University of Nevada, Reno

"It's not a Collective; It's a Personal Experience that Happens to be Shared": How Philosophical Systems of Individualism are sustained through Masonic Collaboration.

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in Anthropology

by

Laura Michele Wilhelm

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August, 2016

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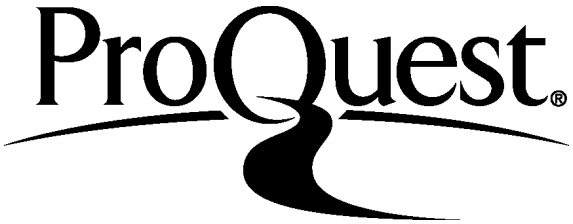

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We recommend that the dissertation
prepared under our supervision by

LAURA MICHELE WILHELM

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the experience of Freemasonry, as practiced in the United States, Colombia, and through Masonic literature, from an anthropological perspective. The Freemasons are a fraternal society with a global presence. In this work, the experience of Freemasonry, as both an individual/personal *journey* and a shared/collective *activity* is discussed. The work utilizes a number of methods and theoretical bases, including, but not limited to, a reliance on both primary and secondary textual sources which enhance both an understanding of Freemasonry from Masonic perspectives as well as presents anthropological and interdisciplinary context and analyses. Theoretical discussions include, but are not limited to, a reconsideration of what constitutes a field site, how scholarship on secrecy can enhance the study of a society which generally does not consider itself a true secret society, and how texts can act both as reference and as a set of participants. The core inquiries of this project discuss how philosophical systems of individualism can be sustained through specific forms of collaboration, and how the simultaneity of the shared and the individual experience of Masonry constitutes a culture in its own right. Contributing to work done within the anthropology of Freemasonry, along with a range and combination of disciplinary and interdisciplinary orientations, such as an "activity-based approach", and including elements of variation and consensus, this project provides a dialogue on themes of belonging, individualism, knowledge production, access, "activity", and experience.

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Foreword.

Masonic author Robert P. Kaltenbach (2010) noted in the foreword to his book, *Freemasonry Before King Solomon's Temple,* that it was "not intended to provide all the answers…" and, for him, "the most difficult task is to decide what to leave out, and if what's left will accomplish the goal" (Kaltenbach 2010, 2; foreword).

As I conclude my dissertation with upwards of 500 adjusted pages, I feel that more has been 'left out' of my project than included. I feel that a lifetime of work, utilizing many different research methods, more in-depth reading, and more time spent with Masons, would still not be sufficient to fully describe, unequivocally explain, adequately cover, or do justice to the deep chasm of Masonic experience and production.

I vividly remember entering the office of a Mason on September 16, 2014, who had generously agreed to discuss my project and let me interview him, despite his schedule at the George Washington Masonic National Memorial in Alexandria, Virginia. As I entered the room, one of the first things he asked me was, approximately, "so, you're hoping to become an expert in Freemasonry, eh?" I denied, at the time, that this was what I was attempting to do, as it would likely not be possible to become an 'expert.' As I conclude my work now I see that the question itself, although I do not know if it was intended that way, tested my knowledge of the topic. In retrospect, his query, albeit open to interpretation, challenged my knowledge on the topic. For, as I have found through this project, the better one understands Freemasonry, the less one ultimately knows.

Chapter 1: "FROM DARKNESS…" [INTRODUCTION]

Prelude: In this dissertation, I have chosen to begin each chapter with the use of a Masonic concept. This helps to underscore the Masonic experience I am describing throughout the work and becomes relevant to both the particular discussion presented in each chapter, as well as adding to the continuing motif throughout the work.

"Darkness among Freemasons is emblematical of ignorance; for, as our science has technically been called 'Lux,' or light, the absence of light must be the absence of knowledge. Hence the rule, that the eye should not see, until the heart has conceived the true nature of those beauties which constitute the mysteries of the order. In the spurious Freemasonry of the ancient mysteries, the aspirant was always shrouded in darkness, as a preparatory step to the reception of the full light of knowledge. The time of this confinement in darkness and solitude, varied in the different mysteries…
Freemasonry has restored Darkness to its proper place, as a state of preparation; the symbol of that antemundane chaos from whence light issued at the divine command; of the state of nonentity before birth, and of ignorance before the reception of knowledge. Hence, in the ancient mysteries, the release of the aspirant from solitude and darkness was called the act of regeneration, and he was said to be born again, or to be raised from the dead. And in masonry, the darkness which envelopes the mind of the uninitiated, being removed by the bright effulgence of masonic light, Masons are appropriately called 'the sons of light.'"

Mackey[2] (2004, 96; first published 1845).

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Entering the Field[3]	**04**
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[2] While I used the '2004' version of this work in this dissertation, I have included an earlier date, as an original publication date, which serves to place the work in temporal relevance (mid nineteenth to early twentieth century/ies). I have included both publication citations in the references and have continued to cite him thusly.
[3] see footnote 5

Introduction[4]:

This dissertation is the culmination of a research project spanning the years 2011-2016. At the onset of the project, I was hoping to discover how knowledge was globally-circulated among groups of Freemasons in both the United States and Colombia, particularly in how it engendered local civic engagement projects. Through the course of the project, however, I discovered a richer trove of Masonic experience, manifested in both the perception and calculable level of Masonic activity, as well as the internalized notion of the very individual, yet shared, journey of Freemasonry. I will present my findings through a series of chapters of thematic distinction, with an underling motif of participant-voice and anthropological insight running throughout. While I do have a chapter dedicated to the history of this Fraternity, the origins of Freemasonry are a mixture of historical record and Masonic lore. I, therefore, present a background to deliver context, yet focus more on the lived realities of the Masons I interacted with at both the personal and textual level, with historical considerations interspersed within each chapter. This dissertation contributes to the growing body of scholarship on Freemasonry through its 'multi-sited'(see footnote 76) and multi-sourced approach. While there were primary localities involved in this research, with additional sites contributing to my

[4]A note about the title of the dissertation: This quote was not written in field notes or recorded, but rather, taken from memory of a conversation with a participant of this project. This quote, therefore, may lack some exactitude; I may have added 'collective', or otherwise paraphrased. I have, through 'Ricardo Rivera', contacted 'Augustin Rivera' who recalls having said this, and he has given his verbal permission to use this quote, and attribute it to him: still uneasy as to whether he trusted my recollection, I felt compelled to note the potential discrepancy here. I have, however, decided to keep the title, despite acknowledgement that other titles may suit the project just as well, or better, for a number of reason: 1) Augustin Rivera has agreed to my use of it, 2) I have described this quote to other participants of this project who have commented on it, and I have used those comments, and 3) the title, as it is, has been used in other formats including publications and professional presentations.

understanding of Masonic culture, it was not designed as a geographically-fixed project. For example, while I spent far less time in Bucaramanga, Colombia than I did in Reno, Nevada, indeed, relatively none in comparison to my physical presence at all combined U.S. sites; the Colombian contribution to my findings was immense, one of my chief participants was from that jurisdiction, and the participation of Colombian Masons, by percent, exceeded that of many other jurisdictions in survey participation, additional comments, and garnered a positive display of continued interest. The culture of Freemasonry, I argue throughout this work, is not a phenomenon fixed in space or time, but rather resides in the minds, literature, actions, shared connections, and privacy, of Masons. I begin this dissertation, therefore, with a narrative of my own gradual entry in the field of Freemasonry, as a (mostly) outsider, with the understanding of the possibilities this Fraternity has, not just as a site of anthropological research, but also as a fundamental, ontological, culture in its own right. Following this narrative I will present, in more concrete terms, the core inquiries and configuration of this research and dissertation; I will follow up with methodological and theoretical considerations along with a presentation of data, a brief background to Freemasonry, and an exploration of the topics of ‘activity’ and ‘journey’ as they relate to the Masonic experience.

Entering the Field[5]

Prior to 2010, I had little knowledge of *Freemasonry* beyond what had been depicted through popular media; characterized, to some extent, as an obscure quasi-religious group within the context of conjecture, political conspiracy, or ritual spectacle. My exposure to Freemasonry came upon me suddenly in June of 2010 while visiting family in Bucaramanga, Colombia, when, unexpectedly, my husband announced that he would be joining the Freemasons. The initiation ceremony would be performed in Bucaramanga in a few days' time, and his brother and father, also Masons, would be participating in the ceremony, and, in turn, I, too, was invited to the *agape*.[6] His demeanor at that time was light-hearted and skeptical. He would, he assured me, "tell (me) everything" about the organization. His deportment however, changed dramatically after joining; a common occurrence I have observed among recent initiates. He did not end up telling me everything about the organization and his discussion of the fraternity became subdued, while his outlook became dedicated and reverent. He had, before joining, no real knowledge of Freemasonry; a point which would become critical in my later ethnographic understanding of the fraternity. Indeed, as Leonid Averin[7], a participant and member of Reno Lodge #13[8], noted during a June 3rd, 2014 interview, "The symbols (of

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[5] Jonathan Marion, whose work I cite a number of times in this project, began his introduction section in his 2008 work on *Ballroom* with a section titled "Getting Started" (5), followed by "Entering the Field" (Marion 2008, 8). I have borrowed this idea, in both sense, title, and format, to begin my introduction to this dissertation as I felt it was a useful way to invite the reader into the project.

[6] *Agape* is a term used by Spanish-speaking Masons in Colombia to refer to the ceremonial refreshment accompanying a Masonic initiation, or other significant Masonic event. The term *agape* also occurs in various usage formats in other Masonic settings (see also Mahmud 2014).

[7] All names, excluding parenthesized citations, unless other wise stated, are pseudonyms.

[8] As a point of interest, the numbering of Masonic Lodges denotes the order in which those Lodges were chartered in a given jurisidiction. For example, the first Masonic Lodge chartered in

Freemasonry) are vague for a reason…(that's) part of the allure, there's definitely something hidden…you have to figure out what it means to you." Each candidate is assigned a coach, Phil Archer, another principal participant added during an April 6th, 2014 interview in Reno; they are "tested in front of the Lodge…(information is) passed down verbally…(the candidate) advances first degree, second degree, third degree…(there is a) substantial investment in becoming Master Mason." As Herman Clayworth, of The Grand Lodge of Ohio, mentioned during a September 10th, 2014 interview in Springfield, Ohio, "our thing (is an) experiential thing…(you have to) actually go through (it)." In his Lodge, Herman added, the uninitiated are never invited into the Temple before the day they become an Entered Apprentice, "When (they) come to Lodge it's new and specific, otherwise (it's) not special." Being *kept in the dark* is an essential experience of moving through the degrees of Freemasonry. *Seeking the light* is enacted through ritualized degree progression where new knowledge and new responsibilities are imparted on the individual and is intended to be a reflection of an ideal approach to life. As MacNulty (2002) described, a candidate is prepared for initiation trough a "lengthy process and one of which the individual is likely to be only partially aware" (MacNulty 2002, 55). The initiation ceremony is "the candidate's introduction to the Craft and its symbolism" (MacNulty 2002, 56). While the members of a Lodge orchestrate the form and function of the ritual, it is the Entered Apprentice who

---

Nevada was Carson Lodge #154 (sponsored/established/chartered by the Grand Lodge of California, established in 1862; see discussion in Chapter 4). After Nevada became a jurisdiction in 1865 (Torrence 1944) the name of Carson Lodge #154 was changed to Carson Lodge #1. Each subsequent Lodge, sponsored by an already established/Recognized Lodge would be designated with a subsequent number. Hence, Reno Lodge #13 was the thirteenth Lodge chartered, and officially Recognized, within the Grand Lodge of Nevada.

is expected to maintain "one's duty to one's self" (MacNulty 2002, 63) and begin a lifelong process of self-reflection and growth which is reenacted through those rituals.

The notion that Freemasonry is *a personal experience,* as the title of this dissertation suggests, appears to be so well integrated into the culture of Freemasonry that it is uttered in verbal declaration, as well as enacted through complex ritual allegories representing a man's search for that which "lies beyond the threshold of consciousness" (MacNulty 2002, 1). Perhaps Freemasons, like Kline's (2012) Quakers, "utilize their experience and personal interpretations to come to personal understandings" (Kline 2012, 282). Personal belief models (Kline 2012) become a central feature of unity among those who have shared a similar ritual experience. However, unlike Kline's (2012) Quakers, a Freemason will not "have (his) personal understanding…scrutinized through group discernment" (Kline 2012, 288). Personal experience, personal belief, and other individual cognitive understandings are not only *not* questioned in Freemasonry, but are encouraged to be diverse. "Morality is relative" Abe Marshall, of Reno Lodge #13, advocated during a May 5th, 2014 interview. Behavior, on the other hand, is structured through idioms of *charity*, *brotherly love*, and *good character*. Indeed, Masons, during the ceremony of the third degree, are asked to tenderly seek out any fellow Mason who is not behaving in an ideal manner and are asked to "whisper good counsel in his ear, gently admonishing of his errors, and in a most friendly manner, seek to bring about a reformation" (Dunn 2008[9]). The purpose, to some extent, of the first degree is to make the initiate aware that

[9] This quote came directly from the January 2008 edition of the Masonic Blog *A Beacon of Masonic Light* which is sponsored by Theron Dunn, a Master Mason from the Grand Lodge of California and is contributed to by Masons, for Masons. The sentiment of *whispering good counsel,* as a requirement of Master Masons, is one which has been repeatedly acknowledged to

he has "entered a new world" (A. Roberts 1974, 3), the second degree suggests that the Mason is "a small part of a much greater whole" (42), and by the third degree a Mason is asked to "(serve) your fellowman" (61) and "reflect on man's moral and spiritual nature" (62).

Since, as Marion (2008) would suggest, my involvement with Freemasonry "preceded my anthropological interest in it" (Marion 2008, 8) my point/s of entry were gradual, distinct, and many. I have, in the traditional ethnographic sense, had points of entry marked by IRB documented letters of introduction, self-conscious initial encounters, the gradual gaining of confidence with informant populations, and eventual positive participation in a number of Masonic events, gatherings, and interviews. My first entry[10] was, in retrospect, Ricardo Rivera's[11] *agape.*

The day of the initiation Ricardo's joviality transformed into an apprehension of the unfamiliar, a feeling mirrored by my own uncertainty of my role in the evening's events. In the afternoon his father and brother, both dressed in freshly-pressed tuxedos, came for him. He left me in the care of my mother-in-law, Luila Gomez de Rivera, who was preparing food and drink for the evening's celebration. As day turned to night we traveled to the Temple. It was a plain, unmarked, and unassuming building in a non-

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me directly, or in my presence, during the course of research for this project. See References and Reference Notes (see Dunn 2008)

[10] IRB approval for research was officially granted on November 13, 2012 with a renewal, followed by modifications and new protocol submission on November 4, 2013 with approval granted again on January 30, 2014: Hence, this encounter, is not to be understood as usage data for this project, but rather as a descriptive example of informal exposure which set the stage for this project. As a note, individuals mentioned in this informal description have since formally agreed to be study participants of this project.

[11] The pseudonym assigned to my husband for the purposes of this study.

descript section of the city; features which are not the norm for the prominent and pronounced Masonic Temples of the United States, (see Figures 1 and 2).

(**Figure 1**: The Masonic Temple in Duluth, Minnesota, Home of Glen Avon Lodge #306. Wilhelm, LM. 09/2014)

(**Figure 2**: The Grand Lodge of Utah Masonic Temple, Salt Lake City, Utah. Wilhelm, LM. 08/2014)

We meandered through hallways and doorways until reaching an inner courtyard adorned with long tables and symbols (see Figure 3), symbols which would become significant during my years of study, such as a square and compass, black and white checkered tiles, and other globally-recognized Masonic symbols (see Figure 3).

(**Figure 3**: Symbol display inside the (inner courtyard) Temple in Bucaramanga, Colombia, home of La Serenisima Logia Renovación Nº 1-12: These photos were brought to me by Augustin Rivera during a family trip to Reno, NV in December of 2015. These photos were taken by the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Los Andes, permission for use in this dissertation granted by the Grand Lodge of Los Andes, as declared by Augustin Rivera)

We arrived alone, my sister-in-law Evelina joining us a while later. We set out food and drink on one of the long tables and waited in silence. Suddenly a door opened and dozens of tuxedo-clad, mostly middle-aged and older, gentlemen came streaming into the courtyard, boisterous and chatting. As I have found through observations and interviews, the typical age distribution of Masons, despite geographic location, trends towards middle-aged and older. According to results from a survey distributed to Masons as part of this project, with geographic locations of significant participation including the United

States and Colombia, and to a lesser[12] extent Puerto Rico, Ecuador, Uruguay, Mexico, Great Britain, Switzerland, the two age ranges with the highest positive response rates amongst total responses were 56-65 (34.08%) and 46-55 (19.55%), followed by 66-70 (13.97%), 36-45 (11.73%), and 71-79 (10.61%).[13] Although an outlier in his early 30s, Ricardo was among the group, looking proud, and relieved. He approached me, followed by his father Augustin Rivera and, I recalled, his mentor Emilio Perez. They became serious as Ricardo handed me a pair of white gloves, telling me not to lose them, that I would only wear them once; a point which was repeated by Augustin. I was unsure of the meaning of the statement, or the significance of the gloves. I had, unbeknownst to me at the time, just become "part of the Masonic family."[14]

Celebration recommenced as I was ushered among the group, invited to fill my plate with food, and told to sit next to Ricardo in one of the two seats reserved at the center of the table; Luila and Evelina did not join us, I was the only woman at the table. As I discovered later, gender segregation is, and has been, a principal characteristic of the fraternity. Indeed, one of the initial requirements of membership is that the individual must be an adult *male* of good character. As Herman noted, "American women can't enter our meeting (for the) simple reason (that it's) our thing…men and women (are)

[12] only 6 respondents from other locations
[13] Age range of 26-35 had 4.47%, followed by 80-89 (3.91%); 18-25, and 100+, both had 0.56%, and 90-99 had 0%.(also responses for 'other' not included: see survey analysis in Chapter 2)
[14] I may have first heard the phrase, that I was "part of the Masonic family" by Rudy McGee, member of Washoe Lodge #35, during our initial interview on 06/23/2014 in his home in Reno, Nevada; the phrase has been repeated to me, mostly by Masons in the United States, since that time.

socialized different(ly)…we can go (to the Lodge) and be "off"."[15] He also added that the perceived contemporary issue with gender-specific organizations is that they may be used to advantage or disadvantage one gender. He asked if women are "disadvantaged by Freemasonry?" This point was also repeated by Abe who believes there is a "new need for secrecy" in Freemasonry because of the question of what is, today, "politically correct." He also added that Freemasonry may be one of the last organizations that tiles[16] the door at meetings, and has, in regular Lodges, remained a men-only group. This is ultimately a good thing, Abe believes. As he noted during our interview, in reference to other fraternities that have become co-ed he "can't think when adding ladies made it better." He feels Freemasonry represents one of the last modern vestiges for the "rites of manhood." Although, nearly two years later (in February 2016), during a visit to return some books to him at his home, Abe mentioned that he had helped train the first female employee at his occupation (he is now retired from the insurance industry); she had done/is doing a fantastic job and that maybe the addition of women can make things better.

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[15] I used a significant portion of the present text on 'gender' in an abstract for a 2016 Southwestern Social Science Association conference titled, *"Our Thing": An Anthropological Examination of the Gender-Specific Experience of Freemasonry, as Practiced by members in Regular Lodges in the U.S. and Colombia*.See Wilhelm (2016) in references.

[16] A Lodge *tiles* a door when an active meeting is taking place within the Lodge Room. The door is closed and a Mason with the position of *Tiler* sits outside the door carrying a symbolic sword and will stop anyone wishing to enter. There are two door knockers on a Lodge Room door, one on the inside and one on the outside. If someone wishes to enter a *tiled* meeting he must partake in a series of back and forth knock sequences, known only to Masons, to demonstrate his knowledge of one of the Masonic signs of recognition.

The presence of female (or more appropriately, co-ed) auxiliary organizations to Freemasonry, such as Eastern Star[17], is welcomed with open arms in some Lodges, merely tolerated by many, and out-right banned by a few.[18] The unease of co-ed integration was made clear during a discussion with a Utah Mason in the Grand Lodge of Utah's Masonic Library on August 27th, 2014. He told me, "I have a weird outlook, so (take this with) a grain of salt, (but) Eastern Star rules Masonry in smaller jurisdictions/lodges…a woman joins Eastern Star (The Lodge and Eastern Star) meet on the same night so (her and her husband) ride together, that's the worst thing that could possibly happen, pretty soon Star needs a sentinel, because theirs has died, so she convinces her husband. Pretty soon he's no longer attending Lodge, but going to Star…when I demitted from my (previous) Lodge I was the only non-Star member."

When a group of French Lodges reorganized membership requirements approximately two years ago, opening their doors to women and allowing atheism, among other changes, the United Grand Lodge of England declared them irregular and

[17] The Order of the Eastern Star was created in the mid-1800s by a Mason who "felt that the whole family should be able to share in the benefits and inspirations of Freemasonry" (Hodapp 2005, 240). The Order was codified in 1876 with the creation of a national Grand Chapter (Hodapp 2005). This auxiliary Masonic organization is co-ed and open to the female family members of Masons in good standing (past or present). According to an August 27th, 2014 interview with a 46 year member and (past) Worthy Grand Matron of the Utah Grand Chapter, Victoria O'Brien (pseudonym), the Eastern Star is meant to be an organization which supports the work of Masonry and is open to those related to a Master Mason. Victoria noted that ideally an Eastern Star Chapter and a Masonic Lodge "work together" but that a person will "get out what they put in." Victoria also mentioned that Eastern Star doesn't actively recruit but that she "carr(ies) petitions with me."

[18] For example, in 1934, The Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania decreed that no Lodge under its jurisdiction could be associated, in any way, with any Masonic co-ed organization. This ruling effectively removed the presence of Eastern Star, and other related groups, from the Temples and transactions of regular Pennsylvania Lodges. (proceedings were accessed by me through the Library and Museum of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Pennsylvania on September 20, 2014, in Philadelphia, PA with the assistance, suggestion, and/or in relation to comment/s of the librarian).

clandestine, effectively cutting them off from the global fraternal network. Ricardo, since joining Masonry, has refused to attend an Eastern Star meeting, and is even apprehensive to enter an Eastern Star Temple, which could be grounds for expulsion, as Freemasonry is practiced in Colombia. Granted, not all Masons agree. Carl Ragan, a member of Reno Lodge #13 who is mentioned later in this chapter, declared, during a June 12th, 2014 interview, that he thought the inclusion of women in French Lodges was "awesome", that the "male-only (aspect was) dated, archaic, part of law based on time." Carl believes that the "ideals of Masonry are timeless, (but that the) wording/laws (are) separate (and) dated." Rudy McGee, a member and past Master of Washoe Lodge #35 in Reno, NV admitted during a June 23rd, 2014 interview that the "Masonic family has grown." He is an avid participant in Eastern Star, as well as youth groups such as Job's Daughters and Rainbow Girls. According to results from the survey distributed to Masons as part of this project, 28.8% of U.S. respondents acknowledged membership in Eastern Star, 0% of respondents from Colombia or other locations acknowledged membership. There is a much larger percentage of membership in the Ancient Arabic Order of the Nobles of the Mystic Shrine (Shriners)[19]; with 55.9% of U.S. participants, 25% of Colombian respondents, and 50% of respondents from other locations indicating membership. Some have argued that Shriners is, to some extent, a Co-Ed organization. Shriner's, however,

[19] The Ancient Arabic Order of the Nobles of the Mystic Shrine (referred simply as 'the Shriners) was established in 1872 by a group of New York Masons (Hodapp 2005) who wanted to create a social auxiliary to the Lodge where members could enjoy each other's company without the formal pomp of regular Lodge meetings. By the 1920s the Shriners had opened their first hospital to care, primarily, for the victims of the early 20th century outbreak of polio (Hodapp 2005). Today there are nearly 200 Shrine Temples located across the United States and Canada and one each in Puerto Rico, Mexico, Panama, Brazil, Germany, and the Philippines (Shrine(rs) International 2015 and Ararat Shrine Temple, Kansas City,2015) Missouri. There are, likewise, 22 Shriner Hospitals in the United States and Mexico which serve children from around the world (Shrine(rs) International 2015, Ararat Shrine Temple, Kansas City,2015, Kerak Shrine, Reno, NV 2013).

affirm that the Shriners are a fraternal organization with auxiliary ladies' affiliated groups working together (Shriner's International 2015). Mahmud (2014) has worked extensively with female Freemasons in the mixed-gender and female-only Lodges in Italy (Mahmud 2014). These lodges refused to recognize the global authority of the United Grand Lodge of England and instead "based their claims to legitimacy on the dozens of treatises they had signed with lodges all over the world" (Mahmud 2014,13). From my understanding of Masonic Regularity, these other lodges, once having signed the treatises with the mixed-gender and female-only Italian Lodges would have been likewise cast out by the United Grand Lodge of England, and subsequently by those lodges, worldwide, which generally adhere to the United Grand Lodge of England's recommendations of legitimacy. Mahmud (2014) argued that these Italian Masons genuinely "(took) seriously Masonic claims of inclusivity, even from the standpoint of women…"(Mahmud 2014,16). Mahmud's female participants often "referred to the (Eastern Star) as the 'wives' club.' In contrast, they often praised their own groups for vetting potential women initiates on the basis of their personal merit, rather than their kinship ties to brothers" (96). Mahmud, however, also noted that "Freemasonry is a fraternal society" (17) and that "women were often accused of 'imitating' men's lodges, and their very conditions of possibility as women Freemasons were called into question" (Mahmud 2014:17/18). Clawson (1989) argued that "fraternalism is an identifiable social and cultural form" (4) to which "ritual articulated themes that are closely identified with the constitution of masculine social order: brotherhood/manhood as an achieved identity, (and) society as a hierarchically organized structure of subordination and deference" (181). Social mobility and power, Clawson (1989) argued was based on the strength of

ties outside a familial setting. The rise of the women's auxiliary (Clawson 1989) "represented an advance over the honorary degrees of the earlier period in that they allowed the creation of active social bonds among women" (207). While this dissertation is not a study in gender and identity per se, it has been enriched by an examination of gender-exclusivity and indeed, as Moore (2011) points out, has benefitted from the work of scholars who "have used fraternal organizations to examine the bonds which link individuals together to form society" (Moore 2011:x). Indeed, Augustin took me aside one day and told me in a kind, yet somber, tone "there are some things you will never, ever know about Freemasonry."

Discussions of gender-inclusion/exclusion is still present, on occasion, in Masonic meetings. What has been a topic of conversation more recently, on some occasions in some Lodges, however, as attested by a number of participants, is a question of sexual orientation. I gather from conversation/s that male homosexuality, more specifically, could be examined within some Masonic deliberations on inclusivity. For some it is a private matter and remains part of those taboo topics, along with religion and politics, which is generally[20] forbidden from discussion in Lodge; for others it is a matter of morality, and what does or does not constitute moral behavior; and for still others it is a legal matter, as Masonic principles advocate for members to follow the laws of the nation in which their Lodge resides[21], and have therefore been recently faced with the possibility, and organizational ramifications, of marriage between Brothers.

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[20] For many participants the prohibition against the discussion of politics or religion in Lodge is an absolute requirement.

[21] As a sentiment often stated, by both participants in this study, and through text outlining Masonic guidelines, a man must be both a good Mason and a good citizen of his country. Indeed,

My exposure to the fraternity grew gradually. In 2011, after relocating to Reno, Nevada, Ricardo, while still maintaining his membership to Sojourners Lodge[22] and his affiliation with his Mother Lodge[23], joined Reno Lodge #13 F.& A.M. In that same year, Reno Lodge #13 F.&.A.M. held a ceremony in their Lodge room[24] to inaugurate 'a new officer'.[25] As the wife of a member I was invited to accompany Ricardo to the event. As

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as one of the highly quoted, and recognized, influential Masonic authors, Robert Macoy (1867), noted "A Mason is a peaceable citizen, and is never to be concerned in plots and conspiracies against the peace and welfare of the nation, nor to behave himself, undutifully to inferior magistrates. He is cheerfully to conform to every lawful authority; to uphold on every occasion, the interest of the community, and zealously promote the prosperity of his own country" (Macoy 1867: xv).

[22] Residing in Panama City, Panama, Ricardo became a member of Sojourners Lodge to facilitate his regular attendance at stated meetings. Because of the presence of the U.S. Canal Zone (a U.S. owned territory 51 miles long by 10 miles wide encasing the Panama Canal, constructed between 1904-1914, and repatriated to the Republic of Panama in 1999), many Masonic Lodges in the area were established as affiliated directly with U.S.-based Lodges. The Sojourners Lodge was, and still is, for example, a part of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts. To date, according to the 2014 list of regular and recognized Masonic Lodges issued by the Grand Lodge of Nevada for reference in receiving visitors, 21 Masonic Lodges in Panama fall under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Panama in the Republic of Panama, 4 fall under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts in the United States, and 2 fall under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Scotland in Scotland, U.K. Interestingly, I had attended an event at the Sojourners Lodge prior to Ricardo's initiation into Freemasonry at the invitation of a friend, who was a member of that Lodge. This event was one whereby Masons and their family and friends were invited to come and hear a lecture by one of the Lodge's members about Masonry in public opinion. This lecture event, I later discovered, was a type of open colloquia generated by many U.S.-based Lodges to increase public acquaintance with Freemasonry, a point which will be discussed in later chapters.

[23] *Mother Lodge* is the term used to refer to the Lodge where a Mason was first initiated, regardless of current membership status. In this case, Ricardo's Mother Lodge is La Serenisima Logia Reonovacion 1-12 in Bucaramanga, Colombia.

[24] I had initially been verbalizing the room in which Masons meet as "the Lodge" which is common vernacular among some Masons as in "I'm going to the Lodge" (meaning the building, or the physical space. However, during a meeting with Peter Field in Alexandria, VA when I used this term he noted that I probably meant "Lodge Room" and noted that he hoped I hadn't visited any "Lodges", ostensibly meaning that a "Lodge Room" is the place and a "Lodge" is the people, particularly when they are meeting privately and with closed doors…Hence forth, I have attempted to describe the physical space as a Lodge Room, and the memebership body as the Lodge, in this dissertation so as not to be confused.

[25] I am purposefully leaving these vague, as a mention of the postion in combination with a date could compromise anonymity, as these records are often readily available; in cases where I am speaking of a specific officer at a specific date I will use 'an officer', 'the offcer', or some variation thereof; specifically in the above case which took place before formal research approval was granted and is used as background (though the above Lodge subsequently granted site permission at a later date). In cases where the person served in a specifc leadership role in the

we entered the building I was struck by the magnitude and antiquity of the place and became aware of the distinctive, lingering smell of a century's worth of good food, carpeted furnishings, and cigar smoke, a smell which I have found to be a recurring impression in the Masonic Halls and Temples I have visited as part of this project. An old push-button elevator brought us to the 3rd floor where we entered the antechamber to the Lodge Room. Ricardo selected a white apron from a box near the Lodge entrance and tied it around his waist. We passed the threshold into the Lodge Room and selected a seat on a bench near the doorway. In a short and emotional ceremony 'the new officer' was sworn in. His father, who I recall was a Mason and past master of the Lodge, participated in the ceremony, his mother, wife, and children, witnessed the event. At the conclusion of the ceremony all the non-Masons were escorted out of the room and to the 3rd floor dining area (see Figure 4). Unsure of my role, I strolled around the room, noticing the dated decor and rows of portraits hanging on the walls, 'those are all portraits of past masters' someone said to me.[26] Just as in Bucaramanga, after a period of silent waiting, a door opened and dozens of suit-clad, mostly middle-aged and older, gentlemen came streaming into the room. As my exposure and access increased I became aware of Freemasonry as a significant anthropological site. I proposed a project involving Freemasonry to my advisor in early 2012 and began the long process of tracing precedence, bibliographic review, and institutional approval.

No single point of entry defines my anthropological immersion into Freemasonry, but rather my "entry process" (Van Maanen 2011, 84) was manifested out of a pre-

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past (no date specified) I will, accurately, declare Past (Master/Grand Master/etc.) as there are many such individuals who are/were Past officers.

[26] paraphrased recollection: content also confirmed by Ricardo Rivera 03/2015

established access, familial connection, formal contact, and "as a matter of luck" (78). For example, although the exact date has been lost, it was within the transition from December 2012 to January 2013: I had a scheduled appointment at a local tattoo studio. While being worked on, I was reviewing a stack of articles and books I had brought by way of a documentary introduction to Masonry. I was taking notes on a page which had a prominently placed square and compass within the text (see Figure 4). Carl, a young[27] associate of the studio, approached and declared, "I like the topic." He had not seen the content of the exposé, only the symbol on the page.

(**Figure 4**: Square and Compass; symbol referenced throughout Freemasonry: similar to what would have appeared within described text: Hodapp 2005, 12. Photo of Hodapp 2005, 12 by Wilhelm 03/2015)

I agreed and briefly described my project. He sat down on a couch next to me and, among others comments, described his own knowledge of Albert Pike, an author which I have discovered informs a complex set of norms around which Masonic identity is, in part, demonstrated. The name Albert Pike was one of the first Masonic authors I heard mentioned, as Augustin had pulled his copy of *Morals and Dogma*[28] from his shelf and

[27] Carl appears to be in his early to mid-30s, I describe this as "young" due to the average age distribution of Masonic membership.

[28] Typically referred to simply as 'Morals and Dogma' the full title of this book is *Morals and Dogma of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry* written by Albert Pike and first

showed it to me many years ago. Likewise, at an interview on a July 5th, 2014 with a (past) Venerable Master of the Nevada Lodge of Perfection, in the Reno Valley of Scottish Right[29], Mitch Hill brought his personal copy of *Morals and Dogma* with him. He produced the book during our interview, loaning it to me to read on the agreement that I would return it when finished. As Tabbert (2005) noted; "Complex in its narrative and infused with the author's vast knowledge of languages, cultures and religious traditions, *Morals and Dogma* reconceptualized American Freemasonry" (Tabbert 2005, 145). Although admittedly flawed, Pike represents one of the founding fathers[30] of Masonry, as he contributed to the ongoing efforts of reorganization of Scottish Rite Masonry into a two-jurisdictional system[31] (Ridley 2011) and promoted Scottish Rite

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published in 1871 by the authority of the Southern Jurisdiction of the Supreme Council of the Thirty-Third Degree (Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite).

[29] The Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite (referred to simply as the Scottish Rite (Hodapp 2005, 213)) is a (Hodapp 2005) body of Masonry which extends the story of Hiram Abiff, a parable used in the 3 degrees of regular Masonry, by 29 degrees (for a total of 32 degrees, with an honorary 33rd degree bestowed under special circumstances). Developing sometime in the early to mid-18th century in France, Scottish Rite Masonry made its way to the United States, via the West Indies (Hodapp 2005), in 1783 with the establishment of the "Rite of Perfection in Charleston, South Carolina" (Hodapp 2005, 219), the first Supreme Council was officially established on May 31, 1801 (Morris 2006). While Hodapp (2005) writes that the Scottish Rite "is perhaps the most visible and least understood appendant body of Freemasonry…" (213) he also notes that (Appendant bodies) "is used as an overall term to describe groups that require you to be a Master Mason (or have a relationship to a Mason), as a prerequisitie for joining." (176) and that "The concordant bodies are said to confer additional Masonic degrees that enlarge and expand upon the three degrees of the Masonic lodge. You must already be a Master Mason before you can join these groups." (177). I often use 'Appendant' and 'Concordant' together in this dissertation to denote the additional bodies, and often prefer the use of 'Appendnat.'

[30] The concept of 'founding fathers' and the frequency of a specific set of these figures is discussed in later chapters.

[31] Due in part to the inefficiency of rapid communication, and impracticality of regular attendance at meetings (Peters 01/29/2015), and some have argued due also to growing tensions between South and North, a delegate of the Supreme Council in Charleston was sent to New York in 1813 to establish the Northern Jurisdiction of the Scottish Rite (Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, Valley of Washington, Orient of the District of Colombia 2014). Operating independently and autonomously, the Northern Jurisdiction consists of 15 Northern States, located "north of Ohio (and) east of the Mississippi" (interview with Thom Peters 01/29/2015). The Southern Jurisdiction consists of the remaining 35 states, Puerto Rico, and all international locations. While a cordial relationship exists between the Northern and Southern Jurisdiction, a merger between the two

Freemasonry to the point that it became "the dominant form of masonry in the South" (Ridley 2011,190). Scottish Rite today still represents the largest Appendant[32] body of Masonry and is perhaps "the best known branch of Freemasonry in America, if not the world" (S. Morris 2006,107). Indeed, the Appendant body with the largest affiliation, according to the results of the survey distributed as part of this project, was the Scottish Rite, with 76.6% of respondents from the U.S. indicating membership, 75% of respondents from Colombia indicating membership, and all respondents from other locations indicating membership. Albert Pike was a well-known advocate of Native American rights (J. Porter 2011,215)[33], a successful lawyer, and a civil war general. More than being a compelling force in the establishment of an Appendant body of Masonry, Albert Pike's intellectual endeavors informed an approach to Masonry which emphasized an unwavering moral conscious and search for truth and inner wisdom. He attempted to consolidate and unify the rituals, documents, by-laws, and approaches to Masonry that existed in various jurisdictions (interview with Eugene Moretti on 6/6/2014). Furthermore, Pike's approach to the practical uses for, and "the multivalency of symbols," (J. Porter 2011,124) is an approach still at the heart of Masonic degree-work.

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has been repeatedly declined due to the fact that each jurisdiction "grew up (with) different rituals (and) government" (interview with Thom Peters 01/29/2015).

[32] As I (will) note in Chapter 4, "as De Hoyos and Morris (2010) have explained, "After becoming a Master Mason, a member may join many other 'appendant' or 'concordant' bodies" (de Hoyos and Morris 2010:110), many of which confer additional degrees. Indeed, *concordant* bodies are those additional Masonic groups, requiring Masonic membership, which will confer degrees as a continuation of the three Blue Lodge degrees (Hodapp 2005). *Appendant* bodies will not necessarily confer degrees. However, as De Hoyos and Morris (2010) note "Grand Lodges exercise the executive administrative power to determine which organizations may be considered 'Masonic' in their jurisdiction, and they reserve the right to prohibit their membership from joining any organization which requires Masonic membership" (3)." Appendant/Concordnat bodies is/are discussed further in this dissertation.

[33] In relation to this, Joy Porter (2011) states "see Franks, 'The Implementation of the Confederate Treaties,' 21" (Porter, J. 2011,291, 304; Franks 1973).

During a January 29th, 2015 interview with Thom Peters, a past Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Nevada, Thom noted that there are many Masonic writers, but "no Masonic authority." He also mentioned, during that interview, that Albert Pike is the only confederate general to have a statue in Washington DC. Thom, likewise, noted that Pike's writing does not represent the "position of the Scottish Rite." Pike's remains, however, are interred within the walls of the House of Temple[34], behind his marble bust. The acts of procuring a copy of *Morals and Dogma,* producing the book, loaning the book, or mentioning its contents or its author, appears to form part of those ritualizations (Bell 1992) marking a person's recognition of an ideal identity; formed, in part, by a reinforcement of ideal behavior, morals, and knowledge which are disseminated through repeated behaviors (Wulf et al. 2010). While many Masons noted to me that they aspire to read Pike's quintessential work in its entirety, few, admittedly, have. Also, while in face-to-face interactions, many participants of this project have mentioned *Morals and Dogma,* however, when asked in the survey distributed as part of this project "If, hypothetically, you had to recommend to a newly raised Mason[35] a short-list of books to read, what, if any, would you recommend?," not many mentioned *Morals and Dogma*, or Albert Pike. Common recommendations included Hodapp's (2005) *Freemasonry for Dummies* and Robinson's (1989) *Born in Blood.* Among the participants who responded to the survey in Spanish, responding primarily from Colombia, common

[34] Headquarters of the Supreme Council, 33°, Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, Southern Jurisdiction, located in Washington DC.
[35] the Spanish version asked for recommendations to an *Aprendiz Mason,* which may account for some discrepancy.

recommendation/s was/were Lavagnini's 2009 *El Manual del Aprendiz/ El Aprendiz Mason*[36] and Masonic histories.

Carl disclosed to me during our conversation in the tattoo studio that he was a member of Reno Lodge #13, at which point I asked if he would be willing to be a participant in my study. Carl has become a valuable participant, and portions of our subsequent formal interview are discussed in later chapters. More than a feeling of luck, and an acquisition of a principal participant, that encounter generated two significant contributions to my project. The first was a realization that the Masonic notion of universal inclusion of men across social, ethnic, political, and occupational divides results in a propensity for unexpected encounters. Granted, I am not, nor could I be, a member of the fraternity, nor do I possess any knowledge of the secret signs and symbols of recognition; however, my apparent interest in, or knowledge of, Freemasonry as was demonstrated through the application of a common symbol of Masonry, opened the door for an encounter I would not otherwise have had. For a member of the fraternity this type of encounter may provide a stronger sense of inclusion and intimacy (Kaplan 2014b) with fellow Masons. As Kaplan (2014b) noted, "Masonic sociability occasioned random encounters that virtually formed instant friendships" (85) which "defied the commonplace understanding of a gradual transformation from strangers to friends" (85). Many Masons I have interviewed as part of this project have, without solicitation, conveyed a story of such a happenstance encounter. For example during a June 4th, 2014 interview with a member of Reno #13 who now lives in Ecuador, Eugene Moretti,

[36] Various dates of publication and re-publication. Lavagnini also produced other manuals for different levels within the Masonic hierarchy. See References and Reference Notes.

mentioned driving his motorcycle across Latin America. He recounts having been pulled over in traffic in the Republic of Panama by a man who noticed a Masonic symbol he had and subsequently invited him to attend his Lodge. Eugene also mentioned that one day, while in Mexico he was "hanging out on a street" and suddenly "all these Masons end up showing up with gold Masonic regalia." Rudy McGee, during a June 23rd, 2014 interview noted that "it was a common bond that we had…you can go anywhere in the world and find a Brother." During a September 6th, 2014, interview with a member of the Glen Avon Lodge #306 in Duluth, Minnesota, Ryan Bruce, mentioned that a Brother went to Asia. In China, Ryan continued, Masonry was outlawed. The Brother was identified in an airport, most likely by fellow Masons, and was approached by armed men who subsequently offered an escort and guide, and he was moved to the front of the line. "That's what we do" Ryan affirmed. Displaying Masonic insignia is a choice Masons make for various reasons. Akim Sharett, during an April 7th, 2014 interview in his shop, noted that "people see the Masonic insignia, (and know that I will) treat them differently, they know they will be treated fairly because the shop is owned by a Brother." Ricardo, while out, if he notices a man wearing a ring with a symbol on it, often tries to determine if the man is a Brother.

The second contribution of that *matter of luck* encounter, and ultimately tied to the notion of recognition, was the realization of the powerful significance of Masonic symbolism both in identification and meaning. Symbols do indeed allow Masons "their ability to communicate in public through a coded sign system" (Kaplan 2014b,86) but more than that Masonic symbols reinforce a Mason's recollection of the lessons of his degree-work, the communion with his fellow Masons, and allows these ideas to remain

fixed in his daily lived reality, yet are ultimately left up to individual interpretation, as stated earlier. “I couldn’t tell you a symbol has a meaning to the exclusion of anything else” Thom Peters said during our January 29th interview, “Symbol, allegory will remind us of something from (a) time, place, (or) experience” he added. Towards the end of our interview Thom mentioned that one “quote that stuck with (him)”, although he didn’t remember who originally said it, was that “Freemasonry is a system of morality, veiled in allegory, and illustrated by symbols.”[37] As Herman Clayworth noted during our September 10th interview; having “a basic concept that each individual gets to adapt” is ultimately a “convenient way for people to talk about things.” Masonic symbols, he added later, are often universal, or recur frequently, like a beehive, an anchor, or an all-seeing eye, which reminds Masons’ “everyday selves” that “Masons (are supposed to be) good, (that they are) supposed to be good everywhere.” For Herman, “the secret of Freemasonry is that we create society in the micro so we can live in the macro.” Indeed, as Mahmud (2012a) put it “Freemasons view the world as a ‘forest of symbols’ hidden in plain sight and awaiting interpretation.” Clifford Geertz, a foundational scholar in the formation of symbolic anthropology might argue that it is precisely that unique, and

[37] This quote was familiar to me, having heard, and read, it multiple times, though usually in the form “Freemasonry is a beautiful system of morality, veiled in allegory, and illustrated by symbols” from various Masonic sources. This phrase is very often used by Masons, Masonic Scholars, and Lodges of Education, as a *definition* of Freemasonry. The earliest usage of this phrase that I could find, occurred in Simons’ and Macoy’s (1865) *Masonic Eclectic*, which was a collection of past Masonic writings. Within its pages the editors offer an illustrated dictionary of technical terms and phrases of Masonry (209) whereby it is written, “Our institution is happily proclaimed ‘a beautiful system of morality, veiled in allegory, and illustrated in symbols” (Simons and Macoy 1865, 218). Later the editors offer a contribution of their own whereby they use various sources to demonstrate why/how Freemasonry is not a religion (389). Within the explanation they write, “Freemasonry is thus defined: A beautiful system of morality, veiled in allegory, and illustrated in symbols” (Simons and Macoy 1865, 391). These passages suggest that it *has* been defined in that way, thus indicating an earlier coinage of the phrase.

specific, set of significant symbols that work to create a definitive system (Geertz 1957). Indeed, though Geertz argued the case for religious symbols, the same might apply to Masonic symbols, whereby they, "dramatized in rituals or related in myths, are felt somehow to sum up, for those for whom they are resonant, what is known about the way the world is, the quality of the emotional life it supports, and the way one ought to behave while in it" (Geertz 1957, 422).

The Institutional Review Board at the University of Nevada, Reno had officially approved my project protocol in November of 2012[38], and I had received verbal endorsement from Augustin to conduct research at La Serenisima Logia Renovación 1-12. Several incidences of contact stand out as formal points of entry into the field. One such began with a written inquiry, addressed to an officer of Reno Lodge #13 F. & A.M., sent on July 11, 2013, where I described my familial connection to Reno 13, briefly outlined my project, and asked if I may contact him regarding some basic information. An exchange of emails ensued, followed by a brief phone conversation on July 19th where he provided historical data on Reno Lodge #13 and current membership demographics. In December of that same year I traveled to Bucaramanga, Colombia to collect field notes and on January 11, 2014 I interviewed Emelio Perez Meier, a 33rd Degree Scottish Rite Mason, honored and well-respected among the Masons of Bucaramanga. Upon return to Reno I exchanged emails and phone conversations with 'an officer' of the Reno 13 Lodge. On March 4th, 2014, I visited the Lodge offices to present my site permission

[38] The project was subsequently re-approved on 1/30/2104 after a title-change was made to the protocol. Renewal of the project has, likewise, been granted on 1/12/2015 and 1/25/2016.

form for Lodge approval. On April 1st, 2014, I attended my first Masonic dinner in Reno in an anthropological capacity. At the dinner, which occurs the first Tuesday of every month before the regularly stated meeting, I announced my project to the group and distributed an annotated version of my research prospectus to interested participants. On April 6th, 2014 I conducted my first formal interview with a Reno-based study participant. Between August and October of 2014 I traveled across the United States, recreating a Masonic Pilgrimage undertaken by one of my study participants, where I met with, interviewed, and collected data from Masons and Masonic Temples in Nevada, Utah, Wyoming, North Dakota, Minnesota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia, District of Columbia, New York, and Massachusetts. In January of 2015 I emailed 49 Grand Lodges, the jurisdictional authority for each of the 50 United States (I had contacted the Grand Lodge of Utah prior to this), asking permission to have my survey distributed to their memberships, the same request was made to the five Grand Lodge/s in Colombia in March 2015, then circulated to the same by Augustin Rivera.

