

The first Capital cornerstone laying: Masonry, Alexandria, the nation, and the world, c. 1791
PROFESSOR STEVEN C. BULLOCK

The 1791 ceremony laying the first boundary marker of District of Columbia was not a particularly impressive event. It attracted no famous figures. Even the stone itself was soon replaced. But the seemingly unremarkable ritual that took place almost exactly 220 years ago in Alexandria, just a few miles from the conference site, provides a means of examining some of the most significant elements of Masonry during those years. An examination of the ceremony and the brothers who participated in it highlights the connections that tied them and their town together, that linked them to the new nation and to its growing national economy, and that allowed them to participate in a transatlantic cultural world. Besides participating in these relationships, the fraternity also built and sustained them--allowing its members to fulfill the goal of a much more recent slogan, thinking globally while acting locally.

SESSION I: MOZART AND FREEMASONRY

CHAIR – HARRIET SANDVALL, UK

Paper Ia: Mozart: The contrapuntal temple in the last symphony

Neva Krysteva, Bulgaria

If we discuss the “classical aspect” of Mozart’s nature and “recognize” the same Masonic idea in the Requiem and in The Magic Flute, we think in the categories of humanity and universalism. The same can be said in other terms: Mozart is a representative of more than one meaning of the word Masonry: operative meaning (“Künste,” or “Arbeit”) and speculative (“Klugheit,”) aspects. Counterpoint is principally the main vehicle of wisdom (“Klugheit,”) in music. Mozart’s music cannot be characterized as simply rational or speculative, it deals with human expressions, as Mozart himself said, that often represent universal images and universal categories. This can be expressed by means of concrete Masonic symbols, as studied by scholars as Paul Nettle and Catherine Thompson. We can find descriptions of historical events and circumstances, building the grounds of Masonic symbolic understanding in such melodic formulae as, for example, *pulsate et apriebus vobis* (“knock and it shall be opened to you”, “κρούετε και άνοιγήσεται ύμίν”, Matthew, 7:7), tonalities – E flat major, C major and minor; genres – cantatas, songs; instruments – clarinets, corni di basso, trombones; articulation – slurred notes in pairs; rhythm – suspensions, dotted rhythms; intervals – fauxbourdon; modal chords. All these building materials, that are simply ein geistfähiges Material (spiritual building material, as Hanslick puts it) are interwoven in Mozart’s late music.

This paper’s subject is to show what techniques are used in the last movement of the last Mozart symphony. They appear to be all existing contrapuntal techniques that had ever been in use starting from the dawn of Gregorian chant and up to Mozart’s time. The cornerstone, the *lapis* of Mozart’s output arch is the four-letter theme C-D-F-E (*soggetto cavato* of *Gloria In Festis Duplicibus I*)

All contrapuntal building techniques in *stile antico* and *nuovo* are used: bourdon, antiphon, responsoric pattern, fugato and double fugato, infinite canons, canonic sequences with inversion, double canonic sequences, stretto with retrograde and invertive motion, etc. in the frame of a perfect crystal-clear sonata form. The cupola of the temple is an unique quintuple invertible counterpoint in double fugato, because five is the number of man. This transmutation is also embedded in scriptures like *Sepher Yetzira*.

This paper further continues with exegetical description of the themes. The method can be rhetorical, based on the Baroque figures or the mechanical rules of composition, as they existed in Mozart’s time. By climbing the stairs (on the way to the coda of the quintuple counterpoint), we can see the whole temple, where *Klugheit und Künste weilen* (“These arches and portals, mysterious dwelling/of reason and labor and arts are foretelling”).

Paper 1b: Does Mozart's 'Die Zauberflöte' have a 'meaning'?

Ruben Gurevich, Canada

Does Wolfgang Amadè Mozart's "Grand Opera" "Die Zauberflöte" ("The Magic Flute", "La flûte Enchantée") have a "meaning"? Ever since its first performance on 30 September 1791, this composition—the last opera and last major work completed by the composer before his death, less than ten weeks after its premiere—has become one of the most beloved pieces in the operatic repertoire. Also since that time, it has been the subject of heated discussions regarding its genesis, the libretto's authorship, the circumstances and chronology of its composition, and—judging by the extant literature, perhaps the most controversial—the possible meta-musical "meaning" of the work. Exegeses range from those that see the opera as having deep symbolical connotations—political, Orphic, Masonic, Rosicrucian, alchemical, philosophical, Jungian—to others who believe it to be just a silly fairy-tale, a patchwork plot ennobled by the sublime music created by a genius at the peak of his creativity. As a result of in-depth study of the work's text and music, as well as extensive research in primary and secondary sources, the author of this paper—a conductor and music historian—has arrived at some conclusions he believes may contribute to the current understanding of that perennial masterpiece.

Paper 1c: Eine kleine Freymaurer-Kantate (A Short Masonic Cantata): genesis, development and musical characteristics

Gabriel Mancuso, Italy

The analysis of works devoted to Freemasonry or inspired to a various degree by the intellectual patterns and metaphorical language of Masonic tradition plays an important role in the study of the works and life of Mozart. Initiated in 1784, Mozart was a devout freemason who composed a series of works some of which had a clear and explicit masonic character and were meant to be performed during the Masonic gatherings (of his or other brothers' lodges), while others were inspired by Masonic thought and rituals, the most famous being without any doubt the "Magic Flute". A few months before his death, while he was struggling with his disease and working on the "Requiem", Mozart composed his last Masonic work, "Eine kleine Freymaurer-Kantate" which he conducted at the inaugural meeting of the "New-Crowned Hope" lodge's temple on 17 November 1791. The cantata consists of four main sections (introduction/aria/recitative/duet) characterised by the alternation between the solo voice (tenor or bass) and the choir, a sort of "polite dialogue" between the individual and his community, apparently mirroring the bond/fraternal thread which connects the freemason to his brothers. "Eine kleine Freymaurer-Kantate" is in fact a derivative work, its main music theme being taken directly and virtually without variations from an aria of "Così fan tutte", an opera that Mozart composed in 1790, on a libretto by Lorenzo da Ponte, also a freemason. In my paper I will try to answer some important questions concerning the genesis of Mozart's last Masonic work (e.g. what relationship is there between this cantata and the "Così fan tutte"? Is it a simple case of "self-quoting"/"internal reference" or a message that only his fellow freemasons could understand?), the main features of its Masonic language, and the role this cantata played in the life and death of the freemason Mozart.

HALL 2 10.30 – 12 NOON

SESSION 2: FREEMASONRY AND RELIGION I

New approaches from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries

CHAIR: ANDREAS ÖNNERFORS, SWEDEN

Paper 2a: Celebrating nature: Freemasonry and its contribution to the secularization of religion Klaus-Jürgen Grün, Germany

Freemasonry is no religion. This is one of the basic propositions of freemasonry. How is it confirmed and what does it mean? In the former dogmatic systems of religion and philosophy - that means in the mental tradition before the rise of the paradigm of the enlightenment - the confirmation of truth is matter of authority. The most famous example is the eclipse of Copernicanism. The question whether the Ptolomeiac or the Copernican system of the planets should be true, was not a question of empirical investigation or mathematical simplicity but a question of having the power to define what has to be true. Catholic opinion about legitimation of truth still refers to this paradigm of authority, as we can tell by the Papal theory of the eucharist. Whereas Catholic opinion about the meaning of eucharist has not changed since Aquinas, who himself referred to the metaphysical understanding of the transformation of substances in each other, the meaning of communion and holy communion has run through several changes.

In the beginning communion means the real presence of the god. It is – as theologians assure us – a cannibalistic and theophagistic ritual, with the aim of confirming the similarity of god and mankind.

In the beginning of modern freemasonry we become familiar with a significant change in the meaning of communion with a holy character in a special way. John Toland, a famous deist and freethinker, created a ritual celebrating a festive board with remarkable intentions. His *Pantheisticon or the Forum of Celebrating the Socratic Society* from 1720 tells us the difference between the unfolding of nature's mysteries and discoursing as a religion. 'Each Member of the Society', Toland writes in this early ritual concerning a festive board, 'contributed something towards the Supper, that was to be in common; this Contribution was called by the *Greeks*, *Symbolum* or *Symbola*; by the *Romans*, to use Cicero's Term, *Collecta*, from whence the Entertainment itself was called, *Caena Collatitia*'.

My contribution will develop the genealogy of celebrating the wafer in the communion as the Lords Supper to celebrating fraternity in a secularized banquet within the festive board of freemasonry.

Paper 2b: The female case: the religious dimension of the Adoption Rite

Jan Snoek, Germany

The rituals of the Adoption Rite seem to have been developed out of the Rite in use in the 'third' British Masonic tradition, which was associated with the Harodim and with York. Their first two degrees of the four, described in *Le Parfait Maçon* of 1744, seem to have been developed into the original three degrees of the Adoption Rite, precisely around 1744. Whereas the third degree described in *Le Parfait Maçon* elaborates the building of the Tabernacle and of the Temple of King Solomon, and the fourth degree that of the Second Temple, associated with Zerubbabel, the first two degrees of this Rite are centred on certain themes from Genesis. The first degree, which became the second in the Adoption Rite, is about the Fall. As in all masonic rituals, these too are enactments of the stories concerned. But in the case of the story of the Fall, a *Felix Culpa* perspective is chosen. As a result, the Adoption Rite, with which ladies were initiated into the so-called Adoption Lodges, radically inverts the usual interpretation of the story of the Fall and even may be regarded proto-feministic.

Interestingly, after the fall of Napoleon (1815), not only is Freemasonry in France taken over from the aristocracy by the middle class, but also these new Masonic governors of far less erudition discover that the representation of the Fall in these rituals is wrong and thus they 'correct' it. As a result, the women from now on become less and less interested in this form of anti-feministic Freemasonry. Finally, when from 1901 on new Adoption Lodges are created within the Grande Loge de France, the new members are all real feminists. When they see these 19th century rituals, it takes only one year before they kick out the ritual about Eve.

Paper 2c: Albert Pike's and Eugène Goblet d'Alviella's reforms of the Scottish Rite and the theory of religion in the late nineteenth century

Martin Papenheim, Germany

Albert Pike (1808-1891) and Eugène Goblet d'Alviella (1846-1925) were, no doubt, the most important commanders and ritual experts of the Scottish Rite in the 19th century. Their remodelling of this important system of 'higher degrees' was deep and fundamental changes of the structure of the that rite and its philosophy. Their 'new' Scottish Rites were exported all over the world and have influenced the rituals of all supreme councils up to today. But Pike's and Goblet d'Alviella's influence went far beyond Masonry. They were two eminent figures in the so-called cultural wars of the late 19th century, because they both tried to found a philosophical and ritualistic alternative to the established Christian confessions and because they both were especially anti-catholic. They were part of an international liberal opposition to the catholic ultramontane restauration.

Despite their importance both reformers of the Scottish Rite have been rarely subjects of academic research. The important contributions of masonic researchers, like Pierre Noël, have unfortunately rarely been known to researchers interested in general history and religious sciences. On the other side the studies of general, cultural and religious history have not been integrated in the study of the Scottish Rite, although newer methodologies like historical semantics and intellectual history are good tools to apply.

The paper will therefore first outline the work done by Pike and Goblet d'Alviella, presenting some new archival sources. The different philosophical structures behind the two systems of rituals will be explained and their key concepts will be examined. In a second step the rituals will be confronted with the theoretical explanations given by the authors themselves. They will then be inserted in the larger framework of late 19th century philosophy and esotericism, which implies the question, in which respect the rituals differed from other new non-Christian rites and rituals outside the Masonic universe. The evaluation of the two rites with regard to the contemporaneous theory of religion is the last point. Only by such an insertion of the rites into a broader intellectual landscape their impact and importance can be judged sufficiently.

CHAIR: MARK TABBERT, USA

Paper 3a: Did Freemasonry help solve the common good problem? An examination of the historical expansion of American education in the western United States

Daniel Egel, USA

This paper examines the role that American Freemasonry played in the historical expansion of the American educational system. I find evidence that 19th-century Freemasonry had a significant positive impact on educational enrollment during and after the rapid rise of the 'common school' in the late 19th century. And in what is a striking example of the path dependence' of social institutions, I show that this effect persisted through the expansion of American high schools in the 1910s-1940s even after the waning of the influence of this organization. I provide evidence that Freemasonry's impact was particularly significant in areas that were the most heterogeneous - both ethnically and religiously. This, combined with the further observation that areas with more Freemasons had higher levels of local taxation, suggests that Freemasonry helped communities overcome the common good problem. I provide evidence against potential reverse causality by demonstrating that Freemasons did not tend to migrate to areas with existing public education systems. Further, by exploiting a panel data set of enrollment data, I provide evidence that unobserved heterogeneity and endogeneity are not driving the observed relationship. In a voting model augmented to allow for altruism I demonstrate the plausibility of these results. In particular I show how a relatively small number of Freemasons could affect the equilibrium provision of public education and why it is unsurprising to find that the impact of Freemasonry is larger in more heterogeneous areas.

Paper 3b: American Masonic membership trends

Brent Morris, USA

This paper is built upon a database of state-by-state membership information for the 20th century. The data is virtually complete for Freemasons and the York and Scottish Rites, and has good coverage for Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias, Knights of Columbus, Elks, Eagles, Moose, and Kiwanis. Shifting lodge sizes and initiations reveal the relative health and changing fortunes of these groups. Anomalies reveal underlying phenomena that deserve further study. For example:

1. Odd Fellowship was 4% larger than American Freemasonry in 1900 but peaked about 1920, and lost more from 1920-30 (before the Depression!) than it gained from 1910-20. In 2000 Freemasonry was at 220% of its 1900 level while Odd Fellowship was at 7%. What explains the radical differences of these two groups?
2. In 1900, Royal Arch Masonry (the first stage of the "York Rite") was the dominant American "high degree" system with 27% of Masons; the Scottish Rite had only 5%. In 1944 their memberships equaled, and in 2000 the Scottish Rite had 37% of Masons while only 15% were Royal Arch Masons. What caused this reversal of the rites?
3. The Shriners became an influential American Masonic organization in the 20th century, requiring their members to first join the York or Scottish Rites. The correlation of Shriner membership is 99% with the Scottish Rite, 78% with the Knights Templar, but only 42% with Royal Arch Masons. What do these correlations say about how the Shrine and the Rites functioned at the local level?

