

HARASHIM

חרשים

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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.

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

Clear illustrations, diagrams and photographic prints suitable for scanning are welcomed, and most computer graphic formats are acceptable. Photos of contributors (preferably *not* in regalia) would be useful. ***Contributors who require posted material to be returned should include a stamped, self-addressed envelope.***

General correspondence

All other correspondence, including about purchase of files and books, should be directed to: The Secretary, ANZMRC, Brendan Kyne, 7 Devon Ave, Coburg Vic 3058 or <lordbiff@hotmail.com>

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PRESIDENT'S PAGES

Dear fellow researchers,

Do you ever wonder why you have become involved in masonic research? Is it to satisfy your own curiosity, to increase the knowledge that we have of the Craft, to find out information so that you can inform your brethren more about their Fraternity, or some other reason? It can be disappointing when one tries to present a paper to a lodge, on what is often named an 'education evening', only to find that many members of the lodge are absent, whereas they are more likely to be present if degree work or an exemplification of a degree is taking place.

Although I can understand that it is good to be present to support the candidate when he is being initiated, passed, raised or installed, I am surprised that these meetings, which brethren have seen on many occasions, are more attractive than a talk on some aspect of Freemasonry that may be new to them.

Of course, as presenters, we should do our part by presenting our research in as entertaining and enjoyable manner as possible but, even so, it would good if we could convince our brethren that such educational sessions, with the speaker sharing his research, is something that they may enjoy. Speaking for myself, if I have a choice between hearing the results of someone's research or attending an exemplification of a degree, I would always choose the former.

Research can be a lonely pursuit but, with a number of lodges and other groups involved in masonic research and with masonic research conferences, the loneliness lessens as one is able to share one's research with others and obtain feedback on one's research.

It is here that the members of the ANZMRC, the research lodges, chapters and study circles, can assist by giving a forum in which to present one's research, listen to others' research and give and receive feedback. It also gives the opportunity to be mentored, either generally on research methods and resources or specifically on individual research topics.

At conferences, such as the biennial ANZMRC conferences, one has the opportunity to listen to the best lectures submitted for these conferences and, in the case of those organised by the ANZMRC, meet with researchers from many parts of New Zealand and Australia. The possibility of attending presentations by world class researchers has been possible through the tradition

of sponsoring travelling lecturers. At present, and particularly at a recent management meeting of the ANZMRC, how we will manage this in the future is being discussed. It is an important aspect of the ANZMRC brief that will continue in some manner in the future.

So, I suggest that we all encourage masonic research and, in particular, suggest to other Freemasons with an interest in research that they join local masonic research groups, have these groups join the ANZMRC if they are not already members, and attend the conferences conducted by the ANZMRC. Also, suggest to the 'powers that be' in your local lodge that meetings be held where the results of research are delivered. To quote from the Final Charge given in the First Degree to a newly initiated brother, he is told to consider himself "called upon to make some daily progress in the acquisition of Masonic knowledge".

Encourage your lodge to help facilitate this.

Fraternally,

David B. Slater

PETH PAM
20916

RELIGIOUS PAMS

Box 1

THE SECRETS
OF
FREEMASONRY
REVEALED,
BY A MASON;

WHO, BEING FULLY CONVINCED THAT THE ORDER EXERTS A
DEMOCRALIZING INFLUENCE ON ITS MEMBERS, IMPEDES
SOCIAL PROGRESS, AND CORRUPTS CIVIL GOVERN-
MENTS, THEREFORE STATES HIS OBJECTIONS
BRIEFLY, CANDIDLY, AND FEARLESSLY,
SHOWING THAT

FREEMASONRY IS UNLAWFUL,
And should be Suppressed or Compelled to
Revise its Objectionable Ritual.

MASONIC SIGNS, GRIPS, PASS-WORDS, ILLEGAL OATHS,
*And the most Important Portions of the 'Secret Cere-
monies,' in general use throughout the world,
given verbatim!*

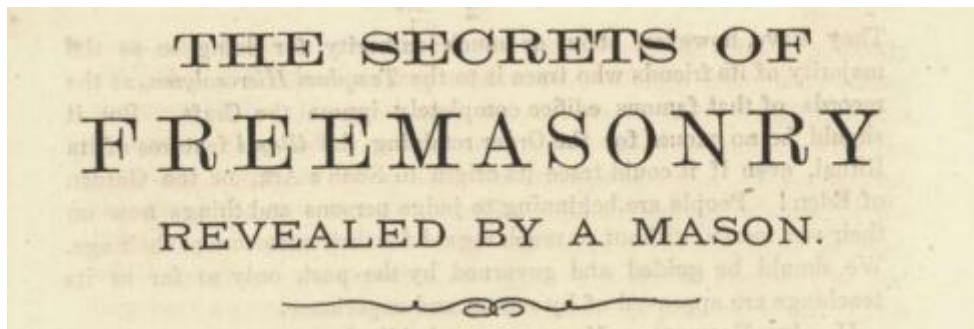
RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

*To the Masonic Fraternity and the Public; and especially to the Ladies
who should be Excluded From None of Our Societies or Clubs.*

MELBOURNE: MDCCCLXXVII.

PRICE, ONE SHILLING.

Printed at the Fitzroy Steam Printing Works, Gertrude St., for a Mason.



INTRODUCTION.

There appears to be nothing immutable in the universe, so far as we can comprehend it, but the Divine Nature and Laws of its Great Architect. Change seems to be indelibly impressed on all created things. Even inorganic matter is continually undergoing chemical transformations, and throughout the whole range of animate nature, vegetable and animal organic mutations are perpetually occurring.

As in the physical world there is not a particle of matter, in any condition, at actual rest; so, in the mental and moral world, 'perpetual motion' is just as visible and continuous.

We cannot remain stationery, as moral or religious beings, any more than quicksilver in the thermometer. We are ever ascending, with the good and conscientious, in the scale of useful knowledge, towards the Source of All Knowledge; or we are as surely descending to mingle, perhaps, with the 'common herd,' who are governed more by passion and prejudice than by reason and prudence; the height of whose ambition seems to be the gratification of their natural and acquired appetites, like our 'poor relations' in the forest!

All civilized governments and shrewd business corporations make provisions, in their constitutions and by-laws, for even the most radical alterations that may be thought necessary in the future. Social bodies and even religious sects should do likewise. *Excelsior*, instead of *Semper Eadem*, should be our motto in all our enterprises.

From these remarks, the reader will perceive the folly of any Social Order adopting an Unalterable Ritual! But a pitiable remnant of the once powerful 'Medes and Persians' survive to tell us about their 'unchangeable laws.' Excepting some respect for the Decalogue, Mosesism has likewise passed away. Modern Jews scarcely retain enough of their ancient rites to deserve the name. If my Masonic brethren believed in their Ritual being *infallible*, they could not be more tenacious of its jots and tittles. The writer has been

a Mason for several years; and, being fully convinced that Freemasonry exerts an evil influence on his Brethren and the Public, without further prefatory remarks, he briefly states his objections as follows:—

I. ITS CLAIMS TO ANTIQUITY OF ORIGIN are absurd, not being based on historic data, worthy of credence. Some whimsical writers have even traced the order to that foolish enterprize, the Tower of Babel! They have, however, about as much authority for doing so as the majority of its friends who trace it to the *Templum Hierosolyma*, as the records of that famous edifice completely ignore the Craft. But it should be no excuse for the Order retaining the *illegal* features of its Ritual, even if it could trace its origin to Noah's Ark, or the Garden of Eden! People are beginning to judge persons and things now on their *own merits*, without so much regard for their ancestors or their age. We should be guided and governed by the past, only so far as its teachings are approved of by reason and experience.

II. ITS NAME IS A MISNOMER, and ridiculous in our times, having lost its original significance. There are very few practical Masons in the Order. It was doubtless originated by them in the 'Dark Ages' when such societies were, perhaps, necessary. They are more injurious than useful in our times and should be discouraged. 'Speculative Masonry,' as the order is styled in its Ritual, is a pretty good name for it, as a great many of the brethren are very fond of 'speculating,' and not always very particular about the nature of the 'speculation.' But if the term Masonry is a misnomer, as now used, certainly the term *Freemasonry* is much more so, as it implies a still greater contradiction. In view of the real nature of the Order, its proper name should be *Slave masonry*, because

III. MASONRY IS AN ABSOLUTE DESPOTISM, by reason of its barbarous Oaths, *Silence or Open Rebellion being a Mason's only Alternatives!* Hence, so many of its best members *abandon the Order quietly and denounce it privately*; but *fear* the consequences of exposing *its absurdities*, and thus prevent the public from being *victimized by an Association of misguided men*, who try to interfere with the *liberty of conscience* of their brethren who may feel disposed to criticise the *illegal features* of the Order. The Craft not only object to "freedom of speech" on such matters, but even *try to secretly muzzle the press!* This is a nice state of things in view of our boasted privileges! "Once a Mason, always a Mason," is as preposterous as it is despotic. The Constitution of the Order in France is more liberal. It states distinctly that "Every Mason has the right of publishing his opinions on every Masonic question." See a pamphlet entitled, "Masonic Reform" published here in 1865, by "An Old Mason," (Mr. James E. Carnegie) which contains many excellent suggestions it would be well for the Craft to follow.

IV. MASONIC CANDIDATES ARE ALL DECEIVED as to the Nature of its Obligations, by being told by the W. M., just before taking the initial oath, that there is nothing in them “incompatible with your Civil, Moral, or Religious Duties!” Now, every Mason knows that statement to be a *deliberate, treacherous falsehood*, as a variety of savage *Death Penalties* are included in them, which no Church or State on earth would dare to sanction, if discussed in public! The reader can see for himself the extracts taken from the Masonic Oaths in actual use at present, in the following pages. If there is nothing wrong in them, the writer is greatly mistaken, as he considers them perfectly *diabolical*, and regrets having ever entered a Lodge again, after taking the first Oath. *Curiosity and the encouragement of friends*, induces thousands to continue passing from one Degree to another with the ‘tippling brethren,’ when their consciences and their ‘sober second, thoughts,’ suggest retreat. Another ugly advantage is taken of the Candidates, in merely announcing the Oaths *a word or two at a time*, which the dupes are expected to repeat in a similar manner; so that they have no opportunity to consider whether to proceed or not. It is truly amazing to think that such an *unlawful society* should receive the patronage of the people of all classes and conditions, from the Prince to the peasant! Many are at a loss to know how to account for this extraordinary popularity of an Order that has in it so much that is objectionable, both in theory and practice, and so little to recommend it. A complete explanation of that surprising fact would require a pamphlet much larger than this. It is certainly a gigantic humbug, continued from generation to generation, by means of impudent and treacherous misrepresentation! As an additional illustration of this feature of the Order, it may be further mentioned, that the ‘Crafty brethren’ get hold of as many prominent *young men* as possible, while at Schools, Colleges, and Universities, before they have formed fixed principles, for whom of course, its showy regalia would have special attractions. Hence the large number of eminent men, who, however, retain merely a nominal connection with the Craft.

V. MASONIC VIEWS OF MORALITY are as selfish as they are demoralising, in limiting *special respect for female virtue* to certain near relatives of Master Masons! (Brethren, see the M.M’s Oath.) This is a very serious evil in the Order, and accounts, in some measure, at least for the notorious immorality of many of its prominent Members. Even the limited number of the fair sex alluded to, are not always spared by those *libertines*, who often occupy prominent official positions in Lodges; which fact shows conclusively that the brethren pay but little attention to one of the most vital questions affecting the welfare of society. The female relatives of the members of the two inferior Degrees even are not included in the special injunctions of the

Masters. And of course all outside of the magic circle of the Craft would naturally be regarded as legitimate prey by the dissolute members. The attention of my brethren and the public is drawn particularly to this point, because morality seems to be regarded as a speciality of the Order! It will be seen in the following ceremonies that Freemasonry is defined to be “a peculiar system of morality, veiled in allegory and illustrated in symbols.” Now, that definition of the Order sounds very nicely. But, unfortunately, in its practice, and general influence, one is tempted to paraphrase it thus: “A peculiar system of *immorality*, veiled in allegorical nonsense, and illustrated by *tippling* symbols” — bottles, glasses, &c. As a proper regard for morality, in its broadest sense, constitutes the very foundation of all true ideas of decent society and good government, surely its rules should be universal in their application. It is admitted that there are some nice allusions, in the Ritual, to virtue in a general way; but why have special injunctions regarding respect to be shown for the chastity of *certain women*, which should be extended to the whole sex?

VI. MASONIC VIEWS OF INTEGRITY ARE AS SELFISH as its morality, and equally injurious to its Members and the public. The Master’s Oath makes the candidate expressly declare, “that I will not defraud a brother Master Mason, or see him defrauded, of the most trifling amount, without giving him due and timely notice thereof.” Now, according to this injunction, a Master Mason could even defraud his own brethren in the Entered Apprentice, and Fellow Craft Degrees, and not violate his obligation! And, the writer knows by sad experience, that Masters do not even treat their own M.M. brethren “on the square” at times. Of course, so far as the outside public are concerned, they have no protection excepting civil law from the M.M., by the wording of his Oath, but must depend on his honor, which unfortunately, is often wanting. This and other Oaths of the Order have a tendency to induce brethren to entertain a *false confidence* in each other, only to be too often deceived and outrageously swindled. Rules regarding such cardinal virtues, intended for the control of large bodies of men, certainly should have no limitation. It is even objectionable to be selfish in our benevolence and business patronage, as we should regard all men and women, as our brothers and sisters, and equally entitled to our friendship and kind treatment. But to restrict our kindness and charity mainly to those most intimately connected with us is excusable, but undoubtedly *criminal* to make any distinction at all in our treatment of people regarding virtue and honesty. Surely in those respects the whole human family should be Mistress Masons as well as Master Masons! It is exceedingly astonishing that such an intelligent body of men should continue saddling themselves and their friends with such absurd obligations. The only explanation that

suggests itself to my mind, after several years' experience in the Order, is that, as before remarked, the better portion of its Members become disgusted with it, and quietly abandon it; and the majority of those who remain in it as active members, are of that free and easy, tippling sort that do not trouble themselves much about reforms of any kind.

VII. MASONIC RELIGIOUS TENETS, if indeed it has any at all, are certainly more liberal and accommodating than consistent. The Order undoubtedly recognises a 'Great Architect,' a 'Grand Geometrician', as the Supreme Being is called in the Ritual. Craft Masonry is, therefore, *Deistic*, and accepts Mahometans, Jews, and all who are not absolute Atheists as 'brethren.' But in the advanced Degrees, intended to recognise Christ, these *theistic brethren* are denounced with the "heathen"! The Knight Templar, with sword in hand, swears to defend his creed 'against all Jews, Turks,' &c.; yet the Order contains large numbers of Unitarian Asiatics and Europeans! But where is the basis, among such a mass of creeds, for "brotherly love," &c.? It is a hollow mockery! There can be no real union of feeling and genuine friendship in a society whose members differ so radically upon such a vital question as religion. It is impossible.

The careless Christian portion of the Order usually agree cordially on one point— *the worship of Bacchus*! Their Jewish brethren are generally too shrewd to debase themselves much with liquor, or spend their money so foolishly. Their weakness, perhaps, consists in a little too much devotion to the 'Golden Calf' — a decidedly less objectionable kind of idolatry, however, especially in its influence on the public. But how the Jews can content themselves in an Order in which they are classed with the 'heathen,' is a mystery. I am aware that those Christian Degrees are said to be rejected by the highest Masonic Authority — the so-called Grand Lodge of England — to please the Hebrews, and other Deists, doubtless. If that is really so, of course, no Christian should connect himself with it, if he cares anything about his faith. To find preachers acting with the Craft has always surprised me, when they know very well it is utterly impossible to reconcile Masonic obligations with Christ's teaching.

VIII. MASONIC BENEVOLENCE is a mere pretence, a cloak used to conceal their real objects — *self-indulgence and self-aggrandisement*. It is well known that the Craft spend more Time and Money in *tippling, extravagant feasts* than in acts of charity. Freemasonry, as a friendly, benevolent society, is an evident fraud. Connexion with it is more expensive than with any other similar social body extant. Yet, when fortune frowns on a 'brother,' he finds it rather difficult, and even humiliating, to obtain any aid from the Order at all commensurate with the amount he had paid into its treasury. Although

the writer has suffered severely by the treachery of his 'bibacious brethren,' still the above statement is made, not from personal experience, but observation. He has no desire to misrepresent the Order. It is severe enough to tell the truth about it. The small amount collected and expended for charitable purposes, by even metropolitan Lodges, should convince the public that the Craft feel but little concern in benevolent enterprises. But it would be rather interesting to have a correct statement of the amount spent annually by city Lodges in useless, debasing, tippling, gastronomic extravagance. This characteristic of the Order causes the bankruptcy and ruin of many a generous 'brother' and good business man, besides setting a bad example to the public.

IX. MASONRY UNDOUBTEDLY IMPEDES SOCIAL PROGRESS, by producing a Compromise between Good and Evil agencies. J This charge is further explained by stating, what is well known by the Craft at least, that nearly the whole Protestant pulpit and press are directly or indirectly controlled by Masons. Also the leading Teachers, Professors, Temperance 'Cliques,' and State Officials, from Premiers to 'Peelers.' Now, all these should be at least friends of Social Reform, if not active workers in that good cause. Unfortunately, we find that many of them are not so; and, worse still, that large numbers of their 'Masonic brethren' are Licensing Magistrates, 'Alcoholic Doctors,' Bottle Grocers, Publicans, Pawnbrokers, &c., very properly considered by thoughtful people, in some countries, to be dangerous enemies of the *peace, happiness, and prosperity of the people*. All those 'brethren,' good and bad, are expected to manifest toward each other feelings of 'brotherly love,' &c.! Hence the compromise and general winking at the great evils that are afflicting poor, erring humanity, especially in all our cities and towns. It also explains how so many *bad men*, notorious gamblers, and libertines, by 'red tape' and the aid of the Craft, are appointed to fill important offices of trust and influence, which they disgrace, besides demoralising the public by their depraved examples. The idea of selecting *law-breakers* to become *law-makers*, and *officials to execute law*, is, in the highest degree, preposterous. The better class of society should protest against such conduct.

X. MASONRY OFTEN DEFEATS THE "ENDS OF JUSTICE," in the interest of the Craft, by controlling so-called Courts of Justice. This evil is more common, wherever the Order exists, than the public have any conception of; and can only be detected by closely watching the proceedings in cases where Judges or Magistrates, and the plaintiffs or defendants, are Masons. It makes some difference, too, in such cases, as to which side has the 'Masonic counsel' employed. Many a decision is obtained "on the square," which both surprise and disgust the public, but which are perfectly well understood among the

'brethren.' Judges, &c., sworn to be impartial in dispensing justice, are occasionally so far influenced by the Craft, as to disgrace themselves by their rulings often attributable to their defective judgement, want of knowledge of the law, &c., but should be justly chargeable to the corrupt influence of Masonry. The phrase in the M.M.'s Oath, "or at my own option," is made an excuse for a great deal of improper conduct, not only in courts of law, but in the ordinary affairs of life. It is a serious matter to know that nearly all the Courts of Justice, of every description, throughout the British Empire, are directly or indirectly controlled by Masonry, which has itself no legal existence, and which imposes unlawful obligations on its members! This statement no conscientious 'brother' of mine will contradict. And it is equally true that

XI. MASONRY IS A DANGEROUS AND DEMORALISING ELEMENT IN SOCIETY, in Corrupting State Officials and Political Parties. Not only does the Order try to control the execution of law in its own interest, but it also endeavours to monopolise every Government Office of any consequence, from the highest to the lowest. And its success in this respect may be seen in every department of our Imperial and Colonial Governments. In fact, the whole British Empire is virtually under the Evil Influence of this *Illegal, Bibacious, Gastronomic, Secret Order!* This is no idle remark. Masons actually control the Army, Navy, Civil Service, almost every office worth having under the British flag.

As an Order, it has no political creed, but adopts, and tries to obtain control of every form of government on the earth, for selfish purposes. In France and America, for instance, Masons advocate *red-hot republicanism*; whilst in England, Prussia, &c. the Order almost favours the '*divine rights of Kings*.' Anything to get into lucrative and influential offices! A serious objection to the 'tippling fraternity' is, that they generally favour two great monopolies — Liquor and Land — which are the curse of the British Isles, and are also threatening the welfare and real prosperity of these colonies. There can be nothing expected from these Alcoholic, Masonic Governments, of our times, favourable to social reform. They are *twice as complicated and expensive as are necessary*, and are supported mainly by revenue obtained from *the degradation of the people* — as unwise as the foolish women who resort to prostitution (which destroys their physical, mental, and moral natures) for the means of living! The question is, how long will society submit to be pauperized and demoralized by *one traffic*, the greatest commercial swindle on earth?

XII. MASONRY IS AN UNLAWFUL ORDER, by reason of the Nature of its Oaths, and should therefore be suppressed, or be compelled to revise its Ritual,

expunging its illegal obligations, and thus make progress with the times. Why allow that Order, or any other association, to impose illegal duties on its Members? Why not include Masonry under the provisions of the Friendly Societies' Act? It is absurd in our day to permit an Order to exist in our midst, bound by barbarous Oaths, requiring, under certain circumstances, the execution of a variety of cruel Death Penalties! The Order is virtually an *Imperium in Imperio*, actually claiming, of course, *secretly*, certain rights only possessed by Sovereign States. Its obligations are dictated in violation of both the spirit and letter of all law, *human and divine*. Every conscientious Mason must admit this. There is not, as before remarked, a Church or State on earth that would dare to sanction its rules, if examined in public. And the reason Masonry has no legal status, is the desire of the Craft to continue its illegal features, which the State cannot formally approve of. Only Sovereign States claim the questionable right of Capital Punishment, for the gravest crimes known to law. And even some governments are beginning to see the impropriety of it, being as unwise as it is barbarous. Yet Masonic Oaths require a variety of modes of Capital Punishment, *for merely breaches of confidence*! Although this is undoubtedly so, yet we find the future 'King-Emperor' of Britain a Member of this illegal Order at home, and it must be admitted, in some respects, a very suitable figure-head for the Craft!

Masonic Oaths being the most objectionable feature of the Order, the attention of the reader has been drawn to them a good deal in these pages. It won't do for Masons, by way of excuse, to state that they are a mere 'dead letter,' never enforced, &c. If that is so, why retain them any longer? Why continue imposing such absurd, barbarous obligations on their Members? Why not establish, like the Oddfellows, Independent Lodges, on a Reformed Basis, adopting such rules and ceremonies that they need not be ashamed of, and therefore need not fear the criticism of any body. My Brethren may depend upon it that it is useless for them to try to control the Press or prevent Free Speech in our times.

The murders committed by the Craft in the past have deterred men from exposing their absurdities effectually. But times have changed a good deal in half a century. My desire is to show my brethren the folly of attempting to retain those objectionable Old Relics of the past. My misguided brothers have tried to end my days, and are yet plotting my ruin. My only trust is in God for protection, as I am well aware that those whose sworn duty it is to protect me, are in league with my *secret enemies*. They can continue their slanderous abuse, and their plotting as long as they please. *I shall do what I think is right, whatever may be the consequences*. These remarks have no reference to the majority of the Order, who are too honorable to think for a

moment, of enforcing their diabolical penalties. It is only a *brutish minority* under the control of perjured Government Officials, that I have any fears of at all. Yes, perjured Government Officials! How can a *loyal Mason* take an oath to uphold the authority, and enforce the laws of his country, without committing perjury in either capacity? It is impossible. He must repudiate one or the other of his obligations.

Secret Societies, as a rule, are all humbugs. They are generally as pernicious in practice, as they are surely ridiculous in theory, as nothing useful should be kept from the public. Secret Orders have caused great trouble in the world. There is no excuse at all for their existence in our times. They are generally under the control of *cliques* who use them as '*silver sluices*' or like flocks of sheep to be shorn, &c. by the 'Knowing Ones.'

The following pages contain extracts from the three Degrees of Craft Masonry, giving the Signs, Grips, Pass-words, Illegal Oaths, and enough of the Ceremony to enable the reader to understand the Order pretty well, without being swindled out of Large Fees and disgusted with Barbarous Obligations in joining the Craft.

Editor's note: The description of the ceremonies has not been included here for reasons of space. Please consult the NLA digitised copy if interested. The pamphlet is listed in Ferguson's *Bibliography of Australia* [Volume VII (1851-1900 Q-Z)] as Item 15551.

THE EMPIRE SENTINEL'S HANDBOOK AND RITUAL



Lieutenant Colonel David Cossgrove (1852-1920)

“a senior group called the Empire Sentinels, which contained ideas taken from Freemasonry.”

FOREWORD.

Although it is recognised that the Boy Scout scheme of training is unrivalled as a scheme for training in manliness, chivalry and handiness, it is a fact that a large majority of the lads leave the Organisation - especially in Australia and New Zealand where compulsory military training is in force - before they have had time to thoroughly imbibe its high ideals. It is also a fact, that through lack of training, many Scoutmasters devote their time to training their boys in drill, Scouting and handicrafts which though excellent in themselves do not touch the chief aim of the movement, namely - definite training in honouring God as the Great Ruling Force in the Universe.

Loyalty to king and country, patriotism, self-sacrifice if necessary in service for others, National training, and to train a lad to realise that success in any walk of life depends entirely upon an honest determination to perform his work however humble it may be, not as a servitude that has to be performed, but with the feeling that he is doing it in the very best possible way and that no one can do it better.

At 15 or 16 years of age boys are sceptical of everything. They want to find out things for themselves. As their manhood develops they want to assert

their physical strength, their moral: courage and their disregard of all restraint or authority.

Though sceptical of everything, these lads are eager to know, and keen to put their knowledge into practice.

It is with the idea of providing the right kind of knowledge at this critical period of the young man's life that the scheme herein has been drafted. In addition to the mystic ceremony of initiation. which by the way, has a peculiar fascination for all young people, the high ideals of Sir Robert Baden Powell's scheme are presented. in such a way, that the most wayward of boys must feel impressed and encouraged to emulate in religion. patriotism and chivalry the knighthood of a past century.

In the scheme there are three degrees of efficiency each based on the Scout promise, and a certain proficiency in handicrafts, business, etc.

The first is based on religious duty, with proof of ability to work. The second on Patriotism and good citizenship, and better work. The third on self-sacrifice in service for others and ability to perform still better work. As a means of carrying out the idea it is suggested that lectures, debates, etc. should be given on suitable subjects, that competitions in hobbies and handicrafts be held, that quarterly or half yearly exhibitions of work be arranged to which friends be invited. Committees should be set up to draft programmes of work, select subjects for discussion, arrange for lectures or papers and for competitions. Entertainment, Refreshment and Financial Committees should also be set up to attend to these matters.

It is recommended that Scout Officers should assist in forming "Watch-Towers" in their districts and help the Sentinels with the conduct of their meetings and initiations until such time as they have mastered the Ritual and the ideals of the scheme.

D. COSSGROVE, Lieut. Col.,
Chief Scout Commissioner.

Christchurch, New Zealand.

EMPIRE SENTINELS.

An organisation for the building up of character, for strengthening the bonds of Empire and for the inculcation of manly virtues.

The organisation shall be known as "Empire Sentinels" and the building in which the meetings are held shall be called "The Watch Tower."

OFFICERS.

The Officers shall consist of (1) A Chief Sentinel. (2) A Sentinel of. the South. (3) A Sentinel of the East. (4) A Sentinel of the West. (5) An Inner Guard. (6) An Outer Guard. (7) A Senior Watchman. (8) A Junior Watchman. (9) A Scribe, and (10) A Padre.

AIMS.

'The aims of the Organisation shall be:-

(a) To encourage young men who have served a period in the Boy Scouts or some kindred organisation to carry into their lives the high ideals of the Scout Organisation, and to make the Scout Law the law of their lives.

(b) To band together the young men of the Empire in a non-military, non-political and non-sectarian organisation, in order to maintain the high traditions of our Nation, and by personal example and every other lawful and honourable means endeavour to make it so good, honourable and useful that no other will want to destroy it.

(c) To impress upon them the necessity of rendering "Service for Others" and to further fit them to deal with any emergency that may arise of whatever nature and under whatever circumstances.

OBJECTS.

(a) To improve. the Character of the Nation.

(b) To strengthen the bonds of Empire.

(c) To promote brotherly love and self-sacrifice in "Service for Others."

THE WATCH TOWER.

There shall be three degrees of Efficiency as hereinafter described:-

- 1 Sentinels of the 1st Watch.
2. Sentinels of the 2nd Watch.
3. Sentine1s of the 3rd Watch.

A Sentinel of the 1st Watch shall be a young man of not less than ____ years of age who has served not less than ____ year_ in a recognised troop of Boy Scouts or some kindred organisation; who produces -a satisfactory Clearance from that body, or a certificate of good character from some

person of repute and who presents himself for initiation as a Sentinel of the "Watch Tower."

A Sentinel of the 2nd Watch shall be a Sentinel who has been initiated into the mysteries and duties of the 1st Watch and has passed the "Watch Tower" tests in First Aid to the injured and in Life Saving, and who presents himself for initiation as a Sentinel of the "Second Watch."

A Sentinel of the 3rd Watch shall be a Sentinel who has served in the 2nd Watch for not less than "Three months" who can repeat the "Sentinel Law" verbatim, who has passed not fewer than three of the "Watch Tower" Proficiency tests, and who presents himself for initiation into the mysteries and duties of the "Third Watch."

N.B. - The Watch Tower Tests Pamphlet may be had on application to the Dominion Secretary of the Boy Scout Council. Price three pence.

POSITION OF OFFICERS.

The Chief Sentinel shall be seated in the North with the Padre on his right front and the Scribe on his left front.

The Sentinel of the South shall be seated in the South with the Senior Watchman on his right and the Junior Watchman on his left.

The Sentinels of the East and West shall be seated in the East and West respectively.

The Inner Guard shall be posted inside the door of the Watch Tower and the Outer Guard on the outside of the door.

SYMBOLS OF OFFICE.

The Chief Sentinel - A pole surmounted by an arrow head.

Sentinel of the South - A pole surmounted by a cross bearing 4 stars.

Sentinel of the East - A pole surmounted by the figure of a rising sun.

Sentinel of the West - A pole surmounted by the figure of a setting sun.

Inner Guard - A pike.

Outer Guard - A halberd.

Watchmen - Poles 7 feet long with 4 white ribbons tied 1 foot from the top.

Sentinels' poles to be stood upright at right side of their desks during the "Watch".

Guards' and Watchmen's to be carried on duty but stood at their right when not on duty.

REGALIA.

Regalia may be worn if desired, design and quality to be left to the choice of each "Watch Tower."

If no regalia, be worn each watch should be distinguished by its shoulder ribbons: blue for 1st Watch; red for 2nd and white for 3rd. Officers should wear white ribbons in all Watches.

RITUAL.

The following Ritual shall be used at the Posting and Relief of each "Watch."

POSTING (Opening).

The Officers and accredited Sentinels of the Third Watch having taken their posts the Chief Sentinel will say 'Are the walls of the Tower manned for the Third Watch, Sentinel of the South?'

Sentinel of the South. "Inner Guard, are the walls of the Tower manned for the Third Watch?"

The Inner Guard gives the 3rd Watch signal number of knocks on the door and on these being repeated by the Outer Guard he turns to the Sentinel of the South, gives the Scout Salute with his pike and says: "The walls are manned for the 3rd Watch, Sentinel of the South."

The Sentinel of the South then turns to the Chief Sentinel and giving the Secret Sign of the 3rd Watch says: "The walls are manned Chief Sentinel." Chief Sentinel. "What is your duty Sentinel of the East?"

Sentinel of the East. "As the Sun rises in the East to dispel the darkness so do I rise in the East to inquire whether any spies have entered the Tower during the night."

Chief Sentinel. "Direct that duty to be done."

Sentinel of the East: "Call the roll of the 3rd. Watch Brother Scribe."

The Scribe calls the Roll and reports "All's well, Sentinel of the East."

Sentinel of the East: "The Roll of the 3rd Watch has been called and no Spies are present, Chief Sentinel."

Chief Sentinel: "Alert then Sentinels of the 3rd Watch!"

All. Stand and place their right hands on their hearts with their fingers in the position of the Scout's salute.

Chief Sentinel, "Brother Sentinels. The- walls of the Tower are manned, no spies are present and Sentinels are posted in the North, South, East and West. Are you prepared to acknowledge the Great Sentinel of the Universe and to honour His Name?"

All: "We are prepared Chief Sentinel."

Chief Sentinel: "The Padre will now invoke His blessing on our work".

Padre: Oh! Thou Who art the Great Sentinel of the Universe, Who watchest over all men and dost guide their footsteps in the dark as well as in light, We beseech Thee to guide our minds in our deliberations, our tongues in

our discussions and our feet in the paths of honour, loyalty and brotherly love. Bless our efforts on behalf of true Religion, Empire and humanity and enable us as good Sentinels to watch over our hearts lest the enemy enter and cause us to forget our great obligation." "Amen." (or So mote it be).

Chief Sentinel: The blessing of the Great Sentinel having been invoked, let us joining our Opening Song."

All: Sing the Opening Ode.

OPENING ODE.

(Tune: *Adeste Fideles*)

O come all ye brethren
Gathered in the Tower
To watch over our Nation's destinies;
Each guard your post well,
Keep out all intruders;
For none can tell how soon we
May need to guard our Empire
From foreign foe and heathen rule.
Be Prepared.

Let us as good Comrades
Gird on all our Armour
And prove ourselves most worthy sentinels,
Honouring God and
Giving loyal Service
To King- and Empire, always
Deny self for others,
And doing all we can to help our brother man.
AMEN.

Chief Sentinel "Be seated brother Sentinels, the Tower is now defended and Sentinels are posted in the 3rd Watch.

All: Sit.

Chief Sentinel "The Scribe will now read the report of the posting of the third Watch."

Scribe reads minutes of last meeting.

Chief Sentinel "Brother Sentinels you have heard the report of the 3rd Watch, is the report correct?" (If it is correct the members will make the sign of the 3rd Watch. If not the member or members desiring a correction will stand and make the Scout sign. If more than one member is standing

the Chief Sentinel will name one to state his objection. When all are seated he will put the question again, and say "The report is correct."

When the Chief Sentinel says "The report is correct, the Senior Watchman will move up by the right to the Scribe, give the Scout Salute with his pole to the Chief Sentinel then take the report book from the Scribe and carry it to the Chief Sentinel who will sign it and hand it back to him to return to the Scribe. This done the Senior Watchman will give the salute to the Chief Sentinel and return to his post.

After all business of the evening has been attended to the Chief Sentinel will say "Has any brother anything to propose for the benefit of the Organisation or for the good of the Empire?"

An opportunity will now be given to members to reply.

If no brother has anything to bring forward the Chief Sentinel will say "The Sentinels are relieved from duty for a time and the Tower may be opened for inspection by visitors.

Visitors will then be admitted, and the prearranged programme carried out. When the closing hour arrives the Chief Sentinel will thank those who have assisted with the programme and the visitors for their attendance and say "As the hour of our relief is at hand, will all except brother Sentinels be good enough to retire?"

RELIEF OF THE THIRD WATCH (Closing Ceremony.)

Chief Sentinel: "The business of the 3rd watch being ended what is your duty Sentinel of the West?

Sentinel of the West: "As the sun sets in the West and marks the close of the day so I mark the close of our deliberations in the 3rd Watch by laying aside my symbol of office and repeating our Watchword, All's Well."

All the Sentinels will stand, make the sign of the 3rd Watch and say: "All's well -- All's well -- All's well."

SECOND WATCH.

Should there be members of the Second Watch in attendance and it is desired to admit them the Watch Tower should be opened in the 2nd Watch and 2nd Watch Sentinels admitted.

The door being closed and Officers posted as in the third Watch. the Chief Sentinel will say "Man the walls for the 2nd Watch, Sentinel of the South. Sentinel of the South. "Man the walls for the 2nd Watch brother, Inner Guard."

Inner Guard gives the knocks of the 2nd Watch.

Outer Guard replies.

Inner Guard: "The walls are manned Sentinel of the South."

Sentinel of the South: "The walls are manned Chief Sentinel."

Chief Sentinel: "The walls being manned what is your duty Sentinel of the South?"

Sentinel of the South: "As the Southern Cross marks the Celestial South so I mark that post in the Tower to see that no Spies are present."

Chief Sentinel: "Direct that duty to be done."

Sentinel of the South: "Brother Scribe call the roll of the 2nd Watch and see that no Spies are present." Scribe calls the roll.

Scribe: "The roll of the 2nd Watch has been called and no Spies are present."

Sentinel of the South: "The roll is called Chief Sentinel and no Spies are present."

Chief Sentinel: "Alert then brothers as Sentinels of the 2nd. Watch."

All: Stand as in the 3rd Watch but place only two fingers on the heart.

Chief Sentinel: "Brother Sentinels the walls of the Tower are manned for the 2nd. Watch, no Spies are present and Sentinels are placed in the North, South, East and West. Are you prepared etc., etc. as in 3rd Watch.

All: "We are prepared Chief Sentinel"

Chief Sentinel: "The Padre will now invoke His blessing".

Padre: "O Thou who watchest over all men and. directest their footsteps in honour, loyalty and love, we beseech Thee to protect us in our 2nd "Watch and make our deliberations profitable to ourselves, beneficial to Empire and pleasing to Thee. Amen."

Chief Sentinel: "The Padre having invoked the blessing of God upon our deliberations the Tower is now open, Be seated brother Sentinels of the 2nd Watch."

The same procedure is followed as in the 3rd Watch except that the sign of the 2nd Watch is used.

RELIEF OF THE SECOND WATCH (Closing Ceremony)

The ceremony for the closing of the 2nd Watch is the same as that for the 3rd. except that 2nd Watch is substituted for 3rd Watch and the words "All's Well" are repeated twice only by the members.

FIRST WATCH.

Should there be members of the 1st Watch present and it is desired to admit them the Tower should be opened in the 1st Watch and first Watch Sentinels admitted.

The door being closed the ceremony of posting is the same as in the 2nd Watch except that only one finger is placed on the heart and the Guards give the knocks of the 1st Watch.

When the walls have been manned for the 1st Watch the Sentinel of the South will say "The 'Walls are manned for the 1st Watch Chief Sentinel What then is your duty?"

Chief Sentinel: "As the arrow head of the Compass shows the North and points out the way to the Scout so am I placed in the North to point out your duties as Sentinels of the 1st Watch, to guide you in your deliberations and to warn you that there may be Spies in the Tower who may betray you to the enemy. Brother Sentinel of the South will you vouch for all the Sentinels of the 1st Watch who are present?"

Sentinel of the South: "I vouch for them all Chief Sentinel".

Chief Sentinel: "Alert then as Sentinels of the 1st Watch."

Chief Sentinel: Brother Sentinels the walls of the Tower are manned for the 1st Watch, no spies are present and Sentinels are posted in the North, South, East and West. Are you prepared to acknowledge the Great Sentinel of the Universe as your Guide and Mentor and to do honour to His Name?"

All: "We are prepared Chief Sentinel."

Chief Sentinel: "The Padre will now invoke His blessing."

Padre: "Oh Thou Whom we acknowledge to be our Guide and Mentor, we humbly beseech Thee to watch over our proceedings in this Watch Tower. Bless our efforts to raise the moral, mental and physical standard of our Nation and help us to keep our Promise of honour to Thee, loyalty to King and Empire and Service for Others." Amen.

Chief Sentinel: "The blessing of the Great Sentinel of the Universe having been invoked on our behalf I now declare this Watch Tower open for the transaction of business and ask your brotherly assistance towards making our Watch a pleasant and profitable one."

The remainder of the Ceremony is the same as that for the 2nd Watch and the Sentinels are relieved.

INITIATION CEREMONY.

FIRST WATCH.

The Candidate will be prepared in the Anteroom by having his legs bared to the knees and his right arm to the elbow.

When the Candidate is ready the Outer Guard will give one loud knock followed by one low knock upon the door. The Inner Guard will say "There is an alarm at the gate Sentinel of the South."

Sentinel of the South. "There is an alarm at the gate Chief Sentinel."

Chief Sentinel. "Attend to it Sentinel of the South."

Sentinel of the South. "Open the gate Inner Guard."

The Inner Guard opens the gate and standing with his pike at the ready calls out in a loud voice "who comes there?"

Outer Guard. "A Friend from without who desires to be promoted to the rank of a Sentinel of the 1st Watch.

