

THE PUBLISHERS OF THE 1723 *BOOK OF CONSTITUTIONS*

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THE ADVERTISEMENTS in the issue of the London newspaper, *The Evening Post*, for 23 February 1723 were mostly for recently published books, including a new edition of the celebrated directory originally compiled by John Chamberlayne, *Magnae Britanniae Notitia*, and books offering a new cure for scurvy and advice for those with consumption. Among the advertisements for new books in *The Evening Post* of 23 February 1723 was the following:

This Day is publish'd,

† || § **The CONSTITUTIONS of the FREE-**
MASONs, containing the History, Charges, Regulations, &c., of that
most Ancient and Right Worshipful Fraternity, for the Use of the
Lodges. Dedicated to his Grace the Duke of Montagu the last Grand
Master, by Order of his Grace the Duke of Wharton, the present
Grand Master, Authoriz'd by the Grand Lodge of Masters and War-
dens at the Quarterly Communication. Ordered to be publish'd and
recommended to the Brethren by the Grand Master and his Deputy.
Printed for J. Senex, and J. Hooke, both over against St Dunstan's
Church, Fleet-street.

An advertisement in similar terms, also stating that the *Constitutions* had been published 'that day', appeared in *The Post Boy* of 26 February, 5 March and 12 March 1723

and *The London Journal* of 9 March and 16 March 1723. The advertisement (modified to 'just publish'd') continued to appear in *The London Journal* until 13 April 1723.

The publication of *The Constitutions of the Free-Masons*, or the *Book of Constitutions* as it has become generally known, was a fundamental event in the development of Grand Lodge Freemasonry, and the book remains an indispensable source for the investigation of the growth of Freemasonry in the first half of the eighteenth century. The text of the *Book of Constitutions* was compiled by the Scottish Presbyterian clergyman James Anderson. Scholarly discussion of the *Constitutions* has chiefly focussed on Anderson's own writings and character and on his relationship to such leading players in the politics of the Grand Lodge as the scientist, populariser of Newton and Deputy Grand Master at the time of the publication of the *Constitutions*, John Theophilus Desaguliers.¹ However, as David Stevenson has emphasised, to anyone perusing the *Book of Constitutions* shortly after its publication, Anderson's involvement would not have been immediately apparent. Anderson is not described as the author in the title page or in the dedication, and only very attentive readers would have noticed that in the list of lodges against Anderson's name as Master of a lodge were the words, 'the author'. When the *Constitutions* of the London lodge were reprinted in a slightly revised form for use in Ireland seven years afterwards, John Pennell, the Grand Secretary of the Irish Grand Lodge, had to explain to readers in his dedication that the book had been compiled by Anderson.

While Anderson's later account of the genesis of the 1723 *Book of Constitutions* has been subject to exhaustive, and ultimately fruitless, textual analysis by masonic scholars, little attention has been paid to the identity of those whose names appear most prominently in the book, namely: the two publishers, John Senex and John Hooke; the printer, William Hunter; and the engraver of the frontispiece, John Pine. The form of the imprint 'Printed by William Hunter, for John Senex, at the Globe, and John Hooke at the Flower-de-luce over against St. Dunstan's Church' makes it clear that the book was published by Senex and Hooke themselves and that they financed the publication. If Grand Lodge or a particular individual had paid for the printing, this would have been declared in the imprint, as was the case with the 1730 Irish *Constitutions*, which was published by the Dublin bookseller Joseph Watts for John Pennell, the Grand Secretary of the Irish Grand Lodge. The distinguished historian of the eighteenth-century book trade, Laurence Worms, has pointed out that a very large number of copies of the 1723 *Constitutions*

1. On Anderson, see most recently the masterly essay by David Stevenson, 'James Anderson: Man and Mason' in *Freemasonry on Both Sides of the Atlantic, Essays concerning the Craft in the British Isles, Europe, the United States, and Mexico*, ed. R. William Weisberger, Wallace McLeod and S. Brent Morris (Boulder and New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 199–242.

survive, more than for many other publications of the same period, suggesting that Senex and Hooke kept the book in print for a number of years and that reprints were made.²

