

[An earlier version was presented to Linford Lodge of Research. The improved version, below, was to have been presented to the Discovery Lodge of Research on 6 September 2012, but, owing to illness of the author, was simply published in the *Transactions* of Discovery Lodge in October 2012.]

Brothers under Arms, the Tasmanian Volunteers

by Bro Tony Pope

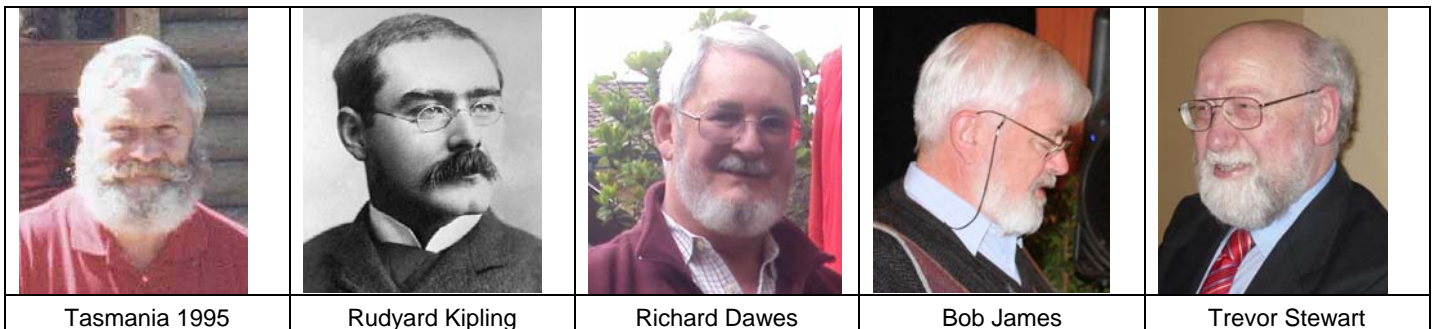
Introduction

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

¹ From *The Elephant’s Child*.

pointed out to my audience of five that it was a draft effort, open to discussion and improvement—*A Masonic Militia Mk I*.

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

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

Google and *Wikipedia* are familiar research tools and a tremendous resource, but should be treated with caution, in that the information supplied is only as good as its source, requiring careful assessment of the accuracy of that source, or confirmation from at least one independent source. They led me to facsimile reproductions of original or contemporary documents, such as English and Scottish *Government Gazettes* and official Army Lists, as well as to newspaper reports and the compilations of other researchers. *Google* also led me to a uniform enthusiast who has researched and recreated pictures of literally thousands of uniforms throughout the world, with images available on a series of CDs. From him I purchased a CD of *Uniforms of Colonial Australia: Tasmania & Western Australia*.⁴

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

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

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

Background

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

was added to the list.¹⁵ The Australian War Memorial 'History' states:¹⁶

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

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

PART I—Tasmanian Volunteers 1859–1867

In the South

When the Tasmanian parliament passed the *Volunteer Act* of 1858, Masons led the response. Well attended meetings were called in Hobart in August 1859 by Supreme Court Justice Thomas Horne, of Tasmanian Operative Lodge, in September by Augustus Frederick Smith, of Tasmanian Union Lodge; and in December by Benjamin Travers Solly, of Tasmanian Union, who was also a Manchester Unity Odd Fellow.

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

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

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

The Masonic Rifles drafted their own regulations on the lines of lodge by-laws, which provided that the Company should consist of 3 commissioned officers (a Captain and 2 Lieutenants), *elected by ballot*, plus honorary officers (medical officers and chaplain), 5 Serjeants, a bugler, an armourer and not exceeding 100 rank and file. New members had to be proposed and seconded in writing, and elected by the Company in much the same manner as in Masonic lodges, except that one black ball per 10 members voting would

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

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

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

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

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

exclude, and no fewer than 20 members had to be present for a valid election.²⁰ They also designed their own uniform and cap badge.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The City Guards, formed in November 1860, comprised two companies to serve only in Hobart, under

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

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

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

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

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

25 *Mercury*, 17/6/1861.