Inner Guard. "Advance Friend and give the sign."

Candidate takes one pace forward and with right hand gives Scout secret sign.

Inner Guard. "Pass friend, All's well."

The Candidate will then be led by the Watch men - Senior Watchman in front and Junior in rear - before the Sentinel of the South. The Senior Watchman will say "Sentinel of the South we present to you this friend from without who desires to be promoted to the rank of Sentinel of the 1st Watch and request that you will test him. in accordance with the usages of the Watch Tower."

Sentinel of the South. "Have you any credentials to present?"

Candidate. "I have." (hands them to Junior Watchman who lays them on desk before the Sentinel of the South.

Sentinel of the South. "I observe that you are a worthy friend tried and true. Are you prepared to undergo the Watch Tower tests to prove you worthy of the promotion you desire?"

Candidate. "I am prepared."

Sentinel of the South. "Prepare the Candidate for admission at the Eastern Gate."

The Watchmen will blindfold the Candidate and with much noise, rattle chains, Sentinels shuffle feet and make a commotion but without speaking.

Watchmen fasten chains round feet of Candidate. (If there are a number being initiated fasten all together with a long rope tied loosely round each neck, Senior Watchman holding one end of rope, Junior Watchman the other), and lead him by a rope round the Watch Tower, moving by the West and North to the Sentinel of the East.

Senior Watchman. "Sentinel of the East we present to you this Candidate for admission to the rank of Sentinel of the 1st Watch. He is bound, shackled and blindfolded; his knees and arm are bared, and he is ready to prove himself worthy to enter the Eastern gate.

Sentinel of the East. "Candidate for the rank of Sentinel of the 1st Watch, are you prepared to undergo the test of the Watch Tower to prove you worthy of promotion?"

Candidate. "I am prepared."

Sentinel of the East. "Down then upon your knees, place your right hand upon your heart and say after me:

On my honour I promise to do my best to honour God and to be loyal to my king and country. I acknowledge God to be the great ruling and guiding force in the Universe, and I believe that the Flag of my Country stands for freedom, faith and honour, and I shall do my best to keep it flying high.

Sentinel of the East. "Rise my brother, you have passed the test of the Eastern Gate and proved yourself worthy to advance to the Western Gate, but before doing so, I shall ask the Watchmen to remove your fetters. Let me also remind you of your promise. In order to be a good Citizen you must honour your God, you must be tolerant of the religious opinions of others, and in the Watch Tower you must never introduce a religious subject for discussion. These are matters that should be settled in the seclusion of your own chamber. You must be loyal to the king and country and do all you can to uphold the honour and glory of the British Empire – an Empire on which the sun never sets, you can do this best by living a good honourable and upright life, by obeying cheerfully the laws of the country in which you live, by qualifying yourself for the duties of citizenship and by discountenancing everything that is low, mean and vulgar. In conclusion I charge you to be dutiful to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters, and as a friend to be true. I charge you to bear yourself in modesty and in moderation, extend your benevolences to all, pursue learning, cultivate arts and thereby develop intellectual faculties, and perfect moral powers, and lastly I charge you to seek the public good, and promote common interests. Should an emergency arise offer yourself courageously to the State, and thus guard and maintain, as did the knights of old, the prosperity of the British Empire, and be not only a faithful subject of the King but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers. I now commend you to the Sentinel at the Western Gate for a further test."

The Senior Watchman will lead the Candidate very slowly across the Tower to the Sentinel of the West. The Sentinels should put on their blue cloth masks and the lights should be turned down.

On the tables or desks of the North, South, East and West Sentinels should be upraised the following transparencies:-

1. A large Star above an Arrow head for the Sentinel of the North.
2. The four stars of the Southern Cross for the Sentinel of the South.
3. The rising sun for the Sentinel of the East.
4. The setting sun for the Sentinel of the West.
5. A skull and cross bones resting on a coffin for the Padre.
6. An open volume for the Scribe.

(N.B.- The transparencies may be made by the numbers thus. Draw the designs on Cartridge paper, darken all the paper around the designs, then oil the designs carefully. Tack the prepared paper on a frame about 18 x 10 inches with sides and ends about 8 inches deep, or on boxes of that size with tops and bottoms removed. A small lamp or candle placed inside each, shows up the designs and enables the Officers to read).

The Candidate having been placed before the Sentinel of the West the Senior Watchman says, "Sentinel of the West by direction of the Sentinel of the East we present to you this Candidate for promotion to the rank of a Sentinel of the 1st Watch."

Sentinel of the West. "Worthy Candidate from the East, you have passed successfully the first test. Are you prepared to undergo the test of the Western Gate?"

Candidate. "I am prepared."

Sentinel of the West. "Then place your hand on your heart and repeat after me."

"I promise on my honour to do my best to help others at all times and to do at least one good turn to someone every day."

Sentinel of the West. "You have passed the test at the Western Gate and may now be released from the cord that binds you."

(Watchman. removes the rope from the Candidate's neck).

Sentinel of the West. "Before you proceed to the Northern Gate for the 3rd and last test, let me remind you of your promise of service for others. No trait in the character of men is more noble, nay more divine than cheerful and willing service for others. As a worthy Sentinel of the Watch Tower you must be prepared to save life even at the risk of your own, to help injured persons, to share home duties, to make yourself useful to old people, to the weak and helpless and specially to women and children. You must regard the doing of these things as a privilege and not as an unpleasant duty, and before you retire to rest each night you should recall the events of the day

to satisfy yourself that you have kept your solemn obligation. I now commend you to the Sentinel of the North for your final test at the Northern Gate."

Senior Watchman takes the Candidate by the hand and leads him in front of the Chief Sentinel.

Senior Watchman. "Chief Sentinel, by direction of the Sentinel of the West I present to you this Candidate from the Sentinels of the East and West who has passed the Watch Tower tests at the Eastern and Western Gates and has proved himself worthy to be posted as a Sentinel of the 1st Watch."

Chief Sentinel. "Worthy Candidate from the South, East and West, you are presented by the Senior Watchman who reports that you have passed the Watch Tower test, at the Eastern and Western Gates and that you have proved yourself worthy to be posted as a Sentinel of the 1st Watch. Are you prepared to undergo the final test to prove you worthy of that honour?"

Candidate. "I am prepared."

Chief Sentinel. "Do you know the Empire Sentinel Law?"

Candidate. "I do"

Chief Sentinel. "Then place your hand on your heart and repeat after me
"On my honour I promise to do the best that I can to obey the Sentinel Law and to make it the Law of my Life."

Chief Sentinel. "You have passed the third and last test successfully and proved yourself worthy to be proclaimed a Sentinel of the 1st Watch."

"I shall now ask your brother Sentinels to mark their appreciation of your success by firing seven volleys taking the time from me."

All. Strike palms together seven times in unison.

Chief Sentinel. "Watchman remove the bandage from the Candidate's eyes."
(He removes it)

All. Remain very still.

Chief Sentinel. "Brother Sentinel I welcome you to the Watch Tower and ask you to look around upon your brethren. You will observe that they are disguised, for like good Sentinels, they see without being seen. See the lamps at the gates which you passed and mark what each represents. The pole Star like the Arrow head of the Mariner's Compass shows the North to guide the wayfarer on his path, so I am posted here to point out your duty as a Sentinel of the Watch Tower and guide you in the way you should go. Turn about and observe the Southern Cross. It marks a point in the heavens which is opposite to the North and is the guiding Constellation in the South, so the Sentinel of the South is posted there to mark that point in the Watch

Tower through which you entered from the Outer world as a Candidate for promotion to the rank of Sentinel of the Watch Tower and to point the way in your journey to the Northern Gate. Behold the rising sun; it marks the Eastern Gate to which you were led, bound, blind and in fetters. It marks the East from which the Wise Men came in search of the "Light of the World." Hither you were led in search of light upon our Organisation, there you found it and your feet were unfettered so that henceforth you might walk with freedom and circumspection as a good Sentinel of the "Watch Tower."

"Turn to the West and note the Setting Sun. It marks the closing day, and the Western Gate. Hither you were led at the close of your journey to receive further instruction in good citizenship and service for others, and to have the cords that bound you to your fellows removed, so that you might realise your individual responsibility as a citizen of the greatest Empire the World has ever seen. (Candidate turns to North). On passing the final test at the Northern Gate your eyes were unbound, signifying the fact that you now see clearly the value of religion, patriotism, chivalry and purity of life in maintaining the integrity of our Empire. I now commend you to the Padre for his Counsel and Blessing."

Padre. "Brother Sentinel look upon these emblems of death and ponder well the words of wisdom you have heard in your progress through the Tower. As all men must die and their bodies become as the emblems before you, it behoves you as a good Sentinel of the Empire to so order your life, that you may leave behind you a name for honour, patriotism, chivalry, and manly virtue, that will entitle it to be engraved upon the Empire's Roll of Honour and serve as an example for all men to follow. In conclusion I charge you to commit to memory the ten precepts of the Sentinel Law. Observe them well and you will become a worthy Sentinel who from your 'Coign of Vantage' in the Watch Tower will be able to promote peace and happiness in the Empire, and thus assist in directing the destinies of Nations. May the God whom you profess watch over and protect you as a Sentinel of the Watch Tower and enable you to keep your solemn promises. Amen."

"Pass on brother Sentinel, 'All's Well'"

Watchman. "Worthy Scribe I present to you brother·___ who has just been promoted to the rank of a Sentinel of the 1st Watch, and who desires to enter his name upon the Roll."

Scribe. "I welcome you brother Sentinel of the 1st Watch and ask you to enter your name on the Roll of the Watch Tower of the Empire Sentinels."

(When the Candidate has signed his name he steps back into his position in front of the Chief Sentinel. The Senior Watchman hands the- Junior Watchman a blue shoulder knot which he fastens on the Candidate's left shoulder. The Sentinels remove their masks while the Inner Guard removes the symbols of Office and turns up the lights).

Chief Sentinel "I shall now give you the secret sign, grip and countersign of the 1st Watch." (The Chief Sentinel comes down from his desk and gives the sign, grip and countersign. When this has been done he will say: "You are now equipped for duty and will take your post in the Watch Tower. 'All's Well.'")

All: Repeat "All's Well"

The Watchmen will lead the Candidate to his seat.

Chief Sentinel. "Sentinels are relieved from duty for a time to welcome their new brother." Members will now go to the new brother, shake hands as Sentinels of the 1st Watch, and welcome him to the Watch Tower.

Refreshments may be served if desired, and if no further business is to be done the Watch Tower may be relieved as laid down in the Ritual.

INITIATION CEREMONY.

SECOND WATCH.

The Candidate will be prepared in the Anteroom by having his coat removed, his sleeves rolled up, a workman's apron put on, and have a white calico cap on his head. He will have in his hand a "Good Turn" Card containing a list of services rendered to others since his admission to the rank of a "Sentinel of the 1st Watch." also a recognised Certificate of proficiency in some handicraft or profession.

When the Candidate is ready, the Outer Guard will give the 2nd Watch Tower signal, i.e., two loud and two soft knocks.

Inner Guard. "Sentinel of the South there is an alarm at the gate."

Sentinel of the South. "There is an alarm at the gate Chief Sentinel"

Chief Sentinel. "Attend to it Sentinel of the South."

Sentinel of the South. "Open the Gate Inner Guard."

Inner Guard opens the gate and coming to the ready position with his pike, calls out in a loud voice "who comes there?"

Outer Guard. "A worthy Sentinel of the 1st Watch who desires promotion to the 2nd Watch."

Inner Guard. "Advance Sentinel and give the sign, i.e., Secret Sign of 1st Watch.

Candidate takes one pace forward and gives the sign.

Inner Guard. "Pass brother Sentinel, All's Well."

The Watchmen now take him in front of the Sentinel of the South and the Senior says "Sentinel of the South we present to you this worthy Sentinel of the 1st Watch who desires promotion to the rank of Sentinel of the 2nd Watch."

Sentinel of the South, "Worthy Sentinel. have you any credentials to prove you worthy of this promotion?"

Candidate. "I have Sentinel of the South."

The Junior Watchman collects them and lays them on the desk before the Sentinel of the South.

Sentinel of the South. Brother Sentinel I perceive that your record is good. Are you prepared to undergo the tests to prove you worthy to be promoted to the 2nd Watch?"

Candidate. "I am prepared."

Sentinel of the South. "Watchmen prepare the Candidate for the tests."

(Watchmen blindfold Candidate, tie his hands behind his back and lead him to the Sentinel of the East, by the West and North, leading him by a rope round his neck. If there are more than one Candidate the rope may tied at each neck. The Senior Watchman leading and the Junior following).

Senior Watchman. "Sentinel of the East we present to you this Sentinel of the 1st Watch, bound, blindfolded and led by a rope round his neck to undergo the test of the Eastern Gate."

Sentinel of the East. "Brother Sentinel are you prepared to undergo that test?"

Candidate. "I am, Sentinel of the East."

Sentinel of the East. "Repeat then to me the ten sections of the Sentinel Law." (The Candidate should be word perfect in these before entering the Tower). Candidate repeats them.

Sentinel of the East. "I congratulate you brother Sentinel upon having passed the test successfully. Watchmen release the Candidate's hands as a sign that he has passed the test at the Eastern Gate." Watchmen release them.

Sentinel of the East. "I now commend you to the Sentinel of the West for a further test. Watchmen, lead the Candidate to the Western Gate." (While this is being done the Inner Guard and Officers will prepare the Tower as in the 1st Watch and members will put on their red masks).

Senior Watchman. "Sentinel of the West we present to you this Sentinel from the South and East for a further test to prove him worthy of promotion to the rank of a Sentinel of the 2nd Watch."

Sentinel of the West. "Brother Sentinel I perceive by your unbound hands that you have passed the 1st Test successfully. Are you prepared to undergo the 2nd test?"

Candidate. "I am prepared."

Sentinel of the West. "On what do you lay claim to promotion?"

Candidate. "On my service for others and my proficiency certificates."

Sentinel of the West. "Well answered brother Sentinel, you have passed the second test and as a proof of your success your halter will be removed."

(Watchmen removes halter). "I commend you to the Chief Sentinel for your final test and instruction. Watchmen lead our brother to the Northern Gate."

Senior Watchman. "Chief Sentinel we present to you our brother Sentinel who has passed the tests at the Eastern and Western Gates and who desires the final test to prove him worthy of promotion to the rank of a Sentinel of the 2nd Watch."

Chief Sentinel. "Brother Sentinel I perceive from your condition that you have passed the tests of the South, East and Western Gates. Are you prepared to undergo the final test?"

Candidate. "I am prepared."

Chief Sentinel "Have you kept your promise?"

Candidate. "Try me and prove me."

Chief Sentinel. "State what you believe to be your most useful act of service for others during the past month." (Candidate states it.)

Chief Sentinel "I congratulate you my brother. In doing this you have conquered self and illustrated the truth of our motto 'Vincit qui se Vincit'." (He conquers who conquers himself)

Chief Sentinel. "What is the sign of the 1st Watch?" (Candidate gives it.)

Chief Sentinel. "What is the grip?" (Candidate gives it).

Chief Sentinel. "What is the countersign?" (Candidate gives it).

Chief Sentinel "What are the objects of our brotherhood?"

To improve the character of our Nation.

To strengthen the bonds of Empire.

To promote brotherly love and self sacrifice in service for others.

Chief Sentinel "Well answered my brother, you have proven yourself worthy of promotion to the rank of the 2nd Watch and to see your brothers on duty. Watchmen remove the bandage from our brother's eyes."

All. Keep very still.

Chief Sentinel. "Brother Sentinels, I introduce to you our brother who has passed all the tests of a Sentinel of the 2nd Watch. Before he receives his

final instructions I ask you to welcome him with a salute of fourteen guns taking the time from me.”

All. Clap hands fourteen times in unison.

Chief Sentinel. “My brother you have been welcomed by your brothers of the 2nd Watch. Let me now impress upon you the importance of the step you have taken and remind you of what you are expected to do:

FIRST. You are expected to report yourself here for duty as often as possible.

SECOND. You are expected to carry out your promise as faithfully as circumstances permit.

THIRD. You are to live a good clean life and to hold the honour of your neighbour’s wife and daughter as a sacred thing.

FOURTH. You are to assist in promoting the public good whenever possible, and you are never to turn a deaf ear to the cry of the weak or helpless.

I now commend you to the Padre for his advice and blessing.”

Padre “Brother Sentinel I have watched your progress Northward with great interest. I have noted your earnestness and the readiness with which you proved your fitness for promotion to the 2nd Watch. You have taken a very important step upwards towards manliness and nobility of character and I would impress upon you the great necessity for watchfulness in regard to your own conduct outside of the Watch Tower. Precept is good but example is better, therefore endeavour always so to act that you will be proof to every attack upon your manhood and thus become a pillar of strength to your weaker brother and a brick in the wall that surrounds your Empire.

May the Great Sentinel of the Universe enable you to do this and especially to help you to resist the practice of that secret sin which is undermining the health, strength and manhood of our Nation and make you a man of wisdom and virtue whom all will delight to honour. Amen.”

Chief Sentinel. Brother ____ you may now remove your working dress as your work for the day is done.” (Candidate removes his cap and apron.)

“You will now enter your name on the Roll of the Second Watch, after which I shall give you the sign, grip, and countersign, and the Watchmen will present you with the colours of the 2nd Watch.”

(When the Candidate signs his name on the Roll he will step back to his former place. The Chief Sentinel will give him the sign, grip and countersign, and the Watchman will remove the colours of the 1st Watch and replace them with the red ribbons. The Members at the same time

remove their masks. The Inner Guard turns up the lights and the symbols of office are removed).

Chief Sentinel. "My brother I now proclaim you a Sentinel of the Second Watch properly equipped for duty. All's Well, All's Well."

All. Repeat "All's Well, All's Well" and the Watchmen lead the Candidate to his seat).

Chief Sentinel. "Sentinels are relieved from duty for a time to welcome their new brother."

(Members will now go to the new brother, shake hands as Sentinels of the 2nd Watch and welcome him to the Watch Tower). Refreshments may be handed round if desired and if no further business is to be done the Watch Tower may be relieved as laid down in the Ritual.

INITIATION CEREMONY.

THIRD-WATCH.

The Candidate will be prepared in the ante room having his coat removed, a small apron tied around his waist, a towel thrown over his shoulder and have, in his left hand, a salver bearing his Credentials.

The Watch Tower will be prepared by having the lights turned down, the Symbols of office lit up. (These should be transparencies made as instructed in the First Watch, or small linen flags tacked on frames will do.)

The Sentinel of the South's symbol is the Flag of St. George. Sentinel of the East's the flag of St. Andrew. The Sentinel of the West's the flag of St. Patrick and the Chief Sentinel's the Union Jack.

All the assembled members will put on their white masks and the desks of the Sentinels of the South, East, West and the North should be draped with their respective flags.

When all are ready, the Outer Guard will give the alarm of the third watch, i.e., three loud and three low knocks.

Inner Guard. "There is an alarm at the gate Sentinel of the South."

Sentinel of the South. "There is an alarm at the gate Chief Sentinel."

Chief Sentinel. "Attend to it."

Sentinel of the South. "Open the gate Inner Guard."

Inner Guard opens the gate and coming to the ready with his pike calls out in a loud voice "Who comes there?"

Outer Guard. "A worthy Sentinel of the Second Watch who desires to be promoted to the rank of a Sentinel of the Third Watch."

Inner Guard. "Advance worthy Sentinel and give the sign."

Candidate advances one pace, and. gives the sign of the Second Watch.

Inner Guard. "Pass brother, all's well. (He will then be taken by the Watchmen and led in front of the Sentinel of the South).

Senior Watchman. "Sentinel of the South. I present to you this worthy Sentinel of the Second Watch who desires promotion to the rank of a Sentinel of the Third Watch."

Sentinel of the South. "My brother are you prepared to undergo the tests to prove you worthy of promotion to the rank of Sentinel of the Third Watch?"
Candidate. "I am prepared."

Sentinel of the South. "Upon what do you rely for admission to that test?"

Candidate. "Upon my daily Good Turns, my readiness to serve others, and upon my proficiency in _____ (Here name the hobby or handicraft certificates, or Employers' testimonials presented).

Senior Watchman takes the salver from the Candidate and lays it on the desk before the Sentinel of the South.

Sentinel of the South (examining the credentials). "Brother Sentinel of the Second Watch, I perceive that you have done well, and are worthy to undergo the test of St. George -- the patron Saint of England.

Place your right hand on your heart and raise your left hand as high as your head, forefinger pointing upward remaining fingers and thumb closed, and repeat after me.

"On my honour I shall do my best to lead a clean life.

I shall never refuse to help the weak or the oppressed, and I shall endeavour to emulate St. George of England by preparing myself for every emergency that may arise."

Sentinel of the East. "My brother I congratulate you upon having successfully passed the test at St. George's gate and you may proceed to St. Andrew's, but before doing so, let me charge you to ponder over your promise. Let your character be as unsullied as the "field" of the flag you see before you, and may you remember that the red cross is a mark of a merciful mission, and that all who claim its protection shall be shielded from harm.

You may now proceed to St. Andrew's gate. (Senior Watchman leads him to Sentinel of the East).

Senior Watchman. Sentinel of the East I present to you this worthy brother who desires promotion to the Third Watch and who has passed the test at St. George's gate."

Sentinel of the East. "My brother I congratulate you upon your success. Are you ready to undergo the test of St. Andrew?"

Candidate. "Ready, aye, Ready."

Sentinel of the East. "Place your hand upon your heart, and hold your left as high as your head, first two fingers pointing upward, remainder closed, and repeat after me. On my honour I promise to do my best to cultivate a true public spirit, believing that God will by some means or other make opportunities for me to exercise it, and help me to do good without expectation of reward and be 'Ready, aye, Ready' at the call of duty."

Sentinel of the East. "My brother you have passed the test at St. Andrew's gate and have proved yourself worthy to proceed to St. Patrick's. Before doing so however let me charge you to ponder well over your promise of service for the public good. Let it be your ambition to carry out your duty however humble it may be to the best of your ability, not because you will profit thereby, but because you want to feel that no one has ever performed that particular work so well, and that you are doing it partly for your Country and your Empire. Pass on my brother and be 'Ready, aye, Ready'" (The Watchmen lead the Candidate to the Sentinel of the West).

Senior Watchman.

"Sentinel of the West, I present to you this worthy brother who desires promotion to the Third Watch and who has passed successfully the tests at St. George and St. Andrew's gates."

Sentinel of the West. "My brother I also congratulate you upon your success and compliment you upon your perseverance in proceeding this far. Are you 'for Faith and Fatherland,' willing to undergo the test of St. Patrick?"

Candidate. "I am, For the Shield of God Shelters Me."

Sentinel of the West. "Then place your right hand upon your heart and raise your left as high as your head, first three fingers pointing upward, thumb on nail of little finger and repeat after me. On my honour I promise to do my best to do nothing to hurt or offend anyone else. At whatever I am working to try and win honour and a name for honesty. Never to break a promise. To die poor rather than live shamefully. To perform humble offices with cheerfulness and grace, and to do good unto others.

Sentinel of the West. "I congratulate you my brother upon having passed so successfully the test at St. Patrick's gate and as your tour of duty is over for the night I ask you to lay aside your working dress and enjoy the reward of your labours. Watchmen prepare your brother for presentation to the Chief Sentinel. (Watchmen remove Candidate's towel and apron. Junior Watchman lays them across his arm while the Senior Watchman brings the Candidate's coat). This done he says to the Sentinel of the West "Our brother is ready for presentation, Sentinel of the West."

Sentinel of the West. "I now commend you to the Chief Sentinel for instruction in the duties of a Sentinel of the Third Watch. Pass on my brother; All's well." (Senior Watchman leads Candidate to Chief Sentinel and Junior Watchman retires with Candidate's working dress).

Senior Watchman. "Chief Sentinel, by direction of the Sentinel of the West I present to you our brother who has passed the tests of a Sentinel of the Third Watch and who now seeks final instructions and advice from you."

Chief Sentinel. "I welcome you my brother to the Northern gate, and commend your zeal and industry to the notice of your brethren who have watched your progress through the Tower. You have passed the tests at the gates of St. George, St. Andrew and St. Patrick, and in passing them you observed the White Flag with the Red Cross of St. George. The Blue Flag with the White Cross of St. Andrew, and the White Flag with the Red Cross of St. Patrick. These three flags are united to make one flag as you see here. This flag is called the Union Jack; it represents the Union of England, Scotland and Ireland into one Kingdom which we are proud to call the "Motherland." But it does more than that, it represents the union of the Motherland with all oversea Dominions, and it means a closer comradeship with our brothers both here and at Home."

"For tis thy flag and my flag, the best of flags on earth,
Oh cherish it my brother for 'tis yours by right of birth;
Your fathers fought, your fathers died to rear it to the sky,
And we like them should never yield, but keep it flying high,
Tis thy flag and my flag, across the ocean wild
Our kinsman look upon it, with a thrill of love and pride:
It speaks to them in distant lands wherever they may roam,
Of freedom, faith and honour bright of Country, King and Home."

This flag should be an inspiration to you. When you see it waving, let it inspire you with noble resolves, and should you be tempted to do something low, mean or cowardly, think of it, and say to yourself "I cannot do it." We are citizens of the Greatest Empire that the World has ever seen. If we are to keep our leading position among the Nations of the World we must stand shoulder to shoulder as Britons and not be divided by differences in opinion on religion, politics or any other question. For united we stand, but divided we fall."

As a fully equipped Sentinel of the Third Watch, you must remember the promises you have made and the instruction you have received, and in carrying them out in your daily life you will become a good man, a good

citizen and a good patriot. I now commend you to the Padre for advice and blessing.

Padre. "My brother let me add a few words to those of the Chief Sentinel. You have now completed your tour of the Watch Tower. Your progress from gate to gate should remind you of your journey through life. You entered ignorant, but with an unbiased mind. Step by step you gathered information and your mind was stored With useful knowledge, You were warned of the pitfalls on the way, but avoided them and reached the goal of your ambitions. Let it be your desire to become a good citizen, avoid the pitfalls of immorality, selfishness and dishonesty, and play the man. Whatever your work let it be a passion not a servitude to be got over. Regard it as a patriotic work, and your fellow men will give you your reward of praise and sympathy as you deserve it. Do you understand all this?"

Candidate. "I do."

Padre. "Then may the Great Sentinel of the Universe give you the strength to withstand the temptations that beset young men and enable you to pass successfully all tests in your upward journey through life. Amen."

Chief Sentinel. "Brother Sentinels I now introduce to you brother ____, who has passed all the tests for a Sentinel of the Third Watch. Before he signs his name in the Roll I ask you to salute him with 21 guns, taking the time from me. (Clap hands 21 times). After the Candidate has signed his name the Watchmen will remove his red ribbons and put on the white. The Chief Sentinel will give him the grip, sign and countersign of the Third Watch and then say 'You are now a Sentinel of the Third Watch fully equipped: for duty. All's Well, All's Well, All's Well'"

All. Repeat All's Well three times, placing the right hand on the heart each time. The Watchman will lead the Candidate to his seat.

Chief Sentinel. "The Sentinels are relieved from duty to welcome their new brother."

STANDING ORDERS.

1. When Sentinels are being posted in the 1st, 2nd, or 3rd Watch, and a brother Sentinel of that Watch desires to be admitted before the posting is completed the outer guard will give the correct alarm.

Immediately before the singing of the Opening Ode, or the reading of the Report, the Inner Guard, giving the salute, will say "There is an alarm at the gate, Sentinel of the South!"

Sentinel of the South. "There is an alarm at the gate Chief Sentinel"

Chief Sentinel. "Attend to it Sentinel of the South."

Sentinel of the South. "Open the gate Inner Guard."

The Inner Guard opens the gate and coming to the ready position with his pike calls out "Who comes there?"

Outer Guard. "Brother ____ of the ____ Watch."

Inner Guard. "Pass brother ____ of the ____ Watch., All's Well."

The brother will then move in front of the Sentinel of the South and facing the Chief Sentinel will give the Salute for that Watch and then take his seat. The posting will then be continued.

2. Should a brother wish to retire before a posting or an initiation is completed, he will rise, give the sign of the Watch and say "May I retire, Chief Sentinel?"

Chief Sentinel. "You may my brother."

He will then move to the Inner Guard, give him in a whisper the countersign and withdraw.

3. When the Chief Sentinel of another Watch Tower pays an official visit, he will be admitted immediately after the Officers and Sentinels have taken their posts.

He will be met at the gate by the Watchmen after the Inner Guard's challenge and the announcement of his name and rank by the Outer Guard, and escorted in front of the Sentinel of the South where he will give the Chief the correct sign. The Watchmen will then form an arch over his head with their poles and escort him up the centre of the Tower to the Chief Sentinel, who will come down and welcome him with the sign and grip, and lead him to a seat on his right.

4. Every Officer and Sentinel when addressing the Chief will give as a salute the correct Secret Sign of the Watch, and the Inner Guard will salute the Sentinel of the South in the same manner.

5. Election of Officers will be held annually.

6. The immediate past Chief Sentinel will sit at the right hand of the Chief Sentinel to assist him when necessary.

7. In the absence of an Officer his post will be filled from among the members by direction of the Chief Sentinel.

SENTINEL LAW.

1. A Sentinel's word of Honour is trusted.
2. A Sentinel fears God and honours the King.
3. A Sentinel is useful and helps others.

4. A Sentinel is a friend to all and a brother to every other Sentinel.
5. A Sentinel is courteous.
6. A Sentinel is a friend to animals.
7. A Sentinel obeys orders.
8. A Sentinel smiles and looks pleasant.
9. A Sentinel is thrifty.
10. A Sentinel is clean in thought, word and deed.

CONFIDENTIAL

SIGNS, GRIPS AND COUNTERSIGNS

FIRST WATCH

Chief Sentinel. "I shall now give you the sign, grip and countersign of the 1st Watch, and charge you to regard them as strictly confidential and not be divulged to any unauthorised person upon any pretence whatever.

The sign is made by placing the right hand on your heart thus, forefinger extended, remaining fingers closed.

The grip is given with the left hand, thus, grasp the Comrade's forefinger with yours, press the third joint of that finger with your thumb and cover the grip with your right hand (gives the grip).

The countersign is always given thus "Give me the sign of the 1st Watch (candidate gives it).

Give me the grip (candidate gives it) and while the hands are held and the grip covered by the candidate's right hand the Chief Sentinel says "Now take one pace forward with your left foot." When this is done the Chief Sentinel will place his left foot inside that of the candidate's and reaching forward place his right arm around the candidate's back and whispers into his left ear the countersign "Fear God."

The same method is employed in giving the signs, grips and countersigns of the 2nd and 3rd Watches.

HARASHIM

חרשים

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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.

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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

Clear illustrations, diagrams and photographic prints suitable for scanning are welcomed, and most computer graphic formats are acceptable. Photos of contributors (preferably *not* in regalia) would be useful. ***Contributors who require posted material to be returned should include a stamped, self-addressed envelope.***

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PRESIDENT'S PAGES

Dear fellow researchers,

The offer is still there if you would like me to visit your lodge and talk about the advantages of masonic research and my encouragement for anyone who has an inquisitive mind to take up some aspect or aspects of research, including masonic history, masonic philosophy and masonic ritual. If possible, I can visit your lodge in person if geographically impossible, then we can set up a Zoom connection. I could present one of my previous works of research or give some idea of how I went about my research which, hopefully would give others a possible way of starting research of their particular topics that they wish to investigate. Or, instead, ask a local researcher to undertake these tasks. The object is to expand the appreciation of masonic research and increase the number of masonic researchers.

I have decided that one project that I will undertake during my presidency is to update the history of masonic research in New Zealand and Australia. Bro. Tony Pope's paper "Masonic Research in Australia and New Zealand", which details the history of research in our various jurisdiction and of ANZMRC, is well worth reading. There are various versions of this papers in various publications but the easiest one to find is that which appears on the website Pietre-Stones, (<http://www.freemasons-freemasonry.com/ANZMRC.html>). It is my intention, during the last three quarters of my term as President and beyond, to cover more recent developments of ANZMRC, research in our various jurisdictions and individual research lodges. If you know of any research that has already been done in these areas, please let me know as there is no point in duplicating research that has already been done.

I wish you all well in your various research projects and encourage you to read the interesting articles that appear in *Harashim*.

Best fraternal regards,

David Slater.

It is with much sadness that readers are advised of the recent death of Bro Rob Casson of Adelaide.

Bro. Rob was a great supporter of Masonic research both in his home jurisdiction of South Australia, and in the wider Masonic world. As such he will be sorely missed.

He lived respected and died regretted.

GOLDFIELDS FREEMASONRY: DECODING THE PAST

DOROTHY WICKHAM

An earlier version of this essay was first published as a chapter in *'Goldfields and the gothic: a hidden heritage & folklore'* edited and compiled by David Waldron, 2016. ISBN 9781925333510. This version was updated by the author, to whom grateful thanks are extended.

In a period of global tension, the establishment of Freemasonry in Australia was tenuous. As a penal colony, political prisoners as well as a criminal element were thrust into the new colony. So, on 14 May 1803, when Irish convict Henry Browne Hayes attempted to hold a Freemasonic Lodge meeting in Port Jackson (Sydney), all Masons present were arrested and Hayes sentenced to 'hard labour at the New Settlement to be formed at Van Diemen's Land'.

An order was quickly passed in the colony forbidding Masonic meetings without the Governor's express permission. A proclamation stated that it should be 'clearly understood by all and every [one of] His Majesty's subjects resident or stationed in this Colony, that any similar meetings without the express approbation of the Governor will be punished to the utmost rigour of the law, and as the local circumstances of this Colony and its inhabitants may require'¹. In a despatch dated 21 August 1804 the Governor reported that 'every soldier and other person would have been made a Freemason, had not the most decided means been taken to prevent it'.²

Due to the perceived threats of seditious, secret societies and a French invasion, both potentially vehicles by which the established order in Britain could be overthrown, the British Government had passed the Unlawful Societies Act of 1799, the same year that Napoleon proclaimed the end of the French Revolution and was instituted as Consulate³. The Pitt Government in

¹ Proclaimed by Command W. N. Chapman, Sec. Government House, 17 May 1803; *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, Vol. I, No. 12, Sunday 22 May 1803, General Orders, p. 1; Masonic Meeting, p. 2.

² Num, Richard. 'Freemasonry in Australia', Paper delivered to New England Lodge No. 4, Ohio, December 2003. First published in *Proceedings of the Ohio Lodge of Research*, Volume 25. See http://www.Freemasons-Freemasonry.com/Freemasonry_australia.html.

³ It was the Unlawful Societies Act of 1799 that saw the first statute 'for the more effectual suppression of societies established for seditious and treasonable purposes'; once enacted it affected all societies whose members were required to take an oath not authorised by law, shall be deemed 'unlawful combinations: It was as a result of the intervention of the Grand Master of the Antients, The 4th Duke of Atholl, and the Acting Grand Master of the Moderns, the Earl of Moira, that a special exempting clause was inserted into this legislation in favour of societies 'held under the Denomination of Lodges of Freemasons' provided that they had been 'usually held before the Act' and their names, places and times of meeting and the names of the members were annually registered with the local Clerk to the Justices of the Peace. This continued on until 1967 when this Act was repealed by a section of the Criminal Justice Act which meant that the annual returns of all the Lodges to the authorities ceased. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Suppression_of_Freemasonry

Britain brought in one of the most sweeping legislative measures ‘for the more effectual suppression of societies established for seditious and treasonable purposes’ to quell any potential revolutions. Once enacted, it affected *all* societies whose members were required to take an oath not authorised by law.

A special exempting clause was inserted into the legislation in favour of societies ‘held under the Denomination of Lodges of Freemasons’ provided that they had been ‘usually held before the Act’. Their names, places and times of meeting and the names of the members were to be annually registered with the local Clerk to the Justices of the Peace. This practice continued until 1967 when the Unlawful Societies Act was repealed by a section of the Criminal Justice Act, which meant that the annual returns of all the Lodges to the authorities could cease.⁴

In the seething global atmosphere of the early 1800s where every meeting was seen as a potential harbinger of doom set with imminent danger or dire revolution, the British authorities were suspicious of any unauthorized meetings held in private. The new colonies, as an extension of the British Empire, emulated their legal system (albeit with their own idiosyncrasies) and took on British anxieties as well as British ideals.

Problematical in Sydney Town, whose population in 1800 was about 10,000, a ‘Masonic meeting termed a ‘Triangle’ was held aboard a French expeditionary ship in Sydney Harbour on 17 September 1802’ and a ‘candidate initiated’. This was a ‘red flag’ to authorities. Not only were the men participating Masons, but they had association with the French, who had been a thorn in the side of the British for centuries. Masonic historian Sharp claims that Australia’s earliest extant Masonic document, a certificate created for the new member, stems from this meeting.⁵

The ritual and perceived secrecy associated with the fraternity of Freemasons helped to increase public concern, conjecture, and spawn fear in non-masons. The Catholic Church prohibited its members from joining Masonic lodges and used its power to exert pressure against the fraternity⁶. Rumours and

⁴ Prescott, Dr Andrew. Paper presented at the 2nd International Conference of the Canonbury Masonic Research Centre, 4 November 2000; The Unlawful Societies Act of 1799, in Scanlan, M.D.J. [ed.]. *The Social Impact of Freemasonry on the Modern Western World*. ‘The Canonbury Papers I’ Canonbury Masonic Research Centre, 2002, pp. 116-34.

⁵ Sharp, Allan McL. ‘Australia’s Oldest Extant Masonic Document: A Factual Interpretation’ in *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, Vol. 104, 1991, pp. 150-65; Richard Num, ‘Freemasonry in Australia’, Paper delivered to New England Lodge No. 4., Ohio, December 2003. First published in Proceedings of the Ohio Lodge of Research, Vol.25. See http://www.Freemasons-Freemasonry.com/Freemasonry_australia.html

⁶ The belief of exclusion was formed in 1737 during the time of the Inquisition when the Roman Catholic Church through Pope Clement XII issued a Papal Bull *Eminenti Apostolatus Specula* that stated in essence that

innuendoes abounded in Australia, fed by overseas news of the growing influence of secret societies.⁷ This added to the speculation that Freemasonry was a secret society and even, some people intimated, Satanic.

Although Freemasonic meetings were initially restricted in Sydney, they were held elsewhere in the colony.⁸ This is not surprising, as Freemasons were among the earliest settlers to Australia.⁹ Lachlan Macquarie, born 1762, initiated into the Lodge at Bombay, India, on 16 January 1793¹⁰, became Governor of New South Wales in 1810 and held office until 1821.¹¹ His

according to common gossip certain secret societies were 'spreading far and wide and daily growing in strength; and men of any Religion or sect, satisfied with the appearance of natural probity, are joined together'.

The Bull went on to state that 'this rumour has grown to such proportions' that several governments 'prudently eliminated' such societies. As a result the Papal Bull not only prohibited all Catholics from participating in Freemasonry but used the Inquisition and the power of the Catholic Bishops to proceed against the fraternity on the grounds of heresy. After 1737 there were copious Bulls both pre and post Vatican II reiterating and prohibiting the entry of any Catholic man into the society of Freemasons. Pope Leo XIII banned Catholics from becoming Freemasons in 1884 in the encyclical *Humanum Genus*.

The Code of Canon Law 1917 threatened automatic excommunication of any Catholic that joined the Freemasons, and also forbid books friendly to Freemasons. Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, Prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, issued a declaration on Masonic Associations on 26 November 1983, which stated that the Church's negative judgment in regard to Masonic association remained unchanged and membership in them remained forbidden. He stated that the 'faithful who enrol in Masonic associations are in a state of grave sin and may not receive Holy Communion'. The allegations of the Catholic Church forbidding members to join Freemasonry include irreconcilable differences in doctrine, religious indifference fundamental to Freemasonry, denial of the possibility of divine revelation, and the Church's interpretation that Freemasonry was Deist, although this was not so.

⁷ *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, Saturday 9 October 1819, p. 3, information collected from northern towns of Germany with respect to secret societies formed; *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, Thursday 22 July 1924, p. 3, British Extracts. Parliamentary Intelligence, re a secret society and the difficulty of convicting any of its members; *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, Wednesday 8 November 1826, The Church of Rome, 'not only exhorts the clergy, but commands them, to employ all the means in their power, as well to discover the secret societies already existing, as to prevent the formation of new ones'. *Geelong Advertiser and Squatters' Advocate*, Saturday 25 July 1846, p. 1, re Prussian conspiracies; *Argus*, Friday 7 August 1846, p. 2, the Rechabites as a secret Lodge.