John Senex was probably the most well-known of the two publishers of the 1723 *Constitutions*.³ Laurence Worms, who has compiled the first full account of Senex's life, has established that he was the son of John Senex, gentleman, and his wife, Marie and was baptized on 24 November 1678 at Ludlow, Shropshire. In 1695, Senex was apprenticed to the London bookseller Robert Clavell (d. 1711), who served as Master of the London Company of Stationers and had a flourishing shop in St Paul's Churchyard.⁴ In 1702, having completed his apprenticeship, Senex established his own business, initially from premises in the Strand and afterwards in Cornhill. One of Senex's earliest publications in 1705 was a translation of Edmond Halley's celebrated treatise establishing the periodicity of comets, indicating that already at the beginning of his career as a bookseller Senex had a profound interest in the new experimental science. He was also one of the publishers of the selection of papers from the Royal Society edited by Halley as *Miscellanea Curiosa* (1705–1707). Senex's greatest enthusiasm, however, was the production of maps. In the same year in which he published Halley's treatise, Senex also published a series of maps of the recently captured Gibraltar.⁵ In partnership with Charles Price and John Maxwell, he worked between 1707 and 1711 on the production of a large-scale atlas, eventually published as *The English Atlas* (1714), in which the bulk of the maps were engraved by Senex himself. In 1714, Senex produced a convenient and easy-to-carry collection of road maps for use by travellers, based on the work of the earlier cartographer John Ogilby, which proved a commercial success. The *New General Atlas* of 1721 is described by Worms as the most elegant English world atlas of the time. Edmond Halley and Daniel Defoe were both said to have assisted Senex in gathering information for the *Atlas Maritimus & Commercialis*, published in 1728, which made use of a new 'globular' projection devised by Senex with John Harris and Henry Wilson and patented in 1721. Senex also produced some of the first large-scale maps of English counties, and his 'New Map of the County of Surrey laid down from an Actual Survey' (1729–30), published in association with Richard Cushee, was, according to Laurence Worms, 'surveyed in part by a novel method of releasing a nightly ball of flame from the summit of Box Hill in the autumn of 1721 and taking bearings from rockets set off at staggered intervals from the surrounding hills.'

2. Personal communication.

3. The following account of Senex is largely based on the entry for him in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, written by Laurence Worms.

4. An account of Clavell by David Stoker is in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

5. An advertisement for this appears in *The Daily Courant*, 30 April 1705.

During the early eighteenth century, no reliable large-scale celestial maps were available and Senex enthusiastically set about addressing this gap in the market.⁶ He published a series of star maps in 1718 which became very popular with astronomers and navigators. Senex's work on celestial maps provided a means whereby he could combine his mapmaking with his interest in the new scientific discoveries. In 1713, he published a wall chart of the solar systems showing the planets and comets. In 1715, he produced a map showing Halley's prediction of the path of a solar eclipse across Britain, even selling smoked glasses to allow members of the public to view the eclipse. Senex was most celebrated for his skill as a maker of globes, naming his shop in Salisbury Court, adjacent to St Bride's Church off Fleet Street, 'The Globe' and retaining the name when he moved in about 1721 to a shop on Fleet Street, opposite the church of St Dunstan-in-the-West. Among the many noble customers who commissioned globes from Senex was Desaguliers's patron, the Duke of Chandos,⁷ and examples of Senex's globes are nowadays to be found in such prestigious collections as the British Library, the National Maritime Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum. Senex had a particular interest in celestial globes and as early as 1706 had produced with Charles Price a pair of celestial globes based on Halley's observations and showing nineteen new constellations 'never before printed on any globe'. Senex's collaboration with Halley was regarded with suspicion by Halley's predecessor as Astronomer Royal, John Flamsteed, who suspected Halley and Senex of seeking to publish information on Flamsteed's discoveries without due acknowledgement. Flamsteed's assistant, John Crosthwait, afterwards wrote that 'Senex is so much a tool of Dr Halley's, and affronted Mr Flamsteed so much in his life-time, by engraving the *Zodiacus Stellatus*, and putting his own name to it, in order to screen Dr Halley from the law, that I am afraid he is not to be trusted'.⁸ At the time of his death, Senex was offering for sale a variety of globes, ranging in size from three to twenty-eight inches and in price from ten shillings to twenty-five guineas.⁹ Globes were of course to become important symbols in British freemasonry, and it is tempting to suggest that this reflects Senex's influence. He certainly would not have been able to resist lecturing his fellow masons as to how globes married together geometry, science and art.

6. Nick Kanas, *Star Maps: History, Artistry and Cartography* (Chichester: Praxis, 2007), 205–6.

7. L. Stewart, 'A Meaning for Machines: Modernity, Utility and the Eighteenth-Century British Public', *Journal of Modern History* 70:2 (1998), 265.

8. A. Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1998), 615.

9. *A Catalogue of Globes, Maps, &c. made by the late John Senex : F.R.S. and Continue to be Sold by his Widow, Mary Senex, at the Globe, over-against St. Dunstan's Church, Fleet-Street; where may be had, all maps and globes, &c. as in Mr. Senex's life-time, ...* (1745).

In parallel with his work as a seller of maps and globes, Senex developed an important scientific publishing business. Senex frequently worked with William Taylor (d. 1724), who had made a fortune by publishing *Robinson Crusoe*, and it is difficult to escape the impression that Senex and Taylor used the profits of Defoe's best-seller to help propagate new scientific discoveries of the period. Among the authors published by Senex and Taylor were Francis Hauksbee, Willem 'sGravesande, Isaac Newton and (above all) William Whiston, formerly Newton's assistant and his successor as Professor of Mathematics at the University of Cambridge. Senex's links with Whiston are particularly intriguing, partly because Whiston was a rival of Halley. Whiston's anti-Trinitarian views led to his expulsion from Cambridge, and he established himself in London as an experimental philosopher, seeking to popularise the new cosmology and investigating such practical applications as the more accurate measurement of longitude. Whiston also became preoccupied with producing a new religious synthesis. Among these projects was, intriguingly, an attempt to produce a more exact model of Solomon's Temple. The works by William Whiston published by Senex and Taylor included Whiston's adaptation of Euclid's *Elements* (1719).