As Robert Putnam observed in *Bowling Alone* (2000), American voluntary associations surged in membership for 20-30 years after WWII and since have had steady declines to the present. A detailed study of these membership figures helps to understand how these groups interacted and how they functioned in their communities.

Paper 3c: An ungolden age of Fraternalism? A comparison of Craft Masonic membership in Confederate and Union States 1850-1900

John Belton, UK

It is generally accepted that the period that followed the American Civil War (1861-1865) gave rise to a 'Golden Age of Fraternalism' in the US (and indeed elsewhere in the English speaking world). There is indeed some evidence for this in the form of the multitude of fraternal organisations that sprang up.

However any attempt to quantify such theories have foundered on the lack of substantive hard data, especially as it has been generally assumed that Masonic membership data was not available for the period pre 1900. Extensive forensic library searches have unearthed membership data going back to the 1850s – and for both Union and Confederate States. Thus it has become possible for the first time to analyse what was clearly a Golden Age of Freemasonry in the Union States post 1865, some 300% growth in Masonic membership by 1900, and to compare that with data for the Southern Confederate States.

In the South there was a decline and stagnation of Masonic membership after the end of the Civil War and the numbers only returned to pre War levels by around 1900. The possibility that this was caused by wartime deaths of men or emigration as the causes of this is dealt with and disposed of by a comparison of masonic membership with US Census data. This conveniently has a category of white male over the age of 21 which allows a correlation to be made with the population of freemasons.

The Golden Age of Fraternalism in the North, even after the 300% growth by 1900, still only reached the levels seen in the South at the time of the Civil War. The evidence in the south is very much of an Un-Golden Age of Masonic Fraternalism after the Civil War.

HALL 4 10.30 – 12 NOON

SESSION 4: FREEMASONRY IN THE FAR EAST

CHAIR – ANDREW PRESCOTT, UK

Paper 4a: General MacArthur and the Grand Lodge of Japan

Pauline Chakmakjian, UK

Freemasonry was permitted in Japan from around the time of the Meiji Restoration, which took place in 1868. This paper will briefly describe five chronological stages of the existence of Freemasonry in Japan in order to display its development from being an organization only for foreigners to becoming a fraternity open to the Japanese people. A key player in this development was General MacArthur, who was responsible for the stabilization and reconstruction of Japan during the US Occupation following the Japanese surrender.

Initiated in 1871, the Iwakura Mission was performed to collect information on various aspects of life from foreign countries to effect the modernization of Japan. Freemasonry had been a curiosity to the Japanese, but even though it was allowed to exist in Japan, authorities forbade Japanese participation in it until 1950 when Prince Higashikuni was initiated. Prior to this, there was a period of intense anti-masonry in Japan during the 1930s since Japanese authorities were allied with Nazi Germany at that time. There were debates and discussions that took place during this time involving Japanese scholars to pierce into the nature and essence of freemasonry, and whether or not it was a real danger to Japanese society.

With the Japanese surrender, General MacArthur rescinded the barrier previously placed by the Japanese government to allow Japanese nationals to become freemasons. When he encouraged freemasonry among the Japanese, he arguably did so in order to aid the spread of Western ideas and ideals through the fraternity. Freemasonry possesses overlapping nuances with concepts such as democracy and Christianity, which would strengthen his strategy in guiding the Japanese towards internalising Western ideologies – a goal of the Occupation.

Paper 4b: The genealogy of Philippine Freemasonry

Teodoro Kalaw IV, Philippines

Two significant milestones mark the history of the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of the Philippines (“GLP”) as the sole regular grand lodge in South East Asia. As to its origins, the GLP is the product of a merger between regular Freemasonry by way of grand lodges in the United States and continental Freemasonry from Spain. As to its growth, the GLP is the mother grand lodge to the other regular grand lodges in Greater East Asia: the Grand Lodge of China currently based in Taiwan and the Grand Lodge of Japan.

The paper aims to be a general but definitive survey of the genealogy of Philippine Freemasonry in five parts:

- The arrival of Freemasonry in the Philippine Islands, its adoption by local inhabitants, and the significance of such to Philippine history;
- The founding of American lodges, the creation of a grand lodge for the Philippine Islands sponsored by American grand lodges, and resulting conflict with the Filipino lodges;
- The union of American and Filipino lodges in 1917;
- Exclusive territorial jurisdiction over Freemasonry in the Philippines since 1917, particularly schisms and lodges operating in the country belonging to other obediences; and
- The chartering of GLP lodges outside the Philippines, the founding of the Grand Lodges of China and Japan, and the status of the GLP's remaining subordinate foreign lodges.

Substantial literature already exists as to these five individual topics. These sources will be critically reassessed so as to present the most current overview of the GLP's origins and history, particularly focusing on its attempts to exercise and extend its masonic jurisdiction in the Philippines and Greater East Asia.

HALL I 13.00 – 14.30

SESSION 5: NEW APPROACHES TO BRITISH FREEMASONRY I

CHAIR - ANDREW PRESCOTT, UK

Paper 5a: The apotheosis of Thomas Dunckerley

Susan Mitchell Sommers, USA

Henry Sadler's 1891 biographical study has long stood as the final word on the life and works of one of the most important figures of later eighteenth century Freemasonry—Thomas Dunckerley. Sadler's work is a fine example of how the then-new scientific, methods based on documentary criticism were brought to bear on Masonic history, which up until that point had relied to an astonishing degree on hearsay and pious mythology. Drawing largely on Dunckerley's correspondence with officials of the Premier Grand Lodge and contemporary newspaper accounts, Sadler generally affirms both Dunckerley's claims about his paternity and early life, and the central role he played in building up Freemasonry in the southern provinces of England. Dunckerley has thus come down to us, according to Sadler's conclusions, as a Masonic wunderkind—an illegitimate and unrecognized son of George II whose exceptional personal qualities manifested themselves early in life, commanding the respect and friendship of his social superiors, and whose eventual royal recognition and unsurpassed Masonic authority were the just rewards of a life focused, laser-like, on virtue and service.

The Dunckerley that is endorsed by Sadler's study is, however, largely a creature of Dunckerley's own invention. New research based on Dunckerley's own writings and those of his contemporaries, reveals a much more interesting and ambiguous character—one whose personal quest for respectability and preferment also drove his aggressive pursuit of Masonic order, ritual uniformity, and the creation of a unified system of higher degrees. This paper will share current research on Dunckerley's personal life and ambitions, as well as his Masonic accomplishments and aspirations, offering a much more nuanced and intriguing portrait of the man than has heretofore been presented.

Paper 5b: Working at Freemasons' Hall 1850-1920

Diane Clements, UK

The growth in membership of English freemasonry at home and abroad in the second half of the nineteenth century fostered the development of an office administration at Freemasons' Hall, London, which provides a case study of the lower middle class Victorian clerk, considered elsewhere by Crossick and Anderson. As being a freemason was a necessary qualification for the job, this paper will combine information drawn from membership registers, lodge histories and census returns to examine the lives these men led and the networks in which they spent their working lives and at least some of their leisure time. By analysing this group the paper will seek to explore the homogeneity of this occupational group, their principal values and ideologies and how they related to other social classes in their working environment.

Paper 5c: Anglo-American Masonic relations 1871-90

James W. Daniel, UK

James Belich has recently argued that despite Britain's bias towards the Confederacy during the American Civil War, Britain had achieved a 'partial recolonization of the United States' by the end of the nineteenth century. Demonstrating the social and cultural dimensions of the Anglo-American 'special relationship' that flourished between 1875 and 1900, Belich argues that the flow of influence across the Atlantic was indeed mainly westward. This paper considers changes that occurred in Anglo-American masonic relations between 1871 and 1890 in the context of that special relationship, and suggests that in Freemasonry the eastward flow was stronger.

In 1871 the British politician, Lord Ripon, came to Washington DC to negotiate a resolution of the difficulties that had arisen between 'neutral' Great Britain and the USA. At a masonic reception there in 1871, Ripon, as the Grand Master of the United Grand Lodge of England, also expressed the hope that his visit would be 'but a first step... to a closer and more intimate union between American and English Masons'.

Trans-Atlantic communications became faster and more frequent; articles from newspapers and periodicals were quickly reproduced on both sides; and, as the American economy grew, ever more Americans visited Britain. The role played by American freemasons in exporting American extra-Craft degrees to England is highlighted. Elsewhere in the British Empire, Albert Pike presided over the establishment of the first Supreme Council of the 'Scottish Rite' in a British Dominion (Canada), and there were concerns in Jamaica that the Americans might try to introduce their version of the Rite there, despite the island's (masonic) occupation by the British. Further afield, Pike protested against the English Supreme Council's formation of a Rose Croix Chapter in Japan, and English masonic scholars such as Robert Freke Gould complained of American literary piracy.

HALL 2 13.00 – 14.30

SESSION 6: FREEMASONRY AND RELIGION II

CHAIR – JAN SNOEK, GERMANY

Paper 6a: From the ethos of the Temple: Masonic contexts of Theism, Deism and Atheism

Peter Paul Fuchs, USA

The richness of Solomon's Temple symbolism, used in Freemasonry, will be investigated in this research for signs that can facilitate the Craft's relationship to intricate notions of Deism, Theism and Atheism. Using an hermeneutical approach, it examines 18th-century notions drawn from diverse attempts of theological hyper-rationality, which though not considered classics of the age, may have influenced Freemasonry's peculiar hermeneutical and symbolic needs. Using diverse sources for support (from classics like Charles Vereker, to recent a recent monograph by Peter Harrison, as well as venerable AQC studies) it surveys these complex religious approaches in relation to the notion that "manliness", as seen in a fraternal context, is a key heuristic by which to analyze different views (relating back to Bromwell's classic study of Masonic Geometry). Thus, an overly radical skepticism, potentially atheistic, courage needed for a sense of meaning to life, rather than because of a specific position relation to theism. In this regard specific analyses of Masonic notions of Solomon's Temple symbolism are used to clarify this relationship, as well as changing notions of 18th Masonic architectural proclivities. A fresh view, namely, of specific attraction to idealized Jewish architectural tropes, as opposed to specifically Classical (identified with effete French styles at this period), provide support Masonic "manliness" in relation to Semitic tropes. Similarly, Deistic thought, from Charles Taylor's recent work, can be seen more in a "providentially" meaningful direction by close historical analysis; thus informative of both Theism and Atheism in the Masonic context. Related to notions of gentlemanly conduct of the era, it gives a more useful context of the Masonic proscription of the "stupid atheist" as unsocial and crude fool. The phenomenon of the period involving polemical attributions of Atheism to dissenting or denominationally different Christians is contrasted with the freedom-of-belief enshrined in Anderson's Noachite themes and philosophy, as a form of polite civility and "benevolence". A renewed precision in the Masonic proscription of atheism is provided in a more ample historical horizon.

Paper 6b: Of Mormons and Masons: Freemasonry's Craft rituals of initiation and the Latter-Day Saint Temple ceremonies

Mark E. Koltko-Rivera, USA

This paper addresses an almost 200-year-old Masonic controversy: Did the first Latter-day Saint or 'Mormon' prophet appropriate the Masonic Craft degree rituals to create the Latter-day Saint temple ceremonies?

After explaining the nature of the controversy, I describe relevant aspects of Latter-day Saint (LDS) belief, practice, and history. I then present an interpretation that explains what actually occurred historically, as well as a resolution to this controversy.

Joseph Smith had been involved in the development of rituals for LDS temple worship from 1836 to 1842. In January 1841, he received a revelation stating that a major ritual development would occur in the near future, related to a Temple to be built in Nauvoo, Illinois. Smith also worked in Nauvoo with Egyptian initiatory texts. With these concerns in mind, Smith received the Craft degrees of Freemasonry in March 1842.

On several occasions, Smith had studied and pondered a sacred text, following which he had received a major revelation that far transcended that text in doctrinal impact. Similarly, Smith's Masonic initiation was a sort of catalyst, the contemplation of which prepared Smith's mind to receive the major temple-related revelation that he had been awaiting for over a year. (Of course, the process of revelation can be understood from several perspectives, including the Jungian—a 'revelation from within,' as it were.) Although Masonic initiation was catalytic for Smith, the Masonic rituals and the LDS temple ritual would have very little in common.

To test this interpretation, I compare Masonic ritual and the LDS temple endowment ceremony (in general terms that violate the confidential nature of neither). I then consider the implications that this controversy and its resolution has for the Masonic and LDS communities, and the discipline of religious studies.

HALL 3 13.00 – 14.30

SESSION 7: FREEMASONRY AND POETRY

CHAIR – JOHN B SLIFKO, USA

Paper 7a: Freemasons Who Roared: Masonic Heroes and Performative Poetics

Carolyn Bain, USA

Although laurels for Masonic heroes regularly fall upon generals, scientists, and politicians whose celebrity status historians define by actions relative to prowess on the field, in the lab, or at the polls, this paper complicates the Masonic hero's identity by questioning Masonry's influence on its heroes' literary performance. In our age, dominated by a fascination with technology's ability to deliver the short and sweet "tweet," the study of Freemasonry's literary heroes may appear inconsistent with 21st-century priorities. This paper, however, argues for consideration of Masonic heroes within a new category of significance: "literary action figures." Using insights from communications and performance theories set forth in the works of J.L. Austin, Joseph Roach, and other cultural studies scholars, the paper explores writing styles as evidence of Masonic identity and performance.

The research limits its focus to specific writers and select works informed by their Masonic participation and understanding. The three Masonic writers include: Robert Burns, Scottish bard and celebrity (1759-1796), Rob. Morris, born Robert Williams Peckham, U.S.A., lawyer, originator of the Masonic appendant body, Order of the Eastern Star (1818-1888), and Rudyard Kipling, India and England, Nobel Laureate (1865-1936). Each was considered a cultural giant in his lifetime. This study asks: What are the implications for 21st-century scholars to expand consideration of Freemasonry as a cultural apparatus communicated and authenticated through the "performative language" of its literary laureates?

This work engages primary sources, including letters, Lodge-related documents, Masonic ritual publications, and esoteric writings available in collections in Washington, D.C., New York, and the U.K. and secondary resources accessible through scholarly networks. The study intends 1.) To relate the heroic voices of Burns, Kipling, and Morris to the Craft's performative culture, and 2.) To advance scholarly conversations on Masonic heroic identity at the intersection of language, performance, and culture.

