

*Focusing on the charitable aspects of Freemasonry at the local level in the north-west of England, this article discusses ways in which Freemasons became involved in local education and charitable organisations in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The Combination Acts of 1799, introduced by Pitt the Younger amid the fears created by the French Revolution, changed Freemasonry. In certain industrial areas, such as Warrington, the Craft became open to the working classes, as the upper classes began to distance themselves from Freemasonry because of the radical image it had gained. Working men found within the Craft a traditional benevolent club, which had aspects of a Friendly Society and enabled them to claim relief for themselves and their families.*

## Freemasonry, industry and charity: the local community and the working man

David Harrison, Research Student, School of History, University of Liverpool, UK

Freemasonry retained many charitable features as it evolved from the guild organisations in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Local craft guilds had formed skilled workers into groups or companies, controlling wages and working conditions, and had instituted early systems of social welfare. The guild supported members who were ill, organised a decent burial for its

deceased members and provided assistance for members' wives and children. Dr Theophilus Desaguliers, an exponent of Newtonian philosophy and a leading Freemason of the time, argued for the importance of the central control of a Masonic charity as early as 1730. In 1788 a charity was formed to look after the daughters of deceased Freemasons, which would supply a

home and an education. In 1798 a similar fund was set up for the sons of Freemasons. The importance of education was enshrined within the charitable ideals of the Craft. Morality was another theme central to Masonic ritual, together with brotherly love, relief and truth, and various lectures were given to remind the Mason of his duty to his brethren and the community.

The Lodge of Lights, founded at Warrington in 1765, had a character echoing that of the old trade guilds. It included many professionals, merchants, craftsmen and local gentry, many of whom were leaders of the local community. The local Freemasons were linked to the nonconformist Warrington Academy: a founding member of the Lodge of Lights, a schoolmaster named Benjamin Yoxall (List of Members of the Lodge of Lights no 148, Masonic Hall, Warrington, 8 November 1765; Patten Deeds, Warrington Library, MS1216) assisted in the foundation of the Warrington Circulating Library in 1758, together with the Rev John Seddon of the local Unitarian chapel, Unitarians Thomas and Samuel Gaskell and local printer and bookseller William Eyres (Crowe, 1947). The local Freemasons appeared not only to have been sympathetic to the

values of the dissenters, but were also developing a sense of civic pride.

Jacob Bright and John Reinhold Forster, two tutors at the Warrington Academy, were also members of the Lodge of Lights. Forster left the Academy to become the botanist on Cook's second voyage, but Bright worked at the Academy for twenty years and was an extremely active Freemason, serving as Worshipful Master in 1771-2 (List of Members of the Lodge of Lights no 148, Masonic Hall, Warrington, 28 July 1766). The Warrington Academy reflected many of the ideals of Freemasonry, and with the involvement of local Masons it became a progressive educational centre that symbolised religious tolerance and charitable ideals. An example of these charitable ideals was the Widows' Fund Association, set up with the assistance of Warrington Academy tutors Joseph Priestley and John Seddon, both of whom were close to Freemasons. Priestley knew the prominent Masons Benjamin Franklin and Richard Price, and Seddon had worked with Benjamin Yoxall, Jacob Bright and Reinhold Forster. The use of a ballot for Widows' Fund elections reflects the democratic and benevolent principles of Freemasonry. The Warrington Bluecoat School was

also supported by Academy tutors, local Freemasons and the Unitarian Chapel. Reports concerning the Bluecoat School, the Widows' Fund and local Friendly Societies were printed by local printer William Eyres (O'Brien, 1993).

John Evans, a writing master who joined the Lodge of Lights in 1794, was Worshipful Master nine times, and he certainly seemed to hold the lodge together during the difficult period following the Combination Acts in the opening years of the nineteenth century (Minutes of the Lodge of Lights, no 148, Masonic Hall, Warrington, 1794-1816). Education remained a central theme within the lodge, with a number of 'schoolmasters' joining. Evans gave numerous lectures during his time as Worshipful Master of the lodge, including two on astronomy. A non-Mason attended one of these lectures at the invitation of a member of the lodge, and because of this the Mason was subsequently suspended (Minutes of the Lodge of Lights, no 148, Masonic Hall, Warrington, March 1801).