In 1715, Senex published, with Edmund Curll, *Fires Improv'd: being a New Method of Building Chimneys, so as to Prevent their Smoking*, an adaptation by John Theophilus Desaguliers of Nicolas Gauger's book on domestic heating. This was the first in a series of translations and adaptations by Desaguliers of important scientific works from continental Europe published by Senex and Taylor. These included Edmé Mariotte's treatise on the motion of water and Bernard Nieuwentyt's *Religious Philosopher*, both published in 1718, and the introduction to Newtonian science by Willem 'sGravesande, *Mathematical Elements of Natural Philosophy*, which appeared in two volumes in 1720–1. The translation of 'sGravesande was produced very rapidly to counter an inaccurate pirated translation which had been published in 1719. As a result, however, Senex and Taylor's edition was also full of errors, to 'sGravesande's great annoyance. Despite this misfortune, Desaguliers, who was very concerned about the publication of inaccurate pirated editions of scientific works and had suffered personally from the publication of unauthorised editions of his lectures, evidently had great confidence in Senex's ability, and Senex was one of the publishers of the first authorised edition of Desaguliers's *Course of Experimental Philosophy*, the first volume of which appeared in 1734. Senex's relationship with Desaguliers was so close that when, in October 1723, Desaguliers launched a course of lectures on experimental and natural philosophy, tickets were sold in Senex's shop.¹⁰ Senex was, in the words of his biographer Lawrence Worms, 'publishing all the key figures – not just Newton, Keill, Hauksbee, Desaguliers, Whiston and Halley, but

10. *Daily Courant*, 14 October 1723.

also reprints of the first seventeenth-century generation of true believers in the ‘experimental’ approach, Hooke and Boyle. Senex had become the publishing champion of the whole of the new science.¹¹ For the book-buying public of 1723, the appearance of the names of Senex on the title page and Desaguliers at the end of the dedication in the *Book of Constitutions* inextricably linked it with the new scientific thought. In 1728, Senex was elected Fellow of the Royal Society. He took an active part in the affairs of the society, nominating for membership of the society such distinguished scientists as Pieter van Musschenbroeck, Andreas Celsius and Louis Godin (in the case of the first two, Desaguliers was also one of the proposers).¹² On 4 May 1738, Senex read a paper to the society ‘To make the poles of the diurnal motion in a celestial globe pass round the poles of the ecliptic’, which was afterwards printed in the *Philosophical Transactions*.¹³

Senex’s publishing activities were not restricted to maps and scientific works. Among the works published by him in his first few years as a book-seller were an ode on Prince Eugene (1702), Caradoc of Llancarven’s *History of Wales* (1702), John Brydall’s pro-monarchist tract, *Axioma Basilikon* (1703) and the continuation of *Don Quixote* published under the pseudonym of Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda (1705). In 1721, Senex and Taylor produced the first English edition of the *Treatise on Painting* edited by Raphael du Fresne from the notes of Leonardo da Vinci. It has been suggested that the translation from the French was the work of Senex himself, but this ascription has not been generally accepted. For Senex, da Vinci was a natural philosopher on a par with Newton. The illustrated works on anatomy produced by Senex and Taylor with other publishers, such as William Cheselden’s *Anatomy of the Humane Body* (1722), which was advertised at the end of the 1723 *Book of Constitutions*, and Charles Errand’s *Anatomy Improv’d and Illustrated*, were probably intended as much for the promotion of particular aesthetic values as scientific education. Indeed, Errand’s work was described on the title page as ‘A work of great use to painters sculptors statuaries and all others studious in the noble arts of designing’.

Senex was deeply interested in the relationship between geometry and design and this prompted an enthusiasm for classical architecture. In 1725, Senex was one of a group of engravers and booksellers (including the masonic engraver Benjamin Cole) who published *The Art of Sound Building, Demonstrated in Geometrical Problems* written by the architect Michael Hoare under the pseudonym William Halfpenny. Senex was a subscriber to the second edition of Giacomo Leoni’s translation of Palladio’s *Quattro*

11. Laurence Worms, ‘John Senex: Publisher of the 1723 Constitutions of the Free-Masons’, talk at the Centre for Research into Freemasonry, University of Sheffield, 5 February 2003.

