

ANDREW RAMSAY
AKA
ANDREW (MICHAEL) RAMSAY
OR
CHEVALIER RAMSAY
OR
CHEVALIER DE RAMSAY

A spiritual and intellectual adventurer

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“For one who reached such notoriety, Ramsay’s Masonic career was unusually obscure. Though he belonged to the craft for 13 years, he appeared on the Masonic stage for only a part of one day, if he appeared then, to which may be added two notes he wrote to a Cardinal-Minister of France. No other freemason ever gained so much prominence in so short a time with so little effort and maintained his position so long”

Coil’s Masonic Encyclopedia. New York 1961. Cited in Batham, C.N. ‘Chevalier Ramsay, A New Appreciation. AQC 1968, p.280.



A caricature of De Ramsay drawn in Rome 1724 by Pier Leone Ghezzi
The Morgan Library and Galleries (New York)

Abstract

Many lectures and studies of Chevalier Ramsay are found amongst Masonic writings, the majority of essays focus on an Oration at a Lodge in Paris, 26 December 1736. This Oration had a strong influence and resulted in an unintended consequence followed by the subsequent blossoming of appending orders. It also ended Ramsay's recorded association with Freemasonry

This paper examines Ramsay's life with focus on those who would be called influencers should an 18th century version of modern day social media exist.

From the literature available to present day researchers, the evidence points to Andrew Michael Ramsay's association with writers, academics, religious notables, thinkers and romanticists. The evidence, however, also is replete with inconsistencies and contradictions.

In a number of articles on Ramsay, the transition from Calvinist to Roman Catholic is treated rather swiftly and with little depth. This paper explores that interval, as it is a clue to the development of his philosophies by the acquaintance and influencers with whom he comes into contact.

In this paper I shall use the names James Francis Edward for ‘the Old Pretender’ and Charles Edward for ‘the Young Pretender’. The sobriquets are the language of the victor, and an insult; many Jacobite Scots may agree with me.

Pierre Bayle: Prudent persons will always maintain an appearance of religion. *Historical and critical dictionary. Pub 1697*

INTRODUCTION

Should this man be unknown to you, let me introduce a character who could pass as an academic, a man of letters, successful author, friend of nobility, multilingual, sycophant, acolyte, plagiarist, political cabalist, revolutionary, Jacobite, Freemason, pedagogue and chancer.

Should you were to interview him for a job, looking at his resume, would he be a credible applicant or risky employee?

The scene into which Ramsay played was one of religious turmoil, political instability, changing ideas of government and monarchical roles, financial speculation, new scientific discoveries, coffee houses, greater education opportunities and a more literate society, the majority of his life was spent in France with intervals in Rome and England.

To be accepted into Paris society and the court of France, nobility was a pre-requisite. Noble patrons found themselves supporting a claim to James Edward for a “Certificate of Nobility.” Thus granted, our hero now became “Chevalier Ramsay” a title he much treasured right up to his death.

*Just as every Grimaldi is not a Prince of Monaco, every Ramsay is not a relative of the Earl of Dalhousie*¹

Oh, and by the way, I have failed to mention that he was Scottish born.

Born to Andrew and Susanna Ramsay, a baker of the town of Ayr, around 9 June 1686. The actual location is in doubt, as he may have been born in Ireland. Andrew Ramsay (Snr) was in trouble with the authorities in 1664 and left, with his wife, until 1668. No christening record can be found in Ayr for that period.^{2 3}

Andrew (Snr) was a staunch Presbyterian and would presumably have ensured the infant was christened promptly. On the other hand, Susanna apparently was Episcopalian and may have exerted some influence as to the choice of church. This “mixed marriage” may have been the source of young Andrew’s later doubts and troubles.⁴

¹ Mollier, Pierre. When Andre’ Michel Ramsay became a true knight. The Union Chain 2009/2 (No.48) pp. 30-37

² In 1664 a number of Covenanters were summonsed to court in Ayr for their political activities. At the accession of James II in 1665, Covenanting was declared treasonous and Covenanters were persecuted. It was at this point that the Ramsay family left for Ireland before subsequently returning to Ayr.

³ Anecdotes de la vie de Messire Andre’ Michel de Ramsay. Bibliotheque Mejanès, cited in ‘Chevalier Ramsay, A new appreciation’. Batham, C.N. *AQC* 1968.