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

27 Lt Hood’s name was Major Lloyd Hood.

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

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

Hobart Artillery

While the rifle companies were being formed, Bro Smith had been training his artillery, and on 24 May 1860 he marched them through the streets of Hobart and had them fire the guns of the Queen's Battery in honour of Her Majesty's birthday. But trouble was brewing in the ranks of the Artillery. It is not spelt out clearly in the press of the day, but one can speculate with hindsight. The rifle companies had elected their own officers—several per company—but there had been only promotions to non-commissioned rank in the artillery. And it may just be that Bro Smith was a bit of a bully; on 26 August 1863 Bro Smith appeared before the stipendiary magistrate (Algernon Burdett Jones, former captain of the Odd Fellows Rifles) and a justice of the peace (H Cook Esq), charged with assault and battery of his domestic servant, Annie Doyle. Bro Smith, who was represented by a member of his artillery company, Corporal Henri James d'Emden, a solicitor and father of a future Deputy Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Tasmania, pleaded not guilty but was convicted and fined £3 and costs.³⁰

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

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

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

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

30 *Mercury*, 28/9/1863.

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

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

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

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

In the North

In the North, fraternities did not form separate units, but Masons from the English and Irish lodges and the Odd Fellows were well represented in most of them. At a public meeting on 5 May 1860 the decision was reached to form the Launceston Citizens Volunteer Rifle Corps.³⁴ A second meeting, ten days later, was chaired by Brother Adye Douglas (1815–1906), Master of St John's Lodge 346 IC, member of Loyal Cornwall Lodge MUIOOF, lawyer, future mayor of Launceston and future premier of Tasmania. On that occasion 42 men were sworn into the Corps by Brothers James Robertson and Joseph Cohen, Justices of the Peace. Robertson was a member of St John's and Lodge of Hope, and Cohen (a Member of Parliament) belonged to Hope and Lodge of Faith. The rules adopted for the Corps included admission by ballot, and the proviso that members would not be required to serve at sea or outside the 'Northern Division' of Tasmania.

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the South other volunteer units were proposed but did not eventuate: Sorell Volunteer Rifles; Temperance Rifles at Hobart; and a Volunteer Naval Company 'for the defence of the Southern Coast of Tasmania'.⁴¹

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Regular officers

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

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

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

Early in 1862 his job description was changed from 'Inspecting Field Officer of Volunteer Corps in Tasmania, and . . . Commanding Officer of the several volunteer corps in Tasmania' to 'Colonel Commanding the Volunteers in the Southern Division of the Island' and he was designated 'the medium of communication with the Government in all matters connected with the volunteer forces in that division'.⁴⁸ Towards the end of the year his wife died, the position of Staff Officer of Pensioners was abolished, and he was retired on half-pay pension. He left Tasmania in January 1863 with his eight surviving children and a

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

nanny and—perhaps drawing on his experience 25 years previously as an officer of the Mounted Military Police—became a police magistrate in rural New South Wales, first at Wentworth (1864) and then at Queanbeyan (1869) until his death in 1883.

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

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

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

After graduating from Sandhurst, and service in Hong Kong and New Zealand, Captain Francis Rawdon Chesney (1824–1907), Royal Engineers, was posted to Tasmania in 1863. Between the departure of Lt-Col Russell and the arrival of Capt Chesney, a new *Volunteer Act* came into force, revising the command structure. The Southern Division of the Tasmanian Volunteers now comprised the Hobart Town Volunteer Artillery Company and the First Administrative Regiment, Southern Division (the rifle companies and the city guards). The Northern Division comprised the First Light Cavalry, the Launceston Artillery Corps, and the First Administrative Regiment, Northern Division (the rifle companies). Major Eagar was placed in overall command, with the local rank of Colonel; Capt Chesney commanded the Southern Division with the local rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and Major Home was given command of the Northern Division with similar rank.⁵²

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

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

50 *Mercury*, 30/7/1861.

51 Frank Whitworth Eagar died in 1884 (http://records.ancestry.com/Frank_Whitworth_Eagar_records.ashx?pid=183414792); Captain Edgar Boaz Eagar of the Northumberland Fusiliers was killed in action in South Africa in 1899 (http://www.memorials.inportsmouth.co.uk/churches/royal_garrison/eagar-brine.htm); Dennis Jachin Eagar died in infancy (*Mercury*, 25/3/1862).