Paper 7b: Comparisons between Masonic language and motives in French and Italian poetry from the Enlightenment to the Napoleonic Age

Guilia Delogu, Italy

The paper deals with the relationship between Freemasonry and French and Italian Literature, especially poetry, from the Enlightenment to the Napoleonic Age. The decision to compare Italian and French poetry was due to the close masonic and cultural ties between these two countries, which were particularly strong during the 18th century. Thanks to the comparison among the poetical texts (chansons maçonniques) contained in masonic pamphlets and anthologies, the Catechisms of Freemasonry and the literary production of some authors, freemasons and not, such as Vittorio Alfieri, Tommaso Crudeli, Alessandro Manzoni, Lorenzo Mascheroni, Vincenzo Monti, the Pindemonte brothers, the Chénier brothers, Michel de Cubières, Pierre-Louis Ginguené, Evariste Parny, Antoine Roucher (to mention only the most important ones), it was possible to underline the existence of a new language (formed by already existing words, used with different meanings, i.e. resemantized), which expressed the new secular values of Freedom, Fraternity and Equality pursued by Freemasonry. It is necessary to underline the influence of French masonic poetry on the Italian one. However, it is also important to highlight how much they differ. French masonic poetry showed a sort of Epicurean character and, even if it used "political" words such as Freedom, Human rights, Equality, the poets preferred to concentrate on topics such as Happiness and Friendship, at least until the French Revolution. Italian masonic poetry developed in more difficult conditions (and was also persecuted - i.e. the "Tommaso Crudeli affair") and it appeared more politically engaged and more conscious. It is also interesting to observe the diffusion of masonic words and themes in authors who never joined Freemasonry, both in Italy and France, as a sign of how pervasive was its influence during the 18th and the early 19th century.

HALL 4 13.00 – 14.30

SESSION 8: FREEMASONRY IN MEXICO I

DECONSTRUCTING 'HERENCIAS SECRETAS': FREEMASONRY, POLITICS, AND SOCIETY IN MEXICO

CHAIR – GUILLERMO IZABEL, USA

Paper 8a: 'Herencias Secretas' and the extraordinary varieties of contemporary Mexican Freemasonry Paul Rich, USA

Since the early nineteenth century, Mexican Freemasonry has been characterized by its amazing variety, not only in competing jurisdictions but in rituals themselves. Herencias Secretas provides the scaffolding needed for further understanding and the growth of the Web and Internet has enabled many heretofore obscure bodies to emerge from the shadows, creating opportunities for documentation and challenges in scholarship for a possible further volume by Professor De Los Reyes. Attention is given to the Mexican National Rite, the Primitive Rite, the many different female and co Masonic bodies, and (to bring the account to recent times) the Order of Quetzalcoatl. The small collateral bodies attached to the York Grand Lodge are documented. Masonic attitudes towards the legitimacy of different degree systems and the phenomenon of the vigorous growth of such bodies in a time of decline in mainstream Freemasonry in some parts of the world is examined.

Paper 8b: Answered and unanswered questions in 'Herencias Secretas'

David Merchant, USA

Freemasonry is in most Latin American countries often regarded as a mysterious organization that raises eyebrows. Skepticism about this fraternal society is based on the secrecy of its rituals and its involvement in some celebrated historical periods that, allegedly, shaped the political and cultural landscape in the region. Mexican freemasonry, according to De Los Reyes, had its share in the formation of a political culture that still prevails in the country. But to what extent is Freemasonry responsible for Mexico's secular and liberal political thought? Herencias Secretas answers this question and is an historical tour de force examining the level of such responsibility. However, Herencias Secretas leaves some unanswered questions that I will bring to the De Los Reyes' attention with this paper. Hopefully, this exchange of ideas will generate some valuable contributions to potential new editions of the book or their inclusion for its English translation.

Paper 8c: Discussant: Guillermo de los Reyes, USA

CHAIR - KRISTOFFER ALLERFELDT, UK

Paper 9a: Free Gardeners and Freemasons – a comparison

James Jack, UK

At the ICHF conference in 2009 Dr. Bob James, University of Newcastle, N.S.W. presented a paper which examined the Harland-Jacob thesis in: `The Builders of the Empire` from an Australian perspective. Dr. James exposed the flawed Harland-Jacob assertion that Freemasonry was unique by highlighting quasi-masonic Orders that had similar aspects to Freemasonry but which were not part of the Masonic structure. This paper will explore further the historical aspect of one of these organisations – The Order of Free Gardeners. This like Freemasonry, appears to have been Scottish in origin, the earliest Lodge being located at Haddington in East Lothian. The early members of this Lodge were operative, that is 'working' gardeners. The indications are that it was in existence much earlier than the oldest surviving minute of the Lodge dated 16th August 1676. These minutes detail a network for importing vegetables and plants from Europe which were propagated and the profits from their sale added to the Lodge funds. Early Scottish Masonic Lodges were governed by The Schaw Statutes of 1598/99. The Order of Free Gardeners had a Lodge structure, similar to that of a Lodge of Freemasons but unlike Freemasonry had no overall governing body. During the course of the nineteenth century a number of Grand Lodges appeared in Scotland. By the middle of the century nearly all Lodges had become Friendly Societies, which although now wholly 'speculative,' still kept the traditions of the operative gardeners alive through flower shows and parades on local festive and Gala days.

The paper will consider the parallels between Free Gardeners Lodges and early Masonic Lodges in Scotland and how both Orders evolved from being operative bodies into a non-operative or 'speculative' bodies and in the case of Free Gardeners, into Friendly Societies. Friendly Societies had financial and property interests, throughout the world particularly in British colonies such as Australia until the demise of the Order in the early 1960s.

Paper 9b: The Masonic Heritage: A Continental Critique using Fraternal Societies in Australia, 1788-2010

Bob James, Australia

In 2007 at the Second International Conference into the History of Freemasonry, Keynote Speaker Prof Jan Snoek asserted the need for 'a new Masonic history', one element of which he described as:

..friendly societies, Masonic 'spin-off' societies and Trade Unions, many of which we now know incorporate part of the Masonic heritage.

My contributions to ICHF in 2007 and 2009 critiqued the concept, 'the Masonic heritage' in works by Masonic scholars, and one recent non-Mason in particular, Harland-Jacobs whose thesis argued that British Freemasons were 'the builders of Empire'.

This Paper continues that examination by summarising original research into the three other major 'strands' of Australian fraternalism, namely, trade-oriented and friendly societies and what I call 'related' societies, such as the Loyal Orange Institute and the Good Templars. Placing these ground-breaking histories and new findings about Australian Freemasonry into a single time-line allows important comparisons to be made and broad-ranging conclusions to be suggested.

Contextualising fraternal societies in this way is a necessary step in Masonic research, as it reveals that assumptions of Masonic pre-eminence contained in the term, 'Masonic heritage', are not sound. More reasonable is the conclusion that all 'strands' inter-reacted within and contributed to a 'fraternal heritage', an altogether more useful term of analysis.

Other findings include that each of the 'strands' and each individual Order within a strand have had non-coinciding periods of rapid growth and slow decline because of changing socio-economic circumstances and the internal capacities of each fraternity to adapt.

Paper 9c: Darius Wilson, confidence games, and the limits of American Fraternal respectability, 1875-1915

William D. Moore, USA

Many scholars, including Mark Carnes and Mary Ann Clawson, have noted that the last quarter of the nineteenth century was the "golden age of fraternity" in the United States. These years, during which America transformed from a rural society with an economy based in agriculture to an urban nation funded by industrial manufacturing, were also a time of frauds, hucksters, and charlatans who exploited the country's rapid changes as opportunities to enrich themselves at the expense of others.

This presentation will examine the forty-year career of Darius Wilson, who founded the Royal Arcanum, assumed the title of "Grand Master of the Venerable Symbolic Grand Lodge Ancient Egyptian Rite of Freemasonry for the United States of America," Ancient, and claimed to have developed a cure for deafness. Between 1875 and 1915, Wilson was both hailed for providing insurance to poverty-stricken immigrants and decried as a fraud who foisted worthless fraternal, medical and financial certificates upon a credulous public. A resident of Boston, Massachusetts, Wilson was a member of Rochester, New York's Yonnonidio Lodge No. 163, F. & A. M., before he was expelled. Subsequently he was repeatedly arrested and tried for improperly selling Masonic degrees.

Wilson provides a case study for the exploration of issues of authority, legitimacy, and confidence within the American industrializing economy, and will provide new perspectives for understanding both fraternalism and Progressive cries for governmental regulation at the birth of the twentieth century.

HALL 2 15.00 – 16.30

SESSION 10: NEW APPROACHES TO BRITISH FREEMASONRY II

CHAIR – JAMES DANIEL, UK

Paper 10a: 'The Accomplishment of so great a Design...': the architecture and interior design of the first purpose-built Masonic hall in England

Harriet Sandvall, UK

This paper reexamines the why, when and how of the architecture and interior design of the first purpose-built Masonic hall in England. Consecrated in 1776, it was designed by Thomas Sandby, the Royal Academy of Arts' first Professor of Architecture and the Society of Freemasons' first Grand Architect.

In a time when there is a renewed interest in Masonic architecture on the continent, notably the 2010 exhibition of the Museum of the Grande Loge de France, this paper develops earlier studies of Sandby's hall, notably the 2006 exhibition and catalogue, produced by the Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London.

To explain the hall's architectural and decorative scheme, this paper examines the development of architectural theory in England at the time, paying close attention to Sandby's unpublished academy lectures (from 1769) and their relation to the 1784 Book of Constitutions, as well as publications such as Robert Wood's and James Dawkins' *The Ruins of Palmyra, otherwise Tedmor in the Desart* (1753). The paper identifies possible models of inspiration for the hall's architecture and decorative scheme, and considers several examples where Sandby's hall in its turn could have stood model. The paper also analyses the nature and extent of ideological, political and practical influences on its style, and examines certain events within Freemasonry preceding its construction.

Though the first headquarters of the Moderns, Sandby's hall was by no means the first hall built under its jurisdiction. This paper reexamines, why in 1776, the time was deemed ripe in England for the construction of a grandiose purpose-built headquarters for the Moderns' Grand Lodge, and it discusses what influence the building of earlier halls in the colonies might have had on the Grand Lodge's historic decision to complement the pub with a hall.

Paper 10b: A Critical Analysis of the Degree Lectures of Waller Rodwell Wright in the Context of English Freemasonry of the Early Nineteenth Century

Shawn E. Eyer, USA

Waller Rodwell Wright (1775–1826) was an important Masonic leader and deeply creative man of letters who became a member of William Preston's inner circle in 1800, and was a key figure in the Union of the Antients and Moderns in 1813. Although Preston's Craft degrees had already been under development for three decades, adjustments were still being made during this time period. Wright was a key figure in this time of ongoing experimentation. Manuscript drafts for two Craft lectures exist in Wright's hand, first identified by Colin Dyer. They were likely, according to Dyer, the work as presented in Lodge of Promulgation (1809–1811), which was created by the Moderns to "revert to the Ancient Land Marks of the Society," and as such may shed valuable light on concepts deeply valued by English Masons at the time. While Dyer published a brief synopsis of these documents in 1976, this paper presents the first detailed study of the contents of Wright's lectures, including a critical analysis of their interrelationship with Preston's work. The Wright lectures will be compared to: 1) Wright's other surviving work, including his famous ode that was performed at the ceremony of the Union of the Antients and the Moderns in 1813, 2) William Preston's work; and 3) ideas that were being explored by other Masonic ritualists of the time, such as Hippolyto da Costa. Finally, the paper will consider the themes of Wright's lectures in the wider context of the Masonic literature of the period immediately following the Union. By considering these unique lectures in a wider context, we will gain a more informed view of a critical period in the formation of Masonic ritual, and deeper insight into the themes and currents present in early nineteenth-century Craft Freemasonry.

HALL 3 15.00 – 16.30

SESSION II: IMPACTS OF FREEMASONRY I

CHAIR – MARK TABBERT, USA

Paper 11a: Cry Fowle: The life, times, and Masonic influence of Henry Fowle of Boston

Richard W. Van Doren, USA

Few American Freemasons can be said to have wielded as much influence upon the Craft as Henry Fowle. Yet, it is seldom that one hears his name and he lingers in Masonic obscurity.

Henry Fowle was born a subject of the British Crown in the Colony of Massachusetts. His life spanned the momentous occasions of the American Revolution, the Founding of the United States, the Louisiana Purchase, the War of 1812 with Great Britain, the opening of the Erie Canal, the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution, and the Independence of Texas.

Fowle's life is a mirror for the tumult of the Nation's founding and is reflective of the success of the rise of the American middle class:

- Born of a tailor, he became a successful businessman
- Business profit was often at the whim of political party factions
- Rising to prominence in Boston, he would see his trade die out late in life
- Military service included a moment of personal courage
- Betrayed by family and friends he was also rescued by the same
- Living in an era of Anti-Masonic fervor, he remained confident in the Craft's future.

Henry Fowle's contributions to Freemasonry were substantial. He was instrumental in writing ritual, standardizing exemplification of it, purifying the Craft of charlatans, and helping to form new bodies that stretched across the country and into the future.

In examining his role, lessons may be learned for several questions about the current state of the Craft and the way forward. If one were to look for an example for Freemasons to emulate in the 21st Century, Henry Fowle presents a personal pattern to follow demonstrating integrity, courage, kindness, and faith.

Paper IIb: 'What I am today': Benjamin Emmons' Masonic gift

Hilary Anderson Stelling, USA

In June 1805 cooper, shipyard owner and merchant Benjamin Emmons (1762-1841) joined newly established Solar Lodge No. 14 in Bath, Maine. Soon after he commissioned two large creamware pitchers inscribed CORN and WINE. They were, most probably, a gift for his lodge. In commissioning them, Emmons commemorated his life and work, and hoped to tie, in a permanent way, his accomplishments to an organization he valued. Close examination of Emmons' gift opens multiple avenues to understanding not only the donor but the context surrounding his present.

Material culture studies of presentation objects, particularly silver, have delved into the multiple meanings these gifts carry for donors, recipients, makers and users. One scholar has suggested that "each [presentation] object is the nucleus of a historic event, the center of an act that involved the minds, hands and hearts of many individuals..." Presentation objects used for rituals, such as communion silver or ceremonial objects used in lodges, were particularly meaningful. They directly associated the donor with important rituals and also linked the donor to the organization beyond his lifetime.

