HARASHIM

חרשים

Nº. 102: March 2024
ISSN 1328–2735

The quarterly magazine of the
Australian and New Zealand
Masonic Research Council.

***Harashim*, Hebrew for *Craftsmen*, is a quarterly newsletter published by the Australian and New Zealand Masonic Research Council, in March, June, September and December each year. It is supplied to Affiliates and Associates electronically in PDF format. It is available worldwide as a PDF as an email attachment, upon application to the Editor at morsemasonic@gmail.com. *Harashim* can be read online at https://issuu.com/harashimed**

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Affiliate and Associate members are encouraged to contribute material for *Harashim*, including:
¨ Their lecture programs for the year;
¨ Any requests from their members for information on a research topic;
¨ Research papers of more than local interest that merit wider publication.

Harashim also includes news, reports from ANZMRC, book reviews, extracts from other publications and a readers' letters column, from time to time.

If the source of an item is not identified, it is by the editor. Opinions expressed are those of the author of the article and should not be attributed to the Council.

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President's Pages

First of all, I thank MW Bro. Greg Levenston and RW Bro. Ray Nicholson for responding to my plea for advice in the previous edition of *Harashim*. Your suggestions are good, some of which I will bring up at the next committee meeting of ANZMRC and some that I will take on board myself. I am very keen that more emphasis is given to research in masonic circles and that those Freemasons who know little or nothing about masonic research will have the opportunity to learn about it and, hopefully, find pleasure in it.

The exciting news for this year, of course, is the ANZMRC conference that is to be held from 17th to 19th October. The Convener, Bro. Kim Nielsen, has chosen the NSW Masonic Club as the venue. It has both conference facilities and accommodation. I have seen the abstracts of a number of submissions and they augur well for a fulfilling and enjoyable conference.

I had hoped to present a paper myself, on two Australian 19th Century Masonic Waltzes, a paper that I had prepared for a conference in Washington DC in 2020, but a conference that did not take place because of the Corona virus pandemic. In an email from the Convener in December 2023, I was informed that this paper looked interesting and was welcomed. However, in February 2024, after I sent in a copy of the PowerPoint that I would use, the reply email informed me that my paper was no longer required because there had been many possible Kellerman Lecture entries and there was no longer any time left for my talk. Also, taking up the brilliant suggestion that Bro. Neil Morse had made in 2020 of converting the scores for use by string quartets and having a quartet perform at the dinner, was not required because there was going to be a speaker at that dinner. Apparently, speakers and string quartets are not compatible. I know that a couple of seasoned speakers were also going to speak at this conference. I assume that they too are no longer required because of time constraints. I have given my talk at a *Sapere Audi* presentation in September 2021 and, if you would like to see and hear what you are missing, although I guarantee that my proposed presentation in Sydney would have been much improved as a number of errors would have been corrected, you can view and hear it on YouTube (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nHahlEAPmww, between the 7 minutes and 57 minutes 18 seconds points shown on the time line of the video; before the talk there is an introduction and after the talk there are questions and answers, some of which are relevant to the talk).
Why have I written about a paper that is not going to be shown at the conference? Although I am disappointed, I am used to not counting on papers that seem to have been accepted in the end not being presented. In 2013, a paper on the influence of Freemasonry on the Vietnamese religion Caodaism was accepted for a conference in Scotland. Having been approved, I bought tickets for my wife, Marguerite, and me for an aeroplane flight to Edinburgh. I afterwards received a letter informing me that a well-known academic had rejected my paper based on the abstract approved by others. There are silver linings to every cloud. We flew to Scotland but spent the time that the

conference was being held on an enjoyable and educational tour around Ireland. My not presenting at this year's ANZMRC conference means that I will save the money that I was prepared to use to hire a string quartet and save the time that I would have spent converting the scores for use by string quartets and improving the presentation. This gives me more time to devote to a certificate course on Process Thought that I am undertaking through the Cobb Institute this year, and improve my trumpet skills as I have joined a training brass band so that my fanfares will be more consistently acceptable at Craft Installation meetings and the various degrees in the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite. My main purpose in bringing up these matters is to empathise with those who have submitted papers but will not be presenting them. The current President of ANZMRC has had similar experiences and encourages you not to be deflated but to continue carrying out masonic research and writing research papers, some of which will surely be presented in the future.

Fortunately, besides talks, there is the opportunity to mix with other masonic researchers. I will name but two. Bro. Keith Knox, the Librarian of the Freemasons New Zealand library in Wellington at the time, and his wife Gill, showed Marguerite and me around Wellington and its surrounds in 2013, when a touring ship that we were on stopped over at Wellington. Keith had also sent me a copy of William Finch's 1802 *Masonic Treatise*, which has been very useful in my research. After the 2008 conference held in Queanbeyan, I showed Bro. Charles Miller some of the sites of Canberra and, from that time on, we got on very well at conferences. It is a shame that these two brethren are no longer with us, but I look forward to meeting up again with so many of you and also meeting new masonic researchers. It is going to give me great pleasure to present the new Kellerman Lecturers with their certificates, one of my last acts as President.

Kind fraternal regards,
David B. Slater,
President, ANZMRC

'WE APPLY THESE TOOLS TO OUR MORALS'

Eighteenth-century freemasonry, a case study in teleology

Bro. Dr Richard (Ric) Berman

A freemason for over forty years and twice-appointed Prestonian Lecturer, Ric holds Grand Rank in the United Grand Lodge of England and is a Past Master of three English lodges, including Quatuor Coronati 2076, the premier lodge of Masonic research. He is also a member of five American lodges and a Fellow of the Philalethes Society.

As an academic, Ric researches, writes and speaks on eighteenth and nineteenth-century Freemasonry within its contemporary political and social context and is the author of numerous journal articles and books. He holds degrees from the University of Cambridge and the University of Exeter, and undertook post-doctoral work as a senior researcher at the University of Oxford's Modern European History Research Centre. He is a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, a Life Fellow of the Huguenot Society and a Visiting Research Fellow at Oxford Brookes.

The following constituted a chapter in *Teleology and Modernity,* [W. Gibson, D O'Brien, and M Turda, eds] published by Routledge in 2019 [ISBN 978-0815351030].

The ANZMRC thanks Bro Ric for his cheerful agreement to publish this contribution.

'WE APPLY THESE TOOLS TO OUR MORALS'
Eighteenth-century freemasonry, a case study in teleology

Introduction

One is hesitant to apply the term 'teleology' to eighteenth-century freemasonry given that freemasonry's remoulding in the 1720s was driven principally by the political fallout from the Glorious Revolution and the proximate threat to Hanoverian England from the Jacobite supporters of James Stuart, the 'king over the water'. Yet it is the case that much of the phraseology and content of freemasonry's reworded liturgy was based intentionally and conceptually on self-improvement, and incorporated Enlightenment principles. Eighteenth-century freemasonry referenced the rational objectivity of Newtonian science as proselytised by the Royal Society, some half of whose Fellows were freemasons, and in particular by the Rev. Dr Jean Theophilus Desaguliers, a Fellow appointed at Newton's behest and the Royal Society's demonstrator and curator.[1]

From the early 1720s, English *qua* Whig freemasonry centred on a handful of tenets among which religious toleration was pre-eminent, with freemasonry embracing deism and latitudinarianism, and accepting dissenters. Catholics and Jews. Masonic ritual was modified to proselytise support for 'the supreme legislature', that is, the then novel if not radical concept of a sovereign parliament, independent judiciary and constitutional as

[1] R. Berman, *The Foundations of Modern Freemasonry*, Brighton: Sussex, 2012, pp. 98-111 et al.

opposed to absolute monarchy. Freemasonry also evangelised the ideal of self-improvement through education and spiritual self-awareness.

It is such features that support the exploration of a teleological analysis. And this chapter considers three relevant elements in eighteenth-century freemasonry: first, the changes to English masonic ritual that were introduced in the early 1720s; second, the self-improving lectures given in masonic lodges from the 1720s through to the 1730s and beyond; and third, the adoption of elements of medieval chivalry into European freemasonry. The last found its apogee in the Swedish Rite, an exclusively Christian order that epitomised spiritual freemasonry and was constructed using a combination of masonic and medieval ritual.

The medieval origins of modern freemasonry

Eighteenth-century English freemasonry had its roots in the mid-fourteenth century when what had been primarily religious guilds morphed into embryonic trades unions as workers sought to preserve the rise in real earnings driven by an extreme labour shortage following the Black Death which had led to the mortality of some 30—40% of the population. Despite adverse parliamentary legislation and the judicial edicts that followed,[2] it proved hard to regulate away the laws of demand and supply. Tradesmen and artisans countered repressive and wage-depressing legislation cleverly using charters designed to demonstrate their loyalty to the establishment and its hierarchy, and arguing that their wage demands were validated by time and tradition. These Old Charges date from around 1400 and detail traditional histories of stonemasonry that emphasise longevity and tradition while simultaneously justifying wage rates with reference to what supposedly had been 'agreed' centuries before by St Alban and King Athelstan.[3]

The conflict between the divergent interests of capital and labour was a recurrent theme throughout the medieval period, especially when real wage rates fell below expectations during periods of rampant inflation. The widespread strikes and riots that occurred in the mid-sixteenth century marked an inflexion point. In several cities, including Chester, Coventry and York, building workers refused to work for the stipulated 6d per day, a rate that had been determined half a century earlier. Although their leaders were jailed, protests continued and as the prospect of widespread insurrection grew. Parliament was obliged to adopt a more conciliatory approach. The outcome was the Statute of Artificers, passed in 1563. The act created a new framework for wage regulation, with justices of the peace for the first time given the authority to settle labour rates taking into account local market conditions.[4]

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[2] For example, Edward III's *Ordnance of Labourers* (1349) and *Statute of Labourers* (1351).

[3] See, for example, British Library, Regius MS c.1390; Royal MS. 17 A.1. Collectively, such manuscripts are known as the *Old Charges*. They date from the 1390s.

[4] See D. Woodward, 'The Determination of Wage Rates in the Early Modern North of England,' *Economic History Review*, 47(1), 1994, pp. 22-43. See also D. Woodward, 'The Background to the Statute of Artificers: The Genesis of Labour Policy, 1558-63,' *Economic History Review*, 33(1), 1980, pp. 32-44; D. Woodward, 'Wage Regulation in Mid-Tudor York,' *The York Historian*, 3, 1981, pp. 7-9; and D. Woodward, *Men at Work: Labourers and Building Craftsmen in the Towns of*

Over the following decades, power became a function of the interplay between local incorporated guilds, which regulated labour supply through apprenticeship structures and 'quality control' mechanisms that excluded non-guild labour, and the local municipalities that controlled the issuance of guild charters. Over time, the two sides developed a symbiotic relationship. In return for granting a guild the privileges of a local monopoly and a legal remit to influence the price at which labour was made available,[5] the town or city corporation received fees, taxes, and a share of guild fines. It created an economic interdependency that was cemented further by invitations to fraternal guild feasts, a social and political synergy recognised at the time:

> when the master and wardens met in a lodge, if need be, the sheriff of the county, or the mayor of the city, or alderman of the town, in which the congregation is held.[6]

Membership of a guild became synonymous with membership of the local elites and by the late seventeenth century many masonic lodges in England contained a majority of gentlemen members who perpetuated their influence through invitations to friends and successive generations of family.[7] Such lodges became principally social clubs whose function was networking, drinking and dining. In Lewis and Thacker's words, the lodge provided a forum for 'well-off employers, notably in the building trades' and for the gentry.[8] And although operative lodges continued to exist, their influence diminished as certain trade monopolies were outlawed under Charles II and additional restrictions placed on City livery companies by James II.[9] The move was in part a function of an increasing disquiet at the guilds' opposition to innovation and free trade which saw them denigrated politically as constraints on economic development.

The Hanoverian succession

The years that followed the accession of George I instigated a step-change within English freemasonry with the creation of a 'grand lodge' and 'grand officers'; the introduction of a federal governance structure; and the publication and dissemination in 1723 of a new set of Constitutions, which modified substantially the medieval masonic regulations, oaths and charges that 'governed' local freemasonry.[10]

The most important aspect of the 1723 Constitutions was not the traditional history which continued to place freemasonry within a historical landscape that stretched back to Adam, 'our first parent'; nor the regulations governing the internal operations of the

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Northern England, 1450-1750, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp. 169-207.

[5] See M. Dobb, *Studies in the Development of Capitalism*, London: Routledge, 1946, pp. 89-90, 97 - 'monopoly was of the essence of economic life in this epoch . . . since the municipal authority had the right to make regulations as to who should trade and when they should trade; it possessed a considerable power of turning the balance of trade in [its own] favour'; and H. Swanson, 'The Illusion of Economic Structure: Craft Guilds in Late Medieval English Towns,' *Past & Present*, 121, 1988, pp. 29-48, esp. pp. 30-1.

[6] W Preston, *Illustrations of Masonry*, London:]. Wilkie, 1796, p. 184.

[7] Examples include those in Warrington, Chester and York.

[8] C.P. Lewis and A.T. Thacker (eds.), *A History of the County of Chester*, London: Boydell and Brewer, 2003, pp. 137-45.

[9] M. Knights, 'A City Revolution: The Remodelling of the London Livery Companies in the 1680s,' *Historical Review*, 112(449), 1997, pp. 1141-78.

[10] J. Anderson, *The Constitutions of the Freemasons*, London: John Senex &John Hooke, 1723.

lodge and grand lodge. It was a new and radical set of oaths or 'charges'. These established fresh foundations for English freemasonry that were embedded in contemporary Enlightenment values, and they initiated a tectonic shift in organisational culture and philosophy. Equally important, and a function of its desire to consolidate its growing authority, the new grand lodge insisted that its tenets be applied across English freemasonry as a whole: 'all the Tools used in [masonic] working [should be] approved by the Grand Lodge'.[11]

The charges

The first charge — *Concerning God and Religion* — was to be freemasonry's cornerstone. It was a paean to religious tolerance and personal morality, and replaced the medieval invocation to the Holy Trinity and past masonic declarations in favour of Christian belief.[12] As amended, the charge obliged freemasons only to 'obey the moral law' within a new framework of 'that religion in which all men agree'.[13] It was no longer necessary for a freemason to 'be of the religion of that country or nation' where he resided but only to believe in God and be a moral person — a 'good man and true'.

The charge was not supportive of any specific religious denomination or church. As written, it was a simple and powerful declaration of faith in a divine being without a stated preference for any specific form of worship. The charge was latitudinarian, if not deist, and was at the time a radical denial of doctrine and a repudiation of ecclesiastical organisation:

> A Mason is obliged … 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 charged 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 distinguished; whereby Masonry becomes the Centre of Union, and the means of conciliating true Friendship and Persons that must have remained at a perpetual Distance'[14]

The charge implicitly and explicitly gave backing to religious tolerance, not least the right to hold to Protestant beliefs in a Catholic country. This had been and remained a long-standing element of Huguenot philosophy and was simultaneously an Enlightenment sensibility shared by many Whigs.

At the same time, freemasonry openly embraced teleology on both a personal and a social level. Freemasons were enjoined to become 'moral persons' and 'men of honour, purpose and integrity', and freemasonry — 'the Craft' — would be advanced as a

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[11] Anderson, *The Constitutions of the Freemasons*, p. 53.
[12] For example, the *William Watson* MS at York (c.1530): 'The first Charge is that you be [a] true man to God, and the Holy Church'. See *Quatuor Coronati Antigrapha*, vol. 3, 1891, available at www.quatuorcoronati.com/research-resources/ (accessed 30 January 2019).
[13] Anderson, *The Constitutions of the Freemasons*, p. 50.
[14] Anderson, *The Constitutions of the Freemasons*, p. 50.

mechanism through which personal differences could be healed, becoming 'the means of conciliating true Friendship'.

