

Transactions of the **Discovery Lodge of Research**

No. 971, United Grand Lodge of New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory

*direct descendant of the Research Lodge of New South Wales
and the Sydney Lodge of Research*



The lodge generally meets in the
Sydney Masonic Centre
on the first Thursday of alternate months
March (Installation), May, July, September & November, at 7 pm.
Dress: lounge suit, lodge tie, regalia.

Master WBro Ewart Stronach

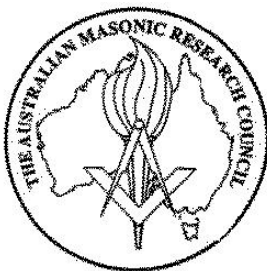
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How the medieval way of life affected our Masonic rituals

20 September 2011

by RWBro Rodney Grosskopff, KL (South Africa)

Religion

Religion played an enormous part in the life of medieval society; however, it had none of the freedom we enjoy today. There was one established Church and you belonged to it, or died. It was as simple as that.

Heresy

Heretics were not tolerated; they were put to death in the most painful ways. That great sixteenth-century intellectual, Sir Thomas More, put the matter very clearly. He believed that heretics should be burned alive, that 'Princes should punish them according to justice, by a most painful death', both as a punishment for heresy and as a deterrent to others.¹

In England, being burnt alive at the stake was considered a sufficient punishment for a heretic.² Later Henry VIII thought being hung, drawn and quartered was more appropriate. His daughter Elizabeth was not sure, but reluctantly accepted the advice of her secretary of state, Lord Burghley, when he assured her that with an efficient executioner, death by hanging, drawing and quartering could be very painful and prolonged.³

In Spain they were more imaginative. In the Prado museum in Madrid there is a painting called 'St Dominic converts a heretic' by an anonymous painter; there we see the saint himself, halo and all, with a burning torch under the poor heretic's privates.

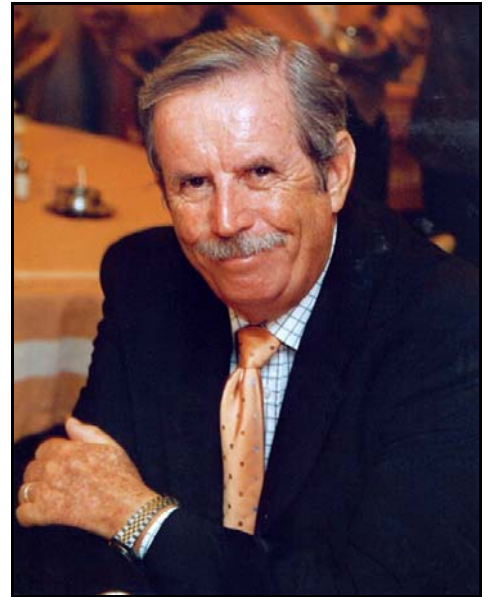
In those days you could be branded a heretic for reasons that to us appear to be stupid, for instance:

- If you thought priests should be able to marry.
- Being a follower of Calvin and Luther, because they believed that salvation came by faith, not—as the established Church did—by good works. Of course, the best of those good works was undoubtedly to give money to the Church so that priests could pray for you. It was dangerous to follow Calvin and Luther.
- Disagreeing on the meaning of communion and who could take it.
- The Catholics branded anyone who did not agree with them as heretics, especially the Protestants.
- The Church of England, when it came to their turn, branded as heretics those Papists who would not acknowledge the king as head of the Church.
- The Protestants, when they got to power in the Low Countries, tortured the Papists.
- Basically, you could be accused of heresy if you questioned anything.

The first charge imposed on the masons by their guilds required them to do their duty to God by avoiding all heresy. I think you could conclude that the Church had their serious attention.

Masonry has often been accused of being a religion or making a substitute religion or trying to combine religions. You will agree that in the early days they would look at the religion as the basis of their practice; however, you will also see that they would flee from any thought of practicing an alternate religion.

You will easily see how the blood-curdling penalties used by the masons for disclosing their secrets would have been included in early rituals. In fact the Masonic penalties were quite tame in comparison with everyday occurrences.



1 Ridley, p10.

2 op cit, p11.

3 Bardon Papers 45.

Religious involvement

You will agree that the established Church had some hefty ammunition to bring one to heel. Some individuals had their own beliefs but kept their disagreement quiet, some only confessing it on their deathbeds, or in letters to their heirs.

So everyone believed and belonged to the established Church; they attended church regularly and certainly believed its teachings without question. All the livery companies belonged to the church, not the least of which were the masons. The church became their main preoccupation, its festivals were the highlights of their lives. Other than a bit of good wassailing now and again, and the odd market day, the church was their entertainment, their education, and would have absorbed all of their free time.

The Masons Company of Newcastle annually acted the mystery play 'The Burial of Our Lady the Virgin' on Corpus Christi Day. The Masons Company of Chester acted with the Goldsmiths Company in 'The Destroying of the Children by Herod'.⁴

You must also appreciate that the main source of employment for the masons was the Church, followed closely by the Crown—an added incentive not to rock the boat.

Their employment on church buildings was usually at the behest of an enthusiastic cleric who expected them to be caught up in the fire of his divine endeavour—often his personal ambition. They were in a church environment; they would have thrown themselves totally into its activities. Where there was no church yet, they would have taken it with them, in the sense that they would have continued its practices and festivals on their own. They would have also used its teachings in their own practice.

Isolation

The masons were often isolated by society and geography, which drew them into a tight community of their own. Socially the local townsfolk would have regarded them with suspicion; inevitably their stay would be limited and they would move on, which turned them into outsiders and interlopers. Even today in England and Europe, particularly in little towns, one is regarded as a foreigner for decades. Recently I was in Bath, staying in a cute little hotel run by a South African; she had been there for six years and greeted us as fellow aliens. In medieval times it must have been much worse.

The masons often found themselves out in the countryside, whether by impressment at a minimum wage, being forced to work for the good of the country—for example: Henry VIII's fortifications on the Kent Coast or his Nonsuch Palace in Surrey;⁵ Edward's forts along the Scottish borders; Cardinal Wolsey's Cardinal College (later King's College and now Christ Church) at Oxford—or simply because the work was out in the country, and they went there of their own free will to work on great country houses for noblemen as well as princes of the Church—such as Cardinal Wolsey's Hampton Court; castles and manor houses for the nobility; Longleat, for Sir John Thynne; Warkworth Castle for the Duke of Northumberland; Tattershall Castle for Baron Cromwell, Lord High Treasurer to Henry VI;⁶—or numerous churches in little towns, which later became cathedrals around which large towns grew.

Whether it was in the town or out in the country, it is virtually certain that in those days they would have been forced into their own company. They were forced to govern themselves; an indiscretion by one of their number would affect them all. They were also forced to look out for one another, to educate their children, to look after the injured and indigent, to look after the families of those who died. This led to an organisation which disciplined, taught and cared for its members.

The Church's social control

The Church then was different from the church we know today. For centuries the Christian Church upheld the class structure of society, teaching men of all social classes that they were equal in the sight of God. Yet, in his infinite wisdom, God had ordained that some of his beloved children should be princes and rulers, whilst others whom he loved just as much, should be subjects, some should be rich

4 Ridley, p9.

5 Treasures of Britain, p27.

6 Fletcher, p398.

and some poor, some masters and slaves; the rulers should however realise that their privileged position had been given them by God, and should humble themselves before God. So for centuries Christian kings had crept to the Cross on Good Friday, advancing on their knees to a statue of Christ, and they washed the feet of beggars on Maundy Thursday.⁷

This unequal equality has found its way into our Freemasonry. We know we are all equal yet somehow we have created a body so full of ranks that outsiders have difficulty grasping it, and even our newly admitted brethren need time to work it out. We welcome aristocratic brethren with obsequious flattery; we promote our members, some of humble backgrounds, and treat them as aristocrats. Equality speaks of democracy, yet we have virtually no democracy, and it all works because we train all our members to be aristocrats.

Enlightenment

The ability to read was confined to the Church and the aristocracy; it was convenient to tell the people what they should believe. Even such literacy as existed was made more difficult by being in Latin. *Translations* of the Bible were burned. Sir Thomas More and other official prosecutors were concerned that if people read the Bible they would regard the Bible, not the Church, as the authority which they must obey.⁸

Clearly, the medieval mason was a regular churchman, and could not exist without the Church (whether he agreed or not). I suggested previously that when he was isolated he would have taken his church with him. Given that he was not literate, or not fully literate, he must have had a form or packaging of his religion (and his church education) in order to take it with him. It had to be packaged in such a way that quite simple masons could administer it.

We know that some lodges performed mystery plays—stories from the Bible—which they learnt by heart. The story of the construction of the most prominent building in the Bible, King Solomon's Temple, would not have escaped them and was probably used. We can only guess what other mystery plays they worked, but when we examine our practices we can speculate: Joshua holding his hands aloft so that the Lord would continue the light of day so that he could complete the overthrow of his enemies, perhaps.

Imagine these men largely isolated from the rest of society for long periods of time, forced to memorise their own brand of education, mainly religious, often unsupervised. They would have more opportunities to think and evolve their philosophies to suit their own, largely humble brethren. It is not surprising that there is a hint that the masons were a little more tolerant than the official church. This hint comes from the fact that, shortly after the founding of the first Grand Lodge in 1717, we read in Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723:

A *Mason* is oblig'd by his Tenure, to obey the moral Law; and if he rightly understands the Art, he will never be a stupid ATHEIST, nor an irreligious LIBERTINE. But though in ancient Times Masons were charg'd in every Country to be of the Religion of that Country or Nation; whatever it was, yet 'tis now thought more expedient only to oblige them to that Religion in which all Men agree, leaving their particular Opinions to themselves; that is, to be *good Men and true*, or Men of Honour and Honesty, by whatever Denominations or Persuasions they may be distinguish'd; whereby Masonry becomes the *Centre of Union*, and the Means of conciliating true Friendship among Persons that must have remain'd at a perpetual Distance.

This opened the lodges to anyone who believed in God. Catholics were not excluded and Jews were admitted at least as early as 1732. Freemasonry has from the beginning been tolerant of a person's beliefs. This has evolved to the point where we have no problem with a Mason having his own particular holy book open in the lodge.

Modern 'Lectures', such as in the Emulation ritual, are derived from an earlier catechism in lodge, which is to be found in some of the 'Old Charges' (eg the *Edinburgh Register House MS* of 1696 and the *Dumphries No.4 MS* of c.1710) and in early Masonic exposures. It is reasonable to suppose that the

⁷ Ridley, p36.

⁸ Ridley, p18.

masons adopted the catechetical form of their lectures from the method employed to teach religious doctrine in the church, and used it to ‘package’ their lessons. Additionally, their working tools would have provided ‘visual aids’, as reminders of that teaching.

The medieval masons’ tools

The apprentice’s tools

From numerous ‘fabric rolls’, such as the Westminster fabric rolls 1253 and Vale Royal Abbey 1278, we can see a list of the kind of tools owned by the lodge. The fabric roll of 1399 at York lists the following:⁹ 69 stone axes, 1 big gavel, 96 iron chisels, 24 mallets, 1 compass, 2 tracing boards, 1 small hatchet, 1 handsaw, 1 shovel, 1 wheelbarrow, 2 buckets, 1 large truck with 4 wheels and 2 smaller trucks together with appliances for winding up stones. They were owned by the lodge and kept under the custody of ‘the Keeper of the Rolls’. You will notice that levels, plumb rules and squares are not included in the list.

Basically these are the apprentice tools, and there is no ‘24-inch gauge’. Modern Freemasonry has added the 24-inch gauge, which I believe is a mistake. There was no national standard measurement, and Masters were aware that the common measures might change from district to district, so they often issued a rod or chain as a standard for the work. Henry de Yevele (1320–1400) used a strip of bronze, which he declared to be the official ‘yard’, divided into feet and inches. An apprentice would not have had any of these; at best he would have had a common judge (a template).

It is clear that the tools were very important to the lodge, so important that the lodge was forced to keep quite a few smiths and their assistants to manufacture and maintain them. At Vale Royal Abbey there was an average of seven smiths for 40 masons and 15 quarrymen.¹⁰

The apprentice had to be taught a proper respect for the tools. They were an important part of his livelihood; he was taught to have a reverence for them not unlike the bond instilled in a soldier for his rifle. It would not take much to see that these tools could take on an almost mystical significance (discussed below).

The craftsman’s tools

In Norwich, from 1550 to 1560, there were eight apprentices who were bound to ‘masons’ or ‘row masons’. In each case, at the end of his term, the apprentice was to receive from his master a sum of money (varying from 20 shillings to £3), double apparel, and a set of tools, but in no case was the set of tools identical.¹¹ Of the eight, seven received a hammer axe, four received a brick axe, six received a pickaxe, six received a trowel, two received a square, two received a level, four received a plumb rule, and none received a full set.

It is interesting to note that once the apprentice had come to the end of his term the tools he received, now as his own property, were more or less the second degree or craftsman’s tools.

Tools as symbols

We need to now close the loop. We know that the working tools have been used in Freemasonry ‘from time immemorial’ as symbols or guides to our conduct or, as our sister constitutions will have it, moralised upon. Working tools are mentioned in a non-operative context as early as 1688 by Randle Holme in *The Academie of Armourie*. The evidence of ritual use begins with the ‘Edinburgh Register House MS’ of 1696, in which the candidate is recorded as saying ‘as I am sworn by God, St John, by the Square and compass and common judge’.

The apron: part of a mason’s tools were his apron and gloves. In the York rolls (c 1490) we read ‘12d for skins for aprons and gloves’.¹² Aprons and Freemasons have become synonymous.

We understand that the apprentice out in quarry on the raw mountainside wore a lambskin (probably a sheepskin), and on occasions *two*, and that makes sense to us, it would have protected him from rain,

⁹ Knoop & Jones, pp60–69.

¹⁰ Knoop & Jones, p63.

¹¹ op cit, p66.

¹² Purvis, p463.

wind and also added a padding between his body and the rough stones he was working with. The legs of the skins were useful as thongs to tie it on. It also identified the apprentice.¹³

The craftsman also had an apron, this time with the end buttoned up to form a pocket to hold his tools, and these buttons we find today on the Fellow Craft's apron.

I spent some time in the British Museum looking at the Illuminated Manuscripts and bought a little book illustrating those to do with masonry.¹⁴ I must say that I was disappointed to find that not all masons wore aprons; indeed, of the 15 manuscripts only four clearly show any aprons, and a further two could possibly be showing masons wearing them. In four pictures only *some* of the masons wore aprons, and they appear to be only the setters, which is borne out by an entry in the York Rolls, dated 1444: 'and in gloves with aprons of leather given to the masons 7s 8d'; and dated 1470: 'and for two aprons of leather for the setter by the space of twelve months 12d and for two pairs of gloves for the same 4d'.¹⁵

The masters did not wear aprons at all.

The apprentice apron was refined in Freemasonry to the smallish square of lambskin. It is quite clear that the early Freemasons took some liberties with the apron. We have a wonderful collection of aprons at Freemasons' Hall, London, which shows Freemasons having a field day with their aprons; some of them are veritable works of art.

In 1813 Sir John Soane, an architect, was asked to head up a committee to regularise our regalia and as the result of their work we have the regalia we wear today.¹⁶

Secrets of the medieval mason

We know that the medieval mason had secrets and that those secrets distinguished the master mason from the lower orders and cowans.¹⁷ The secrets were mainly of a technical nature and were jealously guarded because they need to be used with the experience that comes with the master's training and could have been dangerous in the wrong hands. What were they?

- The ability to set up a right angle on site, which they did by forming a triangle with its sides 3:4:5, which was extolled by Philo Judaeus as 'the foundation of the creation of the universe'.¹⁸ It was laid out with some ceremony, often by three masters, each with a staff of different lengths, or three lines of the exact lengths. (One wonders how they kept it a secret!)
- This was then improved upon, particularly for setting up verticals. This was called the *vesica*: two arcs are struck, producing a new formula: $1:2:\sqrt{3}$. Note that the shape generated forms the proportions of a Gothic window. The vesica takes its name from the shape into which the figure of Christ or a Saint was put. It also takes the shape of a fish, a symbol of Christ derived from the initial letters of the Greek for 'Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour', which in Greek spells *fish*.
- They also knew that the angle in the semi-circle was always a right angle. A master mason had merely to describe a semi-circle having a given point at its centre, and its circumference cutting the point where the right angle was needed.

[In our third degree we find:

Q Where do you hope to find them (the Master Mason's secrets).

A With a centre.

Q Why with a centre.

A Because that is a point from which a Master Mason cannot err.]

- The master mason's most closely kept secrets were his structural formulas, these were not formulas as we know them today but more like a list of buildings (that had not fallen down), with their spans

13 Barker Cryer, p25.

14 Coldstream.

15 Purvis, p463.

16 www.soane.org

17 Purvis, p463.

18 Covey-Crump, p141.

and heights tabulated, and the sizes of their columns and beams. These were very jealously guarded and only passed on to a successor. You can imagine how these could be lost by an untimely death.

- They knew of Euclid's theorem, which you will recognise as the Past Master's symbol.
- When Antoni Gaudí began building the Sagrada Família church in Barcelona in 1883, he used the ancient method of adapting the shape of arches to the loads they were carrying. You can still see his models today. He would suspend the two ends of a piece of string to scale where the columns were and then hang weights from the string where the load was applied. This would generate the shape of the arch, upside down in the air.

We also know that our early predecessors met secretly. In the 14th century a mason's life and behaviour were highly regulated by society and the government, even to when he could play cards, whom he could not seduce, and when he had to fast. There was even an act of Parliament regulating his pay, and it was unlawful to pay him more than sixpence a day. After the series of plagues in 1348, known as the Black Death, where a third of the population died, there was a shortage of labour. Masons' guilds and lodges started to meet in secret, as trade unions, to strike a better deal for their members. They met secretly because it was illegal to gather; the penalty was a fine of between 20 shillings and six month's wages.¹⁹

One can imagine that they would want to be circumspect in their meetings, probably even having secret ways of recognising one another.

Accommodation of the medieval mason

In towns masons probably lived in lodgings, in the country or small country towns, the lodge itself often had to provide accommodation. Usually the lodge was an open-air workshop, a midday resting place and a refectory. Even comparatively small works such as the church at Gatterick provided four dormitories.²⁰ From the fabric rolls of Vale Royal Abbey we read that the carpenters were paid 45 shillings for constructing the lodge and mason's house.

The lodge was a semi-permanent structure, probably wattle and daub with a thatched roof, and a stamped earth floor. The housing had little by way of natural light, probably oiled parchment over the small openings. There was a fireplace in the middle and a small hole in the roof to let the fumes escape. Torches would have provided artificial light—rushes dipped in resin, or probably a wick floating in vegetable or fish oil—a very smelly place!

Inside, the lodge was sparsely furnished, with rough wooden benches that could be taken down when not in use; they were very heavy, made of split timber because there were no long saws to cut planks. The mason and his family stored their clothes in baskets or chests, being before the time of cupboards and drawers.

Only the rich could afford beds, often sleeping three or four to a bed. The poor, and that included masons, slept on heaps of skins or piles of straw on the floor. In those days poorer folk did not wear underwear and they slept naked, perhaps with a nightcap. Their clothes were hung on sticks above the ground to protect them from mice and other vermin. Sanitary arrangements were very primitive, a hole in the ground. At best, washing was seldom performed. A bath was only on very special occasions: a marriage celebration or ritual, or as a medical treatment.

You will appreciate that these people were forced to live together under trying circumstances, with little privacy. Imagine what your wife would say living in one room, with the master getting up in the middle of the night dressed only in his nightcap to go outside for a pee. Imagine trying to sleep with the junior deacon's babies crying all night. It teaches you to be a pretty tolerant person.

Food

'We are what we eat', no more so than the medieval mason and his family. Most of their meals would have been a pottage (a sort of soup combined with a porridge) and stews with rough breads made of wheat and cereals. Their food was mainly vegetables, plenty of beans and peas highly flavoured with

¹⁹ Covey-Crump, p145.

²⁰ Jackson, p2.

herbs, fatty bacon or salt pork. The women would have had small vegetable gardens when land was available, but always herbs and whatever spices they could lay hands on (bearing in mind that they were expensive). The vegetables they had were cabbages, turnips, parsnips, onions, carrots, spinach; it must have been a windy place!

You can appreciate how the occasional pigeon, chicken or rabbit would be welcome; these they could rear themselves, in hutches. There is no doubt that the odd bit of poaching took place, but with a good deal of circumspection because to be caught with anything larger than a rabbit was punishable by maiming or death. They could buy from farmers and at the market, but these were by and large poor people, perhaps a bit better off than the peasant, but not much. Only the very wealthy had meat or fish everyday. The mason would only on rare occasions be able to buy meat, and then only the least desirable cuts and offal.

They cooked communally; they were forced to do so by their circumstances. Gathering firewood and fetching water was a full time job for one or two young women. Looking after children was just as time-consuming. Preparing food and looking after the living quarters also needed hands. Preparing food was more than taking it out of the fridge and putting it on the fire. The women of those days started at the beginning of the food chain, growing, harvesting, tending animals such as they had, slaughtering them, and making sure that nothing was wasted. Meat was stored either by salting or smoking, making products for the home from the remainder, curing skins, rendering the fats down for soaps and oils.

Masons worked the full daylight hours, in summer up to 14 hours; this meant that they had to eat during their stops—in summer four times. They would start out with a piece of bread with wine or beer for breakfast. The lunchtime break was two hours at about 10 or 11 o'clock, when they would have the main meal, another break about 3 o'clock, dinner at 5 o'clock; they stopped work at 20 minutes before sunset, and had something to eat before bed.

From their diet and the clothing which has come down to us we know that they were small wiry people; they lacked vitamins A, C, and D, and supplemented their calories with beer—from all accounts, lots of beer.

The picture coming through is one of a very large extended family organisation; at Wells Cathedral there were an average of fifteen masons in the lodge. I think we can assume ten of them were married, leaving five younger men or apprentices who were fed and clothed by their masters. By extension, there could have been forty people all working together. Their working life was organised and regulated to the smallest detail and you can assume their home life was just as organised.

They could only have functioned if working in full harmony, rather like our own rural black kraals in South Africa. They needed to keep an eye out for one another. When one suffered they all suffered a bit. If one got into trouble then all of them felt it. This has come down to us as Freemasons, not as a ritual, except for the odd word, but as an ethos.

We know that our early predecessors had feasts on special occasions. We read in the York Rolls (date uncertain, but before 1494) 'and in expenses for the masons on the first day of placing the stones on the bell tower, in bread, beer and meat all told 18½ pence', no small amount.²¹ It is clear that it was men only, and on special occasions. When an apprentice reached his term (and took his second degree) and was given his tools would have been such an occasion. These have come down to us to be used in a similar way.

Recreation

The mason did not have much time for recreation, except on Sundays and Feast days.²² Ball games were as popular as they are now: 'In 1365 the Sheriffs were instructed to stop ball games when it interfered with their archery practice'. In 1385 the Bishop of London issued an edict preventing ball games in the grounds of St Paul's. They played an elementary football with a leather-covered pig's bladder. They also played a game similar to baseball. The most popular sport was archery; every able-bodied man (except the clergy) in England was subject to a call up for military service. The most

21 Purvis, p464.

22 Jackson, p15.

popular public spectacle was bear baiting. Although they had pitifully little time for recreation I am sure that they would have participated in the games of the day as a bonding exercise, much as we do today.

Women in Masonry

I quote from 'Thoughts for the Enquiring Mason', July 2003: 'English statutes show the apprenticeship was open to both male and female'—refer English Statute 7 Hen IV C17 (1406)—'No person shall bind his son or his daughter apprentice, etc' The choice of male only membership is probably derived from a political decision rather than a stonemason's. The masons' main feast day was 'The Four Crowned Martyrs'—with their wives—so we can see that from early on wives were included.²³ In 1714 the German-born, German-speaking, Hanoverian King George I was brought to London as king. Freemasons sought his patronage (hence social and political prestige) for their organisation. They set out to achieve this by forming a Grand Body in charge of all their London and Westminster lodges. In line with Hanoverian belief—that *a woman cannot be ruler*—they, the Freemasons declared, 'Women cannot be members of Regular Freemasonry'. The foregoing is logical when viewed from the 18th-century position.

This may be the reason, but I believe that the life-style of the medieval family dictated positions for each member of the family and society. We cannot even imagine the women of those days taking on the rigours of masonry; the work was extremely hard and physical. Their culture put them into slots, which made it impossible for them to break out. Their upbringing directed them, their education and training tied them to the home, their work in the home was so onerous and time-consuming that they had little time to bother about anything else.

Work and working conditions

Who could be a mason?

At the start of the 14th century almost half the population of England consisted of tied labour or serfs or villeins. They were not slaves but they and their families had to work for so many days a year for their masters and yield to him a portion of their produce. It was satisfactory to neither: the landlord had intermittent and unwilling labour; and during the most important times of year the peasant could not work land allocated to him.²⁴ One bad crop, and he and his family were destitute. Many fled, abandoning their own land, to make a new home in the city or in another part of the country, bearing in mind they were still obligated to the landlord, who would have sought after them. They could gain their freedom if they escaped for a year and a day. The most famous of these was William of Wykeham; he became a mason, had a brilliant career organising the king's buildings, and went on to become Bishop of Winchester.

You can see where the opening question to the initiate comes from: Are you freeborn?

The apprentice

The idea we have of the apprentice is skewed by our present practices and the preconceived idea that we have of apprentices. We should look at the medieval apprentice for a greater insight. Who could be an apprentice? A statute of 1405 limited indentures (of masons) to sons of landowners or those who rented property for more than £20 a year.

Before that time we read very little of the apprentice. In the fabric rolls of seven major buildings between 1309 and 1442 (Vale Royal Abbey, Conway Castle, Westminster Abbey, Caernarfon Castle, Beaumaris Castle, London Bridge and Eton College) no mention is made of apprentices. There were apprentices in other guilds, and perhaps that is the source of our misconception. Furthermore, we find no reference in the official wage regulations of the 14th and 15th centuries to masons' apprentices.²⁵

We know that under the guild system the normal arrangement was that an apprentice would be bound to a master who, in addition to teaching him, undertook to house, feed and clothe him. In the latter half

23 Jackson, p15.

24 op cit, p3.

25 Knoop & Jones, p16.

of the 15th century we read that the courts upheld that the apprentice's master was entitled to what an apprentice earned. The problem probably lay with the employer, who would have been reluctant to trust his expensive materials to the hands of an apprentice. Also we must appreciate that often the apprentice was regarded as no more than a part of the master, and therefore could easily be overlooked. This could probably explain the close relationship between the master, the lodge, and the apprentice, which unfortunately is not as close as it should be today.

Later in the 15th and 16th centuries we see more of the formal apprentice, but even then not much. Previously, we referred to apprentices at Norwich between 1550 and 1560, and the tools they received at the end of their apprenticeships. At Adderbury and Kirby Muxloe apprentices received a proportionate payment of the set rate for masons, ranging from 40% to 92%.

References to apprentices are so few and far between that there may well have been a less formal on-site training system running parallel with apprenticeships.

Not only were there strict rules about who could become apprentices, there were also rules about who could take an apprentice. In Winchester, only a free man of the city could take on an apprentice.

The fellow craft or journeyman

It was the craftsman who, with the sweat of his brow, his cunning talent and physical strength, built the medieval buildings we marvel at today: the size, the intricate detail and lovely sinuous lines carrying each load down to the ground, form following function as faithfully as a Bauhaus architect today.

How did they do it on a day-to-day basis? The master produced the design in the form of a drawing, usually on parchment.²⁶ These plans are confusing to our eyes, usually with a number of levels, one over another. They were not to a scale, without dimensions. The elevations are diagrammatical and not really a work of art. The medieval craftsman was not an antiquarian and the drawings we have are often preserved by mistake, used as covers for account books, etc, or tucked into the fabric rolls. The master then designed 'moulds' or templates, often called 'the common judge'. These were cut-out shapes for window edges, beam profiles, etc.

The design was further worked out on the tracing board or tracing floor, and there are many of these around, as in Wells Cathedral above the side entrance. Sometimes in lofts or side spaces, they consisted of a sunken floor-space filled with plaster, on which the designs and tracery was worked out in full-size detail; together with the templates, they produced the detail of each individual block.

It was over the tracing board that the lodge gathered with the master to work out the detail. It was a point where they brainstormed, discussed progress, worked out difficult connections, and probably solved the world's and each other's problems, and we today have brought the tracing boards into our lodges to fulfil a similar function.

The forms of each stone were transmitted to board or parchment and sent to the quarry for working.

One of the most expensive aspects of the building was the transport of materials, sometimes from as far as 10 miles away, by ox-wagon, and they paid up to 18 pence a load.

Lifting the stones was another problem. They had a variety of winches; there are pictures of a labourer in a wheel, like a hamster, driving the crane or simple winches and windlasses.

The master mason

The words *master mason* meant many things in the Middle Ages, from a contracts manager on site, to a talented architect, a contractor, a supplier of material, or even an advisor to the king. Bearing in mind that we are talking about a period of over 400 years, this changing definition it is not surprising. The word *master* was often used in many similar circumstances. Rahere, the courtier and cleric, when he founded St Bartholomew's Hospital and Convent in 1123, appointed to the hospital a master and eight brethren.²⁷ What is interesting is his job description for the master: 'He ought to be gentle, kind, good tempered, compassionate to the sick, and willing to gratify their needs with affectionate sympathy'—a recommendation to any doctor, or Master of a lodge. What is interesting is that this group, if not a lodge, was very similar to one; they had a banner, which they paraded on Feast Days.

²⁶ Coldstream, pp21–39.

²⁷ Power, pp8–12.

The best definition of the operative master is the monk Gervase's account of William of Sens, master of the new choir of Canterbury Cathedral: 'He addressed himself to the procuring of stone beyond the sea. He constructed ingenious machines for loading and unloading ships, and for drawing cement and stones. He delivered moulds (templates) for shaping the stones to the sculptors who were assembled, and diligently prepared other things of the same kind'. He was everything!