Many pitchers decorated with Masonic-themed transfer prints dating 1790s-1820s survive in New England lodges and museum and private collections. Emmons' gift, however, stands out in this group. The inscriptions noting Emmons' birthday and birthplace, and the painted illustrations of coopering, Emmons' first profession, speak directly to his biography. The letters, CORN and WINE, point to the intended use of the pitcher during Masonic hall dedications. The high cost of large pitchers such as these and the unusual potter's mark they bear, underscore how impressive these objects were in their time. This paper will examine Emmons' pitchers to explore what a presentation object can tell us about the role Freemasonry played in Emmons life and the lives of others in his community.

Paper IIc: Times of Andres Cassard in New York and the building of relationship of the United States Freemasonry Jurisdictions between Latin American Freemasonry bodies (1856-1873)

Prof. Dr. Miguel Guzman-Stein, Costa Rica

The Cuban-American Andres Cassard is one of the most interesting and controversial characters in the Latin American Freemasonry in the second half of the nineteenth century, with great impact in Cuba, Colombia, Costa Rica, Brazil, Dominican Republic, Peru, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Mexico, etc. Cassard was an important intermediate in the construction of the relations of the Masonic bodies of the United States with Latin America and Europe, which allowed him to create a privileged position and respected for many, and create controversy in others. This paper presents a number of Masonic facets about Cassard during his life in New York (1852-1894), as well as aspects of personal and public life that provided a better understanding about the reality of a Freemason man who built his life close of the great authorities of U.S. Freemasonry, Albert Pike, Leon Hyneman, Albert Mackey and Robert Morris, and maintained special relations with Masonic and political elites of various nations in Latin America.

HALL 4 15.00 – 16.30

SESSION 12: FREEMASONRY IN MEXICO II

HISTORY, LITERATURE AND CULTURE IN MEXICAN FREEMASONRY

CHAIR - GUILLERMO IZABEL, USA

Paper 12a: Public debate about Freemasonry, United States/México, 1730-1840

María Eugenia Vázquez Semadeni, Mexico

I will present a comparative study between the development and the political participation of American and Mexican Masonic organizations after the independence. In that period, Mexican Masonic bodies, especially the obediences of the York Rite, became centers of political action. In public debates about masonry and politics, key themes for the new political order –such as the representative government, the republican system, the parties system, the federalism and the elections–, were discussed. In consequence, the debate about masonry was fundamental for the political culture of early independent Mexico. I compare that with the treatment of the Masonic theme in American public papers of the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, and the discourses, sermons and other printings produced by American Masons of that epoch, searching for coincidences and differences between the Mexican and the American political cultures, in particular with respect to political languages, practices such as elections or public discussions, and institutions such as representative bodies, parties, etc.

Paper I2b: American Freemasonry in Mexico during the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century

Carlos Francisco Martínez Moreno, Mexico

The jurisdiction of Mexican Masonic groups generally experienced changes and challenges with the creation of the modern nation state. Within the frontiers between Mexico and United States of America during the 19th and 20th century there were some Masonic groups in Mexico that were chartered within the American Masonic jurisdiction rather than with the Mexican one. Based on primary sources that have not widely been used previously, this research analyzes various lodges in Mexico with charters given by authorities of Freemasonry of the United States of America (particularly in Texas) during the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century.

Paper I2c: Freemasonry, folklore, and cultural production in a socio-literary context: the impact of literature and folklore in Mexican and American Masonry

Guillermo de los Reyes, USA

The period between the highly publicized fratricidal era of the Yorkinos and Escoceses, The Juárez era, and (decades later) the subsequent ascendancy of Porfirio Díaz as grand master of a briefly united national grand lodge at the end of the century, has been ignored and at the same has contributed to the creation of several myths around Freemasonry in the Mexican psyche. By no means was this forgotten period of the craft without its interest and consequences. A point made in this paper is that myths have power and popular myths influence politics whether there is substance to them or not. The perception that the Masons are powerful has given them power. The Masons' cultivation of the myth of their contributions to democracy has created the popular opinion that Mexican founders and patriots were Masons and the symbols of the early Mexican Republic were Masonic (a phenomenon to be noted in the popular perception of the establishment of other modern Mexican state as well, it should be added). Using an interdisciplinary approach that combines historiography, literary analysis, cultural studies, and folklore, my work analyzes myths, legends novels, political essays, pamphlets, and plays written by authors who were influenced by, were part of, or criticized Mexican Freemasonry in order to study the impact that folklore has in the understanding of Mexican Freemasonry.

HALL I 16.30 – 17.30

PLENARY LECTURE 2

The battle to control high grade Masonry in the United States

PROFESSOR ARTURO DE HOYOS, USA

The cooperation of masonic organizations in the United States has been complicated by the fact that each state not only has its own grand lodge, but also because grand officers and/or popular masons have sometimes thrown their support behind certain 'high degree' masonic systems for purely personal reasons. The popularity of diverse forms of masonry has resulted in battles over claims to the exclusive intellectual rights to certain degrees, and/or ritual secrets, in spite of the fact that they may have been used by older rites, orders, and systems. This competition led to the creation of newer high degree systems, reconstitutions of older systems, and a plethora of new honors for members faithful to a particular type of masonry. The competition has sometimes been aggravated by articles and announcements in both masonic and public newspapers. Although many of the struggles for masonic dominance have been resolved, feelings of antagonism persist in some regions, and new attempts to seize authority over certain high degrees have continued to the present year.

'All things here are frail and changeable': The social and political origins of Prince Hall Freemasonry in the late 18th century

CHERNOH SESAY, JR

Prince Hall Freemasonry occupies an odd position in the scholarship of African American history. Scholars have depicted the African Lodge as either a manifestation of class difference or a pillar of community infrastructure. African American Freemasons have been described as part of the urban lower orders because of race, but also as a bourgeois elite because of their belief in uplift and respectability. Examining the issue of black Masonic distinctiveness as an either or question, or with a sole focus on Prince Hall, leads away from properly investigating the social origins of the African Lodge. By excavating the lives of the men, including Hall, who raised African Lodge No. 459, this essay argues that the complexity of black Freemasonry reflected the ambiguities and paradoxes of gradual emancipation, and moreover, that the uniqueness of black Masonic leadership endowed it with the power to inform public discourse about abolition and African-American identity.

CHAIR – ROBERT L. D. COOPER, UK

Paper 13a: Public Masonic processions in the thirteen American colonies

John Wade, UK

Public Masonic processions were a regular occurrence in many parts of England from the first quarter of the eighteenth century to the immediate pre-Second World War period in the late 1930s. This paper will survey public Masonic processions in the Thirteen American Colonies in the eighteenth century and ask whether these processions took place for the same reasons as those in England during the same period and to what extent there was a parallel association of civic, ecclesiastical and Masonic bodies. Masonic processions of course immediately raise questions of local attitudes towards openness about Masonic membership, and this is one area where differences between England and America might be expected. Other questions of particular interest to be asked by the present study are those of the use of public and private space by Freemasons in the Colonies, and whether the nature of processions changed in the new States and their Grand Lodges as they were formed. Masonic funerals are a form of procession of particular significance, and the public side of American Masonic funerals and the contrast with the situation in England will be discussed. The extent to which the Morgan affair affected the holding of public Masonic processions, as time moved on in the nineteenth century, will also be considered. Finally, a comparison will be made between the perceived openness now developing in English Freemasonry, especially with regard to charitable activities, and the openness of American Freemasonry during the twentieth century.

Paper 13b: Dolley Madison and the Freemason Benjamin Latrobe in the making of the President's House, Washington City, and beyond

John B. Slifko, USA

The American ceremony of the laying of the cornerstone was constructed from inherited fragments of earlier gendered rituals and public performances of Freemasonry in England and Scotland. The ceremony in America largely evolved its current form from these roots. This research paper will focus contextually upon four key ceremonies between 1791 and 1793. The first three occurred in the Federal District proper: Jones Point (1791), The President's House (1792), the United States Capitol (1793), but then The University of North Carolina (1793). The paper follows-on considering two additional ceremonies: Allegheny College (1815) and the University of Michigan (1817). The historical and cultural geography of these six ceremonies points to the valorization of virtue and education in the young Republic and the place of Freemasonry in early American civil society and the public sphere before the Morgan Affair.

The research paper discloses a narrative of perceived endless perfectibility in early America that binds the ceremonies and public moral imagination together in the emerging nation-state. Additionally, the paper builds toward a theorization of ritual and social performance, and the mediation of text, to explicate the meaning of the cornerstone in public

life and its salience in the private life, and lodge, of the Freemason. In working toward a theory of ritual, theater and social performance the research draws on the work of Erving Goffman, Jeffrey Alexander and Victor Turner, as well the pragmatist aesthetics of John Dewey. Ritual performance with the Freemason is construed as a symbolic language oriented in qualitative, embodied geographic place, but in addition in the case of the Capitol building—with a compass rose set in its center and aligned with a proposed column to the east—there is a perception of the qualitative feel of light in the young nation. Prince Hall Freemasonry is also given attention.

Paper 13c: A Scottish Lodge in the Grand Jurisdiction of Massachusetts

Michael S. Kaulback, USA

For thirty-two years following the declared independence of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, a lodge continued to exist and to work Masonically under charter from the Grand Lodge of Scotland. Members of this "Antients" lodge had been instrumental in the Colony of Massachusetts rebelling against the King of England and had assisted the American rebels to launch the "Boston Tea Party" and to found the American nation. Yet, even after the United States was founded and the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts had merged other lodges operating under both the English and the Scottish constitutions, this singular lodge, St. Andrew's Lodge of Boston, continued to work by themselves under their previous charter.

In 1752, a small group of Masons started to meet "According to Custom" at the Green Dragon Tavern. They formed themselves into a lodge and raised their first Master Mason the following year. Wanting, then, to become a lodge under charter, they applied to the Grand Lodge of Scotland and were granted a charter to become the first lodge of the "Antients" working in 1756. St. Andrew's Lodge became a seminal force in American Freemasonry, producing two Provincial Grand Masters and having the first Knighting of a Templar in the New World. They were then working side by side with the "Moderns" lodges formed under the Grand Lodge of England.

But Masonic tensions occurred and came to a head during the American Revolution. When the guns ceased and the dust settled, the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts merged Antients and Moderns lodges. St. Andrew's decided to remain aligned with Scotland and refused to quit working or to join the new Grand Lodge. This paper, thoroughly documented, will tell the reasons why and how, in 1809, they reversed their previous decision.

HALL 2 10.30 – 12 NOON

SESSION 14: CONTRADICTIONS OF FRATERNALISM: PRACTICES OF INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION I

INCLUSION: COMMUNITY FORMATION AND SOCIAL ACTION

CHAIR – SUSAN MITCHELL SOMMERS, USA

Paper 14a: Introduction to the panels

Kristofer Allerfeldt, UK & Jeffrey Tyssen, Belgium

In literature, American fraternal orders are often looked at from a rather positive perspective. The fraternities appear as typical features of Schlesinger's "Nation of Joiners". They can usually count on a Tocquevillean evaluation as key actors in civil society: promoters of social cohesion in an immigrant society. No doubt, strong arguments plead in favor of this approach. In this panel, an exemplary case will be studied, showing this role of the fraternal orders and their shared habitus in frontier communities in the late 19th, early 20th century. In a similar vein, an analysis will be advanced of an unusual case of the "exporting" of an American fraternal model to Europe as a means to promote the struggle against alcohol abuse. It will show how flexible this organizational mode has been, adapting to completely different social and ideological contexts. But there is a flip side to the story. Fraternal orders were also the locus of practices of exclusion on racial and denominational base. This already shows through the observation of "incomplete" inclusive practices. It is revealed even more clearly through the fraternity-related polemics on anti-Catholic and nativist politics and through the complex links between fraternal orders and the Ku Klux Klan. Klan racism was not only organized on a fraternal blueprint (offering a mass basis for racial exclusion and discrimination); it also attempted to make use of fraternal networks for its own purposes. These elements show a fundamental paradox, of social inclusion and exclusion, in American fraternalism which a two-sided approach through a double panel session will demonstrate.

Paper 14b: Ghost town brotherhood: Fraternities in West American mining towns, 1879-1912

Jeffrey Tyssens, Belgium

In the wake of the Gold Rush and the start of intensive mining activities in California and Nevada, cities such as Bodie (Ca.) and Virginia City (Nev.) mushroomed for a couple of years and were subsequently abandoned, as their mines were closed. The very rapid growth of these cities by the huge influx of Eastern state fortune seekers and first generation immigrants was quickly followed by the introduction of fraternal societies. Besides Freemasonry, both towns had lodges of Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias and of the Ancient Order of United Workmen as well as local trade unions which often had a fraternal flavor. The recruits were mainly miners and other laborers, but there was also middle class and local elite presence. In these predominantly male, isolated frontier communities living conditions were harsh and the mainly single men found that fraternities offered mutual benefit systems, care, emotional comfort and cultural stimulation.

This paper will explore whether these fraternities really did operate in completely separate spheres, or if they in fact formed a fraternal "field" (in the sense of Bourdieu's concept of champ with collaborative endeavors, interlocking memberships and a common habitus). Did they provided a part of the social tissue of short-lived communities and did they foster a counterpoint to the violence which is associated with such regions? If they remained formally limited to white men, what was the role of auxiliary degrees accepting women? Also why were there instances where fraternal funerals were extended to Chinese laborers? This paper will argue that although these fraternities shut down (with the extinction of these cities) before the end of the golden age of fraternity, their closure sometimes mirrored general causes of the deterioration of fraternalism, like Grand Lodge bankruptcies, which can tell us much about this rather neglected area of fraternal history.

Paper 14c: 'Our Illustrious Brother George Washington': Fraternal orders, public space, and civic brotherhood in antebellum Virginia

Ami Pflugrad-Jackisch, USA

This paper examines the participation of Freemasons and other fraternal orders such as the Sons of Temperance and the Odd Fellows, in hall dedications, funerals, national holidays, anniversary parades, and cornerstone laying ceremonies in antebellum Virginia (in particular the cornerstone laying ceremony for the George Washington Equestrian Statue in Richmond's Capitol Square). It argues that the fraternities' colorful parades and ceremonies confirmed the orders' role as public protectors of civic virtue and reinforced the notion that charity, benevolence, and partisan harmony were male civic responsibilities not unlike military service or volunteer fire fighting.