⁸ The Lodge had acquired land at the east end of the town at Sydney Bay on 27 April 1800 and held meetings for some years. It appears that the Lodge was 'irregular', not having a proper Warrant. See <http://www.records.nsw.gov.au/indexes/colsec/>

Masonic symbols, including an open book below a square and compass, which lie between two pillars surmounted by an arch, are evident on the gravestone of George Hales who died and was buried in August 1801 on Norfolk Island. (George Hales was made a Mason on 24 December 1789 in the Dundee Arms Lodge No. 9 which met in Wapping, London for many years.) Thomas Lucas, who came out as a marine on the Scarborough with First Fleet was Past Master of the Lodge in 1807. He had been a member of the Lodge of Temperance of London. A Masonic building also existed on Norfolk Island in 1814.

⁹ Joseph Banks who travelled to Australia in 1770 with Captain James Cook aboard the HMS Endeavour was most likely the first Freemason to set foot in Australia. Banks, a member of the Somerset House Masonic Lodge, became the president of the Royal Society in London in 1778 and was noted for his work in natural history. In January of that same year Freemasons were among the earliest convicts on the First Fleet that arrived with its cargo of convicts in New South Wales.

¹⁰ G. H. Cumming, *The First Freemasons of Port Macquarie*, Paper No. 217, The Masonic Historical Society of New South Wales, 24 February 2014.

¹¹ *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 1 February 1822; Donation by Freemasons to the Benevolent Society £13 11s; 1 January 1824, '... three grand principles of the order, faith, hope and charity were lucidly and profitably expounded' and a donation was made to the Benevolent Institution. According to Masonic core values, showing no discrimination on religious grounds, he laid the foundation stone of St Mary's Catholic Church, on 29 October 1821. Father Therry read an address of welcome to the Governor who said in reply: 'You

influence was apparent, with a civilian Lodge formed in Sydney in 1820 a warrant being obtained from the Grand Lodge of Ireland. Then two more Lodges were established in Sydney and one in Hobart.

Lodges were held within Regiments that visited the Colony of New South Wales. The Lodge of Social and Military Virtues No. 227 Irish Constitution was held within the 46th Regiment (South Devonshire) that was on garrison duty in NSW and Tasmania from 1814 to 1818. Lieutenant John Oxley and surgeon John Harris were members. When the 48th (Northamptonshire) came to new South Wales and Tasmania, during 1817-1824, held within the Regiment was Lodge No. 218 Irish Constitution. From 25 March to 24 June 1821 the 48th Regiment comprised two sergeants, two corporals, one drummer and 32 privates in the detachment sent to Port Macquarie. Of these, three at least were freemasons: Sergeant William Clayton, a weaver, had enlisted on 25 June 1803 at Preston, Lancashire, aged 20 years; John Kelly and Richard Evans were also members.¹²

Anti-Masonic sentiment was still rife, fuelled by articles in the *Australian* newspaper that were answered in the *Sydney Gazette* by Freemasons.¹³ The newspaper was continued, on 4 January 1827, when the *Sydney Gazette* ran a large article on the 'First Symptoms of Alarm' noting the antics of the *Australian*. By 1831 the *Sydney Monitor* looked at various acts and proceedings invoked, accusing the government of composing a 'system of coercion and terrorism within the period alluded to'.¹⁴ The newspaper appealed to the nation 'on behalf of reform' stating that 'the true state of the

must know, Mr Therry, that, although I never laid the first stone of a Catholic Church before, I am a very old Mason: and I shall keep this trowel as long as I live in remembrance of this day, and I wish you and your flock every success in your pious undertaking'.

¹² G. H. Cumming, *The First Freemasons of Port Macquarie*, Paper No. 217, The Masonic Historical Society of New South Wales, 24 February 2014.

¹³ *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, Vol. XXV, No. 1276, 4 January 1827.

¹⁴ 1792, May 21 - A proclamation was issued against 'seditious meetings and publications', 'an act ever memorable, as the commencement of the struggle between the House of Commons and the people. Dec. 1 - A proclamation calling out the militia, and announcing danger to the constitution from evil disposed persons acting in concert with persons in foreign parts'.

1793 - Habeas Corpus suspended, for the first time since the Rebellion in 1741. 1795 - ... November. - Bill passed his Majesty's person and government against treasonable and seditious practices.

1797 - Insurrection and other strong measures, adopted in Ireland.

1798 - martial law - the Rebellion which continued the destruction of 100,000 lives.

1799 - Suspension of Habeas Corpus Act renewed in England.

1801 - Bill against seditious meetings revived.

1803 - Martial law renewed in Ireland, and Habeas Corpus Act suspended there 1830 - The call for reform reappears much indignation excited by the East Retford Bill-Birmingham Union established-many petitions presented to Parliament-symptoms of discontent renewed.

1831 - Truce between Parliament and the people at an end-Birmingham Union willing to raise 100,000 men to fight - the oligarchy petitions for reform in thousands - the necessity of some concession to the people admitted by everybody within Parliament and without, except the Duke of Wellington.

question' was 'that the government must either quiet the people by concession or it must be prepared to rule in all times ... by force and terror, as it has ruled for the last forty years!' This editorial alluded to the quashing of the Freemasonic fraternity.

Three Constitutions, English, Scottish and Irish, were established in the Port Phillip District with the first meeting being held on 23 December 1839 in Melbourne.¹⁵ During the first festival, non-Masons damaged regalia in a hotel room in which it was stored, and which was the property of the lodge and, previous to this, rocks had been thrown through a window during a lodge meeting. There was also trouble within the ranks of Freemasons themselves. Strong willed and morally motivated men, John Stephen, John Thomas Smith, and William Kerr clashed on many occasions.¹⁶

Although there was initially an element of distrust in the community, the fraternity deployed means to elevate their social status and standing in society. Many donations were extended from the Masonic Lodges to charitable institutions, in keeping with one of the tenets associated with the organization. Freemasons also performed, with much pomp and ceremony, the laying of foundation stones of many notable buildings, so that in a short time, the organisation became widely influential and generally accepted.

The initial twelve months of the establishment of the Masonic Lodge in Victoria were hectic with 23 meetings, 50 initiations, and 30 affiliations. Two festivals were held, one for St John the Baptist and the other for St John the Evangelist, where the Freemasons gathered and banqueted. A new lodge called the *Lodge of Australasia*, of English Constitution, was formed on 17 January 1844. John Stephen was one of its founders.¹⁷ With John Stephen absorbed in the new lodge, Kerr installed as master of the Scottish Lodge and

¹⁵ Thornton, P.T. *A Century of Union*, The United Grand Lodge of Victoria, 1989, p. 3.

¹⁶ Kerr, the son of a farmer, had migrated to Sydney from Scotland around 1837 working as a journalist with the *Colonist* and then the *Sydney Gazette*. Moving to Melbourne in 1839 he worked on the *Port Phillip Herald* before taking the editorship from John Thomas Smith in January 1841 of John Pascoe Fawkner's *Port Phillip Patriot* and *Melbourne Advertiser*. After some bitter and public arguments with both Fawkner and Smith, Kerr established the *Argus* in 1846. He published Melbourne's first Directory in 1842, the same year in which he was elected as one of Melbourne's first councillors and alderman. Kerr was instrumental in the introduction of the secret ballot to Victoria in 1856. See ADB, <https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/kerr-william-2304/text2981>, 16 October 2010

¹⁷ The name John Stephen appears as the signatory of the Grand Captain General on the certificate recommending John Cuthbert as a Past Master to the Knights Templars and Knights of Malta in the Grand Assembly Cork, Ireland, held under the Sanction of Lodge No. 71 on the Grand Registry of Ireland dated 20 November 1834. Original Certificate, Cuthbert Memorabilia, Exhibition, Ballarat Fine Art Gallery, 2008. According to Freemasonic historian Thornton, although Stephen immigrated to Australia in 1827 he was forced to travel back to London for family reasons, returning to Hobart before travelling to Melbourne on 8 December 1839. It is therefore probable that Stephen and the Cuthbert family knew each other before each came to the Colony of Victoria. See P.T. Thornton, *A Century of Union*, The United Grand Lodge of Victoria, 1989, pp. 3-4.

Smith as master of the Irish Lodge their differences were put aside, and the three Constitutions were able to work together in harmony.¹⁸

Similarly, Freemasons in Sydney by the 1850s were readily accepted as respectable citizens. They were thought to promote order and morality within society and were encouraged by the authorities. The approval of Freemasonry appears to not to have been limited to New South Wales and the Port Phillip District (now Victoria). According to Richard Num, Past President of the Australian and New Zealand Masonic Research Council (2002-2004), 'By the 1840s Freemasonry no longer met with disapproval from the local authorities. Rather it was seen as an institution tending to promote good order in society. In South Australia several early governors were members while in Western Australia the governor had a leading role in the establishment of the first lodge in Perth.'¹⁹

The discovery of gold in August 1851 near Ballarat drew together people from all points of the compass, and all walks of life. The early Goldfields communities were cosmopolitan, vibrant, and progressive.²⁰ Freemasons from diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds, from Prussia, France and Germany, members of the Jewish and German communities, as well as others, came to the Victorian Goldfields and helped to establish some of the earliest Freemasonic lodges in Victoria.²¹

Trans-located, not only in a physical sense, immigrants brought with them their cultural and social values. Settling in a new country, they sought to preserve those ideals that they held dear. Attending a Masonic Lodge was a function denied many new immigrants in their homelands. For example, although her husband was a mason, Empress Marie Therese of Austria sought to incarcerate all Masons in Vienna. Catholic and Lutheran churches also actively discouraged their congregations from joining the fraternity because of

¹⁸ Richard Ocock P.M. was reported by the Corio Chronicle to have been 'at the first Masonic Lodge in the Western District of Port Phillip' which was opened in the Lodge Room at Brother Levy's Royal Hotel, Yarra Street on Thursday 26 October 1848. At this meeting Brother R. Forrest P.M. Lodge of Australia Felix was installed as the W.M. of the Geelong Lodge of Unity and Prudence. See *Argus*, 31 October 1848. See Garryowen, *The Chronicles of Early Melbourne 1835 to 1851*, p. 614.

¹⁹ Num, Richard. 'Freemasonry in Australia', Paper delivered to New England Lodge No. 4, Ohio, December 2003. First published in Proceedings of the Ohio Lodge of Research, Vol. 25. See http://www.Freemasons-Freemasonry.com/Freemasonry_australia.html

²⁰ Victorian Census Records, 1854.

²¹ Among Ballarat's Masonic and Jewish fraternities were the names of Flohm, Stone, Charles Dyte, Emanuel Steinfeld, Josephs, Lazarus Lederman, Abraham, Levy, Henry Harris, and Nathan Spielvogel who wrote copious interesting pieces about Ballarat Jewry. Henry Harris the Jewish Congregation's first president and Charles Dyte who took over from Harris as the second president of the Jewish congregation, were prominent in Freemasonry. See Hilary H. Rubinstein, *The Jews in Victoria: 1835-1985*, George Allen & Unwin, 1986, pp. 135-6.

the perceived secrecy associated with it.²²

On the Ballarat Goldfields, the Rameau d'Or d'Eleusis (Branch of Gold of Eleusis) met at the Ballinguuy Hotel at Black Hill Flat, Ballarat in 1853. It operated under the French Constitution (Rite of Memphis)²³, so that Freemasonry on the Ballarat Goldfields holds a distinctive position in the annals of the fraternity internationally, being one of the few places in the world where a French Lodge was established in a predominantly English colonial setting. Le Rameau d'Or Eleusis No. 103 was one of only nine Les Philadelphes (Grand Orient, Rite of Memphis) lodges that existed outside France.

The growth of Freemasonry in Ballarat and district, of Irish, Scottish and English Constitution was rapid. After the French Lodge came the Victoria Lodge of Instruction, closely followed by the English constituted Victoria Lodge. From humble beginnings of meetings in tents around 50 lodges were formed since 1853 that have worked within 30 miles of Ballarat, 27 of these being formed between 1853 and 1896. Twice the number of lodges existed in Ballarat and district than the average for elsewhere in regional Victoria, and they were mainly of Irish or English Constitution.

Freemasonry was also established on other Victorian Goldfields. William Scott who established a Masonic lodge on the Sandhurst (Bendigo) Goldfields wrote that in the summer of 1854 a group comprising Dr Henry Smith, Emmett, Williams, Schulzen, Smith, and Mocklet met in a back room of the Royal Exchange Hotel, Sandhurst, and decided to form a Masonic Lodge.²⁴ A notice was subsequently tacked to a tree which read 'Should this meet the eye of a Freemason, it is to notify that a Meeting of the Craft will be held at Fraser's Store, near the Black Swan Hotel, on Wednesday night at nine pm. Fail not on your O. B: 'At the time and place indicated: Scott wrote, 'I attended, and found a number of gentlemen representing all nations, all in full dress of the period, black flannel shirt, Yankee boots with tassel on front,

²² Some of the emigrants had seen periods of great political upheaval. The Italian wars of unification and the 1848 uprisings in Europe were two examples of over a century of social disputes and change. See Shomburgh, Ian. *Germans, Lutherans and Masonic Lodges, 1836-1876, Becoming South Australian: Germans in a British Context*, Proceedings of a Workshop held at The University of Adelaide, 14 May 2011, p. 73.

²³ The Rameau d'Or d'Eleusis which, translated into English, was the Branch of Gold of Eleusis, was the first lodge that operated in Ballarat. The use of the word 'gold' was possibly a reference to the rich goldfields of Victoria, while the word Eleusis derived from the Eleusinian Mysteries, an Athenian festival held for over two thousand years, in honour of the grain and fertility goddess Demeter. It thus could be taken to mean more broadly 'gold and fertility' and was probably a reference to the prolific wealth that potentially was not be wrestled from the land on the goldfields of Ballarat.

²⁴ Beagley, David. *Gold and Blue: Freemasonry and Community in Bendigo, 1854-2004*, Holland House for the Golden Corinthian Lodge, Bendigo, 2004, p. vii

moleskin trousers and patent leather belt’.

The shop where we had assembled being closed for business for the day, we retired to a back room, and indulged in general conversation, all being strangers to each other. In order to proceed to business I suggested that as no one knew another to be a Mason it would be necessary to test each other and prove ourselves Freemasons, and in order to proceed regularly and properly a Bible was deemed necessary, so as to seal each other’s declaration in a true Masonic spirit ...

All the Brethren, as I may now term them, then withdrew except three, of whom I was one. After some preliminary enquiries as to name and number of each other’s mother lodge, &c., I volunteered the test oath, which is usually administered when visiting American Lodges, and after examination, administered the oath to the others, and subsequently, one by one, to the whole of the Brethren assembled. All proved themselves, very creditably, to be true Masons, although belonging to various Constitutions and different countries.

It was this meeting in Bendigo that resolved to form a Masonic Lodge there. When gold Commissioner Robert MacKenzie joined the group, and after over three months of haggling with the Australia Felix Lodge to sponsor the application to the Provincial Grand Lodge in Sydney, the Golden Lodge No. 641 met formally and officially on 3 October 1854.

There were certain aspects of Freemasonry that appealed to the Goldfields communities. Freemasons on the Victorian Goldfields were clearly part of a larger worldwide fraternity but on the Goldfields men took the opportunity to shape their community into what they perceived to be a more tolerant utopian ideal. The ethnic, religious and social diversity of the population were drawn together through the fraternity. Significantly Freemasonry integrated society, trans-located democratic ideals and promoted social acceptance. Many men had emigrated from oppressive regimes where persecution and subjugation were prevalent. They strove to free themselves from these instrumentalities. The Freemasonic fraternity and the basic tenets it upheld, such as charity, enlightenment, democratic ideals, and fraternity, appealed to these intrepid gold seekers.

The French Lodge was already operating with many members, when Henry Harris, Worshipful Master, established the Victoria Lodge of Instruction in Ballarat on 25 June 1854 at Bath’s Hotel. This was the first attempt to set up a Masonic meeting of the English Constitution in the district. The Lodge met weekly at Bath’s Hotel. A resolution adopted at the first meeting of the Lodge instructed that ‘all members be elected by ballot except those who have affixed their names to the list for the formation of the Regular Lodge at Ballarat to be called the ‘Victoria Lodge’. The Warrant for the Victoria Lodge of Instruction was dated 25 June 1854 while the Victoria Lodge itself was finally formed on

28 September 1855. Henry Harris was installed as the first Worshipful Master with Richard Ocock amongst the officers. The first meeting was held at the Clarendon Hotel, run by Harris who was a businessman and first President of the Ballarat Jewish Synagogue.

Distrust still existed between the French and English, so that the French Lodge failed to be recognized by Ballarat's English constituted Lodge and was termed 'irregular' or 'spurious'. Lengthy correspondence about the irregularity of the French Lodge passed from Ballarat to the Grand Lodge in Sydney and back again. This resulted in the Board of General Purposes of the Provincial Grand Lodge in Sydney resolving on 8 August 1856 that the French Lodge was 'irregular' and urging all members not to acknowledge them as Masons.

The Ballarat Lodge, comprising many members of the outlawed French Lodge, was opened on 12 July 1857 with the first meeting being held on 27 July at the George Hotel. Frenchman Paul Dufour was installed as the first Master. Brothers Henry Harris and Walter Lindesay Richardson were empowered to act so that members of the former French Lodge were re-initiated without going to ballot. Emil Pohl, Erickson and Hansen were then initiated into the Ballarat Lodge 'they having been already acquainted with the fundamental principles of the Craft in consequence of having been members of an irregular Lodge called Rameau d'Or d'Eleusis and were therefore reinitiated in a manner as though they had never known anything of Freemasonry'. It was recorded that this was a case without precedent in the annals of Freemasonry.

By 7 June 1858 the Ballarat Lodge was meeting at Bath's Hotel (now Craig's Royal Hotel). Henry Bath, who owned the hotel, was a Freemason. Born at St Clements near Truro, Cornwall, in 1820, he came to Geelong in 1849. Bath and his new wife Joanna Vaughan moved to the Ballarat Goldfields in 1851. A butcher by trade, he was modestly successful in the diggings at Golden Point.²⁵ Bath obtained Ballarat's first publican's licence, and opened Bath's Hotel in 1854, selling it to pursue farming at Learmonth in 1857.

Like many other Freemasons, Bath was a prominent committee member of many organisations. He belonged to the Hunt Club, Ballarat East Library, Pastoral Society, Old Colonist's Club, Art Gallery, and the Ballarat School of

²⁵ Clarke, Jan. *Sovereign City: a Ballarat Tapestry*, Ballarat 1974; Dell, Lillian & Menhennet, Joy. *Cornish Pioneers of Ballarat*, Ballarat Branch of the Cornish Association of Victoria: Ballarat 1992, p. 8-9; Ellery. *Victoria and its Metropolis*, Vol. 2, p. 200; *Geelong Advertiser* 1 July 1856; Gibbney, H. J. & Smith, Ann G. *A Biographical Register*, Canberra 1987 (TB).

Mines (SMB) Council from 1889 until his death at Ballarat on 29 July 1901.²⁶ He was also a Trustee of Learmonth Public Cemetery, President of the Farmer's Club, and a Territorial Magistrate 1850s-59 and Justice of the Peace.²⁷

The fees and dress code of the early lodges were relatively expensive, determining the social class of those who joined. They ensured a clientele of a certain professional or social status. An officer not attending at the proper time of meeting was fined twenty shillings, a considerable sum for the time. The early lodge fees were one guinea for joining and five shillings subscription every month to be paid in advance in 1856 for the Victorian Lodge. In addition, every candidate had to pay seven guineas for initiation, passing and raising (the three degrees). By 1872 Creswick Lodge members voted to reduce the fees from seven guineas to five guineas for initiation, one guinea for joining and two shillings and six pence for monthly subscriptions. The fees were still quite substantial considering many tradesmen received little more than £5 5s per fortnight. So, in terms of an average wage in the year 2015 this meant a payment of approximately \$1000 for initiation.²⁸ The annual subscription of Yarrowee Lodge was set at two guineas, joining and raising fees set at one guinea and fees for initiation, passing and raising set at seven guineas.²⁹ The installation banquet took place on St John the Baptist's Day and each member paid an extra ten shillings.

The level of fees set by different lodges could be an indication of the class of men who joined them. It reflected wealth and prosperity of members who could afford to join. Those who were members of more than one lodge obviously had more disposable income, so that money brought status even within the Masonic fraternity.³⁰

For the Victoria Lodge, founded in 1855, the fees were high but this appears not to be an obstacle for the masons who attended. Indeed, it may even have added extra prestige and have been an avenue through which men sought status in this newly fledged settlement. The joining fee was one guinea, the monthly subscription five shillings to be paid in advance on every Lodge night. Every candidate had to pay the sum of seven guineas which included his

²⁶ Honour Roll, University of Ballarat, Historical Collection, Biography researched by Clare Gervasoni.

²⁷ Wickham, Dorothy. *Beyond the Wall, Ballarat Female Refuge, A Case Study in Moral Authority*, MPhil, ACU, 2003, p. 148.

²⁸ Wickham, Dorothy. *Freemasons on the Goldfields: Ballarat & District 1853-2013*, Ballarat Heritage Services, p. 149.

²⁹ Amalgamated Lodges, Yarrowee Lodge, 1867.

³⁰ Wickham, Dorothy. *Freemasons on the Goldfields: Ballarat & District 1853-2013*, Ballarat Heritage Services, p. 37.

Initiation, Passing and Raising.³¹

Clearly public sentiment and perception towards Freemasonry in Australia had changed from the early 1800s to the time of the establishment of Masonic Lodges on the Goldfields, so that Freemasons like Thomas Bath were considered respected members of society and the fraternity was valued for its endorsement of order and morality within society.

The reasons for such a radical change are complex. Early lodge members included men in authority like Governor Macquarie, and such Freemasons influenced policy, which in turn impacted on public attitudes towards Freemasons and drove through change.

Historian Eric Hobsbawm, in his study on social movements in the nineteenth century and, his research into fraternities such as *Enfants du Maitre Jacques*, notes the similarities between these French brotherhoods and Freemasonry.³² Hobsbawm states that throughout the period of the French Revolutions such brotherhoods, especially between 1789 and 1848, were of considerable importance in shaping world affairs.

In Australia it was men like Governor Lachlan Macquarie who permitted lodge meetings to proceed in the 1820s without their members suffering the dire consequences of 1803 in Governor Bligh's term, so that by the 1850s Goldfields Freemasons like John Basson Humffray were able to influence outcomes and subsequent laws in the Colony of Victoria.

Welshman John Basson Humffray, along with Charles Dyte and Henry Harris were among those who drafted resolutions on Bakery Hill for the Ballarat Reform League prior to the Eureka battle on 3 December 1854. The ideals in the Reform League Charter - fraternity, liberty, and equality - reflected those of Freemasonry. The heritage listed Charter has been likened to the American Declaration of Independence.

Humffray, elected to Parliament in 1855, was not alone among Ballarat's Freemasons. William Collard Smith, a Royal Arch Mason and member of the St George Encampment of Knights Templar was elected a Member of the Legislative Assembly in 1861. Another Ballarat Freemason, Robert Lewis, was elected in 1864.

Men from various religious and ethnic backgrounds had the opportunity to

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

³² Hobsbawm, E.J. *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, W.W. Norton & Co., 1959, p. 163-4.

meet and discuss ideas in a social setting through Freemasonry. French and Italian Freemasons conversant with the French Revolution and the 1848 unification of Europe formed part of the Ballarat Lodge and mixed with English Chartists like Humffray or Holyoake, who in turn discussed their ideas with men like William Scott who had travelled from his Irish homeland to Canada, then to the southern states of America before emigrating to Victoria. London-born Charles Dyte or Prussian Emanuel Steinfeld, both Jewish, gave voice to ideas of equality, freedom and fraternity.

While some Freemasons influenced outcomes through state affairs, others served at a local level. The first council members to be elected in Ballarat on 17 December 1855 comprised at least five known Freemasons out of seven members, while over 70% of Ballarat East Council were also known to be Freemasons. The Yarrowee Lodge, from its membership alone, provided at least eleven members of parliament, 30 members who held the office of mayor of Ballarat and many more who served as councillors in local government.

Freemasons on the Goldfields promoted themselves through language and social ritual. They referred to themselves as 'Ancient and Honorable' Freemasons. They also used words like 'Respectable' to describe themselves. The use of language thus promoted their cause and their status in society. Pomp and ceremony also were displayed to a spellbound public when Freemasons attended events in an official capacity, laying most of the foundation stones in the district. The ritual was important both in the psyche and in reality. The Ballarat Benevolent Asylum stone was laid with Masonic honours, the Masons marching in full regalia the length of the main street. Bands and music accompanied them. The ladies were given a special platform from which to view proceedings before the Freemasons marched back through the Township of Ballarat to St Pauls Church in Ballarat East and disbanded. On another occasion, according to the *Ballarat Star*, 'The flag of the operative masons of Victoria waved above the site of the stone [of the bonded warehouse in Commerce Place] and in proximity thereto floated a smaller banner with the motto 8 Hours Labour, 8 Hours Recreation and 8 Hours Rest. From a large pole was suspended a white flag with the Masonic mystic G in the centre'.³³ Thus, they not only showed to the public that they were honourable, respectable and noteworthy but they provided a spectacle and remarkable experience for masons and non-masons alike.

Freemasonry was an avenue by which wealthy men could meet and display their status. Masonic historian Thornton argues that

³³ *Ballarat Star*, August 1861.

During this period an increasing number of well qualified Englishmen were taking up residence in Victoria ... and masonry was beginning to show signs of becoming an avenue in which to display class distinction [with] ... qualifications and embargoes which were considered to be essential to keep the menial class out of Freemasonry.³⁴

Looking at patterns of philanthropy and the similarities between the establishment of major charities in such cities as Melbourne, Ballarat and Bendigo, casts doubt on the suggestion that obvious need was the sole motivating factor for setting up charitable institutions. How individuals sought, acquired and maintained power through their involvement with charities provides insight into the dynamics that underpinned the complexity of the rapid urban and capitalist development in the district.³⁵ The members of the various charity committees in Ballarat were overwhelmingly Protestant, in keeping with the general proportions of this denomination in the general population. Catholics represented around 3.5% on committees, although being around 15% of the general population. By contrast Jews, who made up 0.78% of the population, were represented in significant numbers on the committees, comprising around 10.35%. Thus, it was not a shared religious or ethnic affiliation that defined that subsection of Ballarat's elite that dominated its principal charities. The major organization in the town that brought together Jews, Protestants and Catholics (if they desired) was Freemasonry.

By the time Freemasons were on the Goldfields in the 1850s they were powerful and well-respected citizens. By the 1860s and 70s they held commanding positions on the charitable committees that they helped to create. They had influenced the establishment of all the major charities, a critical means of self-affirmation and social status. Many held powerful seats of office in local or state government and so, at a higher social level, they exercised influence and moulded their environment. Freemasons earned their place in society through charitable and philanthropic endeavours, civic duties,

³⁴ Thornton, P.T. *A Century of Union*, The United Grand Lodge of Victoria, 1989, pp. 165-6.

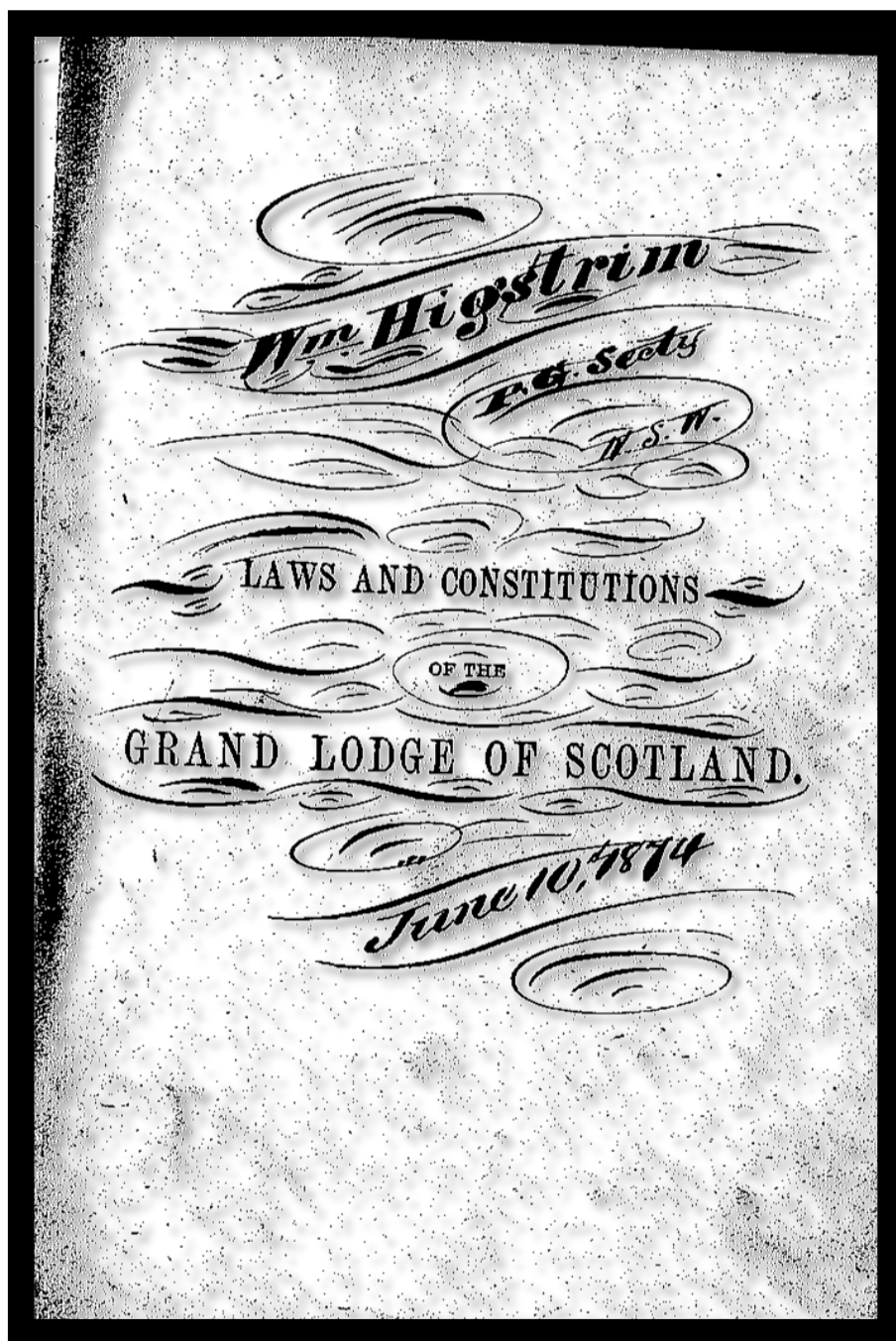
³⁵ In July 1855 Mr Jabez J. Ham a prominent Freemason was appointed secretary in a serious fund raising campaign to establish a Ballarat Miners' Hospital. Within a month £1000 had been raised and the plans for the new hospital commissioned. On 25 December the foundation stone was laid with Masonic honours. The hospital's trustees were mostly Freemasons. The Ballarat Benevolent Asylum was the second charitable institution established. Freemason Michael James Cummins started moves in 1859 to establish the Ballarat Benevolent and Visiting Society out of which came the Asylum. It opened a Common School in 1861, the same year it admitted its first patient. By 1863 the school catered for 63 children many of whom were orphans. The teacher was Matilda Dixie, the widow of Freemason Joseph Dixie. By the 1860s the Asylum Committee comprised mainly of Freemasons was arguing that it was undesirable for orphans, delinquents, the aged, infirm and females' cases to be housed together. A group of publicans led by Mr W Redfern set out to provide a home for 'orphan and deserted children'. The Orphan Asylum opened on 8 July 1866. A group of 26 women, mostly the wives of Freemasons, in 1867 established Ballarat's fourth major charity, a Female Refuge for single pregnant women. They were obliged to appoint a committee of men to handle the finances.

and economic prowess. Their place in society was consolidated and constituted through the more subtle exercise of power to create social order, class-associated values and attitudes, wealth and identity in its social context.

MASONIC LIKES AND DISLIKES

from *The Sydney Freemason* of 1 June 1890,
by W.H., under the nom de plume "Veritas."

(W.H. was Bro. William Higstrom [PGS of the PGL under GLoS and author of *Historical Review of the Late Scottish Constitution of Free and Accepted Masons under the Grand Lodge of Scotland in New South Wales* (Sydney, 1903) - Ed])



The title page of William Higstrom's personal copy of the 1874 edition of the Scottish Constitutions.

Source: Private collection

LIKES

To see:

- Fraternal sociality within the precincts of the Lodge.
- Signatures, etc., neatly inserted in attendance book.
- Members present in correct Masonic costume.
- A well appointed lodge, everything in its place, and the same for everything.
- Prompt time as to opening of the lodge.
- Officers well up in their duties, and in their respective positions.
- Visiting brethren cordially welcomed and cared for.
- Zeal and discrimination as to the selection and fitness of candidates.
- Brethren aspiring for a higher Degree, to know essence of preceding one.
- Proposers and seconders interesting themselves in coaching up candidates.
- Examination conducted with little or no prompting.
- As it is the hope of reward that sweetens labour, hence should be enforced.
- Due decorum observed when Degrees are conferred.
- No interruptions when debate is going on.
- Immediate conformity to the sound of the Gavel.
- Our rulers received with honour and dignity.
- The third rung of the ladder followed when there is occasion.
- Affability and fraternal feeling among the members.
- Our anthems and hymns rendered with heartiness.
- An early retirement from the pleasures of the table.
- Less sumptuous banquets.
- Paid officers doing their duty.
- Relief to the necessitous.
- Kindness to one and all.
- Tact with the W.M. and officers.
- A laudable desire to advance.
- Due discrimination at elections.
- Acknowledgement of worth.
- Inattentive reasoned with.
- Able to pay should pay.
- Grand Lodge Laws carried out.
- By-laws complied with.
- Balance sheets printed.

DISLIKES

In seeing:

- Indifferences outside the door of the lodge.
- Indistinct announcements inside the door of the lodge.
- Members ill-attired and slovenly in manner.
- Want of attention as to steps, signs and salutations.
- Presiding Officer addressed otherwise than Worshipful Master.
- Anything done beyond what is inserted in the circular.
- Private conversation interrupting work.
- A member not entitled seating himself on the dais.
- Crossing and recrossing the room when not necessary.
- Omission of the proper signs when the same occurs.

A slow response and want of respect to commands.
Brethren interjecting remarks when a brother is addressing the lodge.
Also, rising to move a captious point of order.
Waste of time in asking frivolous questions.
Notice of motion given without previous due consideration.
Affairs of the lodge talked over in the ante and cloak rooms.
Officers shirking their duties and receiving the honor at other's expense.
Lastly, at present, but not least, brethren canvassing for office.

Not to see: Incompleteness of Degrees.
Indifference in conferring.
Punctuality lost sight of.
Slovenly and hesitating delivery.
Aspirants onwards not coached.
Cavilling at any time.
Young members presuming.
Pretexts used for non-attendance.
Incapability to requirements.
Preparation room invaded.
Disinclination to comply when capable.
Any exhibition of temper.
The degree of conservatism.

SYDNEY, 1803: WHEN CATHOLICS WERE TOLERATED AND FREEMASONS BANNED

JAMES FRANKLIN

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On 1 March 1804, Governor Philip Gidley King wrote with satisfaction to his superior in London, Lord Hobart, of the success of his proclamation of toleration for Catholics a year earlier:

The indulgence proposed by your Lordship respecting the Rev'd Mr Dixon performing the functions of his clerical office as a Roman Catholic ... has had the most salutary effects on the number of Irish Catholics we have, and since its toleration there has not been the most distant cause for complaint among that description, who regularly attend Divine service.³⁶

He spoke too soon. Three days later, the Castle Hill Rebellion broke out. How did it happen that for a brief period in the early colony of New South Wales, Catholicism was tolerated and its clergyman paid a government salary? What was conceived to be the point of the exercise, and why did it happen at the same time as the more Protestant ideology of Freemasonry was banned? Why were Catholicism and Freemasonry seen as threats to public order, and what was the truth of the matter?

We need first to understand the precarious nature of authority in Sydney in the year 1803.

The French and other threats

The raw colony, just 15 years old in 1803, had a white population of only 7000. In the decade 1800-1810, unlike any other decade in Australian history (except the early 1940s), it faced grave threats to its existence. If Governor King's despatches sometimes sound paranoid, he had justification.

The threats were multiple and potentially simultaneous. If the French were to sail up the Hawkesbury and join the Irish at Castle Hill, the colony would be close to indefensible. To defend himself the governor had only the New South Wales Corps, suspected of infection with revolutionary principles themselves, used to running the colony for their own benefit, and as it turned out in the 'Rum Rebellion',

³⁶ King to Hobart, 1 March 1804, in *Historical Records of Australia*, series 1 [hereafter HRA], vol 4, p 470.



*Under threat on multiple fronts: Governor Philip Gidley King (1758-1808) c. 1800.
(Artist unknown, portrait in oils, Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW)*

a threat to public order worse than the French and Irish combined. In addition the lieutenant-governor was uncooperative and useless (as well as having recently been shot by John Macarthur), the judge ignorant of law even when sober, the parson doubling as a flogging magistrate, several other leading citizens of doubtful sanity, and the confidence of the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies always capable of being withdrawn (as in 1806, it was). The nearest reinforcements were in India, so the colony was on its own.

The French threat was ever-present. The French had attempted a large-scale invasion of Ireland in 1796, actually invaded Ireland and Egypt in 1798 and interfered in India from their base in Isle de France (Mauritius). France's international ambitions were obvious, even though the Royal Navy held the upper hand. War was declared again in May 1803. In 1802, Nicolas Baudin's scientific expedition had visited Sydney and, to no-one's surprise, engaged in

spying. The intelligence report of one of the scientists, François Péron, recommends invasion, lays out a detailed plan and suggests it would not be difficult, with the help of the local Irish.³⁷



French intelligence: Nicolas Baudin and François Péron sounded out Irish republicans and Freemasons in the colony.

(‘Captain Nicolas Baudin/ from an engraving’, State Library of South Australia, B5793; Péron image taken from ‘Terre Napoleón; a history of French explorations and projects in Australia’, 2nd edn, Scott, 1911)

While King was of course unaware of the report, he came to know of Péron’s spying (if it was not clear already) through the 1804 confession of William Maum (or Maume), an Irish prisoner on the Hunter and formerly a teacher of Latin and Greek and an informer against the United Irishmen in 1798.³⁸ The French, he said, had sounded him out, he had supplied them limited information in Latin, and they contemplated invading on Napoleon’s orders, enlisting the Irish, and giving rank to such men as Maum. They ‘said there must be some knowing ones here, and particularly mentioned

³⁷ Jean Fornasiero and John West-Sooby (eds and trans), *French Designs on Colonial New South Wales: François Péron’s Memoir on the English Settlements in New Holland, Van Diemen’s Land and the Archipelagos of the Great Pacific Ocean*, Friends of the State Library of South Australia, Adelaide, 2014.

³⁸ L. L. Robson, ‘Maum, William James (1780-1850)’, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* [hereafter ADB], <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/maum-william-james-2439/text3249>; Michael Durey, ‘William Maume: United Irishman and informer in two hemispheres’, *Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, 18, 2003, pp 118-40.



Sydney through French eyes: 'Nouvelle-Hollande: Nouvelle Galles du Sud, 1802'. (From drawing by Lesueur, published in François Péron's 'Voyage de decouvertes aux Terres Australes ... Historique ... Atlas, Paris 1807'; RAHS Glass Slide image)

Governor King, who prevented the Freemasons' meeting on board the French ships; as that, if it were allowed to continue its sitting, the candidates would be after the third step in masonry initiated into the principles of the illuminati, which would speedily beget republicanism'.³⁹ Maum may or may not have been privy to the secrets of Freemasonry, but evidently thought that his interests (being returned to Sydney from Newcastle) would be advanced by the 'revelation' that the inner ring of Freemasons were republicans.