We know quite a lot about the master masons. It is logical that there would be more about them in the records than their subordinates. As the buildings became more complex and the demand grew for competent and talented masters, their reputations and fame spread.

Famous masters were lured away, obviously by a handsome reward, to other works. Matthias of Arras was called from Avignon to Prague. Etienne de Bonneville was encouraged to leave his job to go to Sweden to build the Cathedral of Upsala. Masters became in such demand that they could dictate their terms. In 1140 Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis does not even bother to mention his architect, but by the beginning of the 14th century things had changed. They were having their faces carved into the building (eg Peter Parler); Hugues Libergier was buried in his church of Saint-Nicaise at Rheims. The master was starting to rank with the Squires. James of St George, architect of Edward I's castles in Wales became Constable of Harlech. William of Wykeham, mentioned earlier, became Bishop of Winchester.

Patrons were reluctantly agreeing to allow one master to run two or three jobs at the same time – this had its own problems. We see penalty clauses in contract requiring the master to stay on the work. In the 1368 contract of Robert of Patrington, specified that if he was working elsewhere and after the third asking did not return to York, his salary would cease until he did.

The problem was overcome by the introduction of *wardens* (supervisors). The earliest example is at Canterbury after Williams of Sens fell off the scaffold, and from his bed supervised, for a short time, 'a certain ingenious monk' (as Gervase coyly describes himself) who directed operations on the site. Later this role was formalised in the person of a warden, and Gervase became a warden on a permanent basis. In Wales, Walter of Hereford was Warden to James of St George. In Germany, Ulrich von Ensingen's position was taken over by his Warden, Johan Hultz.

The best example was the Vertue family; Adam Vertue's two sons, Robert and William, were his Wardens and then his successors. They built some of the most beautiful perpendicular gothic vaults at Bath Abbey, Westminster Abbey and Kings College Chapel.

You can see how the Warden became the successor to the Master in Freemasonry.

Some master masons branched out into the building industry generally. They became building contractors quoting for work. Henry de Yevele became a supplier of worked stone.

To close off this chapter I want to put to bed this misconception that many master masons were monks. There were some—we met one of them, Gervase—and *at the end of their careers* many masons joined a monastery; it was a good retirement home. Monasteries were also the universities of those days, and they were more than happy to invite famous masters to join their order in exchange for some tutelage.

In conclusion, I can do no better than quote the concluding words of Bro Cosby Jackson:²⁸

They have left us no ceremonies and no masonic secrets . . . What they have left us, those tough, uncouth, primitive but highly skilled predecessors of ours, is something that might be called the spirit of the lodge – that quality of fellowship which changed them, from being no more than a collection of workmen, into a fraternity which carried Freemasonry to the four quarters of the globe.

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28 Jackson, p17.

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Old tracing board, Cape Town



Abbot Suger



William of Wykeham

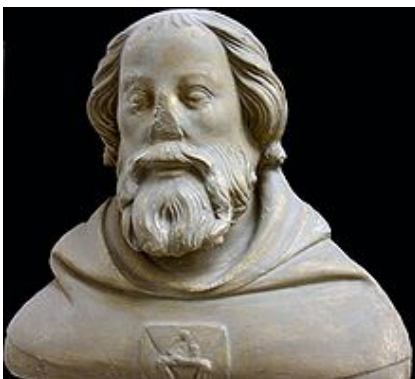


Peter Parler



Note square, rod, and compasses

Hugues Libergier



Matthias of Arras



Ulrich von Ensingen

Innovation in Freemasonry

Inaugural address, to be delivered on 1 March 2012

RWBro R J Nairn, PSGW, KL

Introduction

We have been managing our Grand Lodge as if it were a business, but any business that requires that there will be no innovation is doomed to stagnation at best.

Economist Joseph Schumpeter,²⁹ who contributed greatly to the study of innovation, argued that industries must incessantly revolutionize the economic structure from within, that is innovate with better or more effective processes and products.

Yet we require our WMs-elect to 'admit that it is not in the power of any man or body of men to make innovation in the Body of Masonry'.³⁰

Of course we have had innovation in Freemasonry and will continue to do so.



Objective

This paper discusses 'innovation', defined broadly as 'the process of change'. It is the intention to consider policy towards innovation and about the process of innovation, so as to gain some insight into how policy might be enhanced and innovation might be better achieved and managed.

Parties to Innovation

Change usually requires at least a proponent and a client or target group. The greatest single factor in bringing about change is the attitudes and actions of and between these two entities. The discussion on managing innovation is therefore partly a discussion with a sociological perspective. It is essential to define the roles each plays, for each to understand them and to know and respect the communication channels between them.

There may be three or more identities involved – a proponent, a client and an approving authority and even an outside body with an interest. The entities may play different roles, for instance an idea may come from the Lodge Executive for implementation in their own Lodge in order to attract new members and require an approval, through the DGIW, by the Grand Lodge Executive. Or a new procedure may be suggested by the Grand Lodge Board of Management, to be approved by Grand Lodge Executive for implementation in Private Lodges.

Innovation, morale and consultation

In business, improved performances come about primarily through improved social and technological productivity, which depends largely on, and interacts with, morale and innovation. The role of morale is intertwined and often inseparable from innovation. Roethlisberger and Dickson³¹ showed us that morale and productivity can be enhanced simply by seeking client participation and by experimentation. The most conservative person still wants to be consulted if any change is mooted. It is certain that morale is usually enhanced even by simply adopting an attitude towards innovation through participation.

While innovation is not always 'good', it cannot be claimed that we have an excellent record for supporting it. This may be due partly to a lack of real emphasis on the need for consultation or, alternatively, on the need for change. With burgeoning costs it is easy to see why Lodges and Grand Lodge may tend to isolate and restrain expenditures, believing that consultation and change will add to

²⁹ 'American Institutions and Economic Progress', 1983, *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft*.

³⁰ Installation Ritual.

³¹ The Hawthorne Experiments.

costs, at least to administrative costs. However, in today's electronic age it is difficult to believe that consultation with Lodges will add much to costs and it is not at all necessary that innovative change will add to costs.

Grand Lodge is an autocracy and it may be that there is a perception that policy is, or needs to be, dominated by Grand Lodge rather than an open attitude that inspires the Lodges to suggest the roles each might like to play. If such a dominant role is adopted by, or expected from, Grand Lodge, then a more aggressive innovative position could also be expected from it.

However Grand Lodge has only moral authority, although this is a strong motivation. It only has reserve powers (removal of a charter) and the ability to reward only with status recognition. Therefore, it often arises that there is a passive attitude by Grand Lodge to co-operation by the Lodges. We tend to regulate the Lodges and expect them to co-operate, often with no real confidence that they will do so. Therefore we have little real alternative but for Lodges to take a more active role in generating change and for this to be acceptable policy.

If productivity, morale and efficiency can be improved through consultation and innovation, our first aim should be to seek to find out what different things the Private Lodges are doing and want to do.

Conservatism

Innovation is not primarily about research, however, but also about the implementation of ideas into our practices. Therefore the policies relating to research and consultation are only a part of the broad picture of innovative change. Of possibly greater importance are the relatively conservative attitudes towards innovation adopted by many Masons of all rank and office. This cannot be denied and needs to be understood.

Conservatism is a social philosophy that promotes the maintenance of traditional institutions, and supports, at the most, minimal and gradual change in society. Some conservatives seek to preserve things as they are, emphasizing stability and continuity, while others oppose modernism and seek a return to the way things were.³²

Progressives or liberals win victories through rational debate. But after a victory is won, liberals tend to drop the issue and move along.³³ Conservatism, by its very nature, does not give up. In addition, most liberals tend to be lone crusaders but conservatives seek supporting company.

Conservative people may exhibit one or more of the following psychological factors:

- Tolerance for inequality, often expressed as 'rewarding merit' or dressed as Charity;
- Dogmatism and intolerance of ambiguity, often expressed as Duty and dressed as Truth; and
- Fear of instability, uncertainty avoidance and the need for quick resolution, often expressed as tradition.

Conservatives believe the world is stable or at least in equilibrium and have difficulty recognizing that the world is at least partially imbalanced and is constantly evolving.

These attitudes are normal human behaviour, not wrong or symptoms of psychiatric illness, and need to be catered for by looking for ways in which these attitudes do not become destructive.

It is not acceptable to brand liberals as 'rocking-the-boat' nor is it acceptable for conservatives to be branded as 'part of the problem'. The most innovative and successful firm I know had an ambitious Chairman with great but often impossible ideas, and a Managing Director who could control him and understand him.

To some extent, what might be taken to be conservative policy is brought about by the Grand Lodge's duty to satisfy itself that the Craft is protected and practices are monitored or auditable—that they relate to the '*ancient landmarks*' however defined—and run no risk of lack of international recognition.

Although these responsibilities, which sometimes seem onerous, can cause resentment or delay, they should be regarded as part and parcel of the management of an innovative process, rather than official reluctance or bureaucratic obstruction.

32 McLean, Iain & McMillan, Alistair: 'Conservatism', *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics*, 3edn.

33 Agre, Philip E: 'What Is Conservatism and What Is Wrong with It?', August 2004.

Similarly, with this perception, many Lodge officers act conservatively, believing that this expresses their loyalty to 'the system', rather than acting out their own preferences and being seen to be 'stirring the pot', even if they do see mutual advantage in change.

Being conservative should not necessarily be seen as an expression of satisfaction with the current state of affairs. It may spring from a pessimistic fear of the possible unknown consequences of change – a fear that inspired leadership can easily overcome.

It cannot go un-noticed that the most innovative Lodges, for instance Sydney Lodge, are the happiest and the most successful.

A sociological perspective

The actions and attitudes of the proponent for change or the client, rather than the nature of the change itself, is often the reason why innovation falters or fails. An innovation is not 'good' simply because the proponent thinks it so. Neither is it good simply because it is initially accepted by the client.

There are many innovative changes which have been successful at the time, but have later been regarded as a backward step or had a very limited life, sometimes leading to client resistance to change in general. Similarly there are many instances of really good ideas never being implemented for puzzling reasons.

What, then, makes innovation a success? What is the environment which breeds successful innovation? How do we manage our innovation processes?

When the noted sociologist Margaret Mead, a student of Boas, first documented her 'Theory of Cultural Relativity',³⁴ she provided a fairly clear framework within which innovative change could be managed to gain most acceptances and therefore be most efficient.

She chose an anthropological setting for her case studies, presumably because she could demonstrate her theory in the most dramatic and interesting way. She first gave many examples of the disastrous and unintended social consequences brought about by well-meaning proponents for change, who did not understand the cultural settings in which these changes were implemented. Innovations which are highly acceptable in our culture can be damning in another culture, such as banning cannibalism in West Africa, which created intensified social problems such as drunkenness, lawlessness and marital failure because the British did not understand or value the traditional cultural mores of the African people in that area.

Her vivid examples clearly showed that a clear understanding of the cultural setting is essential for successful innovation.

Rule 1 – Test that the cultural setting for change is favourable

She then synthesized a series of practical guide-lines to assess how proponents for change might analyse and implement their intentions, based, in the first instance, on gaining a clear understanding of the relative differences between inter-acting cultural structures.

Today, however, we work in pluralist or multi-cultural societies in which it is more difficult to establish the relative cultural settings between the proponent for change and the recipient.

It is always more difficult to define your own cultural setting than anyone else's. Our Masonic culture nevertheless has some definite characteristics: we are male, ageing, fundamentally religious or at least monotheistic, racially tolerant, free, loyal, literate, computer-literate, and not in the lowest income brackets.

In Australia we are predominantly white Protestant Caucasians, but this is changing. We have and are continuing to acquire some skills in managing voluntary groups, as well as training our memories, and our ability to make friends and understand others. We are social people, and volunteers, with a high degree of awareness of the need for public service and some degree of spiritual awareness.

However, our cultural profile cannot easily be described in tribal terms but needs to be identified through industrial cultures and social grouping. The work of Homans and Whyte³⁵ with street gangs in

34 Mead, Margaret: *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change*, Greenwood Press [1953] 1985, ISBN 0313248397.

35 Whyte, William Foote: *Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum*, University of Chicago Press, ISBN 0-226-89545-9.

New York, or the work of Schein,³⁶ can give us some insights into how leadership patterns of different types emerge and how they influence committee cohesion and productivity. Whyte's concepts of human behaviour in Committees, if applied in our Masonic structure, might well improve their productivity.

More particularly we have been brought up in an industrial age with attitudes to management more akin to those 'social man' theories described by Mayo,³⁷ which emphasized that people are more responsive to the social attitudes of their peer group than to any management economic or intrinsic incentives (or coercion). Given that Grand Lodge has only moral authority, even though that is substantial, then we have little alternative but to work with Mayo's concepts. Our organization needs to work with the attitudes of our Lodges rather than seek to impose changes from the Centre.

Identifying cultural attributes has also been made more difficult because sociological scientists seem to have forgotten the industrial beginnings and retreated into academia.

People like Whyte,³⁸ a disciple of Homan's³⁹ theories of inter-personal relations, who established a monumental reputation as an industrial practitioner in the United States, are difficult to find today, except in the more progressive marketing firms, particularly those who do their social research rather than rely on media know-how. Their success does not depend on the product but on their ability to understand, analyse, express and sculpt market perceptions of the product within the resources and facilities available, including the media.

We need this expertise and we cannot afford to act like the Fuller Brush Man providing a 'hard sell' instead of seeking competent marketing advice relating to client perceptions and 'cultural' expectations or behaviour. It is not sufficient to attempt to implement new ideas that have been generated without client input and in isolation from client perceptions even though it is thought and claimed that they serve his interests.

Rule 2 – Implement change when other things are changing, as this shows adaptability

Margaret Mead clearly demonstrated the difference between rigid or conservative cultures and adaptive ones. Success can often depend on recognizing adaptive clients and understanding the reasons why adaptation is acceptable behaviour in their environment. The expressed wish for change is, of itself, not sufficient grounds for believing innovation will be successful. It is safer if there is other clear evidence of adaptation or change since innovation can be more successful when other changes are taking place.

Successful innovators spend their marketing dollar where there is clear historical evidence of adaptive effort, albeit in different fields.

In our world there is very clear evidence of change taking place. How often do we turn to our grandchildren to learn how to use the latest gizmo-apps. Would our grandfathers have turned to us in the same way? How long would you expect your son to stand before you being lectured by rote in the same way we do it in Lodge? They would much prefer to Google it.

Rule 3 – Good Leadership moulds Opinion

Client perceptions are often not rigid, but are malleable. Acceptance is also a process with some degree of freedom for moulding. Group attitudes are not uniform but can vary greatly. They can be held mildly or strenuously. Attitudes change and can be changed. Effective leadership can mould attitudes to assist change.

Rule 4 – Adapt the Innovation not just the Client Culture

The innovations themselves are often as equally malleable as their target groups. The reasons for their acceptance can often be a surprise, leading to product moulding. In Western Samoa, Christian missionaries were accepted readily into an otherwise brittle culture, because of the high regard in which story tellers (Tusi Tala) are held. In Africa, churches have flourished where singing is a cultural attribute by adapting music and song.

36 Schein, Edgar H: 'Organizational Psychology', Foundation of Modern Psychology Series, Library of Congress.

37 Mayo, E: 'The Social Problems of an Industrial civilization', Boston Harvard Grad School of Business 1945.

38 Whyte, William Foote: 'Organizational behavior theories and practice'.

39 See G C Homans 'The Human Group'.

Innovation can therefore be a two-way affair and it is more permanently and easily adopted if this process takes place.

There is then ample scope for improving our performance by looking at the lessons of history through the eyes of sociologists and marketing experts, provided we do not look on marketing experts as being purely concerned with advertising and fully employ their special professional skills.

A biological perspective

In biology the concept of cultural diversity is seen as essential to the long-term preservation of species. Theory has it that cultural diversity strengthens survival in the Darwinian evolutionary process.

Certainly Australian culture has been enriched in many ways by multi-ethnic immigration. So has our Masonic experience, where today men from many nations and ethnic backgrounds sit with us in Lodge and, with their differing Masonic experience, bring different viewpoints to our procedures.

Rule 5 – Look for opportunities where Cultural Diversity exists

There has been innovation in forming Lodges with an ethnic character which provide some opportunities for ritual with an ethnic background – for instance Lodge France or ‘The Thistles’. It cannot be claimed that these initiatives have been vigorously supported by Grand Lodge, although some support has been forthcoming.

The participants in these initiatives are pleased to welcome visitors to display their cultural character and biology tells us that this is healthy behaviour. This mixing of cultural attitudes also provides an excellent environment for adaptability and change.

Means for Inspiring Ideas

Many organizations have tried different management patterns intended to create an innovative environment to sponsor creativeness and generate new ideas. There is, however, a general belief that the ‘think tank’ or ‘task force’ concepts are no more productive of ideas than the apparently chance inspiration that occurs to an individual on the golf course or in the bath.

If you visit Dhaka, in Bangladesh, take the time to go to the Art Museum, where you will see examples of Islamic art. This is confined to Koranic writing but the works you see there, in different scripts—Arabic, Sanskrit, etc—and in gold, silver, ebony, or carved in stone—are so outstandingly beautiful they will show that art does not need total freedom in order to find expression.

There is no timetable for ideas and no artificial environment will necessarily create them.

Rule 6 – Listen—Everyone can have ideas

The actual synectic moment or act is probably much less important than this debate implies. Of greater importance is a management attitude to set general but imprecise themes and to respond to all ideas in the knowledge that, as in a kaleidoscope, each individual and each idea may contribute to an emerging pattern which will eventually gain the symmetry and value to be worthy of development.

The Process of Implementation

Rule 7 – Start from existing practice

Whatever the catalyst for ideas, the research and development process will be less expensive and more acceptable if it is firmly based within existing practice. It is easier for a conservative person to accept minor gradual change than what he may perceive as wholesale disruption. Innovations which take completely new directions normally take much longer to introduce.

Most clients can more easily accept change if it is seen to be a normal and natural progression of their current work practice rather than a deviation which might disrupt their current activity momentum. Thus a number of small changes taken step-by-step are a safer innovative concept than a single large change achieving the same result.

Rule 8 – Design the System to accept Modular Change

In computing parlance, this leads to system design principles based on modular design, where each module interacts with others but can be progressively replaced to introduce innovative ideas with a

minimum of disruption to the on-going process.

This form of system design also permits greater flexibility for customisation or adaptive change during the implementation process. Implementation techniques are therefore an integral part of the idea itself.

In our Masonic context this means that each Masonic unit should only be required to act within responsible guidelines for its inter-action with others but it should be perfectly free to innovate and change within this responsibility.

It also emphasizes the role of adequate market research at an early stage of development and its integration within the development process to support and guide the system design.

Rule 9 – Know when to hand over to others

The attitude of the inventor to implementation is often an important ingredient for success.

There are many examples of excellent technological ideas being derailed or delayed because their original proponents, who feel a natural pride in their work which they may have nurtured for some time, become suspicious of, cannot cope with, or actively interfere with the marketing and implementation process.

It can be very difficult for an inventor to step aside and give over control of the development and marketing to those with the ability and resources to do this effectively. For instance, look at the history of the Sarich engine or the electric bus or car. Larger scale industrial production involves a variety of motives, some not necessarily inductive for innovation.

Sometimes the difficulties are more with the proponent and it is by no means certain that the inventor is always the best person to carry the innovation into production. He might constantly feel that some more research is needed to make it better, such as with the ritual for 'The Thistles', or that he is not achieving proper financial reward or personal recognition. He may not understand the roles of trade unions, marketing, financiers, production experts or Grand Lodge officers. In industry, he may feel that continued funding support for research is easier to obtain than entering into the fearful and unprotected world of commerce and trade. He may carry emotional baggage such as extreme views about investors, banks, or other 'gamblers'. As in any other management decision, picking the right person is essential to success.

The management of Masonry is the same: know your people and look for the right person to manage each phase of change.

Rule 10 – Research the Target Group

Implementation will proceed more smoothly if, amongst the target group, it is possible to identify those who will be most responsive to change. Many businesses use personality tests, like the Myer Briggs⁴⁰ Type Indicator, to help them understand how members of their staff, or their clients, will behave and react to situations. It identifies the extent to which people are intuitive or logical, introverted or extroverted, thinking or feeling, etc, and this can be related to the roles they play or should play in the organization, or how they will react to suggestions or innovations.

Rule 11 – Support the implementation

Competence and support is an essential ingredient in the innovation process. Innovation will fail if the ideas are not soundly tested or if they are implemented without competent installation, documentation, training and back-up support.

The permanent presence of the proponent, to support or underwrite the success of an innovative venture, and the knowledge that his reputation is integral with this support, goes a long way to provide confidence to the client that innovation will be successful. Good ideas are cheap and anyone can help the idea-generation process. The hard work is in the development, testing and support to the marketing process.

40 Myers, Isabel Briggs with Peter B Myers: *Gifts Differing: Understanding Personality Type*, Davies-Black, Mountain View CA [1980] 1995, ISBN 0-89106-074-X.

Rule 12 – Monitor—You may be surprised

Monitoring is usually neglected. It is easy to think that an innovation is ‘successful’ simply because it actually took place—the money was spent on time without over-run and the action intended is complete—and so no further attention need be given to it.

Yet monitoring the after-effects of change often leads to new ideas and often to surprises, as the results are seldom what they were originally expected to be.

‘Success’ does not necessarily mean that you obtained what you expected. It could mean that you received another challenge. Innovation is a continuing process.

One of the issues with monitoring is to measure the reality rather than the emotional response. Just as it is sometimes difficult to admit failure it can also be difficult for some to admit success when they were not participants or opposed the idea. However the emotional response is also part of the outcome and can point to deficiencies in the implementation process, and to better ways to manage it, so it too should be monitored.

The Role of Education

Masonic education is usually and singularly directed towards training officers for their roles in Lodge, which is part of a Mason’s growth in responsibility and experience, in teaching him skills in managing and administering voluntary groups in society. It is the development of leadership, the ability to become a person others want to follow.⁴¹ But it is much more than that, and vitally important to our future. Continued daily education is an ingredient in keeping a mind young. It is an old axiom that we start to grow old the day we stop learning. This is true of organizations as much as for individuals.

Professor Stephen Parker in his 2011 Don Aitkin Lecture at the University of Canberra⁴² drew attention to his premise that it was not the Protestant work ethic that created the industrial revolution but the fact that the Protestant movement insisted that people learn to read, particularly the Bible, and that it was in fact *education* that created the industrial revolution.

In our context it is Masonic Education that is the key to innovation and our future progress.

Conclusion

The paper has attempted to describe the innovative process by concentrating on several issues of importance and suggests some rules to assist in implementing this process. Support for innovation is not a highlight of current Masonic policy, but the paper puts the view that support for research leading to innovative change is critically important for morale and growth.

Most Masonic institutions do not accept innovative change easily and need to better understand the process and its benefits. Innovation must be the core of our survival and Masonic Education is the engine for innovation and growth.

The need for better forms of consultation is stressed so that Lodges are encouraged to look for change within a broad scope. This improves understanding of the different roles each unit must play, leading to greater respect for these roles.

The role of marketing is also emphasized. Marketing firms with the required special skills to assist the innovative process are seldom active in Masonry. This may be due to the domination of growth-in-membership interests, with attitudes that are essential to, but sometimes run counter to, successful progress. Future efforts will require increasing understanding and use of marketing skills to improve our internal performance rather than just our membership drive.

The over-riding theme in this paper is the role of social research, education and understanding in promoting innovation and growth. Continued revitalization of Masonic Education will bring about a broader understanding of Masonry’s objectives and activities and, dare we hope, a more fruitful contribution to our mission.

41 Nairn R J: ‘Masonic Education, Training and Mentoring—What are the differences?’ in *Harashim* #47, ANZMRC, July 2009.

42 See University of Canberra website.

The Worshipful Master—a biographical note supplied by Neil Wynes Morse

Bob Nairn was born in Morgan, SA, in 1936 and went boarding to St Peter's College, Adelaide, aged 10. He became a cadet under-officer, rowed in the school VIII and competed in shot-putt and hammer-throwing events and in the school's debating team.

At Adelaide University he studied engineering whilst living at St Marks College and graduated in 1959. He played in the University's rugby, rowing, athletics, cricket and shooting first teams and played with the Thesbian group. After National Service he was commissioned in the Royal Australian Engineers CMF. He was initiated into Nor' West Bend Lodge in 1957. He worked with the SA Highways Dept supervising road works until he married Jenny, a nurse, in 1962, when they migrated to Toronto, Canada, where Robert, their first son, was born. Bob regularly visited Lodge Sunnyside, when not travelling around USA and Canada.

On returning to SA he was posted to Whyalla, where son Alex was born. Bob lectured part-time at the University of South Australia, learned to fly, joined Apex and expanded his Masonic interests. Back in Adelaide, where Alison and Maryanne were born, Bob worked with the Highways Dept until he was posted as a technical advisor to the SA Transport Minister. Bob was Chairman of the Apex Expansion Committee for SA & NT and was elected to the Board of the SA Kindergarten Union. He kept busy at nights earning a Bachelor of Economics in 1969. In 1970 he joined Kinnaird Hill deRohan & Young as leader of their feasibility studies team and shifted to Melbourne. In 1973 he joined De Leuw Cather to open up their Canberra Office and was appointed a Director. In 1976 Bob set up a firm (R J Nairn & Partners) to specialize in Transport and Traffic Engineering and Economic Planning, eventually carrying out projects in 40 different countries. Nearing retirement, Bob sold this Company to Scott Wilson, a UK-based consulting firm, and spent four years managing the subsidiary, Scott Wilson Nairn in Canberra.

Bob's Masonic activities continued: as WM of Lodge Commonwealth of Australia in 1992, followed soon after as WM of the Research Lodge of NSW. He was a Regional Buildings Officer and was then appointed to the Masonic Buildings Board, where he served for seven years. He served as DGIW and then as Regional Grand Councillor for four years. He is an Approved Masonic Speaker and represented this jurisdiction as a Kellerman Lecturer. His Masonic talks are on two main themes: the Seven Liberal Arts and Sciences, and Masonic history in a variety of different countries.

The family now includes nine grandchildren, the youngest three being in USA, where he visits at least once each year. In retirement, Bob still carries out a few consulting tasks, is an Adjunct Professor at the University of Canberra, is active with Engineers Australia and with the Anglican Church, where he is a member of the Canberra & Goulburn Diocesan Property Trust and Risk Committee. He can usually be found pursuing his life-long numismatic hobby.

Program for the year 2011

March 1	Installation of RWBro Robert J Nairn PSGW, KL, and investiture of officers. Inaugural address by WM: <i>Innovation in Freemasonry</i>
May 3	Bro Dr Bob James PhD: <i>Freemasonry as Crime Scene</i>
July 5	WBro Tony Pope: <i>A Masonic militia</i>
September 6	TBA
November 1	TBA

[summons/notice paper has been published separately.]

Transactions of the **Discovery Lodge of Research**

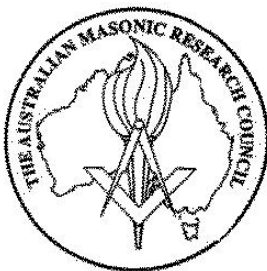
No. 971, United Grand Lodge of New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory

*direct descendant of the Research Lodge of New South Wales
and the Sydney Lodge of Research*



The lodge generally meets in the
Sydney Masonic Centre
on the first Thursday of alternate months
March (Installation), May, July, September & November, at 7 pm.
Dress: lounge suit, lodge tie, regalia.

Master RWBro Robert J Nairn PSGW, KL
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Foundation member of the

***Australian & New Zealand
Masonic Research Council***

website: <http://anzmrc.org/>



Notice paper (summons)

Dear Sir and Brother,

The Worshipful Master requests your attendance at the regular meeting of the Discovery Lodge of Research, to be held at the Sydney Masonic Centre at 7 pm on Thursday 3 May 2012.

Yours fraternally

Neil Wynes Morse

Secretary

Looking Forward, Looking Back: Thoughts on the Relevance of Freemasonry Today

3 November 2011

by Bro Philip O'Rourke

Introduction

The idea for this paper, I've realised, has been in my head for a number of years, going back to 2004 when I prepared a paper for a Masonic Conference in Albury, NSW, entitled 'Why is Freemasonry declining and how can it be made more relevant and vital to its members'. (O'Rourke, 2004). As time passed, a number of events occurred, particularly in the last year or so, that had me thinking about this paper and the views expressed therein.

The event that really spurred me to reconsider my thoughts was the publication of a paper delivered in Greece in May 2009 by Bro Alexy Y Trubetskoy, Sovereign Grand Commander of the Supreme Council of Russia. (Trubetskoy, 9–12) Other factors were the debacle that occurred with the loss of the Canberra Masonic Centre, exposure to the new DGIW for District 103's Draft Strategic Plan 2011, and the Concordat between the UGLNSW&ACT and other Orders. However, these issues except for the Trubetskoy paper are outside the scope of this paper. However, I also believe that the Concordat has not had the impact it was supposed to have, but this will be addressed at another time.

The paper by the Russian Sovereign Grand Commander raises, not for the first time, something that is never referred to—Is Freemasonry still relevant today?—and examines the grass roots of our wonderful institution, reaching, in some ways, the same conclusions that I have arrived at.

The shameful Canberra Masonic Centre debacle has torn out the very heart of Freemasonry in that area; a temporary facility has recently been selected and, while there will be a place to call home for ACT Freemasons for the next two years and possibly a third, finding a new home will take years and at a substantial cost, and over this time we will see many of our members leave the institution. In my view, the ACT is spiritually dead where Freemasonry is concerned.

I hope that the ideas expressed in the paper get you thinking. There is no single answer to the problem we face in declining numbers but, hopefully, it might spur some of you to do something, so that we continue to exist and provide meaning and inspiration to our members. Perhaps if we go back to our roots, we might reduce our decline and become a force for the good of society, if we can agree that is what we want.

Relevance of Freemasonry Today

If I had had my doubts about the relevance of Freemasonry, I had placed them to the back of my mind, although I frequently came back to them. With the publication of Bro Trubetskoy's paper, (Trubetskoy, 9–12) in 2010, this was the first paper I had read that addressed a very plausible reason for the decline in Freemasonry. I have used his thoughts as a template for the situation in Australia, and this jurisdiction in particular.