During the antebellum period, fraternal organizations such the Freemasons attracted thousands of new members in the state of Virginia. The orders promoted white male equality and self-improvement, and they sought to unite white men across class and partisan divisions. Often by relying on a constructed past that appropriated images of the founding fathers, these fraternal orders carved out a unique role for themselves within Virginia's antebellum political culture as the guardians of republican principles and the manly proponents of civic virtue.

Participation in public ceremonies was an important part of the way fraternities demonstrated their devotion to republican principles. In the 1840s and 1850s, Virginia's fraternal orders turned out in large numbers to march in public parades and celebrations along side the militia, voluntary fire associations, and prominent politicians. At these events, businessmen, artisans, mechanics, and laborers stood united in their fraternal regalia in their city's most highly visible areas, publicly positioning themselves among other masculine groups whose duty, both literally and figuratively, was to protect their community. In the end, the joint participation of men from different economic backgrounds at public commemorations softened class distinctions and created a civic brotherhood among white men.

CHAIR – ANDREW PRESCOTT, UK

Paper 15a: Scottish Freemasons in Manchester and the USA 1800-1830

John Astbury, UK

In the second half of the 18th Century and the first half of the 19th, Britain was in the grip of the Industrial Revolution. At the same time, the United States suffered both Industrial and Political revolution; the English, Scottish and American nations were linked, among other things, by the development of the cotton industry. Manchester is well known as the centre of the cotton trade in England, but Glasgow experienced a similar explosive growth as a textile centre. In the States on the Eastern seaboard, cotton production grew in response to the demand for raw material in Lancashire, and the port of Liverpool became the major gateway for raw cotton import into England, and the carriage of African Slaves into America.

This paper will attempt to shed light on the migration of Scottish Masons before and during the time of the formation of the United Grand Lodge of England in 1813, both to Lancashire, and to the United States.

It will concentrate on the links between Lodges such as the Caledonian Lodge in Manchester, Liverpool's Merchants Lodge and Union Lodge and early Lodges in the Southern United States.

Paper 15b: Relationships within and between lodges around Bolton in Georgian England

David Hawkins, UK

Much Masonic activity took place in the 18th century Lancashire within a radius of 20 miles of Bolton. What had in 1720 often been sleepy small country villages expanded into vigorous townships as textile-based manufacturing drew in labour from Ireland and Scotland. The creation of Masonic lodges, and the introduction of Royal Arch working, spread from place to place, in various different forms, among this regional community.

From primary sources the detailed sociological make-up can sometimes be ascertained, sufficient at times to form a general picture. Personalities emerge. One can be drawn into the friendships and rivalries. Importantly, this study reveals the character of being an ordinary 18th century mason within the rapidly-developing economic community of east Lancashire.

Paper 15c: The Royal Arch within early Lancashire Masonry

John Acaster, UK

The relationship of the Royal Arch to the Craft degrees continues to be a tricky one. It was not less so in Georgian and early Victorian England. Examination of this enables a sharper focus than usual to be applied to the initiatives, strains and outcomes affecting English freemasonry at this period.

The Ancients' Craft lodges, while they existed up to the Union in 1813, considered themselves able to work any Masonic degree including the Royal Arch. Moderns' lodges were not authorised to do so, and after the Charter of Compact of 1766 were expected to hold any such meetings (not officially sanctioned) in some specifically-named Chapter. Why should Royal Arch meetings be attractive if officially frowned upon? Lancashire had an unusually early and large number of such foundations. Why? Of what type of people were they composed? Planned recruitment can be observed.

After the formation of the United Grand Lodge and the parallel creation of Supreme Grand Chapter Royal Arch masonry experienced four decades of particular difficulty. While numbers of new Chapters were founded, others declined, and even the new ones tended to decay. What were the causes of this? Do they speak of a wider malaise? Can lessons be drawn for today?

The paper will illumine a rather neglected but important Masonic coterie.

CHAIR – ANDREAS ÖNNERFORS, SWEDEN

Paper 16a: Freemasonry during the Arab Nahda, 1860-1914: A new reading of the evolution of the Arabic printing press and the Modern Arab intellectual elite

Stephan Schmid, Lebanon

Freemasonry in Greater Syria (Syria, Lebanon, Palestine / Israel) and Egypt before World War I is still an almost entirely neglected topic in both scholarly research into Freemasonry and the vast field of Middle Eastern Studies. This paper focuses on the still almost entirely disregarded significant intellectual and social role of Freemasonry during the so-called Arab Nahda (Awakening), that crucial period in modern Arab history during which Arab intellectuals promoted various competing ideological and political trends in order to close the ever increasing gap between the West and the Arab-Muslim world by preparing for an Arab society able to accept Western scientific achievements and modern concepts without giving up its religious and cultural heritage.

First, I will point out the extensive links between many Arab intellectuals during the Arab Nahda, secular-oriented Westernized Christian thinkers and Muslim reformers alike, and a remarkable number of Masonic lodges under various jurisdictions. Secondly, I will put this phenomenon, the relationship between Freemasonry and intellectual activity in the Arab world, in particular print journalism, into a global Masonic context. Considering the enormous dimension of this still understudied field of research, I will set up a framework for further studies into this important aspect of Masonic history.

Based on a vast amount of primary sources from archives located in Europe and the Arab world, I will illustrate the important role Masonic lodges played in serving the Arab intelligentsia as a common ground and space to develop, pronounce and spread the often contradicting new ideas of the Arab Nahda like secularism, deism, nationalism, Muslim revivalism, scientism, rationalism, materialism etc. Masonic circles, together with other social, philanthropic and intellectual clubs, served as the breeding ground for journalistic enterprises and created with unprecedented success a sphere of open intellectual exchange. Freemasonry was one of the determinant factors in the process of importing modern European ideas into the Arab East and in adapting them to the cultural and social conditions of the Arab-Muslim society. It is thus not surprising that two of the most important and widespread journals of the time, al-Muqtataf (The Selection) and al-Hilal (The Crescent), both scientific and rationalistic in attitude, were edited exclusively by Freemasons.

Paper 16b: The rise of American Masonry in French Levant

Thierry Millet, France

During the French Mandate between 1920 and 1946, Freemasonry expanded, with the foundation of many lodges and other Masonic structures. If French Masonic institutions led this outstanding movement in the first years of the French administration, the rise of the American power after the World War One took advantage of the disappointment of French colonial practice and political pacification. French authoritarianism turned away profanes and masons from French Masonic bodies. Some of them preferred to create or join the lodges of Grand Lodge of New York. From 1923 to 1928, the Grand Lodge of New York chartered eight lodges: seven in Lebanon and one in Syria where the development was centered on the American university of Beirut.

While all other Masonic bodies faced political and financial difficulties, American lodges continued their works despite the competitive struggles between Foreign Masonic structures based in Levant. American lodges and district organization allowed them to resist external upsets and temptations. Similarly, the lodges of Grand Lodge of New York survived the dark times of nationalist fighting and World War Two. Indeed, despite the ban on masonry ordered by Maréchal Pétain in 1940 for France and overseas, lodges of Grand Lodge of New York continued their works until the departure of the French administration and beyond, contrasting with all other Masonic institutions. Finally, the development of New York Masonic body in Syria and Lebanon reveals the economic and politic affirmation of the United States at the expense of the colonial powers of old Europe between the two world wars as a historical turning point.

Paper 16c: The 'Nahda' in nineteenth-century Lebanon and its relationship with Masonic lodges: the intellectual and cultural renaissance, an Oriental 'Aufklärung'

Saïd Chaaya, France

In the 19th century, Lebanon witnessed many major transformations within its confessional structure and socio-cultural representations mainly due to the enlightenment movement, known as "Al Nahda" meaning the Arab awakening. Two of the major factors that I am researching, that started and initiated those changes, were the actions of the Europeans and the American missionaries on different levels and the presence of many Grand Lodges in Lebanon that promoted respect in a "non-confessional" society and understanding for the cultural diversity in all spheres of their activities.

Protestant and American missionaries caused a major change within Lebanon, working and existing as a new element in the Lebanese confessional mosaic. Lodges made other changes by working on the basis of spiritual aspiration of people from different religions and different confessional groups. This led them to be more conscious of such issues as Freedom, Brotherhood and also Peace in a region searching for identity.

Lebanon's cultural diversity seems to be an important aspect that made the interaction between missionaries, freemasons and other groups very enriching. This paper aims to explore the conflicting identities both confessional and non-confessional. The emancipation is due to the fact that they wanted to liberate themselves from the chains of society and dismantle the tyrannies. This is the other face of the "Nahda". The political emancipation contributed to the freedom of the press and the consciousness of the transmitted values in the Lodges. Knowing what they are, paved the way to a brotherhood that went beyond the difference of being confessional and made all the old barriers dating centuries ago fall apart.

This paper argues that the freemasons' aim was not only to work together, but also to work with the others and for the others. The Masonic work was done in collegiality. Establishing printing presses and newspapers promoted communication and exchange. In this paper, we argue that these factors are due to the fact that there was a willingness to change a set situation and a set world that paved the way to a modern world. The research conducted led to question whether there is a parallelism between the "Nahda" and the development of the Masonic Lodges. Is this a pure coincidence or the fruit of a meeting? In short, the two things have developed side by side and at the same time.

HALL I 13.30 – 14.30

PLENARY LECTURE 4

Freemasonry and the mediation of Scottish Identity

ANDREW PRESCOTT, UK

'Golf, whisky and Robert Burns' have been seen as three distinctive characteristics of Scotland which are widely recognised in America and Europe. To these three celebrated Scottish products should be added another great Scottish export: Freemasonry. This plenary lecture will explore the ways in which the phenomenon of 'Fratrism' helped to preserve a distinctive Scottish identity within the British Empire and beyond. Freemasonry was one of many means, ranging from games such as curling to cultural activities such as the Highland Games, by which the Scottish diaspora could maintain contact with its homeland. What was the distinctive role of Freemasonry in this process? What does the study of this process tell us about the wider cultural significance of Freemasonry? The lecture will present a wide and novel range of examples from Scottish Freemasonry to provide new perspectives on the formation of national identities.

HALL I 15.00 – 16.30

SESSION 17: EARLY AMERICAN FREEMASONRY II

CHAIR – BRENT MORRIS, USA

Paper 17a: The first band of brothers: George Washington and the Freemasons of Alexandria Lodge No. 22

Alan Capps, USA

When historians have studied the Alexandria-Washington Lodge No.22 in the period immediately following the Revolutionary War the focus has understandably tended to be on one figure: George Washington. And yet, a closer examination of the early years of Lodge membership reveals a tight knit 'band of brothers' around Washington. Many, such

as Colonel George Deneale, had served in the Continental Army with Washington. Other Lodge members were prominent local figures within the governing and business community of Alexandria and intimate friends of Washington such as Dr. Elisha Cullen Dick. Many had been encouraged by Washington to settle in thriving port town on the Potomac River.

This paper will examine two aspects of the history of the Alexandria Lodge. First, who else made up this 'band of brothers' around George Washington? Building on the work of F.L. Brockett's 1899 *The Lodge of Washington – A History of the Alexandria-Washington Lodge No. 22*, a profile will be constructed of the membership. Who also was a member of the Society of Cincinnati? What was the economic and social profile of the group? The second aspect will examine the early years of the Alexandria Lodge during the Federalist period and into the early years of Jeffersonian-led Democratic-Republican political dominance. Examining the sermons delivered to the Lodge and the local press coverage should provide an insight into the role the Lodge played in the political debates and transformations of the day.

Placing both the Alexandria Lodge and its members during this time frame into context of the ongoing developments within the newly formed United States will provide a unique snapshot. This from the vantage point of one particular Lodge that was not among the oldest, could not claim any pre-Revolutionary history, but did possess one key attribute: George Washington.

Paper 17b: Illustrious Brother Frederick Dalcho, Founding Member of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite: Considerations around Professional Clergy in Ritual Fraternal Orders.

Todd Wm. Kissam, USA

The Episcopal priest and one of eleven founding members of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite's Supreme Council, the Rev. Frederick Dalcho, brought his faith life and masonic philosophy into a well balanced and integrated articulation as expressed in his writings and orations.

I contend that his example as a founding member of the Scottish Rite of Freemasonry as experienced today is an enduring and inspiring. Using an historical critical methodology I will examine the place of his religious context and offer an interpretation for the movement of his faith development. Specifically, having evolved from a career as a military physician and living in the relatively cosmopolitan port city of Charleston, South Carolina in the early 19th century I examine what the influential intellectual and sociological conditions were within which his development occurred.

Gaining historical and contextual perspective through the example of Rev. Bro. Dalcho, I demonstrate his unique significance as a founding member of Scottish Rite Freemasonry in the United States. There are particular and constructive ways in which not just Grand Chaplains, but all members who may be officially recognized professional clergy of an institutional faith group may offer bridges between associative ritual organizations like the Scottish Rite and mainstream organized religious groups, particularly in this case Western Protestant Christianity.

Employing insights from ritual theory and ethnography/sociology of religion I propose that professional ministers or clergy within Scottish Rite membership present an opportunity for exploring corporate self-reflective awareness among categories like historical theology, symbology, liturgy, spirituality, and the discipline of prayer. Through Rev. Bro. Dalcho, the Scottish Rite has an exemplary founding figure in whom there is precedence for mutual interdisciplinary enrichment between organized, established religion and explicitly non-sectarian fraternal organizations like the Scottish Rite. His is an example and contribution to be well celebrated and published in our world today.

Paper 17c: Maine and New Brunswick freemasons and changing political geographies, 1770 – 1870

Hannah M. Lane, USA

As scholars of freemasonry have shown, its early organization reflected features of craft guilds, churches, voluntary associations, and even the state itself. Recurring tensions between the ideal of brotherhood and particular identities also influenced the organizational evolution of freemasonry, and both community and transnational studies have illuminated the diversity of freemasons' responses as individuals or organizations to contemporary political debates. The public discourse and organization of freemasonry in Maine and New Brunswick, especially in their borderlands communities, reflected changing political geographies in northeastern North America between the American Revolution and Canadian Confederation, as well as contested notions of territoriality.

