

**THE POLITICAL-MASONIC BACKGROUND TO THE 1738 PAPAL BULL  
*IN EMINENTI***

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In 2004 the eminent historian of Jacobitism, Professor Edward Corp of the University of Toulouse, lamented:

To write the history of the beginning of Freemasonry is not an easy task because of the relative rarity of documents from the period. At that time, it was a sensitive subject about which one did not speak in public, and it is clear that many developments deliberately took place in private and were never consigned to writing.<sup>1</sup>

The sparsity of surviving documents is complicated by the international spread of Freemasonry, in which rival Jacobite and Hanoverian lodges were established in many countries, with initiated diplomats and agents resorting to often indecipherable codes to transmit news and information. However, on-going research in international diplomatic and Masonic archives, as well as the full range of Stuart Papers at Windsor Castle, is bringing to the surface many long-buried documents that provide new answers but also raise new questions about the Jacobite-Hanoverian rivalries that led to the issuance of the Papal Bull *In Eminente* (1738), which condemned Freemasonry.

Patrick Geay, editor of the French Masonic journal, *La Règle d'Abraham*, stimulated a provocative and informative debate about the political, religious, and Masonic motives behind the issuance of the Bull, when he published a series of ground-breaking articles. In a review of Dr. André Kervella's book, *La Passion Écossaise* (Paris, 2002), Jérôme Rousse-Lacordaire discussed Kervella's argument that early Jacobite Freemasonry was entirely political, without esoteric interests, and that the Papal Bull was directed at Hanoverian, not Jacobite, Freemasons.<sup>2</sup> Lacordaire added that Professor Edward Corp, in his introduction to Kervella's book, agreed with the context of Jacobite-Hanoverian rivalries, but in a subsequent article in 2004, Corp argued that there were additional doctrinal and religious concerns, for Pope Clément XII viewed English-style Freemasonry as heretical and blasphemous.<sup>3</sup>

In 2007, after reading my book, *Restoring the Temple of Vision: Cabalistic Freemasonry and Stuart Culture* (Leiden, 2002), which explored the political, religious, and esoteric themes of

<sup>1</sup> Edward Corp, "La Franc-Maçonnerie Jacobite et la Bulle *In Eminente* d'Avril 1738," *La Règle d'Abraham*, 18 (Decembre 2004), 40. I have translated all French quotations into English, and I follow English capitalization rules for titles in French.

<sup>2</sup> Jérôme Rousse-Lacordaire, "Maçons Hanovriens, Maçons Jacobites et Condamnations Romaines," *Le Règle d'Abraham*, 18 (2004), 3-12.

<sup>3</sup> Corp, "Franc-Maçonnerie Jacobite," 13-44.

16th- and 17th-century Stuart Freemasonry, Patrick Geay asked me to contribute a new perspective on the Papal Bull, which would draw on my subsequent investigations of four Grand Masters and one Grand Orator--the Duke of Wharton, Sir Hector Maclean, the titular 5th Earl of Derwentwater, the 8<sup>th</sup> Duke of Norfolk, and Chevalier Andrew Michael Ramsay--who all had significant Jacobite connections. My further research on the little-known Swedish support of Jacobite-Masonic enterprises sheds new light on the international political context which led to the Bull *In Eminenti*.<sup>4</sup>

Let us begin with the first Jacobite Grand Master, Philip, Duke of Wharton, who infused a charismatic and reckless energy into his turbulent Masonic career, which may have begun at the precocious age of 17. Son of Thomas, 5th Baron Wharton, a radical Whig politician, the adolescent Philip rebelled against his father and married the daughter of a Jacobite army officer, which led to his “banishment” to Geneva under a strict Calvinist tutor.<sup>5</sup> Escaping to Avignon in 1716, he vowed loyalty to the Stuart claimant James “III” and to his Scottish secretary of state, John Erskine, 6th Earl of Mar. It is possible that Mar initiated Philip into Freemasonry, for he was currently utilizing Masonic links between his Jacobite colleagues in Scotland and Russia. Two years earlier, in October 1714, Mar’s Jacobite cousin George Mackenzie sent from Russia a cryptic letter, with “plentiful examples of Masonic phraseology,” in which he revealed Mar’s earlier Masonic initiation (“your Lordp, having so long ago pass’t the Essay Master,” which was a test of designing and construction skills for Scottish operative Masons).<sup>6</sup> Mackenzie also expressed caution about “breaking throw the Masson Word” when writing about “a Bror Mechanick of his Czarian Maty.”

From the beginning of their correspondence, Mar urged Wharton to “keep his good intentions to himself.”<sup>7</sup> The usually indiscrete adolescent promised to “disguise his sentiments” if it will help James, who agreed with Mar that Philip should “keep on the mask,” acting publicly as a Whig and Hanoverian loyalist, while he gathered intelligence to give to the Jacobites. Impressed by his declarations of Jacobite loyalty, James named him Duke of Northumberland. In Paris, Wharton participated in Mar’s secretive international networks. While the Scot directed negotiations with pro-Jacobite Swedish diplomats, Wharton maintained contact with Ambassador Erik Sparre, whose family would later play a significant role in *Écossais*

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<sup>4</sup> Marsha Keith Schuchard, “Les Rivalités Maçonniques et la *Bulle In Eminenti*,” *La Règle d’Abraham*, 25 (2008), 3-48. I am grateful to Patrick Geay for permission to publish a revised and updated English version of the French article.

<sup>5</sup> Eveline Cruickshanks, “Lord Cowper, Lord Orrery, the Duke of Wharton, and Jacobitism,” *Albion*, 26 (1994), 37-40.

<sup>6</sup> Robert Collis, *The Petrine Instauration: Religion, Esotericism and Science at the Court of Peter the Great, 1689-1725* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 132-33. As a practicing architect, Mar worked closely with operative Masons in Scotland, and he continued his “visionary” architectural projects in exile; see Terry Friedman, “A ‘Palace worthy of the Grandeur of the King’: Lord Mar’s Designs for the Old Pretender, 1718-30,” *Architectural History*, 29 (1986), 102-13.

<sup>7</sup> *Historical Manuscripts Commission. Calendar of the Stuart Papers* (London, 1904-23), V, 396, 471. Henceforth cited as *HMC*.

Freemasonry in Sweden.<sup>8</sup> In October 1716 the daring youth issued a circular letter to English freeholders which protested George I's sending a Baltic fleet against the Swedes, "who have committed no hostilities."<sup>9</sup> Moving on to Ireland, Wharton befriended Jonathan Swift (who had long associations with Irish Freemasonry and who was suspected of Jacobite sympathies); the 1st Earl of Rosse (rakish member of Wharton's Hellfire Club, whose son became Irish Grand Master in 1725 and was similarly suspected of Jacobitism); and others who would emerge as nationalist members of Irish lodges.<sup>10</sup>

In January 1717, while Wharton was serving in the Irish House of Lords, the Whig ministry in London exposed and defeated a serious Jacobite plot, in which King Charles XII of Sweden would launch an invasion of Scotland in order to restore the Stuart claimant.<sup>11</sup> This Swedish-Jacobite plot allegedly included a Masonic component, which spurred the Hanoverian Masons to launch a counter-move.<sup>12</sup> The Masonic historian J.R. Clarke argues that the Jacobite agitation, especially the Swedish-Gyllenborg plot, provoked the loyalist Masons to attempt a take-over of the fraternity.<sup>13</sup> In June 1717, four London lodges organized the Grand Lodge of London and Westminster (later of England), which was loyal to King George I, Elector of Hanover, and his Whig ministry. David Stevenson suggests that the timing of the creation of the Grand Lodge was an effort by Williamite-Hanoverian partisans to show "the unity of revolution men in the face of the Jacobite threat."<sup>14</sup> Thus began the decades-long struggle within Freemasonry, in which supporters of "ancient" Scottish-Irish-Stuart traditions contended with supporters of "modern" Whig-Hanoverian principles for control of the proliferating lodges.

A major player in the new Grand Lodge system was the experimental scientist John Theophilus Desaguliers, an apologist for Sir Isaac Newton and a half-hearted Anglican

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<sup>8</sup> For Wharton and Sparre, see Lewis Melville, *The Life and Writings of Philip, Duke of Wharton* (London, 1912), 52, 63.

<sup>9</sup> *HMC: Stuart*, III, 655.

<sup>10</sup> For Swift's association with Freemasonry, see Marsha Keith Schuchard, *Restoring the Temple of Vision: Cabalistic Freemasonry and Stuart Culture* (Leiden, 2002), 758-62, 787-92; also, Philip Crossle and John Heron Lepper, *History of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Ireland* (Dublin, 1925), 71; Sean Murphy, "Irish Jacobitism and Freemasonry," *Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, 9 (1994), 79.

<sup>11</sup> For details of the plot, see Marsha Keith Schuchard, *Emanuel Swedenborg, Secret Agent on Earth and in Heaven: Jacobites, Jews, and Freemasons in Early Modern Sweden* (Leiden, 2011), chapter 4.

<sup>12</sup> For suspected Masonic involvement in the Swedish-Jacobite plot, see Elis Schröderheim, *Anteckningar till Konung Gustaf III:s Historia* (Örebro, 1851), 81; Claude Nordmann, *La Crise du Nord au Début du XVIIIe Siècle* (Paris, 1962), 10, 152-53; Andreas Önnarfors, ed., *Mystiskt brödraskap-mäktigt nätverk* (Lund, 2006), 33-35.

<sup>13</sup> J.R. Clarke, "The Establishment of the Premier Grand Lodge: Why in London and why in 1717?," *AQC*, 76 (1963), 5.

<sup>14</sup> David Stevenson, "James Anderson (1679-1739): Man and Mason," in R.W. Weisberger, Wallace McLeod, and Brent Morris, eds., *Freemasonry on Both Sides of the Atlantic* (New York, 2002), 209.

clergyman. Having joined the fraternity circa 1714, Desaguliers participated in Grand Lodge meetings when they implemented their loyalist agenda.<sup>15</sup> Douglas Vieler observes that their “emphasis in organizing Grand Lodge on the Annual Feast with a public procession” was a response to the perceived linkage of Freemasonry to the Jacobite rebellion of 1715: “in an atmosphere of divided loyalties,” Masons in London, which was “the center of much of the domestic intrigue of the time, felt the need to demonstrate semi-publicly their loyalty.”<sup>16</sup> J. Percy Simpson goes further in describing this “perceived linkage”:

One so often finds that Freemasons in the first part of the eighteenth century were pronounced Jacobites, or friends or partisans of the exiled Family, that, apart from other evidence, we are forced to the conclusion that our Society was then identified with and held the views of that political Party. Nor do I think there was any discredit in their being the last to acknowledge the change of dynasty, loyalty being then, as now, one of the ancient landmarks of the Order.<sup>17</sup>

In the meantime, a future rival of Desaguliers had returned to England. As the high-spirited and reckless Philip Wharton began to play a public role, George I tried to ensure his Whig loyalty by making him Duke of Wharton in January 1718. But Wharton kept on the mask, while he secretly acquired loans from Jacobite bankers throughout 1718.<sup>18</sup>

Over the next four years, the polarized British press featured many articles on the rivalries between the traditional operative Masons who supported the long-serving Stuart architect, Sir Christopher Wren, and the new Grand Lodge Masons who supported the often less-skilled and sometimes corrupt Whig architects employed by the Hanoverian government.<sup>19</sup> The Jacobite antiquarian Richard Rawlinson linked his political concerns with those of earlier royalist Freemasons in his publication of Elias Ashmole’s *The Antiquities of Berkshire* (1719). In his introduction, Rawlinson hinted at his own position as a Nonjuror, who refused to sign the oath of

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<sup>15</sup> For a revisionist and sometimes negative study of Desaguliers, see Larry Stewart, *The Rise of Public Science: Rhetoric, Technology, and Natural Philosophy in Newtonian Britain* (Cambridge, 1992). For a more traditional and positive study, see Audrey Carpenter, *John Theophilus Desaguliers: A Natural Philosopher, Engineer and Freemason in Newtonian England* (London, 2011).

<sup>16</sup> Douglas Vieler, “As It Was Seen--and As It Was,” *AQC*, 96 (1983), 83.

<sup>17</sup> J.P. Simpson’s comment on W.B. Hextall, “‘The Man of Taste,’ a Satire of 1733,” *AQC*, 21 (1908), 237.

<sup>18</sup> Leo Gooch, “Wharton, Philip James,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004-2010).

<sup>19</sup> For Samuel Negus’s reports to the government about the political loyalties of the major newspaper printers and editors, see vol. I of John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1812). For detailed documentation on the bitter political rivalries among operative masons and architects, see my article, “La Revue *The Post Man* et les *Constitutions de Roberts* (1722),” trad. Gérard Leconte, *La Règle d’Abraham*, 30 (Décembre 2010), 3-62. For a revised English version, see “Jacobite vs. Hanoverian Claims for Masonic ‘Antiquity’ and ‘Authenticity,’” *Heredom*, 18 (2010), 121-85.

allegiance to George I, when he described Ashmole's Masonic initiation and stressed the seriousness of the Masons' "Oath of Secrecy." He noted that it "has had a better Fate than all other Oaths, and has been ever most religiously observed, nor has the World been yet able, by the inadvertency, surprise, or folly of any of its Members to dive into this Mystery, or make the least discovery."<sup>20</sup> George Tashjian notes that for Rawlinson, "the oath to the Hanoverians was a 'vile oath,' and only unprincipled men would adhere to it."<sup>21</sup> It is possible that Rawlinson was already affiliated with Freemasonry; at the least, as J.Percy Simpson observes, through the city connections of his father and brother, "Rawlinson was perfectly conversant with Masonry in London" and "must have had the most intimate connection with the Masons' Company."<sup>22</sup>

Despite his attempt at secrecy concerning his Nonjuror and Jacobite activities, Rawlinson's position became vulnerable after the defeat in June 1719 of the Jacobite-Spanish force in Scotland (which had been organized by the Masons Ormonde, Dillon, and the Keith brothers).<sup>23</sup> Rawlinson then briefly visited Holland and France and began planning a longer exodus from England. Learning that James III's wife was pregnant, he left London on 12 June 1720, carefully timing his travels "in order to be present at the birth of Charles Edward" on 31 December 1720.<sup>24</sup> After spending six years with James and other Jacobites in Italy, he returned to London, where he published attacks on Walpole's Whig ministry, assumed an active role in Freemasonry, and acquired a valuable collection of Masonic documents.

Meanwhile, in 1720, according to the Grand Lodge historian James Anderson, who "was staunchly a Whig," some Masons worried about the disclosure of their historical documents: "at some private lodges, several very valuable manuscripts...were too hastily burnt by some scrupulous Brothers, that those Papers might not fall into strange Hands."<sup>25</sup> Though he did not identify the scrupulous brothers, they were probably Jacobites, who were beginning to worry about Hanoverian penetration of their networks.<sup>26</sup> The dominance of Grand Lodge was not yet established, and there was not much expansion of its membership. In January 1721, when the antiquarian William Stukeley (close friend of Newton and Desaguliers) determined to join the fraternity, "suspecting it to be the remains of the mysteries of the ancients," he recorded that it

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<sup>20</sup> Elias Ashmole, *The Antiquities of Berkshire* (London, 1719), introduction.

<sup>21</sup> George Tashjian, David Tashjian, and Brian Enright, eds., *Richard Rawlinson: A Tercentenary Memorial* (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan UP, 1990), 23.

<sup>22</sup> Simpson's note to J.E.S. Tuckett, "Dr. Richard Rawlinson and the Masonic Entries in Elias Ashmole's Diary," *AQC*, 25 (1912), 250.

<sup>23</sup> The dates of their initiations are unknown, but their collaborator Mar had been utilizing his Masonic connections with Jacobites abroad for several years.

<sup>24</sup> Tashjian, *Richard Rawlinson*, 28-35.

<sup>25</sup> Stevenson, ""James Anderson," 207; James Anderson, *The Constitutions of the Freemasons (1723) and (1738)* (Facs. rpt. Abingdon: Burgess, 1976), 88.