12. Royal Society, Election Certificates.

13. J. Senex, ‘A Contrivance to Make the Poles of the Diurnal Motion in a Celestial Globe Pass Round the Poles of the Ecliptic’, *Philosophical Transactions* (1683–1775), 40 (1737), 203–4.

libri dell'Architettura (1721). In 1722, Senex published, with Taylor, William and John Innys¹⁴ and John Osborn, a reprint of an English translation by John James (an architect who was a member of a masonic lodge at Greenwich¹⁵) of the *Treatise of the Five Orders of Columns in Architecture* by Claude Perrault, the architect of the eastern range of the Louvre and translator of Vitruvius. This translation of Perrault was sumptuously illustrated by the engraver John Sturt (who had engraved a plate for invitations to the annual feast of the Grand Lodge in 1723¹⁶) and had been previously published by him in 1708 with Benjamin Motte (the publisher of the first edition of *Gulliver's Travels*). Sturt had also produced with Motte in 1707 another illustrated edition of Andrea Pozzo's *Rules and Examples of Perspective Proper for Painters and Architects*, also translated by James. This was reprinted by Senex, with R. Gosling, William Innys, and Thomas Longman (William Taylor's successor). The works by Perrault and Pozzo were both advertised as published by Senex and Hooke at the end of the 1723 *Book of Constitutions*, although Hooke's name does not appear on the title-page of either work. The prominence of the advertisements for these works in the *Book of Constitutions* emphasises how the rediscovery of classical architecture was an important theme in the historical section of the *Book of Constitutions* and is a reminder that Palladian propaganda was a major component in the early *Book of Constitutions*. The provision of these Palladian handbooks as 'further reading' at the end of the *Book of Constitutions* is a reminder that the legendary history provided by Anderson was as much as anything a history of architecture and aesthetics, essentially telling the story of the loss of the secrets of classical architecture, their rediscovery in the seventeenth century and revival in the eighteenth century. It is easy to forget that when Anderson talks about a 'well built arch of the Augustan stile' he was not indulging in symbolism or masonic allegory – he meant exactly what he said. The *Book of Constitutions* was Palladian propaganda, and the concerns of Senex and the others as much aesthetic as scientific.

The final result of Senex's collaboration with Sturt was the publication by him in 1723, again with Taylor, William and John Innys and Osborn, of the first volume of Ephraim Chambers' translation of Sébastien Le Clerc's *Treatise of Architecture*. The second volume of this work was published in 1724, again with sumptuous engravings by Sturt apparently intended to complement the illustrations to Perrault and Pozzo, and suggesting that these three volumes were seen as a series. It appears from these publica-

14. William Innys was apparently a Freemason: *QCA* 10, 41.

15. *QCA*, 10, 40.

16. The production of the copper plate is described by Anderson in the 1738 *Book of Constitutions*, 115. The plate continued in use for some years afterwards and examples are found in the Broadley Collection in the Library and Museum of Freemasonry.

tions that architecture and aesthetics were as important for Senex as geometry and measurement. Ephraim Chambers, the translator of Le Clerc, had been apprenticed to John Senex from 1714–1721.¹⁷ Senex was among the publishers of Chambers's 1726 proposal for the publication of a 'Cyclopaedia' and in 1728 Senex, together with many of his most favoured collaborators including John Hooke, Arthur Bettesworth, William and John Innys, John Osborn and Thomas Longman, was among the publishers of the first edition of Chambers's *Cyclopaedia*. The frontispiece to the first edition of the *Cyclopaedia* was Sturt's engraving of Le Clerc's illustration of the *Académie des sciences et des beaux-arts* which had previously appeared in the 1724 edition of the *Treatise of Architecture*. Senex was also one of the publishers of the second and third editions of the *Cyclopaedia*, which appeared in 1738 and 1741 respectively.

The publication by Senex of the *Book of Constitutions* in 1723 thus appears as part of a coherent portfolio of publications which emphasised the importance of geometry and measurement across the fields of cartography, Newtonian physics, religious speculation and Palladian architecture. The scientific and Newtonian connections of the *Book of Constitutions* were expressed through the prominent appearance of Desaguliers's name as author of the preface, while the architectural, and specifically Palladian, aspects of early Freemasonry were reflected in the advertisements for works by Perrault and Pozzo at the end of the book. Senex himself is named in the *Book of Constitutions* as one of the wardens of the lodge then numbered 15, of which John Shepherd was the Master and John Bucler the other warden. In June 1723, he was nominated as one of the Wardens of the Grand Lodge, presumably in gratitude for his work on the *Book of Constitutions*,¹⁸ and attended Grand Lodge as Grand Warden in February and April 1724.¹⁹ Senex is named in the 1725 membership list as a member of the lodge meeting at the Fleece in Fleet Street.²⁰ The lodge at the Fleece was apparently recently formed, and had ceased functioning by 1729. There is no reference to Senex being active in Freemasonry after 1725, although his relationship to Desaguliers and other leading freemasons remained close for the rest of his life.

These themes are brilliantly reinforced by the celebrated frontispiece of the *Book of Constitutions*, stated in a caption to have been 'Engrav'd by John Pine in Aldersgate Street London'. The architectural framing of the frontispiece with its representation of the different orders of architecture and its sophisticated handling of perspective encapsulates the aesthetic themes which permeate Anderson's text. John Pine had shot to

17. See the account of Chambers' life in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

18. *QCA* 10, 52–54, 197; 1738 *Book of Constitutions*, 116.

19. *QCA* 10, 56–7.

