonconformist chapels and a secretary of a Jewish synagogue. Several of the Nonconformists were actively involved in the movement to abolish the payment of church rates by those who were not members of the Established Church. That the membership included men of such diverse faiths, some of whom outside Freemasonry were actively involved in their church affairs and religious politics, demonstrates that Freemasonry in Worcestershire was more religiously inclusive than society at large where there was little interaction between faith groups. Comparators for the religious composition of lodges are unavailable as the data required were not included in research conducted in London, the North-west and Wolverhampton.

Research Question three asks: “In an era of relatively rigid divisions in society, to what extent was Freemasonry socially inclusive and religiously diverse?’ According to Hall and McLennan, eighteenth-century England was a deeply divided society in a number of ways ‘as great distances of property, wealth, power, influence and rank separated the landed classes ... from the propertyless labouring poor’ and, in the opinion of Money, the ‘middling folk’ made their money ‘in the shadows’ and kept a low political profile.¹⁶ In similar vein, for most of the period under review, legislation embedded religious discrimination, so that adherents of faiths other than of the Established Church were unable to graduate from an English University or hold civic

¹⁶ Hall, S. and McLennan, G., ‘Custom and Law: Law and Crime as Historical Processes’ (Maidenhead: 1981), cited in McKay, P., ‘Class Relationships, Social Order, and the Law in Eighteenth-Century England’, *Police Studies* Vol. 11 (2), p. 92; Porter, R., *English Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London:1991), p.71.

office. The thesis has demonstrated that Freemasonry in Worcestershire was overwhelmingly drawn from the local population and, by including a wide range of social classes within the membership, it did not reflect the social divisions in that society. The contrast with society outside of Freemasonry is stark. At the extreme, in Evesham, the Baronet Sir William Rouse-Boughton sat in lodge and dined with the self-employed John Green, straw-bonnet maker; but every lodge had a co-mingling of social classes. Likewise, the research findings demonstrate that Freemasonry in Worcestershire had the capacity to bring men from different faith groups together. Its diversity of membership with no lodge, where religious records were available, exclusively of one faith group demonstrates that Freemasonry was more an accommodator of religious diversity than a reflector of the disunion existing in the community at large.

9.1.4 Research question 4

Research question 4 asks, 'In what ways did freemasons individually, and Freemasonry organisationally, contribute to the economic development of Worcestershire between 1733 and 1850?'

The enclosure acts of the period brought about better farming practices and improved livestock across the county which, in turn, led to increased agricultural production to feed the growing urban areas. In the North, enclosures brought improved access to the minerals located beneath the surface, the exploitation of which was a major component in the industrialisation of the area. To participate in the enclosures, it was necessary to have an interest in land and, therefore, masonic participation was restricted to those freemasons who were landowners. The most influential were the Viscounts Dudley and Ward whose enclosure of land on their estate helped to develop the industrial area which came to be known as the 'Black

Country'. Masonic participation included other landowners in the North, a surveyor in Harmonic Lodge who acted as a Commissioner for several enclosures in Worcestershire and neighbouring counties, and farmers and smaller landowners across the county. None of the last group have been identified as having played a significant role, but it is presumed that they benefited from improvements in livestock and farming practices.

Freemasons from across the county actively participated in the development of the region's transport infrastructure. In the North, the Viscounts Dudley and Ward and freemasons who were businessmen with a vested interest in an efficient transport infrastructure, were actively involved in its development. Some participated in financing and building turnpikes and, later, in constructing canals, while others were active in the day-to-day management of these projects, as trustees and managers. In the less industrialised South participation was more by way of investment for financial return.

With an infrastructure in place, entrepreneurs created businesses which met the demands of customers and provided employment in the region. Freemasons participated as proprietors in all the major industrial sectors within the county. Moreover, contemporary newspaper articles, directories, Royal Warrants, and patent registration identify freemasons who were pioneers and leaders in each of the sectors; details of these masons and their sectors are summarised in *Appendix 8*. As well as being involved in industry, freemasons participated in the support and service sectors. A significant number were in the legal profession rendering services both to landowners and businessmen, while bankers have been identified in three towns, including partners in the major banks of Worcester. Doctors, surgeons and chemists provided health care to the growing urban population while large numbers of

innkeepers and vintners provided opportunities to socialise, including Freemasonry itself, where they provided accommodation for its ceremonies and dining. The printed word features both in the North and the South with membership including newspaper proprietors, printers, writers, and stationers.

Membership reflected each lodge's local economy which led to geographical differences in the occupations represented. Due to its industrial base the North was weighted towards industry and the services supporting it. Lodges in the South had more 'gentlemen' and a higher incidence of the professions. Worcester was considered a genteel city and, although its membership included those from the porcelain and glove industries, it also had members from the 'arts sector' such as musicians, dancemasters, and artists as well as a significant number of vintners and wine merchants.

The methodology adopted for the research has made it possible to trace masonic involvement in all aspects of Worcestershire's economic development. Moreover, because the research is based on the economy of Worcestershire as a whole, as opposed to a single sector, it has been possible to identify the contribution of individual freemasons across sectors, such as John Pidcock who was an industrialist in both the glassmaking and iron forging sectors, but who also participated in infrastructure development by being involved in the building and managing of turnpikes and canals. In the south, J. B. Hyde was a solicitor who also invested, as a 'sleeping partner', in Worcester Porcelain and in *Berrow's Worcester Journal*. The approach adopted has also made possible identification of major players in a sector. Such as George Ensell in the glass industry who invented two processes which increased the size of plate glass, and enabled the production of thicker glass which, in turn, led to engraved glass. In the engineering sector Aaron Manby patented the

'oscillating engine' and a process to recycle slag to make bricks; developed a business which manufactured bridges and viaducts that were erected across the UK; and built the first sea-going metal-hulled ship.

Research undertaken has established that Freemasonry had features similar to those identified by researchers of business networks based on kinship and religion. Masons shared common values which engendered trust, and the festive board was a facilitator of information exchange and the making of new contacts, including with visitors from other lodges. The wide range of occupations found among freemasons was broader than that of networks based on kinship and religion, which made Freemasonry potentially a more effective bridging tie across different business sectors. The study has also provided examples of interactions between freemasons across a range of business transactions including equity investment, provision of credit, partnership, and teamworking among freemasons drawn from different lodges.

The question to be addressed is the extent to which membership of Freemasonry, as an organisation, facilitated these transactions. The counterfactual argument that the transactions would have happened without masonic involvement is rejected because, for it to be plausible, it is necessary not only to assume that masonic connections were purely coincidental, but also that they had no influence whatsoever upon how members interacted. Casson and Della Giusta observe that social networks, of which business networks are one form, consist of social capital which is an 'invisible structure' of high-trust relations between members, which supports intangible flows of information and knowledge. This invisibility and intangibility pose difficulties when assessing the precise level of influence a business network has on a specific business transaction. Moreover, the more informal the networking process – as is the case of Freemasonry - the more difficult it is to obtain objective evidence.

Throughout the period of the thesis the overwhelming majority of members were businessmen and, as an organisation, for most of the period Freemasonry had the widest representation of businesses in the county. A 'rational actor' is a person who, when a member of an organisation, uses all the benefits of that organisation because it is in their interests to do so. In all the examples of interactions given the members involved, benefited: from the lender who earned interest to the borrower who obtained his glass-cutting machine; from the Viscount who got his mines to the Commissioner who got paid in making the allocation.

The research evidence accumulated demonstrates that Freemasonry, as an organisation, possessed similar bridging and bonding ties to those identified by researchers into business networks based on religion and family ties. It is also the case that it has been demonstrated that the transactions between freemasons, given by way of example, have produced instrumental and intrinsic benefits to the participants. It can therefore be concluded that Freemasonry had the potential to operate as a business network which assisted freemasons in their businesses. However, direct correlation of the transactions outlined to membership of Freemasonry has proven not to be possible, partly because of the nebulous nature of the underlying social capital, and partly because of the absence of independent, supporting evidence.

9.1.5 Research question 5

The fifth research question asks: 'To what extent did the efforts of freemasons to alleviate deprivation and disadvantage in Worcestershire between 1733 and 1850 contribute to the civil society of that era?' Philanthropic activities are encompassed within the concept of civil society and the thesis has examined the contribution of freemasons in three settings: namely, help extended to fellow members through

mutual aid; lodge assistance to local communities; and individual masons acting in a personal capacity.

Relief of members by lodges and Grand Lodges was civil society in action because they were voluntary societies attempting to 'enrich lives' through the relief of poverty, sickness and like conditions. In the period researched other organisations in Worcestershire helped their members, such as annuity societies and friendly societies, and later, the affiliated orders of friendly societies. However, what distinguished Freemasonry was that, unlike the other associations, relief was not conditional on what the member had contributed, and neither was the kind of relief restricted by the terms of a governing document. This approach was more flexible and directed than the restrictive, contribution-based model and it ensured that relief was applied where it was needed most. It was not guaranteed, but the examples given show how knowledge of the personal circumstances of members resulted in the deserving being attended to and the undeserving refused relief.

Urbanisation and industrialisation challenged traditional approaches to philanthropy, which were designed to address issues stemming from a rural environment. In response, 'associational philanthropy' in the form of charitable societies addressed various needs of the less fortunate in society. Masonic lodges were enablers, which raised funds that were donated to these charitable organisations. As such lodges were 'associational philanthropists' which augmented funding previously provided in wills or by individual philanthropists. In Worcestershire grants made were concentrated in the localities of lodges, thereby demonstrating how local knowledge and experience played an important part in identifying causes to be supported. It is also argued that the diversity of lodge membership, in occupation and social class, resulted in lodges being more aware of the wants of the

locality than other organisations whose membership was restricted to one social class or religion.

Actions taken by lodges to relieve hardships faced by members and to fund the activities of local charitable associations to better their communities enabled freemasons to contribute to civil society. The methodologies were different. Assistance of fellow masons was direct and in the form of mutual aid, whereas help in the community was indirect, with third parties put in funds to relieve the less fortunate in society. Mutual aid of fellow members tended to be of low value as compared to funding of local community projects, which involved larger amounts. Shortcomings in, and missing records, together with the fact that lodges may not have recorded mutual aid at all because collections were given to the 'relieving officer' to distribute as he saw fit, pose difficulties in measuring levels of mutual aid and community aid. Between 1844 and 1850 Harmonic Lodge dispensed £46 0s 10d as mutual aid over forty-three occasions and in the same period it funded £134 5s over twenty-four occasions to seven different community organisations.¹⁷ While the numbers and values of the respective forms of aid cannot be meaningfully extrapolated across Worcestershire Freemasonry, they are a good pointer to the nature of the activities undertaken by Worcestershire lodges to better the position of fellow masons and local communities.

As well as contributing to civil society by participating in the activities of their lodges, several freemasons contributed to the betterment of their community in a personal capacity. The charitable activities of individual freemasons were wider than

¹⁷ Figures extracted from the Minutes of Meetings of Harmonic Lodge between 3 September 1844 and 5 November 1850.

those of lodges, reflecting their personal priorities and preferences. Moreover, those who participated in annuity societies and building societies can be viewed as part of the phenomenon identified by Prochaska: the middle-class providing relief to the middle-class. Although individual freemasons practised philanthropy across Worcestershire there was a difference between the North and the South. Because many charities had been established in the city of Worcester by the seventeenth century, much of masonic philanthropy in the South involved masons acting as trustees of existing charities. In comparison, because the towns in the North developed at a later stage, the emphasis was on founding charitable bodies to lessen the adverse effects of industrialisation and urbanisation.

Freemasons acting in a personal capacity contributed to civil society but assessing the extent to which membership of Freemasonry influenced their behaviour is complex. Sociologists are of the view that influences on an individual's charitable activities are societal in nature. Breeze concludes that a key criterion of any decision to donate is 'a charitable outlook' - a characteristic which is acquired over a number of years and is influenced by personal experiences and associations.¹⁸ By reference to the largest lodges in the North and South of the county, between 1814 and 1850, 8.4 and 10.4 per cent, respectively, of the membership were personally involved in philanthropic activities outside of Freemasonry. Because the social profile of freemasons in Worcestershire did not vary significantly between lodges, it is reasonable to view these levels of participation as being reflective of Freemasonry throughout Worcestershire. Moreover, because the lower social classes, those most likely to receive charitable assistance, were excluded from Freemasonry it is likely

¹⁸ Breeze, B. *How Donors Choose Charities*, p. 31.

that participation by individual freemasons in philanthropic activities was higher than in the population as a whole. Research by sociologists, and the levels of involvement of Worcestershire freemasons personally in charitable activities suggest that masonic membership may have influenced individual freemasons. However, in the absence of research into the precise relationship of masonic membership to personal philanthropy, it has not been possible to draw definitive conclusions on the extent of that influence. Accordingly, Jordan's view that the philanthropic motives of individuals 'remain buried deep in the recesses of our nature' holds true in this regard.

9.2 Wider implications of the findings

Although this study has focused on the contribution of freemasons to Worcestershire society, the sources consulted contain information which could have a bearing on research carried out by non-masonic historians. Freemasonry is well placed to provide information on local life which may be of interest to social and economic historians. The exploration of masonic activity in an area is easy to ascertain using the digitised version of *Lane's Masonic Records*. A searchable source, it includes information about lodges meeting in England and Wales from 1717 to contemporary times. It contains details of when the lodges were set up and the names of the various meeting places they used, together with the years that a lodge met in a particular place.

Minute books of lodges contain a wealth of information of potential interest to the social historian. They detail assistance given to relieve members which could be linked to local economic conditions; for example, the linkage between help to weavers and the timing of the weavers' strikes in Kidderminster. In addition, minute books and cash books show charities and local good causes selected for help which again can be linked to local conditions. Correspondence with Grand Lodges when

petitioning for help usually contains detailed and valuable information on matters such as the effects of industrial injuries and deaths on family life.

The economic historian could gather data from membership records held locally and in London on the effects of economic depressions, strikes and similar on membership numbers. The minutes recording arrears and exclusions for non-payment of subscriptions could provide a measure of the effects of economic downturns on local businesses. Much has been written about business networks, particularly those linked to families and religious groupings. This study has looked at the possibilities of networking offered by Freemasonry. The database at Appendix 4 contains the names and occupations of most of the freemasons in Worcestershire and this could be used as a reference point for the economic historian researching networks in Worcestershire, and, for any similar prosopographical exercise.

Peter Clark has provided many useful analytical tables on Freemasonry across England, but these are silent on the occupations of freemasons based in the Midlands. This thesis has, in part, remedied this gap by providing analyses of occupations in Worcestershire. In the main, Clark's analyses are based on data extracted from the registers held at the Museum of Freemasonry. This thesis has identified that these registers often differ from what is recorded locally, and they give no indication of the size of the businesses. Such shortcomings can only be remedied by obtaining data from locally held records, supported by reference to other evidence: for example, entries in local directories.

Roy Porter has asked: 'How much of the esoteric creed laid bare here is actually known to, let alone believed in by, your average plumber, publican or policeman

mason in Manchester?’¹⁹ Although the question was asked in the twentieth century, it is equally applicable to the eighteenth century when educational standards were considerably lower. In effect, it is a sub-question to the second research question ‘Why did men join Freemasonry?’ This thesis has lifted the mask from provincial Freemasonry by showing that men joined Freemasonry for a variety of reasons and that those who became members participated in the socio-economic development of Worcestershire. There has been a large volume of material produced by academics and historians linking Freemasonry to the Enlightenment, and it is argued in this study that this concentration on the Enlightenment link risks missing or understating the wider contribution of freemasons and Freemasonry to the social and economic development of England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Further detailed research in other counties of England, of the kind performed for this study, will help to better determine the place of Enlightenment thought within the membership generally; to identify the reasons why candidates joined the institution; and to measure the masonic contribution to an area’s social and economic development.

9.3 Pointers to further research

This study has provided a methodology to research masonic input into the social and economic development of a county in the English Midlands. Similar research in other counties could build on this research, and on that of academics such as Burt, to build a picture of how Freemasonry contributed to the economic development of individual counties and of England as a whole. Such research is hampered by the closure of the Centre for Research into Freemasonry and Fraternalism in 2010. Other

¹⁹ Porter, R. ‘How an Old Pals’ Act got DIY Religion’, article in the *Independent*, 16 August 1997.

organisations sponsor research into their historical activities and perhaps funding could be found within the various masonic bodies in England.

Research undertaken was unable to establish a conclusive link between the charitable ethos of Freemasonry and the philanthropic activities of freemasons acting in a personal capacity. Further research into this aspect would be helpful in determining whether men joining Freemasonry are predisposed to charitable activities or whether it is by mixing with fellow freemasons that they become more philanthropic in outlook.

Research has identified intra-masonic networking such as partnership, provision of finance, collaboration and even inter-family marriage. What has not been possible to research thoroughly, principally because of a lack of primary records, is the interaction between Freemasonry and other social networks. Berman and Burt in their writings were able to identify such linkages and for future research this aspect should be borne in mind so that any interaction with, for example, professional contacts, religious bodies or other fraternal bodies, can be identified and evaluated.

In the period considered by this thesis the position of religion in Freemasonry was arguably unique among societies of the time. Although difficulties, because of an absence of primary records, were encountered in researching religious affiliation, it has been possible to demonstrate the inclusivity of Freemasonry. However, further research across England into this aspect would help to build a picture as to how inclusive Freemasonry was in an era of religious division.

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APPENDIX 1: MASONIC LODGES IN WORCESTERSHIRE 1733-1850

Name	Number	Year	Grand Lodge	Town
The Talbot	119	1733	M	Stourbridge
Stonemasons Arms	60	1757	A	Worcester
The Wheatsheaf	107/181/136	1763	A	Bewdley
The Talbot [II]	154	1767	A	Stourbridge
The Raven	178	1772	A	Kidderminster
Hope	372/286/241/30 3	1775	M	Stourbridge
Harmonic	457/369/471/313/ 252	1784	M	Dudley
St John's	487	1786	M	Bromsgrove-Droitwich
Freedom	246/310	1788	A	Dudley
Worcester	574/483/526/349/ 280	1790	M	Worcester
Faithful	680/442	1816	UGLE	Kidderminster
Mercy & Truth	703/454	1818	UGLE	Evesham-Pershore
Hope & Charity	791/523/377	1824	UGLE	Kidderminster
Royal Standard	730/498	1844	UGLE	Kidderminster-Dudley
Semper Fidelis	772/527	1846	UGLE	Worcester
Clive/Vernon	819/560	1849	UGLE	Bromsgrove-Dudley
Stability	824/564	1849	UGLE	Stourbridge

Notes:

- (1) Grand Lodges allocated a unique number to each lodge. Over the years the numbers were reallocated leading to the renumbering visible in the table.
- (2) Initially lodges were referred to by the name of their meeting place (usually an inn). Later they bore a name as is the case for "Hope" onwards in the table.
- (3) A/M/UGLE = Antients/Moderns/United Grand Lodge of England.
- (4) Over their lifetime certain lodges changed the town in which they met.

(5) 'Year' relates to year of registration with a Grand Lodge.

APPENDIX 2: 18th and 19th CENTURY OCCUPATIONS

Brazier	Worker of brass
Capper	Cap maker
Chapman	Itinerant peddler of goods
Coal Bailiff	Foreman in a coal mine
Coal Master	Owner or lessee of a coalfield who works it and disposes of its produce
Cordwainer	Shoemaker
Currier	Person who dresses, colours and tans hides and makes them waterproof
Cutler	Person who makes, repairs and sells knives
Habit Maker	Maker of women's riding habits
Hatter (Milliner)	Maker of women's hats
Lime Bailiff	Foreman in lime mine/quarry
Limner	Illustrator/artist
Malster/maltster	Maker of malt for brewing
Mercer	Draper in mainly silks and velvets
Peruke Maker	Wigmaker
Pewterer	Manufacturer of pewter utensils
Skinner	Dealer in hides
Stay maker	Corset maker
Tanner	Person who converts skins/hides into leather
Turner	Person who turns wood on a lathe
Whitesmith	Worker in tin
Wool Stapler	Person who buys wool, grades it and sells to manufacturers/weavers

APPENDIX 3: SCHEME OF SOCIAL CLASSIFICATION BY OCCUPATION

A. Aristocracy

A1

Peers and their relatives

A2

Esquires

B. Industrial

B1

Ironmasters

B2

Coalmasters and chartermasters (“butties”)

B3

Merchants and factors of coal, iron, nails and timber

B4

Manufacturers in metal, glass and carpets including subcontractors.