Maum was not the only convict interested in the French. Philip Cunningham, later the main leader of the Castle Hill rebellion, attempted to escape with them and received 100 lashes.⁴⁰ Several convicts did escape with Baudin, including Mary Beckwith, 16, who shared Baudin's cabin.⁴¹

In late 1803, after the declaration of war, Matthew Flinders was detained when his 'scientific' expedition was forced to call at Mauritius, and a search of his papers found King's despatches requesting the Admiralty send more troops in case the French were to attack Port Jackson.⁴² Macquarie remarked in 1814

³⁹ Maume's Declaration, 1 September 1804, in G. W. Rusden, *Curiosities of Colonization*, W. Clowes, London, 1874, pp 86-8.

⁴⁰ Andrew Moore, 'Phil Cunningham: a forgotten Irish-Australian rebel', *The Hummer*, vol 4, no 2, 2004, pp 7-12.

⁴¹ Anthony Brown, 'The Captain and the Convict Maid: a chapter in the life of Nicolas Baudin', *South Australian Geographical Journal*, no 97, 1998, pp 20-32.

⁴² Bruce Bennett, 'Exploration or Espionage? Flinders and the French', *Journal of the European Association of Studies on Australia*, vol 2, no 1, 2011, pp 14-23, <https://web.archive.org/web/20180301225925/http://www.easa->

that it was generally supposed that Baudin's expedition had come solely to investigate founding a French colony and that Napoleon would have done so 'had his more important Engagements in Europe admitted of his sending out a sufficient Force for the Conquest of this Colony'.⁴³

Freemasonry and the threat of republicanism

Freemasonry had arisen in Britain around 1700 and spread to the Continent, Ireland and America. It was a movement in which men of some standing gathered regularly in lodge meetings. It had social, spiritual, mutual help and to a degree political significance. Its social function, of simply allowing men to share regular fellowship, was particularly suited to imperial itinerants such as the military, who could arrive in a new posting and join a ready-made social and patronage network. Its secret rituals referring to a non-denominational Great Architect of the Universe (familiar from Mozart's *Magic Flute*) and promoting individual virtue could act as a substitute religion and a means of communicating across sectarian (and national) boundaries. That was compatible with 'broad church' Anglicanism but led to clashes with the more exclusivist versions of Christianity such as Catholicism and evangelicalism.⁴⁴

The purposes of Freemasonry were not explicitly political, but its practice of democratic internal self-government, unremarkable enough in Britain, raised alarm in the autocratic regimes of Europe. So did its secrecy. Freemasonry thus had some alignment with political ideals now associated with the Enlightenment, although the connections are complex.⁴⁵

By 1800, Freemasonry was associated in people's minds with the threat from revolutionary France. The closeness of that connection remains unclear, as well as varying with time. Although at this period striving for respectability and British Empire loyalism⁴⁶, the Craft (as the practice of Freemasonry is also known) was still associated with the slogan 'liberty, equality, fraternity' which it had bequeathed to the French Revolution. Freemasonry had been strong

australianstudies.net/files/jeasa23bennett.pdf.

⁴³ *HRA*, vol 8, p 241.

⁴⁴ Alan Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia*, Volume 1, UNSW Press, Sydney, 2016, ch 12, pt 1; James Franklin, 'Catholics versus Masons', *Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society*, 20, 1999, pp 1-15; Jennifer Lambert Tracey, 'Masonic Influence in the Settlement, Commercial and Pastoral Development of the Colony of New South Wales 1788-1860', PhD thesis, University of Canberra, 2007, ch 1.

⁴⁵ Tim Mehigan and Helen de Burgh, "'Aufklärung" Freemasonry, the Public Sphere and the Question of Enlightenment', *Journal of European Studies*, 38, 2008, pp 5-25.

⁴⁶ Jessica L. Harland-Jacobs, *Builders of Empire: Freemasons and British Imperialism, 1717- 1927*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 2007, pp 170-1; Bonnie Huskins, 'From a Cosmopolitan Fraternity to a Loyalist Institution: Freemasonry in British North America in the 1780s-1790s', *Atlantic Studies*, 16, 2019, pp 294-320.

among the American revolutionaries⁴⁷ and later among those leaders of the United Irishmen who were Protestant.⁴⁸

An association of settlers on Norfolk Island formed in 1798 to complain about the government styled itself the 'Fraternal Society of Norfolk Island', a name Governor John Hunter took to be deliberately provocative.⁴⁹ An 1801 grave of the captain of a visiting whaling ship shows masonic symbols, supplied by the brothers who buried him.⁵⁰

In the first known definite masonic ceremony in Australia, Captain Anthony Fenn Kemp, paymaster of the New South Wales Corps, was received into the grade of Ancient Masonry by two of the officers of Baudin's expedition, suggesting the possibility of revolutionary principles crossing national boundaries.⁵¹ Kemp was court-martialled in 1803 after scurrilous texts attacking the governor were found in his barracks, but acquitted when Major George Johnston, acting commander of the Corps, arrested the judge and forced King to replace him. The failure of the courts-martial to convict the soldiers who had lampooned King showed the limits of the governor's power. Johnston (the suppressor of the Castle Hill rebellion) and Kemp were to be principals in the Rum Rebellion five years later.

⁴⁷ Steven C. Bullock, *Revolutionary Brotherhood: Freemasonry and the transformation of the American social order, 1730-1840*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1996.

⁴⁸ For example, Larry Conlon, 'Dissension, Radicalism, and Republicanism in Monaghan and the Role of Freemasonry up to and During the 1798 Rebellion', *Clogher Record*, vol 16, no 3, 1999, pp 86-111.

⁴⁹ David Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, vol 2, T. Cadell and W. Davies, London, 1802, ch 12, pp 120-1.

⁵⁰ Grave of Captain George Hales, Norfolk Island; another Norfolk Island masonic funeral described in *Sydney Gazette*, 9 September 1804, p 2.

⁵¹ Murray C. Kemp, 'Kemp, Anthony Fenn (1773-1868)', *ADB*, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/kemp-anthony-fenn-2294/text2961>.



Gravestone of Captain George Hales, Norfolk Island, 1801, with masonic square and compass. (Courtesy of Kingston and Arthur's Vale Historic Area, Norfolk Island)

On 14 May 1803 – weeks after toleration of Catholics was proclaimed – a masonic gathering was held in Sydney. All attending were arrested. The *Sydney Gazette* of 22 May 1803 gives an account of the inquiry into the event. The text needs to be read carefully in full as it is not easy to interpret what was published for public consumption:

Masonic Meeting

On Monday last the persons taken out of the house of Serjeant Whittle, on the night of Saturday preceding, were brought before a Bench of Magistrates, when Mr Jamieson declared, that as a Magistrate sanctioned by an Order from HIS EXCELLENCY, he had gone with the Chief Constable, to the said house about Nine in the evening, to ascertain whether such assembly was then held there, and finding it to be the case, had ordered all persons of whom it was composed, into the custody of the Peace Officers.

Mr Whittle being asked whether he had been authorised to suffer a meeting to be held in his house, replied, that he had made application to the Lieutenant Governor, as his Colonel, for permission for a few friends to meet in his house on that evening, and this request had been acceded to.

The Magistrates thinking it requisite to trouble Colonel Paterson with a message on this occasion, the Gentleman personally attended, and informed the Bench, that what Serjeant Whittle had stated as to his permission was strictly fact, but that he was not apprised of its being a MASONIC MEETING or he should not have authorised such assembly; Colonel Paterson further observed, that Serjeant Whittle had ever behaved himself in a manner becoming him as a Non-Commissioner Officer in the Corps, and that as the house kept by him was orderly managed, he had granted his permission without hesitation.

Several depositions were taken, in the course of all which it appeared that ONE of the Members of the said meeting (a Mr Driscoll, boatswain of His Majesty's ship *Glatton*), had behaved, when accosted by the Magistrate with much impropriety; that he exclaimed, 'Masons, Masons', and put himself in a posture of defence. H. B. Hayes had called for the Majority; and another had endeavoured repeatedly to shut the door as the constables were taking one of the parties out of the room. A scuffle ensued, and Mr Jamieson insisted on all the parties being secured; for that they had not only illegally assembled, but had done so in express opposition to the Governor's Orders. Mr Driscoll had gone on board his ship, and as it was necessary that he should be required to attend, as well as some evidence which the prisoners thought proper to call on their side, the Court was pleased to allow two hours for this to be done, and at two o'clock adjourned.

At four in the afternoon the sitting was resumed, but in a few minutes the Court was cleared. When it was re-opened, the Judge Advocate addressed the prisoners to the following effect: That HIS EXCELLENCY, whose duty it is to prevent all Meetings and Assemblies that are not properly authorised, from being held in this Colony, had granted a warrant to a Magistrate to apprehend all such persons as had so assembled at the house of Serjeant Whittle; but it had evidently appeared, that Mr Whittle conjectured himself authorised by his Commanding Officer to entertain this company; that Lieutenant Colonel Paterson had said much in his favour; that the principal delinquent, Driscoll, had found means to escape, and was on board the *Glatton*, then about to sail, as were also several witnesses claimed by the prisoners as materially requisite to their defence; and therefore, under all the circumstances of the case, the Court think it proper to acquit the prisoners of any Wilful intention to disturb the Public Peace. All the parties were therefore ordered to be liberated, H. B. Hayes excepted; respecting whom see General Orders in the first Page.⁵²

The court plainly did not take very seriously the deliberate flouting of the governor's explicit and recent order. A natural interpretation, though not

⁵² 'Masonic Meeting', *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* [hereafter SG], 22 May 1803, p 2, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/625579>.

the only possible one, is that King's orders were subverted by non-punishment of this obvious transgression, while Jamison used the opportunity to settle a score with the unpopular Hayes, who had assaulted him on the voyage out. Since King was no friend of Hayes, that may have suited him. (Sir Henry Browne Hayes, a Protestant Irishman, had been transported in 1802 for kidnapping a Quaker heiress and forcing her to go through a wedding ceremony.)⁵³ However it may also be relevant that Hayes was a civilian and ex-convict and so less protected by a military lodge. (A Sydney military lodge in 1814 refused to accept the past master of a Dublin lodge on the grounds that his having been a convict would impugn 'our Respectability both Military and Masonic'.)⁵⁴

The declaration referred to on page 1 states that Henry Browne Hayes, having held a masonic lodge in contravention of King's forbidding it, is to be sent to hard labour in van Diemen's Land and that any similar meetings will be punished 'to the utmost rigour of the law'.⁵⁵ A gentleman need not fear really being sent to hard labour in van Diemen's Land, although he was removed to Norfolk Island for a time.

It may also be relevant that the claim that Whittle, the prime mover in the meeting and owner of the public house in which it occurred, 'had ever behaved himself in a manner becoming him', is very dubious. Whittle had been involved in the 1790s in disturbances to church services and other minor bad behaviour.⁵⁶

More was to come in the future. The magistrate, Jamison, and the exonerated accused, Whittle, were later principal actors in the 'Rum Rebellion'. Precipitating events of the coup included Bligh's sacking of Jamison from his magistracy⁵⁷ and his ordering Whittle to demolish his house (his residence, not the public house in which the masonic meeting had taken place; the order was subverted by transferring the house to Major Johnston).⁵⁸ Whittle was in charge of the search party that found Bligh and is believed to have commissioned the well-known watercolour of Bligh being (allegedly)

⁵³ N. S. Lynravn, 'Hayes, Sir Henry Browne (1762-1832)', *ADB*, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/hayes-sir-henry-browne-2172/text2787>, further at Sir Henry Browne Hayes: vaocluse House, <http://www.sirhenrybrownehayes.com/vaocluse-house.html>, accessed 2 October 2020

⁵⁴ John Gascoigne, *The Enlightenment Origins of European Australia*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2002, p 26.

⁵⁵ 'General orders', *SG*, 22 May 1803, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/625589/>.

⁵⁶ Atkinson, *Europeans in Australia, Volume 1*, ch 9, pt 1.

⁵⁷ Vivienne Parsons, 'Jamison, Thomas (c.1753-1811)', *ADB*, <https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/jamison-thomas-2269>.

⁵⁸ Atkinson, *Europeans in Australia, Volume 1*, ch 13, pt 2.

found under the bed. His inflammatory comments on the march down Bridge Street suggest revolutionary sympathies.⁵⁹

Other speculations about the meaning of the text are possible, but it is hard to escape a general conclusion of Freemasons managing to evade the prohibitions on the Craft, while King was allowed to publish a reiteration of his prohibitions on masonic meetings.

On 21 August 1804 King wrote, 'In consequence of a systematic plan formed by Hayes some time ago of initiating Freemasons after I had forbid it, Hayes was detected presiding at a club, and would very soon have made every soldier and other person Freemasons had not the most decided means been taken to prevent it.'⁶⁰ And in 1805 he joined the dots between Freemasons, Hayes and the Irish, writing, 'Nor is there any doubt, as far as the most presumptuous proof goes, of his having been much concerned in the Insurrection of the United Irish at this place in March 1804.'⁶¹ (Maum said this was unlikely and he suspected Hayes' name was merely bandied about by the insurgents.)⁶² The state of King's mind with regard to the many threats to his authority is clear, if not the truth on the ground.

The Irish rebels

The 400 convicts sent to New South Wales for complicity in the Irish rebellions of 1798 to 1803 were agreed by those in authority to be the most desperate, dangerous and unreformable characters imaginable, threatening the colony with destruction at any moment. Memories were fresh of atrocities on both sides in the rebellion of the United Irishmen in 1798, when at least 10,000 had been killed, probably many more. Both the authorities and the convicts spoke as if revolution would resume in New South Wales where it had left off in Ireland. King reported in 1801:

We have been very quiet until the arrival of the *Ann*, transport, from Cork, with 137 of the most desperate and diabolical characters that could be selected throughout that Kingdom, together with a Catholic priest of most notorious, seditious, and rebellious principles – which makes the numbers of those who, avowing a determination never to lose sight of the oath by which they are bound as United Irishmen, amount to 600, are ready, and only waiting an opportunity to put their diabolical plans into execution.⁶³

⁵⁹ Alan Atkinson, 'The Little Revolution in New South Wales, 1808', *International History Review*, 12, 1990, pp 65-75.

⁶⁰ King to Under Secretary Sullivan, 21 August 1804, *HRA*, vol 5, p 142.

⁶¹ King to Under Secretary Cooke, 20 July 1805, *HRA*, vol 5, p 535.

⁶² Rusden, *Curiosities*, p 88. The colourful memoirs of 'General' Joseph Holt also contain some Freemasonry and claims about the Castle Hill rebellion, but their unreliability makes them a doubtful source.

⁶³ King to Portland, 10 March 1801, *HRA*, vol 3, p 9.

In King's first two years, 1800 and 1801, interrogations were conducted, plots uncovered, floggings ordered, ringleaders hanged and others sent to Norfolk Island. But as with the masonic threat, the ratio of talk and rumours to real action was high. The evidence is contaminated by the use of flogging to extract confessions – though interrogatory torture was illegal under British law – and the knowledge by informants of what government wanted to hear. Some of the evidence extracted by the Rev Samuel Marsden's questioning was thin: Hester Stroud, convict, heard talk of pikes hidden, and 'this Depon't further saith from what she saw of the Irishmen being in small Parties in the Camp at Toongabby and by their walking about together and talking very earnestly in Irish. Deponent verily believes they were intent upon something that was improper on Saturday afternoon.'⁶⁴ Finding any pikes proved difficult.

François Péron was convinced, or said he was convinced, by the Irishmen's bloodthirsty talk in 1802. 'Their eyes bathed in tears, pouring out curses against England, imploring Bonaparte and calling for the moment of vengeance on their oppressors'⁶⁵ ... it would have been more difficult for the French to prevent the massacre of the English than to conquer the colony'⁶⁶ ... The Irish in chains are silent now, but if our country's government, alarmed by the rapid increase of this colony, planned to seize or destroy it in the name of France, all the Irish arms would rise.'⁶⁷ Or, as with the French invasion of western Ireland in 1798, they might not.

The Castle Hill rebellion in 1804 was certainly real and showed that King's fears were not groundless. But even there, no soldiers, volunteers or settlers were killed or injured, while just some 30 insurgents were killed then or later. The troubles of Ireland did not repeat themselves in the colony.

Significantly for the question of toleration of religious ceremonies, a distinction was drawn between the ordinary Irish and gentlemen, a category taken to include priests. Governor Hunter wrote, 'We can scarcely divest ourselves of the common feelings of humanity so far as to send a physician, a former respectable sheriff of a county, a Roman Catholic priest, or a Protestant

⁶⁴ Evidence of Hester Stroud to Samuel Marsden, 29 September 1800, *HRA*, vol 2, p 641.

⁶⁵ François Péron, 'Tableau militaire des colonies anglaises aux Terres Australes', quoted in Edward Duyker, *François Péron: an impetuous life: naturalist and voyager*, Miegunyah Press, Melbourne, 2006, p 144.

⁶⁶ François Péron, 'Mémoire sur les établissements anglais à la Nouvelle Hollande, à la Terre de Diemen et dans les archipels du grand océan Pacifique ... présentation, édition et notes de Roger Martin, transcription du manuscrit avec le concours de Jacqueline Bonnemains, préface de Joël Eymet', *Revue de l'Institut Napoléon*, no 176, 1998, vol I, pp 1-187, at 147, quoted in Michael Connor, 'The secret plan to invade Sydney', *Quadrant* 53, no 11, November 2009, pp 38-41.

⁶⁷ François Péron, 'Report to General Charles-Mathieu-Isidore Decaen on the colonisation of New Holland, 1803', quoted in Duyker, *François Péron*, p 205.

clergyman and family to the grubbing hoe or timber carriage.’⁶⁸ They had to be supported on the government stores.

Toleration of Catholics: for and against

The question for Hobart and King was whether a Catholic priest was a net positive or negative for controlling the Irish convicts. The answer was not obvious.

As often in Australian history, what happened was a reflection of events back home. This question has an Irish background in the previous decade. The Protestant Ascendancy had vigorously persecuted Catholics with penal laws for a century after the Battle of the Boyne in 1690. Then it was suddenly realised in the 1790s that His Majesty’s Government and the Irish Catholic hierarchy faced a common and pressing enemy, the French Revolution. Dublin Castle needed the Catholic bishops’ support against the spread of revolutionary ideals among the laity, while the bishops wanted progress on Catholic emancipation and help with replacing the Irish seminaries destroyed by revolutionary forces in Europe (which had to that time educated almost all Irish priests).

In 1793, the year of the Terror in Paris, the Irish Parliament passed the major reforms of the Roman Catholic Relief Act. It was piloted through Parliament by the Lord Lieutenant’s Chief Secretary, Lord Hobart, against local Protestant opposition and was sometimes called ‘Hobart’s Relief Act’.⁶⁹ Archbishop Troy of Dublin met Hobart at Dublin Castle. He suggested to Hobart that even if seminaries were restored in France after a counterrevolution, ‘our clerical youth would be exposed to the great danger of imbibing seditious maxims and propagating them afterwards in this kingdom’. He reminded Hobart of attacks on clergy following their support for order in recent disturbances, and laid out the advantages of British permission for clerical education in Ireland. Then he asked the British to pay for it.⁷⁰

While Hobart left Ireland shortly after, the negotiations were successful and the Irish bishops, though disappointed over lack of further progress towards Catholic emancipation, did receive Maynooth Seminary (‘The Royal College of St Patrick’) in 1795, at government expense. When the 1798 Rebellion broke out, the government received an excellent return on its investment in the archbishop. He excommunicated the United Irishmen, called

⁶⁸ Hunter to Portland, 20 March 1800, *HRA*, vol 2, p 475.

⁶⁹ Thomas Bartlett, *The Fall and Rise of the Irish Nation: the Catholic question 1690-1830*, Gill and Macmillan, Dublin, 1992, p 165.

⁷⁰ Troy to Hobart, 29 November 1793, Dublin Archdiocesan Archives, in Vincent J. McNally, ‘John Thomas Troy, Archbishop of Dublin, and the establishment of St Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1791-1795’, *Catholic Historical Review*, 67, 1981, pp 565-88.

for loyalty and gratitude, instructed his priests to preach restraint, and referred at least privately to those few clergy implicated as 'the very faeces of the church'.⁷¹ The Irish Catholic hierarchy has continued to solidly oppose the cause of revolution to the present day, with the sole exception of a later president of Maynooth, Daniel Mannix.

That is not to say that Hobart was pro-Catholic. He was not himself in favour of Catholic emancipation. In 1805 he argued strongly in the House of Lords against emancipation for Catholics, on the grounds of their loyalty to a foreign power.⁷² Indeed, he is the only person in the whole story other than Marsden to show concern for the Protestant interest as such. Nevertheless, he was very familiar with the benefits of concessions for Catholics for strategic reasons and the possibility of priests restraining revolutionary hotheads.



The 'flogging magistrate', the Rev Samuel Marsden, was convinced that tolerating Catholics could only lead to the colony being 'lost to the British Empire'.

(Source: RAHS Foster Glass Slide collection)

⁷¹ Dáire Keogh, 'John Thomas Troy (1739-1823)', *Archivium Hibernicum*, 49, 1995, pp 105-10; similar from the Bishop of Cork, in Edward D'Alton, 'Francis Moylan', *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Appleton, New York, 1911, vol 10, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/10609b.htm>.

⁷² House of Lords Hansard, 13 May 1805, https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/lords/1805/may/13/roman-catholic-petition#S1v0004P0_18050513_HOL_4.

The other reason in favour of toleration in Sydney lay in the person of Fr James Dixon. He was widely agreed, then and later, to be a mild-mannered man and well educated (at Salamanca and Louvain) with no interest in revolution and undeservedly transported.⁷³ He was thus of the same mind as Archbishop Troy – indeed, much of the surviving evidence for Dixon’s innocence is in letters to Troy. Even on the voyage out, he had gained a name as a moderating influence. The journal of the ship’s captain’s wife says of the convicts on board: ‘It was fortunate both for themselves and us, that there were amongst them men of education and sense; who doubtless contributed to restrain the others from evil and violence; one was said to be a Roman Catholic clergyman, and we trusted that his influence was beneficial.’⁷⁴

Governor King soon came to agree that ‘the conduct of Dixon, the Catholic priest, has been exemplary since he has been here’.⁷⁵ If a priest was to be tolerated at all, Fr Dixon was the ideal candidate – as well as, by 1803, the only candidate.

The opposite opinion on toleration of Catholics was represented by the Rev Samuel Marsden, the senior Church of England clergyman as well as flogging magistrate and sheep farmer. His views on the risks of toleration appear in a manuscript of his of 1807, bound with two others, one describing the spirit trade as the downfall of the colony and the other calling almost all of the colony’s unmarried females prostitutes. The essays were apparently intended for publication on his visit to England, but that did not occur.⁷⁶ While he understood that some believed that toleration would quiet the minds of convicts ...

But whoever is acquainted with the real National Character of the Irish Convicts, and the local Situation of the Colony, will be of a very different Opinion. It is more than probable that if the Catholic Religion was once allowed to be celebrated by Authority, that the Colony would be lost to the British Empire in less than one year. The number of Catholic convicts is very great in the Settlement; and these in general composed of the lowest Class of the Irish Nation, who are the most wild, ignorant and savage Race that were ever favoured with the Light of Civilization; Men that have been familiar

⁷³ Harold Perkins, *The Convict Priests*, Thistle Press, Gardiner Vic, 1984, pp 51-57; Vivienne Keely, *Dixon of Botany Bay: the convict priest from Wexford*, St Paul’s Publications, Strathfield NSW, 2003; James Waldersee, ‘Father James Dixon and the 1798 Wexford Rising’, *Journal of Religious History*, 6, 1970, pp 27-40.

⁷⁴ Mary Ann Reid, ‘Cursory Remarks on board the Friendship’, *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British India and its Dependencies*, 8, December 1819, p 556, quoted in Col Graham, Perry McIntyre and Anne-Maree Whitaker (eds), *The Voyage of the Ship Friendship from Cork to Botany Bay 1799-1800*, PR Ireland, Sydney, 2000, p 27.

⁷⁵ King to Hobart, 9 May 1803, *HRA*, vol 4, p 82.

⁷⁶ Michael Saclier, ‘Sam Marsden’s Colony: notes on a manuscript in the Mitchell Library, Sydney’, *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, vol 52, no 2, June 1966, pp 94-114.

with Robberies, Murders and every horrid Crime from their Infancy. Their minds being destitute of every Principle of Religion & Morality render them capable of perpetrating the Most Nefarious Acts in cool Blood. As they never appear to reflect upon Consequences; but to [be] governed entirely by the Impulse of Passion and always alive to Rebellion and mischief they are very dangerous members of Society ... The low Irish Convicts are an extraordinary Race of Beings; their Minds are depraved beyond all Conception ... Should the Catholic Religion ever be tolerated in the Settlement, that will immediately give them that Opportunity they wish for. At the Celebration of the Mass they would assemble from every part of the Colony; reveal their Intentions, and gain one another's Confidence. Measures would be immediately concerted to overturn the present Government.

Marsden was particularly concerned about the future, which required the authorities to make sure children were all brought up Protestant. Catholics fortunately had little knowledge of their religion. Therefore,

If none but the Protestant Religion should continue to be established or tolerated; in a few years there will be very few Catholics, to what there are now in the Settlement. The rising Generation will be Protestants and Strangers to all other religious Opinions, if Attention is paid to their early Education and for want of the public Celebration of the Mass the common People will think little of it ... should the Morals and Education of the Children of the Irish Catholic Convicts be neglected, many of them will walk in the Footsteps of their wretched Parents, the Boys will be idle and rebellious, and the Girls infamous – the former living by plundering the industrious, and the latter by Prostitution.⁷⁷

King's own initial opinion was closer to Marsden's than Hobart's, and he is unlikely to have considered a policy of toleration of his own accord. In reporting as above in 1801 on 'the most desperate and diabolical characters' foisted upon him, he added, 'I respectfully submit the propriety of any more of those violent Republican characters being sent here for some time, and particularly the priests (of whom we have now three).'⁷⁸ (Of the three priests, Fr James Harold and Fr Peter O'Neil were soon sent to Norfolk Island, though the 'most notorious, seditious and rebellious', Fr O'Neil, had to be sent home when news of his exoneration arrived, doubts having arisen about his confession after 275 lashes.⁷⁹ Only the tractable Fr Dixon was left in Sydney.)

The proclamation of toleration of Catholics

⁷⁷ Samuel Marsden, 'A Few Observations on the Toleration of the Catholic Religion in New South Wales', memorandum, c.1807, MS 18, Marsden Papers, Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW, http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/_transcript/2015/D06597/a2105.html.

⁷⁸ King to Portland, 10 March 1801, *HRA*, vol 3, p 9.

⁷⁹ Vivienne Parsons, 'O'Neil, Peter (1757-1835)', *ADB*, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/oneil-peter-2524/text3419>.

King's views were behind the times. The recipient of his letter, the Home Secretary, Lord Portland (in charge of both Ireland and the Colonies), had favoured Catholic emancipation in principle although he had had to recall in 1795 an ally who as Lord Lieutenant had been felt to have moved too precipitately on the question.⁸⁰ By the time of the official reply to King, he had been succeeded, now with the title of Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, by Lord Hobart. Hobart's reply to King on 29 August 1802 politely informed him that policy had changed:

The Catholic priests Dixon, O'Neal, and Harrold, and a man named Abraham Gough, have been represented to me as persons who may not be undeserving of the conditional emancipation above explained: if their conduct should have justified this representation, and you should be of opinion that these priests may be usefully employed either as schoolmasters, or in the exercise of their clerical functions, you may avail yourselves of their services.⁸¹

Hobart set policy. King followed orders. His proclamation in the *Sydney Gazette* of 19 April 1803 announced toleration for Dixon's masses:

Whereas I have judged it expedient and admissible, in consequence of a Communication from His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies and War Department, to Grant unto the Reverend Mr DIXON, a Conditional Emancipation to enable him to Exercise his Clerical Functions as a Roman Catholic Priest: which he has qualified himself for by the regular and exemplary Conduct he has manifested since his residence in the Colony; and his having taken the Oath of Allegiance, Abjuration, and Declaration, prescribed by Law.⁸²

Appended is a series of regulations that show the intended advantages and attendant fears of the authorities:

Regulations

To be observed by the Rev Mr DIXON, and the CATHOLIC CONGREGATIONS in this Colony.

FIRST. They will observe, with all becoming gratitude, That this Extension of liberal Toleration proceeds from the Piety and Benevolence of OUR MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN, to Whom, as well as our Parent Country at large, we are (under Providence), indebted for the Blessings we enjoy.

SECOND. That the Religious Exercise of their Worship may suffer no hindrance, it is expected that no Seditious Conversations that can anywise injure HIS MAJESTY's Government, or affect the Tranquillity of this Colony, will ever happen, either at the

⁸⁰ David Wilkinson, 'The Fitzwilliam Episode, 1795: a reinterpretation of the role of the Duke of Portland', *Irish Historical Studies*, 29, 1995, pp 315-39.

⁸¹ Hobart to King, 29 August 1802, *HRA*, vol 3, p 564.

⁸² SG, 24 April 1803, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/625538>.

Places prescribed for their Worship, or Elsewhere. But that they will individually manifest their Gratitude and Allegiance, by exerting themselves in Detecting and Reporting any impropriety, of that or any other nature, that may fall under their observation.

THIRD. As Mr Dixon will be allowed to perform his Clerical Functions Once in Three Weeks at the Settlements at Sydney, Parramatta, and Hawkesbury, in Rotation, the Magistrates are strictly forbid suffering those Catholics who reside at the places where Service is not performing, from resorting to the Settlement and District at which the Priest officiates for the day.

FOURTH. The Catholic Service will be performed on the appointed Sundays at 9 o'clock in the morning.

FIFTH. No improper behaviour, during the time of Service, is to be allowed by the Priest, who will be responsible to the Magistrates for his Congregation's going regularly and orderly to their respective homes, after the Offices are ended.

SIXTH. And to the end that strict Decorum may be observed, a certain number of the Police will be stationed at and about the places appointed, during the Service.

SEVENTH. Every Person throughout the Colony will observe, that the Law has sufficiently provided for the Punishment of those who may Disquiet or Disturb any Assembly of Religious Worship whatever, or Misuse any Priest, or Teacher, of any Tolerated Sect.

(Signed) JAMES DIXON.

Subscribed before Us, this 19th Day of April, 1803.

RICHARD ATKINS

THOS. JAMISON⁸³

It remained to be seen whether the hoped-for gratitude would outweigh the feared seditious plotting.

Fr Dixon held the first public mass in Australia at Sydney on 15 May 1803.⁸⁴ The exact location is not known. The *Sydney Gazette* officially recorded him as conducting a marriage and attending an execution in 1803,⁸⁵ indicating official acceptance of the normal range of a clergyman's duties.

⁸³ SG, 24 April 1803, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/625535>.

⁸⁴ 'Sydney', SG, 22 May 1803, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/625581>.

⁸⁵ 'Married', SG, 15 May 1803, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/625572>; 'Execution', 9 October 1803, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/625811>.



Fr James Dixon holds the first public Catholic Mass in Australia at Sydney, May 1803 ... a positive influence on the otherwise untrustworthy Irish. (Source: Dixon mass, St Mary's Cathedral, western wall; detail from stained glass window commemorating Fr James Dixon celebrating the first Catholic Mass in Australia on 15 May 1803)

Through the offices of the head of St Isidore's Irish College in Rome, a petition from Fr Dixon to Rome reached Vatican authorities. Despite the chaotic conditions resulting from Napoleon's invasions, they responded enthusiastically to the unexpected news of missionary activity at the ends of the earth. They forwarded faculties (official permissions to operate) for the three priests, and for Fr Dixon appointment with the impressive title 'Prefect Apostolic of New Holland'.⁸⁶

The experiment seemed to King to go well in the subsequent months. In September 1803 he reported with satisfaction:

The Irish, of whom we have so great a proportion, in general behave well, which I cannot but attribute to their being indulged with the exercise of their religion, in performing the functions of which Mr Dixon conducts himself and his congregation so well that I have availed myself of your Lordship's permission in giving him £60 per annum.⁸⁷

Then as we saw, on 1 March 1804 he reported that Fr Dixon's work 'has had the most salutary effects on the number of Irish Catholics we have, and since its toleration there has not been the most distant cause for complaint among that⁸⁸ description, who regularly attend Divine service'.

Revolution

The Castle Hill rebellion broke out on 4 March 1804. Major Johnston acted decisively and with a forced march reached Parramatta and then caught up with the rebels near Castle Hill. He took Fr Dixon with him. After deceiving

⁸⁶ Perkins, *The Convict Priests*, pp 59-60; appeal to Propaganda Fide on behalf of Fr Dixon and letter of Propaganda Fide to Dixon of 25 February 1804 transcribed in Cathaldus Giblin, 'James Dixon and Jeremiah O'Flynn: two prefects apostolic in Australia', *Collectanea Hibernica*, 25, 1983, pp 63-85.

⁸⁷ King to Hobart, 17 September 1803, *HRA*, vol 4, p 394.

⁸⁸ King to Lord Hobart, 1 March 1804, *HRA*, vol 4, p 470.

the leaders with a parley he captured them and the rest fell apart. Fr Dixon's appeals to lay down arms (depicted in a contemporary watercolour) fell on deaf ears. Some 30 rebels were killed then or executed later.⁸⁹



The Castle Hill Rebellion, 1804, detail of Fr Dixon pleading, 'Lay down your Arms my deluded Countrymen'. (Watercolour, artist unknown, National Library of Australia, nla.pic-an5577479)

Aftermath

When the revolution was over, the governor regretted the toleration experiment. He wrote that he had 'also been necessitated to withhold the salary from the Romish priest Dixon, for very improper conduct, and to prevent the seditious meetings that took place in consequence of the indulgence and protection he received'.⁹⁰ The 'improper conduct' is not specified.

Nevertheless, when it came to the point Fr Dixon had supported the government in the crisis and risked his life addressing the rebels. Some believed he had had some good effect; a compilation of local sources published in 1811 says that he 'proved to be of some utility in bringing back the insurgents to a proper sense of their duty.

It cannot be too much to say, that the conduct of Mr Dixon, before and after this business, has been exemplary.'⁹¹

⁸⁹ Anne-Maree Whitaker, *Unfinished Revolution: United Irishmen in New South Wales, 1800- 1810*, Crossing Press, Sydney, 1994, ch 5.

⁹⁰ King to Hobart, 14 August 1804, *HRA*, vol 5, p 99.

⁹¹ George Paterson, *The History of New South Wales from Its First Discovery to the Present Time*, Newcastle

In fact from 1804 Fr Dixon was allowed to practise privately for some years. In January 1809 he performed the marriage of William and Catherine Davis, both to be leaders of the Catholic Church in the future.⁹² The deposed Bligh complained to Castlereagh in 1809 that among the laxities of the provisional government that had replaced him, indulgences were granted to the Irish rebels and 'the Romish Priest is now wildly following his functions, which were before kept within proper bounds, and must be again limited by wise and mild measures'.⁹³

Fr Dixon was permitted to return to Ireland in 1809 and later said very little about his time in Australia. Fr Harold, returned from Norfolk Island, continued the ministry for another year, according to himself with success and happiness, though according to a local, 'avaricious and petulant to a degree'. He was pardoned and left in 1810.⁹⁴

Marsden took events to have justified his stance, claiming that meeting at mass was a cover for planning insurrection, and that it was not the want of mass that caused their rebellious spirit, but 'their Natural Ferocity, which nothing can ever eradicate'.⁹⁵

Governor Lachlan Macquarie too was to accept Marsden's false view of history, saying 'those Disturbances being entirely occasioned by the Machinations of a Couple of unprincipled Catholic Priests' and 'the only Insurrection among the Convicts, which ever took place here, was instigated several years ago by Irish Popish Priests', who therefore should be excluded from the colony.⁹⁶

Meanwhile, a successful revolution had taken place with the 'Rum Rebellion'. While it was not a masonic plot, those identified as Freemasons earlier were parties (except Henry Browne Hayes). John Macarthur, although not a mason, was sailing close to the wind of revolutionary principles in saying on his release from prison the day before the coup, 'Liberty and Equality reigns in this colony.'⁹⁷ The United Irishmen took no part in the event.

upon Tyne, 1811, p 388; identical text in D. D. Mann, *The Present Picture of New South Wales*, London, 1811, p 4.

⁹² 'Notice', *The Australian*, 1 April 1826, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/37071792>.

⁹³ Bligh to Castlereagh, 8 July 1809, *HRA*, vol 7, p 163.

⁹⁴ Harold Perkins, 'Father Harold: the story of a convict priest', *Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society*, vol 3, no 3, 1971, pp 1-14; Perkins, *Convict Priests*, p 14.

⁹⁵ Marsden, 'A few observations'.

⁹⁶ Macquarie to Bathurst, 12 December 1817 and 18 May 1818, *HRA*, vol 9, pp 710, 801; discussion in Vivienne Keely, *Michael Hayes: The Life of a 1798 Wexford Rebel in Sydney*, Anchor Books, Melbourne, 2019, p 95.

⁹⁷ Evidence of John Webb and Sergeant Barlow, enclosed with Bligh to Charles Manners Sutton (Judge Advocate General), 30 April 1811, The National Archives (UK), WO 72/3, quoted in Atkinson, 'The Little Revolution'.

Thereafter, peace and a degree of practical goodwill ensued, and from Macquarie's arrival in 1810, respectability reigned. For both the rebels of 1798 in Ireland and those of 1808 in Sydney, bygones were allowed to be bygones. The perpetrators of the Rum Rebellion escaped any severe punishment, and it was by then years since there had been any violence from the Irish. Everyone who remained in the colony received a land grant, or several land grants. Most grants were surveyed by the Deputy Surveyor, James Meehan, a rebel who had been transported on the same ship as Fr Dixon.

Four of the men of '98, William Davis, James Dempsey, James Meehan and Michael Hayes, became wealthy and respected citizens and the leaders of the Catholic community in the priestless years of Macquarie's time. When two priests finally arrived with official approval in 1820, a committee was formed to raise funds for a church. It comprised the two priests and seven laymen. Six were rebels of '98 and included Davis, Meehan, Hayes and Dempsey.⁹⁸ When the foundation stone of St Mary's church was laid, Governor Macquarie wielded the ceremonial trowel and made a joke about being a mason.⁹⁹

Just 20 years after the rebels had been transported, it was becoming clear that things would be done very differently in the new country.

⁹⁸ G. M. Cashman, 'A Catholic Who's Who from 1788 to Polding', *Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society*, 5, no 3, 1977, pp 23-42; 'Roman Catholic Chapel', SG, 15 July 1820, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/2179608>.

⁹⁹ Columbus Fitzpatrick, 'Catholic Religious and Social Life in the Macquarie era: St Mary's Cathedral [as portrayed in the Fitzpatrick letters (1865)]', *Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society* 2, no. 1, 1966, pp 17-18.

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Southern California Research Lodge	USA
Lodge Southern Cross 91, UGL NSW&ACT	NSW, Australia
District Grand Master of Lebanon (SC)	Lebanon
South Wales Provincial Research Library	Wales
Lodge Hope of Kurrachee 337 SC	Scotland
Grand Lodge of Scotland (Museum & Library)	Scotland
Lodge of the Golden Fleece 300 UGLV	Victoria, Australia
St Michael 2933 EC	Singapore
167 Heritage Society	Auckland, NZ
Masonic Awareness @ The Speed of Light	USA
Grand Lodge of Manitoba Library	Canada
Middle Chamber Society	South Australia, Australia
Northern California Research Lodge	USA
Tresco & Chisel United Lodge 289 UGLV	Victoria, Australia
The Hibernia & Albion Star Lodge of Research 15 UGLQ	Queensland, Australia

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PRESIDENT'S PAGES

Dear fellow researchers,

Although I do not know what articles this edition of Harashim will contain, I am looking forward to reading them. It is the 100th edition of Harashim and, if articles Bro. Neil Wynes Morse has included in previous editions are any guide, there are sure to be interesting and entertaining articles in this milestone edition. We are fortunate to have a Freemason as knowledgeable Neil as our editor.

There being no conferences or travelling lecturers this year, so we especially need a publication such as Harashim to provide us with additional masonic research resources. Neil is skilful in selecting suitable topics. Although there are no travelling lecturers this year, we do have Zoom presentations from various masonic jurisdictions, such as New Zealand and Victoria. The cloud of the corona virus brought with it the silver lining of Zoom becoming much better known. Zoom sessions can be received in other states and countries, so we can all benefit from these presentations. They, too, should help us in our masonic education and research.