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

53 *Mercury*, 4/8/1865.

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

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

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

Uniforms and Ordnance

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

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

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

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

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

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

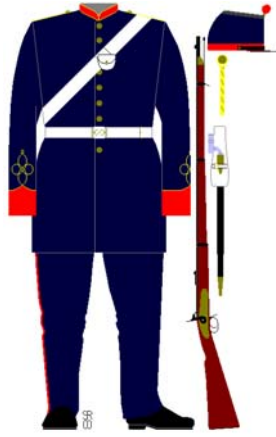
57 *Launceston Examiner*, 30/1/1862.

58 *Mercury*, 30/5/1862.

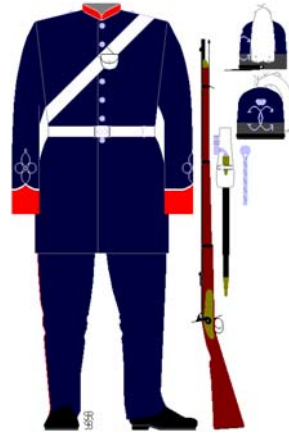
59 Lennox J: ‘Tasmanian Arms’, *AMAT*, vol 3 #2, 12–18; Presser J C, ‘Early Tasmanian Volunteer Marked Arms’, *AMAT* vol 5 #4, 6–9; Information Sheet #3, ‘Tasmanian Volunteer Arms 1860–1870’, Australian Army Museum, Tasmania.



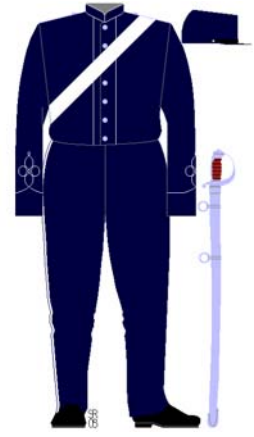
Hobart Artillery
(Hollis carbine, Yataghan bayonet)



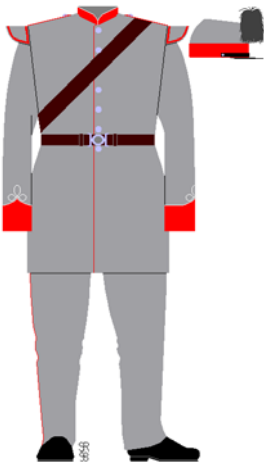
Launceston Artillery
(standard Enfield Rifle,
standard 'pig-sticker'
bayonet)



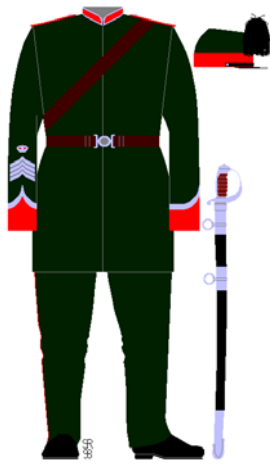
City Guards
(standard Enfield Rifle,
standard 'pig-sticker'
bayonet)



Mounted Rifles
(Wilson carbine, not shown)



First Rifles
(drummer, 1862)



Third Rifles
(Sergeant-major)