The most controversial local issue was the "American doctrine of territorial jurisdiction", in which each lodge had an exclusive territorial realm of recruitment and supervision. This doctrine had originated as part of the exclusion of African-American masonry in 18th century Massachusetts, but later masons applied it and advocated it more broadly.

This contrasted with freemasonry within the British empire, where lodges affiliated with the Grand Lodges of England, Ireland, or Scotland or mobile military lodges might exist within the same city. Issues of jurisdiction between two lodges in nearby communities within Maine or between New Hampshire and Maine were usually easily resolved with little official masonic commentary. In contrast, controversy over the Maine- New Brunswick borderlands lasted longer and attracted greater attention elsewhere, leading ultimately to the extinction of these hybrid lodges. By 1870, the organization of Maine and New Brunswick freemasonry was consolidated within and identical with state or province, though freemasons on both sides of the border had rejected proposals for national structures. Nevertheless, masonic print culture and patterns of sociability continued to alternate between imperial, Anglo-American, regional and local relationships, in continuity with the spirit of the early borderlands lodges.

HALL 2 15.00 – 16.30

SESSION 18: WOMEN AND FREEMASONRY

CHAIR – CECILE REVAUGER, FRANCE

Paper 18a: Freemason women and modern civic life in George Sand's 'La Comtesse de Rudolstadt' (1843) James Smith Allen, USA

One of the most enduring civic organizations, originating in seventeenth-century Scotland, Freemasonry in France was the first to initiate women into special lodges some time before 1750. Since then French women have played both social and instrumental roles in the Craft, most often parallel to their roles in modern French civic life generally. The Revolution of 1789 marked an end to women's effective leadership in as many as 1,000 lodges, relegating franc-maçonnnes to secondary positions of an almost exclusively ceremonial sort. This decorative function remained for much of the nineteenth century, at least until the creation of a mixed obedience, *Le Droit Humain*, which has remained open to both men and women on equal footing since 1894. Consequently, the close study of French Freemasonry suggests much about the gendered development of civil society in modern France.

When George Sand sat down to write the sequel to her successful novel *Consuelo* in 1842, she sought out as much as she could about the history and lore of Freemasonry, mostly thanks to the good offices of the utopian socialist Pierre Leroux. He provided her key texts, such as the abbé Augustin de Barruel's *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du jacobinisme* (1797-99) and F.-T. Bègue Clavel's *Histoire pittoresque de la franc-maçonnerie et des sociétés secrètes anciennes et modernes* (1842), for her use. The result was a remarkably well-informed account of Masonry and its rituals, as they pertained to revolutionary ideals as well as to women in the eighteenth century. Despite the special literary lens through which Sand viewed the Craft, she portrayed the secret Masonic organization at the heart of her new novel's plot, the *Invisibles*, with fidelity to rare and informative sources. Her *Comtesse de Rudolstadt* (1843) is one of the most accurate accounts we have of Freemasonry's evolving role for women in the Craft and by implication in modern French civil society.

In this paper I trace the sources for Sand's account of Freemasonry in the eighteenth century and the careful use she makes of them in her fictional narrative. Because of the historical significance of women Freemasons in the development of modern civic life, I argue that Sand's novel is one of the most revealing accounts we have on women's changing roles in the public sphere in France across the revolutionary and Napoleonic divide. By taking the background to her story seriously, historians have special access to the lingering influence of women in civic life well into the nineteenth century.

Paper 18b: The Reverend, the Bluestocking, and Freemasons behaving badly: an exploration and close reading of 'A Series of Letters on Freemasonry' by 'a Lady of Boston' Mary Copeland, USA

In Boston, 1810, the Reverend Dr. Thaddeus Harris solicited the aid of Mrs. Hannah Crocker in answering the anti-Masonic sentiments of the day, especially those of women. The resulting exchange of letters was published in the local newspaper, the *Columbian Centinel*. The letters provide a window on anti-Masonic sentiments; attitudes towards women; the question of the purpose of societies, secret or otherwise and their place in the community; and the integration of Christian morals, values and principles into the daily life of New England at that time. Harris's choice of Crocker initially seems straightforward, based on her position as a Boston bluestocking, but her letters are ambiguous in their endorsement of Freemasonry, and when read closely, bring into question Harris's motivations for publishing the exchange of letters. One of those motivations may have been to use the public forum for a private rebuke to Masons behaving badly in the public arena. In contrast, Crocker's motivation seems straightforward: her views on the education of women and the exclusion of women from Masonry are clearly stated. She discussed her own foray into an institution "similar" to Freemasonry. She presented herself as a highly intelligent and educated woman, with an extensive knowledge of theology, religion and history, and did so without appearing as anything other than properly womanly by the definitions of the day. We thus have another interesting possible motive for Harris's

publication of the letters: to allow Crocker this public forum for her views. Crocker emerges as a special kind of feminist: one who is not afraid to express her opinions, and is able to do so in a way appropriate to the ideas of womanhood at the time, while harsher or more confrontational statements would likely have been disregarded by the very people they were meant to reach.

Paper 18c: Co-Masonry's place in the history of North American Freemasonry

Karen Kidd, USA

History is written by the winners or those pre-eminent or dominant in a given area. This is certainly truly of Freemasonry, where the more numerous and better established Male-Only members of the Craft all too often mention Co-Masonry – when they mention it at all – in dismissive, derogatory and/or usually very inaccurate terms. For most of Freemasonry's history, Co-Masonry's place in the Craft has been denied.

This paper objectively and accurately portrays Co-/Mixed Masonry's place in North American Freemasonry and does so in a way not possible before. The author is writing a history of the Honorable Order of American Co-Masonry, the American Federation of Human Rights, North America's largest Co-Masonic Order. Pursuant to that, she obtained unprecedented access to the archives of North American Co-Masonry and, so, she is well placed to write about that body's place in North American Freemasonry. This paper traces North American Co-Masonry's founding in 1903; its decades struggle with self-identification; how it deals with outright persecution; and its emergence in recent decades from self-protective obscurity to enter a far more open future; to assume what it always has had: an equal footing with other Branches of North American Freemasonry.

The reader will discover the two Frenchmen and one Dutch woman largely responsible for North American Co-Masonry's early formation, those other leaders who came along in later decades and the names of those Brothers so important to that history but seldom recalled today.

HALL 3 15.00 – 16.30

SESSION 19: CONTRADICTIONS OF FRATERNALISM: PRACTICES OF INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION II

Exclusion: Racism and Denominational Closure

CHAIR – SUSAN MITCHELL SOMMERS, USA

Paper 19a: The Masonic whitewash committee of California: American Anti-Catholicism, Freemasonry and the Knights of Columbus in the 1910s

Adam Geoffrey Kendall, USA

This paper will explore and contextualize the rising anti-Catholic sentiment during the 1910s within American fraternal societies, particularly Freemasonry, as well as Catholic condemnation of Freemasonry. The study is illustrated by the very public controversy involving the so-called Masonic Whitewash Committee of 1914-1915, which included prominent grand officers of the California Grand Lodge. This committee, some of whom were later involved in the 1921 California Ku Klux Klan controversy, investigated an alleged oath of the Knights of Columbus that had been entered into the Congressional Record and was determined to be fallacious. The committee's pronouncement set off a nationwide controversy in the fraternal and public press as a defense for what was believed to be Catholic infiltration of institutions at all levels of American society. The California Grand Lodge joined in the condemnation, claiming the committee's use of Masonic titles gave the false impression that they represented the Lodge as a whole. To make matters worse for the committee, their report was also admitted into the Congressional Record by Congressman William Kettner, the then-Grand Marshal for the Grand Lodge. Allegations of favoring Catholic political candidates, along with the "whitewashing" of the committee's actions through fraternal politicking and character assassination were played out in the era's infamous anti-Catholic newspapers. The proposed paper seeks to illustrate that this little-known conflict is in fact one of many footnotes to illustrate the anti-Catholic nativism and hyper-patriotism characteristic of the 1910s, along with the Catholic defense of their own contribution to the American way of life. This paper also illustrates the distinct and important role fraternal organizations and their members played as arbiters and, sometimes, challengers of social trends.

Paper 27b: Making Wagner happen

David Vergauwen, Belgium

While examining the music played at masonic gatherings and concerts in Brussels during the 19th-century, I discovered that the most important composer featuring on the play-bills of the last two decades of that century, was Richard Wagner. As I was working out how Wagner's music infiltrated masonic musical discourse, I noticed that this was due to the efforts of a small network of Masons who took up the defence of Wagner's art rather fanatically. In using and promoting Wagner's music, Belgian freemasons did not blindly follow a cultural fashion, they created it!

My paper will not explore why Wagner's music was defended by a network of freemasons, but will instead concentrate on how this happened. In doing so, I decided to find out which Wagnerites knew Wagner personally, which concerts with Wagner's music were being played by which musicians in Brussels and who reported them in the press. I also made the connection with Bayreuth, the organisation of many Wagner Societies and established connections with the international network of Wagnerites, such the Bayreuth-based scholar Hans von Wolzogen as well as Edouard Dujardin and Houston S. Chamberlain of the Paris-based periodical *La Revue Wagnérienne*.

The result of this study was the discovery of a Wagnarian network in Brussels that consisted almost exclusively of freemasons, belonging to one of the two major masonic lodges in that city. The chief administrator of this network seems to have been Henri La Fontaine, socialist senator, music lover, philanthropist, future nobel prize winner and a prominent freemason. It was thanks to his efforts and passions, and those of his fellow masons, that Wagner's music took center stage amongst the intellectual elite in Brussels during that time.

HALL I 14.30 – 15.30

PLENARY LECTURE 6**Researching the history of Freemasonry: 3x3 ways forward!**

DR. ANDREAS ÖNNERFORS

Freemasonry as a field of academic research is a comparatively young area, specialization or even discipline. Whereas Masonic research within Masonic bodies traditionally was/is driven by internal needs and interests, academics discovered freemasonry in the first phase as a new approach towards primarily a better understanding of the complexity of the Enlightenment. From there the topic has developed immensely into areas of esotericism, nationality, social, gender or global studies and the last ten years have witnessed multiple initiatives to strengthen academic research. Masonic research bodies have had difficulties to adapt to this accelerated pace of development and are lagging behind in terms of methodology and theoretical approaches. However, both sides have plenty to learn from each other. One of the challenges is that knowledge within freemasonry as an initiatory praxis is generated in a different way and has a completely different function as compared to academic research that is carried out on very diverging premises. This lecture will (1) identify these epistemological differences and instead argue for – with an enhanced consciousness about these differences in mind – to (2) actively share knowledge between intra-masonic and extra-masonic research. If we understand each other better then it is more likely that the general apprehension will rise. As a consequence, (3) strength will be created out of diversity, which is the basis for the future development of the research area.

some Cartesian elements to develop their own understanding of organic and mechanical life and of the Enlightenment project as a whole. Thus, by uncovering an under-researched layer of Russian eighteenth-century philosophy, which was associated with Freemasonry and Cartesianism, it is possible to achieve a more nuanced view of the development of philosophy in Russia within the context of the European Enlightenment.

Paper 26b: Russian Influence on the Masonic Worldview of Johann August Starck (1741-1816)

Robert Collis, UK

Johann August Starck ranks as one of the most influential figures in European Freemasonry in the second half of the eighteenth century. He is particularly associated with championing a clerical offshoot of the Strict Observance system, which espoused religious mysticism and hierarchical symbolism, an embrace of esotericism and chivalry. This paper will argue that Starck's vision of Freemasonry was profoundly influenced by his two lengthy residences in St. Petersburg between 1763-1765 and 1768-1769. During these periods in Russia, Starck drew close to Pyotr Ivanovich Melissino (1726-1797), a Russian solidier of Greek descent, who advanced a Masonic system redolent of Starck's contemporaneous development of a clerical form of Templarism. Moreover, St. Petersburg went on to be one of the centres of Starck's clerical order after its establishment in 1767, with the German establishing the Russian capital as one of his principal bastions.

A study of the central role played by St. Petersburg in the development of a legitimizing mythology of Starck's clerical system will also be carried out. In this regard it will be argued that the Russian capital was a far more influential centre of Masonic activity in the mid seventeenth-century than hitherto appreciated.

HALL 3 13.00 – 14.30

SESSION 27: FREEMASONRY AND MUSIC

CHAIR – JOHN WADE, UK

Paper 27a: Freemasons Franklin, Mozart, Mesmer and the Glass Armonica

India D'Avignon, USA

This paper presentation explores a connection between Freemasons Benjamin Franklin, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, and Franz Anton Mesmer – the glass armonica. These Freemasons are involved in the history of the armonica from its invention to its demise. Data have been collected from published records, archives, and my own personal experience with the instrument.

Franklin became involved with glass music during his stint as the American colonies' ambassador to England. In 1761, in Cambridge, and after having become a Freemason, Franklin invented the glass armonica, which is now considered to be the first musical instrument invented by an American.

Mozart knew of the armonica through his acquaintance with Mesmer who premiered one of Mozart's works at his home. Mozart became so enamored with the instrument that he composed for solo armonica and included a significant armonica part in his last chamber work. Mozart's style of composition is sometimes referred to as "humanist" which aligns with the Masonic view of music.

Infamous Freemason Franz Anton Mesmer used the armonica for his hypnotic séances. He was regarded as a charlatan in the medical community, and a commission headed by Franklin eventually exiled him from Austria. By this time, the armonica was already mired in international mystique, and Mesmer's disgrace and association with the instrument helped force it into disuse.

This presentation will demonstrate a detailed historical timeline emphasizing the pivotal contributions of Freemasons Franklin, Mozart, and Mesmer in the development of the glass armonica. I will combine the narrative with illustrations, and musical recordings to present a holistic account of my research.

Paper 25c: The Roosevelt-Picture: How during WW II stolen Masonic archivalia was used by the Germans in their propaganda efforts to prevent US entering the war on Allied side

Helge Björn Horrisland, Norway

During WWII Masonic lodges all over occupied Europe experienced that their lodge-buildings, inventory and assets worth millions of dollars, were confiscated and stolen by the German occupants. Part of the confiscated material was sent to Berlin for evaluation, pseudo-scientific use and displays in anti-masonic exhibitions and museums. The general opinion among Masonic historians has been that most of the material was never properly registered nor used by the German Nazi organisations.