The ANZMRC of course has a committee where the current and future running of the Council is discussed and determined. If you have anything you would like to share with the Committee, we are only too pleased to listen. However, I know that this is not always possible. I also know that not everyone who wants to undertake masonic research is going to be a Kellerman Lecturer, simply because only a limited number receives this award at each conference. I see one of my roles as President as encouraging research in the masonic jurisdictions covered by the ANZMRC. Some jurisdictions are not as active as they previously were and I hope that more Freemasons in those, as well as the other jurisdictions, will regain an interest in such research. In previous editions of Harashim, I have offered to attend lodge meetings, either in person or online, to help encourage more interest in research. To date, there has been virtually no reaction. I am now going to propose another possible way of encouraging masonic research, which may also be a means of expressing any ideas one way have regarding the ANZMRC. I am proposing that I, as President, hold a monthly Zoom session in which matters of interest can be discussed. It can also be used if anyone wants advice on how to go about research, have people chat about the way they have undertaken various research projects and, if someone would like to practise presenting a preliminary draft of a research project, ask for ideas, or even a more fully completed research project, these sessions may well provide opportunities. No day or time will be suitable for everyone so, if this idea has merit and continues,

changes can easily be made in future. I am suggesting, as a start, that we trial the first Friday of the month as my experience tells me that fewer lodges meet on Fridays than on other weekdays and weekends are often used for other activities. I am suggesting that we start on Friday, 6th October this year. Summer time will have begun by then for those that adopt Summer Time. We have a range of 4 hours from Western Australia in the west to New Zealand in the east. I am suggesting two sessions on each of those Fridays, starting at the following times, so that there are reasonable meeting times for everybody.

Session 1:

Western Australia	Northern Territory	Queensland	South Australia	NSW, Victoria, Tasmania	New Zealand
4.00 pm	4.30 pm	5.00 pm	5.30 pm	6.00 pm	8.00 pm

Session 2

Western Australia	Northern Territory	Queensland	South Australia	NSW, Victoria, Tasmania	New Zealand
6.00 pm	6.30 pm	7.00 pm	7.30 pm	8.00 pm	10.00 pm

From April 2024, the time for Queensland will be the same as that for New South Wales, Victoria and Tasmania and the time for Northern Territory will be the same as that for South Australia.

We will be using my Personal Meeting Room. The Meeting ID is 398 064 3306 and the Passcode is cZ4XGc

The Link is:

<https://us05web.zoom.us/j/3980643306?pwd=WkMvd1FzbWh0Z0NYNE9RQm02dW85UT09>

THE BOOK OF CONSTITUTIONS: THE VALUABLE BOOK [ALMOST] NOBODY HAS ON THEIR LIBRARY SHELVES

John Belton

john@thebeltons.eu

john@johnbelton.org

There have been all sorts of celebrations to mark the 300th anniversary of the publication in 1723 of the *Book of Constitution* by the Rev Bro James Anderson. And yet it is a book that very few actually have on their library shelves because one would only want to consult it maybe once every few years. But that is probably an error that means that valuable information remains unseen and unused.

But help is at hand, and that is really thanks to the action by google a number of years ago to scan endless shelves of books in major libraries and I am happy to share with you all a list of the various English books of Constitutions that are available to download. I have not added the Irish *Books of Constitution*, nor have I added in the *Pocket Companions*, which are an even more valuable source of information because they were not constrained by having to be a 'Book of Constitution'.

Not all the Books of Constitution are available via Google but enough are to provide an excellent source to see any changes that took place. Enjoy.

(in red italics I have not found online)

England Moderns

- 1723 Anderson 1st https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_LkICAAAAQAAJ
ex Bodleian Library
- 1723 Anderson <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=LkICAAAAQAAJ>
ex Bayer.Staatsbibliothek (see bookplate at front)
- 1738 Anderson 2nd <https://www.quatuorcoronati.com/research-resources/> click QCA
Vol.7
- 1746 Anderson 2^{b^{ed}} pub Robinson
<https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=-wcIAAAAAQAAJ>
- 1756 Entick 3rd <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=gDhfAAAAcAAJ>
- 1767 Entick 4th <https://archive.org/details/AndersonJTheConstitutions1767>
- 1769 Kearsley, London
- 1784 Noorthouck 5th <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=QmzqsGE55esC>

England Antients

1756 *Ahiman Rezon* 1st (transcript)

<https://archive.org/details/DermottLAhimanRezon1756>

1764 Dermott *Ahiman Rezon* 2nd https://archive.org/details/Ahiman_Rezon_1794

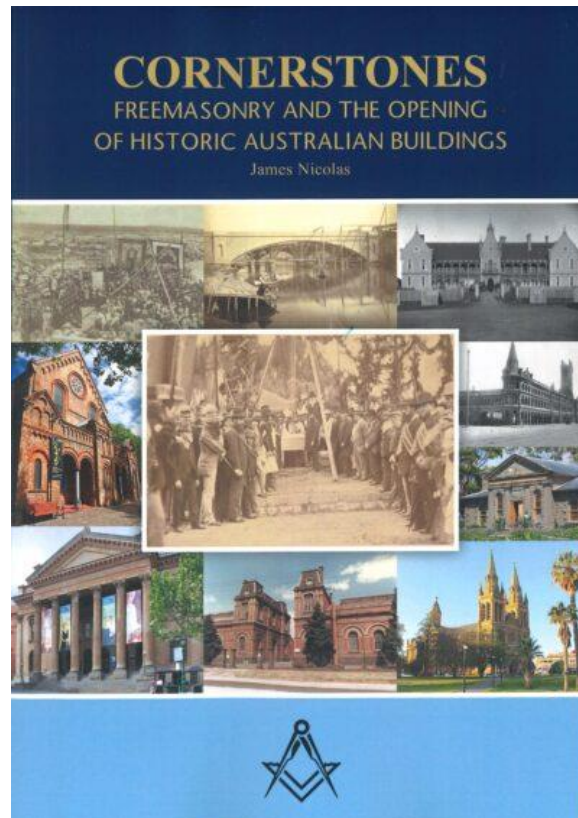
<https://archive.org/details/DermottLAhimanRezon2ndEd1764>
 1764 US 1855 2nd ed Reprint <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=1kUMAQAAMAAJ>
 1778 Ahiman Rezon 3rd <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=mUNfAAAAcAAJ>
 1787 Ahiman Rezon 4th
 1800 Harper Ahiman Rezon 5th <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=1ae0CL-fV04C>
 Other Harper eds are 1801 6th, c1810
 1805 US Edition NY ex London 3rd ed
<https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=iDIiAAAAAMAAJ>
 1807 Harper Ahiman Rezon 7th ed
<https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=HaWkbXsRFEMC>
 1813 Harper Ahiman Rezon 8th ed
<https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=-TEiAAAAAMAAJ>

England UGLE

1815 Williams UGLE 6th
<https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=i4RhAAAAcAAJ>
 1815 (ex Hughan Memorials)
 1819 Williams 7th
 1823 Williams Constitutions 1819 Kingston Ontario
 1827 Williams UGLE 8th <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=GOJeyAeY2XoC>
 1841 WH White UGLE 9th <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=Qcfv504cU1MC>
 1847 WH White UGLE 10th <https://archive.org/details/constitutionsofa00freeuoft>
 1853 WH White UGLE 11th
 1855 WH White UGLE 12th https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=RRY_AQAAMAAJ
 1858 WG Clarke UGLE 13th <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=WEJfAAAAcAAJ>
 1861 WG Clarke UGLE 14th https://mega.nz/folder/MYE1hLaK#P_J2TC09gRkS-HliI8Er_g
 1863 WG Clarke UGLE 15th https://mega.nz/folder/MYE1hLaK#P_J2TC09gRkS-HliI8Er_g
 1867 WG Clark UGLE <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=HbgQzQEACAAJ>
 1871 J Hervey UGLE <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=2LnwztI8mLEC>
 1873 J Hervey UGLE 20th <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=TVZjBrvur78C>
 1884 H Shadwell Clerke UGLE 21st [1884 Shadwell Clerke UGLE 21st](https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=TVZjBrvur78C)
 1907 E Letchworth UGLE [1907 Letchworth UGLE 21st](https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=TVZjBrvur78C)
 1908 E Letchworth UGLE [1908 Letchworth UGLE](https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=TVZjBrvur78C)
 1911 E Letchworth UGLE <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.351643>
 1917 **Letchworth UGLE missing**
 1919 P Colville Smith UGLE <https://archive.org/details/antientfraternit00free>

Book Review:
***CORNERSTONES: FREEMASONRY AND THE
OPENING OF HISTORIC AUSTRALIAN BUILDINGS***

by James Nicolas; ISBN 9780646879536
Available online through Amazon.



Prompted by an interest in the opening of a number of Masonic Temples in Victoria, author James Nicolas sets out in his book to describe the masonic ceremony associated with official cornerstone settings of some important Australian buildings.

Nicolas admits to having a fascination for the mostly nineteenth century edifices selected for this photo illustrated, self-published book and draws on examples from Victoria, Tasmania, New South Wales, Western Australia, Queensland and South Australia. Although it is not evident that he is a Freemason, Nicolas has an affection for the Craft and goes to great lengths to defend its important role in the opening of buildings of significance; now mostly overlooked in contemporary historic documentation.

It is therefore admirable that one of Nicolas' aims in preparing this book is to address what he calls an historical "whitewash" of masonic cornerstone ceremonies, or an apparent disregard by modern historians to give recognition

that Freemasons formed an important role in cornerstone ceremonies.

Some 179 pages in length, the book comprises a brief 'Introduction' followed by a three page 'Insights on laying of Foundation Stones' both of which precede the main body of the document. The book is essentially a catalogue of some selected public buildings, formatted individually with a photo followed by text. This text predominately comprises direct quotes from local newspapers of the day, which were an important record. Not only were the opening events recorded, but the newspaper articles provide us a list of important people present, the number of visitors, quoted speeches and the names of the pubs where the after celebrations were held.

Most of these buildings were important to the history and development of the places for which they were created. To that extent, these structures have embedded in them a high degree of social, cultural and architectural significance.

For the casual reader, Nicolas succeeds in presenting a selection of public buildings and a description of the pomp and ceremony associated with cornerstone celebrations, albeit mostly located in Victoria, where mention is also made of the presence of Oddfellows, Foresters and other orders.

To this reviewer, as an Heritage Architect and Freemason, there is ample opportunity to improve the scope and depth of 'Cornerstones' to provide a more thoroughly researched document which has a more academic bias.

For example, it would benefit the reader to be given a basic history of Freemasonry and provided in the 'Introduction', in outline form, the Masonic ritual associated with corner stone setting during the nineteenth century. Also the reason for its operative and speculative Masonic importance. This would obviate the need to read through repetitive quotes from newspaper accounts of the application of wine, corn, oil and anointing at these corner stone ceremonies.

Mention could also be made of the history of cornerstone setting, perhaps starting with its biblical beginnings, in particular Isaiah 28:16 and Medieval Cathedral building in Europe.

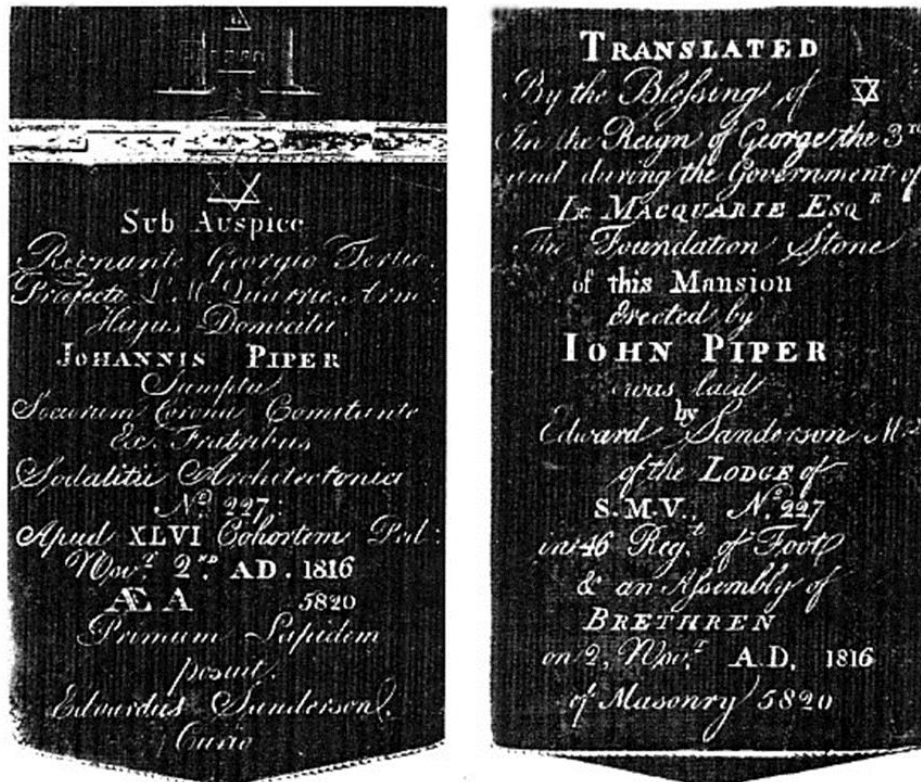


Image I: The foundation stone for Captain Piper's residence.

Here in Australia, it is noteworthy to mention the *Sydney Gazette* article of 9 November 1816; 'Report of Ceremony of the Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Residence of Captain John Piper on 2 November 1816'. Also, Governor Lachlan Macquarie's setting of the cornerstone of St Mary's Chapel in 1821, at this important ceremony, Macquarie is reported to have stated he was an ... 'old Freemason' This statement in the presence of high ranking Roman Catholics of the time, at what in 1835 was to be their Cathedral, is bold to say the least. Any history of cornerstone laying would benefit from including reference to 'A Melbourne masonic mystery: The University Chancellor, the uninvited Freemasons and the foundation stone ...' where in 1854, egos, the well connected, politics, Freemasonry, and academia are combined with toxic effect.

Images of the tools used at cornerstone ceremonies would be of enormous advantage to the reader, i.e. the trowel, square, plumb line, level and lewis. Also, more photos or images, are needed of the ceremonies themselves; the cover of the book seems to be the only site for such visuals.

It is suggested that a more conventional structure be employed for 'Cornerstones' e.g. having a 'Foreword', 'Acknowledgements', 'Preface', 'Introduction' and following the main body of the text; a list of 'References' and 'Bibliography' and a map showing where the buildings are located.

'Cornerstones' optimistically seeks to record buildings and their opening ceremonies in 'Australia'. Given the range of building types and stylistic orders in each State or Territory, this by face value is an enormous undertaking for any author. Perhaps compiling a more focussed book, which covers say, 'Cornerstones in Victoria' would net a more satisfying result. James Nicolas has made a good start with this book.

WBro Wayne Bruce McPhee KL
B.Arch. (Sydney) RAIA



Image II: A gold Freemasons commemorative medal, enamelled detail to ribbon, central star, inscribed 'The foundation stone for the new Freemasons Hall - laid by Bro. Sir W.J. Clarke Bart. Dist & Prov. G.M. For Victoria, 26 March, 1885'; 22ct gold. Weight 26.3g. Thanks to Bros Karen Kidd and Kerry Nichol KL for providing the images.



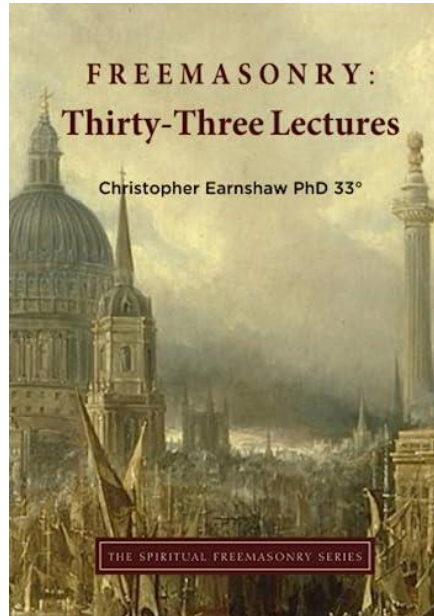
Image III: The first stone for the new Athenaeum, the first home of the Invercargill Public Library, being lowered towards the ground by the Master of the Southern Cross Masonic Lodge – WBro. William Craig. - August 1874. Image from Invercargill City Libraries and Archives, Ref: A0010 S00780136, courtesy Bro Kerry Nichol KL.

A NEW JERUSALEM

A chapter from Christopher Earnshaw's latest tome: *'Freemasonry: Thirty-three Lectures: From Temples to Lodges: Tracing the Origins and Esoteric Wisdom of Freemasonry'*

ISBN 9798398263992

available through Amazon.



King Solomon's Temple was the first Jewish Temple in Jerusalem, and it is believed to have been built on the spot where God tested Abraham, demanding of him to sacrifice his son, Isaac, as given in Genesis Ch. 22. The Temple is very important to Freemasons for two reasons, first it represents a metaphor of our Craft and secondly, it represents our aspirations as Freemasons.

First, a bit of history concerning Freemasonry and this important temple. King Solomon's Temple was built twice. The first temple is believed to have been built in the tenth century BC. It was an important centre of religious ritual for Jews. After the Babylonians destroyed it in 586BC, the Jews were then exiled. They were later released by the Persian king Cyrus in 539BC. The Jews started to build a second temple around 349 BC, which took one hundred years to complete. During the period of Roman rule in Israel, according to Flavius Josephus, Herod the Great undertook funding the restoration of the temple, so the second Temple was renamed after him.

The Roman general Titus destroyed Jerusalem and the Temple in 70 AD, decisively ending the Great Jewish Revolt that had begun four years earlier. The lower levels of the Western Wall form part of the few surviving parts of Herod's complex. One of the largest stones ever hewn by man, known as a megalith, is in this wall. The stone has a length of 13.6 meters and estimates place the weight at 570 tons, so moving it into the foundations was a mammoth

undertaking considering the technology of the day. This part of the remains of King Solomon's Temple, known as The Wailing Wall, is now held sacred to Jews. The name is a translation of an Arabic word for the area where the wall is.

However, not everybody agrees with this rendition of events, and Muslims maintain that the builders of King Solomon's Temple were not Jews but Sufi mystics who incorporated the power of God into the Temple measurements using sacred geometry.

What has this all to do with Freemasonry? The number three is very important to Masons, representing among other things the Holy Trinity, the three degrees of our fraternity and also the three stages of the life of man. As King Solomon's Temple was destroyed twice, the "third temple" is for us to build. But this is not a physical place but rather a spiritual one, a place in our hearts where we will meet God, as explained in the Bible¹.

Now for the bit of Masonic history that many of the Brethren are not aware of. In the 1600s in England there was a period of turmoil, first the Civil War 1642-1651, then The Great Plague (1625-66) which was the last major epidemic of bubonic plague in Europe, and to cap it all London caught fire in 1666. In the Great Fire most of what was the mediaeval City of London was destroyed. In 1681, to commemorate the Great Fire, a tall column was set up near the baker's shop in Pudding Lane where the fire had started and, for one hundred years until 1831, an inscription on this column wrongly blamed the Catholics for the fire. The column, known as the Monument, (on the right side of the cover of this book) still stands there, but without the plaque. The fire is said to have ended at Pye Corner, in Smithfield, where there is a small golden statue to commemorate the event.

¹ Acts 17:24-25, Matthew 6:5-6, Revelation 3:20 and 1 Corinthians 3:16-17.



King Charles II saw the Great Fire as an opportunity to rebuild London to match the splendour of Paris, with wide boulevards like the Champs d'Elysées. London had grown over many centuries, starting as a Roman town in 50AD, and it had expanded organically without town planning, and as a result the streets were narrow and thought unfit to be the capital city of England.

King Charles envisioned London as not only being the governmental centre but also a spiritual centre of England, starting the renovation to establish the ideal Christian City, the "New Jerusalem" with the centre of this spiritual city being St Paul's Cathedral, with the sole purpose of preparing the world for the Second Coming of Christ. The King wanted London to be redesigned not only on spiritual but also cosmic principles.

St Paul's Cathedral was in a state of decay, reconstruction had started with King James I, who had appointed the architect Inigo Jones in 1621 to rebuild it, but before the work had been completed, the Great Fire damaged the building and the spire collapsed.

Three people petitioned the King with designs for a New London in 1666, Captain Valentine Knight, John Evelyn and Christopher Wren. Knight's proposal included rental buildings and a toll road, to raise money for the King, because after the Civil War the Treasury was depleted. Unfortunately, this idea was greeted with acrimony, with a newspaper writing indignantly, "His

Majesty would draw benefit to himself from so public a calamity of his people.” The unfortunate Captain was gaoled for his troubles. Instead, the Rebuilding Act of 1667 announced that the old street plan would remain, but new regulations were introduced concerning the width of the streets, the size of the buildings and the materials that were to be used.

Both Evelyn and Wren proposed designs that redrew the map of London with new avenues and squares to rival those of Paris. For example, Evelyn’s plan was based on the design of the Tree of Life, symbolic of the New Jerusalem, with twelve inter-connecting squares and piazzas as the central design of the New London. Evelyn’s layout was never adopted as it would have been far too time-consuming and expensive to build. Presumably these plans were scrapped due to the King’s shortage of money, and only designs for St. Paul’s, the new symbol of the city, were accepted.

Here another interesting story emerges. A Sephardic rabbi from Portugal, aptly named Leon Templo had caused a sensation in Europe with the publication of a book promoting the rebuilding of King Solomon’s Temple, which included floor plans. The book was published in 1643 in French, twenty years before the Great Fire of London, and was only published in English in 1778. Soon after the Great Fire, Templo went to visit Christopher Wren with his plans. The Stuart monarchy had identified itself with King Solomon, as he was both head of Church and State. King Charles’s palace was at Whitehall, which is now used as the seat of the British government, but it was used as a palace until 1698. Whitehall was the Stuart Monarchy’s “Solomon’s Palace,” and St. Paul’s Cathedral was to be their “Solomon’s Temple.” Inigo Jones had tried to model his designs for the Cathedral based on the details given in the *First Book of Kings* in the Bible.



Image IV: Templo’s Temple

Leon Templo presented the King with a complete design at exactly the right moment. Unfortunately, or fortunately depending on your point of view, this plan was rejected. The reader might ask why the English who were Christians, and who had only 100 years earlier separated from the Church of Rome to establish the Anglican Church, would be interested in what amounts to Jewish mythology. From the 1400s, there had been a movement in Europe, with leading lights such as Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494), to fuse the symbolism of Christianity with that of Hebraic mysticism, forming a “Christian Cabala.” This is written with a capital ‘C’ to distinguish it from Jewish Kabbalah and Hermetic Qabalah. The Kabbalah, which had been the exclusive property of Jewish mystics, was now studied throughout Europe, and scholars such as Newton and Bacon studied Hebrew just to read these texts in the original language.



Wren's second design for St. Paul's based on a Greek orthodox cross was also rejected, but the third design with a floorplan based on the Christian Cross, was accepted and after several modifications, work started in 1674. While excavating the foundations Wren found remains of Roman London. St. Paul's Cathedral, on Ludgate Hill, was completed in 1710 and after Wren's death in 1723 he was buried in the crypt.

Even though Wren designed many important buildings in and around London, including fifty-two other churches in London, for which he was never paid, rebuilding St Paul's would become Wren's lasting legacy. King Charles himself wrote a sermon that said that St Paul's Cathedral was to be the centre of a royalist New Jerusalem, or Heaven on Earth, echoing the Hermetic teaching “As above, so below.”

Christopher Wren was the son of the Dean of Windsor and the nephew of a prominent Bishop and in 1669 he was appointed as the King's Surveyor of

Works to oversee the rebuilding of London, he was also a Professor of Astronomy and a founding member of the Royal Society. This made him uniquely qualified to contribute to meeting the physical and spiritual challenges of rebuilding St. Paul's. It has been claimed that Wren was a member of the Lodge of Antiquity No. 2, one of the four founding lodges of the Grand Lodge of England in 1717, but the supporting documentary evidence is spotty. The Lodge was also erased from the list of lodges in later years.

Another illustrious member of the newly formed Royal Society was Isaac Newton who studied and wrote extensively upon the Temple of Solomon, dedicating an entire chapter of *The Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms* to his observations regarding the temple, published in 1728.

The father figure of the Royal Society is said to be Sir Francis Bacon, diplomat, author and Rosicrucian. He had advocated an understanding of the natural world based on close observation, disciplined methodology and careful documentation. In order to support this cause, he called for the establishment of an "Invisible College" with its organization to be based largely on Rosicrucian symbolism. The Royal Society is thought to be based on his vision. Bacon's book *New Atlantis* describes an ideal society based around Solomon's House, a centre of learning where "generosity and enlightenment, dignity and splendour, piety and public spirit" are the common traits. He espoused a plan for his ideal college as the forerunner of the modern research university.

Even now, one of the most important pieces of religious music to the English is the anthem *Jerusalem*, written by William Blake in 1808, who lived 1757-1827 during the monarchy of the House of Hanover. This hymn was played at Prince William and Kate Middleton's wedding. The last four line are:

"I will not cease from mental fight,
Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand,
Till we have built Jerusalem,
In England's green and pleasant land."

So, it can be seen that the idea of making London a spiritual centre was still alive 150 years after the Great Fire of London.

This is not the end of the story; it was reported in the *Illustrated London News* in 1909, that a group of Masons based in Boston were drawing up plans to rebuild King Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem and called upon all Masons around the world to help by contributing money. The estimated cost at that time was \$53.5m, estimated to be \$5.6bn in today's money, so the plan never came to fruition. However, in 1992, the de Rothschild family partially fulfilled

that dream by paying for the construction of Israel's Supreme Court. The agreement was that the Rothschilds would choose the land, the architect and the cost was to be kept secret. Many people say that the court resembles a Masonic building because it has a blue pyramid on top, resulting in many conspiracists saying that Freemasons had a hand in the construction too.

I like to think of myself as a practical Mason, who is able to convert the theory of Masonry into a practical lesson. I said at the beginning that King Solomon's Temple represents our aspirations as Freemasons. At the back of the eye, is an area called "The Blind Spot" where the optic nerve enters the eye. The brain makes up for this deficiency by adding surrounding detail and information from the other eye, so the blind spot is not normally perceived. This also applies to our lives. We do not see that God is missing from our lives because we compensate for it with other things. We need to build a place to meet God in our hearts, our own King Solomon's Temple, and Freemasonry shows us how.

THE THORNTON HISTORIES

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.

KNIGHT TEMPLARY IN VICTORIA

The masonic Templar Rite has no connection with the old military order of the same name although such a connection was not infrequently claimed before the advent of the authentic school of masonic historians.

Freemasonry was originally Christian in character and, at the time of the formation of the Grand Lodge of England in 1717, all Freemasons believed in the Christian Trinity. Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723 and 1738 eliminated the necessity for such a belief and opened the doors of masonry to men of all religions. In 1738 the well-known Papal Bull which excommunicated all Freemasons was issued.

The immediate reaction to these events was the appearance, around the year 1740, in France of a number of degrees with a Christian base. Included among them were a Masonic Templar Rite and Masonic Rose Croix degree. It is not

known how or when the Templar degree reached the British Isles but traces of it are found dating back to the 1760s and, from an examination of these rituals, the conclusion is reached that these traces come from different sources. The degree appears to have been originally worked in Royal Arch Chapters, or in lodges which worked the Royal Arch degree, until, in 1797 and through the agency of Thomas Dunckerly, a Grand Conclave was formed.

For a number of reasons the degree languished somewhat during the Grand Mastership of the Duke of Sussex but, by the time of his death in 1843, it was again starting to be worked freely. In the 1870s a serious effort was made to unite templarism in England, Scotland and Ireland - and later Canada - under a Convent General but this died unlamented in 1896.

The Order in Victoria

On a number of separate occasions, and in one specific case, George Seith Coppin claimed to be the person responsible for the introduction of the Knight Templar Order into this state. The specific case occurred during his correspondence with Lennox Brown, the secretary of the Empire Lodge in London, and was in reply to a request for his masonic history. It is a little difficult to positively prove or disprove this claim, but if we examine it in the most charitable way possible, we can state Coppin most likely played a part in the obtaining of the first warrant and that time - in this case approaching thirty years - plays havoc with the memory of events with which one is involved.

The Great Priory of England and Wales or, as it was known at the time, the Grand Conclave of Knights Templar, and Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, Palestine, Rhodes and Malta chartered the Encampment of St. John at London on 7 May 1857 and named one Benjamin Archer Kent as the Commander of the Encampment.

This is the same Dr. Kent who was prominent as a letter writer in the Craft and Royal Arch history in this state, the same mason who had been a Provincial Grand Master under the English Constitution in South Australia. It is worth noting that at least one of the Craft lodges in South Australia had been brought into being by the same curious procedure as was about to be carried out regarding the Knight Templar Encampment. This process involved wholly setting up the private body in England under a proviso which permitted the warrant to be transferred to such place as the Commander saw fit. (Presumably this transfer could be only made once.)

There is little doubt that Kent had this intention in mind for the Knight Templar warrant and, equal undoubtedly, he planned to take it to South

Australia. It is probably pertinent to recall, however, that Kent had spent some time in Melbourne and in one of his letters to the London masonic press had mentioned that, although the chivalric bodies were not represented by private bodies in that city, there were a number of permanent residents who were members of those Orders. George Coppin, incidentally, was not a member.

Coppin, however, is recorded as having inserted a newspaper advertisement regarding the Knight Templar Order in one of the local papers in 1859 in which he stated that he had secured the assistance of an old friend from Adelaide, Dr. Kent. (An article which resurrected this advertisement appeared in the *Victorian Freemason* in 1883 but misspelt the name of the Adelaide friend as Dr. Rent!)

It is necessary to read between the lines a little in an attempt to ascertain the full story, particularly as Coppin did not appear until some twelve months after Kent had established the Encampment in Melbourne. Coppin and Kent may well have been, or became, close friends in Adelaide and we recall that Coppin spent a number of years in that town, they may well have already been friends from Coppin's years in England and, at the very least, they were close acquaintances. As theatre comedian Coppin had undoubtedly travelled considerably and came into contact with many people from all walks of life.

Kent almost certainly planned on taking the warrant to Adelaide - the first Preceptory in that town was formed very soon after this - so we are forced to assume that he was persuaded by some person whom he met in Melbourne to set up the Encampment there. (As mentioned Kent was empowered to transfer the warrant and the Encampment to any place he chose. He is also recorded in the register of the Grand Conclave for 1857 as a Grand Commander for Australia which meant that his choice of state was in no way restricted. He must also have had the power to form a Provincial Priory.)

One obvious assumption would be that it was Coppin who persuaded him to leave the warrant in Melbourne but Coppin was not a member of the Order at the time. On the other hand Kent appears to have been quite friendly with Joseph John Moody, who was apparently the elder statesman of the period, as he referred to him on a number of occasions in his letters home. Moody could thus have played a prominent part in the hijacking of the warrant. Included in the names of the ten petitioners who became foundation' members we find Edward Thomas Bradshaw, Francis Thomas Gell and Henry Wallace Lowry who, with Moody, were also members of the Order and whose wealth of masonic talent and experience, for the times, could well have persuaded Kent to leave the warrant in Melbourne as there was a strong chance of success.

Kent had little time to waste on this visit to Melbourne as he is recorded as being in great haste on the night he formed the Metropolitan Chapter of Princes Rose Croix which occurred on 2 April 1858, the evening before the Knight Templar Encampment is listed as having been officially established.

In The Ancient and Accepted Rite Kent was a member of the 31° and listed as the Provincial Grand Commander and Representative in Australia of the Supreme Grand Council. On the night of 2 April he installed the Most Wise Sovereign, obligated the candidates and immediately delegated the remainder of the ceremony to Moody as he had to catch his ship which, it is recorded, was leaving for England. (The combination of the above information tends to suggest that the ship was actually leaving for Adelaide.)

As this was the night before the establishment of the Knight Templar Encampment we must also assume that Kent delegated the whole of that ceremony to Moody as well. This course of events raises a further interesting possibility. For some years after this date the Rose Croix masons in Victoria required a candidate to be a Knight Templar before he could be accepted and this requirement could well have been introduced by Kent due to his experience in, or instructions from, England. It could also have been a hangover from the manner in which the two degrees were worked together in the early days in England introduced by some other experienced mason such as Moody.

Victoria could manage but three members of the Ancient and Accepted Rite when Kent inaugurated the Metropolitan Chapter - Lowry and Gell were among the first candidates - and it is reasonable to assume that South Australia would not have been able to supply any more. It is thus possible that Kent, who could well have wished to open constituent bodies in both of these Orders in Australia, was further persuaded to leave the Knight Templar warrant in Melbourne because the second Order would also be embraced by the same brethren. Moody obviously had Kent's confidence.

It is worthy of note that George Coppin was among the early candidates for the Encampment and was probably installed at the second meeting on 2 July 1858. His advertisement can thus be seen in the light of a personal recruitment drive which may well not have received the backing of members.

The Encampment never worked under its original name of St. John as it immediately became the Pembroke Encampment. No reason is given for the warrant change nor why that particular name was selected and we can only conclude that the foundation members wished to work under a revered

Templar name without being able to discover why they chose the one they did.

The local Knights Templar obviously held high hopes for the success of the Order and felt that there was every reason for it becoming strong in Victoria. (The introduction had come during the era of the gold rush boom so, historically, the chance of success was good.) In November 1859 the Jacques de Molay Encampment was chartered at Sandhurst (Bendigo), and expired very soon afterwards. The St. George Encampment was inaugurated at Ballarat on 21 July ten years later [1869] and led an equally short life presumably because all of the petitioners had come from the Pembroke Encampment and were incapable of keeping it alive due to distance involved. It appears to have survived for around two years and died quietly without lament.



Image IV: An apron used by the Jacques de Molay Encampment at Sandhurst. [private collection]

The term 'encampment' was used by the private bodies until 1878 when the supreme body became the Great Priory and the private bodies became Preceptories with other consequent changes involving the constitutions and the terminology.

Francis Thomas Gell was appointed Provincial Prior very soon after the Pembroke Encampment was formed. He was the Deputy Provincial Grand Master in the English craft and served briefly as Grand Superintendent in the English Royal Arch. He remained in the Knight Templar office, although he appears to have lived for most of his life in Bacchus Marsh, until his death in 1877. He was succeeded by his long serving Deputy Provincial Prior Henry Wallace Lowry who, in his turn, appointed John James as his Deputy. The appointment of Lowry, while quite the logical choice, was to prove extremely interesting as he was Provincial Prior when the local unrecognised Craft Grand Lodge of Victoria was formed and the Knights Templar among them applied to Canada for warrants, and Lowry comes through the Craft history as a silent sympathiser and supporter of the Craft seceders.

A Second Constitution

By 1883, when the Grand Lodge of Victoria was inaugurated, the two country Preceptories were well and truly dead and the actual position of the Pembroke Preceptory was, to say the least, in great doubt. (Research in the 1950s by Em Kt Muggridge has shown that the Pembroke Preceptory did not cease work at any time and a centenary warrant was issued by the authorities in London. However for the purposes of the events which occurred was not so much a matter of what the actual condition of the Preceptory was but what it was thought to be and what it was described as.)

Popular belief was that the Pembroke Preceptory was soon under suspension for non-payment of dues.

Whether or not the Pembroke Preceptory was in full active work is of little importance in the events which followed. It is a little difficult to determine whether or not the knights who had joined the Grand Lodge of Victoria would have been permitted to retain their membership of the Pembroke Preceptory in the same way as the Mark Master Masons were allowed to remain members of their respective Mark lodges. If precedent meant anything, and that is highly debatable for those early days, a suspension in the Craft was ignored in the higher degrees as can be seen from the fact that Lowry remained a member of, and attended, his Encampment during his Craft suspension in 1863.

The 'loyal' members of the Order would undoubtedly have preferred the seceders to quietly melt away but they were faced with the problem of their Preceptor, Edwin Parnell, being one of the Craft seceders. Drew and Parnell - Senior Grand Warden and Grand Director of Ceremonies, respectively in the Grand Lodge of Victoria - are listed as members in 1884 but are not in the 1886

list. The two possibilities are that they left on their own accord or that London issued instructions not to admit them, and in support of the latter contention we can record that the UGLE Grand Secretary, Shadwell Clerke, was a Past Deputy Grand Master of the Order and a member of the Grand Master's Council.

The members of the Grand Lodge of Victoria were to embrace every possible degree, and they certainly wished to continue working the degrees they had already joined. The story spread that the Pembroke Preceptory was not working and possibly it did go into an unofficial recess, until Parnell's year of office was completed. Onto the scene came the man who was to play a major part in a number of Orders in Victoria during the second half of the 1880s and drift away again equally as quickly and silently. This was Dr. Thomas Sanderson Bulmer who was carrying high rank in a number of the Orders and had been based in New Zealand. There is no evidence to suggest that he carried any high rank in Knight Templary.

Among the knights who were based in Melbourne three appear to have been involved. Joseph D'Amer Drew can be met in a number of Orders as a seeker of high titles in as many fields as possible. As mentioned, Parnell, the preceptor of the Pembroke Preceptory, was Deputy Grand Master in the new Grand Lodge and, presumably, not adverse to the possession of high titles either. John Peter Cederberg played no major part in any of the degrees.

There is some doubt as to whether these knights applied to the local Provincial Prior for a warrant and, assuming they did, whether he forwarded the petition to London. As Lowry was the Provincial Prior and as he had, in his capacity as Provincial Grand Master in the Mark degree, obviously endorsed the petition for the Metropolitan Mark Lodge for the same group of brethren, it is most likely that he would have endorsed a similar petition in Knight Templary. It is possible that Lowry met with more opposition in the Knight Templar Order but William Lamonby, the Victorian correspondent for the London *Freemason*, was to throw out a hint that a petition did reach London. He complained, in relation to the Order of the Red Cross of Constantine, that the renegades had been granted a warrant with no questions asked while they had been rightfully refused in Knight Templary. As mentioned Shadwell Clerke held high office in the Order and was more than well acquainted with the basic facts of the Craft dispute. He was not holding high office in the Order of the Red Cross of Constantine.

The petitioners did not give up easily and for their next attempt we turn to *The History of Knight Templary in South Australia*. For the year 1886 we read the

following:

'Early this year a very interesting event took place: Sir Knight Dr. Bulmer, Sir Knight Darton (formerly a member of this Preceptory), and some other Knights (members of the Pembroke Preceptory in Melbourne) residing in Victoria, having, I presume, had a disagreement with some of the members of the Victorian Provincial Priory, requested our V.E. Provincial Prior to forward a petition to the Great Priory for a warrant to enable them to open a Preceptory at Apsley, a small township in Victoria, near the South Australian border, and in the meantime to issue his provisional warrant so that they could open without delay. They further stated that if any doubt arose in Sir Knight Boucaut's mind through Apsley being over the border they were willing to meet at Bordertown.'

On 26 January Boucaut sent a reply to Bulmer to the effect that the petitioners being residents of Victoria, wherever they might have decided to meet, such a warrant was outside his powers and would be highly disrespectful to the Provincial Prior of Victoria. The provisional warrant suggestion, however, raises one interesting point and one is left to wonder why Lowry did not issue one.

So Bulmer and friends applied to Canada.

In 1888 the Supreme Grand Master of the Sovereign, Great Priory of Canada made the following pertinent statement.

This Great Priory allowed itself to be biased by Australian brethren, who on being refused by the local authorities and the Great Priory of England to establish a Preceptory there, as a last resource brought their grievances before the Great Priory of Canada, where they had personal friends, urging their claims as Colonists, on the plea that as there was no immediate governing independent Grand Body in Victoria, they had a right to it.

The reference to the local authorities who had refused the application presumably applied to the South Australian attempt although the dates do not really match up. It is difficult to imagine a direct application being made to London if Lowry had refused to recommend the petition but there is a slight indication that this did happen.

Around the same time the Canadian Chairman of Foreign Correspondence made the following comment. (Perhaps it should be stated that England had just issued an edict of non-intercourse with Canada over this very issue and the comments which were made could well have been a little more acid than normal:)

Our action was correct and proper, even according to American precedents ... To attempt to bolster up the aggrandizing and arbitrary policy of the Grand Bodies of England, ill befits any citizen of the great Republic, whose noble sons sacrificed everything - even life itself - to secure that liberty which some of their degenerate

descendants are now unwilling should be attained by others.

The state of Templarism in Australia was disgraceful to the Order and every one who knows the facts will justify our action by every principle of knightly honour. It was also strictly in accord with Masonic law and precedent. The territory was unoccupied. Every Templar body in it had ceased to exist. The consideration shown by the Great Priory of England towards its subordinates in that far-off region had been so beneficent that they had all silently mouldered away.