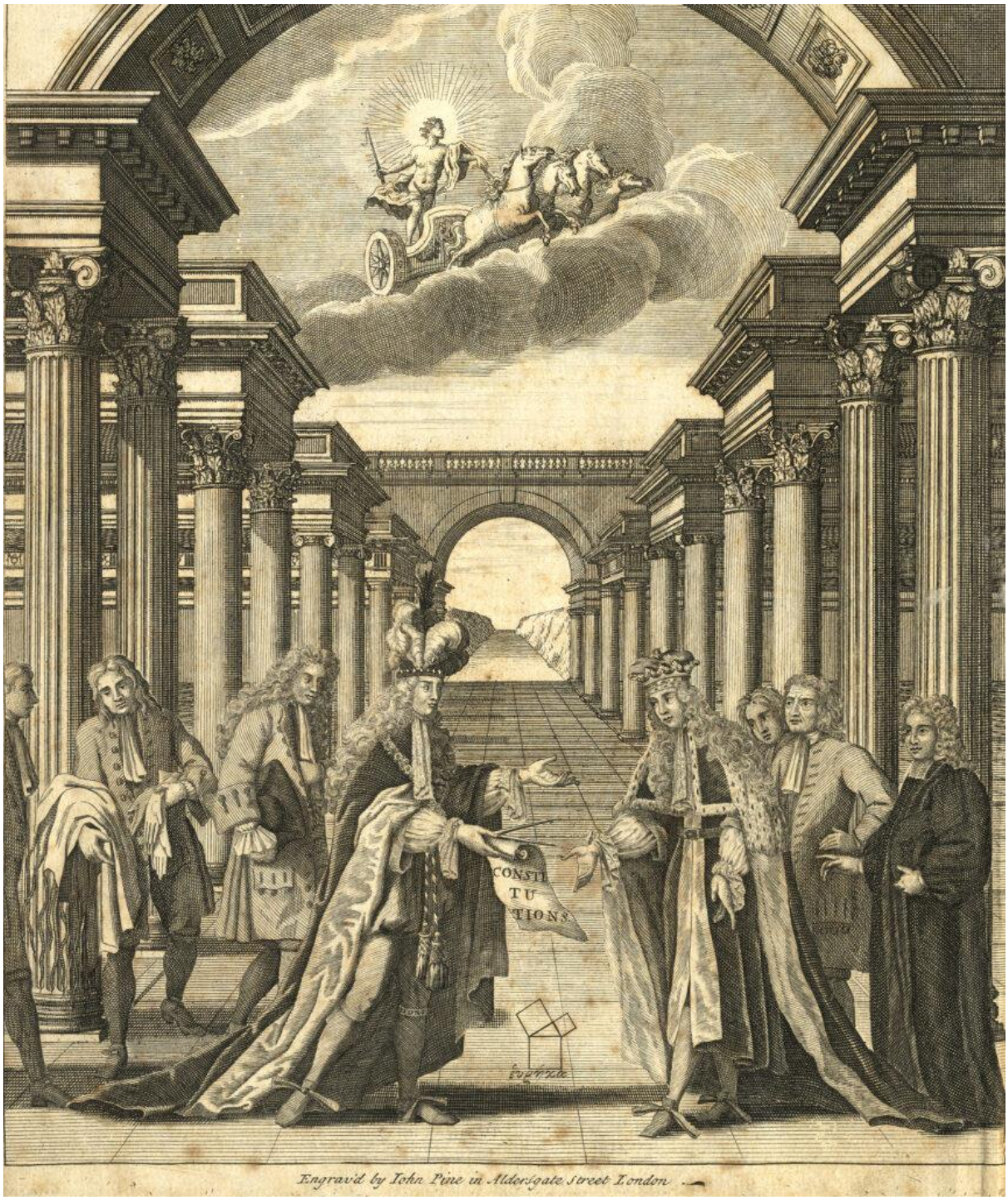

Figure 1.1 Frontispiece
Source: 1723 *Constitutions*
Engraved by John Pine

Desaguliers, the then deputy grand master and the probable author of the charges, was one of the foremost advocates of such an approach.[15] And his views were shared by

[15] The Rev. Dr John Theophilus Desaguliers (1683-1744), FRS, cleric, scientist and Huguenot. Grand Master, 1719; Deputy Grand Master 1722, 1723, 1725. Regarded as 'the best mechanic in Europe,' he was one of Europe's most highly regarded scientific lecturers and waved the flag for Britain's commercial and scientific standing. See Berman, *Foundations*, esp. Chapter 2; and A.T. Carpenter, *John Theophilus Desaguliers: A Natural Philosopher, Engineer and Freemason in Newtonian England*, London: Bloomsbury, 2011.

many others within his circle, including Martin Folkes, a vice-president of the Royal Society and later its president.[16] For such men, a belief in God, 'the All-wise and Almighty Architect of the Universe',[17] and in Newtonian science, a world interpreted through rational observation, were not in conflict. Indeed, they were one and the same:[18]

> Natural Philosophy is that Science which gives the Reasons and Causes of the Effects and Changes which naturally happens in Bodies. . . We ought to call into question all such things as have an appearance of falsehood, that by a new Examen we may be led to the Truth.[19]

Within a decade this teleological concept had become an integral part of freemasonry:

> As Masons we only pursue the universal Religion or the Religion of Nature. This is the Cement which unites Men of the most different Principles in one sacred Band and brings together those who were most distant from one another.[20]

Replacing the medieval invocation to the Trinity and traditional obeisance to the church had a disadvantage in that it provided the basis for later political and religious attacks on freemasonry, including *In Eminenti*, the 1738 papal encyclical.[21] Although the papal bull acknowledged that freemasonry was interdenominational, composed of 'men of any religion or sect, satisfied with the appearance of natural probity, [and] joined together, according to their laws and the statutes laid down for them, by a strict and unbreakable bond', private discussion in societies where debate was circumscribed was not tolerated well. And, in addition, 'if they were not doing evil they would not have so great a hatred of the light'.[22] Rome's response was almost inevitable. As a latitudinarian and *qua* deist organisation, freemasonry could — almost by definition — be viewed as seditious and heretical, and thus undermining the temporal and spiritual authority of the Catholic Church.

Regardless, the new English grand lodge combined a radical approach to religion and a belief in a Divine Creator — the 'Almighty Architect', with Enlightenment science. For freemasons, 'the essential part of religion [would be] grounded upon immutable reason [and] religion may therefore be called the Moral Law of all nations'.[23] The doctrine was central to an intellectual and philosophical approach that pursued a rational interpretation of the natural world as a pathway to divine truth. Sympathetic contemporary texts, including *Long Livers*, reflect a similar pantheistic approach. Dedicated to the freemasons and to 'Men excellent in all kinds of Sciences', *Long Livers* proudly proclaimed that 'it is the Law of Nature which is the Law of God, for God is Nature'.[24]

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[16] Martin Folkes (1690-1754), a member of the Bedfords Head Tavern lodge in Covent Garden.
[17] J.T. Desaguliers, *The Newtonian System of the World*, London: A. Campbell, 1728, Dedication, pp. iii-iv.
[18] See Berman, *Foundations*, esp. Chapters 2 and 6.
[19] J.T. Desaguliers, *Lectures in Mechanical and Experimental Philosophy*, London: n.p., 1717, Foreword.
[20] W. Smith, *A Pocket Companion for Freemasons*, London: E. Rider, 1735, pp. 43-5.
[21] *In Eminenti*, Pope Clement XII, Papal Bull, 28 April 1738.
[22] *In Eminenti*, Papal Bull of Pope Clement XII, 28 April 1738. See also J. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, tr. T. Burger, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
[23] H. Peters, 'Sir Isaac Newton and the "Oldest Catholic Religion"', *Quatuor Coronatorum [Hereafter AQC] Transactions*, vol. 100, 1987, pp. 193-4.
[24] Eugenius Philalethes (probably Robert Samber), translated from the French of Harcouet de Longeville, *Long Livers: A Curious History of Such Persons of Both Sexes Who Have Liv'd Several Ages, and Grown Young Again*, London: J. Holland,

The second Masonic charge — *Of the Civil Magistrate Supreme and subordinate* — addressed the sovereignty of a constitutional parliament, the validity of the Hanoverian succession, and the real and imagined threats posed by the Catholic Pretender, James Stuart, and his Jacobite supporters:[25]

> A Mason is a peaceable Subject to the Civil Powers, wherever he resides or works, and is never to be concerned in Plots and Conspiracies against the Peace and Welfare of the Nation, nor to behave himself undutifully to inferior magistrates … So that if a Brother should be a Rebel against the State, he is not to be countenanced in his Rebellion, however he may be pitied as an unhappy Man; and, if convicted of no other Crime, though the loyal Brotherhood must and ought to disown his Rebellion, and give no Umbrage or Ground of political Jealousy to the Government for the time being; they cannot expel him from the Lodge, and his Relation to it remains indefeasible.[26]

It was a radical proposition that a freemason could be 'a rebel against the state' and although his rebellion would not be approved and his opinions may be disowned by the brotherhood, such views alone would not provide adequate grounds for expulsion 'if convicted of no other crime'. The philosophical logic follows from the first charge, where freemasonry is positioned as the means of conciliating true friendship among persons that would otherwise have remained at a perpetual distance. Nevertheless, an obligation to be obedient to the state was core to the new charges and ritual, and in his admission to the lodge, each new member or 'entered apprentice' was enjoined to 'behave as a peaceable and dutiful Subject, conforming cheerfully to the Government under which he lives'.[27]

At a more fundamental level, the second charge echoed the changes to the English Constitution that followed the Glorious Revolution. Where absolute allegiance to the crown — 'to be a true liege man to the king', a testament to divine right, had been fundamental to the *Old Charges*, the 1723 *Constitutions* stated instead that freemasons were subservient not to the king but to the 'supreme legislature' and the civil powers.

For Desaguliers and his circle at the helm of the new grand lodge, the definitive political structure was not an absolute monarchy but that 'which does most nearly resemble the Natural Government of our System'.[28]

Freemasonry was to be supportive of a constitutional monarch allied to a parliamentary government and an independent judiciary. It was an argument and approach that Desaguliers would later express allegorically in a poem, *The Newtonian System of the World*:

> The Primaries lead their Satellites,
> Who *guided, not enslav'd*, their Orbits run.
> Attend their Chief, but still respect the Sun,

1722, p. xvii.

[25] Cf., R. Berman, *Espionage, Diplomacy & the Lodge*, Goring Heath: The Old Stables Press, 2017.

[26] Anderson, *The Constitutions of the Freemasons*, p. 50.

[27] Smith, *A Pocket Companion for Freemasons*, pp. 43-5.

[28] Desaguliers, *The Newtonian System of the World*, pp. iii-iv.

> Salute him as they go, and his Dominion own.[29]

The implication was clear. Resistance to the crown could be justified where a king was in breach of his Lockean moral contract with those he governed. It was this argument which had provided the intellectual foundations for the Glorious Revolution and the justification for replacing James II with William and Mary. No longer would it be necessary to be a 'true liegemen to the King of England without any treason or falsehood'[30] freemasons would instead 'attend' and 'respect', but be 'guided, not enslaved'.

The 1723 *Constitutions* mirrored mainstream Whig thinking. And it advanced a position fundamentally different from that stated in the Old Charges which required a pledge to report immediately any plot against the crown.[31]

The third Masonic charge — *Of Lodges* — emphasised that although membership was open. Masonic Society remained select:

> The persons admitted Members of a Lodge must be good and true Men, free-born, and of mature and discreet Age, no Bondmen, no Women, no immoral or scandalous men, but of good Report.

The sentiment was reinforced by the fourth charge — *Of Masters, Wardens, Fellows and Apprentices* — which proffered a radical approach to preferment at a time when rank and precedence were integral to polite society, and advancement based rarely on other factors:

> All preferment among Masons is grounded upon real Worth and personal Merit only; that so the Lords may be well served, the Brethren not put to Shame, nor the Royal Craft despised … no Master or Warden is chosen by Seniority, but for his Merit.

The fifth Masonic charge — *Of the Management of the Craft* — continued the long-standing practice of applying allegory to operative stone masons' working tools. This would remain a core component of freemasonry, with allegorical explanations of the operative masons' 'working tools' central to masonic liturgy: 'We apply these tools to our morals.'

In this sense, freemasonry adopted a teleological view of man as morally perfectible. New entrants to the lodge — entered apprentices — were candidates for enhancement whose moral worth could and would be elevated through appropriate training and mental and moral discipline. Merit and meritocracy were and are strongly teleological in concept, and both were used in that sense throughout eighteenth-century masonic ritual, and that which followed.

Teleology in eighteenth-century masonic ritual

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[29] Desaguliers, *The Newtonian System of the World*, p. 27. My italics.
[30] Watson MS. Cf., *William Watson* MS in *AQC Antigrapha*, 3.4, 1891. The MS was copied in York in 1687. United Grand Lodge of England Library & Museum of Freemasonry, London: BE 42 WAT
[31] See, for example, the discussion of Dumfries Lodge No. 4, MS (c. 1700/10) in D. Stevenson, *The Origins of Freemasonry: Scotland's Century, 1590-1710*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, 2nd edn., pp. 137-65. See also, C. Revauger, 'Anderson's Freemasonry: The True Daughter of the British Enlightenment,' *Cercles*, 18, 2008, pp. 1-9.

The various explanations of the masonic 'working tools' are a key component in each of the three masonic degree ceremonies, the first of which. *The Working Tools of an Entered Apprentice*, contains multiple references to education as the pivot on which self-improvement turns. A similar theme appears in and is reinforced by the second, or 'Fellow Craft' degree ceremony. And in the third, which reiterates that 'we apply these tools to our morals' with the intention of attaining a 'straight and undeviating line of conduct'.

The catechism begins with a statement concerning an 'operative' stonemason's tools. It is given at the end of a ceremony concerned with the allegorical 'birth' of the candidate as he enters freemasonry:

> The Working Tools of an Entered Apprentice are the twenty-four inch gauge, the common gavel and chisel. The gauge is to measure our work, the gavel to knock off all superfluous knobs and excrescences, and the chisel to further smooth and prepare the stone and render it fit for the hands of the more expert workman.

And it continues with an introduction of the allegorical functions of each working tool:

> But as we are not all operative masons but rather free and speculative, we apply these tools to our morals: the gauge represents the twenty-four hours of the day, part to be spent in prayer, part in labour and refreshment, and part in serving a friend or brother in time of need; the gavel represents the force of conscience which should keep down all vain and unbecoming thought; and the chisel points out the advantages of education *by which means alone* we are rendered fit members of regularly organized society.[32]

A similar approach is taken in the second degree, whose subject is how life should be lived masonically, that is, 'with square conduct, level steps and upright intentions', 'that we may live respected and die regretted':

> The Working Tools of a Fellowcraft are the square, the level and the plumb rule. The square is to try and adjust rectangular corners of buildings and assist in bringing rude matter into due form; the level to lay levels and prove horizontals; the plumb rule to try and adjust uprights while fixing them on their proper bases.
> But as we are not all operative masons but rather free and accepted, or speculative, we apply these tools to our morals: the square teaches morality, the level equality and the plumb rule justness and uprightness of life and actions.

And in the third, which reflects that one's conduct in life will be judged and rewarded or punished on death — 'when we are summoned from this sublunary abode':

> The Working Tools of a Master Mason are the skirret, pencil and compasses . . .
> But as we are not all operative masons but rather free and accepted, or speculative, we apply these to our morals: the skirret points out that straight and undeviating line of conduct laid down for our pursuit in the sacred law; the pencil teaches us that our words and actions are observed and recorded by the Almighty Architect; and the compasses remind us of His unerring and impartial justice. Thus the working tools of a master mason teach us to bear in mind and act according to the laws of our Divine Creator.

Education and entertainment - scientific and self-improving lectures in the lodge

[32] Author's italics.

The second degree ceremony, that is, the fellow-craft degree, guides the masonic candidate to 'contemplate the intellectual faculty and to trace it from its development, through the paths of heavenly science', and alludes to the seven liberal arts and sciences: grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy.

The concept of self-improvement through education was driven both by those at the centre of the grand lodge in London and by a number at its periphery. Edward Oakley (*d.*1765), an architect, a warden at the *Nag's Head* lodge in Carmarthen, Wales's leading lodge, and warden and later master of the *Three Compasses* lodge in Silver Street London, offers one example.

Oakley argued that educational lectures should be made available to the widest possible extent within the lodge. The text of his teleological discourse at the *Three Compasses* tavern on 31 December 1728 was considered to be of such importance that it was incorporated within Benjamin Creake's 1731 edition of freemasonry's *Book of Constitutions*, which suggests that his views were popular and probably widely supported:

> Those of the Brotherhood whose Genius is not adapted to Building, I hope will be industrious to improve in, or at least to love, and encourage some Part of the seven Liberal Sciences ... it is necessary for the Improvement of Members of a Lodge, that such Instruments and Books be provided, as be convenient and useful in the exercise, and for the Advancement of this Divine Science of Masonry, and that proper Lectures be constantly read in such of the Sciences, as shall be thought to be most agreeable to the Society, and to the honour and Instruction of the Craft.[33]

Oakley's desire to focus on the 'intent and constitution of the sciences' and reduce the emphasis on 'merry songs [and] loose diversions' may not have been shared by a majority of freemasons but it was nonetheless part of mainstream thought. Reports on and advertisements for scientific lectures and demonstrations, including those at the Royal Society, featured widely in the news and classified sections of the London and provincial press, and rubbed shoulders with numerous printers' notices announcing the publication of educational books, and academic, mathematical and scientific treatises.

Scientific lectures and demonstrations had become immensely popular. Larry Stewart points to the connections between scientific education, finance and the wealthy aristocrats and upper middling.[34] The number of patrons attending such events, and the high fees that the more eminent lecturers commanded, underline their status and perceived value. Wigglesworth makes a similar point.[35]

Scientific lectures, many in a lodge environment, disseminated knowledge across provincial England and continental Europe.[36] And they served a political purpose,

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[33] J. Anderson, *The Ancient Constitutions of the Free and Accepted Masons, London*: B. Creake, 1731, pp. 25-34.
[34] L. Stewart, 'Public Lectures and Private Patronage in Newtonian England,' *Isis*, 77(1), 1986, pp. 47-58. Also L. Stewart, *The Rise of Public Science*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
[35] J. Wigglesworth, *Selling Science in the Age of Newton: Advertising and the Commodisation of Knowledge*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2010.
[36] See R. Porter, 'Science, Provincial Culture and Public Opinion in Enlightenment England,' *Journal for Eighteenth Century Studies*, 3(1), 2008, pp. 20-46.

emphasising the pre-eminence of Newtonian thought and, by extension, British scientific and political achievement.