Though separated by time and distance, these points of formal entry, along with those informal encounters mentioned previously, form part of a complex-whole ethnographic experience which had its soft beginning in November of 2012. Along with retrospective contributions, these observations, readings, varying levels of access (Heiss 2009), conversations, interpretations, critical scrutiny (Strathern 1999) of my own positionality, theoretical interjections, and participatory events complete the compendium of immersement (Strathern 1999). The task of writing has now been set for the purpose of "an imaginative re-creation of some of the effects of fieldwork itself" (1). This process of 'imaginative re-creation' is done in the hopes of portraying, with a due amount of

accuracy, the realities of my participants, and the insights those realities bring to the objectives of anthropological inquiry.[39]

Core Inquiries

This project, ultimately, forms a doctoral dissertation, which in and of itself is a unique endeavor among academic monographs. It must, by design, contain a number of key attributes which, beyond exploring a meaningful ethnographic case and/or theoretical issue, proves to one's committee that one has achieved the necessary level of understanding in the field to be able to employ the theoretical and methodological tool-set of an anthropologist through a unique and informed perspective within a given area of inquiry, and, ultimately, contribute in a meaningful way to the discourse of the field. It is with this supplemental purpose in mind that I attempt to highlight a relevant phenomenon, and answer a number of questions related to the human condition, while defending my choices of method, theory, and inference throughout each of my discussions. I endeavor, throughout this dissertation, to find the balance between providing a descriptive narrative of a consequential and relevant ethnographic case, maintaining a narrowed focus on a limited number of core inquiries, and relating the body of existing research to my own interpretations, resulting, ultimately, in a qualified,

[39] I presented a condensed version of this "Entering the Field" description at the Southwestern Anthropological Association's (SWAA) annual meeting in Long Beach, CA on 05/01-05/02 2015. The title of my presentation was: *The Process of Immersion: Exploring the permutations of pre-established access, familial connection, and anthropological immersion into the field of Colombian and U.S. Freemasonry.* See References for Wilhelm (2015b).

valuable, and distinctive product. What I hope the reader gathers from the various discussions of this dissertation is a knowledge of what I seek and why my case-study, along with the method/s and theoretical orientation/s I employ, is a good place to find it.[40] I hope by the conclusion of this dissertation that I have adequately provided not only feasible solutions to the core inquiries of the project, but also numerous provoking discussions which may lead to future research, critique, and anthropological investigation into a number of related issues.

Ultimately, what am I seeking to discover, as the title of this dissertation suggests, is how philosophical systems of individualism are (or can be) sustained through collaboration. Freemasonry, generally, is a good place to investigate this query, as it may be conceived of, and practiced by its members, as a personal experience that is ultimately shared (likewise noted in the title). Through an exploration of these topics, I also touch upon issues of access, positionality, effective fieldwork, concepts of friendship[41] and kinship, collectivity, gender, secrecy, pursuit, and purpose.

I consider, for the objectives of this dissertation[42], that a *system* is a conglomeration of intricate and interrelated parts that work in conjunction with each

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[40] Jonathan Marion, whom I cite numerous times in this project, related to me during a discussion of research design at a Social Science conference we were both attending, that the focus of anthropological inquiry is not necessarily the case-study itself but rather 'what am I asking and why is (my case-study) a good place to answer it' (paraphrased). This conversation was intriguing to me on a number of levels as I had, at that time, recently received criticism from a grant-agency noting that my research prospectus seemed overly focused on the case-study itself; likewise, during that conversation, Marion turned me on to the idea of an 'activity-based approach' as a possible solution to my fieldwork dilemma (discussed in-depth throughout this project).

[41] See Danny Kaplan's work (various dates), which is discussed in Chapter 3 in more detail.

[42] I am not disregarding, in fact I am keenly aware of, the vast literature, indeed of entire sub-fields of inquiry, related to systems theory, systems, philosophy, philosophical anthropology, anthropology of thought, individual and group identity theory, individualism and politics, political anthropology etc. I am, in the above paragraph, simply deconstructing the terms I am using in a

other, resulting in the formation of a unified model of *being* and *acting*. By *philosophy*, I mean those complex formations of worldview which are influenced by culture, derived through cognition, and reflected in speech, thought, relationships with others, and decision-making. A *philosophical system* is therefore considered, in this dissertation, to be a complex interrelated grouping of worldviews which are maintained in the mind, reflected in actions, and which both inform and are informed by, a particular and meaningful collective practice. I consider, likewise, for the objectives of this dissertation, that the term *individualism* means that emphasis on the positive value and promotion of the individual person, with a focus on the benefit of distinct ways of thinking, feeling, and believing, with a requirement for the tolerance of diverse modes of cogitating the world, and including an expectation for specific interpretations of self-sufficiency and endorsement for the pursuit of personal reflexivity. A *philosophical system of individualism*, therefore, is considered in this dissertation, as a complex interrelated group of worldviews which emphasize the positive distinctiveness of the individual mind and effort, affecting the reception and creation of reality and lived realities.

I utlize, likewise, what is termed an 'activity-based approach' (coined by Jonathan Marion). An "activity-based approach" (Marion 2006, 7), which I outline briefly in Chapter 2 and trace precedence more in depth in Chapter 3, is a wide-ranging model that

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core inquiry of this project so the reader is aware of what I understand the meanings of these terms to be, at least in the very limited sense I am using them in this dissertation; I fully understand that entire treatises could be, and assuredly have been, written which define, attempt to define, deconstruct, and re-conceptualize each of the terms of 'philosophy', 'system' and 'individual'. Indeed, I was admittedly somewhat apprehensive using terms which I consider reasonably flexible. In the above paragraph I seek simply to present a basic comprehension of my use of the terms so that the reader may understand more precisely what it is I am asking when I ask 'how are (or can) philosophical systems of individualism (be) sustained through collaboration?'

employs alternatives to place-based ethnography[43] and considers shared activities and collective practices when examining the culture concept. As I note in Chapter 2, this project, in part, endeavors to describe a system of practice, i.e. Freemasonry, and by effect the people who contribute to, and are enculturated in its habitus.[44] I also note in Chapter 2 that Freemasonry, or more aptly, *The Craft*, is an *activity* which informs the ways of life practiced by its members; it is a multivariate activity at the heart of experiences of collective intimacy (Kaplan 2014b), where members are expected to explore their own individuality while at the same time considering the broader society in their actions. I further argue in Chapter 2 that this approach necessitates a *multi-sited* (see footnote 76) direction, yet goes beyond location-based sitedness. As I note in Chapter 3, while I consider an "activity-based approach" to include more than a re-conception of the 'field site' as embracing non-places, I feel the precedence for this type of approach has its roots in dialogues of the relevancies of space, place, location, of practice and boundary. I also note in Chapter 3 that an "activity-based approach", from my perspective, and for my usages, is a conglomeration of approaches which extends the parameters of both 'culture' and the 'study' of culture and that the *activity* of Freemasonry may be as critical to the formation of Masonic identity and culture, as are the ritually-mediated, networked, enigmatic, or locational aspects of the collectives.

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[43] 'Alternatives to Place-Based Identity' was an anthropological session, organized by Jonathan Marion, at the Southwestern Social Science Association's 95th annual conference in Denver, CO, in which I was both the chair and presented a paper entitled "Following the Path of Journeys: Examining the Particularized Kinship of Freemasonry, as Practiced in the U.S. and Colombia." See References for Wilhelm (2015a). I utilize Marion's concept as well as my own iterations.

[44] The 1977 date for 'habitus', attributed to Bourdieu, was originally learned from an article (reference lost); however, multiple Bourdieu, and affiliated, references are included in the bibliography of this dissertation.

The study of Freemasonry, I posit, provides a good opportunity to consider how philosophical systems of individualism are (or can be) sustained through collaboration, in addition to using an "activity-based approach". As an ethnographer I may, admittedly, get rather wrapped up in the case of Masonry as I find it has enormous potential for anthropological investigation within, and considerably more beyond, this particular project. As Cohen (1971) put it,

> "Freemasons are able to develop, maintain, and run a vast, intricate, efficient, and highly complex organisation, with its symbols of distinctiveness, channels of exclusive communication, structure of authority, ideology, and frequent socialisation through ceremonials. Through its networks of lodges, its ritual degrees and hierarchical structure, its institutions of affiliation and visiting, and the existence of three different constitutions, it is particularly suited to operate in the highly differentiated and complex structure of our industrial society. For it is capable of articulating the groupings of different occupational and social categories of people, allowing both unity and diversity." (447)

The activity of Freemasonry is practiced in diverse locations yet includes a shared philosophy, set of obligations, common constitution/s, circulation of intra-group literature, and distinctive lexicon. Its system promotes, and even requires, the assets and efforts of the individual, and at the same time is often practiced through collective rituals, socialization, and common bond. The Masonic journey is one of both introspection and charity, of both obscurity and clarity.

Configuration

Each chapter of this dissertation is organized around a different theme, highlighting a number of discussions within which I portray an aspect of this project; from the methods I employed, to a presentation of quantitative results, to informed

interpretations of my discussions with participants, to a review of the discourse related to relevant topics of the project. While the general focus of each chapter is particularized to an extent, I thread a continuing motif throughout the work which connects the general premises of the project. I have found it useful, therefore, to label each chapter with Masonic lexicon.[45] I have done this for a number of reasons. I feel, on the one hand, that it better represents my study community by employing terminology that is more meaningful to them, employing the use of metaphor, which is at the heart of Masonic communication. Indeed, as many sources have repeated, "Freemasonry is a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma…" (Freemasonry Today 2012).[46] As a number of participants have told me, metaphors are used to tell stories which contain symbols and lessons that Masons adapt to their own interpretation in their Masonic journeys, serving as reminders in profane[47] life as numerous participants have mentioned. Additionally, employing the traditional chapter titles such as 'introduction', 'methods', 'literature

[45] see also, Mackey (1845/2004).

[46] I am citing Freemasonry Today (2012) here as I have accessed the wording for this quote most recently from this source, yet I have heard this quote, exactly as stated above or close to it, repeated throughout my investigation from different sources, both participant and literary. The above source credits Winston Churchill (1939) with coining the phrase in reference to Russia (paragraph 1, sentence 1); yet the phrase, while being applied elsewhere, has been used to describe Freemasonry. The May 2012 article in Freemasonry Today, however, noted that "Churchill's aphorism, whilst not inappropriate, was not entirely applicable: the riddle was being unwrapped, the mystery reduced, and the enigma addressed" (Freemasonry Today 2012:paragraph 4,sentence 2). Although, as Gerd Wilhelm (actual name) commented in a review of this dissertation on 02/09/2016 "Interesting – …Article incorrect, since in 1939 the riddle had yet to be unwrapped, the mystery actually heightened and the enigma had yet to be addressed. It was ony after Germanys invasion that these issues became necessary to address."

[47] 'Profane', in the Masonic vernacular means people who are not Masons, or activities, thoughts, decisions, literature, beliefs, etc. that occur outside the sphere of Masonry. I explored the juxtaposition between Profane/Sacred in a couple of presentations titled *"Sacred Identities: Case Study of the Sacred and the Profane"* and "*The Sacred and the Profane: Anthropology of Freemasonry from Within, and Outside, the Lodge"* (see Wilhelm [2013a] and Wilhelm {2013b], respectively), as well as through various other discussions, including those presented in this dissertation. Other scholars have, likewise, expolored the Masonic construction of Sacred and Profane, for example, I discuss Mahmud's (2013) work later in this dissertation (among others).

review', etc. does a disservice to my attempt to present a continuing description thus forming a complete narrative. Likewise, though I do favor an emic approach within discussion categories, I also make extensive and meticulous use of anthropological analysis throughout each description. This first Chapter, for example, by way of an introduction, comes 'from darkness.' Darkness, a participant of this study told me recently, is where every Mason starts. It is his continuing journey towards his own interpretation of 'the light' that marks him as an active participant. While I noted numerous times that I am not, nor could not, be a Mason, I make use of a concept that starts this project, and this representation, at the Masonic point of beginning. I do not intend it to be taken as an attempt at a clever title, but rather an attempt to bring the overall discussion together, ideally increasing the reader's understanding of the *sense* of the activity of Masonry, drawing both on the Masonic use of metaphor and the words of Masons themselves.

In this Chapter, I presented an 'entering the field' narrative which introduces the reader to the project, and the case of interest, by outlining my initial exposure to Freemasonry, reflecting on my various points of entry and access[48], and touching upon several matters which may be of use to consider along the way. I also briefly outlined my project in both an ethnographic and practical sense and discussed the purposes, core inquiries, and organization of the dissertation. In the next Chapter I lay "the first stone"

[48] My use/discussion of some of my 'points of entry' into Freemasonry is, in large part, inspired by Jonathan Marion's (2008) discussion of his 'points of entry' being somewhat fluid and beginning prior to research, with his access both personal and professional, and enacted in myriad ways ways (see Marion 2008, 5-15). My use/discussion of anthropological 'access' is inspired by the discussions present in such works as Heiss (2009), Van Maanen (2011), and Strathern (1999), which are discussed elsewhere in this dissertation.

(Mackey 1845/2004, 89). I provide a more detailed account of the methods employed in investigating this project by discussing the ethnographic settings and research sites, how data was gathered, recorded, analyzed, and interpreted, and provide the results of the survey that was distributed as part of this project. Additionally, in Chapter 2, I discuss, among other issues, the landscape of Freemasonry, the significance of Lodge Rooms, libraries and Temples, and indeed, how I conceived of my field-site/s. I also utilize both participant voice and scholarly discourse in Chapter 2 to relay the significance of issues such as collective memory, knowledge production, and consensus.

Ultimately, it is the discourse of the field that informs the trajectory of thought and reflection for purposes of formulating an anthropological project. Upon the conclusions of others rests the endeavors to contribute to, or go beyond, the conventions and deductions of anthropological inquiry. The theoretical frames and relevant research that have come before this project, therefore, "secures firmness and stability" (Mackey 1845/2004, 232) to my interpretations of the data that resulted from this study. I thus, in the third chapter, discuss those areas of anthropological interest which, arguably, have the greatest impact on the discussions and conclusions of this project. While I incorporate analysis beyond what is described in Chapter 3, I feel the paradigms and precedence contained therein adequately support the arguments made throughout the work. For example, I review the direction of the body of work on ritual identity and its related significance to Masonic identity as orchestrated through complex ritual forms to which an individual is both an observer and a participant. I also present a review of the scholarship on secrecy and how it relates to the Masonic self as being, in part, orchestrated through complex notions of privacy, secrecy, and discretion while at the same time being

necessarily concerned with the collective societies in which Freemasons live. I, furthermore, outline the usefulness of the network perspective in considering how Masons can be connected in vast social and familial networks which contain links with specific people, both living and historic, Masonic publications, and shared concepts. I also, in Chapter 3, present a review of the anthropological scholarship on Freemasonry, which is indeed scarce, and supplement it with some of the influential scholarship on Freemasonry outside the field. Furthermore, I present a line of inquiry by way of demonstrating precedence for the approach I take in this dissertation, noting that an "activity-based approach" can be viewed as a conglomeration of approaches which reconceptualizes the field site, the study of culture, and, in a way, is my own version of an "answer to the riddle of the ethnographic method" (Mahmud 2013, 203).

Freemasons, also sometimes called the Widow's Sons, the Sons of Light, the Travelers, or simply Brothers by fellow Masons, are a long-standing fraternity with contested historical beginnings. The fourth chapter of this dissertation presents a brief background to Masonry, presenting a condensed version of the various histories and constitutions associated with the Craft. I also discuss, in Chapter 4, the degrees of Masonry, the significance of Appendant and Concordant bodies, membership and secrecy, the significance of knowledge production, and issues of legitimacy. I, furthermore, discuss the use and significance of the Masonic categories of *sacred* and *profane* and present an example of a central Masonic allegory. By discussing the essential elements (Lévi-Strauss 1967) of the legend I demonstrate, in Chapter 4, how both allegory and ritual form some of the shared experiences and common symbol-references of the Craft. I conclude Chapter 4 with a brief overview of project localities, namely,

Reno Lodge #13 F. & A.M. in Reno, Nevada, U.S.A. and La Serenisima Logia Renovación N.1-12 in Bucaramanga, Colombia, S.A., to which I had a meaningful level of access and positive participant response.

The summit of this work, perhaps, is the discussions presented in Chapters 5 and 6. In the 5th Chapter I discuss the significance of *activity* to the Masonic concept of involvement and participation. I look at how both Masons and Lodges can be considered 'active' and consider the varying levels and features of enactment. I investigate issues of sociability and civic association and the Masonic links to family, friends, and texts as well as what constitutes the choice to join. In Chapter 6, I discuss the Masonic concept of *journey* in how it both describes and defines the meaning of Masonry, and likewise engenders its activity. I approach this concept and practice, by presenting the possibilities of a Masonic way-of-life literature, along with a description of how Masons may experience 'the search' through both individual and shared journeys and experiences.

The conclusion of this project is as significant as any other component. I lay the final stone (Mackey 1845/2004, 88) by first presenting an 'existing the field' narrative which reflects on some of the initial points of entry through the lens of an informed ethnographer at the summation of investigation. I also utilize both participant voice and scholarly discourse in the final chapter to relay the significance of some of the key points of inquiry. Furthermore, in the final chapter, I discuss some of the contributions of this project. These include my use of an "activity-based approach", my use of the term *culture* to describe a fraternity, my demonstration of how consensus can be achieved through shared activity, my discussion of how individuality can be achieved through collaboration, and by highlighting a *journey* as a way-of-life. The project may also

contribute, in a broader sense, to the anthropology of Freemasonry, the provision of a unique cross-regional case-study, by the use of a specific set of combined approaches, through its interdisciplinarity, and by its ethnography. The prospective research that this project shapes, as I discuss in the final chapter, includes an analysis of *activity* beyond Masonry, broader locational comparisons within Masonry, the inter-organizational influences on and of Masonry, a proper ethnographic Social Network Analysis of Masonry, and an exploration of Prince Hall Masonry and the Eastern Star. As I 'lay the final stone' of this dissertation I describe how an investigation into the Masonic formulations of association, knowledge production, ritual, shared activity, and a way-of-life which includes the lived concepts of activity and journey, can address the core inquiries of the project.

In this dissertation, I seek to discover how philosophical systems of individualism[49] can be sustained through collaboration. I argue that Freemasonry is a good place to help find the answers to this question, and that using an "activity-based approach" is an effective method for approaching the case of Freemasonry. I look at Freemasonry in the United States and Colombia to distinguish variation within the culture of Freemasonry and present a number of topics which may provoke discussions leading to future research, critique, and anthropological investigation. I likewise demonstrate my use of the anthropological tool-set through a unique and informed perspective, ideally contributing, in a meaningful way, to the discourse of the field.

[49] As defined and described within my discussion of the Core Inquiries of this project.

In the following Chapter I will discuss the ethnographic settings and research sites of this project which included Masonic Temples, and other Masonic and non-Masonic surroundings, as well as Masonic libraries and museums. I will also discuss the use of literature and online resources as sites of research and how inscription/description can be both a process and an ethnographic site. Furthermore, I will lay the foundation for an "activity-based approach" and discuss my method of recording, gathering, analyzing, and interpreting data. I will, likewise, present results from a survey that was distributed as part of this project, in various forms of analysis, and will segue into a discussion on the theoretical orientation of this project which will include a review of relevant literature.

Chapter 2: CORNERSTONE. [METHODS]

"The first stone, in the foundation of every magnificent building, is called the corner-stone, and is laid in the north-east, generally with solemn and appropriate ceremonies. To this stone, formerly, some secret influence was attributed. In Alet's Ritual, it is directed to be 'solid, angular, of about a foot square, and laid in the north-east.' Its position, as Oliver justly remarks, 'accounts in a rational manner, for the general disposition of a newly initiated candidate, when enlightened but uninstructed, he is accounted to be in the most superficial part of masonry.'[50]"

Mackey (1845/2004, 89–90).

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Ethnographic Settings and Research Sites

The research for this project occurred in various settings that, considered together, form the landscape of *Freemasonry.* Nuanced variation occurred across settings, yet there was enough consistency "of structure and operation" (Marion 2008,11), as well as sequence and concept, to be able to consolidate types of research settings into a few distinct analytical categories.[51] Findings relevant to each of these categories is presented in more depth in later chapters, yet provided here is an overview of common

[50] to the quoted material within in the above quote Mackey cites "*Signs and Symbols*, p. 225" (Mackey 1845/2004, 90).
[51] Also, "analytic(al) categories" (Kaplan 2014b, 89)

characteristics. Masonic Temples, cafés and dwellings, Masonic offices, Masonic libraries and museums, Masonic literature, online Masonic forms, and the scope of anthropological interpretation and ethnographic writing (Clifford and Marcus 1986) all form the *field site* that engendered and encompassed observable "ways of acting and modes of consciousness" (Strathern 1999, 235) indicative of a "cultural system" (Geertz 1973).

MASONIC TEMPLES

Masonic Temples are buildings, owned by a Lodge, or group of Lodges, that house Masonic meeting rooms, store rooms, galleys and social areas, offices, and often museums and/or libraries. Standard overhead costs are garnered through Masonic membership dues, fundraising, and in some cases through the renting of space to local clubs and businesses. In the United States, Masonic Temples are often prominently placed structures within a city's landscape; typically having been established during the founding decades of the city. The first Masonic Temple in Reno, NV, for example, home of Reno Lodge #13, was erected in 1872 (Kittell 2015) at the corner of Sierra Street and Commercial Row; the settling and founding of the Reno municipality occurred during the 1850s-1860s (Torrence 1944). By 1902 the Lodge had outgrown the building, and in 1905 (Kittell 2015) the cornerstone for the current location at Virginia and First Street was laid. After recovering from a devastating fire in 1965 (Kittell 2015) the current structure houses The Grand Lodge of Nevada, Reno Lodge #13, and Mount Rose Lodge #40, as well as additional Appendant and Concordant bodies, along with multiple offices, a library/museum, social areas and store rooms, along with a few rented spaces for local

businesses. There are, likewise, a series of underground rooms with Masonic artefacts books, archives, and additional storage; part of this space is rented out. During a tour of the area with a past Grand Master, Bob Ramfield, it was noted that during a flood of the Truckee river in the 1990s Masons pulled together to protect the underground area.[52]

Temples in the United States, furthermore, are often clearly marked and are also often large, ornate, and powerful symbols of the fraternity's presence. In Colombia, on the other hand, Masonic Temples often blend in to the urban environment with no, or at least considerably obscured, exterior demarcations.[53] The Masonic Temple in Bucaramanga, Colombia, for example, home of La Serenisima Logia Renovación 1-12 (founded in 1928), houses 11 Lodges plus Scottish Rite and Eastern Star (Augustin Rivera). The building belongs to the city, but the Fraternity currently has a project underway building their own building in a commercial area of Bucaramanga (Augustin Rivera). The first Masonic Lodge in Bucaramanga was established during the first decade of 1900 (Fonseca Moreno 2008; see also note in references), nearly three centuries after the founding of the Bucaramanga municipality, which was founded in 1622 (Rueda Cáceres 2005). The Temple where Ricardo's *agape* took place, and where 11 of Bucaramanga's Lodges currently meet, is an unassuming addition to the predominantly residential and commercial (small business) area.[54] Like Mahmud's Italian Freemasons,

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[52] A more thorough description, and history, of Reno's downtown Masonic Temple is provided in Chapter 4.

[53] The exterior of the Temple in Bucaramanga was recently painted in vivid colors as seen in a photo parlayed to me by Augustin.

[54] A more thorough description, and history, of Bucaramanga's Masonic Temple, home of La Serenisima Logia Renovación 1-12, is provided in Chapter 4. Additionally, Augustin Rivera has informed me that the Masons own a larger building in a more developed commercial area and have plans in the near future to move the Lodges.

Masons in Colombia, generally, employ a higher level of discretion (Mahmud 2012a) than U.S.-based Freemasons, thus, locating the Masonic Temple in Bucaramanga also "required an understanding that objects are at the same time in plain sight and hidden from view. Symbols are everywhere and events are public, but only the correctly conjured public has the knowledge necessary, be it esoteric or social, to decipher, to participate, to see" (Mahmud 2012a,431).

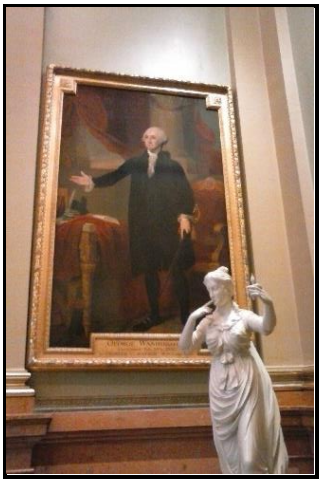
Masonic Temples comprise the setting for the majority of the location-based fieldwork for this project. Most predominantly, Reno's downtown Masonic Temple, where I observed and participated in many events, conducted research and observations in the Grand Lodge library and museum, conducted interviews, and accompanied Augustin Rivera when he visited Temples in Nevada in August, 2014. I have also spent time in other Masonic structures, primarily as part of this research, but some outside of this project, including the Masonic Temple, home of La Serenisima Logia Renovación Nº 1-12, in Bucaramanga, Colombia; along with Temples, Lodge Rooms, Masonic libraries/museums, and/or Grand Lodge/Lodge offices in the Republic of Panama[55], Nevada, Salt Lake City, Utah, Casper, Wyoming, Fargo, North Dakota, Duluth, Minnesota, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Washington, D.C., Alexandria, Virginia, and Boston, Massachusetts.[56] I found, as Marion (2008) did, that the expedition to multiple sites, as mentioned above, posed a number of challenges, "…not the least of which was

[55] This visitation was well before research for this project, I was invited to an "open" meeting where a "public" lecture was given; members of the Lodge/audience were not notified of this research, and, indeed, I recognize this event in the dissertation as it was one of the first exposures I had to Freemasonry. I cannot dismiss this event as it helps form my impressions of the Fraternity.

[56] A list of sites visited is also provided in Appendix 1.

the need to continuously *re-enter* the field, negotiating access anew for each city…" (Marion 2008,15), membership, and Temple.

Masonic Temples each have their own character, indicative of the autonomy of the Lodges that meet within. However, there are numerous features of Masonic Temples which are repeated across geographic location. For example, there are typically series of portraits lining the walls which convey the likenesses of Past Masters, or Past Grand Masters, of the Lodge/s/Grand Lodge, as well as other notable Masons from history. Interestingly, most Masonic Temples I visited had one or more portraits of George Washington (see Figure 5)[57] hanging within a Lodge Room and/or other locations within the Temple. There are also locked chambers which house the ceremonial paraphernalia necessary to conduct degree rituals and other observances.



(**Figure 5**: Portrait of George Washington hanging within the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania Masonic Temple in Philadelphia, PN: Wilhelm 09/2014)

[57] More on the connection between George Washington and Masonic Identity is presented throughout this project.

Likewise, social areas can be found within Masonic Temples which are the gathering places for dinners, *agapes,* meetings which include non-Masons, and places to gather before Lodge meetings (see Figures 6, 7, and 8).

(**Figure 6**: Social area inside Elko Lodge #15 in Elko, NV: Wilhelm 08/2014)

(**Figure 7**: Social area inside the Masonic Temple in Duluth, MN, home of Glen Avon Lodge #306: Wilhelm 09/2014)

(**Figure 8**: Social area inside the Grand Lodge of Utah Masonic Temple in Salt Lake City, UT: Wilhelm 08/2014)

To support these gatherings and events there is typically a galley of some kind where food and spirits can be stored and prepared. Temples also have offices where, even if the Temple does not house a Grand Lodge, the Worshipful Master, Secretary, and other officers of the Lodge can meet, plan events, send notifications, balance the budget, write the Trestle Board[58], and conduct general business of the Lodge. Another commonality I have found, most notably in the United States, is the vintage atmosphere of Masonic Temples. Many Masonic Temples in the United States are at least 100 years old and thus reflect the architecture of bygone eras. Additionally, overhead costs are primarily paid through membership dues, which in the United States are relatively low, for example, the annual membership fee, currently, for Reno Lodge #13 is U.S. $70.[59] The annual membership fee, currently, for La Serenisima Logia Renovación Nº 1-12 is $840

[58] A Trestle Board is a monthly newsletter sent to a Lodge's membership from the current Worshipful Master of the Lodge. It is contributed to by officers and members of the Lodge and has information regarding Lodge business and events, Lodge news, and other information.
[59] According to a secretary of a Nevada-based Lodge.

(Ricardo Rivera 03/2015). To progress through all three degrees in Reno costs $350 and to progress through all three degree in Bucaramanga costs $2,000 (Ricardo Rivera 03/2015). There is rarely a profit which can be used for the upgrade of current structures, though donations from members can be sought for this purpose. Also, since Masonic organizations have been a mainstay in global charitable foundations[60] much disposable income, as well as fundraising and any income from public tours[61], goes for the purpose of Masonic charities. Abe Marshall, for example, during our May 5th, 2014 meeting seemed proud of the significant Masonic contributions to charitable causes; however, he also noted that if Masons had a fault it was that any extra money was always put into charity. He believes that "charity begins at home" and that even money for "a bucket of paint" goes to charity. The most fundamental similarity, however, between all Masonic Temples, despite geographic location, is the existence, and layout of the Lodge Room/s. A Lodge Room is the sacred inner space where a Lodge holds regular meetings, rituals to initiate candidates into the Fraternity and likewise grant degrees, hold ceremonies to elect and appoint officers, and ceremonies to honor the recently deceased. While there are slight variations, the layout of a Lodge Room is so similar that the familiarity with its

[60] Such as Shriners hospitals for children, Rite Care, the Child I.D. Program,college scholarships, and numerous local, national, and international efforts.

[61] Some Masonic Temples, which have historic significance, house a Grand Lodge, or are particularly ornate, offer tours to the public for a fee. Examples of Temples that offer this, beyond those which already house national museums such as the Washington Memorial, include the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, in Boston, MA (purportedly the first Masonic Temple in the United States), the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, PA (for which claims have also been made for the first Temple in the United States), and others. The Grand Lodge of Utah, in Salt Lake City, used to host public tours, but have since cancelled this service. For example, during a tour of the Grand Lodge of Utah on August 26th, 2014, Halbert Brian, office manager of the Grand Lodge of Utah, mentioned that the Grand Lodge of Utah was "moving away" from an open house due to the increase in visits by occultists, and the concern with how the volunteer tour guides would handle any "mentally unbalanced" issues.

form can be one way to identify a Mason.[62] There are typically two doors to enter/exit a Lodge Room, each with a door knocker on both the inside and outside of the door. When one enters a Lodge Room he enters from the West, as Masonic Lodges are laid out, symbolically, according to cardinal directions. To his right is the South, there are a few rows of seats for active members, one step[63], and officers' chairs where other officers sit. In front of him is the East, there is no additional seating, as this is where the Worshipful Master sits. There are three steps to the Worshipful Master and in front of his seat is a podium with a gavel and seal. The Master's seat is a significant piece of pride for a Lodge. The seat that George Washington sat in, for example, when he was Worshipful Master of his Lodge, is still on display in the George Washington national Masonic memorial in Alexandria, Virginia. In Washoe Lodge #35 in Reno, NV, Rudy proudly pointed out the Worshipful Master's seat which was rescued from the old Mapes Hotel. To the left, when entering a Lodge, is the North. There are no steps, and no officers' seats in the North, which is symbolically 'dark', though there is membership seating. At the entrance, in the West, are two steps to additional officers' seats. In the center of the room, unobscured from every angle is the Altar. The Altar can be simple or ornate. It is flanked by candles (3), now often replaced by electric bulbs (see Figure 9).

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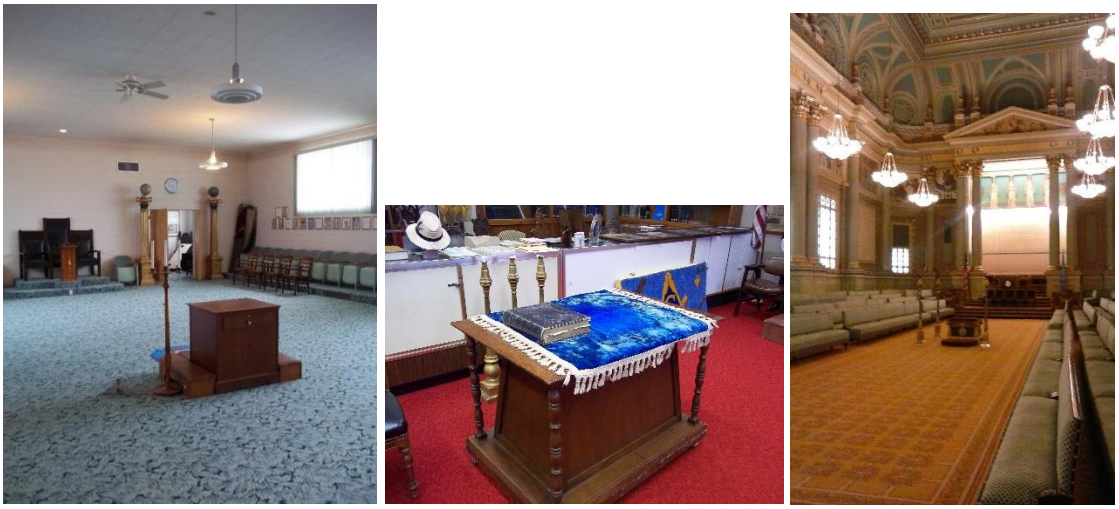
[62] I have heard a story a number of times, though the citation/s elude/s me, of an incident in the Philippines where two foreign Masons wanted to attend a Lodge meeting. Local members were unable to identify the two individuals because of the variations in signs. They asked the two gentlemen to wait outside; during which time they moved all the furniture in the Lodge Room to different areas of the room. They invited the two men to come back in and told them to set it right, which they were able to do. Thus, they were granted permission to attend the meeting.

[63] The significance of steps is discussed in later chapters

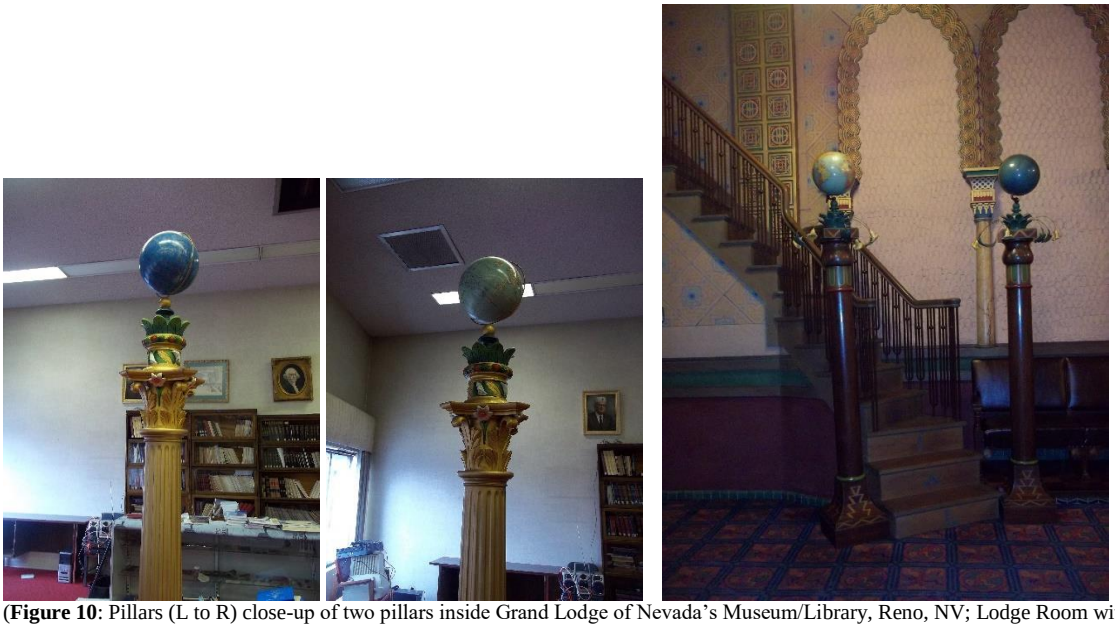


(**Figure 9**: Altar and candles (L to R) Elko Lodge #15, Elko, NV; Altar and candles inside Grand Lodge of Nevada's Museum/Library, Reno, NV; Lodge Room within the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PN. Wilhelm 08/2014; 04/2014; 09/2014)

On the Altar, always open, is the "volume of the sacred law".[64] The Volume/s of the Sacred Law is any holy book from a religion of any member of the Lodge. In most of the Lodge Rooms I visited as part of this project the book on the Altar was the Christian Bible, although in others it is a Koran, a Torah, a Buddhist Tripitaka, etc. Candidates take oaths on their choice of Volume of the Sacred Law, and the volume/s's presence in Lodge means that Masons are also always reminded, as many participants have told me, of their commitment to a higher power, called collectively *The Great Architect of the Universe*. The reminder to lead a moral life, according to their interpretation of morality, is also orchestrated through the visual presence of the Volume of the Sacred Law. Lodge Rooms also have two pillars. One topped with a globe representing the Earth, and one

[64] I inserted this quote verbatim from an interview, on January 29, 2015, with Thom Peters (pseudonym), a Past Grand Master of Nevada Masons, member of Reno Lodge #13, with other current and past Masonic roles. The phrase "volume/s of the sacred law", however, is a phrase which I have heard and read numerous times in reference to the Holy Book which sits upon a Lodge's Altar.

topped with a globe representing the celestial heavens. These pillars are either placed, near the exit, or flanking a staircase through which a candidate may walk (see Figure 10).



(**Figure 10**: Pillars (L to R) close-up of two pillars inside Grand Lodge of Nevada's Museum/Library, Reno, NV; Lodge Room within the Grand Lodge of Utah, Salt Lake City, UT. Wilhelm; 04/2014; 08/2014)

Masonic Lodge Rooms also have many symbols incorporated into the design of furniture and adorning the walls. The three most common symbols of Masonry, the square and compass, the plumb, and the level can be carved into, or displayed near, the seats of the officers of the Lodge. The letter "G" is also present in a Lodge room, typically above the Master's seat, and often in other locations as well. The letter "G" can represent *geometry* or *The Great Architect of the Universe*, and as many participants told me, both symbolize any combination of morality, higher power, everlasting life, or truth and knowledge. The Charter of a Lodge is also typically hung on a wall in the Lodge Room, if more than one Lodge meet in a Lodge Room there will be a Charter for each. In one Lodge Room I visited within the Masonic Temple in Casper Wyoming in August, 2014 a black cloth was covering the Charter (see Figure 11), to represent that a member of that Lodge had recently passed away.

(**Figure 11:** Black cloth hung on Charter within Masonic Temple in Casper, WY to commemorate the recent passing of one of the Lodge's members. Wilhelm 08/2014)

Granted, minor variations to this layout do exist. One of the great points of interest for Augustin Rivera when he toured Lodges in Nevada in August of 2014 was a walk through a Lodge Room, discussing the differences between this Lodge Room and his Lodge Room in Bucaramanga, Colombia. For example, when we visited Washoe Lodge #35 in Reno, Nevada, Rudy McGee and his wife Alice (Eastern Star, Rainbow girls, etc.) met us there and opened the Lodge Room to show us around. As Alice and I sat in the West, Augustin, Ricardo, and Rudy stood in the middle of the room, talking animatedly about the differences between their Lodge Rooms.[65] The differences, however, were never enough to question the legitimacy of either Lodge.

Masonic Temples, historically, have been the sites of civic society, where free discussion was promoted, and led to action outside the Lodge for sociopolitical change. For example, as Smith (2009) noted, "lodges formed a kind of corporatist vanguard, linking the urban bureaucratic elite to an array of regional rural leaders in a similar way to the eventual framework of the PRI" (B. Smith 2009, 583). Also, Freemason lodges,

[65] This interchange is discussed in more detail in following chapters.

Romeu (2011) noted, offer the only open forum currently available (3) in Cuba's major metropolis, Havanna. Cuban Freemasons, Romeu argued, "re-create the social capital within Cuban society, promoting faster and broader economic development. Lodges can become training centers for democratic procedures such as open debates, development and submission of protocols" (9).

The significance of urban spaces, as Masonic Temples are situated, both in the formation of public memory and the daily experiences of actors, is in constant motion (Fraser 2007). Although Masonic Temples occupy public spaces and are, many times, open to the public in some capacity, Fraser argued that no space has ever been truly, objectively, *public*, but rather is created "as a movement of differentiation…which operates through human thought and action" (71). Thus, despite their predominant placement in the urban landscape, Masonic Temples are decidedly *private* spaces.

CAFÉS, DWELLINGS, AND MASONIC SURROUNDINGS.

While many interviews for this research occurred within Masonic Temples and offices, many other one-on-one encounters occurred in local cafes, typically within a few miles of a Masonic Temple. A smaller portion of interviews were conducted within the homes of Masons. I would approach potential participants within a Masonic social setting, usually a dinner preceding a regular meeting, or other Masonic event such as a Scottish Rite Masonic family picnic, or through email. Occasionally participants would approach me, either as I worked in a Masonic museum/library or through email, indicating their interest in the project, to which I would respond with a request to interview. In all cases I would leave the day and time fairly open and the location of the

interview up to them. Most of the time participants, if we were not already within a Masonic museum/library, chose a local café. The space was certainly public, though private in that we would typically meet, by happenstance, during a busy hour where many people's conversations drowned out our dialog, to some extent, from passersby. Thus, an ethnographic space was created privileging the ethnographic ear (Erlmann 2004) as the instrument with which I distinguished the perspectives of the many individuals contributing to the culture of Freemasonry. While the method focusing on hearing cultures (Erlmann 2004) certainly applies to a greater repertoire of cultural sounds, research in this area is applicable to the settings for this project. Freemasonry as being conveyed *mouth to ear* is a phrase which has been repeated to me by numerous participants of this study, and can be found in multiple written sources. Indeed, the secret signs of recognition are demonstrated and passed to new imitates verbally and are forbidden from being ever produced in written form, participants have told me. While Freemasonry has been tied to publishing for centuries, and Masons, generally, value the acts of research, writing, correspondence, and publication; the rituals of Masonic degree ceremonies, Masonic wisdom, ideology, and operating structure have also been conveyed *mouth to ear,* particularly as Freemasonry spread from Europe to new locations, leading to variation in Lodges. While a broader discussion of interviewing is presented later in this chapter, and details pertaining to specific interviews are discussed throughout this project, it is important to note the *interview space* was an integral setting where research for this project took place; which, as the title suggests, occurred most frequently in cafés, dwellings, and Masonic surroundings. The interview space was primarily a site of observation (auditory and visual), though, often, I was encouraged by interviewees to be

a participant in the discussion of Freemasonry to a certain extent. As Carter (2004) noted, "To be communicative depends upon anticipating the other's moves. The aim is not to end the communication but keep it going" (Carter 2004, 44). Thus, my participation in discussions relating to Freemasonry was much more communicative towards the end of the research for this project, rather than the beginning. As I became more immersed in the culture of Freemasonry, my ability to *keep the conversation going* improved. Dwellings and Masonic surroundings (a Temple, a Lodge Room, a Lodge office, etc.) included both auditory and visual spaces on which to draw. In the case of Masonic surroundings, particularly, the interview would renew itself as I inquired about the various objects within view. In dwellings, furthermore, interviews often took on a more personal nature as people showed me their own Masonic artifacts and discussed their life outside of Masonry as well. Cafés, however, were void of Masonic reference, and were a site of society outside of Masonry. Thus, cafés became an auditory space (Carter 2004) and the setting where an ability to *listen* became an ethnographic advantage.

LIBRARIES AND MUSEUMS

Every Grand Lodge jurisdiction that I visited as part of this research housed a Masonic museum and/or library within their Grand Lodge building/s. Most of the smaller individual Temples I visited also had their own Masonic museum and/or library. Approximately half of the artifacts and texts located in these museums and libraries were related to the particular Lodge, jurisdiction, or membership of the Temple in which they were archived. Approximately half of the artifacts and texts were related to Masonry more generally, with a significant amount of overlap between locations. The collections

were gathered through donations and curation. Abe Marshall observed during an interview on May 5th, 2014, that the library shelves in the Grand Lodge of Nevada were primarily filled by the widows of deceased Masons who bequeathed their husband's Masonic collections to the Grand Lodge after their passing. Abe was apprehensive about this prospect for his own extensive collection. He believed that the collections in the Grand Lodge library were not organized or cared for properly. He remarked to me on numerous occasions that he was searching for someone to bequeath his library to and was relieved during our last interview to have found such an individual. Interestingly, the dichotomy of being both proud of the their libraries, museums, and archives, and being dismayed by its 'work in progress' condition was a theme that was repeated throughout my research in Lodge libraries/museums in various locations; the exceptions being the larger Grand Lodge libraries/museums (most notably in Philadelphia, Boston, and to some extent Ohio) and the national libraries/museums. I also conducted research in three national Masonic archives; namely, The George Washington Masonic National Memorial in Alexandria, Virginia (museum); The Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, Supreme Council 33º, Southern Jurisdiction's House of the Temple in Washington, D.C. (museum and library); and The Chancellor Robert R Livingston Masonic Library, affiliated with the Grand Lodge of New York, in New York, New York (library).

There were three primary reasons why I conducted a significant amount of research with Masonic libraries and museums: 1) the artifacts and texts themselves spoke to the culture created for and by Freemasons through the collection, display, and use of them, informing a global way-of-life which both focused on the individual (person, Lodge, and/or jurisdiction) as well as connecting all Masons (individuals, Lodges, and/or

jurisdictions) through common texts and artifacts promoting the notion of a fraternity not fixed in space or time; 2) I was also interested in the similarities and variations between locations in terms of what they had deemed important enough to archive, or had access to, and how these artifacts were displayed; and 3) I found that many interchanges between Masons, and between myself and participants, occurred within these sites. There was significant foot traffic in and out of these spaces, both in terms of people visiting the libraries/museums, as well as working in them (conducting research, archiving objects, and facility upkeep). Since I was clearly not a Freemason, curiosity often overcame Masonic visitors who would inquire as to my interest in the site. After briefly explaining my project I would typically enter into a rich conversation with said Mason. Also, I recorded the artifacts and texts that were pointed out to me as being significant by the local Masons who guided my tour through the site. I recorded the similarities and variations, of which there were many more similarities, between the various perceptions of significance.