Every effort to establish the Order on a firm basis was thwarted by open hostility from abroad, and concealed treachery from purchased minions at home. Local self-government was the only remedy and this was Masonically obtained.

These were definitely harsh words, probably much harsher than were necessary or even factual. Canada was, at the time, having problems with England over Victoria in the royal arch degree as well and the Canadians were most incensed by the English claim that Canada, or its Grand Bodies, had no right to operate outside Canada and that the only Grand Bodies which could establish private bodies in any of the colonies were those of England, Scotland and Ireland. (England possibly would have denied the other two as well if this had been believed possible.)

The statement by the Chairman of Foreign Correspondence is most enlightening as we can see that Canada had been informed that all of the local bodies were dead and there is the implication that a petition had reached London and been denied.

It does appear from the dates that the Victorians applied to Canada before they made their unsuccessful attempt to enlist support from the Provincial Prior of South Australia and that the warrant was already on the way before the latter application was made.

Although the required seven names appeared on the warrant only three - as mentioned above - were recognisable as Victorian masons, three others probably were not while the seventh, Daniel Spry, was the Canadian Grand Chancellor and never in Victoria. We must conclude that at least one, and probably four of the petitioners never attended a meeting.

Daniel Spry was quite a strong willed mason and his name on the petition carried great weight. On 1 December 1885 the Supreme Grand Master issued a dispensation to a number of Canadian and other knights - this is the wording, or part thereof, of a motion passed in England - and the Great Priory issued the warrant on 13 July 1886 thus allowing the Metropolitan Preceptory to be formed.

J. Ross Robertson in his *History of the Knights Templar of Canada* made the following comment after examining the record of the Annual Assembly which granted the warrant.

‘The Fraters, there, however contended, and justly, that England by her neglect had forfeited all such claim, and that Victoria possessed no governing Templar body. Under the circumstances they were justified in applying to any Sovereign Templar Body that might be pleased to comply with their wishes, the territory in which they resided being strictly neutral.’

In December 1886 Canada received a letter from England containing the text of four resolutions which had been passed by the English Great Priory. England protested against the infringement of its jurisdiction, requested the immediate withdrawal of the warrant, ordered the members of the Pembroke Preceptory to in no way recognise the members of the illegally constituted preceptory and warned that if the warrant was not recalled within three months, England would sever all connection with, and in the future refuse to recognise, the Great Priory of Canada.

To reply to this letter the Great Priory of Canada was forced to call a Special Assembly as it was meeting only annually. This was held on 25 February 1887 in the absence of the Grand Master who had sent a letter to explain his inability to attend. Grand Master W.J.B. MacLeod Moore had been Provincial Prior while Canada had been under the English Constitution and now found himself torn between two loyalties, and two allegiances, but there is no evidence to suggest that he was other than unavoidably prevented from attending.

He stated that it was entirely a misapprehension on his part to grant the original dispensation - in Melbourne, South Australia, incidentally - and he would not have thought of doing so if representations had not been made that the Order was dormant and the chances of reviving it were very slim as great difficulties were placed in the path of every attempt. It was an error of judgement, on his part, not to have referred the matter to England to discover whether sole jurisdiction was claimed and on what grounds. The Special Assembly was to allow for the fullest possible consideration of the matter and to relieve Canada from all appearances of undue interference with England.

Moore had, by this time, decided that he had been wrong in issuing the dispensation. On another occasion he wrote:

In the Colony of Victoria, an independent Great Priory, founded by the Great Priory of Canada, exists, which has caused the old kindly relations between the Mother Grand body and Canada to be severed from a misapprehension, in the first instance, that concurrent jurisdiction still existed there.

Moore might have changed his mind, for partly correct reasons, but the bulk of his Great Priory were not to agree with him.

After considerable discussion had taken place at the Special Assembly Robertson moved a long motion. It revolved around Canada's right to the same privileges as were possessed by any other part of the Empire, including England, and it made a reference to the attendance at the meeting which appears to have been very sparse. The motion also deferred any decision until the next annual assembly of the Great Priory of Canada and it requested all preceptories to instruct their representatives how to vote.

An amendment wanted the warrant to be withdrawn as it had been issued under a misapprehension and the fraters concerned to be issued with certificates of recommendation to the Great Priory of England in order that they might obtain a warrant from that body. This amendment was lost and a second amendment, that the matter be referred to Moore for such action as he might deem proper, was also defeated.

The original motion was then passed.

England, hearing of the motion and that only thirty members had been present at the Special Assembly, deferred any action until September.

The Canadians met again at their annual assembly in July and not only refused to accede to the English but promptly granted two further warrants to the Victorians. Said Robertson:

The issue of two more warrants to Australia was not only a final and effectual reply to England's demand, but was regarded as an emphatic protest against the assumption that in Templar matters at any rate, it did not own the universe.

Robertson makes no pretence that the issuing of these two warrants was for any other reason than to allow the Victorians to form their own sovereign body.

The petitioners for these two warrants were definitely Victorian Grand Lodge brethren. There were ten signatures for the Daniel Spry Preceptory and including five duplications for the Australasian Preceptory. Both warrants were granted on 12 July 1887.

A State of Dissension

Apart from the legality, or illegality, of all of the above proceedings, the issuing of the warrants calls into attention the state of Knight Templary in Victoria at that time. Presumably it was a very exclusive body, and it does appear that it was rather difficult to become a member of the Pembroke Preceptory. There is no evidence that the Preceptory ever did go into abeyance although the natural

reluctance with which the Victorian masons tended to pay their dues to England may well have suggested that it was not in work. (It took a long time to convince the mason of Victoria that the decision by the United Grand Lodge of England in 1863 not to require annual dues from lodges overseas applied only to the Craft lodges.) England did not comment on this reluctance and the Preceptory was under the threat of suspension. On the other hand, Victoria did not inform England of what was occurring in any of the degrees or Orders, and in Knight Templary in particular neglected to tell London of the demise of the other two Preceptories.

In Canada a committee of the Grand Council was appointed to take under consideration the turmoil created by the issuing of the first warrant. It presented a report which admitted nothing and, in effect simply hoped for a satisfactory solution. A motion to defer the application for the two new warrants for twelve months was defeated by a large majority.

A long motion was passed which asserted that Victoria was masonically unoccupied beyond the Craft degrees - hence covering the Royal Arch as well as Knight Templary, while effectively recognising the Grand Lodge of Victoria, a touch which Shadwell Clerke would not have appreciated - and that Canada, being an independent Grand Body, was entitled to the same privileges as other such bodies. The issuing of the warrant broke no masonic law and no other jurisdiction had been invaded. The Canadians did not believe it to be consistent with their profession to sacrifice principle to expediency, they regretted that it was impossible to agree with the views of England and they could not withdraw the warrant.

An amendment, which was defeated, would have accepted England's claim to have a prior chartered Preceptory in Victoria upheld the principle of Exclusive Territorial Jurisdiction, and stated Canada's willingness to withdraw the warrant but felt that as a number of Companions had been installed in good faith and without a knowledge of the facts, Canada was not justified in withdrawing the warrant unless the members of the Metropolitan Preceptory accepted, and England granted, a warrant and English certificates were issued.

If this happened the warrant would be withdrawn. It was probably just as well that this amendment was lost as England would never have agreed to the Canadian conditions.

A further amendment, more logical and simpler than the first, to see if England would accept the Victorians under the English Great Priory before taking any further action, was also lost. (It is interesting to note the Canadian reluctance to

use the full title of the Great Priory of England and Wales and the Dependencies of the British Crown. The last part had not been added until 1864.)

Moore, while not unprepared for this decision, was more than a little upset and he deplored the action as it would cause an edict of non-intercourse to be issued.

This was the end of Canadian participation in Victorian Knight Templary but perhaps we should round out the story. The expected severing of the fraternal ties duly came but they were restored a few years later. Moore stuck to his guns to the last, claimed that England had acted on erroneous premises and deplored the relegation of the Great Priory of Canada to a purely local role while the similar body in England was entitled to enter unoccupied territory whenever it liked.

The expected severing of masonic intercourse occurred in London on 6 December 1887 and Moore showed that he conceded that there were faults on the Canadian side as well. He deplored the fact that the Canadian Great Priory had continued in its determination even after it had been shown that the non-existence of preceptories arose from those which had formerly existed being temporarily suspended for not sending returns, and not erased. He stated that he had pointed this out to the Great Priory and had fully expected that body to correct his error. (There is a definite parallel between events in this order and in the Royal Arch. One wonders just what tales were being sent to Canada as the Canadian leader in each Order was to deplore his original action of granting the warrants.)

Later on in his Allocution Moore commented, prophetically:

The day has gone by when a clique of any Masonic Grand Body can dictate to the whole Empire.

He also felt that Canada had no alternative but to recognise the Great Priory of Victoria which had, by that time, been formed.

The Canadians had had very little chance of reversing any decision which was made by England. Canada had three elected representatives on the Grand Master's Council and Court of Appeal and one of these three was Colonel Shadwell Clerke while a second had resigned. Clerke was most definitely not the ideal person to be the custodian of Canadian interests in any situation which involved members of the Craft Grand Lodge of Victoria and he, more than anyone else, probably ensured that the Canadian protests and explanations were not accepted.

The Great Priory of Canada eventually decided that it was far more productive to live in peace and, in 1892, wrote to London with the information that the Preceptories in Victoria were now out of its jurisdiction and that Canada had no intention of issuing warrants for any other territory than Newfoundland. In May 1894 England resumed fraternal intercourse with Canada and, in relation to Victoria, stated that the Great Priory had a Provincial Priory in existence there but no knowledge of any Victorian body.

A Sovereign Great Priory of Victoria

The knights in Victoria wasted little time in accomplishing their main aim which, incidentally, helped Canada considerably in overcoming the difficulties being faced with England. On Wednesday 14 December 1887 the three Victorian Preceptories united into a Sovereign Great Priory of Victoria. The driving force was supplied by the Metropolitan Preceptory under the leadership of its preceptor Eminent Frater York Bramwell. (The Victorians had adopted the Scottish (and Canadian) custom and title of 'frater' for the members of the Order.)

The initial meeting had occurred on 25 October in response to a newspaper advertisement which had been supplemented by circulars issued by a committee appointed by the Metropolitan Preceptory. The three Canadian preceptories were represented by delegates but the others stayed well clear. As this meeting occurred a little over three months after the granting of the second and third warrants - Daniel Spry and Australasian - it is obvious that the Victorians had planned almost from the beginning to form a local Grand Body. This also explains why the lead came from the Metropolitan Preceptory and it is quite possible that the meeting had been foreshadowed even before the two new Preceptories had settled into work as the warrants did have to be printed and sent out from Canada and, as mentioned, a little over three months only had passed.

With George Talmage in the chair, and York Bramwell as secretary, the meeting unanimously decided to form a Sovereign Great Priory.

On 14 December the Metropolitan Preceptory was opened for the express purpose of forming the Great Priory and Past Preceptor Talmage – who must have attained this rank in an English preceptory - assumed the chair. The record of the proceedings which had led to the gathering was read by York Bramwell and David Munro was enthroned as Most Eminent and Supreme Grand Master. The apparently fascinating spell which Munro appeared to have woven over the Victorian seceders is a little hard to understand,

particularly from this distance. It was, in any case, a spell which Munro himself was soon to dispel. Many names from the list of seceders in the Victorian Craft appear in the more prominent of the high Offices, and Joseph D'Amer Drew appears to have received the conferred rank of Past Grand Master at this inaugural meeting. (It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Drew was the Victorian with contacts in Canada although there is the nagging thought that Bramwell may have played a fairly large part.)

The Victorian masonic press had paid little attention to the affairs of Knight Templary during its evolution and it does appear that the few local masons who were aware that the Canadian warrant were being, or had been, issued were not interested in making a fuss. This could have originally been due to a belief that the templar answer would have been the same as the Mark degree answer, that the Great Priory could not prevent any of its members from following the course they thought correct in the Craft. This would have prevented the Pembroke Preceptory from excluding Parnell and Drew from their mother Preceptory while no Knight Templar action was occurring, but the formation of the new Preceptory under a Canadian warrant produced an entirely different situation. England then moved quickly and decided that the Canadian body was not to be recognised.

The Pembroke Preceptory appears to have been at a low ebb, or perhaps it would be fairer to state that it was not a strong body - it had twenty members including Parnell and Drew in 1884 although this was not an overly a small number for the times - and matters were complicated by the inauguration of the Grand Lodge of Victoria as its Preceptor was associated with that body. Perhaps there was some truth in the claim that the Pembroke Preceptory was a dying body but it certainly was still in existence and the suspension, or threat of suspension, for non-payment of dues was rarely treated as a serious matter in those times. There is also a sneaking suspicion that the Preceptory either stopped meeting entirely or met without informing Parnell or Drew until Parnell's year of office was completed.

From the remarks of Moore on future occasions it appears that his reference to local authorities refusing a warrant did not in his mind mean those in Victoria, as he continued to refer to the preceptories as being in Victoria, South Australia and through ignorance or some slight misapprehension he could have believed that the approach to the Provincial Prior of South Australia was the legitimate course for the Victorians to adopt. The dates, however, suggest that the application to South Australia occurred after Canada had issued a dispensation but probably before Victoria heard that it had been issued. We can only

assume that the local Provincial Prior, Lowry, who was a silent supporter of the seceders, had privately informed Bulmer, Drew and company that there was no hope of obtaining a warrant through him as such attempt would be stopped by other knights in the state. (Lowry may have met determined opposition in the Mark degree as a result of his recommendation of the Metropolitan Mark Lodge petition for basically the same group and the non-consecration of that body, even though a warrant had been granted by England, could have been due in part to a number of brethren discovering the fact after the petition had been forwarded to London and applying pressure to Lowry to prevent the lodge from being born. In Knight Templary John James, the Deputy Provincial Prior, would have fought hard to prevent any further splits in masonic allegiance in this state.)

This could well have been the refusal which the Victorians communicated to Canada while the more publicised effort in South Australia was the one which became fixed in Moore's mind and allowed him to work from a curious error of fact.

Of course a further reason for the lack of press objections on the local front could well have been due to the fact that newspaperman William Farquharson Lamonby, who was extremely pro English rule, was not a member of the Knight Templar Order.

The first comment in the local press appeared soon after the second and third warrants had been granted. The *Victorian Freemason*, the organ of the Craft seceders and thus of the Canadian Knights Templar, commented that at the time the Canadian warrants were granted two of the English Preceptories had been dead for over seven years while the third was under suspension and it was only after the Canadian warrant had been obtained that some of the dues were paid to lift the suspension. This paper, while always reluctant to print material which was not in the best interests of the Craft seceders, does not appear to have been given to printing material which it believed to be incorrect and it does appear that the general belief - though not necessarily the true state of affairs - throughout the colony was that the Pembroke Preceptory was under suspension. For evidence the writer referred to page 9 of the report of the Great Priory of England for 1886, and claimed that this meant that the territory was unoccupied, one of the major points of contention being just the opposite.

The only letter which was any real value, and much of this was of little use, came from the pen of a certain 'Beauceant' and was printed in the *Australasian Keystone* in April 1888. He claimed that an application was made to Canada because there was only one Preceptory in Victoria and it was very difficult to

become a member as it was either dormant or suspended. He added that ten knights in good standing, not expelled as erroneously and slanderously reported, applied to Canada and obtained a warrant. The Great Priory of England believed that the Pembroke Preceptory had ceased to work and Clerke, in communication with Canada, had acknowledged this, with the additional comment that the Preceptory had since been revived.

Beauceant's letter is more than a little unfortunate in that some of his statements do not agree with official records and this, in consequence, must throw doubts on some of his other comments. His claim of ten knights in good standing applying for the first warrant tends to suggest the second Canadian Preceptory rather than the first and, in regard to the first warrant, we can only wonder where the applicants were members so that they could be in good standing particularly if the Pembroke Preceptory, of which at least two were members, was under suspension. There is, unfortunately, no confirmation of the statement attributed to Shadwell Clerke.

If the Pembroke members had been under suspension at the time that the first warrant was granted, this would surely have been brought out very strongly during the Canadian debates and the warrant would certainly have been withdrawn as Moore would have had sufficient grounds on which to do so. England certainly considered the Pembroke Preceptory to be active when the resolutions of complaint were passed late in 1886, and if there had been trouble between the Preceptory and the Great Priory there would have been grounds for England to add the additional complaint that a warrant had been issued to knights who were under suspension. No such complaint was made by England.

Perhaps we should really attribute the granting of the warrant to a little misrepresentation which Moore claimed had happened - and an understandable desire on behalf of the Canadians to hit back at the libellous attacks which were made a few years before by the Craft opponents of the petitioners for the warrant on the standing of Canadian masons in general. Reading between the lines both Moore and Mason - in the Canadian Grand Chapter - appear to have arrived at similar decisions, to grant dispensations on erroneously supplied material and to have second thoughts soon afterwards only to discover that the members of the respective Grand Bodies, in open assembly, refused to allow the decisions to be altered.

There is a clue to the inactivity of the Pembroke Preceptory in the *Victorian Masonic Journal* report of August 1886 to the effect that the Preceptory met only when there was business of importance to attend to. It is almost certain that it was very exclusive in regard to the admission of candidates, and it is

apparent that the lack of activity during the period under discussion was due to a lack of suitable candidates. Apart from the obvious reason for the formation of the new Preceptory - that the Craft seceders were not welcome in the old - it is also likely that the Order was being considered as one which was open only to mature masons and, as such, would not have admitted the relatively young and inexperienced masons who were to join the Canadian bodies.

It is interesting to note, however, that between 1886 and 1888 the Pembroke Preceptory experienced a rather sudden influx of new members.

A Quiet Period

Sovereign Great Priory of Victoria remained in existence until early in the 20th century and, although there is not a great amount of information in regard to it, we can obtain a fair idea of the success or otherwise of this branch of Knight Templar masonry. One could readily assume that the Order was poised to grow at a rapid rate as the fourth Victorian Constitution Preceptory was consecrated on 27 March 1888. However this, the Victorian Preceptory, was the last to be formed and an examination of the officers of the various preceptories shows that - as in the lodges under the Craft Grand Lodge - there was quite a large amount duplication.

(It should be mentioned that a few articles on Knight Templary in Victoria have referred to a Duke of Albany preceptory. No such body ever existed. It was first mentioned in an article in the *Victorian Craftsman* in the 1930s by the then oldest knight living recalling his early years in Co-masonry. His memory had played him false and the recollection was corrected in a later article but the damage had obviously been done.)

Two of the four Preceptories undoubtedly continued in work until the Great Priory was disbanded while the other two, Daniel Spry and Victorian, continued to annually install Preceptors although whether or not any other meetings were held during the latter part of their existence is not known. Daniel Spry himself, incidentally, was given the rank of Honorary Past Grand Master by the Victorian body.

The list of Grand Masters (of the Sovereign body) tells a story in itself. Munro was succeeded on 28 March 1889 by Archibald Aitken who had just been invested as the first Senior Grand Warden of the United Grand Lodge of Victoria- and he, in turn, was followed by Copeland, Collis, Williams, Oldfield, McKinnery, Tompsitt and Weedon, with most of these serving in office for more than one year. While some of these brethren had shown on more than one occasion that they were not deterred by the fact that the

constitution which they were joining - in various Orders - was considered to be slightly less than regular than the others, and in particular the last two, would not have joined any body if they believed it to be disapproved of by England.

The rank of Past Grand Master was handed out with something approaching gay abandon as, apart from the already mentioned Drew and Spry, Henry Robertson was so honoured in 1894, Davis, Main and Wright received the rank in 1895 and Moir also was a recipient some time prior to 1895.

William Davis, formerly of the Pembroke, was Preceptor of the Daniel Spry Preceptory in December 1891. The obvious conclusion to draw from this piece of information is that the English Knights Templar in Victoria had no doubt as to the legitimacy of the Victorian Sovereign body and it appears that, as far as the Pembroke Preceptory was concerned, London had issued only one edict of non-intercourse. This letter is dated 15 December 1887 and was received by the preceptory on 8 February 1888. Part of the letter reads as follows:

The passing of this resolution by the English Great Priory will render obligatory on the Preceptories in Victoria, and elsewhere under English rule, and the members thereof, not in any way to recognise the Preceptory, or Preceptories established in Victoria by the Great Priory of Canada or any of the members thereof as Knights Templar, and not to visit any of these Preceptories, or to receive as visitors any of the members thereto. The severance of connection and withdrawal of recognition extends to the Preceptories in Canada and the members thereof in the case of Knights journeying from or to that country.

The curious point in that passage is the absence of any mention of the Sovereign Great Priory of Victoria. Presumably if London had waited a further month or so then word of the new body would have reached England from Canada if not from Victoria. It is worth mentioning again that the London letter to Canada of May 1894 contained the statement that England knew nothing of a Victorian body.

The formation of the United Grand Lodge of Victoria in March 1889 had removed the slur on the brethren of the old craft Grand Lodge of being irregular masons and automatically eliminated one of the major points of opposition to the Victorian Constitution preceptories. The above letter specifically referred to preceptories of Canadian derivation and, although it may now appear to be somewhat peculiar logic, it is not beyond the realm of possibility that a number of Knights Templar would no longer see any objection to the Victorian bodies. It could have been reasoned that the uniting of the Craft had not only eliminated the irregularity of origin of the Grand Lodge of Victoria initiates - a point which was unanimously accepted - had also eliminated the irregularity of origin in all other degrees and Orders, thus

allowing the conclusion to be reached that the Great Priory of Victoria was now an acceptable body. (Unfortunately no one bothered to ask London if this was a correct conclusion.) The men who had begun their Masonic life after 1887 or thereabouts would have been unable to see any reason as to why they should not join the Victorian Constitution knights at labour.

Thus in the first class we have the already mentioned William Davis and the upright pillar of English loyalty William Trench Clifford Kelly of the *Australasian Keystone*, while in the second class were men of the calibre of Henry Tompsitt and Sir Henry Weedon.

Tompsitt, a member of Pembroke, joined the Australasian Preceptory in September 1893 and one can feel quite sure that neither Davis nor Tompsitt would have gone anywhere near these bodies if they believed them to be considered irregular by England.

By the middle of the 1890s the Pembroke members were visiting the other Preceptories in reasonable numbers and there had been, apparently, some visiting on a more limited scale before this. It should be mentioned that, from their inception, the Victorian Preceptories had been working the Priory of Malta - effectively the second degree of the Order - and this could have been one of the main early attractions as the Pembroke Preceptory was not allowed to work the Malta degree until March 1894. There had been quite an amount of correspondence between London and Melbourne on this matter and the difficulty had always been, from England's point of view, to find sufficient knights in Melbourne to initially work the degree. This does lead to the curious possibility that these sufficient knights may well have been gained with the assistance of the Victorian Preceptories.

In regard to the Sovereign Great Priory of Victoria, however, this does not constitute the end of the tale as far as degrees are concerned and we must now consider the interesting story of the Red Cross degree.

Red Cross Degree

Many of the proponents of the Sovereign Victorian Grand body were undoubtedly degree seekers or collectors and were willing and eager to embrace every possible degree they could. Victoria had been receiving reports of the activities of degrees in the Canadian Grand body, and these made reference to the American Knight Templar system which included the degree known, among other titles, as the Red Cross of Babylon, as a necessary preliminary to the degree of Knight Templar. While the Canadians refused to consider this to be a true templar degree - as its legend was Persian and not Christian - the

Preceptories were given permission to confer it to simplify matters in regard to visits to America. The Victorians had not hesitated to confer the degree as well and it was being worked as early as July 1886. However Grand Master Moore, in his innocence, made a remark which most likely set the Victorians to thinking. Moore remained consistent in this rejection of the degree from Knight Templary but he usually managed to refer to the Red Cross of Constantine degree as being one which could be legitimately included.

In 1892 Canada made the Red Cross degree mandatory but issued no definitive statement as to which degree was meant. Articles printed in the Victorian masonic press in regard to this matter also failed to make clear which degree was meant.

The logical conclusion to reach is that the Victorians, no slouches where extra degrees and titles were involved, decided to work both degrees in the local preceptories. (Presumably as a Sovereign body they determined they could include any degree they wished.) The only real direct evidence for this conclusion is a report by Jarrett in *Masonry* - which incidentally neglected this Order almost entirely, as Jarrett could not have been a member - that the Eminent Preceptor of the Daniel Spry Preceptory had been installed the previous February 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. A photograph of the gentleman concerned showed him wearing the jewel of the Constantine Order.

Indirect evidence, which will not be introduced here, allows us to fairly conclude that the Preceptories worked, or at least conferred, all of the listed degrees.

The Sovereign Great Priory of Victoria was never a particularly strong body. It was, after all, historically the wrong time to attempt to develop any body to any level of strength. In October 1898 a meeting of knights was held to informally discuss the position and the future working of the Order. Informal suggestions only were all that was required. One of these suggestions was most interesting, and tends to indicate a reason why the Order was not progressing and it also calls into attention the manner in which it was being conducted. It was suggested that the Book of Constitutions be printed and circulated to all members. Preceptories, it was suggested, should meet at stated periods at least four times a year and arrangements should be made to ensure that at least one of the Preceptories was meeting each month. It is probable that by this time the Daniel Spry and the Victorian Preceptories were meeting on very limited occasions.

The End of a Sovereign Body

The Sovereign Great Priory of Victoria was effectively finished on 8 December 1899 when England determined that it was not a regular templar body and prohibited all intercourse with it. In May 1900 the three British templar bodies met and Scotland and Ireland agreed with England.

It does appear that England had been unaware that the Victorian body had remained in existence. (There is a slight possibility that England was not aware that it had been formed and may have been under the impression that the settling of all of the problems in the craft and to a lesser extent the royal arch had caused it to be disbanded.) England never actually issued an edict against the Victorian body as such, had informed Canada in 1894 that it had no knowledge of such a body, and may, it must be admitted, never have realised that it had been formed. The correspondence between Canada and England could have led to the interpretation that Canada had dissolved its Victorian preceptories and that they had ceased to exist.

Reading between the lines, it is reasonably easy to determine the full story of what occurred and one can but imagine the horrible shock which was received by a few Victorian masons. Davis would not have joined the Victorian (K.T.) Constitution in 1891 if he had had any doubts as to its legitimacy. Nor would Tomsitt have in 1893.

In 1899 Tomsitt had just experienced a period of time during which he had been extremely careful to ensure that everything was done in the formation of the local Grand Mark Lodge and in which he had played a leading part. It appears that he sailed for England soon after its successful culmination - Tomsitt was to spend much of the remainder of his life in England and endeavoured to visit Preceptories in his capacity as Supreme Grand Master of the Sovereign Great Priory of Victoria. While the existence of this body appears to have come as a complete surprise to the English it would have been nowhere near as horrifying to the English authorities as it was to Tomsitt, who now found that he was not only a member but the leader of an unrecognised and irregular body.

Tomsitt apparently set immediately to work to solve the problem as the existence of the Victorian Knight Templar body apparently delayed the recognition of the new Grand Mark Lodge. The Australasian Preceptory appears to have ceased to meet as soon as the news reached the state as it held its last meeting under the Victorian (KT) Constitution on 31 October 1900.

Strangely the whole question was kept very quiet in Victoria and Jarrett, who

rarely missed anything newsworthy, did not report the edict of non-recognition until September 1901 at which time the Pembroke members were still visiting the Victorian Preceptories. Perhaps all were completely fed up with masonic controversy and Tomsitt, with the agreement of the English authorities, had decided that the matter could be settled quickly, easily and quietly. Then again, Jarrett was not a member of the Order and he displayed no more than passing interest in the degrees he had not taken.

England surely did not want any more trouble with Victoria and Tomsitt may well have been able to convince the English authorities that an honest mistake had been made, especially if he listed the names of some of the brethren who had joined Victorian Constitution Preceptories, and the comments of the Grand Master in December 1901 indicated that he would prefer to see an easy path opened to allow the Victorians to be absorbed into the English Constitution.

The Metropolitan Preceptory continued to meet - as did apparently the Victorian and Daniel Spry - and Tomsitt remained as Grand Master until the annual meeting of 1902 when he was succeeded by Weedon. The Great Priory remained officially in existence but, again, this could have been with tacit approval so that there would not be any break in templar activity as it was obvious that, in this case, almost all of the members had joined in complete ignorance of the true state of affairs.

In May 1903 the English Grand Master was reporting that two warrants had been issued to Victoria and, as far as this state itself was concerned, the whole debate was over when the Australasian Preceptory met as No. 175 on the English register on 29 July, while the Metropolitan Preceptory met as No. 176 in September. (Both warrants were dated 27 December 1902.)

The Great Priory of Victoria and the Pembroke Preceptory were both represented at the latter meeting and the local Grand body was allowed to quietly die. Its other two constituent bodies had decided that it would not be practical for them to remain in existence and no warrants were issued for them. Jarrett reported that Tomsitt, in London again in October 1903, was to receive some distinguished honour for the work he had done, and he became a Knight Commander of the Temple in December of that year. The local Provincial Prior, John Roberston, who had succeeded John James, had attained the same honour on St. George's Day 1900.

No comment was officially made about the two other Preceptories passing quietly out of existence but it does appear that they had been meeting very

rarely, possibly only annually, and officers were duplicated with other Preceptories. The installation of Barker, mentioned before, in February 1900 in the Australasian Preceptory, was followed a mere ten months later by his acceptance of the position of Preceptor in the Daniel Spry Preceptory.

Thus ended the last area of conflict in Victorian masonry, the last legacy of a conflict which had begun some twenty years previously, and there was still no real need for three Preceptories. The Red Cross degrees were officially discarded by the ex-Victorian bodies - although unofficially the Red Cross of Constantine degree may have been retained for a while - and Pembroke had been working the Malta degree since 1894, but the Metropolitan Preceptory was given special permission to continue with its Canadian ritual for that degree, which it still works to the present day.

In 1909 Pembroke and Australasian decided in separate and then conjoint meetings to merge. The latter returned its warrant and the name of the new combined body became the Pembroke Preceptory of Australasia.

A Slow Growth - with Sidetracks

Templar activity now proceeded to become conspicuous by its absence. Sir Henry Weedon became Provincial Prior in 1912 - and somewhere along the line the rank of Past Provincial Prior was conferred on Joseph D'Amer Drew, thus implying some measure of respectability in his work - and was succeeded by Thomas Lambert in 1920. But it was not until 1924 on the consecration of Ballarat Preceptory that Victoria was to again to have more than two Preceptories in work. As was only to be expected the petitioners for the new Preceptory were all members of the Melbourne body - in this case Metropolitan - but the sixty years which had passed permitted this body, unlike its Ballarat predecessor, to become successful. The new Preceptory discovered one relic from the past in the Volume of the Sacred Law with the name of the old Encampment and the date 09.

In relatively quick succession the Ballarat Preceptor was followed by the Earl of Stradbroke, warranted in April 1927, Geelong four months later, Star of the Valley in Shepparton in May 1928, Ivalda in Darebin in September of the same year. (The name Ivalda is the name of the temple in which the preceptory meets. It had been built to serve the suburbs of Ivanhoe, Alphington and Darebin and the name is derived from the first two letters of each suburb.) Then Werrigar at Warracknabeal in December 1929 and Western in Warrnambool the next month. (January 1930)

Sixteen years were to pass before the tenth preceptory was formed. It would be

easy to assume that this sudden growth was the natural result of the upsurge of interest in masonry which followed the first world war. The Royal Arch degree was growing quite nicely which meant that more and more available candidates were arriving on the scene and the time was probably opportune for many of these companions to extend their masonic interest into the Christian degrees. By the same token the path to the chair in the Craft, Mark and Royal Arch degrees was no longer short and the interested and enthusiastic mason no longer found himself immediately in office. He was thus able to divert his available excess energy into further degrees and Orders.

However there is a little more to the story than this, and it would be fair to comment that Knight Templary had been rather neatly promoted with more than just the growth of a province in mind. For the first clue we must retreat lightly to the early part of the 1920s. The following is extracted from the history of the Westralia Preceptory meeting in Perth:

During 1923 and 1924 the question of a Great Priory of Australia was under discussion and V.Em.Kt. Gurr visited London and Edinburgh for this purpose. These efforts came to nothing, chiefly due to differences of opinion in Australia.

Gurr was the Provincial Prior of South and Western Australia.

A meeting of representatives of Knight Templary from all of the Australian states was held in Melbourne and the Victorian contingent appears to have been the stumbling block as they held very strongly to the idea of separate Great Priories for each state, a view which the other states and apparently London and Edinburgh did not subscribe to. Consequently the idea of an Australian Great Priory had to be quietly buried. Undoubtedly one of the drawbacks to separate Great Priories in each state would have been the very small number of private Preceptories which each would have ruled over.

In July 1926 Thomas Lambert attended the installation meeting of the Metropolitan Preceptory and stated that he wished to see a Preceptory in every principal city and town and in the back of his mind must have been the meeting which had occurred a few years previously.

Twelve months before, also at the Metropolitan installation, he had suggested the need for more preceptories. William Stewart - the Craft Grand Secretary - followed Lambert with the claim that a Sovereign Great Priory was needed in Victoria, and he was convinced that England did not want any Provincial Priories. He may well have been partly correct. England may happily have dissolved the Provincial Priories in Australia but only for the formation of an Australian Great Priory. Stewart felt that some enthusiastic knight should do some organising.

It is possible that finding no enthusiastic knights around Stewart himself attempted to do something about it. He is strongly suggested as the driving force behind the formation of the Earl of Stradbroke Preceptory and this originally restricted its membership to Grand Officers of one or other of the various degrees. It may well have been in the back of Stewart's mind that such a body could work towards a local Great Priory and, because of the obvious masonic qualifications of its members, stand a very good chance of convincing England that its ideas were correct.

On the night of the consecration (Earl of Stradbroke 1927) Lambert again brought forward his theme of increasing the Knight Templar population in Victoria and went a step further by indicating, or alluding, to the fact that with a few more preceptories it might be possible to establish a sovereign body in this state. He felt that an Australian Great Priory was an impracticality as the seat of such a body could be too far distant from other parts of the country.

The story of the proposed Great Priory received considerable space in the *Victorian Craftsman* and we see Sharman copying Jarrett to some degree in that he produced some highly critical journalism in regard to the inactivity of the local leaders. Shannan treated the Craft, Mark and Royal Arch kindly, probably because the Grand Bodies for those degrees were local and in full control, but, like Jarrett, he attacked hard in areas where he did not feel he was restricted.

A number of the speakers at the Earl of Stradbroke consecration directed remarks towards the establishment of a local Great Priory. Lambert evidently adopted the view that the remarks were a lead for him to give an indication of his feelings.

He was strongly opposed to an Australian body and he used a number of arguments including the one mentioned above.

Sharman claimed that as far back as the Ballarat consecration in November 1923 Lambert had given the idea encouragement and his warmest support. This had probably led to the formation of new preceptories to allow this to be accomplished - and we note that the number increased from two to nine in seven years - and he stated that it was known England was favourable. (This may have been based on the report which Gurr brought back, but it does appear that England would only favour an Australian body.)

On 1 March 1929 Sharman wrote a leader on this topic. It was possibly in response to a comment made by William Player Bice as Preceptor of the Earl of

Stradbroke Preceptory during the previous year. He had then stated that a Great Priory of Victoria might be in sight and possibly would be inaugurated in 1929.

Lambert was now putting forward the suggestion that Grand Officers might be forced to suffer hardship because of the country preceptories, the very bodies whose formation he had strongly encouraged. He died soon after and George Emery was the only nomination to succeed him. At his installation in March 1930 he was asked a rather embarrassing question and, in May, Sharman waxed highly critical. The question was in regard to a Sovereign Great Priory and Emery informed the questioner that the matter could not be discussed.

It was now brought into the light that some months previously a ballot paper had been issued to each knight in the state in order that a personal vote could be recorded from every member of the Order and a similar expression of opinion was required from each preceptory as a whole. Sharman claimed that all except one preceptory had been in favour and he strongly believed that the individual votes from each knight had shown an overwhelming majority to be in favour. Nearly a year passed and no results had been published:

A wilful attempt to star-chamber Freemasons cannot be pardoned and it would appear that a conservative minority are purposely withholding the result of the vote.

One can safely conclude from that comment that Sharman was not impressed by the state of affairs at that time. He must have found some sympathetic supporters as a leader in August 1930 saw him release the detail of the voting. At the July installation of the Metropolitan Preceptory Emery, possibly stirred into action by a fair amount of resentment, disclosed the voting figures which Sharman was to publish. The by now twelve month old poll had shown that out of 253 knights 145 had been in favour, 10 had been against and 98 had 'acted indifferently' by not voting. He stressed this last point possibly because he desperately needed justification for his lack of action. Sharman remained unimpressed as he felt that the failure to vote was always considered as a vote in favour - he had ample precedent for this claim as the arch conservative Kelly had held similar views back in 1888 when the United Grand Lodge in the craft was under discussion- and this left the voting at 14 to 1 in favour. Even if the non-votes were taken as a negative there was still a large majority of the knights who desired a local Great Priory.

(It is possible that the Victorian mason had finally learned their lessons from the past and that no move would be taken unless there was a definite show of unanimity. Masonic peace had taken a long time to arrive in this state and no one wished to disturb it again.)

Emery had stated at the time that he was speaking in an unofficial capacity and Sharman stressed this point. The Provincial Sub Prior, John W. Robertson - the son of an earlier Provincial Prior - made the same claim and promptly trotted out the tired old 'cutting the painter' line as, according to him, the idea did not meet with English approval. As far as Sharman was concerned the vote had been taken and the Great Priory had to be formed. If his journal had not stirred up the matter and made a few demands nothing whatsoever would have been produced. The issue had been side-stepped with 'effrontery'. He also asked how each of the preceptories had voted and he wanted to know why these figures had not also been produced. He wanted the figures immediately and he stated that the disapproval had merely been given unofficially. He did not, apparently, get them.

Sharman left the question entirely alone - perhaps under direction - until February 1937 when he wrote a leader which revolved around English to discontinue the District Grand Mark Lodge. He commented that he had strongly advocated a Great Priory some years back, that a vote had been taken which had shown an overwhelming majority in favour of such a body but that the vote had been 'ignored for sentimental reasons'.

(In August of that year he printed the already mentioned brief history of the Order by the oldest knight in Victoria which was mainly incorrect. It more or less forced Robertson to write an article for the next issue to supply the corrections. Researchers are advised to read the second article as well as, or in preference to, the first.)

Emery's speech had had the apparent effect of quieting everyone down, Sharman's demand notwithstanding, and nothing public was heard until November 1934 when Emery stated that England favoured an Australian Great Priory but 'it was not conversant with the geographical difficulties'.

One assumes from this that some communications had passed back and forth between London and Melbourne and, at last, the core of the difficulty which had been hinted at in the past was brought out into the open. It does appear that England would have accepted an Australian Great Priory but would not agree to separate ones in each state and while one or more states held firm to completely localised control there could not be a Grand body formed. We can now see why it was possible for conflicting statements about England's approval or otherwise could be made and we can also see that England was still not convinced about the size of Australia.

Forty years ago an Australian Great Priory was an impracticality. It is

interesting to note that the sudden increase in the number of preceptories came to a complete stop once the idea of a local Great Priory had been killed as no new bodies were opened until after the Second World War. It is of course possible that the original upsurge was really an aftermath of the First World War, but all of the evidence suggests that this was not the case.

Emery was succeeded by John W. Robertson in June 1938 thus giving Victoria the unique experience of having father and son both accepting the office of Provincial Prior. He was followed some fifteen months later by A.A. Thomas.

It could be assumed that the end of the Second World War would have seen a rather rapid increase in the Order as this had happened in a number of other Orders. The tenth preceptory, St. Kilda - its name was later altered to St. John - was formed in 1946 but it was a further nine years before three more were formed; the last in honour of the approaching centenary of Knight Templary in Victoria.

The members of the original Preceptory experienced a little difficulty in convincing London that the warrant was actually granted on 7 May 1857 and that the preceptory had remained in continual work but diligent research by Em Kt. Thomas Muggridge enabled the necessary proof to be gathered and the Pembroke Preceptory of Australasia received a Centenary Warrant.

Thomas was succeeded, as Provincial Prior, by William Arthur Wright, George Cameron Kingscott, Rupert Frederick Dane Anderson, Eric Chester McKaige and the present Provincial Prior, Keith Albert McLaughlin (1970s), who rules over a Province which contains seventeen Preceptories.