B5

Other manufacturers

C. Dealing

C1

Retailers

C2

The drink trade including malsters, hotel keepers, wine merchants etc

C3

C3A Craftsmen such as builders, stonemasons, plumbers, saddlers, bootmakers, hatters, jewellers etc

C3B Service operators such carriers, coach proprietors, wharfingers etc

D. Professional/Commercial

D1 Upper

D1A Bankers

D1B Anglican clergy

D1C Lawyers, solicitors, attorneys and barristers

D1D Doctors, surgeons, chemists, vets and dentists

D1E Chief clerks to local government boards, the Bench, Inspectors of Taxes etc

D1F Accountants, actuaries and stockbrokers

D2 Lower

D2A Non-conformist ministers

D2B Newspaper editors

D2C Agents, brokers, factors and merchants not in **B3**

D2D Commercial travellers and salesmen

D2E Auctioneers, surveyors and architects

D2F Engineers

D2G Mine agents, works managers and mining bailiffs

E. Lesser White Collar

Clerks (including cashiers and bookkeepers etc) not in **D1E**, teachers, minor officials, undermanagers (excluding subcontractors)

F. Middle Class – unspecified

F1 Gentlemen

F2 'Private residents' and persons otherwise unidentifiable

G. Working Men

G1 Blue collar supervisors and skilled working men

G2 Semi-skilled and unskilled working men

H. Agricultural

H1 Farmers and hop growers

H2 Farm labourers

I. Other

Notes

- (1) The classification scheme is a variant of the functional categories included in 'Appendix 1- Social Classification – functional scheme' of Trainor, R. H., *Black Country Elites: The Exercise of Authority in an Industrialised Area, 1830-1900*, (Oxford:1993), with additional categories added to cater for occupations in south Worcestershire and to widen the industrial category to include industries other than those based on coal and iron.
- (2) The principal sources of determining an individual's classification are entries in masonic membership records, local directories, wills, obituaries in newspapers and Census Returns.
- (3) Where an individual had more than one occupation in their period of membership but remained in the same social classification the occupation at the date of joining a lodge has been retained. Where an individual is noted as having moved between social classes while a member, the highest classification has been used.

APPENDIX 4: WORCESTERSHIRE MASONIC DATABASE

MEMBERSHIPS OF WORCESTERSHIRE LODGES 1733-1850											
ID	Lodge	Number	Grand Lodge	Town	FirstName	Surname	Membership Date	Age	Occupation	Social class	Home Address
1	Stability	824	UGLE	Stourbridge	Charles	Curran	28/06/1849		Glass merchant	D2C	Birmingham
2	Stability	824	UGLE	Stourbridge	Robert	Martin	28/06/1849		Furnace Agent	D2C	
3	Stability	824	UGLE	Stourbridge	William	Pringle	28/06/1849				
4	Stability	824	UGLE	Stourbridge	William	Ford	28/06/1849		Inn Keeper	C2	Stourbridge
5	Stability	824	UGLE	Stourbridge	Edward	Peters	28/06/1849				Birmingham
6	Stability	824	UGLE	Stourbridge	William	Masefield	28/06/1849		Chandler	D2C	Dudley
7	Stability	824	UGLE	Stourbridge	Thomas	Rawlings	28/06/1849	44	Accountant	D1F	
8	Stability	824	UGLE	Stourbridge	Samuel Caldwell	Hassall	28/06/1849	36	Gentleman	F1	Stourbridge
9	Stability	824	UGLE	Stourbridge	Joseph	Aston	28/06/1849		Coalmaster	B2	Stourbridge
10	Stability	824	UGLE	Stourbridge	John	Weldon	28/06/1849				Birmingham
11	Stability	824	UGLE	Stourbridge	Thomas	Tennant	28/06/1849	35	Wine Merchant	C2	Stourbridge
12	Stability	824	UGLE	Stourbridge	Joseph	Heming	28/06/1849	46	Printer	B5	Stourbridge
13	Stability	824	UGLE	Stourbridge	William James	Crotch	28/06/1849	25	Chemist	D1D	Stourbridge
14	Stability	824	UGLE	Stourbridge	Henry	Hughes	28/06/1849	43	Ironmonger	B3	Stourbridge
15	Stability	824	UGLE	Stourbridge	John	Wall	23/01/1850	41	Brewer	C2	Stourbridge
16	Stability	824	UGLE	Stourbridge	William	Robinson	28/06/1849				Dudley
17	Stability	824	UGLE	Stourbridge	Abraham	Wolfe	28/06/1849				Birmingham
18	Stability	824	UGLE	Stourbridge	William	Bristow	16/04/1850	52	Rate Collector	E	Old Swinford
19	Stability	824	UGLE	Stourbridge	Edward	Perrins	16/04/1850	38	Nail Master	B3	Stourbridge
20	Stability	824	UGLE	Stourbridge	Henry	Burton	18/06/1850	35	Police Superintendent	D1E	Stourbridge
21	Stability	824	UGLE	Stourbridge	George	Bate	18/06/1850	27	Surveyor	D2E	Stourbridge
22	Stability	824	UGLE	Stourbridge	Thomas Massey	Harding	24/12/1850	24	Surgeon	D1D	Stourbridge
23	Stability	824	UGLE	Stourbridge	Edward	Smith	24/12/1850	39	Builder	C3A	Old Swinford
24	Stability	824	UGLE	Stourbridge	James Nesbitt	Evans	18/09/1849	37	Gentleman	F1	Donegal
25	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	William	Farr	27/05/1818	30	Surgeon	D1D	Evesham
26	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	John	Monk	27/05/1818	43	Hatter	C3A	Evesham
27	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	Thomas	Snepp	27/05/1818	31	Purser, RN	I	Cheltenham
28	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	Hugh	Ferry	27/05/1818	50	Sergeant Major	I	Evesham
29	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	George	Mathieson	27/05/1818				
30	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	John Emms	Lane	27/05/1818		Silversmith	B4	Evesham
31	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	Samuel	Dangerfield	27/05/1818	50	Gentleman	F1	Evesham
32	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	William Law	Phelps	03/06/1818	42	Attorney	D1C	Evesham
33	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	William	Loxley	03/06/1818	43	Attorney	D1C	Hampton
34	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	Thomas	Harris	03/06/1818	43	Inn Keeper	C2	Evesham
35	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	Henry	Baker	10/06/1818	37	Wine Merchant	C2	Pershore
36	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	George	Matthews	03/06/1818	40	Horse Dealer	D2C	Evesham
37	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	William	Bryan	10/06/1818	45	Attorney	D1C	Pershore
38	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	William Henry	Tugwood	10/06/1818	22	Gentleman	F1	Powick
39	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	Benjamin	Padgett	10/06/1818	35	Baker	C1	Bengeworth
40	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	John	Jarrett	10/06/1818	24	Upholsterer	C3A	Evesham
41	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	William	Rouse-Boughton	08/07/1818	29	Baronet	A1	Shropshire
42	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	John	Warner	29/07/1818	24	Jeweller	C3A	Evesham
43	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	Thomas	Pearm	29/07/1818	33	Grocer	C1	Evesham
44	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	Walter	Haynes	29/07/1818	32	surveyor of taxes	E	Bengeworth
45	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	Thomas	Jarrett	27/08/1818	25	Cabinet Maker	C3A	Evesham
46	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	George	Claret	27/08/1818	33	Printer	B5	Cheltenham
47	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	Samuel	Kinsey	30/09/1818	40	Attorney	D1C	Evesham
48	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	Benjamin	Workman	11/10/1818	22	Attorney	D1C	Pershore
49	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	William	Penney	02/12/1818	30	Inn Keeper	C2	Evesham
50	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	John	Bedenham	02/12/1818	32	Skinner	C3A	Bengeworth

MEMBERSHIPS OF WORCESTERSHIRE LODGES 1733-1850											
ID	Lodge	Number	Grand Lodge	Town	FirstName	Surname	Membership Date	Age	Occupation	Social class	Home Address
51	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	John	Green	02/12/1818	34	Straw Bonnet Maker	C3A	Evesham
52	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	William	Hopkins	02/12/1818	35	Whitesmith	C3A	Evesham
53	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	Thomas	Milton	30/12/1818	45	Coal Merchant	B3	Pershore
54	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	Samuel	Jordan	28/04/1819	35	Inn Keeper	C2	Cheltenham
55	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	Henry Groves	Percy	28/04/1819	40	Surgeon	D1D	Bengeworth
56	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	George	Taylor	20/05/1819	40	Inn Keeper	C2	Bengeworth
57	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	John	Shaw	20/05/1819	45	Vicar	D1B	Bengeworth
58	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	John	Hatch	20/05/1819	35	Gentleman	F1	Pershore
59	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	George	Leonard	20/05/1819	23	Mercer	C1	Evesham
60	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	Thomas	Sheaf	30/6/1819	40	Gentleman	F1	Offenham
61	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	Corbett	Holland	30/6/1819	27	Gentleman	F1	Crophome
62	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	William Henry	Goore	18/08/1819	22	Gentleman	F1	Pershore
63	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	James Wilkes	Maurice	18/08/1819	45	Captain	I	Plymouth Docks
64	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	William	Holmes	18/08/1819	30	Gentleman	F1	Hennington
65	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	Barry Edward	O'Meara	18/08/1819	40	Surgeon	D1D	London
66	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	Samuel	Dingley	29/09/1819	40	Gentleman	F1	Charlton
67	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	Henry	Wright	29/09/1819	27	Attomey	D1C	Evesham
68	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	John	Millsom	27/10/1819	36	Slater	C3A	Cheltenham
69	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	John	Leonard	24/11/1819	25	Gentleman	F1	Upper Canada
70	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	William	Hardy	24/11/1819	50	Inn Keeper	C2	Evesham
71	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	Charles	Kendrick	28/06/1820	31	Auctioneer	D2E	Winchcombe
72	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	William	Atkins	30/05/1821	45	Victualler	C2	Blockley
73	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	John	Morgan	24/04/1822	43	Parchment Maker	B5	Evesham
74	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	William	Workman	16/07/1822	27	Butcher	C1	Pershore
75	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	William	Tidmarsh	16/07/1822	35	Baker	C1	Pershore
76	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	Edward	Harley	27/12/1822	50	Joiner	C3A	Pershore
77	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	Joseph	Laughton	27/12/1822	27	Grocer	C1	Pershore
78	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	Henry	Melen	30/04/1823	26	Grocer	C1	Pershore
79	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	William	Trotman	27/04/1824	45	Victualler	C2	Evesham
80	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	Thomas	Bowen	14/07/1824	33	Victualler	C2	Pershore
81	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	William Palmer	Claridge	27/04/1824	25	Farmer	H	Birlingham
82	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	John	Chandler	14/07/1824	32	Grocer	C1	Eckington
83	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	William	Clemens	28/07/1827	28	Farmer	H	Birlingham
84	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	Robert	Smith	03/03/1826		Farmer	H	Wick
85	Mercy & Truth	703	UGLE	Evesham	John	Henderson	29/08/1827	31	Habit Maker	C3A	Pershore
86	St John's	487	M	Bromsgrove	William	Parkes	16/10/1786		Needle Merchant	B3	Bromsgrove
87	St John's	487	M	Bromsgrove	Richard	Wattell	16/10/1786	36	Attorney	D1C	Bromsgrove
88	St John's	487	M	Bromsgrove	Oliver	Williams	16/10/1786	34	Tanner	C3A	Bromsgrove
89	St John's	487	M	Bromsgrove	Edward	Green	25/10/1786	36	Factor	C3A	Bromsgrove
90	St John's	487	M	Bromsgrove	John	Cox	25/10/1786	37	Schoolmaster	E	Burcott
91	St John's	487	M	Bromsgrove	George	Healey	25/10/1786	35	Inn Keeper	C2	Bromsgrove
92	St John's	487	M	Bromsgrove	Joseph	Parkes	08/11/1876	21	Needlemaker	B4	Bromsgrove
93	St John's	487	M	Bromsgrove	Henry	Booth	13/12/1786	34	Baker	C1	Birmingham
94	St John's	487	M	Bromsgrove	John	Best	18/12/1786	38	Vicar	D1B	Bromsgrove
95	St John's	487	M	Bromsgrove	Abel	Williams	14/02/1787	33	Refiner	C1	Birmingham
96	St John's	487	M	Bromsgrove	Thomas	Weaver	11/04/1787	24	Victualler	C2	Worcester
97	St John's	487	M	Bromsgrove	Bartholomew	Fox	09/05/1787	24	Wine Merchant	C2	Gloucester
98	St John's	487	M	Bromsgrove	Edward	Kings	24/10/1787	26	Victualler	C2	Birmingham
99	St John's	487	M	Bromsgrove	William	Hope	14/11/1787	26	Brandy Merchant	C2	Bromsgrove
100	St John's	487	M	Bromsgrove	William	Jones	14/11/1787	38	Schoolmaster	E	Hanbury

MEMBERSHIPS OF WORCESTERSHIRE LODGES 1733-1850											
ID	Lodge	Number	Grand Lodge	Town	FirstName	Surname	Membership Date	Age	Occupation	Social class	Home Address
101	St John's	487	M	Bromsgrove	Joseph	Connard	05/01/1790	44	Needlemaker	B4	Stoke Prior
102	St John's	487	M	Bromsgrove	Joseph	Brookhouse	05/01/1790	52	Worsted Manufacturer	B5	Bromsgrove
103	St John's	487	M	Bromsgrove	Richard	Webster	10/02/1790	27	Hardware Merchant	B3	Bromsgrove
104	St John's	487	M	Bromsgrove	Jacob	Corbett	14/07/1790	38	Paper maker	B5	Dodderhill
105	St John's	487	M	Bromsgrove	Thomas	Green	10/05/1791	23	Cabinet maker	C3A	Bromsgrove
106	St John's	487	M	Bromsgrove	Samuel	Taylor	13/07/1791		Tanner	C3A	Droitwich
107	St John's	487	M	Bromsgrove	Charles	Pumfrey	23/11/1791		Brush Maker	B5	Droitwich
108	St John's	487	M	Bromsgrove	William	Taylor	14/12/1791	38	Husbandman	H	Bromsgrove
109	St John's	487	M	Bromsgrove	Joseph	Strickland	08/02/1792	38	Mercer	C1	Clifton up'n Teme
110	St John's	487	M	Bromsgrove	John	Amies	22/08/1792	25	Draper	C1	Birmingham
111	St John's	487	M	Bromsgrove	Thomas	Phillips	26/09/1792	28	Toymaker	B4	Birmingham
112	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	William	Welch	16/03/1757				
113	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	James	Ashare	16/03/1757				
114	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	James	Burnett	16/03/1757				
115	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	Thomas	Nash	16/03/1757				
116	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	Walter	Haynes	16/03/1757				
117	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	Robert	Morriss	16/03/1757				
118	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	Thomas	Freeman	16/03/1757				
119	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	John	Haynes	16/03/1757				
120	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	Thomas	Clay	16/03/1757				
121	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	Thomas	Ashton	16/03/1757				
122	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	John	Evans	16/03/1757				
123	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	Thomas	Laurence	16/03/1757				
124	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	William	Field	16/03/1757				
125	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	Robert	Hanway	16/03/1757				
126	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	Lewis	Barber	16/03/1757				
127	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	John	Herning	16/03/1757				
128	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	David	Rhodes	16/03/1757				
129	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	John	Stott	16/03/1757				
130	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	Thomas	Mills	16/03/1757				
131	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	George	Lingham	21/11/1757				
132	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	John	Stephens	21/11/1757				
133	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	Phillip	Miles	21/11/1757				
134	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	Thomas	Hill	21/11/1757				
135	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	Samuel	Corfield	21/11/1757				
136	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	William	Sutch	21/11/1757				
137	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	Benjamin	Price	21/11/1757				
138	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	Edward	Amis	21/11/1757				
139	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	Robert	Hancock	21/11/1757	26	Artist	I	Worcester
140	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	George	Campton	21/11/1757				
141	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	Joseph	Orton	21/11/1757				
142	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	Thomas	Griffiths	21/11/1757				
143	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	Edward	Abby	21/11/1757				
144	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	William	Jenkins	21/11/1757				
145	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	William	Baynham	21/11/1757				
146	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	William	Laurence	21/11/1757				
147	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	John	Cox	21/11/1757				
148	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	Thomas	Higgins	21/11/1757				
149	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	Thomas	Wood	21/11/1757				
150	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	Paul	Gueary	21/11/1757				

MEMBERSHIPS OF WORCESTERSHIRE LODGES 1733-1850											
ID	Lodge	Number	Grand Lodge	Town	FirstName	Surname	Membership Date	Age	Occupation	Social class	Home Address
151	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	Joseph	Bradley	10/11/1772		Mercer	C1	Kidderminster
152	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	Henry	Perrin	10/11/1772	29	Weaver Harness Maker	C3A	Kidderminster
153	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	James	Warner	10/11/1772				
154	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	Richard	Colley	31/12/1774	23	Mercer	C1	Kidderminster
155	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	Samuel	Wright	31/12/1774		Inn Keeper	C2	Kidderminster
156	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	Joseph	Pardoe	31/12/1774	27	Carpet Maker	B4	Kidderminster
157	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	John	Lowe	31/12/1774		Cordwainer	C3A	Kidderminster
158	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	William	Davies	31/12/1774		Plumber	C3A	Kidderminster
159	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	Thomas	Rouse	31/12/1774		Carpet Maker	B4	Kidderminster
160	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	Francis	Lister	31/12/1774		Chemist	D1D	London
161	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	John	Cole	31/12/1774		Carpenter	C3A	Kidderminster
162	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	John	Badger	31/12/1774	42	Surgeon	D1D	Chaddesley Corbett
163	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	Joseph	Hanbury	31/12/1774		Malster	C2	Kidderminster
164	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	William	Watson	31/12/1774		Silk Manufacturer	B5	Kidderminster
165	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	John	Yearsley	31/12/1774		Silk Manufacturer	B5	Kidderminster
166	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	John	Brown	01/05/1775		Stonemason	C3A	Kidderminster
167	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	Edward	Baynham	01/05/1775		Whitesmith	B4	Kidderminster
168	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	John	Newcomb	01/05/1775		Carpet Maker	B4	Kidderminster
169	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	Richard	Burford	01/05/1775		Staff Maker	C3A	Kidderminster
170	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	John	Clay	17/01/1790		Hat Maker	C3A	Kidderminster
171	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	John	Collins	17/01/1790		Carpet Maker	B4	Kidderminster
172	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	Benjamin	Bath	17/01/1790		Carpet Maker	B4	Kidderminster
173	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	John	Keyle	17/01/1790		Cabinet Maker	C3A	Kidderminster
174	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	Joseph	Payne	17/01/1790		Inn Keeper	C2	Kidderminster
175	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	Richard	Morris	17/01/1790		Ironmonger	B3	Kidderminster
176	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	Thomas	Mayer	17/01/1790		Carpenter	C3A	Kidderminster
177	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	Joseph	Pearson	17/01/1790		Surgeon	D1D	Kidderminster
178	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	Edmond	Walker	22/06/1791		Cordwainer	C3A	Kidderminster
179	Hope	372	M	Stourbridge	Daniel	Young	01/12/1764	39	Joiner	C3A	Stourbridge
180	Hope	372	M	Stourbridge	James	Ward	08/02/1775	49	Carpenter	C3A	Stourbridge
181	Hope	372	M	Stourbridge	John	Fletcher	08/02/1775	28	Peruke Maker	C3A	Stourbridge
182	Hope	372	M	Stourbridge	James	Dovey	07/03/1775	30	Glass cutter	B4	Stourbridge
183	Hope	372	M	Stourbridge	John	Brettell	28/04/1775	33	Builder	C3A	Stourbridge
184	Hope	372	M	Stourbridge	William	Jolly	01/08/1780	37	Inn Keeper	C2	Stourbridge
185	Hope	372	M	Stourbridge	Richard	Grosvenor	18/03/1782	33	Ropemaker	C3A	Stourbridge
186	Hope	372	M	Stourbridge	John	Whitaker	18/01/1783	37	Sadler	C3A	Stourbridge
187	Hope	372	M	Stourbridge	Samuel	Green	09/11/1777	37	Weaver	B4	Stourbridge
188	Hope	372	M	Stourbridge	Samuel	Hill	15/01/1781	24	Fishing Tackle Maker	B5	Stourbridge
189	Hope	372	M	Stourbridge	John	Homer	15/01/1781	38	Gentleman	F1	Bromley
190	Hope	372	M	Stourbridge	George	Ensell	19/02/1781	41	Glass Merchant	B4	Stourbridge
191	Hope	372	M	Stourbridge	Richard Russell	Witton	07/05/1783	22	Glass Merchant	B4	Stourbridge
192	Hope	372	M	Stourbridge	John	Witton	03/01/1785		Glass Merchant	B4	Stourbridge
193	Hope	372	M	Stourbridge	Paul	Matthews	17/01/1785		Baker	C1	Hagley
194	Hope	372	M	Stourbridge	Serjeant	Witton	31/01/1785	23	Glass Merchant	B4	Stourbridge
195	Hope	372	M	Stourbridge	Thomas	Wheeler	31/01/1785		Gentleman	F1	Stourbridge
196	Hope	372	M	Stourbridge	John	Bibby	27/12/1785		Excise Officer	E	Stourbridge
197	Hope	372	M	Stourbridge	John	Chambers	04/12/1786		Glass Merchant	D2C	Stourbridge
198	Hope	372	M	Stourbridge	Anthony	Downing	07/11/1787		Schoolmaster	E	Dudley
199	Hope	372	M	Stourbridge	Joseph	Edwards	10/01/1791	37	Builder	C3A	Stourbridge
200	Hope	372	M	Stourbridge	William Hazeland	Jenner	06/03/1792	26	Vicar	D1B	Stourbridge