⁴ The phrase “son of a baker” flags an unconscious bias in writings about the chevalier. His father was potentially a “freeman” and a guild member, this places him far higher in the social order of 18th century Scotland than such a phrase elicits in the 21st century. Free man or freedom of the Borough meant that Andrew (Snr) was entitled to purchase and sell property, enter into contracts, trade on his own account, sue for compensation and other legal freedoms. Andrew’s home life may have been more comfortable than we imagine. Other researches describe him as sensitive.

Fortunately, by the time Andrew was of school age, the Ayr parish (burgh) school was of sound reputation according to the strictures established under the Kirk.

This schooling was followed by attending a grammar school.

The principal function of the early 18th century grammar schools was the instruction of Latin grammar, Mathematics, Greek, Rhetoric and Logic leading toward matriculation and entry to a university.

Earning an Ayrshire bursary, it can be assumed that a career at law or the clergy would be his destiny. Having matriculated, at a university he would be a fee paying student, entitled to borrow from the library, wear a student gown (the length of that was an indication of student status) and be awarded a degree on graduation, a privilege not enjoyed by non-matriculated students.

Access to university in Scotland during that period was more open than English, German or French universities, less expensive and more open to reflecting society. Bursaries were available for training the clergy, students could live off campus, home or in lodgings.⁵ The curriculum was also more philosophical. Could this be the germination of the seed of his religious uncertainties? Resulting in the abandonment of a future career in the ministry.

Ramsay lived through a turbulent period across the latter 17th and first half of the 18th century. This turbulence was a carry-over of unresolved monarchial, civil and religious issues in both Britain and France. Religious unrest was both intellectual and physical. Monarchs attempted to centralize government, triggering voluminous hostile publications on liberty, religious tolerance, parliamentary role, political economy and corruption in civil and government life. Not only was Britain and France in turmoil, Ramsay was plagued by religious doubt in these formative years

By 1708 Ramsay, the young student sought a solution in Deism, probably from the advice of his mother to eschew Calvinism, at universities in Edinburgh and Aberdeen. The latter university was a centre of religious adventurism in Scotland.

Drifting into the Garden Circle, a group of mystics espousing the ideas of catholic contemplatives, he became acquainted with a number of like minds with whom he corresponded for many years. His contemporaries were George Garden, a controversial Episcopalian minister; his brother James Garden, author of *Contemplative Theology*; George Cheyne, physician and natural philosopher; Robert Keith, Episcopal bishop and historian; Alex Forbes (Lord Pitsligo), Philosopher and Jacobite officer; James Olgilvy, Later 3rd Earl of Airlie and Lord Dexford⁶.

This group of notables introduced Ramsay to a wider world of contacts in London and the writings of Mme Bourignon, Boerhaave, Mme Guyon and Archbishop Fenelon.⁷

⁵ Ditchburn, David. *Aberdeen before 1800*. Tuckwell Press. Chap 15. 'Educating the Elite. Aberdeen and its Universities.' 2002. p. 343

⁶ Henderson, George David, *Mystics of the Northeast*. Aberdeen, The Third Spalding Club 1934

⁷ George Garden (1649-1733) was a minister of the Church of Scotland and had been educated at Kings College Aberdeen and awarded an MA in 1666, followed by further studies and lecturing. He came from a minister's family and eventually ordained in 1677 by Bishop Scougal. Whilst a minister with the Kirk of St. Nicholas in New Aberdeen, by 1692 he was "laid aside" for "not praying for their majesties" William and Mary. Now with little religious duties, time was found to explore and translate the writings of Mme Bourignon, a continental mystic with a different view of Roman Catholicism. Translating her writings to English and adding prefaces laced with his thoughts. The Commission of the General assembly by 1700 required his presence at an enquiry in connection with his authorship of "*An apology for M Antonia Bourignon*". Refusing to disavow the authorship, he was

How Ramsay earned a living during this period is unknown, perhaps he already had learnt how to manipulate a way through life by having the appropriate introductions, alternatively, was he earning a living as a lowly schoolmaster? Through this period Ramsay explored various sects and branches of mysticism, namely: Quietism, Socinianism, Arminianism, pyrrhonism.

At the end of 1708, moving to London, fortune smiled with the offer from the young Earl of Wymess to tutor his two children, the eldest was eight. This is the first record of his activity as a pedagogue. A task so easy at Isleworth that in 1709 he wrote to Bishop Keith “all my ambition now is to live forgotten by all”.