He addresses the issue in a very forthright and confronting manner when he says (op cit, 10): 'What

does Freemasonry offer to the modern man that differs from what it offered throughout the Masonic history? Today, are we really working on preserving our traditions through studying, implementing, and improving our rituals; are we really looking for the Lost Word and building the Inner Temple with the help of our esoteric practice.'

His answer is, I believe, spot on! 'Today, there is no mission, no service, and no creative search for the future.' (ibid) The author suggested that the answer lay in our past, when 'Even a quick glance at the past four hundred years of Western civilization makes it possible to realize how much this civilization owes to the World Brotherhood of Freemasons'. (ibid)

In his view, historic events over the past 400 years have shaped the world to what it is today. He describes these changes (op cit, 3–4) as:

- The seventeenth century, the birth of natural science;
- The eighteenth century, overcoming social group/estate-related differences;
- The nineteenth century, 'human rights';
- The twentieth century, aspiration for peace without wars; and finally
- The twenty-first century.

He suggests that Freemasonry has not really changed to reflect these societal changes.

I equate these changes with the movements known as The Enlightenment, Socialism, Conservatism and Materialism, and consider that these terms form effective substitutes for his. Thus I will use them, relying on the definitions in Wikipedia <<http://en.wikipedia.org/>>:

The Enlightenment

The Age of Enlightenment (or simply the Enlightenment) is the era in Western philosophy and intellectual, scientific and cultural life. Centered upon the eighteenth century, in which reason was advocated as the primary source for legitimacy and authority. (August 2010)

Socialism

Socialism is an economic and political theory advocating public or common ownership and cooperative management of the means of production and allocation of resources. (August 2010)

Conservatism

Conservatism (Latin: *conservare*, 'to preserve') is a political and social philosophy that promotes the maintenance of traditional institutions and opposes rapid change in society. Some conservatives seek to preserve things as they are, emphasizing (sic) stability and continuity, while others oppose modernism and seek a return to 'the way things were'. (August 2010)

Materialistic, or Materialism

Materialistic describes a person who is markedly more concerned with material things (such as money and possessions) rather than spiritual, intellectual, or cultural values. Not to be confused with *materialism*. (June 2010)

Materialism: Marx and Engels used the term 'materialism' to refer to a theoretical perspective that holds the satisfaction of everyday economic needs is the primary reality in every epoch of history. Opposed to German idealist philosophy, materialism takes the position that society and reality originate from a set of simple economic acts which human beings carry out in order to provide the material necessities of food, shelter, and clothing. Materialism takes, as its starting point that before anything else, human beings must produce their everyday economic needs through their physical labor and practical productive activity. This single economic act, Marx believed, gives rise to a system of social relations which include political, legal and religious models. (June 2010)

Before proceeding it is worthwhile for me to present a definition of Freemasonry against which all arguments and comments can be directed. The simplest, but also I believe the most accurate, is that response to the question in the Second Degree examination when the Candidate is asked 'What is Freemasonry?' to which he responds '*A peculiar system of morality, based on allegory and illustrated*

by symbols'. (Second Degree Question and Answer Card.) By anchoring the discussion to this definition, answers can be given to the question(s) that arise as to whether today's Freemasonry meets this definition.

The Enlightenment

Freemasonry, it is generally accepted (Hamill, 181) had its birth around 1700, just as the Enlightenment was also beginning. It is probably fair to say that it attracted to it the sort of members of society who were attracted to the blossoming of the new knowledge, new machinery and new ways of a society living, where all individuals were considered equal and should enjoy the spoils of the new time. Obviously these persons, mainly but not exclusively men, had the blessing of wealth and with that education and time to consider all the changes that were occurring. Is it any wonder that in establishing Freemasonry, the founders incorporated the ideas and ideals of the Enlightenment?

In his paper 'Freemasonry in Society Today and Tomorrow – Some Personal Musings', Bro Michael Walker, Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, said 'Freemasonry is therefore an intellectual and philosophic exercise designed and intended to make an individual's contribution to society, and extension of himself, greater than they might have otherwise been had he not had the opportunity of developing his capacities and capabilities through his membership of the Order.' (Walker, 1) In a paper delivered by Bro Ian Shanley to Discovery Lodge of Research in September 2010, the following point was made 'I want to point out that the esoteric way of thinking was part of the intellectual life of Europe at the time that Freemasonry was developing its ritual.' (Shanley, 5)

Trubetskoy suggests 'The London Royal Society, established by our fellow Freemasons ... created a worldwide "Fraternity of Scientists", a new intellectual environment providing for the only possible and decent way of regular communication between creative-minded people, people with a thirst for knowledge'. (Trubetskoy, 10) He then goes on to say 'the free exchange and unbiased discussion of the new knowledge ... became possible only when the Masonic thought ... had destroyed the guild, faculty, and social group/estate-related rules that had been forcing the scientists and practitioners to keep their achievements only to themselves.' (ibid)

It can surely come as no surprise that our ritual reflects all the thoughts and ideals of this period. During this time there were many changes/developments to the ritual until the final version was agreed and became the usage. 'In England, having settled the basic ceremonies in 1816, the United Grand Lodge has chosen not to interfere in ritual matters unless basic principles are involved, believing that each lodge has the right to decide which working it will adopt and how it might vary it to suit itself.' (Hamill, 75)

That Freemasonry is not based on esoteric thoughts, we have no further to look than the following extracts from the Retrospect Charge: 'Your admission into Freemasonry, symbolically in a state of helplessness and indigence, was an emblematical representation of the entrance of all men upon this, their mortal state. ...Proceeding onward, and still guiding your steps by the principles of moral truth, you were led ... to contemplate the intellectual faculties, and to trace them, from their development, through ...even unto the Throne of God himself. ... To your mind, thus modelled by Virtue and Science, nature, however, presents one useful lesson more. She prepares you, ... for the closing hours of your existence; [and] ... she finally instructs you how to die.' (Third Degree Text, 135–136)

Again, the language of all the degrees is focussed on thoughts and ideas, those things that were at the front of the thoughts of the first Freemasons, the thoughts then requiring practical implementation by each member and by default the individual's intellectual ability to decipher the meanings behind the words. For example what are the lessons taught by the ritual? To my mind these lessons are quite straightforward and are, with my emphasis, as follows:

'*First* to bend with humility and resignation to the will of ... (God) ...and to dedicate your heart, ... as well as to His glory as to the welfare of your fellow creatures.' *Second* 'you were led to contemplate the intellectual faculties, ... and you were taught to form a just estimate of those wondrous faculties wherewith the Creator has endowed the creature formed after his own image.' *Third* 'teaches you to feel that, to the just and upright man, death can have no terrors equal to the stain of falsehood and dishonour.' (O'Rourke, 2004, 2).

The view held by Freemasons that we had our birth in the Age of Enlightenment is interestingly referred to in a recent study of Freemasonry in the United States of America. The study 'Pragmatic Constructions of History among Contemporary Freemasons' (Kenney, 2010, 159) by J Scott Kenney, an Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, Memorial University of Newfoundland, by using sociological theory, explores how contemporary Freemasons pragmatically reconstruct the past in the present, in a variety of ways, for present ends. (ibid) His aims, although much higher and much more scientific than this paper, were '(to help) shed new light on a wide range of issues facing the Craft today, including membership, masonic constructions of self, loss of masonic built heritage, the influence of tradition, constructions of masonic origin, and the role of masonic mythologies today.' (ibid)

Kenney says 'The issue of the past – its events, activities, glories, symbolism, and implications – lies at the very heart of Freemasonry. Freemasons place a high premium on history, and not only glory in their own alleged role in historical events, but attempt to draw links between their institution and notable institutions, societies, and personages in the past (e.g., the Building of King Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem)' and continues 'as has been pointed out many times, much of this "historicizing" is spurious at best. Nevertheless, we cannot ignore the significance of such flights of historical fancy for participants, nor their meaningful actions.' (op cit, 160)

His research was based on unrestricted access to extensive video footage from a documentary film 'Inside Freemasonry' (Arcadia Entertainment/Vision TV 2004) that 'consisted of 58 videotapes shot during the fall of 2003 containing detailed interviews and discussions with 27 individuals (21 Freemasons, three journalists, two spouses and one academic) in several countries.' (op cit, 161) In addition to having been an active participant in the film, he 'engaged in a lengthy roundtable discussion with three Freemasons and two journalists, in addition to providing a detailed interview to the producers regarding my own experiences in Freemasonry.' (ibid) He followed this up in 2006 and December 2007 'with a series of interviews among 118 Freemasons in two Canadian provinces (71 in one and 47 in the other). With the exception of seven immigrants (including three ethnic minority members), and 25 men under the age of 50, this was, not surprisingly, a relatively homogenous group in terms of social background. They were largely white, middle class, Christian men in their 60s and 70s with a wide variety of occupational backgrounds, but with more of an emphasis on white-collar than blue-collar backgrounds.' (op cit, 161–2)

From this research, he said, it became clear that the Masons in the study redefined the meaning of past events so that they had meaning in and utility for the present. Some emphasized Freemasonry as having had a role in social history, and referenced, for example, the American and French revolutions, thus drawing attention to the 'advocacy of a liberal conception of civil society.' (op cit, 162–3). To support this view, which echoes thoughts and ideas from the Enlightenment, he uses one of his study group's thoughts on this 'I like to think of Masonry as sort of an historical fire-ax. Like, "break glass in case of fire." So, if you're in some really hard times, like I believe the Western world was in the early 18th century, Masonry can come along and do some really good stuff. Just by talking about things like liberty, Equality, faith, hope, charity, fraternity. You know, these are some quality things when things are looking bleak ... In the 18th century the glass got broken and a lot of change got brought about through the influence of men who were also Freemasons.' (op cit, 163)

Clearly there is a strongly held view by Freemasons, worldwide, that the organization had its birth in the Enlightenment and that the basic values from that time are still inculcated in today's Freemasonry. These are very eloquently set out by Walker when he asks, and answers, the question of what the purpose of Freemasonry is: 'The purpose of Masonry is "self-improvement" – not in the material sense, but in the intellectual, moral and philosophic sense of developing the whole persona and psyche so as, in the beautiful and emotive language of the ritual, "to fit ourselves to take our places, as living stones, in that great spiritual building, not made by hands, eternal in the Heavens". Such a hypothetical whole, developed, complete person must, in his journey through life, and in his interaction with others, make a more extensive contribution to society in general, thus realizing and fulfilling his expressed wish on initiation, to become "more extensively useful amongst his fellow-men". Such are the lofty, lawful and laudable aspirations of the Order.' (Walker, 4)

Socialism, Conservatism and Materialism

It became clear that whilst these periods produced a great deal of social change, their impact on Freemasonry seems to have been confined to the ordinary Mason going about his life and living the ideals of Masonry his own way. It seems that only the Enlightenment brought about significant new ideas about how man should live his life; the next three ages had not such a great impact. Trubetskoy comments about these by saying that by the end of 19th century the countries belonging to the western civilization gained significant economic might, and '(Western civilization) Having contacted at earlier stages with countries and nations belonging to other cultures and civilizations, ... has brought them under its influence and eventually subjugated them, becoming the dominating civilization of humankind.' (Trubetskoy, 10)

Indeed he goes on to say that it was in this period that Freemasonry had 'become a community where the understanding of equal dignity of all people was born, ... (and) ... To convince Western society that it was inadmissible to treat human beings as things, Freemasonry had to impress on society that there are rights that are organically inherent to each and every human being.' (op cit, 10, 11). Truly, from 1717 to 1899, was the golden age of Masonic thought and influence. The 20th and the 21st centuries have been very lean periods of Masonic development. Indeed, in his study, Kenney found the following 'With regard to the current state of the craft, there was first the frequent claim that Freemasonry's current "membership problem" has much to do with its change from a very public, community oriented organization before the persecutions of WWII to a very secretive, closed in one thereafter – a public relations stance that the craft kept until very recently to its detriment. This historical reconstruction pays little attention to the surge in membership after the war despite the secrecy, the fact that this pattern also occurred in countries not under the immediate threat of invasion, does not consider changes in social structure and societal patterns of leisure activity, nor attend to role of the ritual and oaths of secrecy. Nevertheless it tends to come up in relation to a claim – disputed by some traditionalists – that Freemasonry needs to be more open about its activities in the community and what it stands for in order to recruit members.' (Kenney, 163).

He goes on to say, 'In the words of one English Mason interviewed for the film: Freemasonry in England spent 40 years in the shadows. Really we shot ourselves in the foot after the end of the war. Freemasonry was very visible in the community up to the mid to late 30s. When the Freemasons here saw what was happening to Freemasons in Hitler's Germany, they were frightened there was going to be an invasion, frightened the same thing would happen here, so they retreated underground. And of course there was always those whole things about the walls have ears. Everybody became very secretive at that time. And, in 1945 when the war ended, for some strange reason they didn't come out of the shadows. They stayed where they were.' (ibid)

By the end of the war, WWII, it is fair to say the Freemasonry was not seen or considered by society to be an organization that was able to provide the necessary intellectual rigour to provide society with a base for rebuilding itself in a way that understood and appreciated the values that Freemasonry had developed, espoused and practiced in the development of modern society.

And now we come to the 21st century.

Freemasonry Today

We have been hearing for some time the wailing, bemoaning words that our wonderful fraternity is in awful trouble; our numbers are going backwards, we cannot keep new candidates for any length of time, and all this is due to either not seeing any major public extolling of the virtues of the Craft, or that Freemasonry is out of step with today's society.

This is not confined to this jurisdiction, but extends to other Australian and overseas jurisdictions as well. Walker says, 'It is true to say, however, that within the Masonic Order world-wide to-day, numbers are falling. Reasons for this are not hard to find and are based largely on the superficiality of today's society, the many pressures on individuals and the multiplicity of opportunities, in the social scene, for disposing of leisure.' (Walker, 6). In an oration given at the 75th Anniversary and Cornerstone Ceremony at Atwater Larchmont Tila Pass Lodge in April 2000, Bro Ron Cooper, Grand Orator (California) said 'And yes, it's true that the number of Masons has declined in recent years. This

can be traced primarily, not to the flaws in Masonry, but to the flaws in society itself. In the past few decades, there has been a shifting tide that has turned away from basic goodness – away from the value system that places duty and devotion above decadence and degradation.’ (Cooper, 2)

The Grand Chaplain of the United Grand Lodge of New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory had this to say in an article entitled *Brotherly Love, Relief, Truth Understanding in today's world*: ‘In Freemasonry there have been many papers written on causes for the decline in membership. ... However, one significant result of studies is that Masonry needs to discover new ways of communicating the basic truths that masons have loved over the generations.’ (Hely, 4) In furthering this view, he quotes social ethicist Hugh Mackay, who wrote in an article in the *Sun Herald* on 29 April 2007: ‘When we lose our sense of connectedness, moral clarity is the first casualty. Our most urgent need is to reconnect – to get back in touch with each other.’ (Hely, 4). Hely puts this statement in context when he goes on to say ‘Here we have a direct challenge for Freemasonry to practice its moral teachings of Brotherly Love, relief and truth as a basis to reconnect both with the brethren within Freemasonry and with the wider community.’ (ibid)

Kenney also came across this point: ‘Among the Freemasons who provided data for this paper, the symbolically reconstructed past was undoubtedly the most commonly expressed of Mead's categories and thus requires the most discussion. Though it took various forms, the overwhelming majority of my data on the symbolically reconstructed past may be subdivided into respondents' views of the *current state of Freemasonry*, second, in relation to their own *personal lives*, and third, in relation to masonic *built heritage*. With regard to the current state of the craft, there was first the frequent claim that Freemasonry's current ‘membership problem’ has much to do with its change from a very public, community-oriented organization before the persecutions of WWII to a very secretive, closed in one thereafter – a public relations stance that the craft kept until very recently to its detriment. ... Nevertheless it tends to come up in relation to a claim – disputed by some traditionalists – that Freemasonry needs to be more open about its activities in the community and what it stands for in order to recruit members.’ (Kenney, 163)

It would seem from these comments, that the question of the relevance of Freemasonry today is a matter of how Freemasonry is really going to react. Trubetskoy says, ‘The Freemasonry of previous epochs, which was addressing and solving crucially and socially significant issues, was absorbing the best people – the most creative-minded, active, and concerned representatives of society. Inside the Brotherhood, therefore, an environment was being formed that contributed equally to maintaining and reproducing Royal Art's own spiritual content and, on the other hand, to the personal growth, self-improvement, and self-realization of the members of the Brotherhood. Today's Freemasonry, confined to few routine forms of social activity, is becoming less attractive to the better members of society, as they see broader opportunities for implementing their own life goals and spiritual development plans outside the Brotherhood.’ (Trubetskoy, 12)

The reaction to this issue, namely declining numbers and relevance to society, seems to have been recognised and addressed in much the same way worldwide. And that way has been an attempt to ‘modernise’ or ‘update’ Freemasonry utilising all the tools of modern society: Marketing Plans, Strategic Plans, Websites, Open Days, etc. But all these efforts seem to have been in vain, with membership (and here I do not break down membership into active vs inactive membership components because I think that would be even more alarming) still declining. So what is wrong? Are the ‘modern’ ways of doing things not appropriate?

Not necessarily and, in particular, some commentators have focussed on the use of modern technology, specifically the computer and its myriad of uses. For example, on the Masonic Traveller website, Bro Fred Milliken offers the following insight: ‘I am observing many Masonic friends these days going through some deep soul searching as they try to reconcile Freemasonry with their own personal goals and the legacy for society that they would eventually like to leave behind. Many of these soul searchers are Masonic writers or ‘communicators’ of some kind, well versed in the meaning of Masonry. Yet some feel powerless against the rising tide of Masonic irrelevancy as they see it. Others have found some other organization, cause or path that more reflects what they want to do with their life. Still others who revel in the Craft still feel that their active involvement therein robs them of the

time that could be spent in other worthwhile pursuits.’ (Milliken 1)

He goes on to say: ‘Along comes the Information Age which knocks Freemasonry for a loop. In its early stages Masonic leaders either ignored it or refused to accept it. When the inevitable came to pass most of official Freemasonrydom were ‘Johnnies come lately. ... Right about here readers will extrapolate that Internet Freemasonry lacks one crucial ingredient, namely that of personal relationship and bonding and also experiencing Freemasonry “in the flesh.” To that end the Craft keeps blossoming out Side bodies and degree upon degree upon degree to make sure all its members get to really “experience” the Craft. But then how many ways does it take to say the same thing over and over? In its desire to cement the Brotherhood into a membership of dedicated true believers, Freemasonry makes sure that members experience the Craft again, again and again ... and in the process is sowing the seeds of its own demise. (ibid)

He then goes on to make a point that I believe aptly describes what is occurring here in our jurisdiction: ‘Yet Freemasonry is being torn apart by competing methods of application. Again to make sure you got it, there is no problem with the message, it’s the messengers.

‘One faction is Freemasonry as the buddy bonding society. Candidates are whisked through the degrees at lightning speed. Lodge meetings consist of degrees or business but never esoteric lessons. The Craft is one big social arena where fish fries, banquets, bowling leagues and motorcycle clubs abound.

‘Another faction is Freemasonry as a charitable society heavily geared to the dispensation of massive Institutionalized Charity, so much so that there is minimal time for social activities and even less time for esoteric study.

‘The third faction is Freemasonry as a research and study society devoted to the pursuit of knowledge in the context of ethical application. This faction sees Freemasonry as a philosophy and spawns such applications as Research Lodges and esoteric study clubs.

‘The first three factions follow the tenets of Freemasonry – Brotherly Love, Relief and Truth. The fourth does not.

‘The fourth faction is Freemasonry as a quasi military style society full of rank, privileges, ribbons and medals and the attainment thereof.’ (op cit, 2)

And like here: ‘Each faction is at war with the other offering the one and only true way for Freemasonry’s salvation. In some areas Freemasonry tries to incorporate all factions in a hybrid super model that not only requires a good amount of money but also an inordinate amount of time commitment. Depending on where you are in the country and what model your Grand Lodge has chosen to pursue decides what type of Freemasonry you are experiencing.’ (ibid)

Walker, in addressing this matter, says ‘Freemasonry is a fairly stable product in itself – very little can be done to alter the product without changing it entirely in both essence and appearance. Its principles and precepts have stood the test of time and are as valid today as ever.’ (Walker, 7)

Interestingly, Kenney observes, ‘[It] it goes without saying that in Freemasonry, as in other things, the past structures, conditions, and influences the experiences found in the present. Given the strong emphasis on tradition (e.g., “the Landmarks”) among Freemasons, and oaths against “innovation” – in ritual, in dress, even in language – change often tends to be looked at with disdain. ... If ever there was an institution where current societal influences may be less important than traditional, structured ways of doing things, Freemasonry stands out. Perhaps the best example of such reasoning is a joking comment passed on by one respondent: “Our grand master told this joke the other day – and it just struck me. ‘How many Masons does it take to change a light bulb? And the response from Masons was: “Change?” ’ (Kenney, 176–7)

Here in NSW the Grand Lodge has responded by adopting the new business paradigm and this was set out in the Grand Master’s address to the March 2010 Communication, entitled ‘Redefining our image’, in which he states ‘I am mid-term in my agenda to drive this Jurisdiction forward, so that we can gain confidence in presenting an understood and relevant public face to the community over the next five years’ (Levenston, 7) and he iterated the ways in which that change would be implemented.

Cooper makes the following comment that I think not only supports the foregoing comments but also offers a solution to the problem, but only if you accept that the problem is one of quality and not

quantity! 'Does that mean that we, as Masons, should lower our own standards just to increase our numbers? Is it more important to ensure that Masonry simply survives and be damned with the consequences? Should we, like so many politicians in recent years, take a quick poll to find out just what people want in an organization? Should we listen to "spin doctors" and then change our beliefs, like a chameleon, simply desperate to blend in with the scenery around us? I don't think that is the prescription to restoring Masonry's health. Alexander Hamilton, wisely said, "Those who stand for nothing – fall for anything." What Masonry needs, more than anything else . . . is a few good men. Fewer in numbers, perhaps, but mightier than most – because we have honor and truth as our constant guideposts. Is it simply the number of Masons who have made this fraternity so important? No. It is the measure of the individuals who live by their principles, and their dreams of making the world a better place, that continues to make me proud that I am a Mason.' (Cooper, 3)

It could be argued that this focus is based on financial necessity, given the need to fund our Grand Lodges, mainly by capitation fees and other levies placed on lodges. In fact, I will be addressing this issue in a subsequent paper, tentatively titled 'Has Freemasonry adopted the current management theories and practices of modern business i.e. corporatisation, and are these not relevant to the meaning and practice of Freemasonry?'

The only way to overcome the challenge of declining numbers is to reinvent Freemasonry to fit the present and future societies, despite the shape they may adopt. But there are warnings about changing who/what we are. Walker says, 'Some Grand Lodges have set up programmes of very positive recruiting to the extent that Brethren who induct a certain number of recruits are rewarded. Such a campaign is fraught with dangers and cannot, I believe, be beneficial. We must, in my view, adopt the process of "taking the horse to water". We can show it to him and indicate its availability but unless the horse is thirsty we cannot do more than encourage him to drink.' (Walker, 9) He then goes on to quote the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge Alpina of Switzerland in his address to the meeting of the Grand Secretaries of Europe in 1994, who stated 'It is essential to avoid any kind of proselytism – the main goal is not to seek new members but to improve others' perception of our Order', and Walker concludes the quote by observing 'hopefully, from that, candidates will flow.' (Walker, 9)

He also references the difficulties that the Churches have had in reacting to their declining numbers, and points out that in the hope to attract and keep more members, the Roman Catholic Church introduced Mass in the vernacular, whilst the Anglican Church reduced 'to common-place prose the beautiful and uplifting language of the Book of Common Prayer and the St James Bible of the Anglican Communion.' (Walker, 10) He then further commented 'Neither of these changes has worked because they have not addressed the problems but simply changed the trappings, like someone putting on cheap casual clothes to go to Church instead of wearing a suit.' (ibid)

Interestingly, this theme, the similar or simultaneous decline in Church numbers, was echoed by Hely (p4) and by a fellow Canberra Mason, following a meeting of a group of Masons who were considering the establishment of a new lodge that focussed on the esoteric in Freemasonry: 'The Uniting Church (of which I am a member) keeps accommodating popular opinion, in much the same way we were saying the Masons should emulate. They adopted women ministers and accepted homosexuals with alacrity. Each time it makes a change, it loses some of its faithful members. The general population and the media applaud, but no new people join. The UC is the fastest declining institution in the Western world.' (Driscoll, 2008).

As an aside, I believe unofficial advice was received from Grand Lodge that focussing on this subject, esoteric Freemasonry, was not the basis for the formation of a new lodge. Interestingly, however, in the same edition as the Grand Master's address to the March 2010 Communication, was an article by Bro Allan Mason entitled 'How to introduce friends to Freemasonry', in which he suggests that 'Every mason must be ready at all times with a short and precise description of Freemasonry, an elevator statement that in 30 to 60 seconds describes Freemasonry and alludes to the benefits of becoming a Mason.' (Mason, 5) This covers the aspect of using modern practices, namely elevator statements, but he goes on further to emphasise a focus on the hidden (or to some extent the esoteric?) meaning of Freemasonry in proposing an answer to a rhetorical question he has asked: 'In my view, the answer lies in the allegory surrounding Freemasonry.' (ibid, 5) Perhaps, the Grand Lodge's position on

this matter has changed a little, as evidenced by a proposal to warrant a new lodge that *has* espoused an interest in the esoteric, Lodge Constellation.

As regards the decline in numbers, in New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory specifically, in his unpublished paper, ‘As Told by Numbers: A Statistical Approach to a Consideration of the History of the United Grand Lodge of New South Wales’, RWBro Robert Linford examined membership in the Craft from 1891 to 1986 and compared this with total adult male population from 1911 to 1986, thereby being able to draw out particular trends. It is understood that this paper, prepared at the request of RWBro Harry Kellerman for inclusion in his ‘History 1948–1988’, was deleted at the direction of the then Board of General Purposes as being ‘potentially alarmist’. (Oral advice from R J Linford, 1995)

The results of the study are shown in the following table:

Table 1: Freemasons in NSW. & ACT compared with Total Adult Male Population in each Census Year, 1911–1986.

Year	Actual Male Population NSW&ACT(a)	No. of Freemasons (Annual Average)	Freemasons per 1000 Adult Males
1891	327,932	8,081(b)	24.64
1901	382,644	7,846	20.50
1911	491,471	15,429	31.39
1921	622,422	35,396	56.87
1933	802,189	62,573	78.01
1947	975,183	89,610	91.89
1954	1,105,448	129,879	117.49
1961	1,225,250	129,022	105.30
1966	1,312,269	114,363	87.15
1971	1,429,445	97,679	66.92
1976	1,597,381	85,341	53.43
1981	1,704,229	73,730	43.26
1986		57,922	

(a) May be slightly understated, where persons of unspecified age not distributed to age groups. Sources: NSW Statistical Registers, Official Year Books, Census reports and Australian Bureau of Statistics.

(b) Year end.

‘The figures show that from the late nineteenth century until about the late 1950s membership of the Craft, both in absolute terms and as a percentage of the adult male population, increased rapidly. In the thirty to thirty-five years thereafter, again in absolute terms and as a proportion of the adult male population, it declined even more rapidly. At the peak of its popularity, the Craft had almost twelve per cent of adult males in New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory as members. By 1986, in relative terms, the number of Masons compared with population was at about the same level as in 1911. If the decline apparent since the 1950s should continue beyond the present, it may be anticipated that the level of participation of adult males in Freemasonry in the jurisdiction will have descended to that of the late 1800s within ten to fifteen years, i.e. by the end of this century.’ (Linford, 3)

I accept that there has been a decline in membership in Freemasonry in this jurisdiction. The real issue is how we react to this unfortunate fact of life—although it should be noted that if we consider that the membership patterns disclosed by Linford hold true, then we could believe that we are just in another trough, and thus if we become introspective this trend will change in the future. My only comment on this is that if we as an organization are dependent on wars and economic depression for a rise in membership, then we really do need to examine what Freemasonry is about. However, I believe the spikes in membership following the two World Wars should be considered an anomaly, as not reflecting population trends and, as such, were not sustainable. And that way ahead has been put succinctly by almost all of the references cited.