<sup>26</sup> According to Frank McLynn, "The primary impetus to the rise of Freemasonry in the first quarter of the eighteenth century came from the Jacobites," but their lodges would later be infiltrated by British intelligence: "Freemasonry ceased to be a Jacobite secret society and seemed likely instead to become a Hanoverian fifth column." See his *Charles Edward Stuart: A Tragedy in Many Acts* (1988; Oxford, 1991), 532.

was “with difficulty a number was to be found in all London.”<sup>27</sup> Six months earlier, the bursting of the South Sea Bubble had besmirched the reputations of many Whigs (including the king), and the Jacobites hoped to regain much of their lost influence. In June 1721, evidently worried by their activities, the Whigs determined to insure the Grand Lodge’s support of the government by persuading John Montagu, 2nd Duke of Montagu, to serve as Grand Master, and he soon attracted “two to three hundred” loyalist members.<sup>28</sup>

At this point, the Duke of Wharton “threw off the mask” and appeared publicly upon the Masonic stage, for he abhorred many of the new brothers, especially Montagu, who had earned the Jacobites’ hatred for his contemptuous behavior in 1716 towards their hero, James Radcliffe, 3rd Earl of Derwentwater, who was arrested for participating in the 1715 rebellion led by the Earl of Mar. During Derwentwater’s trial, many writers and nobles, including his Stuart relations, the 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Richmond and James Waldegrave, appealed to the House of Lords to repeal the treason charges against the popular nobleman.<sup>29</sup> But George I and Robert Walpole believed that his execution would be “a resounding blow to the Jacobite cause and a signal victory for the Whigs”; thus, he was publicly decapitated.<sup>30</sup> As John Doran observes, on the night of Derwentwater’s execution, the Duke of Montagu and three hundred of “his confederates in bad taste and overaffected loyalty” gave a masquerade ball for George I.<sup>31</sup> Five years later, in July 1721, evidently in reaction to Montagu’s election as Grand Master, Wharton joined the Masonic lodge that met in St. Paul’s Churchyard, a bastion of Christopher Wren’s supporters. Among the twenty-nine members were nine, who were “of the gentry or of superior rank” and who were all “Tories or even Jacobites.”<sup>32</sup>

On 24 August, while Desaguliers was in Edinburgh consulting on the engineering for a new water works, he attended the ancient lodge of Mary’s Chapel.<sup>33</sup> The next day he returned with a group of his acquaintances, who were public officials and loyalist Whigs. John Campbell,

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<sup>27</sup> Robert F. Gould, “Masonic Celebrities: William Stukeley, M.D.,” *AQC*, 6 (1893), 127-38.

<sup>28</sup> In *The Foundations of Modern Freemasonry: The Grand Architects, Political Change and the Scientific Enlightenment, 1714-1740* (Brighton: Sussex Academic, 2011), Ric Berman documents thoroughly the Whig-Hanoverian political agenda of most Grand Lodge officials and publicly-employed members.

<sup>29</sup> Leo Gooch, “Radcliffe, James,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; John Doran, *London in the Jacobite Times* (Boston: Francis Nicolls, 1877), 26, 42; Charles Lennox, Earl of March, *A Duke and His Friends: The Life and Letters of the Second Duke of Richmond* (London: Hutchinson, 1911), I, 20, 24.

<sup>30</sup> Ralph Arnold, *Northern Lights: The Story of Lord Derwentwater* (London: Constable, 1959), 143-46.

<sup>31</sup> Doran, *London*, 63.

<sup>32</sup> Aubrey Newman, “Politics and Freemasonry in the Eighteenth Century,” *AQC*, 104 (1991), 36.

<sup>33</sup> Lisa Kahler, “Freemasonry in Edinburgh, 1721-1746” (St. Andrews University, Ph.D. Dissertation, 1996), 48-55, 77-78.

lord provost of Edinburgh, served on the committee organized to protect the city from the Jacobite rebels in 1715. He subsequently hunted down Stuart supporters so successfully that the government rewarded him with the lease of magnificent apartments.<sup>34</sup> The residences had been forfeited by two aristocratic rebels, the Earl of Panmure and Earl of Winton (the latter would later play a significant role in the Jacobite lodge in Rome). On the 28<sup>th</sup>, another group of civic officials were admitted, including Archibald McAulay, who had served with John Campbell on the anti-Jacobite committee; George Drummond, a Hanoverian loyalist who raised a loyalist regiment in 1715; and Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochiel, who acted against the Jacobites in 1715 and who was now the close friend and personal advisor to the queen in London. Trevor Stewart notes that “most, if not all of them, had shown themselves devoted to the Hanoverian cause,” and “it is very likely that these men owed their entry into the lodge membership entirely to Desaguliers’ recommendation.”<sup>35</sup>

David Stevenson points out that it was just one month after Desaguliers’ introduction to Scottish Freemasonry that the Grand Lodge commissioned James Anderson, a Scottish-Whig Mason, to provide revised constitutions for English Freemasonry: “It is very tempting to conclude that the two events are linked, that Desaguliers hastened back to London and persuaded Grand Lodge that Scottish expertise was needed.”<sup>36</sup> His observations in Mary’s Chapel evidently revealed the long history of the fraternity in Scotland, which would necessitate a strengthening of the “modern” English Masons’ claims to antiquity and authenticity. In March 1722 Montagu’s fourteen-man committee approved the manuscript of Anderson’s *Constitutions of the Freemasons*, but it was not published until a year later.

In the meantime, Jacobite hopes were crushed in May by the government’s exposure of a major plot, in which Wren’s confidante and architectural collaborator, Bishop Francis Atterbury, was charged with high treason.<sup>37</sup> Once again, Jacobite Masons were suspected of conspiracy, which motivated a loyalist party (“a select Body”) from the Grand Lodge to visit Lord Townshend, Whig secretary of state for northern affairs, on 16 June and vow their loyalty to the Hanoverian regime. After receiving them “affably,” Townshend reassured them that

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<sup>34</sup> Trevor Stewart, “‘It is of a Service to the Public to shew where the Error is’: A Re-examination of the Visit to Edinburgh by the Reverend Dr. John Theophilus Desaguliers,” *AQC*, 119 (2006), 202, 211, 216-17, 223.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 224.

<sup>36</sup> Stevenson, “James Anderson,” 207.

<sup>37</sup> Eveline Cruickshanks and Howard Erskine-Hill, eds., *The Atterbury Plot* (London, 2004). While supervising the construction of a dormitory at Westminster Abbey, Atterbury worked closely with the operative Masons who supported Wren. The Whig government considered Westminster a dangerous Jacobite enclave. When Walpole accused Atterbury of raising £200,000 pounds for the Pretender, the bishop claimed that the funds were for his architectural projects. See [Richard Willis], *The Bishop of Salisbury’s Speech...to Inflict Pains and Penalties on Francis (late) Bishop of Rochester* (London, 1723), 3; also, Susanna Smith, “The Westminster Dormitory,” in Edward Corp, ed., *Lord Burlington: The Man and Politics. Questions of Loyalty* (Lewiston, 1998), 51-70.



they need not be apprehensive of any Molesting from the Government, so long as they went on doing nothing more dangerous than the ancient Secrets of the Society; which must be of a very harmless Nature, because, as much as Mankind love Mischief, no Body ever betray'd them.<sup>38</sup>

Alfred Robbins notes that “a threat obviously underlay this sneer from the brother-in-law of Robert Walpole, a Prime Minister then in the first flush of his long possession of power.”<sup>39</sup>

The loyalists' actions in turn motivated Wharton, a supporter of Atterbury, to mount a campaign for the Grand Mastership. Claiming to be “the most Ancient Branch of this Society in Town” and warning about “False Brethren,” Wharton's partisans attended the Annual Feast of the Grand Lodge on 25 June and pulled off a surprising coup, defeating the Whig candidate and electing Wharton as Grand Master.<sup>40</sup> According to the eccentric Catholic Freemason Robert Samber, the musicians began to play the Jacobite song, “Let the King enjoy his own again,” until reprimanded by “a person of great gravity and science” (evidently Desaguliers).<sup>41</sup> Robbins notes that the actions of “some of the most energetic among the Jacobites,” who tried to “turn to their own ends an institution so rapidly growing in numbers and influence” began to threaten “the very existence of the Craft as a lawful institution.”<sup>42</sup>

Charles Delafaye, a government official and Grand Lodge Mason, managed the interception and decipherment of the correspondence between Atterbury and Lord Mar. Delafaye then “escorted” Atterbury to his prison cell in the Tower. This move by a rival Mason especially angered Wharton, who was publicly known as the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge. Having duped Walpole into giving him inside information on the government's case against Atterbury, Wharton then courageously defended the bishop in Parliament, in a brilliant speech which earned the admiration of his old friend Swift. Though the government could not demonstrate enough evidence to convict the bishop of treason, he was banished for life to the Continent. As Wharton and his watermen escorted him down the Thames, Atterbury carried with him a gift from the duke--a sword engraved with the mottoes, “Draw me not without Reason” and “Put me not up without Honour.”<sup>43</sup> In a disputed election for the next Grand Master, a Whig proxy for the absent Earl of Dalkeith won ratification by a single vote for Desaguliers to serve as Deputy Grand Master. Charging that the vote count was inaccurate, an enraged Wharton protested the irregular proceedings and then withdrew from the Grand Lodge, taking with him all his supporters. When Anderson's *Constitutions* was finally published in February 1723, he stressed that the work had

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<sup>38</sup> *London Journal* (16 June 1722).

<sup>39</sup> Alfred Robbins, “The Earliest Years of English Organized Freemasonry,” *AQC*, 22 (1908), 71.

<sup>40</sup> Robert F. Gould, “Masonic Celebrities: the Duke of Wharton, 1722-1723,” *AQC*, 8 (1895), 115-55.

<sup>41</sup> Boniface Oenophilus [Henri Albert de Sallengre], *Ebrietatis Encomium: or the Praise of Drunkenness* [introd. and trans. Robert Samber] (London, 1723; facs. rpt. New York, 1910), 82.

<sup>42</sup> Robbins, “Earliest Years,” 70.

<sup>43</sup> Cruickshanks and Erskine-Hill, *Atterbury Plot*, 223.

been completed under Montagu's Grand Mastership; later, when he published a revised edition in 1738, he removed Wharton's name from the history.

On 15 May 1723 Wharton's speech in protest at the banishment of Atterbury was published and won widespread sympathy for the bishop. Swift, who greatly admired it, wrote to a Jacobite friend in London, "I sometimes think, D. Wharton intends to take my Advice of fancying to have Virtue."<sup>44</sup> Despite Wharton's reckless involvement in the Hell Fire Club, Swift continued to respect his talents and political activism. Over the next two years, Wharton continued his attacks on the Whig ministry of Sir Robert Walpole, published in his journal, *The True Briton*, while he communicated secretly with the Stuart court in Rome. He also organized (or pretended to organize) a quasi-Masonic fraternity, the *Gormogons*, which competed against the "spurious" claims to antiquity of the Hanoverian Grand Lodge.<sup>45</sup> In press reports on the Gormogons, the Jacobites hinted at the order's links with brothers in Rome, and the oddly named fraternity marked the beginning of new networks between Jacobites in London and on the Continent, whom Wharton planned to join as soon as James III gave him permission. With Wharton's outreach to Europe, we see new Masonic players emerge on the international stage--the Earl of Mar; his protégés Andrew Michael Ramsay and Hector Maclean; and Charles Radcliffe, younger brother of the executed Derwentwater.

We also face the intensifying rivalries and factions within the Jacobite camp, as poverty, persecution, paranoia, and exile turned many "brothers" against each other. The political and religious waters became increasingly murky, as some Anglican backers of Atterbury and Wharton turned against Scottish and Catholic backers of Mar, Ramsay, Maclean, and Radcliffe. Over the next decade, Whig and Hanoverian supporters of Robert Walpole determined to retain control of Freemasonry and to infiltrate rival lodges. Thus, when Pope Clement XII plunged into these turbulent waters in 1738 with his ban on Freemasonry, many Protestants and Catholics were not sure just who he was banning--a problem that still puzzles historians.

In 1723-24 Wharton viewed Ramsay and Mar as allies in the cause. He probably knew that Mar, his former mentor, received permission from James in May 1722 to establish in Scotland "a new military order of knighthood consisting of persons to be called the restoration order."<sup>46</sup> Mar was to bestow membership "particularly to the chiefs of the clans as you shall find them act heartily in our service."<sup>47</sup> In drawing up this proposal, Mar was assisted by Ramsay,

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<sup>44</sup> Jonathan Swift, *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D.D.*, ed. David Wooley (Frankfurt am Main, 1999-2007), II, 494.

<sup>45</sup> Robert Freke Gould, *The History of Freemasonry* (New York: J.C. Yorston, 1885), III, 129-30.

<sup>46</sup> Royal Archives, Windsor. Stuart Papers: 65/39 (16 May 1722). I quote from the microfilm. Henceforth cited as Stuart Papers.

<sup>47</sup> André Kervella argues that over the next decades the "restoration order" went underground in Scotland and re-emerged when Charles Edward Stuart launched the Jacobite rebellion of 1745; see his *Le Mystère de la Rose Blanche: Francs-maçons et Templiers au XVIIIe Siècle* (Paris, 2009), 279-91. On 30 September 1745 in Edinburgh, the Duke of Perth wrote to Lord Ogilvy, "There was a solemn chapter of the Ancient chivalry of the Temple of

who was a keen student of chivalric orders and who later envisioned Freemasonry as a mystical order of knighthood.<sup>48</sup> Given Mar's own Masonic membership and usage of Masonic contacts with Jacobites abroad, it is possible that Ramsay was already affiliated with the fraternity—despite the lack of early documentary evidence. As Ric Berman reminds us, when dealing with early Masonic history, “the lack of data is never conclusive evidence.”<sup>49</sup> Both Ramsay's early biographers, Albert Cherel and George D. Henderson, suggested that he was initiated in the years *before* his visit to London in 1729-30, when he definitely joined a London lodge.<sup>50</sup> But the issue remains controversial among Masonic historians.<sup>51</sup>

Unfortunately for the Jacobites, the efforts by Wharton, Mar, and Ramsay to implement Masonic and/or military-chivalric initiatives against the Hanoverian regime were complicated and frustrated by the embittered Atterbury's paranoid conclusion that Mar had betrayed him and was now acting as a double agent.<sup>52</sup> Thus, though Mar in late 1723 was able to gain an

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Jerusalem...not more than ten Knights were present, for since my Lord of Mar demitted the office of G Master, no general meeting has been called save in your own north convent”; quoted in J.E.S. Tuckett, “Dr. Begemann and the Alleged Templar Chapter at Edinburgh in 1745, *AQC*, 33 (1920), 44. The question of the authenticity of this letter remains controversial, but Swedish Masons—some of whom fought in the '45 with the Jacobite army--believed in the tradition; see Marsha Keith Schuchard, *Emanuel Swedenborg, Secret Agent on Earth and in Heaven: Jacobites, Jews, and Freemasons in Early Modern Sweden* (Leiden, 2011), 396-98, 747, 752-56.

<sup>48</sup> For his later orations, in which he revealed this theme, see Cyril Batham, “The Chevalier Ramsay: a New Appreciation,” *AQC*, 81 (1968), 180-215. Ramsay would later share this chivalric vision with Charles Radcliffe, who became Grand Master of French Freemasonry in December 1736.

<sup>49</sup> Berman, *Foundations*, 252n.43.

<sup>50</sup> Albert Cherel, *Un Aventurier Religieux au XVIIIe Siècle, Andrew Michael Ramsay* (Paris, 1925), 163-64: “Peut-être aussi ces idées étaient-elles déjà maçonnique [before his visit to London]. Car en l'absence de documents nous sommes réduits aux conjectures.” Henderson, *Chevalier Ramsay*, 167: “Possibly through their common interest in Jacobitism and Romanism, Derwentwater and Ramsay would find themselves fellow members of the lodge St. Thomas. It may be presumed that Ramsay was a Mason before his visit to England in 1729-30.” In the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, Nicolas de Bonneville, in *Les Jésuites Chassés de la Maçonnerie et leur Poignard Brisé par les Maçons* (London, 1788), 73-75, claimed that Ramsay was a Mason before he went to England.