MEMBERSHIPS OF WORCESTERSHIRE LODGES 1733-1850											
ID	Lodge	Number	Grand Lodge	Town	FirstName	Surname	Membership Date	Age	Occupation	Social class	Home Address
201	Hope	372	M	Stourbridge	Alexander	Wood	22/09/1792		Captain	I	Stourbridge
202	Hope	372	M	Stourbridge	James	Lowe	07/11/1792	23	Cordwainer	C3A	Stourbridge
203	Hope	372	M	Stourbridge	Thomas	Webb	01/01/1794	23	Baker	C1	Stourbridge
204	Hope	372	M	Stourbridge	William	Bullen	05/08/1794	26	Cordwainer	C3A	Envil
205	Hope	372	M	Stourbridge	John	Hardiman	27/12/1796	21	Plumber	C3A	Stourbridge
206	Hope	372	m	Stourbridge	Thomas	Jones	24/11/1797	28	Glover	B5	Stourbridge
207	Hope	372	M	Stourbridge	Joseph	Middleton	24/11/1797	41	Glazier vice maker	B4	Stourbridge
208	Hope	372	M	Stourbridge	William	Allan	04/12/1799	35	Tailor	C3A	Bewdley
209	Hope	372	M	Stourbridge	John	Lancaster	15/05/1800	40	Pewterer	B4	Bewdley
210	Hope	372	M	Stourbridge	John	Hodgson	16/05/1801	23	Chandler	C1	Stourbridge
211	Hope	372	M	Stourbridge	Benjamin	Thompson	02/10/1801	45	Attorney	D1C	Stourbridge
212	Hope	372	M	Stourbridge	John	Hanward	12/08/1802	26	Carpenter	C3A	Stourbridge
213	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Edward	Jessop	13/03/1788	41	Cooper	C3A	Dudley
214	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	James	Bourne	13/03/1788		Inn Keeper	C2	Dudley
215	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Joseph	Moore	13/03/1788		Horse Dealer	D2C	Dudley
216	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Richard	Parkes	13/03/1788		Baker	C1	Dudley
217	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	James	Mallen	13/03/1788	23	Lime Bailiff	D2G	Dudley
218	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Benjamin	Bate	13/03/1788	31	Bellows Maker	C3A	Dudley
219	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Joseph	Aston	13/03/1788		Inn Keeper	C2	Dudley
220	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Daniel	Fullard	13/03/1788		Mercer	C1	Dudley
221	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	William	Fullard	13/03/1788		Bookkeeper	E	Dudley
222	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	John	Benson	13/03/1788	32	Glass Cutter	B4	Dudley
223	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Richard	Powell	13/03/1788		Glazier	C3A	Dudley
224	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Joshua	Benson	13/03/1788		Dyer	B4	
225	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Edward	Guest	21/03/1788	21	Ironmonger	B3	Dudley
226	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	William	Butler	14/12/1774		Leather Cutter	C3A	Kidderminster
227	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	Richard	Cross	09/08/1775		Printer	B5	"Soujourner"
228	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	John	Woodward	17/10/1775		Inn Keeper	C2	Kidderminster
229	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	Francis	Severne	19/04/1776	27	Vicar	D1B	Abberley
230	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	John	Dickens	19/07/1777		Attorney	D1C	Kidderminster
231	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	Samuel	Good	17/08/1777		Town Crier	D1E	Kidderminster
232	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	William Burrell	Hayley	11/02/1778	22	Vicar	D1B	Bewdley
233	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	John	Baker	11/02/1778		Victualler	C2	Kidderminster
234	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	William	Griffin	11/02/1778		Wool Stapler	B4	Kidderminster
235	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	John	Piddock	11/02/1778		Miller	B5	Kidderminster
236	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	George	Gower	11/02/1778	17	Printer	B5	Kidderminster
237	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	Daniel	Price	21/04/1790		Carpet Weaver	B4	Kidderminster
238	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	Thomas	Burchley	30/08/1791		Tin Plate Worker	B4	Kidderminster
239	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	DH Alec	Mackay	12/03/1794		Lieutenant Royal British Dragoons	I	
240	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	Edward	Barnes	12/03/1794		Lieutenant General	I	Shropshire
241	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	William	Williams	12/03/1794		Ensign 1st Reg of Foot	I	
242	Raven	178	A	Kidderminster	John	Maxwell	14/12/1774	22	Surgeon	D1D	Kidderminster
243	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	William	Boyle	13/03/1788		Malster	C2	Dudley
244	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Stephen	Powell	13/03/1788		Glazier	C3A	Dudley
245	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	William	Underhill	21/03/1788	36	Coal Bailiff	D2G	Tipton
246	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	John	Jones	21/03/1788		Excise Officer	E	Dudley
247	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	John	Thompson	21/03/1788		Cordwainer	C3A	Dudley
248	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Benjamin	Bunn	21/03/1788		Wood Turner	C3A	Dudley
249	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Edward	Edwards	21/03/1788		Miner	D2G	Dudley
250	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	William	Storey	14/04/1788		Excise Officer	E	Dudley

MEMBERSHIPS OF WORCESTERSHIRE LODGES 1733-1850											
ID	Lodge	Number	Grand Lodge	Town	FirstName	Surname	Membership Date	Age	Occupation	Social class	Home Address
251	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	John	Jenkins	14/04/1788		Inn Keeper	C2	Dudley
252	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	William	Roberts	28/04/1788		Victualler	C2	Dudley
253	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	William	Cox	13/05/1788		Gentleman	F1	Sedgley
254	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Joseph	Bourne	13/05/1788		Chandler	C1	Dudley
255	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	William	Owen	13/05/1788		Excise Officer	E	Dudley
256	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Thomas	Rudge	06/06/1788		Gentleman	F1	Sedgley
257	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	John	Rogers	09/09/1788		Timber Merchant	B3	Wombourne
258	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Thomas	Danks	09/09/1788		Victualler	C2	Oldbury
259	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Joseph	Pearson	27/10/1788		Surgeon	D1D	West Bromwich
260	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	James	Fisher	08/12/1788		Hinge Maker	B4	Horsely Heath
261	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	John	Waldron	23/03/1789		Attorney	D1C	Sedgley
262	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Richard	Percival	14/06/1789		Cordwainer	C3A	Dudley
263	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	John	Johnson	27/02/1792	22	Coal Bailiff	D2G	Dudley
264	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Thomas	Bullock	13/03/1788		Supervisor of Excise	D1E	
265	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	John	Rowley	13/03/1788		Innkeeper	C2	
266	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	David	Rowland	13/03/1788		Innkeeper	C2	
267	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Thomas	Powell	27/08/1812				
268	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	John	Gwinnett	27/08/1812		Fishmonger	C1	
269	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Joseph	Round	27/08/1812		Inn Keeper	C2	Dudley
270	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Thomas	Taylor	27/08/1812				
271	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Joseph	Mottram	27/08/1812		Grocer	C1	Tipton
272	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Henry	Proctor	27/08/1812		Grocer	C1	Tipton
273	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Zachariah	Round	27/08/1812		Plasterer	C3A	Dudley
274	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Thomas	Cantrill	27/08/1812		Grocer	C1	Tipton
275	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	William	Hood	27/08/1812				
276	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Joseph	Haughton	27/08/1812		Inn Keeper	C2	Tipton
277	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Joseph	Horton	27/08/1812				
278	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Isaac	Perrings	27/08/1812				
279	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Moses	Smith	27/08/1812		Inn Keeper	C2	Tipton
280	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	William	Rastrick	27/08/1812		Engineering	B4	Tipton
281	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	William	Whitehouse	27/08/1812	22	Wharfinger	C3B	Dudley
282	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Humphrey	Timmins	27/08/1812				Dudley
283	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Nathaniel	Leadbetter	27/08/1812				
284	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	William	Mills	26/08/1813		Brazier	D2F	
285	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Isaac	Aston	26/08/1813		Inn Keeper	C2	Tipton
286	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	John	Penn	26/08/1813				
287	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Richard	Nicklin	26/08/1813				
288	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	John	Grey	26/08/1813				
289	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Simeon	Bissell	26/08/1813				
290	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Benjamin	Wellington	26/08/1813				
291	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Bate Phillips	Penn	26/08/1813	35	Chemist	D1D	Dudley
292	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	William	Guest	26/08/1813				
293	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	James	Marshall	26/08/1813				
294	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	James	Eglington	26/08/1813	26	Stone Mason	C3A	Dudley
295	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	James	Humstone	26/08/1813				
296	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Bryan	Ward	26/08/1813		Grocer	C1	Dudley
297	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Edward	Elliott	26/08/1813				
298	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Daniel	McNaughton	26/08/1813				
299	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	George	Holcroft	26/08/1813				
300	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	John	Powell	26/08/1813				

MEMBERSHIPS OF WORCESTERSHIRE LODGES 1733-1850											
ID	Lodge	Number	Grand Lodge	Town	FirstName	Surname	Membership Date	Age	Occupation	Social class	Home Address
301	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Edward	Aston	26/08/1813				
302	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Benjamin	Beachall	03/12/1813				
303	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Joseph	Freeman	30/12/1784				
304	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	William	Hickin	30/12/1784		Attorney	D1C	Dudley
305	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Henry	Griffin	30/12/1784				
306	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Richard	Parsons	30/12/1784				
307	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	William	Fellows	30/12/1784		Solicitor	D1C	Dudley
308	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	Hancox	31/10/1785		Inn Keeper	C2	Stafford
309	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	James	Brettell	31/10/1785		Cabinet Maker	C3A	Dudley
310	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	Hateley	31/10/1785		Gentleman	F1	Dudley
311	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Richard	Hawkes	31/10/1785		Fellmonger	C3A	Dudley
312	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Samuel	Bennitt	31/10/1785	29	Ironmonger	B3	Dudley
313	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Pynson Wilmott	Hodgetts	31/10/1785	27	Surgeon	D1D	Dudley
314	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Henry	Seager	30/08/1784	36	Glass Manufacturer	B4	Dudley
315	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	James	Sidaway	31/12/1786	24	Ironmonger	B3	Rowley Regis
316	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Thomas	Sidaway	31/12/1786	51	Ironmonger	B3	Rowley Regis
317	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	James	Jackson	31/12/1786		Malster	C2	Dudley
318	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Joseph	Hill	31/12/1786		Ironmonger	B3	Dudley
319	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Peter	Walker	31/12/1786		Mercer	C1	Dudley
320	Harmonic	457	m	Dudley	George	Jones	31/12/1786	50	Builder	C3A	Dudley
321	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	Taylor	31/12/1786		Iron Founder	B1	Bilston
322	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	James	Summerfield	31/12/1786		Painter	C3A	Bilston
323	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Joseph	Cotterell	31/12/1786	39	Mercer	C1	Walsall
324	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Samuel	Wyatt	31/12/1786		Gentleman	F1	Burton u' Trent
325	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	William	Green	31/12/1786		Gentleman	F1	Dudley
326	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Henry	Pitt	31/12/1786		Surgeon	D1D	Walsall
327	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	Heeley	31/12/1786	35	Attorney	D1C	Walsall
328	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Thomas	Burne	31/12/1786	55	Attorney	D1C	Himley
329	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Samuel	Hallen	30/06/1787	28	Ironmaster	B1	Wednesbury
330	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	Abbiss	30/06/1787		Malster	C2	Dudley
331	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Thomas	Cole	30/06/1787		Gentleman	F1	Dudley
332	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	James	Price	30/06/1787		Gentleman	F1	London
333	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Joseph	Homan	01/01/1788		Butcher	C1	Walsall
334	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Joseph	Biddell	01/01/1788		Inn Keeper	C2	Walsall
335	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	Hodgetts	30/08/1784	31	Vicar	D1B	Dudley
336	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Richard	Bunn	30/08/1784		Inn Keeper	C2	Dudley
337	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	Orr	30/08/1784		Mercer	C1	Dudley
338	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Thomas	Heartwell	30/08/1784				
339	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	William	Geast	30/08/1784		Glass Manufacturer	B4	Dudley
340	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	Green	30/08/1784				
341	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Peter	Ganseford	27/02/1789	22	Merchant	D2C	Dudley
342	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Thomas	Arnold	23/10/1789	29	Malster	C2	Bidstone
343	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Thomas	Smith	09/07/1790	33	Carrier	C3B	Worcester
344	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	Smith	23/07/1790	36	Attorney	D1C	Worcester
345	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	MackMillan	26/11/1790	54	Gentleman	F1	Rowley Regis
346	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Edward	Jessop	27/01/1791	44	Auctioneer	D2E	Dudley
347	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Thomas	Hodges	28/01/1791	24	Hop Merchant	C2	Worcester
348	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Gregory	Hickman	11/02/1791	25	Surgeon	D1D	Dudley
349	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	Fereday	26/08/1791	30	Stonemason	C3A	Sedgley
350	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Gilbert Read	Shaw	26/08/1791	39	Surgeon	D1D	Sedgley

MEMBERSHIPS OF WORCESTERSHIRE LODGES 1733-1850

ID	Lodge	Number	Grand Lodge	Town	FirstName	Surname	Membership Date	Age	Occupation	Social class	Home Address
351	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	William	Turton	23/09/1791	24	Malster	C2	Sedgley
352	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Edward	Darby	22/03/1792	28	Malster	C2	Rowley Regis
353	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	George	Styles	11/10/1792	24	Inn Keeper	C2	Dudley
354	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	William	West	11/10/1792	22	Gentleman	F1	Cooley
355	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	James	Coleman	25/10/1792	32	Limner	I	Birmingham
356	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	Daley	08/11/1792	36	Schoolmaster	E	Dudley
357	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Thomas	Webb	10/01/1793	43	Attorney	D1C	Birmingham
358	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	Moore	28/03/1793		Ironmonger	B3	Dudley
359	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Nicholas	Gafeney	11/04/1793		Whip Maker	C3A	Birmingham
360	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	Jackson	22/08/1793		Mercer	C1	Halesowen
361	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Joseph	Spurdle	12/09/1793		Inn Keeper	C2	Dudley
362	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	James	Smith	16/08/1794		Attorney	D1C	Walsall
363	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Edward	Woollatt	16/08/1794		Inn Keeper	C2	Walsall
364	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	Woollatt	24/08/1794		Malster	C2	Walsall
365	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	Ward	12/09/1794		Malster	C2	Walsall
366	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Evan David	Hopkins	10/09/1794		Quartermaster	I	11 Light Dragoon Gds
367	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Charles William	Bloxham	10/12/1796	32	Surgeon	D1D	Halesowen
368	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Humphry	Timmins	11/08/1797	26	Cordwainer	C3A	Dudley
369	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	William	Underhill	25/08/1795	43	Engineer	D2F	Halesowen
370	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	William	Wilde	10/01/1797	27	Haberdasher	C1	London
371	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	James	Hipkins	09/05/1797	30	Merchant	D2C	Birmingham
372	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	Moory	09/05/1797	38	Gentleman	F1	Packwood
373	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	William	Hardman	12/09/1797	33	Paper Maker	B5	Alvey
374	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	James	West	12/09/1797	40	Miller	B5	Alvey
375	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	William	Nicholls	13/09/1797	38	Inn Keeper	C2	Alvey
376	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Abraham	Godfrey	12/09/1797	30	Watch Maker	C3A	Kidderminster
377	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	James	Wheeler	12/09/1797	51	Farmer	H	Kidderminster
378	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	William	Wheeler	12/09/1797	31	Inn Keeper	C2	Wolverley
379	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John Partridge	Blakemore	08/05/1798	21	Nail Ironmonger	B3	West Bromwich
380	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	Fawcett	12/06/1798	40	Malster	C2	Kidderminster
381	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Edward	Guest	13/01/1798	31	Nail Ironmonger	B3	Dudley
382	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	James	Mallen	25/12/1798	33	Farmer	H	Dudley
383	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Richard	Powell	22/01/1799	33	Glazier	C3A	Dudley
384	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Charles	Cresswell	01/01/1799	30	Bankers Clerk	D1A	Dudley
385	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Francis	Downing	01/01/1799	25	Coal Agent	B3	Dudley
386	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Aaron	Manby	01/01/1799	23	Engineer	B1	Dudley
387	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	William	Brigg	08/04/1800	27	Mercer	C1	Dudley
388	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Timothy	Hill	08/04/1800	24			Dudley
389	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	William	Johnson	06/05/1800	21	Mercer	C1	Dudley
390	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Thomas	Sidaway Jnr	29/07/1800	28	Ironmonger	B3	Rowley Regis
391	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Samuel	Nock	01/01/1799		Nail Ironmonger	B3	Dudley
392	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Henry	Seager	30/08/1784	36	Glass manufacturer	B4	Dudley
393	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	Merry	31/12/1784		Farmer	H	Packwood
394	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Bryan	Ward	01/01/1814		Grocer	C1	Dudley
395	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	James	Eglington	01/01/1814		Stone mason	C3A	Dudley
396	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	Gwinnett	01/01/1814		Fishmonger	C1	
397	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Alex Brodie	Cochrane	01/01/1814	38	Engineer	B4	Dudley
398	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	William	Mills	01/01/1814		Brazier	B4	Dudley
399	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Bate Phillips	Penn	01/01/1814	36	Chemist	D1D	Dudley
400	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	James	Douglas	07/01/1828	32	Grocer	C1	Dudley