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



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



Enfield bayonet



Hollis .577 calibre muzzle-loading carbine



Yataghan sword-bayonet



Whitworth .451 calibre muzzle-loading hexagonal-bore rifle



Wilson breach-loading .451 carbine

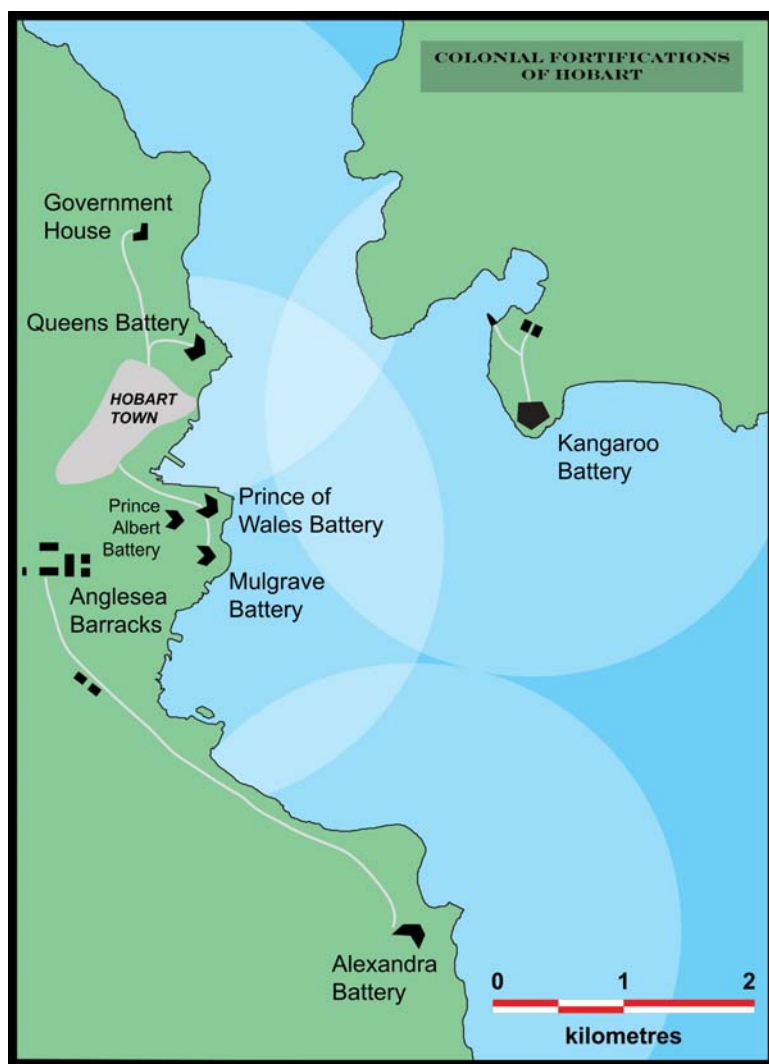


Kerr .451 calibre muzzle-loading rifle

Apart from training within the individual units, open competitions and team competitions were organised. With the advent of civilian rifle clubs, some of the wealthier shooters introduced Whitworth and Kerr rifles which, under competition conditions, tended to produce a higher score. Like the Enfield, the Whitworth was

a single-shot muzzle-loading rifle, but the barrel had a *hexagonal* bore of .451 calibre. The British army rejected it because of excessive fouling of the barrel and the fact that it cost four times as much as the Enfield.⁶⁰ The Kerr was another 'small-bore' (.451 calibre) rifle with a traditional long barrel, based on the Enfield. Both the Whitworth and the Kerr were used by Confederate snipers in the American Civil War.

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



Kangaroo Battery & Alexandra Battery were installed after 1867



Queen's Battery, 1869



Mulgrave Battery (early photo)



Howitzer, 1855 model

The Chisholm family, armourers to the Volunteers

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Other Volunteer activities

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

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

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

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

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

In turn, Davies published an attack on his fellow-captains Tarleton (Artillery) and Solly (First Rifles) in an

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

67 *Mercury*, 6/5/1861.

68 *Mercury*, 7/10/1863.

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

70 *Mercury*, 27/5/1865.

71 *Cornwall Chronicle*, 16/9/1865.

72 *Launceston Examiner*, 7/10/1865.

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

Since the government had not made the recommended changes of the 1865 Commission, the volunteers proposed a voluntary amalgamation, which was accepted and put into operation in January 1866. The First Rifles amalgamated with the Hobart Town Artillery, leaving the Second Rifles (Odd Fellows) and City Guards as infantry, and the Launceston Rifles amalgamated with the Launceston Artillery, leaving the smaller Northern units as infantry. In January 1867 there were approximately 150 volunteers present for the annual parade of the Southern Division, spread evenly between the Artillery, Second Rifles and City Guards.⁷³

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

In retrospect

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

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

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

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

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

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

Some similarity may be seen between the motivation of the Volunteers and membership of Freemasons'

73 *Mercury*, 4/1/1867.

and Odd Fellows' lodges, including public parades in regalia. Could there also be similarity of reasons for lapse of membership?

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

[A full bibliography will be supplied with the final section of this paper. Meanwhile, the extensive footnotes are offered in support of the accuracy of Part I (above). Many other references are available on application to the author.]