Being forgotten was the last thing that occurred, under the influence of Garden; by 1710, it was suggested to meet with Pierre Poirot a European mystic, much admired by the Garden Circle, at Rhynsburg. During the period at Rhynsburg, he attended lectures by Boerhaave at Leyden university, these were also sources of knowledge and maintained his religious disquiet. The time at Rhynsburg was also only a few months duration.

A short explanation on the group of Mystics.

Mme Bourignon

Ostensibly a ‘Quietist’ the Mme. was a mystic and problem for the roman church. She believed she was chosen by god to restore true Christianity beyond the Dutch republic. The main tenant of her mystic philosophy was that faith was not dependant on priests, dogma or structure but could be found in the individual.

Pierre Poirot translated the French edition of Bourignon and corresponded with the Garden Circle in Aberdeen, influencing Ramsay to go to Rhynsburg

Mme Guyon: embraced the principles of Mme Bourignon and mysticism, following a disastrous start to life, but, maintaining to keep her inheritance, sought to actively convert girls to faith and contemplation.

Her early career enticed a young priest, Fenelon, to minister to a ‘school’ she established for converted girls to catholicize from Protestantism.

Her writings put her on a collision course with the Bishop of Geneva, Fenelon later defended her, when she was in trouble with the church authorities, and undertook an extended letter campaign with Cardinal Le Camus.

For his efforts, Fenelon was ‘banished’ to the city of Cambrai. As Fenelon was from a noble family, the title of Archbishop was granted by church authorities. Far from remaining quiet, the archbishop wrote not only religious topics but thinly veiled political works and an epic poem (*Tele'maque. 1699*) expounding a “princely” instruction manual for government using Greek myths as a structure for his thinking.

At this point in Ramsay’s life, (1710) some spurious sources describe a period of military activity,⁸ at the completion of this questionable activity some claim there were letters of recommendation to Archbishop Fenelon by officers engaged in the Spanish War of Succession.⁹ Other sources put it that it was Poroit who was the predominating influence.

subsequently cited to the assembly of 1701. Refusing to appear, he was deposed and “prohibited from exercising his ministry” Undeterred, he continued his ministry to his followers who adhered to episcopacy.

⁸ Lodge Chevalier Ramsay No.4. Brussels. Belgium.

⁹ Lodge Chevalier Ramsay No.4. Brussels. Belgium.

Sound evidence does exist that Ramsay spent some 3 years with Fenelon's household functioning as secretary to the Archbishops correspondence. Also converting to catholicism after many discussions¹⁰.

There is uncertainty when he departed from the Fenelon household at Cambrai, as there are overlaps in the records that he also served as Mme Guyon's translator and secretary.

The events between 1710 and 1717 are difficult to place in a simple geometric sequence, these are:

- Leaving Rhynsburg
- Military activity?
- Joining the Fenelon household
- Secretary to Mme Guyon,
- Death of Fenelon on 7 January 1715
- Leaves for Paris , (end of 1716)
- Death of Guyon 1717

Living in Paris, Ramsay, the author and tutor, over a number of years presents a corpus of writings eagerly sought by readers and thinkers of the early 18th century. A tredecim (13 years) of work commencing in 1719 appears as follows:

- Essay de Politique* (1719)
- Essay philosophique sur le gouvernement civil* (1721)
- L'Histoire de la Vie de Fenelon* (1723)
- Les Voyages de Cyrus* (1727)
- A plan for education of a young prince* (1732)

And published posthumously:

- The philosophical principles of natural and revealed religion* (1748/9) (2 volumes)
- Historie du viscomte de Turenne* (1771) (2 Volumes)

Following his departure from Blois and Mme. Guyon, sometime in 1716, Ramsay went to Paris and remained there mostly for the rest of his life except for short periods in Rome and England.

As a tutor to the son of the Comte de Sassanage, first gentleman in the chamber of the Duc d'Orleans, who co-incidentally was the Grand Master of the Royal and Military Order of St Lazarus of Jerusalem, the opportunity to become a Knight in this order required evidence of nobility.¹¹

In Paris, his tutoring was relaxed and he found time to compile *Le Histoire un vie de Fenelon*, a book in which Ramsay depicted a strong bond with the Archbishop but little of Fenelon's life. Ramsay, however, took the option of describing the plight of Mme Guyon's Quietist affair, his conversion to Roman Catholicism and promoted James Stuarts' Jacobite cause. So much to the point the family sought a different biographer. However that work failed to materialize. The *Vie de Fenelon* remained the standard text on the Archbishop for the next 150 years.