ID	Lodge	Number	Grand Lodge	Town	FirstName	Surname	Membership Date	Age	Occupation	Social class	Home Address
401	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	Shedden	07/01/1828	26	Draper	C1	Dudley
402	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	Thompson	01/01/1828		Spirit Merchant	C2	Stourbridge
403	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Gilbert	Drysdale	07/01/1828		Iron Founder	B1	Dudley
404	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Robert	Shedden	07/01/1828	32	Draper	C1	Dudley
405	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	George	Dale	07/01/1828	25	Grocer	C1	Dudley
406	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	Hope	07/01/1828		Draper	C1	Birmingham
407	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	George	Ravenscroft	01/04/1828	37	Jeweller	C3A	Dudley
408	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Thomas	Pearsall	01/04/1828	27	Law Clerk	D1C	Dudley
409	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Jesse	Wright	01/04/1828	35	Builder	C3A	Dudley
410	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	William	collins	01/04/1828	40	Inn Keeper	C2	Dudley
411	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	William	Robinson	06/08/1828	40	Cordwainer	C3A	Dudley
412	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Thomas	Eves	04/11/1828	36	Coach Proprietor	C3B	Dudley
413	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	James	Meek	03/03/1829		Butcher	C1	Stourbridge
414	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Thomas	Lewis	03/03/1829		Iron Founder	B1	Stourbridge
415	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	William	Johnson	03/02/1829		Mine Agent	D2G	Tipton
416	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Jonah	Child	06/06/1829	50	Artist	I	Dudley
417	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Eli	Shaw	18/07/1829	40	Clothier	C3A	Huddersfield
418	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	George	Miller	03/06/1830		Attorney	D1C	Dudley
419	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Thomas	Horton	03/06/1830		Stay Maker	C3A	Dudley
420	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Samuel	Gwinnett	03/06/1830		Schoolmaster	E	Dudley
421	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Abiathar	Hawkes	02/11/1830	40	Gentleman	F1	Kingswinford
422	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	James	Morris	02/11/1830	30	Druggist	D1D	Dudley
423	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John Atkins	Beckett	01/02/1831		Grocer	C1	Brierley Hill
424	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Joseph Milnes	Bloxham	01/03/1831	40	Surgeon	D1D	Halesowen
425	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	George	Montieth	05/04/1831	24	Surgeon	D1D	Delph
426	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	Eades	03/05/1831	37	Clay works	B5	Delph
427	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	Blyth	06/09/1831		Engineer	D2F	Tipton
428	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	William	Deeley	01/11/1831	40	Iron Founder	B1	Dudley
429	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	George	Monk	01/11/1831	44	Boat Builder	B5	Netherton
430	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Joshua	Harvey	01/05/1832	40	Iron Founder	B1	Dudley
431	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	Rann	01/05/1832	42	Printer	B5	Dudley
432	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	Mantle	18/12/1832	43	Inn Keeper	C2	Dudley
433	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	William	Smith	05/03/1833	25	Accountant	D1F	Dudley
434	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	Tyson	04/01/1834		Accountant	D1F	
435	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	Newbold	07/04/1835	33	Auctioneer	D2E	Dudley
436	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Henry	Hickman	02/02/1836	25	Chemist	D1D	Dudley
437	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	James	Griffin	02/02/1836	25	Cabinet maker	C3A	Dudley
438	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Thomas	Hanson	12/04/1836	27	Spirit Merchant	C2	Dudley
439	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Zephaniah	Guest	04/10/1836	24	Builder	C3A	Dudley
440	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	Gastree	07/02/1837	28	Agent	D2C	
441	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	William	Greathead	05/06/1838	39	Glass manufacturer	B4	Dudley
442	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	George	Marsh	04/09/1838		Factor	D2C	Dudley
443	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Joseph	Bytheway	03/04/1840	34	Butcher	C1	Dudley
444	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Alexander	Patterson	03/11/1840	47	Inn Keeper	C2	Dudley
445	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Joseph	Colombo	01/12/1840		Furniture Dealer	D2C	Dudley
446	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Thomas	Morris	02/03/1841		Tailor	C3A	Dudley
447	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	William	Smith	08/06/1841		Malster	C2	Dudley
448	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Brook	Smith	06/07/1841		Surveyor	D2E	Walsall
449	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Thomas	Rudd	17/08/1841		Clockmaker	C3A	Dudley
450	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	George	Bache	07/09/1841	33	Glasshouse clerk	E	Dudley
451	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	George	Stevenson	05/10/1841	32	Woollen Draper	C1	

MEMBERSHIPS OF WORCESTERSHIRE LODGES 1733-1850											
ID	Lodge	Number	Grand Lodge	Town	FirstName	Surname	Membership Date	Age	Occupation	Social class	Home Address
452	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Thomas Henry	Neracher	01/03/1842		Chemist	D1D	Dudley
453	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Thomas	Stevenson	01/03/1842	32	Tailor	C3A	
454	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Joseph	Pitchfork	05/04/1842	37	Schoolmaster	E	Dudley
455	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	Finch	05/04/1842	31	Tender Maker	B4	
456	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Henry	Purcell	07/06/1842		Laceman	C3A	
457	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	William	Masefield	05/07/1842	42	Chandler	D2C	
458	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Thomas	Payne	07/06/1842	30	Draper	C1	
459	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Levi	Plahto	07/06/1842		Jeweller	C3A	Birmingham
460	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	William	Bourne	22/06/1841	31	Architect	D2E	
461	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	William Castric	Davies	03/09/1833		Agent	D2C	
462	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	Cansick	06/04/1841	38	Innkeeper	C2	Dudley
463	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	William	Sheppard	06/04/1841		Wine and spirit merchant	C2	Dudley
464	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Charles	Lester	02/05/1843	22	Butcher	C1	Dudley
465	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	James	Worley	07/02/1843		Tailor	C3A	Dudley
466	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	Bateman	05/07/1842	32	Surveyor	D2E	Dudley
467	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Thomas Clarke	Roden	07/11/1843	25	Surgeon	D1D	Kidderminster
468	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Daniel	Jordan	07/02/1843		Ironmonger	B3	Dudley
469	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	Harper	05/12/1843		Grocer	C1	Dudley
470	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Henry	Cox	05/07/1842		Manager	D2G	Dudley
471	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Joseph	Moore	05/12/1843	40	Firebrick manufacturer	B5	Dudley
472	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	William Eagles	Johnson	02/04/1844	24	Surgeon	D1D	Dudley
473	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Benjamin Dudley	Wood	02/04/1844	33	Tobacconist	C1	Dudley
474	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	Aston	02/04/1844		Mine Bailiff	D2G	Dudley
475	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John Orme	Brettell	02/07/1844	39	Land Agent	D2G	Dudley
476	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	George	Bennett	06/08/1844		Coalmaster	B2	Wombourne
477	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	James	Cartwright	06/08/1844		Inn Keeper	C2	Dudley
478	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	Bolton	06/08/1844		Solicitor	D1C	Dudley
479	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Henry Money	Wainwright	07/04/1844	28	Solicitor	D1C	Dudley
480	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Henry	Knight	02/04/1844		Traveller	D2D	Dudley
481	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Thomas	Steedman	10/04/1844		Wine Merchant	C2	Dudley
482	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Rueben	Mantle	04/02/1845	21	Inn Keeper	C2	Dudley
483	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Edward Lowe	Cresswell	04/02/1845	38	Ironmaster	B1	Dudley
484	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Edward	Oakes	03/12/1844	28	Iron Merchant	B3	Dudley
485	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Samuel	Baker	06/01/1846		Draper	C1	Dudley
486	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Archibald	Turner	06/01/1846		Druggist	D1D	Dudley
487	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Charles John	Woolcott	01/09/1846	32	Civil engineer	D2F	Dudley
488	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Thomas	Lester	05/05/1846	56	Wine Merchant	C2	Dudley
489	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	George Henry	Deeley	09/06/1846	28	Pattern Maker	B4	Dudley
490	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	William Dixon	Badger	04/08/1846	27	Glass Manufacturer	B4	Rowley Regis
491	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Francis J	Bradshaw	04/09/1846	33	Vicar	D1B	Dudley
492	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	Bolton	01/03/1832				Dudley
493	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Matthew	Dennison	02/02/1847	32	Druggist	D1D	Dudley
494	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Edwin	Dudley	02/03/1847		Solicitor	D1C	Dudley
495	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Evan	Rees	10/04/1844		Hatter	C3A	Dudley
496	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Elliott	Hollier	06/04/1847	34	Druggist	D1D	Dudley
497	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Thomas	Smart	25/06/1847		Butcher	C1	Dudley
498	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Thomas	Bowman	06/07/1847		Draper	C1	Dudley
499	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	William	Wilkinson	05/10/1847	21	Anvil maker	B4	Dudley
500	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	William	Barnes	07/12/1847		Solicitor	D1C	Dudley

MEMBERSHIPS OF WORCESTERSHIRE LODGES 1733-1850											
ID	Lodge	Number	Grand Lodge	Town	FirstName	Surname	Membership Date	Age	Occupation	Social class	Home Address
501	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Richard	Light	07/12/1847		Grocer	C1	Dudley
502	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Robert	Martin	07/03/1848		Furnace Agent	D2C	Dudley
503	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	William	Smith	02/11/1847		Consulting Engineer	D2F	Dudley
504	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	Patterson	07/03/1848		Victualler	C2	Dudley
505	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Samuel	Painter	04/07/1848		Commercial Traveller	D2D	Birmingham
506	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Frederick	Deeley	05/10/1847		Iron Founder	B1	Tipton
507	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Joseph	Aston	05/09/1848		Coal Master	B2	Dudley
508	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	Beddard	05/10/1847		Commercial Traveller	D2D	Dudley
509	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Josiah Collins	Cook	06/12/1848		Ironmonger	B3	Dudley
510	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John	Renaud	06/12/1848	38	Glass Master	B4	Dudley
511	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Gilbert	Shaw	03/04/1849		Malster	C2	Dudley
512	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Isaac	Whitehouse	05/06/1849		Coal Master	B2	Cowley
513	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Thomas	Robinson	05/06/1849		Engineer	D2F	Dudley
514	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	John M	Maxted	05/11/1850	30	Bookseller	C1	Dudley
515	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Thomas	Homer	01/04/1828		Glass Cutter	B4	Dudley
516	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Charles Grant	Tidboald	03/05/1831	37	Gentleman	F1	Dudley
517	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	George	Burch	01/07/1834	44	Excise officer	E	
518	Harmonic	457	M	Dudley	Thomas	Hughes	12/04/1836		Beer Seller	C2	Dudley
519	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	Joseph	Oldham	27/09/1762	37	Paper Mill owner	B5	Ludlow
520	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	John	Bill	27/09/1762				
521	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	John	Cartwright	27/09/1762	39	Wholesale merchant	D2C	Bewdley
522	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	William	Bancks	09/08/1773	23	Pewterer	B4	Bewdley
523	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	William	Ford	09/08/1773				
524	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	John	Milner	09/08/1773		Whitesmith	B4	Bewdley
525	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	Jacob	Lea	09/08/1773		Mercer	C1	Bewdley
526	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	Herbert	Bury	09/08/1773	34	Gentleman	F1	Kidderminster
527	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	George	Clarke	09/08/1773	23	Attorney	D1C	Bewdley
528	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	John	Parry	09/08/1773				
529	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	Thomas	Payton	09/08/1773		Innkeeper	C2	Bewdley
530	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	John	Crump	09/08/1773		Cooper	C3A	Bewdley
531	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	Joseph	Wysam	09/08/1773				
532	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	Joseph	Baylis	09/08/1773				
533	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	Nathaniel	Payton	09/08/1773		Cabinet Maker	C3A	Bewdley
534	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	John	Ingram	09/08/1773	42	Pewterer	B4	Bewdley
535	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	John	Reynolds	09/08/1773				
536	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	Robert	Child	09/08/1773				
537	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	Richard	Jones	09/08/1773		Surgeon	D1D	Bewdley
538	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	James	Barrar	09/08/1773	30	Mercer	C1	Bewdley
539	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	Thomas	Pardoe	09/08/1773		Capper	C3A	Bewdley
540	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	John	Rowley	09/08/1773		Innkeeper	C2	Bewdley
541	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	Nathaniel	Milner	09/08/1773		Whitesmith	B4	Bewdley
542	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	David	Rowland	09/08/1773		Inn Keeper	C2	Bewdley
543	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	William	Beale	09/08/1773				
544	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	Thomas	Millward	09/08/1773				
545	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	Philip	Burton	20/09/1774				
546	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	James	Vobe	20/09/1774		Malster	C2	Bewdley
547	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	Richard	Evans	20/09/1774				
548	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	Thomas	Bullock	20/09/1774		Supervisor of Excise	D1E	
549	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	Charles	Brown	20/09/1774				
550	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	James	Briggs	20/09/1774				
551	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	Daniel	Brown	20/09/1774				
552	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	George	Perry	15/01/1782				
553	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	Samuel	Hayes	15/01/1782				
554	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	Thomas	Heynes	15/01/1782				
555	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	Joseph	Worrall	15/01/1782	33			
556	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	George	Skillbeck	15/01/1782				
557	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	John	Lewis	15/01/1782				
558	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	John	Harris	15/01/1782				
559	Wheatsheaf	107	A	Bewdley	Joseph	Parder	15/01/1782				
560	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	John	Simpson	04/04/1844		Timber Merchant	B3	Kidderminster

MEMBERSHIPS OF WORCESTERSHIRE LODGES 1733-1850											
ID	Lodge	Number	Grand Lodge	Town	FirstName	Surname	Membership Date	Age	Occupation	Social class	Home Address
561	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	Thomas Clarke	Roden	04/04/1844	26	Surgeon	D1D	Kidderminster
562	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	James Heaton	Heaton	04/04/1844	69	Textile Engineer	D2F	Ludlow
563	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	John Colerick	Colerick	04/04/1844		Harness Maker	C3A	Kidderminster
564	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	William Edward	Hassell	04/04/1844		Draper	C1	Cheltenham
565	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	John Brooks	Buckle	04/04/1844		Draper	C1	Kidderminster
566	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	William Roden	Roden	04/04/1844	29	Doctor	D1D	Kidderminster
567	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	Frederick Howard	Howard	12/06/1844	20	Professor of Music	I	Kidderminster
568	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	Thomas Howard	Howard	11/08/1844	27	Professor of Music	I	Kidderminster
569	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	John Saunders	Saunders	12/06/1844	25	Accountant	D1F	Cookley
570	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	William George	Hallen	12/06/1844	28	Solicitor	D1C	Kidderminster
571	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	Charles Lionel	Lucy	12/06/1844		Wine Merchant	C2	Kidderminster
572	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	Charles Henry	Saunders	12/06/1844	26	Surveyor	D2E	Kidderminster
573	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	Thomas Edward	Crane	12/06/1844		Commercial Traveller	D2D	Kidderminster
574	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	Montagu Alex	Alex	11/08/1844	29	Dentist	D1D	Cheltenham
575	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	William Smith	Smith	29/08/1844		Commercial Traveller	D2D	Wolverhampton
576	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	James Longmore	Wilkes	29/08/1844	35	Tailor	C3A	Worcester
577	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	Charles Eckersall	Eckersall	11/09/1844	47	Vicar	D1B	Worcester
578	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	Abraham Greenwood	Greenwood	11/12/1844	25	Printer	B5	Kidderminster
579	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	William Slade	Slade	13/02/1846	35	Boot Maker	C3A	Worcester
580	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	Edward Bryan	Bryan	28/10/1845	46	Dance Master	I	Newcastle
581	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	Joseph Yeates	Yeates	14/11/1845		Wine Merchant	C2	Kidderminster
582	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	Charles Gray	Gray	14/11/1845		Auctioneer	D2E	Dudley
583	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	John Talbot	Micklewright	09/01/1846	28	Clerk	D1B	Kidderminster
584	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	Alfred Granger	Granger	13/03/1846	24	Draper	C1	Kidderminster
585	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	John Perry	Perry	13/03/1846	36	Victualler	C2	Kidderminster
586	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	George Milne	Milne	05/01/1846	25	Commercial Traveller	D2D	London
587	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	Samuel Taylor	Taylor	13/11/1846	26	Musician	I	Kidderminster
588	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	George Lawley	Lawley	13/11/1846	31	Farmer	H	Kidderminster
589	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	Joseph W Boycot	Boycot	11/12/1846	38	Draper	C1	Kidderminster
590	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	William Humphries	Humphries	11/12/1846		Victualler	C2	Kidderminster
591	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	George Caswell	Caswell	11/12/1846		Accountant	D1F	Cookley
592	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	William Marshall	Marshall	08/01/1847	41	Music Professor	I	Kidderminster
593	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	Richard P Hunt	Hunt	08/01/1847		Hosier	C3A	Kidderminster
594	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	Benjamin Green	Green	08/01/1847		Draper	C1	Smethwick
595	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	William Palmer	Palmer	12/03/1847		Commercial Traveller	D2D	Kidderminster
596	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	Nicholas William	Hodges	14/05/1847	21	Auctioneer	D2E	Kidderminster
597	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	Thomas James	Knibbs	11/06/1847		Accountant	D1F	Stourport
598	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	Natal Cattanis	Cattanis	11/06/1847	31	Jeweller	C3A	Kidderminster
599	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	Thomas Hallen	Hallen	28/07/1847	55	Solicitor	D1C	Kidderminster
600	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	Augustus Tilden	Tilden	16/08/1847	42	Banker	D1A	Kidderminster
601	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	John Burrows	Burrows	15/09/1847		Gentleman	F1	Kidderminster
602	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	Joseph Price	Price	28/09/1847		Musician	C3A	Kidderminster
603	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	Edward Hughes	Hughes	01/11/1847		Commercial Traveller	D2D	London
604	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	Joseph Hewitt	Hewitt	10/11/1847		Surgeon	D1D	Kidderminster
605	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	Thomas Mark	Mark	08/12/1847	26	Stationer	C1	Kidderminster
606	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	Edward Hammond	Hammond	08/12/1847	21	Tailor	C3A	Kidderminster
607	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	EJ Corfield	Browne	15/12/1847	28	Solicitor	D1C	Kidderminster
608	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	Richard Godson	Godson	28/07/1847	50	MP	F2	London
609	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	John Hillman	Hillman	28/09/1847		Surgeon	D1D	Kidderminster
610	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	William Clewes	Clewes	18/07/1848		Inn Keeper	C2	Kidderminster
611	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	John Mountford	Mountford	25/12/1848		Commercial Traveller	D2D	London
612	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	William Hodgkinson	Hodgkinson	28/11/1848		Chemist	D1D	Kidderminster
613	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	Alexander McCorquodale	McCorquodale	13/11/1848		Commercial Traveller	D2D	Glasgow
614	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	William Willoughby	Douglas	08/11/1848	24	Vicar	D1B	Kidderminster
615	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	Edward Brine	Brine	08/11/1848	35	Vicar	D1B	Kidderminster
616	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	William Harvey	Fletcher	08/11/1848	34	Actuary	D1F	Kidderminster
617	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	Thomas Baker	Morrell	28/11/1848	33	Vicar	D1B	Kidderminster
618	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	Charles Cresswell	Cresswell	28/11/1848		Chemist	D1D	Kidderminster
619	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	George Hodgkinson	Hodgkinson	20/11/1848		Chemist	D1D	London
620	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	Edward Davis	Davis	12/12/1848		Surveyor	D2E	Kidderminster