<sup>51</sup> Though some Grand Lodge historians disagree, Paul Tunbridge seemed to accept Henderson's “conclusion that Ramsay was a Freemason before his visit to England in 1729-30”; see his article, “The Climate of European Freemasonry, 1730-1750), *AQC*, 81 (1968), 103. Hugo Ball observed that “It seems strange that he was not initiated in France as his Jacobite friends had established a lodge in Paris in 1725; see his note to Batham, “Ramsay,” 311. Pierre Chevallier, in *Histoire de la Franc-Maçonnerie en France* (Paris, 1974), 16, notes that a French historian (Bernard Fay) who had consulted the Stuart Papers at Windsor, concluded that Ramsay went to Rome in 1724 to reveal to the Pope and Pretender “la vraie religion et leur enseigneur la Maçonnerie,” to which Chevallier responded, “La question reste posée.”

<sup>52</sup> Atterbury's charges against Mar are increasingly questioned by scholars; see.

appointment for Ramsay to serve as tutor to the three year-old Charles Edward Stuart in Rome, Atterbury's criticisms of him as Mar's secret agent eventually undermined James's confidence in both men.<sup>53</sup> During his ten months in Rome (from February to November 1724), Ramsay became vulnerable to the more conservative Roman clergy, who feared that he was too liberal in his Fenelonian, universalist brand of Catholicism to be a suitable tutor to the Stuart prince. From Ramsay's later Masonic and philosophic writings, it is clear that he came to view Freemasonry as a bastion of early Stuart ideals of religious toleration, chivalric ritual, and Christian-Kabbalistic mysticism.

His interest in the latter had been reinforced by his discussions with a heterodox Jew in Italy, as recorded by his friend Joseph Spence: "The outward Rabbi Mr. Ramsay met with, his elegant study, etc."<sup>54</sup> The philosophical Jew, who denigrated Moses as "a very great juggler" but admired Jesus as "Un gran filosofo," was probably Dr. Giuseppe Athias, a learned physician, whose "study" (library) at Leghorn contained many Kabbalistic works.<sup>55</sup> Ramsay subsequently studied and quoted from Knorr von Rosenroth's *Kabbala Denudata* (1677), and he affirmed: "I am curious in everything that regards the Jewish Antiquities. I look upon the Rabbinical Cabbala as the Jewish mythology, which is not to be despised."<sup>56</sup> It was evidently his eclectic theosophical beliefs that puzzled and disturbed James, who later observed, "Ramsay is an odd body. He exposed himself strangely here to myself and others, but as yet I will be charitable enough to think him a mad man."<sup>57</sup> When Ramsay discussed his universalist credo with Colonel John Hay, James's chief counselor, the skeptical Scot replied, "For God's sake don't think there is a thing existent as true religion. Mankind is not capable of it. If we were, perhaps at length we might work ourselves up an independency on celestial powers."<sup>58</sup>

The German antiquarian Phillip von Stosch, who acted as the British government's paid spy on the Jacobites in Italy, did not mention Freemasonry when he described Ramsay's predicament in Rome. On 21 November 1724, Stosch reported to his British paymasters that

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Cruikshanks and Erskine-Hill, *Atterbury Plot*, 128-29, 224-226, 284.

<sup>53</sup> Pauline McLynn, "Factionalism among the Exiles in France: the Case of Chevalier Ramsay and Bishop Atterbury," *Royal Stuart Papers*, #33 (Huntingdon, 1989), 3-14.

<sup>54</sup> Joseph Spence, *Observations, Anecdotes, and Characters, of Books and Men*, ed. James Osborn (Oxford, 1966), I, 470.

<sup>55</sup> "Giuseppe Athias," *Dictionario Biographico degli Italiani* (Roma, 1962), IV, 525-26. Ramsay may have met Athias again when the physician visited Paris in spring 1725. In autumn 1726 Ramsay asked Thomas Carte to send him Henry More's "philosophical and Cabbalistical books," "Dr. Allix's upon the Trinity known to the Jews," and a work by "another English divine who wrote lately that the Jews have a perfect knowledge of the mystery of the Trinity"; Bodleian Library: Carte MS. 226, ff. 415-16. Ramsay to Carte (Pointoise, 15 September 1726). Athias would later join the English lodge in Florence.

<sup>56</sup> Spence, *Observations*, I, 470; Carte MS. 226, f. 419. Ramsay to Carte (Paris, 22 November 1736).

<sup>57</sup> James to Dunbar (December 1727); quoted in Alec Mellor, "The Mystery of the Jacobites and the Craft," *Transactions of the Phoenix Lodge*, No. 30, 3 (1971-72), 76.

<sup>58</sup> P. McLynn, *Factionalism*, 14 n. 35.

Ramsay had asked to leave the Stuart court under the pretense that André Hercule de Fleury, Bishop of Frejus, had recalled him to France in order to take care of some personal business affairs. But the real reason was that Ramsay was too free in his discourse with Hay and General Thomas Forster, who “treated his projects and conduct as chimerical.”<sup>59</sup> Stosch did not know that Atterbury had been sending scathing criticisms of Mar and Ramsay, which probably transformed Hay’s once positive attitude into his conclusion that Ramsay “is not zealous enough for the glory of his Master.” The anti-Catholic Stosch, who was a libertine and free-thinker, added that the Roman clergy were a little scandalized, because of Ramsay’s “unbigotted principles” and “his free manner of reasoning *à la Française* on all kinds of matters.” Finally, he was a man of letters among the other ignorant Jacobites: “he appeared an owl among the other birds.”

As he was leaving Italy, Ramsay wrote to the liberal-minded Abbate Antonio Niccolini, who in turn wrote to their mutual friend, the Anglo-Irish diplomat John Molesworth, Britain’s representative in Turin and an anti-Walpolean supporter of Jonathan Swift:

I received a letter from Turin by one Mr. Ramsay. He is one of the greatest genious [*sic*] I knew in my life, no part of the sublime sciences is unknown to him, and though he is of the Pretender’s party, I assure you he hates slavery as much as the greatest Whig in England. Besides he hates bigotry, and rather loves freethinking, in short, he is a fit governor of the gentleman, whom his father intends to educate for King of England, but he is hated by the greatest bigots at the Pretender’s Court, and they say that such a man is not proper to bring up a Roman Catholic prince. The Pretender’s lady is only for him, and esteems him, I think, not to be bigot, as her husband is. I read the plan of the Prince’s education; it is one of the most judicious pieces I saw in my life.<sup>60</sup>

While Ramsay was in Rome, the Tory-supporting *Daily Post* (3 September 1724) carried an odd announcement about the Gormogons, in which the “Rebel Meriweys” is denied membership, while the “Oecumenical Volgee” summons the “Mandarin” to Rome.<sup>61</sup> The German Masonic historian Georg Kloss argues that the Meriweys referred to George I, the Volgee to Ramsay, and the Mandarin to Wharton.<sup>62</sup> Despite a persistent tradition that Ramsay established a Masonic or Gormogon fraternity in Rome, no documents have yet been found to support the claim (though Ulisse Bacce asserts that a commemorative medal, dated 1724, indicates that a lodge was founded in the city that year).<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> National Archives, Kew. State Papers: Italy. 85/15 (21 November 1724). Henceforth cited as State Papers. Stosch used the code name “John Walton.” I have translated his often eccentric French into English.

<sup>60</sup> *HMC. Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections* (London, 1901-14), VIII, 382 (Rome, 3 February 1725, n.s.).

<sup>61</sup> For the paper’s “High Flyer,” Tory position, see Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, I, 311.

<sup>62</sup> Georg Kloss, *Geschichte der Freimaureri in England, Irland und Schottland... (1685-1784* (Leipzig, 1847), 90-104.

<sup>63</sup> Carlo Francovich, *Storia della Massoneria in Italia* (Firenze, 1974), 39, 54; for the medal, see Silvio Gratton, *Trieste Segreta* (Trieste, 1987), 55.

Meanwhile in London, Wharton continued to utilize the Jacobite press to publicize the Gormogons as a more “ancient” alternative to the “modern” Grand Lodge. Finally, in June 1725, he received orders from James to leave England and travel to Vienna, where he would try to negotiate a treaty between the Empire and Spain in support of the Stuart cause. In London, the Masons who met at the King’s Arms, St. Paul’s Churchyard, still considered Wharton to be their Master and expected his eventual return.<sup>64</sup> Their loyalty provoked a satire from a rival Mason, who in *The Pig and the Mastiff* (1725) mocked the “Mystic Lodge,” which “supposes/ Duke Wharton can succeed to Moses.” Wharton carried with him Masonic materials that he would subsequently make available for initiations on the Continent. He avoided going to Paris because of the bitter feud between supporters of Mar and Atterbury, and when he arrived in Vienna, he told the English diplomat Saphorin “that I was of no party and had devoted the remainder of my life to pleasure, that I was weary of politicks and should intermeddle no more in public business.”<sup>65</sup> This kind of claim, plus his often erratic and drunken behavior, has led many historians to believe that he was not a sincere Jacobite, but his “putting on the mask” was always approved by James.<sup>66</sup> One Swedish diplomat at Vienna, Count Carl Gustaf Tessin, supported Wharton’s agenda. Member of an architectural family with 17th-century ties to Scottish Freemasonry, Tessin recorded the attempt of the British agent Stephen Poyntz to bribe him to spy on the Jacobites at the Hapsburg court, which Tessin indignantly refused to do.<sup>67</sup> Tessin would later befriend Ramsay and infuse his Jacobite and chivalric mysticism into Swedish Freemasonry.<sup>68</sup>

Unfortunately for Mar and Ramsay, Wharton became convinced by Atterbury’s steady stream of accusations that they were traitors to the cause, and by December 1725 he promised the embittered Bishop that he will be “entirely directed by him” and will “follow the path set by him.”<sup>69</sup> He thus removed himself from the Scottish and Irish circles in Paris, where Mar still had many supporters. Worried that Atterbury’s anti-Catholic prejudices had alienated Fleury (governor of the young Louis XV), Mar further sensed that the Anglican bishop was “the most prejudiced against Scotland” and “noted how necessary it is for the Scots and Irish to be well together,” and they “ought to look on one another as brothers.”<sup>70</sup> Was Mar instrumental in organizing the first known lodge in Paris, which included many of his defenders? Emerging in 1725-26, the lodge drew members from the Scots-Irish regiments in French service, from descendants of the earlier Stuart court at St. Germain-en-Laye, and other Jacobite exiles.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Paula Backscheider, *Daniel Defoe: Ambition and Innovation* (Lexington, 1986), 127.

<sup>65</sup> Stuart Papers: 84/104 (24 July 1725).

<sup>66</sup> On Wharton’s consistent Jacobite loyalties, see Cruickshanks, “Lord Orrery,” 37-40.

<sup>67</sup> Stuart Papers: 97/98 (28 September 1726); Sigrid Leijonhufvud, ed., *Carl Gustaf Tessins Dagbok, 1748-1752* (Stockholm, 1915), 58.

<sup>68</sup> Marsha Keith Schuchard, “Jacobites and Freemasons in Sweden: Esoteric Intelligence and Exoteric Politics,” *1650-1850: Ideas, Aesthetics, and Inquiries in the Early Modern Era*, 14 (2007), 335, 346, 348.

<sup>69</sup> Stuart Papers: 87/168; 88/154.

<sup>70</sup> Maurice Bruce, “The Duke of Mar in Exile, 1716-1732,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th s., 20 (1937), 169, 171.

<sup>71</sup> Pierre Chevallier, *Les Ducs sous l’Acacia* (Paris, 1964) 27-29, 141; Edward Corp,

Though neither Mar's nor Ramsay's names appear on the list of alleged members, their protégés and confidantes Sir Hector Maclean and Charles Radcliffe played a key role in its foundation. For years, Mar had been solicitous about support for the youthful Maclean's education and well-being and, as chief of the Maclean clan in the Highlands, he would have been selected for Mar's "Restoration Order."<sup>72</sup> After helping to found the Jacobite lodge in Paris in 1725, Maclean probably recruited Masons when he returned to Scotland from May 1726 to August 1728.<sup>73</sup> Mar and the Parisian Jacobites believed that his co-founder Radcliffe would carry on the Derwentwater Masonic tradition in northern England.<sup>74</sup> Trying to avoid further controversy, Mar laid low and acted cautiously. Wharton feared that the wily Scot, "by being a more secret is a more dangerous Enemy"; moreover, "Mar since his disgrace has been continually employing the Art and Cunning of which he is a Master" and has "formed a Cabal to assist him in his projects."<sup>75</sup> Was his "Cabal" a secret Masonic grouping? Atterbury wrote James that Mar "takes delight in lying behind the curtain, and dissecting ye little Machines, in which he plays...without appearing."<sup>76</sup>

In February 1726 Wharton arrived in Rome, where he so impressed James that he was made a Knight of the Garter. Stosch, who vowed to "use wine and money" to get information on him, did not report any Masonic activities.<sup>77</sup> However, there is a tradition (undocumented) that Wharton participated in a Gormogon lodge in Rome.<sup>78</sup> Cyril Batham states that Ramsay met Wharton in Rome "in 1724/25," but the meeting, if it took place, would have occurred after Wharton's arrival in February 1726.<sup>79</sup> Stosch reported that Ramsay was indeed in Rome at this time, acting as governor to Richard Hales.<sup>80</sup> However, Masonic historians have not noticed that Wharton now shared Atterbury's hostility to Ramsay and Mar, for they have assumed that there was a united front among the Jacobite Masons. Wharton gave his single-minded allegiance to Atterbury, the Anglican Duke of Ormonde, and the Episcopalian Earl Marischal, George Keith--all of whom nurtured private anti-Catholic attitudes and who were distrusted by Fleury. When Ramsay returned to Paris in July, he spent ten days with Mar, while the two continued to work on their controversial scheme to make James the ruler of the independent kingdoms of Scotland

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"The Stuart Court at St. Germain-en-Laye," in *Lord Burlington*, 10-12, 20-21.

<sup>72</sup> Stuart Papers: 57/9 (5 January 1722); 72/152 (5 March 1724); 74/36 (12 June 1724).

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 93/59 (16 May 1726); 118/147 (2 August 1728).

<sup>74</sup> For the executed James Radcliffe's Masonic associations, see Frederick Pick, "Preston--the Gild and the Craft," *AQC*, 59 ((1948), 105; Norrie Paton, *The Jacobites: Their Roots, Rebellions, and Links with Freemasonry* (Fareham, 1994), 23; Leo Gooch, *The Desperate Faction? The Jacobites of North-East England, 1688-1745* (Hull, 1995), 38-40.

<sup>75</sup> Stuart Papers: 87/168 (November 1725); 91/63 (February 1726).

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 101/19 (30 December 1726).

<sup>77</sup> State Papers: 85/16 (30 March 1726).

<sup>78</sup> Francovich, *Storia*, 39.

<sup>79</sup> Batham, "Ramsay," 286. He notes that Ramsay was possibly involved in Freemasonry before going to England through his contact with Wharton in 1724/25.

<sup>80</sup> State Papers: 85/15 (29 December 1725). Ramsay was still in Italy on 3 July 1726; see John Ingamells, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy, 1701-1800* (New Haven, 1997), 443. I am grateful to Edward Corp for these references.

and Ireland, under the military protection of France--a scheme that Atterbury and his partisans strongly opposed.<sup>81</sup>

It seems likely that Wharton was already being recruited to Marischal's quasi-Masonic, mock-chivalric Order of Toboso, for he had recently described himself as "full of the Spirit of Knight Errantry," while he emulates his "famous predecessor Don Quixot" and ruminates "on all my Books of Chivalry."<sup>82</sup> When he arrived in Spain, he was welcomed by the Irish Anglican parson Ezekiel Hamilton, a Mason and Knight of Toboso, who drank restorationist toasts "to a fair meeting on the green," the ritual gesture of the Order.<sup>83</sup> Hamilton described Toboso as a military order, and he worked with Wharton on a special cipher to serve the organizers of a future invasion of Britain.<sup>84</sup> Wharton founded a Masonic lodge in Madrid, which must have worked cooperatively with Marischal, also a Mason, and the Order of Toboso.<sup>85</sup> From this point on, the waters of Jacobite Freemasonry become even muddier for the historian.