As part of this process, science became bound up with freemasonry and with cultural and commercial aspiration: 'Knowledge is now become a fashionable thing and philosophy is the science a la mode: hence, to cultivate this study, is only to be in taste, and politeness is an inseparable consequence.'[37]

William Stukeley, a member of the Fountain Tavern lodge and a Fellow of the Royal Society (FRS) who proposed at least seven freemasons for membership of the Royal Society, recorded similar sentiments in his journal: 'By this time [1720] courses of philosophical experiments with those of electricity began to be frequent in several places in London, and travelled down into the country to every great town in our island.'[38]

As Elliott and Daniels comment, freemasonry became quite rapidly the 'most widespread form of secular association in eighteenth-century England'.[39] And within 1730s London, at least a fifth and perhaps as many as a quarter of the gentry, upper middling and professional classes became freemasons, some 3,000 to 4,000 men.[40]

For many of its new members, Desaguliers epitomised and was synonymous with science *qua* Enlightenment freemasonry. Desaguliers had started public and private lecturing in London in 1713, following the award of his MA from Oxford, and by 1717 had become an established speaker. Desaguliers continued to lecture until the early 1740s, stopping only shortly before his death in 1744, with multiple courses of lectures and demonstrations that ran daily or weekly for months at a time.[41] An indication of his stature can be seen in the fees he commanded, with one lecture series in Bath in May 1724 proving so popular that he was able to charge three guineas per head, grossing Desaguliers around 120 guineas per night, a vast sum and testament to the lectures' perceived economic and social value[42] and the cost of the apparatus and scientific machinery Desaguliers employed![43]

Few masonic minute books survive from the 1720s and 1730s, but one which does is that of the lodge at the King's Arms Tavern in the Strand, whose members were mainly middling professional men, with a leavening of landed gentry. Under the de facto leadership of Martin Clare, its acting master and senior warden, a leading educator,

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[37] Porter, 'Science, Provincial Culture and Public Opinion,' p. 28. Quote from Benjamin Martin.
[38] W. Stukeley, *The Family Memoirs of the Rev. William Stukeley, M. D.*, Durham: Andrews & Co., 1882, vol. 2, p. 378.
[39] P. Elliott and S. Daniels, 'The "School of True, Useful and Universal Science?" Freemasonry, Natural Philosophy and Scientific Culture in Eighteenth-Century England,' *British Journal for the History of Science*, 39, 2006, pp. 207-29.
[40] Berman, *Foundations*, esp. Chapters 3, 4 and 5.
[41] Berman, *Foundations*, esp. Chapter 2 and 6. See, for example: *Post Boy*, 10 October 1721; *Post Boy*, 17 October 1721; *Daily Courant*, 20 October 1721; *Daily Courant*, 15 January 1722; *Daily Courant*, 11 April 1722; *Daily Courant*, 13 April 1722; *Daily Courant*, 17 April 1722; *Post Boy*, 19 April 1722; *Daily Courant*, 18 October 1723; *Daily Post*, 4 January 1724; et al.
[42] *British Journal*, 9 May 1724.
[43] Cf., D. Agnew, *French Protestant Exiles*, London: Reeves & Turner, 1871, p. 92, letter from the Prussian Ambassador, 6 March 1741: '[Desaguliers' planetarium] constructed by Mr Graham, the most able and celebrated watchmaker [cost] more than one thousand pounds sterling'.

author and another FRS,[44] the lodge was renowned for its lectures. These were given not only by Clare but also by members and their guests, and centred on a range of subjects in which they were either practitioners or hobbyists. The lodge offers a strong example of what Clare terms 'useful and entertaining conversation' designed to encourage an understanding of 'the grand design'.[45] At least thirty-six lectures are recorded at the King's Arms lodge in the decade 1733—1743, including nine that explained new scientific discoveries, inventions, techniques and apparatus; other lectures covered art, architecture and mathematics.

Clare's educational objectives within freemasonry were in line with those of Desaguliers: using 'experiments performed with accuracy and judgment' to create 'principles . . . built on the strongest and most rational basis, that of experiment and fact; which cannot but be acceptable to those, who admire demonstration, and delight in truth'.[46]

Clare had a substantial influence on eighteenth-century education. His Soho Academy had opened in 1717 and his textbook, *Youth's lntroduction to Trade and Business*, published in 1720, ran to at least twelve editions through to 1791.[47] Clare's approach to education was summed up succinctly as a function of practicality: whereby his students might 'be fitted for business'. The Academy became one of London's most popular and successful boarding schools, and Clare's emphasis on practical learning as well as the social graces set a pattern for education with a syllabus that combined natural and experimental philosophy, mathematics, geography and languages, with dancing, fencing, morality and religion.

Clare's *Motion of Fluids*, a collection of papers given as lectures in the lodge, was financed mainly by the members of the King's Arms, described by Clare as 'a set of gentlemen ... so indulgent both to their matter and form as to encourage their publication'.[48] The book was dedicated to Lord Weymouth, the master of the lodge and subsequently the grand master of the Grand Lodge of England, and in line with his example its subscribers included other prominent freemasons. In keeping with this precedent, the second and third editions were dedicated respectively to Richard Boyle, Lord Burlington, and Henry Herbert, ninth Earl of Pembroke, both well-known affluent freemasons.

Clare's intellectual standing in masonic circles was underpinned by his *Discourse*, a teleological lecture given to the grand stewards' lodge and subsequently to the grand lodge itself. Its central message expressed what was regarded as the core of eighteenth-century freemasonry, and it was celebrated for so doing:

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[44] Martin Clare (1688-1751). Grand Steward (1734), Junior Grand Warden (1735), Deputy Grand Master (1741); founder and headmaster of the Soho Academy, Soho Square; FRS (1735).
[45] United Grand Lodge of England, Library & Museum of Freemasonry, London. The Minute Book of the Old King's Arms, No. 28, 6 August 1733: BE 166 (28) OLD fol.
[46] M. Clare, *Motion in Fluids, Natural and Artificial*, London: Edward Symon, 1735.
[47] F.H.W. Sheppard (gen. ed.). Survey of London; *Portland Estate: Nos. 8 and 9 Soho Square: The French Protestant Church*, London: London County Council, 1966, vols. 33-34.
[48] M. Clare, *Youth's Introduction to Trade and Business*, London: J. & C. Rivington, 1720, n.p.

> The chief pleasure of society — viz., good conversation and the consequent improvements — are rightly presumed … to be the principal motive of our first entering into then propagating the Craft . . . We are intimately related to those great and worthy spirits who have ever made it their business and aim to improve themselves and inform mankind. Let us then copy their example that we may also hope to attain a share in their praise.[49]

The combination of entertainment — 'good conversation' — education — and 'the consequent improvements' — encapsulated what was now a central tenet of freemasonry. Its purpose was wholly teleological — 'to improve . . . and inform mankind'. And its efficacy was enhanced by a publicly lauded, highly fashionable milieu of dining, drinking and 'ancient' masonic ritual.[50]

The combination of Enlightenment and antiquarian mores, an opportunity for self-improvement and financial betterment, and its open association with the ruling elites, gave freemasonry a uniquely attractive set of aspirational characteristics. And its desirability was not limited to England, Wales, Ireland and Scotland. In continental Europe, freemasonry would be taken to a higher level, positioned as a synthesis of fraternalism, social exclusivity, and arcane and Enlightenment knowledge, all within a framework of faux medieval ritual and chivalry.

Freemasonry in Europe

European freemasonry differed from its Anglo-Saxon counterpart in that it embraced a more theatrical and spiritual format, albeit that it also incorporated elements of self-improving chivalric ritual. The European aristocracy's penchant for medieval chivalry and myth was exploited by Desaguliers, who adapted his masonic deliveries accordingly. A letter to the Duke of Richmond from Thomas Hill, the duke's former tutor, then a member of his household, explains how Desaguliers intended to alter the ritual at a forthcoming meeting of the duke's lodge at Aubigny to make it more appealing to an audience of French nobility:

> I have communicated to . . . Dr J Theophilus Desaguliers, your Grace's command relating to the brotherhood of Aubigny sur Nere . . . When I mentioned the diploma he immediately asked me if I had not Amadis de Gaula or some of the old Romances.[51] I was something surprised at his question, and begun to think as the house was tiled our brother had a mind to crack a joke.[52] But it turned out quite otherwise. He only wanted to get a little of the *vieux Gaulois* in order to give his style the greater air of antiquity and consequently make it more venerable to the new lodge . . [53] What the production will be you may expect to see soon.[54]

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[49] Clare's *Discourse* was given to the Quarterly Communication of the grand lodge on 11 December 1735.
[50] See, for example, S. Schaffer, *Natural Philosophy and Public Spectacle in Eighteenth Century England in History of Science*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, vol. 21, p. 2.
[51] *Aniadis de Gaula* is a sixteenth-century Spanish tale of knight errantry. It was the subject of an opera by Handel in 1715: *Amadigi di Gaula*.
[52] 'Tyled': the reference is to a closed and guarded masonic lodge.
[53] Literally the 'Old Gaul,' probably 'ancient or historical French'.
[54] UGLE Library: Thomas Hill to Duke of Richmond, 23 August 1734: HC/8/F/3

An oration given at Paris two years later in December 1736 by Andrew Michael Ramsay[55] — 'Chevalier Ramsay' — at the exiled Lord Derwentwater's masonic lodge,[56] had much in common with Desaguliers' approach. In his address, Ramsay took the opportunity to embellish the *Old Charges*, combine them with the new 1723 *Constitutions*, and extend the 'traditional history' to embrace aristocratic continental mores.[57]

Ramsay intentionally exaggerated and embellished freemasonry's lineage, tracing it to Abraham and the Jewish patriarchs, and to ancient Egypt. But his coup de theatre was to place freemasonry directly within a medieval European context, dating the origins of the modern version of freemasonry to the Crusades, when 'many princes, lords and citizens associated themselves and vowed to restore the Temple of the Christians in the Holy hand, to employ themselves in bringing back their architecture to its first institution'.[58]

Ramsay stated that the holy knight crusaders had 'agreed upon several ancient signs and symbolic words drawn from the well of religion in order to recognize themselves amongst the heathen and Saracens', and that 'these signs and words were only communicated to those who promised solemnly, even sometimes at the foot of the altar, never to reveal them'. The masonic promise was thus a 'bond to unite Christians of all nationalities in one confraternity'. And the essence of Ramsay's chivalric — 'muscular' — freemasonry was 'after the example set by the Israelites when they erected the second Temple who, whilst they handled the trowel and mortar with one hand, in the other held the sword and buckler'.[59]

In addition to extolling freemasonry's medieval chivalric antecedents, Ramsay argued that the nature of freemasonry was intrinsically teleological: that it epitomised all that could be regarded as virtuous, namely, a sense of humanity, good taste, fine wit, agreeable manners and a true appreciation of the fine arts, science and religion. He offered an attractive and holistic form of freemasonry that appealed to Europe's elites and validated their sense of self-worth. At the same time, Ramsay posited that 'the interests of the Brotherhood are those of mankind as a whole', and that 'the subjects of all kingdoms shall learn to cherish one another without renouncing their own country'. In common with Desaguliers, Ramsay positioned freemasonry as a movement that could unite individuals 'of all nations' and actively proselytised it as such, albeit that his target audience was limited to the aristocracy and wealthy upper middling.

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[55] The date of the *Oration* was probably 26 or 27 December 1736. It was given on subsequent occasions and was printed and circulated widely.

[56] Charles Radcliffe [sometimes written 'Radclyffe'] (1693-1746), titular fifth Earl of Derwentwater. Radcliffe had fought in the 1715 Jacobite Rising; he was condemned to death for treason but escaped from the Tower of London and fled to the continent.

[57] See C.N. Batham, 'Chevalier Ramsay: A New Appreciation,' *AQC*, 81,1968, pp. 280-315. There are various versions of Ramsay's *Oration*. Alain Bernheim suggests that he plagiarised material from English and French sources. See inter alia, Bernheim, *Etudes Maçonniques* 'Ramsay and his Discours Revisited,' available at www.freemasons-freemasonry.com/bernheim_ramsay03.html#c (accessed 29 June 2017).

[58] See, among many articles and books, J. Stuckey, 'Templars and Masons: An Origin Myth,' in A.J. Andrea and A. Holt (eds.). *Seven Myths of the Crusades*, Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing, 2016, p. 116

[59] Quotations from D. Wright, *Gould's History of Freemasonry throughout the World*, New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, vol. 3, pp. 13-14. For a more detailed exposition cf. Batham, 'Chevalier Ramsay.'

Paul Monod and others have argued that Ramsay's 1736 oration 'fired the starting gun' for the introduction of what are termed the higher Masonic degrees, and the roll-out of complementary quasi-masonic orders across Europe. This is partly true, although such higher degrees were already in use in Scotland and Ireland, frequently for fund-raising purposes. And one cannot ignore continental European aristocracy's enduring obsession with chivalric orders, something that dated back at least six centuries. Among many examples are the Knights Hospitallers formed in 1099, the Order of Saint Lazarus (1100), the Knights Templars (1118) and the Teutonic Knights (1190). Certain degrees and orders were especially select, among them the Order of the Golden Fleece, founded in Bruges in 1430 by Philip III, Duke of Burgundy, and limited to fifty knights plus the sovereign.

Intentionally or otherwise, Ramsay's masonic appropriation of medieval chivalry allowed him to push at an already open door. Partly as a consequence. freemasonry was successful in attracting adherents among the nobility and in court circles across Europe, most notably within the German states, Austria, Hungary, Russia and Sweden, where it had been introduced from France in the 1730s and was later transformed by Charles XIII into the Swedish Rite, arguably the zenith of Masonic spirituality and teleological self-discovery.

The Swedish Rite

The Swedish Rite was formalised in the late eighteenth century and has remained virtually unchanged since that time. The ceremonies are based on a combi¬ nation of Scottish and French masonic ritual, both of which have roots in and similarities to English ritual, and elements of Rosicrucianism. But unlike English (and American) ritual, Swedish Rite is an exclusively Christian order. The rite contains ten principal degrees as compared to the three 'blue' degrees of English freemasonry and the fourth Royal Arch or 'red' degree, which is deemed to complement and 'complete' the first three degrees.[60]

The Swedish Rite begins with three St John's or Craft degrees. It progresses to a further two St Andrew's or Scottish degrees,[61] and then to five Chapter or Templar degrees.[62]

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[60] The degrees are (a) the St John's or Craft degrees: Apprentice (I); Fellow Craft (II); Master Mason (III); (b) the St Andrew's or Scottish degrees: Apprentice-Companion of St Andrew (IV-V); and Master of St Andrew (VI); and (c) the Chapter degrees: Very Illustrious Brother, Knight of the East (VII); Most Illustrious Brother, Knight of the West (VIII); Enlightened Brother of St John's Lodge (IX); Very Enlightened Brother of St Andrew's Lodge (X). The XI degree is that of the Most Enlightened Brother, Knight and Commodore with the Red Cross.

[61] These degrees can be compared to the Royal Arch and Select Master in the York Rite and to Scotch Master in the French Rite.

[62] The Knight of the East, the seventh degree in Swedish Rite, depicts the erection of the Second Temple following the release of the Jews from captivity in Babylon. The degree is comparable to the Illustrious Order of the Red Cross in the York Rite and to the 15° of Scottish Rite. A warden of a St John's Lodge (I°-3°) requires this degree. The Knight of the West, the eighth degree, is the first Templar order and is based on the Templar legend, that the Templars fled to Scotland where they founded freemasonry. A master of a St John's Lodge must hold this degree. The ninth degree, Knight of the South, is Hermetic with Rosicrucian influences. The Confident of St Andrew, the tenth degree, is broadly comparable to the 29° of Scottish Rite.

Members of the Grand Council of Swedish Rite take an eleventh degree, becoming Knight Commanders of the Red Cross.

The system is based on the concept of personal spiritual progression over an extended period of time, often a decade or more. Advancement from a St John's lodge to a St Andrew's lodge to Chapter is not automatic, and rather than follow the English pattern of moving 'up the line' progressively via an ascending order of offices within a lodge — from inner guard to junior deacon, to senior deacon, junior warden, senior warden, and ultimately master of the lodge, a candidate's progress within Swedish Rite is associated with ascending the degrees themselves.

The first five degrees are broadly similar to the first four in English freemasonry, but there are a number of important differences. The most fundamental is that each degree has its own bespoke lodge room that sets a specific masonic tone and throws into relief the moral and spiritual aspects of that degree. Formal court dress (now 'white tie'), combined with a sword and scabbard, is worn by all participants throughout each meeting.

From a teleological viewpoint, Swedish Rite epitomises an individual's spiritual and moral advancement. However, since the degrees are not open and secrecy is maintained conscientiously in order to preserve the emotional impact for each participant, the following observations are generalised and limited to the first degree alone.

The first-degree Swedish Rite ceremony is conducted within an ornate lodge room configured to represent an open-roofed Egyptian or Greek temple. The rite begins with the sun rising in the east and over the course of the ceremony it moves slowly across the open sky before setting in the west, at which point the sun sets and the constellations come into view. Period eighteenth-century music is played throughout the ceremony, which serves to enhance the candidate's emotional experience and encourage and augment personal reflection.

In Swedish Rite, as in freemasonry as a whole, a candidate's moral and spiritual development is marked by and taught via a series of one-act morality plays, with the allegorical aspects of the degree explained obliquely via lectures and catechisms in which formal answers are given by the candidate to set questions. But in Swedish Rite, there is markedly greater drama and significantly enhanced emotional investment.

The lighting, music and solemnity of the lodge room, the bearing of lodge members, and the formality of the proceedings, are designed expressly to focus the attention of the candidate on the intrinsic message of the degree ceremony, prior to which the candidate will have been isolated in a separate room to encourage spiritual introspection.

Transatlantic influences

Freemasonry's teleological influence on revolutionary America was profound and has been the subject of numerous journal articles and books. Following America's War of

Independence, the masonic lodge became a preferred space for those who wished to associate with the new nation's post-war leaders, and American freemasonry was perceived as a font of Enlightenment virtues, high moral principles, and an organisation that could and would work for the benefit of the community as a whole. The latter aspect was given tangible form at the dedication of new public buildings and monuments from the Capitol Building in Washington, where the foundation stone was laid by George Washington, the nation's first president, a freemason, in a masonic ceremony, to the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, where General William Richardson Davie, the grand master of freemasons in the state, a war hero, and a national and state politician, presided over another masonic ceremony.

Freemasonry flourished in post-war America with a membership drawn not only from the elites but also the middling — farmers, merchants, store-keepers, tavern-owners, lawyers and local politicians. In contrast to Europe, American freemasonry embraced accessibility and inclusiveness, and ushered in a fundamental change to the organisation's social demographic.