MEMBERSHIPS OF WORCESTERSHIRE LODGES 1733-1850											
ID	Lodge	Number	Grand Lodge	Town	FirstName	Surname	Membership Date	Age	Occupation	Social class	Home Address
621	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	John	Best	08/01/1850	29	MP	F2	London
622	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	James	Heaton	13/03/1824	49	Engineer	D2F	Kidderminster
623	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Samuel	Gibson	13/03/1824	37	Wool Stapler	B4	Kidderminster
624	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	William	O'Brien	13/03/1824	26	Wool Comber	B4	Kidderminster
625	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	William	Parkinson	13/03/1824	42	Engineer	D2F	Kidderminster
626	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Michael	McCarthy	13/03/1824	54	Wool Comber	B4	Kidderminster
627	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	William	Regan	13/03/1824	30	Wool Stapler	B4	Kidderminster
628	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Richard	Erangey	13/03/1824	25	Wool Sorter	B4	Kidderminster
629	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Timothy	Madden	13/03/1824	26	Wool Comber	B4	Kidderminster
630	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Richard	Connell	13/03/1824	40	Wool Clothier	C1	Kidderminster
631	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	William	Butler	13/03/1824	42	Clothier	C1	Kidderminster
632	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	William	Smith	13/03/1824	34	Wool Comber	B4	Kidderminster
633	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Timothy	Delaney	13/03/1824	28	Wool Sorter	B4	Kidderminster
634	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Robert	Hutchinson	13/03/1824	30	Victualler	C2	Kidderminster
635	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Thomas	Meeton	13/03/1824	28	Wool Sorter	B4	Kidderminster
636	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Patrick	O'Leary	17/05/1824	22	Clothier	C1	Kidderminster
637	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	William	Sheppard	07/06/1824	26	Clothier	C1	Kidderminster
638	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Edward	Foxall	17/05/1824	30	Victualler	C2	Kidderminster
639	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	William	Grumbold	07/06/1824	22	Wool Comber	B4	Kidderminster
640	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Cornelius	Manning	07/05/1824	41	Signmaker	C3A	Kidderminster
641	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	William	Chappell	19/01/1824	33	Grocer	C1	Kidderminster
642	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Tobias	Archdekin	12/07/1824	24	Currier	C3A	Kidderminster
643	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Abraham	Canadim	12/07/1824	50	Victualler	C2	Kidderminster
644	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Moses	Milnes	06/12/1824	54	Wool Stapler	B4	Kidderminster
645	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Thomas	Evans	06/12/1824	49	Boot Maker	C3A	Kidderminster
646	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Samuel	Richards	22/03/1825	49	Wool Comber	B4	Kidderminster
647	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	John	Whitley	06/06/1825	47	Worsted Maker	B5	Kidderminster
648	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Thomas	Power	13/06/1825	23	Wool Comber	B4	Ireland
649	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Joseph Steward	Ryan	13/06/1825	32	Wool Comber	B4	Kidderminster
650	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	William	Stone	29/11/1825	38	Stocking Maker	C3A	Kidderminster
651	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	John	Castree	29/11/1825	45	Boot Maker	C3A	Kidderminster
652	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Michael	Toole	26/01/1826	30	Draper	C1	Stourport
653	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Edward	Davis	27/02/1826	48	Victualler	C2	Cheltenham
654	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	James	Douglas	13/11/1826	30	Grocer	C1	Dudley
655	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Michael	Hanibury	01/01/1827	27	Wool Comber	B4	Kidderminster
656	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Michael	McCann	05/02/1827	28	Draper	C1	Dudley
657	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Joseph	Bowyer	01/09/1827	50	Dyer	B4	Kidderminster
658	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	John	Simpson	04/02/1828	28	Builder	C3A	Worcester
659	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	John	Barnes	04/02/1828	42	Spinner	B4	Kidderminster
660	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	James	Tuck	25/08/1828	40	Clothier	C1	Kidderminster
661	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Samuel	Hunt	25/08/1828	31	Grocer	C1	Kidderminster
662	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Joseph	Allchurch	29/09/1828	60	Carpet Weaver	B4	Kidderminster
663	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Thomas	Routledge	24/10/1828	34	Currier	C3A	Kidderminster
664	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	John	Walters	24/10/1828	28	Currier	C3A	Kidderminster
665	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	C LLOYD	Browning	13/10/1829	28	Timber Merchant	B3	Wolverhampton
666	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	James	Barnes	08/12/1829	37	Spinner	B4	Kidderminster
667	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Andrew	O'Leary	05/01/1830	22	Accountant	D1F	Kidderminster
668	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	John	Long	27/04/1830	44	Baker	C1	Kidderminster
669	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Thomas	Chester	27/04/1830	32	Builder	C3A	Kidderminster
670	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	William	Harden	22/06/1830	30	Butcher	C1	Kidderminster
671	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	William	Morgan	22/06/1830	30	Coachman	C3B	Kidderminster
672	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	John	Coley	22/06/1830	32	Tin maker	B4	Kidderminster
673	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	William	Drew	20/07/1830	40	Boot Maker	C3A	Kidderminster
674	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Samuel	Heinton	26/09/1830	64	Boot Maker	C3A	Kidderminster
675	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Thomas	Albut	12/10/1830	27	Tailor	C3A	Kidderminster
676	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	John	Best	25/10/1831	37	Malster	C2	Kidderminster
677	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	John	Grover	07/05/1833		Victualler	C2	Kidderminster
678	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	John	Shuker	07/01/1835		Miller	B5	Kidderminster
679	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Henry	Jevons	07/01/1834	53	Weaver	B4	Kidderminster
680	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Edward	Harper	30/08/1836	35	Victualler	C2	Kidderminster

MEMBERSHIPS OF WORCESTERSHIRE LODGES 1733-1850											
ID	Lodge	Number	Grand Lodge	Town	FirstName	Surname	Membership Date	Age	Occupation	Social class	Home Address
681	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	George	Caswell	25/02/1837	25	Stationer	C1	Kidderminster
682	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Thomas	Price	27/03/1837		Whitesmith	B4	Kidderminster
683	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Leonard	Duncan	27/03/1837	60	Malster	C2	Kidderminster
684	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	John	Colerick	05/10/1841		Sadler	C3A	Kidderminster
685	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	John	Eades	02/11/1841	47	Fire Brick Maker	B5	Kidderminster
686	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Thomas	Toon	28/12/1841		Watch Maker	C3A	Kidderminster
687	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	William	Bergan	25/10/1842		Currier	C3A	Kidderminster
688	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	William	Bailey	18/04/1843				Kidderminster
689	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	George	Southall	20/12/1842		Boot maker	C3A	Kidderminster
690	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Richard Wallace	Smith	02/05/1843		Inn Keeper	C2	Kidderminster
691	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	William	Roden	16/05/1843	28	Physician	D1D	Kidderminster
692	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Thomas Edward	Crane	27/06/1843		Traveller	D2D	Kidderminster
693	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	George	Thompson	25/07/1843		Gentleman	F1	Kidderminster
694	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	John Brooks	Bucklee	27/06/1843		Draper	C1	Kidderminster
695	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	James	Heaton	27/06/1843		Newspaper owner	B5	Kidderminster
696	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Thomas	Taylor	30/06/1843	25	Surgeon	D1D	Kidderminster
697	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	William	Hassell	13/06/1843		Draper	C1	Kidderminster
698	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Charles	Collins	13/06/1843		Yam Merchant	D2C	Kidderminster
699	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Charles Lionel	Lucy	30/06/1843		Spirit Merchant	C2	Kidderminster
700	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Charles Henry	Saunders	12/09/1843		Bankers Clerk	D1A	Kidderminster
701	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Montagu	Alex	10/12/1843		Surgeon	D1D	Cheltenham
702	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Edward	Jordon	04/06/1844		Inn Keeper	C2	Kidderminster
703	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	William	Wagstaff	17/06/1844		Commercial Traveller	D2D	Doncaster
704	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Charles	Blowers	09/07/1844		Commercial Traveller	D2D	Kidderminster
705	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	William	Chillingworth	30/07/1844	64	Yeoman	A2	Kidderminster
706	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Francis	Walker	03/09/1844		Draper	C1	Bridgnorth
707	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Michael	Tomkinson	01/10/1844		Draper	C1	Briefley Hill
708	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Henry	Winter	28/10/1844		Ribbon Manufacturer	B5	Coventry
709	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Thomas	Payne	22/04/1846	40	Draper	C1	Dudley
710	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	John	Brette	16/12/1846		Surveyor	D2E	Dudley
711	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Nicholas	Hodges	08/10/1847	21	Auctioneer	D2E	Kidderminster
712	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Joseph	Yeates	08/10/1847		Inn Keeper	C2	Kidderminster
713	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Stephen	France	03/12/1847		Gardener	G1	Kidderminster
714	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Samuel	Ford	25/02/1848		Butcher	C1	Kidderminster
715	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Richard	Hunt	27/04/1848		Hosier	C3A	Kidderminster
716	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Herbert	Dutton	26/05/1848		Builder	C3A	Kidderminster
717	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	John	Skelding	27/10/1848		Grocer	C1	Kidderminster
718	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	William	Taylor	27/10/1848		Grocer	C1	Kidderminster
719	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Edward	Hammond	24/11/1848		Tailor	C3A	Kidderminster
720	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	John	Stone	23/02/1849		Bootmaker	C3A	Kidderminster
721	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Samuel	Preece	23/02/1849		Broker	D2C	Kidderminster
722	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Edward Francis	Johnson	23/03/1849		Gilder	C3A	Worcester
723	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Thomas	Baker	26/10/1849		Traveller	D2D	Worcester
724	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Joseph	Meeers	07/12/1849		Surgeon	D1D	Worcester
725	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	William H	Fletcher	29/12/1849	35	Banker	D1A	Kidderminster
726	Hope & Charity	791	UGLE	Kidderminster	Edward	Hammond	29/12/1849		Tailor	C3A	Kidderminster
727	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	Leonard	Duncan	30/12/1816	37	Mercer	C1	Kidderminster
728	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	Samuel	Gibson	30/12/1816	32	Wool Stapler	B4	Kidderminster
729	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	Hugh	McPherson	30/12/1816	36	Cabinet Maker	C3A	Kidderminster
730	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	Henry	Jevons	30/12/1816	35	Weaver	B4	Kidderminster
731	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	John	Breadney	30/12/1816	58	Inn Keeper	C2	Kidderminster
732	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	John	Gow	30/12/1816	36	Builder	C3A	Kidderminster
733	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	Joseph	Small	30/12/1816	33	Bookseller	C1	Kidderminster
734	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	James	Mills	30/12/1816	26	Printer	B5	Kidderminster
735	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	John Hartley	Hitchen	30/12/1816	27	Factor	D2C	Kidderminster
736	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	John	Shemmons	30/12/1816	27	Ironmonger	B3	Kidderminster
737	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	Thomas	Stanley	30/12/1816	28	Coal Merchant	B3	Kidderminster
738	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	Samuel	Partridge	27/01/1817	28	Grocer	C1	Kidderminster
739	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	Thomas	Skeats	27/01/1817	23	Bookbinder	C3A	Kidderminster
740	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	Bartholomew	Richards	27/01/1817	29	Tailor	C3A	Kidderminster

MEMBERSHIPS OF WORCESTERSHIRE LODGES 1733-1850											
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741	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	William	Osborne	01/04/1817	31	Tailor	C3A	Kidderminster
742	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	Thomas	Whitcomb	27/01/1817	24	Hatter	C3A	Kidderminster
743	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	Francis	Pitt	23/06/1817	28	Builder	C3A	Kidderminster
744	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	Thomas	Price	25/08/1817	27	Blacksmith	B5	Kidderminster
745	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	Robert	Holley	25/08/1817	38	Wool Comber	B4	Kidderminster
746	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	William Powell	Beard	22/12/1817	30	Sail Maker	C3A	Kidderminster
747	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	Samuel	Hill	22/12/1817		Draper	C1	Kidderminster
748	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	Stephen	Williams	17/01/1819	37	Bricklayer	C3A	Kidderminster
749	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	Thomas	Meeton	17/01/1819	24	Wool Sorter	B4	Kidderminster
750	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	Samuel	Keinton	08/03/1819	50	Cordwainer	C3A	Kidderminster
751	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	Richard	Allen	01/11/1819	36	Auctioneer	D2E	Stourport
752	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	James	Heaton	20/06/1820	45	Engineer	D2F	Kidderminster
753	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	William	Parkinson	20/06/1820	42	Engineer	D2F	Kidderminster
754	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	Charles	Shields	10/09/1821	31	Wool Comber	B4	Kidderminster
755	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	John	Maybury	10/09/1821	40	Wool Comber	B4	Kidderminster
756	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	Michael	McCarthy	10/09/1821	55	Wool Comber	B4	Kidderminster
757	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	William	O'Brien	08/10/1821	30	Wool Comber	B4	Kidderminster
758	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	Richard	Thomas	08/10/1821	38	Wool comb maker	B4	Kidderminster
759	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	William Henry	Regan	08/10/1821	30	Wool Comber	B4	Kidderminster
760	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	John	Evans	12/02/1822	37	Inn Keeper	C2	Kidderminster
761	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	Richard	Erangey	12/02/1822	26	Wool Comber	B4	Kidderminster
762	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	William	Tyther	06/05/1822	42	Inn Keeper	C2	Kidderminster
763	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	Joseph	Baylis	17/06/1822	27	Solicitor	D1C	Kidderminster
764	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	Timothy	Madden	06/05/1822	25	Wool Comber	B4	Kidderminster
765	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	William	Butter	01/07/1822	46	Wool Comber	B4	Bradford
766	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	Richard	Connell	01/07/1822	34	Wool Comber	B4	Kidderminster
767	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	William	Smith	12/08/1822	30	Wool Comber	B4	Kidderminster
768	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	William	Jones	29/07/1822	40	Builder	C3A	Kidderminster
769	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	William	Drew	13/04/1823	36	Boot Maker	C3A	Kidderminster
770	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	Timothy	Delaney	26/05/1823	28	Wool Sorter	B4	Kidderminster
771	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	Robert	Hutchinson	26/05/1823	30	Victualler	C2	Kidderminster
772	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	William	Hook	16/12/1823	34	Hairdresser	C3A	Kidderminster
773	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	Joseph	Barnett	27/12/1823	38	Excise Officer	E	Kidderminster
774	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	Thomas	Emery	27/12/1823	32	Attorney	D1C	Kidderminster
775	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	Adam	Dods	27/12/1823	45	Doctor	D1D	Worcester
776	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	James	Edwards	17/12/1823	28	Farmer	H	Chaddesley Corbett
777	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	Allen	Brookes	17/12/1823	44	Victualler	C2	Kidderminster
778	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	John	Ward	17/12/1823	27	Currier	C3A	Kidderminster
779	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	John	Edwards	10/03/1824	39	Victualler	C2	Kidderminster
780	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	John	Best	10/03/1824	30	Malster	C2	Kidderminster
781	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	Christopher	Twemlow	23/01/1817	35	Painter	C3A	Kidderminster
782	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	John	Coley	23/01/1817	27	Brazier	B4	Kidderminster
783	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	William	Taylor	25/11/1824	29	Carpenter	C3A	Kidderminster
784	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	Thomas	Jones	29/04/1826	33	Stonemason	C3A	Kidderminster
785	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	George	Ludlam	29/04/1826	40	Cutler	C3A	Alechurch
786	Harmonic	457	UGLE	Dudley	Roger W.	Hawkes	07/12/1830	48			Cheltenham
787	Clive	819	UGLE	Bromsgrove	Thomas William	Kinder	11/07/1849	32	Coach Builder	B5	Leicester
788	Clive	819	UGLE	Bromsgrove	Xavier	Paszkowicz	11/07/1849	35	Schoolmaster	D1B	Bromsgrove
789	Clive	819	UGLE	Bromsgrove	Richard William	Johnson	11/07/1849	29	Gentleman	F1	London
790	Clive	819	UGLE	Bromsgrove	Thomas Henry	Wheeler	11/07/1849	37	Auctioneer	D2E	Lower Wick
791	Clive	819	UGLE	Bromsgrove	William	Pettifor	11/07/1849		Coach Proprietor	C3B	Leicester
792	Clive	819	UGLE	Bromsgrove	William James	Windram	11/07/1849		Stove Maker	C3A	Leicester
793	Clive	819	UGLE	Bromsgrove	Arthur	Kinder	11/07/1849	24	Coach Builder	B5	Worcester
794	Clive	819	UGLE	Bromsgrove	Henry	Kinder	11/07/1849	21	Gentleman	F1	London
795	Clive	819	UGLE	Bromsgrove	Frederick I Louis	Wyatt	11/07/1849		Wine Merchant	C2	London
796	Clive	819	UGLE	Bromsgrove	Benjamin	Maund	11/07/1849	59	Bookseller	C1	Bromsgrove
797	Clive	819	UGLE	Bromsgrove	Thomas	Walklate	11/07/1849		Railwayman	I	Birmingham
798	Clive	819	UGLE	Bromsgrove	William	Emmott	11/07/1849	59	Captain	I	Tutnell Mount
799	Clive	819	UGLE	Bromsgrove	Edmund James	Wells	08/08/1849		Gentleman	F1	Sheffield
800	Clive	819	UGLE	Bromsgrove	Frederick John	Hornsby	12/09/1849	31	Gentleman	F1	Stoke Heath

MEMBERSHIPS OF WORCESTERSHIRE LODGES 1733-1850											
ID	Lodge	Number	Grand Lodge	Town	FirstName	Surname	Membership Date	Age	Occupation	Social class	Home Address
801	Clive	819	UGLE	Bromsgrove	Harcourt	Aldham	10/10/1849	40	Vicar	D1B	Stoke Prior
802	Clive	819	UGLE	Bromsgrove	Luke	Minshall	10/10/1849	53	Solicitor	D1C	Stoke Prior
803	Clive	819	UGLE	Bromsgrove	George Banastre	Pix	11/07/1849	24	Schoolmaster	E	Bromsgrove
804	Clive	819	UGLE	Bromsgrove	Thomas	Housman	11/07/1849	53	Vicar	D1B	Catshill
805	Clive	819	UGLE	Bromsgrove	George	Horton	27/02/1850		Surgeon	D1D	Bromsgrove
806	Clive	819	UGLE	Bromsgrove	William Thomas	Harris	26/06/1850	41	Gentleman	F1	Stoke Prior
807	Clive	819	UGLE	Bromsgrove	Edward	Watton	04/04/1849		Inn Keeper	C2	Bromsgrove
808	Clive	819	UGLE	Bromsgrove	William James	Law	02/01/1850		Gentleman	F1	London
809	Clive	819	UGLE	Bromsgrove	John	Moore	02/01/1850		Architect	D2E	London
810	Clive	819	UGLE	Bromsgrove	Charles	Cresswell	26/06/1850		Solicitor	D1C	Worcester
811	Clive	819	UGLE	Bromsgrove	William	Patchett	26/06/1850		Gentleman	F1	Shrewsbury
812	Clive	819	UGLE	Bromsgrove	Dudley	Parsons	08/08/1849		Railway Manager	I	Shrewsbury
813	Clive	819	UGLE	Bromsgrove	John Seager	Gundry	18/12/1850	43	Surgeon	D1D	London
814	Talbot II	154	A	Stourbridge	George	Ensell	01/01/1768	28	Glass manufacturer	B4	Stourbridge
815	Talbot II	154	A	Stourbridge	John	Maxwell	01/01/1774	22	Surgeon	D1D	Kidderminster
816	Talbot II	154	A	Stourbridge	Daniel	Mathews	01/01/1768				
817	Talbot II	154	A	Stourbridge	William	Bromley	01/01/1768				
818	Talbot II	154	A	Stourbridge	Daniel	Young	01/12/1764	28	Joiner	C3A	
819	Talbot II	154	A	Stourbridge	John	Whitaker	01/01/1770	24	Sadler	C3A	
820	Talbot II	154	A	Stourbridge	Edward	Alport	01/01/1768		Mercer and draper	C1	
821	Talbot II	154	A	Stourbridge	William	Watson	01/01/1768		Silk Manufacturer	B5	
822	Talbot II	154	A	Stourbridge	Thomas?	Rhodes	01/01/1768				
823	Talbot II	154	A	Stourbridge		Ireland	01/01/1768				
824	Talbot II	154	A	Stourbridge		Marsh	01/01/1768				
825	Talbot II	154	A	Stourbridge	Richard	Croft	01/01/1768		Ironmaster	B1	Stourbridge
826	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	William	Johnson	01/04/1817	27	Clerk	D1B	Kidderminster
827	Faithful	680	UGLE	Kidderminster	Isaac	Hitchen	01/04/1817	33	Factor	D2C	Kidderminster
828	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	James	Priddy	01/11/1790				
829	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	William	Shuck	01/11/1790		Glover	B5	Worcester
830	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Edward	Wilson	01/11/1790				
831	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Elcox	01/11/1790		Gentleman	F1	
832	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John Pearkes	Lavender	01/11/1790	18	Banker	D1A	Worcester
833	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Andrew	Dawes	01/11/1790		Ironmonger	B3	Worcester
834	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Thomas	Nanfan	01/11/1790	41	Glover	B5	worcester
835	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	William	Hughes	01/11/1790				
836	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Thomas	Redding	01/11/1790		Builder	C3A	Lowesmoor
837	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Thomas	Gale	01/11/1790	24	Solicitor	D1C	Droitwich
838	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Richard	Moseley	01/01/1791		Hop Merchant	C2	Worcester
839	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Thomas	Burrow	01/01/1791		Saddler	C3A	12 Mealcheapen St
840	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	James	Prosser	01/01/1791				
841	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Thomas	Watkins	01/01/1791		Carpet Manufacturer	B4	Worcester
842	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Parry	08/05/1797	24	Postmaster	E	
843	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Joseph	Hall	05/07/1797		Lieut Prov Cavalry	I	Worcester
844	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Thomas	Lees	30/08/1797		Wool Draper	C1	Worcester
845	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John Hammond	Smith	06/12/1797		Wool Draper	C1	Worcester
846	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Price	07/02/1798		Teacher of Languages	E	Worcester
847	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Francis	Hooper	07/02/1798	23	Malster	C2	Worcester
848	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Robert	Wicksteed	05/09/1798		Clothier	C1	London
849	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Bernard	Gapper	05/09/1798	33	Clothier	C1	Winsham
850	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Collier	20/12/1797		Druggist	D1D	Worcester