Trubetskoy says, ‘In Freemasonry, the esoteric component of labor remains the most important one: ideas appear, and are generated in a dialog with the Supreme Being, and they are perceived as His revelations and His will.’ (Trubetskoy, 11) This idea of esoteric influence is discussed by Shanley, but a particular comment resonates with the idea that we do not have to change anything about the Craft,

just get a better, or complete, understanding of its derivation, with regard to regular Freemasonry today: 'By acknowledging that our current socialised framework is only a step in the evolution of the history of ideas, we can ask the question whether these important ideas were actually viewed differently at the time of the initial formation of the Craft ceremonies and subsequent development. By understanding the meaning of these ideas, as they were, rather than as they currently are, sheds light on—and highlights the influences on—our ceremonies. Esoteric thought is part of these older meanings and ... the ideas of Knowledge, God, etc, as expressed in the Craft ceremonies, are more accurately defined from the framework of esoteric thought.' (Shanley, 8)

Cooper comments 'However, when I look around this room today, I don't see the faces of mourners weeping. I see the faces of good men working together to become better men. I see fraternity and Brotherhood working, hand in hand, for the relief of the downtrodden and the unfortunate in our society. I see the faces of men who have inherited the mantle of truth from our Brother Masons. Who for over 3 centuries, from every corner of this Earth, have struggled together to make their nations and local communities better places in which to live.' (Cooper, 1) Kenney puts it another way when he comments 'The fact is that despite the strong influence of the social structural past on current practices in Freemasonry, change is occurring, waters are being tested, but the hope remains that a fundamental and powerful core of traditions will remain. This is perhaps best expressed in the words of one man that "the essential philosophy doesn't need to change, but things can change around it".' (Kenney, 179)

Bro Tim Arnold, an English Mason, had also been troubled with the future direction of Freemasonry, put his thoughts in an unpublished paper entitled 'Communication and education – the key to Masonic survival.' He had this to say on why members were leaving the Craft, sometimes very early and no doubt his scenario is played out in our jurisdiction: 'In 2004, senior officers in Bucks conducted a survey about recruitment and retention. The research revealed that a third of all new recruits resigned or stopped attending their lodges within just four years of joining. (2) My own experience of my mother lodge bears this out. I got fed up with the thoughtless and rudeness of some of the senior brethren. So I resigned – before I had been made a master mason. (Arnold, 2007)

He goes on to provide solutions to the issues he raises, but they are too many to be dealt with in this paper. Suffice to say, towards the end of his paper he offers us the following thoughts: 'I can imagine that this paper may be in danger of exciting a great deal of anger among colleagues, for drawing attention to certain things that some might believe would be better not said. But I ask the brethren not to kill the messenger. We have inherited a great tradition. It is our responsibility to make sure that we hand over the order to our successors in at least a good situation as in which we inherited it.' (ibid)

Yet there is little chance of that happening in the future, according to another respected Masonic author, Robert Gilbert. He says there is real danger that the Craft will 'vanish entirely, for it is still a rather rigid establishment, blind to the flaws, follies, and weaknesses of its institution. In addition, Freemasons tend to be socially conservative, very traditional, very provincial, and very parochial.' (ibid)

But he ends on an optimistic note: 'I actually believe that the tenets of Freemasonry are as relevant today as they have been at any time over the last 300 years – we just have to explain them in a modern way ... We should be confident enough to speak publicly about these aspects of the Craft. And proud, too. First, however, we have to get the internal communications right'. (ibid)

Conclusion

I would like to leave the final and appropriate words for the paper to RWBro Walker and Bro Milliken. The former so eloquently puts the position: 'Now, Brethren, let me close on one final exhortation taken from the beautiful language of our ritual – "See that you conduct yourselves, out of Lodge as in Lodge, good men and Masons", and remember those immortal words of Polonius given to his son Laertes as he departs from Denmark, on his return from France, in Shakespeare's greatest play, 'Hamlet' – "This above all, to thine own self be true; and it must follow as the night the day, thou canst not then be false to any man". Almost the whole Masonic ethos can be found in those few words – so easy to remember, so difficult to put into practice.' (Walker, 12)

Bro Milliken puts it in a more earthly fashion: ‘If you want to be a Little League coach, man a soup kitchen, build a playground, visit the elderly in Nursing Homes, be a Boy Scout leader, then go do it. Recognize that it is Freemasonry that got you to the point of going to do such. But don’t castigate Freemasonry because it isn’t doing those very things. Freemasonry isn’t doing, it’s being. Freemasonry is what gave you the values to go do these things, nothing more, nothing less.

‘Trying to get Freemasonry to be the be all and end all of life is placing a burden upon it that is far too great. Right now Freemasonry is in meltdown because of unrealized expectations. If feelings of worth and usefulness are things most important to you, then don’t become a professional Masonic social climber, pulling rank and showing off all your medals. Keep Freemasonry in your life simple and focused on its calling. Then it won’t disappoint you but will serve your purpose well.’ (Milliken, 2)

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Program for the year 2012

March 1	Installation of RWBro Robert J Nairn PSGW, KL, and investiture of officers
May 3	RWBro Robert Nairn WM: <i>Innovation in Freemasonry</i>
July 5	Bro Dr Bob James PhD: <i>Freemasonry as Crime Scene</i>
September 6	WBro Tony Pope: <i>A Masonic militia</i>
November 1	MWBro Dr Greg Levenston: <i>Title to be supplied</i>

Transactions of the **Discovery Lodge of Research**

No. 971, United Grand Lodge of New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory

*direct descendant of the Research Lodge of New South Wales
and the Sydney Lodge of Research*



The lodge generally meets in the
Sydney Masonic Centre
on the first Thursday of alternate months
March (Installation), May, July, September & November, at 7 pm.
Dress: lounge suit, lodge tie, regalia.

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Foundation member of the

***Australian & New Zealand
Masonic Research Council***

website: <http://anzmrc.org/>



Notice paper (summons)

Dear Sir and Brother,

The Worshipful Master requests your attendance at the regular meeting of the Discovery Lodge of Research, to be held at the Sydney Masonic Centre at 7 pm on Thursday 5 July 2012.

Yours fraternally

Neil Wynes Morse

Secretary

Recent activities by members of Discovery Lodge of Research

Bro Neil Morse presented a paper on 'Freemasonry in the Australian Military' to the Heraldry and Genealogy Society of Canberra, and this will be published in the *Discovery Transactions* soon.

Bro Richard Dawes, on his return from overseas, has renewed activity on the lodge website, with informative and entertaining news items, and a revision of the menu for past *Transactions*. It really is one of the best lodge websites on the entire www, and is worth visiting regularly to see what is new.

Bro Bob James attended a Symposium on American Freemasonry and Fraternalism at the National Heritage Museum, Lexington, Massachusetts, and gives a short report in this issue of the *Transactions*.

Bro Tony Pope has been assisting Bro Bruno Gazzo, editor of the Pietre-Stones website, to add a selection of papers presented at a Symposium in Turkey on Freemasonry and Brotherhood, all of which are worth reading. You can find them on <<http://www.freemasons-freemasonry.com/freemasonry/>> under 'Special Project 2012'. One of the authors, Bro Trevor Stewart, will be the ANZMRC touring lecturer for 2013, and his paper from the Symposium is published in this issue of the *Transactions*.

Perspectives on American Freemasonry and Fraternalism

by Bro Bob James

[A brief report on the Symposium held at the National Heritage Museum, Lexington, Massachusetts, on 28 April 2012, by Bro Dr Bob James PhD, President of Newcastle Masonic Study Circle, who attended as their representative and with their generous assistance.]

Overall the Conference was extremely useful. Most valuable from my point of view was the approach taken by all speakers, the organisers and, most encouragingly, by the audience participants—namely, that locating Freemasonry within the broad fraternal context, and not treating it separately in a class of its own, was the obvious way to go. The diversity of the speakers, Jewish, Mormon, Christian, Masonic, and 'secular', was also remarkable.

Very briefly, and in sequence:

The Ancient Order of United Workmen [AOUW] was an extremely important fraternal society during what US scholars call the 'Golden Age of Fraternalism', the second half of the 19th century. Its official history concentrates on the man known as 'the Father of the Order', John Upchurch. The speaker, Prof Jeffrey Thyssens (Brussels Free University, Belgium), showed from his very recent research that Upchurch was not the figure deserving the most credit in the history of this Order. William Walker, today virtually forgotten, because much less vain, was the original architect of the Order, especially of

its benefit systems. Upchurch was able to capture the limelight and the prestige as a result of a tour around the western States in conjunction with an aggressive political campaign using Upchurch to create interest by exploiting fraternal values.

The Knights of Labor, like the AOUW, used the title 'Master Workman' and 'Grand Master Workman', something for which no one seems to know the origins. The speaker, Yoni Appelbaum (Brandeis University, Massachusetts), described the Knights of Labor as a politically-oriented fraternity which attempted to bring together all sides involved in the struggles between capital and labour. In the 19th century, industrial conflicts reached very violent heights, including the infamous Haymarket Explosion of May 1886. The Knights of Labor achieved enormous memberships but declined rapidly when it became obvious that capital and labour were not to be easily brought together.

Anti-Catholic and anti-Masonic views came into conflict during the 1910s in the USA, particularly over an oath supposedly used by the Catholic Knights of Columbus and alleged to be racist and disloyal. What was later called the Masonic Whitewash Committee of the Grand Lodge of California investigated and concluded that the oath had been forged by an anti-Catholic organisation. Their finding set off further controversy within Freemasonry and more generally within US society, which at the time was quite severely partisan and when the KKK was making a comeback. Numerous Masons were Klan members and fanatically anti-Catholic. The speaker, Adam Kendall (Masonic librarian & curator, California), used the story to illustrate 'the distinct and important role that fraternal organizations and their members played as arbiters and, sometimes, challengers of social trends'.

The most engaging paper for me involved what the speaker, Sam Biagetti (Columbia University, New York), called 'a prehistoric lodge on Rhode Island' and a claim that in 1658 Jewish colonists to the New World had brought 'degrees of Masonry' which for a time they worked in their new home. 'Prehistoric' because of a date before 1717, the lodge involved had, even earlier, been brought from Holland to Brazil, and thence to the West Indies. The story questions the whole narrative of English origins of Speculative Freemasonry.

Dr Alyce Graham (University of Delaware) spoke of the changes in fraternal regalia in the wake of the 19th-century disappearance of William Morgan, a crime for which Freemasons were believed responsible, and as commercial priorities became more and more dominant. She argued that during the period when Freemasonry struggled to regain credibility, the symbolic 'power of the apron' diminished greatly, indeed lost most of its power to mystify and intrigue.

A young Mormon scholar, Bradley Kime (Brigham Young University, Utah), has found 'Masonic motifs' in Roald Dahl's 'Willy Wonka and the Chocolate Factory', at least in the original story and the original film, 1971, for which Dahl wrote the screenplay. The story originally was of 'Charley' being trained in the craft secrets of chocolate-making and succeeding where others failed because he avoided temptations set to trip him up and because he was pure of heart. Although the author was not a Mason, Kime argued that Dahl was influenced by Geoffrey Fisher, Master of Repton School where Dahl was a pupil, and who later became the Archbishop of Canterbury.

A speaker from England, Dr Kris Allerfeldt (Exeter University), brought together three US fraternities, the Molly Maguires, the Ku Klux Klan and the Mafia, to illustrate his belief that fraternalism was sometimes criminal in practice and not always benevolent and benign. He pointed out that 19th-century observers of these groups held only simplistic understanding of fraternal history but used them, and other fraternities, for political and related purposes. On the other hand, association with the Odd Fellows or the Freemasons could lend respectability to societies seeking positive status.

It is worth pointing out that all of the fraternities mentioned, with the possible exception of the AOUW, established themselves, however briefly, in Australia.

A special lunch-time presentation by Kansas Mason and independent scholar Michael Halleran, of one chapter of his book *The Better Angels of Our Nature*, detailed aspects of Freemasons' involvement on both sides of the American Civil War of the 1860s. A copy of the whole book will be received into the Newcastle Masonic Study Circle Library shortly, and reviewed more fully then.

The Curious Case of Bro Gustav Petrie:

a model for the doing of Masonic historical research

by Bro Trevor Stewart

Introduction

I am fascinated by the methodology of history. I am assuming that everyone here today has, at some time anyway, asked himself: ‘How does one do historical research properly?’ So allow me begin by offering a few preliminary considerations.

Firstly, I want to draw your attention to what may appear to be an unusual verb-form in my sub-title: ‘the *doing* of Masonic historical research’. I have used this word deliberately. Being engaged in Masonic historiography—pre-occupied with it and even obsessed with it (as some of us are)—is a purposive activity: one which entails intention, choices, eliminations, accumulations and assessments. It is hardly ever casual. I hope that the reasons for my choice of this active verb-form will have become clear by the time I end my offering to you today.

Secondly, speculative Freemasons, right from the founding of the premier Grand Lodge in London in 1717, have been obsessed with compiling various types of Masonic history. They have wanted to know, and to be assured of, their origins.

John Hamill has sketched out the progress of English Masonic historiography through to the nineteenth century, following on from the pioneering excesses of James Anderson and William Preston and ending up with the ‘authentic school’. But if we have thankfully altered/improved our approaches to Masonic historiography since Anderson’s day, the question still remains as to what kind of history writing we are involved in and I do not think that much consideration has been given by English Masonic scholars to the general nature of Masonic research.

It is my intention, therefore, to offer a tentative theoretical and I hope a useful model for what we might do when engaged in Masonic historical research. And I propose to illustrate the potential usefulness of this model by referring to an event which happened in England in 1915 to a particular member of the English Craft.

But before I do that, let me offer a third preliminary thought: that there is a broad spectrum of English historiography. At one end of this spectrum we could find, say, John E E Dalberg-Acton, better known as Lord Acton (1834–1902), the founding editor of the first version of the 12-volume *Cambridge Modern History*. Though not a Freemason, Acton was a good example of the so-called ‘authentic school’ of historians. He was Regius Professor of History at Cambridge University. He was never a prolific author. Nevertheless, the copious marginalia in every book in his vast library betray the range of his thinking and, more importantly for my present purposes, his general approach to writing history. In writing his initial report for the whole project and outlining the general principles he wished contributors to adhere to, he asserted his firm belief—and that of many other of his contemporary colleagues then—in ‘absolute history’.

Acton was also a proponent of Leopold von Ranke’s notion of ‘universal history’ and his general approach can be seen as a kind of Whig adherence to the idea of history writing being a steady progression from inferior to superior insights in which events could properly be conceived of as being sequentially linked phenomena. Thus the 12-volume *Cambridge Modern History*, which was Acton’s final contribution to the development of English historiography, can be seen as one of the last late-Victorian attempts of the encyclopaedist ambition to compile a total description. Hence, he could write optimistically in the project’s prospectus thus:

[Our] Waterloo must be one that satisfies French and English, German and Dutch alike; [so] that no body can tell, without examining the list of authors, where the Bishop of Oxford laid down his pen and where Fairbairn or Gasquet, Libermann or Harrison took it up.

So the ‘authentic school’ believed that if one continued one’s researching long enough, thoroughly enough and widely enough, one would produce purely objective history, that could not—and indeed would not—be questioned by others. The writing would be objective, impartial, calm, elevated, moving

authoritatively from topic to topic in stately progress. Such a blatantly confident approach is still used by many English-speaking Masonic researchers and their work may be properly regarded as being under-pinned by a late nineteenth-century Victorian imperialism.

At the other end of this spectrum one might find someone such as Edward H Carr (1892–1982), the distinguished Cambridge historian of Soviet Russia who was active nearly sixty years after Acton. Carr never held a professorial Chair but in 1961–2 he was invited by the university to deliver the prestigious G M Trevelyan Lectures. Ironically, I guess, they had been established as a living memorial to the life and work of Trevelyan, another representative of the ‘absolute history’ school. I say ‘ironically’ because Carr’s lectures, enshrined afterwards in a slim book entitled *What is History?*—still in print and selling well—questioned devastatingly the whole rationale of the ‘absolute school’.

Carr espoused a relativist approach to historiography and saw history as ‘a continuous process of interaction between the historian [as observer/interpreter] and his facts, an unending dialogue between the present and the past’. In other words, historians were interrogators of the documentary and other materials with which they worked and they re-invented ‘history’ each in his own generation. While the historian is and must remain objective in his rise above the limitations of his own situation in society, for Carr and his followers total objectivity is an impossibility. Hence he could write rather cynically:

The belief in a hard core of historical facts existing objectively and independently of the interpretation of the historian is a preposterous fallacy ... one that it is very hard to eradicate.

Such a very different approach from Acton’s intellectual certainties of the late nineteenth century needs some explanation perhaps. Carr was working in a very different moral and intellectual climate. Two World Wars and the insidious Cold War, then approaching its fiercest configuration, had engendered in a whole generation the relativism which still characterizes much of the present thinking in academe.

Now the model which I am proposing to you today lies somewhere—I hope comfortably—between these two ends of the spectrum.

The proposed model

I would like you to imagine that you are standing at the edge of a quiet pool of water, a stone in your hand. You throw it into the water. There is an initial splash, and you’re you watch the ever-expanding ripples circulating out from that impact. It’s the sort of thing we have all done when we were small boys. That’s the dynamic image of doing Masonic history; it’s an image which is not static; it’s an image of ever-widening concentric circles.

Now I am aware that this image of playful childhood has its obvious theoretical limitations. For one thing, the motion of the ripples on the surface of the pool would be vertical—not linear, as I have implied. Secondly, unlike the surface of the water which will eventually return to its previous tranquillity, providing that no more stones are thrown in, there will be a Heisenberg effect brought about by the mere presence and activity of the observer. History will never be the same once a historian has done his work.

That said, what I am proposing is a model which has a three-fold nature. There is the narrowest circle: the initial impact, as it were. Surrounding that, or rather subsuming that, is a wider circle. Surrounding that second circle, or again subsuming it, is the third and widest circle. I shall label the first circle that of First Order questions; the wider circle around it, that of Second Order questions; and the widest circle surrounding both, that of Third Order questions.

Let me assign more appropriate, more accurate descriptors. The first circle is that of restricted *Narrative* questions, the second, that of wider *Contextual* questions and the third, that of broader *Philosophical* questions. The First Order, or Narrative, questions are the easiest to formulate and the easiest to answer. They are subsumed within the Second Order, or Contextual, questions which are more difficult to formulate and are a lot more difficult to answer satisfactorily. They in turn are subsumed within the most problematic and searching questions, the broad, Philosophical ones, that could eventually prove to be almost impossible for the researcher to answer definitively.

Let me to explain about the First Order, or Narrative, questions. These could help the researcher to establish a narrative, or chronological sequence. For example: who was involved; his/their age(s); their

circumstances; where; when; what happened first, second, next and finally?

These questions could be centred on a particular individual Freemason, or a particular lodge, or a special Masonic event, or even a particular Masonic artefact. This is a perfectly legitimate approach to 'doing' Masonic research, but the history that it produces is somewhat restricted and of little general value.

The Second Order, or Contextual, questions would be intended to generate—as far as time, facilities and other circumstances allow—a 360-degree panorama of the subject(s) which was/were focus/foci of the First Order questions. So one would become involved in providing answers to such questions as what happened elsewhere that was similar or different; how do these other phenomena compare and contrast with the original subject of the investigation; how can the similarities or differences be accounted for.

The Third Order, or Philosophical, questions would be aimed at providing a wider, ideational context. They could raise much broader intellectual issues such as what place the original event, and any similar or contrasting phenomena, may have had in the general culture obtaining at the time.

So let me give you an example of the kind of rather limited history that has been produced over several generations by simply using the First Order questions approach. Some years ago I started to investigate the lodges' annual torch-lit eighteenth-century public parades at night in December in the streets of towns and villages with the Freemasons wearing their regalia—much to the amusement and perhaps interest of the non-Masonic spectators who, by all accounts, would applaud and even cheer. My first sources of information were almost entirely secondary ones: the various published lodges' histories that had been diligently compiled probably by the lodges' Secretaries, often to mark centenaries or bi-centenaries of the lodges.

These proved to be invaluable starting points because they usually drew on original primary source materials (for example, the lodge Minute Books, the Treasurers' account books and successive sets of by-laws) that had either disappeared, or had been lost, or could not be made available to anyone outside the lodge. Sometimes they also included quotations from contemporary non-Masonic descriptions of the processions: for example, in newspapers that had long since ceased publication and so were also unavailable. I have got to say that the published paper, still available on enquiry, was not restricted to such a non-contextual approach!

But however useful as starting points they may be for the novice, the old lodge histories are nearly always far too self-referential. It is almost as if, for their authors—and presumably for their readers who were often the majority of the subscribers—nothing much else outside the actual activities of the lodge had ever happened. The resulting 'history' often amounted to nothing more than self-indulgent navel-gazing.

Or again, take another way of using the model. Suppose that one wanted to write about a particular medieval religious building on which it is known that operative stonemasons had worked. There are many such sites still left in England. Of course, one could limit one's inquiries to the First Order type of question and so a full description of the site could be produced with illustrations such as photographs and architectural line drawings etc.

But if one then started to examine, say, the masons' marks which might proliferate throughout the building and compared similar examples from elsewhere, one might discover what other buildings the particular workmen had been employed on. By ascertaining that, one could then work out how far the medieval operative stonemasons had been prepared to travel around gaining employment on other sites as journeymen; how long they had been in those sites; how much variation there had been in their daily wages during those periods etc. In other words, one would be contextualising the particular site and so be occupied in building up a more general and a more interesting picture of the life of these workmen who had created it, whom some Freemasons would claim were our ancestors.

Or take yet another example of how the model could be applied. Suppose that one wanted to write about a very old and spectacular Masonic chair. One could give a reasonable account of it merely using First Order questions. What is it? How old is it? What are the design features? Who was the maker? How much did he charge for the manufacture? What uses had it been put to? What is its general physical condition and state of preservation etc.?

One could extend this by using Second Order, or Contextual questions. Are there any similar pieces elsewhere? Who made them? Were the designers and cabinet makers Freemasons and which lodge(s) did they belong to? Where are the pieces located? Are there any variations in the amounts which were charged for each comparable piece, perhaps as the manufacturers became more famous or became more in demand? Are there any differences in the present physical conditions and how can these differences be explained?

However, one could extend the contextual account even further by using Third Order, or 'philosophical', questions. What effect, if any, did the increasing use of specially designed Masonic furniture have on the development of the rituals in the lodges—they having acquired their own premises rather than continuing to use the upper rooms of taverns, as most lodges had done in the earliest decades of the eighteenth century?

How does the design of such furniture compare with what was being manufactured for the huge country houses (that is, for non- Masonic premises) in those days?

What does the use of such 'thrones' say about the evolving status of the presiding Masters, who in former times had simply been elected and immediately proceeded to preside over the activities without any further ceremony being used?

Should one continue to use such ancient Masonic furniture in lodge today and so risk damaging it? Or, should it rather be set aside and carefully preserved as a museum artefact and so perhaps risk spoiling the members' awareness of their lodge's continuity.

Enter Bro Gustav Petrie

Gustav Petrie, a small Austrian man of gentle and engaging disposition, was personally of no real social or Masonic consequence. It is, therefore, not very surprising that no photograph of him is known to exist. Consequently, though his story can be made out (I believe) to be of some significance, we cannot even know now what he looked like.

Gustav was born in 1866 and, being employed in his native country in some form of managerial capacity in the coal trade, he came in early 1904 to the north of England and settled in the busy port of Sunderland where most of the sea traffic was wholly pre-occupied with the ever-expanding and very profitable coal export business. He took employment with the one of the prominent local mine owners as a coal exporter and so was in charge of the loading of the many ships that plied their trade out of the harbour southwards to London and northwards to Edinburgh and Aberdeen. As far as is known, he did not marry.

It was his commercial connection with the coal trade that led Gustav quickly into Freemasonry. Both his proposer and seconder were in the same business and were members of the famous old Phoenix Lodge (now No 94). It had started sometime in the very early eighteenth century and by 1784 had built and occupied its own purpose-built premises near the river Wear, which it still uses today. He was well-liked and presumably hard-working and soon found entry into membership of the popular lodge. He was initiated on 3 January 1905, aged 39; passed as a Fellow of Craft at an emergency meeting held on 28 March that year and subsequently raised as a Master Mason on 17 May 1905. They did not waste time, those Phoenix Lodge Masons, in those days.

Gustav was not ambitious Masonically and seemed to have preferred simply to wait on his brethren at table while they dined after the ceremonies. That particular office enabled him to be become quickly known by every member of the lodge and their many visitors. He was popular, and so it is not surprising to discover that towards the end of 1906 he was invited by some prominent members of the lodge to become one of the founders of a new, 'daughter' lodge that had been proposed and was in preparation.

The membership of the Phoenix Lodge was over 200 and that meant younger Masons would have to wait a long time before they could be considered for election as Master. Founding a new lodge, to meet in the same building but on different nights, was the answer. That lodge still exists, Thornhill Lodge No 3216. Photographs of most of the Founders can be found in the archives of the Phoenix Lodge but Gustav seems modestly to have escaped the camera.

As in his 'mother' lodge, Gustav assumed modest offices and seemed willing to just wait on the

tables as before, though sometimes he was appointed to act as an Assistant Secretary. His competency in the ritual was such that on several occasions he was appointed to act as the Senior Warden of his new lodge. His obvious willingness to be of service meant that he continued to be very popular and the surviving lodge records show him to be frequently a 'stand-in' for absentee officers.

As with nearly all new lodges, there did not seem to be any shortage of candidates for initiation, at least in the early days, and Thornhill Lodge began to grow rapidly. There were evenings when multiple degree ceremonies were worked. The average attendance of members and visitors (usually from seven local lodges) at every meeting in the first ten years was thirty-seven brethren. In the period 1907–17 there were 112 initiations into membership of the lodge, the average number each year being ten. And they were mostly young men who lived locally. Their average age was thirty-three years. Of these initiates, 38% had some sort of connection with employment at sea. Everything seemed to be progressing very satisfactorily until the end of June 1914, when the First World War broke out.

On 16 August 1914, when political affairs in Europe were desperate, Henry de Vere Vane (1854–1918), ninth Lord Barnard, the Provincial Grand Master, wrote an extraordinary circular letter addressed to all of the sixty-four lodges in his Province but without taking advice from anyone elsewhere, even from his Deputy 'upon whom he usually relied in such things'. In this action he was to pre-empt an edict that was to be issued by the United Grand Lodge of England in June 1915.

Barnard reminded his brethren of the wording in the First Degree Charge, 'that Nature has implanted in the bosom of every man a sacred and indissoluble attachment to the country from which he derives his birth' and he reminded them of 'the unwavering allegiance due to the sovereign of their native land'. Besides, he continued, 'patriotism that involves no personal sacrifice is a useless sort of virtue'. In his opinion one of the first duties of every Freemason was an absolute loyalty to his country:

For over one hundred years, with the exception of wars that were at such a distance from us as to cause us no serious alarm, we have never been in any real danger of having an enemy on our shores ... the virtue of Patriotism – that is to say of preparedness to undertake sacrifices for the prosperity and welfare of the country ... has become a living thing ... but no amount of flag-waving and shouting, and protesting our loyalty will avail us against the foe ...

And, therefore, to ensure that English brethren were not disturbed by the continuing presence in lodges of foreign brethren whose loyalty to the British allies' cause could, of course, not be guaranteed, it would be better that any German, Austrian, Hungarian, Italian and Turkish members should return to their own countries immediately. In other words, he wanted all enemy foreign Masons out of his Province even if they were fully paid-up members of any of the sixty-four lodges there.

One can understand perhaps why Barnard may have adopted this attitude. His eldest son and heir, the Hon Henry C Vane, was a serving British officer in France, and he was to die of wounds received there in November 1917.

Gustav Petrie, ever the obedient Mason, resigned from the Thornhill Lodge in November 1914 and returned to his 'native land'. The lodge Secretary noted in the Minute Book that his resignation 'was received with much regret at the circumstances which had caused him to take such action'. The members of the lodge felt that 'an expression of their appreciation for his valued services in the various offices which he had so ably filled should be recorded'.

And so one of the Founders of this lodge was told to go away; that his presence, because of his foreign nationality, was deemed—by the highest Masonic authority in that part of northern England—to be no longer welcome.

Applying the model to the case of Bro Gustav Petrie

Now my suggested model can be applied to the case of Gustav Petrie. However, I must admit that I have not actually answered these questions and, like most teachers, I simply know some of the questions and entertain the hope that my listeners will start to find the answers.

In others words, I hope that you find an interesting subject (if you have not done so already) and perhaps start to use this model in order to see if it helps when applied to your own Masonic circumstances.

First Order considerations

So, at the First Order, or Narrative, level one could set out, in as much relevant biographical detail as possible, the facts of what happened. I have not given you today all of the background information about this man but I have no doubt that you will know the kinds of detail about him and what happened to Gustav that would be interesting. What are his dates? Where was he born? What were his family were like? What was his employment record both in Austria and in England? What were his home circumstances while living in Sunderland? What was his income from the flourishing coal trade there? What were the various minor offices he held in the lodge which he helped to found? What sort of character did he have as noted, for instance, by any of his Masonic and non-Masonic associates in any correspondence that has survived? And so on. Who knows: even a portrait photograph of him may be found one day in a neglected, dusty cupboard somewhere.

Gustav's story is not long or complicated and assembling this data, in response to First Order questions, would not take too much time or trouble. The chronological account could use primary source materials which are still freely available: such as the Lodge's relevant Minute Book, the Treasurer's Account Book for the period; the menus which Gustav served while waiting upon his brethren at table; pictures of the Lodge room and the adjoining dining room and of the ships in the nearby harbour with which he was associated professionally. Copies of Barnard's circular letter to his lodges still survive, as do a few other relevant records about him in the archives based in the Provincial Secretary's offices.

Second Order considerations

First Order, or Narrative, questions would produce a basic biographical and/or chronological account. But it would be hardly very interesting. Second Order, or Contextual, questions—if applied systematically—would help to ensure that Gustav Petrie becomes someone rather more important, and in order to generate a 360-degree panorama of what happened to Gustav in 1914 one could begin by asking question such as these:

- What, if anything, happened to German- or Austrian-born brethren in any of the other lodges in the same area, and in other parts of England, and even in other English-speaking countries such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa, where there were UGLE lodges?
- If anything comparable did happen, how many such brethren were involved?
- What reaction(s) transpired among the brethren in their various lodges?
- What happened to lodges in England where there were perhaps several or even many foreign members, especially where they held offices at the time of the out break of World War I?
- The famous Pilgrim Lodge, now No 238 and founded in 1779, which meets in Freemasons' Hall in London and which works its Schroeder-type rituals in German, closed down voluntarily throughout the First World War. Did that happen to any other UGLE lodges?
- Did lodges in 'enemy' countries treat English-born Freemasons, who happened to be working in Germany, etc, and who were fully paid up members of lodges there, in the same hostile way? If so, how many such Freemasons were involved? What did they do? Did they repatriate?
- This incident involving Bro Gustav seems xenophobic; how did it relate to the general climate of rampant xenophobia then prevailing in most English-speaking countries—a climate that was fostered constantly in Britain by newspapers, on posters, in some popular novels and in adventure films shown in the cinemas up and down the land?
- How did Barnard's circular letter compare with what was decided by UGLE in that extraordinary Communication which it held in the Café Royal in June 1915?
- Did other English Provincial GMs, and District GMs overseas, anticipate that Grand Lodge decision in quite the same way? Did they try to explain their decisions in similar circular letters?
- What, if anything, happened in lodges where there were brethren who were German-born, Italian-born or Japanese-born nationals during World War II?
- Was the reaction by Masonic authorities to the presence and membership of any enemy nationals in

UGLE lodges different in the Second World War period? What happened to, say, Japanese-born nationals who happened to be resident in the USA and who were members of American lodges at the outbreak of World War II? How did their American brethren treat them?