Meanwhile in Britain, resistance to the dominance of the Grand Lodge of London increased in northern England and Ireland. On 27 December 1726 in York, the Jacobite antiquarian and physician Francis Drake claimed that the cathedral city, not London, was the most ancient center of Masonry and deserved the title of Grand Lodge of *Totius Anglia*. In a provocative footnote he added that the medieval King Edward's "Chief Seat of Residence was at Derventio," a subtle reference to the ancestral home of the Earls of Derwentwater.<sup>86</sup> It seems certain that Drake was aware of Charles Radcliffe's Masonic role in Paris, despite the extreme secrecy maintained over Jacobite activities at St. Germain. Radcliffe was soon able to act more energetically in the Jacobite cause. After many unsuccessful attempts to woo a wealthy Scottish widow, the Countess of Newburgh, the irrepressible Radcliffe slid down her chimney, begged on bended knee, and won her as his bride.

In January 1727 Radcliffe left Paris for Turin, where he solicited funding from James to bring his family to Italy, adding that he hoped to see the King "this year with Sword in Hand."<sup>87</sup> In July Stosch reported that Radcliffe, his rich wife, and her beautiful daughters had arrived in Rome, bringing with them much "merchandise of gallantry."<sup>88</sup> Describing him as "brother of the decapitated Lord Derwentwater," Stosch soon became convinced that Radcliffe was the most dangerous enemy to England's Hanoverian government, for his charismatic personality,

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<sup>81</sup> Stuart Papers: 95/35 (July 1726); Erskine, "Mar's Legacies," 151-56; Henderson, *Ramsay*, 102.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 90/ 98. (10 February 1726).

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 93/111 (July 1726).

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 93/111a; quoted in Robert Collis, "'To a Fair Meeting on the Green: The Order of Toboso and Jacobite Fraternal Networks, 1726-1739,'" forthcoming article.

<sup>85</sup> R. Gould, "Wharton," 128-29. According to Frank McLynn, Hamilton, Marischal, and Ormonde were all Freemasons; see his *Charles Edward Stuart* (1988; Oxford 1991), 532.

<sup>86</sup> Douglas Knoop and G.P. Hamer, *Early Masonic Pamphlets* (1945; London, 1978), 205.

<sup>87</sup> Stuart Papers: 101/137 (18 January 1727); 102/84 (30 January 1727).

<sup>88</sup> State Papers: 105/124 (19 July 1727).



generous entertaining, and attractive family gained adherents among English as well as Italian visitors to their home.<sup>89</sup> He was especially disturbed by Radcliffe's occasional disappearances, when he could not track him in Italy.<sup>90</sup> As we shall see, these were occasions when the daring young man secretly visited France and England, where he made Masonic contacts. However, in a pattern that is surprising, Stosch did not report on any Jacobite Masonic activities during his decade-long surveillance over Radcliffe in Italy.<sup>91</sup>

Back in Spain, the increasingly alcoholic Wharton converted to Catholicism in order to marry an Irish maid-in-waiting to the Spanish Queen, a move that greatly distressed Atterbury. Ezekiel Hamilton wrote to Hay (now titular Earl of Inverness) that Wharton, whom he initially admired as a genius, is determined to become tutor to Prince Charles Edward Stuart. Hamilton probably remembered that when Ramsay was appointed tutor to the three year-old prince, Wharton had expressed his hope that the teacher "might inculcate his royal charge with a taste for pleasurable vice."<sup>92</sup> Hamilton now feared that as "an illustrious member of the Hell-Fire club," he will "attempt to Bamboozle or Whartonize the King," and change "the mild and merciful Temper of the Stuarts into that of a Caligula or a Nero."<sup>93</sup> Wharton also wants to become leader of the Papists in England, since he considers the Duke of Norfolk to be "a weak and unactive man." (This latter point will become relevant to the Masonic activities of Ramsay and Norfolk in England in 1729-30).

In May 1727, Wharton's participation with the Spanish army in the siege of Gibraltar (in which he drunkenly taunted the British soldiers with obscenities and huzzahs for the Pretender), led George II to declare him a traitor. Though his military exploit won plaudits from many Jacobites, his rash behavior in Spain distressed James, who tried to prevent him from coming to Italy. After the death of George I in June, many Jacobites and Tories hoped for a more conciliatory reign, because it was widely believed that George II not only despised his late father but Prime Minister Walpole. In June, Wharton's old friend Jonathan Swift wrote enthusiastically to his Jacobite colleague Thomas Sheridan: "The talk now is for a moderating scheme, wherein nobody shall be used worse or better for being called Whig or Tory and the King [George II] hath received both with great equality... It is agreed the ministry will be changed, but the others

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 85/16, f. 536 (12 May 1729).

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 105/235, 238, 241 (October-November 1727).

<sup>91</sup> According to Ferrer-Benimeli, although no traces of the Jacobite lodge in Rome have been found in the Vatican archives, they could be in a section still prohibited to scholars; see his *Les Archives Secrètes du Vatican et la Franc-Maçonnerie* (Paris, 1989), 128. The only evidence for the existence of the lodge is the Minute Book of 1735-1737, which was unknown to outsiders until November 1800, when John McGowan gave it to the Grand Lodge of Scotland; it became public knowledge when F.J. Hughan published it in *The Jacobite Lodge at Rome, 1735-1737* (Torquay, 1910).

<sup>92</sup> Alice Shield and Andrew Lang, *The King Over the Water* (London, 1907), 368.

<sup>93</sup> Stuart Papers: 95/110 (20 July 1726). An intelligence report from Rome in 1726 claimed that "Wharton was to be governor to the Pretender's son"; see Berman, *Foundations*, 267n.75.

will have a soft fall.”<sup>94</sup> Rumors circulated that Wharton would make his peace with the government in order to recover his vast estates. It was perhaps this context which prompted members of his lodge in Madrid to write to the London Grand Lodge on 15 February 1728 to praise Wharton’s actions as “a second Deputy” to Henry Hare, Lord Colerane, current English Grand Master.<sup>95</sup> The officers claimed that Wharton approved their sending to London the lodge proceedings, bye-laws, and membership list, as well as a request to be listed as a regularly constituted lodge in the London records--a request granted on 17 April.

In the meantime, Wharton determined to return to the Stuart court. In May 1728 he secretly arrived in Parma, where James reluctantly agreed to meet with him, before Wharton set off for France--with his own private agenda. In June James alerted his agent Daniel O’Brien that “Wharton should be in or about Paris. I saw him privately. I don’t know what his real intentions are, though he swears loyalty.”<sup>96</sup> At this time, O’Brien--an early member of the Jacobite lodge in Paris--was defending Ramsay, Mar, Dillon, and Lords Lansdowne and North as innocent of Atterbury’s slanders.<sup>97</sup> The Bishop’s irrational jealousies and intemperate attacks were alienating not only the Parisian Masons but also Wharton and James. The duke defended O’Brien against Atterbury, whom he described as “one who can be pleased with nobody,” while James complained about the bishop’s “peevish letters.”<sup>98</sup> Several Jacobites now worked to reconcile Wharton with Mar, and the former tried to curb his drinking, while (ironically) accusing the latter of drunkenness.<sup>99</sup> Moving to Rouen, Wharton worked with the Jacobite printer Nathaniel Mist to publish a series of blistering attacks upon Walpolean and Hanoverian corruption in England, which “enraged Walpole and Queen Caroline,” while they gained the admiration (and forgiveness) of Mar’s and Ramsay’s supporters in Paris.<sup>100</sup> As he worked to re-establish his reputation, the jubilant duke reported to James that he was meeting with “negotiators” from Ireland and the City of London who will organize a rising, but this must be kept secret even from James’s courtiers.<sup>101</sup>

During this period, Wharton served as Grand Master of the Jacobite Masons in France.<sup>102</sup> Returning to Paris in February 1729, he managed to keep his role so secret that Earl Waldegrave, the British ambassador who was ordered to keep a strict watch on him, seemed unaware of his Masonic activities, reporting only that Wharton “lies hid in Paris” and that he “is honoured with a guard at St. Germain.”<sup>103</sup> Neither Waldegrave nor Fleury could penetrate the privileged privacy granted to the palace by Louis XIV and maintained by Louis XV. Unfortunately, this halcyon period was short-lived. Despite his pious boast that he drank only a pint of wine at dinner and a

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<sup>94</sup> Swift, *Correspondence*, III, 100-01.

<sup>95</sup> Robert F. Gould, “Wharton,” 128-29.

<sup>96</sup> Stuart Papers: 117/85 (20 June 1726).

<sup>97</sup> O’Brien’s name appears on the list published by Bord, Chevallier, and Corp.

<sup>98</sup> Stuart Papers: 118/157 (6 August 1728); 120/100 (20 September 1728).

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 122/110 (19 December 1728).

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 119/112 (28 August 1728); 120/185 (18 September 1728).

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 118/66 (17 July 1728).

<sup>102</sup> B.J. Bergquist, *St. Johannislogen den Nordiska Första* (Stockholm, 1935), 46-48.

<sup>103</sup> State Papers: 78/196 (19 February 1729); 78/196 (23 February 1729).

bottle at supper, Wharton's extravagance led the thrifty James to order him back to Spain, which provoked the duke to lament, "My returning to Spain...would seem to me as if I were doom'd to be buried alive."<sup>104</sup> By May 1729 Wharton's worsening alcoholism and enormous debts forced him to leave Paris, just when new Masonic initiatives were planned by the Jacobites.

Since May 1728 James's agents in Paris had debated a request from a party of Catholics in England that they make submission to George II in order to gain relief from the severe penalties inflicted on Papists in the wake of the Atterbury plot.<sup>105</sup> In June Sylvester Lloyd, an Irish priest, wrote James that "the Duke of Norfolk and others of the chief Catholics" in England seem willing to take the Oath of Allegiance to get relief from the Penal Laws and that they want to employ Ramsay as the negotiator.<sup>106</sup> Lloyd warned that the move would be "injurious" to James's cause, especially because some of the agents previously involved were "despised and hated by all honest men in London." Despite the elite status of Thomas Howard, 8<sup>th</sup> Duke of Norfolk, and Lord Stafford, who both solicited Ramsay's services, he must have been warned, for Lewis Innes soon wrote James that Ramsay would now "scarcely venture to meddle in that matter, unless very privately." On 16 January 1729 Ramsay wrote the Jacobite historian Thomas Carte, a fellow Mason, that he still planned to travel to London, and he wrote a French colleague that he would not be able to correspond with their friends, especially those Jacobites at Avignon, a "city famous for its laudable attachment to the rightful King." He added, "You understand me, *verbum sapienti sot est*" (a word to the wise is sufficient).<sup>107</sup> Frustrated at the caution and inaction of Fleury (now chief minister) and James, it seems that the Jacobite Masons determined to push their agenda independently of cardinal and king.

The first move was made by the Duke of Norfolk, whom Wharton had earlier hoped to replace as leader of the English Catholics. Scion of a powerful Catholic family, Norfolk had served as "Mayor" of the Jacobite secret society, the Corporation of Walton-le-Dale, in 1709-11, when he was succeeded by his close friend, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Derwentwater.<sup>108</sup> W.E. Moss reports that the initiates "met in secret, practiced secret ceremonies, had passwords, and a mace and other insignia"; he observes further that the "*mise en scene* is Masonic."<sup>109</sup> In 1715 Norfolk sent £2,000 to James III to support the rebellion. His younger brother Edward joined Mar's campaign, was taken in arms at Preston, and charged with high treason.<sup>110</sup> Norfolk appealed to George I to

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<sup>104</sup> Stuart Papers: 120/151 (1 September 1728).

<sup>105</sup> George D. Henderson, *Chevalier Ramsay* (London, 1952), 131

<sup>106</sup> P. Fagan, *Ireland*, 111-12.

<sup>107</sup> Françoise Weil, "Ramsay et la Franc-Maçonnerie," *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France*, 63 (1963), 274. For Carte's Masonic affiliation, see Paul Monod, "Thomas Carte, the Druids and British National Identity," in Paul Monod, Murray Pittock, and Daniel Szechi, eds., *Loyalty and Identity: Jacobites at Home and Abroad* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2010), 137.

<sup>108</sup> F. Skeet, *Life of the Right Honourable James Radcliffe, Third Earl of Derwentwater* (London: Hutchinson, 1929), 42.

<sup>109</sup> W.E. Moss, "Freemasonry in France in 1725-1735," *AQC*, 47 (1934), 105. He suggests that Charles Radcliffe was also a member and that he was "likely" a Mason before he went to France.

<sup>110</sup> Paul Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688-1788* (Cambridge, 1989), 133-

acquit Edward, and it was rumored that he vowed his personal loyalty to the regime. His ardently Jacobite wife then left him for “truckling to the usurper,” and moved in with a lover, Peregrine Widdrington, who had been “out” in the 1715. Paul Monod reveals that Norfolk wrote “a cringing letter” to James, defending his conduct: “I have always aimed in all my actions to serve you... I flatter myself that if my enemys should asperse me that you would not believe me capable of anything prejudicial to your interest.”<sup>111</sup> In October 1722 Norfolk was arrested in Bath and charged with complicity in the Atterbury Plot; he was imprisoned in the Tower until May 1723, when he was released because of lack of evidence. Though he subsequently played a neutral role in public, he privately remained loyal to the cause; in 1725 he was listed by Wharton as a Stuart supporter.<sup>112</sup> It was rumored that he melted down the ducal plate to send funds to James, and as late as 1731 the Jacobites still expected financial contributions from him.

This secretive Jacobite context makes Norfolk’s Masonic actions in 1729-30 especially provocative. According to James Anderson, the duke came from an ancient Masonic family, a connection he may have exploited in order to gain influence in the Grand Lodge system.<sup>113</sup> On 27 February 1729, he joined the Horn Lodge, Westminster, which included many government placemen, members of Parliament, and two former Whig Grand Masters (Desaguliers and the 2nd Duke of Richmond). Ironically, it was Richmond, a staunch Whig, who served as Master of the lodge and presided over Norfolk’s initiation.<sup>114</sup> Like Wharton earlier, Norfolk seemed to “keep on the mask” in his dealings with the Hanoverians.

Given his recent outreach to Ramsay in the plan to seek relief from the government on Catholic disabilities, Norfolk must have welcomed the chevalier when he arrived in London in March 1729. Ramsay’s stated purpose was the solicitation of subscribers to an expanded English edition of his philosophical novel, *The Travels of Cyrus*, to be issued by the Nonjuring, Jacobite printer James Bettenham, whom he would later call upon to publish his famous Masonic oration. Some historians, who believed that he was already a Mason, suggest that he hoped to introduce “une Maçonnerie nouvelle,” which drew on his interest in Jewish-Oriental mysticism and chivalric traditions.<sup>115</sup> Ramsay and Norfolk were surely aware that the attainted Charles Radcliffe, their old friend, arrived secretly in London in June 1729, when he secretly contacted various Jacobites and Masons.

It is known that Radcliffe met frequently with John Byrom, Grand Master of the “Cabala Club” and director of the Jacobite “network of espionage” between Manchester and Scotland.<sup>116</sup>

34; John M. Robinson, *The Dukes of Norfolk* (Oxford, 1982)149-54.

<sup>111</sup> Stuart Papers: 47/79; quoted in Monod, 134.

<sup>112</sup> Stuart Papers: 83/89 (June 1725). Norfolk was also listed as a Jacobite in French diplomatic archives; see Kervella, *Le Mystère*, 51-52.

<sup>113</sup> Anderson, *Constitutions* (1738), 99.

<sup>114</sup> Berman, *Foundations*, 157.

<sup>115</sup> Bonneville, *Les Jésuites*, 74; Claude Antoine Thory, *Acta Latomorum* (Paris, 1815), I, 23; Albert Cherel, *Fenelon au XVIIIe Siècle en France, 1715-1820* (Paris, 1934), 63.

<sup>116</sup> Joy Hancox, *The Queen’s Chameleon: The Life of John Byrom* (London, 1994), 79, 81, 98.