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ID	Lodge	Number	Grand Lodge	Town	FirstName	Surname	Membership Date	Age	Occupation	Social class	Home Address
851	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Joseph	Strickland	20/12/1797	43	Mercer	C1	Clifton upon Teme
852	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Joseph	Smith	31/07/1799	30	Hop Merchant	C2	Worcester
853	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Hammond	02/10/1799	28	Gentleman	F1	Worcester
854	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	James	Peltran	06/10/1799	30	Clothier	C1	Malmesbury
855	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Joseph	Hodges	06/10/1799	31	Liquor Merchant	C2	Worcester
856	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Samuel	Dangerfield	20/11/1799	31	Gentleman	F1	Kempsey
857	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Richard	Harris	09/10/1790		Victualler	C2	Worcester
858	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Moses	Leviston	09/10/1790	35	Qmaster Inniskilling Dragoon	I	
859	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Daniel Brookholding	Curwen	09/10/1790	23	Solicitor	D1C	Worcester
860	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Thomas	Smith	09/10/1790				
861	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Joseph	Dillon	09/10/1790	49	Gentleman	F1	Worcester
862	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Richard	Hill	09/10/1790				
863	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Barnesley	09/10/1790				
864	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Edward	Connop	09/10/1790		Tailor	C3A	Worcester
865	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Whitaker	09/10/1790		Inn Keeper	C2	Worcester
866	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Richard Mugg	Mence	01/01/1791		Barrister	D1C	Worcester
867	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Thomas	Heynes	01/01/1791	33	Vicar	D1B	Worcester
868	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Shuck	01/01/1791		Glover	B5	Worcester
869	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Westbury	01/01/1791				
870	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Thomas	Cookes	01/01/1791	56	Vicar	D1B	Worcester
871	Worcester	574	M	Worcester		Gwilym	01/01/1791		Captain	I	
872	Worcester	574	M	Worcester		Jefferson	01/01/1791				
873	Worcester	574	M	Worcester		Chipman	01/01/1791				
874	Worcester	574	M	Worcester		Parker	01/01/1791				
875	Worcester	574	M	Worcester		Hammond	01/01/1791				
876	Worcester	574	M	Worcester		Faring	01/01/1791				
877	Worcester	574	M	Worcester		Hodges	01/01/1791				
878	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	James	Hill	01/01/1791				
879	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Benjamin	Batty	01/01/1791		Councillor		Worcester
880	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Samuel ?	Wall	01/01/1791		Snuff Maker?		Worcester
881	Worcester	574	M	Worcester		Lingham Jnr	01/01/1791				
882	Worcester	574	M	Worcester		Nichols	01/01/1791		Vicar	D1B	
883	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Collingwood	01/01/1796	36	Surveyor	D2E	Worcester
884	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Higgins	01/01/1792				
885	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	James	Bishop	01/01/1792				
886	Worcester	574	M	Worcester		Scarratt	01/01/1792				
887	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	W	Fallows	01/01/1792				
888	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Smith	01/01/1792		Attorney	D1C	Worcester
889	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	William	Baty	18/12/1799	28	Vicar	D1B	
890	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	William	Thomson	29/12/1799	50	Gentleman	F1	Henwick
891	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Farrell	15/02/1800	28	Gentleman	F1	Wick
892	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John Theodore	Boecker	15/02/1800	26	Musician	I	
893	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Harry	Lowe	13/06/1800	28	Captain	I	
894	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Thomas B	Shepherd	02/07/1800	30	Music Teacher	E	Worcester
895	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	William R	Shirley	30/07/1800	26	Gentleman	F1	Kidderminster
896	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	George	30/07/1800	45	Merchant	D2C	Rushwick
897	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Samuel	Hayes	29/09/1800	49	Gentleman	F1	Worcester
898	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Thomas	Burrow	30/11/1800	35	Saddler	C3A	Worcester
899	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Jonathan	Hopkins	03/12/1800	35	Merchant	D2C	Worcester
900	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	William	Welles	03/12/1800	36	Attorney	D1C	Worcester

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901	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Thomas	Rackster	03/12/1800	40	Hop Merchant	C2	Worcester
902	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Thomas F	Buttery	03/12/1800		Portrait Painter	I	
903	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Benjamin	Pemberton	18/02/1801	39	Tanner	C3A	Worcester
904	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Samuel	Kentish	08/04/1801	24	Vicar	D1B	Worcester
905	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	James	Horsley	02/09/1801	33	Draper	C1	Worcester
906	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Bennett	07/10/1801	45	Glover	B5	Worcester
907	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Joseph	Shelton	07/10/1801	39	Gentleman	F1	Worcester
908	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John Port	Mann	07/10/1801	35	Malster	C2	Worcester
909	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Benjamin	Kent	21/10/1801	26	Merchant	D2C	Upton
910	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Thomas	Carden	04/11/1801	32	Woollen Draper	C1	Worcester
911	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Thomas	Hughes	18/11/1801	23	Bank Cashier	D1A	Worcester
912	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	James	Stokes	18/11/1801	36	Gentleman	F1	Malvern
913	Worcester	574	m	Worcester	John Rogers	Hunt	16/12/1801	30	Stationer	C1	Worcester
914	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Charles	Turner	28/12/1801	30	Lieutenant	I	Worcester
915	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	William	Smallpiece	28/12/1801	25	Gentleman	F1	Kidderminster
916	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Denis	Vernon	28/01/1802	26	Gentleman	F1	Tewkesbury
917	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Thomas	Vernon	03/02/1802	30	Gentleman	F1	Tewkesbury
918	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Allen	17/03/1802	25	Attorney	D1C	Worcester
919	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Benjamin	Fieldhouse	05/05/1802	45	Inn Keeper	C2	Worcester
920	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Pretty	Mann	05/05/1802	37	Surgeon	D1D	Witley
921	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	George	Hill	05/05/1802	24	Attorney	D1C	Worcester
922	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Page	02/06/1802	30	Hop Merchant	C2	Worcester
923	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Dillon	06/10/1802	49	Glover	B5	Worcester
924	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	George	Sheward	20/10/1802	38	Surgeon	D1D	Upton on Severn
925	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Philip	Nind	03/11/1802	28	Miller	B5	Hawford
926	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Davis	02/02/1803		Plasterer	C3A	Worcester
927	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Thomas E	Howells	16/11/1803	28	Hop Merchant	C2	Worcester
928	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Blacklock	02/11/1803	34	Accountant	D1F	Worcester
929	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Samuel	Wall	04/01/1804	30	Esquire	A2	Worcester
930	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	George	Handy	01/02/1804	28	Mercer	C1	Worcester
931	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	James	Churchill	21/03/1804	28	Herald Painter	I	Worcester
932	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	James	Knight	30/04/1804	25	Hop Merchant	C2	Worcester
933	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Joseph	Heath	06/02/1805	45	Yeoman	A2	Worcester
934	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Richard	Spillman	20/03/1805	25	Grocer	C1	Worcester
935	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Elias	Isaac	02/10/1805	25	Banker	D1A	Worcester
936	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Richard	Chambers	02/10/1805	30	Gentleman	F1	Rhydd
937	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	William	Farmer	06/11/1805	40	Gentleman	F1	Sturport on Teme
938	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Joseph H	Smith	02/10/1805	27	Merchant	D2C	Stourport
939	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John Severn	Ballard	04/12/1805	30	Grocer	C1	Worcester
940	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Hampton	07/11/1807	32	Esquire	A2	Beaumaris
941	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Dent	21/10/1807	30	Merchant	D2C	Worcester
942	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Farmer	01/02/1808		Glazier	C3A	Stourport
943	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Joseph	Green	01/02/1808		Gentleman	F1	Hanley
944	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	James	Chamberlain	01/02/1808	23	Chinaman	B5	Worcester
945	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	William Russell	Burrow	01/02/1808		Gentleman	F1	Worcester
946	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Louis Heret	D'Egville	01/03/1809	28	Gentleman	F1	Worcester
947	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Thomas	Spinney	12/04/1808	25	Druggist	D1D	Worcester
948	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	William	Kenge	06/09/1809	22	Gentleman	F1	Worcester
949	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Thomas Jones	Jackson	01/11/1809	22	Proctor	I	Worcester
950	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Chase Armstrong	Holl	01/11/1809	27	Printer	B5	Worcester

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ID	Lodge	Number	Grand Lodge	Town	FirstName	Surname	Membership Date	Age	Occupation	Social class	Home Address
951	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Thomas	Boulton	01/11/1809	44	Inn Keeper	C2	Worcester
952	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Samuel	Swan	07/02/1810	25	Bank clerk	D1A	Worcester
953	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Edward	Smith	07/02/1810		Hosier	C3A	Manchester
954	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	William Henry	Baker	07/02/1810		Liquor Merchant	C2	Pershore
955	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Adam	Dods	21/03/1810	30	Physician	D1D	Worcester
956	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John P	Kennett	25/06/1810				
957	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Benjamin	Williams	07/11/1810	35	Gentleman	F1	Worcester
958	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Thomas	Jenkin	01/01/1813				
959	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Robert	Haliburton	08/01/1813	25	Gentleman	F1	Worcester
960	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	George	Wainwright	07/07/1813	23	Glover	B5	Worcester
961	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John Emms	Lane	03/11/1813	28	Silversmith	B4	Evesham
962	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Pacey	03/11/1813				
963	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	George	Hill	03/11/1813		Solicitor	D1C	
964	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	A A	Hullah	03/11/1813				
965	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Thomas	Burrow	22/03/1815	25	Saddler	C3A	Worcester
966	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Richard Francis	Elmy	06/12/1815	30	Banker	D1A	Worcester
967	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Thomas Henry	Bund	01/01/1817	40	Gentleman	F1	Gt Malvern
968	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Charles Mawthill	Teame	05/03/1817	30	Dentist	D1D	Worcester
969	Worcester	574	m	Worcester	William	Hobbs	01/10/1817	42	Auctioneer	D2E	Worcester
970	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Thomas	Hughes	05/11/1817	33	Gentleman	F1	Cheltenham
971	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	William	Miles	29/12/1817	30	Draper	C1	Worcester
972	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Benjamin	Johnson	07/01/1818	60	Town Clerk	D1E	Leigh Sinton
973	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Archibald	Cameron	04/03/1818	30	Solicitor	D1C	Worcester
974	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	William	Smith	21/12/1818	23	Solicitor	D1C	Worcester
975	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Joseph	Savigny	06/01/1819	37	Gentleman	F1	Worcester
976	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Stephen	Godson	06/01/1819	25	Solicitor	D1C	Claines
977	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	William	Holl	06/01/1819	24	Gentleman	F1	Worcester
978	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Best	01/12/1819		Solicitor	D1C	Worcester
979	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	William	Godson	06/12/1820				
980	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Henry	Deighton	02/01/1822	27	Printer	B5	Worcester
981	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Henry	Hurst	20/02/1822		Grocer	C1	Worcester
982	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Comelius	Copner	24/04/1822	29	Vicar	D1B	Worcester
983	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Howell	24/04/1822		Malster	C2	Worcester
984	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	James	Lucy	24/04/1822		Joiner	C3A	Worcester
985	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Hall	19/12/1822	30	Ironmonger	B3	Worcester
986	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Thomas	France	12/02/1823	30	Attorney	D1C	Worcester
987	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Jones	27/03/1823	40	Inn Keeper	C2	Worcester
988	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Calvin	16/10/1823	40	Glover	B5	Worcester
989	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John Oxenford	Aveline	23/10/1823	40	Captain, Army	I	Worcester
990	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John Gordon	Cripps	07/12/1824	50	Wine Merchant	C2	Worcester
991	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	William	Manning	31/01/1825	34	Silversmith	B4	Worcester
992	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Russell	15/09/1825	26	Tobacco Pipe Maker	C3A	Worcester
993	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Samuel	Mamley	06/10/1825	34	Surveyor	D2E	Worcester
994	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Isaac	Jones	18/01/1827	46	Inn Keeper	C2	Worcester
995	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John Brooke	Hyde	05/02/1827	30	Solicitor	D1C	Worcester
996	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Henry	Stuart	05/02/1827	32	Wine Merchant	C2	Worcester
997	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Newton	04/01/1827	32	Gentleman	F1	Worcester
998	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	James	Edwards	20/11/1828	40	Gentleman	F1	Worcester
999	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	William	Stallard	15/03/1827	42	Wine Merchant	C2	Worcester
1000	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	William	Perrins	27/04/1827	34	Druggist	D1D	Worcester

MEMBERSHIPS OF WORCESTERSHIRE LODGES 1733-1850											
ID	Lodge	Number	Grand Lodge	Town	First Name	Surname	Membership Date	Age	Occupation	Social class	Home Address
1001	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Walter	Chamberlain	26/11/1827	29	China manufacturer	B5	Worcester
1002	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Frederick William	Hall	26/11/1827	25	Ironmonger	B3	Worcester
1003	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	George	Bentley	19/04/1827	30	Auctioneer	D2E	Worcester
1004	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Crisp	15/11/1827	45	Inn Keeper	C2	Worcester
1005	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Charles Gaspar	Edleman	17/09/1827	54	Vicar	D1B	Worcester
1006	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Joseph	Hall	06/12/1827	50	Gentleman	F1	Worcester
1007	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Lilly	04/10/1827	30	Gentleman	F1	Worcester
1008	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Thomas Ward	Swinbourne	21/01/1829	32	Gentleman	F1	Worcester
1009	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Thomas Cromwell	Gwinell	29/01/1829	30	Solicitor	D1C	Worcester
1010	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Henry	Hampton	04/04/1829		Vicar	D1B	
1011	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Frederick Dod	Stephenson	24/06/1829	32	Surgeon	D1D	Worcester
1012	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Jonathan	Green	03/12/1829	30	Solicitor	D1C	Worcester
1013	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Isaac	Pemberton	11/03/1830	40	Brush Maker	B5	Worcester
1014	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Richard Rowland	Garnston	14/04/1830	36	Wine Merchant	C2	Worcester
1015	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Garnston	05/01/1831	38	Hop Merchant	C2	Worcester
1016	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	William Samuel Price	Hughes	02/02/1831	30	Solicitor	D1C	Worcester
1017	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	James	Sayer	11/03/1831	38	Inn Keeper	C2	Worcester
1018	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Robert	Sanders	27/07/1831	28	Vicar	D1B	Broadwas
1019	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Thomas	Spooner	21/09/1831	30	Serving Brother	I	Worcester
1020	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Thomas	Cox	21/09/1831	50	Glover	B5	Worcester
1021	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Joseph	Smith	20/10/1831	45	Gentleman	F1	Worcester
1022	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	William Temple	Best	01/12/1831	50	Gentleman	F1	Worcester
1023	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	James	Parry	02/02/1832	36	Draper	C1	Worcester
1024	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	George Hill	Clifton	01/03/1832	24	Rector	D1B	Ripple
1025	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Charles	Bedford	21/03/1833	37	Solicitor	D1C	Worcester
1026	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Charles Henry	Day	21/03/1833	28	Architect	D2E	Worcester
1027	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Francis Augustus	Walters	21/03/1833	34	Tutor	E	Worcester
1028	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Harvey	Shelton	24/06/1834	34	Banker	D1A	Worcester
1029	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Thomas	Prosser	24/06/1834	35	Builder	C3A	Worcester
1030	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Evans	10/12/1835		Druggist	D1D	Worcester
1031	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John Luff	Freeland	01/11/1836		Inn Keeper	C2	Worcester
1032	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Redgrave	01/11/1836	34	Glove Manufacturer	B5	Worcester
1033	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Benjamin	Shepherd	01/11/1836		Surgeon	D1D	Worcester
1034	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	James	Davis	17/11/1836		Glover	B5	Worcester
1035	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Joseph	Roberts	17/11/1836		Glover	B5	Worcester
1036	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Joseph Bradley	Read	24/11/1836		Wine Merchant	C2	Worcester
1037	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Edward Leader	Williams	25/10/1836	34	Ironmonger	B3	Worcester
1038	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Henry Hammond	Shelton	25/10/1836	41	Gentleman	F1	Worcester
1039	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Richard Chambers	Herbert	20/04/1837		Surveyor	D2E	Worcester
1040	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Tymbs	26/10/1837		Solicitor	D1C	Worcester
1041	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Mills	21/12/1837		Architect	D2E	Worcester
1042	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Edward	Corles	29/09/1838	26	Solicitor	D1C	Worcester
1043	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John Philip	Smith	18/10/1838		Hop Merchant	C2	Worcester
1044	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Richard	Varden	20/12/1838		Architect	D2E	Worcester
1045	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	William	Barnes	19/06/1839		Wine Merchant	C2	Worcester
1046	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	George	Chamberlain	24/06/1839		Inn Keeper	C2	Worcester
1047	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Joseph	Firkins	21/11/1839	39	Glover	B5	Worcester
1048	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Harvey	Eginton	19/12/1839		Architect	D2E	Worcester
1049	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Joseph	Bennett	19/03/1840		Hosier	C3A	Worcester
1050	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Thomas Arundel	Venables	19/03/1840		Grocer	C1	Worcester