This section focuses on a single reference point: the Seal of the State of Georgia, adopted in 1799. The Seal depicts three columns supporting an arch, three steps, and a militiaman with a drawn sword. The same imagery is present on the Seal of Georgia's Supreme Court. The official explanation of the allegory is that the arch represents the state's constitution and the columns the branches of government: legislative, guided by wisdom; judicial, guided by justice; and executive, exercising moderation. The presence of a soldier points to the defence of the state's constitution against its enemies.

But the Seal also has masonic symbolism; indeed, it was designed by Daniel Sturges, a freemason appointed Georgia's surveyor general in 1797.[63] In freemasonry, the three columns represent the Sun, the Moon and the Master of the lodge, respectively signifying wisdom, strength and beauty. They also allude to three key items of lodge 'furniture': the square, the compasses, and the Bible. The columns support an arch which represents the lodge itself and the universe as a whole. And the soldier represents the Tyler, the lodge's external 'guard', whose sword is drawn to keep out cowans and intruders to freemasonry,[64] and thus keep sacrosanct the spiritual knowledge that freemasonry imparts:

> Your admission among masons in a state of helpless indigence is an emblematical representation of the entrance of all men on this their mortal existence. It inculcates the useful lessons of natural equality and mutual dependence; it instructs you in the active principles of universal beneficence and charity to seek the solace of your own distress by extending relief and consolation to your fellow-creatures in the hour of their affliction. Above all, it teaches you to bend with humility and resignation to the will of the Great Architect of the Universe; to dedicate your heart thus purified from every baneful and malignant passion fitted only for the reception of truth and wisdom to His glory and the welfare of your fellow-mortals.

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[63] F.W. Cadle, *Georgia Land Surveying History and Law*, Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1991, p. 180.
[64] A cowan is a stonemason who has not undergone an apprenticeship and is therefore unapproved.

> Proceeding onwards, still guiding your progress by the principles of moral truth, *you are led in the second degree to contemplate the intellectual faculty and to trace it from its development through the paths of heavenly science even to the throne of God Himself*. The secrets of Nature and the principles of intellectual truth are then unveiled to your view. To your mind, thus modelled by virtue and science, Nature, however, presents one more great and useful lesson. She prepares you by contemplation for the closing hour of existence and when by means of that contemplation she has conducted you through the intricate windings of this mortal life she finally instructs you how to die.[65]

Conclusion

Is it feasible to apply a teleological analysis to eighteenth-century freemasonry — the answer, in short, is 'yes'. The masonic degree ceremonies state as much. Indeed, one can go further. As the largest and most influential of the eighteenth century's numerous fraternal clubs and societies, there is a strong argument that freemasonry had a powerful — if not seminal — role in reformulating and disseminating many of that century's more profound Enlightenment ideas and attitudes. This was particularly true of the way in which freemasonry acted upon the middling, by advocating and articulating a sense of personal moral responsibility in a society that was altering irrevocably as a function of urbanisation and the implementation of revolutionary changes to agriculture, trade and industry.

In the vortex of rapid societal transformation, freemasonry provided a means of visualising and defining an individual's role and place within society, and a key to explain that society. It offered a spiritual or quasi-spiritual alternative to traditional theology, and it embraced the advance of science and secularism by positing that the search for an objective and rational interpretation of the natural world offered a viable alternate route to 'truth'.

At the same time, freemasons and freemasonry supported the well-being and development of society by providing a positive moral structure while concurrently advocating a quasi-democratic *qua* liberal constitutional political framework. The result was a teleological construct that was simultaneously extrinsic and intrinsic; a paradigm that redefined the traditional formulation of personal responsibility, and qualified and reinterpreted external authority.

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THE THORNTON HISTORIES III

In the 1970s the late Bro. Peter Thornton provided Bro Fred Shade KL with a folder of documents outlining the history of various Masonic Orders in Victoria. In 2015 Bro Fred compiled these, with some additions of his own, into a limited-distribution publication. Those who have read the Thornton *History of the Holy Royal Arch in Victoria* published in previous issues of *Harashim* will be aware of the quality of the material that Bro Peter assembled. Over succeeding issues, *Harashim* will include further chapters from the collection. Bro Fred's assistance is much appreciated.

THE RED CROSS OF CONSTANTINE

The masonic Order of the Red Cross of Constantine has no connection whatsoever with the civil Order of the same name. The origins of the degree in England, as in various other parts of the masonic world, are shrouded in mystery, a mystery which is further increased in complexity by the number of 'Red Cross' degrees which are, or have been, in existence.

A reference to a 'Red Cross' degree in almost all early existing masonic literature usually does little more than complicate the task of the historian as only on rare occasions is any qualification given that allows the positive identification of the particular degree that is under discussion. A number of early references to a 'Red Cross' degree which were originally accepted as references to that of Constantine have since been shown, with a fair measure of conclusiveness, to have been concerned with that of Palestine.

In the narrower sense with which this article is primarily concerned it is also highly likely that some masons in Victoria interpreted a Canadian Knight Templar reference to a 'Red Cross' degree to be discussing that of Constantine. The actual degree in this case was the Red Cross of Babylon - now worked in Victoria in Councils of the Allied Degrees - but it should be stressed that confusion between these two degrees has rarely occurred and in this particular instance the confusion was almost certainly planned and deliberate.

A brief English background.

It is accepted that the degree as we now practice it was established by Robert Wentworth Little around the year 1865. Little himself wrote a history of the Order in which he implied that he had merely engineered a revival and he had it published in serial form in a masonic magazine. It earned for itself such critical, satirical and vitriolic comment that we are probably justified in ignoring all that Little had to say of the affairs of the Order prior to the year 1865 when, during his work as a clerk in the office of the Grand Secretary of the United Grand Lodge of England, he reportedly discovered papers referring to the Order and set to work to establish it.

This he did with enormous early success and there is evidence that he intended to make it a qualification for the Masonic Rosicrucian Society which he was building around the same time. Many of Little's local Rosicrucian leaders joined the Constantine Order just prior to being given the necessary authority to assume jurisdiction. Little also had a

hand in the rituals of that Society, and it is probably no coincidence that the discerning masonic student can find a trace of the Constantine ritual in the first grade of the Rosicrucian Society.

Either the Order itself possessed great natural appeal or Little was an astute salesman as, in England, the number of conclaves grew from 5 to 105 between 1868 and 1873. Unfortunately for the purposes of this work the reports of the Order for the years 1874 to 1887 were not bound and no copy of them has been found to be in existence. It must be acknowledged moreover that this is a reasonably fair indication of the manner in which the Order was being organised during those years, is probably as effective a comment as any on the way in which the authorities in London were treating the conclaves in all other parts of the jurisdiction, and to a large extent assists in explaining the somewhat curious introduction of the Order of the Red Cross of Constantine into this state.

The beginnings in Victoria.

This introduction occurred during the latter part of the above-mentioned span of 13 years and the evidence in regard to the formation of the three original Victorian conclaves is, as a consequence, not as complete as one would wish. However it does appear that the Order arrived in this state via two entirely independent paths. One of these was along what was considered to be regular and legitimate lines - the actual process that was followed may appear to be unusual in these times, but it was by no means uncommon in Orders beyond the royal arch when virgin masonic areas were being populated - while the other was looked upon, by some masons, as not exactly following the purest lines of descent. For no good reason we shall examine the 'purer' line first.

The work of William Farquharson Lamonby.

Lamonby arrived in Victoria around the middle of 1882, stayed for some 10 years, became a noted interferer in all things Masonic in this state with which he had been concerned in England and continue to proffer unwanted advice after he returned home. He arrived in Victoria already bearing a number of masonic titles - to which he added before returning to England - and included amongst them was that of Past Most Puissant Sovereign of the Cocklesmouth Conclave in England.

In a letter, written on 29 December 1883, Lamonby informed the London *Freemason* that there were no Conclaves of the Order at work in Victoria although there were a number in New Zealand. The Grand Recorder, W.R. Woodman, had authorized the formation of a Conclave in Melbourne and to that end a sufficient number of knights were to be installed after which the application for a warrant could be sent.

Lamonby was strangely reticent about mentioning his own name in a number of the reports that he forwarded to the London press, but other articles were to explain that he had received a special commission to carry out the acts specified in the above paragraph. There is a very strong suggestion that Lamonby never served the active office of Most

Puissant Sovereign but that the past rank was specifically confirmed to allow him to act for the Grand Imperial Council in establishing the Order in Melbourne.

(It is an interesting sideline that the official history of the Grand Imperial Council, published in London in 1971, states that from the beginning the ruling body was known as the Grand General Conclave until sometime around 1886 or 1887, when the title was altered to that used by Lamonby in his letter to London. Lamonby may well have been many things in masonry but not even he could have anticipated a name change by more than three years.)

There is no doubt that Lamonby went promptly to work after this letter and, applying the authority that he had been given, opened a conclave and install the necessary number of brethren of good repute that England had deemed as essential on 27 February 1884. Included amongst these was Thomas Henry Lempriere, the then District Grand Secretary of the Craft under the English constitution and later to be the first Grand Secretary of the United Grand Lodge of Victoria, who was to become the first Most Puissant Sovereign

The petition for the warrant was immediately sent to London.

(It may well be worth mentioning here that it was by no means unusual for the leaders in a lesser-known Masonic degrees and Orders to hand out commissions of the type that Lamonby possessed. In particular men of the class of the earlier Little and the later Woodman and Westcott and others of similar ilk, who were enamoured of fringe masonic organisations as well as the little-known degrees, found this to be a suitable and eminently practical method by which to assist these Orders to spread.)

Lamonby had been in Victoria for around two years by this time and it does appear that he was approaching his allotted task with far more care than would have been shown by his London superiors. He had waited until he was quite familiar with the local scene before he made his first moves, and he drew heavily upon the members of the Combermere Craft lodge - the only lodge in Victoria that has remained under the English constitution - for his masons of good repute. This was the lodge that he had joined and which he considered to be the best in the state.

To be fair to Lamonby, however, and to remove any suggestion of an undue selectiveness on his behalf, a slight digression is necessary to allow such a restrictive choice to be placed in a more favourable light.

A slight digression.
In July 1883, a Grand Lodge of Victoria was formed which gained very limited open or committed support and which was condemned by the authorities of the three British Craft Grand Lodges. Consequently it was not recognised by the United Grand Lodge of England and those brethren who had joined it were excluded from attending the British constitution lodges. Evidence strongly suggests that although this 'irregular' body attracted a mere five to ten per cent of the masons in the state to join it openly, quite a large percentage of the remainder were silent sympathisers and there were very few

lodges left in the state that were composed entirely of masons that remain loyal to the three original constitutions in thought as well as in deed.

Lamonby, Lempriere and [other] members of the Combermere Lodge, were part of the group that was violently opposed to the Grand Lodge of Victoria and wished to have no connection whatsoever with its adherents.

The Melbourne Conclave.

All was not as simple as the efforts of 27 February would have implied. Delays were mentioned in the masonic press, and they obviously occurred, but no reason for them was given which appears to be quite out of character for Lamonby who had shown on other occasions that he was not particularly willing to accept the blame for any results that were not viewable in the most favourable light if he could possibly avoid it.

He had not hesitated to inform London that the necessary eight knights have been installed and that he expected the consecration and associated ceremonies to be performed the next month. He stated that the name of the new conclave would be 'Melbourne' and that he felt sure that the local District Grand Master, Sir William Clarke, would join and accept the office of Intendant-General. This last supposition did not become fact and it is probable that Clarke was not completely convinced that the Order was free from the controversy.

In November Lamonby was writing to explain that the consecration of the conclave was delayed as they were waiting for the regalia and for the certificates for the new knights, although the warrant itself had arrived.

The local press printed a complaint in April 1885, that there had been no meeting of the Melbourne Conclave for over eight months. Apart from suggesting that the natives were becoming somewhat restless, this report implies that there had been a further meeting apart from the original and this contention is borne out by the fact that there were eighteen present at the consecration when it eventually occurred.

It was also mentioned that the warrant had been around for some twelve months and there was a reference to the banner of the Combermere Conclave. This last is an interesting point. As mentioned, Lamonby had drawn the majority of his original knights from the Combermere lodge, and it does seem likely that the use of the same name to the conclave was suggested by these new knights rather than by Lamonby who at no time gave any indication that he had another name apart from Melbourne in mind. And this is the name that the conclave finally adopted. (Lamonby was well aware that Viscount Combermere had no connection with the Order and that it would not really be Masonically correct to apply his name to a private Conclave.)

Presumably the local press complaints stirred Lamonby into action - although moves in another section of the Masonic community may well have played their part — as the consecration took place on 14 May 1885, with the Lempriere as the first Most Puissant Sovereign. At the first meeting 19 candidates were installed and included amongst a

number of noteworthy brethren was Dr Balls-Hedley a future Grand Master of the United Grand Lodge of Victoria.

The other path.
Less than twelve months later, in April 1886, Lamonby produced a motion at the Melbourne Conclave that the attention of the authorities in London be drawn to the fact that there was a warrant in force in Victoria that was being worked by masons who belonged to a body that was called the Grand Lodge of Victoria, and which was not acknowledged by the Grand Lodges of England, Scotland and Ireland.

It is surprising that it took so long for Lamonby to hear about it.

Whether or not the complaint was actually forwarded is not known but on a different occasion Lamonby, referring to the English Knight Templar authorities refusing to grant a warrant to these irregular masons, complained that the Grand Imperial College had issued one to the same brethren without asking any questions.

Lamonby was not quite correct, and he may well have made a tactical withdrawal when he discovered just who had organised the other 'impure' path by which the Order was introduced into Victoria.

As Lamonby had correctly stated in his first letter to London there were already several conclaves of the Order at work in New Zealand but he did not mention, probably he did not even know as communications within the Order at this time appear to have been on par with the manner in which the records were kept, was that a certain Dr. Thomas Sanderson Bulmer was occupying the office of Special Representative and Chief Intendant-General for New Zealand, Australia et cetera. Which obviously placed him far higher in authority than Lamonby.

Evidence from other degrees and Orders suggests that Bulmer was closely associated with the Dr Joseph D'Amer Drew who was a prominent member of the Grand Lodge of Victoria and an ardent collector of Masonic degrees titles. A number of the other members of that Grand Body were also by no means hesitant about the accumulating degrees titles while Drew himself was always more than ready to accept the top office in any newly introduced Order.

It is only natural that the Red Cross of Constantine Order did not escape the scrutiny of the two doctors.

It is likely that London, or at least Woodman, placed more emphasis on Bulmer's opinions than on Lamonby's and was waiting for a report from the former before sending the necessary certificates. It is also probable that the leaders of the Order in London had become confused with two knights effectively claiming authority in Victoria.

(Looking back on all of this with the advantage of time and non-involvement it is quite possible to determine an explanation that opposes the laws of logic and of probability.

Bulmer was also in the possession of authority of some sort in the Rosicrucian Society of which Woodman was the head, which allowed him to open constituent bodies in the far-flung outposts of the British Empire. In masonic matters it had been proved over and over again — and as late as the 1920s — that the masons in authority in England have no conception whatever of the geography of Australasia. Woodman's authority to Lamonby could have originally resulted from Bulmer's inactivity outside New Zealand - which is properly inexplicable to England - and produce complications when Bulmer did move to Melbourne. Hence Woodman may well have been considering Bulmer as the overall authority in the whole area of Australasia with Lamonby — as a result of largely self-motivated appointment — filling an ancillary role in an area that Bulmer had neglected. One can well imagine Bulmer being considered the true leader in Victoria and one can equally well imagine the leaders in London being driven into a state of confusion about the situation.

This contention would also explain Lamonby's objection about a warrant being issued with no questions being asked as it would be pointless to appoint a Special Representative only to query every move that he made. The delay between the issuing of the warrant to Lamonby and his friends, and the issuing of the set of certificates to those friends, could thus be attributed to London suddenly hearing from Bulmer in the interval.)

Bulmer, Drew and associates, acting completely independently to Lamonby & Co, opened the Metropolitan Conclave and its appearance book has been fortunately preserved. The first entry in that book is for a meeting on 27 January 1885, and it would be easy to conclude that this was either the consecration meeting or the first regular meeting. There is, however, evidence to negate such a conclusion.

There is preserved in the Grand Lodge library a certificate issued to one Henry Blackett Forster which indicates that he received the degree in the Metropolitan Conclave on 4 April 1884. Forster never attained any positions of prominence in masonry but certificates of his, together with facts known about other Orders, suggest that he was generally admitted into the various degrees at the first possible meeting.

It is thus reasonable to assume that the date of his installation was the date of the first regular meeting of the Metropolitan Conclave.

A close examination of the appearance book indicates other interesting points. That the January 1885, meeting was not the consecration is also made clear by the fact that the signatures of the members of the conclave are affixed beside their respective offices, and by the fact that a few blank pages have been left in the front of the book. Probably more conclusive, however, as far as the date of the consecration is concerned is the fact that a new Most Puissant Sovereign and officers of the conclave signed the book for the April 1885, meeting. Hence the February 1885, meeting must have been the occasion for the second enthronement ceremony. This would indicate that the conclave was consecrated in February 1884, as Drew would surely have insisted upon serving for a full twelve months.

Thus it appears that we can conclude that the Metropolitan Conclave was formed and consecrated by Bulmer, presumably after he had installed a sufficient number of Knights, in February 1884, that the first regular meeting was held in April and that, quite likely, no further meeting was held until January the following year. In all probability this was in reality an emergency meeting held to install a number of interested brethren as the next regular meeting would have been required for enthronement of the new Most Puissant Sovereign. Perhaps it was also needed to elect him.