As a consequence of the passing of the Combination Acts in 1799, the Lodge of Lights began to submit a list of its members every March (Minutes of the Lodge of Lights, no

148, Masonic Hall, Warrington, August 1799). The lists suggest that the lodge underwent a transformation, reflected in the occupations of the new members. It became diluted with more working-class members, even though a number of industrialists were still evident. One of these was Thomas Kirkland Glazebrook, a local glass manufacturer who entered the lodge in 1802 (List of Members of the Lodge of Lights no 148, Masonic Hall, Warrington, 29 March 1802). He was Worshipful Master for two years running, though he left after only five years in the lodge (Minutes of the Lodge of Lights, no 148, Masonic Hall, Warrington, 1802-07). Over the next few decades many local manufacturers joined the lodge, and seem to have been accompanied by some of their workers.

There were five weavers in the lodge between the years 1810 and 1830 (List of Members of the Lodge of Lights no 148, Masonic Hall, Warrington, 1810-30). Although weavers were traditionally linked at that time with radicalism, in this lodge they were brushing shoulders with many local cotton manufacturers. For example, in 1830 William Bullough, a local weaver, joined the lodge as a member from the local St John's

lodge, only one month after Thomas Eskrigge joined from the same lodge – Eskrigge was a local cotton manufacturer (List of Members of the Lodge of Lights no 148, Masonic Hall, Warrington, 29 March and 26 April 1830; Warrington Trade Directories, 1792-1855, Warrington Library, S10121). This had happened before: in 1810 James Knott, another local cotton manufacturer, entered as a joining member from another lodge and was quickly followed by Richard Pearson, a weaver originating from the same lodge (List of Members of the Lodge of Lights no 148, Masonic Hall, Warrington, 30 July and 24 September 1810). The coincidence certainly suggests a closeness, and it could be that the workers in question were reporting certain activities to their employers, having spied on fellow-workers who were using the lodge as a meeting place.

Three fustian cutters joined the lodge in the years 1814-34. Fustian cutting was a local industry connected with the making of sailcloth. Two cordwainers also became members during this period: one of them, William Evans, actually became Worshipful Master (List of Members of the Lodge of Lights no 148, Masonic Hall, Warrington). There were also

plumbers, millers, joiners, builders, painters, plasterers, machine makers and tinplate workers, all mixing with industrialists, professionals, excise officers and businessmen (List of Members of the Lodge of Lights no 148, Masonic Hall, Warrington, 1814-1850). A good mixture of working men had entered the lodge, perhaps attracted by its friendly society advantages, or perhaps even using Freemasonry as a cover for trade union activities.

The Lodge of Lights also had links with the local militia. In 1798, for example, as the war with France escalated, the lodge seemed anxious to become involved with this local volunteer force, nicknamed the 'Bluebacks' because of the colour of its uniform. Many of the brethren joined, and in 1798 one lodge night had to be cancelled because of commitments to the militia (Minutes of the Lodge of Lights, no 148, Masonic Hall, Warrington, November 1798). In 1802 the Masonic festival of St John the Baptist had to be cancelled because so many members of the lodge were serving in the Volunteers (Minutes of the Lodge of Lights, no 148, Masonic Hall, Warrington, May 1802). In May 1808, many members were again excused from being present

because of their commitments to the Volunteers. In November 1809, during a period which saw special Masonic Jubilee celebrations for George III, five Masons from the Royal Artillery were present (Minutes of the Lodge of Lights, no 148, Masonic Hall, Warrington, November 1809). The members of the Lodge of Lights seem to have adopted a stern patriotic stance. Nevertheless, the upper-class members of the lodge, particularly the gentry, now seemed to want to distance themselves from Freemasonry, as it appeared to be potentially subversive.

The lodge minutes during the first few decades of the nineteenth century reflect this concern, and efforts were made to regain the membership of the local gentry. For example, in 1800 the Secretary of the lodge wrote:

*I think there is a prospect of the Lodge being once more respectable as several Gentlemen have expressed their desire to become members* (Minutes of the Lodge of Lights, no 148, Masonic Hall, Warrington, January 1800).

Two prominent gentlemen, James and Charles Turner, joined in October of that year – James was a lieutenant in the Lancashire Militia

and Charles was a cotton manufacturer (List of Members of the Lodge of Lights no 148, Masonic Hall, Warrington, 15 and 27 October 1800) – bringing hopes that suspicions about the nature of the lodge could be dispelled. For example, in 1802, during a funeral for Brother John Johnson, the minutes record:

*It was asserted that the spectacle removed from the greater part of the onlookers and the public those prejudices which have so much prevailed against the Order especially in this place* (Minutes of the Lodge of Lights, no 148, Masonic Hall, Warrington, 26 January 1802).