20. *Ibid.*, 41.

fame shortly after completing his apprenticeship in the London Goldsmiths' Company when with John Clark he designed and engraved the frontispiece to the first edition of *Robinson Crusoe*, the book which enabled Taylor to finance Senex in his scientific publication programme.²¹ Although Pine was a prolific illustrator of books and periodicals, his work had hitherto been crude and clumsy, particularly in its handling of perspective, and it seems unlikely that Pine would have been capable by 1723 of producing the sophisticated design of the frontispiece of the *Book of Constitutions*. It seems probable that in the frontispiece Pine was engraving the work of another artist. One possibility is his neighbour in Aldersgate, John Sturt, but the person most likely to have been responsible for the design of the frontispiece was James Thornhill, the King's Sergeant Painter, whose most famous works were the frescoes in the Dome of St Paul's Cathedral and his decorations at the Naval Hospital in Greenwich. Recent critics have argued that, in their handling of light and perspective in St Paul's and Greenwich, Wren and Thornhill were developing an aesthetic reaction to Newton's cosmology, stressing feelings of light and space.²² Thornhill was a keen freemason, serving as master of a lodge in Greenwich and as Senior Grand Warden in the Grand Lodge.²³ He afterwards provided the design for an illustration of Hiram Abiff with Solomon engraved by Pine in the engraved lists of lodges from 1725. Although Pine was probably not responsible for the design of the frontispiece of the *Book of Constitutions*, he nevertheless engaged strongly with the scientific and philosophical debates of the age. For example, he not only engraved illustrations for Henry Pemberton's 1728 *View of Newton's Philosophy*, but also subscribed to the book, as did Thornhill.

Senex's partner in publishing the *Book of Constitutions*, John Hooke, is a less distinct figure, but forms a contrast to Senex. While Senex represented Whig Newtonianism, Hooke had strong connections with a conservative Tory Anglicanism which seems to have taken a more esoteric view of Freemasonry. Hooke's family was from Sussex (his will includes legacies to relatives in the parishes of Hellingly, Mayfield and elsewhere), but Hooke's father, also named John, was a citizen and stationer of London.²⁴ Hooke was apprenticed to Charles Harper of the London Company of Stationers on 8 May

21. On Pine, see further Andrew Prescott, 'John Pine: a sociable craftsman', *MQ*, 10 (July 2004), 6–10, and 'John Pine: The Sociable Craftsman', *Freemasonry Today*, 29 (Summer 2004), 18–21.

22. See, for example, Ann and James Balakier, *The Spatial Infinite at Greenwich in Works by Christopher Wren, James Thornhill, and James Thomson: the Newton Connection* (Lewiston: Edward Mellen Press, 1995).

23. *QCA*, 10, 40; see also Tabitha Barber's account of Thornhill in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.

24. D. Mackenzie, *Stationers' Company Apprentices 1701–1800*, Oxford Bibliographical Society, new series 19 (1978), 158.

1704 and became a freeman of the company on 7 July 1712.²⁵ Since the earliest age at which an apprentice might become a freeman was twenty-one, this suggests that Hooke was born about 1691. Charles Harper was Upper Warden of the Stationers' Company in 1699 and Master of the Company in 1708.²⁶ John Dunton, describing his fellow London booksellers in 1705, declared of Charles Harper: 'I believe him to be an Honest Man and a *warm Votary* for high Church.'²⁷ Harper voted for all four Tory candidates in the strongly-contested general election of London in 1713.²⁸ Harper's Tory high church sympathies were expressed in the publication by him of works by Samuel Wesley, one of the most prominent high church clergymen of the period, including most notably a sumptuous edition of Wesley's heroic poem *The Life of Christ*, illustrated with engravings by Joseph Strutt. However, Harper's publications were not restricted to works reflecting his political and religious views. He also, for example, published a number of works by the Whig Bishop William Fleetwood. Harper's shop was close to the Inns of Court, and in addition to religious works and general literary publications such as Abraham Cowley's *Works* and the fourth edition of Walton's *Compleat Angler*, Harper published a number of law books together with handbooks likely to be of interest to the legal and ancillary professions such as an updated edition of Robert Record's introduction to arithmetic, *The Grounde of Artes*, and Nicholas Covert's *Scrivener's Guide*.

Harper's shop was at the sign of the Flower de Luce (fleur-de-lis), in Fleet Street, opposite the church of St Dunstan-in-the-West and the southern end of Fetter Lane, on the site currently occupied by 44 Fleet Street, now a post-war building containing a gentlemen's outfitter.²⁹ This part of Fleet Street contained many bookshops. The early seventeenth-century printers John Hodgets and John Marriot also had premises 'at the signe of the Flower de Luce' in Fleet Street 'neare Fetter Lane end', and it is possible that this is the same shop later occupied by Harper. If so, it would suggest that there was no political significance in Harper's use of the fleur-de-lis, a Jacobite symbol. Harper died in 1713, and left the stock of his shop together with his share in the copyrights of books he had published to his daughter Elizabeth and her husband.³⁰ Hooke apparently raised enough money to purchase Harper's stock and some of his copyrights. A 1714 edition of William Nelson's *Office and Authority of a Justice of the Peace* was 'printed for Charles Harper; and sold by John Hooke, at the Flower-de-Luce, over against St Dunstan's Church in Fleet-

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.*, 402–3.