MEMBERSHIPS OF WORCESTERSHIRE LODGES 1733-1850											
ID	Lodge	Number	Grand Lodge	Town	FirstName	Surname	Membership Date	Age	Occupation	Social class	Home Address
1051	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Charles	Freame	19/03/1840		Upholsterer	C3A	Worcester
1052	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	James	Abell	16/04/1840		Grocer	C1	Worcester
1053	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	James	Knight	02/11/1840	27	Newspaper Proprietor	B5	Worcester
1054	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Joseph	Stephens	19/11/1840	33	Sculptor	I	Worcester
1055	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Robert	Rising	28/01/1841		Solicitor	D1C	Worcester
1056	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Varden	18/02/1841		Architect	D2E	Worcester
1057	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Joseph Charles	Shelton	18/02/1841	30	Surgeon	D1D	Worcester
1058	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Alexander Rawson	Lingard	25/02/1841		Surgeon	D1D	Worcester
1059	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Francis	Higgins	18/03/1841		Solicitor	D1C	Worcester
1060	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Henry James	Powell	18/11/1841		Wine Merchant	C2	Worcester
1061	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Thomas Henry	Wheeler	24/03/1842	30	Accountant	D1F	Worcester
1062	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Richard Reader	Harris	14/04/1842		Chief Constable	D1E	Worcester
1063	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	William	Webb	16/06/1842		Inn Keeper	C2	Worcester
1064	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	William Dolphin	Lingham	12/08/1842		Malster	C2	Worcester
1065	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	George Joseph	Sylvester	12/08/1842		Dentist	D1D	Worcester
1066	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Thomas W	Walsh	15/09/1842		Surgeon	D1D	Worcester
1067	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	William	Collison	15/09/1842		Brewer	C2	Worcester
1068	Worcester	574	m	Worcester	Henry Maddocks	Daniel	29/09/1842		Attorney	D1C	Worcester
1069	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Jones	29/09/1842		Attorney	D1C	Worcester
1070	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Samuel	Tombs	20/10/1842	29	Attorney	D1C	Droitwich
1071	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	James	Robertson	10/11/1842		Dentist	D1D	Worcester
1072	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Edward Bookey	Penrice	20/10/1842	65	Gentleman	F1	Droitwich
1073	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Thomas	Holland	10/11/1842		Solicitor	D1C	Upton on Severn
1074	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Robert	Blayney	17/11/1842	24	Esquire	A2	Evesham
1075	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Miles M Beale	Cooper	17/11/1842		Solicitor	D1C	Upton on Severn
1076	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Robert Tomkins	Rea	08/12/1842		Solicitor	D1C	Worcester
1077	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Carter	19/01/1843		Farmer	H	Ledbury
1078	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Charles Morton R	Chamberlain	19/01/1843		Solicitor	D1C	Worcester
1079	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	George	Serry	09/03/1843		Carver	C3A	Worcester
1080	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Joseph	Webster	20/04/1843		Vicar	D1B	Hindlip
1081	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Adlington	16/11/1843	44	Vicar	D1B	Claines
1082	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Alfred	Hooper	14/12/1843		Solicitor	D1C	Worcester
1083	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Hilary	Hill	14/12/1843		Surgeon	D1D	Worcester
1084	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Benjamin	Stable	01/02/1843		Governor County Goal	D1E	Worcester
1085	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Thomas	Woodward	01/02/1843	42	Artist	I	Worcester
1086	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	William	Cortes	15/02/1844	27	Solicitor	D1C	Worcester
1087	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Charles	Evans	29/02/1844	26	Proctor	I	Worcester
1088	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Timothy	Spencer	08/02/1844		Tailor	C3A	Worcester
1089	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Christopher C W	Griffiths	29/02/1844		Silk Mercer	C1	Worcester
1090	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	William Lister	Isaac	25/06/1844	35	Rector	D1B	Pirton
1091	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Joseph	Lingham	25/06/1844		Ironmonger	B3	Worcester
1092	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Pumfrey	08/02/1844	44	Draper	C1	Droitwich
1093	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Tolley	29/03/1844	33	Gentleman	F1	Droitwich
1094	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Richard	Hadley	29/03/1844		Miller	B5	Leigh
1095	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	James	Landers	23/05/1844		Commercial Traveller	D2D	Worcester
1096	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Harvey Berrow	Hooper	16/10/1844		Barrister	D1C	Worcester
1097	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Alfred Charles	Marriott	21/10/1844		Brewer	C2	Worcester
1098	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	David Williams	Nash	27/03/1845		Bank clerk	D1A	Worcester
1099	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Charles	Eckersall	02/10/1845	48	Vicar	D1B	Worcester
1100	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Edmund	Thomas	16/10/1845		Solicitor	D1C	Worcester

MEMBERSHIPS OF WORCESTERSHIRE LODGES 1733-1850											
ID	Lodge	Number	Grand Lodge	Town	FirstName	Surname	Membership Date	Age	Occupation	Social class	Home Address
1101	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Charles	Bird	20/11/1845		Chemist	D1D	Worcester
1102	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	William	Woods	08/01/1846		Chemist	D1D	Worcester
1103	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Alfred	Barnett	08/01/1846		Inn Keeper	C2	Worcester
1104	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Hughes	14/01/1846		Leather merchant	D2C	Worcester
1105	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Richard	West	10/02/1846		Grocer	C1	Worcester
1106	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Henry Armel	Greene	10/02/1846	24	Vicar	D1B	Crowle
1107	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Edward W	Green	18/02/1846		Wine Merchant	C2	Worcester
1108	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John Wheeley	Bewington	19/03/1846	30	Leather merchant	D2C	Worcester
1109	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	John	Harding	19/03/1846		Grocer	C1	Worcester
1110	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Frederick Thomas	Elgie	21/01/1847	32	Solicitor	D1C	Worcester
1111	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Edward Morris	Sayce	21/01/1847		Civil Engineer	D2F	Kington
1112	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Herbert G.	Goldingham	21/01/1847	26	Solicitor	D1C	Worcester
1113	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	James John	Williams	18/02/1847		Grocer	C1	Worcester
1114	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Martin	Abell	18/02/1847		Accountant	D1F	Worcester
1115	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Charles Henry	Saunders	18/11/1847		Auctioneer	D2E	Worcester
1116	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Richard Price	Hill	18/11/1847		Solicitor	D1C	Worcester
1117	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	George	Sparkes	18/11/1847		China Dealer	D2C	Worcester
1118	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Edward Richard	Rowlands	20/01/1848		Solicitor	D1C	Worcester
1119	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	William Waldo	Cooper	02/03/1848	25	Vicar	D1B	Claines
1120	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	George	Perry	20/04/1848		Architect	D2E	Worcester
1121	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Henry Devey	Deighton	26/06/1848	23	Stationer	C1	Worcester
1122	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Henry George	Price	10/05/1848	30	Vicar	D1B	Cheltenham
1123	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Charles	Gassiot	18/01/1849	23	Wine Merchant	C2	Cheltenham
1124	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Thomas Shelden	Tearne	18/01/1849		Dentist	D1D	Cheltenham
1125	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Samuel	Purchas	19/04/1849		Civil Engineer	D2F	Worcester
1126	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	George	Hall	27/06/1849		Ironmonger	B3	Worcester
1127	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Edward Gresley	Stone	18/10/1849	43	Esquire	A2	Worcester
1128	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	William Henry	Lechmere	26/12/1849	24	Gentleman	F1	Tewkesbury
1129	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Richard	Smith	26/12/1849		Nurseryman	I	Worcester
1130	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Charles	Sheward	28/02/1850		Surgeon	D1D	Hanley Castle
1131	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Henry Charles	Vernon	23/05/1850	45	Esquire	A2	Wolverhampton
1132	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	Richard	Broad	21/11/1757				
1133	Stonemason's Arms	60	A	Worcester	Edward	Hitchen	21/11/1757				
1134	Talbot II	154	A	Stourbridge	John	Pidcock	01/01/1768	51	Glass Manufacturer	B4	Stourbridge
1135	Talbot II	154	A	Stourbridge	Thomas Orford	Downing	01/01/1768	24	Gentleman	F1	Wordsley
1136	Talbot II	154	A	Stourbridge	John	Downing	01/01/1768	23	Rector	D1B	Enville
1137	Talbot II	154	A	Stourbridge	John	Evans	01/01/1768		Surgeon	D1D	Stourbridge
1138	Talbot II	154	A	Stourbridge	William Blow	Collis	01/01/1768	46	Mercer and Draper	C1	Stourbridge
1139	Talbot II	154	A	Stourbridge	George	Collis	01/01/1768	27	Wine merchant	C2	Stourbridge
1140	Talbot II	154	A	Stourbridge		Thornes	01/01/1768				
1141	Freedom	246	A	Dudley	Alexander Brodie	Cochrane	21/03/1813	37	Engineer	B4	Dudley
1142	Worcester	574	M	Worcester	Edward	Burnidge	30/08/1797		Inn Keeper	C2	Worcester
1143	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Joseph	Bennett	04/07/1846	44	Hosier	C3A	Worcester
1144	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	James	MacMillan	04/07/1846	40	Gentleman	F1	Worcester
1145	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Frederick Nicolson	Gosling	04/07/1846	31	Newspaper owner	B5	Worcester
1146	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	James	Orwin	04/07/1846	35	Surgeon	D1D	Worcester
1147	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	William	Slade	04/07/1846	35	Boot Maker	C3A	Worcester
1148	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	James	Wilks	04/07/1846				
1149	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	William	Pullen	04/07/1846	41	Solicitor	D1C	Worcester
1150	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	George	Morgan	04/07/1846	53	Inn Keeper	C2	Worcester

ID	Lodge	Number	Grand Lodge	Town	FirstName	Surname	Membership Date	Age	Occupation	Social class	Home Address
1151	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	George	Burridge	07/09/1846	43	Inn Keeper	C2	Worcester
1152	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Thomas	Slade	07/09/1846	23	Boot Maker	C3A	Worcester
1153	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	John	Bowers	07/09/1846	40	Grocer	C1	Worcester
1154	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Thomas	Clutterbuck	07/09/1846	37	Solicitor	D1C	Worcester
1155	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Thomas Meredith	Hopkins	11/09/1846		Hop Merchant	C2	Worcester
1156	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Joseph	Roebuck	11/09/1846	36	Agent	D2C	Worcester
1157	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Walter	Cobley	21/09/1846	39	Coach Proprietor	C3B	Worcester
1158	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	William Henry	Maybury	05/10/1846	30	Commercial Traveller	D2D	
1159	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	George	Cox	21/09/1846	41	Merchant	D2C	Worcester
1160	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	John	Jeremy	05/10/1846	23	Inn Keeper	C2	Worcester
1161	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	James Robert	Evans	05/10/1846	23	Paper Manufacturer	B5	Birmingham
1162	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	William	Sanders	12/10/1846	27	Glove Maker	B5	Worcester
1163	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Henry	Grainger	12/10/1846	23	China Manufacturer	B5	Worcester
1164	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Edwin	Burridge	02/11/1846	40	Gentleman	F1	London
1165	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Henry	George	01/02/1847	31	Magistrates Clerk	D1E	
1166	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Samuel	Randall	15/03/1847		Chiropodist	D1D	Worcester
1167	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	John	Hickman	20/10/1846	25	Accountant	D1F	Worcester
1168	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Henry	Mansell	23/11/1847		Malster	C2	Worcester
1169	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	William Henry	Rogers	23/11/1846	34	Professor of Music	I	Worcester
1170	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Edward	Hopkins	23/11/1846	21	Hop Merchant	C2	Worcester
1171	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Henry	Smith	07/09/1846	29	Brush Manufacturer	B5	Worcester
1172	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	John	Stanley	07/12/1846		Printer	B5	Sidbury
1173	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Marcus	Smith	23/11/1846		Land Surveyor	D2E	Worcester
1174	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	John	Munton	25/01/1847	37	Solicitor's Clerk	D1C	Henwick
1175	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Edward	Giles	01/02/1847	39	Hop merchant	C2	Worcester
1176	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Henry	Lamb	01/03/1847		Farmer	H	Martley
1177	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Frederick	Simmons	18/01/1847	24	Chemist	D1D	Worcester
1178	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Lewis Anthony	Colander	18/01/1847		Chemist	D1D	Worcester
1179	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	George	Roe	25/01/1847	33	Commercial traveller	D2D	London
1180	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Frederick	Allies	01/02/1847	43	Tanner	C3A	Worcester
1181	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	William Bames	Hooper	05/04/1847		Commercial traveller	D2D	London
1182	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Joseph	Hopkins	02/08/1847		Hop Merchant	C2	Worcester
1183	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	William	Causar	02/08/1847		Glove manufacturer	B5	Worcester
1184	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Joshua	Bridges	02/08/1847		Inn Keeper	C2	Worcester
1185	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Joseph	Malpas	05/10/1847	32	Chemist	D1D	Worcester
1186	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	David	Jeremy	20/11/1847		Bank manager	D1A	Llandovey
1187	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Robert	Jones	01/12/1847		Engineer	D2F	Bath
1188	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Abel	Pointon	30/11/1847	44	Farmer	H	Claines
1189	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Thomas	West	07/12/1847		Wine Merchant	C2	Worcester
1190	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Joseph	Large	18/01/1847	38	Commercial Traveller	D2D	Leek
1191	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Thomas	Tomlinson	25/01/1847	43	Commercial Traveller	D2D	London
1192	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Thomas	Richards	28/06/1847		Engineer	D2F	Lowesmoor
1193	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Richard	Low	19/07/1847		Farmer	H	Spetchley
1194	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	William	Summerville	30/07/1847		Merchant	D2C	London
1195	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Charles Terry	Sparkes	02/08/1847		Commercial Traveller	D2D	London
1196	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Andrew	Middlemiss	25/08/1847		Iron Founder	B1	Manchester
1197	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Miles	Overend	04/10/1847		Superintendent of Police	D1E	Worcester
1198	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Edwin	Wigan	06/12/1847		Draper	C1	Worcester
1199	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Richard	Hobbs	02/02/1848		Auctioneer	D2E	Leicester
1200	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	James	Sayer	01/05/1848		Inn Keeper	C2	Worcester

MEMBERSHIPS OF WORCESTERSHIRE LODGES 1733-1850											
ID	Lodge	Number	Grand Lodge	Town	FirstName	Surname	Membership Date	Age	Occupation	Social class	Home Address
1201	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Alfred	Barnett	01/05/1848		Inn Keeper	C2	Worcester
1202	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	William	Bourne	01/05/1848		Plumber	C3A	Leicester
1203	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Thomas	Leonard	01/05/1848		Grocer	C1	Leicester
1204	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Jacob	Moses	01/05/1848	36	Outfitter	C3A	Leicester
1205	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Israel	Moses	01/05/1848	41	Outfitter	C3A	Leicester
1206	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Edmund A H	Lechmere	05/06/1848	22	Gentleman	F1	Great Malvern
1207	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	John Richardson	Harris	24/07/1848		Commercial Traveller	D2D	Birmingham
1208	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	John	Sanders	04/09/1848		Carrier	C3B	Worcester
1209	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Peter Apsley	Hodges	24/09/1848		Commercial Traveller	D2D	Bristol
1210	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	David Henry	Walsh	24/09/1848		Merchant	D2C	Bristol
1211	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Robert	Burnett	03/07/1848		Commercial Traveller	D2D	Bristol
1212	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	William	Trowbridge	04/12/1848		Commercial Traveller	D2D	Manchester
1213	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Maurice Benjamin	Solomons	04/12/1848		Optician	D1D	Cheltenham
1214	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Robert	Marshall	25/01/1850				London
1215	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Jabez	Jones	04/02/1850				Worcester
1216	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Thomas B	Cumpston	05/02/1849		Commercial Traveller	D2D	Leeds
1217	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	William	Baggot	01/01/1849		Commercial Traveller	D2D	Manchester
1218	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	James Hervey	D'Egville	01/01/1849	36	DanceMaster	I	Worcester
1219	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	George Grey	Byrne	05/02/1849		Barrister	D1C	Worcester
1220	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	John	Napper	02/07/1849				London
1221	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	John	Townsend	06/08/1849		Vicar	D1B	Martley
1222	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Charles	Wakefield	06/08/1849		Inn Keeper	C2	Droitwich
1223	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	W H	Sellers	05/02/1849				Bryhton
1224	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Richard John	Roberts	03/12/1849				Worcester
1225	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Thomas	Taplin	07/01/1850				Worcester
1226	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	William	Turner	04/03/1850				London
1227	Semper Fidelis	772	UGLE	Worcester	Thomas	Porter	02/05/1850				London
1228	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	Samuel	Brooks	11/06/1844		Inn Keeper	C2	Kidderminster
1229	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	John	Shemmons	12/06/1844	55	Ironmonger	B3	Kidderminster
1230	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	Henry Raper	Slade	10/07/1844	38	Vicar	D1B	Wolverhampton
1231	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	John Osbertus	Truman	10/07/1844		Tax Officer	E	London
1232	Royal Standard	730	UGLE	Kidderminster	Edward	Harper	28/10/1845	44	Wine Merchant	C2	Kidderminster
1233	Talbot II	154	A	Stourbridge	Thomas	Savage	01/01/1768	52	Inn Keeper	C2	Stourbridge

Notes

1. The Database shows all recorded memberships of lodges in the period and includes 64 dual memberships where a mason was a member of more than one lodge at the same time or consecutively.
2. Blanks indicate that it has not been possible to obtain the requisite information either in primary records or secondary sources consulted.

APPENDIX 5: GLOSSARY OF MASONIC TERMS

Antients Grand Lodge

'The Most Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons according to the Ancient Constitutions' (also known as the 'Antients' Grand Lodge), formed in 1751 in competition to the ***Moderns*** (see below).

Anderson's Constitutions

Anderson's Constitutions were the original guide for members of the Premier or Moderns Grand Lodge. Originally published in 1723, they were written by the Rev James Anderson and were organised in three sections – a history of masonry; a Charges section setting out the standards to be upheld by masons; and a Regulations section written by George Payne which relates to the operation of the Grand Lodge and other lodges (originally confined to those in and about London and Westminster). A second revised edition was published in 1738.

Festive Board

The festive board was an important part of any masonic meeting. Most meetings were held in taverns, and it was at that part of the meeting when the members could enjoy the social and networking sides of freemasonry by dining together.

Freemason/Freemasonry

The term originated in medieval England as an abbreviated form of 'freestone mason' - a skilled craftsman working in stone. Over the years the word has evolved to become a generic term referring to man and groups of men who meet in lodges and whose meetings have an initiatory tradition based on that of the stonemason craft and include ceremonies whereby the tools of the stonemason are incorporated within the ritual to symbolise the moral and other values to be adhered to by freemasons in

their everyday life. The terms are often shortened to 'mason' and 'masonry' and when used in this thesis they are synonymous.

Grand Lodge

The ruling body of freemasons in England. There were several, often competing, of which three are of relevance for this thesis, namely the ***Antients, Moderns*** and ***United Grand Lodges***.

Initiation/Initiated

A rite of passage marking a candidate's entry into Freemasonry. The occasion is known as an 'initiation ceremony' and the candidate is known as an 'initiate'.

Lodge

The basic organisational unit of Freemasonry; in the context of this thesis, each lodge was affiliated to one of the Grand Lodges. A lodge recognised as being a member of a Grand Lodge is described as a 'regular' lodge; a lodge not so recognised is called 'irregular'. A lodge would hold meetings, typically at inns and taverns where, *inter alia*, members were elected, officers elected or appointed, masonic ceremonies performed, lectures received, and the festive board held. The term lodge is also used to describe the building in which the meetings were held.

Moderns Grand Lodge

'The Grand Lodge of London and Westminster' and later known as the 'Grand Lodge of England' (also known as the 'Premier' or 'Moderns' Grand Lodge) formed in 1717.

Provincial Grand Lodge

The Moderns Grand Lodge and, later, UGLE divided England outside of London into 'Provinces'. For all intents and purposes these were the same as the county boundaries of the era before later boundary changes. Each Province had a Provincial

Grand Master appointed by the respective Grand Lodge. In the case of the Moderns the appointment was a *sine cure* conferring status on an individual mason. Initially, a similar approach was followed by UGLE but from the mid-nineteenth century onwards the Provincial Grand Masters assumed a more administrative role, having responsibility for the running and well-being of the Province.