Nevertheless, the local public, perhaps in view of the Napoleonic Wars, remained suspicious, and a low attendance rate at lodge meetings is evident, perhaps reflecting a reluctance to be seen to be associated with the Craft. In 1806 the average attendance was only six to nine members, and by 1808 the membership was reduced to seven (Minutes of the Lodge of Lights, no 148, Masonic Hall, Warrington, 1806-08). In January and February 1809 only four members were present, and by March there was a desperately low turnout of three (Minutes of the

Lodge of Lights, no 148, Masonic Hall, Warrington, January, February and March 1809). This poor turnout of members continued until at least the late 1840s (Minutes of the Lodge of Lights, no 148, Masonic Hall, Warrington, 1790-1850). In 1820 there were twelve members in total, yet in 1831, despite the recent amalgamation with the local St John's Lodge, an average attendance of seven was recorded, declining to six in 1832 (Minutes of the Lodge of Lights, no 148, Masonic Hall, Warrington, 1820-32). There were some years, such as 1844, when the lodge did not meet at all, and several years might pass between new members entering (Minutes of the Lodge of Lights, no 148, Masonic Hall, Warrington, 1844, and List of Members of the Lodge of Lights, no 148, Masonic Hall, Warrington, 1800-50).

Certain elements of society would have wanted to distance themselves from Freemasonry after the Combination Acts of 1799, and again when they were re-enforced in 1825. The fear of association with a secret society that had been linked to radicalism and revolution was perhaps the main reason. The fact that, as a result, the lodge may have been desperate for members is shown in its readiness to allow

more working-class men to join.

Rose's Act of 1793 had given Friendly Societies an exemption from the Combination Acts. Legal protection of their funds, which were used to support working men and their families, was thought to reduce the demand for poor relief. Because of this, many illegal radical gatherings took the guise of Friendly Societies; working men were driven to meet in private to discuss their grievances. They adopted Masonic-style signs and handshakes of recognition, and took oaths which, according to E.P. Thompson, formed a link with Freemasonry and the old guild organisations (Thompson, 1980).

Many of the working men who had joined the Lodge of Lights in the early decades of the nineteenth century had joined from other lodges – some local, others further afield – indicating that certain members moved around the country, finding a national social structure within Freemasonry. In 1810 cotton manufacturer James Knott and weaver Richard Pearson had entered the Lodge of Lights from Lodge no 279, and in 1820 weaver Henry Harrison and fustian cutter John Latham both joined from a Scottish lodge at the same meeting. Another weaver, William

Halton, entered as a joining member from Lodge no 120 in 1829, and machine-maker Robert Hughes entered in 1820. Besides the working men joining from other lodges, soldiers entered as joining members from other lodges, along with men of more professional occupations, such as excise officers and schoolmasters (List of Members of the Lodge of Lights no 148, Masonic Hall, Warrington, 1800-50). The migration of working men is reminiscent of what E.J. Hobsbawm termed the 'tramping system', where a tradesman could move from one area of work to another and find a place to stay among fellow craftsmen, and perhaps claim 'tramp' relief (Hobsbawm, 1986). This seems to be an echo of the old trade guilds: the working men found within Freemasonry older customs and traditions that became part of the framework of the developing trade unions, and are still written in the ancient charges of modern speculative Freemasonry today.

Joining a Masonic lodge offered clear advantages in terms of eligibility for benefits. For example, the Masonic Benefit Society attracted a number of members in 1799 (Minutes of the Lodge of Lights, no 148, Masonic Hall, Warrington, August 1799), and

there seems to have been a relationship between the Lodge of Lights and the White Hart Benefit Society, members of which were present at the funeral of Brother Johnson in 1802 (Minutes of the Lodge of Lights, no 148, Masonic Hall, Warrington, 26 January 1802). In February 1802 a collection was made in the lodge on behalf of a certain Brother George Phillips, who was a prisoner for debt in Lancaster Castle (Minutes of the Lodge of Lights, no 148, Masonic Hall, Warrington, 22 February 1802). Though a Mason, he was not a member of the Lodge of Lights. A similar case featured in the lodge minutes in 1812, when Brother Charles Tatlock, a Mason from a Leigh Lodge who was also a prisoner in Lancaster Castle, had an application for relief made on his behalf (Minutes of the Lodge of Lights, no 148, Masonic Hall, Warrington, 25 May 1812). Charity for a distressed brother featured again in 1805, when Brother Glazebrook applied to Grand Lodge for relief for Brother James Fletcher, who subsequently received the princely sum of £5 (Minutes of the Lodge of Lights, no 148, Masonic Hall, Warrington, 25 November 1805).