However there are several examples of such stolen Masonic material being used "in the war that Hitler won" – the propaganda war. Nazi-Germany had a propaganda machine that in first years of the conflict was bigger, better equipped and far better used than their allied opponents.

In second half of 1941, one of Propaganda Minister Josef Goebbels priorities was to use Germany's propaganda machine to prevent USA entering the war on allied side. As part of this propaganda scheme, the fact that US President Franklin D. Roosevelt was a Freemason, was used on several occasions by Goebbels and his apparatus.

The paper highlights one of these occasions, and describes how stolen Masonic material belonging to The Norwegian Order of Freemasons in Oslo was registered and evaluated and how a picture of President Roosevelt in full Masonic regalia was used in the propaganda efforts of the Nazi regime.

The paper is based on sources recently found by Norwegian Masonic historians as part of the ongoing restitution process of European Masonic material from archives in Moscow.

HALL 2 13.00 – 14.30

SESSION 26: EIGHTEENTH CENTURY RUSSIAN FREEMASONRY

CHAIR – ANDREAS ÖNNERFORS, SWEDEN

Paper 26a: Mind, matter, soul and a mechanical chess-playing Turk: Some Cartesian elements in Russian eighteenth-century Masonic thought

Natalie Bayer, USA

The theory of mind/body dualism advanced by René Descartes (1596–1650) has provided fertile ground for philosophical inquiry for centuries. According to Descartes, the mind and the body comprise two distinct substances that interact with each other, with the former being unextended in space and indivisible, whilst the latter is extended in space and divisible. Whether it was the rejection of God as the universal essence of everything that exists or the extension of the idea of animals as purely physical automata to men, the two-substance view posed a set of serious problems for Enlightenment philosophers.

The legacy and the reactions to dualism in the European long eighteenth century, from Pascal to Kant, have been well researched. Yet little – if anything – is known about Cartesianism's reception in eighteenth-century Russia. Instead, many historians and philosophers have chosen to concentrate on "the fundamentally anti-Cartesian nature of Russian philosophy" after the 1820s, postulating that philosophy in Russia was marked by a rigorous counter-rationalism as opposed to the reason-based course of Western philosophy.

However, as I establish, Russian thinkers began grappling with the implications of Cartesian philosophy early in the eighteenth century. Moreover, by the end of the century Russian Freemasons actively used Cartesian ideas in order to try and reconcile the tension between the use of reason and its ultimate consequences for Orthodoxy. Russian Freemasons adapted the dual-aspect theory of Cartesianism on the grounds that a third entity could be responsible for the interactions between mind and body. Such an approach was advocated as a means to remedy the radical materialistic essence of Cartesian ideas, which in Russia was often combined with Leibnizian psychophysical parallelism. In other words, while Voltaire famously celebrated Jacques de Vaucanson's digesting mechanical duck as a direct correlation of the philosophical and technical achievements of the Enlightenment era with Cartesian ideas, Russian intellectuals used

HALL I 13.00 – 14.30

SESSION 25: MATERIAL CULTURE OF FREEMASONRY

CHAIR – DIANE CLEMENTS, UK

Paper 25a: Sparkling through Time: Paul Revere's Masonic Jewels

Aimee E. Newell, USA

In May 2010, Corinthian Lodge in Concord, Massachusetts, unveiled a group of Masonic officer jewels that were recently discovered in their lodge building's attic. Since the lodge was chartered in 1797, under the authority of then-Grand Master of Massachusetts Paul Revere (1734-1818), current lodge members hoped that these might be the original lodge jewels, made by none other than Paul Revere himself. In addition to being well-known as a Revolutionary War hero, Revere is renowned for his work as a silversmith; he became one of the most prolific silversmiths of the 18th century, leaving a large body of work behind, including a number of Masonic commissions.

Yet, while Revere reportedly made at least eleven sets of silver officer jewels for Masonic lodges in Massachusetts during the late 1700s, he was not the only silversmith working in the Boston area, and it can be difficult to conclusively prove whether a specific set of Masonic jewels is his work. But, as silver Masonic jewels and medals turn up in Massachusetts, their owners often quickly assert an attribution to Revere. How can we know whether Revere made a specific jewel or set of jewels? And, what is the allure, 200 years later, that leads Freemasons to cherish the work of Revere?

This paper will examine the history of the Masonic jewels attributed to Paul Revere, addressing the many myths surrounding these objects. Using the jewels themselves, as well as lodge minutes and published histories, Revere's daybooks and correspondence, I will explore how these objects were ordered, used and recycled. The available sources allow us to explore how often a lodge replaced its jewels, due to changes in fashion and style. The story the Revere jewels tell is not just one man's, but a community story – one that connects us to the past and inspires us for the future.

Paper 25b: Use of regalia in the Ancient & Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry

Heather K. Calloway, USA

Some of the earliest depictions of regalia from the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry are contained in Frederick Dalcho's rituals which originated around the founding of the Southern Jurisdiction in 1801. Other early manuscripts, particularly those transcribed by Dupont Delorme and James W. Rouse, contain descriptions and illustrations of regalia. Later ritual revision done by Albert Pike (prior to taking office as the Sovereign Grand Commander), contains detailed descriptions of regalia, but excluded illustrations. By 1857, Albert Pike created one coherent system of degree work for the Southern Jurisdiction; these degrees were intended to be conferred in a regular Lodge room with somewhat minor and temporary rearrangements as required by each degree. Regalia and costuming were a simple adornment for the degrees, when available.

Pike's intent on having intimate conferrals did not last long. Between 1868 and 1872, the Scottish Rite Valley in Lyons, Iowa began performing ritual work in a "convention" setting -- now known as a "Scottish Rite Reunion." This style of degree work influenced how regalia took on a new appearance within the fraternity. By 1901, Scottish Rite Valleys throughout the Southern Jurisdiction began to build and acquire new facilities to "properly present" the degrees. This, in turn, influenced the ceremonial dress, jewels, paraphernalia, furniture and theatrical equipment used to enhance this new ritual experience. Throughout the 20th century, fraternal supply companies created their own interpretation of regalia and mass marketed the products as part of the theatrical supplies "needed" to confer the degrees within the Scottish Rite Valleys. This paper will examine the early regalia of the Scottish Rite, up through the present day using manuscripts of the Supreme Council, SJ, Archives, and other primary sources to explore the development of regalia within the organization.

HALL 4 10.30 – 12 NOON

SESSION 24: ANTI-FREEMASONRY AND CONSERVATISM IN EUROPE AROUND 1800: LINES OF DEVELOPMENT

CHAIR - ANDREAS ÖNNERFORS, SWEDEN

Paper 24a: Visions of Conspiracy: the Anti-Masonry of Former Masons in late eighteenth century Germany

Andrew McKenzie-McHarg, Germany

The early accusations of conspiracy which were laid at the door of freemasonry originated in the imaginations of profane outsiders, i.e. publicists who were often clergymen or priests and who projected subversive plans onto the masonic order. Actual Freemasons who throughout Europe sought conviviality in masonic lodges and saw themselves otherwise as obedient servants to the secular authorities and dutiful followers of their particular religious denomination viewed such accusations as absurd and unjust. The apologies then penned by freemasons often based their defense on arguments which emphasized the origin of these charges in the inevitable ignorance of all those not belonging to the order. Thus, Johann August Starck in his *Apologie des Ordens der Frey Maurer* (1772) sought to dispel all suspicions that masonry constitutes a danger for the state not by revealing the secrets of the order but by pointing out the legitimate role, which secrets can play in society. However thirty years later with the publication of his *Triumph der Philosophie im 18. Jahrhundert* (1802) Starck took his place among the most prominent of those who held the secret societies responsible for a vast conspiracy undermining the twin pillars of state and church. Admittedly, Starck exempted the Freemasons, instead directing his animus at the Illuminati. But in part Starck had been motivated by the failure of others to draw such distinctions. Indeed, in Germany in the late 18th century there were a number of figures (Grolman, Reichard, etc.) whose first-hand knowledge of masonry and other secret societies had obviously not been sufficient to persuade them of the innocent nature of these institutions. Rather, participation in the secret societies had in some cases intensified the feelings of apprehension. By looking at developments in the German context, my paper will seek to answer the question of how this shift was possible – how was it possible for those who had been initiated into the secret societies to eventually embrace and sustain suspicions which originally had been formulated by profanes standing outside these societies?

Paper 24b: John Robison and his 'Proofs of a Conspiracy'

Claus Oberhauser, Austria

A century which is known for Reason and Enlightenment turned at its point of culmination into a war of ideas. On one side we find the progressives, on the other side the conservatives. John Robison, who was a conspiracy theorist but also a Professor for Natural Philosophy at the University of Edinburgh, belonged to the last group. He was a recognized scientist and conspiracy theorist. He was a slave of his scientific system and this was the Philosophy of Common Sense as well as his belief in an absolute cause. Robison detested hypotheses and speculative systems: Everything which was not based on the principles of Common Sense was not right and against society. Every hypothesis a priori leads into a system of principles which are not true. Robison's scientific creed was based on a system of exclusion, a system which knows the harsh difference between good and evil. Such a conviction can turn in a critical situation into a belief in conspiracy and a fundamentally mistaken view, which should be called conspiracy myth. Robison was also ill. He had to take opium to relieve his pain. Some scholars thought that he was a conspiracy theorist due to his poor health. This is not true at all. To find out why Robison included in his theory the Freemasons, the Illuminati or the German Union, one has to take a look at his concept of Enlightenment, his scientific theory and his problems on a personal level. The Freemasons were and are made a scapegoat to understand social problems and transformations. Robison thinks that they are the root of all evil. That's why he wanted to eradicate them, because he thought that the members of the great conspiracy wanted to take over the control of the world, wanted to change the Common Sense.

Grand Architect of the Universe from the Grand Orient's constitution in 1872, the conferences – now called "Planches" or "Morceaux d'Architecture" wore titles like "The idea of God", "Means of fighting the influence of Clericalism", "How to support Liberal propaganda during election campaigns" or "Ideology of the Jesuits". Other lectures dealt with history, art, education, science and philosophy and other subjects that were not always connected to Freemasonry but very often bore a political or ideological undertone. "Morceaux d'Architecture" often had a high level of quality: lecturers were professors at the university, artists, or Liberal politicians. Their profane activities were reflected in their Masonic lives and vice versa; the Lodge itself acted as a school where the brethren could listen and be educated. A comparable evolution happened at different stages in other Belgian Lodges. But how could these conferences cope with Anderson's charge that "no quarrels about religion, or nations, or state policy" should be brought within the door of the Lodge? How can we explain and interpret this transformation from a rather "innocent" talk into an ideologically charged speech? And was this lecture in Lodge the representation of all the members' common view toward politics and society?

Paper 23b: Masonic songs: themes and political discourse in the first half of the nineteenth century

Anais Maes, Belgium

The use of songs at Masonic banquets was a common practice in the first half of the 19th century. Uttering clear political stances wasn't. Or was it? While one has to wait for the second half of the century to detect political discourse inside lodges on a large scale, it seems to have been present in song texts in earlier decades. Talking politics and religion was only officially authorized by the Grand Orient of Belgium in 1854. However, singing about it was common practice long before that. When analyzing the themes of Masonic songs from the first decades of the 19th century, one discerns references to the main societal problems occupying the minds and actions of Freemasons. The changing national borders and adherences, profane or Masonic, Masonic values and their liberal, profane counterparts and the anticlerical battle that took off at the end of the 1830s were subjects many a Belgian mason dared sing about. To grasp the importance of these lyrics, one has to try to contextualize them (if the sources allow us to), try to understand who wrote and sang them, when this was done, what the link to the broader societal context was and who the auditors were. The answers to these questions and the analysis of the lyrical discourse can thus provide us with information about the growing influence of the "political" inside Belgian temple walls long before 1854.

Paper 23c: Music at the cradle: Belgian masonic music and the birth of a state (1830-1865)

David Vergauwen, Belgium

Music, and art in general, is a tool well-known to serve political means. While studying Belgian Masonic music, I wondered whether Masonic composers (i.e. composers who were masons and wrote 'masonic music') in Brussels during the first half of the nineteenth century made use of their talents in the service of their newly created state. In this paper I shall focus on the careers of a small number of Masonic composers, chief amongst them, François Van Campenhout and Karel Lodewijk Hanssens. The former is the composer of what turned out to be the Belgian National Anthem, while the latter was an Orangist, who lived in exile for a couple of years, following the Belgian Revolution. Both composers belonged to the same Masonic lodge in Brussels, but they defended opposite political ideals. In order to capture a glimpse of 'the political' in their music, we need also explore non-Masonic compositions by these composers, such as the patriotic cantata's Van Campenhout wrote during the first decade of the Belgian independence. By contrasting Masonic compositions with profane ones, we shall come to a broader understanding of what 'the political' meant in their work. As the opposite careers and opposite political ideas of Van Campenhout and Hanssens will demonstrate, their views on which horse to back after 1830 proved incompatible: one favoured the old King, William of Orange, the other the new one, Leopold of Saxe-Coburg. This conflict was resolved during the eighteen-forties when the new Belgian monarchy remained firmly consolidated, as is expressed in the cantata's by Van Campenhout, and Hanssens returned to Brussels. The crowning achievement of this reconciliation was without a doubt Hanssens' Masonic cantata on the death of his fellow mason, Leopold I of Belgium in 1865.

HALL 2 10.30 – 12 NOON

SESSION 22: IRISH FREEMASONRY AND ITS IMPACT

CHAIR – JOHN ACASTER, UK

Paper 22a: Freemasonry in North America, the Irish influence

Patrick J. Flynn, Ireland

It is well established that Irish military lodges played an important role in the spread of Freemasonry throughout the world. It was, for example, an Irish Military Lodge, Number 441, (38th Regiment of Foot), in which Prince Hall was made a Master Mason on March 6th 1775. This lodge was also represented among the group of lodges that formed the Grand Lodge of New York.

This paper will examine what role, if any, was played by the Lodges associated with British Military Regiments in Freemasonry throughout America during and after the American Revolution (1763 – 1787) through an analysis of a number of papers delivered in both the Lodge of Research Nr. 200 (I.C.) and Quatuor Coronati Nr. 2076 (UGLE). After the War of Independence the existing Provincial Grand Lodges closed and each State formed its own independent Grand Lodge. An examination of the origin of a select number of American Grand lodges will be made to establish with which of the home constitutions of Ireland, Scotland and England they are associated. What consideration, if any, was given to each of these Grand Lodges in order to request approval to form a Grand Lodge will then be examined along with the role played by Irish Military Lodges should that role exist.