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חרשים

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PRESIDENT'S PAGES

The time has come for another edition of Harashim to be published and the Editor has again asked me to contribute a President's message. Again, I have delayed the distribution of Harashim by taking my time to produce this message. I apologise for this.

When I was elected President at the Dunedin Conference, I was delighted. It was my intention to add some things useful to ANZMRC during my term. I found that the duties of a President are not clearly specified in the constitution, except that it is his responsibility to appoint replacements for vacancies on the committee. My intention was to do more than that but I have found this difficult to do.

My first idea was to try to advocate and instil an interest in masonic research among the Freemasons of New Zealand and Australia who were not already interested in research. I did this by advertising in Harashim that I was open to attend both live and online meetings for this purpose. I also advertised this idea at a number of lodge meetings I attended. This was not at all successful because none invited me to give a presentation on masonic research.

My next idea was to run monthly meetings which any mason could attend, especially members of ANZMRC, but I did a couple of things that were not supportive of this idea, in that I forgot about the first meeting and later confused the various times with some jurisdictions adopting daylight summer time and other not doing so. The Secretary of ANZMRC gave me good advice that I should talk on a specific topic and that he would advertise this. I chose to talk on various ways that I had gone about masonic research.

The meeting was held in November but it was doomed before it started. My forgetfulness and confusion regarding times not conducive to a successful meeting. One who attended stated that he was not there to listen to a talk but to complain about ANZMRC. These complaints I am sure resulted of my previous errors. When that part of the meeting was over, I intended to give my talk but the comment was made that all present were researchers so there was no need for me to tell others how I went about my research. I attempted to do so but I must admit that I was put off to some extent by what had happened earlier in the meeting. I inadvertently omitted much of what I was to say. I tried to log onto a meeting in December in case some thought the monthly meeting but the logon attempt was not successful. I apologise to anyone inconvenienced by my attempts to institute monthly zoom meetings. I feel there is not much

point in continuing with them unless enough contact me to convince me otherwise

I would like to do something to advance ANZMRC during the remaining time of my term as President. One of the Vice Presidents has mentioned to me that he also wants to do something during his term. During the years that I was Vice President, I too was not asked to do anything. Perhaps this is something that I can introduce, namely that Presidents and Vice Presidents are given tasks during their terms of office. If you have any advice or ideas, please do not hesitate to contact me by email (david@slaters.id.au) or by telephone (+61 4 0637 6324 or +61 2 6254 1874).

The aims of ANZMRC, as listed in the constitution, are:

1. To promote Masonic Research and education within Freemasonry on an inter-jurisdictional basis.
2. To act as a liaison body between its affiliated Masonic research lodges and chapters.
3. To organise any research lodge conference which its affiliates may sanction.
4. To organise and coordinate any national tour by a Masonic speaker as its affiliates may require.
5. To publish the proceedings of its conferences, and any other Masonic research publications its committee may approve.

It would be best to suggest something that would result in some contributions to these aims.

As I have delayed the distribution of the December 2023 issue of Harashim to within a week of Christmas, I wish you and your families all the best for the festive season and beyond. I sincerely hope that I will be able to do something worthwhile for ANZMRC during the remaining part of my term as President.

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

PRINCE HALL ON WIKITREE

Bro Tony Pope has been researching Prince Hall Freemasonry since 1984 and presented his first paper on the subject ten years later, **‘Our Segregated Brethren, Prince Hall Freemasons’** (first published in the *Proceedings* of the second biennial conference of the Australian Masonic Research Council as the 1994 Kellerman Lecture for South Australia, and in the same year serialised in *Phylaxis*, the quarterly magazine of the Prince Hall research group, the Phylaxis Society). In 2004 he presented **‘Prince Hall Revisited’** to the Victorian Lodge of Research #218 (first published in *Masonic Perusings*, the annual Transactions of the lodge), and in 2009 presented **‘Brothers under the skin’** at a symposium in Turkey at the invitation of the Grand Lodge of Turkey, as part of its centenary celebrations. (published in Turkish and English in *Freemasonry and Brotherhood*).

These three major papers and two others which were addressed to Prince Hall Freemasons, **‘Why bother with overseas recognition?’** (*Masonic Voice*, quarterly magazine of the Dr Charles H Wesley Masonic Research Society, Ohio, 2001) and **‘Wider Horizons’** (*Phylaxis*, vol.XLI no.1, 2014), are all available on PDF at <https://linfordresearch.info/research-papers-by-author/>.

In 2015 Bro Pope was introduced to Bro John Hairston (Harmony Lodge #2, Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Washington) by a mutual friend, Bro Ralph McNeal (Phylaxis Society). Bro Hairston gave Bro Pope a ‘final draft’ of the book he was writing, ‘Landmarks of our Fathers, a critical analysis of the start and origin of African Lodge No.1’, and invited comments. This resulted in several weeks of intensive correspondence, described in the acknowledgements of the book published the following year (at page 24): ‘To Tony Pope, who grilled me with the intensity of an inquisition, I am appreciative and grateful. Without his questions, the work would not have been as extensive as it is.’ The book was reviewed in *Harashim* in January 2017 (Issue 73 p.12), at <https://linfordresearch.info/periodicals/>. Bro Hairston’s skill and perseverance in researching and writing this book was matched only by his courage in publishing it.

In 2020 Bro Pope sought a different audience for the story of Prince Hall. A couple of years previously he had joined **WikiTree**, a genealogical website with a difference. WikiTree supports the concept of a single World tree, where no genealogist (amateur or professional) *owns* a family tree, but where ancestors are linked and shared, and all statements of fact are (ideally) supported by reliable sources. An individual ‘profile’ may be ‘managed’ by an individual, or jointly by several individuals, or in special circumstances by a team, and access

is free to all. Bro Pope located a profile of the Freemason and Abolitionist Prince Hall, managed jointly by an individual and a team, the 'US Black Heritage Project WikiTree'. The data was sparse and, although it was sourced in some detail, some of it was incorrect. He contacted the managers and, with their approval, completely re-wrote the biography, and added a hyperlinked 'Free Space' page where he discussed the Masonic aspects of Prince Hall's life and the details of African Lodge. The text was approved, and an editor skilled in the WikiTree format and stylesheet enhanced the presentation of the text, added hyperlinks, and changed Australian spelling, punctuation, etc. to conform with US usage. For the publication of these twin articles the author has done his best to remove these changes, to comply with the *Harashim* stylesheet.

A BIOGRAPHY OF PRINCE HALL

<https://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Hall-32351>

Introduction

Prince Hall was an active member of the abolitionist movement in the Boston area in the final quarter of the eighteenth century. During the same period, he was also Master of a lodge of black Freemasons, known as African Lodge. From this lodge grew an organization now known as Prince Hall Freemasonry, which remained separate and segregated from "mainstream" Freemasonry until late in the twentieth century.

Birth

It is not known where or when Prince Hall was born, or who his parents were. No contemporary record of his birth has been located.¹ Subsequent events, and accounts of his life and activities, indicate that he was born no earlier than 1735 and no later than 1748.

Newspaper reports of the death of Prince Hall in December 1807 refer to him as 'aged 72', which would indicate that Prince Hall was born in 1735, but in a deposition sworn by Prince Hall less than four months before his death, he stated that he was aged about 70, indicating a birth date of 1737/8. The deposition, sworn on 31 August 1807, also reveals the occupations and early religious affiliation of Prince Hall:

I, Prince Hall of Boston in the County of Suffolk, Leather Dresser and Labourer, aged about seventy years, do testify and say that I was well acquainted with the Rev'd Andrew Crosswell, a minister of the Gospel in Boston who preached in the brick meeting house in School Street in sd. Boston, now taken down. I was a member of his church, being in full communion

therewith, for a number of years, having been received into the same in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty two in Nov'r and I continued a member of the same church in full communion therewith & partaking the sacrament there until the said Rev'd Andrew Crosswell died ...²

Enslavement and Freedom

There is no dishonour in being slaves. There is dishonour in being slave owners. But let us not think of honour and dishonour in connection with the past. Let us realize that the future is with those who would be truthful ...
~ Letter from Mahatma Gandhi to W. E. B. DuBois, 1929.³

In *Prince Hall Life and Legacy*, Charles Wesley published a photograph of part of a handwritten document, which he titled 'Prince Hall's Manumission Paper, April 9, 1770', beneath which he gave a printed transcript.⁴

A very slightly different transcription, by John M Sherman, Grand Historian of the 'mainstream' Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, had previously been published in the *Philaethes* magazine in April 1963 under the heading, 'Copy Of Old Notarial Records Are Interesting', with the explanation, 'The document, taken from Price Notarial Records 1769-72, Cat. #MSS-L8 reads as follows:

This may Certify it may Concern that Prince Hall has lived with us 21 Years and Served us well upon all occasions for which Reasons we Maturely give him his freedom and that he is no longer to be Reckoned a Slave but has been always accounted as a Freeman by us as he has Served us faithfully upon that Accompt we have given him his freedom as Witness our hands this Ninth day of April 1770.

William Hall

Witnesses:

Susannah Hall

Margarett Hall

Elizabeth Hall's mark.'⁵

Sherman adds the following note:

William Hall mentioned in the document, and from whom Prince Hall received his name, was first President of the Charitable Irish Society (1776) and every year on May 30th, the Society places a wreath on his grave in the old Granary Burying Ground, Boston. Margarett Hall was his wife. They had four children, Margarett 1748, William 1750, Thomas 1752 and Susannah 1757, two of whom witnessed this document. It is interesting to note that Prince Hall, set free just a month after the Boston Massacre, was married in Gloucester on August 22, 1770 to Flora Gibbs.⁶

There were several men named Prince Hall in the Boston area in the second half of the eighteenth century. IF this manumission document refers to Prince

Hall the Freemason, it is important to note that it is evidence only of the fact that he was a slave for 21 years, until 9 April 1770. It is not evidence that he was born into slavery, or that he was not free when he was initiated into Freemasonry.

Marriages

At least five women married a man named Prince Hall in the Boston area between 1763 and 1804:

On 2 November 1763: ‘Prince, neg. svt. William Hall & Sarah, neg. svt. Francis Richie.’⁷ (Sarah died in 1769 and was buried at Copps Hill; engraved on her headstone were the words ‘Here lies the body of Sarah Ritchery Wife of Prince Hall died Feb. the 26th 1769 aged 24 years’).⁸

On 22 August 1770: ‘Prince Hall of Boston and Flora (Gibbs) of Gloucester Married by Rev. Samuel Chandler.’⁹ (They had a son, Prince Africanus Hall, baptised on 14 November 1784 at New North Church, Boston.)¹⁰

On 14 August 1783: Prince Hall to Affa Moody, married by Rev. Simeon Howard.¹¹

On 28 June 1798: Prince Hall to Naby Ayrault, married by Rev. John Eliot, DD.¹²

In 1804: Prince Hall to Zilpha or Sylvia, married by Rev. Joseph Eckley.¹³

Employment

As stated in his deposition of 1807, Prince Hall was a leather dresser and a labourer. It may be noted that William Hall (c1696–1771), who manumitted a servant or slave named Prince Hall in 1770, was himself a leather dresser by occupation,¹⁴ and that Grimshaw, whose distortion of history has been clearly revealed by Wesley, Walkes, Roundtree, Hairston and others, states that Prince Hall was placed as an apprentice to a leather worker (in Barbados, West Indies) at the age of 12.¹⁵ Firmer evidence is a bill of sale for five drumheads delivered to Colonel Thomas Crafts’ regiment of artillery during the Revolutionary War,¹⁶ delivered and invoiced by Prince Hall, receipted by Drum Major James Ross, and countersigned on 28 May 1777 by Major J. Sivan. The total cost was thirty-nine shillings, averaging almost eight shillings per drumskin.

We lack evidence of his second occupation, as a labourer and whether he was also a soldier at any time will be considered later, because it is closely linked with the complicated story of his Masonic career. See more in ‘Prince Hall and African Lodge’ (below).

Towards the end of his life, Prince Hall gained an outstanding reputation as a caterer. Apparently he specialized in 'turtle feasts'. Wesley reports two such feasts:¹⁷

July 11, 1801. A Turtle Feast of the Marine Society at Osgood's in South Fields. The Turtle was given by a gentleman in Havana. The clergy was invited. Our chief cook was Prince Hall, an African, & a person of great influence upon his Colour in Boston, being Master of the African Lodge, & a person to whom they refer with confidence their principal affairs. The Clergy was introduced to him, & the principal gentlemen took notice of him ...¹⁸

... for a turtle feast, there was one outstanding expert, Prince Hall. A tall, lean Negro of great dignity, he always carried himself with the air of one who ruled many. Indeed he did, for whenever a well-to-do person wished the best catering job in eastern Massachusetts, he sent word to Prince Hall in Boston, and when the time came he appeared with a dozen of his black men, or two dozen, if the banquet was a large one.¹⁹

Abolitionist Activity

Prince Hall's innate intelligence is evident from his words and actions, but where and when he acquired formal education is not known. His correspondence reveals careful calligraphy and wide vocabulary, but with some transposition of syllables ('regutalions' for 'regulations') and a tendency to spell some words phonetically ('at the sine of the golden flees'). Evidently he had access to a well-stocked library, and made good use of it. Almost certainly he came under the influence of the abolitionist minister Revd Andrew Crosswell and other members of the Congregational church in School Street, in downtown Boston, from as early as 1762.

Prince Hall realized not only the need to persuade legislators and other influential people to support the abolition of slavery, but also the need for a 'traditional history' for people who had lost their historical links along with their freedom. He saw the Church and Freemasonry as twin bases from which to work towards these ends, and used them both to gain further influential contacts. Historical records of his abolitionist and related activities begin in the second half of the 1770s, and continue until a few months before his death in 1807.

On 13 January 1777 the Council and the House of Representatives received a petition on behalf of 'a great number of Negroes who are detained in a state of slavery in the bowels of a free and Christian country' asking for a law to free the children of such slaves, who were born 'in this land', when the children reach the age of 21 years. Prince Hall's name is among the signatories,²⁰ as are the names of three others who are also on Masonic records dated 1779–1781:

Lancaster (Lanchester) Hill, Bristol Hinsen (Brister Slenser), and Peter Bass (Best, Betts).²¹

Ten years later, on 4 January 1787, the General Court (both houses of the state legislature) received a petition from a large group of blacks, requesting that they be returned to Africa. The signatories were a 12-person 'committee' (including Prince Hall and other members of African Lodge: Lanchester Hill, Brister Slenser and Boston Smith) and many others.²²

Neither of those petitions was successful, but a third petition submitted on 27 February 1787 had a better result, with a little help from friends. Three free black men, including a member of African Lodge, had been lured aboard a ship in harbour, which set sail and took them to the West Indies to be sold as slaves. Prince Hall wrote a petition to the General Court. This was followed by a petition from Quakers, asking for measures to be taken for preventing the slave trade. The Boston Association of Ministers asked for a total abolition of slavery.²³ In consequence, the release of these three men and their return to Boston was ordered, but meanwhile, they had gained a measure of freedom on the island of St Bartholomew, thanks to the Masonic connection. Historian Jeremy Belknap tells the story:

The Negroes who were kidnapped from here last winter have returned. They were carried to St. Bartholomew's and offered for sale. One of them was a sensible fellow and a Freemason. The merchant to whom they were offered was of this fraternity. They soon became acquainted. The Negro told his story. They were carried before the Governor, with the shipmaster and the supercorps. The story of the Negroes was that they were decoyed on board under pretense of working. The story of the other was that they were purchased out of jail, where they were confined for robbery. The Governor detained them. They were kept within limits, in which a gentleman of the Island was bondsman for them for six months, in which time they sent for proof, which arriving, they were liberated. The morning after their arrival here, they made me a visit being introduced by Prince Hall, who is primus inter pares of the blacks in this town...²⁴

The legislative result was 'An Act to prevent the Slave-Trade, and for granting Relief to the Families of such unhappy persons as may be kidnapped or decoyed away from this Commonwealth', framed in 1787 and effective from 26 March 1788.²⁵

African Lodge

Details such as when, where, how and by whom Prince Hall was made a Freemason, whether or when he was a soldier during the Revolutionary War, and when African Lodge was formed, are all disputed. These details are

considered in some depth in the article 'Prince Hall and African Lodge', below. Suffice it here to state that African Lodge existed before 15 January 1779,²⁵ under the mastership of Prince Hall, without a charter or warrant from any Grand Lodge. It was named 'African Lodge No.1'.²⁶

After the war, in a letter dated 2 March 1784, Prince Hall requested the aid of a Brother William Moody in England to seek a charter from the Grand Lodge of England.²⁷ With Moody's assistance, he was successful. The warrant was signed on 29 September 1784. Thus, on that date African Lodge No. 459 of Boston was authorized as an English lodge, with Prince Hall as Master, Boston Smith as Senior Warden, and Thomas Sanderson as Junior Warden.²⁸ The arrival of the warrant was delayed by difficulties in delivering the necessary fees to the Grand Lodge in London,²⁹ but eventually the document was received by Prince Hall in May 1787.³⁰ It is now in the care of the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Massachusetts.³¹

Intermittently, Prince Hall wrote letters addressed separately to the Grand Master, Deputy Grand Master, and Grand Secretary, sometimes enclosing donations to the 'Grand Charity', and sometimes providing lists of new members, and names of deceased brethren. Some correspondence and donations were lost in transmission, but at least ten letters have been preserved in the archives of the Library and Museum of Freemasonry in London, England.^{32,33} Sadly, few replies were received from England.

Prince Hall served as Master of the lodge until his death in 1807, but received no other honours from the Grand Lodge of England. Various claims have been made that he was appointed Grand Master, or Provincial Grand Master, and that African Lodge No. 459 became a Grand Lodge prior to 1827. These are erroneous, and will be ignored in the biography, but examined in 'Prince Hall and African Lodge'.

In November 1786, several months prior to receipt of the warrant from England, Prince Hall wrote on behalf of the lodge to the Governor of Massachusetts, wealthy merchant James Bowdoin, expressing the willingness of the lodge members to support the Commonwealth of Massachusetts 'so far as our weak and feeble abilities may become necessary'.³⁴ Hall was referring to the demonstrations by members of the farming community which escalated into Shays' Rebellion, but Bowdoin did not respond to this offer of assistance.

During part of the year 1789 Prince Hall had a house guest, the Revd John Marrant, recently arrived in Boston from preaching in Nova Scotia. Hall initiated Marrant in African Lodge, and appointed him Chaplain of the lodge.³⁵ On St John's Day, 24 June 1789, the brethren of African Lodge held an

open meeting in Boston,³⁶ and Brother Marrant preached a sermon which was subsequently published and widely distributed.³⁷ He returned to England in 1790, and died the following year.³⁸ In later years (1792 and 1797) Prince Hall delivered 'charges' to the brethren, in similar vein, at St. John's Day celebrations, which also were printed and distributed.³⁹

When Prince Hall wrote in November 1791 to the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of England, making his annual report of the activities of African Lodge 459 of Boston, he included in his list of newly-made Masons one from Providence, Rhode Island, Cato Mumford.⁴⁰ If the Grand Lodge received annual returns over the next few years, they were not acknowledged, and have not been preserved. Prince Hall wrote again in May 1797 and provided a list of initiates from 1792 onwards, which included four more from Providence.⁴¹ What he neglected to mention was that he supplied them with a copy of the English warrant, as 'authority' to meet as African Lodge 459 in Providence.

The idea that African Lodge could be cloned, to meet in places other than Massachusetts, had evidently spread far and wide. In March 1797, Prince Hall received a letter from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, addressed to 'Mr Hall, Master of the African Lodge', on behalf of eleven (named) black Freemasons, requesting a warrant or a dispensation to enable them to meet as a lodge in Philadelphia, 'under' African Lodge.⁴² Prince Hall agreed, giving them a temporary 'permit' or 'licence', followed by a copy of the English warrant, to work as African Lodge 459 of Philadelphia.⁴³

Subsequent correspondence to the Grand Secretary, from Prince Hall (20 May 1798 & 15 June 1802) and from Nero Prince (16 August 1806), makes no mention of the lodges in Providence and Philadelphia.⁴⁴ Prince Hall died on 04 December 1807 and was succeeded by Nero Prince as Master of African Lodge.⁴⁵

Death

Prince Hall's death on 4 December 1807 was recorded in local newspapers; they give his age as 72, but they do not state their source, or where he was buried.^{46,47}

Extract from *Columbia Centennial* dated Saturday 5 December 1807:

DEATHS. Yesterday morning, Mr. Prince Hall, age 72, Master of African Lodge. Funeral on Monday afternoon at 3 o'clock from his late dwelling house which his friends and relations are requested to attend without a more formal invitation.

Extract from *Boston Gazette*, dated Monday 7 December 1807:

DEATHS. On Friday morning, Mr. Prince Hall, aged 72, Master of the African Lodge. Funeral this afternoon, at 3 o'clock from his late dwelling house in Lendell's Lane, which his friends are requested to attend without a more formal invitation.

Extract from *Independent Chronicle*, dated Monday 7 December 1807:

DEATHS. Mr. Prince Hall, aged 72, Master of the African Lodge. Funeral this afternoon, at 3 o'clock from his late dwelling house in Lendell's Lane, which his friends are requested to attend without a more formal invitation.

At an unknown date an unidentified person engraved an epitaph to Prince Hall on the back of the gravestone of Sarah (Ritchery) Hall at Copps Hill. This was the subject of a comment by John Sherman in the *Philaethes* magazine of June 1962:

THE INSCRIPTION on the head-stone of the grave of Prince Hall's wife, Sarah Ritchery, in the Copp's Hill Burying Ground, Boston, was given under item 1317 p71 in *Graveyards of Boston v1 Copp's Hill Epitaphs*, by William H. Whitmore, Boston Record; Commissioner, published 1878 ...

The epitaph to Prince Hall, which is on the reverse side of the headstone of Sarah Ritchery's grave, reads as follows:

Here lies ye body of PRINCE HALL first Grand Master of the colored Grand Lodge of Masons in Mass. Died Dec. 7, 1807

How could Whitmore have missed this unusual inscription when he compiled his book of epitaphs, published in 1878, and which was considered to be so complete and accurate in detail? In 1879, Elwarl MacDonall, Superintendent of Copp's Hill, published a guide book to the cemetery and vicinity,⁴⁸ which described the objects of greatest interest, but Prince Hall's epitaph was not mentioned in this either. However, in the second edition of MacDonald's guide book, revised in 1882, and subsequent issues, the statement is made, 'About five feet from the Edes tomb lies the remains of Prince Hall, first Grand Master of the colored Grand Lodge of Masons in Massachusetts.' Could some one have added this inscription around 1880 when the Prince Hall Masons were beginning to think about having a Centennial Anniversary of African Lodge, No. 459, in 1884? At any rate, they were very careless in inscribing the date of Prince Hall's interment on the stone and giving it as the date of his death. The official city Death Records and the newspaper death notices all give his death as 4 December 1807.

When Prince Hall died, 4 December 1807, he was survived by his widow, Sylvia Hall, who was appointed administratrix of his estate, 8 August 1808. (*Suffolk Registry of Probate*, vol. 106, p. 394). The record of Prince

Hall's marriage to Sylvia Johnson, on 28 June 1804, appears on page 254, of reference. Sylvia Hall died in Boston, 3 December 1836, age 88 years.⁴⁹

In 1895 the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Massachusetts erected a monument to Prince Hall at Copps Hill Burial Ground. Charles Wesley's book, *Prince Hall Life and Legacy*, has a photograph of it as frontispiece. A very brief history of the burial ground may be viewed at

<<https://www.interment.net/data/us/ma/suffolk/copps-hill-burying-ground.htm>>.

This website also contains an alphabetical list of graves 'acquired from the City of Boston's cemetery database on 13 June 2016', which includes two persons named Prince Hall, but none named Sarah Hall, Sarah Richie or Sarah Ritchery.

Conclusion

Joseph A. Walkes, Jr, in *Black Square & Compass*:

In order to measure the greatness of Prince Hall, one must review the written documents left by him, his petitions to the Senate and House of Representatives of Massachusetts, his Letter Book and his Charges to African Lodge. There has not been on the American Masonic scene, or in the pages of its history, so unique a Black Freemason as Prince Hall. His lack of a formal education, his bondage, and the racial conditions of the time merely enhance the character of this outstanding individual. His many accomplishments must be viewed in this light and his achievements in overcoming all of these handicaps, and the abuses, mistreatment and often viciousness that was heaped on him, his lodge, and later the fraternity he founded, is more than proof that Prince Hall was indeed *The Master*.⁵⁰

Sources

1. Joseph A. Walkes, Jr., *A Prince Hall Masonic Quiz Book*, (Richmond, VA: Macoy 1989) p.1.
2. Joseph A. Walkes, Jr.: *Black Square & Compass* (Richmond, V: Macoy 1979) p.7 with full transcript of the deposition, given on behalf of John Vinal (1736–1823). *Suffolk County Registry of Deeds* v221 p.10:
31 August 1807, Prince Hall Grantor - Deposition of Prince Hall
Concerning John Vinal, member of the Church of the Rev.
Andrew Croswell on School Street.
3. *The Correspondence of W.E.B. DuBois*, v1; edited by Herbert Aptheker (University of Massachusetts Press 1973) p.402; quoted in Walkes, *A Prince Hall Masonic Quiz Book* pp.3&17.

4. Charles H. Wesley, *Prince Hall Life & Legacy* (Washington, DC: United Supreme Council SJ, PHA 1983) p.15.
5. Transcription of the text in Wesley's photograph; whole text, including the signatures, appears to be in the same handwriting, which is consistent with being a personal record by the notary, Ezekiel Price (1727-1802).
6. *Philalethes*, April 1963.
7. *Boston Marriages 1752–1809* (Boston Record Commissioners) p.422.
8. Walkes, *Black Square & Compass* pp.5&13.
9. *Boston Marriages 1752–1809* (Boston Record Commissioners) p.229 (Gloucester).
10. Wesley p.141.
11. Wesley, p.141.
12. Wesley p.141.
13. Wesley, p.141 citing *Journals of Congress* v2 p.26; and his own publication *In Freedom's Footsteps* (1969) pp.86, 87.
14. *Philalethes* June 1962 by Sherman.
15. William H Grimshaw, *Official History of Freemasonry among the colored people in North America*, (New York, NY: Broadway Publishing Co. 1903) (digitized by Internet Archive in 2016 with funding from Duke University Libraries <<https://archive.org/details/officialhistoryo01grim/>>) p.69.
16. Massachusetts State Archives; a clear image is available in Hairston's *Landmarks of our Fathers* p.84.
17. Wesley pp.88–90.
18. *The Diary of William Bentley, D.D.* v2 (Salem, MA: Essex Institute 1905) p.379.
19. Charles Haywood, *Minutemen and Mariners: True Tales of New England* (1963) pp.170–173.
20. Wesley pp.64–5; including a photographic image of the petition from the Massachusetts State Archives.
21. *Landmarks of our Fathers* by Hairston pp.66, 68 & 69 digital images; & *Masonic Research in South Australia* v1 p.149 at <https://linfordresearch.info/sa-transactions/>.

22. Wesley, pp.66, 68&70 with image from Massachusetts State Archives.
23. A. Stearns & L. Shaw, *The General Laws of Massachusetts* (1823) v1 chapter#48 p.320–1.
24. Letter from Jeremy Belknap to Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia on 18 April 1788, quoted in Wesley p.72.
25. Date of 'regulations' for the lodge, as stated by Prince Hall in correspondence to the Grand Lodge of England, original document HC 28/A/1 in the archives of the United Grand Lodge of England (and examined by Tony Pope in 2001).
26. 1783 Letter to a Mr Willis where Prince Hall signed himself 'Prince Hall, Master of African Lodge No 1, Dedicated to St. John': Upton2, p56. 'Dedicated to St. John' and 'a St. John's lodge' are phrases used to indicate that the lodge does not hold a grand lodge warrant.
27. original document HC 28/A/2, archives of United Grand Lodge of England (UGLE), viewed 2001.
28. Wesley p.49 (facsimile).
29. William H. Upton, 'Prince Hall's Letter Book' (Upton2) in *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* v13 (London, UK, 1900) p.54, correspondence Spooner—Hall, letters (3) & (4), and Moody—Hall, letters (6), (7), (9), (10) & (11) pp.57–9; Hall to the Duke of Cumberland, original document HC 28/A/3, archives of United Grand Lodge of England (UGLE), viewed 2001.
30. Upton2 p.59: letters (13) Hall to Grand Secretary (14) Hall to Deputy Grand Master & (15) Hall to Moody.
31. Wesley p.48.
32. <<https://museumfreemasonry.org.uk/catalogue>> Museum of Freemasonry - Catalogue and Collections.
33. 'Letter Book' of correspondence sent and received, maintained by Prince Hall. Upton provides transcriptions or summaries of most of these in his 'Prince Hall's Letter Book'.
34. Upton2 letter (8) p.58.
35. original document HC 28/A/7, Hall to DGM Holt, archives of United Grand Lodge of England (UGLE), viewed 2001.

36. 'Prince Hall's Letter Book' p.60; assumed by Upton to be in Faneuil Hall, whereas Hinks (p.106) opts for John Vinal's schoolhouse on Mason Street, but does not cite a source.
37. Upton2 p.60, letters (20) to Selectmen of Boston re Faneuil Hall & (23) re sermon; Joanna Brooks, 'Prince Hall, Freemasonry, and Genealogy', (analysis of the sermon) at <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2901249> and also in *African American Review* v34 #2 pp.197–216 (2000).
38. Upton2 p.60, letter (27) Hall to Lady Huntingdon; Walkes (1) p.26 re death of Marrant, citing Kaplan, Sidney: *The Black Presence in the Era of The American Revolution 1770-1800* (Washington DC, 1973) p.99.
39. Upton2 p.61 Letters (29) & (31) re: 1792; Wesley pp.110–19, text of 1797 charge; Brooks (2), analysis of both charges.
40. original document HC 28/A/10, UGLE archives, viewed 2001.
41. original document HC 28/A/12A, UGLE archives, viewed 2001.
42. Upton2, pp.61–2 Letter 34.
43. Upton2, pp.62–3 Letter 35.
44. original document HC 28/A/12A, UGLE archives, viewed 2001; Upton2, p. 63, Letters (36), (37) & (38).
45. Upton2 p.63.
46. Wesley p.142.
47. Walkes, *Black Square & Compass* p.3.
48. *Old Copp's Hill and Burial Ground, with historical sketches* 1883 edition; with Superintendent's correct name of Edward MacDonald.
49. *Philaethes* magazine (June 1962) for article by John Sherman.
50. Walkes, *Black Square & Compass* p.12.



PRINCE HALL AND AFRICAN LODGE

https://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Space:Prince_Hall_and_African_Lodge

Introduction

This is an addendum to the more general 'Biography of Prince Hall' (above).

For general information about Freemasonry, its organisation and terminology, please refer to <https://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Space:Freemasonry> and the links given there.

Initiation

There are two main versions of when, where, and how Prince Hall was initiated into Freemasonry, and each has its adherents. One depends on contemporary oral history, with some support from documents and later research; the other relies on what appear to be contemporary documents, supported by recent research. Both are outlined briefly, below.

Version A

The traditional account of the initiation of Prince Hall and others is based on a letter from the Boston-born clergyman and historian Jeremy Belknap (1744–1798) to Judge Henry St George Tucker (1752–1827) of Virginia in 1795:

... he is Grand Master of a Lodge of Free Masons composed wholly of blacks and distinguished by the name of African Lodge. It was begun in this town while it was occupied by the British Troops in 1775, some of whom held a lodge and initiated a number of blacks. After the peace they sent to England and obtained a charter, under the authority of the Duke of Cumberland and signed by the Earl of Effingham.¹

One hundred years later, Judge William Upton and two other senior members of the (white) Grand Lodge of the State of Washington had cause to investigate 'the legitimacy of the Masonry existing among the negroes of America'. In his quest for truth and accuracy, Upton travelled the breadth of the continent, to Massachusetts and elsewhere, to view original documents. In May 1899 he found three manuscript documents, among others, in the possession of members of John T Hilton Lodge, of Lynn, Massachusetts, the most important of which Upton calls 'Prince Hall's Letter Book', a bound volume of about 300 foolscap pages in Prince Hall's handwriting. Upton created a condensation of this book, a mixture of summaries and verbatim transcripts of individual letters, which he published in 1900.² Later researchers appear to

have relied exclusively on Upton's published work rather than the original book.

Upton's report to his Grand Lodge (1899) includes the following:

The origin of Masonry among the negroes of the United States was as follows:

'On March 6, 1775, an army Lodge attached to one of the regiments stationed under General Gage, in or near Boston, Mass., initiated PRINCE HALL and fourteen other colored men of Boston into the mysteries of Freemasonry. From that beginning, with small additions from foreign countries, sprang the Masonry among the negroes of America.'³

Which regiment? After referring to one of the documents relied on for 'Version B' (below), headed '[By] Marster Batt wose made these brothers', plus a list of British regiments supplied in an appendix to volume 1 of Henry Belcher's *The First American Civil War*, George Draffen of Newington ascertained from records of the Grand Lodge of Ireland that in 1765 Irish Lodge 441 was warranted to meet in the 38th Regiment of Foot (1st Battalion South Staffordshires), and that John Batt was registered as a member of the lodge on 2 May 1771. The warrant was returned to the Grand Lodge of Ireland in 1840. No minutes of the lodge could be found, and it was impossible to say if or when John Batt was Master of the lodge. John Batt was recorded in the Muster Rolls of the regiment from 1759 until his discharge from the British army when the regiment was at Staten Island in 1777. Ireland has no record of the registration of the men initiated by John Batt.⁴

How, then, did William Upton determine the exact date of initiation of Prince Hall and 'fourteen other colored men of Boston'? The 38th of Foot was in the Boston area from 1774 to March 1776, and Jeremy Belknap (in 1795) implies that the initiation occurred in the year 1775, but does not give a month or day. Although Upton does not specifically refer to the document headed '[By] Marster Batt wose made these brothers', it is possible that he saw the original handwritten manuscript when he visited Boston in the late 19th century. The document bears a date 'March 6th 177[?]', with the last digit subject to dispute.⁵

The account of another incident concerning Prince Hall in 1775 may afford some confirmation that the initiation took place prior to 17 June of that year. In a modern article about the 18th-century St. Andrew's Lodge of Boston and the Scottish Provincial Grand Master, Joseph Warren, we are informed:

One of the more interesting stories that concern Warren was his interaction with Bro. Prince Hall. Brother Hall was a free black man who wanted to form a Masonic lodge. He entered into talks with Warren who (it is said) was going to

give Hall a warrant to open his lodge. This fact is noted in the lodge minutes. Warren believed in this and, unfortunately, was killed before he gave Hall the warrant.⁶

If Warren was going to give Hall a warrant, the clear inference is that Warren was satisfied that Hall and his brethren had already been initiated into Freemasonry. Warren was killed in the Battle of Bunker Hill on 17 June 1775.

‘Version A’ has been adopted by most black American Freemasons in the 19th and 20th centuries and also by some white American Freemasons. The proportion of whites who accept this version has increased steadily since the late 1980s.

Version B

The alternative story is based mainly on a number of manuscript documents apparently compiled by Prince Hall and his followers, and preserved by their successors. These were sometimes made available to white researchers and in 1950 were microfilmed.⁵ The contents were generally used by white Freemasons to demonstrate that Prince Hall and his followers were not genuine Freemasons, and therefore should be excluded from genuine lodges. Black researchers responded by pointing to discrepancies in the documents, and deeming them unreliable.

However, in the second decade of the 21st century a young black Freemason obtained a copy of these microfilmed documents and sought digital copies of other source documents, including military records and local taxation records. He consulted appropriate publications, researchers, Grand Lodges, libraries and museums, in America and elsewhere, and came to the conclusion that the year of initiation of Prince Hall and his companions was 1778, not 1775, and that the initiation was not performed in a military lodge, but by a single individual, John Batt.

Then, in 2016, he (John L. Hairston, a member of Harmony Lodge No.2, under the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Washington) published *Landmarks of our Fathers, a critical analysis of the start and origin of African Lodge No.1*, the first of a proposed series of studies. This volume, which the author refers to as ‘The Preamble’, covers the period to 1784 and the issue of a warrant by the Grand Lodge of England.

Two of the many digital images in Hairston’s book are of great significance in determining the date and details of the initiation of Prince Hall and his companions:

One is a single page manuscript, headed 'Boston March 6 1778 [the date is clear] Entered a printices | Fellow Crafs | Marsters Maid By The wrthey and amabel Grandmaster John Batt', and divided into three columns. This document is described by Hairston as 'The March 6, 1778, Register of the members of African Lodge No.1' (shown on pages 66 & 69). It lists 'Entered Apprentices, Fellow Crafts and Master Masons' (with dates from 1778 to 1782) in several different handwritings, but some words are illegible, or difficult to read.

The other is a single page manuscript titled '[?] Marster Batt wose made these brothers' (shown on pages 103 & 129). Hairston sees the first word [?] as a capital 'G'; others have interpreted it as 'By'. This document bears a date in the top right corner, 'March 6 [blank space] 177[?]'. On the left side of the page is a list of 15 names, with Prince Hall at the head of the list. Below all this is what appears to be a financial record, difficult to read, and difficult to interpret. It might be fees paid (or owing) to John Batt for his services, and it might indicate that he initiated all 15 men listed, passed some (perhaps 7) to the degree of Fellow Craft, and raised perhaps 3 to the degree of Master Mason. The key issue is the date. Various claims have been made that the original document was altered, in modern fountain-pen ink, before the microfilm was made in 1950.^[5] The alteration is to the last digit of the year, which may have been illegible even before it was interfered with. Hairston and others see the original date as 1778.⁷

Hairston accepts the validity of the main conclusions of (white) researchers Harold van Buren Voorhis (in *Freemasonry among Colored Men in the USA*, 1974, apparently unpublished), and John M. Sherman & Henry Wilson Coil, *A Documentary Account of Prince Hall and other Black Fraternal Orders* (Missouri Lodge of Research, 1982), but goes further in establishing the whereabouts and activities of John Batt and Prince Hall in the period 1776–78. In support of his claims and interpretations, Hairston cites 18th-century sources and supplies digital images of original documents.

He shows that John Batt and a man named Joseph Dunckerley were serving in the 38th of Foot in Massachusetts in 1774. Batt remained with the regiment, and is shown on the muster rolls to have been at Halifax, Nova Scotia, on garrison duty in 1776. The regiment moved from Halifax to Staten Island, New York, and their records show that he was discharged with effect from 23 February 1777. Dunckerley, however, deserted the regiment 'since the commencement of hostilities', and joined the Continental Army. By May 1776 he was a 2nd lieutenant in Colonel Crafts' Regiment of Artillery, the same regiment to which Prince Hall delivered some drumheads a year later. In 1777,

Dunkerley was appointed adjutant in Colonel David Henley's Regiment. On 20 February 1778 he recruited John Batt to serve as a sergeant in Henley's Regiment. Dunkerley resigned in May 1778,⁸ and Batt deserted from the regiment the following month.⁹

Hairston accepts that the Prince Hall manumitted in 1770 by William Hall is the 'Masonic' Prince Hall, and states that in his will of 1771 William Hall, who was born at Medford, left Prince Hall a section of land in Medford,¹⁰ a few miles from Boston. Medford town records show Prince Hall paying town taxes as a non-resident up to at least 1779, which is consistent with his having property at Medford but residing in Boston. Medford town records also show a bounty of 60 dollars being paid to Prince Hall upon enlistment in the Continental Army on 20 June 1778 for a period of nine months, in Captain Joseph Daniels' Company of Colonel Thomas Nixon's 6th Massachusetts Regiment.¹¹ His enlistment record describes him as 'Age 30 | Stature 5-3'; his signature on receipt of the bounty is remarkably similar to that on several of the letters recorded in 'Prince Hall's Letter Book' and those in possession of the Grand Lodge of England. Private Prince Hall was discharged on 7 March 1779.¹²

The document Hairston calls 'The March 6, 1778, Register of the members of African Lodge No.1' indicates a number of degree workings in 1778 and 1779. It will be an interesting exercise to consider who could have presided at the meetings, given the military commitments of John Batt and Prince Hall, and Batt's desertion; see below.