The artifacts and texts themselves, as being representative of Masonic culture, was one reason, as stated above, for including libraries and museums in the ethnographic settings included in the sites where research for this project took place. As Bonetti (2007) argued "An artifact is, just like the world itself, a combination of physical, social, economical, political, cultural, and ecological relations as they occur" (Bonetti 2007, 169). She, however, warns that once placed in a museum the artifact's "multiple relations are usually eliminated, and this transforms drastically the way in which we relate to it" (169). Masonic museums, however, house many artifacts gathered from the personal collections of the members of the Lodge once they have passed away, as noted

previously. Thus, not only are the artifacts meaningful in their aesthetic as they relate, generally, to Masonry, but the objects themselves are placed within the museum by the friends and Brothers of the object's original owner. Viewers of the artifact relate it to the Brotherhood, as well as the Brother, and to themselves. Indeed, as Beaudry, Cook, and Mrozowski (1991) noted "The relationship to the material world is far from passive; artifacts are tangible incarnations or social relationships embodying the attitudes and behaviors of the past" (Beaudry, Cook, and Mrozowski 1991, 150) and, I would argue, the present. Although Masonic museums are often open to the public, this is particularly true for national Masonic museums, they are primarily Masonic museums, for Masons, about local and global Masonry. There are many distinctive pieces in each museum, as the autonomy and unique history of each Lodge would indicate. There was, however, much overlap in artifacts and texts found in the Masonic museums and libraries I visited as part of this project which included those in Nevada, Utah, Wyoming, North Dakota, Minnesota[66], Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia, District of Columbia, New York, and Massachusetts.[67] Thus, cataloging the similarities and variations between locations in terms of what they had deemed important enough to archive, or had access to, and how these artifacts were displayed; was another reason for including libraries and museums in the ethnographic settings included in the sites where research for this project took place. As Bonetti (2007) noted "Every object in a museum embodies manual, narrative, and

[66] I did not visit a space within the Masonic Temple in Duluth Minnesota that was set apart as a designated museum, however, I was shown the myriad artifacts housed within the Temple as they were displayed throughout the large structure.

[67] The Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, likewise, was a not a site where I visited a designated museum area, the objects on display, however, in the large entry way, had marked similarities to objects displayed in other Masonic museums and libraries I visited.

visual skills that are not only stratified in time, but also coexist at the same time. The object is a process…it is a series of uses and practices that connect it with the subject and with the specific environment in which it is placed" (Bonetti 2007, 178). One object of interest, that was pointed out to me by numerous participants, across locations, was a piece of cornerstone taken from the old white house; each Lodge in the United States was given a piece along with a letter from Truman (see Figure 12).

(**Figure 12:** Truman's Cornerstone (L to R) inside the Grand Lodge of Nevada Museum/Library in Reno, NV; inside the Grand Lodge of North Dakota Museum/Library in Fargo, ND; inside the Grand Lodge of Ohio museum in Springfield, OH. Wilhelm 04/2014, 09/2014, 09/2014)

Masonic libraries, likewise, have a similar collection of works which include individual histories, proceedings, journals, jurisdiction files (some more extensive and international than others), and classic Masonic works. Masonic museums and libraries were significant ethnographic settings for this project. As Bonetti (2007) noted "If we intend to consider ethnography as an indispensable instrument for fieldwork on museums (and on the use, perception, and consumption of artifacts), and if we regard museums as a social reality on the same level as exotic ceremonies, then ethnography becomes a useful instrument of description and interpretation" (Bonetti 207,169).

Finally, using museums and libraries as spaces of observation, interaction with participants and potential ones, was another reason for including libraries and museums in the ethnographic settings included in the sites where research for this project took

place. Similarities in the perceptions of artifact/text significance, likewise, became a meaningful way for me to understand the particular construction of collective memory (French 2012) inherent to Masonic society. As French (2012) noted, "In addition to their visibility in ideologies of language, sites of collective memory are frequently constituted spatially…frequently imagined as bounded and inscribed with meaning from the past that resonates into the present" (341). Although French is discussing spatial significance as it relates, primarily, to monuments, urban constructs, and landscapes (341), I would argue that any *bounded* object, *inscribed with meaning* fixes, in this project, Masonic museum artifacts in the collective memory of the Masons who conceive of their significance. As Bonetti (2007) pointed out "It is not the quality of the device that determines the longevity of a memory, but the daily practice of the members of a specific group who share its forms and modalities" (179). The symbol of George Washington, for example, became a meaningful artifact found across jurisdictions. Among the Masons I talked with, George Washington, while understood to be a leading figure in the history and formation of the identity of a nation and people, was considered, foremost, to be a Brother. As French (2012) noted "From its theoretical inception to contemporary ethnographic investigation, "owning history" is at the conceptual core of collective memory studies" (338). Discussions of the Masonic influence on or, the presence of Masons in significant periods of history has been a trending topic within the interviews conducted with Masons as part of this research and reiterated through the artifacts and texts which are displayed and archived in Masonic museums and libraries. This relates, in part, to French's suggested link between collective memory and a notion of *owning history.* Indeed, as French stated:

> Let me suggest that we may delineate a notion of collective memory along the following lines: Collective memory is a social construction constituted through a multiplicity of circulating sign forms, with interpretations shared by some social actors and institutions and contested by others in response to heterogeneous positions in a hierarchical social field in which representations of the past are mediated through concerns of the present. This definition underscores that collective memories are (a) receptive to individuals' positions in society even as they are not idiosyncratic; (b) mediated representations rather than absolute truths; (c) made and remade in complex and unequal social orders; and (d) related to questions of power insofar as efficacious collective memories are linked to authoritative truth claims about historical facts. (340).

LITERATURE

It is important to consider the concept of intertextuality (Foucault 1972)[68] in this study. Beyond Foucault's (1972[69]) concept of intertextuality as a phenomenon of relationality (Taylor 1999) within and between texts, intertextuality can also serve as a "mode of analysis" (Taylor 1999, 61) for the examination of thematic significance between texts and the people that engage with them. Thus, a body of knowledge produced, interpreted, circulated, and embodied by Masons becomes a unique "ecology of knowledge" (Anspach 1987, 217) with which Masons operate in the world and maintain a collective identity. Furthermore, by engaging with the body of Masonic knowledge shared between Masons and between Masonic Lodges, I will interact with these forms, as "a sociosemantic field of normative discourse and praxis" (Prasad 2007, 21). Useful to this form of analysis is Prasad's (2007) problematization of textuality (100) to include her juxtaposition between *shruti* (the unwavering tradition and written word) and *smriti* (what is remembered of the stories, and the flexibility of interpretation) (242). Indeed, this project contributes to the discourse on texts as a "performance of cultural

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[68] See Taylor 1999:61, etc.
[69] See References for Taylor (1999).

membership" (Taylor 1999, 62) while also considering texts as an agentive point of interaction between members of a culture.

Within the Craft[70] of Freemasonry, the concept of, and search for, *knowledge* is a key component of the system. Beyond the emblematic quest for universal truths, the Masonic tradition of knowledge production, particularly through the writing and dissemination of literature, has contributed to some of the turbulent history of Freemasonry, casting it at odds with governments and creating a shared sense of historical persecution.[71] For example, Cerza (1962) demonstrated the long history of opposition* to the order, highlighting the drastic measures taken by the Inquisition* to suppress Masonic distribution of censored texts.[72] Jacob (1981), likewise, argued that the Masonic willingness to distribute censored writings, their connection with letter carriers, and ultimately their hand in 'replacing' "Renaissance Hermetism" with "Newtonian science" set the stage for Enlightenment "in England" (115) by contributing to the rise of Toleration (228)*. According to results from a survey distributed to Masons as part of this project, 44.63% of all participants acknowledged that they had published a piece of writing related to Masonry in a Masonic, or Non-Masonic, forum such as a journal, book, or online (39.6% of U.S. respondents have published, 51.7% of Colombian respondents

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[70] Masonic demarcation used in place of the word Freemasonry. Use of the phrase The Craft is often referenced by Masons in relation to the active participation in Masonry, particularly as it relates to an individual's *journey*, the search for universal truths and knowledge, along with charity and personal improvement.

[71] See also Mahmud's (2014) discussion on "Freemasons'intimate narratives of fear and loss" (190–191).

[72] Modified text-use, ("*" denotes verbatim) and discussion of Cerza, also found in Wilhelm (2014a), subsequent "*" use to follow. Additional parallels between Wilhelm (2014a) and this dissertation may exist (particularly since both drew from the same original course-seminar source, cited elsewhere). In some cases I am using the asterisk so as not to confuse self-citing quotations with any authors' work I am discussing in the segment.

have published). An additional 67.8% of all respondents acknowledged that they had given a lecture related to Masonry in a Masonic, or Non-Masonic setting such as a colloquia, conference, or regular meeting (75.7% of U.S. respondents have given a lecture, 50% of Colombian respondents have given a lecture). Also, participants in the survey mentioned the various Masonic Journals they subscribed to, or read regularly, and when asked what Masonic books they would recommend, most of participants provided a list.[73]

To some extent, Masonic knowledge is marked apart from other forms of knowledge in society by its subject matter and intertextual production of Masonic lexicon. Though while Masonic knowledge-production may circulate more within its own community, the themes and inferences contained in Masonic productions often make their way into mainstream society through the activities and productions of Masonic scholars in non-Masonic settings as well as through lodge-hosted open colloquia and non-Masonic scholarly production.

The Masonic production and dissemination of knowledge extends beyond the affiliated authorship attached to articles, books, and other works. They also represent a unique body of knowledge consisting of a paradigm of morality, a set of parables and metaphors, and an exhibition of individual philosophy, often exploring the practical application of these ideals into the larger societies to which Masons belong. As part of this project, my interaction with informants will also take place in the abstract as I interact with the literature they have produced through articles, books, and letters, as well

[73] See Appendix 2b for a complete list of all textual responses.

as through online forums, virtual databases, open colloquia, and online exchanges. I maintain, through this project, that the production and dissemination of Masonic literature is a method of collective identity-production. It is therefore critical that I engaged with this literature as a site of culture-production and meaning-making. I, likewise, posit that networks can be created between individuals through conceptual interaction. I therefore interacted with Masonic literature as a virtual set of informants, relating it not only to the individuals who have produced it, but as a body of mutual knowledge to which Masonic forms of identity are inseparably linked.[74] Commonalities and variations were discovered in topic, theme, intended audience, author-affiliation, and reference. Some pieces of Masonic literature were used in this project for brief reference, while others significantly contributed to the analysis of Masonic networks, informed ways of life, and meaningful sites of production. Discussions pertaining to specific pieces, authors, and passages are provided in relevant sections of this dissertation.

ONLINE

The dissemination of Masonic literature and ideology is done, in large part, online. While this study is not an ethnography of a virtual community, as would entail a nuanced examination of cybermasonry, it does indeed parallel research in these areas to some extent, particularly as related to knowledge sharing and the creation and maintenance of a globally-relevant collective identity. Wilson and Peterson (2002) described online exchanges as "new forms of techno-logically mediated language and

[74] I did not create pseudonyms for Masonic published authors (available through print, online, in formal or informal publication formats)

human interaction" (Wilson and Peterson 2002, 454). While they certainly do not advocate an approach to research which excludes face-to-face interaction in favor of online exchange (456) they do encourage anthropologists to consider the complex connections between offline and online (Castells 1996[75]) social realities and how each can, and does, inform the other. Ardichvili, Page, and Wentling (2003) proposed a practical approach to virtual information exchange, noting that corporations were able to enhance knowledge exchange and a perceived unity amongst their employees by increasing participation in "virtual knowledge-sharing communities of practice" (Ardichvili, Page, and Wentling 2003, 65). They concluded that this occurred, in part, because it allowed new employees to assimilate to the habitus of the company quicker, allowing geographically dispersed employees to work in concert (71). Moreover, Golub (2010) argued that the internet is a site of specific "knowledge-making practices" (Golub 2010, 27) whereby "creating, spreading, and sharing knowledge becomes part of a project which is both 'real,' 'virtual,' and 'actual'" (Golub 2010, 42). Indeed, much web-based Masonic information exchange is geared at both educating the new initiate on the Craft, through tools such as online Masonic education courses, and connecting Masons through access to shared, interactive, databases, such as online Masonic libraries, chat rooms, and journal archives. Carter (2004) argued that new identities and sets of practices were formed as humans formed relationships in cyberspace. Indeed, I have gathered a portion

[75] I came across multiple publication dates (and volumes) listed for this work from 1996 to 1999 to 2000 to 2010. I have kept 1996 as the reference, although it appeared as 1996/2000 in my original version presented in BibEssay 2. I cited, simply "Castells 1996" in my dissertation, while I assume I am referring to the above citation (the quote was drawn from my research prospectus), I did locate further Castell 1996 reference/s, namely, "The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture Volumes I, II, and III." See References and Reference Notes.

of the data for this project through email exchange, online survey tools, access to Masonic blogs, and through communications posted online. Shumar and Madison (2013) propose a reconsideration of the paradigm of physical/virtual in favor of a more nuanced interpretation of culture as existing in both bounded and boundless spaces simultaneously. Shumar and Madison (2013), furthermore, note that there has been little consensus in contemporary anthropological work on virtual communities (Miller and Slater 2001; Boellstorf 2008; Kozinets 2010) and that, in regard to the use of online mediums, anthropologists often disagree on "the range of social groupings, interactions and identities and ways to conceptualise field locations" (Shumar and Madison 2013, 265). I posit, through this project, that 'online mediums' highlight a critical component of the landscape of Freemasonry and are an integral part of this unique system. Indeed, sites fostering contributions of, and access to, Masonic-related communication between Freemasons bridges the gap between an information-exchange medium and a social-network (Kozinets 2010). Data gathered from Masonic websites informs both the accumulation of Masonic forms of knowledge as well as an understanding "…that social and cultural information permeates every exchange, effecting a type of gravitational pull that causes every exchange to become coloured with emotional, affiliative, and meaning-rich elements" (Kozinets 2010, 28). Most of the online forums I visited during the course of this project were available to the public. Others had aspects, or were entirely, made available only to Masons. I was aware of occasions where my non-membership prevented me from further access, yet was also included in a number of social network settings, private journals, and communications. Some Masonic online spaces provided brief/minor reference/s for this project, while others contributed more significantly to my

conclusions. Any discussions pertaining to specific sites and productions are provided in relevant sections of this dissertation.

DESCRIPTIVE / INSCRIPTIVE SPACE

The concept of the 'field site' has been a mainstay in ethnographic research since its inception. The location of the field site/s, moreover, becomes a critical point of scrutiny in assessing the norms and activities of a particular group of study. However, the 'field', if it is indeed the *site* of ethnographic research must allow for a greater range of settings than those which can be fixed in space. Indeed, as Strathern (1999) argued, "One of the elements which makes fieldwork challenging is that it is carried out with a quite different activity (writing) in mind" (Strathern 1999, 1). Thus, including the composition of this project as an ethnographic setting in its own right, moves beyond an exercise in postmodern reflexivity (Myerhoff 1978; Behar 1986; Clifford 1986; Kondo 1990; Abu-Lughod 1991). The instruments of writing, where the writing occurs, the process of synthesis and description, the supplements to interpretation, and, to some extent, the anthropological mind, become *sites* whereby culture is perceived, analyzed, and inscribed to the anthropological record. As Strathern noted, "It is significant that field immersement is repeated in the subsequent study away from the field" (Strathern 1999, 5). While I do not argue in favor of the kind of 'armchair anthropology' that was done away with over a century ago, the *descriptive/inscriptive space* must be included as one of the *settings* where the research for this project was realized. As this chapter highlights, I began my description of the field with a narrative of my entering into it. As Pratt (1986) noted, personal narratives "play the crucial role of anchoring that description in the

intense and authority-giving personal experience of fieldwork. Symbolically and ideologically rich… Always they are responsible for setting up the initial positionings of the subjects of the ethnographic text: the ethnographer, the native, and the reader" (Pratt 1986, 32). Thus, since I have I positioned myself within the text, and have, hopefully, shown my credibility as an immersed participant-observer, I demonstrate that I am not only *in* the field throughout all the phases of research, but am, indeed, *part of* the field through the conclusion of the project. As Strathern (1999) further contends "…it does not matter where the fieldworker's 'field' is geographically located nor how many sites it is spread across, nor even if sites are accessible through the laptop. Indeed, time rather than space has become the crucial axis of isolation or separation" (1). The writing-up of my findings, therefore, becomes an activity of fieldwork, similar to participating in an event, observing a ceremony, or interviewing a participant. Since, as Marcus (1986) noted, "Textualization is at the heart of the ethnographic enterprise" (264), my findings are done, in part, as an attempt "to make sense of the world that subjects create by relating it to larger structures and events" (Fassin 2014, 53). The act of writing is both an ethnographic setting as well as a method of analysis; the conclusion of writing is a method used to both render this research a legitimate ethnographic work, and fixes its findings, real or true (Fassin 2014), in space and time.

"Activity-Based Approach"

The original proposal for this project was to frame it as 'multi-sited'[76], informed by studies of people, movements, or narratives (Levitt 2001; Shah 2010; Martinez 2009) occurring between cultures (Gellner 2012). This was applicable, I argued, due to my emphasis on the circulation of Freemasonry across different global and ethnographic settings. I found, however, that this method, while providing the flexibility of a somewhat unbounded (Candea 2007) approach, still left me with an emphasis on geographic locations and the connections between them. Granted, Freemasonry is practiced by people who form parts of societies that are located in space; Masonic Temples are geographic landmarks, and significant sites of historic contributions to the formation of Masonry can be traced through both space and time. Yet, as Marion (2008) argued "…none of these (regular locations) defines, constitutes or situates the…community" (Marion 2008, 14).[77] This project is endeavoring to describe a system of practice, i.e. Freemasonry, and by effect the people who contribute to, and are enculturated in its habitus (Bourdieu[78]). Freemasonry, or more aptly, *The Craft*, is an *activity* that informs the ways of life practiced by its members. It is a multivariate activity at the heart of experiences of collective intimacy (Kaplan 2014b), where members are expected to explore their own individuality and simultaneously reach out to the broader society in

[76] Candea 2007: Marcus 1995; Jebens 2010: Marcus 1986, Gupta and Ferguson 1997; Cobb and DePratter 2012.
[77] During a workshop entitled "Finessing Fieldwork: Tips and Tricks" at the SSSA in Las Vegas, NV, on 03/24/2016 Dr. Jonathan Marion also noted, that '(ideally) research should be question/(s) (and/or) topic/(s) – centered', and then the place/s that are best suited to answer it (I am paraphrasing, Dr. Marion did use the words "question" and "topic" /(s), other words may be as verbatim).
[78] See footnote 44, as well as references, "habitus" attributed to Burideu in 1972, 1977, or later.

their actions. It is not an activity from which members regularly retire, as Masonic cemeteries attest to the concept of a life's journey. Freemasonry is a voluntary association (Lowie 1948[79]; Little 1965; Anderson 1971; Kerri 1976), and affective fellowship (Shokeid 2001), where members enter into its practice already "cooked" (Lévi-Strauss 1969) in their own cultures, yet are fundamentally changed, and "re-cooked", by its active habitus.

More than a theoretical basis on which to imagine the character of a *fieldsite,* the approach I take promotes the possibilities that an *activity*, to which I argue Freemasonry may be included, has on the formation of culture; seen not only as a microcosm of broader society, but as a society in its own right; founded on a collective understanding of the forms, functions, and practices of the activity. An "activity-based approach", likewise, redirects the focus of research to investigate the occupation first, and then the people who participate in it. In the case of Jonathan Marion, whose use of the term I am applying to this project, his research included the *activity* of dance, and the observable practice/s of the culture of dancesport. He participated, among other ways, by learning the steps and competing in the same arenas as his particpants, albeit at a different level (amateur as opposed to professional). While the *activities* of Freemasonry do include directly observable involvement, as I discuss in Chapter 5, such as charity, fellowship and gathering, attending events/meetings, etc., a large part of the *activity* of Freemasonry is internalized. The *acitivty* which I also 'participated' in was that of a mental exercise considering the philosophical underpinings of Masonry, life, and the individual; the

[79] Multiple publications dates exist; in an earlier version I had this reference listed as "Lowie 1948/1960", I have also seen 1950.

process of research, writing, and publication; and the quest to be a good person which in Masonic terms can be referred to as "working the rough stone", explained elsewhere in this dissertation.

The "activity-based approach" necessitates a *multi-sited* direction, yet goes beyond location-based sitedness. As Burrell (2009) argued "The perspective on ethnographic work as the study of global processes as they are experienced locally did not suggest that the global might somehow be studied directly" (Burrell 2009, 183). The activity of Freemasonry can be found in Masonic Temples, in communities, in literature, rituals, and the formation of global networks, it can be found in the beliefs of many, and the actions of one. It is as much an individual cognitive understanding as it is a globally-operative object. It is represented in physical forms as well as unrecorded productions of shared knowledge. The activity, described in this project as a *journey*[80] with varying degrees of *centrality*[81], is learned, internalized, and directly *practiced*. I detail work that has been done within this paradigm, tracing precedence for an "activity-based approach" (the types of approaches, and specific works, that could contribute to this frame, in my own iteration, and referencing Marion), in Chapter 3, and outline, in more detail, how this approach fits directly into my research model in following chapters, addressing concerns in my conclusions. Though I agree that, as Marion (2008) noted, "The overlooking and under-theorizing of 'locations' that do not fit traditional models of 'place', unfortunately and unnecessarily leaves open critical methodological concerns, undermining both the empirical and theoretical contributions possible from such research – and finds that the

[80] See Chapter 6.
[81] See Chapter 5.

'how', 'who' and 'what' defining the 'where' cannot always be 'there'" (Marion 2008, 15).

Recording and Gathering

Participant-observation was a primary mode of qualitative data collection during the course of this project. It was essential that I first gained an in-depth understanding of the social context within which Freemasons experience identity and reality, both within and outside of the craft of Masonry, as well as understand the *activity* of Masonry from those who practice it. Indeed, it was only with this understanding that I was able to interpret the significance of themes, meanings, and words found in Masonic texts, could juxtapose the virtual/online activities of Masonry against the tangible, and apply an anthropological lens in interpreting interview responses, conceptual interactions, global networks, physical manifestations, and Masonic activity within a broader context. Also, the design and implementation of meaningful surveys was based, largely, on my interpretation and understanding of the activity, lived realities, and conceptual norms of my study population – all enhanced by the insight gained through participant observation.[82]

My entry into the community of Freemasons in both Bucaramanga, Colombia, and Reno, Nevada, U.S. was facilitated by both my residence in each location and, more

[82] As a note, since elements of this study were in both, or either, English and Spanish, translation occurred through my own limited familiarity with Spanish, along with verification of translation through Ricardo Rivera, who in some cases double-checked with Augustin Rivera, and through online translation aids, such as google translate.

to the point, members of my own social and familial networks are Freemasons belonging to each lodge, La Serenisima Logia Renovación Nº 1-12 and Reno Lodge #13. The rapport[83] that developed between myself and the informants of this study has been ongoing and, to some extent, has formed my interest in the topic of study. I believe, based on my continuing interaction with Freemasons in both sites, that I have built a relationship of trust (St. Jacques 2003) that facilitated the accuracy of participant response.

In each ethnographic setting and research site I accompanied Masons, when permissible, to Lodge events, such as receptions, open colloquia, social events, and other gatherings, to which any of my participants were involved. I observed and took notes whenever possible while in a setting containing more than one Mason (such as at an event, within a Masonic library/museum, or during a tour of a Lodge Room) and observed the style with which they conversed, the topic of conversations, and the familiarity, whether they had known each other prior or not, with which the engaged each other. I attended several Masonic pre-meeting dinners where I discussed my research with various members in attendance, but also observed seating arrangements by age and gender, attire, and topics of conversation. I also re-created a *Masonic Pilgrimage* enacted by one of my participants who traveled across the United States visiting sites of Masonic significance, which I discuss below (sub-section a), and briefly revisit in Chapter 5. My participation also extended into Masonic literature as I received copies of the books, articles, lectures, and op-eds my participants either wrote themselves, or recommended. I

[83] The term 'rapport' is utilized in anthropological texts

engaged with Masonic literature, as mentioned elsewhere, not as a secondary source, but as a primary source: Not only is Masonic literature written by Masons, often about Masonry, and potentially for Masons; but a large part of the *activity* of Masonry is that of the internal quest for knowledge and Truth, which often culminates in its production in textual form. Furthermore, I interacted with Masons in their places of business and residence and engaged in meaningful conversations in person, online, and over the phone.

I took a somewhat passive approach to recruiting for this project. Since, as mentioned previously in this dissertation, the people involved in the culture of interest in this study had, in many circumstances, higher levels of education, world experience, and social, economic, or political influence than I did, the direct approach whereby I enter in a figurative white lab coat carrying a stack of informed consent documents was awkward at best, and patronizing at worst. On April 1st, 2014, after officially receiving site permission about a month earlier, I attended a monthly dinner, which routinely precedes the monthly meeting of Reno Lodge #13 Masons. As I was getting dressed in the morning I wondered what to wear, thinking it needed to look professional, but not too stuffy. As I selected a pair of earrings and was about to put them on I realized they were quite feminine, I thought to myself that this is a fraternity, I need to blend in (as, I suppose, any good anthropologist tries to); perhaps I should be more masculine, so I decided not to wear earrings. Then I realized, no matter what I wear, I am still a female, and would not fit in, nor would I aver be considered for membership. I decided to wear earrings, but I chose ones that were not too feminine. I called ahead to confirm my participation in the dinner. I arrived early, I couldn't find everyone, so I waited awkwardly in the lobby. Ricardo Rivera eventually came in, to my great relief. We went

upstairs and found the others. Ricardo hangs his suit jacket outside of the meeting room, I feel nervous and out of place being there. I was asked how I wanted to do it; if I wanted to circulate/socialize and then do a speech or some other method; I responded that maybe a small introduction before we all eat, and then I'll circulate. Perhaps as an anthropologist, circulating through the crowd would be better, but I felt awkward. As we were standing about, two men approach, one of them is Abe Marshall, who later became a key asset in this project. They were very friendly and made jokes and small talk. I told them about my project. Abe Marshall says he has a vast Masonic library at home, and there is a big one in the Grand Lodge also. He mentions that Masonry has been "in the closet [all these years]" that it is "time to get out of the closet…who is going to do it…the news and (others) … painting a bad picture…we are not devil worshipers!" Suddenly the crowd hushes and people bow their heads and a prayer is given for the food. After this point I made my little speech introducing my project. I had brought with me a folder of documents, namely, both condensed and full versions of my extensive research prospectus. As everyone begins to put food on their plates from a buffet-style table in the center of the room containing food prepared by one of the Lodge members, I stay put and wait for people to approach me. Some do. One young man told me he was also in college and he knows how it is, he gives me his contact information, I can contact him anytime (incidentally, after a few failed contact attempts I never ended up meeting or interviewing this young man). Another man approached, he had an accent, he said he actively participates in the Nevada Lodge of Research #1. Then I meet another man who is interested but declines to give me his contact info, rather I give him mine, he mentions that he will call me later in the month (I did end up interviewing him later in the project).

An elderly gentleman approaches and I tell him about my project, he, like Abe Marshall, became an asset to this project, providing multiple interviews and tours. I noticed at one point during the dinner that Ricardo was sitting with an officer of the Lodge who asked Ricardo to speak to the differences between Lodges in Colombia and Reno at the next meeting; "homework" Ricardo says. Then I mustered the courage to go from table to table, where Masons are sitting, eating, and engaging in fellowship. I said, "excuse me, if you don't mind I am going to leave a few of these here (my documents) in case you might want to participate in my study…" Some people ignored me, some shook their heads, some took papers and asked questions, such as "what's the difference between anthropology and cultural anthropology?", "what is this study for", "how much of a time commitment would be involved in my participating", "do you have a signup sheet?" A few people sign up on the back of an information sheet, their names and contact information appearing all together in a list. Some then jokingly recommend others, Leonid Averin, for example, said his colleague "will do it", I walk over to his colleague who said, well if (Leonid Averin) is doing it…". Then a man running for a public office is invited to speak (he is not a Mason), he gave a speech to the group on why they should vote for him. At one point Edwin Ealy, whom I interviewed later in the project, approached and stood next to me. We chatted for a bit about my project. He told me about his college/post graduate career in his field of study and that he is an educator and gave me his card. "I've only been a Mason for 7 years" he said, "a father of one of my students invited me", "when I joined I was the youngest person here, it was like a fossil reenactment", "now there are a lot of young guys, not college educated, mechanics and the like". Suddenly the man speaking to the group turns the conversation to gun control,

which seems to be a popular and/or heated issue. Ricardo told me later that Ricardo Espinosa says "that's exactly why you don't talk politics in the lodge…". Edwin Ealy told me that "this is a big issue, I'm not sure I like it, someone should study it scientifically, socially if not anthropologically"…As I gazed around the room I noticed that the Job's Daughters (a Masonic affiliated youth group for girls) are around, and that one Mason brought a child with him. The man whom I gave my contact information to earlier in the evening (Thom Peters) returned and asked me, "have you ever seen inside a …?" I say "no" (I had not heard the last word). He asked, "do you want to?" I said "yes". We walked to the Lodge Room for Reno Lodge #13; I hadn't heard him, and realized he meant 'Lodge Room'. I realized I had been inside twice (once here for an officer initiation and once in Panama for an open colloquium) it is too late (or awkward) to tell him now. As we walk in he said, "everything in here means something" we pause reverently as I looked around. "The worshipful Master sits in the east" Thom continued, "another officer in the south and those in the west" no officers in the 'dark north' "the cold dark north where Masonry originated". Notice little things like one step to that officers seat, two to those and three to those". In the middle of the room is an altar with a book open. "in the center is a book open to the holy law, here it is a bible, it doesn't have to be" he said; I respond "so it can be any holy book…". He noted, "everything has meaning from the three lights (next to the altar) the letter G, and the aprons we have already laid out…these symbols don't mean one thing, they have a general symbolic significance but they represent different meanings to different people based on their own experiences with Masonry". I remarked "interesting, a lot of times in organizations symbols are taught to have specific meaning", to which Thom responded, "well there is

the authority, the Worshipful Master, but everyone reports to someone, to the Grand Lodge of Nevada or the Grand Lodge of England, and back to the Masons themselves." He repeats "everything in the room has meaning. I saw a globe, "like the globe" I said, "yes and the celestial heaven (next to it) and even the lilies" he replied. "The room follows the path the sun makes, rising in the east and symbolizes the path a person should take on their journey through life, being born to death" I responded, "so following the light (I have heard that before) "mm hmm" Thom said. We stood reverently. "I wanted to give you a visual, so you know what you are working with, to get a feel for Masonry" he noted. After a pause I see a portrait "is that George Washington?" I asked (in a typical, heroic pose) "yes" replied Thom, then pointed across the room "that is also George Washington (that portrait looks a lot different Thom pointed out) "that is George Washington in his Masonic regalia, he said 'paint me as I am'…pock marks from small pox and all." At that time they would have painted him as some kind of Greek I don't know heroic, (Thom continued), shortly after his presidency they wanted to paint his portrait and he put on his Masonic regalia and said 'paint me as I am'". We walked out of the Lodge Room. Thom Peters had two books with him with pages marked. "here's something else you might not know but they will ask you because they don't know" he said, and he flipped through his book and finds the Grand Lodge of Los Andes, Colombia listed, and then the other book which lists La Serenisima Logia Renovación Nº 1-12… "our lodge regularly recognizes this lodge, so when they ask you the question you can say 'yes'" he declares. As we walked towards the door, I thank him, at which point Ricardo arrives. Thom Peters didn't know my husband was a Mason, "it makes sense, the other thing I was going to ask you over coffee is why this Lodge, why the Colombia lodge"

Thom remarked. I replied “access…hanging out…(you) can’t do anthropology if they don’t want you there.”

I left as the men filed into the Lodge Room for their meeting, to which I was not, nor would ever be, invited. Thom Peters walked me all the way out to my car. I asked him why he wasn’t going to stay for the meeting, he replied, “I don’t feel right going into the Temple without a shirt and tie…”. Later Ricardo mentioned that during the meeting many of the Masons had my information documents on their laps. And indeed, shortly following that night I received an email from a Mason who felt there was “a flaw in (my) premise.” We met on April 6, 2014 (just five days after that initial dinner) for my first interview with a Reno Mason (my first interview with a Colombian Mason, not including conversations with my kin, occurred, very casually, in early January of 2014, during a dinner at the house of Emilio Perez to which his family and ours was in attendance; the interview was translated by Augustin Rivera and signaled one of the epiphanies of insight I will mention later in this dissertation). I don’t recall whether I handed Phil Archer an officially approved IRB information sheet at that first April 6th interview, but he had read my research prospectus, contacted me regarding what the ways in which he felt it could be improved, and certainly knew more about my topic than I did. I have interacted with Phil Archer throughout this project.

During this project I have conducted approximately 15 semi-formal, pre-arranged, one-on-one interviews in Reno, Nevada which lasted approximately 1 to 1.5 hours each. I have, likewise, conducted approximately 10 semi-formal, pre-arranged, one-on-one (in three cases one-on-two) interviews in locations other than Reno which lasted approximately 1 to 1.5 hours (approximately one occurring in Colombia of very brief

duration). Some of these interviews occurred in a formal, sit down, setting while others occurred through an extensive pre-arranged tour of a Temple and I include the running commentary, dailouge, and questions/answers as an interview. Interviews typically occurred after an individual approached me and asked how they could help with my project. Interviews that occurred as a product of my ethnographic journey across the U.S. where more deliberately ochestrated. In those cases, after selecting a route (discussed elsewhere in this dissertation), I would email ahead to an officer of the Lodge, Grand Lodge, or Masonic site I hoped to visit (contact information being, typically, readily available online). I would ususually include the word 'travelling to…" in the subject line as a way to indiciate the message was of a Masonic topic (which may increase the chances of the message being noticed). I would introduce myself, identify my family connection with Masonry (which may assist my access), and mention my research project, the university and program I was a part of, and information related ot the IRB approval of the project (which may help to clarify what it was I contacting them about). I would then request to meet with, tour, or talk with someone at the site. Except in very few cases I received replies; we would arrange dates for my visit directly or I would be directed to someone else affiliated with the site who would. Once I arrived the process of 'recruitment' took on the same somewhat fluid, informal, nature as it did in Reno; I would talk with anyone who was willing to talk with me, and would explain my project in more detail to anyone who asked. Typically at all interviews I would also ask if they would be willing for me to contact them regarding a second, or follow-up, conversation, and if they would be willing to participate in an online survey (and sometimes, also, if they knew of any "white" events that I could attend). Since the survey was anonymous, I

do not know how many of my interviewees (beyond those who directly told me, unsolicited, they had taken my survey) participated in it.

Many more conversations (of longer or shorter duration than the above-mentioned interviews) occurred during less formal circumstances, such as dinners, events, tours of Lodges, visiting family (or talking in my home), discussing Masonic written works, or working in libraries and museums; along with other situations that included more than one person, or would not necessarily constitute a pre-arranged 'interview', not to mention in some locations, persons whom I had recently interviewed came in to talk with me while I was working (typically in a Masonic museum or library) which I do not count as a 'second interview.' All of these 'non-interviews' had the same effect as one; namely, they yielded insights, information, and quotable material. The quality of interactions, overall, equaled or exceeded the quantity of semi-formal 'interviews.' Interviews, I would argue, are one, of many, forms included on the continuum of meaningful interactions during anthropological research. Likewise, conversations often included a referral to another person who may be interested in talking with me, or a question related to if I had spoken with a certain individual (for they could provide an answer to a question I had), or of me mentioning I had met with a certain individual, all of which blur the lines between contained 'interview', natural 'conversation', research 'participation' and research 'contribution' and 'observation.' I don't recall who, if anyone, received IRB information sheets, who received full research prospectuses, and who just asked me questions about what it was I was doing and how they could help (apparently this is a fairly common phenomenon of anthropological research as per a conversation with a

colleague, as the lines of participation are often not quite as clear cut as they are in a biomedical or psychological study).

Much of the participation of Colombian Masons occurred through Augustin Rivera and Ricardo Rivera and as contributions to the project from Masons in those jurisdictions. Site permission was granted by La Serenisima Logia Renovación Nº 1-12 on February 11, 2014. Masons from that Lodge participated in the survey (distributed on my behalf by Augustin, as is explained elsewhere in this dissertation) at a rate far exceeding that of Reno Lodge #13 Masons, yet I had less personal contact with Colombian Masons beyond the experiences explained elsewhere in this dissertation (such as is described in my 'entering the field' narative). Colombian Masons also participated in the aggregate (particularly those memebers of La Serenisima Logia Renovación Nº 1-12) through recommendations of written work, sending photographs, and a desire to contribute to and utilize the results of this research. The part of Augustin Rivera's faciliation of this participation, to which I am most grateful, was significant, as was his own participation.

Indeed I conducted more field work with U.S. Masons than with Colombian Masons. Although, the type of contact and 'work' was also somewhat different between these two locations – particularly since my family connection comes (primarily) from the Colombian Masons I had more access to immediate response, advise, discussion, etc. from those I am closest with as related to this project. I also utilized Masonic textual production (in various formats), the authors of which hearld from myriad nationalities and both spatial and temporal influences. Since one of the points I argue in this dissertation is that Freemasonry is *an activity of the mind* (as well as *heart*, according to

Masons) I do not feel that the lack of identical participation (in time, type, form, and influence) necessarily negatively impacts my conclusions; though, certaitly, a project, if one could truly be designed, which presented identical participation would be an intriguing avenue of prospective research and would likely fall into the category of a true cross-cultural comparison, to which I have made the case that this project is not.

In this research, likewise, as noted above, I attempted to utilize the vast body of Masonic written work as a kind of set of participants. As these works speak directly to componenets of the activity of Masonry, as discussed elsewhere in this dissertation, they form a fndamental avenue of inquiry. I do not consider Masonic works (which are written by Masons, about Masonry or closely related topics, often for other Masons) as secondary sources. I discuss in this dissertation, at length, what Masons say (both what they have said to me and have siad through writing). I have, and will, arge in this dissertation that Masonry is, in many ways, an activity of the mind. Verbalizing Masonry is a direct manifestation of that activity. Discussion, conversation, debate, and publication, ultimetly, is directly tied to *doing* Maosnry.

I chose in this project to priviledge participant voice. I feel that part of the role of anthropology is to accurately describe the Other from the Other's perspective and employ critical scrutiny of our own involvement as well as braoder topical relevance. In this dissertation I provide an extensive literature review and I cite multiple anthropological and interdisciplinary critiques on topics such as secrecy, fraternalism, activity, gender, and many others. I do this within Chapter 3 (Literature Review) but also throughout the work where a topical discussion would be enhanced by academic critique. My extensive use of other anthropological and interdisciplinary works (either in detailed review or

simple citation) can add context and provide a broader discussion beyond the confines of my specific engagement with the research. I have added, in various places, notes to this effect. My use of secondary sources, therefore, can provide a more 'philosophical' rather than 'technical'outcome to the project.

I entered a host of online forums of Masonic information-exchange to which participants in both Reno and Bucaramanga have access. A number of these online sites are constructed as a forum in which Masons interact through the publication of articles, building upon conversations and discourse related to specific topics. I went through the process of publishing an article related to Masonry in a Masonic journal which is circulated online and in print version.[84] Another virtual setting is online Masonic education sites whereby Masons engage in courses of study that enhance their understating of the craft of Masonry. I accessed these sites for the information that was made available there. Other virtual settings I entered were the social media locations where Masons from both locations can interact with each other, other Masons, or Appendant Bodies in a more direct way.

I recorded my observations in various ways including keeping notes where I inscribed observations of people, places, events, and interactions with Masons, in person, online, and in literature. I recorded interviews through hand-written notes, and kept visual records of Masonic events and activities, where permissible. Additionally, I highlighted field notes for future analysis by marking thematic similarities in discussions (written or verbal) which denote a shared usage of context, metaphor (Kennedy 2005, 6), ethic, theory, or reference. I

[84] See: Wilhelm 2014a.

also kept a running record of participants, which included their Lodge location, their position in the Fraternity, their given name, their pseudonym[85], and their contact information. I wrote a survey and distributed it, online (and with paper copies where requested) to each Grand Lodge in the United States and to the Grand Lodges of Colombia through personal request, through email, and/or via one of my participants.

As part of the process for gathering and recording data I reviewed writings composed by Masons which are accessible to any Masons, relying, primarily, on those works which were directly recommended to me by participants, located in Temple libraries, or were included in the personal collections of my participants. Pieces of writing included any published text (book, article, treatise, etc.) that has been published, or distributed, by Masonic or other sources, which any of the participants of my study made reference to in discussion, as noted above. I also considered those pieces of writing that were not published, in a peer-reviewed sense, but are accessible to any Mason, such as documents made available from colloquia, or other accessible correspondence, along with written exchanges between Masons on discussion sites, Masonic education courses, and social media sites. I understand that Masonic ideals, ethics, and scholarship which are discussed in verbal conversation will be expressed in a different way than similar themes

[85] Pseudonyms were used for various reasons, primarily to protect privacy of participants; granted, participants may recognize each other if I am relaying an encounter where one or more participants were present, additionally, participants would sometimes suggest others I should speak with, or ask if I had spoken with a certain individual, and at one point participants put their contact information on a list that was circulated around a Lodge dinner, and thus may have seen who else was on the list. Also, in drafts of this dissertation that were sent to participants of this project, as well as my father, Gerd P. Wilhelm, some real names, though unlikely, may have been present, I did find one incidence of a nickname being left in, in place of the pseudonym I had created (those who know the individual would have known him by his nickname). Additionally, one interview was gained through suggestion/contact information given to me by a colleague, not part of this research, and would then be able to identify that individual.

expressed in writing (Murdock etal. 2012); however, I find that there exist conceptual as well as individual and group links between persons in a Masonic network which can be evinced through the reference, repetition, and shared context (McTavish and Pirro 1990) of specific textual productions. For pieces of writing, generally, and conceptually, I considered the author's relationship to the audience and to Masonry, the possible impetus for the creation of the piece, the central focus of the piece, how it responds to other pieces, and how widely it is, or could be, known/used by the Masons in both Reno Lodge #13 and La Serenisima Logia Renovación Nº 1-12 both directly (as it may be referenced by name or author, or responded to in additional textual sources) and indirectly (as the central premises of the piece might be addressed and supported in formal and informal conversation and in written exchange). This type of process can lead to a recognition of informal "patterns of emphasized ideas" (McTavish and Pirro 1990, 245) and the recognition of norms, of ideals or behavior, that I have observed in my interactions with Masons, which may also be reflected in the text; concepts which Masons in both Reno, Nevada, and Bucaramanga, Colombia, use in everyday speech, in the lexicon of Masonic activity, and textualized through the exchange of information. Bernard and Ryan (1998, 607-608) suggested using elements of "grounded theory" (see also Glaser and Strauss 1967; Agar 1983; Kearney, Murphy, and Rosenbaum, 1994; Kearney et al. 1995) in analyzing experiences, particularly the production of texts, from the informants' perspective (607). This frame allows a researcher to "develop increasingly richer concepts and models of how the phenomenon being studied really works" (608). Another useful method, Bernard and Ryan (2000) argued, is "classical content analysis" (611) (they reference Gilly 1988; Cowan and O'Brien 1990; Seidel and Kelle 1995; I have

included in references) (612,611,614-possibly sooner) in which a researcher reviews texts and interviews to "(1) reduce the symbol-laden artifacts produced by human behavior…to a unit-by-variable matrix and (2) analyzes that matrix quantitatively in order to test hypotheses" (Bernard and Ryan 2000, 611). In this project I forwent a classic, and formal, content analysis, though was inspired by the process, particularly different methods of sampling such as "interpretive analysis" (612; while discussing Waitzkin and Britt 1993; I have included in references), which are more generally, "nonquantitiative" (Bernard and Ryan 2000, 612 (also, 613,614, etc.).

I also conducted informal and semi-structured interviews, and a survey. Informal interviews were any conversation, occurring naturally during the course of an event where a participant was aware of my project, having agreed before or after our conversation to participate in it. I utilized semi-structured interviews with Freemasons in many locations. Question type and quantity was determined upon a relevant and meaningful understanding of my research group based on preliminary observation gathered through participant-observation and textual analysis. I had a general concept of questions I would like answered but did not supply a formal list to the participant; questions were generally open-ended and participants were encouraged to discuss any topic of interest. The interview process, from requesting an interview, to establishing an interview location, to the conducting the interview; or, as Koven (2014) might say, "…from design, to conduct, to recording, to transcription, to analysis, to report, and to viewing/hearing/reading" (505), was a process whereby being mindful (Koven 2014) of the ramifications of the interviewer/interviewee relationship and the necessary errors that occur if an interview is considered as "…a stand-alone event" (510) was necessary.

Interviews, furthermore, were generally person-centered (Levy and Hollan 1998) which, beyond requiring pre-existing knowledge of the norms of social interaction with my study population, "*generate(d)* a field of often new phenomena, of reports and behaviors, that (were) then subject to interpretation" (Levy and Hollan 1998, 336).

The survey[86] for this project consisted of 19 questions and was designed to measure two broad scales; one that measures the extent to which an individual participates in the activities of Masonry, and one that measures the perceptions an individual has about Masonry. Questions in the survey, discussed in more detail in following pages, were both closed, containing multiple-choice options, and open, containing amply space for free writing. The survey was administered in both Spanish and English using a multilingual compatibility matrix and accounting for advanced logic branching and filtering, including variable mapping (Questionpro 2013). I administered the survey online or through an offline paper survey when requested. I was able to conduct a systematic random sample by inviting any Mason I encountered during the course of research to participate as well as requesting the survey link be posted to memberships on my behalf through a Grand Lodge server, or through an individual participant. Data collected from Participant observation, textual analysis, consensus recognition, and semi-structured interviews were used to form the questions of the survey.