The knights of the Metropolitan Conclave are all recognised as members of the renegade Grand Lodge of Victoria. At the first meeting recorded in the appearance book two visitors were present -Bulmer signed as Special Representative - one signing himself as a member of St. John's Conclave No. 145 at Hay, New South Wales, while the other signed as Eusebius of the Lowry Conclave No. 146.

When we start examining the numbers allotted to these for Australian conclaves interesting avenues of conjecture are opened. As the Metropolitan Conclave carried the number 144 it would be reasonable to assume that there was formed either before or at the same time as the two numbered after it. It would also be reasonable to assume that it was formed at the same time or after the Melbourne Conclave which carried the number 143, but we know that the Melbourne Conclave was not consecrated until some 12 months after the Metropolitan.

One logical conclusion is that the Conclaves would be numbered in the same order as either the petitions were received, or the warrants issued. Lamonby forwarded his petition as soon as possible after the February 1884, meeting and the warrant was reportedly issued very soon after. Bulmer, on the other hand, had wider powers than Lamonby - who had got himself into trouble in the Mark degree by widely overstating his authority - and could well have consecrated the other three conclaves before he forwarded the petitions to London. It is quite likely that the three were finally sent in the one communication and this would lead to the conclusion that these three Conclaves were issued with warrants numbered in the order of their consecrations.

The warrant for the Melbourne Conclave could thus have been issued before this communication was received from Bulmer — hence the lowest of the four numbers - but the certificates were not sent until a report on Lamonby's actions was received.

(The numbers referred to above are the numbers that the conclaves were officially to receive on the register of conclaves. Other lists appeared with different numbers for the three Bulmer conclaves and probably the most 'official' appearing of these was an English masonic calendar and pocketbook for the year 1885, which had Lowry as 144, Metropolitan as 145 and St John's as 146. Logic suggested the basis of this numbering was alphabetical. Many years later the uninformed local masonic press was using these numbers for the two existing Victorian conclaves.)

We cannot say whether the Metropolitan Conclave held its first meeting before Lamonby's initial installation of eight knights. If however, it did meet, as seems certain, in February 1884, and as other meetings apart from the January 1885, being held in the first week of the month, the laws of probability suggest very strongly that it did meet before the 27th. There must also have been a meeting of some sort from Bulmer to install his original set of knights. However, speculation along this line, as along the line as to why the Lowry Conclave today uses the original Melbourne Conclave appearance book, can lead to no concrete conclusions.

What we can conclude is that the Order of the Red Cross of Constantine was introduced into Victoria in February 1884. We would be wise to leave the actual date alone.

A brief life.

The Lowry Conclaves does not appear to have been a success. One cannot really argue with the members of the Grand Lodge of Victoria for setting up their own conclave as they would have had no choice of being admitted into Lamonby's even if they had been aware of it - they were probably unaware of it when Bulmer and Drew first got together - but surely there could not have been the necessary demand for them to form two conclaves. Perhaps the key to the third conclave in Victoria can be found in the person of one Henry Wallace Lowry. Lowry was District Grand Secretary in the Scottish craft, District Grand Treasurer - an elected office - in the English Craft, Provincial Grand Master in the English Constitution mark and Provincial Prior of the Knights Templar. He was also known, and noted, sympathiser with the members of the Grand Lodge of Victoria having been active early in the movement that led to the inauguration of that body.

He was 77 years old and a sick man. And, it must be stressed, a very popular man with a vast bulk of the masons in Victoria, although his relations with the leaders of the English Craft in this state had been severely strained many years earlier and, in particular, the debate with Lempriere some 20 years earlier had seen him suspended for a period of time. One must assume that Lowry would very much wish to occupy a high position in the new Order as he readily accepted the position of Most Puissant Sovereign in the conclave that was to carry his name into posterity. On one side he would have met opposition from Drew who hated to take second place behind anyone while, on the other side, he would have come face to face with Lamonby with whom he was feuding in the mark degree.

A third Conclave would thus have been the only way out particularly as it included Lowry's District Grand Mark Secretary, George Frederick Martin, who was also considered as a Grand Lodge of Victoria sympathiser and a Lamonby enemy, as second officer. Drew and friends would have been quite happy to assist, as they needed all the associates that they could get from the 'loyal' side of the craft.

The Conclave is listed as in abeyance in the 1889 *Masonic Guide* for Victoria which suggests that it had been out of action for some time as those publications were never exactly completely up to date. It is quite likely that only Lowry and Martin occupied the

office of Most Puissant Sovereign before the conclave died. Apart from the reference already mentioned in regard to the first meeting recorded in the appearance book of the Metropolitan Conclave, there are no other signatures to show that there were visitors from the Lowry Conclave, although on odd occasions 'renegades' attended from Melbourne.

In March 1888, the Grand Imperial Council reported the resignation of Bulmer from his high office - he was now back in England - but the report did not cause any immediate excitement of Victoria, although this could partly have been due to the fact that the Melbourne Conclave did not meet between December 1888, and June 1890.

At the next meeting of this Conclave, in January 1891, it was decided not to amalgamate with the Metropolitan, the name of Brett was suggested for recommendation to London to fill the position vacated by Bulmer - with the proviso that the Metropolitan Conclave be first consulted - and Lamonby was recommended for the position of Intendant-General unattached. Peace had been made between the two Conclaves in July 1890 - the masonic split in Victoria had been healed by the formation of the United Grand Lodge in March 1889 - when Lamonby and Brett, then Most Puissant Sovereign, had visited the Metropolitan Conclave. It is mostly like that it was at this meeting that both the amalgamation and Bulmer's successor were first discussed.

England did not accept this suggestion as regards Brett - perhaps the Conclave had had other ideas and had suggested Drew - although it did in regard to Lamonby, but appointed William Richard Virgoe to the office of Intendent-General, the appointments being communicated in February 1892. Virgoe, like Lamonby, was specially inducted into the office of past Most Puissant Sovereign.

The Metropolitan Conclave met for the last time in December 1890, and the Melbourne Conclave, having rejected amalgamation a month later, met for the last time in June 1891.

The members of the Grand Lodge of Victoria had been basically spawned in Masonic activity by the land boom which began early in the 1880s and it was their enthusiasm which produced the growth in the other Orders of masonry. The start of the 1890s saw much of this enthusiasm dissipated and this, combined with the collapse of the land boom, saw most of the other degrees neglected.

Perhaps if Lamonby had not returned home to England the Order could have been kept alive, but Lamonby had not been able to keep his Combermere Mark Lodge in work for very long. The times and the economy were against the maintaining of many Orders in masonry.

Virgoe was thus appointed king of a non-existing empire.

Did the degree survive in a very strange place?

The next meeting of a Conclave of the Order did not occur until January 1908, and it was held under the warrant of the first conclave to have ceased work, the Lowry. There

is, however, evidence to suggest that the actual degree, if not the Order itself was kept alive in a strange place.

In December 1882, the members of the Knight Templar Preceptories in Melbourne holding warrants from the Great Priory of Canada formed themselves into the Sovereign Great Priory of Victoria and promptly faced an edict of non-intercourse from the Great Priory of England and Wales. The knights concerned were members of the Grand Lodge of Victoria and had turned to Canada as England had refused to issue them with a warrant.

These knights were well aware that the Canadian body had included a 'Red Cross' degree in its system as an optional extra to facilitate matters when its members attempted to visit American preceptories. A number of the Victorian knights were in possession of certificates which stated that they had received this degree but, as mentioned at the beginning of this article, no specification was made as to which 'Red Cross' degree it was. Although it was perfectly obvious from the comments that were made about the degree that it was the Red Cross of Babylon, the Victorians were also in possession of speeches made by the Grand Master of the Canadian Great Priory in which he stated quite conclusively that, while he felt that the Red Cross of Babylon degree had absolutely no place in Knight Templary he was quite convinced that an excellent claim could be brought forward on behalf of the Red Cross of Constantine.

Although evidence is admittedly rather slim it does appear that the Sovereign Great Priory of Victoria adopted the Red Cross of Constantine degree which was in existence in this state rather than allow it to lapse into oblivion. The Red Cross of Babylon degree was quite unknown having been worked, as far as the records are concerned, only once and that was way back in 1858 under a Scottish chapter warrant.

In support of this contention the following points can be made.

1. It is most unlikely that Drew and company would have given up the Red Cross of Constantine degrees so readily in 1890 if other arrangements for its continuation had not been in hand. Harsh times were on the way, but they had not yet arrived and, as 13 or more were attending the meetings, there was no real reason for a sudden cessation of activities. If this had occurred around three or four years later, it would have been more readily acceptable to conclude that the Order had died a natural death.

2. These particular brethren greatly preferred their masonry to be locally controlled. A Grand Conclave of Victoria would have had no hope of being recognised and peace had just been restored to the Craft which meant that the circumstances were vastly different to those which had led to the formation of the Sovereign Great Priory. All masons in Victoria appear to have assumed that recognition for the local Knight Templar body would automatically follow the healing of the Craft split. (It did not. England seemed to assume, however, that the body would disband and had to again proscribed it in 1899.) Nothing could be

more logical, in the minds of the masons concerned, to take the Constantine degree under the wing of the Sovereign Great Priory, particularly as other jurisdictions included degrees that were not worked in English Knight Templary. And these jurisdictions were recognised by England.

3. For a number of years a successful, accurate and hard-heading masonic journal —*Masonry* — was published by one Frederick Jarrett. In the January 1901, edition Jarrett reported that G. Barker, the new Eminent Preceptor of the Daniel Spry Preceptory, had been installed on 26 February 1900, as a Knight of the Red Cross, Knight of the Temple, Knight of St John of Jerusalem, Palestine, Rhodes and Malta and Knight of the Red Cross of Constantine.

4. A photograph of Barker in the same issue shows him wearing a jewel of the Constantine Order.

5. The minutes of the Lowry conclave for the July 1908 meeting recorded that a certain Henry Thomas Tompsitt joined from Metropolitan, and, over a period, others are recorded in the same way. (Tompsitt did not join the Conclave before it went into abeyance in 1890.)

6. A special meeting of the Conclave was held in January 1909, to put Tompsitt through the degrees as he was leaving for England. The minutes record that he had previously been installed but his name had not been restored for registration.

An evaluation of these points.
Admittedly the evidence is by no means conclusiveness on the surface and Barker's titles suggest that the Red Cross degrees were definitely, and openly, sorted out by 1900. There is no evidence to allow us to conclude that the degrees were worked in full, but the Constantine ceremony is short enough to allow the bulk of it, without the lecture which had to be restored to the working in Victoria sometime later, to be performed as a preliminary or a supplement to the Knight Templar ceremony. However it does appear that the degree was 'adopted' by the Victorian Great Priory and this adoption most likely occurred around the time that the Metropolitan conclave ceased work.

One wonders which came first, the ceasing of work or the adoption.

The degree was there kept alive, even if possibly in name only, until that body disbanded and the two remaining preceptories threw in their lot with England in 1903. Yet one cannot even be sure that it did die even then. The Metropolitan preceptory was given permission to continue to work the Canadian ritual of the Knight of Malta degree and, in those days the bones of the Constantine ritual could well have been included also.

The position with regard to Henry Tompsitt is both interesting and informative. Tompsitt was a high ranking officer in both the Craft and the Royal Arch and had been offered the position of first Grand Master of the local Grand Mark Lodge. He was at all times extremely careful to ensure that all his actions in masonry were correct and proper.

Somewhat paradoxically he had become the Grand Master of the local Sovereign Great Priory, a body he would never have joined if he had had any doubt about its legitimacy. He spent quite a large proportion of his time, and it was during one of these visits that he discovered that he was the head of an Order that was proscribed by England. One can but imagine his horror, and it was undoubtedly due to his efforts that the local body disbanded, and England issued warrants.

In regard to the Constantine Order Tompsitt would have felt it necessary to again take the degree as his original installation had been in a body that the grand body in England could not recognise as legitimate to confer the degree. (England could of course deem all the Knights Templar to be regular once they came under the English constitution, but the Grand Imperial Council could not, at least in Tompsitt's mind, recognise as knights those who had been installed in Knight Templar preceptories.)

It may not have worried others in the slightest that the Metropolitan Conclave had been part of the Victorian Great Priory when they took the degree - any return of names could have easily concealed this, and a myth could have been perpetuated that the Conclave was really separate from the Preceptory - but it would certainly have worried a masonic purist which Tompsitt was. Hence his desire to be re-installed.

Assuming that the degree was removed from the Knight Templar Preceptories in 1903 - the most likely explanation from the number of joining members that the conclave was to have — one is forced to uncover a reason. Such a reason is not difficult to find. The early part of the 1900s was not conducive to active masonic work as it stood, let alone in the formation of new bodies. It was during this period that the Grand Mark Lodge and the Grand Chapter were having difficulties in filling all of the Grand Offices each year, It was thus necessary to wait until masonry underwent a minor revival before the Order was restored.

England, incidentally, reported the death of Virgoe in 1903 but did not appoint a successor, thus implying that awareness had reached London - probably through Tompsitt - that the Order was not in work.

The restoration.

The Order was apparently restored to life by three knights, Martin, Maillard and Ross. Martin became the Most Puissant Sovereign; he at least came from the original Lowry conclave even if the other two did not - although this is not known - and probably for this reason it was the Lowry warrant that was restored to life. At the first meeting in January 1908, three candidates were admitted and an unnamed number of joining members were accepted. These are not mentioned in the minutes but at the next meeting Thomas Lambert was elected as Most Puissant Sovereign with the comment that he had joined at the previous meeting.

From this it does appear that the original three were members of the Lowry Conclave - they could well have been as they were Masonically active in those days - that Martin was still the Most Puissant Sovereign of that Conclave, and that the restoration was

perfectly legitimate in that only members of the actual conclave were involved. There seems to be no other reason why Drew would also have been a joining member, rather than an organiser, and he is listed as joining at the same meeting as did Tompsitt.

In April 1910, two important events occurred. A letter was received from the Grand Recorder in regard to an Intendent-General for the Division of Victoria. The conclave suggested Drew and the notice of his appointment arrived in November. Secondly a certain W.J. Parry travelled from the country town of Bendigo - a distance of around one hundred miles - to revive the degree in the Lowry Conclave. He did so as a result of something that occurred in Bendigo sometime previously when it was decided that a Conclave was desired for that town. Parry was informed that the Melbourne warrant - not the Combermere - was indeed available and 3 June 1910 saw the members of the Lowry Conclave travel to Bendigo to restore the Melbourne Conclave to life.

It worked under this name until a letter was received from Drew in May 1911, authorising the change of name to the Bendigo Conclave.

The Order appears to have done little more than exist for the next twenty odd years. There is evidence to suggest that the Bendigo Conclave spent periods in abeyance and the appendant Orders appear to have been rarely worked, and then only in the Lowry Conclave, until the 1930s.

It was during 1930-31, while the Bendigo Conclave was reportedly not working, that considerable effort was expended in an attempt to bring the Order to some measure of vitality. A large amount of money was spent on the furnishings of the Lowry Conclave and a vigorous recruiting campaign was begun. The credit for the hard work was given to two knights, one, Etienne Kelson became the Grand Secretary of the Mark degree while the other, Edwin George Watson, was a future Intendant-General of the Order.

The Intendents-General

Little is known of the mysterious Dr. Bulmer apart from the fact that he wandered about on the fringes of masonry in Victoria for a few years and helped start a number of Orders. Virgoe is almost a masonic non-entity although the fact that he was a member of the Combermere lodge - and presumably Chapter - prevented him from attaining any rank in the local Grand Bodies. Drew joined everything that he possibly could and reached the top rank in most Orders. Ill health forced him to submit his resignation in July 1915, and he was succeeded by Arthur Thewlis, the long serving Deputy District Grand Master in the local English constitution mark degree, who apparently restored, or added, the historical lecture to the working.

Thewlis was followed in 1932 by one of Victoria's greatest freemasons the Rev. Albert Thomas Holden who attained the highest rank that was possible in all but one of the Orders that were in existence in Victoria, and was reportedly the first minister of a non-conformist church to receive the conferred rank of Past Grand Chaplain under the United Grand Lodge of England. Holden, who was told of his appointment while he was in England, was succeeded by Robert Peter Dick in November 1935, and he was

followed in turn by Arthur John Dean, the first Intendant-General to be actually enthroned into office. Both filled the office of First Grand Principal of the Supreme Grand Chapter of Victoria and Dean was to emulate Holden in that he became the local leader of many of the Orders.

E. George Watson was appointed in 1970 following the death of Dean and on his retirement in 1973, Frederick William Boothby Cox became Intendant-General.

The state of the Order.
The third Conclave was not formed until after the Second World War and the Order, finally displaying a desire for growth rather than mere existence, now has six conclaves at work in Victoria. It has become more generally known to the bulk of the royal arch masons in this state and a bright future now seems assured for the Order of the Red Cross of Constantine in Victoria.

The Appendant Orders.
Attached to the Order of the Red Cross of Constantine are two separate 'appendant' orders which have nothing whatsoever to do with the Red Cross of Constantine but are indeed masonic orders in their own right. While history is obscure there are good reasons for believing that these two orders — the Knight of the Holy Sepulchre and Knight of St. John the Evangelist - have always been attached to the Red Cross Order and, in England at least, have always been appendant to it.

There are two 'chair' degrees in the Red Cross order, those of Most Puissant Sovereign and of Eminent Viceroy, and the appendant orders are necessary qualifications for these two chair degrees. Originally this must have led to some confusion and difficulty as the qualification for membership of the Red Cross of Constantine was master mason while for the remaining two orders it was companion of the holy royal arch. It was not until 1936 that the regulations were altered to make the royal arch qualification necessary for the Red Cross degree as well. In early days master masons were admitted to the conclave but obviously only to the Red Cross degree and the vestige of this practice can still be seen in the ritual for the appendant orders where what is an apparent inconsistency can be explained in the light of the earlier regulation.