Ritual

The formal ceremonies conducted at lodge meetings during which the moral and other values of Freemasonry are explained to the candidate.

The Old Charges

Manuscripts drafted by different authors between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries which detail the mythical legends about the stonemason craft and regulations ('charges') governing stonemasons. They are believed to have circulated among working stonemasons in England in the Middle Ages.

United Grand Lodge of England

'The United Grand Lodge of England' (also known as 'UGLE') was formed in 1813 from the merger of the Moderns and Antients Grand Lodges.

APPENDIX 6: HISTORY OF THE PROVINCIAL GRAND LODGE OF WORCESTERSHIRE

In the period covered by this thesis Worcestershire had two Provincial Grand Masters. The first was Sir Robert de Cornwall who was appointed *Provincial Grand Master of the Western Shires* in 1753 by the Moderns Grand Master, Lord Carysfort.¹ This was a title of convenience and there is no evidence that Cornwall ever visited Worcestershire's sole lodge in Stourbridge. He was MP for Leominster and died in 1756.

Following his death there was an *inter-regnum* in all five shires. That of Worcestershire lasted 36 years until 1792, when John Dent was appointed the *Provincial Grand Master of Worcestershire* by the Prince of Wales, the Moderns then Grand Master. This, also, was a *sine cure* and there is no record of Dent having visited any lodge in Worcestershire. He was a partner in the bankers Child & Co., the Grand Treasurer of UGLE, and the MP for Lancaster.² He died in 1826 and it was not until 1851, 25 years later, that the United Grand Lodge appointed his successor.

During Dent's reign, and in the 25 years following his death, the lodges of Worcestershire petitioned UGLE, to no avail, to form a Provincial Grand Lodge and to appoint a Provincial Grand Master. Worcester Lodge wrote to William White and Edward Harper, Joint Grand Secretaries of UGLE, in December 1820 enquiring 'if the appointment of a Deputy Provincial Grand Master is registered in the books of Grand Lodge.....and if not, information as to the proper course of procedures'. It transpired

¹ Provincial Grand Lodge of Worcestershire, *By Laws of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Worcestershire, to which is added a history of the Provincial Grand Lodge etc* (Malvern: Cross, 1881), pp.1-5.

² Provincial Grand Lodge of Worcestershire, *By Laws of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Worcestershire*, pp. 1-5.

that there was a Deputy; he was W. Thomson who was a member of the lodge and he had held the office for eighteen years. Quite how the lodge was unaware of this appointment is unclear, but the exchange of letters appears to have upset Thomson who resigned as Deputy and never again attended Worcester Lodge.³ Adam Dods (Worcester), was appointed by John Dent as Deputy Provincial Grand Master in succession, and he called a Provincial Grand Lodge meeting in Worcester on 27 December 1822. It was attended by members of the three Worcestershire lodges from whose members Provincial Officers were appointed. However, Worcester Lodge refused to endorse proposals to pay into a fund to acquire provincial regalia. As a result, no further meetings were held, and Dods resigned from the lodge in 1823 and as Deputy Provincial Grand Master in 1825.⁴ UGLE did not appoint a successor.

Following Dent's death, Worcester Lodge again wrote to the Joint Grand Secretaries in January 1827 requesting advice on how to appoint a Deputy Provincial Grand Master and a Provincial Grand Master. White replied that such appointments were the prerogative of the Grand Master 'but should there be a nobleman or other distinguished Brother' it will be put to the Grand Master for his consideration.⁵ The lodge approached two noblemen who declined to act. On 27 March 1830 a senior member of the lodge, J.S. Ballard, wrote to the Joint Secretaries stating:

many of the brethren are surprised we have no Provincial Grand Master appointed. It is my intention to visit London in the Spring when perhaps you will favour me with a little information on this point ...⁶

³ Talbot, J. L., *A Concise History of Worcester Lodge No. 280 1790-1990* (Worcester: Worcester Lodge, 1990), (no page).

⁴ Talbot, J. L., *A Concise History of Worcester Lodge*, (no page).

⁵ Letters dated 1 January and 27 January 1827, respectively, in possession of Worcester Lodge.

⁶ MF - GBR 1991 AR/SN 1184 – Worcester Lodge: letter from J.S. Ballard.

Nothing happened until, in a letter dated 5 November 1835, UGLE requested that the lodge set out 'a statement of facts' to be presented to the Grand Master. A reply was drafted, confirmed by the Lodge on 24 November 1835, and sent to UGLE. In the absence of a response Worcester Lodge demonstrated its annoyance by withholding its annual subscriptions to UGLE. Matters came to a head in 1838 when UGLE demanded payment of the outstanding subscriptions and threatened that failure to do so would result in the lodge being erased from the Register; the monies were duly paid over.⁷ A further attempt to get a Provincial Grand Master was made on 15 May 1840 when Worcester Lodge wrote to White stating, 'the brethren wish to be [advised? - illegible] the way of having a Provincial Grand Master for this Province. What is the first step to be taken to obtain their wish?'⁸ There is no record of a reply and, having failed in its efforts, the lodge made no further attempt to secure a Provincial Grand Lodge or Provincial Grand Master.

The cause was taken up by Harmonic Lodge (Dudley) when three of its members visited Worcester Lodge in 1843, where it was agreed that a letter be sent to UGLE. It produced a stock response from Grand Secretary White that 'the appointment is vested solely in the Grand Master and it would be irregular to make any application on the subject'.⁹

Several years passed until 12 February 1847 when representatives of the lodges in Worcester, Dudley and Kidderminster attended Royal Standard

⁷ Talbot, J. L., *A Concise History of Worcester Lodge*, (no page).

⁸ MF - GBR 1991 AR/SN 1184 – Worcester Lodge: letter from W. Miles (Secretary).

⁹ Sheppard, R., *History of the Masonic Province of Worcestershire* (Birmingham: 1989), p.111.

Lodge's meeting at the request of its Worshipful Master Dr W. Roden. He explained that he had been in correspondence with UGLE, in a private capacity, over the establishment of a Provincial Grand Lodge. He had been informed that the Grand Registrar was now in charge of the Province, albeit that UGLE had not informed any of the lodges. This being the case he proposed that the Grand Registrar be requested to form a Provincial Grand Lodge and appoint a Deputy Provincial Grand Master. The meeting unanimously supported the proposal, and it was agreed that a letter be sent to the Grand Registrar and the Grand Secretary.¹⁰ The proposal met favour and a meeting of Provincial Grand Lodge was held at the Guild Hall, Worcester, on 17 August 1847 where 100 masons attended. The ceremony was conducted by A. Dobie, the Grand Registrar, who appointed Dr Roden as Deputy Provincial Grand Master along with other Provincial officers drawn from the lodges in the Province.¹¹

Roden continued as Deputy Provincial Grand Master until the Annual Meeting held in Kidderminster on 28 August 1849, when he retired from office. There was no meeting in 1850 but at the Annual Meeting held on 17 June 1851 Henry Charles Vernon was installed as Provincial Grand Master and J. B. Hyde (Worcester) was appointed the new Deputy. Vernon, who had joined Worcester Lodge, was the Deputy Provincial Grand Master of Staffordshire, and a JP and Deputy Lieutenant of that county; he held the office of Provincial Grand Master until 1866.¹²

¹⁰ Royal Standard Minute Book – minutes of a meeting held 12 February 1847.

¹¹ *The Freemasons' Quarterly* – 30 September 1847, pp. 107 – 111.

¹² TNA – 1851 Census, Milcombe Regis, Plymouth; 13 The Crescent.

In summary, for the reasons outlined above, there was no operative Provincial Grand Lodge in Worcestershire during the period of the thesis, and it was not until after 1850 that a Provincial Grand Master was appointed to supervise and direct the Provincial Grand Lodge. It did not maintain any records and the history in this Appendix has been compiled from the minutes of the Moderns Grand Lodge, UGLE, and local lodges, together with articles in magazines and copy correspondence.

APPENDIX 7: HOLY ROYAL ARCH MASONRY AND ITS REPRESENTATION IN WORCESTERSHIRE

As with Craft masonry there is debate about the origins of Royal Arch masonry, but entries in the minute books of both Moderns and Antients lodges reveal that it was in existence in the 1750s. For the Antients it was an integral part of Craft masonry being essentially a fourth degree in which masters of lodges were 'exalted' into the Royal Arch, and every lodge had the power to hold Chapter meetings. Matters concerning the Royal Arch were considered in the Antients Grand Lodge but, because some who attended the Grand Lodge were not Royal Arch masons, it was resolved in December 1773 to form a 'General Grand Chapter of the Royal Arch' which was to meet twice a year 'to regulate that branch of Masonry'. There are no records extant of any of its meetings and because no Grand Officers were appointed, it seems that the Grand Chapter had no separate existence from the Grand Lodge.

Although many masons in Moderns lodges embraced the Royal Arch and worked its ceremonies in their lodges, it was frowned upon by the Moderns Grand Lodge whose Grand Secretary Spencer declared: ' [Our Society is] neither Arch, Royal Arch or Antient so that you have no Right to partake of our Charity'.¹³ It was this official attitude of disdain that led those members of the Moderns Grand Lodge, who wished to continue their involvement with the Royal Arch, to take steps to form a governing body. This culminated in the Charter of Compact of 22 July 1766 which established the *Excellent Grand and Royal Chapter of the Royal Arch of Jerusalem* ("Grand

¹³ GBR 1991 ANT 1/1/1 – Minutes of the Antients Grand Lodge Vol.1 – Minutes of 16 December 1759: extract of a letter from Spencer to an Irish Brother Carroll who had applied for relief.

Chapter”). It was an autonomous body, separate from the Moderns Grand Lodge, with its own regulations and officers; among the signatories to the Charter was Lord Blaney, the Grand Master of the Moderns Grand Lodge.¹⁴ It did not warrant any chapters until 1769, when seven were formed, and by 1813 the number warranted totalled only 120.¹⁵ It adopted a Provincial system similar to Grand Lodge but, because of the smaller number of chapters, some Provincial Superintendents were in charge of several Provinces; Thomas Dunckerley (the illegitimate son of the Prince of Wales, later George II) oversaw no fewer than eighteen.

In the 1790s the Grand Chapter was almost moribund with average attendances in 1795 of only six and, between 1797 and 1800, only eight meetings were held.¹⁶ The 1789 list of Chapters showed that there were only 55 Chapters of which there was only one in the Provinces of Worcestershire, Warwickshire and Staffordshire; Fortitude, in Birmingham.¹⁷ A further sign of the inactivity was an order in 1800 to exclude thirteen Chapters for failure to pay their subscriptions. The Earl of Moira, who became First Grand Principal in 1804, seemed to bring some order to the Grand Chapter and, in the opinion of Hamill, it successfully attracted several senior members of the Moderns Grand Lodge.¹⁸ On the other hand, it continued to exclude Chapters and threaten others with exclusion if arrears were not paid.

¹⁴ Hamill, J. *The Craft. A History of English Freemasonry* (Wellingborough: 1986), p. 102.

¹⁵ MF – GBR 1991 SGC 1/1/1/1 Minutes of the Excellent Grand and Royal Chapter meetings Minute Book: minutes of meetings 14 July 1769 to 11 November 1769.

¹⁶ MF – GBR 1991 SGC 1/1/1/2 Minutes of the Excellent Grand and Royal Chapter meetings 12 January 1776 to 21 April 1806.

¹⁷ *List of Regular Chapters of the Royal Arch under constitutions from the Grand and Royal Chapter, with their places and times of meeting* (London: 1789).

¹⁸ Hamill, J. *The Craft. A History of English Freemasonry*, p. 103.

The position of the Royal Arch in the negotiations between the two Grand Lodges to form UGLE required a compromise to be made. The Articles of Union of 1813 state:

II. It is declared that ... pure Antient Masonry consists of three degrees and no more, viz., those of the entered Apprentice, the Fellow Craft and the Master Mason, including the Supreme Order of the Holy Royal Arch.¹⁹

The Antients were satisfied by the acceptance of Royal Arch as part of 'pure Antient Masonry' and the Moderns were satisfied because it was to be undertaken in chapters rather than in lodges, albeit that chapters had to be linked to lodges and carry the same number as the lodge to which they were attached. It was not until 1817 that a new governing body – the *Supreme Grand Chapter* - was formed, to which existing Moderns chapters had to apply for a new warrant and chapters in Antients lodges had to apply for a warrant. The Provincial system used by the Moderns was adopted, and it developed in a manner similar to that of Provincial Grand Lodges outlined in *Appendix 6*. The List of Chapters for 1823 shows that there were 131 Chapters of which there were three in Warwickshire and none in either Worcestershire or Staffordshire.²⁰ Hamill is of the opinion that the period up to 1834 witnessed little progress in the development of the Royal Arch, with attention concentrated on Craft masonry, and in the remainder of the nineteenth

¹⁹ Hughan, W. J., *Memorials of the Masonic Union of A.D. 1813* (London: 1874), p.22.

²⁰ Supreme Grand Chapter, *Laws and Regulations for the Order of Royal Arch Masons ...by the Supreme Grand Chapter* (London: 1823), pp.37 – 42. [Chapters in Birmingham, Coventry, and Alcester].

century there was 'quiet growth' during which the Royal Arch may have considered itself to be the poor relation of the Craft.²¹

There were five Antients Lodges in Worcestershire, and it is presumed that they practised the Royal Arch within their lodges but, in the absence of surviving records, there is no definitive proof available. None of the four Moderns Lodges applied for a warrant from the *Excellent Grand and Royal Chapter of the Royal Arch of Jerusalem*. There is, however, evidence that the Worcester Lodge worked the Royal Arch within the lodge, contrary to the rules of the Moderns Grand Lodge. The minutes of the Lodge's meeting of February 1828 refer to a payment to Brother John Dent to reimburse him for paying the 'Widow Allen' for regalia for a Royal Arch Chapter 'which sum was promised to be paid to the late Brother John Allen, many members of the Lodge having been exalted by him'. Allen was Worshipful Master in 1807, 1808 and 1812 when it is likely that the exaltations into the Royal Arch took place; because the lodge minute book for this period was lost in the nineteenth century, additional supporting information is unavailable.

There is no further evidence of Royal Arch masonry in Worcestershire until 1844 when two chapters were formed in Dudley and Worcester, attached to Harmonic and Worcester lodges, respectively. The Chapter of Dudley was consecrated (formed) on 13 December 1844 and of its twelve Founders ten were members of Staffordshire Chapters and two were members of a Birmingham (Warwickshire) chapter; the latter two were members of Harmonic Lodge. Between 1844 and 1850 there were thirty-

²¹ Hamill, J., '225 years of Grand Chapter'; paper presented to Supreme Grand Chapter on 13 November 1991.

two joiners of whom thirty-one were members of Harmonic Lodge and one of Hope and Charity Lodge in Kidderminster.²²

St Wulstan's Chapter in Worcester was consecrated on 18 December 1844 and, of its nine Founders, three were members of a Leicester Chapter, two of a Cheltenham chapter and one each from Birmingham and Hereford; the chapters of two Founders are unknown. Of the Founders five were members of Worcester Lodge – three from the Leicester chapter, one from Birmingham and one unknown. The link with Leicester is likely to have arisen because a member of Worcester Lodge had two daughters who married masons from Leicester, who became Founders of Clive Lodge in nearby Bromsgrove when they moved to Worcestershire for business purposes. Between 1844 and 1850 there were thirty-eight joiners of whom thirty-five were members of Worcester Lodge, one from Royal Standard in Kidderminster and two elected honorary members.²³ Through an inability to get companions to fill important offices, the chapter went into abeyance in February 1850 and did not meet again until February 1858.

²² Cherrington, H. and Thomas, A.E., *A Short History of the Chapter of Dudley No. 252* (Dudley: 1944), p.53.

²³ Goddard, R. G. H., *A Brief History of St Wulstan's Chapter No. 280, 1844-1994* (Worcester: 1994), p. 15.

APPENDIX 8: FREEMASONS BY BUSINESS SECTOR

AGRICULTURAL LAND AND ENCLOSURE

- Viscount Dudley and Ward was the promoter of 3 Enclosure Acts which enabled exploitation of minerals on his estate to provide raw materials to local businesses and fuel used in the production processes of several local industries
- Viscount Dudley and Ward owned the largest estate providing minerals and fuel in the county

CARPET AND WORSTED INDUSTRY

- Pardoe & Hooman were the largest Brussels carpetmakers in the UK
- Michael & Watkins were awarded a Royal Warrant and were the second largest carpetmakers in Worcester
- Joseph Brookhouse invented the worsted spinning machine which revolutionised the volume and speed of production as compared to hand spinning.

GLASS INDUSTRY

- George Ensell invented a process to increase the size of plate glass from 4 to 6 square feet, leading to larger windows, mirrors. Awarded prize by Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce
- George Ensell invented the lehr which reduced breakages and enabled thicker glass to be made
- John Benson invented the steam-driven glass cutting machine which considerably increased speed of production
- James Dovey purchased the first steam-driven cutting machine
- James Dovey invented new glass cutting techniques and introduced glass cutting to the area

GLOVE MAKING

- Dent gloves was the largest glove maker in Worcester
- Redgrave gloves was the 2nd largest glove maker in Worcester

PEWTER MAKING

- Bancks was one of the two largest manufacturers and exporters in Worcestershire
- Ingram was the other large manufacturer and exporter in Worcestershire
- Ingram specialised in spoon production

PORCELAIN MANUFACTURE

- Robert Hancock invented the process of transferring prints onto porcelain easing mass-production of plates etc with the same design
- Chamberlain's when run by Robert Chamberlain acquired Royal Worcester and consolidated the industry
- Robert Chamberlain started production of encaustic tiles in Worcester

IRON AND STEEL MANUFACTURE

- Richard Croft ran a large forge and slitting mill – mentioned by Angerstein
- Samuel Hallen ran a 2.5-acre ironworks with its own clay and coal mines and workers houses; also, proprietor of 3 forges
- Woodside ironworks owned by A B Cochrane described as 'perhaps the most famous house in the world' providing metalwork for the Crystal Palace, Victoria Docks and exported to Australia and Denmark
- Horseley Coal and Iron Co owned by Aaron Manby was prolific builder of bridges and viaducts
- Manby invented the first sea- going iron- hulled ship
- Manby invented the steam-driven 'oscillating engine' for marine use
- Manby patented process to manufacture house bricks from recycled refuse slag
- Thomas Kinder and Richard Johnson established the first railway carriage manufacturer in Bromsgrove and Oldbury

OTHER

- Martinez Gassiot was the largest importer of port and sherry into the UK
- William Perrins invented 'Lea and Perrins' Worcestershire sauce
- 4 members were partners in the 2 largest banks in Worcestershire – Farley, Johnson and Lavender and Berwick, Lechmere and Isaac.
- W.B.Collis was founder of the Stourbridge Bank

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GBR 1991 AR/SN905 - Hope Lodge

GBR 1991 AR/SN 1184 – Worcester Lodge

GBR 1991 AR/SN1025 - Harmonic Lodge

GBR 1991 AR/SN1070 - St John’s Lodge

GBR 1991 AR/SN1111 - Freedom Lodge

GBR 1991 AR/SN 1184 – Worcester Lodge

GBR 1991 AR/SN1681 - Lodge of Faithful

GBR 1991 AR/SN1696 - Mercy and Truth Lodge

GBR 1991 AR/SN1770 – Hope and Charity Lodge

GBR 1991 AR/SN1957 – Royal Standard Lodge

GBR 1991 AR/SN 1999 – Semper Fidelis Lodge

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Details relating to Raven Lodge are incorporated within the Lodge file LF/SN844 (below).

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LF/SN844 - Raven Lodge
LF/SN 905 - Hope Lodge
LF/SN1025 - Harmonic Lodge
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