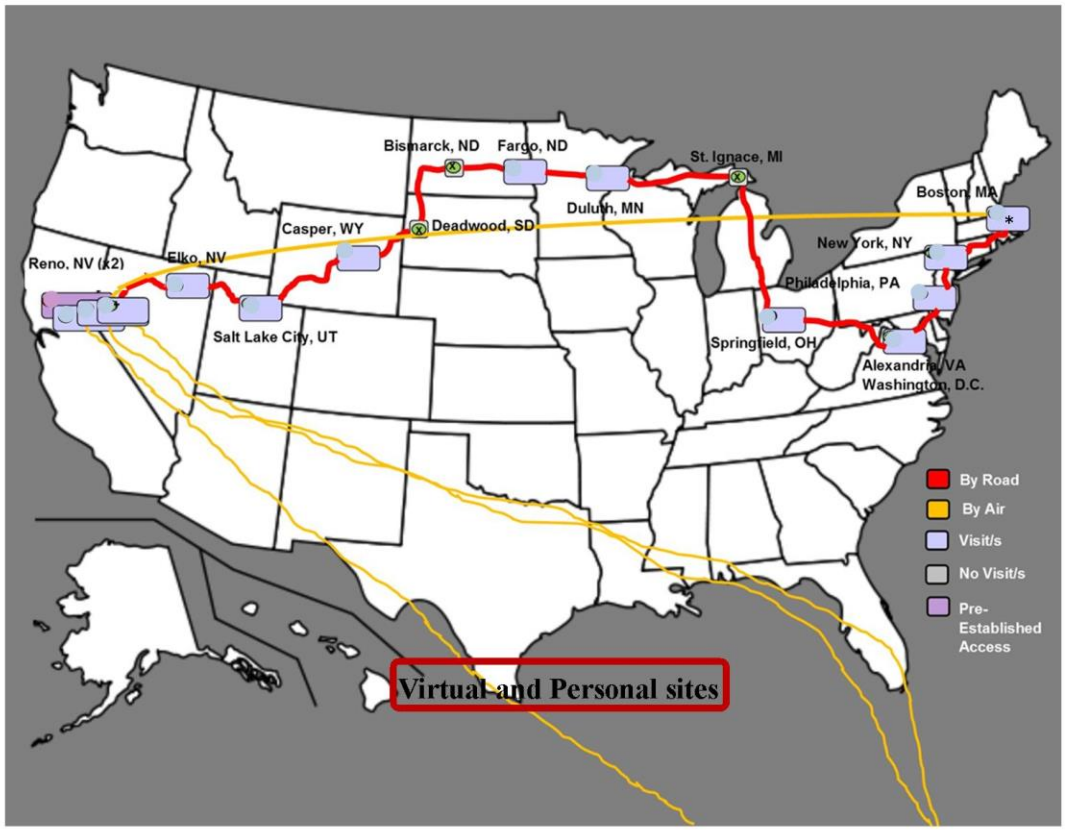
[86] As a point of acknowledgement, during an interview with a Reno Mason, on April 30th, 2014, Edwin Ealy noted the use of a survey in my project, and pointed out that I would "only need 4" questions, regarding such topics as "religion", whether their "participation in Masonry affects anything outside", or "true representation of your values in the world...", etc. I was inspired, to some extent, by this conversation.

Data contained in my field notes could be considered significant in two broad categories: First-order data and second-order data (Corley 2004). First-order data being those components that have direct and personal meaning to Masons, as specifically mentioned by the participants of this study, or related to the activity of Masonry. Second-order data being those components that have theoretical significance to me as the researcher based on an anthropological interpretation of my participants' words, actions and written works. Furthermore, I kept in mind during this process the emphasis, content, and frequency (McTavish and Pirro 1990) with which broad concepts, or specific words, were used, denoting theme recurrence, for example, there were times where similar sentiments, or even exact words recurred, which stood out, and made the notion/s significant on a number of levels.

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC JOURNEY

We set out in my father's RV on August 24, 2014. My father would drive, and look after my 4-year old son, while I toured Lodges, met with Masons, and simulated a Masonic pilgrimage, or, in this case, my own ethnographic journey. As a non-Mason, the journey would be a wholly different experience for me than it was for Daniel Forlanini or any other member of the Fraternity, yet would provide valuable insights to this project. The route had been planned in advance and would take us across the United States, via the northern route, eventually ending the journey in Boston, Massachusetts (see Figure 14). The route itself was chosen somewhat arbitrarily. It was summer time, and the northern route was cooler. That fact, however, does not take away from the re-creation of a Masonic journey, the purposes of the trip, or the vast body of meaningful data I

collected. The intent of the journey was to retrace, to some extent, the movement of Masonic Lodges from the East coast to the West coast (although I did not travel west of Nevada, Nevada Lodges were formed, as mentioned previously, primarily from Lodges in California); ending at a few fundamentally meaningful Masonic 'Meccas' on the east coast, namely; The George Washington Masonic National Memorial in Alexandria, Virginia, the Scottish Rite, Southern Jurisdiction, House of the Temple, in Washington D.C., the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania Temple in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (the first U.S. Masonic Lodge, depending upon who you ask, according to participants), and the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts Temple in Boston, Massachusetts (the first U.S. Masonic Lodge, depending on who you ask, according to participants); with the Chancellor Robert R. Livingston Masonic Library located in the Grand Lodge of New York, in New York, New York as an additional significant site. All of these sites were recommended, mentioned, promoted, or otherwise described by participants of this research, as well as my own prior research before the onset of this project. The route, although chosen for reasons of personal comfort, was not devoid of significance or Masonic meaning. Indeed, no matter the route (whether it had been the northern, the central, the southern, or zig-zagged), as I discovered, would have had tremendous significance for the Masonic experience, as well as Masonic history and identity. Every Masonic Lodge and Temple contributed to Masonic regional development in a specific and unique way, not just in its own right or to its own members but to Masonry more generally. Additionally, each site I visited was a rich trove of historical and subjective encounters, archives, and influences. Likewise, both the differences and similarities between Temples became evident, as did the similarities and differences between Masonic regions.



(Figure 14: Map of Traveling Fieldwork. LM Wilhelm (map template copyright included in references)

Before embarking on the journey I had emailed primary officers in Lodges I wished to visit. I added a Masonic word of recognition in the subject line of the email hoping to mark it as something relevant to them. I began by introducing myself and my Masonic family connection, making it, possibly, more likely that they would reply in a favorable manner; though, as my husband noted (who is also a participant in this project – as discussed previously) that fact may make it more likely that someone would choose to participate (due to oaths taken to help members of a fellow Mason's immediate family); it does not guarantee it, indeed, I had plenty of Masons who declined participation. In the emails I sent I also briefly outlined my research project. In most

cases individuals agreed to meet with me, took me on a tour of the Masonic Temple/s, and provided a brief interview; typically, no further documentation exchanged hands.

The first Lodge I visited was Elko Lodge #15 F.&A.M. I arrived at the door and was greeted by two gentlemen, whom I'll call "Dean" and "Max," who I believe were not only members but were both officers, and/or past Masters, of the Lodge. I climbed a staircase and arrived at a small social area outside of the main Lodge Room which also housed cases for the Lodge's memorabilia. We chatted about my project and some of their reflections. For example, Dean mentioned the parallel between the Masonic hierarchy, and life, to some extent. He noted that "from the ranks I came and to the ranks I'll return", meaning that a Mason may work to 'move through the chairs' of the Lodge, eventually becoming the Worshipful Master. After his term, although 'Past Master' carries some prestige, he goes back to being a regular member. Max also noted during my visit to Elko Lodge #15 that Masonry is "a society of mutual admiration." They offered for me to see the Lodge Room, which happened to be set up in full meeting mode for an upcoming meeting (see Figure 15).

(**Figure 15**: Elko Lodge #15, Elko, Nevada. Wilhelm 08/2014)

After the tour we went downstairs to their social area. This is where events such as agapes, casual meetings, and white events might take place. We ended our conversation/interview in the galley: A small, friendly kitchen with a homey feel. Max had said that, for him, the Masonic journey is indeed "profound", it "extenuates life's journey in 'profound' ways that you can't predict and don't necessarily expect."

From Elko we traveled east Salt Lake City, Utah. The Grand Lodge of Utah was established in 1872 (Gooding 1984[87]), in that year there was "three Lodges and 123 Master Masons" (Gooding 1984, 10). By 1947 that number reached "6040 members" (Gooding 1984, 60). The number decreased again in subsequent years. On August 27, 2014, I interviewed Richard, who was working in an office in the Grand Lodge Temple, was a Past Master of his Lodge, a Past Grand Master, and been a Mason for over 40 years. He noted that Masonry was old, it may have been "formalized (in) 1721 (in) England, (but) it was older than that." As for the variations seen between Lodges, he remarked that "ritual(s) (are) specific to (the) Grand Lodge" they are "the same but unique." Indeed, I have noticed this phenomenon throughout this project; while I can certainly talk to the differences I noticed between Masons, Lodges, and jurisdictions, there was an ever present underlying current of deep similarity, enough that even my 'profane' observation could recognize a Masonic room, sentiment, or worldview. Richard

[87] I citing the "First 100 Years of Freemasonry in Utah" here, which I purchased from the Grand Lodge of Utah when I visited in the summer of 2014. On page iii of this work it is noted that the work was written and researched by one Gustin O. Gooding. The work was, likewise, published by *Grand Lodge, Free & Accepted Masons of Utah.* There is no publication date listed. However, the work I have is "Vol.I: 1872-1972", and there is a forward (written by Curtis N. Lancaster) dated December 10, 1983. There is also a note on page ix directing the reader to reference the 1984 proceedings. Since '1984' is the most current date listed on the initial pages of this work, I have chosen "1984" as the referencing date, and have attributed the work to "Gooding." Any error on my part is unintentional. Also included in this dissertation in References and Reference Notes.

also noted that some of the "cornerstone belief(s)" of Masonry are a belief in "supreme being, desire to be better than you are [self-improvement, society,], (and) ability to keep a secret." He created an image for me in my mind's eye, saying that a successful Masonic "journey", although different for everyone, was one in which, at the end of life, although already departed, the man's "mother looks back and says, 'that boy did good'."

I arrived at Casper Lodge #15, in Casper Wyoming, on August 30, 2014. Upon driving into the city of Casper we noticed a sign on the side of the road indicating there was a Lodge to be found within, and where it was located (see Figure 16).

(**Figure 16**: Upon entering Casper, WY, a road sign indicates the presence, and address, of a Masonic Lodge using the Square & Compass and Letter "G". Public sign, no permission requested: Wilhelm 08/2014)

When I arrived at the Lodge I immediately noticed a hanging sign on the outside of impressive brick building. It was emblazoned with the symbols of the groups represented and housed within its structure (see Figure 17).

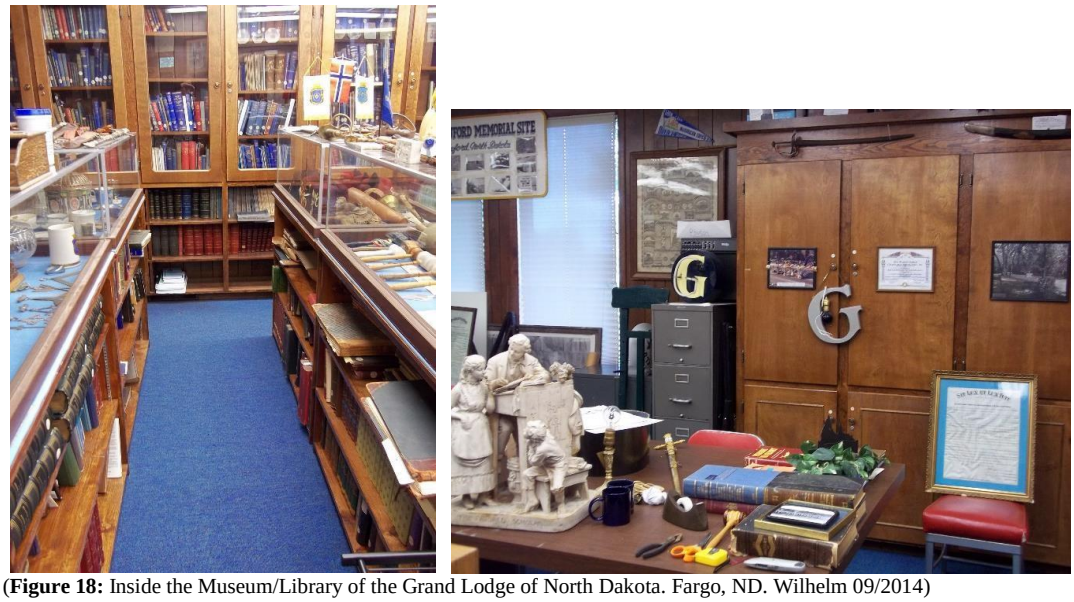
(**Figure 17**: Hanging sign indicates Masonic Affiliated Groups represented within the Masonic Temple. Casper, WY. Wilhelm 08/2014)

During a tour of the building with "Mark" and "Joseph" it was mentioned to me that there was an historic meeting of Masons on "Independence Rock" in Wyoming: "(It) was the first Masonic meeting in what is now Wyoming. (It) occurred on top (of the mountain) in (the) 1860s: three or four trains stopped. There (were) Masons (onboard who) got off. (They) made their symbols out of what was available (and then) moved on. Some guys – left marks – names – squares and compasses – dates – rock etched. (It is) a state site now. Every ten years we have a Grand Lodge meeting on top (of the mountain). 100year anniversary…history…proud of it." The Masonic Temple that I toured was also built for "other…public uses, (like) dances." Also, the comment was made that membership in "Fraternity is shrinking. Public proclivities have changed, membership in groups (is) not popular: All groups (are) suffering, (there are) so many diversions, (like) baseball (or) TV." And that there was a "shift in (the) 1960s, public opinions, question

authority, don't trust anyone over 30" which may have affected the interest in Freemasonry.

I had hoped to visit a couple of Lodges in South Dakota and North Dakota, yet, although I received a favorable response from Lodges, the timing didn't work out with the arranged meetings for Lodges further east. I did, however, arrive in Fargo, North Dakota in early September. I rode my bicycle, after a night of tornado warnings in the RV Park to the Grand Lodge of North Dakota on September 4, 2014. I was allowed to use a Grand Lodge office while I interviewed a member on the phone. He mentioned that the Grand Lodge was formed in 1889. He also noted that although the North Dakota "Blue Lodges" are very dedicated and "active in the community" and have many civic engagement "project(s)" and events, "(we) are not really a service organization"; a point which, as I mention elsewhere in this dissertation, was made by other Masons, from other jurisdictions, and contradicted my initial hypothesis of Masonry being focused, in large part, on local civic engagement. He also noted that "As far as Masonry goes in the U.S. (it was) the military - it moved across the U.S. with Masons" who were part of the military. Toward the end of our interview he offered to reach out to other Masons he knew in some of the locations I would be travelling to on the East Coast, to "introduce" me, and let them know I would be coming. While there I also walked through the Grand Lodge of North Dakota's library and museum (see Figure 18) and noticed the familiar collection of artifacts, of both historic and collective significance, as well as personal meaning - those artifacts which were perhaps donated by the families of deceased members. I also noticed, as I did in the other museums and libraries West of the Rocky Mountains, that the museums and libraries were lived spaces, from the presence of tape,

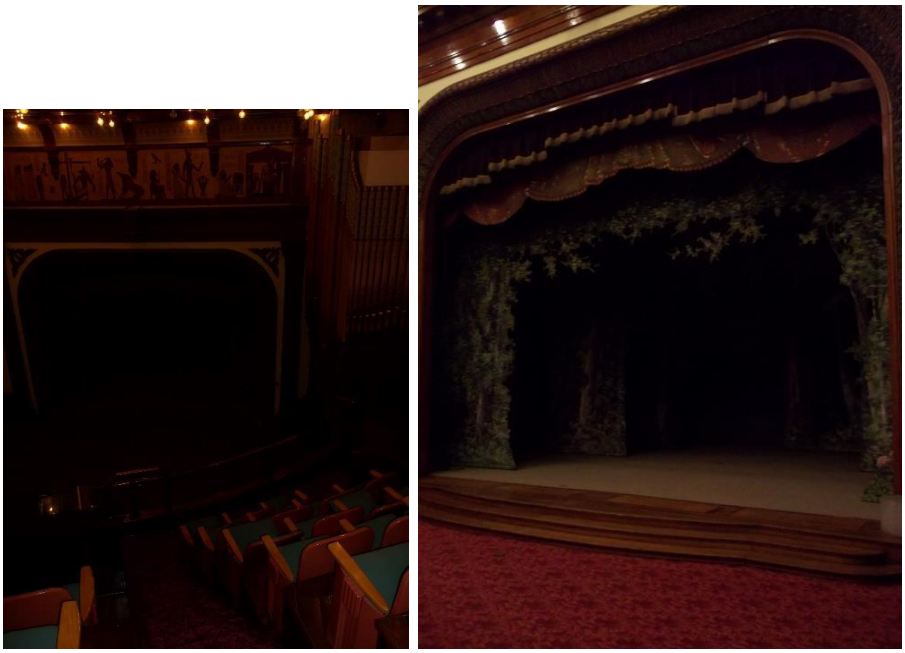
coffee cups, lists, tools, and pens; the spaces were in a constant state of change and "maintenance", indicating that these spaces were more than static displays of Masonic culture, they were meaningful 'works-in-progress' and represented the ongoing *activity* of local Masonry.



(**Figure 18:** Inside the Museum/Library of the Grand Lodge of North Dakota. Fargo, ND. Wilhelm 09/2014)

The next Lodge I visited was Glen Avon Lodge #365 in Duluth, Minnesota. I was met outside the temple by an officer of the Lodge, "Ryan Bruce." We began the tour in a large, antique, and sophisticated office on the first floor. Ryan told me that the space used to be used for "volunteer(s)" to administer "free health care" to poor families, primarily pediatrics. As we made our way through the Temple, Ryan noted that the population of Masons in Minnesota is on the decline; "10, 15 years ago (there were) 56,000 Masons, last year (there were) 14,000" he said. Through "discussion on why" he followed up, it was perhaps "a generational thing, unfortunately (its) not about the greater good (anymore) but about 'what's in it for me'." He noted that "Masonry is about a journey

within…." An impressive theater was another stop on our tour (see Figure19). The "backdrops" on this stage are in the "national registry" Ryan remarked; they still used the old technology and complex pulley system. Scottish Rite ritual performances, among other events, are held on this stage.



(**Figure 19:** Theater/Stage inside Glen Avon #306 Lodge/Temple in Duluth, MN. Wilhelm 09/2014)

Downstairs in the social area a picture of Albert Pike hung above a central table. Numerous, well-paced, linen-covered, round tables and chairs were indicative of the dinners and social events that took place there, and were not unlike the furnishings in the Reno Masonic Temple's social area where I began this project. "The original intent of Masonry" Ryan noted, was to "cross boundaries to do (the) Craft." He continued by saying that at the "dinners…that goes into (it), (you) sit next to somebody (with different vocations), (different) socio-economic (levels), race(s), etc…. we're sitting there with one common link." When our interview ended he gave me ride back across the bridge to the RV Park where I was staying, saving me the cost of a taxi, or a long, potentially

dangerous, walk; not just because I am familialy related to Masons, but because that is the kind of behavior typical of Masons, as I have observed, continually, during the course of this project.

I had also hoped to visit a Lodge in St. Ignace, Michigan, but was unable to connect with Lodge members. However, on September 10, 2014 I had an appointment with Herman Clayworth at the Grand Lodge of Ohio in Springfield, Ohio. I arrived early to the Grand Lodge offices and decided to wait outside. I heard music. It was "Taps" playing in the distance; I wondered if a funeral was taking place. As the song ended a well-dressed middle-aged man walked over to where I was standing and introduced himself as the person I was there to meet. He noted that he had just participated in a memorial for the victims of 9/11 across the park. We went inside and I was offered a place at a table where he engaged in hand-work as we chatted. He mentioned that "Masonry used to do really interesting stuff…now that membership is down, (it's) doing interesting stuff again." Although I had gotten some indication that the decrease in membership may not be an altogether bad thing from one individual I spoke with in Utah, Herman's position, which mirrors Cliff Porter (2011) cited elsewhere in this dissertation, was in stark contrast to the common conception I had come across thus far; a conception that the decline in Masonic membership was a "crisis." Indeed, another Mason I interviewed after Herman seemed to agree with his position. I also began to notice a change in my interactions with Masons from this point east. They were just as warm, as open, and as willing to help, and with as much admiration for, and identification with, the Fraternity as western Masons. But they had a certain stoic reverence that I find similarly among Colombian Masons. They had interacted with more Masonic authors than others I

had met west of the Rocky Mountains and were, generally, of the idea that Masonic meetings are formal events and Masonic membership should have high standards. That is not to say that western Masons have low standards, indeed, not at all; but the formal, exclusive, aspects of Masonry were more often presented in the aesthetic, and discussed openly, in the east. Granted, two of the participants I met east of the Rocky Mountains were advocates of the Masonic Restoration Movement, and have a particular approach to the presentation of Masonry which is also commonly found in Colombia, among other jurisdictions. During our interview Herman Clayworth contributed greatly to this project, as my references to his comments that are found throughout this dissertation indicate. At one point he described the transition from the 'Profane' space into the 'Sacred.' He noted that at "dinners" that precede regular Lodge meetings, it is only for "Masons, visiting Masons, possible members." "The dinner is the shore" he said, "…swimming in a river…Profane (is) rough current, intermediary space…then Lodge…sanctuary." They do have "open meetings twice a year (for) families (where) Socratic questions (are posed/discussed) (but) no Masonic discussion." In an earlier in reference to gender, and the "experiential" aspects of Masonry, and as I have highlighted in various formats[88]; Freemasonry, Herman commented, is "our thing."

The next few stops represented some of the must-see Masonic iconic sites, firstly, the George Washington Masonic National Memorial, and the House of the Temple, Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, Southern Jurisdiction. In each location I participated in a public tour of the site. In the George Washington Masonic National Memorial in

[88] For example, see Wilhelm 2016.

Alexandria, Virginia, for example, I was able to view displayed artifacts from George Washington the Mason - as "Brother George" as Ricardo refers to him. The duality of the figure of George Washington is an interesting case where his unprecedented significance as a meaningful character in the collective story of national identity runs parallel, yet is decidedly separate, to his significance and place in the collective story of Masonry - not only U.S. Masonry, as the portrait of George Washington can be seen hanging in Masonic buildings around the world, participants have told me. The George Washington Masonic National Memorial serves as a museum and as a vast national landmark (see Figure 20), but also as a functioning Masonic Temple. Indeed, like many other Masonic buildings, space can be rented for public events, functional offices for administrators and officers are found within, and private Rooms hold regular meetings for the Lodges affiliated therein.

(**Figure 20:** View of, and from, The George Washington Masonic National Memorial. Alexandria, VA. Wilhelm 09/2014)

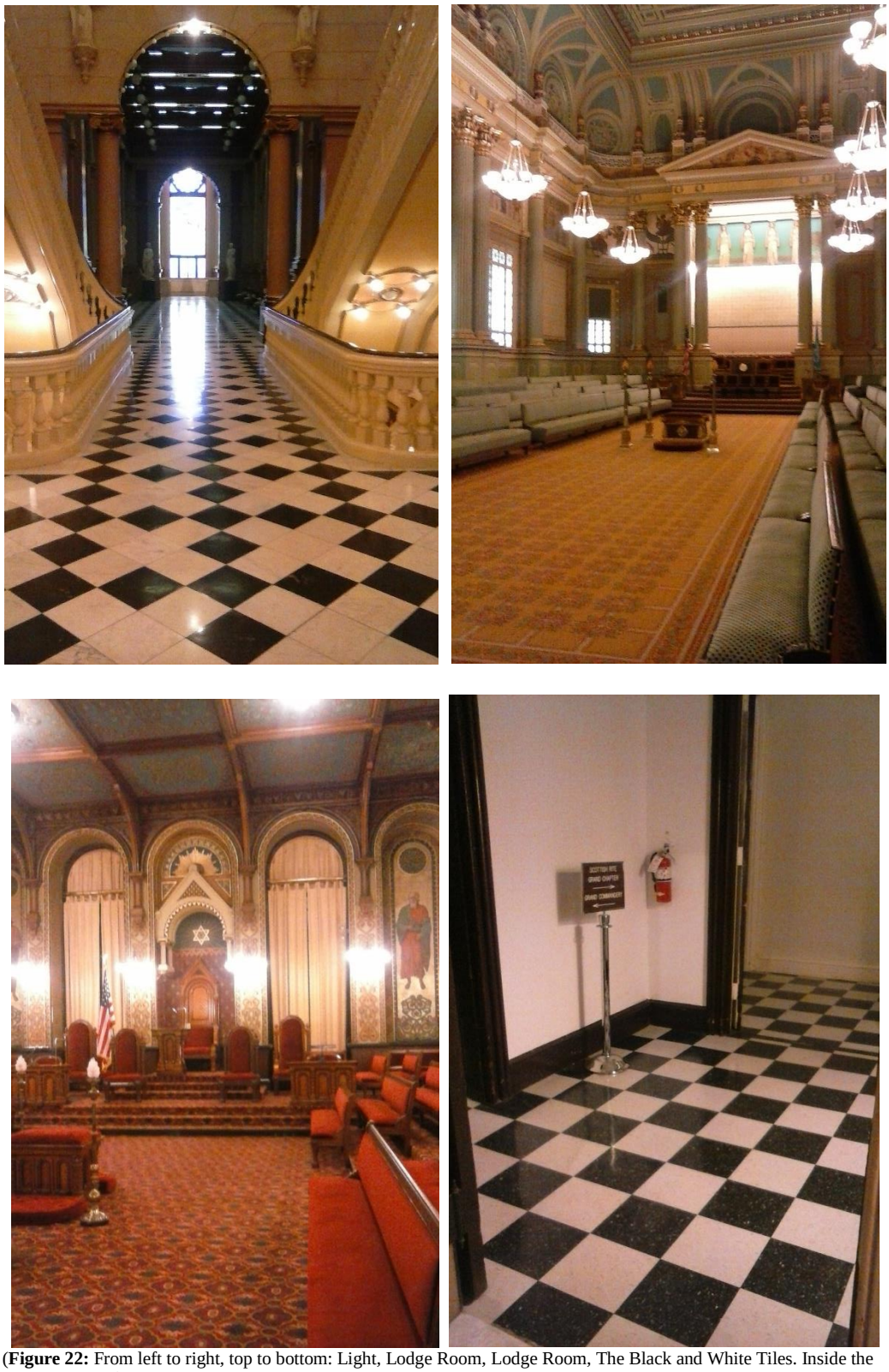
In the House of the Temple, located nearby in Washington D.C., collective Masonry is again defined along the example of a single thread, in this case the Appendant Body of Scottish Rite Masonry, and with the figure of Albert Pike whose remains are interred in the Temple wall behind a statue of his likeness. The House of the Temple, beyond being a museum and majestic downtown landmark (see Figure 21), also encompasses functional offices for the administration of the global body of the Scottish Rite, Southern Jurisdiction, contains Lodge Rooms, and has extensive archives and artifacts, and has a well-stocked library where I worked during a portion of this project.

(**Figure 21:** View of, and within, The House of the Temple. Washington, D.C. Wilhelm 09/2014)

Details of conversations and findings from both the George Washington Masonic National Memorial and The House of the Temple are contained throughout this

dissertation. I was able to speak with / interview individuals at these site which provided valuable information to, and advice on, this project.

The Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia was another site recommended to me by Reno Masons. Like the George Washington Masonic National Memorial and the House of the Temple, I participated in a public tour. During the tour we were given information about Masonic culture and could ask questions of the guide. We also visited numerous Lodge Rooms where Masonic meetings regularly take place. I have used some of the photographs I took during this tour in multiple formats, publications, and presentations (see Wilhelm 2013-2016), demonstrating some of the quintessential symbols and Landmarks of Masonry, such as the concept of light (perhaps unintentional) which can be a metaphor, and is contained in the common Masonic lexicon, to represent knowledge, betterment, the work for The Great Architect, one's personal journey, etc.: The organization of a Lodge Room which employs cardinal directions for officer stations, displays the implements/tools of Masonry in specific form and location, uses steps, columns, an altar, and sometimes winding stairs, and other objects, and has familiar pictures and symbols: And the frequent use of black and white tiles, which contrary to popular notions, one individual told me, does not denote "good and evil" but rather earth/the now/profane and that which comes beyond/transcends the physical/pure knowledge/Truth, etc. and it the Mason who walks in, and between, both (see Figure 22). While in the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania I also had the opportunity to access the Grand Lodge library and archives where I gathered valuable information and insights mentioned in various places in this dissertation.



(**Figure 22:** From left to right, top to bottom: Light, Lodge Room, Lodge Room, The Black and White Tiles. Inside the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, PA. Wilhelm 09/2014)

The final stop on my journey was the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, in Boston Massachusetts. Like The Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, participants have told me, The Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, is, arguably, the oldest (or first) Grand Lodge in the United States. It is also the Lodge through which Ricardo became a Master Mason; as mentioned previously, the Lodge in Panama which conferred his degree was an affiliated member of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts (see footnote 22). When I arrived at the impressive Temple in downtown Boston (see Figure 23) my timing was off, there was no public tour I could participate in at that time, though I recall being told I could look around the entry way. I examined some of the decor, memorabilia, and informational plaques located within.

(**Figure 23:** The Grand Lodge of Massachusetts. Boston, MA. Wilhelm 9/2014 or 10/2014)

I left the Temple, and while I waited for a tour I worked in a crowded coffee shop nearby, going over research notes, and then met up with a friend from Panama who was now living in the area. When I returned to the Temple later in the afternoon, I was soaked to the skin, having been caught in a Boston down pour with no umbrella. As I stood dripping water into the impressive Grand Lodge entry way I was told that I had missed the last tour of the day but recall being offered to stay in the entry way to dry off if I liked. I may have mentioned at that point that I had come all the way from Nevada on a research trip about Masonry and had an upcoming scheduled flight home when the volunteer tour guide, in true Masonic fashion, kindly offered to take me on a quick private tour instead. I left a trail of water as we meandered through the Temple looking at one great room full of history after another. I am unsure of whether the tour guide knew of my research project, and I have therefore tried to avoid quoting him directly, though I have used some of the photographs I took during the tour in other formats, publications, and presentations (see Wilhelm 2014-2016): Yet, the guide shared information with me during that tour that has helped define my overall perspective, and like the other stops on this ethnographic journey, were all pieces in the puzzle that came together as the interpretations of this dissertation.

Many months after returning to Reno, Nevada I met up with a Reno participant, Charles Shire; he asked about my trip, and when I mentioned the places I had visited he seemed slightly surprised, remarking that he had thought I was going to have visited 'hundreds of Lodges.' While I did not visit hundreds of Lodges, and the trip admittedly had a few setbacks, it was valuable in its representation of Masonic travel and pilgrimage

and its form as an ethnographic journey. Likewise, the information I gained was invaluable; it provided multiple insights and moments of clarity that may not have occurred otherwise and fundamentally contributed to the interpretations and conclusions of this project.

Analysis and Interpretation

The data for this project was analyzed, in large part, through the practice of informed interpretation. While I used a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods to analyze the data, I constructed the description of my results through the act of ethnography, which, arguably, can be described as "one of cooperative story making that, in one of its ideal forms, would result in a polyphonic text, none of whose participants would have the final word in the form of a framing story or encompassing synthesis" (Tyler 1986, 126). I did indeed rely on multiple perspectives, from individuals, literature, field-specific theory, and my own participative experiences; however, I also relied on a number of techniques to assess and present this polyphony. My methods for analyzing data were qualitative in that they were used to uncover "the meaning, not the frequency…" (Van Maanen 1983, 9) "…to reduce the distance between indicated and indicator, between theory and data, between context and action" (Van Maanen 1983, 9). They were quantitative in that they were used to measure incidences, rates of response, formulations of probabilities, and provide repeatability. The presentation of my data is an example of a triangulation (Jick 1983) of methods in that it includes matrixes, models,

and graphical representations, as well as thick description (Geertz 1973), self-reflection, context building, and participant-voice.[89]

While I am, in large part, relying on data gathered from Freemasons in the United States and Colombia, this is not a cross-cultural comparison (Ember and Ember 1998), properly speaking. I am not testing a hypothesis against cultural variation (Ember and Ember 1998) nor is the focus of my case study geographically fixed. This project is an effort to discover how philosophical systems of individualism[90] can be, or are, sustained through collaboration using an "activity-based approach". I am using Freemasonry as an example of an activity that generates the kind of collaboration which sustains a system fostering and engendering sincere individualism. I am including Freemasons from various locations in this study as a way to increase sample size and indirectly (Ember and Ember 1998) measure variation *within* the culture of Freemasonry.

One technique I used to assess the varying perspectives included in this synthesis was to employ Kaplan's (2014b) framework of collective-intimacy modeling (89). Through this framework Kaplan (2014b) "(explores) how sentiments of friendship and fraternity are experienced in a middle-range social institution in ways that may negotiate distinctions between the private and the public spheres" (Kaplan 2014b, 89). I have, likewise, found in my own research with Freemasons that concepts of 'public' and 'private'[91] take on different meanings when employed within the context of notions of

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[89] Participant-voice is a concept/term used in anthropological scholarship

[90] A more detailed explanation of how I problematize the concepts of *a philosophical system* as well the concept and manifestations of *individualism* are provided in both Chapter 1 and Chapter 7; examples are likewise provided in Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

[91] The relevance of the theoretical issues of public/private is explored through a review of literature in Chapter 3, section 2.

Brotherhood, testing the legitimacy of Masonic affiliation, actions of Charity, and the varying levels of discretion (Mahmud 2012) which are employed by Freemasons in relation to their Craft. Kaplan (2014b) suggested creating "an analytic distinction" (83) (or three separate "analytic(al) categories" [89]) on which to measure the global bonds of community (87) which exist between Freemasons, those of "interpersonal intimacy, public intimacy, and collective intimacy" (83). Distances (87) between public and private are negotiated, re-evaluated, and in cases reinforced, through "ritualization and theatrical staging" (Kaplan 2014b, 87) part of which, I have also found, includes both formal and informal rituals. Kaplan (2014b) highlights this case by discussing a ritual of the chain of brothers/chain of union (88) where Israeli Masons close a Lodge meeting by "forming a circular frame… (crossing) arms and join(ing) hands with his two neighbors" (88) which reinforces the notion of a "connection among the worldwide fraternity of Freemasons… they evoke an image of this collective entity as a cohesive, harmonic, unified body" (88). While I have not witnessed this ritual, Augustin Rivera, during a visit to Washoe Lodge #35 in the summer of 2014 described the Lodge Rooms in Colombia as having a large chain which was hung within the Room across, and connecting, all four walls, it was to remind Masons of the global bonds of Brotherhood he explained (see Figure 13).

(**Figure 13**: "Chain of Brothers/Chain of Union" inside Temple in Bucaramanga, Colombia, home of La Serenisima Logia Renovación Nº 1-12: These photos were brought to me by Augustin Rivera during a family trip to Reno, NV in December of 2015. These photos were taken by the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Los Andes, permission for use in this dissertation granted by the Grand Lodge of Los Andes, as declared by Augustin Rivera. Permission was granted for use of these photos as they were delivered: I have, however, cropped this image to preserve the anonymity of the Masons featured within the image)

By creating three "analytic(al) categories" (Kaplan 2014b, 89), which are not necessarily discrete or mutually exclusive, research within Freemasonry is enhanced through an analysis of the varying levels of collaboration, collectivism, individuality, and notions of friendship and association. Kaplan (2014b) warns, however, that these categories (89) "may intersect, overlap, and at times collapse. This becomes clear when one tries to map the spatial and temporal shifts between formal lodge work and informal lodge interactions onto the private–public divide" (89).

Another technique I used to interpret the data for this project was to consider the implications of viewing Freemasonry as a network. Bernard et al.'s (1988) study of cross-cultural social relations suggested that people are not merely a part of a social network but actively engage in constructing and maintaining it. Masonic concept exchange, as occurs through the production and dissemination of Masonic literature for example, creates a sense of connection between separate individuals who interact with the same conceptual node, thus creating a larger global network between localized networks. The network perspective is also particularly useful because of the multivariate levels of interaction involved in Masonic membership. The character of an individual's social network, Braggion (2008[92]/2011) postulated, will have an impact on the flow of information (2). I discuss my findings, as related to the concept Masonic networks, and the degree to which network analysis was employed, in Chapter 5.

[92] I utilized a 2008 version which is categorized as "working paper/pre print" from "Tilburg University, Center for Economic Research, Discussion Paper: 2008 36, 2008. This article has been published in 2011 in The Journal of the European Economic Association [see References and Reference Notes]. I leave both dates for this reason. The original document is pages 1-56, the later version is pages 1054-1081; citations reflect version used.

Data gathered through literature, and in some cases online, was not formally analyzed using a text mining tool such as developed by the Computational Analysis of Social and Organizational Systems (CASOS) group, Carnegie Mellon University (AUTOMAP), or the contextual-conceptual dictionary Minnesota Contextual Content Analysis (MCCA). This would have, however, provided both a way to take rich data and "analyze it empirically" (Carley 1997, 554) and a systematic method for scoring emphasis, scoring content, marking frequency, and marked words: I did operate under the assumption that a unique context is partially created through, and can be determined by, "relative emphasis upon idea categories utilized in communication" (McTavish and Pirro 1990, 246), to which a more formalized text-mining analysis has intriguing implications for future research. I used the theoretical basis of text-mining, and text-analysis generally, such as the idea that scores/contexts can be used to take portions of texts and categorize them based on the traditional, practical, emotional, and analytic contexts (MCCA) to enhance my ethnographic synthesis by considering the various ways experiences of reality are acknowledged. Indeed, as Tyler (1986) noted, ethnography can also be "– a discourse on the discourse…dialogue itself, or possibly a series of juxtaposed paratactic tellings of a shared circumstance…or perhaps only a sequence of separate tellings in search of a common theme, or even a contrapuntal interweaving of tellings, or of a theme and variations[93]" (126). I discuss these treatments in more detail in Chapters 5 and 6.

[93] Here Tyler (1986) cites additional works (not direct quotes), see Tyler's references for: (cf. Marcus and Cushman 1982, Clifford 1983a) (Tyler 1986, 126), I have taken his citation out of the context of my quoted citation to preserve flow.

Survey Analysis and Presentation of Survey Results

I conducted a survey, as part of this research, in order to measure responses across a larger sample. The survey was designed to collect basic demographic data, record Mason's perceived level of activity in Freemasonry, and collect open-ended responses related to Masonic concepts, literature, and basic tenets. This survey does not present a true representative sample of the world-wide Masonic population which likely is in the arena of multiple millions of members. Although, as mentioned later in this chapter, nearly half of the members of La Serenisima Logia Renovación Nº 1-12 partook in the survey and about 5% of the Reno Lodge #13 members did, as generated from a question asking the name of the respondent's primary Lodge which I have subsequently deleted from the results due to one repsondent's concerns over anonymity. The survey, therefore, acts as a point of discussion and comparison between what I have observed, read, and heard from participants, and what a representational 'handful' of Masons in the jurisdictions listed, responded (see Table 1 in Appendix 2c). There is, interstingly, given the small sample size, a noticeable consensus in some avenues ofinquiry, which will be explained in the forthcoming description. Likewise, the open-ended, or textual, responses have a great deal of value in surveying Masonic perspectives on topics presented throughout this dissertation. Survey analysis included advanced logic branching, filtering, and variable mapping (Questionpro 2015). QuestionPro is an international corporation that provides a series of software tools for academic research and corporate surveying.[94] The Corporate Edition of this software, which I purchased for use in

[94] As a note, QuestionPro does have a mode when a survey is designed that renders the survey 'safe' for Human Subjects research. When I designed my survey I did not use this tool, assuming that all survey data through this software was secured in a similar way. When it occurred to me, I

this project, includes standard question types, survey templates, a question library and themes, distribution apps, respondent tracking and statistics, real-time reports, mobile compatible surveys, social network integration, polls, email support, offline field surveys, global password protection, branching skip logic, personalized email invitations and reminders, export to CSV and excel compatibility, multimedia support, multilingual surveys, advanced branching logic, SSL secure surveys, custom variable mapping, advanced filtering and segmentation, and downloadable reports, among other analysis tools (Questionpro 2015). Customizable features include over 30 question types including multiple choice with single and multiple select, Lickert scaling, semantic differentials, matrix questions, open-ended text questions with essay or single-line options, and rank ordering, among other question types. This survey software also provided validation and logic, individual survey design, security, distribution options, reports, and data integration (Questionpro 2015). I developed and administered the survey between October 2014 and March 2015.[95] In some cases I asked individual study participants if they would be willing to take the survey, which I then emailed to them directly, and to which, in a few cases, they forwarded of their own volition to others and/or email lists and/or posted to Masonic social network sites. I also emailed an inquiry and survey link to each Grand Lodge of the United States, and to Augustin Rivera, whose role as Grand Chancellor of the *Gran Logia de Los Andes* granted him the ability distribute the survey to Masons in his jurisdiction as well as to forward my request to the Grand Lodges of

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noticed IP addresses had been recorded along with survey data. I contacted QuestioPro (on 1/9/2016) who assured me that the data was nonetheless secure. I proceeded to delete all data stored in my account at QuestionPro, only keeping copies in excel format, I then, additionally proceeded to encrypt my files on both my computer and my external flashdrive which, admittedly, should have been done earlier. Through my anxiety I also deleted emails to/from Masons.

[95] See Appendix 2a for a copy of the survey.

the other five Colombian jurisdictions. In most cases, a secure online link to the survey was sufficient, in other cases I mailed paper copies (each with an attached, self-addressed and stamped envelope for easy return) to a Grand Lodge to distribute to those individuals who were unable or unwilling to take the online version. When paper copies were returned I entered the responses myself into the survey software. Because of this I am not including the measure of the average amount of time survey takers took to respond to the survey, as the result would be skewed due to different formats of the survey, as well as my participation in entering results. I will also not include the specific locations where surveys were entered, as many surveys that indicate a response location as Reno, Nevada, were in fact entered by me on behalf of a survey taker from a different location. However, since all paper copies were generated from U.S. locations, and I entered all U.S.-based paper copies in to the online survey tool from a U.S. location, country data for response location is valid. Furthermore, I discovered an error in the survey link, which required participants to copy-paste the link to their browser instead of clicking on it, after it had been administered to a Nevada mailing list, La Serenisima Logia Renovación 1-12, and sent to the Grand Lodge of Utah. The link was fixed and resent to La Serenisima Logia Renovación 1-12 and re-issued to Nevada Masons through a different channel, re-issued directly to La Serenisima Logia Renovación 1-12 through Agustin Rivera (which increased the response rate of Colombian Masons by over 100%), but was not re-issued to Utah Masons as many had already responded via paper copies, some had used the old link, and I felt I had impinged enough on the generosity of the Grand Lodge of Utah. The correct link was sent to all other jurisdictions. Because of this I am not including a state by state participation ratio as results may have been skewed due to the initial form of administration, but I will include country participation ratios. The primary

analysis methods used for the collected data included cross-tabulation, which was used to measure the interrelatedness of two questions, across multiple variables, accounting for frequency/percent (Questionpro 2015); and geocoding, which was used to determine the location ratios of respondents, measuring the frequency of consent among options, utilizing multiple criteria segmentation, which carried demographic groupings over more than one response (Questionpro 2015). Through these primary modes of analysis survey data informs and contributes to later discussions of consensus and non-consensus.

The results of this survey are used to complement data collected through methods discussed in this chapter, and enhanced my interpretation of phenomena observed in this project. Detailed discussions of these results, how the results inform my findings, in what context these results are applicable, and the uses of these results within the scope of my ethnographic understanding of the population in this project are discussed and provided in relevant sections of this dissertation. Provided here are two primary presentations: 1) the aggregate results of the survey; and 2) the analysis of results based on geocoding and cross-tabulation across multiple variables. I provide examples of the graphical representations of these results, the remainder of which can be located in Appendix 2c.

ANALYSIS OF SURVEY RESULTS - AGGREGATE

The indications of these results, the implications to the primary questions of this project, and the significance of these results, as related to data gathered through observation, participation, and informed review, are discussed in relevant sections of this project. The data reflects general trends, within the sample provided, with possible skews present in locational data (see notes and footnotes), while there, no doubt, are methods

available in the field to yield more precise results, the survey data analysis presented here and analyzed through mediums discussed previously, is sufficient for the purposes of this project as a platform for general points of discussion, comparison, and the generation of further research. Presented here is the aggregate of total responses to specific survey questions, which are then geocoded to distinguish response significance between participants in the United States, Colombia, and other locations (below); as well as, a cross-tabulation of results between specific questions as a measurement of comparative significance between total respondents across multiple variables (below).

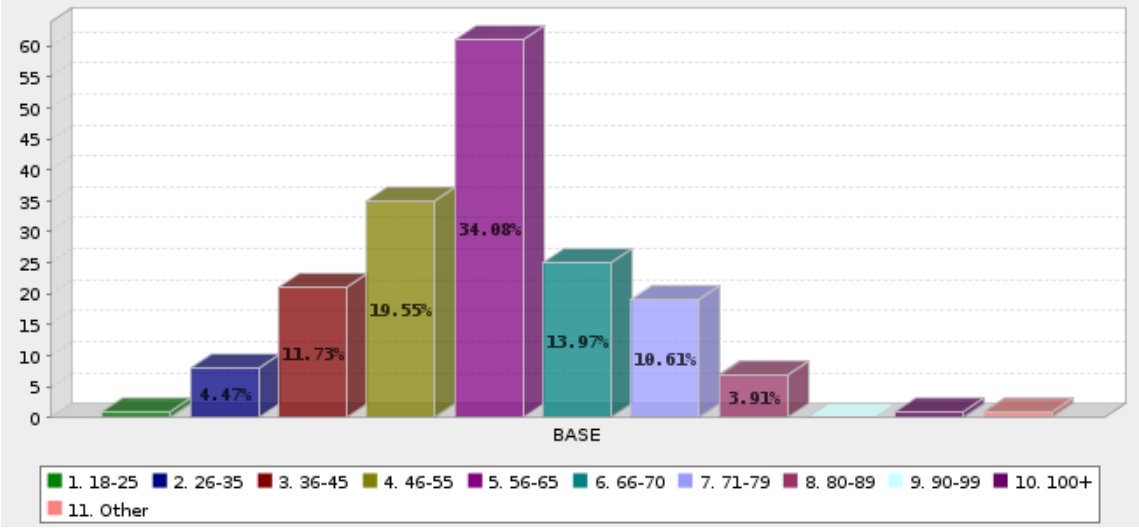
As a general summary of total responses (see Table 2 below as an example and see all Tables in Appendix 2c), the majority of respondents to the survey were from the United States (57.25%), with the second largest number coming from Colombia (34.94%).[96] Incidentally, although not necessarily related to response rates, Lodge memberships in the United States are generally larger than in Colombia. The majority of all Masons who participated in the survey are currently between the ages of 56-65 (34.08%), which corresponds to observations, were Raised between the ages of 18-45[97], had/have family members who are/were Masons[98](62.57%), belong to only one Blue Lodge (74.16%), and barring exceptional circumstances attend every stated meeting (68.93%), although this conflicts, to some extent, with some statements made by participants in the U.S. who lamented the lack of attendance. For example, Reno Lodge

[96] Country location data is based on all surveys started and includes the location data for both completed and uncompleted surveys.
[97] The wide age range here is due to a non-consensus in age data between geocoded data, with a slight majority of U.S. respondents having been Raised between the ages of 18-25 and a slight majority of Colombia respondents having been raised between the ages of 36-45.
[98] Discrepancy exits in geocoded data

#13 has around 250 members, about 20-30, according to participants of this project, attend any given meeting. This may lead to the response to another question in the survey whereby many respondents (40.11%) also feel that they would like to attend every stated meeting and social event but have too many conflicting obligations.[99] The majority of all respondents, likewise, are currently, or have been in the past, an officer of their Lodge or jurisdictional Grand Lodge (87.71%). The most popular Appendant/Concordant body, by percentage of membership among all participants, is the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, followed by the Ancient Arabic Order of the Nobles of the Mystic Shrine (Shriners). Not all Appendant Bodies are present in all jurisdictions. A slight minority of all respondents have published a piece of writing related to Masonry (44.63% have published), and a majority have given a lecture/speech related to Masonry (67.80% have given a lecture), and nearly all respondents have participated in a community action or charity event since becoming a Mason (93.18%).