It seems more than likely that the early days of the order in Victoria saw only the first degree worked - particularly in the Melbourne Conclave - except on rare occasions and it is possible that the secrets only of the others were communicated to the knight companions who were to occupy the chairs. It is also possible that after the restoration the Bendigo Conclave did not work the appendant orders as March 1919 saw Trebilcock writing down asking whether he could receive these in the Lowry Conclave.

Indeed it does appear that it was not until Kelso and Watson revived the Conclave in 1930 that the appendant orders were regularly worked and in July 1931, 20 candidates were present while six others were unable to attend. Admittedly some of this is merely conjecture but in England today the appendant orders are rarely worked by the individual conclaves. It is more usual for a mass conferring to take place at the annual

meeting of the Grand Imperial Conclave and a similar practice, though to a lesser extent, may well have been the rule in Victoria.

It was not until 1941 that the companions were informed that the sash of the appendant orders was to be worn at all times.

HARASHIM

חרשים

No. 103: June 2024
ISSN 1328–2735

The quarterly magazine of the
Australian and New Zealand
Masonic Research Council.

***Harashim*, Hebrew for *Craftsmen*, is a quarterly newsletter published by the Australian and New Zealand Masonic Research Council, in March, June, September and December each year. It is supplied to Affiliates and Associates electronically in PDF format. It is available worldwide as a PDF as an email attachment, upon application to the Editor at morsemasonic@gmail.com. *Harashim* can be read online at https://issuu.com/harashimed**

Contents

Affiliate and Associate members are encouraged to contribute material for *Harashim*, including:
¨ Their lecture programs for the year;
¨ Any requests from their members for information on a research topic;
¨ Research papers of more than local interest that merit wider publication.

Harashim also includes news, reports from ANZMRC, book reviews, extracts from other publications and a readers' letters column, from time to time.

If the source of an item is not identified, it is by the editor. Opinions expressed are those of the author of the article and should not be attributed to the Council.

Material submitted for publication must be in a digitized form by email, or on a drive sent to Neil Wynes Morse, PO Box 6080, Mawson ACT 2607 Australia. Or email to **morsemasonic@gmail.com**

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PRESIDENT'S PAGES

Dear Fellow Masonic Researchers,
This will be my penultimate presidential page. There will be another *Harashim* produced in September and a new President elected at the biennial conference in Sydney held from 17th to 19th October this year. The conference looks good with many interesting research papers. I, with the help of others, was successful in getting a string quartet to play at the dinner, but it has yet to be included in the agenda. I have hired a string quartet at my own expense and I am sure that they will give a great interpretation of the two Masonic waltzes and one Masonic glee when they play these at the conference dinner. If there is room in the dining venue, perhaps some of us will be able to dance.

The current situation of ANZMRC is not great. At the biennial conference held in Dunedin in 2022, only four of the seven jurisdictions were represented. I saw one of my rôles as President as trying to encourage a greater participation in masonic research. My offer to attend, either in person or by zoom, lodges to advocate this fell on deaf ears. I fear for the future of ANZMRC because of this decrease in masonic research, particularly in the three Australian jurisdictions who did not appear at the conference.

I have another fear. Some jurisdictions use the research lodges as vehicles to educate the members of their jurisdictions whereas others do not. The latter concentrate on research and others take care of the education of the Freemasons of their jurisdictions. This is fine and each jurisdiction has the right to handle this in whatever way it wants. We have been forewarned that there will be a motion proposed at the coming biennial conference to include in the constitution the requirement that jurisdictions and entities that belong ANZMRC are also responsible for education. What worries me is that a number of emails I have seen agree to such a change, including at least one Freemason who belongs to a jurisdiction that does not use its researchers as educators. Admittedly, there are some Freemasons in these jurisdictions who undertake both research and education, but these are seen as separate rôles with their education rôle not being an adjunct to their research rôle.

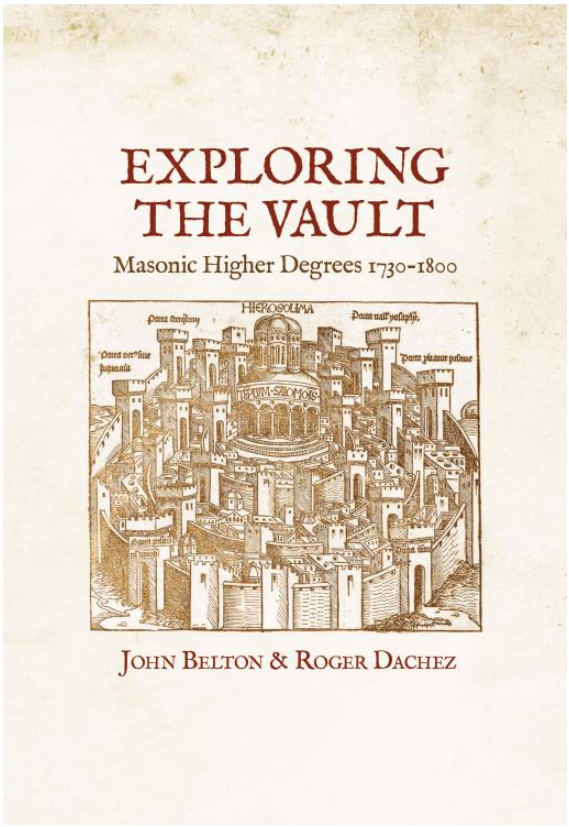
We are the Australian and New Zealand Masonic Research Council (ANZMRC) not the Australian and New Zealand Masonic Research and Education Council (ANZMREC). As it is, all members of the Council are involved with research and, if they wish to serve their Grand Lodges by being their education wing, that is fine, but they should not try to change the constitution to adopt what happens in their jurisdictions and thereby potentially exclude those whose responsibilities would then seem to be lacking in terms of the constitution. If the motion is carried, then it should be impossible for lodges in a jurisdiction such as mine to legitimately remain in the Council. I would be encouraging the two research lodges to which I belong to withdraw from the Council. That may seem an unnecessary move to some, but it is a matter of integrity. How can a research lodge, or a masonic research group that concentrates on

research and has no education rôle, remain in a council that requires both? Hopefully, the motion will not be put or, if it is, it will be defeated. The Council as it is now is not as extensive as it once was with the lack of representation at the Dunedin biennial conference being a symptom of this. A motion that includes the requirement that members undertake education has the potential to split the Council and/or lose members. It would be much preferable to leave things as they are, to let sleeping dogs lie.

I look forward to seeing many of you at the biennial conference in October where there will be many interesting RESEARCH papers presented. Until then, enjoy whatever RESEARCH projects with which you are now involved.

Kind fraternal regards,
David B. Slater,
President, ANZMRC

PRE-PUBLICATION PRAISE



The following is an edited version of the Preface to the above book, to be launched in Paris in mid-June at the IXth World Conference on the History of Freemasonry https://www.ipsonet.org/conferences/ritualconference-main/program/.

In his Preface, Professor Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire, Professor of Modern History at the Université Côte-d'Azur (Nice) and acclaimed Masonic scholar, writes:

> "Reunite what is scattered." John Belton and Roger Dachez have taken this traditional Masonic injunction literally and gone to the archives to gather an impressive collection of documents scattered across Europe and the Atlantic. Breaking with a teleological perspective that reconstructs the origins of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite as if it were an ineluctable process, they reconstruct, in a succession of chapters that will keep the reader on the edge of his seat, the various paths taken by in a history that is constantly enriched by new discoveries. Breaking with the idea inherited from Harry Carr that nothing happened on the high-rank front across the Channel between 1730 and 1760, they happily shake up our chronological laziness. In so doing, they revisit whole swathes of Masonic history, and above all rethink Masonic movements in eighteenth-century Europe. The Jacobite exile is no longer studied as a passive transfer from the British Isles to France, but is revisited from below. It is now embodied in so many individual trajectories set in context. Hector Maclean of Duart (1703–1750), Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Paris, knew very little about British Masonry. Born in France, he was much more familiar with French lodges. Conversely, Lodge no. 98, which became Union French Lodge in 1739 when it moved from the Kings Arms tavern to the Union Coffee House, established itself from London outwards as a remarkable Masonic nursery whose members had a decisive influence from the Holy Roman Empire to the United Provinces (now the Netherlands), and through the printed word throughout Europe, since their publications shaped the Masonic culture of the time. Brothers La Tierce, Coustos, Steinheil and La Chapelle, who left their names in the pantheon of early eighteenth-century Freemasonry, are

well known separately, but here we will discover Lanse (Thomas Lansa) and many other little-known brothers, as well as the importance of musical and artistic circulations as vectors of Masonic exchange.

To challenge a long-standing historiographical tradition and challenge the authority of the vulgate, it was necessary to go to the sources—*Ad Fontes*! In the words of the humanists and reformers of the sixteenth century. It was also necessary to draw on the critical and philological experience forged over several decades of landmark research and publications. John Belton, author of *The English Masonic Union of 1813* and a member of some of the best research circles on Freemasonry, has also written a postscript to the French version of *Francmaçonnerie, l'histoire retrouvée* by David Taillades. As for Roger Dachez, his Masonic bibliography fills entire bookshelves, where he combines the power of argument, the sense of formula that he is known for both orally and in writing, with an unparalleled erudition and an ever-renewed scholarly curiosity. On a personal note, his *Invention de la franc-maçonnerie: Des opératifs aux spéculatifs,* to be read in its second edition, is the book of the last fifteen years that has most impressed me in the field we hold dear. And here it is the same all-encompassing method of investigation that hits the nail on the head. But a four-handed book cannot be improvised. To be successful, you need to combine and share methods and fieldwork. This book is therefore the fruit of several years' work and intellectual collaboration. Readers, whether English-speaking or French-speaking, will go from one discovery to the next. If they thought they had been warned that nothing much had happened between 1730 and 1760, they will discover that, on the contrary, this was a seminal period marked by a profusion of experimentation and exchange. It was then that Freemasonry spread across the continent and overseas. While the reader may have been familiar with a "national" history of the Masonic order, he will discover that he needs to change scale, because Freemasonry, more than any other form of sociability, was fundamentally trans-national in the eighteenth century. This is why following individual itineraries and the spread of lodges was both difficult and yet essential.

This book is an investigation in which the authors not only share their findings with readers. As the chapters progress, they pick up traces and clues that they record, observe, comment on and compare. This history is first and foremost an archaeology, and in it John Belton and Roger Dachez demonstrate both their taste for archives and their desire to (re)construct a narrative. Their analyses invite readers not only to question a number of certainties, but also to push their own thinking. This is the hallmark of successful books that are destined to become benchmarks. They do not need to challenge their predecessors, because history is cumulative knowledge. One can acknowledge one's debts and pay an intellectual tribute to the great ancients, while recognising their limitations. We can also question some of their perspectives, while highlighting the pioneering aspects of their work. This approach to the work of the historian has become sufficiently rare that it deserves to be applauded. Too many authors have tried, particularly on this side of the Channel, to enter the arena by announcing with great effect that everything that had been written before them had *ipso facto* been demonetised and that they were going to revolutionise the state of our knowledge thanks to their unique science. Their books have often aged badly. Here, on the contrary, the authors honour themselves with a scientific modesty that only their unrivalled mastery of their subjects has enabled them to achieve, and the result is both stimulating and particularly convincing.

This book is not the end of an investigation, but rather an invitation to continue it, as each chapter offers original perspectives and revisits a fragmented and piecemeal history. Its publication in two languages is to be welcomed as an invitation to dialogue on the basis of a shared and accessible science. The writing is effective, never jargony, but rejects anachronisms and the brilliance of artificial constructions, taking a back seat to the Masonic work and its craftsmen in order to highlight them. The result is delightful.

MOVING A COLLECTION:
ISSUES IN THE DOCUMENTATION, TRANSPORTATION AND STORAGE OF THE FREEMASONS VICTORIA COLLECTION

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Originally from *AICCM Bulletin*, 39:2, [2018] pp. 107-115, reprinted by permission of the lead author. Positions held by the authors were as at the original date of publication.

Abstract

Early 2011 Freemasons Victoria decided to prepare the many historical and significant objects in their collection for relocation to premises in Prahran, Melbourne. This temporary storage facility would house the museum, portraits and library until a new Masonic building was constructed and a new museum established. This task unfolded as a complex series of steps requiring the organisation of the highly diverse collection before packing and transportation. These objects were in varying condition and with minimal or no associated documentation. This article outlines the process of bringing together this collection within a coherent framework, in preparation for its relocation and with the broader aim of improving future access to the collection and potential for museum accreditation. This process proved to be a challenging endeavour which evolved as more objects were located and identified. While many of the steps described in this paper are routine, the paper aims to present the journey of moving a large collection of objects within an institution historically shrouded in secrecy and misunderstanding (rightly or wrongly) and the challenges encountered along the way.

Keywords: *Freemasons Victoria, Masonic collections, museum accreditation, Dallas Brooks Centre, museum relocation, museum documentation*

Introduction

Freemasons Victoria represents an organisation with extensive tangible and intangible heritage. The United Grand Lodge of Victoria (UGLV), previously at the Dallas Brooks Centre (DBC), has accumulated a diverse collection of Masonic items over an extended period which are significant to the history of Freemasonry in Australia, however they have only the beginnings of awareness, and less of a focus on conservation. The collection includes masonic regalia and aprons of varying origins and significance, jewels, sashes, collars and cuffs; ceremonial objects such as trowels, wooden pointers and other symbolic instruments; glassware, ceramic jugs and several hand painted banners; rare books, photographs, documents and parchment 'warrants' (certificates that are issued when a new Masonic Lodge is incorporated into the Grand Lodge of Victoria), as well as a large number of paintings. Many of the tools used in operative masonry appear as decorative motifs and as physical objects employed in Freemasonry ceremonies and carry special meaning to the participants. A full discussion of these symbols and their meaning can be found in the following texts - Darrah 1979 and Dyer 1983. Learning

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how to accurately describe these objects and what their significance for Freemasons Victoria was key in the condition reporting process and facilitated by discussions with volunteers from the fraternity. Although Freemasons Victoria is not a religious organisation and these objects are not considered 'sacred', how these objects are used in Freemason ceremonies remained a private matter which offered many challenges for their preservation.

Historically, the term 'lodge' was used to describe temporary shelters which stonemasons erected for the duration of their work on a building, housing their tools and a space for dining, but is now used to describe the buildings which operate as meeting places for Freemasons (Ridley 2008, p. 3). In 1839 the first meeting of the Lodge of Australia Felix was held after the arrival of the authorisation warrant from the United Grand Lodge of England (Thornton 1978, p. 1). In 1889 a unifying body called the UGLV was formed, governing the many individual lodges from a single location. The UGLV was first housed at 25 Collins Street, Melbourne, before being moved to the Dallas Brooks Centre (DBC) on Albert Street, East Melbourne, and officially opened by the Victorian Governor Sir Dallas Brooks in 1969. Though the collections of Freemasons are widespread across the different lodges in Victoria, most of the objects and library materials were centrally held at the Museum and Library at the DBC. Throughout its history, the UGLV membership has included many prominent men, most notably Sir Dallas Brooks, Sir Edmund Barton, Sir Robert Menzies, Sir Donald Bradman and Graham Kennedy (Freemasons Victoria 2015, n.p).

Following a decline in membership over the last forty years, in 2011 the decision was made to demolish the DBC in favour of a more financially sustainable site, which necessitated the relocation of the collection. The variety and condition of the collection presented a challenge when planning to move to the temporary storage site at the Royal Freemasons Coppin Centre in Prahran. Due to past instability in the Grand Librarian appointment, and the reliance of the Museum and Library on volunteers from within the fraternity, a cataloguing system for the objects had not been successfully implemented, and the number of items in the collection was unknown. As such, an external Collections Manager was engaged to coordinate this project, and the authors of this article were employed to condition report significant items, as well as conduct basic conservation treatment, preparation of conservation grade storage boxes, recommendations for further conservation treatment and transportation of the collection to the new site. As objects were found in various rooms within the building, the challenge was to begin a documentation process which could then be transferred to a suitable museum cataloguing program in the future. This article provides an overview and analysis of the process of organising such a diverse collection of objects in preparation for transportation and storage, and the issues encountered.

Background

This project was unprecedented for Freemasons Victoria. Most of the items were stored in the museum or library and many volumes of leather-bound Masonic minutes books

were stored in a basement archive. The remainder of the collection was on display in various rooms and meeting halls around the building. Additionally, the presence of several concealed spaces – hidden closets, unused rooms, and even sealed within walls - around the DBC, led to the regular discovery of "new" objects which required ongoing documentation and flexibility in the project priorities.

Many of the items were extremely fragile - the silk items exhibited shattering consistent with that reported in the literature , painted surfaces had contracted, cracked and delaminated, especially where the textiles had been rolled or folded, and metallic fringes had corroded and unravelled (Garside, Wyeth & Xiaomei Zhang 2010 p. 130; Timár-Balázsy & Eastop 2004, p. 45, 119, 135-137; Ahmed 2014, p. 21; Rezić et al 2010, p. 237). A few items showed signs of insect attack, such as books and some wooden objects.

There were several preventive conservation issues identified:

- The absence of an established documentation system meant observed repairs, interventions, accessioning information and provenance were not recorded (see Figure 1), and that some objects had been misplaced or forgotten about.
- No protocols were in place to inform the process of donation to the Freemasons Victoria museum, loan of objects to other lodges in Victoria, travelling of library volunteers to lodges around Victoria to showcase objects, or the de-accessioning of objects from the collection. Many items are understood to have been donated by Masonic members over many years or had come from other Masonic lodges which had closed or had no known provenance, however documentation of these object histories was missing.
- Throughout this project a large amount of data was generated around each object by project members who researched historical information about Freemasonry and identified makers of objects and materials using various techniques. It was concluded early in the project that a central database of the collection items was necessary to create object records and keep track of each item as they were relocated (Heritage Collections Council 1988 pp. 41-54). As the documentation progressed, separate spreadsheets were created based on the material or location of the objects within DBC. To keep up with the range of objects being documented and the day-to-day change of project members working, handover notes were taken and e-mailed to all involved in the project - the four project members and the Collections Manager.