Like Radcliffe, Byrom was a Mason (member of “the French lodge which in 1730 was meeting at the Swan in Long Acre”).<sup>117</sup> While Byrom eagerly arranged meetings with the elusive Radcliffe, he was teased by Martin Folkes, his Whig Masonic friend, that it was rumored that he had “gone to Rome afoot to see the Pretender.” In a later pamphlet, a Whig author claimed that Radcliffe began to frequently visit England *incognito*, using the name “Johns,” while he sowed seeds of rebellion; even worse, “the secrets of government” were thus “betrayed to the enemy.”<sup>118</sup> Stosch, who kept his spies on the watch for Radcliffe, admitted in 1732 that the “Jacobite *outré*” had earlier managed to visit England at least twice since his escape from Newgate prison in 1716.<sup>119</sup>

In July 1729 Ramsay wrote to old Jacobite friends in Scotland, soliciting subscriptions while noting that “tho my notions be sometimes eccentricat and projectile, yet I hope the great principle of attraction prevails.”<sup>120</sup> He affirmed that “If I had either money or time I would have certainly gone to Scotland to embrace your Lo. Feet, and those of some other friends whose tender regard I look upon as the principal happiness of this mortal state.” In August 1729 Ramsay wrote Caumont that he was working for an alliance between the Royal Society of London and the Academy of Sciences at Paris. He discussed with certain Fellows his “ether theory” and revealed “a high idea of the Geometry of the Grand and Sovereign Architect.”<sup>121</sup> In December he was elected to Fellowship in the Royal Society.

In November 1729 Ramsay wrote Caumont that he was receiving much support for his expanded edition of *Cyrus*, in which he developed “several dogmas of antiquity and several points of theology which have a rapport with our sacred mysteries.”<sup>122</sup> He then described an astronomical machine constructed by “mylord Orrery.” Though Françoise Weil assumed that Ramsay did not carry out a Jacobite mission, the fact (unknown to her) that he spent much time with Charles Boyle, 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Orrery, suggests otherwise. Orrery had long participated in Jacobite intrigues, in collaboration with Atterbury and Wharton and, according to André Kervella, he was a Freemason.<sup>123</sup> Orrery was currently corresponding with the Stuart court, while he and Henry Hyde, Lord Cornbury, were making lists of potential supporters for a restoration.<sup>124</sup> They hoped to attract various disaffected Whigs, and the Masonic lodges would provide potential recruiting grounds. The two conspirators were probably contacted by Radcliffe, who had earlier known Orrery, when he carried out secret Jacobite missions to Paris.

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 255n.15. Information sent to Hancox by the Librarian of the United Grand Lodge of England.

<sup>118</sup> Anon., *A Sketch of the Life and Character of Mr. Radcliffe* (London, 1746), 19. At the time of this writing, Radcliffe was imprisoned in the Tower, awaiting execution.

<sup>119</sup> State Papers: 98/37 (2 August 1732).

<sup>120</sup> Henderson, *Ramsay*, 137-38.

<sup>121</sup> Wellcome Medical Library: MS 5744. Ramsay, Letter #6.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., Letter #7. The letter is dated London, 21 November, which had to be in 1729, though Weil places it after one on 25 August 1730; see her “Ramsay,” 275.

<sup>123</sup> Andre Kervella, *Le Chevalier Ramsay: Une Fierce Ecossaise* (Paris, 2009), 173-74.

<sup>124</sup> Lawrence Barkley Smith, *Charles Boyle, 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Orrery* (Edinburgh, 1994), 443-44.

On 25 December 1729, Orrery's son John wrote to a Mr. Salkeld that his father was with him at Britwell:

This Christmas has likewise brought down hither the Chevalier Ramsay, who was born in Scotland and educated in France. Methinks *un Ecossois Francois* appears like a Tulip engrafted upon a Thistle. One is afraid to venture near the Scotch Root, but one is allured Toward it by the gaudy Colours of the prominent Flower. I look upon this doughty Knight as the true Representative of the Book He is going to publish, a pious Romance at once fictitious and improving.<sup>125</sup>

The son then wrote a long, peculiar diatribe against the Scots, with a few exceptions, adding that "The Highlanders are indeed a dreadfull people" (i.e., inspiring dread or fear). The Irish Masonic historian J.H. Lepper suggests that the letter used Jacobite code names to convey secret intelligence, while his English colleague J.E.S. Tuckett observes that it seemed to convey "an intimation of the different degree of readiness of the Highlander as compared with the Lowlander—readiness to take active steps for the cause. But whether readiness means a state of preparation or good will to the cause is not clear."<sup>126</sup> Orrery's modern biographer J.B. Smith suggests that Ramsay, "the mysterious Jacobite Freemason," supplied French intelligence to Orrery, who was urged by James to travel to Paris in order to make new approaches to the French court.<sup>127</sup>

Given this secret context of Jacobite-Masonic intrigues, new developments concerning the Duke of Norfolk become especially provocative. On 27 December 1729, Norfolk was proposed by the current Grand Master, James King, 4th Baron Kingston, to succeed him as head of the Grand Lodge. An Irish member of the House of Lords, Kingston had watched his father suffer because of his conversion to Catholicism and commitment to Jacobitism.<sup>128</sup> In 1722, the year of the Atterbury plot, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Baron Kingston was arrested in Ireland on suspicion that his son "was concerned in enlisting men for the service of the Pretender."<sup>129</sup> King *filis* fled to London while the case was still pending.<sup>130</sup> After warnings from Irish and English authorities, he converted to Anglicanism, took the oaths, and joined the House of Lords in 1728 and the Irish Privy Council in 1729. Nevertheless, suspicions about his Jacobite sympathies lingered.

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<sup>125</sup> Countess of Cork and Orrery, ed., *The Orrery Papers* (London, 1903), I, 75-77. Salkeld was evidently a member of the staunch Jacobite family; see Monod, *Jacobitism*, 309, 316, 328.

<sup>126</sup> John Heron Lepper, "The Earl of Orrery, Chevalier Ramsay, John Kempe," *AQC*, 35 (1922), 77-78.

<sup>127</sup> Smith, *Charles Boyle*, 444.

<sup>128</sup> Kingston's father followed James II to France and served on his Council at St. Germain; see W.K. Firminger, "Members of the Lodge at the Harrow and Bear," *AQC*, 48 (1935), 106.

<sup>129</sup> Murphy, "Irish Jacobitism," 79.

<sup>130</sup> Eammon O Ciardha, *Ireland and the Jacobite Cause, 1685-1766* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2002), 200.

Certainly, his nomination of the Catholic Norfolk means that his critics may have been right.

In March 1730, a new lodge was set up, which met at The Harrow and Bear, with the Grand Master Norfolk, late Grand Master Kingston, and Deputy Grand Master Nathaniel Blackerby in attendance. W.K. Firminger reports on the number of significant Jacobites who became members, including John Webb (whose sister Anna Marie had married James Radcliffe, the “martyred” 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Derwentwater); Sir David Threipland (who was “out” in 1715 and who was advised by James III to return to England, since he is “firm as rock in his principles” and should “accept a license to go home,” even if offered by a Whig, because “One man there is worth ten here”); and Sir Henry Goring (who became the most trusted advisor to Charles Edward Stuart).<sup>131</sup> Though Firminger denies a Jacobite motive in the forming of the lodge, he admits that “it is true that birds of a feather flock together.” In that same month, March 1730, Ramsay was initiated into the Horn lodge, whose Master Richmond, now served under the Grand Mastership of the crypto-Jacobite Norfolk.

In April, Ramsay’s Jacobite contacts further paid off, when the Earl of Arran, chancellor of the University of Oxford and brother of the exiled Duke of Ormonde, proposed him for an honorary doctorate of law.<sup>132</sup> An undergraduate strongly opposed Ramsay, on the grounds of his well-known Jacobitism, but Dr. William King, head of St. Mary’s Hall, came to his defense. King had earlier participated in the Swedish-Jacobite and Atterbury plots, and continued to serve the cause; he was also allegedly a Freemason.<sup>133</sup> In August Ramsay wrote Caumont that he was shut up with his printer, working night and day to bring out the French edition of *Cyrus*. He noted his reception at Oxford but also criticized the free-thinking and irreverence of the English:

Here they vomit injuries against the Church and State without fear of anathemas or prison. They say everything they think and they think whatever they want. This liberty furnishes a variety of characters and the spectacle is diverting enough for the imagination but it desolates reason and virtue.<sup>134</sup>

As he planned his return to France, he must have been pleased by a report that was currently circulating about the current Grand Master. On 20 August the *Norwich Gazette*, a Jacobite paper which had steadily covered Norfolk’s rise within Freemasonry, published a startling claim:

We hear that some Gentlemen returned lately from France amongs other things say, That His Most Christian Majesty had been made a FREE-MASON, in the usual Forms, by the Duke of Norfolk Grand Master of the Society; and that His Majesty hardly ever appeared more merry, than he did at that Ceremony.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> Firminger, “Members,” 102-13.

<sup>132</sup> Henderson, *Ramsay*, 141-43.

<sup>133</sup> King would stay with Ramsay in Paris in late 1736, when Ramsay was preparing his famous Masonic oration.

<sup>134</sup> Weil, “Ramsay,” 275.

<sup>135</sup> Gilbert Daynes, “The Duke of Norfolk, 1730-1731,” *AQC*, 29 (1926), 109-10. In

This Jacobite report probably represented wishful thinking, but Ramsay definitely harbored ambitions to initiate the French king. However, this is the only known report of Louis XV's affiliation taking place before 1737.

While Norfolk was in Paris, the Jacobites initiated three young Swedish noblemen--Johan Sack, Gustaf Horn, and Nils Bielke--who were strong supporters of the Stuarts. In fact, Norfolk's purchase and gift of the sword of the famous Swedish warrior king, Gustavus Adolphus, for use in Grand Lodge meetings was probably part of this Jacobite outreach to Sweden. When Norfolk travelled to Italy, Stosch reported in December that the Duke "will have a difficult role to play here, where his name is known by so many."<sup>136</sup> On 13 January 1731 Colonel Burges, the English consul in Venice, reported that Norfolk, with "young Mr. Southcott," was in the city but did not plan to go to Rome, "which he may fear would give some umbrage at home, which he has too much prudence, and I hope, too much duty for his Majesty to do at any time."<sup>137</sup> Young Southcott was a relative of the Abbé Thomas Southcott, who was the principal revenue collector for the Stuarts in 1715-18, when he promised James III that he could raise funds from the Duke of Norfolk for the Swedish-Gyllenborg plot; he subsequently became the close friend of Alexander Pope and Chevalier Ramsay (whose journey to England he helped plan).<sup>138</sup> He currently occupied a high position among Jacobite churchmen in France. Thus, despite Norfolk's caution, his traveling companion would certainly rouse suspicion among Walpole's many spies in Italy.

Though Burges hoped that Norfolk was loyal to George II, the Jacobites in London still expected support from him. On 15 January 1731 they wrote Mist the printer, now at Boulogne, that Norfolk should be approached "by proper persons" on "your side of the water" to contribute a large sum to a planned rising, but Norfolk "is very covetous and proud, and must be promised large interest."<sup>139</sup> On 8 February Mist wrote to James that Norfolk "must needs have a great sum by him" from leases he "obtained, I won't say bought, from an Act of Parliament" that allow him to make huge sums from fines.<sup>140</sup> It is unknown if Norfolk met with James or the Jacobite Masons in Italy, but when he returned to England he was placed under surveillance by Walpole. He then became the victim of a mysterious and prolonged illness. When he died on 23 December 1732, his friend Sir Thomas Robinson reported that his case "entirely puzzled the doctors... It is currently reported that he was poisoned."<sup>141</sup> He was succeeded by his younger brother Edward,

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Henry Cossgrave's *Norwich Gazette*, there is found "a genuine strain of provincial Jacobite journalism," and Cossgrave was arrested for Jacobite libels in 1718; see Monod, *Jacobitism*, 30.

<sup>136</sup> State Papers: 98/32 (14 December 1730).

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., 99/63 (13 January 1731).

<sup>138</sup> Abbot Geoffrey Scott, "Thomas Southcott, 2671-1748," *English Benedictine Congregation History Commission--Symposium*, 2002, 1-5.

<sup>139</sup> Stuart Papers: 142/142 (15 January 1731).

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., 142/141 (8 February 31).

<sup>141</sup> Bowing to Walpole's pressure (and possibly fear for his life), the 9th Duke of Norfolk played a loyal role in public, but he continued his private Jacobite support; see Monod, *Jacobitism*, 134. In 1737 a secret assembly of Jacobite Catholics was held at his London



who had been arrested for treason in 1715 and was now excluded from official court and government positions. His “accommodationist” wife personally vowed loyalty to George II, but Edward quietly kept up his Jacobite ties.<sup>142</sup>

In July 1731, the Earl Marischal, George Keith, traveled from Spain to Rome, where he was warmly welcomed by James, but he soon intensified the factions among the Jacobites. He was determined to replace Lord Dunbar and his allies as James’s counselors with himself, Ormonde, and Atterbury. Though he met regularly with Radcliffe, who tried to smooth over the rivalries, Marischal’s egotistical behavior--supported by the hot-tempered slanders of Ezekiel Hamilton--eventually became counter-productive. In August 1731 Hamilton wrote James to defend himself, “as a true Knight,” against his enemies’ charges that he is “warm, passionate, violent, intractable,” but the King was so annoyed by the constant attacks on Mar, Dillon, and O’Brien that he urged Ormonde to come to Rome “to deliver us from Zeckie...for he is very troublesome and malicious and I am afraid has a good deal to say to Lord Marischal, whose great hero is the Bishop [Atterbury]... I am in great hopes he [Marischal] will not be spoiled by them.”<sup>143</sup> While Marischal alternatively blustered or sulked, James finally reasserted himself and wrote Inverness that “Marischal has resolved not to meddle, and is probably a little ashamed of his role in this affair, but has been misled by Zecky who has shown...a spirit of faction and disrespect for me.”<sup>144</sup> In September James wrote, “I believe Lord Marischal and Zeckie are pretty much convinced that I am not be managed like a child, and that I will take my own way, and follow my own judgement.”<sup>145</sup> James was particularly angry at their attempt to wean Charles Edward away from him and the Catholic church, for they hoped to take the Prince to Avignon to be educated as a Protestant under Ormonde.<sup>146</sup> Because Lord Bolingbroke, whom James detested, pushed for a similar plan to move the Prince to Protestant Switzerland, James feared that these Protestant Jacobites were being manipulated by Hanoverian agents.

While the “Atterbury faction” schemed to de-Catholicize the Stuart cause, Radcliffe tried to conciliate them with the Pope and James’s supporters at the papal court. He knew that Stosch and his agents spread rumors and fomented quarrels, so he determined to drive the spy out of Rome. Stosch complained to the English ministry that the Jacobites say that “I am a dangerous man who forms pernicious plans against the Pretender. The Catholics of Britain and Ireland say I fear neither God nor man, am an Atheist and Machievellian.”<sup>147</sup> He reported that Radcliffe threatened him with assassination, until he was finally forced to flee to Florence in February

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residence; Stuart Papers: 194/159 (15 March 1737). In 1745, after his steward joined the Jacobite rebels, the duke vouched for his own loyalty to the government, but his house was nevertheless searched for arms. In 1747, when the “Duke of Norfolk’s Mason Lodge” was placed on the Scottish roll, members claimed that it was founded in 1685; see Robert F. Gould, *Military Lodges* (London, 1899), 40.

<sup>142</sup> Monod, *Jacobitism*, 134.

<sup>143</sup> Stuart Papers: 147/84 (30 July 1731); 147/195 (14 August 1731).

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., 148/57 (29 August 1731).

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., 148/182 (26 September 1731).

<sup>146</sup> State Papers: 78/203 (14 August, 23 November 1732).

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., 98/32, f. 44 (30 March 1730).

1731. Employing new spies to watch the Stuart court in Rome, he reported that Radcliffe and “his Cabal” and “Le Club” held private meetings in their residences which his agents could not penetrate.<sup>148</sup> He did not connect these with Masonry, and it is still unknown whether he knew about the Masonic affiliation of Radcliffe, Marischal, Hamilton, and Ormonde. From the surviving fragment of Jacobite lodge records, which run from August 1735 to August 1737, it is clear that the brothers in Rome had held earlier meetings. Surprisingly, no reference to this lodge has yet been found in Stosch’s voluminous papers, though he would later report fully on the Hanoverian lodge in Florence.