The Grand Lodge debate: June 1915

A significant part of providing the panoramic context would be to be to discover and then set out what the Grand Lodge in London did in laying down a general policy and the consequent procedures to be adopted.

The crucial meeting was the Grand Lodge Communication held in June 1915, by which time the War had been proceeding into horror for more than nine months and the numbers of casualties had begun to mount. By then the original patriotic optimism at the outbreak of hostilities that ‘it would all be over by Christmas’ had already proved to have been too much of a misdirected fantasy because comprehensive newspaper accounts of the unanticipated set-backs started to reach the anxious relatives of allied service personnel waiting at home.

The debate in the Grand Lodge was itself extraordinary both in its timing and conduct. It started in the famous Café Royal in the afternoon of 15 June at 4 PM and lasted until after 10 PM that night. Many brethren wanted to speak, and tempers were raised. The Assistant Grand Master, presiding as Grand Master *pro tem*, had to gavel no less than five times and to reprimand with increasing impatience the vexatious members who raised their voices and kept interrupting each other and, in the heat of the moment, forgot the usual, sedate debating procedures that normally characterize Grand Lodge proceedings. Eventually he had to command them to ‘respect the Chair’.

The matter which exercised the brethren on that summer’s afternoon and evening was what should or could they do about German nationals. The Grand Secretary had been receiving many inquiries from individual lodges about what they ought to do when foreign ‘enemy’ members were in their lodges. It was not just a simple matter of such men continuing to hold their memberships and so possibly continuing to attend the meetings. The following were the sorts of questions that were troubling them and which were voiced from among the assembled brethren.

- What should lodges do if they had a member who was from an enemy nation and, though he went back to his native country to fight on the opposing side in the war, he continued to pay his annual subscriptions? Was he to be regarded as a ‘normal’ member of the lodge? Indeed, could the lodge continue to be regarded by the other members *and by him* as ‘his’ lodge?
- If he were to be absent from the meetings—for obvious reasons—could he be regarded as having ceased his membership, at least until the anticipated eventual end of the then current hostilities? After all, most Englishmen at that early stage in the war were under no doubt that they would win and that Germany and her allies would be defeated.
- Suppose such a brother were to be wounded, could his English-born wife (and children if any) make a claim in the usual way for UGLE charity?
- Indeed, could he make a claim for UGLE charity if he were invalided out of his national service but continued to live in his native land? What would happen if he were killed in action? Could his widow, perhaps English-born, claim relief for herself and their dependent children, especially if they continued to reside in England?

[Such delicate financial concerns were important since those charitable funds had been accumulated from regular annual donations collected by the lodges from the ‘normal’ members.]

- What would happen if, after the cessation of hostilities and everything got back to normality and lodges began working as usual, German-born nationals were to start re-attending their English lodges to which they had (somehow) continued to pay their annual subscriptions? Could they, in such circumstances, claim their original places in the line of office bearers in succession towards the Chair—as had obtained at the start of the war—as though they had merely been away ‘working’ abroad like many other foreign-born brethren had done in the past?
- Suppose such a foreign-born national were to attend his lodge and present on that occasion there was an English-born gentleman who was on active service but home on leave. How could they both sit in

the same lodge room? Why should the latter be obliged to sit alongside someone from an enemy nation, especially as he had been only a few days previously fighting against men of that enemy nation? What if the English-born brother had been wounded in the conflict? Should he be expected to sit in his lodge alongside (aged) male relatives of a younger foreign national who had returned to his native land to fight on the enemy side while they had continued to live and work and pay their taxes in England and also attend their lodges?

- What should happen should such a wounded English brother, recovering from his wounds in England, managed to attend his lodge proudly dressed in his uniform (as many brethren had started to do) and there found a brother, a German soldier (though not in uniform) who was a subscribing member of that same lodge or perhaps a subscribing member of a visiting lodge who had been fighting on the opposing side?

Tempers were raised and at one stage someone yelled across the floor in attempting to set out his English case for not regarding such enemy members as legitimate brethren: ‘After all, are we here not all loyal Englishmen first?’ An interesting and revealing repost was immediately yelled back at him from several quarters: ‘No! We are all here in this Grand Lodge first as Freemasons and not as Englishmen!’

These sorts of question were not theoretical but were voiced by lodges’ Secretaries seeking practical advice and ‘solutions’ if possible and if such cases were to arise.

The Board of General Purposes decided, following the advice of the then Grand Secretary, that it was no use him just issuing advice to individual lodges on an *ad hoc* basis. Some order or systematically determined policy would have to be introduced. After all, as one of the brethren present opined: in 1915 it was German nationals and their like who were under consideration because of their vicious prosecution of a disastrous war against England and her allies, but only a few decades previously—at the start of the nineteenth century during the Napoleonic wars—it would have been the French who were England’s enemies and the Germans and German-speaking nations who were England’s allies.

The case of Bro Benedict Arnold during the American Revolutionary War against Britain in the eighteenth century was cited by one brother by way of explanation. Arnold had been properly regarded by the American Patriots as a notorious traitor to their cause and he merited whatever punishment the law, as it was then manifested in the new state, could devise. *But* he was not expelled from the Craft by his American brethren, since he had not been tried and found guilty of any *Masonic* crime. Yes, his actions in support of the British cause were properly regarded by them as constituting civic treason but, strictly speaking, he had not violated their Masonic constitutions.

According to the opinion which prevailed in the United Grand Lodge of England on that day in June 1915, as shown in the voting numbers, the same circumstances applied. These unfortunate foreign nationals—if they continued to pay their annual subscriptions and these subscriptions continued to be accepted by their lodges and they were not convicted of any Masonic ‘crime’—must be entitled to consider themselves *and be considered by others in the English Craft* as legitimate members of lodges under the UGLE.

The most that the Grand Lodge could do was to recommend to such brethren—indeed to urge them—that they cease to attend their lodges *for the time being* (that is, until current hostilities eventually ceased) so that the sensibilities of other, English-born members who were attending were not violated by their continuing presence. In other words that they should stop attending temporarily so that they could not be accused of disturbing the love, peace and harmony of the particular lodge—‘which should at all times characterize Freemasonry’—simply by being present. If they were to continue to attend, as they were perfectly entitled to do according to Masonic jurisprudence, then subsequently they could possibly lay themselves open to a Masonic charge of deliberately disturbing the lodge. In such circumstances an appropriate Masonic charge could be brought against them under existing rules in the *Book of Constitutions* and, if convicted on that charge and somehow continued to claim that they could attend, they could be expelled from the Craft.

The legal problem was explained at length by the Grand Secretary. If such foreign-born nationals continued to pay their annual subscriptions, the lodges had to continue to receive those subscriptions

because at the time of paying they were still Freemasons under the English constitution and by paying they were obeying the lodges' requirements as set out in their by-laws. Hence, if such subscriptions were paid, and those foreign-born brethren were not in arrears, they had to be regarded as members until such time as they, for whatever reason(s), ceased to pay.

For instance, they could be regarded under the lodges' by-laws as meriting exclusion by those lodges if they simply ceased to pay on their own volition and became 'in arrears'. In such circumstances, they would cease to be regarded as fully-paid members of their English lodges. They could be proceeded against by the individual lodges according to procedures set out in their by-laws and if, on proper inquiry, they were to be found not to have been in 'good standing', they could not continue to be entitled to attend those English lodges.

The Grand Lodge, having deliberated and set out the broad policy to be adopted, was it actually adopted? What evidence in lodges' Minute Books signals that it was either obeyed or ignored?

A few Third Order considerations

These are just a few of the initial Second Order possibilities. And answering these more general Second Order, or Contextual, questions would take a lot longer than answering the First Order type. After all, the primary sources may well be scattered geographically. That would necessitate some travel and expense. They may be in varying and depleted physical conditions that would make transcription difficult and time-consuming. They could be written or printed in foreign languages and so translations could have to be made. Compiling large amounts of statistical data could involve devising suitable charts, graphs and tables to display the evidence succinctly, and could even entail the use of various methods of statistical analysis. The sheer amount of the assembled data could necessitate the co-operation of a co-researcher or two. And that possibility itself would open up a whole different and interesting development in the conducting of the Masonic research project because usually it would be a solo, or solitary, pre-occupation.

But what of the wider Third Order, or 'Philosophical', questions which subsume the two previous ones? How could one relate this particular to more general cultural considerations?

I believe that the case of Bro Petrie raises some important Masonic considerations. I shall illustrate this possibility by mentioning just two.

For instance, how far and in precisely what ways is membership of the Craft compatible with—to use Lord Barnard's phrase—'absolute loyalty' to the state? That question may not arise in circumstances where the legitimate civil authority does not persecute the Craft and indeed encourages it. For instance in England and Scotland, from the Hanoverian era onwards, leading aristocrats, politicians, ecclesiastics and even members of the Royal Family, have been prominent and active members of the Craft, while in the USA, from the days of George Washington onwards, leading politicians and other notable personalities have sought and enjoyed membership of the Craft there.

In most English-speaking countries the Craft has enjoyed the 'protection' of the established state. One can understand why this might have become so in Britain since the early decades of the eighteenth century. The Hanoverian dynasty were not all that secure in their tenure of the throne (for example, with the Jacobite incursions into England in 1715 and 1745) and it is not surprising that six sons of King George III were encouraged to become prominent members of the Craft. That association of the Craft with the highest levels of British society has continued. The Craft is woven into the very fabric of the British establishment. It is a fairly happy association that has evolved and one which seems to work.

But what happens where the established state persecutes the Craft (for example, in France under the Terror during the Revolutionary period, in the Austria-Hungarian Empire under Emperor Joseph II, and in Nazi Germany)?

How far are members of the Craft, because of the oaths which they take as Master Masons, expected always to obey the expectations and even the commands of legitimate state authority? Are there circumstances in which Freemasons of a particular country might find their Masonic obligations at variance with the state's requirements? Is loyalty to one's state always superior to the demands of the Masonic oath? What if the state's commands were patently immoral? What if the state demands that Freemasons betray their brethren to the secret police because membership of the Craft is defined by the

authorities as a threat to the state security and those authorities have a legal responsibility to protect the citizens generally?

The history of Freemasonry brings many examples where Freemasons, for example when serving as fighters on battlefields during wars, have ‘forgotten’ their civic obligations to kill the enemy (as defined by their state) and, having found a wounded ‘enemy’ fellow Freemason, have treated him well and even rescued him from peril. How does such a member of the Craft reconcile his civic duty to protect his state or country, possibly at the cost of his own life, with his Masonic obligation towards another Freemason ‘not to injure himself myself or knowingly cause or suffer it to be so done by others, if in my power to prevent it’?

What if their superior officers, who may not be Freemasons themselves, learn of their subordinates’ humane actions towards the dreaded enemy on the battlefield, how would they react to the news? Would the benevolent Freemason who helped or even rescued the wounded ‘enemy’, deserve a court martial for disobeying the legitimate orders of a superior officer who would be functioning dutifully in complete obedience to the established authorities of their country?

The other interesting question which this case seems to raise is that of ‘territoriality’. How far, and in what ways precisely, can Freemasonry be regarded as just belonging to mere geographical locations? Is German Freemasonry restricted to only Germany? Or is the French Craft only for France? Or can English Freemasonry only be for England? Is the prevailing ‘territorial’ mentality, which has evolved over generations, compatible with the original ‘Grand Intent’ of the early eighteenth-century originators which was ‘Masonry universal’? That important phrase did not mean that they believed every man could, and should, become a Freemason but that they assumed the Craft would emerge everywhere eventually where there were some men of goodwill of a broadly similar disposition towards mutual tolerance, a general desire for knowledge and one of trying to render themselves more extensively serviceable towards their fellow human beings.

Perhaps in these fast-flowing days of the Internet, 24-hour news-gathering, and democracy, Grand Lodges could find it increasingly difficult to exercise their traditional forms of control over their members by restricting international communication at various levels and in various ways.

Furthermore, the whole problem of ‘recognition’ could be brought into play. This is something that the United Grand Lodge of England, acting as *primus inter pares*, has recently come to see, that the world has changed rapidly and is continuing to do so; that the established ways of regarding foreigners who claim to be Freemasons have to be adjusted because those controls have become incompatible with the equally legitimate expectations of younger members whose daily lives at work involve travel and frequent international communication.

But what happened in Sunderland eventually?

As I hope you might imagine, that was certainly not the end of Gustav Petrie’s story. There was an interesting sequel to the events of November 1914.

In the middle of September 1920, when the stricken survivors of World War I were trying, at home and internationally, at the personal and at the political and governmental levels, to get things returned to some form of peaceful normality, Gustav Petrie returned to Sunderland and visited the lodge which he had helped to found. He had kept writing to the lodge—his occasional letters to his English brethren are carefully preserved in the lodge’s Minute Book of the period—and, presumably they replied to him though (as yet) their letters to him have not been traced.

Imagine, if you will, what could well have been the atmosphere in that ancient lodge room when he walked in as a visitor. After all, seated there—according to the records—were at least two aged members of the lodge who had lost close, younger relatives during the horror of that awful calamity that had just ended.

What is more, he gave greetings to the Master and the assembled brethren from his Johannes Lodge (his Craft or Blue lodge) and then from his St Andreas lodge (his ‘Green’ lodge, from the French word *Ecossais*, meaning ‘Scottish’). St Andreas lodges form the second stage in the Swedish Rite. They work the fourth to sixth degrees in a system or sequence of eleven degrees that is practiced in northern Europe.

Clearly, he'd found a new Masonic 'home' and had joined a Johannes (or St John's or 'Blue' Craft) lodge while he had been exiled outside of England. 'So what?' you might say.

Well, the important thing is this. The Swedish Rite has not been worked in Austria. It is a *northern* European Masonic phenomenon. Therefore, the only possible conclusion could be that Gustav had joined a *German* lodge which worked the Swedish Rite after he had left England and had progressed through the system to achieve at least the fourth degree. And yet, within a mere two years of the conclusion of the Great War, here he was giving greetings to an English lodge as a *German* Freemason. And the remarkable thing that happened was that the English brethren greeted him warmly as a long-lost brother! And the Secretary recorded his delight in being able to write in the Minutes about the enthusiastic reunion which took place.

That simple, humane gesture by those ordinary, unimportant Freemasons in Sunderland in September 1920—more than any of the rather pompous and even pious self-justificatory expressions by higher Masonic authorities made in London and elsewhere at the time—restores my own faith in what exposure to the associationalism of Freemasonry can bring about in the hearts and minds of most ordinary men. It is, I suppose, a small but telling demonstration of the possible transition from the rough to the smooth ashlar, something to which surely we all aspire!

The ember rekindled

[A charming little homily from an American 'trestleboard']

A member of a certain lodge, who previously attended meetings regularly, stopped going. After a few months, the Worshipful Master decided to visit him. It was a chilly evening, and the Worshipful Master found his brother at home alone, sitting before a blazing fire.

Guessing the reason for the Worshipful Master's visit, the brother welcomed him, led him to a comfortable chair near the fireplace and waited. The Worshipful Master made himself comfortable, but said nothing.

In the grave silence, he contemplated the dance of the flames around the burning logs. After several minutes, the Worshipful Master took the fire tongs, carefully picked up a brightly burning ember and placed it to one side of the hearth, all alone. Then he sat back in his chair, still silent.

His host watched all of this in quiet contemplation. As the lone ember's flame flickered and diminished, there was a momentary glow, then its fire was no more. Soon it was cold and dead.

Not a word had been spoken since the initial greeting. The Worshipful Master glanced at his watch and chose this time to leave. He slowly stood up, picked up the cold, dead ember, and placed it back in the middle of the fire. Immediately it began to glow once more, with all the light and warmth of the burning coals around it.

As the Worshipful Master reached the door to leave, his host said, with a tear running down his cheek, 'Thank you so much for your fiery summons, my brother. I'll be back in our lodge next meeting.'

Program for the year 2012

March 1	Installation of RWBro Prof Robert J Nairn PSGW, KL, and investiture of officers
May 3	RWBro Prof Robert Nairn WM: <i>Innovation in Freemasonry</i>
July 5	Bro Dr Bob James PhD: <i>Freemasonry as Crime Scene</i>
September 6	WBro Tony Pope: <i>A Masonic militia</i>
November 1	MWBro Dr Greg Levenston: <i>Title to be supplied</i>

Transactions of the **Discovery Lodge of Research**

No. 971, United Grand Lodge of New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory

*direct descendant of the Research Lodge of New South Wales
and the Sydney Lodge of Research*



The lodge generally meets in the
Sydney Masonic Centre
on the first Thursday of alternate months
March (Installation), May, July, September & November, at 7 pm.
Dress: lounge suit, lodge tie, regalia.

Master RWBro Prof Robert J Nairn, PSGW, KL
Secretary VWBro Neil Wynes Morse, KL
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Foundation member of the

***Australian & New Zealand
Masonic Research Council***

website: <http://anzmrc.org/>



Notice paper (summons)

Dear Sir and Brother,

The Worshipful Master requests your attendance at the regular meeting of the Discovery Lodge of Research, to be held at the Sydney Masonic Centre at 7 pm on Thursday 7 July 2011.

*Yours fraternally
Neil Wynes Morse
Secretary*

Dress: Lounge suit, and the Lodge tie

AGENDA

1. To Open the Lodge.
2. Minutes of the previous regular meeting.
3. Matters arising.
4. Correspondence.
5. Treasurer's report.
6. Admission of visitors.
7. Matters relating to Masonic research.
8. ***A Masonic militia***
Bro Tony Pope will present a paper; contributions from all present will be heard.
9. Any other business.
10. Apologies.
11. To Close the Lodge.

Toast List

The Queen	Worshipful Master
The Grand Master	Worshipful Master
Our Lecturer	VWBro Neil Morse KL
Our Visitors	VWBro David Slater KL
Junior Warden's Toast	WBro Stephen Hodgson

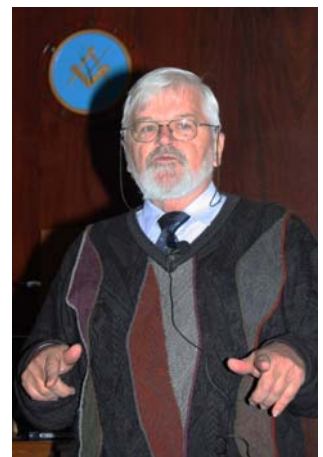
Freemasonry as Crime Scene

5 July 2012

by Bro Bob James, PhD

Bro Morse has cautioned me not to repeat any material I may have used before, and to concentrate on tools for research, from which I get a clear impression he means practical advice, not airy-fairy theory. Fair enough, except that our friendship may be strained when I say that, for me, the most important tools that anyone can bring to research, any research, are the tools already in the researcher's head—the attitudes of mind which, of course, determine the size, shape and purpose of the research.

Past Masonic attitudes with regard to research have been ambiguous at best, the literature of Masonry often denying the importance of research altogether. I won't quote definitions of Freemasonry at you, but I'm sure that you recall the emphasis on charity, on self-development, and on sociability, and now we are being told, 'Don't take yourself seriously, just have fun!'



Since I'm serious about historical research and about research lodges, the apparent dismissal of both by Masonic chiefs forces me to ask myself, 'What are we doing here? What is this Discovery Lodge for?' I happen to believe that the answer to these questions is the key to the future of Freemasonry, and that the attitudes brought to the job of actually doing research are what will determine whether Freemasonry lives or dies. Tonight, I'm going to suggest that the most pressing problem which Freemasonry has, its need to know about itself, can be usefully addressed if we view it as a crime-scene, and that this interpretation is the most practical thing I can bring to you.

When a crime has been committed there is of course a victim and a perpetrator. Tonight I'm concentrating on Freemasonry as perpetrator, but Freemasonry has featured in numerous crime scenes, as victim. For example, K Binney, *Horsemen of the First Frontier*, Volcanic 2005, 140:

In 1797, following a meeting at the Freemasons Arms hotel involving some fellow-officers and selected free settlers, the extraordinarily influential junior officer John Macarthur formed an exclusive freemason's society. This secretive group had an all-pervading, if not sinister influence in colonial affairs from that time on.

Binney provides no reference and, despite his claim of its on-going importance, he never mentions this alleged society or Freemasonry again. He has pronounced Freemasonry 'exclusive', 'secretive', 'sinister', 'all-pervading' throughout 200 years of white history in this country, without a shred of evidence in support. This is what I call 'the Moses method', in this case in the hands of a non-Mason. He is saying: this is my judgement, take it or leave it, there is to be no discussion.

Binney's words become evidence available to a reader who can use clues in the words to get at the author's motivations. Are they signs of an actual crime scene? When an author asserts something as fact but fails to substantiate the claim, that author is, at best, attempting to perpetrating fraud. The reader, or an audience for a presentation like this, becomes part of the crime scene simply by participating in the exchange of information. Just as in a real-life crime situation you, or the reader, has a choice to make. You have to choose one of two options: you can question, perhaps reject, the information, the stolen goods, the proceeds of the crime, or you can become complicit, an accomplice after the fact by accepting the information at face value, or by turning aside, turning a blind eye, and if asked later for a response, saying 'I saw nuffink, officer'.

I've always believed that the audience is at least as important as the presenter. The research, in my view, is useless, or at best of low value, if it is not shared. In the particular crime scene we are examining tonight, because of the peculiar connection between Masonic research and Freemasonry, the broad audience—in this case you—has an especially key role which I will try to explain.

You have a choice between what I call the *Moses* and the *Socrates* methods of presentation and response. I could try to reach you by way of a lecture, with no questions or discussion allowed: the Moses method; or we could learn together, through opinions, questions & discussion: the Socratic method. In my view, audience members sitting passively, like stunned mullet, throughout a lecture are perpetrating a criminal waste of time, of resources and of the few opportunities we get to engage in learning. If that's the only option given you the audience by me the presenter, then I am the perpetrator, and you are at least the victim but, if you make no attempt to alter the dynamic, then you are an accomplice.

I prefer the Socratic method because, while I'm passionate about what I believe and will argue strongly, I'm not dogmatic. I don't believe 'my' answers will or should be 'your' answers, and nor do I believe that any useful answers are straightforward or easily found. Discussion, I believe, even argument, is vital to the process.

The Moses method of learning proceeds by way of statements such as Binney made in his book, and often by rule-based instructions involving 'shoulds' and 'musts'. You should do this, you mustn't do that. In the case of Masonic presentations, it has normally involved being led by a lecturer to find and accept a pre-determined result, 'God's' answer to the mysteries of life. God's answer is presented as *the* answer, the answer you must arrive at, or die in darkness.

The Socratic method encourages a search for individual answers, which may or may not be 'God's' answer.

I'm too humble to think that I can know 'God's' answer. The Bible is for me a man-created, historic

document which can be questioned. It may be genuinely 'God's' word. But regarding the Bible, or the Koran or the Torah, as God-given truth, in which 'the answer' can be found, is too easy; it seems to me to be the approach adopted by and for lazy people who place no value on their own capacities.

My preferred method, the Socratic, emphasises process, over results. It values scepticism, curiosity, personal integrity, and inner strength. It requires prodigious use of reading, rhetoric and logic. It involves drawing on many sources, not just one.

Much Masonic history has been written using the Moses method. In its most authoritarian form it has claimed to know 'the words of God' and has sought to impose them, force them downwards onto 'man'.

A Socratic view is from the ground up. It begins with a human perspective, and attempts to understand information within a human context.

The Moses method takes words at face value. Taking the Bible at face value is an obvious example, but anyone who has read just one account of the origins of Freemasonry will have read this:

On St John the Baptist's Day, June 24, 1717, an assemblage of Masons was held at the 'Goose and Gridiron' tavern in the city of London, in compliance with a resolution adopted by the four old lodges of London and some other old brethren, to revive Masonry which had fallen into great disorder, to revive the quarterly communications of the offices of Lodges, to hold an annual assemblage and feast, and to choose a Grand Master among themselves. (Edward Schultz in a 1912 lecture, 'Origin of Freemasonry')

Freemasonry has been especially poor with regard to its own context. It claims to be interested in understanding its origins, its history, but it, the organisation, has done everything it could over 300 years to deny the importance of context.

In contrast, the Socratic-method looks behind the words, and asks: whose words are these? when were they written? where? how? and most importantly, why were they written? The Socratic-method is a first level research tool.

Consider then that you are a detective called to examine this statement, which may or may not be a crime scene. In general, detectives want nothing moved, they want no interference with the evidence, 'you' want nothing extraneous between you and 'the evidence.' You try to 'read' the scene for clues, first the immediate site, and moving out further and further, looking for further possible evidence. You engage with specialists, in blood-spatter perhaps, or fingerprint experts, possible evidence is surveyed and analysed from as many different points of view as possible. This process is all about context. Trying to recreate the scene in order to find answers to the obvious questions: who? what? where? when? and why? Through evaluation of the evidence you arrive at the story around the scene, the event, the witness statement. And by building the context around an event or a series of events you can better evaluate each piece of evidence, discarding some and treasuring others. You must not take anything for granted, you must question everything, find the context for each clue; that's the key notion—the context. And the research into the crime scene works best when it is a collaborative enterprise.

Let us return to that account of the origins of Freemasonry:

On St John the Baptist's Day, June 24, 1717, an assemblage of Masons was held at the 'Goose and Gridiron' tavern in the city of London, in compliance with a resolution adopted by the four old lodges of London and some other old brethren, to revive Masonry which had fallen into great disorder, to revive the quarterly communications of the offices of Lodges, to hold an annual assemblage and feast, and to choose a Grand Master among themselves. (Edward Schultz in a 1912 lecture, 'Origin of Freemasonry')

Freemasonry has avoided 'reading' this scene for clues, and has held out against the obvious need to build up the context. What this has meant, of course, is that these alleged 'facts' have been presented over and over again, and we have been told to accept them at face value, as truth. However, it's very difficult to keep the wider world at bay, totally, or forever. In 1939, Bro George Maine in a lecture, 'Desaguliers and the March of Militant Masonry', asserted:

On June 24th, 1717, as a strategic move in the political game of chess between the Houses of Hanover and Stuart, the Hanoverians, just to accomplish their own selfish ends, gathered together four comparatively unimportant Masonic Lodges lying in the outskirts of London to form the Grand Lodge of London, the first Grand Lodge of Masonry. It was on that day that Freemasonry, all unexpectedly started on its world mission.

There is a whole further context here, which has to do with that date, 1939. We could spend a session

on just how it is different to the first version because of its changed context.

You perhaps already know that this research lodge here in Sydney was prompted into being in 1913 by the English Lodge No 2076, Quatuor Coronati. Lodge QC for short claimed at its first meeting in 1886 and has since claimed that its basic intention was to rid Masonic literature of the fanciful, the weird and wonderful, any claims in fact which could not be justified by evidence.

Anyone who has read more than a single account of modern history will know that 1886 and 1913 were already some centuries after Francis Bacon, Isaac Newton and others began arguing the need for learning to be based on the scientific method. So, already in 1886, Freemasonry was behind the times, but we have to give them their due, the founders of QC, setting an example for all English-language research lodges around the world, were at least a bit closer, let's say within touching distance of bringing Freemasonry into line with the values of the Enlightenment and of the scientific revolution.

At the September 'research seminar' in Newcastle, I hope to talk about where in 2012 that broader world of Masonic studies has reached, at least in Europe.

But another session we could have is into the degree to which the members of that lodge, QC, have been successful, or just how successful this Sydney research lodge has been over 100 years. Is Discovery Lodge of Research going to celebrate the ways in which the fruits of its 'reading the crime scene', gathering and evaluating the evidence, building a Masonic context, have borne such fruit that hosannas repeatedly ring out across the civilised world in recognition? I suspect not. I'm sounding quite narky, I know, but is there a single NSW researcher that you can celebrate here and now by recounting their contribution to Masonic learning? Harry Kellerman will come immediately to some minds here, and I do not criticise Harry, what I'm asking you is to what extent you could here and now set out Harry's contribution to your understanding of Masonry. I suspect that you couldn't. Why? because you haven't been encouraged to do so, by this Lodge, or by any Grand Lodge officer, past or present. Harry's work and that of numerous others is apparently forgettable.

There are various Masonic answers to the issues I'm raising which take us back to the Moses approach, the authoritarian method of teaching, and which I clearly think is unsound. One long-standing reason given has been that Masons don't discuss politics or religion in lodge. This is so obviously not true, that I am also forced to ask: why is Masonry selective about the context it permits? And how long can it survive when it is being so clearly hypocritical? The slower, the more reactionary Freemasonry is, the larger the gap becomes between the information held outside and that regarded as acceptable inside.

Just one story to provide some flavour of how the non-Masonic world is regarding the events of 1717 and what happens when the two attempt to have dialogue. In 1992, Dr M K Schuchard, author and non-Mason was invited to address Quatuor Coronati. She wished to speak to the research she had carried out into the involvement of a man called Swedenborg into the earliest history of London's Grand Lodge (from *Emanuel Swedenborg, Secret Agent on Earth and in Heaven: Jacobites, Jews, and Freemasons in Early Modern Sweden*, Brill 2011). She argued that:

Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772) [who has] won fame and infamy as a natural scientist and visionary theosopher, was also a master intelligencer [or spy], who served as a secret agent for the French king, Louis XV, and the pro-French, pro-Jacobite party of 'Hats' in Sweden. [Her study drew] upon unpublished diplomatic and Masonic archives to place his financial and political activities within their national and international contexts. [Her research revealed] the clandestine military and Masonic links between the Swedish Hats and Charles Edward Stuart ('Bonnie Prince Charlie'), providing new evidence for the prince's role as hidden Grand Master of the Order of the Temple. [Schuchard asserted that] Swedenborg's usage of Kabbalistic meditative and interpretative techniques and his association with Hermetic and Rosicrucian adepts showed the extensive esoteric networks that underlay the exoteric politics of the supposedly 'enlightened' eighteenth century, especially in the troubled 'Northern World' of Sweden and Scotland.