There were few detailed records of any of the objects and only rudimentary catalogue numbers or accession numbers.

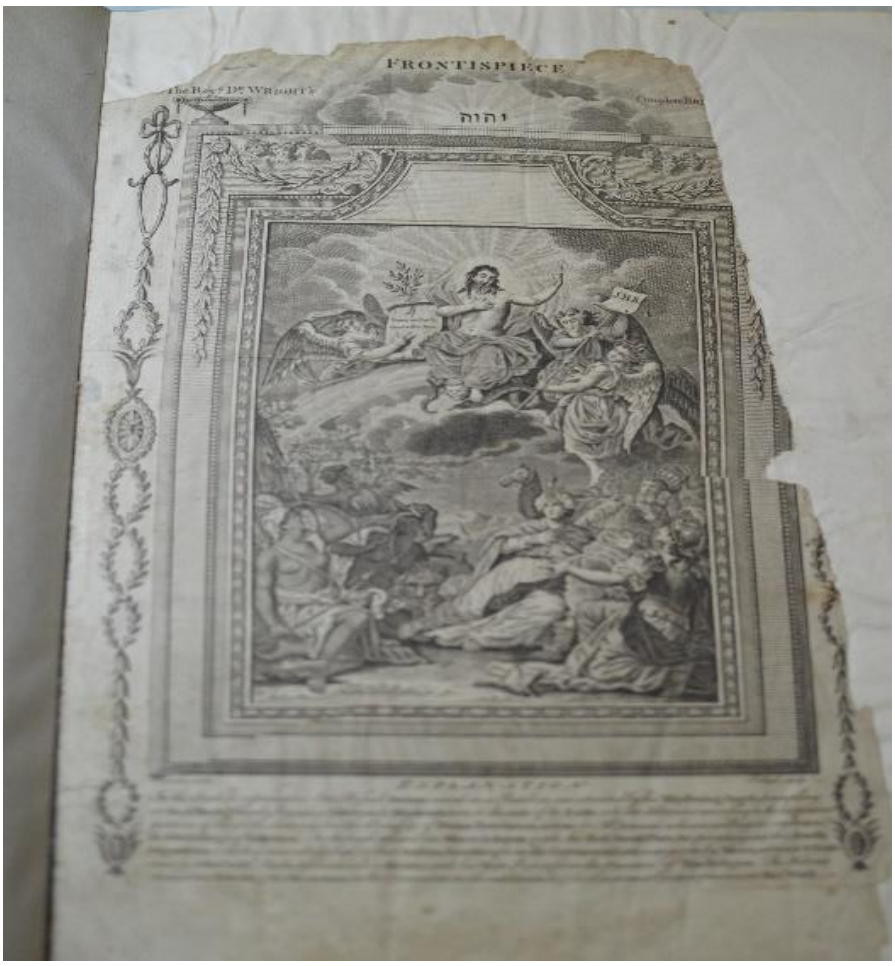

Figure 1. A page from a family bible belonging to Rev. Dr Paul Wright, circa 1775, with evidence of past conservation treatment. The damaged page has been adhered to a support page and over time the original page has cockled and discoloured. © Freemasons Victoria 2015.

Project Objectives

Initially, the objectives of the project appeared straightforward – to prepare a collection of objects for transportation and storage at a temporary site where the items would remain until a new facility was constructed. This would involve locating all the items in the collection that were housed at the DBC, construct appropriate archival grade storage boxes, package objects and label boxes in preparation for transportation and long-term storage, prepare the temporary storage facility to receive the collection, and flag fragile items for specialised conservation treatment when facilities and supplies became available.

The straightforward nature of this project was challenged by the unknown but ever-increasing number of items in the collection – the initial estimate was two thousand, however the collection survey is still underway - and the difficulty in raising the importance of ongoing conservation activities to the Freemasons organisation. Although Freemasons members were aware that their museum collection is significant, objects had been stored in less than ideal conditions owing to a lack of understanding of collection care. The decision to engage a Collections Manager was a positive and promising step. The project objectives were therefore reconfigured to include accurate documentation of each object before packaging, transportation and storage and raise

awareness of the value of conservation with Freemasons members; activities designed to assist this collection to take the next step towards museum accreditation.

Process

Stage 1: Documentation

Grounding the careful planning for the moving and storage of any collection, also provides an opportunity to begin an accurate inventory of all items and to consider the new environment, new environmental conditions, security, preventive conservation and disaster preparedness (CCAHA 2013, p. 4). This initial documentation stage involved condition reporting of each object and its significance with recommendations for short-term and long-term care – including assessment of objects for packaging and relocation, and for future care (Ambrose & Paine 2012, p. 220-226; Conservation Centre for Art and Historical Artifacts 2013, p. 4). It was split into multiple steps, roughly divided by object type. The objects in the collection were not given catalogue numbers at this stage as a software program suitable for such a diverse collection had not been decided upon. For ease of data migration, information was recorded in an Excel spreadsheet by article type, for example, ceramics, glassware, paintings, wooden objects etc. An example of the spreadsheet used is shown below in Table 1. The column 'Previous Location' was deemed important in the documentation process. Most of the objects had been on display in specific rooms within the DBC, and the way these objects had been originally displayed in the building was considered significant to their history. Given that these objects had never been condition reported and they presented with a large variety of types of deterioration, a collective discussion of terms and categories was essential to the process for a collective understanding and agreed methodologies to evolve (Keene 2002, p. 144).

The authors conducted documentation and basic treatment of the collection of Grand Masters paintings by various prominent Australian artists - including Sir Joshua Smith, Charles Wheeler, William Dargie and William B. McInnes. Evidence of blooming on some of the oil paintings, both within storage and on display, illustrated a concern for the influence of the facility's environmental conditions on the physical and chemical condition of the paintings (Van Loon et al. 2012, pp. 234-235). The environment at the DBC was based on the comfort of staff and visitors not the needs of the objects and was likely due to the custodians of the collection being unaware of the effect of environment – temperature, relative humidity, light – on objects. Other paintings showed signs of age with yellowed varnish or damage to the paint layers, primary support and frame due to improper storage and accidental damage.

TABLE 1. EXAMPLE SPREADSHEET USED TO DOCUMENT OBJECTS IN THE FREEMASONS VICTORIA COLLECTION.

Date	Thumbnail image of object	Temporary Object Number	Packing Number	Type of packing box	Description	Title	Dimensions	Condition	Previous Location	New Location	Valuation for insurance if known
9.3.2014		PA51	Painting Box 1	To be packed by POD	Oil painting in frame of Lord Somers. Lord Somers stands beside his hat and is in uniform, no apron or other freemason regalia. Freemason Victoria coat of arms in upper left corner. Composition ornamented gilded timber frame.	Painting – MWBro. Lord Somers D.C.M.G., D.S.O.M.C. Grand Master 1927–1932	Frame: Height – 1670 mm, Width – 1260 mm, Inset: Height – 1400 mm, Width – 980 mm.	Very good. See Condition Report for detailed information	Lord Somers Room	Room 24	Not known

Stage 2: Packing the archives
This stage presented a variety of conservation issues.

Two student conservators were assigned the task with packing and basic condition reporting of the extensive archive of books and two-dimensional materials. This collection was housed in a basement room of the Dallas Brooks Centre with inadequate environmental controls and had received little to no attention for many years. For these reasons, it was essential that this archive be assessed and moved in a timely fashion. The archive consists of minute books (leather bound books containing hand written records of each Masonic meeting), bibles, rituals for the different orders of Freemasonry, warrants, photographs and an assortment of other historical documents make up the collection's paper materials, originating from lodges all over Victoria. Many of these books dated back to the 1800s and were considered highly significant and valuable to the Freemason's community. All the books were stored on steel shelving but had been packed tightly together, not allowing for any air flow between books. Some books had been placed in non-archival cardboard boxes and all the objects were dusty. and were in remarkable condition, with only a small number of books being found to contain mould. The mould was mainly located mostly on the covers and suspected to be the result of storage underneath air conditioning units where there appeared to be moisture build up (see for example Price 2013, p. 1; Strang and Dawson 2002, pp. 2-3). However, some other books exhibited signs of advanced leather rot. Sightings of pests were rare, a testament to the protection the building has provided.

Although the entire collection required some form of conservation treatment, there were neither the facilities nor the time to address the many conservation needs. In many instances, intensive and prolonged conservation treatment by experienced book and paper conservators was needed. The scope of this project did not allow for time spent on extensive conservation treatments. The Collections Manager decided it was more expedient to pack the books and documents and label them in preparation for transport rather than spend time on detailed conservation treatments. Because of the deadline to remove all objects in the collection before demolition of the building, efforts were concentrated on safely packing and documenting this collection as efficiently as possible with the view that conservation treatment would be conducted at a later stage.

The systems of bagging and boxing the book and paper collection developed over the months, as the four project members worked in teams of two on various days of the week. The books were grouped by their respective lodge name or number on the shelves, which guided the packing process. The books were assessed for noticeable damage or threat posed to other objects (i.e. spread of mould) and then a certain amount was placed in polypropylene (PP) zip-lock bags based on the size and weight of the books, primarily to isolate mould or red rot and to protect the exteriors of the books from damage. PP bags were chosen as they were inexpensive, and a large number were required. Research conducted by Curran et. al (pp. 7-8) shows that PP continues to be appropriate for long term storage of heritage objects however, in contrast, Larkin et.al (pp. 41-51) suggests that further research into encapsulating with PP is required due to the risk of volatile

organic compounds being released within the encapsulation. Financial concerns, in this instance, prevailed.

The bags were sealed with tape and tagged with the lodge number. Photographs of Grand Masters and various events were also placed in sealed PP bags and labelled accordingly. Books were packaged in archival grade boxes labelled with the contents, current location and date of packaging to provide context for the future cataloguing of the books after relocation. The rare books, after being condition reported, were housed in archival grade board folios to stabilize the deterioration of the covers and spines and packed carefully into archival grade storage boxes. Certificates, warrants, photographs and other loose papers were boxed as well. These storage decisions were made with both financial constraints and conservation ethics in mind. It was unclear how long these objects would be in storage therefore balancing the need to be economical with resources while using appropriate conservation grade materials became an important consideration. This has highlighted an issue for many smaller museums regarding the tension between conservation principles and physical resources. Smaller institutions may not have the budgets to insist upon conservation-grade materials in every instance and endeavour to adhere to conservation principles as best they can. In this project it became a matter of what was most expedient.

As this stage drew to a close, time became available to conduct some minor conservation treatments such as dry cleaning of paper artefacts and flattening of rolled documents, consistent with that reported in the literature (see for example Cowan & Guild, 2001, pp. 3-4; Moncrief & Weaver 1992, p. 13).

Stage 3: Packing non-archive objects

During this stage, the building itself provided the greatest challenge. Due to the dispersed nature of the collection throughout the building, the Collections Manager, along with the authors, spent considerable time investigating all areas of the labyrinthine DBC building. Throughout the entire project hidden rooms were discovered in which a variety of objects were stored. Damaged paintings were found behind walls, important documents and files in cardboard boxes and general Freemasonry ephemera which required assessment for significance, were discovered.

It was decided that project members, working under the supervision of the Collections Manager, would begin by documenting objects currently on display, ensuring there was a physical and digital record of these objects before they were packed for relocation. This decision was made because most objects on display were easily accessed, there was existing documentation for some objects. Because they were on display it was possible to organise the objects by the room in which they were displayed, for example the Lord Somers Room. Objects discovered in the remainder of the rooms of the DBC were then assessed in the same manner - current condition, detailed description and proposed conservation treatment. At times this task became overwhelming as objects were continually being found in difficult to access and unlikely places. There were also some locked spaces and keys were required to access them.

Objects in the collection on current display included Grand Master regalia and aprons, commemorative medals and gifts, ritual books, glassware and Masonic tools. Archival grade storage boxes were designed and ordered to house some of the larger textile banners which were found to be in a fragile condition. Due to long-term display the silk components of the banners had shattered and faded and were too fragile to be hung (Figure 2). Metallic fringes and tassels on the banners were corroding and unravelling. It was decided that these objects should be stored flat and out of the light until conservation treatment could be administered. The interiors of these larger boxes for hanging textiles were tailored to support both the fragile textile and the hanging rod and tassels using Ethafoam supports and cotton tape.

Due to the limits of space, careful consideration was given to the size and shape of archival boxes constructed for each object. The most economical way of storing objects from both a financial and a dimensional perspective was necessary, often with several objects being housed in one box. A challenge was the housing of very large Masonic banners, some up to two metres in length. The option of constructing specialised storage cabinets was not available therefore archival grade storage boxes were ordered to accommodate these larger textiles (see for example Frost & Bickersteth 1989).

Figure 2. An early nineteenth century Scottish Royal Apron, hand painted on silk. This object was too fragile to be hung and required a custom-made archival support. © Freemasons Victoria 2015.

Conservation treatment

The process of documentation and assessment allowed some prioritised objects to undergo minor treatment steps to facilitate safe transport to the new site. Highly significant objects which were in poor condition underwent preliminary treatment with the goal of stabilisation. More advanced conservation treatment was highly recommended for these objects and this was recorded on their individual condition reports and the Collections Manager notified.

Transport and storage.

Finding a suitable storage site with the facilities to house a large collection of diverse objects was an issue from the beginning. Ideally, the new storage site should be owned by Freemasons Victoria as the cost of long-term storage for so many objects would be cost prohibitive. Freemasons Victoria owns several different buildings around Melbourne. Other questions were raised, such as should the collection be split, or should it be kept at one facility? Can the facility provide the appropriate environmental conditions and security? Does it have ease of ingress? Is it large enough? Can the objects be easily accessed for further research? The decision was made by the Collections Manager, in collaboration with Freemasons Victoria management, to relocate the collection to temporary facilities in Prahran, which consisted of several rooms made available at the Royal Freemasons Coppin Centre, part of the Royal Freemason's Retirement Centre. The building made available was no longer required by the retirement centre. The new site was easily accessible, within a few kilometres of the DBC and was owned by Freemasons Victoria which eliminated any expensive storage costs. The rooms were well sealed, and an integrated pest management system was already in place in most rooms. All rooms were arranged to allow ease of access to the objects for purposes of research, display, and loan. The storage areas contained metal shelving units that were lined with conservation grade foam. The authors constructed and fitted polypropylene sheets over the shelving to protect the objects from dust and to prevent damage in the event of the sprinkler system engaging. The clear sheets also allow those viewing the collection to see the labelled boxes and bags without removing the covering. All significant and/or fragile items were placed in a secure, locked location near the Collections Manager's office in individual custom-made boxes.

Another consideration became evident following the observations made of the collection during the documentation and packing stages, what were the environmental conditions of the temporary storage facility? The rooms have limited space and limited environmental controls. Some rooms are located against exterior walls which faced West, making the rooms hotter in the summer months. The rooms can be locked but no security alarms are installed. Despite this, the rooms have good shelving and were able to accommodate many collection objects. Although concerns were raised with the Collections Manager regarding the suitability of this site for long term storage of the collection, no other storage facilities were available or affordable and the new site was owned by Freemasons Victoria. This is another example of using the resources and facilities available and striving to adapt them to suit particular conservation needs.

Ultimately, the Royal Freemasons Coppin Centre in Prahran was the only viable option for the long-term storage of the Freemasons Victoria collection.

Conservation Issues

To achieve the tasks and objectives set for the conservation and collections team, the work had to be completed with certain restrictions, such as time frames, budget allowances, allocation of storage space at the new site, and useable conservation space. These are very real concerns for small to medium museums with limited time and resources (Ambrose & Paine 2012). At the outset of the project, the Collections Manager and two conservators met with a curator at the National Gallery of Victoria off-site storage facility in North Melbourne for a tour of the facilities. Many of the storage materials and ideas were noted so they could be adapted and implemented for the Freemasons Victoria collections.

Access to a large room was provided for the conservation team to work within for assessment and packing of objects. This room also acted as the storage space for the packing materials purchased and the packed objects prior to their transport to the temporary storage building. To work within the constraints of the project meant that the purchased archival materials had to be adaptable and customisable for the safe packing of different objects. The conservators were asked for advice on the materials to be purchased, leading to the acquisition of sufficient quantities of DuPont™ Tyvek ®, DuPont™ Mylar®, bubble wrap, polyethylene bags, cotton tape, 3 mm blue-grey corrugated board, adhesive tape, and Ethafoam™ being purchased. Packing of many of the objects was completed with the use of these materials (Figure 3).

Figure 3. An example of a custom-made archival grade storage container constructed to support a collection of early twentieth century Chinese Freemasonry objects. © Freemasons Victoria 2015.

The conservation team found great value in the resources available online and were able to adapt different storage ideas to the objects needing different types of supports. For example, the template for the creation of a daguerreotype archival storage box was posted on a Smithsonian American Art Museum blog (Wayner 2015). Although there are no known daguerreotypes in Freemasons Victoria collections, this template was very useful for storing the most fragile rare books. The box can support and protect the book without putting any pressure on deformed covers or detached spines. Another type of cover, simpler in design was a folded cover which enclosed the back, the spine and the front. This was tied together with cotton tape. Both book supports were made with the 3 mm blue-grey archival corrugated board. Though this board was more difficult to manipulate than archival mat board, it was a more financially sustainable option for this project.