If Stosch was unaware of Jacobite Masonic activity, his paymasters Walpole and Newcastle were not, which may have influenced the Grand Lodge to mount a countermovement on the Continent. In September 1731 Desaguliers, who was giving lectures in The Hague, initiated Duke Francis of Lorraine, designated future husband of the Hapsburg heir apparent, Maria Theresa. In October the Prime Minister held a special lodge in his own home in Norfolk at which Duke Francis was raised to the third Master’s degree. Also initiated were Walpole himself, while Newcastle--his anti-Jacobite secretary of state--received the Master’s degree.<sup>149</sup> The Prime Minister hoped to secure Austria to a new alliance, for he feared that the unravelling of the uncomfortable Hanoverian Alliance between England, France, and Sweden would give the Jacobites new opportunities. Having infiltrated lodges in England and France, Walpole’s agents helped organize a loyalist lodge in Florence, where Stosch and the Jewish physician Dr. Athias were among the first members.<sup>150</sup> The lodge attracted Whig diplomats and loyalist travellers, plus various liberal Italian intellectuals.

In the meantime, Marischal utilized his quasi-Masonic Order of Toboso to hold secret ceremonial and fraternal gatherings. The Knights sponsored mock-chivalric contests and made restorationist toasts “to a fair meeting on the green”; more importantly, they initiated the twelve year-old Charles Edward and seven year-old Henry Stuart, which apparently did not alarm their cautious father.<sup>151</sup> On 2 February 1732 William Hay wrote to a fellow Tobosan in Russia that “our young Princes are protectors of the Order and wear the rings.”<sup>152</sup> Marischal is “the hero of the cause,” while Sir William Livingston, 3rd Viscount Kilsyth, serves as Grand

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<sup>148</sup> Ibid., 98/248 (1 September 1731).

<sup>149</sup> Edward Stolper, “The Initiation of the Duke of Lorraine,” *AQC*, 95 (1982), 170-79. The initiation of Walpole so disgusted Lord Kingston, Grand Master in Ireland, that he severed all ties with the Grand Lodge of England, and Irish nationalists subsequently took the leading role in Irish lodges; see Philip Crossle, “Freemasonry in Ireland, circa 1725-1731,” *The Lodge of Research*, No. CC. Ireland. Transactions for the Year 1924 (Dublin, 1931), 148, 168.

<sup>150</sup> Nicolas Hans, “The Masonic Lodge in Florence in the Eighteenth Century,” *AQC*, 47 (1955), 109-12.

<sup>151</sup> Steve Murdoch, “Tilting at Windmills: The Order of Toboso as a Jacobite Social Network,” in Paul Monod, Murray Pittock, and Daniel Szechi, eds., *Loyalty and Identity: Jacobites at Home and Abroad* (New York: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2010), 264-93.

<sup>152</sup> *HMC. Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Eglington*. 10th Report. Appendix A., ed. Sir John Stirling Maxwell, et al. (London, 1885), 178.

Master, assisted by Sir William Maxwell, 5th Earl of Nithsdale.<sup>153</sup> The Order's most important role was the development of an international communication network with fellow Knights in Russia, France, Holland, and England. It seems certain that Toboso also inspired the creation of a similar chivalric fraternity in Sweden, called "Awazu och Wallasis." A leading Swedish Knight was Count Axel Wrede Sparre, who was initiated by the Jacobites in Paris in May 1731 and then reportedly travelled to Italy, from where he could have informed his kinsman Johan Sack, also a Parisian initiate, about Toboso.<sup>154</sup> In January 1732 Sack secretly organized the Knights of "Awazu och Wallasis," who supported the French alliance and the Stuart cause. As we shall see, Wrede Sparre would later collaborate with Carl Gustaf Tessin to extend Jacobite Masonry into Sweden.<sup>155</sup>

Despite the Tobosans' international success, the conviviality of the Knights in Rome was spoiled by the angry attacks upon the Earl of Dunbar by Ezekiel Hamilton, who claimed to have served as the Grand Master in Spain in 1726. In collaboration with Marischal, Hamilton determined to turn Prince Charles against Dunbar, his former governor. Even worse, in 1733 the "disgraced Church of England parson...surpassed all his previous mad insolence to the king by writing to Charles Edward to ask him to disavow his father's authority."<sup>156</sup> An irritated James ordered Hamilton out of Rome, which provoked him to write more slanders against Dunbar in the name of the Chapter of Toboso, attacks which were indiscretely published in 1734.<sup>157</sup> Though the majority of Tobosans were non-juring Episcopals or Anglicans, there was no bar to Catholic initiation. Nevertheless, some leading members of Toboso hoped to wean the Stuart princes, especially Charles Edward, away from their father's Papist allegiance. Though James sincerely advocated a policy of religious toleration and included Protestants in his court, he viewed the actions of the truculent Hamilton as subversive. Thus, if he believed there was a connection between Hamilton's largely Protestant secret society and Freemasonry, this Tobosan scandal may have contributed to his later negative attitude towards the latter fraternity.<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> Edward Corp informs me that neither the Jacobite Freemasons nor the Toboso Knights used their peerages within their respective fraternities.

<sup>154</sup> For Wrede-Sparre's visit to Italy, see Joseph Gabriel Findel, *History of Freemasonry*, 2nd. rev. ed.; ed. Murray Lyon (London, 1869), 327.

<sup>155</sup> Roger de Robelin, "Die Johannis-Freimaurerei in Schweden während des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Gold und Himmelblau: Die Freimaurerei, Zeitlöse Ideal* (Turku/Abo, 1993), 34-35.

<sup>156</sup> McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 43, 565 n.44.

<sup>157</sup> For the 8-page printed pamphlet, see Bodleian Library: Rawlinson MS. 47. *SOME OBSERVATIONS made by the Earl of Dunbar, on a Paper lately published by Mr. Ezekiel Hamilton...Grand Master of the Order of Toboso* (n.p., n.d.). Also, Stuart Papers: 144/126, 169/80; HMC: Eglinton, 184-85.

<sup>158</sup> Despite the trouble in Rome, the international network of Toboso continued to serve Marischal's agenda, for in Russia his brother James Keith combined his Tobosan with his Masonic activities. In 1732 he allegedly became head of a lodge in St. Petersburg where, according to a Russian Masonic song, he succeeded Czar Peter the Great: "After him [Peter], Keith, full of light, came to the Russians; and exalted by zeal, lit up the sacred fire. He erected the temple of wisdom, corrected our thoughts and hearts, and confirmed us in brotherhood";

In late 1731, the Jacobites' spirits were lifted when they learned that Radcliffe had inherited the family title, becoming the 5th Earl of Derwentwater, though his attained status meant his title was not recognized by the British government, who subsequently determined to confiscate his estates. Escaping Stosch's spies, he managed to secretly travel to Paris, where he arrived two weeks later. A worried Waldegrave reported on 31 January 1732 that Radcliffe, "who goes by the name of Lord Derwentwater, has been about a week in Paris, and is I hear set out within this day or two for Rome, from whence they say he is to remove his family, in hopes of adjusting his affairs in England."<sup>159</sup> Derwentwater must have contacted his old friend Sir Hector Maclean, who assumed the Grand Mastership in the wake of Wharton's death in May 1731.

Since the seventeen year-old Maclean's arrival in France in 1721, the Earl of Mar had pressed James to fund his education, for he believed the young Highlander was intellectually gifted. Despite the often niggardly response of James, Maclean became "well versed in Divinity, History, Politics, Civil Law, and Mathematics," while "he spoke English, Irish, Gaelic, French, and Italian, and understood Latin well."<sup>160</sup> In important matters, "he was knowing, discreet, and secretive, in consequence of which he was much trusted and depended upon by friends." Maclean was aware of the factions in Rome and, like Derwentwater, he hoped to conciliate Marischal, Ormonde, O'Brien, Dillon, Ramsay, and others who had been divided by the feud between Atterbury and Mar.<sup>161</sup> With the deaths of the two antagonists (Atterbury in February and Mar in May 1732), Maclean and Derwentwater perhaps envisioned a revitalized Freemasonry as a secret vehicle for unifying the Jacobites (they would later collaborate on Masonic affairs in France).

After Derwentwater's return to Italy, Stosch sent worried reports that the earl and his fanatical collaborators were planning a major expedition to Scotland, but he made no mention of Tobosans nor Masons.<sup>162</sup> Waldegrave sent similar reports from Paris, but he evidently sensed a Masonic connection with the enterprise. On 3 April 1732 the Grand Lodge in London granted a constitution to a new Parisian lodge, St. Thomas, #2, and on 24 June the Duke of Montagu, former opponent to Wharton's Grand Mastership, sent a loyalist Masonic delegation to Paris, where they competed with the Jacobite lodge for French members.<sup>163</sup> If Waldegrave was aware

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quoted in James Billington, *The Icon and the Axe* (New York, 1966), 245. In September 1739 Walpole tried unsuccessfully to extract the secrets of the Order from Thomas Carte; see British Library: Sir James Mackintosh Collection, Add. MS. 34,522, f. 8.

<sup>159</sup> State Papers: 78/204 (31 January 1732).

<sup>160</sup> J.P. Maclean, *A History of the Clan Maclean* (Cinnceinnati, 1889), 223; quoted in J.E.S. Tuckett, "The Early History of Freemasonry in France," *AQC*, 31 (1918), 20.

<sup>161</sup> State Papers: 78/203 (April 1732 through 12 December 1733), all of their efforts were reported to Newcastle and Walpole by John (or Robert ?) Sempill, an apostate Jacobite, who served as secretary to Atterbury and won James's confidence, while receiving payments from the British ambassador in Paris; State Papers: 78/201-204 (1731-1733).

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, 98/32 (19 July 1732).

<sup>163</sup> Chevallier, *Ducs*, 34.

of Charles Radcliffe's earlier role in founding the Jacobite lodge in Paris, he must have hoped that his own Masonic membership would give him access to information on Derwentwater (his cousin) and the latter's "brothers" in Paris.

The British Masonic initiatives soon took on new significance, for on 2 August Stosch reported that Derwentwater has left for Calais, where he will speak with friends and arrange a clandestine trip to England, "which he has already done twice" since his escape in 1716.<sup>164</sup> He goes with the consent of James to seek a pardon in order to inherit his family estate. On 10 August, the British spy Sempill reported from Paris that Derwentwater "is lately come hither from Italy."<sup>165</sup> On 15 August, Waldegrave reported that he was going to Louvain "to meet some of his relations there, in hopes of getting some assistance from them."<sup>166</sup> On 26 September, Consul Burges reported from Venice that Derwentwater "is gone from Rome to Brussels upon ye wildest project in nature. The poor man, who was in ye Rebellion and is ye fiercest Jacobite alive, has taken it into his head, that by being so near England, he shall find friends there, to get his Brother's Attainder reversed and himself put in possession of ye Estate of ye Family."<sup>167</sup>

In this letter to Charles Delafaye, Hanoverian Mason and government watch-dog on the Jacobites, Burges argued that George II should show no mercy to Derwentwater: "He sets up at Rome as ye Bully of the Party, and when he is drunk which is often he goes into ye Coffee Houses, which our young people frequent, to proclaim his Disaffection to His Majesty's Person and Government." According to a later pamphlet, Derwentwater spent several months in 1733 in London, where "though publicly known, yet the Ministry did not think proper to take Notice of him, so long as he behaved quietly and gave no Disturbance to the Government."<sup>168</sup> He also visited his family's estate in the north of England, where he was accompanied by Marmaduke Constable, his kinsman and a member of the Jacobite lodge in Rome.<sup>169</sup>

In the months after Derwentwater's return from England, Stosch and other British agents in Italy began reporting on the loyalist English Freemasons, but still never mentioned the existence of the Jacobite lodge. In December 1733, Consul Brinsley Skinner received a report that on Christmas Eve a guard was placed at the Pretender's house and next to the Muti Palace because of a "sudden panick" occasioned "by a lodge of Free Masons, which the English travelling Gentlemen at Rome held that night."<sup>170</sup> Others say "a numerous Lodge of Free Masons" went to midnight Mass "a little gay, and were somewhat noisy in the Pretender's neighborhood." Others say he feared the English "intend to destroy him." On 2 January 1734, Stosch reported:

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<sup>164</sup> State Papers: 85/13 (2 August 1732).

<sup>165</sup> Ibid., 78/203 (10 August 1732).

<sup>166</sup> Ibid., 78/201 (15 August 1732).

<sup>167</sup> Ibid., 99/63 (26 September 1732).

<sup>168</sup> Gerard Penrice, *A Genuine and Impartial Account of the Remarkable Life and Vicissitudes of Fortune of Charles Radcliffe, Esq.* (London, 1747), 91.

<sup>169</sup> State Papers: 98/35 (May 1734); Ingamells, *Dictionary*, 234-35.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid., 98/35 (26 December 1733).

There are actually in Rome more than fifty English gentlemen, all affectionate towards the government of His Majesty [George II], who never want to have any liaison with the Jacobites nor admit them in their Masonic lodge. According to all appearances, these mysterious assemblies have given occasion to fears in the Pretender that they plot something against his person, even though there is not the least appearance of such a thing.<sup>171</sup>

In September 1734, Waldegrave welcomed the Duke of Richmond, his good friend and former English Grand Master, to Paris, where the Duke and Desaguliers “called” a lodge at the Hôtel de Bussy, attended not only by Waldegrave but by Montesquieu and St. Florentin, Secretary of State to Louis XV.<sup>172</sup> Richmond also established a lodge at his family’s French estate in Aubigny, and he received word that Desaguliers was most “pleased with this further propagation of masonry” to the “brotherhood of Aubigny-sur-Nère.”<sup>173</sup> For the Jacobite Masons, Richmond’s presence in France was worrisome, and he had recently written recommendations for English visitors to the British lodge in Florence.<sup>174</sup> Richard Towneley, a wealthy Lancashire landowner who mixed with the Jacobite Masons in Rome, later observed that Richmond “is our hottest enemy, which makes me tremble for Prince Charles, because he is a man excessively devoted to the House of Hanover.”<sup>175</sup> In September the British press reported that a society, “after the model of the famous Free-Masons in England, under the name of *La Cucchiara*” (Society of the Trowel), has lately been erected in Rome, where the Inquisition is “diving into the Mysteries of the Fraternity.” Stosch would later send to Newcastle a copy of an Italian pamphlet against “*La Cucchiara*,” which he said was made up of some high personages, “*Altra-montani Eretici*.”<sup>176</sup>

With the collapse of the Hanoverian Alliance and the outbreak of the War of Polish Succession, Walpole feared the growing collaboration between the Jacobites and the emerging “Hat” party in Sweden. When Axel Wrede Sparre returned to Stockholm in April 1734, he “along with many others who had received their Masonic degrees in Paris” became members of Awazu och Wallasis, which worked to implement a strong alliance with France and the Jacobites.<sup>177</sup> In January 1735 Wrede Sparre and his brother-in-law Carl Gustaf Tessin began a plan to recruit Awazu Knights to a more effective secret society, a Masonic lodge “after the French model.”<sup>178</sup> In March, the establishment of this Franco-Jacobite lodge in Stockholm launched Swedish Freemasonry into a complicated game of diplomatic chess, which accelerated within Britain and throughout the Continent over the next decade. Working with O’Brien and

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<sup>171</sup> Ibid., 98/37 (2 January 1734).

<sup>172</sup> Report from Paris in *The Whitehall Evening Post* (5-7 September 1734).

<sup>173</sup> Tunbridge, “Climate,” 98.

<sup>174</sup> Ingamells, *Dictionary*, 640.

<sup>175</sup> State Papers: 98/56 (9 December 1748). Towneley was “out” in 1715; he visited Rome in 1732-34, where he was considered for the position of tutor to Prince Charles; Stuart Papers: 140/29 (23 November 1730); State Papers: 8/32 (20 December 1732, 28 February 1733).

<sup>176</sup> Ibid., 98/37 (11 February 1736).

<sup>177</sup> Eero Ekman, *Highlights of Masonic Life in Nordic Countries* (Helsinki, 1994), 28.