[99] Approximately 37% of all respondents chose the option of "other" on the question which asked them to qualify their attendance in Blue Lodge. Most respondents pointed out that there was no option for attending every stated meeting and every social event by writing in their response as they attend everything, or rarely miss meetings or social events. Generally speaking, this question was not an efficient measure (see respondent comments in Table 8 above for sentiments supporting this, and which initially made me take notice of the error, for example the response that "This is a poorly stated question").

Question 1[100]:
(ENG) What is your current age? (SP) ¿Cuál es su edad actual?
(see Table 2)



18-25: 0.56%. **90-99:** 0%. **100+:** 0.56%.

- one response for choice of *Other/Otro:*

1. 40

(**Table 2:** Survey Response to Question 1, Age Data)

ANALYSIS OF SURVEY RESULTS – ADDITIONAL RESULTS [GEOCODED]

As a general summary of geocoded responses (see Tables 20 below as an example, and see all Tables in Appendix 2c), among both U.S. and Colombian[101]

[100] ENG: English; SP: Spanish. The survey was administered in both English and Spanish (participants had the option to choose). Questions are listed in both English and Spanish, typed results are listed in both English and Spanish. Some translations are provided for responses in relevant discussion sections.

[101] There were respondents to this survey from locations other than the United States or Colombia. However, due to the small number sample of total responses from other locations a geocoded representation of percentages would be skewed. I have included the 'other locations' data in the geocoded analysis to indicate the response percentages from the United States and Colombia. Responses from other locations are included in the aggregate data, and do not skew results when taken as part of the total group of respondents. In total there were 6 completed surveys gathered from locations other than the United States and Colombia: 2 from Puerto Rico, 1 from Great Britain, 1 from Switzerland, 1 from Mexico, and 1 from Ecuador. Additionally,

Masons, most are currently between the ages of 56-65 (U.S.=34.9%, CO=36.1%), with the age range of U.S. respondents between 18-89, and the age range of Colombian respondents between 26-79. While some geocoding was done manually whereby I went through results and looked at primary Lodge affiliation location and corresponding answers, the geocoding, as done through QuestionPro Software, was generated through location data gathered at the time of survey taking (with skews occurring in those responses I entered myself from paper copies mailed in). Ostensibly, locational data was gathered through IP address storage (see footnote 94). Data was secure at the time of survey, and was deleted once this realization was made. Most U.S. Masons were Raised between the ages of 18-25 (31.9% total), with the next most common Raised ages being 26-35 and 36-45 with 27.4% and 23% respectively. Most Colombian Masons, on the other hand, were Raised between the ages of 36-45 (29.5% total), with the next most common Raised ages being 46-55 and 26-35 with 24.6% and 23% respectively. Participants of this project have noted that moving between degrees, generally, tends to take more time in Colombia than it does in the U.S., which could have an effect on these results. No Masons from any location indicated that they were Raised over the age of 70. Most U.S. Masons (74.1%) indicated that they have/had family members who are/were members, but most Colombian Masons (59%) indicated that they did not have family

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geocoded results data were drawn from location data in terms of the geographic location of the individual taking the survey at the time the survey was taken, thus, a potential skew exists in the instance of travel while taking the survey, e.g. if a Colombian national, who was a member of a Colombian Lodge, was travelling to the United States when he took the survey, he would be included in the U.S. response list. I do not assume this happened very often, or at all, thus I choose not to run the additional step of comparing answers to Lodge name against geographic location codes or other indicators, not to mention this could also present a potential skew as individuals may belong to more than one Lodge.

members who are/were members. From qualitative data gathered during this project, it appears that Masonic membership is more openly discussed, generally, in the U.S. than in Colombia, indeed, before my husband joined the Fraternity I had no knowledge of my in-laws' involvement; which could affect the knowledge of whether or not one had family members who are, or were, Masons. The majority of U.S. respondents (66.1%) only belong to one Blue Lodge, followed by 22.3% who belong to two. Nearly all Colombian respondents (90%) only belong to one Blue Lodge, followed by 10% who belong to two. Indeed, as relayed to me by participants of this project, it is, generally, 'forbidden' to belong to more than one Blue Lodge in Colombia, which is not necessarily the case in the U.S. Both U.S. and Colombian respondents indicated that barring exceptional circumstances, they attend every stated meeting (U.S.=67.3%, CO=70.5%) followed, in both locations, by the response indicating they attend stated meetings regularly, but do not have perfect attendance (U.S.=23.6%, CO=27.9%). A larger majority of U.S. respondents (93.8%) are, or were, officers of their Lodge or jurisdictional Grand Lodge, to a lesser degree, the majority of Colombian respondents (77%) are also, or were, officers of their Lodge or jurisdictional Grand Lodge. Membership in Appendant / Concordant bodies, generally, appears to be more prevalent in the United States than in Colombia; Masons from the United States indicated membership in 17 of the 20 listed bodies, where Masons from Colombia indicated membership in 9 of the 20 listed bodies (not including the option of 'other' to which 34 total respondents (U.S.=29, CO=5) included text responses, many of which listed membership in additional bodies not listed, such as The Masonic Society, The Turtles, York Rite College, and others, or indicated they belonged to no Appendant/Concordant bodies). The Scottish Rite had the highest

percentage of membership overall (U.S.=76.6%, CO=75%)[102], followed, in both cases by the Shriners (U.S.= 56.9%, CO=25%).[103] Noticeable discrepancies existed in a number of choices, for examples, 54.1% of respondents from the United States indicated membership in the York Rite, where 5% of respondents from Colombia indicated membership in the York Rite. Also, 28.8% of respondents from the United States indicated membership in the Order of the Eastern Star, where 0 respondents from Colombia indicated membership in the Order of the Eastern Star, part of this discrepancy is discussed elsewhere in this dissertation. Also 24.3% of respondents from the United States indicated membership in a Research Lodge, where 0 respondents from Colombia indicated membership in a Research Lodge. A number of bodies, likewise, had 0 respondents from either location indicate membership, namely, the Tall Cedars of Lebanon, the High Twelve[104], and the SCIOTS. Less respondents from the United States than from Colombia indicated that they have published a piece of writing related to Masonry (U.S.=39.6% have published, CO=51.7% have published). More respondents from the United States than Colombia indicated that they have given a lecture/speech related to Masonry (U.S.= 75.7% have given a lecture, CO=50% have given a lecture). The majority of respondents from both locations have participated in a community action or charity event since becoming a Mason (U.S.=96.4%, CO=86.4%).

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[102] See note and footnote corresponding to Table 27 for method used to calculate general geocoded responses to this question.

[103] The 'runner up' in Appendant body membership among Colombian respondents was fairly obvious as the next nearest percentage to Shriners membership at 25% was 'Lodge of Perfection' at 16.7%. Among U.S. respondents, however, Shriners membership was only marginally higher than other bodies (not including Scottish Rite) at 55.9%, for example, membership in the York Rite among U.S. respondents was 54.1% (see Table 27 for complete list).

[104] The High Twelve did have one respondent from Mexico indicate membership. Both the Tall Cedars and the SCIOTS, however, had no respondents from any location.

Question 1: Age Data (Table 20)

Total Responses **179**

[For total un-coded results]: Mean: 4.944. Confidence Interval @ 95%: [4.716 - 5.172]. Standard Deviation: 1.557. Standard Error: 0.116

Option	% of Total Respondents	Margin of Error	Total U.S.	Total Colombia	Total Other Locations	**% of U.S.**	**% of Colombia**	% of Other Location
18-25	0.56%	1.09%	1	0	0	**0.9%**	**0%**	0%
26-35	4.47%	3.03%	7	1	0	**6.3%**	**1.6%**	0%
36-45	11.73%	4.71%	12	8	1	**10.7%**	**13.1%**	16.7%
46-55	19.55%	5.81%	21	13	1	**18.8%**	**11.7%**	16.7%
56-65	34.08%	6.94%	39	22	0	**34.9%**	**36.1%**	0%
66-70	13.97%	5.08%	15	8	2	**13.4%**	**13.1%**	33.3%
71-79	10.61%	4.51%	10	8	1	**8.9%**	**13.1%**	16.7%
80-89	3.91%	2.84%	7	0	0	**6.3%**	**0%**	0%
90-99	0%	0%	0	0	0	**0%**	**0%**	0%
100+	0.56%	1.09%	0	0	1	**0%**	**0%**	20%
Other/ Otro	0.56%	1.09%	0	1	0	**0%**	**1.6%**	0%

(**Table 20**: Geocoding, Question 1: Age Data)

*** As a note:** Standard Deviation is included in responses; however, since the total population of Masons is unknown in this setting, standard deviation, which was included with the results generated through QuestionPro survey software was either estimated, or based on the total population of survey takers.

ANALYSIS OF SURVEY RESULTS – ADDITIONAL RESULTS [CROSS-TABULATION]

As a general summary, of cross-tabulation of total responses to questions 1-9 and 11 (see Tables 31 below as an example, and see all Tables in Appendix 2c); when comparing the current age of respondents (Q1) with how often respondents indicated they attend Blue Lodge (Q6), respondents between the ages of 26-35 had the highest percentage of responses to the option "barring exceptional circumstances I attend every stated meeting" (87.5%), followed by the age group 56-65 (76.67%). However, only 4.47% of all respondents fall within the age category of 26-35, the majority of total respondents (34.08%) are between the ages of 56-65 and thus 76.67% is likely a more accurate representation of response preference. For the response "I attend stated meetings regularly, but don't have perfect attendance", 38.1% of respondents between the ages of 36-45 agreed, where 28.57% and 21.67% of respondents from age groups 46-55 and 56-65, respectively, agreed.

When comparing how old respondents were when they were Raised (Q2) with whether or not they have/had family members who are/were Masons, (Q3) the results indicate a potential correlation between familial connection and younger entrance into the Fraternity. For example, 89.47% of respondents who indicated they were Raised between the ages of 18-25 have/had family members who are/were Masons, 68.09% of respondents who indicated they were Raised between the ages of 26-35 have/had family members who are/were Masons, 56.52% of respondents who indicated they were Raised between the ages of 36-45 have/had family members who are/were Masons, and 42.11% of respondents who indicated they were Raised between the ages of 56-65 have/had

family members who are/were Masons. Results of this comparison should be considered alongside geocoded results, with the majority of U.S. Masons being Raised between the ages of 18-35 (59.3% total) and the majority of U.S. Masons having familial connection (74.1%), with most Colombian Masons being Raised between the ages of 36-55 (54.1% total), and the slight majority not having a familial connection (59%).

When comparing how many Blue Lodges a respondent belongs to (Q4) with whether or not they have/had family members who are/were Masons (Q3), the majority of respondents belong to 1 Blue Lodge (74.16%) and 61.36% of respondents who belong to one Blue Lodge have a familial connection to Masonry. Of the respondents who belong to two Blue Lodges, 59.38% have a familial connection, of the respondents who belong to three Blue Lodges 85.71% have a familial connection, and all respondents who belong to 4+ Blue Lodges have a familial connection to Masonry.

When comparing how old respondents were when they were Raised (Q2) with whether or not they are, or have been, an officer of their Lodge or jurisdictional Grand Lodge (Q8), the majority of all respondents are, or have been, an officer (87.71%), with the highest percentages of officership coming from those respondents who were raised between the ages of 26-35 (95.74%), 18-25 (92.31%), and 36-45 (91.3%). Additionally, there does not appear to be a correlation between familial connection and officership in Masonry. For example, when comparing whether or not respondents have/had family members who are/were Masons (Q3), with whether or not they are, or have been, an officer of their Lodge or jurisdictional Grand Lodge (Q8), the majority of all respondents are, or have been, an officer (87.71%) with a negligible difference when compared with familial connection. For example, of the respondents (62.57%) who have a familial

connection to Masonry, 88.39% are, or have been, an officer, and of the respondents (37.43%) who do not have a familial connection to Masonry, 86.36% are, or have been, an officer. When considered against geocoded results, the majority of U.S. Masons have a familial connection (74.1% do) and are, or were, an officer (93.8%), where the majority of Colombian Masons do not have a familial connection (59%) but still are, or were, to a lesser extent, an officer (77%).

When comparing which Appendant and/or Concordant bodies a respondent is a member of (Q9) with how often they attend Blue Lodge (Q6) results do not vary significantly from the general indication that the majority of all respondents, across variables, feel that 'barring exceptional circumstances (they) attend every stated meeting'.

When comparing how old a respondent was when he was Raised (Q2) with whether or not he had published a piece of writing related to Masonry (Q11), a slight majority of Masons who were Raised between the ages of 26-35 reported publishing (52.17%), followed closely by those who were Raised between the ages of 18-25 (50% have published), both over a slight minority of other Raised-age ranges; 45.83% of respondents who indicated they were Raised between the ages of 46-55 have published, 36.96% of respondents who indicated they were Raised between the ages of 36-45 have published, and 27.78% of respondents who indicated they were raised between the ages of 56-65 have published. Both respondents who indicated they were Raised over the age of 66 have published (100%). One respondent chose "other" and indicated they were in the process of publishing and also indicated they were Raised between the ages 26-35.

When comparing which Appendant and/or Concordant bodies a respondent is a member of (Q9) with whether or not they have published a piece of writing related to Masonry (Q11), those bodies which have less than 50% (between 0% - 48.98%) of their membership indicting that they have published a piece of writing related to Masonry include the York Rite, the Royal Arch, the Cryptic Rite, the Knights Templar, the Shriners, the Sojourners, Amaranth, and the High Twelve.[105] Those bodies which have greater than 50% (between 50.37% - 100%) of their membership indicating that they have published a piece of writing related to Masonry include the Scottish Rite, Lodge of Perfection, Rose Croix, the Council of Kadosh, the Consistory of Sublime Princes, Grotto, Philalethes Society[106], members of a Research Lodge, and respondents who choice 'other' (listing additional bodies not included in the survey list). For members of the Supreme Council and the Order of the Eastern Star members, 50% have published, and 50% have not.

Finally, when comparing which Appendant and/or Concordant bodies a respondent is a member of (Q9) with whether or not they have given a lecture/speech related to Masonry, not including memorized degree-work (Q12), all bodies had the significant majority of their membership indicate that they had given a lecture/speech related to Masonry (no membership category had less than 75.56% indicate that they had given a lecture[107]). The Scottish Rite and the Shriners (the two most populated Appendant

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[105] As stated previously the High Twelve had one respondent indicate membership, Amaranth had 2.

[106] 100% indicated that they had published, though only 5 respondents indicated they were a members of the Philalethes Society.

[107] With two exceptions: Tall Cedars of Lebanon and SCIOTS which had no respondents indicate membership, hence also had 0% in all other categories.

bodies in the general response data) had 75.56% and 78.48%, respectively, of their membership indicate that they had given a lecture/speech related to Masonry. Above 80% of members (between 81.67% and 88.89%) in the York Rite, the Royal Arch, the Cryptic Rite, Knights Templar, Rose Croix, the Supreme Council, Grotto, Order of the Eastern Star, and those who chose 'other' indicated that they have given a lecture/speech related to Masonry. Above 90% (between 90.62% and 96.67%) of members in the Lodge of Perfection, the Council of Kadosh, the Consistory of Sublime Princes, Sojourners, and Members of a Research Lodge indicated they have given a lecture/speech related to Masonry. All members (100%) of Amaranth, High Twelve, and the Philalethes Society indicated that they had given a lecture related to Masonry.

Comparing Q1: Age Data with Q6: Blue Lodge Attendance Data (Table 31)

Cross Tabulation Frequency/Percent	[Q6] How often do you attend in Blue Lodge (please indicate the answer that best fits your situation)?						
[Q1] What is your current age?		Barring exceptional circumstances I attend every stated meeting.	I attend stated meetings regularly but dont have perfect attendance	I rarely go to stated meetings	I will often go to meal (dinner/breakfast, etc.) but will usually skip the meeting	Other	Row Totals
	18-25	0	1	0	0	0	1
		0%	**100%**	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**	**0.56%**
	26-35	7	0	0	0	1	8
		87.5%	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**	**12.5%**	**4.52%**
	36-45	12	8	1	0	0	21
		57.14%	**38.1%**	**4.76%**	**0%**	**0%**	**11.86%**
	46-55	23	10	0	0	2	35
		65.71%	**28.57%**	**0%**	**0%**	**5.71%**	**19.77%**
	56-65	46	13	1	0	0	60
		76.67%	**21.67%**	**1.67%**	**0%**	**0%**	**33.9%**

	66-70	15	5	3	1	1	25
		60%	**20%**	**12%**	**4%**	**4%**	**14.12%**
	71-79	13	4	0	0	2	19
		68.42%	**21.05%**	**0%**	**0%**	**10.53%**	**10.73%**
	80-89	4	2	0	0	0	6
		66.67%	**33.33%**	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**	**3.39%**
	90-99	0	0	0	0	0	0
		0%	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**
	100+	1	0	0	0	0	1
		100%	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**	**0.56%**
	Other	1	0	0	0	0	1
		100%	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**	**0.56%**
	Column Total	**122**	**43**	**5**	**1**	**6**	**177**
	Column Percent	**68.93%**	**24.29%**	**2.82%**	**0.56%**	**3.39%**	**100%**

Pearson's Chi-Square Statistics	
Chi-Square	34.553
p Value	0.713
Degrees of Freedom	40
Significant Corelation Between Variables Exists : @ 95%	
Critcal Value for (p = .01 [1%])	0.0
Critcal Value for (p = .05 [5%])	0.0
Critcal Value for (p = .10 [10%])	0.0

Freq. Analysis : 2. [Q1] What is your current age?

Analytics & Computed Values

Mean	4.944	Confidence Interval @ 95% [4.716 - 5.172] n = 179
Standard Deviation	1.557	
Standard Error	0.116	

Freq. Analysis : [Q6] How often do you attend in Blue Lodge (please indicate the answer that best fits your situation)?

Analytics & Computed Values

Mean	1.452	Confidence Interval @ 95% [1.324 - 1.579] n = 177
Standard Deviation	0.866	
Standard Error	0.065	

(**Table 31:** Cross-Tabulation, Comparing Q1 with Q6)

* As a Note: I have included 'verbatm' the results from the QuestionPro Survey Analysis software related to cross-tabulation. Any inclusion of Pearson's Chi Square Statistics, Confidence Intervals, Etc are included here to accurately cite the generated results as related to the QuestionPro process.

In the following Chapter, I will discuss the relevance of particular paradigms to the core inquiries of this project and will review scholarship pertaining to the topics of ritual identity, secrecy, and the network perspective in an effort to establish the broader theoretical orientation of its conclusions. I will, likewise, trace a precedence for an "activity-based approach" more broadly, after discussing the contemporary scholarship relevant to my case-study more specifically, and will segue into a discussion on the background of the Masons which will include an examination of legitimacy, identity, knowledge production, allegory, and history.

Chapter 3: KEYSTONE. [LITERATURE REVIEW]

"That stone placed in the centre of an arch which preserves the others in their places, and secures firmness and stability to the arch. As it was formerly the custom of operative masons to place a peculiar mark on each stone of a building to designate the workmen by whom it had been adjusted, so the Key-stone was most likely to receive the most prominent mark, that of the super-intendent of the structure…"

Mackey (1845/2004, 233)

Relevance **127**

Paradigms **130**

Precedence **191**

Relevance

The research and conclusions of this project were informed by a particular anthropological lens, supported by the theoretical orientations, methods, and concepts, of the many influential works that comprise a distinct set of themes within the field. As Marcus (1986) reminded us, "…most (anthropological) careers begin with an ethnographic research process that in all its phases involves descriptive-interpretive writing and the applications of techniques for the representation of social and cultural life" (264). These techniques are informed by the scholarship which preceded any particular project, helping construct not only the outcomes of the project itself, but also the multifaceted nature of the discipline more broadly.

While I have grounded my own arguments against relevant scholarship thus far in this dissertation, it is important to note the specific set of conceptual foci[108] that has significant relevance for this project. Arguably, the body of literature within any anthropological topic is expansive. Hence, the objectives and conclusions of research on these issues vary appreciably within contemporary scholarship. It is this variation that helps shape our understanding of social phenomenon. This chapter provides a brief bibliographic survey of the topics relevant to this project. This project, which investigates how philosophical systems of individualism are sustained through collaboration, using an "activity-based approach", and supported by the case of Freemasonry as practiced in the U.S. and Colombia, could arguably be tackled from any number of differentiated frames, both within and outside of anthropology. However, the frames which have been of particular use to my own process of descriptive-interpretive writing (Marcus 1986) include the development of anthropological paradigms within the topics of ritual identity, secrecy, and the network perspective. A current anthropology of Freemasonry, and the precedence for an "activity-based approach", also hold critical relevance to this project. This chapter is in no way intended to be a comprehensive list of all schools of thought, influential works, or methodologies that divide the scholarship on any of these topics. Indeed, the breadth of such a project would doubtless fill countless volumes and could certainly be a dissertation project in and of itself. This chapter is, rather, intended to shed light on a number of constructions which help shape the contemporary dialogue on these topics in anthropology. I organized this chapter into two broad discussions, each

[108] See first note "References Generally" in 'Reference Notes' (pg 464) for additional comment on sources.

containing a series of sub-sections. Each sub-section provides a brief overview of one of the relevant topics to this project, as listed above. These discussions are intended to best feature the route the scholarship has taken over the past half century, particularly within the discussion on paradigms. I will discuss a number of foundational works which have influenced the field and, in some cases, also highlight a few influential works from outside of the field which have influenced anthropological discourse on these topics. Moreover, I will present a number of works that specifically frame the investigation of the problems of this dissertation. I will also include examples of the emerging scholarship within these topics.

This dissertation explores myriad concepts and presents multiple lines of reasoning, case examples, and descriptive narrative. No single, central, theoretical argument provides a platform for the examples, orientation, or inquiries of this project. Rather, I choose a presentation of participant-voice-centered description and multi-disciplinary interpretation and contribution. This research, however, was predicated upon the bibliographic review of three primary anthropological frames, namely; network analysis, or more accurately, the network perspective; the study of ritual and ritual identity; and a consideration of the trajectory of the discourse within the field of Urban Anthropology. As the research, and ultimately writing, of this dissertation unfolded, however, the concepts within Urban Anthropology became less relevant to this project while the analysis of ‘secrecy’ within the discourse, as well as concepts of ‘field site’, activity, fraternity, and the anthropological and interdisciplinary reviews of Freemasonry to date became more so. This review, therefore, centers on the paradigms of the network perspective, ritual identity, secrecy, scholarship on Freemasonry, and defense of an

"activity-based" (Marion 2006, 2008) approach. Prospective future research would, ideally, also include a review of literature on the development and concept of agency, native anthropology, holistic approaches in the social sciences, cognitive anthropology, collectivism, and individualism.

Paradigms

Freemasonry can be described as a worldwide 'civic, non-state, ritually-mediated, fraternal organization' (M. E. Nevins, pers. comm., 2013) with a rich history in allegorical representations of central concepts and symbols. The activity of Freemasonry creates a unique identity which is at the same time personally experienced, and also shared, with a greater, global collective. The Masonic identity is, in large part, orchestrated through complex ritual forms to which an individual is both an observer and a participant. Thus, an understanding of the direction that the scholarship has taken within topics of ritual identity has significant benefit to the conclusions of this project.

Freemasonry has also been described as a secret society by many sources, though more popular among Freemasons themselves, as attested through literature and conversations with Masons, is that the Craft is a society *with* secrets. The activity of Freemasonry is both a private activity, as demonstrated through exclusive boundaries of inclusion as well as notions of insider/outsider and sacred/profane. There is also a varying, practical, need for discretion, as discussed in previous chapters, due to historic and/or contemporary social or political persecution of the Fraternity's members. To be an active member of the Fraternity, furthermore, often includes a great deal of civic engagement

which is at the heart of the archetypal *public*. In many ways, Freemasonry is orchestrated on the principles of improvement, of both self and society. Along with ritually-mediated identities, the Masonic self is, in large part, orchestrated through complex notions of privacy, secrecy, and discretion while at the same time being necessarily concerned with the collective societies in which Freemasons live. Thus, an understanding of the direction that the scholarship has taken within topics of secrecy (or the juxtaposition between private and public) has significant benefits to the conclusions of this project.

Finally, Freemasonry is both inspired by, and helps to create, identifiable familial and social networks. The nodes in these Masonic networks are specific people, both living and historic, Masonic publications, and shared concepts. The activities of Freemasonry generate individual, local, and transnational collaboration. Along with ritually-mediated identities which are grounded in the juxtapositions between public and private, secret and accessible, individual and collective, Freemasonry can be described as a long-standing, highly successful, social network. Thus, an understanding of the direction that the scholarship has taken within the network perspective has significant use-value to the methods and conclusions of this project. Network Perspectives in anthropology are those theoretical and methodological frames which highlight the patterns that emerge from complex relationships between individuals and between groups. These intricate, overlapping, webs of interaction are at the same time actor-focused and also underscore the complexity of social institutions. Likewise, those works produced within this frame often involve a quantitative component to data analysis that complements qualitative approaches to social context. By using these types of systematic analyses anthropologists are able to

operationalize (Johnson and McCarty 2013) social phenomena without losing the in-depth, holistic quality that is inherent to ethnographic work.

RITUAL IDENTITY

Foundational works are those pieces of scholarship which have had far-reaching influence on shaping the trajectory of anthropological discourse on this topic, through practical application of theory, or controversial shifts in frame and understanding. While I recognize that such works are numerous, and often disputed, I have chosen a number of pieces which, I believe, best highlight the body of foundational literature on anthropological notions of ritual identity, particularly those which influenced the modes of analysis in use today, and have the greatest potential for the conclusions of this dissertation. For example, being heavily influenced by structuralism, Gluckman (1962) set out to create generalizable theories of society. He felt that Van Gennep's (1960) widely referenced 'rites of passage' lacked a certain cohesion, ultimately segmenting a person's life into blocks of ritualized transitions. Gluckman argued that rituals serve to create and maintain membership in societies. Indeed, Masonic rituals define the boundaries of inclusion and belonging. Furthermore, Gluckman proposed that researchers begin to separate religious ritual from non-religious ritual. These non-religious rituals, for example, could reinforce "politico-legal and social aspects"(Gluckman 1962, 4) of inclusion, as Masonic rituals have the potential to do. Gluckman also supplied a succinct *definition* of "'ceremony'" (22) as "any complex organization of human activity which is not specifically technical or recreational and which involves the use of modes of behavior

which are expressive of social relationships" (Gluckman 1962, 22). He goes on to explain that he,

> "would then distinguish between two separate categories, which shade into one another: the one I would call 'ceremonious' and the other 'ritual', following here Evans-Pritchard's view of magic, that 'ritual' is distinguished by the fact that it is referred to 'mystical notions', which are 'patterns of thought that attribute to phenomena supra-sensible qualities which, or part of which, are not derived from observation or cannot be logically inferred from it, and which they do not posses'(Evans-Pritchard 1937, 12: qtd. in Gluckman 1962, 22)" (Gluckman 1962, 22).

Victor Turner, perhaps best known for his contribution to symbolic anthropology, took Gluckman's attempt to complicate Van Gennep's rites of passage a step further in his work on ritual processes. Turner dichotomized aspects of ritual objects and symbols and problemetized limnality[109] with his concept of *communitas,* and his work on the *cultural process.* I have argued in this dissertation that the activity of Freemasonry produces a unique *communitas,* which is in part reiterated through the rituals, and helps create and sustain the *culture* of Freemasonry. Communitas, Turner proposed, characterized the connection between individuals, particularly those who were together in transition and, in a way, described those who "submit together to the general authority of ritual elders" (Turner 1966, 96).[110]

Barbara Myerhoff (1978) worked on Jewish identity and marked a shift in the discourse. Although heralded as a "vanguard of anthropological tradition" (Turner 1978,

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[109] Turner adjusted the use of limnality to include broad social changes as well as individual passages.

[110] In an earlier version I had included a discussion of Roy Rappaport citing his 1968, and 1979 work, along with Ortner 1984, Berkes 1999, Wolf 1999, and McGee and Warms 2004. However, dure to discrepencies in citation, publication dates, and missing references I have deleted this section. I mention it here simply because it informed how I approached ritual and therefore effected my conclusions; yet I refrain from direct citations.

xiii) Myerhoff's piece demonstrated a growing trend (Bourdieu's work: Behar 1986: Kondo 1990: Abu-Lughod 1991) towards a more qualitative, post-structuralist, and reflexive interpretation of culture, and consequently ritual, both within and outside of anthropology. Akin to my own use of placing myself within the ethnographic context through my familial connection to Freemasonry, Myerhoff was "a Jewish lady studying Jewish ladies" (Littman 1979). Using Geertz's (1973) method of 'thick description' Myerhoff describes the performance of rituals as being the catalyst for belief, for "We perform rituals, and doing so becomes believing" (Myherhoff 1978, 86). However, these performances become 'paradoxical' (86) because rituals can exist simultaneously as dramaturgical and yet accurate to lived experience, which is particularly useful when examining the 'personal experience' of Freemasonry as one is both left up to individual interpretation, and yet enacted together. Conrad Kottak (1978), another pioneer in the post-structuralist critique of contemporary western rituals, questioned how ritual is created and maintained through a system of everyday transactions. Ritual, Kottak (1978) argued, is a set of behaviors which stand apart from other types of behaviors (Rappaport 1971) in that they are "stylized, repetitive, and stereotyped" (Kottak 1978, 370, referencing Roy Rappaport). People choose to participate in such everyday rituals, Kottak (1978) posited, as a way to advertise their membership in the group and their acceptance of group norms (370). Kottak's (1978) approach to the study of ritual marked a trend (Arens 1975; Lukes 1975; Neville 1984; Rook 1985) whereby the study of ritual was expanded to include the everyday 'stylized' and 'stereotyped' behaviors within one's own, contemporary, cultural setting. This frame is useful when discussing the idea that Freemasonry, from the perspective of Masons, is a journey which touches the aspects of a man's life outside of

Masonry, relates to his level of 'activeness' in the fraternity, and can be displayed through outward signs and tokens of belonging.

Around this same time period (late 1970s-early 1990s) scholars outside of anthropology began to see the usefulness of the study of ritual in enhancing the context into which their particular studies took place. In a move for interdisciplinarity, for example, sociologists Gusfield and Michalowicz (1984) advocated borrowing elements of ritual and identity discourse from anthropology in their quest to discover secular symbolism. They noted that the standard practice of sociology was to define 'symbolic' by first discovering what is 'nonsymbolic' (421). They argued that sociologists would benefit from accepting Turner's (1967) affirmation that meanings (421) need not be derived solely form the point of view of the actor (421). They noted, for example, referencing Turner, that "the values and norms of ritual actions may be so axiomatic as to preclude the actor from seeing it in relation to either part or all of society" (Gusfield and Michalowicz 1984, 421). Ritual, therefore, became part of a person's "metaphoric reality" (422). Viewing rituals as both intrinsically tied to biological processes as well as stages of transition Gusfield and Michalowicz argue that ritual practice can be at the same time promoting a "sense of individuality and of collective membership" (Gusfield and Michalowicz 1984, 428). This juxtaposition between the individual and the collective, and between symbols, metaphor, and lived realties, is particularly relevant to the discussion of the activity of Freemasonry, as discussed in previous chapters. Catherine Bell (1992), whom I have already relied on to bolster the discussions in previous chapters, discussed both the practice and "sense" (Bell 1992, 69) of ritual as well as the connection between ritual and power structures. Bell argued that the Durkheimian

tradition of separating phenomena into categories of thought or action placed ritual into the realm of physicality which has only just begun to be questioned. She maintained that ritual incorporates both thought and action and negates the usefulness of such categorization. In her work, however, Bell (1992) neatly separated rituals themselves from "our notions of ritual" in a discussion of the existing (up to the early 1990s) body of literature. Bell also revolutionized the discourse on ritual and identity by suggesting researchers abandon the use of ritual as a category, much the same as Asad (1993) suggested abandoning religion as a category. Bell (1992) suggests replacing the study of ritual with the discovery of *ritualizations* (xv) which can be seen as the variations to behavior that occur within specific contexts; such as those changes in affect that occur when a Mason is within different Masonic or non-Masonic settings. The ritualization of the body, for example, creates a tangible 'medium for expression' (94) which can result in the internalization of diverse social systems of form and meaning (Bell 1992, 97). This internalization results in a *sense* of ritual which, at its core, is an "experience of redemptive hegemony" (Bell 1992,116).[111] Ritual, Bell (1992) suggested, is a strategy whereby influence can be embodied and empowerment bestowed upon both the performer and the observer (206–207).

[111] Bell also notes (previously) that "This dimension of practice can be evoked through the concept of 'redemptive hegemony,' which is a synthesis of Kenelm Burridge's (qtd. in Bell 1992, 83) notion of the "redemptive process" and Antonio Gramsci's (qtd. in Bell 1992, 83) notion of "hegemony." (Bell 1992, 83); she includes footnote "70."(83): [Bells' note 70 (Part 2) reads: "Antonio Gramsci, The Modern Prince and Other Writings, trans. Louis Marks (New York: International Publishers, 1957), pp. 174—76 and 186-87; also see Williams, pp. 108-14. Kenelm Burridge, New Heaven, New Earth: A Study of Millenarian Activity (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), pp. 4—8. Burridge's notion of the re-demptive process can be interpreted as a more dynamic rendering of the notion of cosmology used in history of religions." (Bell 1992, 149-150)]. She discusses others within her text as well (see Bell 1992 pages 82-83 and 116) .

Within the last decade, contemporary scholarship on ritual identity has taken a turn which is perhaps marked by an increased deconstruction of the comfortable categories created within ritual and identity scholarship. Mahmood (2005), for example, discussed the da'wa movement in Cairo. Viewing religion as "individualized systems of belief" (Mahmood 2005:xiv) Mahmood explores the relationship between outward acts, as comprised in ritual, with internalized belief (31). This is particularly useful to the problems under investigation in this dissertation in terms of how Masonic membership is internalized through idioms of activity and journey. Mahmood posited that belief is the product of, rather than the catalyst for, such outward bodily acts. This argument has also been made by historians studying the persecution of religious crimes during the inquisition (Ruggiero 1993; Lopez Don 2010; Sullivan 2011) as beliefs were vague and incalculable but ritual was observable. Converts to Christianity, for example, were expected to understand and perform Christian rituals, which were expected to lead, eventually, to Christian faith.[112] Furthermore, the traditional discussions of ritual in terms of limnality (Van Gennep 1960; Gluckman 1962; Turner 1966; D'Aquili, Laughlin, and McManus 1979) often suggest that the ritual action precedes, rather than follows, the new phase. Ritual, therefore is to some extent a means to an end, rather than the display of an already existing sentiment (Turner 1966; Koster 2003; Bloch 2005). Indeed, Mahmood made the argument that instead of ritual always being a display, or control, of, for example, emotions, ritualized emotions can precede the sense (Bell 1992) of the experience and, if

[112] In the Fall of 2012 I took a UNR course, 'Seminar of Latin American History' (HIST 713) with Dr. Linda Curcio-Nagy. A large portion of the references to the Inquisition that are made in this dissertation were drawn from Dr. Curcio-Nagy's lectures, her assigned readings and handouts, our class discussions and presentations, or my own work as part of that course; other references come from subsequent readings.

oft repeated, can form the experiential feelings, recreating one's "natural disposition" (Mahmood 2005, 130). Marking a trend in recent scholarship, Wulf et al. (2010) explored academic rituals as part of a ten-year study[113] on ritual behaviors. Wulf et al. described the practical use of ritual in forging social relationships and fixing personhood. Identity is formed, Wulf et al. argue, in large part by the reinforcement of ideal behavior, morals, and knowledge which are disseminated through repeated, mimicked, ritualizations. Particularly apparent in the coming-of-age phase, Wulf et al. believes children in upper primary and high school settings are perfect examples of the process by which this wealth of "ritualisations, ritualised sequences and mimetic interactions…have a structuring effect on the structurally weak liminal phase" (Wulf et al. 2010, 78). As many participants in my project have noted, joining Freemasonry is akin to be being born into a new family, the journey of childhood through adulthood is enacted in ritual to some extent and characterized by the Craft's ongoing characterization of *journey*. Also looking at ritual outside the conversations about religion, Gilmore (2010) discussed the ritual participation in the large-scale social event *Burning Man*. Unlike Wulf et al., however, Gilmore did not assume a universal understanding of the term *ritual* admitting that it can be "problematic…recognizing the difficulties and ambiguities inherent in any attempt to unequivocally define [it]" (Gilmore 2010, 2). Gilmore described certain collective actions at Burning Man as 'rituals without dogma' (68) yet participants tended, as a group, to describe participation in the events as individual, or personal, experiences, much in the

[113] Running from 1999-2010 the Berlin Study of Rituals, founded by Freie Universität professor Dr. Christoph Wulf, was a collaborative research project used ethnographic methods to study "rituals and gesture in the fields of childbearing, education and socialization, focusing on the family, school, peer culture, and media." (Wulf et al 2010, 182)

same way, it seems, as Freemasons draw on notions of the individual experience, yet discuss their own favorable sense of membership and belonging.

The study of ritual as a process by which identities are formed or reinforced is not a new notion (Daraul 1962; Turner 1966; Myerhoff 1978; Wulf et al. 2010) nor is it necessarily discussed separately from larger treatises on ritual (Bell 1992; Gilmore 2010). Identity, however, is often regarded as a vague notion of which concise mechanisms of formation are suspect (Leve 2011, 2). Likewise, identity is often tied to larger systems of national consciousness (Avieli 2005). Masonic rituals, which are of particular interest to this project, are often regarded, by both Masonic and Non-Masonic scholars, to be the cornerstones of Masonic identity (Karpiel 2000; Van Leeuwen 2004; Mahmud 2012a) as well as linked to civic society and the formation of state identity (Karpiel 2000). Koster (2003) equated ritual to "'territory'" (212/1)[114] in the sense that ritual performance removes the individuality aspect of identity and replaces it with group notions of "'sacred space'" (Koster 2003, 217/1[115]). Self-expression (Koster 2003, 211/1), although often taken as an act of individual thought and action, Koster argued, is the primary means by which humans negotiate social reality using pre-established ritual formations. Koster (2003) argued that human expression is a myriad display of "simple ritual acts", "complex ritual acts", and "ritual performances" (213/2). Simple ritual acts are those which constitute, primarily, a person's membership in a group, complex ritual acts are the

[114] A PDF of Koster's (2003) work is available online (see URL), I have subsequently requested a copy of his publication in *The Journal of Hitorical Pragmatics* (see References). The original version of this segment (my analysis) appeared in BibEssay 1, I have added the additional page citations subsequently, or have included both in future citations.
URL: http://www.let.rug.nl/koster/papers/JHP.Koster2.Edit.pdf.
[115] Koster is also referencing Mosse (1964/1975/1999) as well as Huntington (1996) and Oakes (1997).

appropriate sequence with which a person utilizes these identity markers, and ritual performances are "a community's symbolic demarcation of territory in space and time by complex ritual acts and techniques affecting the experience of identity of the participants away from individuality" (Koster 2003, 214/3[116]). Koster, further, noted that the particular ritual sequences are of a "*deconstructive* or *constructive*"[117] (219/6, 234) nature in which a person's notion of individuality are either broken down and replaced with a shared identity, or are strengthened and reconstructed against a backdrop of mutual space. Indeed, the notion of *individuality* itself can be a construction of collective identity, for example as promoted through the philosophies of individualism promoted by the collectivity of Freemasonry.

Frank Karpiel (2000) discussed the components of public ritual that mark the manifestations (359) of civil society, in particular the ritual and symbolic significance of Freemasonry in the formation of the state. Civic society, or rather civic ritual, (Rook 1985; Colas 1997; B. Smith 2009; Romeu 2011) is a phenomena which is discussed as having the abilty to be also be a separate category of meaning to religious ritual (Gluckman 1962; V. Turner 1966; Rappaport 1971; Kottak 1978; Brittain 2005). Freemasonry has been interpreted by scholars as both a kind of quasi-religious system, though Freemasons steadily oppose this interpretation, as well as a civil association (Banton 2004).[118] A

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[116] Koster (2003) credits others' work, such as "Van Gennep (1960[1909])", "Turner (1969)", "Durkheim (1985[1912])", "Staal (1989)", and others with influencing his "definitions" (215/3); see Koster (2003).

[117] Koster 2003 is referencing Staal (1986)

[118] In BibEssay1 the thought was written as "Civic society, or rather civic ritual, (Rook 1985; Colas 1997; Smith 2009; Romeu 2011) is a phenomena which is discussed as a separate category of meaning to religious ritual (Gluckman 1962; Turner 1966; Rappaport 1971; Kottak 1978; Brittain 2005). Freemasonry, in some ways, incorporates aspects of both (Banton 2004)."

narrative ritual drawing from biblical stories of the erecting of Solomon's Temple[119], for example, is the basis for the transference of Masonic degrees.[120] The enactment of this narrative, also, blurs the lines between the initiate and the audience (Gilmore 2010) which contributes to a sense of shared meaning for an, often potently, individual experience. Karpiel (2000) argued that becoming a Freemason "promoted a shared rapport rooted in ritual and fellowship between those who came from vastly different cultural background" (Karpiel 2000, 365). Freemasons' position between the private and the public spheres was well suited to the development of communitas (V. Turner 1966) which resulted in a ritualization (Bell 1992) of expression, meaning, and membership. Using the example of the Hawaiian *ali'i*[121], Karpiel (2000) noted that the ability of the Freemason society to remove boundaries between class, race, and nationality, drew individuals with an interest in social change. Furthermore, the combination of public ritual, such as the laying of cornerstones and parades which often featured Masons alongside royalty (359),with the enigmatic mystique of this private fraternity (Carnes 1989) played a role in the "changing system of values that overcame Hawai'i in the nineteenth century" (Karpiel 2000, 397).

Stewart and Strathern (2005) supplied a discussion of rituals through the frame of identity-making. Stewart and Strathern pulled from a wide range of inter-disciplinary scholarship from the fields of anthropology, history, ecology, and gender studies. Their

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[119] This narrative, a central Masonic allegory, is discussed in more detail in the following chapter.
[120] In regular Freemasonry there are three degrees through which a Mason passes in the hierarchy of the organization: 1st degree (called the Entered Apprentice), 2nd Degree (called the Fellow Craft) and the 3rd Degree (called the Master Mason). A ritual story is continued through each ceremony marking the transition between degrees, as discussed in more detail in the following chapter.
[121] Ali'i refers to the hereditary chieftainship of Hawaiian monarch, as well as referring of the highest caste in the Hawaiian social hierarchy.

intent was to offer a contemporary "cross-cultural study of ritual practices" (Stewart and Strathern 2005, xv).This concentration, Stewart and Strathern argued, shifts attention away from belief structures and on to the "action, experience, behavioral patterns, and popular consciousness" (xvi) of contemporary communities. Stewart and Strathern's (2005) collected and edited work/s have demonstrated how ritual practices themselves can be used as an "analytical tool" (Rasmussen 2005, 76) in anthropology precisely because of their simultaneously imbedded significance in identity formation, as well as their flexibility and changing natures. Through a general discussion of identity, Leve (2011) succeeded in demonstrating the problematic association of ritual and identity through a conversion of the Buddhist belief that there is 'no such thing as self' (513), which utilizes a contradictory view to that of the Masonic insistence on the worth and necessity of the individual. Leve (2011) argued that, for anthropologists, the space between outward displays of *culture* and internalized notions of self or experiential identity has been shrinking (514). In anthropology *identity* has become, Leve (2011) argued, a kind of "metaculture" (514). The Buddhist notion that a sense of identity is ultimately false (516) complicates this paradigm. Like Asad (2003), Leve (2011) argued that large-scale national, or cultural, identities (as described through works such as Mosse [1975], S. Roberts [2005], and Avieli [2005]) are actually a construct of contemporary liberal and neoliberal democracies, effectively acting as a "powerful form of political currency" (Leve 2011, 517). This argument further supports the idea, proposed in this dissertation, that Freemasonry, rather than being a product of a larger-scale cultural identity is, in and of itself, a culture that generates a specific worldview and engenders a shared identity. While works such as Wilce (2006) proposed anthropology's effect on the constructs of contemporary culture, Leve (2011)

demonstrated the bidirectional flow of this potential phenomenon. Rituals, therefore, have often been presented in anthropological works, as Leve (2011) eloquently put it, as one of the ways of "doing" (522) identity. While Leve's example of vipassana Buddhists does not undermine 'ritual as identity formation' scholarship, it certainly supplies an example of how anthropologists can use categories of identity "in new ways" (526). Van Leeuwen (2004) appealed to both Masonic scholars and non-affiliated anthropologists, to examine Masonic ritual as an ideal forum for the understanding of varied constructions of reality at the heart of anthropological research. Van Leeuwen (2004) noted that traditional works on Masonic ritual have either been presented in the form of a basic historical timeline of the development of said rituals (1) or have been crafted through Masonic works seeking 'lost wisdom' (1). Using anthropological frames provided by foundational theorists such as Turner, Van Gennep, Frazer, Geertz, or Bourdieu, Van Leeuwen (2004) analyzed specific Masonic rituals. Van Leeuwen, demonstrated how Bell's (1992) proposal that ritual provides "a window for the examination of cultural dynamics by which people make and remake their worlds" (Bell 1992, 3) is a good place to start for analyzing how Freemason "ritual presents us with layer after layer of symbolic interactions between a multitude of different forces" (Van Leeuwen 2004, 10). I first came across Van Leeuwen's piece prior to the onset of this project. I was intrigued, as an anthropologist, by his assertation that Masonry was a rich trove for anthropological study. This Masonic author's 'challenge' to ethnographers contributed to my early desire to study the Masonic experience and, upon glancing through his article now, at the end of my project, clearly influenced some of the conceptions with which I approached the actualities of their culture.