This scholar was heckled when she made her presentation, and otherwise treated with hostility. Perhaps these most respectable Masons were bothered by her gender. Except that this was not the first time this had happened. Four years previously, the first non-Mason invited to address QC Lodge about his findings on Scottish Freemasonry was treated in a similar manner.

How could this be? Where had the rules of rational enquiry gone, let alone rules of dignity, and tolerance for disparate points of view?

On the basis of this and other ‘clues’ it is necessary to ask whether Freemasonry’s long-term neglect of context has been deliberate, and whether some Freemasons at least have been attempting to silence persons with views they consider unacceptable? If the neglect and the attempted suppression of alternative views are not deliberate, then one has to ask how has it come about that context is, apparently, considered unimportant? And can Freemasonry survive by closing the shutters against free enquiry? But if Freemasonry has been acting with intent, then it can be accused of fraud, of taking money under false pretences.

I, myself, don’t believe a deliberate conspiracy, masterminded in Grand Lodge, has been happening over 300 years. I see what has brought us to this place as a process which is still happening, an organic accumulation of circumstances for which no one person or group has been or is responsible. However, my suggestion that we look at Freemasonry as a crime-scene, just like any other event or series of events, to which numerous people have contributed, may help us to understand why many people now find ‘the crime scene’, the ‘current circumstances’, embarrassing, difficult to resolve. We are now being told: ‘let’s just talk about the easy bits, the non-contentious bits’ or, as in the case of the English Grand Lodge, being told: ‘Let’s not take ourselves too seriously, let’s just have fun’. The picture of a beached whale comes again to mind. Its beaching is not entirely due to the whale’s actions alone, but we do have to examine the carcass for vital signs.

Considering Freemasonry as a crime scene allows us to examine how individual Masons, and individual non-Masons, have acted at a particular time, with regard to a particular event. Some have been attempting to add context, some attempting to remove and deny context. A single book can be seen as a crime scene on its own, and about the author of the book we can ask: why has he written this? What is the context in which he wrote these words, and how was he influenced to write this particular version? What tools have been used to produce this particular event? If I’m thinking of returning to the scene of the crime, would I use his tools or others? In the Library here in this building, there are hundreds of books which need to be interrogated. The lives of authors are also crime scenes, in the sense that each can and should be interrogated before we determine whether to accept their version of events or not.

Of particular interest to me have been the major guides to my Masonic learning: for example—and I leave you with this—Bernard Jones, *Freemason’s Guide and Compendium*, (edn 1965, p 104) wrote of ‘a scurrilous sheet issued weekly in London from early 1676’ and which on one occasion contained a notice of a ‘coming event’:

These are to give notice, that the Modern Green-ribboned Caball, together with the Ancient Brotherhood of the Rosy-Cross; the Hermetick Adepti, and the Company of Accepted Masons, intend all to Dine together on the 31 of November next, at the Flying Bull in Wind-Mill-Crown Street; having already given order for great store of Black-Swan Pies, Poach’d Phoenixes Eggs, Haunches of Unicorns,... etc

Jones commented:

[If] the ‘Company’ here mentioned is intended to be the London Company of Masons, as appears to be the case, quite apart from implying any possible association with the Rosicrucians, etc, the (notice) is of marked interest. It shows that the London Company was in the popular mind associated with *accepted* masons . . . this small piece of evidence goes to confirm that the ‘accepted mason’ was well known as early as 1676.

The writer of the notice and editor of the paper, L’Estrange, was a strong opponent of the Whig-oriented ‘Green Ribbon Club’, which was active behind the scenes, organising anti-Jacobite street protests. Jones’ lack of concern for the context of the notice has led him to make selective use of just that piece of the notice which suited his case. Being associated ‘in the public mind’ with one side of the political debate is what ought to have concerned Jones with regard to Freemasonry, and perhaps spiked his curiosity. L’Estrange, a Tory pen-for-hire, was asserting an association which was either based on known fact, or was rumoured, or he was just scooping up all the weird and wonderful possibilities he could think of to make a point—the impossibilities of a change at the top of the ruling elite, perhaps—an early form of ‘muck raking’.

Jones should not have assumed anything unless and until he knew more of the context. And neither should we.

YABUTS

YABUTS are monstrous little beasts that inhabit the meetings and conversations that take place all over our Fraternity. A YABUT's purpose in life is to sap a team of its competitive strength by killing any new ideas or creative approaches as soon as they are suggested. They do this by grabbing your tongue and making you say things like:

YABUT we tried that three years ago.

YABUT we've never done it like that before.

YABUT Grand Lodge will never go along with it.

YABUT the members will never buy into that kind of idea.

YABUT they [the ubiquitous *they* who control the world] won't let us.

YABUT it might not work.

YABUT I think it says in the Book of Constitution and / or the Bylaws we should do it this way.

Be aware that when they crawl onto the table during a meeting or swoop down into a Lodge room conversation, those YABUTS sometimes don't look monstrous at all. Often, they adopt the appearance of a cute, cuddly, perfectly acceptable, or even helpful contribution to the discussion. But If YABUTS are not recognized and stomped out right away, they usually succeed in their deadly, negative missions. The flow of ideas soon changes from: This is how we can make it work. To How can we make it work? and all the reasons it won't work, and therefore, it isn't worth trying.

Freemasonry in the Australian Military

Heraldry and Genealogy Society of Canberra, 1 May 2012

by Bro Neil Wynes Morse, KL

Tonight I wished to present a panorama of Masonic activity in the Australian military forces. However, that narrative would exceed the two hour time limit I have been given, so I will provide a number of snapshots.

The association of Freemasonry with the military in Australia is almost as long as European settlement in this young country. In January 1788, the 'first Fleet', comprising the vessels *Sirius*, *Supply*, three store ships and six transports carrying convicts, under the command of Captain Arthur Phillip, arrived in Botany Bay to establish a settlement in New South Wales. Finding Botany Bay unsuitable, the expedition moved to Port Jackson and, on 26 January 1788, the first steps for the foundation of a colony were taken.

The company of marines which formed part of Philip's expedition included men who have been identified as Freemasons. Among them was Thomas Lucas, who later settled on Norfolk Island and subsequently in Van Diemen's Land upon the evacuation of Norfolk Island around 1808. A convict, Thomas Prior, who also arrived in New South Wales by the first Fleet, has a Masonic symbol on the headstone to his grave, but this is circumstantial evidence only.

The marine companies assigned to service in Australia with Captain Phillip were relieved in 1791 by the New South Wales Corps. The Corps was established in 1789 specifically for service in New South Wales. It came into conflict with the civil authority in the Colony and its involvement in the rebellion against Governor Bligh in 1808 led to its redesignation as the 102nd Foot and its return to England in 1810. In command of the Corps were Major Francis Grose, from 1789 to 1794, and Lieut. Colonel William Paterson, from 1794 to 1809.

It has been suggested that the colonial authorities of the day were actually opposed to the formation of Masonic lodges in the units. The historian, Wright, says that in 1792 Governor Phillip, 'refused his officers permission to set up a Masonic Lodge at Port Jackson',¹ although it has not been found possible to confirm this and Wright destroyed the notes he used when writing this particular work.

During the period when Paterson was in charge of the Corps, an attempt was made to establish a regular warranted Lodge in Australia. Cramp and Mackaness, the historians who jointly wrote the first



¹ Wright, R: *The Forgotten Generation of Norfolk Island and Van Diemen's Land*, Sydney 1986, 37.

two volumes of the history of the United Grand Lodge of New South Wales, note² that in the records of the Grand Lodge of Ireland is reference to a meeting of that Grand Lodge on 6 July 1797 where a petition was received from George Kerr, Peter Farrell and George Black praying for the issue of a warrant to be held in the New South Wales Corps, then serving at Port Jackson in New South Wales. The Grand Lodge discussed the petition and a decision whether to issue a warrant was deferred. The matter has not yet be reconsidered!

The authors speculate that there may have been a Lodge in the Corps and that Kerr, Farrell, and Black were its three principal officers, but there is no evidence to support this.

It should be noted that by 1797 Governor Hunter had replaced Governor Arthur Phillip as officer in charge of the colony and if, as suggested by Wright, Governor Phillip had been opposed to Freemasonry, it is possible that Kerr, Farrell and Black may have thought Hunter more favourably disposed. At all events, nothing came of their initiative.

The story of the very early development of Freemasonry in Australia is inextricably linked to British Regiments.

Regular Freemasonry—‘regular’ in the sense of a lodge working under the authority of a warrant issued by a recognised Grand Lodge—first came to New South Wales with the arrival of the 46th (South Devonshire) Regiment in 1814. Like a number of its successors, the Regiment had attached to it a Lodge, in this case the Lodge of Social and Military Virtues No 227 working under the Irish Constitution. Its authority from the Grand Lodge of Ireland was an ambulatory warrant, one issued to the Lodge to enable it to conduct Masonic ceremonies wherever the Lodge was stationed. The 46th Regiment was replaced by the 48th, to which was attached Lodge No 218 IC, and the Regiments following included the 40th, with its Lodge No 284 IC, and the 39th with Lodge No 128 IC.

A statement by Crossle of the Lodge of Research of Ireland succinctly summarises the importance of Irish Freemasonry in the establishment of the Craft in New South Wales. Crossle says:

The formation of regular Freemasonry in Australia was absolutely and essentially Irish in its origin, and was due, in the first place, to an Irish Military Lodge in which young settlers were initiated, and who were then granted a dispensation by the Military Brethren to form a Lodge; and in the second place, to the constitution of that Lodge under a regular warrant from the Grand Lodge of Ireland.

The detailed story has been told by a Canberra historian far greater than I, my Masonic mentor and friend, the late Bob Linford, and I leave it to you to read his accounts. Please see me later if you are interested in learning more of this area.

Let us now move to the other end of the 19th century and the Boer War.

No records are known of Masonic activity amongst Australian colonial volunteers on active service. However there are records of a meeting which is relevant.

Imperial troops occupied Bloemfontein in March 1900 and on St George’s Day, 23 April of that year, an historic meeting of Lodge Rising Star was held in the Masonic Hall in that city. With a German national, WBro I H Haarbarger, presiding, those attending included Lord Kitchener, Lord Casterton (then the Grand Secretary of the Irish Constitution) and, to quote a contemporary news report, ‘a goodly number of military masons from all parts of the Empire’, including ‘Australians and Tasmanians’. The work of the evening was to initiate into Freemasonry a Canadian war correspondent. Apologies were received from Field Marshal Lord Roberts, who was both Commander-in-Chief for South Africa and a Senior Grand Warden of the United Grand Lodge of England.

I shall now move to World War I.

I found the following report of the Masonic activities of a group of brethren attached to the Third Australian General Hospital in WWI; this was compiled by Bro C Stuart, Lodge St John, Manly, NSW, in 1917, and I will read some selected portions:

Soon after ... 15 May 1915, when the Third Australian General Hospital left Australia for active service abroad, it was found that several Masons were included among the officers and other ranks of the Unit and an endeavour was made to hold a social gathering on board.

2 Cramp, K R and Mackaness, G: *A History of the United Grand Lodge of Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons of New South Wales*, Sydney 1938.

The prime movers in this were Bros. L Logan, of No. 161 and Mark No. 8 NSW and J J Fraser of No. 508 EC Singapore whose efforts, for various reasons, met with no success.

The Unit was divided into several parties upon reaching England, sent to various places in the Southern Counties and re-assembled after some nine days at the Rest Camp on Southampton Common; a very beautiful spot on the outskirts of that ancient port.

During the week the Unit was stationed here various members were able to visit a Lodge where they were welcomed most heartily.

Only one visit was possible as the Unit entrained to Devonport, thence by HMT *Simla*, since a victim to submarines, to the Dardanelles and was stationed on Lemnos Island until six weeks after the evacuation of Gallipoli.

As it was the nearest Hospital to the firing line it can be readily understood that hard work and long hours were the portion of its staff for many months.

It was therefore impossible to organize any Masonic gatherings until the work of the Hospital had settled down and the first social meeting of Masonic brethren was held in the Post Office tent of the Third Australian General Hospital on St. Andrew's Day, the 30th November 1915.

Proved Masons to the number of twenty one from various Units on the Island were invited and an enjoyable evening spent.

The organization of this, the initial gathering of Masons under active service conditions, was well carried out by Bros. F Smythe, L Logan, C Stuart and J J Frazer, all, with the exception of the latter, from NSW Lodges. Here must be instanced the absolute necessity for strict examination before admitting strangers to any description of Masonic gathering.

The brethren mentioned above insisted upon this and in addition carried out an examination among themselves running through three degrees. They then passed to the various applicants for admission to the South and found one who, although he belonged to another Order, was not a Mason.

He was not admitted.

On the 29th December 1915 a second gathering was arranged to take place at the Motor Transport Depot.

Thirty four brethren attended and never was the universal spread of Freemasonry more exemplified than upon this occasion.

A tent pitched upon a rocky hillside within sound of the guns of Gallipoli with all the turmoil of modern warfare surging around. Outside were armed sentries pacing their allotted beat ready to repel intruders should the occasion arise and within, to the dim light of a few hurricane lamps, a gathering of Masons such as had probably never before been known under like circumstances in the history of the Craft.

They came from the ends of the earth, these men with one end – to serve, – from England, Canada, Scotland, the islands of Barbados, Florida, Australia, New Zealand, Ireland, Tasmania, India, the Straits Settlements, Mexico, from Egypt and ranks from a General down to Privates were able to relax and spend a few hours free from the strain and horrors of this world war.

The Hospital was next stationed at Abbassieh, Cairo, where it was possible to visit several established Lodges, notably the Lord Kitchener Lodge (3402 EC), the Lotus Lodge (3296 EC), the Bulwar Lodge (1068 EC) and several Greek Lodges where, although the visiting brother was unable to understand the language, it was quite easy to follow the working of the various degrees and mightily interesting.

The Lodges in Cairo were doing most excellent work for the Craft and entertained many visitors at their assemblies.

Through the kindness of the WM of Lord Kitchener Lodge a member of this Unit was initiated; Brother A Butler became a MM while in England and has proved himself a worthy Mason in every way.

In October 1916 the Unit returned to England and was stationed for some months at the Kitchener Hospital, Brighton.

Here the resident Masons extended a welcome the memory of which can never be effaced, and the Australian brethren were at once made Honorary Members of their most excellent Club in the Queens Road.

Invitations to visit the many ancient Lodges in Brighton and Hove were given from all sides and many were the enjoyable evenings and days spent in the company of men who were truly brothers to their visitors from overseas.

April 1917 saw the Hospital in France and on the 31st December 1917 the third Masonic gathering on active service was held, but under very different circumstances to those previous.

It was possible to obtain a building and the Dental Operating Hut was cleared of its various impediments and re-furnished for the occasion.

Instead of a tent upon a hillside with a few tables, wooden forms and hurricane lamps was a room with snowy table linen, gleaming cutlery and glass, electric light and tables beautifully decorated with flowers, plants and fernery.

Twenty four brethren, whose Mother Lodges were far apart, gathered for an evening which closed in harmony at 11-0 pm.

It may be of interest to note that of the twenty-one brethren present at the first meeting only three were left to carry on the work so ably commenced at the Dardanelles. The rest are scattered far and wide, from Belgium to

Palestine, some may have made the greatest sacrifice of all, other wounded and invalided to their homes, while the rest are carrying on wherever they may be.

The fourth gathering held on the eve of Anzac Day, an anniversary that will live forever in the history of Australia and New Zealand, saw an increase in the numbers present.

Twenty-seven brethren attended, including for the first time in the precis of these gatherings, a brother from the United States of America.

Many ranks were represented ranging from Colonels to Privates and some of the brothers came in for many miles around to this gathering which included an EA Freemason in the person of a member of the Unit, Brother S Porter, who was of valuable assistance in regard to the excellent dinner provided.

Various excellent songs and speeches were rendered and an evening enjoyed which recompensed the President, Secretary and Committee for their work.

Undoubtedly these gatherings, which unite brethren from all parts of the world, are of valuable assistance to Masons while on active service, affording as they do an opportunity for brothers to know each other and to meet and be relieved for a while from the strain of the days that have past and are to come until their present task is ended.

There the document ends; and we are left surmising what Masonic activities the brethren of the General Hospital may have been able to conduct during the hectic days which were to come in 1918 in France, and afterwards.

Then we come to World War II. In his definitive work on Freemasonry in Australia's Near North, *The Craft in the East*, Christopher Haffner wrote:³

Brethren in Changi Camp, Singapore, had been holding lodges of instruction under dispensation. Large numbers of prisoners were moved out of the camp at the end of 1942 to work on the infamous death railway. No masonic activity amongst these brethren is known to have taken place until 1944 when the railway was completed and the prisoners who were left were concentrated together.

The statement regarding activity on the railway is incorrect: there was at least one meeting on the line. In late 1942 the Japanese commenced sending 'working parties' to various parts of South East Asia to undertake work mainly relating to infrastructure development. Most of these parties were sourced from the thousands of allied POWs held at the Changi camp in Singapore. Of these, the most remembered today were those sent to build the railway from Burma to Thailand. Each party was given a designation, and the men I will talk about were part of 'F' Force. This group, of about 7000 men, included some 3660 Australians, and was despatched in April 1943.⁴ After a march of 20 days, 'F' Force arrived at Shimo (Lower) Songkurai to commence work on the railway.

Some 34.1% of all Australian prisoners of the Japanese died—the highest of all nationalities of POWs. The rate of death of the impressed labour (or *romusha*) from all over South East Asia used on the line is unknown, but is believed to be up to 75%. This latter figure comes into perspective when you recall that 60% of the Russians captured by the Germans died.

According to the Australian *Official History*, Kami Sangkurai (or Songkurai) was the worst camp on the railway; the facilities were even more primitive than elsewhere, the Korean guards more brutal, the IJA officers even more sadistic, and the death rate reflected these conditions, being the highest on the line: 60% of Australians and 80% British.

Among the officers to go with 'F' Force was an Army Chaplain, George Polain, who was a member of Lodge Canobolas, meeting in Orange, who had earlier attended Masonic meetings in Changi.⁵ Indicative of his Masonic involvement is the fact that, on his return from the Railway, Polain is recorded as having delivered a paper on 'Signs and Symbols' to the Roberts Barracks Masonic Association on 19 February 1944.

Late in 1943 Padre Polain formed a Masonic group which he called the 'Kami Sankurai Club'. The first meeting was held on 13 October 1943 and 14 brethren attended. Of these, nine had attended meetings in Changi of the Roberts Hospital Masonic Association.

Of the 14 brethren in attendance, 12 acted as officers of the lodge. The card lists the attendees as:

3 Haffner, C: *The Craft in the East*, District Grand Lodge of Hong Kong and the Far East, Hong Kong 1988, 226.

4 McCormack, G and Nelson, H: *The Burma-Thailand Railway: memory and history*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney 1993. This book is essential reading on the topic, particularly for non-Australian readers.

⁵ Morse, N W: 'The Roberts Hospital POW Masonic Association', unpublished paper. This paper outlines the activities of this group from December 1942 to May 1944 in the Changi camp.

WM:	WBro. G Polain	Canobolas, Orange
IPM:	Bro. Barton	San Souci 442, NSW
SW:	Bro. Hislop	Concord 98, NSW
JW:	Bro. Biggs	Wangaratta 66, Vic
Chap:	Bro. Thompson	Melbourne Temperance, 200
Sec.	Bro. Wingfield	Balwyn 245, Vic
DC:	Bro. Browne	Prince Alfred 94, NSW
SD:	Bro. Lovell	Covenant, Bexley NSW
JD:	Bro. Kearton	Wisdom 526, Vic
IG:	Bro. Pedvin	Capital 612, Canberra ACT
T:	Bro. Goulding	Monaro 164, Cooma NSW
Treas:	Bro. Hodge	Ionic 109, Tungamah Vic

Also attending were Bros. N A Spratt (Ibis 361, Griffith NSW) and Jackson (Seddon 242, Footscray Vic).

Bro Lovell said of the meeting:⁶

I was on the Burma railway at a camp called Kami Sankurai, nine miles from the Burma-Thailand border. No words can describe the horror of that place, yet even there amidst death and despair there emerged a Padre Polain who formed a masonic meeting. About a dozen men met when the opportunity arose. It was a very risky business. At our first meeting I made cards to commemorate the meeting. The pencil and paper was somehow supplied by George Polain, a minor miracle in itself under the circumstances. It was the only bit of paper I managed to bring back.

For this it would appear that more than one meeting was held, but without evidence this must be considered only a supposition.

Not long after I received a copy of the commemorative card, I found that the son of Bro Pedvin was living in a neighbouring suburb. I gave Mr Pedvin a copy of the card and he, in turn, provided me with an extract from his father's diary for 14 October 1943, which reads: 'Last night 12 of us attended a Masonic Club Meeting. Padre Pollane [*sic*] gave a most interesting talk on the different degrees up to the 30th Degree.'⁷ The meeting was held just outside the cemetery, 'where the Japs did not patrol'.⁸

The card issued to commemorate the meeting shows a group of men seated on logs under a tree outside the cemetery fence, with one (the tyler?) leaning against the tree. The business of the meeting, as set out on the card, was a lecture by WBro Polain entitled 'The Higher Side and Progress in Freemasonry'.

I have prepared a facsimile of the commemorative card produced by Bill Lovell and I will distribute copies shortly.

I would like to conclude with a short 'Show and Tell'.

Towards the end of the War, all over the South East Pacific area Australian servicemen Masons met in fraternal gatherings. We have records of fifty groups from Townsville to Morotai, and from Labuan to Milne Bay.

These groups have been documented by Roy Fursman of Queensland. He lists over two thousand men who have been identified as attending these fraternal clubs. If your relative was a Freemason, and attended a meeting in the SEP area, the chances are very strong that Roy has recorded his attendance. I have here a copy of his material, and further, more recent, discoveries made by Ewart Stronach of Sydney.

It is possible that, during your research, you have come across a reference to a forebear's involvement in Freemasonry. Should you want amplification, or explanation, please contact me.

If I can't assist, I have low friends in high places who can!

Some years ago many of the records of the United Grand Lodge of New South Wales were digitised by members of the LDS Church. There is a modicum of errors. The Internet link is:

<<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/show#uri=http://hr-search-api:8080/searchapi/search/collection/1834852>>

⁶ Personal correspondence from the late Bro Bill Lovell, 1992.

⁷ Unpublished diary entry for 14 October 1943 by L J Pedvin, quoted by kind permission of his son, Mr Brian Pedvin.

⁸ Personal correspondence from the late Bro Bill Lovell, 1992.

Officers for the year 2011–2012

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Immediate Past Master	WBro Ewart Stronach	estronach@iprimus.com.au
Senior Warden	MWBro Greg Levenston	brontmed@tpg.com.au
Junior Warden	WBro Steve Hodgson	stephen_hodgson@yahoo.com.au
Chaplain	Bro Brad Del Munns	mijbril@gmail.com
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Organist	VWBro Bryan Randall	
Caring Officer	VWBro Tom Hall	c@tholic.org
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Editor	WBro Tony Pope, OS (SA), KL	tonypope@internode.on.net
ANZMRC Representative	VWBro Neil Wynes Morse, KL	secretary@discoverylodge.org

Program for the year 2012

1 March	Installation of RWBro Prof Robert J Nairn, PSGW, KL & investiture of officers
3 May	Inaugural address by WM: <i>Innovation in Freemasonry</i>
5 July	Bro Dr Bob James PhD: <i>Freemasonry as Crime Scene</i>
6 September	WBro Tony Pope: <i>A Masonic militia</i>
1 November	MWBro Dr Greg Levenston: <i>The 42 series</i>

Transactions of the **Discovery Lodge of Research**

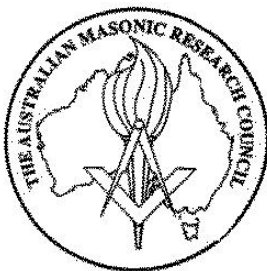
No. 971, United Grand Lodge of New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory

*direct descendant of the Research Lodge of New South Wales
and the Sydney Lodge of Research*



The lodge generally meets in the
Sydney Masonic Centre
on the first Thursday of alternate months
March (Installation), May, July, September & November, at 7 pm.
Dress: lounge suit, lodge tie, regalia.

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***Australian & New Zealand
Masonic Research Council***

website: <http://anzmrc.org/>



Notice paper (summons)

Dear Sir and Brother,

The Worshipful Master requests your attendance at the regular meeting of the Discovery Lodge of Research, to be held at the Sydney Masonic Centre at 7 pm on Thursday 25 October 2012.

*Yours fraternally
Neil Wynes Morse
Secretary*

[The following paper was to have been delivered to the lodge on 6 September 2012, but the author was unwell. As explained in the Introduction, the paper is intended to demonstrate the author's interpretation of the advice of several other brethren on (Masonic) research and writing, in the hope of promoting discussion on 'how to', and encouraging others to adopt the same advice. For these reasons, the paper is now published without prior presentation in lodge, in the hope that members will take heed, discuss, and emulate.]

Brothers under Arms, the Tasmanian Volunteers

by Bro Tony Pope

Introduction

For most of my life, as a newspaper reporter, police officer, and Masonic researcher, I have been guided by the advice of that sage old journalist, Bro Rudyard Kipling:¹

I keep six honest serving men
(They taught me all I knew);
Their names are What and Why and When
And How and Where and Who.

But this paper is experimental, in that I have also taken heed of the suggestions of three other brethren:

- Bro Richard Dawes, who asked the speakers at the Goulburn seminar last year to preface their talks with an account of how they set about researching and preparing their papers;
- Bro Bob James, who urges us to broaden the scope of our research, to present Freemasonry within its social context, and to emulate Socrates rather than Moses in our presentation; and
- Bro Trevor Stewart, whose advice is contained in the paper published in the July *Transactions*, 'The curious case of Brother Gustav Petrie'.

I confess that I have not the slightest idea how to employ the Socratic method in covering my chosen subject, and I have not strained my brain to formulate Bro Stewart's 'third order or philosophical' questions, but within those limitations this paper is offered as an honest attempt to incorporate the advice of these brethren.

Between 1992 and 1995 I was nomadic, and I spent my summers in Tasmania, researching the history of Freemasonry in that state. Much of my time was spent in libraries, newspaper 'morgues', museums and Masonic lodges. This was before the general advent of the Internet, search engines, mobile phones and digital cameras, and I had to rough it with a small portable computer and printer, an audiotape recorder, a film camera, notebook and pencil. I learned to use microfilm and microfiche, paid hard cash for printouts and photocopies, and accumulated enough material for a book. But other things intervened and I never did complete either the research or the writing of the book.

¹ From *The Elephant's Child*.

Tony Pope and his exemplars



Tasmania 1995



Rudyard Kipling



Richard Dawes



Bob James



Trevor Stewart

Two years ago I was asked to contribute a paper to Linford Lodge of Research, and it occurred to me to make use of some of my Tasmanian material, the involvement of Tasmanian Freemasons with the colonial volunteer forces in the period 1859–1904. Volunteer forces were formed in each of the Australian colonies and there were probably Freemasons involved in each of them, but Tasmanian involvement was unique in Australia, in that the first rifle company formed there was comprised entirely of Freemasons, the Masonic Rifles. From this material I made a PowerPoint presentation which fitted the events of this 45-year period comfortably within the hour allotted to it. I was conscious of the fact that my research was at least 15 years old, and that it was very probable that other material could be found, particularly via the Internet, so I pointed out to my audience of five that it was a draft effort, open to discussion and improvement—*A Masonic Militia Mk I*.

The term *militia* has more than one meaning. In its broader use it describes part-time soldiers, a citizen army prepared to defend hearth and home against invaders. Apart from a modern mis-use of the term, historically it has honourable connotations, and Freemasons have been members of militias just as they have of professional armies. Similarly, there have been lodges formed within militias,² as well as in regular military units. There have even been individual Masons and Masonic lodges that have *formed* militias,³ but in Tasmania the whole Masonic community was involved in the creation and maintenance of part-time military units with which to defend the island colony. In Tasmania at least, a distinction was drawn between *volunteers* and *militia*, the latter being conscripted under a *Militia Act* (if passed) and thereby subject to full military discipline when called upon for duty. The Tasmanian part-time forces were created under a *Volunteer Act*, and thus my original title was a misnomer, and I am obliged to change it to: *Brothers under Arms, the Tasmanian Volunteers*.

The subject matter lends itself easily to incorporating at least some of the advice of Brothers James and Stewart, with interaction between the military, the government, the general public, Freemasons and other fraternal organisations. There is indeed a wealth of further information available via the Internet, and my spare time for the past nine months has been devoted to obtaining and assessing it.

Google and *Wikipedia* are familiar research tools and a tremendous resource, but should be treated with caution, in that the information supplied is only as good as its source, requiring careful assessment of the accuracy of that source, or confirmation from at least one independent source. They led me to facsimile reproductions of original or contemporary documents, such as English and Scottish *Government Gazettes* and official Army Lists, as well as to newspaper reports and the compilations of other researchers. Google also led me to a uniform enthusiast who has researched and recreated pictures

2 For a full account of the lodges thus formed in the Waikato district of New Zealand, see 'Our Masonic heritage in the Waikato' by RWBro J P Glenie PGW, *Transactions* of the Waikato Lodge of Research, November 1981; and *The extinct lodges of New Zealand*, by RWBro Colonel G Barclay PDGM, PGSec, 48–55 & 79–81, printed by Blundell Bros, 1935.

3 For example, in England just prior to the passing of the *Unlawful Societies Act* of 1799, the Lodge of Lights at Warrington formed itself into a unit of the local militia (Prof Andrew Prescott, 'A history of British Freemasonry 1425–2000', reprinted in *Harashim* #43:8), and a 'Loyal Masonic Volunteer Rifle Corps' was formed at Manchester in 1803 ('British Army and Freemasonry in Australia' by RWBro Russell Gibbs PSGW, in *Transactions* of the Research Lodge of New South Wales, delivered July 1992). In Ireland in 1782 Lodge 386 raised the Lowtherstown Masonic Volunteer Corps, and others followed suit (VWBro D H Weir, 'Freemasonry in Ballinamallard' in *Transactions* of the Lodge of Research No.CC, Ireland, vol XXI, and other reports in the same volume), and Bro Bob James reports similar activity in Scotland by Masons and Odd Fellows.

of literally thousands of uniforms throughout the world, with images available on a series of CDs. From him I purchased a CD of *Uniforms of Colonial Australia: Tasmania & Western Australia*.⁴

Genealogical websites proved useful, particularly the Mormon site <www.familysearch.org>, and the ANZMRC Masonic Digital Library <anzmrc.org/masonic-digital-library> provided valuable data. State Libraries and similar government sites were equally useful, but the greatest treasure of all was the Australian National University's <trove.nla.gov.au>.