<sup>178</sup> Bergquist, *St. Johannislogen*, 37-38.

Tessin, Maclean spent the next twenty-five years planning and negotiating for a Swedish-Jacobite expedition to Scotland.<sup>179</sup>

In Paris the “vehemently anti-English” minister Germain-Louis Chauvelin pushed for Swedish support for the Jacobites, which would give Protestant credibility to the Stuart cause. The planning soon took place within a Masonic framework, as the Jacobite Swedes reached out to their colleagues in Italy. On 1 December 1735, Stosch reported that a Swede named “Count Grostad” had arrived in Rome; he carried a recommendation from France to “the Pretender,” who invited him to dine.<sup>180</sup> The Swede had a long audience with James and “seems to be a new convert.” Mispelling the name, Stosch referred to Count Johan Cronstedt, an architect and protégé of Tessin and Wrede-Sparre, who on 28 February 1736 joined the Jacobite lodge in Rome.<sup>181</sup> He was not a convert to Catholicism but spent much time in Rome’s churches as part of his architectural studies. He almost certainly met Prince Charles, who was eager to learn more about Swedish military architecture and tactics, for which Cronstedt’s family was famous. Moreover, at this time, the Prince wanted to become a Freemason, as soon as he came of age.<sup>182</sup> Though Stosch’s agents kept watch over Cronstedt, they did not know that he joined the Jacobite lodge

In fact, it is still not clear if Stosch was even aware of the Jacobite lodge. On 28 January 1736, he reported on the Inquisition arrest of a servant of Dr. James Irvin, James’s chief physician but, surprisingly, he did not connect it with the Jacobite lodge. He only commented that despite the arrest of several servants, the Inquisition emerged “without being able to penetrate the motives of this new spiritual insult.”<sup>183</sup> On 4 February, Stosch wrote that the Inquisition at Rome is determined to discover the secret of the Freemasons, but they will not touch the Masters; instead, they hope to learn the mystery from the domestic servants.<sup>184</sup> He added that “the propagation of such societies always encounters great difficulties in countries subject to the Inquisition.” On 11 February, he reported that the Inquisition has set free the valet of Mr. Hales and most of the servants of the English arrested to discover the secret of the Freemasons. The Hales family had Jacobite connections, and Richard Hales had visited Italy in late 1725-early 1726 with his governor, Andrew Michael Ramsay.<sup>185</sup>

While Stosch made no Jacobite Masonic connection in his report on the arrests, he enclosed an article published in the Gazette of Rome on 4 February “to interrupt the course of

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<sup>179</sup> For Maclean’s Swedish plan in 1749, see McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 394; University of Nottingham: Pelham MSS. NeC 2086. This MS. has much new information on Maclean’s activities in the 1740s. For Tessin’s involvement, State Papers: 78/232 (22 March 1749).

<sup>180</sup> State Papers: 98/37, f. 297 (1 December 1735).

<sup>181</sup> Hughan, *Jacobite Lodge*, 23-24, 46.

<sup>182</sup> McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 533.

<sup>183</sup> State Papers: 98/37 (28 January 1736).

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, 98/37 (4 February 1736).

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, 85/15 (29 December 1725); 85/16 (10 March 1728); cited in Ingamells, *Dictionary*, 443.

this assembly so odious to the Pretender and spiritual Government of Rome.”<sup>186</sup> In his letters to London, Stosch always exaggerated the alleged papist bigotry of the Pretender, in order to please his Protestant-Hanoverian employers, so it is not known if James really detested Freemasonry or only Stosch’s version of it. Did James himself not know that many trusted members of his court, visiting Jacobites, and foreign sympathizers were members of a Jacobite lodge that continued to meet in Rome for another year? Or, did he find “so odious” the loyalist English lodge in Rome mentioned by Stosch? No other documentation for the latter lodge has been found, but on 3 September 1736 Charles Fane reported to Newcastle that the Pretender was “extremely apprehensive” of the Masonic meetings organized by Stosch in his home (i.e., in Florence).<sup>187</sup> Unfortunately, Stosch’s reports over the next years do not clear up the question of James’s attitude towards the Jacobite Masons.

By 1735 the Jacobites’ system of Freemasonry was expanding rapidly. Pierre de Guenet, who claimed that he was initiated by the Grand Master in Paris, subsequently initiated over fifteen hundred new members.<sup>188</sup> Maclean, Ramsay, and their Paris collaborators had regained favor with James, and they were encouraged by reports from Tessin and others in Sweden that their cause was gaining support. One important new agent was Tessin’s brother-in-law, Count Nils Bielke, who had been initiated earlier in Paris (allegedly by Derwentwater) and who subsequently converted to Catholicism and became a French citizen.<sup>189</sup> In 1735 he was in contact with Ramsay and privy to his Masonic ambitions.<sup>190</sup> Moving to Rome, he was welcomed by James and Pope Clement XII, while he also served as an intelligencer on Italian affairs for Louis XV, who gave him a generous pension. In 1736 Bielke wrote Tessin that he was delighted with Count Cronstedt, who makes a thorough study of architecture and conducts himself marvelously.<sup>191</sup> It is unclear if Bielke attended the Jacobite lodge with Cronstedt, but given his earlier Parisian initiation, it seems likely. When Cronstedt returned to Sweden, he joined Wrede-Sparre’s *Écossais* lodge. From Rome, Bielke may have been instrumental in recommending sympathetic Swedes in Paris to Derwentwater, who arrived in the French capitol in summer 1736.<sup>192</sup> Derwentwater soon became a close friend of Count Carl Frederick Scheffer, a strong supporter of the Jacobites, who collaborated with him in a plan to expand *Écossais* Masonry in Sweden.<sup>193</sup>

On 12 December 1736, Waldegrave reported that Derwentwater is in Paris, where he “is very busy in the Pretender’s behalf,” and something is brewing between the French and Stuart

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<sup>186</sup> State Papers: 98/37 (11 February 1736).

<sup>187</sup> Lesley Lewis, *Connoisseurs and Secret Agents in Eighteenth-Century Rome* (London, 1961), 110-11.

<sup>188</sup> Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire, *L’Autre et le Frère: L’Etranger et la Franc-maçonnerie en France au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1998), 47-55.

<sup>189</sup> On Bielke’s role in Rome, see Marsha Keith Schuchard, “Jacobite and Visionary: the Masonic Journey of Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772),” *AQC*, 115 (2002), 43-44, 57.

<sup>190</sup> Information from the late Harald Quisgaard, member Grand Lodge, Stockholm.

<sup>191</sup> Stockholm, Riksarkiv: E5725 (Rome, 3 May 1736).

<sup>192</sup> State Papers, 98/37, f. 365 (2 June 1736).

<sup>193</sup> Bergquist, *St. Johannislogen*, 42-51.



courts.<sup>194</sup> He added that “I knew him formerly a very shadowy Gent. I do not know whether the Air of Rome has brightened his Parts. I will enquire further about him.” Was Waldegrave aware of Derwentwater’s Masonic activities, or were the Jacobites able to maintain the same kind of strict secrecy they managed in Rome? At this time, Derwentwater was working closely with Ramsay, and they shared a belief in the crusader/chivalric traditions of Freemasonry. Ramsay later wrote that “Mylord Derwentwater martyr of Royalty and Catholicism wanted to bring everything here back to its origin and and to restore everything on its ancient footing.”<sup>195</sup> On 26 December 1736, Ramsay delivered a stirring oration on the chivalric and mystical traditions of “ancient” Freemasonry, and on 27 December Derwentwater was elected Grand Master, as successor to Maclean.<sup>196</sup>

Derwentwater’s election was important for the Jacobites, because a rival Mason, John Coustos, who was affiliated with the Grand Lodge of London, had opened a Parisian lodge on 17/18 December, and commenced its regular meetings on 28 December.<sup>197</sup> Unlike the extremely secretive Jacobite and Swedish lodges, Coustos kept written records and lists of most (but not all) members. It was soon easy pickings for Fleury’s police, in what seems a set-up job.<sup>198</sup> In February Coustos was replaced as Master by the Duc de Villeroy, a favorite of Louis XV and a Stuart supporter. Coustos would subsequently try to prevent Derwentwater and Ramsay from transforming *écossais* Freemasonry into an order of chivalry.<sup>199</sup>

At this time, Fleury feared that Louis XV privately sympathized with Chauvelin’s pro-Stuart agenda, and he determined to ward off the King’s intention to become a Freemason. Though absolute proof is lacking, Pierre Chevalier presents contemporary accounts that claim Louis was secretly initiated, possibly by Villeroy in the “Petites Appartements” at Versailles.<sup>200</sup> Louis and his closest courtiers, most of whom became Masons, now supported the plans for a Jacobite-Swedish expedition, which was planned by Count Scheffer in collaboration with Derwentwater and MacLean. In May, along with other Swedes, Scheffer joined the Villeroy Lodge, but in September, after Fleury cracked down on the Masons, he transferred his membership to Derwentwater’s Grand Lodge. The Grand Master then prepared a patent for Scheffer to form new *Écossais* lodges in Sweden.<sup>201</sup> Because of the anti-Jewish ordinances recently passed by the anti-Jacobite, “Cap” ministry in Sweden, Scheffer asked that the original ecumenical wording be changed to make Swedish Masonry exclusively Christian.<sup>202</sup>

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<sup>194</sup> State Papers: 78/212 (30 November and 12 December 1736).

<sup>195</sup> Weil, “Ramsay,” 279. Ramsay to Caumont (16 April 1737).

<sup>196</sup> Batham, “Chevalier Ramsay,” 298-304.

<sup>197</sup> Chevallier, *Ducs*, 31, 51; Wallace McLeod, “More Light on John Coustos,” *AQC*, 95 (1982), 117-18.

<sup>198</sup> For Coustos’s probable role as a spy for Walpole, see Schuchard, *Emanuel Swedenborg*, 237-39, 244-47.

<sup>199</sup> Chevallier, *Ducs*, 80.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid., 120, 175-76; also, in his *La Première Profanation du Temple Maçonnique, ou Louis XV et la Fraternité, 1737-1755* (Paris, 1968), 176-77, and *Histoire*, I, 41-44, 101-05.

<sup>201</sup> Bergquist in 1935, *St. Johannislogen*, 48-53.

<sup>202</sup> Chevallier, *Histoire*, I, 119; Schuchard, *Emanuel Swedenborg*, 247.

Though Fleury's suppression made it impossible for Ramsay to initiate Louis XV into Derwentwater's Grand Lodge, he managed to send copies of his discourse, "made at the acception of eight dukes and peers two hundred officers of the first rank and highest nobility," to Ormonde at Avignon.<sup>203</sup> George Kelly, a key player in the Atterbury plot, who had escaped his London prison to join Ormonde, planned to translate it into English, and Ramsay's London publisher Bettenham would print it. Ramsay continued to deliver his oration at secret lodge meetings, and in December 1737 O'Brien wrote to Lord Dunbar about recent Masonic developments in Paris and referred to Ramsay's history of the fraternity. In January 1738 Dunbar replied that "the history of the secret of the Freemasons is incidentally pleasant, and I hope that you will definitely not forget to send me a copy of the deposition, because our Princes have a great curiosity to learn the secret."<sup>204</sup>

While the Stuart Princes were eager to receive Ramsay's Jacobite history, the English-affiliated Masons in Florence faced increasing hostility from the Inquisition in Rome, which accused them of fostering heresy and libertinism.<sup>205</sup> Some months earlier, on 2 July 1737, Abbé Thomas Tyrrell, an Irish Jacobite, wrote from Florence to James Edgar, James's secretary, about the rumors circulating around the lodge.<sup>206</sup> He reported the circulation of a "tale that there is a new sect here, but it is nothing but a lodge of Freemasons." It is significant that Tyrrell, and presumably Edgar, did not consider Masonry itself a threat. Tyrrell then pointed out the Inquisition's concern about "certain sentiments among the young" and their alarm that over thirty thousand members of "this sect" existed in Italy. He further noted the Inquisition's hostility to Stosch, who played a role in spreading the heresy. A week later, the British diplomat Charles Fane reported from Florence that the newspapers of Italy are filled with accounts of "a Sect of Hereticks, spread at Florence, and that it was begun, and encouraged by some Free Masons."<sup>207</sup> On 17 July, just after the Duke of Lorraine was named as successor to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the Duke of Richmond wrote a fellow lodge member: "Will our brother the Grand Duke keep quiet possession of his Grand Dukedom? I fear the Pope wont approve of a Free Mason so near the Holy See. If there should be any disputes, all wee of the Brotherhood must attend the Holy warr."<sup>208</sup> According to Fane's colleague Horace Mann, the lodge stopped meeting in summer 1737, though "at that time" Freemasonry "was not even deemed a fault by

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<sup>203</sup> Letter quoted in Tunbridge, "Climate," 103.

<sup>204</sup> Stuart Papers: 203/163 (8 January 1738).

<sup>205</sup> In spring 1737, the Inquisition pressured the dying Grand Duke to close the Florentine lodge, on grounds of "quietism, Molinism, and epicureanism," and several brothers were arrested. At the same time, the Inquisition accused the Masons in Turin of following perverse principles--that sexual relations with women were not sinful, that confession to priests was not necessary, and that meat could be eaten on Fridays. The lodge members then published an "apologising letter." See *Gentleman's Magazine* (6 April 1737); José Ferrer Benimeli, *Masoneria, Iglesia e Ilustracion* (Madrid, 1976-77), I, 156, 174.

<sup>206</sup> Stuart Papers: 198/130 (2 July 1737).

<sup>207</sup> State Papers: 98/40 (9 July 1737).

<sup>208</sup> Tunbridge, "Climate," 95.

the Court of Rome.”<sup>209</sup>

Nevertheless, over the next nine months, the surveillance over suspected Masons intensified, culminating on 28 April 1738 when Pope Clement XII issued the Bull *In Eminente*, which condemned Freemasonry and threatened punishments to Catholics who joined the fraternity. In Rome Senator Bielke, who had become close to the Stuart family, seemed more amused than worried by the Bull. On 3 May he wrote his wife in Stockholm to congratulate the Hat party on their political gains, and he asked about their brother-in-law Tessin: “Will the Marshall of the Diet fall into the hands of Tessin?...It will be most interesting since he is the Grand Master of the Freemasons.”<sup>210</sup> Once in power, Tessin and the Hats launched a decades-long campaign to support Franco-Jacobite enterprises.

In London the Whig newspapers boasted that the Inquisition could not touch the Florentine Masons, because the city was now under the rule of England’s Austrian ally, Duke Francis of Lorraine. On 24 May 1738, the *St. James Evening Post* published a letter from Florence:

The Freemasons’ Lodges which have been interdicted here during the life of the Grand Duke are now held again with all the liberty and freedom imaginable, and without any dread of the Inquisition, which has no right to attack a society of which the new sovereign is a member. The Freemasons of Leghorn have also reopened their lodges.

Two days later Stosch reported to London that his agents in Rome write that the Pope has excommunicated “all the Freemasons and their abettors and adherents. The Jesuits are put in charge of the destruction of this Society at all cost, and they invent strange impostures to achieve their goal.”<sup>211</sup>

On 2 June, Stosch sent a copy of the Bull to London, accompanied by his explanation of the affair:

The government of Florence will not permit the publication in the states subject to the Grand Duke the Papal Bull entitled *Condemnatio Societas, seu Conventicularum de Liber Muratori...* because no one hears in Italy about any disorder caused by this society since it was established. It is believed that principal aim of the Court of Rome in the Condemnation is to displease indirectly the Duke of Lorraine, Grand Duke of Tuscany, since they do not dare display their extreme chagrin that this occupation of the country causes them.<sup>212</sup>

On the same day, Stosch’s colleague Charles Fane also sent a copy of the Bull and

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<sup>209</sup> State Papers: 98/42 (25 May 1739).

<sup>210</sup> Stockholm, Riksarkiv: Bergshammer Samlingen: Nils Bielke Brev, f. 20 (3 May 1738). Bielke’s letter is the only known evidence for Tessin’s role as Grand Master at this time.

<sup>211</sup> State Paper: 98/41 (26 May 1738).