Concepts and practices of ritual and identity have drawn the attention of scholars and created a vigorous dialogue[122] that helps inform a broader understanding of social phenomena and is of particular use to the avenues of inquiry represented in this dissertation. Although only touching upon the greater body of literature, the pieces* highlighted in this sub-section demonstrate the variety of objectives and conclusions surrounding the topic of ritual identity. This variety shapes* not only my own perspectives going into this project, but denotes the multifaceted nature of the field of anthropology itself.

There are a number of salient points from this review which are useful to the consideration of this dissertation. I have included comments within each presentation of this review that reflect its usefulness to this project. Salient points for this review include the reconsideration of what constitutes a ritual, and/or how it can be problematized, (Gluckman 1962; Kottak 1978), how ritual performances can be reconsidered (Bell 1992; Stewart and Strathern 2005), how one can relate to the participants of one's study (Myeroff 1978), how ritual may precede belief and/or identity (Myeroff 1978; Mahmood 2005; Wulf et al. 2010), how ritual can be both 'individual and collective' (Gusfield and Michalowicz 1984; Koster 2003; Gilmore 2010), and how ritual and identity can be studied, and to some extent *created*, by the academy (Leve 2011) . As I stated previously, the inquiries of this project were not developed through a linear trajectory from a review of literature to a central theoretical argument. However, this review, having preceded this project, laid the

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groundwork for approaches I took by adding to the body of knowledge I had attained prior to beginning the research prior to it. This project, likewise, may contribute to the discourse within this review in a number of ways. For example, Gluckman's (1962) discussion of the definition/s and juxtaposition of 'ceremony' and 'ritual' may have set the stage, to some extent, for research focusing on culturally-specific shared forms on acting and interacting which could be conceived of as ritual; such as Kottak's (1978) 'everyday transactions', or Myeroff's (1978) description of rituals as preceding, to some extent, belief and her method of studying 'one's own people.' During the course of this project, as I mentioned preciously, I was not able to witness Masonic 'rituals' of the traditional sense, such as those profound ceremonial recreations of the story of Hiram Abiff, the initiations, degree progressions, or other 'traditional' style ritual performances which occur behind a Lodge's tiled doors. While these ceremonial rituals certainly form the foundations for Masonic identity in many ways, I also argue that the 'everyday transactions' between Masons outside the Lodge Room, and in the profane world, can be ritualized representations of a shared cultural understanding and common identity, similar to Turner's (1966) communitas. Also, I argue in this dissertation, that the activity of Freemasonry is, largely, an activity of the mind. This project can contribute to a discourse on mental ritual and the internalization of ritual performance.

SECRECY

The idea of secrecy, as others have likewise pointed out, is alluring both in the public imaginary and within the aims of academic elucidation. The enigmas of a cultural group, its inner workings, and its guarded knowledge have been the focus of ethnographic

inquiry in many cases, particularly during the formations of the discipline and into the first half of the twentieth century. We have moved away from the broader notions of secrecy, to some extent, in the new millennium in favor of a more nuanced, actor-focused, and deconstructed approach to issues of privacy, discretion, Insider, and identity. However, issues of secrecy, particularly in their descriptive application, real or imagined, to particular groups, societies, and associations are still relevant in discussions of inclusion and perceived *communitas*.[123]

Moore and Tabbert (2011) coupled the concept of secret societies with early research on Fraternalism. Tracing the trajectory of thought from the last years of the nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth, they presented a series of 19 essays from the fields of sociology and history along with journalist and insurance studies. Excerpts from a few of these exposés are discussed in relevant sections of this dissertation, yet most applicable to an anthropological review of *secrecy* comes by way of the presentation of works from Georg Simmel and Noel P. Gist. Simmel (1906)[124], for example described the psycho-social variables of *secrecy* as a staging for a broader discussion on the nature and impacts of *secret societies* to both the memberships of such organizations and the mainstream societies to which they belong. He, argued, for example that no individual is a complete representation of transparency, nor should be. The level at which people disclose

[123] Term coined by Victor Turner, as discussed above, through various works (see also, Edith Turner's 2011 work which I came across while searching for an exact date for the creation of "communitas"; she supplies multiple dates, which led to my statement of 'through various works').
[124] I include the original date of publication for both Simmel and Gist in the onset of each relative discussion to give context to the time period from which they were produced, as presented and reviewed in Moore and Tabbert's 2011 edited volume. I have included the 2011 date for citation purposes; see References for full citation of original work along with its placement within the 2011 volume.

information is directly relative to their role, as it is understood on an individual level, within a specific social context. He noted that "within each social stratum the individual knows approximately what measure of culture he has to presuppose in each other individual" (Simmel 1906/2011:,119). Simmel describes these varying levels of discretion as the complex relationship (120) between "the knower to the known" (Simmel 1906/2011:,120). As relationships between people change so to do their expectations of each other, including the amount of knowledge that is necessary to maintain an adequate and efficient functioning relationship (128), be it a business relationship (128), a marriage (136), or any other kind of social contract between people. Simmel (1906/2011) adds that "Discretion is nothing other than the sense of justice with respect to the sphere of the intimate contents of life" (Simmel 1906/2011:, 130). Indeed, he argued that "secrecy secures, so to speak, the possibility of a second world alongside of the obvious world, and the latter is most strenuously affected by the former. Every relationship between two individuals or two groups will be characterized by the ratio of secrecy that is involved in it" (Simmel 1906/2011:, 138). Whatever knowledge is there for retained by the individual is thus owned by him/her through what Simmel (1906/2011) describes as an "accentuated feeling of personal possession" (Simmel 1906/2011:, 139). This, in turn, can ultimately lead one to regard that which is secret (140) as necessarily "something essential and significant" (Simmel 1906/2011:, 140). When these aspects of secrecy are applied to a group, thus forming a secret society (Simmel 1906/2011), secrecy itself becomes a shared experience to which borders of inclusion and exclusion can be drawn and the *knower to the known* (Simmel 1906/2011) is extended to include identification with a collaborative effort. Indeed, as Simmel (1906/2011) stated "the first internal relation that is essential to a

secret society is the reciprocal *confidence* of its members" (Simmel 1906/2011:, 145). At the same time, since secrecy is a requirement of membership, but cannot, practically, be forced (Simmel 1906/2011) upon individuals within a voluntary commitment, such societies (148) must "naturally seek means psychologically to promote that secretiveness which cannot be directly forced" (Simmel 1906/2011:, 148). To the example of Freemasonry, which is reputed by its members not as a secret society but as a society with secrets, open to all individuals of appropriate age, gender, and moral character, the model of collaborative secrecy becomes a foundation for the promotion of individual (151) freedom. As Simmel (1906/2011) makes the point "Freemasonry, for example, insists that its purposes to become the most universal society, 'the union of unions,' the only one that repudiates every particularistic character and aims to appropriate as its material exclusively that which is common to all good men... That secrecy is now promoted by socialization, and now abolished by it, is thus by no means a contradiction. These are merely diverse forms in which its connection with individualization expresses itself – …"[125] (Simmel 1906/2011:,151–152). One of the ways that voluntary secret societies, according to Simmel (1906/2011), promote secrecy is through exclusive ritualization. The rituals themselves, although not necessarily tied to any greater plans (154) of the society or directly related to identifying those who are participating in the group, become a key element of inclusion and discretion. Simmel (1906/2011) also made the argument that a secret society has a tendency, contrary to some extent to one not engaging in reticence, to

[125] He continues here by noting "- somewhat as the interdependence of weakness and fear shows itself both in the fact that the weak seek social attachments in order to protect themselves, and in the fact that they avoid social relations when they encounter greater dangers within them than in isolation." (Simmel 1906/2011:, 152)

affect a person on every level. Indeed, as Simmel (1906/2011) noted, “One of (the secret society’s) essential characteristics is that, even when it takes hold of individuals only by means of partial interests,… it combines the personalities more in their whole compass with each other, and commits them more to reciprocal obligations, than the same common purpose would within an open society...” (155) “Through the ritual form the specific purpose of the secret society is expanded into a comprehensive unity and totality, both sociological and subjective” (Simmel 1906/2011:, 155). One of the draws of secret society membership, Simmel (1906/2011) also argued, is the promise of greater freedom (156) *within* the group than *outside* it. Thus, autonomy (156) becomes an important and necessary component of such a society. The leeway with which Freemasons, Simmel (1906/2011) noted, adhere to specific formal (156) protocols is directly proportional to the level of political (156) freedom existing in the greater societies to which the Lodge is a part. Simmel (1906/2011) made the case that the greater the political Freedoms of a region, the stricter would be the Lodge in requiring uniformity of ritual, protocol, and character of its members. Simmel (1906/2011) observed that in the United States people “enjoy the largest political freedom – of whom the severest unity in manner of work, the greatest uniformity of the ritual of all lodges, are demanded; while in Germany – where the otherwise sufficient quantum of bondage leaves little room for a counter-demand in the direction of restrictions upon freedom – more freedom is exercised in the manner in which each individual lodge carries on its work” (Simmel 1906/2011:, 156). Granted, this exposé was written at the turn of the twentieth century and thus Simmel’s observation was no doubt related to the temporal effect of variables unknown to myself as an observer of contemporary Freemasonry, but I have found in my own research, the opposite to be true.

This is repeated by participants of my project who have attended Lodge in other regions outside of the United States, who invariably comment on the lack of formal protocol of dress, reverence, and attendance in the United States in respect to Lodges outside the United States.[126] Simmel (1906/2011) also noted that "The purposes and programs of secret societies require that competitive interests from that plane of the open society should be left outside the door" (Simmel 1906/2011:, 164). As has been told to me many times, issues of politics and religion are forbidden from discussion inside of a Masonic Lodge. Granted, Simmel (1906/2011) noted that not all secret societies began with that essential element in mind. Some open societies were forced into secrecy through external (165) persecution of their beliefs, membership, or design during a specific time in history and have thereafter maintained their secrecy which, inevitably, became woven into the nature of their operations. This can also lead, Simmel (1906/2011) noted, to a variation of operations among branches of a secret society in different regions. Indeed, as Simmel argued:

> "The fact that the dynamic significance of Freemasonry is obviously not quite in proportion with (165) its extension and its resources is probably to be accounted for by the extensive autonomy of its parts, which have neither a unified organization nor a central administration. Since their common life extends only to fundamental principles and signs of recognition, these come to be virtually only

[126] These observations were made by participants who have attended Lodge meetings in Colombia, Israel, and other locations. In fact, one participant who was traveling to Israel noted to me that he did not attend Lodge last time he was there because he had forgotten to bring a tuxedo, and also extolled the 'seriousness' of the Israeli Freemasons. One Colombian participant was surprised at the speed with which Freemasons in the United States were able to move through the degrees of both Blue Lodge and Scottish Rite (a process which takes much longer and includes more requirements in Colombia). At the same time, Masons of an older generation also have noted to me that when they were younger Masonic meetings in the United States were more formal. The exceptions to this seem to come by way of the Most Worshipful Prince Hall Freemasons, whom I am informed by participants of my project, demand a much higher level of formality in U.S. Freemasonry. Another exception comes from those Masons, whom I have spoken with or read the work/s of, who are part of a movement to bring American Freemasonry back to a more traditional understanding (as noted elsewhere in this dissertation).

> norms of equality and of contact between man and man, but not of that centralization which holds together the forces of the elements, and is the correlate of the apartness of the secret society." (166).

Simmel (1906/2011) concluded that the nature of human curiosity, the instinct to see a secret as significant knowledge, and secret societies as vehicles of concealment, has led to mistrust, suspicion of conspiracy and, in some cases, open persecution of societies which have secrets and promote "common unity"(169). Indeed, as Simmel (1906/2011) noted, "The folly which treats the unknown as the non-existent, and the anxious imaginativeness which inflates the unknown at once into gigantic dangers and horrors, are wont to take turns in guiding human actions. Accordingly, the secret society seems to be dangerous simply because (169) it is secret" (170). He continued by noting, "Thus the secret society, purely on the ground of its secrecy, appears dangerously related to conspiracy against existing powers" (170).

Foundational theorist Camilla H. Wedgwood (1930) sought to define, describe, and renovate the notions of secrecy, particularly in its functions (Wedgwood 1930), applicable to ethnographic cases. Some of the primary theories/notions of secret societies, Wedgwood argued, were provided through the combined, though "opposed" (131) works of Simmel and Thurnwald (see Wedgwood 1930, 131) among others. According to Wedgwood's analysis of their contributions, Simmel sponsored the idea that the formation of secret societies was primarily the result of oppressive regimes (131) and Thurnwald, according to Wedgwood, argued that secret societies decreased in the face of class reorganization (131). Wedgwood (1930) argued that the difference between a true *secret society* and a group of

Insiders[127] was that individuals in a secret society recognize (132) themselves as "a part of a greater whole, in the name of which his activities are carried out…activities (are) performed at stated intervals, both to carry out the ostensible function of the society…and to reaffirm its existence as an organic whole" (Wedgwood 1930, 132). Wedgwood (1930) also suggested that members within a secret society shared specific coded forms of communication, ritual, and symbol (132) to which others were not privy. She was moving away from a more traditional historical study of secret societies in an attempt to tease apart how these societies formed, what their functions were, what characteristics their members shared, and by default help to construct a paradigm on which *secrecy* could be discussed in later decades. Wedgwood suggested that a secret society was a functional (130) component of a larger aggregate and that it could only exist if "it plays some significant role in the life of a society, (otherwise) an institution will become moribund and disappear" (Wedgwood 1930, 130). This function could be an economic one, as in the case of Melanesia (Wedgwood 1930, 144); or the function of such a society could be social. Indeed, Freemasonry, often described as both a secret society and a civil organization, saw a significant decrease in membership, particularly in the United States, after the 1950s, when, arguably, the need for social clubs declined. As Shapira (2013) noted, following the work of Putnam and Habermas (2001 and 1989/1962: Shapira 2013), there has been a "decline in associational life"(44 [Shapira referencing Putnam]) following the advent of,

[127] I use the term 'Insider' as the point of comparison to the term 'Secret Society' here. In her essay Wedgwood compared her term of 'a true secret society' (132) against what she called "a loose aggregate of individuals who share a knowledge not possessed by others, but who retain their own independence and do not function as a single unit." (Wedgwood 1930:132).

among other innovations, television.[128] Wedgwood (1930), however, distinguished between the "ostensible" (130) and the "latent" (130) functions of secret societies. Indeed, as she described:

> "Besides this fundamental latent function which is probably common to all secret societies -to provide a means whereby the individual may assert his individuality and acquire prestige without being a disruptive force within the community –many secret societies, if not all save those of the anti-social variety, have other latent functions, less fundamental perhaps, but more obvious and of great importance. In the first place we may notice that the members of a secret society are drawn usually from several other social groups; the secret society cuts across the bounds of family, clan, village and even district. It serves as a means of bringing together men who otherwise would be opposed or indifferent to each other, and of regulating their mutual behaviour; it serves as a unifying force and as a means whereby men are brought in to social relations with others outside their normal sphere of contact. This extension of the circle of social relations is an important function, for such a widening of the horizon is ever a stimulus to cultural development." (142)

Excerpts like Simmel's (1906) treatise, as presented in Moore and Tabbert's (2011) presentation and discussed above, were particularly useful in setting the stage for the scholarship, such as Wedgwood's (1930), or Gist's (1936, 1938), that followed. Gist (1936)[129] argued, for example, that "secret fraternalism" (172) is woven (172) into the very fabric of American culture. Gist (1936/2011) attempted to provide an understanding of uniformity (173) to all secret fraternal societies in the United States by way of describing their common patterns (173). While he relies heavily on examples drawn from Freemasonry, he extends his system of classification to secret fraternities more

[128] Shapira (2013), citing Habermas, describes the decline of civil groups as being proportional to the rise in availability of mass media. Indeed, participants in my own project have also noted how people may prefer to stay home and watch television than socialize at Lodge meetings. While a number of the participants of this study described Freemasonry as a place to be social, among other activities, other participants bemoaned those Masons who saw Freemasonry primarily as a social club.

[129] See footnote #124

generally.[130] For example, Gist (1936/2011) argued that esoteric ceremonials (174) were a means by which secret fraternities can be said to be culturally uniform (175). Indeed, Gist (1936/2011) noted that "Ritual in general tends to be dramatic in character; in secret orders the dramatic features are conspicuously apparent. Ordinarily these ceremonialized dramas or pageants are founded on some fable, allegory, myth, legend, or historical event" (Gist 1936/2011:, 175). The themes (175) on which these ritualized dramas (Gist 1936/2011) are based most often come from the Bible (175), Gist (1936/2011) declared. Also, the initiate plays a central role (176) in these dramas, Gist (1936/2011) argued, and is represented as an outsider being brought into a new and sacred[131] space. He also noted that the initiation rituals of secret fraternities are common in that there is a "symbolic journey" (177) to be undertaken in the reenactment. Morality is also a principle element of discussion during the ritualized journey (Gist 1936/2011). Gist also noted that "ordeals" (178) are brought into contemporary secret fraternalism as an example, perhaps, of a broader human tendency. Indeed, Gist (1936/2011) noted that "Ritualistic ordeals as a feature of initiatory rites in secret societies are a common practice among peoples of varying cultures. In primitive esoteric societies the ordeal is frequently found in rigorous and even brutal ceremonies ostensibly designed to test the courage and endurance of novices who are to be inducted into the mystic realms" (Gist 1936/2011:, 178). He continued by noting, "But in modern society there appears to be a tendency toward the

[130] Editors' note: "This study of ceremonialism is part of a more inclusive study of secret societies. Data for this paper are based on the rituals of seventy representative fraternities" (Moore and Tabbert 2011, 185).
[131] Gist (1936/2011) writes that "In the process of leading the novice from the 'profane' world into the realm of mystery the individual is usually given a special symbolic role to perform" (176)

refinement and symbolization of the primordial rites" (Gist 1936/2011:, 178). Another common feature of secret fraternal initiations, Gist (1936/2011) argued, was the obligation (181) to take an oath (181). Gist noted that the purpose of such was to both "guarantee the preservation of the ritualistic secrets of the fraternal order" as well as "define the individual's conduct according to the moral principles emphasized by the group" (Gist 1936/2011:, 181). The themes of "death and resurrection" (183) are also noticeable patterns of secret fraternal lore, Gist (1936/2011) observed. He argued that secret fraternal societies in the United States, on the basis of a number of variables, tended to adhere to "a rather uniform basic design" (Gist 1936/2011:, 184). While on the surface this exposé may appear an oversimplified attempt on Gist's part to reduce rich cultural experiences to a neat package of uniformity, it was quite indicative of the field at the time to produce a body of work related to generalizable laws, observable patterns, and efficient systems of categorization and classification. It quite possibly wasn't until the wide dispersal of works such as Geertz, who supplied the notion of notion of *Thick Description* (1973), that anthropological inquiry began to acknowledge the validity of qualitative narrative and incorporation of a subjective understanding of lived reality into the breadth of scholarship. Later, Gist (1938)[132] discussed the "structure and process in secret societies" (186). Gist (1938/2011) argued for a contemporary understanding of "esoteric fraternalism in more complex cultures" (186) in a field where "organized secrecy among primitive peoples" (186) was well-studied. Perhaps needless, yet necessary to elucidate, the field also began to understand the nuanced complexity of non-industrialized societies through the works of

[132] See footnote #124

scholars such as Geertz, Boas, Malinowski, Benedict, Mead, and others, and where the notions of 'primitive', as related to cultures and peoples, began to be deconstructed. Gist (1938/2011) also argued that while there are common "functional characteristics" (187) to all secret societies, the weight of those variable characteristics necessarily differs between groups and should be addressed in any system of "classification" (186). These differences, Gist (1938/2011) acknowledged, affect how the structure of the society functions (187). As Gist (1938/2011) put it, "In secret societies there exists structural differentiation just as there exists a differentiation of functions. Indeed, fraternal orders, like many other forms of social organization, may be characterized quite as much by their structural differences as by their likenesses" (Gist 1938/2011:, 187). Some of these likenesses (Gist 1938/2011), Gist observed, included constellation (188), schismatic differentiation (191), stratification (192), and governmental structure (194) which can all be attributed to "historical factors in the patterning process" (Gist 1938/2011:, 196). For example, Gist (1938/2011) promoted the idea that fraternalism (188) is affected greatly by the interrelationships (188) of multiple sub-groups. These sub-groups often include individuals who are connected (typically by familial relation) to the members of the fraternity but are not members themselves, typically due to age or gender. Also in a large (189) fraternity, Gist (1938/2011) argued, special-interest groups would also form outside the main body to provide for the wide array of different backgrounds represented in the group. Thus, the myriad of Appendant/Concordant bodies in Freemasonry are neatly accounted for. Indeed, as Gist (1938/2011) put it "Perhaps the most impressive fraternal constellation in this country revolves around the Masonic order. At least thirty different organizations, both secret and non-secret, are affiliated with the Masonic lodge" (Gist 1938/2011:, 189).

Another feature common to secret societies generally, Gist (1938/2011) noted was a tendency for schism (191) as disagreements arose among the disparate personalities of those involved.[133] Additionally, "internal stratification" (Gist 1938/2011:, 192) was a salient feature of secret society structure. As Gist (1938/2011) noted "the individual, as an outsider, proceeds to the inner realms of the secret group by means of a succession of steps known in fraternal parlance as degrees" (Gist 1938/2011:, 192). Gist, likewise, cites the 1906 work of Simmel[134] to describe this process as one whereby "a series of concentric circles" (Gist 1938/2011:, 192) can be used to depict the movement through the fraternal structure. This type of degree conference and varying levels of exclusivity within a secret fraternity, Gist (1938/2011) noted, had a tendency to streamline certain personalities in what he described as a "type-forming process" (Gist 1938/2011:, 193). He also continued to argue that democracy (193), as it was advertised within secret fraternities, was "offset by the formation of social layers within the organization" (Gist 1938/2011:, 193). Granted, Gist (1938/2011) is referring here, in part, to those recent initiates who are not privy to the full extent of the fraternity's knowledges or operations until they reach a higher degree within the structure. Yet, he also declares that although many of these fraternities could be seen as "miniature open-class social order(s)" (193), the Freemasons are "the most highly stratified society in this country…with thirty-two degrees and an additional honorary rank" (Gist 1938/2011:, 194). Here, again, I feel it necessary to observe that while Gist is correct in his observation of a system of degree-progression, the Masonic order does not have

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[133] See Gist's (1938/2011) discussion of "Schismatic Differentiation" (191)
[134] As cited in notes (4) of Gist's 1938/2011 piece: Georg Simmel, "The Sociology of Secrecy," *American Journal of Sociology,* XI (1906), pp. 488-489. ***Ed's note: Reprinted in this volume."*** (Moore and Tabbert 2011:198).

32/33 degrees, it has only three. The system of 32 degrees is part of the Scottish Rite, mentioned elsewhere in this dissertation, to which many, but not all, Masons are a part. Many other Masonic Appendant/Concordant bodies also have an additional degree-conference system within their sub-grouping. According to many of the participants of my project, the regular three degrees of Blue Lodge Masonry are the ones that matter the most to them. Additionally, Gist (1938/2011) depicts Masonic society as one which classes its members and homogenizes its membership (193) through a "highly stratified" (194) system of inclusion and exclusion. However, as I have discovered through the research for this dissertation, any Master Mason is eligible to run for Worshipful Master of his Lodge, or any other elected position within the Lodge, regardless of how old he is, what his family connections are, or what is his level of conformity to the "*esprit de corps*" (Gist 1938/2011:, 193). Indeed, as the results of a survey distributed as part of this project shows, the majority (87.71%) of members (93.8% of U.S. participants, 77% of Colombian participants, 83.3% of participants from other locations) have served, or are currently serving, in an officer-capacity in their Lodge or jurisdictional Grand Lodge. Indeed, as one Mason I interviewed in Alexandria, Virginia, said during a September 2014 interview, despite the fact that he had many Masonic honors (including having reached the rank of 33º in the Scottish Rite) the role he is still most proud of was when he had the chance to serve as Worshipful Master of his local Lodge. The Masons I have gotten to know through the course of this project often express, and demonstrate, the ability to meet with their fellow Masons, no matter their internal (or external) 'rank', in a capacity of equality, known to Masons as 'meeting on the level.'

Gist (1938/2011) also discussed the governmental structure of secret fraternities as having national (195), territorial (195), and subordinate (195/196) bodies, each with a varying degree of authority and responsibility (196). Gist (1938/2011) completed his piece by noting that there are historical processes (196) which are involved in the similarities between secret fraternities, including, but not limited to, "'interlocking memberships'" (197), the publication of the internal goings-on of these organizations, due in part to the Anti-Masonic (197) movement, and the tendency for "schismatic differentiation" (198). He concluded by arguing that "Secret societies may logically be classified according to their paramount functional activities. Although differentiated structural patterns may be observed, there appears to be a basic skeletal configuration that characterizes most of the organizations, particularly those of the lodge type" (Gist 1938/2011:, 198).

Perhaps following the thread of secret society scholarship, a popular fascination with 'the occult' overshadowed a burgeoning interest in ritual within the academy during the earlier part of the 20th century. For example, works such as Daraul's (1962) *A History of Secret Societies* was, and still is to some extent (Davis 1988; Murray and Baoqi 1994; Noblitt and Perskin 2000), used as a reference on various ritually-based identity groups. Daraul detailed a wide range of so-labeled secret societies attempting to place each within a nebulous web of historical and ideological context. Past works such as Simmel's (1906), Wedgwood's (1930), Gist's (1936, 1938), or Daraul's (1962) have no doubt influenced the contemporary literature on the subject of secrecy. Herdt (1990), however, noticed that "In the 60 years since Camilla Wedgwood's article… anthropological studies of secrecy have undergone a marked change of perspective. Simple distinctions between secret process and

content, between 'society' and 'secret society', as marked by inside/outside, sacred/profane, and like contrasts, are no longer tenable" (360). Herdt (1990) argued that the term *secret society* was not as accurate or useful to contemporary scholarship as was *secret formation* (360) or *secret collective* (360). Like Wedgwood, Herdt (1990) utilized the work of foundational theorists such as Simmel and Tefft (1950 and 1980: Herdt 1990) to describe how cohesion is constructed and maintained within secret groups, though he approached the topic from a perspective outside the comfortable use of an insider/outsider (361) dichotomy. What constitutes an insider or outsider not only varies between secret groups but also *within* each group. Indeed, Herdt (1990) discussed the hierarchies (361) that are present within such groups and the desire to advance (361). Herdt promoted the idea that insider/outsider, or more specifically differentiation/solidarity (363) could be enacted at the individual level. As he noted, "At this level of analysis, secrecy operates in the major domains of feeling, thought, belief, knowledge, and action (Herdt 1981)" (Herdt 1990, 363). Herdt (1990) disagrees with Simmel's argument that entry into a secret association is a process of "submersion of the person/self in to the secret collective" (Herdt 1990, 363). He instead promotes that individual identity can be formed and altered through the lens of secrecy and group membership where a person voluntarily participates in new way of socializing (364) and communicating. He calls this approach to *secrecy* an ontological (Herdt 1990) one. Through this lens, secret group membership entails a restructuring of "social and psychological reality" (Herdt 1990, 366) for the participant. Utilizing various works, Herdt (1990) concurs that the practices (368) inherent to collective secrecy are group-specific approaches to reality (368), thus "maintin(ing) separate intentional worlds" (368). He attests that his approach is in response to an inadequate *miserly* theory (366)

which focuses the discussion of secrecy within an individual's psyche. Herdt's ontological approach takes secrecy to be "driven by the necessity to 'naturalize' the differences between groups, by creating total meaning systems that describe and explain these differences in persons, groups, and the world" (Herdt 1990:377). However, Herdt (1990) moves his arguments away from a purely theoretical analysis and interjects his own disdain for secret societies, mirroring to some extent popular notions of conspiracy and inequality. He concludes his piece by noting, "Secrecy is subversion; it can be put in the service of dehumanization… The secret world emerges from traditions in which persons are forced into conflicts with other individuals, the funnel through which temporal, spatial, and sociopolitical forces are sealed and implemented in their ontologies" (378).

Recognizing the tendency to view secrecy, or those who choose to participate in collective secrecy, with suspicion and aversion, issues of what is public, and what can be private, become ethical questions. Morris (2000), a political scientist, noted that "With few exceptions, modern social and political critics have defined privacy negatively, with the private serving precisely to mark the limits of collective action, the gentle abeyance of power-or whatever opposes politics and the political" (D. Morris 2000, 323). Privacy, Morris (2000) argued, is at the heart of identity where a person, or I suggest by extension a group of persons, must be protected against any requirements for full disclosure. Indeed, as Morris (2000) noted "Viewing privacy as a special kind of reprieve opens up a consideration of identity as a form of resistance, of recalcitrance. This view politicizes both terms--private and public- simultaneously, situating them on a more directly political terrain, that of contestation and struggle" (D. Morris 2000, 331). Morris (2000) suggested a need for a new frame of understanding related to privacy and interiority

(341). Privacy, like secrecy (345) Morris (2000) attested, is a possible social "taboo" (345). Just as Herdt (1990) suggested that the dichotomy between insider and outsider was an outmode, Morris (2000) suggests likewise doing away with the binary distinction of private and public (347) while still enhancing discussions of privacy with a critical gaze (345). As Morris (2000) noted "In this way, we are pushed past dichotomies and dichotomizing thought onto an explicitly political terrain. Perhaps surprisingly, then, reclaiming privacy enriches social and political analysis" (D. Morris 2000, 347). Boling (2000) responded to Morris' analysis by noting that Morris' apparent desire to protect interiority against judgement (357) disregards, to some extent, critical scrutiny. Indeed, as Boling (2000) added,

> "The point is, a particular contribution to current work on privacy does not need to work out a comprehensive theory or model of privacy; it needs to push discourse along in constructive ways, to show us how perspectives that have not heretofore 'spoken' to each other can raise new questions or make efforts to speak to problems that have been kicking around for a while." (357)

Roger Ivar Lohmann (2001) explored how knowledge-sharing practices, as particularly related to secrecy and secret-knowledge, changed through the introduction of writing (98) and digital storage (107) and transmission of information (107). As he described through his case-study, "among the precontact Asabano of Duranmin, Papua New Guinea, older men kept secret myths revealed during initiations. Their religious knowledge gave them moral authority and privilege as enculturators" (Lohmann 2001, 93). Lohman (2001) noted that any knowledge or activity that was kept secret, which a select few had access to, made the knowledge and those who had the ability to share it, "powerful" (96). Citing "Bellman (1984:17)", Lohman (2001) also noted that how the

secret knowledge was shared was nearly as important as the 'content' (97) of it. The religious elders in his case-study were the knowledge-holders and thus "by selectively sharing religious knowledge at initiations or with individuals deemed to be ready, while withholding other information, personal prestige and an aura of power are preserved" (Lohman 2001, 106). Upon the introduction of both Christianity and literacy (Lohman 2001, 105), this system changed. Christianity advocated an "equal access to religious knowledge" (Lohman 2001,106) while the written word preserved and made powerful the text itself. Additionally, since it was the younger members of the group who were quicker to pick up the skill of writing and reading, they became the "go-betweens" (94) between religious knowledge and those who would have once between the sole proprietors of it. Additionally, unlike orally transmitted knowledge (secret or otherwise) textual productions "(take) on an appealing verbatim exactitude" (Lohman 2001, 107). Just as secret ritual (108) acts, or acted, to create categories of separation (109) between the holders and the seekers of knowledge, so too does the shift to a text-based belief system, where a marked separation exists between the readers and the listeners of scripture (109). Lohman (2001) also noted that, generally, "worldwide, cultural information is increasingly stored and transmitted using technological media such as writing and audiovisual recordings, resulting in altered social dynamics in fields of access, control, and perishability of information"(107). Freemasonry, as participants of this project have told me, is, or at least was, a "mouth to ear" society. Indeed, participants have told me, variations in ritual and practice between Lodges was often the result of the foundation of a new Lodge being established upon the memory of those who partook in the old Lodge. Though there are elements of degree-work, as one participant was telling me as he was

practicing for an upcoming degree ceremony, which require memorization of an exact, verbatim (Lohman 2001), script. The increasing use of text, technology, and digital storage, has altered the mystique and possibility of variation of Masonry. This begs the question then, what are the secrets of Freemasonry? As I have come to discover, it is the practice of Freemasonry which is in and of itself an act of discretion. As Abe Marshall, a principal participant of this project succinctly put it, in relation to the extent of Masonic knowledge that is available in print and digital form, "you can read about brain surgery online, but that doesn't make you a brain surgeon."[135] Though the secret signs and grips and words can be easily located, it is the choice of the Freemason to not disclose this information, indicating his loyalty to the society. His internal work becomes the secrets of the Craft (MacNulty 2002), and the common ritual experience, along with the trust of his Brothers that he will keep their secrets (A. Roberts 1974), forms the borders between the sacred and the profane.

Jossianna Arroyo (2013) discussed secrecy and written work in Caribbean Freemasonry (Arroyo 2013). Citing "Derrida"[136], Arroyo (2013, 1) offers the notion that the presence of secrecy is both obvious in its existence and concealment, yet hidden, even from oneself (1) in its content. Indeed, secrets, Arroyo (2013), notes in relation to politics "have always figured as the instruments of power" (Arroyo 2013, 1). Arroyo (2013) argues

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[135] This quote was not recorded and thus the citation is paraphrased as it may not be exact in the order or choice of words, yet the meaning and the example is presented as it was disclosed to me.

[136] Arroyo (2013) opens her work with the following quote from Jacques Derrida *A Taste for the Secret.* . Pp 57-58 (Arroyo 2013:1/177 [A Taste for the Secret. Ed. Jacques Derrida and Maurizio Ferraris. United Kingdom: Polity, 2001] Arroyo 2013:212): "From this point of view the autobiographical is the locus of the secret, but not in the sense—as some would have it—that it holds the key to a secret, be it conscious or unconscious . . . Clearly, the most tempting figure for this absolute secret is death, that which is in relation to death, that which is carried off by death—that which is thus life itself. Now, it is true that the relation to death is a privileged dimension of this experience of the secret, but I imagine that an immortal would have the same experience. Even for an immortal this secret would be concealed, sealed."

that Freemasonry was established on the foundations of secrecy, keeping secrets, and exclusivity. This was done both out of the necessity to avoid "detection" (1) and likewise create a common (2) bond. Like other authors, Arroyo notes that by its very nature of having secrets, Freemasonry is often the target of suspicion. Though, as Arroyo (2013) notes in relation to political power "in the Freemason's community of the secret, we see the commonality transcended nation, which in effect meant that Freemasonry grew within its transnational connections, first in Europe and later in the Americas, to become one of the defining factors in the growth of the politics of republicanism in the nineteenth century" (Arroyo 2013, 2). Rather than focus her work on broad theories of secret societies (2) Arroyo uses the textual productions of the late nineteenth century to uncover the links between Freemasonry and "nation-building" (2). Using a collection of works from Martí (cited in Arroyo 2013), for example, Arroyo (2013) describes his notion of the secrets of Masonry as being those which are related to morality and inner development, leading towards a campaign for the public good (134), not necessarily to the "rules" (104) of Freemasonry which, among other things, decrees one should not reveal (Arroyo 2013) who one's fellow Masons are (to which Martí was accused of publishing a list of members [104]). Martí, according to Arroyo (2013) used Masonic symbolism (134) to reimagine the industrial age and assembly line (134) as one which "could be seen, from another point of view, as the reintroduction of ritual into the process of production. The community (foreshadowed by the Masonic brotherhood) is forged in this process of reenchantment. National brotherhood is, therefore, assimilated into the notion of a workers union in which the "idea" is worked and overcomed" (Arroyo 2013, 134, within discussing Martí).

Examining the body of work to date, Graham M. Jones, provides a review of anthropological notions of secrecy for a special issue on *risk* for the Annual Review of Anthropology[137] (2014). Jones (2014) notes that the discussion of *secrecy* in cultural anthropology (54) is most often discussed within a defined parameter such as *secret society* or *trade secret* (54) or in its application to a specific place or region (54). In his review, Jones (2014) seeks to discover if there is a paradigmatic commonalty in anthropological discussions of secrecy or if the literature points more towards "an inherently polysemous concept" (Jones 2014, 54). Like others, Jones (2014) notes the quintessential work on *secrecy* provided by Simmel, whereby ideas of the role secrecy plays in the creation of culture (54)[138] can be applied. Jones (2014) also highlights the work of Herzfeld (2009: cited in Jones 2014) where secrecy came to be understood as something "paradoxicial" (Jones 2014, 55) as it can only be understood (Herzfeld 2009,135: cited in Jones 2014) as a secret if there is a public (Herzfeld 2009,135: cited in Jones 2014) awareness of its concealment. Jones (2014) tackles the question of how to present *secrecy* through the field of anthropology. He contends examining how secrecy is shared and transmitted between secret-holders could work well in an ethnographic production. Indeed, as Jones (2014) argued "one way to reframe secrecy anthropologically may be in terms of the media through which its relationships are transacted. Doing so would necessitate attending to how specific materializations of concealed knowledge affect the conditions of its social life cycle (production, circulation,

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[137] Vol 43, Pp 53-69.

[138] Jones (2014) cites the work of Herdt (1990:cited in Jones 2014) and Jorgensen (1990:cited in Jones 2014) as being examples of the role of secrecy in *culture*: "Herdt GH. 1990. Secret societies and secret collectives. *Oceania* 60(4):361–81"(Jones 2014, 66); "Jorgensen D. 1990. Secrecy's turns. *Canberra Anthropol.* 13(1):40–47" (Jones 2014, 67).

and depletion)" (Jones 2014, 56). Rituals of secret societies (both large-scale dramaturgical rituals and everyday (57) rituals of concealment) are one of the more common ways anthropologists have discussed secrecy in this way (Jones 2014) along with embodiment (57), "the built environment" (57), and field-specific speech (58). Jones (2014) also draws our attention to the practice of secrecy as being one which "is often a multimedia, multisensory phenomenon, manifested simultaneously across a plurality of domains" (58). He suggests adopting the use of Johnson's (2002/2006: cited in Jones 2014) term *secretism* as a useful way to discuss the myriad ways in which "possessing secrets" (Jones 2014, 59) affects culture. Jones (2014) supplies the terms *transmedial* and *intermedial*[139] to describe the ways in which secrecy is concealed, revealed, translated, transcribed, and discussed in anthropology.

Jones (2014) broadens his discussion of secrecy to include that information which is hidden, to which it is the anthropologist's role to uncover. Indeed, beyond the discipline's tradition for studying secret societies (60), Jones (2014) notes that "approaching culture as a text requiring interpretation presupposes secret meanings hidden from casual perception" (Jones 2014, 60). Referencing Taussig (1999: cited in Jones 2014), Jones (2014) implies that the study of secrecy is important to anthropology because anthropology itself is a study in secrecy; from field-site location (60) to uncovering the methods of knowledge production (61), to maintaining confidentiality (62). Indeed, the roles of insider and outsider are often played out during the course of

[139] In a more succinct definition of these terms than I could provide, Jones (2014) cites Rajewsky 2005: "secrecy must be thought of in terms of relationships of intermediality, 'configurations which have to do with a crossing of borders between media,' and transmediality,'the appearance of a certain motif, aesthetic, or discourse across a variety of different media' (Rajewsky 2005, 46: qtd. in Joes 2014, 58)" (Jones 2014, 58).

ethnographic research. Jones (2014), for example, notes that "the experience of exclusion from secrecy can also be a powerful source of ethnographic insight. Just as some ethnographers have written perceptively about the initiatory experience of becoming the kind of person with whom secrets are shared, others describe the exclusionary experience of being the kind of person from whom information is withheld (Hultin 2013, Masco 2010)" (Jones 2014:62). Concluding with the works of Myers (2002, 2004, 2006: cited in Jones 2014), Debenport (2010: cited in Jones 2014), and Crook (2007: cited in Jones 2014), Jones (2014) demonstrates how anthropological productions become one form of media used in the complex influence (63) of secrecy in terms of navigating access (63) while keeping in mind the dual goals of academic elucidation and respect for informant concealment (63) strategies, and producing work which renders insider knowledge readable (64) to an outsider.

Indeed, as I have often found myself answering particular queries about the topic of my own research, it is not the secrets of Freemasonry[140] that are of interest to this project but rather the activities and community of those who are privy to those secrets. While Freemasonry has been described by numerous authors within the context of secrecy, I approach the topic as one in which *secrecy* is only one very minor aspect of what it subjectively means to *be* a Freemason and participate in the activity of the Craft.

There are a number of salient points from this review which are useful to the consideration of this dissertation. I have included comments within each presentation of

[140] In an honest attempt to represent the participants of this study upon the grounds which they themselves describe Freemasonry I will accept their definition that they are indeed *not* a secret society, but rather, as stated previously, a society *with* secrets.

this review that reflect its usefulness to this project. Salient points for this review include the idea that 'secrecy' is not a binary concept; indeed, the intersectionality of what is 'known' and 'unknown' is fluid, and dependent upon the complex relationships involved between the 'knower' and 'seeker', on both the individual and group levels (Simmel 1906/2011). 'Voluntary' secret societies, in this frame, can act as a 'ritually'-driven space whereby individuals have a greater sense of 'autonomy' (156) within the group than outside of it (Simmel 1906/2011). Moving away from binary conceptions of secrecy can also be extended to 'within' a group of shared-secret holders whereby the fluidity of known and unknown is dependent upon many complex variables (Herdt 1990). Additionally, membership becomes nuanced when one considers the differences between fellows of a shared secret and a group of insiders (Wedgwood 1930). Indeed, 'secret societies' may share common features which can be delineated from other groups based on thematic similarities in form, 'function', and 'processes' (Gist 1936/2011). Exclusionary 'knowledge-sharing' can make both the information, and those who possess it, socio-politically influential (Lohman 2001; Arroyo 2013). Secrecy, like 'privacy' (Morris 2000) can also lead to suspicion, aversion (Simmel 1906/2011; Morris 2000; Arroyo 2013), and persecution (De Hoyos and Morris 2010) which is dependent upon the 'public' recognition of 'concealment' (Herzfeld 2009, 135 (and, to some exent Taussig 1999, 216), cited in Jones 2014, 55). 'Access' (Jones 2014, multiple citations) like secrecy, is fertile ground for anthropological inquiry (Jones 2014). As I stated previously, the inquiries of this project were not developed through a linear trajectory from a review of literature to a central theoretical argument. However, this review laid the groundwork for my approaches in many ways. During my consideration of what to include in the

review of literature for this dissertation it became apparent that a discussion of 'secrecy' and 'secret societies', although the participants of my project themselves are somewhat averse to that characterization, was necessary. My conceptions of Freemasonry as a shared, yet autonomous, configuration of complex layers of knowledge seeking and production enhances this discussion; this review also established a more nuanced approach to secrecy which went beyond the dichotomous sacred/profane model to include the myriad intersections between sacred and profane within the same system of being. Also, I argue in this dissertation, that the activity of Freemasonry includes a 'journey' which is often manifested in 'seeking the light', thus producing an identity which includes the ever present fluctuation between knower, known, seeker, receiver and evident enigma which is at the same time experienced and shared among members and yet intensely personal.

NETWORK PERSPECTIVE

Finding its roots in studies of kinship (L. Morgan 1871/1997;[141] Murdock 1949; Mitchell 1969) the trajectory of thought within this frame has an underlying *scientific* tradition (Benedict 1934; Malinowski 1939; Lévi-Strauss 1949,1967,1969;[142] Hage and Harary 1983; Kuznar 1997). By the mid-twentieth century, researchers were looking to problematize traditional concepts of kinship and began to discuss formations of individuals based on voluntary associations (Little 1965; Anderson 1971; Kerri 1976). During the

[141] See footnote 144, also, like others, I have included the original publication date (to add context) and the cited publication date (in this case 1997). This work, however, lists multiple dates within the text from 1868 and later. See Reference Notes

[142] Listed in the original text of this document, submitted as Bibliographic Essay 2 (BibEssay 2) for the completion of my Comprehensive Exams – UNR as 1949/1963

1980s, and into the 90s, anthropologists began to realize that traditional concepts of kinship and voluntary associations were limited, particularly within the growing complexity of globalization (Riner 1981; Knoke and Prensky 1984; Appadurai 1996). This period also marked the increased appeal of interdisciplinary cooperation (Wiessner 1982; Gusfield and Michalowicz 1984; Asad 1986; Ginzburg 1989; Bishop1991). The turning point in the trajectory of thought within the frame of networks came by way of one such interdisciplinary effort between anthropology and the physical sciences (Bernard and Kilworth 1988). Amidst an environment of postmodern reflexivity (Behar 1986; Abu-Lughod 1991), network perspectives met with some criticism (Bax 1979; Fine and Kleinman 1983; Law and Hassard 1999) in many ways placing this frame within the larger context of "scientific rigor" which was often construed as "a hindrance, impractical and unnecessary for anthropological research" (Wasserman and Galaskiewicz 1994, 115). Perhaps more appealing to sociologists and British Social Anthropologists, network analysis, nevertheless, has contemporary applications in American Cultural Anthropology (Bernard 2000; Carr 2009; Ilahiane and Sherry 2009; Gomberg-Muñoz, R. 2010; Braggion 2008[143]/2011) as well as the aims of this project. Some theorists argue that Social Network Analysis was a result of the Manchester School and the Harvard Structuralists in anthropology (Scott 2000). This overview, however, traces a different trajectory. For, while Social Network Analysis is certainly a key methodology within the larger frame of network perspectives, it is not my intent to outline the history and contemporary uses of Social Network Analysis (SNA) exclusively, as I do not use SNA as a primary method of

[143] In BibEssay 2, referenced as 2007/2011; original publication date is likely 2008.

analysis in this dissertation. Rather, I will show how a focus on networks more generally fits into the contemporary understanding of culture within anthropology, with relevance to this project.

Lewis Henry Morgan (1871[144]), arguably, laid the foundation for this understanding by providing a way to discuss the connections between people through his development of kinship terminology. L. Morgan (1871/1997[145]) depicted the relationship between people and families as a descriptive system (1) in which complex modes of interaction are highly dependent upon culturally-specific forms of referencing kin. By the early part of the twentieth century anthropologists began to supplement the search for universal truths of culture with the recognition of distinctive traits and formations. Benedict (1934), for example, sought to describe the patterned interactions between people that affected behavior. This frame came to be called *configurationalism*[146] which has informed contemporary scholarship involving network analysis. Benedict sought to incorporate the patterns of culture that included the beliefs, behaviors, and symbolism of members of the group. She viewed culture "not only as a condition with which personality developed, but essentially like a personality writ large" (Mead 1949, 459). Benedict believed that "cultures could order human relationships" (Mead 1949, 461). Granted, Benedict's form of

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[144] In BibEssay 2, I had this listed as Morgan 1870. Upon looking at both Morgan publications (1870 (publications listed in both 1869 and 1870) and 1871) it appears as though this citation should have been drawn from the 1871 discussion. I have also found dates as wearly as 1868 within the 1997 publication itself. I have, nonetheless, inlcuded both publications in the References, see also Reference Notes. See footnote 141 also.