Not all information is available from the comfort of an armchair, however, and to complete the investigation will require visits to Hobart and Sydney, when the opportunity arises, so this also is a draft.

There is one big problem with adopting the advice of Brothers James and Stewart: not only does the research take longer, but more importantly the presentation time required is longer, much longer. Therefore, tonight's presentation will cover only the first eight or nine years of the 45-year period.

Background

Fifteen years after the arrival of the First Fleet in New South Wales, colonisation began in Tasmania (then called Van Diemen's Land) with a mix of soldiers, convicts and free settlers. At this time the colony of New South Wales included New Zealand, Norfolk Island and Tasmania, as well as the whole of the mainland. From 1804 to 1812, southern and northern settlements in Tasmania were administered by separate Lieutenant-Governors under the Governor of New South Wales. From 1813 the island was under a single Lieutenant-Governor, located in the South. Tasmania was administered separately from New South Wales from 1825, and in 1855 became a self-governing colony. Transportation of convicts to Tasmania ceased in 1853.



Freemasonry came to Tasmania with the military lodges embedded in the regiments stationed there, and via individual settlers, including convicts. Their story has been told by Ron Cook,⁵ Max Linton & Murray Yaxley,⁶ and others. The early lodges were Irish; the first civilian lodges were erected in Hobart in 1828 and in Launceston in 1842. English lodges were established by dissidents from the Irish lodges, in 1844 in Hobart and in 1852 in Launceston. Scottish lodges did not appear on the scene until 1876. Early attempts to achieve a measure of autonomy with Provincial Grand Lodges (Irish in 1832–34 and English in 1857–59) failed. Later moves were more successful. An English District Grand Lodge was erected in 1875, an Irish Provincial Grand Lodge in 1884, a Scottish District Grand Lodge in 1885, and in 1890 the lodges combined to form the Grand Lodge of Tasmania.

Odd Fellows existed in a variety of flavours, and their history in Australia is poorly and unreliably documented.⁷ Two groups were established in Tasmania, both in Hobart, in 1843. The Ancient & Independent Order of Odd Fellows (A&IOOF) lodges appear to have been chartered from Sydney, owing allegiance to the 'Australian Supreme Grand Lodge of New South Wales',⁸ and gained independence in 1853 as the Grand Lodge of Van Diemen's Land.⁹ The phrases 'Primitive Independent' and 'London Unity' are also associated with the title of this Order. The other group, the Manchester Unity Independent Order of Odd Fellows (MUIOOF) appears to have been chartered directly from England and maintained their loyalty there, with lodges formed into two Districts:

4 From www.uniformsotw.com, © Sean Ryan 2008, and such images reproduced in this presentation are with the consent of the copyright holder.

5 'A history of early Freemasonry and the Irish Constitution in Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania)' in *ANZMRC Proceedings* 1998.

6 'The Father of Freemasonry in Van Diemen's Land' in *ANZMRC Proceedings* 2004.

7 See James, R: 'Problems with UK and US Odd Fellow literature' and 'The story of GOOOF and Traveller's Home in the 1840s and 1850s' at <http://www.takver.com/history/benefit/>; his later publication, *They Call Each Other Brother*, self-published in 2010, gives greater detail but reinforces the initial observation.

8 *Colonial Times*, 5/9/1851.

9 (Hobart) *Courier*, 27/10/1853.

‘Hobart Town’ and ‘Loyal Cornwall’ (based at Launceston).

Victoria became a separate colony in 1851 and, with the discovery of gold in many parts of the colony, the economy boomed. Not so in *Tasmania*, which suffered a population loss and an economic depression as a result. Freemasonry also declined towards the end of the 1850s, partly as a result of the Victorian gold rush and partly because of the degrading squabble between the English lodges (North *versus* South) over the formation of a Provincial Grand Lodge and appointment of a northerner as Provincial Grand Master without any consultation with the southern—and senior—lodge. By 1859 there remained only two viable English lodges, Tasmanian Union in Hobart and Hope in Launceston,¹⁰ and two Irish lodges, Tasmanian Operative in Hobart, and a revived St John’s Lodge in Launceston. Odd Fellows did not suffer a similar decline because, with the downturn in the economy, there was an increased need for the medical and other support provided by these fraternities. By 1859 there were a dozen A&IOOF lodges¹¹ (six in Hobart, one in Launceston and five elsewhere¹²), and a ‘baker’s dozen’ of MUIOOF lodges (five in Hobart, two in Launceston and six elsewhere¹³). There were also lodges of Rechabites and Foresters.

The main task of British Army units in Australia was ‘to maintain civil order, particularly against the threat of convict uprisings, and to suppress the resistance of the Aboriginal population to British settlement’. While ‘European settlement was accompanied by a protracted and undeclared war against Australia’s Indigenous inhabitants’ . . . Military authorities did not usually regard Aborigines as posing sufficient threat to warrant the expense of committing military forces to pursue them, and most of the fighting was conducted by the settlers, assisted by police’.¹⁴ With the organisation of reliable police forces, the use of army pensioners as prison guards and supervisors of convict labour, and the cessation of transportation of convicts, the need for regular army units diminished.

The secondary task of the army was protection against foreign invasion. The main ports were defended by guns in fixed positions, variously manned by marines, gunners (Royal Artillery units), and infantry. Initially the perceived danger was from ships of Britain’s traditional enemy, the French, and later from American privateers. With the advent of the Crimean War (1853–1856), the Pacific fleet of the Russian Imperial Navy was added to the list.¹⁵ The Australian War Memorial ‘History’ states:¹⁶

Not until 1854 were volunteer corps and militia . . . formed in the Australian colonies, but news of war between Britain and Russia in the Crimea led to the establishment of volunteer corps in some colonies and the formation of informal rifle clubs in others. When the Crimean War ended in 1856 volunteer units faded, to be revived in 1859 when it appeared that Napoleon III was preparing to invade England. By early 1860 most suburbs and towns in Australia supported a volunteer unit, usually a rifle corps.

Freemasons took the initiative in forming the Tasmanian Volunteers, and were responsible for support from its inception in 1859 until Federation in 1901 and its subsequent replacement by Commonwealth forces in 1904. It is readily conceded that other fraternal organisations quickly followed the lead of the Freemasons and lent their support in the early stages, and *their* story is included in this paper.

PART I—TASMANIAN VOLUNTEERS 1859–1867

In the South

When the Tasmanian parliament passed the *Volunteer Act* of 1858, Masons led the response. Well attended meetings were called in Hobart in August 1859 by Supreme Court Justice Thomas Horne, of Tasmanian Operative Lodge, in September by Augustus Frederick Smith, of Tasmanian Union Lodge;

10 In Launceston Charity failed, Faith was soon to become dormant until 1881, Peace failed at Longford, and subsequently at Stanley, while Pacific, in Hobart, did not receive its warrant until June 1860.

11 *Hobart Town Daily Mercury*, 12/2/1859.

12 At Hamilton, Kemp Town, Kingston (2) and New Norfolk.

13 At Campbell Town, Deloraine, Evandale, Franklin, Kingston and Port Cygnet.

14 Australian War Memorial ‘History’ <http://www.awm.gov.au/atwar/colonial.asp>.

15 According to Dr Elena Govor (‘Australia and the Crimean War’, <http://australiarussia.com/AusCrimeaENFIN.htm>), the ‘Russian Panic’ was recurring: in 1853, 1863, 1870, 1882 and 1885.

16 <http://www.awm.gov.au/atwar/colonial.asp>.

and in December by Benjamin Travers Solly, of Tasmanian Union, who was also a Manchester Unity Odd Fellow.

Augustus Frederick Smith (1828–1864) trained at the Royal Academy, Sandhurst, and joined the 99th (Lanarkshire) Regiment in Hobart as an Ensign in 1848, purchased promotion to Lieutenant in 1849, married a local girl the following year, and resigned his commission in 1853. He was elected to the Royal Society of Van Diemen's Land that year, and set himself up in Hobart as a surveyor, architect and civil engineer. He gave a paper to the Royal Society outlining defences for Hobart and as early as 1854 publicly advocated the formation of a volunteer artillery company, to train twice weekly under a competent instructor.

After the meeting in September 1859 he began training his recruits even before they were officially formed into the Hobart Town Volunteer Artillery Company, in December, when he was commissioned as 'Captain and Adjutant' of the Company.¹⁷ The members took an oath of allegiance in January 1860, and in March purchased their own uniforms by instalments, at a total cost of £3.6.6 each. They did not receive any remuneration or grant from the government, and could only quit by written resignation and payment in full of what they owed.¹⁸ It is difficult to understand, therefore, why a second officer was commissioned with effect from 24 February 1860, as *paymaster* and quartermaster, with the rank of 'second captain'.¹⁹ This was Douglas Thomas Kilburn (c1812–1871), a photographer, draughtsman and politician.

Meanwhile, the meetings called by Brother Solly resulted in the formation of the Hobart Town Masonic Volunteer Rifle Company (generally known as the Masonic Rifles) under his captaincy (gazetted 18/2/1860). Benjamin Travers Solly (1820–1902) was also a draughtsman, and an accomplished painter. He migrated from England to South Australia in 1840, married the daughter of the postmaster-general of South Australia in 1856 and brought her to Tasmania, where he was private secretary to the Governor, Sir Henry Fox Young, for two years, then was appointed Assistant Colonial Secretary (from 1857 to 1894), retired at 74 and died at the age of 81. His First Lieutenant was D'Arcy Haggitt of Tasmanian Union Lodge (gazetted 1/3/1860). His Second Lieutenant was Thomas Marsden of Tasmanian Operative Lodge (gazetted 13/8/1860), late of the 99th Regt. Later, William Hammond of Pacific Lodge (established in 1860) was promoted Lieutenant and then Captain.

The Masonic Rifles drafted their own regulations on the lines of lodge by-laws, which provided that the Company should consist of 3 commissioned officers (a Captain and 2 Lieutenants), *elected by ballot*, plus honorary officers (medical officers and chaplain), 5 Serjeants, a bugler, an armourer and not exceeding 100 rank and file. New members had to be proposed and seconded in writing, and elected by the Company in much the same manner as in Masonic lodges, except that one black ball per 10 members voting would exclude, and no fewer than 20 members had to be present for a valid election.²⁰ They also designed their own uniform and cap badge.

The Freemasons were not the only fraternity to provide a rifle company in the South. Their example was quickly followed by the Ancient & Independent Order of Odd Fellows and the Manchester Unity Independent Order of Odd Fellows. Initially, these two fraternities proposed forming a single unit, the Odd Fellows Volunteer Rifle Company,²¹ but the Manchester Unity brethren decided they preferred their own company.²²

In March the Ancient & Independent Order formed the Odd Fellows Volunteer Rifle Company with Algernon Burdett Jones as Captain and Commanding Officer, John Davies as First Lieutenant & Adjutant, Sylvarius Moriarty as Second Lieutenant, and two doctors as Surgeons. Algernon Burdett Jones (c1811–1876), formerly a lieutenant in the 3rd Madras Cavalry, married a daughter of Anthony Fenn Kemp in Tasmania in 1835; he was superintendent of an orphanage, a police magistrate and coroner. He resigned from the Volunteers in August, pleading the burden of his coronial duties.

17 *Hobart Town Daily Mercury*, 28/12/1859.

18 Evans, Col AGA Rtd: 'Hobart Town Artillery Company: its record' in *Mercury*, 21/8/1919.

19 *Launceston Examiner*, 10/3/1860.

20 Anon: *Rules and Regulations of the Hobart Town Masonic Volunteer Rifle Company*, 1860 (pamphlet, 1860).

21 *Hobart Town Daily Mercury*, 7/3/1860.

22 *Hobart Town Daily Mercury*, 12/4/1860.

He was succeeded as Captain and Commanding Officer by John Davies (1813–1872) with effect from 28/8/1860. Davies was born in England, convicted of fraud at the age of 17, and sentenced to seven years transportation, at the end of which time he joined the police in Sydney and became chief constable of Penrith. He resigned in 1841 when his foster-brother, ‘Teddy the Jewboy’, was hanged as a bushranger. He became a reporter for the *Port Phillip Patriot*, then rejoined the police, and in 1851 brought his wife and young family to Hobart, where he became licensee of an hotel and proprietor of a newspaper that, after several mergers and take-overs, became the *Mercury*, which remained in the family until 1988. He joined the Ancient and Independent Order of Odd Fellows, and served as Grand Master 1859–1860, in which year he petitioned to become a Freemason but was rejected by Tasmanian Union Lodge.²³ Ironically, his two eldest sons became members of that lodge and respectively Deputy Grand Master and Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Tasmania. In 1861 John Davies became a politician, representing first a Hobart electorate and then country electorates.

He was succeeded as First Lieutenant and Adjutant by Hugh Munro Hull (1818–1882), who was born in England and came to Tasmania with his parents in 1819. He held various civil service jobs from 1834 to 1856, when he was appointed a police magistrate and held various other offices at the same time, and subsequently became clerk to the House of Assembly.²⁴ He was author of a number of books and pamphlets, including *The Volunteer List* (1861). He was promoted Captain Paymaster in 1861.

When Second Lieutenant Moriarty resigned in September 1860, he was replaced by Stuart Jackson Dandridge (1830–1861), commercial editor on the staff of the *Mercury*.²⁵ With John Davies as proprietor of the newspaper and Grand Master of the Odd Fellows, there were so many of the staff in the Odd Fellows Rifles that the company became known as ‘the press gang’.²⁶

The Manchester Unity Volunteer Rifle Company was formed in June 1860, with Alderman John Leslie Stewart as Captain, M L Hood as First Lieutenant²⁷ and Henry William Seabrook Jr (son of Alderman Seabrook) as Second Lieutenant.²⁸ Alderman Stewart was obliged to resign in September 1861, when he was declared insolvent, and he was replaced in December by Thomas Lloyd Gellibrand (1820–74), grazier and politician, son of Tasmania’s first attorney-general, Joseph Tice Gellibrand (1786–1837), and father of Major-General Sir John Gellibrand, KCB, DSO & bar (1872–1945).

Both the Odd Fellows Rifles and the Manchester Unity Rifles formulated their regulations on the lines of those of the Masonic Rifles, and chose their own uniforms. Other units also took note of the regulations of the Masonic Rifles and of the Hobart Artillery. Four other rifle companies were raised in the South, based on their localities: Derwent (Capt Henry Lloyd, 14/7/1860), Buckingham (Capt the Hon Thomas Yardley Lowes MLC, 21/7/60), Huon (Capt Edward Atkins Walpole, 5/9/60) and Kingborough (Capt James Woodhouse Kirwan, 10/9/60).

The City Guards, formed in November 1860, comprised two companies to serve only in Hobart, under Capt the Hon James Milne Wilson MLC (1812–1880), later Sir James Wilson KCMG, manager of Cascade brewery, mayor of Hobart (1868), premier of Tasmania (1869–1872), president of the Legislative Council (1872–1880),²⁹ and an Ancient & Independent Odd Fellow. Captain paymaster William Robertson also was an A&I Odd Fellow, and surgeon Dr Thomas Christie Smart belonged to both Orders of Odd Fellows.

Hobart Artillery

While the rifle companies were being formed, Bro Smith had been training his artillery, and on 24 May 1860 he marched them through the streets of Hobart and had them fire the guns of the Queen’s Battery in honour of Her Majesty’s birthday. But trouble was brewing in the ranks of the Artillery. It is not

23 minutes of Tasmanian Union Lodge, 25/6/1860, in the possession of Tasmanian Union Lodge No 3 TC.

24 Wettenhall, R L: *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/hull-hugh-munro-3814/text5891>.

25 *Mercury*, 17/6/1861.

26 *Cornwall Chronicle*, 27/10/1860.

27 Lt Hood’s name was Major Lloyd Hood.

28 *Hobart Town Daily Mercury*, 19/6/1860.

29 Smith, Neil: *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, <<http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/wilson-sir-james-milne-4867/text8135>>.

spelt out clearly in the press of the day, but one can speculate with hindsight. The rifle companies had elected their own officers—several per company—but there had been only promotions to non-commissioned rank in the artillery. And it may just be that Bro Smith was a bit of a bully; on 26 August 1863 Bro Smith appeared before the stipendiary magistrate (Algernon Burdett Jones, former captain of the Odd Fellows Rifles) and a justice of the peace (H Cook Esq), charged with assault and battery of his domestic servant, Annie Doyle. Bro Smith, who was represented by a member of his artillery company, Corporal Henri James d’Emden, a solicitor and father of a future Deputy Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Tasmania, pleaded not guilty but was convicted and fined £3 and costs.³⁰

Whatever the causes of discontent, on 2 July 1860 paymaster and quartermaster Kilburn, Bro Smith’s second in command, chaired a ‘full meeting’ of the Hobart Town Volunteer Artillery, and subsequently conveyed to the Colonial Secretary two resolutions ‘carried by very large majorities’. The gist of the resolutions was a request that William Tarleton Esquire be appointed commanding officer of the Artillery; the instigators were Captain Kilburn, Sergeant-major Pitt and Corporal Belstead (a Freemason), and Tarleton indicated his conditional assent.³¹ The result was that in November 1860 Captain Smith’s appointment as Captain and Adjutant of the Hobart Volunteer Artillery Company was cancelled, and he was appointed instead as Instructor of Artillery in the South of the colony, with the rank of captain, backdated to 20 December 1859, while William Tarleton was appointed to the command of the artillery company with the rank of captain backdated to 19 December 1859, thus one day senior to Bro Smith. William Pitt and Charles Torrens Belstead (Junior Warden of Pacific Lodge) were rewarded with commissions as lieutenants, dated 13 August 1860, as was Alderman David Lewis, an Ancient & Independent Odd Fellow, proprietor of the Theatre Royal.³²

William Tarleton (1820–1895) migrated from England to Tasmania in 1842 and served as Police Magistrate in many parts of the colony before being posted to Hobart in 1857. From 1862 until 1871 he was Recorder of Titles under the Real Property Act, and then reverted to the magistracy until his retirement in 1894.

Bro Smith, the only captain in the Volunteers in the South of the colony who had any regular military experience, accepted his transfer without public protest and formed a School of Artillery, training not only the artillery volunteers but also members of the rifle companies who volunteered for gunnery training. In January 1864, he resigned his commission as Captain Instructor of the Artillery and went to New Zealand for active service against the Maoris,³³ presumably leaving his wife and young family behind, and he died in the Militia Hospital, Auckland, five months later.

In the North

In the North, fraternities did not form separate units, but Masons from the English and Irish lodges and the Odd Fellows were well represented in most of them. At a public meeting on 5 May 1860 the decision was reached to form the Launceston Citizens Volunteer Rifle Corps.³⁴ A second meeting, ten

30 *Mercury*, 28/9/1863.

31 Evans, Col AGA Rtd: ‘Hobart Town Artillery Company: its record’ in *Mercury*, 21/8/1919.

32 Lewis resigned his commission in May 1861 because he objected to the commissioning of John O’Boyle as Second Lieutenant in the Artillery (*Mercury*, 30/5/1861), and promptly joined his brethren in the Second Rifles, where he was promoted Lieutenant and Adjutant, vacancies left by the promotion of Hugh Hull to Captain Paymaster. In December 1863 he was offered the captaincy of the First Rifles, upon the resignation of Capt Solly, but declined. He became a member of the House of Assembly in 1864.

33 The following was published in the *Mercury* on 5/4/1864:

CAPTAIN A. F. SMITH. The friends of the above gentleman, who it will be remembered left Hobart Town for the seat of war in New Zealand, with a view to obtaining active military employment, will be glad to learn that he is about to be entrusted with the absolute command of a corps of artillery, it having been found by the result of a professional examination, to which he was subjected that his qualifications are such as to entitle him to this important mark of confidence. The departure of Capt. Smith from Tasmania must therefore be regarded as another illustration of the manner in which men so much needed in the colony are driven from it by the petty jealousies of those who are unable to perceive or appreciate the valuable qualities which training and cultivation alone can confer.

34 Crawford, Sir G: ‘The Launceston Artillery’, paper read to the Northern Branch of the Royal Society of Tasmania, 5/6/1970; *Launceston Examiner*, 8/5/1860.

days later, was chaired by Brother Adye Douglas (1815–1906), Master of St John's Lodge 346 IC, member of Loyal Cornwall Lodge MUIOOF, lawyer, future mayor of Launceston and future premier of Tasmania. On that occasion 42 men were sworn into the Corps by Brothers James Robertson and Joseph Cohen, Justices of the Peace. Robertson was a member of St John's and Lodge of Hope, and Cohen (a Member of Parliament) belonged to Hope and Lodge of Faith. The rules adopted for the Corps included admission by ballot, and the proviso that members would not be required to serve at sea or outside the 'Northern Division' of Tasmania.

Three weeks later, in response to a letter from the Colonial Secretary, the Corps changed its name to the Launceston Volunteer Artillery Company.³⁵ In a second letter, the Colonial Secretary assured them:

You would be just as much riflemen as ever, though formed into an Artillery Corps, only Artillery practice would be the first object . . . As Artillery, the Corps would take precedence of all rifle corps. All men should be equally drilled to the great guns, so that in action there would always be a reserve of trained artillerymen who might, in the meantime, be making use of his [*sic*] rifle.

Nevertheless, the citizens of Launceston and the smaller towns in the North did form rifle companies, in addition to the artillery. In the period 1860–61 the Launceston Artillery Corps had 4 Captains and 11 other officers, at least four of whom were Freemasons (Lieutenants John Cathcart & Joseph Cohen; two paymasters, James Robertson and John Lindsay Miller, Master of Lodge of Hope), and a warrant officer who was a member of MUIOOF, Sgt-major Whiting.

Officer Commanding the Launceston Volunteer Artillery Corps, effective from 1/6/1860, was Captain Rodham Catherine Davison Home (c1816–1894). He was born in Scotland, served in the British Army and retired with the rank of Captain in 1846.³⁶ He was in Tasmania in December 1843 when he married Ellen Dry, sister of (Sir) Richard Dry (Lodge of Hope), and by 1850 he and his wife were living in Scotland. By 1859 the Homes were back in Tasmania, neighbours of Bro Dry at Quamby, about midway between Launceston and Deloraine. In March 1862 he was appointed 'Major Commanding the Volunteers in the Northern Division of the Island' and at the same time 'the honorary appointment of Captain in the Launceston Volunteer Artillery Corps', and in 1863 was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel (local rank).³⁷

Senior captain of the two companies of the Launceston Volunteer Rifle Corps was D'Arcy Wentworth Lathrop Murray (effective 2/6/1860), newspaper proprietor, politician, Freemason and son of Robert Lathrop Murray, the 'Father of Tasmanian Freemasonry'.³⁸ The other captains in the first two years were both Freemasons and Manchester Unity Odd Fellows: Adye Douglas (24/9/60) and Charles McArthur (26/1/1861), Lodge of Hope. Dr Cornelius Gavin Casey, also of Lodge of Hope, was appointed surgeon to the Corps on 29/10/60.

Rifle companies were formed in the northern towns of Longford, Westbury and Deloraine, and the Launceston Mounted Rifles was formed in December 1860, under the command of Captain Charles Alexander William Rocher, barrister,³⁹ with surgeon Dr James Grant, both of Lodge of Hope, and paymaster Dr George Maddox.⁴⁰

In the South other volunteer units were proposed but did not eventuate: Sorell Volunteer Rifles; Temperance Rifles at Hobart; and a Volunteer Naval Company 'for the defence of the Southern Coast

35 Wyatt, D M: *A Lion in the Colony* (1990) 4.

36 *South Australian Register*, 9/5/1846; he is listed as being in the 6th Regiment, but this is probably in error for the 96th, since the 6th did not serve in Australia, and the 96th did, from 1841 to 1848, and was definitely in Tasmania in 1843.

37 *Launceston Examiner*, 20/3/1862; *Cornwall Chronicle*, 4/11/1863.

38 Davis, M W: 'The Father of Freemasonry in Tasmania', *Transactions of Hobart Lodge of Research*, vol 41 #2 (1988), 20; see also Linton, M & Yaxley, M: 'The Father of Freemasonry in Van Diemen's Land', the 2004 Kellerman Lecture for Tasmania, in *Australian & New Zealand Masonic Research Council Proceedings 2004*, ANZMRC, Williamstown Vic 2004.

39 See my paper 'The synagogue and the lodge' in *Proceedings of Launceston Lodge of Research*, May 1993, and *Masonic Research in South Australia*, vol II, Adelaide 1996.

40 His son, William Gordon Maddox, mrcs, (a Freemason) was appointed Surgeon Superintendent of Launceston General Hospital in 1870 and was surgeon to the Launceston Volunteer Rifle Regiment in 1882 (*Cyclopedia of Tasmania*, vol 2:57).

of Tasmania'.⁴¹

Initially, the equivalent rank of a private soldier in the Volunteers was 'Cadet', and so, when the idea of enrolling youths in a separate unit arose, they were called 'Juniors' to avoid confusion with adult *Cadets*, and thus 'Launceston Juvenile Volunteers', formed in November 1860 'for lads 12 to 16 years of age'.⁴² Later, the *Cadets* of the adult units were designated *Volunteers*, and members of juvenile units were called cadets.

The volunteers were efficiently drilled and trained by instructors from the 12th of Foot (East Suffolk) and 40th of Foot (2 Bn East Somerset), and the task was made easier by a leavening of ex-soldiers among them. By 30 June 1861 there were 1186 adult volunteers enrolled in the Colony, of whom 379 were in the North and 807 in the South. The Masonic Rifles numbered 60 at this time, Odd Fellows 63, Manchester Unity 62 and the Hobart Artillery 73.⁴³

The First Rifles, the former Masonic Rifles, ceased to exist in January 1866. Under the captaincy of Philip Oakley Fysh (commissioned August 1864), they amalgamated with the Hobart Town Volunteer Artillery. Fysh (1835–1919), later Sir Philip Fysh KCMG, was a merchant and politician, future premier and future Commonwealth postmaster-general. Those who transferred to the artillery included Lt Thomas Marsden (EC) and Sgt William Beaumont (EC)—and Captain Benjamin Travers Solly (EC & MU) came in from the cold and also joined the gunners. In the North, in January 1866 the Launceston Volunteer Rifle Corps amalgamated with the Launceston Artillery Company.⁴⁴

Regular officers

The colonial government engaged a succession of professional soldiers to keep an eye on the weekend warriors, and their first choice was brevet Lt-Col Frederick Browne Russell (1809–1883) as 'Inspecting Field Officer of Volunteer Corps in Tasmania'.⁴⁵

Russell's father, Capt Andrew Hamilton Russell of the 28th (North Gloucestershire) Regt, died in Spain during the Peninsular War, leaving a young widow and five children, of whom three were boys: William (b1806), Frederick (b1809) and Andrew Hamilton Russell Jr (b1811). William and Frederick served in their father's regiment and came to Australia with the 28th as lieutenants in 1835, while Andrew served in the 22nd and 58th and settled in New Zealand.⁴⁶ William and Frederick both married daughters of Sir John Jamison (1776–1844), a Past Master of Lodge of Australia 820 EC. When the regiment moved to India in 1842, *Lieutenant* Frederick Russell took his young bride with him, and when the regiment was about to leave India in 1848, *Captain* Russell transferred to the 22nd Regt in order to stay there. However, Captain and Mrs Russell, their three daughters and a servant arrived in Hobart in April 1850. He was still in the army, but on half-pay, as Staff Officer of Pensioners, and brought with him 72 pensioners.

The Military Pensioners Unit was used in the Australian colonies from 1830, mainly in what are now Victoria and Tasmania. They guarded convicts on ships and in prisons, and acted as overseers of convict labour. They were given small allotments of land in or near towns, and they and their families were free to accept employment according to their skills.⁴⁷ In 1854 Russell was promoted to Major, still on half-pay as Staff Officer of Pensioners, but nominally in the 3rd Dragoon Guards; and in March 1860 he was given a brevet promotion to Lieutenant-Colonel.

41 *Mercury*, 21/7/1860; *Launceston Examiner*, 20/9/1860; *Mercury*, 1/10/1860; *Launceston Examiner*, 9/10/1860.

42 *Launceston Examiner*, 22/11/1860.

43 Hull, *The Volunteer List* (1861).

44 *Launceston Examiner*, 25/1/1866.

45 *Launceston Examiner*, 25/9/1860.

46 His grandson, fourth in line to be named Andrew Hamilton Russell, commanded the New Zealand Division in the First World War (RUSSELL, Major-General Sir Andrew Hamilton, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., D.S.O., etc., 1966 *Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*).

47 From the *Colonial Times*, /4/1850:

PENSIONERS' HIRING BARRACKS, NEW WHARF.—It is announced by Capt. Russell, Staff Officer of Pensioners, that from those who arrived in the *Eliza*, convict ship, the following are available for hire:—1 blacksmith; 1 cooper; 1 bricklayer; 1 private servant; 1 groom; 1 coachman; 1 shepherd; 5 labourers. Particulars as to the men and their character may be obtained upon application to Captain Russell.

Early in 1862 his job description was changed from 'Inspecting Field Officer of Volunteer Corps in Tasmania, and . . . Commanding Officer of the several volunteer corps in Tasmania' to 'Colonel Commanding the Volunteers in the Southern Division of the Island' and he was designated 'the medium of communication with the Government in all matters connected with the volunteer forces in that division'.⁴⁸ Towards the end of the year his wife died, the position of Staff Officer of Pensioners was abolished, and he was retired on half-pay pension. He left Tasmania in January 1863 with his eight surviving children and a nanny and—perhaps drawing on his experience 25 years previously as an officer of the Mounted Military Police—became a police magistrate in rural New South Wales, first at Wentworth (1864) and then at Queanbeyan (1869) until his death in 1883.