African Lodge No.1, 177?–1784

According to tradition, Prince Hall and his companions formed a lodge called 'African Lodge No.1' on 3 July 1776, and this lodge subsequently obtained a warrant or charter from the Grand Lodge of England as 'African Lodge No.459 of Boston'. The existence of African Lodge No.1 is not disputed, but the date of commencement is contentious.

In 1784 Prince Hall drafted a letter to an English Freemason named William Moody, and in that letter he stated:

... this lodge hath been founded almost eight years . . . ,

and dated the draft 'March [?], 1784'.¹³ The letter he sent to Moody, which is now in the possession of the United Grand Lodge of England, is dated 'June 30 1784'.¹⁴ Neither the date of the draft nor the date of the actual letter contradicts the traditional date of foundation of the lodge, 3 July 1776. Indeed, they support it.

But if Prince Hall and his companions were not initiated until 1778, the lodge could not have been founded on the traditional date.

On the other hand, the two key documents which purport to list those initiated on 6 March 1778 do not have identical lists. The page headed '[?] Marster Batt wose made these brothers' dated 'March 6 [blank space] 177[?]' (the final digit is disputed),¹⁵ contains 15 names in a single column. These are often referred to as 'the immortal 15'. The other page, clearly dated 'Boston March 6 1778' has names in three columns, for Entered Apprentices, Fellow Crafts and Master Masons,¹⁶ and is named by Hairston 'The March 6, 1778, Register of the members of African Lodge No.1'. As he points out, the 1778 Register is in more than one handwriting and several other dates have been inserted beside individual names, indicating when they were 'maid marster'.

The 'immortal 15' (allowing for spelling variations) were: Prince Hall, Cyrus Forbes, Bristen Henson, Thomas Sanderson, Prince Taylor, Cato Speain, Boston Smith, Peter Best (or Betts), Forten Howard, Prince Reed, John Carter, Peter Freeman, Benjamin Tiler, Cuff Bufform and Richard Tilley.

Only eleven of 'the immortal 15' can be readily identified in the 1778 Register. Eight of these eleven appear in all three columns, indicating that they have received all three Craft degrees, and bear the date when they became Master Masons. Of the three who do not appear in all columns:

Prince Hall is listed at the head of the third column, 'Grand Marster', on an illegible day and month of 1778,

Peter Freeman is listed in columns one and two, and marked 'Passed this life',
and

Cuff Bufform received only the First Degree. A later document shows that Brother Bufform was still a member of the lodge, as an Entered Apprentice, in 1787.¹⁷

Some of the names on the Register which do not appear with 'the immortal 15' are also listed as Master Masons on various dates.

If four 'immortals' do not appear at all in the Register of 6 March 1778, it might suggest that the document in which they do appear, '[By] Marster Batt wose made these brothers', was created at an earlier date, perhaps even on 6 March 1775, and that these four were no longer members of the lodge in 1778. The four not found on the 1778 Register were: John Carter, Cato Speain, Benjamin Tiler, and Richard Tilley. However, John Carter, a Master Mason, was listed as a member of the lodge in 1787;¹⁸ his omission from the 1778 Register may require a different explanation.

The 1778 Register refers to degree workings on several occasions in May (14th, 28th & 30th) and June (2nd, 20th & 23rd), but in each case the year is uncertain. As Hairston points out, when John Batt deserted from the Continental Army on 10 June 1778, he would have left Boston (and probably the colony) immediately. Prince Hall joined the Continental Army on 20 June 1778 and served until discharged on 7 March 1779, but was able to attend at least three lodge meetings during that time.

This is evident from a further document, a series of rough notes of meetings between December 1778 and 6 May 1779.¹⁹

The first of these meetings was on 2[?] December (Hairston reads it as the 29th, but others may see it as the 27th), when Prince Hall made Lancaster Hill an Entered Apprentice. Brother Hill appears in the Register of 6 March 1778 as Lanchester Hill, in the Fellow Craft column (no date) and the Master Mason column (June 23, year illegible), and held the office of Treasurer.

The second meeting held while Prince Hall was in the army was on 30 December 1778 and involved two of the 'immortal 15', Prince Reed and Richard Tilley (here recorded as Richard Tillage). Precisely how they were involved is not clear, but Bro Reed may have been made a Fellow Craft.

The third meeting was on 1 March 1779, when a brother was raised to the degree of Master Mason. His name is recorded simply as 'Quentes', but in the 1778 Register he appears as Quintes Gill.

The term 'Grand Master' is often misused, to distinguish between a Master Mason and the Master of a lodge. When African Lodge No.1 was formed remains uncertain, and whether John Batt or Prince Hall was the first Master of the lodge is equally uncertain, but the keeping of 'minutes' (however rough) of meetings is a good indication that the lodge was in existence in December 1778, and that Prince Hall at that date was Master of the lodge. Technically, in the usage of those days, he was Right Worshipful Master. But not Grand Master.

When Prince Hall wrote to William Moody in 1784, he mentioned a 'permit'. In the draft letter dated March 1784 his words were:

this Lodge hath been founded almost eight years and we have had only a Permit to Walk on St. John's Day and to Bury our Dead in manner and form.²⁰

He did not name the source of the 'permit', but others have assumed it was issued by John Batt.

In the letter which was actually sent to Moody, dated June 1784, Hall wrote:

this lodge has been founded almost this eight years, and had no warrant yet but only a permit from Grand Master Rowe to walk on St. John's Days and to bury our dead in form which we now enjoy.²¹

John Rowe (1715–1787) was a member of St. John's Lodge of Boston, under the Grand Lodge of England, and served as Provincial Grand Master from 1768 until his death in 1787. He had authority to form lodges and issue warrants. Whether Prince Hall asked him for a warrant and was refused, but was given the temporary substitute of this permit, is not known. It is clear that Prince Hall and African Lodge did not abide by the restrictions of the permit.

The main purpose of the letter to Moody was to ask him to support an application to the Grand Master and Grand Lodge of England, for a charter for African Lodge. Moody complied with the request, and a warrant was issued on 29 September 1784. There were difficulties in transferring payment for the warrant and delivering it from London to Boston,²² but in May 1787 Prince Hall proudly announced its arrival.²³

With the letters he wrote to officers of the Grand Lodge of England in response to receipt of the warrant was a copy of the lodge bylaws, signed by Prince Hall, dated 'in the Lodge Rume Boston Januery 15 5779 and in the year of our Lord 1779', and a 'Lest of the membres', signed by Prince Hall on 17 May 1787.²⁴

The date of the bylaws indicates that there was a fourth meeting of the lodge while he was serving with the Continental Army.

The list of members shows (in addition to Prince Hall) 18 Master Masons, 4 Fellow Crafts and 11 Entered Apprentices. Only nine of the 'immortal 15' appear on this 1787 list of 35 members: Prince Hall, plus seven Master Masons (Brothers Forbes, Sanderson, Henson, Taylor. Smith, Howard, Carter) and one Entered Apprentice (Bro Bufform).

The officers of the lodge were:

- Prince Hall, Right Worshipful Master;
- Boston Smith, Senior Warden;
- Thomas Sanderson, Junior Warden;
- Cato Underwood, Secretary;
- Jube Hill, Treasurer;
- John Brown, Senior Deacon;
- George Medelton, Junior Deacon;
- Richard Pollard, Marshall; and
- Ceser Spear (acting as) Past Master;

PLUS two Fellow Crafts:

- Sipeo Dolton, Clerk; and

- Pompey Eads, Tiler;
- AND two Entered Apprentices:
- James Smeeth and
 - James Horkens, Stewards.

No record has yet been found of any statement by Prince Hall of the date or surrounding circumstances of the initiation of himself and his fourteen companions. He did not refer to the event in his application to the Grand Lodge of England for a warrant or charter for African Lodge, and there is no record of any inquiry by the Grand Lodge.²⁵ Nor is there any evidence of official complaint by other lodges contemporaneously with the granting of the warrant. Any irregularities prior to the granting of the warrant were ‘forgiven’ by its issue, and Lodge 459 of Boston, under the Grand Lodge of England, began with ‘a clean slate’.

African Lodge No.459, 1784–1807

Some of the activities of African Lodge No.459 prior to the death of Prince Hall in December 1807 are described in the biography of Prince Hall, above. They include:

- the correspondence with the Grand Lodge of England between 1784 and 1806;
 - the initiation of the Methodist minister John Marrant, his appointment as Chaplain of the lodge, and his sermon on St.John the Baptist’s Day, 1789 (which was followed by Prince Hall’s ‘charges’ in 1792 and 1797);
 - the offer of assistance to Governor Bowdoin regarding Shays’ Rebellion;
 - the participation of members of the lodge in petitions regarding slavery (1777), a ‘return to Africa’ (1787), and the kidnapping of three black men, including a member of the lodge, to be sold into slavery in the West Indies (1787);
- and
- the ‘cloning’ of African Lodge No.459 of Philadelphia, and African Lodge No.459 of Providence in 1797.

The ‘cloning’ of these two lodges, in Philadelphia and Providence, presents Masonic historians with yet another problem. They can point to somewhat similar actions by early lodges of other jurisdictions, in America and elsewhere, for justification, but these do not alter the fact that Prince Hall was not authorized by the warrant for African Lodge No.459 of Boston to charter other lodges, and he had no other authority under the Grand Lodge of England. If

the Grand Lodge had learned of it during his lifetime, probably he and the lodge would have been sanctioned, perhaps even to the extent of his expulsion and the cancellation of the warrant. Fortunately for him, and for the fraternity which developed from his initiative, this did not happen.

In the case of Philadelphia, events are fairly well documented. There are two letters on the subject in Prince Hall's Letter Book.²⁶ The first is a copy of a letter dated 2 March 1797 from a Peter Mantore of Philadelphia, explaining that there are a group of eleven black Freemasons in Philadelphia (five of them Master Masons), seeking a warrant from African Lodge. The letter was addressed to 'Mr Hall, Master of the African Lodge | Dear Brother of the African Lodge in Boston' and included the statement 'we had rather be under our dear bretheren [sic] in Boston than the Pennsylvania Lodge'. The draft response, dated 22 March 1797, was addressed to 'Mr Peter Mantore', and reads:

Sir:—I received your letter of the 2 which informs me that there are a number of blacks in your city who have received the light of Masonry, and I hope they got it in a just and lawful manner. If so, dear brother, we are willing to set you at work under our charter and Lodge No.459, from London; under that authority, and by the name of the African Lodge, we hereby and herein give you license to assemble and work as aforesaid under that denomination as in the sight and fear of God. I would advise you not to take in any at present till your officers and your Master be in[stalled] in the Grand Lodge, which we are willing to [do] when he thinks convenient, and he may receive a full warrant instead of a permit.

The next reliable document is a minute book of Lodge 459 of Philadelphia, dated from 27 December 1797 to 15 February 1800, which was examined by William Upton, who included details in his paper 'Prince Hall's Letter Book', published in 1900.²⁷ The first entry reads 'Minutes of the African Lodge, No.459 | Closed', which suggests that there had been previous minutes, perhaps loose-leaf and inserted between the covers of the current minute book. These may have included a meeting attended by Prince Hall and members of African Lodge of Boston, as foreshadowed by Prince Hall's letter to Peter Mantore, but that is speculation not supported by evidence.

The first meeting actually recorded in the minute book was held on St. John's Day, 27 December 1797. The Master, the Rev. Absalom Jones, opened the lodge in the first degree; he said a prayer, gave a sermon and a short lecture, then 'called off' the lodge for refreshment, and the brethren 'dinned Very agreeably'. After dinner they returned to the lodge room. The lodge was 'called on', and a new Master (Peter Richmond) and his team of six officers (Senior

and Junior Wardens, Senior and Junior Deacons, Secretary and Treasurer) were installed.

The minute book leaves us with another minor mystery. The name 'Peter Mantore' does not appear among the list of 22 brethren who attended the installation on 27 December 1797, nor among the list of 42 members of the lodge at the back of the book, which includes the names of seven deceased brethren.

Among the occasions where Prince Hall is styled "Grand Master" are two certificates issued to members of African Lodge No.459 of Boston. They appear to be standard certificates printed for use of lodges generally, with spaces for various details to be added, and the certificate to be signed by the Master, Senior and Junior Wardens, and Secretary of the issuing lodge. They do not require the word 'Grand' to be inserted anywhere on the document, but both purport to have been signed by Grand Officers.

William Upton summarized an entry in 'Prince Hall's Letter Book' as follows:

(28) Masonic Certificate 'Boston, February 16, 1792

'And the light shineth in darkness and the darkness comprehendeth it not.'

Bro. John Dodd having requested a 'certificate', 'We . . . recommend him, as we found him, a true and lawful brother Master Mason, and his behaviour with us was orderly [and] decent.' Dated 'at the sign of the Golden [Fleece] in Water Street, Boston.'

Signed, 'Prince Hall, G.M. | Cyrus Forbes, S.G.W. | George Middleton, J.G.W.'²⁸

Upton commented: 'Appears to be in a form in common use—except as to the titles of the officers—at that day'.

The other certificate is now in the possession of the Houghton Library, at Harvard University, and may be viewed on-line at

<http://blogs.harvard.edu/houghtonmodern/2008/11/07/the-father-of-black-freemasonry/>

From the printed wording, such certificates are designed for use by American lodges of Free and Accepted Masons, to certify that the bearer has been regularly initiated into the (specified) degree of Freemasonry, and is a true and faithful Brother 'recommended to the Favor and Protection of all Free and Accepted Masons wheresoever dispersed'. The certificate requires the seal of the lodge and the signatures of the Master, both Wardens, and Secretary of the lodge.

The appropriate spaces have been completed in what is now badly faded ink, and indicate that the certificate is from the African Lodge of Boston, in the State of Massachusetts, stating that Richard P.G. Wright has been regularly initiated into the three degrees of Masonry. The seal may have become detached. There is an irregularly-shaped brown mark in the top left corner, with three rectangular pale-blue patches in the left margin, where a seal and ribbon may have been affixed.

The name 'Richard P.G. Wright' is written in a different handwriting, in a more ornate script, in heavy black ink, superimposed on a light brown stain. This is the abolitionist Richard Wright (c.1773–1847), known in his youth as Prince Wright,²⁹ and almost certainly the 'Prince Right of Providance' mentioned in the letter sent by Prince Hall to the Grand Lodge of England, dated 24 May 1798, 12th in a list of 13 Masons made between 1792 and 1798.³⁰ He moved to Schenectady, New York, and was the father of the Revd Theodore Sedgwick Wright (1797–1847), also an abolitionist.³¹ They were both affiliated members of the otherwise all-white St. George's Lodge No.6, of Schenectady, New York, from 1844 until their deaths in 1847.³²

The certificate was dated 'June 23 1799' and beneath the date is a board with four lines for the signatures of the lodge officers: —M —SW —JW —Sc'y. The four lines contain the following names in the same faded handwriting:

- Prince Hall G[M]
- Gorge Medelton G[SW]
- Jube Hill [JW]
- William Smith [Sc'y]

Only the first two names are followed by the letter 'G'.

'Gorge Medelton' [sic] appears as a Master Mason and Senior Deacon in Prince Hall's 1787 list of members,³³ and 'George Middleton J.G.W.' in William Upton's transcription of the certificate for John Dodd in the Letter Book.

Jube Hill is listed as a Fellow Craft and Master Mason in the 1778 Register of African Lodge No.1,³⁴ and as Master Mason and Treasurer in the 1787 list of members.

William Smith has yet to be located in earlier documents.

When Prince Hall wrote to the Grand Lodge of England back in 1787, gratefully acknowledging receipt of the warrant for Lodge 459, he asked if the warrant authorised the creation of a second lodge, if the number of members justified it. He received no answer, and did not pose the question again. In his subsequent letters to Grand Lodge, he made no mention of the two lodges he had authorised, in Philadelphia and Providence; he always wrote to Grand

Lodge as Master of African Lodge No.459 of Boston, not as Provincial Grand Master of anywhere.

When the Grand Secretary wrote in August 1792,³⁵ he asked Prince Hall whether certain lodges still existed, 'as we have never heard from them since the commencement of the late war in America, or indeed, long before: and in case they have ceased to meet, which I rather apprehend, they ought to be erased from our list of lodges'. Prince Hall replied that two of the lodges had amalgamated, and that another met regularly 'as some of them hath visited our Lodge, and heard it from their own mouths'.³⁶

Prince Hall omitted to mention that lodges in Massachusetts had formed their own Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, and the Grand Secretary did not advise him that the English lodges had been renumbered, so that African Lodge was now number 370. Consequently, African Lodge continued to refer to itself as No.459. Modern writers sometimes refer to it as African Lodge No.459/370.

With the death of Prince Hall in 1807, the lodge mourned his passing and continued in isolation for another 20 years, under a succession of Masters, as the only black lodge in Massachusetts. Several of the Masters of African Lodge 459 of Boston, following the example of Prince Hall, chartered a lodge outside the State. These were nominally 'under' the mother lodge, but tended to go their own way.

In 1815, three of them formed their own Grand Lodge in Pennsylvania, and in 1826 Boyer Lodge of New York (which had been chartered in 1812 by African Lodge of Boston, as African Lodge of New York) asked for an 'independent' charter. African Lodge of Boston seem to have decided that to grant an independent charter, they themselves needed to be independent, and in June 1827 publicly declared themselves so. They formed themselves into a one-lodge Grand Lodge, African Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, with John T. Hilton as Grand Master.

How African Grand Lodge became the present Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, how African American lodges and Grand Lodges developed throughout the United States of America and beyond, and how those of 'Prince Hall Affiliation' (PHA) are at last overcoming the objections and prejudices of white American Grand Lodges, is a story for another time and perhaps another 'Free Space'.

But one further topic needs to be explored here: William Grimshaw and his distortion of the history of Prince Hall and African Lodge.

Grimshaw's Patent

William Henry Grimshaw (1848–1927) was the author of *Official History of Freemasonry among the colored people of North America*, published in 1903. He was elected Grand Master, of what is now called the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of the District of Columbia, three years later.

Questions as to the legitimacy and ‘recognition’ of Prince Hall Freemasonry were very much to the fore at this time, with William Upton’s investigation and report to the (white) Grand Lodge of Washington State, and that Grand Lodge’s favourable response, followed by the uproar from other white Grand Lodges above and below the Mason-Dixon Line, then Upton’s publication of *Light on a Dark Subject* (Seattle, 1899), and his article ‘Prince Hall’s Letter Book’ in the scholarly publication of the English Masonic research lodge, *Quatuor Coronati (Ars Quatuor Coronatorum)*, 1900). It was in this context that Grimshaw produced his *Official History*, designed to provide a plausible account of Prince Hall’s origin and an answer to all the allegations of Masonic irregularity lodged against Prince Hall, African Lodge, and their successors.

Grimshaw’s *Official History* has the appearance of being official (written by a high-ranking Freemason and recommended by several other high-ranking Freemasons) and an authentic history (written authoritatively, sometimes quoting named sources—some of them accurately), in a readable style.

Grimshaw’s account found ready acceptance among his contemporaries. Some of his unproved statements, and even proven falsehoods, are still retained as fact in Grand Lodge ‘histories’, quoted (with or without attribution) by other writers, and posted on numerous websites.

A prime example of an unproven statement by Grimshaw is his account of Prince Hall’s birth and early years:³⁷

Prince Hall was born September 12th, 1748, at Bridgetown, Barbados, British West Indies. His father, Thomas Prince Hall, was an Englishman, and his mother a free woman of French descent. His father was engaged in the leather business, the pursuit of which does not seem to have been very lucrative. . . . When twelve years old young Hall was placed as an apprentice to a leather worker. He made rapid progress in the trade. His greatest desire, however, was to visit America.

This charming tale neatly disposes of the allegation that Prince Hall was not ‘freeborn’ (a Masonic requirement of that time and place), and negates the theory that he was the Prince Hall who was a servant (*aka* slave) of leather dresser William Hall of Boston for 21 years before his manumission in 1770,[38] and that is how Prince Hall came to follow the same occupation. Unfortunately, Grimshaw did not offer even a hint of evidence or any source of

information in support of his version, and modern researchers have been unable to remedy that defect.

The best and most compelling example of deliberate fabrication by Grimshaw is his claim that Prince Hall was appointed Provincial Grand Master by the Prince of Wales, Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England (known as the 'Moderns') in 1791. If that were true, it would not only vindicate Prince Hall's actions in granting charters to lodges in Philadelphia and Providence in 1797, and the use of the title 'Grand Master' in several documents, but also would place African Lodge on terms of equality with other Provincial Grand Lodges.

In support of Grimshaw's claim, he published the full wording of what he described as 'the Masonic authority of Prince Hall for serving as Provincial Grand Master', under the heading 'Copy of Deputation to Prince Hall'; It purported to be issued by command of HRH the Prince of Wales, Grand Master, who nominated, ordained, constituted and appointed.³⁹

worshipful and well beloved Brother Prince Hall, Provincial Grand Master of North America and Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging with full power and authority to nominate and appoint his Deputy Grand Master and Grand Wardens. And, we do also hereby empower our said Provincial Grand Master for the time being for us and in our place and stead to constitute the Brethren (Free and Accepted Masons) now residing or who shall hereafter reside in those parts into one or more regular Lodge or Lodges, as he shall think fit, and as often as occasion shall require.

After listing at length further powers and duties, the document concluded with the words: 'Given under our Hand and Seal of Office at London the 27th day of January, 1791 and of Masonry 5791. | By the Grand Master's Command | Rawdon, Acting G. M.'

Grimshaw then explains: 'The preceding document was found among the old manuscripts of African Lodge, No. 459, of Pennsylvania, Peter Richmond, its first secretary. There is no doubt but what Prince Hall gave them a copy of his authority when he established the Lodge in 1797.'⁴⁰

He adds: 'It is very likely that Prince Hall was appointed Provincial Grand Master by Lord Rawdon, although the records of the English do not show this to be a fact. There is positive proof, however, that he performed the duties of Grand Master and was recognized as such by both white and colored Masons of his time. As to the genuineness of Prince Hall's patent . . .', and goes on to cite Belknap's description of Prince Hall as 'Grand Master of a Lodge of Free Masons' (discussed under 'Initiation', above) and certificates issued by Prince Hall, signed 'GM' (such as John Dodd's, above), which, at best, are evidence of perception or behaviour, not evidence of authority.

In similar vein, Grimshaw refers to the letter from the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of England to Prince Hall in August 1792 (above), requesting information about other English lodges in North America. Upton gave only a summary of this letter in 'Prince Hall's Letter Book' (1900), but in *Light on a dark subject* (1899) he published it in full. Grimshaw quotes the full letter, verbatim, except for one significant detail, the salutation. Grimshaw wrote:⁴¹ 'After the organization of the Grand Lodge, the following letter was received from England, addressed to Prince Hall: | "London, August 20. 1792. | M. W. Bro., Prince Hall," | . . . ', ('Most Worshipful Brother', applicable only to those of Grand Master rank), whereas Upton transcribed the greeting as 'Right Worshipful Brother', appropriate at that time for the Master of a Lodge.⁴²

It was not until 1976 that Grimshaw's deceit was fully and publicly demonstrated, with the publication of George Draffen's paper on 'Prince Hall Freemasonry', in the Transactions of Quatuor Coronati Lodge.⁴³ As is the custom of this lodge, copies of a research paper to be presented in lodge were provided to members in advance of presentation, to enable them to do their own research and to comment on the paper after its presentation. Among those who commented on Bro Draffen's paper was Bro Terence Haunch, Librarian of the Library of the United Grand Lodge of England, and he brought with him a dozen exhibits, including: the *Grand Lodge Register of Warrants and Patents, 1784-1812* (showing the entry for the warrant for African Lodge, but NO record of a patent for Prince Hall); a letter from Prince Hall, dated 16 May 1787, with a postscript on the reverse, asking if the charter empowered him to set up a second lodge; and three documents relating to Grimshaw.

The first of these was an unsigned letter, dated 5 May 1902, addressed by name to the Grand Secretary of the United Grand Lodge of England, typed on official notepaper of the Librarian's Office of the Library of Congress. The (printed) return address had been altered (in ink) by deleting the words 'The Librarian of Congress' and substituting the name 'W.H. Grimshaw'. (Note: Grimshaw was employed as a doorkeeper and attendant at the Library of Congress from 1897.) The letter states: 'I have the honor to enclose herewith a copy of a patent granted Prince Hall, by H.R.H. Francis, Earl of Moira, Pro. Grand Master, dated January 27, 1790. Will you kindly have the records of H.R.H. The Prince of Wales, who was G.M. at that time, and see if there can be found any trace of the same. It is very evident that such a document was issued by the Pro. Grand Master for I find mention of it in an old manuscript of one of the old Lodges of 1797. . . '.

Bro Haunch described the enclosed 'copy of a patent' as ' . . . no more than a clumsy forgery. Apart from phraseology not true to type, the document

contains a number of woefully blatant anachronisms in styles and titles, both civil and masonic.'

When the letter and enclosure were received in the Grand Secretary's office in 1902, there were passed to Bro Henry Sadler (an early member of Quatuor Coronati Lodge, and Librarian of the Library of the United Grand Lodge of England) for investigation and comment. Bro Sadler wrote his comments on the reverse of the 'copy of a patent', in the form of a draft letter of reply to Grimshaw.

All three documents (the unsigned letter from Grimshaw, the enclosed 'copy of a patent', and Sadler's draft reply) are reproduced in volume 89 of *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* at pages 87-89.

Grimshaw's two versions of the same 'copy of a patent' (the one dated 27 January 1790, which he sent to England in 1902, and the other dated 27 January 1791, in his book published in 1903) are remarkably different in style and content. Bro Haunch compared the 'revised' version with the text of the 'deputations' (patents) issued to Daniel Cox for New York (1730) and to Henry Price for New England (1733), and concluded that Grimshaw had 'combined sections from these two prototypes to produce' his second version of a patent for Prince Hall.

The fabrication of an English patent ('dispensation') for Prince Hall as a Provincial Grand Master, dated 27 January 1791, was an adjunct to a wilder claim, that on 24 June of the same year African Lodge was formed into an 'independent and sovereign' Grand Lodge. Curiously, the story of the formation of the Grand Lodge precedes that of the English patent in Grimshaw's account.

Under the heading 'Organisation of the first Grand Lodge in Massachusetts' Grimshaw wrote:⁴⁴

On June 24th, 1791, a general assembly of the Craft was held at Masonic Hall, Golden Fleece, Water Street, Boston, Mass., for the purpose of organizing a Grand Lodge of Masons for Massachusetts, etc. African Lodge, No. 459, declared itself by the assumption of powers, duties and responsibilities of a Grand Lodge, independent and sovereign, holding jurisdiction absolute and entire, throughout the United States, and a provincial jurisdiction in other states and countries, recognizing at the same time the mother Grand Lodge of London, England.

He goes on to list all the Grand Officers for the Masonic year, and claims: 'The grand officers were installed in ample form by G. M. Prince Hall, assisted by brethren from St. Andrew's Lodge (white)'. He follows this with the story of the Patent allegedly issued earlier that year.

No contemporary evidence has been found in the minutes of any lodge. black or white.

Alton Roundtree, current editor of the *Phylaxis*, writes:⁴⁵

The minutes of African Lodge No.459 do not reflect the formation of a Grand Lodge in 1791. The words 'grand lodge' [are] not mentioned in the minutes of African Grand Lodge until 1827. Also there is no mention of a grand lodge in the newspapers of that time.

Ironically, Grimshaw wrote, in the preface to his book,⁴⁶ 'In presenting this work, the author is fully conscious of its literary defects, but dare not sacrifice the truth of history even for literary excellence'.

POSTSCRIPT

For those who are not yet convinced that Grimshaw cannot be relied upon, two recently published books are recommended reading:

In *The Prince Hall Story Revisited* (2020), John B. Williams sets out to convince those responsible for sanctioning, writing, or publishing 'histories' of Prince Hall and Prince Hall Freemasonry, in print or online, to purge such histories of falsehoods and misleading information, with particular emphasis on Grimshaw's *Official History*. Williams writes:⁴⁷ 'The goal here is to fortify Prince Hall masons with the confidence to acknowledge and reject false statements, even when these statements are carved in stone and memorialized on bronze historical markers'. In recent years, as President of the Phylaxis Society and as Editor of its research magazine, *Phylaxis*, John Williams has led that society's campaign to highlight incorrect and misleading information. In this, he is joined by Alton Roundtree, the current editor of *Phylaxis*.

Fact Checking William H. Grimshaw's Official History of Freemasonry Among The Colored People of North America (2019), by Alton Roundtree, is an essential reference for anyone compiling a history of Prince Hall and his fraternity, to determine fact from fiction. He is an author, editor and publisher with a reputation for thorough research and meticulous attention to detail. In evaluating Grimshaw's work and pointing out the errors, he uses only sources dated before the publication of Grimshaw's *Official History* in 1903.

As always, Roundtree gives his readers the bonus of appendixes containing full text of rare documents relevant to his main subject.

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Tony Pope (Pope-3576).

THE THORNTON HISTORIES

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 CRYPTIC RITE

In Victoria there has been no attempt to inaugurate a local governing body for the degrees which are worked in Councils of Royal and Select Masters or, as these are alternatively called, the degrees of Cryptic Masonry. The local Councils remain under the English constitution and are thus controlled by the Grand Council for England and Wales. The masonic jurisdiction of Victoria is constituted as a district with the local affairs being under the leadership of a District Grand Master and his District Grand Council.

The origin of the cryptic degrees is in considerable doubt but, for the purposes of this work, we can be content with stating that the order was established in America. It is possible that the degrees, in some form or other, were worked in England during the latter part of the 18th century but the rite, as we have it today, most definitely arrived in England from America. In Scotland the Royal Master and Select Master degrees are worked as part of the series of degrees which are conferred in Royal Arch Chapters.

The English Constitution

Under the English constitution the cryptic rite consists of four degrees: Most Excellent Master, Royal Master, Select Master and Super Excellent Master but only the middle two can be genuinely considered as original cryptic degrees. The last named, while it is along similar lines, appeared much later while the first named is not a cryptic degree at all.

The Royal Master and Select Master degrees can be briefly described as filling the gaps which are left in the story that is told in the Royal Arch degree in that they explain how and why certain masonic secrets were deposited where they were later to be found and the setting of these degrees is a secret vault or crypt. The Super Excellent Master degree is, in one sense, a corollary to the Select Master degree and is said to fill the time gap between the Craft and the Royal Arch as far as the continuance of masonry is concerned.

The Most Excellent Master degree, however, is concerned with events which occurred during the building of the first temple and, as such, does not belong to the cryptic rite at all. It may thus be advisable to examine the reasons as to why it has been included in the English Grand Council.

As mentioned in the chapters on the Royal Arch degree the American Royal Arch chapters work a series of four degrees - Mark Master, Past Master, Most Excellent Master and Companion of the Holy Royal Arch - and a candidate for a Council of Royal and Select Masters must be a Royal Arch mason. Thus, in America, he would have already received the previous three degrees but this would not apply to a Royal Arch mason from either the English or the Victorian constitutions.

The Grand Council for England and Wales was set up in 1872 through the sanction and with the assistance of the Grand Council of New York after such assistance had been requested by a number of eminent English Royal Arch masons. Four councils were promptly formed in London, but one problem had first to be overcome. The New York Grand Council could only authorise the working of the three degrees which it controlled - that is, omitting the Most Excellent Master degree from the four listed as belonging to the English constitution - but did, of course, insist that the candidates must have taken all of the previous degrees which the constitutions, and the ritual required. It was thus necessary for the English companions to also enlist the aid of the Grand Chapter of New York in order to obtain permission to work the chapter Most Excellent Master degree. The Grand Council of England and Wales included in its regulations the requirement that a candidate must have also taken the Mark degree - thus removing any possibility of friction with the Grand Mark Lodge - but exactly what happened in regard to the Past Master degree is a little more difficult to determine. Presumably as it was not mentioned at all in the cryptic rite it was simply omitted either at the time of the New York assistance in setting up the first four councils, with the agreement of the New York body, or after the English Grand Council was inaugurated.

The Grand Council of England and Wales was inaugurated in July 1873 and American interest disappeared. As a result of the original interest, however, the English constitution of the cryptic rite includes the Most Excellent Master degree and, of course, requires all candidates to be Mark Master Masons and Companions of the Holy Royal Arch.

In Victoria the Most Excellent Master degree is worked as an optional extra in the Royal Arch Chapters - on Companions who are also Mark Men - and the Grand Council for England and Wales has obviously accepted this as sufficient

as the Grand Chapter of Victoria is a recognised Grand Chapter throughout the masonic world and entirely within its rights, as far as world wide masonry is concerned, in working the degree even if it is not in its correct place. (In the chapters on Royal Arch masonry the suggestion has been put forward that this degree does not belong in Victorian Royal Arch masonry but the Excellent Master degree does. That argument does not have any bearing on any of the above points as the degree does most definitely have a place in American Royal Arch masonry.) Thus, in the Victorian councils, it is rarely necessary for the Most Excellent Master degree to be worked as the Grand Council accepts the degree as conferred in chapters under the authority of Grand Chapters in fraternal communications with the Grand Chapter of England.

The two rituals, in Victoria, are almost identical with the only differences being slight and of no consequence. This happy state of affairs is due almost entirely to the already detailed actions of Edward Coulson in 1912 while he was First Grand Principal of the Grand Chapter.

It is also worth mentioning that the degree as worked in Victoria and England is much shorter than the American degree where far greater emphasis is placed on the Most Excellent Master degree extending from that of Mark Master Mason. (England, incidentally, adopted the general American working which was in vogue in 1872. The two workings now differ because England has shortened some of the ceremonies while the General Grand Council of America has altered the titles of the principal officers.)

The First Victorian Council

For the reasons as outlined in the chapter on Royal Ark Mariner masonry the introduction of the rite into England in the early 1870s did not coincide with an opportune time for the degrees to make a sudden appearance in this state. Lamonby does not appear to have been a member of the cryptic rite at all and he certainly paid it no attention.

For the initial introduction of the rite into this state, we must again turn to Joseph Drew and probably Dr. Bulmer, but we are left in complete ignorance as to where Drew obtained his knowledge of the various degrees. As in Royal Ark Mariner masonry there is no direct evidence to suggest that Bulmer was the originator but he was an ardent freemason and a member of many little known orders so it does appear very likely that he was involved with this rite as he was with others. That his efforts were not readily acceptable in England, both in the rite and in Knight Templary, could well be due to the fact that these degrees were controlled by well organised bodies whereas, in other cases, the reverse is closer to the truth.

The first masonic press evidence for the working of the rite in Victoria appeared in the August 1886 edition of the *Victorian Masonic Journal* which listed the officers of the Metropolitan Council No.12 as Drew, Main and Ferguson in the three principal offices with Bramwell as the recorder. A week later the same list appeared in the *Victorian Freemason*.

There appears to be some doubt about whether or not this council can be considered as having been regularly formed, and it may well be that this doubt is justified. Unfortunately we have no details in regard to the original formation of the council but a reasonable conclusion would be that someone -probably Bulmer and less likely Drew - exceeded his authority by opening a council without petitioning England or, at least waiting for a reply to the application. (It should be recalled that in other orders it was not necessary for Bulmer to wait and he may have assumed that the Grand body in this rite was as loosely controlled and organised as it was in some others.)

A certificate preserved in the Grand Lodge library shows that a certain Henry Blackett Forster - a taker of many degrees - was admitted into the degrees of the cryptic rite on 10 October 1885 in the Metropolitan Council No. 13 and the certificate shows every sign of being genuine. In earlier chapters it has been mentioned that Forster tended to take any new degree at the first possible occasion at it seems reasonable to assume that October 1885 was the date of the first regular meeting and that the consecration had occurred around August or July 1885.

The difference in the number allotted to the Council is not overly important - Victorian publications managed, on quite a few occasions, to get the numbers allotted to the local bodies incorrect and England itself has been known to make the odd error - but the date on the certificate indicates that the Council was in work for quite some time before any mention of it was made in the masonic press. Presumably the English authorities decided that, having been presented with a Council in work, the wisest move would be to make it regular.

The originators of the Council were members of the outlawed Grand Lodge of Victoria. This did not necessarily mean that other English Grand bodies outside the Craft and the Royal Arch, would refuse to issue them warrants - unless Shadwell Clerke was in high office - but it did mean that the new Council was likely to experience difficulties in attracting sufficient candidates as the masons who had remained loyal to the three British constitutions would almost certainly be not interested in joining.

The Grand Council had been formed by experienced and high ranking masons, was being well run and well controlled and had tended to align itself with the Grand Mark Lodge. Thus the approach of the Grand Council would have been very similar to that which was adopted in the Mark degree. More than likely the Grand Council felt that it could issue a warrant to Royal and Select Masters who had been initiated into freemasonry in a lodge under a constitution recognised by the Grand Lodge of England and would continue to accept such brethren as candidates whatever they had since decided needed to be done in Craft Masonry. However it is almost certain that the issuing of the warrant would have been accompanied with an edict that initiates of the Grand Lodge of Victoria could not be admitted.

The Metropolitan Council had a very short life.

The Cryptic Rite Proper in Victoria

The cryptic rite began its life proper in this state in October 1902 with the formation of the Victorian Council No. 29. The agent behind the procuring of the warrant and the formation of the council itself was undoubtedly Frank Davies. Davies appears to have spent a considerable amount of his time in London and his name was mentioned as a possible intermediary when the Grand Mark Lodge of Victoria was endeavouring to obtain recognition from the similar body in England. He also appears to have been known possibly personally, by the Grand Master of the Grand Mark Lodge of England, the Earl of Euston, who specifically referred to his presence at one quarterly communication of the Grand Lodge.

The Earl was also the Grand Master of the Grand Council in the cryptic rite and the *Australasian Keystone* of August 1902 reported that Frank Davies had had the rank of Past Grand Principal Conductor of the Work - roughly equivalent to the Craft office of Past Grand Warden - conferred upon him. From this we can logically conclude that Davies received the degrees of the cryptic rite during one of his visits to London and was specially commissioned to form a Council in Victoria.

This, of course, Davies did. He consecrated the Council, installed the Thrice Illustrious Master and invested the officers although the task must have proved to be a trifle complicated as Davies himself occupied the office of Thrice Illustrious Master. As the two next senior officers he chose the well known and knowledgeable masons Edward Coulson and Thomas Lambert.

At the first regular meeting of the Council in December 1902, 14 candidates were elected and nine forthwith received each of the degrees. This would tend

to suggest that prospects for rapid growth were reasonably good but two major factors prevented this from happening. The consecration of the Council occurred a few years too early as the period around 1902 was by no means a productive one for freemasonry, but it is evident that the founders were not interested purely in numbers. For reasons known only to themselves Davies and friends embarked on a deliberate policy which would keep the Council small and exclusive, but which may also have been a comment on the state of masonry at the time and originally intended as only a temporary measure. Included in the by-laws was a clause which restricted membership of the Council to Companions who were Past Principals although no such restrictions were made in regard to the Mark degree. Later events were to show that mastership in this degree was also required.

Whether the original intention of this by law had been to keep the membership of the order small and exclusive or whether it had been designed to restrict the rite to experienced freemasons was not disclosed, but the major effect was to prevent membership from increasing at any great rate, as is only to be expected, for such a qualification for candidature tended to restrict the field of applicants to men of rather mature years. Thus it was over forty years before a second council, Melbourne, was formed.

Preserved in the Grand Lodge library is one of the original type-written rituals - belonging to Craft Grand Secretary Barrow - which was used by the Victorian Council and, from its date, was the original method of working in this state. The section devoted to the Super Excellent Master degree contains the interesting statement that permission had been received from the authorities in London to merely communicate the secrets of the degree as the procurement of the necessary equipment would have proved far too costly. This tends to suggest that it was the full American working of the degree that was being referred to rather than the much shortened and somewhat altered version that is used in councils today.

Soon after the formation of the Melbourne Council the attention of the English authorities was drawn to the restrictive by-law - this was during the era when all of masonry was experiencing an upsurge following the Second World War - and instructions were issued that the by-law was to be deleted. (One wonders whether England was originally informed of the by-law.) It took a few more years before the spirit of the by-law also disappeared and it was not until the District Grand Master made a statement to that effect in open council that the order in Victoria became genuinely open to all Companions of the Holy Royal Arch who were also Mark Master Masons.

The order was now permitted to expand and the District Grand Council, formed in 1961 with the very experienced Arthur John Dean as District Grand Master, now rules over some fourteen councils, eight of which have been formed since 1964, and undoubtedly Dean's successor, Walter Kenneth White, will again be called upon to consecrate new councils.