[145] See footnote 144

[146] In an earlier version I added "Configurationalism is a school in which configurations of culture are observed behaviors that are built out of 'elementary forms' (Fernandez 1985) of culture." The orginal reference for Fernandez 1985 has been lost; however, it may be Fernandez' 1985 review of Kearney's 1984 work Fernandez he also cites 'Boas' and "Bastian" (750) in references to both configurations and "elementary forms"(Fernandez 1985, 750).

cultural conditioning (Benedict 1938) was replaced with more nuanced notions of enculturation/acculturation (Bishop 1991; Hannon and Trainer 2007). Radcliffe-Brown (1940) extended L. Morgan's (1871) notion of kinship to include the complex relationships between individuals on many levels. Indeed, Radcliffe-Brown (1940) argued that society itself was a web of relationships. A fundamental part of social structures was, therefore, "all social relations of person to person" (Radcliffe-Brown 1940, 2). More than being the first anthropologist to use the term *social network* (Crossley, Prell, and Scott 2009[147]) Radcliffe-Brown's form of structural analysis laid the groundwork for future research where scholars looked beyond the limits of his frame to discover how these complex networks of relationships affected individual behavior (Mitchell 1974; Barnes 1980; Wasserman and Galaskiewicz 1994; Hofman et al. 2007[148]).

Lévi-Strauss' work suggests considering the more complex networks which resulted from the creation of affinitive kin relationships rather than the descriptive kinship designations which had been the focus of previous scholarship. This construction is particularly useful to an analysis of Masonic networks, which are at the same time voluntary associations, formed by and through preexisting social and familial networks, which employ their own fictive kinship terminological constructions. Interestingly, Lévi-Strauss' suggestion moved, to some extent, the discourse *away* from a structural analysis

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[147] Original reference lost (I had originally cited "Crossley et. al. 2009"), however, it may be/is likely the Crossley, Prell, and Scott work (see References) as they note, "The first actual use of the term social network, however, had been in anthropology, and it was here that many early advances were made. Alfred Radcliffe Brown saw the social structure as a network of relations, while his student and colleague Lloyd Warner explored network cliques in his community studies" (Crossley, Prell, and Scott 2009, 2).

[148] In BibEssay 2 I included a reference to "Boissevain 1973" at the beginning of this citation stream

of elementary forms of culture (Lévi-Strauss 1949, 1963, 1969) and towards an interest in the *practice* of culture (Giddens 1976; Fine and Kleinman 1983; Bourdieu 1990; Castells 1996/[149]). Lévi-Strauss (1963) contributed to the frame of network perspectives by speaking of abstract concepts, such as belief, myth, intellect, or emotion (206-207), in formulaic presentation (228), a trend which is still common in contemporary network scholarship. Furthermore, Lévi-Strauss argued, among other notions[150], that of significant use to anthropological research is the determination of the "numerical properties expressing, not the group size taken globally, but the size and interaction of subsets of the group which can be defined by significant discontinuities" (Lévi-Strauss 1963, 293). Thus, while most anthropologists (312) may agree that "the whole social fabric [is] a network made up of different types of orders" (Lévi-Strauss 1963, 312) the debate comes by way of the methods for distinguishing between the mechanics and statistics (307)[151] of complex interrelationships. Mitchell (1969) argued that there needed to be clear division between the metaphorical notion of a *network* and the use of networks as analytical categories (1). Mitchell proposed that rather than the structural model proposed to date, network analysis could be "anchored on the individual" (Mitchell 1969, 14). Freemasonry's focus on the individual is well situated for an analysis of individuals within a network which could be constructed through a metaphorical (Mitchell 1969) discussion of connectedness as well as represented graphically. Presenting complex, Multivariate, matrixes Mitchell demonstrated the connection between individuals in a society based on networks of association and

[149] Multiple publication dates listed, see References
[150] See Lévi-Strauss' 1963: Vol 1: references to other theorists, e.g. Livi and Dahlberg (pg 293) [Livi "1949" (Lévi-Strauss 1963:392) and Dahlberg "1948" (Lévi-Strauss 1963: 387)],
[151] See also his discussion of other works on pages 306-308.

contact. His analysis was based on both morphological and interactional (12, 20) criteria comprising such measurable notions as reachability, range, durability, and frequency (12-29). Rather than presenting a systematic theory, Mitchell's volume provided a "series of techniques" (Ottenberg 1971, 946) for analyzing the multifaceted relationships between people within a social context. Mitchell (1969) both supplied a quantitative model for analyzing social context as well as appreciated the importance of the experiential reality of individuals. Mitchell (1974) suggested that researchers operating within the network frame fine-tune not only their standardized set of symbols and equations but also the points on which to define links in the networks. These links could be based, for example, on systems of exchange (293), the importance of certain relationships from the perspective of the individual under study (294), or influence and modes of communication (293).

As Mitchell's (1974) analysis may indicate, a shift away from kinship was taking shape in the academy, a shift which, influenced in part by network perspectives, began to incorporate non-kin-based voluntary associations (Lowie 1948) between individuals in a society (Little 1965; Doughty 1970; Goode 1970; Anderson 1971; Kerri 1976). This shift was also based on the desire to integrate the agentive aspects of human relationships more prominently into social research. For example, Anderson 1971, argued that these "formal common interest associations" (Anderson 1971, 209) were not solely a product of contemporary, industrialized, society but had rather existed to varying degrees at different points in human time, location, and level of industry. Criticized for assuming homogeneity in many settings (Amsbury 1972) Anderson's work nonetheless demonstrates a growing preference for *voluntary associations* in place of *kinship* in the discourse during this period, as well as a growing consensus on what the term included (D. E. Brown 1973).

Incorporating the notion of voluntary associations through a network perspective, for example, Whitten and Wolfe (1973) assumed that mutually supportive social interactions based on exchange (Cook and Whitmeyer 1992) formed the basis of social networks. Hamer (1967) had suggested a few years earlier that individuals form new associations based on either self-interest or social influence (80). These notions helped provoke the idea that voluntary associations could be informal (La Fontaine 1970) and impromptu, developing as needed in a given situation. Voluntary Associations, therefore, became less fixed, less structured, and more flexible than kinship determinants. Indeed, this notion remains valid for contemporary scholarship on the constructions of affiliation as well. Santos-Granero (2007) for example, discusses the fluid nature of interpersonal relationships (2) between people, as well as between people and "mystical associations" (Santos-Granero 2007, 6). Voluntary associations are, according to Santos-Granero (2007), not only more malleable than kinship or affinity (15) but also have a certain element of performative emotion (10) and unsystematic selection.

Hage and Harary (1983) posited that anthropology is, essentially, the study of the relationships between people, structures, systems, ideas, or change (1). They argued that these relationships and interactions involve complex models which are often "implicit if not explicit, informal if not formal" (Hage and Harary 1983, 1). Graphs, they note, can be used to demonstrate these relationships, at least those whose variables exist within a system of dualities, in a formalized setting. Graphing, as a mode of analysis, can be advantageous, Hage and Harary argued, in part because graphical models "look like what they represent and thus, unlike algebraic models, they are 'linked with reality'" (Hage and Harary 1983, 9). Indeed, as the results of a survey I distributed as part of this project can

provide a clear graphical representation of data related to demographics, literature exposure, thematic similarities, and cross-tabulated correlations, among other variables, it is through a less exact, more descriptive approach that this graphing (Hage and Harary 1983) is understood within the context of Masonic culture and activity. In their later work, cited, likewise, by Milicic (1993), Hage and Harary (1991) provide detailed case studies whereby different methods within this frame are used to analyze communication networks, the juxtaposition between centrality and influence, and "the implications of centrality and betweeness … where political power and survival largely depended on navigational knowledge" (Milicic 1993, 376; Milicic is citing/referencing Hage and Harary (1991) as well as others).

Although the notion of voluntary associations, or similar[152], is still utilized in some contemporary research, this period marked a trend whereby the traditional notions of voluntary associations became problematic in an environment of increasing globalization and transnational connection (Riner 1981; Robertson 1992; Basch, Schiller, and Blanc 1994; Appadurai 1996).

Marking a turning point in the network perspective within anthropology was the work of H. Russell Bernard. Bernard et al. (1988) they conducted an experiment, for example, whereby ethnographic data, previously collected through the prevailing practice of participant-observation and other traditional methods, was used to map the link between individuals based on varying degrees of significance, from the informants' perspective, of those relationships. Informants were encouraged to ask the researchers questions about

[152] See, for example, Shokeid's 2001 work on *Affective Fellowship.*

individuals they did not know to determine whether they would/should include them in their network of connections. The types of questions informants asked were also graphed, the purpose of which was to determine the criteria that people of different cultures base a perception of affinity for other individuals outside of pre-established kinship or voluntary association. Bernard et al. found that "Despite differences in technique for eliciting data, the dominance of location and occupation is consistent across four different repetitions of the experiment" (Bernard et al. 1988,158). These results are in keeping with other works that argued people will form connections with each other circumstantially, based on perceived social influence (Hamer 1967; La Fontaine 1970); based on a perceived allegiance to a similar ideological base (Zachary 1977); and based on a common locality (Hage and Harary 1983,1991; Milicic 1993). The study also demonstrated that "informants from the four groups…show distinct patterns in how they view their own relationship to others in the world" (Bernard et al. 1988, 177). Bernard et al.'s (1988) network analysis quantitatively demonstrated that active networks will differ in scale and quality between individuals in different societies. This has significant implications to this project in that I am considering Freemasonry as a whole activity, yet am at the same time comparing the more locational aspects of practice, as related to Freemasonry in the U.S., more specifically Reno, Nevada, and in Colombia, more specifically Bucaramanga, as instances where the influence of the network will differ in scale and quality (Bernard et al.1988). Bernard et al.'s (1988) work also validated the use of social network analysis to discover "some facets of pattern in human social relations" (Bernard et al. 1988,177) which did not rely on informant recall or closed-question statistics. Bernard et al.'s (1988) study suggests that people are not merely a part of a social network but actively engage in constructing

and maintaining it. This is a position which is also taken in Bourdieu's (1977, 1990, 1991[153],) formation of practice theory.[154] Bourdieu also "relies tacitly upon assumptions regarding more concrete interaction processes and networks" (Bottero and Crossley 2011, 102). Anthony Giddens (1976), who is linked to practice theory as well as SNA, had suggested[155] that the production and reproduction of culture is both a product of individual action and performance (160) and likewise confined to the normative expectations of society at large. Giddens (1976) also suggested, like Bernard, Killworth, and Sailer (1982) and Bernard et al. (1988), that an individual establishes his or her role in the group along the lines of influence (power) and the interaction and connection with the "agency of others" (Giddens 1976, 111). Arguing for a more interpretive (Bouma 1977) method in sociology Giddens (1984) developed a theory of structuration which sought to discover how complex social structures are reinforced, or reenacted, through varying layers of human interaction. While Giddens was aware that social networks constitute a significant level of inquiry for social scientists he argued that for many researchers "such networks [are] analyzed without any allusion to characteristics of the individual" (Giddens 1984,207).

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[153] In an earlier version I listed "1980/1990" as the reference, likely referring to his 1990 (originally published in 1980) work "The Logic of Proactice". I have, however, incuded all references here, as the original citation had been lost, and his combined works now seem more applicable to this statement. See References.

[154] In an earlier version I also noted that "Bourdieu (1980, 1991) argued that a balance should be struck between an objective (62) and subjective frame of understanding. Cultural research should not be framed, he proposed, along a structure v. agency divide but should rather incorporate the observations and interpretations of human action, first and foremost"; however, I could not find the original reference. I have, therefore, deleted the section but put it here since it no doubt influenced my later conclusions.

[155] Like Bourdieu (1990 (originally 1980))

By the 1990s, researchers began to incorporate a more ethnographic approach into social research, such as that proposed theoretically by Giddens and methodologically by Bernard et al.. Brewer and Gardner (1996), for example, considered the varying levels of collective and self-identity inherent to interactions between an individual and society. They argued that identity and interaction are not static but rather undergo various shifts from personal to collective self and from relational to collective self (86). Brewer and Gardner (1996) found that when interviewing informants, self-descriptions changed significantly when the interviewer used the word 'we' in place of 'they' or 'it' (90). Different levels of inclusion (91), furthermore, affected an individual's self-representation. The need to belong and the need to be unique was manifested "at each level of self-representation, these opposing forces of assimilation and differentiation create a dynamic equilibrium that fluctuates with changes in the distance between self and others" (Brewer and Gardner 1996, 91). Indeed, the issues of identity and group-formation are not new concepts in the field. Bernard and Killworth (1997), in a discussion on interdisciplinary collaboration in network analysis research, suggested that the interaction between individuals is the base of social structure (16). This structure, Bernard and Killworth (1997) further added, can be analyzed using a combination of anthropology and physics. The notion of *social physics* was developed in the mid-late nineteenth century (Quetelet 1835/1842; Comte 1876) to describe an emerging empiric science of social phenomena which combined the use of mathematics, statistics, physics, history, and the social sciences (Stewart 1950) to discuss human behavior. The frame of social physics provides a variety of tools for investigating cumulative human behavior. Social network analysis is such a tool. Network analysis,

therefore, becomes a theoretical frame which considers the range of probabilities (Bernard and Killworth 1997) for the constitution, and effects, of discrete social phenomena.

A reaction, in some ways, to the developing interest in Social Network Analysis, Bruno Latour extolled both the virtues and pitfalls of the network perspective more broadly through various stages of its development. Latour (1999), commenting on the current usage of ANT[156], for example, remarked that a network, just like *culture* (Kroeber 1949) was viewed, in previous decades, as a tool for analysis but has become a "technical metaphor" (Latour 1999, 15). Criticizing both the 'modern' insistence on objectivism and the 'postmodern' rejection of objectivism, Latour had also described (1993, 6) networks as potentially being able to "cross the borders of the great fiefdoms of criticism: they are neither objective nor social, nor are they effects of discourse, even though they are real, and collective, and discursive" (Latour 1993: 6). More recently, Latour (2007) has noted that even the use of the word 'social' implies "a stabilized set of affairs, a bundle of ties that, later, may be mobilized to account for some other phenomenon" (Latour 2007, 1). By approaching the case of Freemasonry from an "activity-based" perspective I hope to tease out a basis for these other phenomena[157] which contribute to a philosophical system based on the individual, that is nonetheless highly collaborative. Through Latour's work I recognize that social networks can become one level on which to base theory, as opposed to other grouping such as markets, organizations, or even individuals (28). Latour (2007) further argues that theories which attempt to account for multiple levels of interaction, such

[156] Developed during the 1980s via an approach within Science and Technology Scholarship, by individuals such as Bruno Latour and John Law, Actor Network Theory (ANT) is a material-semiotic approach in that individuals are seen as existing as components in networks that are at the same time engulfed in a tangible reality as well operating within a system of perceptions.
[157] Latour 2007

as Actor-Network-Theory, are controversial because the social is still regarded as a static entity, albeit consisting of a broader range of components, yet doesn't adhere to either a purely structural approach, nor does it identify the actor agency outside the confines of the structure.[158] Indeed, some researchers have argued that network thinking has become an umbrella term for myriad, and often disparate, avenues of inquiry (Thompson 2003). In addition, multiple perspectives within this broader frame, such as Actor-Network theory which takes a holistic approach (Buskens 2004, reviewing Thompson 2003); or Social Network Analysis, or Transaction Cost Analysis, both taking a more individual approach, "makes it difficult to compare or integrate" (Buskens 2004, 270, reviewing Thompson 2003) methodologies. Latour proposed that a solution to the dilemmas within network perspectives is to trace the movements between associations, rather than the ties within associations themselves.

In a contemporary application of this line of reasoning, anthropologist Campregher (2010) regarded networks as "basically any assemblage of at least three elements that are in any way connected" (Campregher 2010, 785). Campregher, furthermore, looked for the middle ground between an objective and subjective approach, seeking to discover the links within a development-network, while providing thick description (783) of the actors' roles. Although lacking in the visual and mathematical representations of formal network

[158] As a point of interest for potential future research, I suggest the idea of looking at texts/specific pieces of writing as being equally capable of being nodes in a network, like their human counterparts, connecting people in a network through common ideas and reference.

analysis[159], Campregher (2010) operated on the assumption that actors translate and transform[160] divergent interests "to make them compatible" (Campregher 2010, 800).

In 2011, Bernard argued that "nonlinear relations are very common in the real world" (Bernard 2011, 500). Network analysis accounts not only for the experiential realties of individuals existing in social settings generally, but can trace the multilayered networks of interaction for individuals over their lifespan. Network analysis, furthermore, as opposed to graphing (Hanneman and Riddle 2005), provides tools for representing patterns within a set of complex variables where actors have many varieties and numbers of interactional associations. Indeed, "cooperative social regimes" (Waring 2012, 643) can be used as diagnostic tools, measuring, for example, "both individual- and village-level predictor variables" (Waring 2012, 645) by way of regression analysis (646) within a network frame.

In an oft cited (Hine 2000; Vertovec 2001; Appadurai 2002; Erickson 2002; Gomberg-Muñoz 2010) example of network thinking, Castells (1996) argued that there is an urgency to develop new approaches to social research which can account for the circumstances of the new millennium. Moving beyond the study of geographically-bounded *cultures* Castells (1996) views the world as a global system in which a "network society" (Castells 1996, 60) develops, benefitting some nations over others. Unequal access to influence has been a component of network perspectives since the mid twentieth century. Indeed, network analysts approach the issue of *power* not as an abstract given, but rather as a product of relational necessity whereby an individual only has power in respect

[159] (Zachary 1977; Bernard, Killworth, and Sailer 1982; Bernard et al. 1988; Hage and Harary 1983,1991)
[160] (Latour 1999)

to the connections of individuals who either depend on him or her or to whom he or she can depend on for cognitive or material resources. Thus, "because power is a consequence of patterns of relations, the amount of power in social structures can vary" (Hanneman and Riddle 2005, 10.) and is measured against variable levels of constraint and opportunity (Hanneman and Riddle 2005) in given relational matrices. Castells (1996) also proposed the idea of mega nodes (Castells 1996). *Nodes* in social network analysis are the points in a matrix representing individual actors, between which flow and relation are drawn. Mega nodes (Castells 1996) become the centers of analysis in a global network, representative of an urban geographical point where population density is high and multiple vectors of influence, such as financial, political, or technological (434), are centered. My approach to Freemasonry also moves away from geographically-bounded *cultures* (Castells 1996) where mega nodes (Castells 1996) could either be represented in the linear progression of regular Masonic recognition stemming from the United Grand Lodge of England, or could, theoretically, include substantially circulated thematic similarities which have been drawn from a common Masonic constitution, code, or set of influential works.

The use of network analysis to consider the economic effects of human interaction has also been extensively discussed within contemporary scholarship (Montgomery 1991; Bertrand, Luttmer, and Mullainathan, 2000; Jackson and Watts 2002; Bayer, Ross, and Topa 2008; Cohen, Frazzini, and Malloy 2007; Hochberg, Ljungqvist, and Lu 2007; Ter Wal and Boschma 2009). Braggion (2008/2011), for example, examined the implications of corporate managers' membership in the fraternal society of Freemasons and the economic productivity of their companies. Social networks, Braggion (2008/2011) argued, are paramount in "determining economic outcomes" (Braggion 2008/2011, 2). Access to

credit is one variable by which Braggion (2008/2011) measured corporate success. The constitution of an individual's social network, Braggion (2008/2011) postulates, will have an impact on both the flow of information and the ability to resolve contractual problems when accessing lines of credit (2). Masonic membership, Braggion (2008/2011) assumed, would have positive effects in both these areas, particularly when business deals are conducted between Brothers. Braggion (2008/2011) found, however, that while affiliation with Freemasonry had an impact on certain personal characteristics of managers, such as a perceived trustworthiness (20), membership did not seem to directly correlate to increased profit margins or otherwise increased process efficiencies. This finding, however, does not detract from the initial supposition that social networks do indeed influence economic determinants in some ways.

The network perspective has also been utilized to consider the development of economic histories (Hosgood 1994; Gorsky 1998; Church 2000; Karpiel 2000; Eagle, Macy, Claxton 2010) whereby small-scale, agentive, interactions manifest in broad-based, social and economic, changes. Burt (2003), like Braggion (2008/2011), also discussed Freemasonry in connection with business history, practice, and enterprise (657), and as a fundamental social network. Acknowledging that its more "serious secretive reputation…[has] discouraged detailed and sustained historical research" (Burt 2003, 658) suggested that the analysis of Freemasonry is an ideal opportunity for the implications of social networks in affecting economic determinants, partly because membership in Masonic Lodges advantaged its members in times of economic hardship (666) and in matters of international trade and travel (670). Furthermore, Masonic contributions to the development of empire, global expansion (Hyam 1993; Burt 2003), and trade were due, in

part, to the "intellectual impact of Masonic philosophy in shaping more positive attitudes towards business, science, and technology" (Burt 2003, 681). Freemasonry as an archetype of a non-state, ideologically mediated, fraternal network is fairly well established (Jacob 1981; Clawson 1989; Harland-Jacobs 1999; Mahmud 2012). However, the link between Masonic affiliation and economic networks is somewhat sparse. This avenue of inquiry has potential for future research within the frame of network anthropology in its ability to generate an exploration of "the role of Freemasonry in providing a cradle for democracy, in fostering civic engagement and promoting the formation of social capital" (Burt 2003, 681).

Discourse within the network perspective has consistently discussed networks in terms of communication between individuals, or information flow more generally (Mitchell 1974; Zachary 1977; Bernard, Killworth, and Sailer 1982; Knoke and Prensky 1984; Hage and Harary 1991; Castells 1996; Lanza and Svendsen 2007; Campregher 2010; Stasch 2011[161]). Indeed, Carr (2009) sought to discover how actors within a given institutional (Carr 2009) setting, in this case a "network of social service agencies" (Carr 2009, 318) have a place in creating and maintaining institutional-identity through a process of "anticipatory interpellation" Carr (2009, 317). Thus, the network is defined, in part, not only by the lines of communication, but by the particular forms of speech. As Carr (2009) notes, "language is not simply or primarily a reflection of the world of the speakers' realities; it is also often a mode of social action that constructs and creates realities" (Carr 2009, 321). As noted previously in this dissertation through an example of a comment

[161] BibEssay 2 I had also included Milroy 2000,2002.

made by one of my participants, Masons learn to "speak Mason" and thus enable culturally meaningful interactions between members that are otherwise separated by native language, home location, or other non-Masonic cultural variables.

The primary purpose of social network analysis, Lanza and Svendsen (2007) maintained, is to "enable the researcher to compare individuals by focusing on differences between them with respect to degree of integration into a set of relationships that constitute a group capable of exerting normative pressure" (Lanza and Svendsen 2007, 277). The variety of integrative norms varies between particular networks, broader cultures, and in this case, language groups. Viewing the overlap between individual networks and total networks (278), i.e. a person's immediate social networks versus the collective of persons in a particular group, the researcher is able to discuss both the content and structure (279) of people's interactions with each other. Through a constructionist (Antaki and Widdicombe 1998; Joseph 2004; Auer 2007) (294) approach, *identity* is seen not as static, but rather constructed within specific circumstantially-mediated modes of interaction (294). Through an analytically rigorous (Bourdieu 1991; Joseph 2004; José 1999) (295,296) approach, *identity* is a mental representation which becomes 'real' (296) when "grounded empirically in social interaction" (Lanza and Svendsen 2007, 296). McAdam (2003) [see Diani and McAdam 2003]) believes that a social network approach can be used to both determine the structural regularities (284) of collective action and also determine the mechanisms (McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2001) behind such regularities indicative of a set of interactive dynamics (284).

Concepts of networks, and the practical applications of network analysis, have drawn the attention of scholars and have created a vigorous dialogue, helping inform a broader

understanding of social phenomena. Although only touching upon in the greater body of literature, the pieces evaluated in this brief* review demonstrate the variety of objectives and conclusions within the discourse. Borgatti et al. (2009), for example, argued that "Social scientists have also been more concerned than the physical scientists with the individual node, whether an individual or a collective such as a company, than with the network as a whole. This focus on node-level outcomes is probably driven to at least some extent by the fact that traditional social science theories have focused largely on the individual" (Borgatti et al. 2009, 895). Indeed, this gaze has produced a focus on the concept of centrality (Hage, Harary, and James 1986; Hage and Harary 1991; Milicic 1993; Borgatti et al. 2009) which advocates the significance of the single actor within the collective structure; which is particularly useful in my consideration of the activity of Freemasonry as being one which at the same time promotes an experience of individualism and is practiced through a collaborative network.

Tracing the flow of information, knowledge, and common modes of communication have likewise constituted a trend in network thinking (Mitchell 1974; Zachary 1977; Bernard, Killworth, and Sailer 1982; Knoke and Prensky 1984; Hage and Harary 1991; Castells 1996; Liebowitz 2005; Lanza and Sevendsen 2007; Carr 2009; Campregher 2010; Stasch 2011[162]). Schneider et al. (2009), similar to Diani and McAdams (2003) application of social network analysis to understanding social movement and collective action (Diani and McAdam 2003), for example, determined that interaction within a network occurs on three basic levels: face-to-face between individuals (Schneider et al. 2009, 475, 487),

[162] BibEssay 2 also included a reference for Milroy 2000,2002

interactions as part of a larger organizational structure, and the interactions of organization to organization. This notion of ordering is useful when considering the interactions (Schneider et al. 2009) of Masons with themselves, with Masonic literature, with members of their own Lodge, with the concepts and notions of Masonry, with Masons from other jurisdictions, and between Lodges, and between Grand Lodges.

Researchers have argued that, "a network diagram purporting to represent the set of linkages in some social situation has an immediate visual appeal and can be used to convey a statement about the social relationships eloquently and succinctly. But before the diagram gets to paper the fieldworker must have decided to represent some abstract property of the social relationships by lines linking points representing persons. There is the distinct risk here that the diagram may take on a greater reality than it really merits" (Mitchell 1974, 292). Forty years later, these arguments are still part of the anthropological discourse within the network perspective.

There are a number of salient points from this review which are useful to the consideration of this dissertation. I have included comments within each presentation of this review that reflect its usefulness to this project. Salient points for this review include the transition in the field from looking at the interrelationships between individuals in terms of kinship (e.g.: L. Morgan (1871)1997 or Murdock 1949) to that of voluntary associations (e.g.: Little 1965 or Kerri 1976), to that of social networks (e.g.: Bernard and Kilworth 1988 or Ilahiane and Sherry 2009). Also, Lévi-Strauss' work highlighted the usefulness of a structured approach to relationships; between people and between ideas, beliefs, and motifs. Hage and Haray (1983) further argued that these complex relationships

can benefit from visual representation and components within networks can be displayed graphically. Giddens (1976) made the point that human activity is useful as a unit of analysis and can determine a person's role/placement in a network along the lines of performance and inter-performance. The fluidity of network placement can also be analyzed in various ways including through Brewer's and Gardner's (1996) conception that identity fluctuates between the self and the collective. Tracing the movements within a network, Latour's work (1993, 1999, 2007) demonstrates, can be more useful in many cases than pinpointing the location of a node. Castells (1996), furthermore, made the point that global systems interact as a kind of network with power and influence residing in some nations, cities, or other geographical points, as central nodes, to which other nations, cities, or other geographical points, are, to some extent, subsidiaries, along the lines of access and resources. Communication and information (Burt 2003; Carr 2009) flow are also important avenues of inquiry within the network perspective and can help form an understanding of how individuals connect with other individuals within their own network, and outside of it. The focus on the individual, and their agency, is a hallmark of the social scientific use of network analysis (Borgatti et al. 2009). As I stated previously, the inquiries of this project were not developed through a linear trajectory from a review of literature to a central theoretical argument. However, this review, having preceded this project, laid the groundwork for approaches I took by adding to the body of knowledge I had attained prior to beginning the research. Likewise, although I did not perform a network analysis during this project as I had originally intended, the underpinning for that endeavor still provides useful considerations for the methods and interpretations I did employ. For example, considering the links between family, friends, and texts within a

Masonic network; the flow and reach of Masonic culture as related to information exchange and the production and distribution of Masonic knowledge between Lodges; and the effect of Sacred tenets on Profane manifestations through both direct (community engagement projects, civic engagement, charitable impacts) and indirect (the duality of Masonic identity, living both Sacred and Profane existences) means. This project, likewise, may contribute to the discourse within this review in a number of ways. For example, I have demonstrated how Masonry can be an intriguing avenue for prospective research within the field of Social Network Analysis, as others have also, such as Burt (2003) or Braggion (2008/2011); in my case, in terms of Masonry's shared knowledge and culture-specific literature. I also demonstrated how the unique expressions of connection between Masons based on particularized notions of kinship, shared knowledge, and traditional interaction lay the groundwork for such an analysis. Also, I argue in this dissertation, that the activity of Freemasonry is, largely, an activity of the mind and the experience of an individual, yet is connected to a larger, global, and shared experience of collectivity and common connection.

Precedence

Freemasonry, as a topic of discussion within anthropology, does not enjoy the same long-standing tradition of scrutiny in the body of scholarship as does ritual, identity, secrecy, or even networks. Due in part because Freemasonry, as opposed to the afore-mentioned topics, is a case-study rather than a general frame within which a researcher creates, supports, or rejects the paradigms of the field. Freemasonry has been discussed

within academia most often within the fields of history, political science, or in some cases religious studies; some of works of which are discussed below. Why anthropologists, until recently, have not conducted more research within the societies of Freemasons is perhaps left to supposition. It does not seem likely that the field has rejected Freemasonry as a valuable site whereby various anthropological inquiries may be answered, indeed the rich anthropological works that do exist within the case study of Freemasonry attests to the opposite. It could be perhaps due to an anthropological tradition of studying 'down'(e.g., Nader 1972 [essay on studying up]; Hannerz 2006[163] [see his article: Studying Down, Up, Sideways…][164]) which has turned anthropologists away from studying a society which is often comprised of an area's most influential and successful socio-political players. Indeed, as Jones (1970, 1995)[165] noted, "anthropology is essentially a discipline that studies oppressed peoples" (D. Jones 1995, 58) where, often, an anthropologist, particularly a native anthropologist (60) or those who take a subjective (61) approach, look for ways to improve the lives (60) of their participants. Despite the long history of violent persecution against Freemasons, discussed elsewhere in this dissertation, the group, generally, is not considered oppressed, nor would studying Freemasons be considered 'studying down.' Indeed, in many cases, though not all, the participants of my research were highly educated, some of whom were published, who potentially did relatively well socially, politically, and/or economically. Indeed, their

[163] Incidentally, he also provides constructive comment/s on notions of 'the field' in anthropology within this piece.
[164] Also included in an earlier version: Downey et.al. 1995
[165] I recall having heard this elsewhere, yet here I provide Delmos Jones' (1970, 1995) versions/s (in 1995 he recalls some of the points of his 1970 piece) of anthropology's focus on the oppressed.

insights have significantly contributed to my analysis and many Masonic published works are cited in this dissertation. The limited number of anthropological treatises on Freemasonry could also perhaps exist because, until recently, Freemasons have remained under 'a veil of secrecy'.[166] An anthropologist's method of data collection relies heavily on participant observation, interviews, and other forms of human interaction which cannot be found in the archives, through surveys, or census data; though these latter methods may supplement an anthropological analysis. Hence, access is necessarily difficult in a society which remains skeptical of a researcher's intrusive scrutiny, particularly in regions where Freemasonry is practiced with higher levels of discretion than is done in the United States. Apart from those exposés emanating from outside the field of anthropology, the body of contemporary scholarship on the topic of Freemasonry is contained within the works of a mere handful of ethnographers. This dissertation, therefore, will contribute to the anthropology of Freemasonry simply by its existence, yet must also rely on the options of critical self-reflection, an interdisciplinary approach to the case of Freemasonry, and the voluminous citation of the few anthropological works that do exist.

My approach to the topics and questions of this dissertation, furthermore, are through the perspective of an "activity-based approach". As I stated previously[167], my use of an "activity-based approach" redirects the focus of research to investigate the occupation and thus the people who participate in it. The approach necessitates a multi-

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[166] Describing Freemasonry as being under, or emerging from, a "veil of secrecy" has been used within numerous texts and conversations. I do not include a citation here due to the frequency with which this particular phrase is employed.
[167] See Chapter 2

sited direction, yet goes beyond location-based sitedness without overlooking the role place has on the variation of participation models. As I formulate my own position within this approach, I consider two broad conceptions: The first is that an "activity-based approach", generally, encompasses a reconceptualization of the 'field-site' to include non-locations, multiple locations, or departures from a place-based (Marion 2006, 2008) analysis. This reconceptualization, arguably, has its foundations in the theoretical orientations employed by practice theory, urban anthropology, multi-sited ethnography, transnational research, and virtual ethnography, among other frames. My second conception is to suggest that an anthropological investigation can be, or *is* in my case, an *activity*, such as Freemasonry. Indeed, the *Craft* of Freemasonry has been described by participants as something they "do." The term 'active' is likewise employed by Freemasons as a tool of measurement on which to describe a member's, or Lodge's, relative level of participation in the activities of the Craft. Freemasonry, like Marion's (2006) arena of competitive ballroom dancing, "are 'places' where people live lives and forge identities…(it) represents a locus of social systems, models, and actors, as well as a nexus of experience, meaning, and lived lives" (Marion 2006, 8). In order to contribute to a growing ethnographic body of knowledge related to Freemasonry, I posit that a consideration of the *activity* of Freemasonry is as critical to the formation of Masonic identity and culture, as are the ritually-mediated, networked, enigmatic, or locational aspects of the collectives. Thus, an understanding of the precedence for this type of approach has significant benefit to the reasoning behind many conclusions of this project.

THE CONTEMPORARY (ANTHROPOLOGICAL) SCHOLARSHIP OF FREEMASONRY

As mentioned above, Freemasonry has been discussed within academia most often within the fields of history, political science, or in some cases religious studies. John Wilson (1980), for example, conducted a sociological study of Midwestern Masons and discussed voluntary associations, civil religion and the case of Freemasonry for the Review of Religious Research.[168] In a larger attempt to relate his findings to fraternities more generally, Wilson (1980) noted that, "perhaps no secondary association fills the interstices between family and the larger community so well as the fraternal order, with its special mixture of private pleasure and public service. The fraternity is both a haven, in which private interests and gratifications can be pursued, and a social action group, through which public commitments can be expressed" (Wilson 1980, 125). It is, as Moore (2011) noticed, that "In the new century, scholars have used fraternal organizations to examine the bonds which link individuals together to form society" (Moore 2011, x). Wilson (1980), like Gist (1938/2011), used Freemasonry as the quintessential example of the American fraternity, though he noted that it should also be seen as "a special case" (Wilson 1980, 125) due to its promotion of "esoteric learning" (125) and system of morality. He narrowed his case-study to the Grand Lodge jurisdiction of a single, undisclosed, Midwestern state (126). Wilson (1980) admitted that his sample, which included 37%[169] of the members of the Grand Lodge of (unknown State) was not necessarily indicative of American Freemasonry in its entirety, yet it was,

[168] 1980: Vol 22, No 2, Pp 125-136.
[169] Wilson 1980:126

as he noted, the first sociological survey of Freemasonry of its kind. I would argue, based on the results of my own survey distributed to Freemasons across the United States and Colombia, that Wilson's (1980) survey, at least those parts related to participation (127) in, and attitude towards (127), the Lodge, Appendant Body, and Freemasonry, *was* representative of the larger body of Freemasonry due to the similarities of responses in my own survey, indicating greater agreement than variation in most cases.[170] Wilson also compared his results to census (127) data to compare Freemasons to "adult males in the state in which this survey was conducted" (Wilson 1980, 127). Wilson (1980) found that while Freemasons participate in charitable (130) works, most of his respondents (63%) felt that they "get more out of lodge meetings" (130) than out of contributing to charity. Wilson (1980) also found that higher-income members were more likely to belong to multiple Masonic bodies (130) and view the role of Freemasonry as being one dedicated to positive civic engagement while lower-income members were more interested in the "private concerns of fellowship" (Wilson 1980, 130). Wilson (1980) also found that Freemasons, at least within his regional sample, appeared to be more civic (134)-minded than their non-Mason national counterparts. Indeed, his survey indicated that 92% had recently voted, "compared with 60% of the male population nationwide" (Wilson 1980, 134). His survey also indicated that 88% were members of a religious order. Wilson (1980) discussed this point by noting, "thus, while refraining from party politics and espousing no particular religion, (Freemasons) promote the ideas of being political and religious. It is exactly this combination of political and religious Americanism which

[170] There were some marked differences between U.S. and Colombian responses within a few specific questions, as discussed in Chapter 2.

Bellah([171]) characterized as civil religion" (Wilson 1980, 134). However, Wilson (1980) also related his view that Freemasonry, despite Masonic affirmations to the opposite and contrary to my own findings, was not a universal brotherhood (Wilson 1980). He described the experience of Freemasonry as one which is "filtered through the values and interests of the white adult male" (Wilson 1980, 135). He noted that "Excluded from the Masons' brotherhood are minority groups. They are excluded theoretically by defining "Americanism" in such a way as to render their values, lifestyle, and achievements un-American. They are excluded practically by a system of membership selection which places great emphasis on personal contacts and knowledge of "character." Fraternalism serves the purpose of exclusion more than inclusion, as the word might imply" (Wilson 1980, 135). By presenting his survey within a single jurisdiction, his results are certainly affected by the regional variation which necessarily exists between any memberships groups, particularly in demographic terms. Furthermore, he discussed the state-level grand jurisdiction of Freemasonry without including other recognized Masonic Lodges, such as Prince Hall, which would shift his demographic findings. Wilson (1980) concluded his exposé in relating his view that Freemasonry is appealing (135) to members because it promotes privacy (135) through the values (135) of individual freedom (135). He noted that "As an organization (Freemasonry) undertakes to protect not the deep secrets of the craft but the right of each member to a private sphere in which public demands have no place" (Wilson 1980, 135).

[171] Wilson (1980) is referencing here the work on civil religion produced by Robert Bellah. Wilson includes the following reference: 'Bellah, Robert 1970 Beyond Belief: Essays on Religion in a Post-Traditional World. New York: Harper and Row' (Wilson 1980:135).

From a sociological perspective with a "strong commitment to social history"[172], Mary Ann Clawson (1989) discussed fraternalism's place in society through a focus on class and gender. Clawson (1989) argued that "What unites these historically varied associations is the fact that all of them were organized fraternally, brought into being by ritual and based upon the social metaphor of brotherhood" (Clawson 1989, 4). Clawson (1989) made the case that fraternal organizations generally, and Freemasonry specifically, had a significant impact on culture, particularly in the European/North American (5) experience (5). She compared fraternities to "social resources" (11) where "shared meaning systems" (12) were developed and reality (12), power (12), and politics (12) were interwoven. She separated her work into two parts where she focused on the fraternal model (21) and the notion of a craftsman as a hero (53) under an analysis of European (Clawson 1989) fraternal experience and an exploration of working-class (87) attributes, the significance of the nineteenth century (111), artisans and social fraternalism (145), women's auxiliaries (178), and "The Business of Brotherhood" (211) under an analysis of "American transformations" (Clawson 1989, contents). Clawson's (1989) work suggests that Freemasonry, and/or fraternity, had more to do with kinship (22) than a club (55), and that research into Freemasonry could benefit from a consideration of its influence on diversity (73) and its implications in the practice of "boundary-crossing" (73). More than a model for "group-identity" (108), as particularly related to a kind of shared sense of what it is to be "working-class" (108). Clawson

[172] In her review of Clawson's (1989) work, Ruth Bogin described Clawson and her research as "A sociologist with a strong commitment to social history, Mary Ann Clawson sees class and gender as fluid categories demanding study in historical perspective in order to fathom the meaning of fraternalism." [Bogin 1990, 97] see References for full citation.

(1989) suggested that “in this conceptualization, the importance of fraternalism resides not only in the networks it created or ratified, but equally in the meanings it articulated-that is, in its role in the social construction of categories” (Clawson 1989, 109). Clawson (1989) also examined the role of gender in fraternal exclusivity, remarking that it was interwoven in the ideology at the time (Clawson 1989) and while being “socially constructed” (245) was nonetheless restricted to a limited set of temporal and spatial variables. As she noted “my approach assumes the interactional bases of social category formation” (Clawson 1989, 245). Capitalism (255) likewise, had an influence on the development of contemporary Freemasonry, Clawson (1989) suggested. Indeed, as she put it, Freemasonry “celebrated the social worth of productive labor through the use of masons’ tools as ritual objects and by the wearing of the leather apron as the central symbol of Masonic identity. When men became Accepted Masons, they became, in a symbolic sense, craft workers, industrious artisans who would contribute to the growth of the emerging market economy. Finally, Freemasonry presented a model of class structure and social mobility in a capitalist society” (Clawson 1989, 255). Clawson (1989), like others (259) promoted the idea that fraternities, and particularly Freemasonry, is in decline (259). Clawson (1989) seems to argue that despite Freemasonry being a source of social change and creating new ways of imagining social stratification, it nonetheless has fallen victim to a declining (260) interest in “artisanal culture,…a world of male fellowship, and…provision of entertainment” (Clawson 1989, 260). Indeed, as Clawson (1989) concluded:

> "My own analysis of Masonic fraternalism has tended to emphasize its retrogressive content: its grounding in sexual and racial exclusion, its increasingly commodified character and its idealized depiction of social relations in capitalist society. Indeed, I remain convinced that despite its complexities and contradictions, American fraternalism was primarily a force for social order. Yet it is important to recognize the positive features that it simultaneously offered to American culture and that are too often missing from the politics of today: an insistence on the moral dimension of social relations and a vision of solidaristic bonds among strangers created by ritual, enlivened by theatricality, and motivated by an ethos of mutuality and collective responsibility." (264)

Benjamin Smith (2009), as another interdisciplinary example, hoped to discover the link between the development of modern Mexico and the presence of organized, urban civil societies (Romeu 2011). Smith (2009) noted that very little research has been done on the role of Freemasonry in the formation of modern Latin American nation-states (Joseph and Nugent 1994). Smith (2009) made the argument, based on a case study of the Grand Lodge of Oaxaca, Mexico, that "Masonic lodges were key to the process of post-revolutionary state formation" (B. Smith 2009, 560). Previous research had suggested that Masonic contributions to state formation occurred in a number of significant ways. First, Freemason ideology promoted a separation of church and state, a system of inclusion and political tolerance, and a participatory government structure (Brandenburg 1964; Guerra 1988; Bastian 1990, 2007; Jacob 1991, 2006a/b). Next, Masons formed a large part of the ruling body in post-revolutionary Latin American states, accounting for a significant portion of the urban ruling elite (Friedmann 1986; B. Smith 2009). Finally, Masons may have been active in demanding program reforms in social and educational policies (Vaughan 1997; González Navarro 2000[173]). Smith

[173] I had originally listed González Navarro as a "2001" referece; also, the original reference included Urías Horcasitas 2004, see also References and Reference Notes.

(2009) made the argument that the primarily urban phenomenon of Freemasonry[174] began a ruralization in Mexico between 1920-1932 (562) which had a significant impact on the development of the Mexican state. Furthermore, during a surge of anticlericalism (563), beginning around 1929, Masonic lodges in Oaxaca began to campaign in the country's "peri-urban" (Aguilar and Ward 2003)[175] areas. The period of the 1920s marked a turning point whereby Mexico's "urban military and political bureaucracy" (B. Smith 2009, 568) joined Masonic lodges. Then, during the next ten years, into the 1930s, individual urban lodges began to unite under a Grand Lodge jurisdiction and established a number of rural subsidiaries (574). This move increased Lodge membership forming a new wave of non-urban-elite Masons. Indeed, as Smith (2009) noted "lodges formed a kind of corporatist vanguard, linking the urban bureaucratic elite to an array of regional rural leaders in a similar way to the eventual framework of the PRI"[176] (B. Smith 2009, 583).

Romeu (2011), a Fulbright scholar and industrial statistician and operations researcher, and a Research Professor at Syracuse University, discussed the relevance of developing an urban civil society as a proxy to political change in Cuba and its implications for 'redemocratization' (Leeds 1996). Previous discussions on Cuban Civil Societies, Romeu (2011) argued, emphasized "dissident groups that oppose, in some manner, the current Cuban regime" (Romeu 2011, 2). Civil Society, however, is not inherently oppositional. Romeu (2011) used the organization of Cuban Freemasons as an

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[174] "Masonic lodges of Mexico were…primarily urban gentleman's clubs" Smith 2009:570
[175] I am referencing the term "peri-urban" here.
[176] PRI: Partido Revolucionario Institucional (Institutional Revolutionary Party [Mexican political party which held power from the 1920s-1980s])

example of such a society. Freemason Lodges, Romeu (2011) noted, offer the only open forum currently available (3) in Cuba's major metropolis, Havanna. Cuban Freemasons, Romeu (2011) argued, also "re-create the social capital within Cuban society, promoting faster and broader economic development. Lodges can become training centers for democratic procedures such as open debates, development and submission of protocols" (Romeu 2011, 9). Jorge Luis Romeu has more recently developed additional studies of Cuban Freemasonry, along with having numerous other publications and research in the areas including Statistics Education, Applied/Industrial Statistics, Applied Statistics, Socio-Economic Problems, International Education.[177] He, likewise, has articles coming out (2015) related to 'Authoctonous Freemasonry in Cuba and Puerto Rico.'

Margaret Jacob, an historian, is arguably one of the most highly cited Masonic 'authorities' to date. In 1981, for example, Jacob discussed the Enlightenment period in European history and its impact on the development of "pantheistic" (22)[178] modes of social leveling (Jacob 1981). Contemporary Freemasonry, Jacob (1981) argued, had its origins in the ideas and activities of Newtonian Enlightenment (109) and philosophical radicalism (109), though came from a tradition of trade guilds which had "democratizing tendencies" (114). Both academics and artisanry (115) became the driving image of eighteenth century (115) Freemasonry (Jacob 1981) where members could feel they were "in contact with a universal and ancient wisdom" (Jacob 1981, 115). Indeed, during this time period, as Jacob (1981) described, Freemasons were expected to be scholars, contributing to such works as Diderot's *Encyclopédie* (Jacob 1981, 257).

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[177] See: http://web.cortland.edu/romeu/

[178] The term "pantheistic" may have been used in Jacob's 1981 work prior to page 22, as cited above.

A decade later, Margaret Jacob described the connection between eighteenth century politics and Freemasonry in terms of Enlightenment ideals (Jacob 1991). She noted that groups such as the Freemasons met with suspicion when their Lodges spread from Britain to other parts of Europe, not only because of their secrecy/privacy (5), but particularly in their continuation of British practices. As Jacob (1991) put it, the Masonic Lodges,

> "brought with them forms of governance and social behavior developed within the distinctive political culture of that island. Men had voted at meetings for centuries and on either side of the Channel. Only in Britain did they do so within a constitutional structure and at a national legislative assembly where voting was by individual and not by estate or locality. With this distinctive form of political culture came a new form of civil society" (4).