In spite of the success of his writings, Ramsay sought acceptance into Paris society and, for acceptance into French society some questions of origin and rank were pre-requisite. His reception to the Order of St. Lazarus required evidence of "eight quarters " of nobility. Hence a "Certificate of Nobility" was the key.

¹⁰ Lodge Chevalier Ramsay No.4. Brussels. Belgium.

¹¹ Mollier, Pierre. *When Andre' Michel Ramsay became a true knight*. The Union Chain 2009/2 (No.48) pp. 30-37

On 20 May 1723 the Regent of France, Phillip d'Orleans, enrolled him a Knight of Justice in the Order of Saint Lazarus. A 'Knight of Justice' was the rank awarded to noble entrants, whereas persons of merit were awarded 'Knight of Grace'. Ramsay was now entitled to the rank of 'Chevalier'.

The elevation to a Knight was a reward to loyal servants of France, it also brought to married Knights, a pension from the Abby of Signy.

The ceremony must have made a distinct impression on this sensitive candidate and germinated the crusader epic aspect of his oration. Ramsay entered a close circle to the French royal court. His Jacobite loyalties to James would have been known and his connections secured favors.

A small problem: the 'Certificate of Nobility' was signed by James Francis Edward on 24 May 1723. Three days after the event!

Perhaps this was to replace the "eight quarters"¹²

In September 1722 Ramsay's tutoring at the Comte de Sassenage household being terminated, through the good offices of the Duke of Mar, George Granville and Lord Lansdowne, Ramsay was appointed tutor in Rome to Charles Edward Stuart, eldest child of James Francis Edward.

By 1724 Ramsay was back in Paris following dismissal from the court and a termination payment of 100 guineas. Ramsay's reason was that he was dissatisfied with the court, others say it was from an altercation with Forbes (Lord Pitsligo) and a third opinion was that he was spying for the Earl of Mar, a member of the Triumvirate (Earl of Mar, George Granville, Lord Lansdowne) that had already lost favour at the Stuart court. In a letter, James commented: *He was an "odd body" who had exposed himself strangely to the court, but the prince would "be charitable enough to think him a 'madd' man"*¹³.

Back in Paris, looking at a literary career, Ramsay became a member of *Club De L'Entresol*, a circle of thinkers committed to the establishment of a French absolutism. Notable members of the club were Montesquieu, Abbe de Saint-Pierre and Lord Bolingbroke. It was during these years that his most successful work, *Travels of Cyrus*, was published and quickly republished due to demand in Europe. The English translation was undertaken by Garden Circle colleague, Nathaniel Hooke.

Though, as an author he was subjected to criticism and accused of plagiarism.

A stinging commentary from Voltaire (who despised Ramsay) wrote:

Ramsay, who after had been a Presbyterian in his native Scotland, an Anglican in London, then a Quaker and who finally persuaded Fenelon that he was a Catholic, and even pretended a penchant for celestial love-Ramsay, I say, compiled the "Travels of Cyrus" because his master made his Telemachus^(x) travel. So far, he only imitated. On conducting Cyrus into Egypt, he employs the same expressions as Bossuet, whom he copies word for word without citing, this is plagiarism complete. One of my friends reproached him with this one day: Ramsey replied that he was not aware of it and that it was not surprising he would think like Fenelon and write like Bossuet.⁽¹¹⁾

You will find it instructive to compare the following passages from a critic's pamphlet:

"A Criticism upon Mr. Ramsay's "Travels of Cyrus"
WHEREIN

¹² Mollier, Pierre. *When Andre' Michel Ramsay became a true knight*. The Union Chain 2009/2 (No.48) pp. 30-37

¹³ Mansfield, Andrew. *Ideas of Monarchical Reform*. Manchester University Press. 2015

The character of CYRUS is cleared up and the many Absurdities, Inconsistencies, Trifling Sentiments, Affected Expressions, Obscurities, Injudicious Reflections, False Quotations and Notorious Plagiarisms of Mr. RAMSAY, are Exposed and Rectified

Stephen Whatley

J Pemberton (London) 1729

Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux

Discourse upon Useful History

p. 516 (1681)

It seldom rains in Egypt: but this River (the Nile) which waters the whole country by its regular overflowing bring it the Rains and melted Snows of other Countries. To multiply so useful a River, an infinite Number of Canals of incredible Length and Breadth are cut across the country. The Nile carries Fruitfulness everywhere with its wholesome waters, makes a communication between the cities, joins the Great Sea with the Red Sea and maintains both Foreign and Domestic commerce.....