The Lodge of Friendship in Oldham, Lancashire, has, like the

Lodge of Lights in Warrington, a list of initiates, which shows weavers, joiners, turners, blacksmiths and cordwainers dominating the lodge during the period 1789-1840. There are also claims for relief mentioned in the minutes. For example, in 1792 a Brother was granted five shillings on the grounds that his wife had been ill for some time; and in 1804 a gift of ten shillings and sixpence was given to Brothers who were prisoners in Lancaster Castle. Relief of six shillings was given to three sailors in 1810, and in 1852 the large sum of £40 was given to the victims of a burst reservoir at Holmfirth, with an additional £5 given to the victims of a local boiler explosion. A coffin was purchased by the lodge for the burial of a deceased brother in 1816, and a Benevolent Society was started in connection with the lodge in 1828; a Sick Fund was founded the following year. The Society of Oddfellows also became popular in Oldham: one of only ten Lodges in the country was based in the town as early as 1814 (Minutes of the Lodge of Friendship, no 277, Masonic Hall, Oldham, 1789-1852).

There was a schism within the Craft during the eighteenth century: in 1751 the 'Ancients' had broken away from the 'Moderns', alarmed at the modernisation of

Freemasonry and wanting to retain the older elements of the Craft. In 1813, however, Freemasonry and Royal Arch Masonry were opened to all faiths, and 'Modern' and 'Ancient' Freemasonry came together to form the United Grand Lodge of England, under the Grand Mastership of the Duke of Sussex. This move was part of the transformation of the Craft into a more modern society. The ritual was amended from 1814 to 1816, and more emphasis was placed on the ritualistic content of Freemasonry. As we have seen, many people had in the past joined Freemasonry for its more social and benevolent aspects, and some lodges resisted the changes.

One place that rejected these new developments was the industrial town of Wigan, which formed its own secessionist Grand Lodge. In 1841 the Grand Lodge at Wigan founded a Warrington lodge called the Lodge of Knowledge, which met at the Cock in Bridge Street. The lodge survived for only a short period, and there is no record of any interaction with the Lodge of Lights, which had always operated as a loyal 'Modern' lodge. During the schism of the eighteenth century, 'Ancient' Freemasons could enter the Lodge of Lights, though a member of an 'Ancient'



lodge had to swear allegiance to the official Grand Lodge of England and pay a higher fee.

Even though public perceptions were lukewarm, Freemasonry became much more open during the early nineteenth century, with the Lodge of Lights participating in many public events. One such was a procession by all the Warrington clubs to celebrate the coronation of George IV in July 1821. The minutes of the lodge describe a lively meeting held before the procession (Minutes of the Lodge of Lights, no 148, Masonic Hall, Warrington, 19 July 1821), and a local poster from the period, now on public display in the Warrington parish church, lists the local Freemasons leading a procession of nineteen local clubs through the streets of the town. These clubs include friendly societies and trade clubs such as the Union Club, the Union Coffee House Club and the Subscription Club, all representing their respective public houses. Another society, the Amicable Club, also made an appearance. Local trades are also represented, such as the spinners, pin makers, tin-plate makers and glass makers, symbolising the link between the guilds and the new speculative societies.

On 22 December 1836 the Lodge of Lights held a ceremony to mark

the laying of the keystone of a new bridge over the Mersey, leaving a number of offerings, including a Masonic glass box showing the set square and compass, and a number of coins. The son of the architect of the bridge, George Gamon of Knutsford, was made a Mason just so that he could participate in the ceremony. A procession had taken place from the Market Hall to the bridge, in which boys from the local Bluecoat School also took part, along with local constables and churchwardens. Money was collected to give the Bluecoat boys a meal (Minutes of the Lodge of Lights, no 148, Masonic Hall, Warrington, 22 December 1836).

There was a sense of Freemasonry becoming more 'people friendly' and trying to change its radical image. Making an effort to be less secretive and more public, becoming involved with local charity and building up a relationship with the authorities and the local gentry were all part of this trend. The benevolent aspects of Freemasonry were still apparent in the lodge: for example, in 1831 eight shillings and ten pence was issued by the lodge for relief, and petitions were put forward on a regular basis during this period (Minutes of the Lodge of Lights, no 148, Masonic Hall,

Warrington, August 1831). In 1845 there were a number of petitions for relief by the brethren (Minutes of the Lodge of Lights, no 148, Masonic Hall, Warrington, 1845). By the late 1840s, however, changes began to appear in the lodge makeup.