3. Working within the organisation of Freemasons Victoria

The Project Team answered to the Collections Manager who directed the entire process. Information was provided on how the move would be completed through regularly scheduled presentations to Freemasons Victoria management, staff, financial members and family. The Collections Manager could provide information regarding the meaning of any significant objects and the part they play in the rituals of Freemasonry. As occurs with any move of objects that hold significance for a community, sensitivity is required when researching, handling, moving these items and making recommendations for future care. This was no less the case in Freemasons Victoria.

There is a perception within the general community that the practice of Freemasonry is 'secretive', which the Project Team found not to be accurate. However, as it is still essentially a fraternal organisation, there were limits in the knowledge that would be shared with those outside its membership. The rituals of Freemasonry were never discussed with the Project Team although this information was readily available from texts within their library which is open to the public. Appreciation was expressed when the Project Team consulted members and volunteers as the first step in the search for further information. This aided in breaking down any misunderstandings or barriers to documentation and handling and paved the way for acceptance of a Collections Care policy which was written by the Collections Manager. When approached, volunteers could provide anecdotal information regarding the history and location of the objects in the collection which was information not readily available elsewhere. This allowed the formation of a productive working relationship between stakeholders and the Project Team. This information was recorded by the Collections Manager and has since been included with object descriptions on the website https://victoriancollections.net.au. This website was chosen by the Collections Manager to store information regarding the Freemasons Victoria Collection and is available for public viewing.

Because this collection had never been organised or documented, there was some initial resistance from the members to the objects in 'their' collection being handled and moved by the authors, who were not viewed as experts but rather as newcomers. Given this,

efforts were made to educate and enthuse members of the Freemasonry community, this was through the open engagement and transparency of the authors in undertaking the project. The authors attended Freemason meetings at DBC, an information stall was set up where members could ask questions about the museum relocation project, and objects being treated were on display along with specially constructed supports and boxes for transportation. This assisted with addressing concerns held by some members regarding the handling and care of the objects in the collection, and also explained some of the tasks and skills involved in conservation and raised awareness to the need for conservation. When the members understood the purpose of the project and how it would be carried out, the project was able to move forward more freely.

While the objects from the collection were being transported and re-housed at the Royal Freemasons Coppin Centre, sensitivity and respect was exercised by the Project Team towards the residents of this centre. It is currently home to many elderly people who were sometimes perplexed at the sight of trolleys with boxes being moved through their living areas. It is not known whether the residents of the Coppin Centre were made aware of the reason for this activity or the storage of museum objects in adjoining buildings.

Outcomes of the Project

The project came to an end on 18 November 2015 with the official opening of the temporary library and museum at the Royal Freemasons Coppin Centre in Prahran. The storage spaces had been adequately prepared to house the collection for the next four to five years until the completion of the new premises. The preventive measures in place are essentially short-term and will protect these objects until more suitable storage spaces are constructed, as such the authors have encouraged the custodians of the Freemasons Victoria collection to include preventive conservation as part of their overall collection management strategy for the future (Kaplan et al 2005, pp. pp. 217-232). Both the consideration of preventive conservation and an overarching conservation care policy would greatly serve the Freemasons Victoria organisation in their path towards museum accreditation.

Some tasks could not be completed before the end of project and will need to be completed by new volunteers and staff. One such duty includes the completion of the collection survey. Though these tasks need completion, the project would still be considered a success. The aims were to prepare and move this collection with as little risk of damage and loss as possible (Waller 1995, pp. 21-27). There was no damage and no losses. Through the various presentations given to the Freemasons community by the Collections Manager with the assistance of the Project Team conservators, there has been a wider acceptance and enthusiasm for this project and conservation in general by this community. Having been able to advocate for the collection's conservation, more people in this community have become invested in the survival of the museum and library. This greater level of investment will hopefully extend the responsibility of advocacy for this collection to a broader group of people.

Conclusion

Although the participation of the original Project Team has ceased, further work is required. The foundation of systematic documentation and visual examination of all objects has resulted in a clearer understanding of the size and condition of the Freemason's collection, an essential first step in the establishment of an accredited museum. Although a suitable cataloguing system is still being installed, the scope for conservation treatment is extensive and a culture of care needs further encouragement. The challenges of diversity in the collection, varying object conditions and sometimes limited conservation resources were largely overcome with a collaborative and consultative effort among the authors, the staff and volunteers. Because of these efforts, the archives and museum at Freemason's Victoria has taken a step closer in its journey from collection to museum.

Acknowledgements

The authors gratefully acknowledge Samantha Fabry, Collections Manager, and Ange Kenos and Iain Taylor, Volunteers, Freemasons Victoria Museum and Archives; Peter Henshall, CEO Freemasons Victoria; the staff and residents of the Royal Freemasons Coppin Centre, Prahran, and Hoa Huynh, Paper Conservator.

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THE THORNTON HISTORIES IV

In the 1970s the late Bro. Peter Thornton provided Bro Fred Shade KL with a folder of documents outlining the history of various Masonic Orders in Victoria. In 2015 Bro Fred compiled these, with some additions of his own, into a limited-distribution publication. Those who have read the Thornton *History of the Holy Royal Arch in Victoria* published in previous issues of *Harashim* will be aware of the quality of the material that Bro Peter assembled. Over succeeding issues, *Harashim* will include further chapters from the collection. Bro Fred's assistance is much appreciated.

NB: The following document is 'a child of its times' and changes in circumstances since its writing should be taken into consideration.

THE ANCIENT AND ACCEPTED SCOTTISH RITE

The beginnings of the degrees of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite - or, as it is termed in England, the Ancient and Accepted Rite - and the development of these degrees into a rite are, like most masonic degrees and orders, shrouded in mystery, although it is almost certain that the rite itself originated in France and it is reasonably easy to trace its development, from the Rite of Perfection and its spread, whether legitimate or not, throughout most countries of the world is well documented.

The rite consists of thirty three degrees but in countries, or jurisdictions, where a craft Grand Lodge exists the three degrees of craft masonry are taken as acceptable equivalents to the first three degrees of the rite. They are not identical but the similarities are sufficient to allow the rite to be satisfied and unnecessary friction with the craft is thus avoided.

In England and Scotland the first of the degrees to be worked is the 18th, commonly known as the Rose Croix degree, although under the English constitution a portion of the 17th degree is communicated to the candidate as a prelude to the 18th degree ceremony. Under the Scottish constitution a brief explanation of the preceding degrees is given in a long lecture before the ceremony of perfection begins. No other degree is worked until the 30th - and only under the Scottish constitution in Victoria - while the three remaining degrees are conferred according to merit - in a sense they are equivalent to Grand rank and Past Grand rank in the craft - with a fixed number of members permitted in each degree. In America all of the degrees are worked in full. (These arrangements have changed.)

The rite in each jurisdiction is governed by a Supreme Council, members of which have attained the 33rd degree, and only one Supreme Council is permitted in each country with the single exception of the United States of America where a Northern and a Southern jurisdiction exist.

The degree of a Rose Croix mason, at least in the English and Scottish constitutions, is Christian and the qualification for membership is Master Mason.

The Supreme Council for England and Wales was formed in 1845 but the (Rose Croix) degree had been worked in various places throughout England before this, the most common being in Knight Templar encampments. Gradually such working died out.

The Rite in Victoria

The Ancient and Accepted Rite made its first appearance in Victoria on 2 April 1858 although the warrant for the first chapter, Metropolitan No. 11 - this is the only use of the name in Victoria for a Masonic body which is not associated with the Craft seceders - was not issued until 12 April the following year.

The circumstances of its beginning are described by Very Illustrious Brother Victor Sydney Hollow 33° the then Inspector-General for Victoria, in the booklet issued by the Chapter in May 1958 as part of the centenary celebrations.

The Petitioners were three, Illus. Bros. Bradshaw and Gibb, each 30°, and Bro. Moody 18°. The Petition was presented the same day to Illus. Bro. Dr. Benjamin Kent 31°, Provincial Grand Commander and Representative in Australia of the Supreme Grand Council, who granted it and at once proceeded to open a Chapter. He installed Bro. Moody as Most Wise Sovereign.

There is, however, most likely a little more to the story than this simple statement implies. It must be remembered that Kent knew Moody, had previously referred to him in letters home to London with the inference that he was an experienced and a capable mason and that Kent had just arrived in Melbourne bearing a Knight Templar warrant which was most likely on its way to Adelaide until the Victorians persuaded him to leave it behind in Melbourne.

We must accept the possibility that such a suggestion came from Kent himself or by mutual consent, rather than from the three Victorians, particularly as the Chapter required a candidate to be a Knight Templar before he could undergo the ceremony of perfection. Presumably this proviso was agreed to, or inserted by, Kent who was also the Provincial Grand Commander in that order and it could well have reflected what was common English practice in some sections of that country.

It is thus quite possible that Kent was persuaded to leave the Knight Templar warrant in Melbourne by the discovery that he could also found a Rose Croix Chapter. It is likely that he had similar authority in that order, in regard to an already granted warrant which could be transferred to any desired location, as he possessed in Knight Templary.

Strange and unpalatable it might be, but it does appear that the Ancient and Accepted Rite founded its first representative body in Australia by mere chance and

almost as an afterthought. (In some support of the above theory it can be mentioned that South Australia did not gain its first Chapter until 1889 although the Knight Templar body there was formed by 1860.)

On the first night five brethren presented themselves for perfection - Lowry, James, Gell, Adams and Doss - and three of these were destined to receive very high honours in Victorian Masonry. Kent, after installing the Most Wise Sovereign and obligating the candidates, rushed away to catch his ship which was leaving for England delegating the rest of the ceremony to Moody. (This is recorded in the historical pamphlet mentioned but it is more than possible that the ship was actually taking Kent to Adelaide where the local Knight Templars were not impressed by his actions in regard to the warrant he had in his possession.)

The Chapter did not meet again for nearly two years, and it is just possible that they were patiently waiting for the warrant to arrive from England to replace the provisional warrant which Kent reportedly left. There is no number on this warrant and there is no record of a number being used by the Chapter until 1891. For a number of years the address for correspondence was given as care of the Combermere Lodge.

The order did not grow with any great leaps and bounds, and the Knight Templar requirement may have provided an unnecessary and unproductive restriction. Taaffe undoubtedly thought that it was but his motion in 1864 to have the requirement removed was withdrawn after he was informed that it would be soundly defeated and all he could succeed in doing would be to disturb the harmony of the Chapter. Around the same time Taaffe must go down in history as one of Masonry's greatest optimists. He was reporting that moves were under way in Victoria to obtain a warrant for the working of the 30° but the application, even if it was sent, would have been doomed to failure as, under the English constitution the presence of three members of the 33rd degree is required for the 30th degree to be worked.

The Chapter worked along quietly for many years without ever attaining any particularly great strength in numbers and it more or less drifted into the twentieth century although a number of the prominent members of the Craft did join from time to time. It was 1929 before the Metropolitan Chapter had a partner, under the English constitution, and 1944 before a second city Chapter was formed.

Government

Outside London itself the rite is governed by Inspectors-General and, in general, the elevation of a brother to the 33rd degree and his appointment to such an office coincide. As there is a fixed number of members of the 33rd degree an Inspector-General who retires from his office is usually classified as an honorary member of that degree as against his earlier position as an active member.

The first appointment of an Inspector-General for an area that included Victoria was made in 1929, the area being Australia (Southern District) - it involved Victoria, South Australia, New South Wales and Tasmania - and the recipient of the honour was the Reverend Albert Thomas Holden. He had already received many distinctions in Masonry, was to receive still more and was the logical choice in the sense that he was well known in London. Holden had occupied the position of Most Wise Sovereign in 1912 and had had the curious distinction of being installed into that office in London. In 1929 Brigadier General Loyd, the Inspector-General for East Anglia, came out to perform the ceremony.

Holden was succeeded in 1935 by George Emery, in 1937 by Sir Ernest Clark - a Past Grand Master of Tasmania - and in 1939 by Louis H.M. Avery.

From late in the 1930s the rite began to grow at quite a rapid rate throughout Australia and this is illustrated by the gradual decrease in the area which was under the control of the Inspector General. In 1953 Robert Peter Dick, who had replaced Avery in 1946, became the first Inspector-General for the District of Victoria. Following him have been Victor Sydney Hollow, Thomas Leslie Stafford and Keith Albert McLaughlin. At the beginning of 1972 the District was again divided into Metropolitan and Country and the two incumbents are Robert Money and Fred Russell Williams.

Over the years it has 'been a characteristic of Australian masons, or to be precise, Masons of the various Australian states, to aspire to self-government. Within this rite there was not only the major problem of the size of Australia - and the necessity of having only one Supreme Grand Council in any country - but also the complication of having to join the two separate - English and Scottish -constitutions together.

A Slight Problem [original heading 'SA' replaced by Editor]
Unfortunately the matter was brought somewhat to a head prematurely by New South Wales members of the Order of the Red Cross of Constantine under the Scottish Constitution - they were also members of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite - who took it upon themselves to form an irregular and never to be recognised Grand Conclave of that Order. Next year force of circumstances combined with their natural inclination to see the formation of an equally irregular and equally never to be recognised Supreme Grand Council of Australia, and each of these bodies included among their numbers a small group of brethren who had owed their allegiance to the Supreme Grand Council for England and 'Wales.

The not surprising disturbance caused by these events brought the English Grand Commander – he was fortuitously the head of the Constantine Order as well - out to Australia to clarify the position, and to consolidate the English bodies, although the move had had a very minimal effect on the English chapters.

A Supreme Grand Council committee, consisting of six representatives from each of the states, was formed with the initial purpose of securing better co-ordination and better development of the rite throughout Australia. As a result of the recommendations of this committee an Australian Branch Council, with certain limited powers in respect to the Australian chapters, was set up. Canberra was chosen for the headquarters and the inaugural ceremonies were held on 8 November 1969. The members of this Council are entitled to use the prefix 'most illustrious' which, until then, had been the exclusive prerogative of the members of the Supreme Grand Council.

Scottish Constitution

The Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, under the Scottish Constitution, was brought to Victoria by the efforts of a number of prominent Bendigo Masons in 1917. At this time there was still but one Chapter at work in the state, the original Metropolitan Chapter under the English constitution, but there are no records to explain why the Bendigo brethren chose the Scottish constitution. We can, of course, theorise along the lines of the city body being quite exclusive and wishing to remain that way much as the relatively new Council of Royal and Select Masters was doing. It would have been quite a simple matter to unofficially require qualifications which would restrict the rite to a select band of experienced freemasons. The Bendigo brethren who formed the committee which set up the Sovereign Chapter were by no means extremely pro-Scottish or anti-English as a few years earlier many of them had been involved in opening a Conclave of the Red Cross of Constantine in Bendigo under the English constitution.

They enlisted the aid of Richard Andronicus Slocombe, who had been perfected in a Scottish Sovereign Chapter in Sydney, and he agreed to present their petition to very illustrious brother R.A. Withers, the Sovereign Grand Inspector-General for the Province of New South Wales. The Sovereign Chapter was consecrated on 2 February 1918 and one of its first acts was to travel to Melbourne on 19 October the same year to consecrate the Victorian Sovereign Chapter.

All stayed quiet in this constitution for a number of years. The province of Victoria, with Thomas MacKenzie Kirkwood as Sovereign Grand Inspector-General, was formed in 1923 but his seven year rule surprisingly brought no new chapters to life. He was succeeded by William Arthur Wright who ruled until 1954, forming four new chapters, and Arthur John Dean who saw six chapters consecrated. He was followed in 1970 by Dr. William Raymond Dudley Griffiths and in 1975 by Eric Anthony Kellam.

The Thirtieth Degree

Under both of these constitutions the next degree of the rite to be worked is the 30th. As already mentioned, the need for the presence of three members of the 33rd degree has prevented the 30th degree from being worked as a matter of course under the English constitution in this state and most holders have had the degree conferred, often after completing their year of office as Most Wise Sovereign in an

18th degree Chapter. The Scottish constitution has no such requirement and two Consistories of the 30th degree have been opened, one in Melbourne and one in Bendigo. The actual qualification for membership is five years a member of the 18th degree but, in practice, the waiting period is much longer.

An Australasian Rite

Brief mention must be made of the Australasian Supreme Grand Council which was opened in the late 1880S by Joseph D'Amer Drew and friends from the Grand Lodge of Victoria. This was during the period of time when these brethren were embracing every possible degree that they could. It is a little difficult to discover whether or not any of the degrees were actually worked or whether any real authority had been obtained for the introduction of the rite. It appears to have been tied up very closely with the working of the reduced rite of Memphis and Mizraim for which the authority had been obtained from Egypt by Dr. Thomas Sanderson Bulmer. It may even be that the degrees referred to were those of John Yarkers' Ancient and Primitive Rite, particularly as it is recorded that such authority was readily obtained from Yarker on the payment of the necessary monies for the warrant.

Drew and a few others were, or had been, members of the Metropolitan Chapter and it may well be that the correct 18th degree was worked. Bulmer, incidentally, was a member of the 18th degree, but no higher, and was a member of a chapter in New Zealand. Presumably, if the correct 18th degree was worked, the others were merely conferred. The body staggered in life about long enough for Drew - who naturally occupied the office of Supreme Grand Commander - to confer the 33rd on practically all of the members and died unlamented soon after the advent of the United Grand Lodge and the collapse of the land boom. Besides, the initial enthusiasm of most of these degree collectors soon evaporated.

The Present

Today the rite is strong under both constitutions with the English having 18 chapters and the Scottish 17. The Australian Branch Council may prove to be the forerunner of an Australian Supreme Grand Council, but there are a number of problems to be overcome before this can eventuate. Not the least will be the differences in the ritual which, while not great, are numerous. Only complete unanimity would permit such a project and it does appear to be a long way in the future. The New South Wales brethren did not help.
(The Supreme Council has since been formed, with many of the Scottish chapters (all in Victoria) remaining with Edinburgh.)