Andrew M Ramsay

Travels of Cyrus

French 1727, translated 1729

Vol 1, p. 157

It seldom rains in Egypt: but the Nile which water it by regular overflowing, supplies it with the rains and melted snows of other countries. An infinite number of channels were cut cross it, in order to multiply so useful a river. The Nile carries Fruitfulness everywhere with its waters makes a communication with its cities, joins the Great Sea with the Red Sea and by that means maintains both Foreign and Domestic commerce.....

In this period plagiarism was not considered the academic crime it is today but the process did provide ammunition for a contrary opinion of the writer.

A different Andrew Ramsay (1574-1659) penned an epic poem in Latin (1633) that reads very similar to Milton's *Paradise Lost*.¹⁴ Milton, of course achieved the greater acclaim and A.M. Ramsay was probably able to compare the two works in Latin, in his university years. The main conclusion being: plagiarism is OK.

Further accusations were made concerning 14 pages verbatim copied from Bousset's *Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle* (1678)¹⁵ the pages later expunged from subsequent editions.

None the less *Travels of Cyrus* enjoyed several editions from various publishers and is still in print via 'book to order' print houses and antiquarian bookshops.

Moving forward to 1728, Lord Lyon, King of Arms in Edinburgh, had been cajoled by Ramsay and supported by the Earl of Mar to have awarded "Diploma of Nobility" to further the claims of high birth.

England was by now under the rule of the Protestant Hanoverian court of George II and our hero was offered a position of tutoring the King's children. His reputation as a tutor must have been well regarded for such an offer. Surprisingly, the offer was refused, as he felt it unwise to be a Catholic tutor in a Protestant household.

He did however, travel to England for a number of reasons, his *Travels of Cyrus* was a popular read and some translation work with Hooke was undertaken. He was elected to the Royal Society in 1730 to mingle amongst the notables.

¹⁴ Mansfield, Andrew. *Ideas of Monarchical Reform*. Manchester University Press. 2015

¹⁵ Henderson, George David, *Chevalier Ramsay* Thomas Nelson, London 1952

Additional honors were bestowed in March that year by admission to the Gentleman's Society of Spalding, an antiquarian society devoted to literary discussion whose members included Newton (whom he much admired) and Alexander Pope amongst others.¹⁶

On 9 or 16 March the Horn Lodge welcomed the initiate, Andrew Michael Ramsay, into freemasonry. The *London Evening Post* reported:

On Monday night last at the Horn Lodge in the Palace yard, Westminster, (whereof the Duke of Richmond is Master) there was a numerous appearance of persons of distinction, at which time the Marquis of Beaumont, eldest son and heir apparent to his Grace the Duke of Roxburghe, Earl Kell of Wakefield, a peer of Great Britain; Sir Francis Henry Drake Bart, the marquis of Quesne; Thomas Hull of Nanteos Esq.; The Chevalier Ramsay; and Dr Misauvin, were admitted members of the Ancient Society of Free Accepted Masons.

In April, a Doctorate of Civil Law was bestowed on him by William King, (Jacobite) at Oxford University. He rewarded St Mary's Hall (Oxford) by presenting the rights to *Travels of Cyrus* in perpetuity to the college.¹⁷ Ramsay was the first Catholic to receive this award since the Reformation.

Surely, this is the apogee of the man's career, a Scottish Frenchman receiving English accomplishments.

Returning to France and the pension from the Abby of Signy, this required a marriage, the suitable spouse was found in the daughter (Marie) of Sir David Nairne (under-secretary to James Francis Edward). To enhance the family status, Sir David recommended that James Francis Edward make Ramsay a Knight and Baronet, thus in March 1735 a warrant indicating remainder to male heirs, was issued. The marriage apparently took place in June of that year.