Major John Francis Kempt (1805–1865) served mainly in the 12th (East Suffolk) Regt, which was stationed in Australia from 1854 to 1861. He was posted to Hobart in December 1855, in command of the troops stationed in Tasmania, and it is noted that in 1857 he and Major Russell were members of the Royal Society of Tasmania. Major and Mrs Kempt left Hobart early in 1858. He was promoted brevet lieutenant-colonel later that year, and in 1860 he was appointed inspecting field officer of the Volunteers in Sydney, including a land-based naval brigade. He was administrator of New South Wales in the early months of 1861, between the departure of Governor Sir William Denison and the arrival of the new Governor, Sir John Young.⁴⁹ In October 1862 he again took up command of the troops in Tasmania, by now a full colonel, and upon the resignation of Lt-Col Russell in January 1863, he accepted command of the whole of the Volunteers, thus bringing regulars and volunteers under the same command. In July of that year he was transferred to Sydney, and in 1865 he went to New Zealand, to take command of the Queen's Redoubt, near Auckland. He died there of a heart attack on 28 July 1865 and was buried with full military honours in Auckland.

Major Edward Hungerford Eagar (1819–1871), of the 40th (2nd Somersetshire) Regt, was a veteran of India, Afghanistan and the Crimea. His regiment was stationed in Australia from 1823 to 1829, and again from 1852 to 1860; from 1860 to 1865 most of regiment was in New Zealand and participated in the Taranaki and Waikato campaigns. In 1861 he was posted to Tasmania as Assistant Adjutant-General, and in July of that year he was appointed 'Inspector of Musketry to the Volunteer Force in Tasmania'.⁵⁰ In July 1863 he assumed command of H M Forces in Tasmania. The following month he responded to a plea from the Governor of New Zealand for reinforcements by taking 110 men of the 12th and 40th Regiments to New Zealand, handing them over, and returning to Tasmania. Upon his return, he was appointed Colonel Commanding the Volunteer Forces.

In all probability, Eagar was a Freemason, perhaps initiated between 1857 and 1860, since he named his first son Frank Whitworth (1857), his second Edgar Boaz (1860) and his third Dennis Jachin (1862).⁵¹ In April 1866, recently promoted Lt-Col Eagar suffered a similar fate to that of Lt-Col Russell, in that the office of Assistant Adjutant-General was abolished. The Eagars departed Australian shores for England in May 1866.

After graduating from Sandhurst, and service in Hong Kong and New Zealand, Captain Francis Rawdon Chesney (1824–1907), Royal Engineers, was posted to Tasmania in 1863. Between the departure of Lt-Col Russell and the arrival of Capt Chesney, a new *Volunteer Act* came into force, revising the command structure. The Southern Division of the Tasmanian Volunteers now comprised the Hobart Town Volunteer Artillery Company and the First Administrative Regiment, Southern Division (the rifle companies and the city guards). The Northern Division comprised the First Light Cavalry, the Launceston Artillery Corps, and the First Administrative Regiment, Northern Division (the rifle companies). Major Eagar was placed in overall command, with the local rank of Colonel; Capt

48 *Launceston Examiner*, 20/3/1862.

49 Walsh, G P: 'Kempt, John Francis (1805–1865)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol 5, MUP, 1974.

50 *Mercury*, 30/7/1861.

51 Frank Whitworth Eagar died in 1884

(http://records.ancestry.com/Frank_Whitworth_Eagar_records.ashx?pid=183414792); Captain Edgar Boaz Eagar of the Northumberland Fusiliers was killed in action in South Africa in 1899

(http://www.memorials.inportsmouth.co.uk/churches/royal_garrison/eagar-brine.htm); Dennis Jachin Eagar died in infancy (*Mercury*, 25/3/1862).

Chesney commanded the Southern Division with the local rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and Major Home was given command of the Northern Division with similar rank.⁵²

All of these had military experience and all but Home were serving soldiers, but the final appointment in the list was different. Capt the Hon J M Wilson MLC, of the City Guards, was promoted to 'Major in the First Administrative Regiment, Southern Division'. This did not sit well with the other volunteer captains in the South, particularly those senior to Wilson. Capt Tarleton protested vigorously—and was reprimanded for doing so—and Capt Solly resigned. It may also have been a reason for Capt Smith's resignation and decision to go to New Zealand on active service soon afterwards. Two years later, an editorial in Capt Davies' paper, the *Mercury*, attributed the promotion to favouritism by his fellow-politicians and described it as 'altogether indefensible'.⁵³

In January 1867 news was received of the promotion of Captain Chesney RE to brevet Major, and a further promotion towards the end of the year required his return to England. The *Mercury* paid tribute to him in September:⁵⁴

Colonel Chesney, of the Royal Engineers department, is about to be relieved by Captain Warren, who has come out from England for that purpose. The high esteem in which Colonel Chesney has been held by all classes of the community ever since his arrival among us will make his departure a source of deep and very general regret. His official duties in connexion with the engineering department have not, we believe, been very heavy, but he has been anything but an idle or an inactive man in the colony. He has had charge of the new batteries, and has been colonel-commanding the volunteer force, for some time past without pay. In attempting to develop the resources of the colony, he has always taken a foremost place, and has been eminently successful. For proof of this, we refer to his connexion with our gold and coal mining companies, to his late patent for the manufacture of kerosene oil, and to his exploration of the unsettled districts on the western coast. Owing to illness in his family, Colonel Chesney will not leave for some time. His stay among us, however, will not be a protracted one.

Chesney sailed for England at the end of October, two days after the death of his young son. He retired in 1875, after 33 years service in the Royal Engineers, with the rank of Major-General,⁵⁵ and died in December 1907.

Uniforms and Ordnance

The choice of uniform, subject to government approval, was left to the individual units. Given the personal idiosyncrasies of the individual commanders, their choice was surprisingly . . . well, uniform. The artillery units north and south chose a dark blue, as did the City Guards and the Mounted Rifles, while most of the rifle companies selected the dark green—rifle green—first introduced into the British Army in the Peninsular War with the 'rifle' (as opposed to the smooth-bored musket). The exceptions were the Kingborough Rifles, in black, and the Masonic Rifles in grey. Most units chose to offset the basic colour with red facings and gold lace. The fraternal rifle companies chose to be different, and initially the Masonic Rifles had *green* facings and *silver* lace, the Odd Fellows Rifles had *black* facings and the standard gold lace, while the Manchester Unity Rifles had the standard red facings but *silver* lace, as did the Launceston Mounted Rifles. The Masonic Rifles designed a cap badge of a crown above crossed square and compasses.⁵⁶ The Odd Fellows cap badge was a crown above a star.⁵⁷

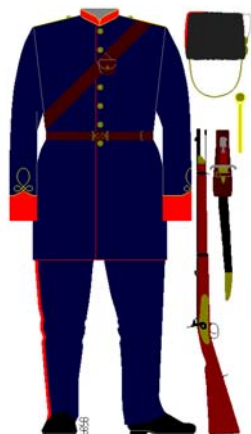
52 *Launceston Examiner*, 5/11/1863.

53 *Mercury*, 4/8/1865.

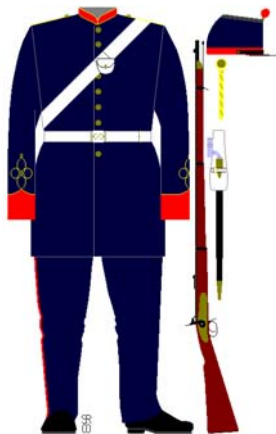
54 *Mercury*, 2/9/1867. Incidentally, the 'Captain Warren' referred to is *not* Bro (Sir) Charles Warren RE, of Quatuor Coronati fame.

55 Not to be confused with his uncle of the same name, Major-General Francis Rawdon Chesney (1789–1872), who served in the Royal Artillery and achieved fame with his feasibility study for the Suez Canal (subsequently adopted by de Lesseps) and a proposed land route to India via the Euphrates Valley (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Francis_Rawdon_Chesney).

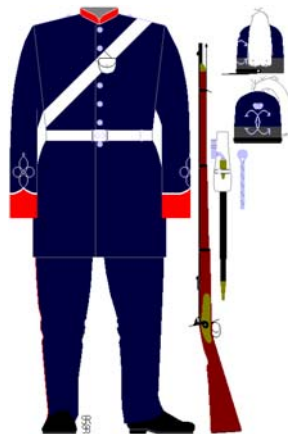
56 Hull, H M: *The Volunteer List* (pamphlet, 1861). PGM Robert Clarke in 'Freemasonry Tasmania, the military connection' (45th Blaikie Memorial Lecture, July 2006) refers to photographs of the uniform and cap badge, but could not publish these because of copyright.



Hobart Artillery
(Hollis carbine, Yataghan bayonet)



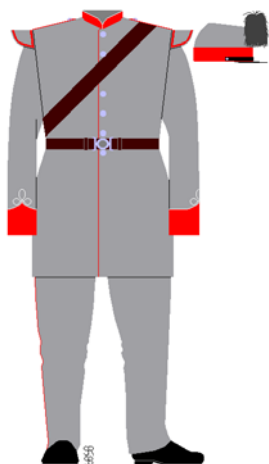
Launceston Artillery
(standard Enfield Rifle, standard 'pig-sticker' bayonet)



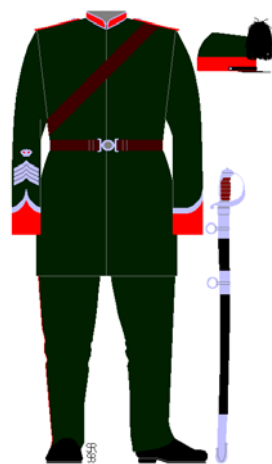
City Guards
(standard Enfield Rifle, standard 'pig-sticker' bayonet)



Mounted Rifles
(Wilson carbine, not shown)



First Rifles
(drummer, 1862)



Third Rifles
(Sergeant-major)



Modern British Rifles uniform
(incorporating battle honours of the 28th/61st Foot)

It was not long before the fraternal rifle companies experienced difficulty in recruiting sufficient numbers from within their own membership, and changed their admission requirements to allow non-members to join the company. This required a change of title, and in 1861 the Masonic Rifles became the First Rifles, and the Odd Fellows Rifles became the Second Rifles. Manchester Unity held out for a while, but eventually became the Third Rifles. In 1862 there were changes in the trimmings of the uniforms; the First Rifles adopted red facings but retained the silver lace, and the Second Rifles also changed to red facings.⁵⁸

Ordnance and ammunition, of course, were supplied by the government. In 1860, the volunteers were armed with the Enfield pattern 1853 type II rifle—a .577 calibre muzzle-loader, 1.4 metres long, sometimes called a rifle-musket because it was designed to be as long as a musket, so that when soldiers were firing in two ranks the muzzle of rearmost firearm was in front of the head of the front-rank soldier. It came with a 'pig-sticker' socket bayonet. Initially, the Enfield was issued to the artillery as well as the rifle companies, but then the Tasmanian government purchased 150 Hollis .577 calibre muzzle-loading artillery carbines, just over a metre long and supplied with a 'yataghan' sword-bayonet, and 50 of the shorter Wilson .451 calibre breech-loading carbines. The .451 calibre was described as 'small bore'! Only ten of the Hollis carbines found their way to the north of the island; the Wilson carbines were issued to the Mounted Rifles in 1864, but were found to be unsatisfactory.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ *Launceston Examiner*, 30/1/1862.

⁵⁸ *Mercury*, 30/5/1862.

⁵⁹ Lennox J: 'Tasmanian Arms', *AMAT*, vol 3 #2, 12–18; Presser J C, 'Early Tasmanian Volunteer Marked Arms', *AMAT* vol 5 #4, 6–9; Information Sheet #3, 'Tasmanian Volunteer Arms 1860–1870', Australian Army Museum, Tasmania.



Enfield pattern 1853 type II .577 calibre muzzle-loading rifle



Hollis .577 calibre muzzle-loading carbine



Whitworth .451 calibre muzzle-loading hexagonal-bore rifle



Kerr .451 calibre muzzle-loading rifle



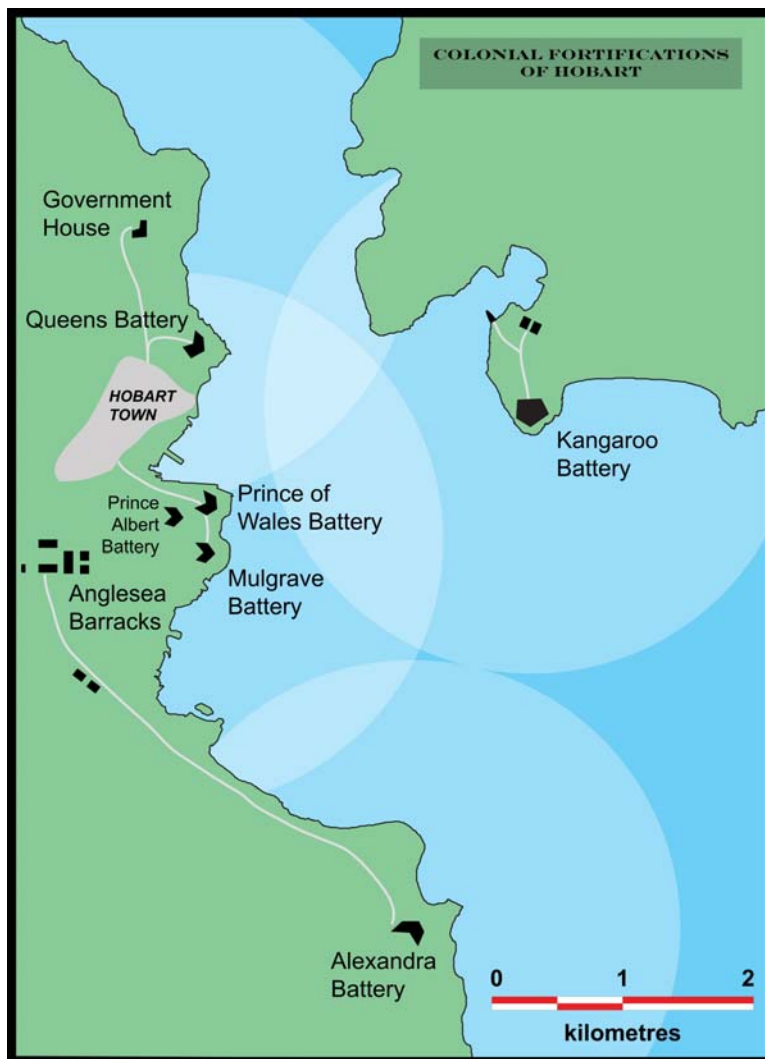
Enfield bayonet



Yataghan sword-bayonet



Wilson breach-loading .451 carbine



Kangaroo Battery & Alexandra Battery were installed after 1867



Queen's Battery, 1869



Mulgrave Battery (early photo)



Howitzer, 1855 model

Apart from training within the individual units, open competitions and team competitions were organised. With the advent of civilian rifle clubs, some of the wealthier shooters introduced Whitworth and Kerr rifles which, under competition conditions, tended to produce a higher score. Like the Enfield, the Whitworth was a single-shot muzzle-loading rifle, but the barrel had a *hexagonal* bore of .451 calibre. The British army rejected it because of excessive fouling of the barrel and the fact that it cost four times as much as the Enfield.⁶⁰ The Kerr was another 'small-bore' (.451 calibre) rifle with a traditional long barrel, based on the Enfield. Both the Whitworth and the Kerr were used by Confederate snipers in the American Civil War.

At this time (1859–1870), the coastal defences at Hobart were all on the western shore, with the Queen's Battery just north of the town, and three batteries south of the town, near Anglesea Barracks, on the forward slopes of Battery Point; these were the Mulgrave, Prince of Wales & Prince Albert Batteries, and they were linked by a series of tunnels. They were armed with iron 8-inch smooth-bore muzzle-loading guns and brass 32-pound smooth-bore muzzle-loading howitzers.⁶¹ In the North the artillery were issued two of the brass howitzers in 1861, and in 1866 these were supplemented by two of the iron guns and 100 shells!⁶²

The Chisholm family, armourers to the Volunteers

The Chisholms were a family that provided three generations of volunteers who were Masons. In a paper prepared for publication in *AMAT* (the newsletter of the Arms and Militaria Association of Tasmania), Gillian Winter tells the remarkable story of James Chisholm, his father James William Chisholm and his nephew James Duncan Walter Chisholm, which spans the whole period of the defence force.⁶³ At the age of 50, James William Chisholm, a military pensioner and former armourer at Edinburgh Castle, brought his family to Hobart in 1852. His son James, aged 20, obtained employment with a local gunmaker. In 1860 the father joined the Masonic Rifles as armourer-sergeant and the son was accepted in a similar position, first with the Manchester Unity Rifles and then (in 1861) with the Buckingham Rifles.

James William Chisholm's Masonic antecedents are unknown, but he served as Tyler in Tasmanian Union Lodge in 1857 and when he died in 1863 he was described as 'a mason of high standing' and was buried with military and Masonic honours. James was initiated in Tasmanian Union shortly after his father's death, and four years later was appointed Secretary of the lodge. He served in this position for 40 years, and when he resigned in 1907, because of failing health, he was presented with an armchair,⁶⁴ and made a life member of the lodge. The following year he resigned the last of his military appointments, as well as his other Masonic positions, at the age of 76.

In 1865 James Chisholm was appointed armourer-sergeant for the whole of the Southern Division of the Tasmanian Volunteers, and when they were reconstituted as artillery in 1868, his appointment followed, with an annual salary of £100 and quarters supplied. In 1872 he was gazetted Master Gunner, Sergeant in charge of the powder magazine at Hobart Town, and in 1874 he was recorded in the civil list as 'Master Gunner in Charge of the Military Stores and Batteries, Magazine Storekeeper, Hobart Town, and Inspector of Licensed Magazines'. He had an assistant at Launceston and four staff at Hobart. His titles varied, and his salary and responsibilities increased from time to time. He retired from military duties at the age of 70, in 1902, as Warrant Officer Chisholm, Ordnance Stores, but retained his state government position as Keeper of the Powder Magazine and Inspector of Explosives for another six years.

James Chisholm died at home, of pneumonia, in 1910. Arthur Wiseman says of him: 'He had endeared himself to all by his faithfulness to duty and his unvarying kindness'.⁶⁵

60 <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Whitworth_rifle>. Evidently it was admired by some officers: in 1857 Major Eagar named his firstborn Frank Whitworth Eagar!

61 Wyatt, *A Lion in the Colony*, p11; <<http://www.tasartillery.com/history/>>.

62 Crawford, Sir G: 'The Launceston Artillery', 9.

63 Winter, G: "'A careful and capable officer": James Chisholm (1832–1910), gunsmith', *AMAT*.

64 Wise, W O: *History of Tasmanian Union Lodge from 1844 to 1919*.

65 *Freemasonry in Tasmania 1828–1935*, 151.

The family tradition was continued by James Chisholm's nephew, James Duncan Walter Chisholm (1873–1936), as a member of Tasmanian Union Lodge and the volunteers. He served in the volunteers from about 1890 and joined the AIF in 1916, was mentioned in despatches in 1917 and retired with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. He was Master of Tasmanian Union Lodge in 1924.

Other Volunteer activities

In addition to the necessary drills, parades and shooting practice, the Volunteers were on public display at every opportunity: the opening of Parliament, royal birthdays and other celebrations, and military funerals. The artillery and several rifle companies formed their own marching bands, and some of these played at non-military functions as well as on parades.

The officers, and sometimes whole units, attended theatre performances, and the officers were prominent at vice-regal and other social functions, particularly banquets. Inter-unit rifle-shooting matches were organised, as well as open competitions, and occasionally unit outings on the river and picnics were arranged.

Despite all this, the Volunteers suffered periodic membership losses, at least partly because of government penny-pinching, and parliamentary denigration of the Volunteers (ranging from 'we don't need them at all' to 'they are inadequate to repel an invasion' and, of course, 'we can't afford it').

Generally, Tasmanian newspapers were very pro-volunteer, particularly the *Mercury* and the *Launceston Examiner*, but there were occasions when they were used for very personal attacks. As early as October 1860, the *Cornwall Chronicle* lampooned Capt Davies of the Odd Fellows Rifles, and proprietor of the rival *Mercury*.⁶⁶

The Second Tasmania Rifles were inspected in the Domain, by Lieut. Col Russell on Monday. The corps went through the usual evolutions on such occasions with tolerable correctness, but it was impossible not to see that their movements were crippled, and their self confidence shaken by the ignorance and incapacity of their captain. (Davis) [*sic*] This absurd personage makes a complete, and most ridiculous exhibition of himself as a "millingitary man" (as he styles it) His words of command suited no other purpose than to confuse and perplex his corps, and convulse with laughter the Inspecting Field Officer and spectators. If you can conceive a bloated toad with a bulrush in its dexter paw parading along a meadow on his hind legs with protuberent belly and stern to match, you will form some faint idea of Captain Davis [*sic*] as he marched past in slow time, with his sword stuck out in front like a butcher meditating the death of a porker,—at once the disgust of the company and the terror of Lieut. Colonel Russell whose eyes and face were narrowly imperilled by the unmanageable weapon flourished by this modern "Bombastes." The corps mustered on the ground 22 members—their nominal strength is over 60—the whole literary and mechanical staff of the Mercury was in the ranks—excepting Dr Richards who was detained on special duty as a reporter of the vagaries of the Captain and the performance of the Corps; . . .

In turn, Davies published an attack on his fellow-captains Tarleton (Artillery) and Solly (First Rifles) in an editorial in the *Mercury* under the guise of urging the government to economise by 'exactng from every well paid public servant a measure of service bearing a just proportion to his remuneration'. Police Magistrate Tarleton, the editorial advocated, should fill additional offices without further remuneration, and the services of Assistant Colonial Secretary Solly should be dispensed with entirely, and his job done by a junior clerk at one-tenth the salary.⁶⁷ Of course, this editorial could have no bearing on the complaint of Davies (Second Rifles) and Wilson (City Guards), both A&I Odd Fellows, that Lt-Col Russell consulted Tarleton and Solly, based on their seniority of appointment, rather than the captains who commanded the largest numbers of volunteers.

One reason for membership loss in 1863 and 1864, although not adverted to publicly as such, was the emigration to New Zealand of a substantial number of young men of martial inclination, attracted by the offer of land in return for militia service in the Maori wars. In October 1863 some 63 men from Hobart and 20 from Launceston departed under three officers and a surgeon, and the following month another 50 left, under Lt Gregson of the City Guards. Their ages ranged from 17 to 39, and they were described as 'a fine body of men' and 'mostly sober, steady fellows', with a variety of useful skills.⁶⁸

Another reason for 'patchy' attendance figures for parades and drills may be deduced from the fact

⁶⁶ *Cornwall Chronicle*, 27/10/1860.

⁶⁷ *Mercury*, 6/5/1861.

⁶⁸ *Mercury*, 7/10/1863.

that attendance was sometimes much higher on weekends and public holidays than on weekdays, the conclusion being that Volunteers would give up their *spare* time, but could not afford to attend in *working* time, without the forbearance of employers. When the government set efficiency standards based on attendance records that were unrealistic for the working man, those Volunteers were denied the incentives offered by the government for 'efficiency', and some may well have quit as a result.⁶⁹

In March 1864 the Tasmania Rifle Association was formed, with the stated object of 'giving permanence to the Volunteer Corps' and promoting rifle-shooting in Tasmania. The president was Colonel Eagar, with William Tarleton, Benjamin Solly, William Lovett and Walter Hammond on the council, and David Lewis as secretary. Annual subscription was seven shillings and sixpence for Volunteers and a guinea for non-Volunteers, with a proviso that an ex-Volunteer would not be admitted unless he gave a satisfactory reason for having ceased to be a Volunteer. The association held separate annual competitions for shooting with 'government rifles' and with 'small bore' rifles. In the inaugural competitions, Lewis and Solly came third and fourth respectively with 'government rifles' (.577 calibre), and Hammond came first with a 'small bore' rifle (.451 calibre).

In May 1865 the Third Rifles (Manchester Unity) and the Buckingham Rifles were disbanded. Colonel Eagar reported a total strength of the Southern Division, excluding the Huon Rifles, of 369 all ranks, of whom 276 attended his inspection on 24 May, with 35 absent on leave, 19 sick, and 39 absent without leave.⁷⁰

Having suffered a government reform in 1863, the Volunteers were faced with another in September 1865, based on the report of a 'Select Committee on the Volunteer Force'. It recommended disbandment of the existing force and creation of a single corps, the Tasmanian Defence Force, consisting of not more than 300 men, of which 200 would be at Hobart and 100 at Launceston. Country corps might be formed under the name of Rifle Clubs, and would receive government subsidy in the form of arms, ammunition and targets at cost price. The Tasmanian Defence Force (the 300 in Hobart and Launceston) would be supplied uniforms every two years and would be drilled in artillery and musketry; every member, from commanding officer to musician, would be paid for attendance at each weekly drill, and would be fined twice that amount for non-attendance without just cause. It recommended government prizes for proficiency in gunnery and rifle practice, and subsidised ammunition for all members, and expressed the view that implementation of the report:⁷¹

will give satisfaction to those Volunteers who have really taken a genuine interest in the movement; and who have, notwithstanding every discouragement, continued faithfully attached to it to the last, in defiance of raillery, ridicule, and a general condemnation of the system of Volunteering now on its last legs.

However, the report was not implemented, and the government left the matter in abeyance for that parliamentary session, with the result that Colonel Eagar issued the following General Volunteer Order:⁷²

Officers Commanding Divisions—South and North—are requested to cause the drills and instructions of the corps under their command to be resumed with diligence and attention. The drills, &c, have been suspended for some weeks past, owing to the volunteer officers and other members being impressed with an idea that there was an intention of the part of the Legislature to recommend their immediate disbandment to His Excellency the Governor. But the Colonel Commanding has authority to state that there is no such intention at present, and that annual prizes for rifle firing will be granted this year as heretofore, under regulations published in further orders of this day's date. Colonel Eagar further trusts that the Captains commanding corps will endeavour to have each a company drill previous to the next Battalion Parade of the officers commanding divisions, with a view to prevent, if possible, any falling off at these parades, owing to the temporary cessation of drills before alluded to.

Since the government had not made the recommended changes of the 1865 Commission, the volunteers proposed a voluntary amalgamation, which was accepted and put into operation in January 1866. The First Rifles amalgamated with the Hobart Town Artillery, leaving the Second Rifles (Odd Fellows) and City Guards as infantry, and the Launceston Rifles amalgamated with the Launceston Artillery, leaving

⁶⁹ See, for example, the *Mercury* editorial 'The Volunteers', 17/10/1865.

⁷⁰ *Mercury*, 27/5/1865.

⁷¹ *Cornwall Chronicle*, 16/9/1865.

⁷² *Launceston Examiner*, 7/10/1865.

the smaller Northern units as infantry. In January 1867 there were approximately 150 volunteers present for the annual parade of the Southern Division, spread evenly between the Artillery, Second Rifles and City Guards.⁷³

In March 1867 another Commission was formed 'to enquire into the working of the Volunteer Force of the colony'. Nine months later, a decision was reached, and implemented. As foreshadowed in 1865, the Volunteers were disbanded at the end of 1867, and a new corps established in the new year, with no rifle companies, just the artillery. For the most part it was the old cast back in office, but a new script—and that is another story, for another time.

In retrospect

With much of the story of the Tasmanian Volunteers yet to be told, it would be premature to draw final conclusions from the events recorded, but some questions may be posed at this stage and observations made on the basis of the reported events of the period 1859 to 1867.

Was the *perception* of threats of attack and the possibility of invasion by a foreign country or plundering by privateers justified? If so, was the response adequate to meet the threat? Even if the volunteers were unable to defend the colony successfully, might their existence have proved a deterrent because of the increased difficulty of conquest or plundering? Answers to such questions would require a deeper study of the situation and even then must remain speculative.

It is not surprising that Freemasons as individuals responded to the call to arms, given the Masonic creed of loyalty to the crown, and civic duty, nor that a substantial proportion of *leaders* in the volunteer movement were Freemasons, given the selection process of the lodges, but was the formation of a Masonic Rifle Company in accordance with the philosophy of Freemasonry? Could it be interpreted as a political act?

Similar questions might be posed in respect of the participation of both varieties of Odd Fellows. These fraternities certainly placed emphasis on 'loyalty', and numbered in their ranks some men of equal social standing to those found in the Masonic lodges. Indeed, some Freemasons were also Odd Fellows, although the evidence so far is of cross-membership only with the Manchester Unity order, not with the Ancient & Independent Odd Fellows. These observations prompt a further question: why did men of relatively high social standing and of more than modest means join a fraternity largely devoted to providing its members and their families with a form of medical insurance and assistance in funeral expenses? The answer would require a separate research paper, preferably by someone better versed in the aims and history of 'Friendly Societies'.

Given the number of politicians and civil servants in the volunteer movement, why was a Parliamentary Rifle Company not formed? Cynically, it might be suggested that there would have been no shortage of officers, but great difficulty in finding sufficient 'other ranks', whether they be called *Cadets* or *Volunteers*.

What, one may wonder, were the motives of those who joined the volunteer movement—and of those who remained loyal to it throughout the period 1859–1867? Did the same motives inspire both officers and men? Clearly, none of them could have been inspired by mercenary motives; despite small emoluments or prizes offered in some instances, all volunteer officers and men must have spent more than they recouped. No doubt patriotism, a sense of duty, and personal pride of achievement played their part in motivating most of them, together with—in some cases, at least—the opportunity to cut a dashing figure on public occasions, and the camaraderie of military service.

Some similarity may be seen between the motivation of the Volunteers and membership of Freemasons' and Odd Fellows' lodges, including public parades in regalia. Could there also be similarity of reasons for lapse of membership?

Finally, it would be appropriate to consider to what extent this paper has explored the social context of Masonic participation in the movement. Does it add to the understanding of this small portion of the history of Freemasonry in Tasmania?

⁷³ *Mercury*, 4/1/1867.