Finally, an examination will be made of the reasons behind the choice of home constitution made which were myriad, covering previous allegiances, timing, economics and prestige to name but a few. While emphasis will be placed on Irish links, any link to the home constitutions will be examined.

Paper 22b: The Freemasons and the Fannet Ghost: An episode in Irish cultural history, 1786–1822

Breandán MacSuibhne, USA

In 1786 Irish, British and American newspapers carried conflicting reports of the role of a lodge of Freemasons in exorcising a ghost in Fannet, in the north-west of Ireland. Later, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Catholics and Protestants in Fannet would tell very different stories about the haunting to those which had been published in 1786; these stories too differed as to the role of the Free Masons in 'laying' the ghost. This short paper offers an analysis of the 'symbolic efficacy' of the haunting as first reported 1786 and as remembered in later years, that is the meanings it invited from those people who read accounts of it, or heard accounts read or repeated. Underpinning that analysis is, inter alia, an attempt to relate major political changes in late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ireland to the transformation of what contemporaries termed 'society and manners' and what is now more commonly discussed in terms of the 'public sphere' and 'sociability'.

HALL 3 10.30 – 12 NOON

SESSION 23: PERFORMING THE POLITICAL: SPEECH AND SONG AS IDEOLOGICAL VEHICLES IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY BELGIAN FREEMASONRY

CHAIR – JEFFREY TYSENS, BELGIUM

Paper 23a: Informal or official? The Lodge's "Conferences" and "Morceaux d'Architecture" and their Political Message, 1798 – 1872.

Jimmy Koppen, Belgium

In the early years of the Masonic Lodge of Les Amis Philanthropes, established in Brussels in 1798, hardly any conference was given. There was, however, a remarkable exception: in 1810 one of the brethren enlightened the Lodge about "religion, cult and the origins of Masonic ceremonies". This was a very informal talk, with no traces of criticism towards faith and the Catholic Church. Just a few decades later the contrast could not be any greater: after the removal of the

HALL I 10.30 – 12 NOON

SESSION 2I: AFRO-AMERICAN FREEMASONRY

CHAIR – MARK TABBERT, USA

**Paper 2Ia: Black Abolitionists in White Lodges: Richard P.G. Wright and Theodore Sedgwick Wright
Jeff Croteau, USA**

Richard P.G. Wright (1773?-1847) and his son, Theodore Sedgwick Wright (1797-1847), are familiar names in the history of black abolitionism, but scholars have yet to explore their coinciding participation in predominantly white Masonic lodges in Schenectady, New York during the 1820s and 1840s.

Theodore S. Wright came to abolitionism through his father, Richard P.G. Wright, who himself attended abolitionist meetings at least as early as 1816, and who named his son after a Massachusetts jurist and legislator who successfully defended a Massachusetts slave woman against her master, from whom she had fled. In 1833, Theodore S. Wright was one of the charter members of the mostly white American Anti-Slavery Society, and served for several years on the Society's executive board. He was also the first chairman of the New York Committee of Vigilance, which protected enslaved people who had escaped to freedom in the North and attempted to prevent free blacks being kidnapped and sold into slavery.

Both Wrights were not only prominent in the abolitionist movement, but were also Freemasons in predominantly white lodges in Schenectady as early as 1818 through their deaths in 1847. Richard P.G. Wright was originally raised in a lodge of black abolitionists – African Lodge No. 459 – in 1799. Yet upon relocating to Schenectady, both Wrights were members of predominantly white Craft and Mark lodges. Richard P.G. Wright was also a member of the Delta Lodge of Perfection and served as Grand Tyler and Grand Treasurer in the 1820s and 1840s.

In 1940, Harold V.B. Voorhis noted some basic facts about the Wrights' participation in predominantly white lodges, although he did not mention their role as abolitionists. Despite Voorhis's remarkable findings, no one has examined the Wrights's Masonic participation in greater detail and placed it within a broader social context. Using documentary evidence, I propose to investigate a rare case of universal brotherhood, at a time when – in the greater society at large, and within Masonic lodges in general – an absence of universal brotherhood between white men and black men was the prevailing norm

Paper 2Ib: Prince Hall Grand Masters: Unacknowledged Generals of the American Civil Rights Movement, 1930 - 1968.

Stephen Hill Sr, USA

The contributions to the American Civil Rights movement by Prince Hall Grand Masters like William McDonald of Texas; John Lewis of Louisiana; John Webb of Mississippi; W. W. Allen of Maryland; Amos T. Hall of Oklahoma; and John W. Dobbs of Georgia have been marginalized by the popular media. These Prince Hall Grand Masters were known as "Race men": black men of stature and integrity who were willing to stand up to Jim Crow segregation; whose bold actions and leadership inspired pride in African Americans.

Prince Hall Grand Lodges gave financial support to national protest organizations like the NAACP and the National Urban League, and lead the way in voter registration. These Prince Hall Grand Masters even opened their lodges, grand and local, to the Civil Rights movement when African American churches became the target of violence.

John Wesley Dobbs' tenure as the Grand Master of the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Georgia is representative of the Prince Hall Grand Masters of this period and will be the focus of this paper.

For three decades the Grand Lodge of Georgia revolved around the personality, genius, and strength of Grand Master John Wesley Dobbs. The son of a freed slave and the grandfather of one of the most influential mayors of the modern South, John Wesley Dobbs was the Grand Master of the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Georgia from 1932 to 1961.

In Atlanta's black community Dobbs was known by Prince Hall masons and non-masons as the "Grand"; a gifted orator who quoted Bacon and Shakespeare, the Bible and Du Bois. In 1936 Grand Master Dobbs co-founded the Atlanta Civil and Political League, an organization devoted to voter registration. He worked with Atlanta mayor Bill Hartsfield to make improvements in Atlanta's black community, and to hire Atlanta's first black police officers.

Special attention will be paid to Freemasonry during the period of dualism in the territory of today's Slovakia. Key moments in the evolution of the Masonic movement, basic methodological problems in research and different areas of Freemasons' activities during that period will be presented.

The contribution will also introduce other archival material that the author obtained during his research trips abroad, especially from the archives in Vienna, Budapest, Brno and Prague. Furthermore, the contribution will present literature on Freemasonry during the examined period. The results presented in the article are also the results of the research project of the Slovak grant agency VEGA entitled "Freemasonry in Slovakia" in 2007.

Paper 20b: An analysis of the Draskovich Observance, a Masonic document of the late eighteenth century from Croatia.

Alice Reiniger, Austria

The Draskovich Observance originated from Croatian territory in the 1770s by Counts John Draskovich and Stephen Niczky, and others who adapted Freemasonry rules to meet Croatian needs. Unfortunately few documents concerning this Observance have survived the past centuries. One copy of this rite – the original text is no longer in existence – is to be found in the Vienna's Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, another – slightly different – in the Hungarian State Archive in Budapest, and a third copy, with membership lists and drawings, in the manuscript collection of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest. Some information on the Observance can be gained from Ladislav de Malczovich's Sketch of the Earlier History of Masonry in Austria and Hungary, dating from the early 1890s. Most research on the early history of Freemasonry in the Austrian monarchy in the eighteenth century relies on Ludwig Aigner's/Lajos Abafi's five volumes, The History of Freemasonry in Austria-Hungary, from the 1890s, although some facts cited in these volumes are inaccurate, as recent works show. Authors Eugene Laxa and Will Read refer to Lajos Abafi's work and to Malczovich's essays in their essay, The Draskovich Observance. Eighteenth Century Freemasonry in Croatia (1977).

The Draskovich Observance is more than just a Masonic document. It contains five aspects – political, economical, educational, religious and military – which the members of this rite wanted to change in Croatian and Hungarian territories. Members were recruited from aristocracy, military and clerical backgrounds, but the circumstances of the time were against them. When Joseph II became Emperor, his reforms drove Freemasonry to a certain level. According to Lajos Abafi, the lodges working after the Draskovich Observance in Agram and Ofen (Buda) came to an end in December 1785. In my lecture I will address those aspects which could have changed the situation in these territories for the better.

HALL I 16.30 – 17.30

PLENARY LECTURE 5

The Earliest Masonic Rituals

ROBERT L. D. COOPER

The seminal research on the subject of the earliest Masonic rituals by Knoop, Jones and Hamer in the late 1930's and early 1940's was published as the 'Early Masonic Catechisms' (1943) wherein they reproduced most of the then known Masonic 'rituals' (manuscript and printed) together with a brief commentary on each. They laboured under conditions which we can today only imagine – the Second World War was at its height. One little known consequence was that in Britain there was a severe shortage of paper. That their research was even printed was a major achievement. Much of their research was done 'at a distance' using photostats (and early form of photocopying) and the assistance of members of the local academic community. Their work was revised and updated by the late Brother Harry Carr and published by Quatuor Coronati Lodge, No. 2076 in 1963. As it is 47 years since that last major update and revision it is time for their work to be re-visited. The Lodge is in the process of preparing a further revision of the 'Early Masonic Catechisms' as a future publication.

Such a revision is necessary for not only has there been at least one major discovery since Carr's revised publication (the Airlie MS, 1705) but new interpretative tools have been developed which allow new, and hopefully improved, interpretations of the oldest of these Masonic rituals to be made.

This presentation will focus on that group of manuscripts which pre-date 1717 and which appear to share a common origin. Their importance lies in providing an insight to what, and how, ceremonies were being conducted in Lodges before the advent of Grand Lodges. In addition although Knoop et al knew the locations of the various manuscripts they were not familiar with the collections in which they were kept. Unfortunately, the history of many of these documents was, and remains, unknown. However, a re-examination of the context of their placement in national archives, and what is known of their ownership, allows for a new understanding of Lodges and their activities before the existence of any 'head office'.

Paper 19b: The Ku Klux Klan and Fraternalism in the 1920s.**Kristofer Allerfeldt, UK**

Almost every study of the Klan's spectacular rise to power in the 1920s stresses the importance of its fraternal connections – and with good reason. The founder of the revived Klan was himself an Odd Fellow, Woodman, Knight Templar and Mason and saw his organization fundamentally in terms of its fraternal mission. The publicists who took over the management of his organization saw fraternity as the ideal marketing tool. They received instructions to target members of fraternities, and were in many cases members of fraternities themselves. Klan promoters singled out Masons, Pythians and Odd Fellows – in part for their suggestibility to a new fraternity: in part for their connections. The strategy seemed to work, for the region with the highest fraternal membership per capita, Indiana, also had the largest and strongest Klan. It seems the connection between fraternity and the Klan is inescapable, in fact there is good reason to say that with its peak of between 5-10 million members, the 1920s Klan was the largest fraternal movement America has ever seen. Based on research currently being undertaken, this paper will examine the Klan's attitude to fraternalism. It will look at what the Klan took from other fraternal organizations – like its ritual, structure, hierarchy. It will also examine how it differed, as with its overt political stance, its use of direct action and subsequent tendency to violence. This paper will show which fraternities the Klan sought closer relations with – like the Scottish Rite Masons – and those which it saw as enemies – like the Knights of Columbus. It will also investigate how other fraternities viewed the Klan – whether they saw it as just another fraternity; how this changed over the decade and if they allowed membership of the Klan as well as their own, and, if not, how they went about enforcing such rules.

Paper 19c: Using Progressive-era Ku Klux Klan activity in Kansas to understand changes in Freemasonry and similar Fraternal organizations**Joephe G. Stiles, USA**

The paper will explore the different "forms" of the Ku Klux Klan that emerged in Kansas in the 1920s as a mechanism to examine the different manifestations of legitimate groups such as Masonry, Odd Fellowship, and Pythian Knighthood in the enigmatic mix of geographies and cultures that is Kansas. Kansas represented an early effort at "scientific state-drawing," and so became a mix of diverse groups. A wooded southeast that was prime oil and coal territory in the early twentieth century and populated by descendants of Eastern European immigrant workers can be juxtaposed to a "high plains" full of open prairies, dried and tumbling sage-brush and self-reliant, gritty and fiercely independent ranchers. Masonry molds to the population it serves while claiming "landmarks" and steadfast values. However, when studying the progressive era and the early twentieth century in whole, extreme groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan, may give a more acute barometer of mindset and molded to the Zeitgeist immediately before it—whatever would sell memberships that evening. Ethnography and demography of a hotbed of "the Grange" and Populist/Free Silver advocates, but nonetheless two different places in common primary because of lines drawn on a map by a political congress should give good food for thought as we consider how all these fraternities grow in size and evolve in character.

HALL 4 15.00 – 16.30**SESSION 20: FREEMASONRY IN THE HAPSBURG EMPIRE****CHAIR: ANDREAS ÖNNERFORS, SWEDEN****Paper 20a: The Enlightenment in practice: Freemasonry in Upper Hungary in the eighteenth century**
Martin Javor, Slovakia

This contribution deals with the history of Freemasonry in the cities of Upper Hungary – Bratislava, Banská Bystrica, Banská Štiavnica, Prešov and Košice. Methodologically, the results of the research are an analysis of primary archival material, originally found in an archive of Dégh. Freemasonry played an invaluable historical and progressive role in the spread of Enlightenment ideas in those cities, particularly in Košice, where it was very active. The Freemasons' Magazine *Orpheus*, a description of which comprises a significant part of the overall contribution, was published there in the years 1790-1791. However, it is also very interesting to note the fight against Freemasonry, which was particularly strong in Košice, as is evident from the documents that have been discovered and are presented in this paper. Relevant attention is paid to the towering personality of the Masonic movement in Košice, Ferenc Kazinczy.

The movement was of particular interest in Prešov, which, in 1769, was the first town in Hungary to establish a lodge. Freemasons there had more of a Rosicrucian feeling, but the Prešov lodge also played an important role in the establishment of other lodges in the monarchy. Research in the archives in Vienna (Haus, Hof und Staatsarchiv, the fund *Vertrauliche Akten*) and in Budapest (MOL Budapest, Fund P1134) has elucidated the membership of Masonic Lodges in the mining towns of Banská Štiavnica and Banská Bystrica. A special part of this paper is devoted to the description of the movement in Bratislava, where as many as three Masonic Lodges already existed by the 18th century.