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*, 98/41 (2 June 1738).

similarly explained that it seemed an affront to the Grand Duke, a member of the Society of Freemasons; moreover, the Florentine Council will agree to not publish it.<sup>213</sup> On 9 June he added that the Edict is greatly disapproved of by many Cardinals in Rome, and “in Florence nobody scruples publicly to express great indignation for the affront offered thereby to the Great Duke.”<sup>214</sup> Stosch added that

It is said also that Cardinal Riviera and several Cardinals here were strongly opposed when the Pope proposed it [the Bull] to the Consistory. But His Holiness, prejudiced by Sir Thomas Dereham and the Jesuits against the Society, never wanted to give up his prized resolution to condemn it [the society], believing to thus alienate the Grand Duke from the affection of the subjects of Tuscany..<sup>215</sup>

One Cardinal who opposed the ban as Clement XII’s “worst political error” was Prospero Lambertini, who was rumored to have been initiated himself.; two years later, he would become the enlightened Pope Benedict XIV.<sup>216</sup> Lambertini and others knew that many priests as well as Jacobites were Freemasons and not anti-Catholic. Given the unpopularity of the Bull, it is no surprise that Prince Charles still wanted to join the fraternity, especially since he had many friends in the Roman lodge. He later recalled that he repeatedly asked his father to allow him to be initiated but that James replied “each time that, not being himself a Mason, he could not give his son permission to become one.”<sup>217</sup> Charles did not share his father’s respect for papal authority, and his liberal attitude was recognized by the British intelligencers. Mann reported that the “eldest Son” was “very far from being so much attached to his Religion, as the Pretender, that he made very light of it, and would at least allow liberty of conscience.”<sup>218</sup> Thus, the ecumenical ideals of Freemasonry would have appealed to Charles; according to some Scottish traditions, the rebellious adolescent defied his father and secretly became “Worshipful Master” in the Roman lodge.<sup>219</sup> He would later assert that “the secret Grand Mastership of the Masons was hereditary in the house of Stuart, and that papers hidden at St. Germain would affirm it.”<sup>220</sup>

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<sup>213</sup> Ibid., 98/40 (2 June 1738).

<sup>214</sup> Ibid., 98/40 (9 June 1738).

<sup>215</sup> Ibid., 98/41 (9 June 1738).

<sup>216</sup> McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 533; also, State Papers: 98/43 (3 May 1741); 98/46 (6 April 1743). For Lambertini’s alleged initiation, see Johan August Starck, *Apologie des Francs-Maçons* (Philadelphie, 1779), 69-70; Francovich, *Storia*, 121.

<sup>217</sup> René Le Forestier, *La Franc-Maçonnerie Templière et Occultiste aux XVIIIe et XIXe Siècles*, ed. Antoine Faivre (Paris, 1970), 537.

<sup>218</sup> State Papers: 98/42 (25 May 1739).

<sup>219</sup> Hughan, *Jacobite Lodge*, 10. Though no documentation has yet been found for this claim, Hughan pointed out that it could have been recorded in the missing leaf (between the later-numbered pages 10 and 11) in the lodge register, and “One naturally wonders what was the object of such abstraction.” In 1988 McLynn wrote that Prince Charles did not advance “beyond simple curiosity” about Freemasonry; by 2004, he changed his opinion and referred to the Prince and his fellow Freemasons; see his *Charles Edward Stuart*, 533, and *1759: The Year Britain Became Master of the World* (London, 2004), 79-80.

<sup>220</sup> Monod, *Jacobitism*, 303.

On 28 June 1738, the Duc de St. Aignan, French ambassador in Rome, wrote to Fleury to explain that the Pope's decision was based on "the number of Protestants who principally form the society of Freemasons, the oath they are obliged to swear on the Gospel, and above all the possible danger from the inviolable silence to which they are engaged."<sup>221</sup> It is surprising that St. Aignan seemed to support the decision, for he had long been intimate with Derwentwater, Bielke, and other Catholic Freemasons. Perhaps he shared with James, his confidante, a worry about the efforts of the Protestant Tobosans to wean Prince Charles away from the Roman church. Though the Bull was not implemented in France, Derwentwater may have bowed to the wishes of James, Fleury, and the Pope, for he resigned his Grand Mastership in July.<sup>222</sup> However, the Jacobite Masons retained the private support of Louis XV, for the succeeding Grand Master was the Duc d'Antin, who enjoyed the King's favor and who sympathized with the Stuart cause. Though Derwentwater now kept a lower Masonic profile, he would later join d'Antin at an important lodge meeting.<sup>223</sup>

For some months, rumors had circulated that Louis XV maintained "la loge du Roi" at Versailles, where he met secretly with his closest advisors.<sup>224</sup> Since mid-1737 Louis had withdrawn from the governance of Fleury and asserted a more active role in foreign policy, especially in consultation with his Masonic courtiers. A British agent reported to Newcastle that the French King "is quite another man. He has thrown off his natural bashfulness ...and is certainly Master, and has a great share of Dissimulation."<sup>225</sup> Even worse, "No man living keeps his own Designs more close," for "he is remarkable for secrecy"; he begins to "shake off by Degrees the Prejudices of his Bigotted Education." Thus, it should not be surprising if Louis was willing to utilize secret Masonic networks, as he planned a more aggressive foreign policy against "the Elector of Hanover." In 1738-39, with the victory of the "Hat" party in Sweden, he and the new Swedish ambassador to Paris, the Swedish Grand Master Tessin, even convinced Fleury that it was time to resuscitate the Swedish-Jacobite plot.

Meanwhile in Florence, Stosch continued to believe that the anti-Masonic moves targeted only the loyalist English and their free-thinking Italian friends. In December 1738 he reported that the Nuncio received precise orders from Rome to move heaven and earth to get him expelled from the country before the Duke of Lorraine arrives in Tuscany.<sup>226</sup> The Nuncio and his satellites used the same maneuvers against him "under the frivolous pretext of

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<sup>221</sup> Corp, "La Franc-Maçonnerie," 30-31.

<sup>222</sup> Chevallier discusses several possible motives for Derwentwater's resignation; see his *Ducs*, 120.

<sup>223</sup> Benimeli, *Archives Secrètes*, 146 n. 218. The lodge was held for "la réception d'un monsieur distingué" on 7 December 1739, and Chevallier speculates that the invitees were members of the "Loge du Roy; see his *Histoire*, I, 42.

<sup>224</sup> André Kervella, *La Maçonnerie Écossaise dans la France de l'Ancien Régime: Les années obscures, 1720-1755* (Paris, 1999), 262.

<sup>225</sup> State Papers: 78/215 (5 June 1737); 78/218 (1 August 1738); 78/219 (8 December 1738).

<sup>226</sup> State Papers: 98/41 (8 December 1738).

Freemasonry a little before the arrival in Florence at another time [1737] of the pretended Comte d'Albanie [Prince Charles]." It is urgent that George II give orders to Horace Mann to protect him against his formidable enemies, especially "since the Pretender has thrown himself into the arms of the Jesuits, his authority and his adherents are much augmented throughout Italy." In February 1739, Stosch wrote that Clement XII wants the Papal historian to give him materials to enable him to compare himself to his predecessors, *Pontifes Zelés*, in order to merit the title of "Persecutor of Heresies" at the expense of the Freemasons:

It is well known that at Rome the assemblies ceased, for lack of English travellers, before the Bull of Excommunication, because they would not admit the servants nor declared adherents of the Pretender. Nevertheless, his Holiness issued a few days ago a new Edict promising a considerable sum of money to those who will reveal the secrets of the Freemasons, and who will reveal to the government the locations of their clandestine meetings.<sup>227</sup>

A week later, Stosch sent another report, enclosing the "terrible" printed Edict of the Pope against the Free Masons, whose members are condemned to death and large sums promised to those who will reveal the secrets of the Society:

Since none of the subjects of the Pope are Freemasons, all the threats concern rather the English travellers and no one else. The refusal they made some years ago to Sir Thomas Dereham who wanted to be admitted to the Society greatly irritated the Pope against the members. The said Chevalier, against the expectation of his physicians, is almost completely cured of his dangerous malady.<sup>228</sup>

Dereham was a Catholic Jacobite, "a cultured man with an interest in the visual arts," who had turned against Stosch when he learned he was a spy for the British.<sup>229</sup> He further earned Stosch's hatred by his devotion to James and Clement XII. Since 1731 Stosch had reported on Dereham's activities, noting that he translated the anti-Walpolean journal, *The Craftsman*, for the Pope and made him think that these opposition statements represented the sentiments of the whole British nation.<sup>230</sup> Clement XII and James were "deeply grieved" by Dereham's illness, but Stosch was able to report happily on 16 February that Dereham had died after all, and he is relieved that his persecutor is gone.<sup>231</sup>

Despite widespread opposition to the Bull, the Pope's witch-hunt continued. The British representative Horace Mann sent reports from Florence on the arrest of his lodge brother Thomas Crudelli in May 1739 and on Cardinal Corsini's charge that the Abbé Buondelmonte wasted his time in "studying the institutes of Freemasonry, and keeping company with the

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<sup>227</sup> Ibid., 98/41 (2 February 1739).

<sup>228</sup> Ibid., 98/41 (9 February 1739).

<sup>229</sup> Ingamells, *Dictionary*, 292-93.

<sup>230</sup> State Papers: 98/32 (23 November 1731).

<sup>231</sup> Ibid., 98/42 (16 February 1739).

English.”<sup>232</sup> The Inquisition also targeted the “Ebreo Attias” (Dr. Athias), Stosch’s fellow Mason, but he was protected by the authorities in Leghorn, who cited “the different privileges” of the city which granted freedom to Jews and Freemasons.<sup>233</sup> Cardinal Lambertini was distressed at the on-going persecution, for he maintained good relations with Jews and had many friends who were Masons, including Derwentwater and various priests.<sup>234</sup> Stosch continued to claim that the Pretender hated Freemasonry “to the extremity,” because he believed it was “destructive to good morals and the Roman Catholic religion.” However, it is provocative that James’s close ally Lambertini did not share that belief (if Stosch was accurate in his report about James’s attitude). The Inquisition crack-down may have proved counter-productive, for the Jacobite Masons seemed to go even further underground. Mann soon complained about “the art of secrecy” practiced by the Stuart supporters, especially concerning Prince Charles, which made “it almost impossible to dive into their secrets.”<sup>235</sup>

Mann further warned Newcastle that the Jacobites were launching a major new plot, involving France’s alliance with Sweden, which neither he nor his spies in Rome could penetrate. Stosch also feared secret maneuvers from Sweden, charging that the new “Hat” regime maintains connections with the conspirators in Rome and Scotland against George II’s government, and he identified the Swedish Count Nils Bielke, now a Roman senator, as the “channel” for “this dangerous intrigue.”<sup>236</sup> Again surprisingly, Stosch seemed unaware of the Masonic affiliation of Bielke, as the Swedish Catholic collaborated with his Protestant in-laws Tessin and Wrede-Sparre to make *Écossais* Freemasonry in Sweden part of an international network of support for the Franco-Stuart cause.<sup>237</sup>

Though the story must be told elsewhere, it will be fitting to conclude this study of the complexities of the political-religious context of Jacobite Masonry before and soon after the Papal Bull with an account of the meetings between Tessin and Ramsay in spring 1741, when the latter made a startling claim about General Monk’s Masonic strategy in the earlier restoration of a Stuart King in 1660: “The re-establishment of King Charles II had first been spoken and decided in a conference of Freemasons because General Monk had been a member and able to bring it to fruition without incurring the least suspicion about his secret plot.”<sup>238</sup> Ramsay

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<sup>232</sup> Ibid., 105/281 (18 May 1739); 105/281 (27 July 1739). Corsini tried unsuccessfully to arrest Buondelmonti; see Paolo Casini, “The Crudeli Affair: Inquisition and Reason of State,” in *Eighteenth Century Studies Presented to Arthur M. Wilson*, ed. Peter Gay (Hanover, 1972), 133-52.

<sup>233</sup> Benimeli, *Masoneria*, I, 242-43.

<sup>234</sup> State Papers: 98/43 (3 May 1741); 98/46 (13 April 1743)..

<sup>235</sup> Ibid., 105/281 (24 August 1739).

<sup>236</sup> Ibid., 98/41 (26 July 1739; 11 August 1739).

<sup>237</sup> I argue elsewhere that Emanuel Swedenborg collaborated with Bielke in this plot when he visited Rome in 1738-39 and that he was sent to Spain to negotiate the funding of Swedish troops for the expedition to Scotland. Swedenborg may have collaborated with Bielke again in 1750 to arrange a passport for Prince Charles to visit Sweden; see Schuchard, *Emanuel Swedenborg*, 276-80, 465-70.

<sup>238</sup> For Von Geusau’s reports of the close friendship between Ramsay and Tessin and of

explained to Tessin, the thirteen year-old Prince de Turenne, and their German guests that he had not mentioned Monk's Masonic plan in the orations he delivered to Parisian lodges because the statutes forbid discussion of politics, and he wanted to avoid suspicion that the brotherhood participated in "matters of state." Tessin evidently found the claim plausible, for his own ancestor, the Swedish military architect Edouart Tessin, had been initiated into Freemasonry in Edinburgh in 1652 while working with Monk; he then marched with Monk to London and entered the architectural service of Charles II.<sup>239</sup>

That the Catholic Ramsay made this revelation to the Lutheran Tessin and that it did not become public knowledge until the 1780s suggests that the Jacobite Masons were indeed masters of secrecy and deception, as they planned to back "Bonnie Prince Charlie" in his campaign to reclaim the throne of his ancestors. And, for the Swedish Masons, a belief in the prince's hidden role as Grand Master of the Masonic Knights Templar would become enshrined in their own royalist and religious traditions.<sup>240</sup> For the later Swedish King Gustav III, who in 1783 was named by Prince Charles to succeed him as Grand Master, the Papal Bull *In Eminente* was an historical irrelevance. When Gustav opened Sweden to Catholics and Jews, he acted as a dedicated royalist Freemason, who carried out what he believed were Stuart traditions of religious toleration.

The new documents presented here may not answer the debated questions between Edward Corp and André Kervella about the political and/or religious motives of the Jacobite Masons and the true target of Pope Clement XII's interdiction. But they do make clear that the issues are extremely complicated and rooted in the religious and political rivalries within the British Isles and within the international context of the Jacobite diaspora. They also make clear that there is still much to learn from unexplored archives in many countries.<sup>241</sup>

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his own meetings with Ramsay at Tessin's residence, where Stuart history and Freemasonry were discussed, see Anton F. Büsching, *Beiträge zu der Lebensgeschichte denkwürdiger Personen* (Halle, 1783-89), II, 115, 133-36, 147-48; for Ramsay's account of Monk's Masonic affiliation, see III, 329. I examine in detail the historical context of Monk's alleged Masonic strategy, which lends plausibility to Ramsay's claim, in *Restoring the Temple of Vision*, 573-94.

<sup>239</sup> Ibid., 582-83, 64, 643.

<sup>240</sup> National Archives, Kew. Foreign Office: FO 79/3 (29 November 1783). For Swedish belief in Prince Charles's Masonic role, see Claude Nordmann, *Gustave III: un démocrate couronné* (Lille, 1986), 218-20; Andreas Önnersfors, "From Jacobite Support to a Part of the State Apparatus--Swedish Freemasonry Between Reform and Revolution," *Franc-Maçonnerie et politique au siècle des lumières: Europe-Amérique. Lumières*, 7 (Bordeaux, 2006), 219; also, my article, "Jacobites and Freemasons in Sweden," 350-55. In *Emanuel Swedenborg*, I document the continuing Swedish-Hat-Masonic backing for the Jacobites into the 1770s.

<sup>241</sup> Since this paper was written, two new publications draw on Italian and Inquisition archives to provide interesting but controversial interpretations of the founding of the Jacobite lodge in Rome and James III's attitude to Freemasonry. See William Eisler, "The Construction of the Image of Martin Folkes (1690-1754)," Parts 1 and 2, *The Medal*, 58 (2011), and 59 (2011), and Edward Corp, *The Stuarts in Italy, 1719-1766: A Royal Court in Permanent Exile* (Cambridge, 2011), 323-32. My own reading of several of the documents cited leads to different