27. John Dunton, *The Life and Errors of John Dunton, late Citizen of London* (London, 1705), 287.

28. W. A. Speck and A. Gray, 'London Pollbooks 1713', in *London Politics 1713–1717*, London Record Society 17 (1981), 91.

29. A. Heal, 'London Booksellers and Publishers', *Notes and Queries*, 161 (1931), 244.

30. The National Archives, PROB 11/537.

street' Hooke acquired rights in Harper's monumental edition of Wesley's *Life of Christ* which was reprinted in 1715 for Hooke together with Benjamin Cowse.³¹

Hooke was a member of the Castle Conger, an association of booksellers facilitating the production of joint publications, from its formation in 1717 until shortly before his death.³² This enabled him to expand his list of general publications considerably beyond that offered by Harper, publishing with other members of the Castle Conger such works as *Letters of a Lady's Travels into Spain* (1717), the second edition of Daniel Jones's *Secret History of Whitehall* (1717) and Henri Misson's *Memoirs and Observations in His Travels over England* (1719). Nevertheless, a catalogue issued by Hooke in about 1719 shows that his publishing policy was broadly similar to that of Charles Harper. The catalogue is dominated by religious works, including not only reissues of works originally published by Harper but also *Principles of Christian Unity* by the Jacobite Matthias Earbery (1716), Thomas Burnet's *Sacred Theory of the Earth* (1719) and Pierre Jurieu's *Plain Method of Christian Devotion* in William Fleetwood's translation (1715). Hooke also maintained Harper's legal publishing business, and the 1719 catalogue has a separate section of law books sold by Hooke containing seventeen titles. Hooke continued and developed Harper's series of practical handbooks on subjects such as arithmetic and conveyancing, publishing (with others, including Edward Symon, Martin Clare's publisher) William Hawney's *Compleat Measurer, or the Whole Art of Measuring* (1717), described as 'Very useful for all Tradesmen, especially Carpenters, Bricklayers, Plaisterers, Painters, Joyners, Glasiers, Masons, &c.'

Hooke seems to have shared the high church sympathies of his master. He published in 1727 the second edition of the *Seventeen Sermons* by William Hopkins, a close associate of the non-juror George Hickes, and in 1719 a pamphlet of transubstantiation by the non-juror bishop Nathaniel Spinkes. However, like Harper, Hooke did not restrict himself to high church works, publishing for example some books by the religious controversialist Thomas Lewis, whose works antagonized in different ways all religious denominations. Hooke, the publisher of religious and law books, forms a contrast with John Senex, the map and globe maker and leading publisher of works associated with the new experimental science. Despite the close proximity of their shops, Hooke and Senex had not jointly published any books prior to the publication of *The Book of Constitutions* in 1723, although Senex had contributed a map to a 1718 translation of Joseph Pitton de Tournefort's *Voyage into the Levant* published by the Castle Conger. It is difficult to escape the impression that Senex and Hooke worked together on the publication

31. A. Robbins, 'Samuel Wesley the Elder: his Poetic Activities,' *Notes and Queries*, 12 (1916), 226.

32. N. Hodgson and C. Blagden, *The Notebook of Thomas Bennet and Henry Clements*, Oxford Bibliographical Society, new series 6 (1953), Appendix 13.

of *The Constitutions of the Free-Masons* not only because they were both enthusiastic freemasons, but also because the collaboration of Senex, a figure associated with the Whig proponents of the experimental science, with Hooke, who was more closely associated with high church Toryism, provided a tangible expression of the way in which freemasonry embraced a wide range of religious and political belief while remaining loyal to the Hanoverian settlement. The only other work jointly published by Senex and Hooke (with a number of others) was the first edition of Ephraim Chambers's *Cyclopaedia* in 1728, which again illustrates the masonic milieu of this publication, although no firm evidence can be found that Chambers was a freemason.

The choice of William Hunter as printer for *The Constitutions of the Free-Masons* was probably Hooke's, since they had previously worked together on the publication (jointly with Richard Ford and John Graves) in 1718 of *Interviews in the Realms of Death: or, Dialogues of the Dead between Several Great Personages Deceas'd*, attributed to the German writer David Fassmann. This work notes (p. 110) that the Knights of Saint John at Malta 'were Gentlemen well skill'd in the *Liberal Sciences and Arts*, particularly in *Geometry and Architecture*', who 'still sacredly observe their ancient *Charges and Regulations* under their GRAND MASTER, the same Title with the PROVOST of the most ancient Fraternity of *Free Masons*, who also have the *Guardian St JOHN*'. This is apparently a reference to the formation of the Grand Lodge in London and the appointment of Anthony Sayer as Grand Master the previous year. If so, it is the earliest direct reference to the Grand Lodge. This reference is also striking in that it also anticipates the association by Chevalier Ramsay of freemasonry with the chivalric orders.