During 13 years of Masonic membership no records of his activity have been identified until December 1736 upon presentation of an 'oration' and possibly at later occasions when candidates were initiated. The oration was of two parts, one for the education of the candidate in his behavior and duties as a Freemason, the second, a fanciful history of the ancient connections. For a writer of voluminous literary works, a presentation of 15-18 minutes must have been a mere afterthought.

For further acclamation, the oration was submitted to Cardinal Fluery for a "Imprimatur", seeking the cardinals support for freemasonry, and editing prior to submission to the censors.

The initial reply has not survived. Ramsay wrote a second letter in reply to Cardinal Fluery only to be marginally annotated "It is not the King's wish".

Following the rebuttal, whilst not abandoning freemasonry, only casual references of a Masonic nature have been identified as discussions, with Masonic authors.

All the while (1724 to 1741) Ramsay had associated with the household of Duc de Sully as a tutor.

¹⁶ A Gentleman's Society, Founded 3 Nov 1711 at Younger's coffee house in Spalding. *Mr. Spectator and the coffee house public sphere*; Cowan, Brian; *18th Century Studies* (J) Vol 37.3 (2004) pp. 345-347. 'Coffee houses were commercial enterprises that preyed upon the pretentious, extorting money from lazy posers in exchange for a den where they could imagine themselves great thinkers, philosophers and politicians.' Adam J Smith, *Coffee shops - the hangouts of choice for hipsters of the 18th century*. The Conversation 30/06/2015.

300 years later 'Youngers Ale' may be enjoyed in Spalding.

¹⁷ Batham, C.M. *Chevalier Ramsay, A New Appreciation*, AQC 1968 p. 285

Failing health but still dictating his “Anecdotes”¹⁸ to Marie, he entered the Grand Lodge Above on 6 May 1743. His death certificate was signed by two prominent masons; Alexander Montgomery, Earl Eglentown, Peer of Scotland and Charles Radclyffe, Earl Derwentwater, Peer of England. Other signatories were Michael Ramsay (a cousin?), Alex Hume and George Leslie.

The oration however did not gather dust; a portion has a great resemblance to an existing charge and new branches of degrees emanated through the 18th and 19th centuries.

Conclusion:

It would appear that it was inevitable that Ramsay would entertain the thought of being a freemason but:

“of course men did not join Masonic lodges to read educational publications. Yet it is well to consider what motives did actually impel men to join the fraternity. Somehow, no doubt, they had formed a favorable opinion of the order, some were attracted by the esoteric nature and the study of symbols from architecture and mathematical science. For a time it was fashionable to become a freemason.

Papal persecution of the order perhaps increased its popularity, neither Clement XII’s “*In eminent apostulas specula*” (1738) nor Benedict XIV’s “*Provisas Romanorum Pontificum*” (1751) were complied with, particularly in France.

*Masculine conviviality attracted many during this century, as was a desire to learn the “secrets” of the order.*¹⁹

This period was the revealing of many scientific ‘secrets’ so why would Masonry be seen as anything different and its antiquity would have been alluring to those searching for answers.

He received an education that his enquiring mind equipped him with the ability to mix within circles of influence, cajole princes to empower him with nobility and to manipulate his way through a sea of great minds, fools and sychophants.

As a writer, his prodigious output is evidenced by the authorship of several published works, some tomes of several volumes, biographs, poems and a 15 minute oration with unintended consequences, Andrew Michael Ramsay leaves a window into the turbulent changes of the era. As a mason, Ramsay used his skills to philosophically enhance the furtherance of the interests of the craft.

Is it too much to insist that it was by merit that he gained this highly favorable position from which to view the universe of his day (Henderson, George David, *Chevalier Ramsay*)

If only he had access to LinkedIn.

Ce Qu’il nous A L’aisse

¹⁸ *Anecdotes de la vie de Messire Andre’ Michel de Ramsay*. Bibliotheque Mejaes, cited in *Chevalier Ramsay, A New Appreciation*. Batham, C.N. AQC 1968.

¹⁹ Cumming, Ian: “*Freemasonry and Education in Eighteenth Century France*” *History of Education Journal* Vol 5 No.4. pp. 118-119

Additional reading:

Cherel, Albert. *Un aventurier religieux au XVIIIe siècle: Andrew Michel Ramsay. 1926.* (Copies in French language only)

Internet:

Wikipedia: for various terminology and comparisons of word meanings

The Merriam–Webster dictionary of synonyms and antonyms

Chat GP - useless and misleading.