Perhaps because of the rise of the Oddfellows and Foresters in the town (Oddfellows Contribution Book, Loyal Orange Lodge no 143, 1835-42, Warrington Library, MS280; Foresters Laws & Regulations, Warrington, 1842, Warrington Library) or because of trade union developments, the Lodge of Lights had fewer and fewer working-class members in the 1840s (List of Members of the Lodge of Lights no 148, Masonic Hall, Warrington, 1840-50). More industrialists joined the lodge, such as Gilbert Greenall, a local brewer, who when he joined in 1850 was the Conservative MP for Warrington (List of Members of the Lodge of Lights no 148, Masonic Hall, Warrington, 28 June 1850). Shaw Thewlis, a file manufacturer and local worthy, joined the lodge in 1846, as did many other professional gentlemen, such as surgeon William Hunt, solicitor James Bayley and James Jones the deputy constable (List of Members of the Lodge of Lights no

148, Masonic Hall, Warrington, 1837-50; Warrington Trade Directories, 1792-1855, Warrington Library, S10121). The Warrington Academy, which had closed in 1786, was still very much remembered, and the charitable ethos of Freemasonry influenced the ideals of the industrialists and the middle classes of Warrington. The local industrialists reshaped the town, becoming involved in local politics and gradual social reform. Many of these factory owners, such as the Stubs, Rylands and Greenall families, became involved in local Freemasonry (List of Members of the Lodge of Lights no 148, Masonic Hall, Warrington, 1837-65) and also played a major role in the learned societies that evolved during the nineteenth century. They helped to maintain the Masonic ethos of education by supporting the establishment of civic centres such as the Warrington Library and Museum, the Art College and the School of Science, echoing the involvement of early Masons such as Benjamin Yoxall. Many of the learned societies supported by local Freemasons, such as the Mechanics Institute, met in the old Academy buildings, and the Lodge of Lights were present during the ceremony for the laying of the foundation stone for the Library and

Museum in 1855.

Many other local Freemasons became involved in these local learned societies, such as George Hughes and Thomas Morris, both of them Curators of the Natural History Society (List of Members of the Lodge of Lights no 148, Masonic Hall, Warrington, 1837-65; Minutes of General Meetings of the Natural History Society, 1837-53, Warrington Library, MS22). Two of the pioneers of the Society were Peter Rylands and Joseph Stubs, both local industrialists and members of the Lodge of Lights (List of Members of the Lodge of Lights no 148, Masonic Hall, Warrington, 1837-65; Minutes of General Meetings of the Natural History Society, 1837-53, Warrington Library, MS22). Stubs extended his involvement in local charity by his membership of the Warrington Dispensary and Infirmary. The local Unitarian Chapel had held Sunday school classes since the early 1800s and had been involved in welfare work, forming a sick club and clothing club. In 1862 the local Unitarian Minister, J Nixon Porter, became a Freemason (List of Members of the Lodge of Lights no 148, Masonic Hall, Warrington, 28 July 1862), continuing the link between the Lodge of Lights and the Unitarian

Ministry that had started with John Seddon, founder of the Academy.

Strong evidence for working men joining Freemasonry also appears at a lodge in Nantwich, which bore the loyal name of the King's Friends Lodge. The lodge was constituted in Chester in 1793, and by 1808, it was noted in the minutes, a large number of its brethren were of a more working-class standing, having occupations such as joiner, gardener, locksmith, haymaker, cordwainer, ropemaker, skinner and miller (Armstrong, 1901). Another Cheshire lodge, entitled the Lodge of Trade and Navigation, met at Northwich (Armstrong, 1901). This lodge, which sounded working class, was founded in 1786, but was closed in 1828 and has no complete surviving records. Northwich also became an important centre for the Oddfellows and Foresters in the 1830s. Other lodges that may have had a more working-class make-up appear under the name of 'Beneficent', opened in 1789 in Macclesfield, and 'Benevolence', opened as a 'Modern' lodge in 1790 in Stockport. This Stockport lodge, which had originally started as an 'Ancient' lodge in 1759, contained a working-class element and has evidence for claims for relief, such as in 1774, when the

burial of a deceased brother was paid for by the lodge (Armstrong, 1901).