Hooke appears in the 1725 membership list of Grand Lodge as one of the Wardens of the lodge which met at the Fountain Tavern in the Strand, now Royal Alpha Lodge No. 10.³³ No details of the membership of this lodge are given in the 1723 membership list,³⁴ so it is unclear if Hooke was a member of this lodge at the time of the publication of *The Constitutions of the Free-Masons*. Another member of this lodge in 1725 was the instrument maker Jonathan Sisson, one of the most brilliant scientific instrument makers of his time, who produced the gauge used to standardise French and English units of measurement and made major improvements to theodolite design. Both Hooke and Sisson served as wardens of the masonic lodge which met at the Fountain in the Strand.³⁵ The Library and Museum of Freemasonry in London possesses a past masters' jewel made by Sisson which is thought to be oldest such jewel preserved. It is embellished with an enamelled representation of Euclid's 47th Proposition. For men like Senex, Hooke and

33. *QCA* 10, 24.

34. *Ibid.*, 7.

35. *QCA* 10, 40.

Sisson, the symbolism and significance of this proposition would have required little further elucidation. It is this connection which apparently accounts for the publication by Hooke with Sisson in 1725 of *The Practical Surveyor* by Samuel Wyld, a practical introduction to the principles of surveying land. Wyld declared in the preface to his book that 'In this small Tract you'll find the whole Art of Surveying Land Epitomized: The Rules and Methods here laid down in a plain and familiar Manner, being such as are fittest for a Practiser's Use, without an unnecessary Mixture of useless Curiosities and needless Repetitions. And altho' Brevity be chiefly intended, yet nothing is here omitted, but what might well enough be spared in a Treatise that immediately relates to Practice' (p. iii). The book carried an advertisement for theodolites and other instruments made by Sisson. Hooke presumably felt that Wyld's Treatise was a suitable addition to the various practical handbooks on subjects such as conveyancing and arithmetic published by him.

Hooke's involvement with Senex in the publication of *The Constitutions of the Free-Masons* may have encouraged him to investigate the commercial potential of scientific publication. In 1724, he produced *Some Thoughts Concerning the Unusual Qualities of Air* by the impoverished medical writer Richard Boulton. One of the last books published by Hooke was a translation of Galileo's *Mathematical Discourses* which had been begun by Thomas Weston, Assistant to Flamsteed as Astronomer Royal at Greenwich who had established an academy for children from the Greenwich Hospital and was in 1723 a member of the masonic lodge meeting at the Swan in Greenwich.³⁶ The translation of Galileo was completed by Thomas's son John, and was presumably published by Hooke partly in honour of the memory of Thomas as a departed fellow mason. In 1723, the same year that he published *The Constitutions of the Free-Masons*, Hooke reprinted with William Mears the histories of Rochester and Salisbury Cathedrals published by Richard Rawlinson in 1717 and 1719 respectively, as well as Rawlinson's *Miscellanies on Several Curious Subjects*, first published in 1714. Rawlinson was a non-juror and Jacobite who was also an enthusiastic freemason. How far this accounts for Hooke's involvement in these reissues of works by Rawlinson cannot be established. Hooke possibly encouraged his apprentices to become freemasons. Hooke had four apprentices: Edward Stiles, John Williams, John Elliot and Richard Chandler.³⁷ Chandler acquired Hooke's business after his death and was one of the publishers of the 1738 *New Book of Constitutions*. One John Elliot is named in 1725 as a member of the lodge which met at the Bull Head in Southwark,³⁸ while one John Williams was a member of the lodge which met at the

36. *QCA*, 10, 23.

37. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, 178.

38. *QCA*, 10, 28.

Half Moon in the Strand in 1723 and is perhaps to be identified with the Master in 1729 of the Lodge at the One Tun in Noble Street.³⁹

Hooke's will, dated 2 September 1730, appointed his wife as executrix and left various small legacies to uncles and aunts in Sussex.⁴⁰ He also left three hundred pounds in trust for John Hooke, son of Richard Hooke, of the parish of Mayfield in Sussex, together with fifty pounds to enable John to be apprenticed to a London bookseller. Hooke also left ten pounds to Mrs Hosier of the Land of Promise, an estate in Hoxton, 'to assist her in her decayed circumstances'. There was a further major bequest of £250 to Margaret Gent, the widow of William Gent of Wine Office Court in Fleet Street. The bequest to Margaret Gent apparently related to a pressing debt. In a codicil dated 11 September, Hooke noted that the younger John Hooke had already paid £250 to Margaret Gent. The amount of the trust for the younger John Hooke was consequently reduced to £150 and the bequest of money to enable the younger John Hooke to become a bookseller was revoked. This late change to Hooke's will meant that affidavits were required from witnesses affirming the authenticity of the codicil before probate was awarded on 30 September 1730. There is no mention of Hooke's stock of books or shares of copyright in his will, and these presumably descended to his widow. A sale of Hooke's copyrights was held on 31 May 1731, raising the sum of £450.⁴¹ The Flower-de-Luce was acquired by Richard Chandler, who had been an apprentice of Hooke,⁴² and Chandler was active as a publisher there until 1734, when he established a partnership with his brother-in-law and fellow freemason Caesar Ward and, closing the Flower-de-Luce, moved to Ward's London premises at The Ship, further along Fleet Street. Among Hooke's copyrights acquired by Chandler was apparently *The Constitutions of the Free-Masons* and (notwithstanding James Anderson's claim that he owned the rights) the fact that Chandler and his partner Ward were the successors to Hooke explains why they published the *New Book of Constitutions* in 1738.