The local gentry seemed to retain control in the city of Chester. However, the satellite lodges of the province, situated in more industrialised areas such as Nantwich, Northwich, Knutsford, Macclesfield and Warrington (which, though closer to Chester, was actually in Lancashire Province), became working class or lower middle class in their make-up. Chester continued to be the provincial centre for Freemasonry, and Provincial Grand Lodge met only in Chester until the 1830s (Armstrong, 1901). Charity was always an important feature of the Provincial Grand Lodge meetings, and local newspaper accounts of a meeting in Chester in 1867 reported that £20 was collected, to be divided between the restoration of St John's Church and the Chester Infirmary. Another Provincial Grand Lodge meeting, held in Birkenhead two years later, discussed financial reports from the committee of the fund of benevolence, recommending that the most deserving candidate for admission to the Masonic School for Boys be nominated. Other evidence of Masonic charity and its links to local education was

provided by funds given to the Cheshire Education Institution (collected and unlabelled newspaper reports of Provincial Grand Lodge Meetings, Warrington Masonic Hall, 1867 and 1869).

A transformation in local Freemasonry can be seen in the Lodge of Lights from the 1790s to the 1840s. The wars with France and the Combination Acts of 1799 may have been responsible for the departure of many gentlemen from the lodge, perhaps fearful of the links Freemasonry may have had with revolution and radicalism. Certainly, there is evidence of the lodge trying to recruit local gentry in an effort to regain local credibility – the minutes hint at some public suspicion of Freemasonry. In Chester, however, many of the high-ranking local gentry remained in the Craft, seemingly unaffected by public opinion. This shows how different localities may have had different attitudes to Freemasonry, creating inconsistencies within the national network of the Craft.

Perhaps because the Chester lodges were close to Provincial control, the local gentry had nothing to fear from public attitudes. Nor was Chester as heavily industrialised as Warrington. As the centre of the province of Cheshire,

it had a certain exclusiveness, and snobbery seemed to prevail, even during the sensitive years after the Combination Acts. The Royal Chester Lodge, for example, had during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries boasted Sir Watkin Williams Wynn MP, Sir John Grey Egerton MP and Thomas Cholmondeley MP as members. However, despite such a distinguished membership, by the 1820s the lodge suffered from poor attendance, and it closed in 1829. Other Chester lodges also suffered financial problems during the early part of the nineteenth century (Armstrong, 1901).

Working men may have been attracted to certain satellite lodges, such as the Lodge of Lights in Warrington and the King's Friends Lodge in Nantwich, because they saw them as a means of social support, because they were seeking refuge in a more legal club or because they wanted to use the lodge as a benevolent society. There are petitions for relief in the Lodge of Lights on a number of occasions during this time. Though some industrialists did become involved in the lodge, like the cotton manufacturer James Knott, they may have introduced certain employees to the lodge as a means of spying on their own workers. The

friendly society values of Freemasonry are evident throughout in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: members who were in debt or widows of the brethren were given money, and funeral costs were taken care of. This would make joining a lodge a very attractive proposition for a working man, and would be extremely advantageous to his family. With the rise of more organised trade unions, and especially the development of the Oddfellows and Foresters in the 1830s, the number of working men who entered local lodges declined, however, and Freemasonry moved on to become more elitist, attracting more industrialists and middle-class professionals.

### References

*Foresters Laws & Regulations, Warrington, 1842*, Warrington Library.

*List of Members of the Lodge of Lights no. 148*, Masonic Hall, Warrington, 1765-1981, unlisted.

*Minutes of the Lodge of Friendship, no. 277*, Masonic Hall, Oldham, 1789-1851, unlisted.

*Minutes of the Lodge of Lights, no. 148*, Masonic Hall, Warrington, 1790-1850, unlisted.

*Minutes of General Meetings of the Natural History Society, 1837-53*, Warrington Library, MS22. class, Harmondsworth.

*Oddfellows Contribution Book, Loyal Orange Lodge no. 143, 1835-42*, Warrington Library, MS280.

Miscellaneous newspaper clippings, Provincial Grand Lodge archives, 1865-70.

*Warrington Trade Directories, 1792-1855*, Warrington Library, S10121.

*Patten Deeds*, Warrington Library, MS1216

Armstrong, J. (1901), *A history of Freemasonry in Cheshire*, Warrington.

Crowe, A.M. (1947), *Warrington, ancient and modern*, Warrington.

Hobsbawm, E.J. (1986), *Labouring men*, London.

McLachlen, H. (1968), *Warrington Academy: its history and influence*, Manchester: Chetham Society.

O'Brien, P. (1993), *Eyres' Press 1756-1803: an embryo university press*, Warrington.

Thompson, E.P. (1980), *The making of the English working*