Senex and Hooke both had prominent and well-known political and cultural connections. Arguably, the use of these two men as publishers was intended to demonstrate how Freemasonry could transcend political and religious controversy. In this context, it is not surprising to find that the printer of the book, William Hunter, was a more obscure and less charged figure. Hunter was apprenticed on 6 October 1707 to John Nutt, who had a business at the Savoy, off the Strand.⁴³ Nutt published the first three

39. *QCA*, 10, 8, 104.

40. The National Archives, PROB 11/640.

41. Belanger, *op. cit.*, 298.

42. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, 178.

43. A. Shell and A. Emelow, *Index to the Court Books of the Stationers' Company 1679–1717* (Oxford, 2007, 220.

editions of Jonathan Swift's *Tale of a Tub* and also had a lucrative patent for the publication of law books. Hunter was freed from his apprenticeship by Nutt on 6 February 1716, and became a freeman of the London Stationers' Company on 10 September 1716.⁴⁴ Since the earliest age at which an apprentice might become a freeman was twenty-one, this suggests that Hunter was born about 1695. John Nutt died shortly after Hunter completed his apprenticeship, but his business was carried on very successfully by his widow Elizabeth, who became one of the chief distributors of Jacobite, Tory, or radical Whig pamphlets and newspapers, including the *London Evening-Post*, *The Craftsman*, and *Mist's Weekly Journal*.⁴⁵

Hunter established his own business at Bull Head Court off Jewin Street, on the site of the present Jewin Crescent. Among his first recorded publications was a pamphlet of 1717 by the architect John James defending his assessment of the cost of repairs required to be made to Lambeth Palace by the estate of Archbishop Thomas Tenison. This early publication by Hunter already had strong masonic connections. As already noted, John James's translation of architectural treatises by Andrea Pozzo and Claude Perrault was published by John Senex and advertised in *The Constitutions of the Free-Masons*. James was Clerk of the Works at Greenwich Hospital and was in 1725 a member of the lodge which met at the Swan Tavern in Greenwich.⁴⁶

Hunter also published in 1717 a pro-Hanoverian tract by James Johnston, who had been one of the principal agents of William of Orange in England during 1687–8. His business prospered sufficiently for him to take on an apprentice, Eustace Scadgell. In 1718, Hunter printed for John Hooke the translation of *Interviews in the Realms of Death* which includes an apparent reference to the establishment of the Grand Lodge in London the previous year. In 1719, Hunter printed an edition of the Latin historian Justinus on behalf of the Company of Stationers and also printed for the Company editions of Mathurin Cordier in 1720 and Cato in 1722. In February 1719, Hunter sought to launch a weekly newspaper, *Britain's Genius: or; The Weekly Correspondent*, described as 'a tryal of wit for all ingenious gentlemen and ladies, who shall write upon such subjects as are given in this paper; as a reward for which, suitable prizes are appointed'. The paper only lasted for eight issues.

The Grand Lodge membership list of 1723 records one William Hunter as Master of the lodge which met at the Swan in Ludgate Street, and, since there is no other reference to a William Hunter in the early records of Grand Lodge, this is presumably the

44. *Ibid.*

45. See the account of her life by Margaret Hunt in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

46. *QCA*, 10, 40.

printer.⁴⁷ *The Book of Constitutions of the Free-Masons* was Hunter's last recorded work as a printer, and he apparently died sometime in 1724 or 1725. A list of the political allegiances of London printers and booksellers compiled by Samuel Negus in 1724 states that Hunter was 'well affected to King George'.⁴⁸

The 1723 edition of the *Book of Constitutions* was far from being the sole work of Anderson. It was a remarkable collaboration reflecting the variety and vibrancy of cultural life in London at that time, a rich milieu that was mirrored in the Grand Lodge itself. On the one hand, there was Senex and Pine, engaged in scientific publication, engraving, and the manufacture of maps and globes. On the other hand, there was John Hooke, who shared Jonathan Sisson's enthusiasm for measurement and surveying but also nurtured Tory sympathies and dreamt of an order reflecting the glory of the Knights of St John. Between these two wings, there was the honest and humble craftsman printer and supporter of the Hanoverian settlement, William Hunter. We can imagine Desaguliers bustling his way along Fleet Street, rushing past Hooke's shop under the sign of the Fleur-de-Lis in order to visit Senex at The Globe, impatient to discuss ticket sales for his latest lectures or the printing errors in his latest scientific translation. There is a rich and multi-layered world concealed within the 1723 *Book of Constitutions*, one which reflects the complex and varied roots of modern Freemasonry.

47. *Ibid.*, 13.

48. H. R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668–1725* (Oxford, 1922), 165.