Though Freemasonry's implicit contribution to the revolutionary period in seventeenth century Britain is, Jacob (1991) believes, mythical (24), the Craft no doubt became a vehicle for the rumination of utopian (53) ideas and a forum for the practice of some of the changes taking place. Indeed, as Jacob (1991) noted "lodges…were spaces in a new zone of civil society wherein aspects of the larger political and social order were mirrored and mimicked, yet also and simultaneously opened to scrutiny and criticism" (53). Though many of the oft studied (Jacob 1991) Enlightenment scholars may have been Freemasons, Jacob (1991) argued that the Enlightenment, like the Reformation (215), werebout changes taking place due to "a vast cultural upheaval, a social and popular movement, textured and rich because of its diversity" (215) and not merely the result of the combined efforts "of about twenty men, the great philosophes and their followers" (215).

In 2006, Jacob contributed to her extensive body of work by discussing cosmopolitanism, included Freemasonry, among other discussions, as an example of such. She argued that "The search for toleration and self-education took myriad social forms, none of them more exotic and distinctive to the age than the new masonic lodges" (Jacob 2006a, 95). Secrecy became en vogue for groups of the eighteenth century, after the threats of active persecution had diminished. Secrecy also offered groups of people a method for experimenting in unconventional ideas. For example, Jacob (2006a) noted that "the mystical opportunities that the veil of secrecy permitted as French freemasons of the 1780s-among others-turned to the tradition of the magical arts in their search for a universal wisdom. It was as if alchemy had come back, not as a set of practices, but as a rather more cerebral mantra for change" (Jacob 2006a, 96). Cosmopolitanism formed, in part, as a genre of tolerance and as "as a mark of a commitment to liberty, equality, and fraternity" (Jacob 2006a, 144). In that same year, Margaret Jacob also published a work on the *Origins of Freemasonry* (Jacob 2006b) where she hoped to "remove the veil from a secret society that turns out not to be very secret at all" (Jacob 2006b, 4). Interested in how "Masonic membership" (4) affected politics (4), Jacob (2006b) was also intent on elucidating some aspects of the "actual lives" (4) of Freemasons. She accomplishes this, in part, by discussing the differences and similarities between the historical artifacts of Masonic and non-Masonic pocket diaries/companions (28, 29). For example, Jacob noted that Masonic almanacs/diaries (37) were often printed with Lodge locations, meeting times, etc (Jacob 2006b). She noted that, "Supposedly all these were secret, but the almanacs often reveal that masonic secrecy was honored more in the breech then in the execution" (Jacob 2006b, 37/38). Jacob (2006b) also discovered thematic similarities

between regional Lodges and men's and women's Lodges. For example, while the details and applications were different, both men's and women's Lodges used the example of "purity in the Garden of Eden" (Jacob 2006b, 101) as a metaphor for ideal public and/or private (101) behavior. Jacob (2006b) concluded her work by noting that:

> "The (Masonic) lodges naturalized constitutional practices, nationally organized and representative assemblies, voting and speaking before such assemblies. For these practices and habits opponents of the French Revolution blamed freemasons, claiming that they conspired to cause it. In reality the lodges may be said to have pushed European mores, at least at home, ever so slightly in a democratic direction." (2006b, 132)

Public imaginary is in part drawn from the propensity of published works on any given topic. Hence, since Freemason scholarship comes primarily by way of the field of history, and in particular political history, it is no wonder that Freemasonry is often seen as antiquated. Freemasons are frequently pictured as either Enlightenment philosophers and founding-fathers clad in wigs and silken half-trousers, and the contemporary men who emulate them, or as conspirators working to influence world politics. Ethnographic methods, which seek, in part, to uncover the lived realties of those who make up a social formation, may help to fill in some of these gaps, demonstrating that contemporary Freemasons are neither an aging group of eighteenth-century idealists nor a hidden force for nefarious conspiracy.

Most Freemason scholarship, beyond being an historical topic, is also regularly focused on European and European-North American forms. Joy Porter (2011) contributes a unique perspective to the discourse from the standpoint of cultural history and humanities. Although she, like most Freemason scholars, approached the topic from a historical vantage point, she discusses Native American Freemasonry by focusing on

issues of masculinity (132), identity, performance (J. Porter, 2011 multiple entries), and indigeneity. For example, she writes:

> "I argue that Indian involvement in Freemasonry was significant to American Indian leadership over time; that Freemasonry's ritualistic dramas deserve careful consideration; and that Indians' involvement should be seen in terms of their repeated but varied performance. Native American links to Freemasonry were subtle and deep-seated, but Freemasonry should now be recognized as an important forum where Indian and non-Indians exchanged, and at points co-created, cultural forms" (xviii).

Joy Porter (2011) made the point that Freemasonry does involve historical reenactment (16); that it is used to provide a metaphor for contemporary issues. This habit provided "a haven for Indian versions of the Indian past" (J. Porter 2011, 16). While Indian involvement in Freemasonry was, admittedly, rare and drawn from an elite set of "cultural brokers" (28), it was nonetheless noticeably present, argued Joy Porter (2011). Native American Freemasonry touches on many aspects of identity and inclusion, Joy Porter (2011) pointed out. It was perhaps also due, in part, to influential Masonic figures such as Albert Pike, who, as mentioned previously in this dissertation and also discussed by Joy Porter (2011, 218), was a prominent advocate of Native American rights relevant to the time. Yet, Joy Porter (2011) also promoted the notion that it was Freemasonry's practice of tolerance of difference that allowed Native American men the opportunity to participate in larger American culture while retaining their indigenous identities in a forum of acceptance (270). Quite possibly, for Freemasons, Native American or not, "the fraternity provided a context within which individual and group aims could be expressed, and it was at points both part of the wider society and discrete from it" (J. Porter 2011, 208).

There are many other scholars who do, or have done, research into the various aspects of the Craft, or influence, of Freemasonry not mentioned in depth in this review. For example, José Ferrer Benimeli, cited elsewhere in this dissertation, greatly contributes to the scholarship of Freemasonry from an Iberian perspective focusing his research on Spanish Freemasonry in the eighteenth-century (1974), a bibliography of Masonry (1978), Freemasonry in Aragon (1979), Contemporary Spanish Freemasonry from 1800-1868 (1980a), Contemporary Spanish Freemasonry from 1868-1980[179] (1980b), Freemasonry in the national events of Perez Galdos (1982), an edited two-volume set of works on twentieth-century Spanish Freemasonry (1995/1996), and many other works. Also, beyond strictly Masonic Journals, there are academic journals which focus on Masonic research such as *Revista de Estudios Históricos de la Masonería Latinoamericana y Caribeña* (*REHMLAC*),[180] which is published through the University of Costa Rica and centers on recent historical scholarship focusing on Freemasonry in the Spanish New World. Furthermore, the University of California at Los Angeles, in conjunction with the Masons of California, for the past four years, have hosted an annual International Masonic Conference whereby scholars interested in Masonic research can present, collaborate, and enhance the topic.[181] Furthermore, UCLA, through the department of history sponsored by Distinguished Professor of History,

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[179] The title of this work is "Masonería Española contemporánea Vol.2 Desde 1868 hasta nuestros días" (approximate translation: Contemporary Spanish Freemasonry (Vol.2) from 1868 to today). However, since the work was published in 1980 I depict the topic (above) as being one focused on Spanish Freemasonry from 1868-1980.

[180] Approximate Translation: The Journal of the Historical Studies of Latin American and Caribbean Freemasonry.

[181] A description of the International Conference on Freemasonry/UCLA along with a description of past presentations can be found through the history department at UCLA, online as follows: http://www.freemason.org/events/uclaConference.htm.

Margaret Jacob, opened a recurring one year postdoctoral fellowship[182] in 2010 for recent Ph.D. graduates whose research focuses on the history and impact of Freemasonry.

The body of research reviewed above, as a broader study of Freemasonry, is undeniably relevant to the aims of this project, particularly in its choice of case-study. Despite this seemingly rich interest in, and production of, scholarly work related to Freemasonry; the contribution from the field of Anthropology, as mentioned previously, is relatively light. Unequivocally relevant to this dissertation, the ethnographic perspective of Freemasonry is pertinent not only to the general case-study of this dissertation, but also to the specific methods employed in its investigation, the types of questions to be answered, the considerations of collaborative value, individual experience, and lived realties, and the conclusions that can be drawn from this type of contemporary, specific, participant-oriented, "activity-based", approach to culture and meaning.

In 1971, for example, Abner Cohen, described Freemasonry in Sierra Leone in his discussion on ritual secrecy (Cohen 1971) for *Man*[183], published by the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. Cohen (1971) explained that the scholarship on Freemasonry up to that point had been, like today, concerned more with its "history and rituals" (Cohen 1971, 427). Furthermore, social scientists, particularly sociologists (428), Cohen (1971) declared, "are often so immersed in the very culture of

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[182] Although this announcement can be found elsewhere, I read a review of the opening on the *Pietre Stones Review of Freemasonry*, which can be found at: http://www.freemasons-freemasonry.com/phpnews/show_news.php?uid=145

[183] Vol 6, Iss 3, Pp 427-448.

which Freemasonry is a part, that some of them are hardly aware even of its existence or of the significance of its informal symbolism" (Cohen 1971, 428). His solution to these gaps in the scholarship was to study Freemasonry outside of a Western (428) context. He saw this as having a dual purpose: to examine Freemasonry in a specific, smaller-scale (428) cultural context (428), and to investigate the ramifications of a predominantly Western phenomenon in a non-Western/preindustrial (428) setting. This would result in not only an interesting case-study, but would also highlight features of "the structural circumstance" (Cohen 1971, 432) of "Freemasonry as an institution" (432), the socio-political implications of ethnicity in Sierra Leone, and the cultural-exchange between Europe and West Africa through an intermediary Brotherhood. Despite Cohen's (1971) description of Freemasonry as a "cult" (428), he nonetheless attempts to approach the study in its implication to those for whom it is a part of their daily lives. Freemasonry had a significant impact within the community of Creoles (431)[184] in Sierra Leone, to which "nearly one in every three Creole men in Freetown is a Mason" (Cohen 1971, 431). Cohen's (1971) study indicates that most Sierra Leonean Masons are Creole and he observed that they do not recognize this and do not view it as a form of intentional exclusion (431) of other ethnicities, though he is dubious. While Cohen (1971) acknowledged that individual Masons (431) have personal motivations for joining (431)

[184] Cohen discusses Creolism in Freetown/Sierra Leone on page 429 of his 1971 work; I have provided an excerpt here, however, please consult his article for more:

> "With very few individual exceptions, all the Africans in the Masonic lodges are Creoles, the descendants of the slaves who were emancipated by the British between the I780's and the I850's, and were duly settled in the 'Province of Freedom', the Freetown Peninsula, which was bought for the purpose from the local Temne chiefs (see Fyfe I962; Porter I963; Peterson I969). The Creoles are predominantly literate, highly educated, and occupationally differentiated.They number today 41,783 in the whole of Sierra Leone, with 37,560 of them concentrated in the Freetown Peninsula, and 27,730 in the city of Freetown itself. The remaining 4,223 are scattered among the provincial towns and are mostly civil servants and teachers whose homes are in Freetown. (For census details, see Central Statistics Office, I965.)" (Cohen 1971, 429).

the Craft there are underlying socio-cultural and political reasons for why certain men in Sierra Leone join and others do not. Some of the reasons individuals join Masonry, Cohen (1971) suggested, may include an appealing belief-system (432), mutual assistance (433), international contacts (433), or, according to cynics (434), for social/economic advantage (434), though Cohen (1971) admits that his participants would vehemently deny this. Cohen (1971) found, however, that the strongest motivator for joining was "pressure from kin, from friends, and from wider groupings" (Cohen 1971, 436). He also noted that "A Mason regards it as a duty and a source of pride to bring his sons into membership, often within the same lodge. As sons reach the age of twenty-one their fathers begin to press them to join" (Cohen 1971, 436).[185] He used as an example a prominent politician who appealed to the Masonic "authorities in Britain" (436) to change the requirement of membership from 21 years of age to 18 for his son. This, however, does not strike me as odd, since in many jurisdictions the age of entry is

[185] While this may have been indicative of Sierra Leonean Masons, in my own research I have not found this to be true of 'Masons' more generally. I have found that Masons whose sons or grandsons join Freemasonry do often convey a sense of pride which may be in and of itself enough motivation for a son to join. In one case, in Colombia, a man's father brought up the topic to him and he later joined, but he was not, and it is indeed fundamentally against Masonic practice, to "pressure" anyone into joining. While there may be, admittedly, informal or subconscious pressures for sons to join their father's Lodge it is, in reality, one criteria of membership, to which a candidate can be rejected if he does not meet it, that he came to Freemasonry of his own idea and intention. According to the results of the survey I distributed as a part of this project, most U.S. respondents (74.1%) had family members who are, or were Masons, but most Colombian respondents (59%) did not. Additionally, when cross-tabulated against other variables, family connection had some bearing on when a man was Raised in Masonry (there is an apparent correlation between those who had a familial connection being Raised sooner/younger than those who did not, though there is a possible skew in that most U.S. Freemasons have a family connection and most U.S. Freemasons were Raised at a younger age than Colombian Freemasons, which could be due to family connection, or variation in degree-progression procedures, or other unknown factors). There does appear to be, however, little bearing, between family connection and whether or not a Masons takes on a leadership role within his Lodge or jurisdictional Grand Lodge. Indeed, the results of my survey indicates that above 85% of responding Freemasons, regardless of family connection, are or have been an officer (88.39% of those who have a family connection, 86.36% of those who do not).

set at 18. Indeed, in both the U.S. and Colombia a man, generally, is eligible to apply for membership to Freemasonry when he turns 18. The point of this argument may be, for Cohen (1971) to demonstrate one of the reasons why Masons in Freetown are predominantly Creole; Creole men have Creole family and friends, and it is "pressure by relatives, friends, and status groups" (Cohen 1971, 437) that entices men to join Masonry, Cohen (1971) suggested. He also suggested that periods of "freemasonisation" and "threat(s) to Creoldom" (438) coincided. Freemasonry became a way for Creoles in Sierra Leone to remain cohesive. Cohen (1971) noted that "Largely without any conscious policy or design, Freemasonic rituals and organization helped to articulate an informal organisation, which helped the Creoles to protect their position in the face of increasing political threat. It did this in a number of ways, the most important being in providing an effective mechanism for regular communication, deliberation, decision-making, and for the development of an authority structure and of an integrated ideology" (Cohen 1971, 441). Membership also gave Creoles a chance to visit (441) other Lodges, to fraternize (441) through Masonic social events, and to integrate (443) the competing (443) authority structures (443) outside of the Lodge into one unified (443) collective. Cohen (1971) offered the disclaimer that these ulterior political (444) advantages are not the conscious (444) intentions of members who join, but rather a beneficial consequence. He also noted that Freemasonry is but a single variable that makes up the political and symbolic (447) experience of *being* Creole. Cohen (1971) concluded his exposé by outlining the importance of studying the presence of inclusion and exclusion (447) within any social organization (446/447). He also revisited the significance of this fraternity,

both for the Creoles of Freetown, Sierra Leone, but also within any society to which there is a Masonic presence:

> "As men join the organisation, the impersonal character of a social category like class gives way to the rapid development of moral bonds that link its individuals. Through the sharing of common secrets and of a common language of signs, pass-words, and hand-clasps, through sharing the humilities of the ceremonials of initiation, through mutual aid, the frequent communion in worshipping and eating together, and the rules to settle disputes amicably between them, the members are transformed into a true brotherhood. This combination of strict, exclusive, organisation, with the primary bonds of a brotherhood, makes Freemasonry a powerful organization in contemporary society." (447)

Lilith Mahmud is likely to have provided the greatest portion of work existing within the anthropological scholarship of Freemasonry to date. Cited extensively throughout this dissertation, Mahmud's work focuses on a number of contemporary issues within the field such as secrecy/discretion, knowledge formation, practice, gender, transparency, sacred/profane, the role of the researcher, and many others. In 2012 she published an article in *American Ethnologist*[186] in which she "explore(d) the epistemology of secrecy that shapes the worldviews, knowledge practices, and aesthetics of one of the most famous and romanticized of 'secret societies'" (Mahmud 2012a, 426). Freemasonry, as practiced in Italy amongst female members, was the context within which she discussed contemporary "practices of discretion" (426) through an anthropological lens. Mahmud (2012a) argued that the Freemasons construct a unique perception of reality that is informed by the context of a specific set of symbols (426) and the "process of knowledge formation" (Mahmud 2912a, 426) inherent to Freemasonry. Mahmud's (2012a) work also investigated the "burden of representation" (428) that is a dilemma for ethnographers. On the continuum of representation, I find that Mahmud,

[186] Vol 39, Iss 2, Pp 425-438.

unlike Cohen (1971), positions herself closer to the participants of her study, than the readers of it, while still maintaining an objective academic purpose. She discussed secrecy, for example, as a popular construction, a practice (425), and part of an identity (428) that also values truth and clarity. She, like I, was faced with a definition of Freemasonry as a "secret society" (428) and discovered that her participants, like my own, do not consider themselves a secret society. Mahmud's (2012a) concept of 'discretion' (429) is well-suited for a notion that captures the meaningful practice of, while moving away from the over-popularized images of, 'secrecy'. Freemasonry, Mahmud (2012a) found, was not a kind of club where individuals attended meetings (429) or events and then returned to normalcy. It was, in fact "a permanent state of being, something that defined who they "really" were, …Freemasons thought of themselves as Freemasons all the time, in any context, and it was their discretion that allowed them to remain Freemasons even in a profane world…" (Mahmud 2012a, 429, 430). Discretion, therefore, became central to Masonic identity among Mahmud's participants, because of how it was introduced, how it manifested in everyday practice, and the freedom it allowed. It was so significant in fact, that Mahmud (2012a) suggested moving the discourse "toward and anthropology of discretion" (Mahmud 2012a, 434) and away from, I gather, notions of secrecy or secret societies. One significant contribution the practice of discretion had for Freemasons was what Mahmud (2012a) referred to as "intimate relationality" (434). Freemasons could recognize each other by common "embodied practices" (434), by using private signs (430) and symbols, and they could identify with elements of their built environment through the application of discreetly placed symbolism.

In that same year, Mahmud published a piece investigating the issue of transparency and its relation to gender, terrorism and Masonry in Italy (Mahmud 2012b) for the *Anthropological Quarterly*.[187] She described an event in 1993 where newspapers in Italy published the identities of Italian Freemasons (1178). This was significant on a number of levels. First, *transparency* was employed in an attempt by dominant social structures (1179) to undermine that which is so vital to Masonic identity and endurance: their discretion. Second, all the names listed were male. Not included in the published lists were the names of female Freemasons Mahmud (2012b) observed. This event provoked a number of significant anthropological inquires for Mahmud (2012b), e.g.:

> "How does transparency's promise of an all-seeing eye work in practice to reiterate dominant structures of difference, such as gender? How does transparency as a technique of governance manage to conjure new subjects into being, under the guise of simply exposing pre-existing ones? In turn, how do these 'transparent subjects' appropriate the tools of transparency deployed against them to soften the duress of their predicaments, and what acts of subversion might be possible from the blind spots?"
> (Mahmud 2012b, 1179, 1180).

Mahmud (2012b) approached the investigation by first looking at what influences the construction (1180) of certain images of 'danger' (1180) over time. She then unpacked the notion of 'transparency' (1180) into its constituent political, legal, and social (1180) parts. Mahmud (2012b) suggested, for example, that as a part of a broader (1185) system of tension (1185) Freemasonry was one of many differentiated structures seemingly at odds with the various competing factions of the Italian political (1185) scene and therefore "conspiracy theories must be recognized as legitimate forms of political knowledge production" (Mahmud 2012b, 1185). She also found that given the

[187] Vol 85, Iss 4, Pp 1177-1207.

"gendered discourse" (Mahmud 2012b[188]) of both transparency and Freemasonry, males associated with Freemasonry were seen as "dangerous" (1180), where females associated with Freemasonry were seen as "naïve and misguided" (1191). Mahmud (2102b) also noted that Freemasons in Italy had themselves developed a "publicity campaign" (1180) to try to renovate the image of Masonry in the public conscious. Interestingly, I have found in my own research a similar ongoing attempt. As one example of such, is the inclusion of a "publicity kit"[189] in the Grand Lodge of Nevada's Library and Museum which outlines information on what Freemasonry is (24), how it is practiced, who practices it, what the underlying tenets are, and the dispelling of myths. The kit also includes templates and suggestions for advertising (7), setting up informational booths (17-20), and order forms for Masonic paraphernalia (22). I have also come across similar, smaller, brochures designed for the public on general information regarding Freemasonry.[190] Additionally, I found, generally, during my research inquiries, particularly among Freemasons in the U.S., an enthusiasm for providing the public with more information about Freemasonry. Mahmud (2012b) found in her case-study, however, that:

> "In the false dichotomy of visibility and invisibility, transparency and opacity, discretion mediated the self-constructions of both men and women Freemasons, who had different stakes in the spectacle of Masonic scandals, and wished to control their public representations to become the *right* kind of visible…The publication of the lists had been an act of exposure rather than controlled publicity, an indiscretion with long-lasting effects on Masonic experiences in Italy. By choosing to embrace transparency with discretion, my interlocutors

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[188] The term "gendered discourse" is used throughout the article.
[189] "Masonic Publicity Kit: Advertising, Public Relations, Promotions" (Free and Accepted Masons of California and Hawaii, 1989) viewed in the GLNV Library/Museum: 05/15/2014. see Appendix 4, sub-section ii.
[190] I have removed images/examples of these brochures from this dissertation.

> relied on a multivalent tool of political culture that, just like conspiracy theories, concealed knowledge at the same time as it revealed it." (1200).

In 2013, Mahmud published an outline of her role as both an ethnographer (Mahmud 2013) and non-Mason within the society of Freemasons. She revealed that: "When I conducted ethnographic research on Freemasonry in Italy, I was a profane. My status as a non-Mason concerned some of my potential informants...I too worried that I would never attain the depth of access that is the 'holy grail' of anthropological fieldwork" (Mahmud 2013, 189). She used the Masonic terms 'Sacred' and 'Profane' to describe the role of Mason and Non-Mason, respectively. As I have also used these terms elsewhere in this dissertation, Mahmud (2013) employed their use to provide an "emic" (189) perspective on the concepts of inclusion as well as discuss how ethnographers (189) themselves navigate "subjectivity" (189). The use of the term profane, Mahmud (2013) further described, is not a clear, bounded, category of 'outsider' or Non-Mason in the same way, Mahmud (2013) suggested the terms *sacred* and *profane* have been used within the Durkheimian tradition of separation within religious belief systems (191) . The term profane is also applied to any number of persons, roles, events, circumstances, or understandings which are not Masonic, or not Masonic at the moment. A Freemason himself, for instance, is 'profane' in certain situations. Mahmud (2013) was able to use the term to describe multiple lines of inquiry and positionality (190) by, "taking the profane, then, not to be a static position but, rather, a processual enactment of becoming, resulting from complex negotiations of power, intimacy and belonging, I will use the profane to think about ethnographers'' relations to our subjects of study" (Mahmud 2013, 190). She observed that female Freemasons could easily reside in this grey area as many

are considered to be profane by many of the larger regular bodies of Masonry but still perceive themselves to be Freemasons. Variation in Lodge practices is, in part, responsible for this "differentiation" (192) of acceptance of the possibility of female Freemasons, Mahmud (2013) suggested. Throughout her research with Freemasons, Mahmud (2013) described how her role as a profane called into question the possibility of truly understanding her study participants. For example, she noted that her participants felt that rituals were at the heart of the experience of being a Masons (198) and she, as a non-Mason, would "never be allowed to witness the rituals of Freemasonry" (Mahmud 2013, 198). She answered these concerns by noting that the focus (198) of her research was not the "specific content of Masonic esotericism" (198), but rather issues of gender (1989), conflict (198), and activism (198). She would, she agreed with her participants, be "writing a profane ethnography of Italian Freemasons" (Mahmud 2013, 198). She likewise acknowledged that the secret rituals were not the only rituals, or practices, that contributed to the meaning of *being* a Mason. Additionally, Mahmud (2013) argued that ethnographers, even those not studying a secretive society, are often "exempt from dominant expectations put on other members of the community" (Mahmud 2013, 199). She noted, furthermore, that during the course of her research exceptions to the rule of exclusion were sometimes made. I have found that, in my own research, exceptions to the rule of a profane witnessing, or participating, in sacred rituals was not made. Though, perhaps, the fact that Mahmud's (2013) participants were already on the margins of legitimacy (192) and had a more nuanced understanding of the myriad ways a person can be profane, contributed to their allowing her inclusion within portions of their sacred space. Citing Foucault (1980), Mahmud (2013) defined her position as a "profane

ethnographer" (203) as one which "privileges the informants' worldviews without necessarily locating the foundation of the fieldwork relationship in a shared identity" (Mahmud 2013, 203). She described her position, likewise, as a kind of "liminality" (203) where she was not an insider (203), but not quite an outsider (203) either. Mahmud's (2013) piece presents this grey area of belonging as the site most often occupied by an ethnographer (203), where access can be measured by one's "degree of proximity" (203). Mahmud (2013) noted that though her participants inquired after her interest to join Freemasonry, she declined. She argued in this piece that her remaining profane was a benefit to her research as it, in some way, proved that she "was not interested in infiltrating the lodges to capture that esoteric 'secret' that many have been after for centuries" (Mahmud 2013, 204).

In her latest publication, entitled *The Brotherhood of Freemason Sisters,*[191] Mahmud (2014), discussed the anthropological study of Freemasonry through a manuscript covering issues and concepts of discretion (21), brotherly love (83), transparency and conspiracy (155), and "profanation" (187) amongst others. Mahmud (2014) admitted that the study of Freemasonry is a study of "elites" (15) yet involves more than a "static position on a class ladder but, rather, a set of relations, desires, and aesthetics performed within and beyond class lines to conjure a collective identity category, which is then reproduced as if effortlessly through a labor of accumulation and gatekeeping"[192] (Mahmud 2014, 15). She also admitted that to study female Freemasons

[191] Mahmud, L. 2014. The Brotherhood of Freemason Sisters: Gender, Secrecy, and Fraternity in Italian Masonic Lodges. *The University of Chicago Press.*

[192] Within this sentence Mahmud cites the combined works of "Bourdieu 1977, Bourdieu 1984, Bourdieu 1990, Butler 1999, Ortner 2006" (Mahmud 2013:15); she also discusses the category of

(15) may seem "oxymoronic" (15). From her participants' perspective, being a Freemason was not simply a matter of membership which was granted after an initiation (62) ritual, but was rather an internalized phenomenon which resided at the core of most Freemason's sense of identity. She noted that her participants[193] viewed Freemasonry as something coming from "within" (62), a sentiment which I have observed is shared among the participants of my own study, and also repeated in the literature, who have told me that a Freemason is a Freemason first "in his heart" even before he is initiated into the Brotherhood. Mahmud (2014) also noted that from an outside perspective Freemasonry is often discussed in terms of its beneficial "network(s) for material gain" (66) which, while may be partially true, "fall short of explaining the degree of personal investment that life in the lodges required" (Mahmud 2014, 66) which involves, in part, "a long journey of esoteric self-cultivation" (Mahmud 2014, 79) and "the practices and contents of Masonic knowledge pursuits as forms of 'speculative labor' that produce symbolic capital" (Mahmud 2014, 124), among other things. Mahmud (2014) noted in her book that her analysis moves beyond a western anthropological feminist (95) approach or a reliance on understandings of fictive kinship (95) both of which may reduce her participants' experiences (95) to using the idea of fraternity (95) as a kind of

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"elite" through "Raymond Williams's sense, of a 'structure of feeling' that meshes aesthetic and social experiences irreducible to fixed class positions (Williams 1977, 128-135)" (Mahmud 2013:15).

[193] Mahmud (2014) uses the term "interlocutors" to describe her participants. I have found, in my own research, that Freemasons are quite adamantly against the idea of using the traditional anthropological term of "informants" to describe study participants. Indeed, one participant told me directly "do not use the term informant." Perhaps driven by the same desire to avoid the term "informant", Mahmud has chosen "interlocutor", although, on occasion, "informant" is used (see for example, Mahmud 2014, 79). I use "participant" as a means of uniformity as it is the term I have used throughout this dissertation.

"inclusionary politics"[194] (95), or by describing female Freemasons in the same catch-all term that has been used to describe any association that does not "fall under the rubric of either blood or marriage[195]" (Mahmud 2014, 95). Mahmud (2014) concluded her work by advocating to bring back the notion of *fraternity* (197) to mean more than gender, secretiveness, power (197), and exclusion, and rather inhabit that "incommunicable experience" which is "the real secret of Freemasonry" (197).

Useful to this dissertation is the result Mahmud's overall work, as well as Kaplan's (discussed below), has on elucidating those significant pieces of understanding within the case-study of Freemasonry that the non-anthropological scholarship, including Cohen's (1971) analysis to some extent, neglects. Where the focus had once been, almost exclusively, on the effect Freemasonry has on broader institutions, it may now include a growing understanding of the effect Freemasonry has on Freemasons, which in and of itself has broader implications for the study of the human experience. Danny Kaplan, for example, has published pieces within each of these approaches. In 2014, for instance, he published an article discussing the implications of Freemasonry on civic nationalism (Kaplan 2014a) for *Nations and Nationalism*[196] as well an article discussing collective intimacy, friendship, and Masonic attachment (Kaplan 2014b) for *American*

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[194] Here Mahmud (2014) references Mohanty 1988 (Mahmud 2014, 95) yet writes in her notes in relation to this reference that "In an insightful critique of feminist ethnography, for instance, Judith Stacey (1988) argued that, as a result of notions of sisterhood, 'feminist researchers are apt to suffer the delusion of alliance more than the delusion of separateness' in relation to our subjects of study. See also Kamala Visweswaran's (1994) engagement with Stacey's work." (Mahmud 2014, 204)

[195] Here Mahmud (2014) includes in her notes references on the study of kinship (204) by "Borneman (1996); Collier, Yanagisako, and Bloch (1987); Franklin and Ragoné (1998); Kahn (2000); Krause (2005); Paxson (2004); Schneider (1980); Strathern (1992); Weston (1991); Yalman (1967)" (Mahmud 2014, 204–205).

[196] Vol 20, Iss 3, Pp 415-435.

Anthropologist.[197] In his first piece, Kaplan (2014a) discussed how the perceived divergence between the "particularist and collectivist" (415) aspects of nationalism[198] and the "universalist and individualist" aspects of civil society (Kaplan 2014a) can be brought together in societies such as the Freemasons. Having written extensively on the topics of friendship and politics (Kaplan 2006; Kaplan and Yanay 2006; Kaplan 2007), Kaplan (2014a) examines how the confluence of "universalism and particularism" (415) creates the kind of "civic nationalism" (Kaplan 2014a) inherent to the Freemasons. As he noted "since the eighteenth century, Masonic membership provided access to information, economic ties and social exchange both locally and internationally, projected a liberal philosophical outlook associated with the European Enlightenment and facilitated political organizing" (Kaplan 2014a, 416). Kaplan (2014a) admitted that the scholarship on Freemasonry to date was overwhelmingly (417) historical and that his analysis stood to gain by taking an emic (417) approach. Using ethnographic (417) methods, Kaplan (2014a) worked with Freemasons in Israel to demonstrate how "Masonic values translate into boundary work over questions of citizenship, patriotism and nationalism" (Kaplan 2014a, 417). He argued that contemporary theories of nationalism could benefit by including a non-ethnic (419) approach to collective (419) identity and incorporating the notion of civic nationalism as an "*ideal* of nationalism" (419)[199], both of which can be orchestrated through formations of *friendship,* particularly "civic friendship" (Kaplan 2014a:419). The fact that Freemasonry has been associated with wide-spread political

[197] Vol 116, Iss 1, Pp 81-93.
[198] Here Kaplan (2014a) references an earlier work of his own (Kaplan 2007) along with that of Yack (2012).
[199] Here Kaplan (2014a) also references the work of Brown 2000 (specifically Brown 2000:51-52) (Kaplan 2014a:419).

movements in history is not lost on Kaplan's (2014a) appraisal of its relationship to civic nationalism. However, he reminds the reader that Masonic practice (422) is based on a common constitution which, among other aspects, forbids the discussion of religion or politics in Lodge (Kaplan 2014a). Furthermore, since one must apply for membership to a Masonic Lodge there are no preceding ethnic ties to lend to structural systems of identity and experience beyond what may be reasonably expected given that Lodges are situated geographically, though, as stated previously in this dissertation, the fraternity itself is not. Indeed, as he noted that in Masonry one can see "friendship, rather than kinship, as a central organizing moral principle, and construes group membership is universal terms of allegiance to shared contractual principles rather than shared ethnic descent" (Kaplan 2014a, 431). As a true example of a participant-observer, Kaplan admitted that he has himself joined Freemasonry. He applied an ethnographic approach from the inside, and applied anthropological methods to tackling the questions of his research. He found that, within his region of study, there were differences between how members of his Lodge, and fraternity more widely, engaged (425) with issues of national identity. Indeed, as he noted, "whereas Arab informants stressed fraternal values and civic virtue, their references to national attachments were scarce and elusive. Jewish members, by contrast, identified with Zionist values, but framed this attachment in terms of citizenship and loyalty to the state" (Kaplan 2014a, 427). He also noted that the Masonic sense of loyalty (428) was divided between their own family, their fellow Masons, and, at last, to "humanity at large" (428), though he noted, as one individual remarked to him, that "Masonic text" (428) discussed greater society at more length than the Masonic brotherhood (Kaplan 2014a). Kaplan (2104a) also noted that a Mason told

him that initiates are required to be loyal to the state (428) which, from my own research, I have found to be true of Masons more generally, as discussed previously in this dissertation. Kaplan (2014a) conceded that, “Freemasonry is not a national movement but rather a bottom-up network of social clubs operating both locally and transnationally. Yet its members consider their social activities as a testing ground for the practice of civic virtue for the good of society. Along these lines, individual masons have contributed to various civic-national revolutions” (Kaplan 2014a, 430).

In his second piece, Kaplan (2014b) discussed “how Masons conceived friendship as a collective union” (Kaplan 2014b, 83). He noted that there need be a consideration for the differences between typologies of intimacy, namely; “interpersonal intimacy, public intimcay, and collective intimacy” (Kaplan 2014b, 83). Within the Masonic Lodge, Kaplan (2014b) argued, the differences between people, were de-emphasized in light of a common practice (83) and collective bond, which are propagated, in part, through ritual (84). Furthermore, aspects of closeness (Kaplan 2014b), such as “trust, immediate availability, and support” (85) are seen to be indiciative to all fellow Lodge-members, and indeed, to all fellow Masons. I have seen this conception to be true of of my own research paprtipants who often share stories of immediate firendships with fellow Masons and the feeling of Brotherhood with men from across the globe. Incidentally, Kaplan (2014b) described the average (85) Lodge size to be about 40 members (85), which is the same as the size of La Serenisima Logia Renovación Nº 1-12 in Bucramanaga, as

compared to around 250[200] members, which is the size of Reno Lodge #13 in Reno, Nevada. I have seen, through my own research, how these conceptions of friendship are not sufficient in and of themselves to contribute to a member's level of activity in his Lodge. For example, one particiapnt who is a member of Reno Lodge #13, and whose Mother Lodge is La Serenisima Logia Renovación Nº 1-12, noted to me, that he didn't always attend Lodge mettings (in Reno) because he felt awkward going because he didn't really know anyone there and felt he had no friends there. He however also said that it would be/is different in Bucaramanaga (particulary in La Serenisima Logia Renovación Nº 1-12) because he knew everyone in the Lodge. This particpant, however, continues to refer to all Masons as 'brother.' To the global aspect of Freemasonry, Kaplan (2014b) added that his "interviewees conceived Masonic collective solidarity as a community of strangers trusted as friends" (Kaplan 2014b, 87). Secrecy and privacy (Kaplan 2014b) are used as a kind of shield for the practice of public assembly (90) which, when gathering in a Lodge, allows Freemasons to experience a "collective intimacy" (Kaplan 2014b, 90) which enables them to, as one of my own participants noted, practice ideal social behavior in a "microcosm"[201] and, as Kaplan (2014b) put it, create an "atmosphere of inclusion" (90). Using the notion of *friendship,* Kaplan (2014b) argued, is a useful way to approach this juxtaposition of exclusive inclusion and can be applied to many other organizations "that explicitly or implicitly employ interpersonal ties as patterns in miniature for collective attachments" (Kaplan 2014b, 90).

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[200] In an email correspondence a secretary of a Nevada-based Lodge noted that Reno Lodge #13 had 261 members; there are 42 Lodges in Nevada, with 3,974 Mason in the state ("as of 9/15/2015").

[201] As I discussed elsewhere in this dissertation, e.g.: pages 24, 67, 245 (Alcalde Sorolla 2015), and 412 (also footnote 415).

Danny Kaplan is continuing research looking at issues of civil society and nationalism amongst Freemasons in Israel and Palestine (Kaplan 2015), which is soon to be published in the *Middle East Journal.* My own inquiries, just as both Mahmud's and Kaplan's, are of an anthropological nature and from an ethnorgraphic perspective, and I find interesting the variation in our respective positionalities. Kaplan is himself a Freemason[202], whereas Mahmud is not, though became a kind of "'honorary' sister" (Mahmud 2013, 203). I am not a Freemason, unlike Kaplan, nor could I be[203], unlike both Kaplan and Mahmud. My status as the wife, daughter-in-law, and sister-in-law of active Masons, however, puts me in the unique situation of being both an outsider and yet at the same time part of the extended Masonic family.

There are a number of salient points from this review which are useful to the consideration of this dissertation. I have included comments within each presentation of this review that reflect its usefulness to this project. Salient points for this review include an understanding of the vantage point from which the academy has approached Freemasonry to date; the effect of "native" interpretations of Freemasonry (as in, Masonic authors' approach to Masonry) and its contribution to, or omission from, the academic discourse; and the small, but growing, anthropological interest in Freemasonry. As I stated previously, the inquiries of this project were not developed through a linear trajectory from a review of literature to a central theoretical argument. However, this review, both preceded, and was developed within, this project. For example, works

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[202] See Kaplan 2014b:91, 'Acknowledgements'.
[203] Due to my gender I, according to the standpoint of the participants of my research, and those of Kaplan's I would suspect, am not eleigible to become a Freemason.

produced by theorists such as Margaret Jacob, Lilith Mahmud, or Roel Van Leeuwen I had used extensively in work predating this dissertation and had already fundamentally shaped my perspective. Danny Kaplan's work was published during the course of research for this project and was incorporated into my own analysis. Others, such as Abner Cohen, John Wilson, or Joy Porter were discovered during an intentional review of scholarship on the topic of Freemasonry for the purpose of its inclusion in this chapter of the dissertation. Jacob's body of work is perhaps the most widely utilized authoritative academic use of Freemasonry and focuses, predominately, on its history, larger historical significance, socio-cultural impact, and ideological formation and influence. Jacob (1981), for example, complicates the notion of cause-and-effect by discussing Freemasonry, and individual Freemasons, in relation to its/their effect from, and effect on, the Enlightenment Period in Europe. Kaplan's continuing body of work focuses on models of Masonic friendship and the connections between Masons on a local and global scale. Kaplan (2014a) complicates this further by detailing the Masonic friendship model which is based, in part, on maintaining intimate harmony within a Lodge setting whereby the direct communication on topic of politics or religion is forbade, though, as I have discovered through this project, deep philosophical conversations are encouraged. Masonic recognition, Kaplan's work further demonstrates, leads to a unique process of intimacy formation which is predicated on a pre-existing familiarity with common constitutions (Kaplan 2014a) and tenets. Mahmud's continuing work addresses the Masonic identity not just within the recognized structure of Masonry, but within groups of Masons on the borderlands of belonging, and the impact of Masonic collective culture on individual agency and approaches to reality. Mahmud argues, for example, that

'discretion' (2012a) is a hallmark of Masonic being, and that the practice of both outward and inward modes of discretion create a unique bond (and intimacy) between Masons based on private recognition and shared symbolic impressions. My own project may contribute to the discourse within this review in a number of ways. For example, I approach Masonry from the perspective of *activity*, whereby the performance of Masonry is at the heart of an internalized system of collective belonging. The performance, furthermore, includes the search for, and production of, a unique knowledge set, along with the mental and spiritual activity of a personal journey. Also, in this dissertation, I accept Van Leeuwen's (2004) position that Freemasonry is, indeed, a rich site for anthropological inquiry. I also utilize both Masonic and non-Masonic authors to inform my understanding. Finally, the unique circumstances involved with 'studying up' (Nader 1972; Hannerz 2006), furthermore, make it a site for the development of unique methods and approaches.

TRACING PRECEDENCE FOR AN "ACTIVITY-BASED APPROACH"

As mentioned above, Lévi-Strauss (1949) suggested that what binds people together in voluntary associations has a powerful impact on forming the practice and performance of culture, more so, perhaps, than their prescribed familial connections. Indeed, the contemporary discussion of *friendship* (Kaplan 2014) indicates that these associations have a significant impact on both forming and maintaining collective identity. These intentional connections, Lévi-Strauss' work demonstrated, should be, at the very least, a significant consideration of anthropological inquiry. Through this dissertation, I argue that these connections are forged and reinforced through a shared

activity, which in this case is the Craft of Freemasonry, and thus it is the activity of Freemasonry that not only shapes worldview, but has an impact on promoting individual pursuits through social collaboration.

In 1973, Clifford Geertz argued that "cultural patterns" (92) were made up of "complexes of symbols" (92) and were the measure against which people acted and reacted in the world (92). Indeed, he argued that culture was so ingrained in human functioning that "the human nervous system relies, inescapably, on the accessibility of public symbolic structures to build up its own autonomous, ongoing pattern of activity" (Geertz 1973, 83). He promoted the idea that cognition was a result of shared systems of meaning; that individuals were not truly *individual,* but rather a unique manifestation of a common (83) set of characteristics prescribed by culture (83). Furthermore, collective belief systems become, for Geertz (1973), a bundle of characteristics such as tendencies (95), skills (95), or habits (95) that significantly impact how a person views and experiences (95) reality. Indeed, a measure of predictability goes along with, for example, a practitioner of a certain faith and, as Geertz (1973) argued, "…to be pious is not to be performing something we would call an act of piety, but to be liable to perform such acts" (Geertz 1973, 95). If the activity of Freemasonry, therefore, includes certain tendencies, skills, or habits (Geertz 1973) to which individuals with certain prepositions are ideally suited and voluntarily included, then Freemasonry becomes a collective system whereby an "ongoing pattern of activity" (Geertz 1973, 83) shapes how an individual views and experiences (Geertz 1973) reality. By 2000, Geertz reflected on a long anthropological career and noted that contemporary ethnographers, given the highly competitive nature of tenure and scarcity (10) of funding, are not willing (10) to perform

extended on-site field work in remote, pre-industrial or otherwise, locations. Indeed, the notion that an ethnographer is truly immersed in a location for an extended period of time is in and of itself fallacious. As Strathern (1999) argued:

> "It does not matter where the fieldworker's 'field' is geographically located nor how many sites it is spread across, nor even if sites are accessible through the laptop. Indeed, time rather than space has become the crucial axis of isolation or separation…it does not matter that the ethnographic moment is moment of immersement. But it is a moment of immersement that is simultaneously total and partial, a totalizing activity which is not the only activity in which the person is engaged." (1)

Geertz (2000) argued that anthropology "is about culture" (11) but that 'culture' is "an essentially contested concept" (Geertz 2000, 11). When he was new to the field, Geertz (2000) recalled, he was enthusiastically driven to discover the complex (15) ways humans created meaning (15). He found later that anthropology was a divided (15) practice (15) that necessitated proficiency in both discovering (conducting ethnographic field (15) work) and presenting (teaching). He discovered that the study of culture, rather than involving a single prescribed method of investigation, more definitively "involves discovering who (people) think they are, what they think they are doing, and to what end they think they are doing it, something a good deal less straightforward than the ordinary canons of Notes and Queries ethnography" (Geertz 2000, 16). To do this, Geertz (2000) argued, required that the ethnographer "gain(s) a working familiarity with the frames of meaning within which (people) enact their lives… It involves learning how, as a being from elsewhere with a world of one's own, to live with them" (Geertz 2000, 16). Regardless of whether I would or would not be willing to confine myself to a remote village for an extended period of time (Geertz 2000), or whether or not that kind of geographic isolation is even realistic (Strathern 1999), I consider that the study of

Masonic *culture* (Geertz 2000) need not be achieved through such a method. I presume that to understand who Freemasons 'think they are, what they think they are doing, and to what end they are doing it' (Geertz 2000) requires an approach beyond location, focused on the *activity* of Masonry. An "activity-based approach", therefore, contributes to the premise that field-sites do not have to be the single, fixed, entrenchments of the past, but can rather include the structures, landscapes, mementos, texts, virtual encounters, and descriptive spaces created by, and used for, a collective activity, the practice of which occurs in myriad sites, both spatial and conceptual.

Marion (2006) saw the relevance of Bourdieu's construction of a theory of practice (c.1970s) to the formation of an "activity based anthropology" (7) in that it "recognizes that it is what persons actually do that situates their experiences, constructions, and understandings of both personal and collective belonging and identity" (Marion 2006, 7). Indeed, Practice Theory developed at the end of the 1980s as a response to broader studies of *structure* within anthropological research. It served as a middle ground for the polemical divide between 'structure' and 'agency' discourse. Practice Theory, simply defined, analyzed the complex relationships that exist between larger social structures and the actions of individual actors. Furthermore, social change is seen within this frame as a kind of ebb and flow between the confines of broader social structures, as well as networks of global interaction, and the choices of individuals. Sherry Ortner (1989), a key figure in this framework, demonstrated how Practice Theory could be incorporated into ethnographic research within a broader frame of ethnohistory. She utilized the lived experiences and personal narratives of her participants to show how the decisive choices individuals make affect changes on the greater society through the

establishment of different modes of behavior and belief. The overarching structures, and long standing traditions, furthermore affect those innovative individuals by setting the parameters for the changes they are attempting to effect on their surroundings. Also, the norms of the group are acted out through rituals which are eventually incorporated into a new norm. This interaction between internal and external forces was illuminated in Ortner's (1989) discussion of Practice Theory through which a researcher can "observ(e) actors in real circumstances using their cultural frames to interpret and meaningfully act upon the world, converting it from a stubborn object to a knowable and manageable life-place. At the same time one observes the other edge of this process, as actors' modes of engaging the word generate more stubborn objects…" (Ortner 1989, 18). Thus, an "activity-based approach" to Freemasonry utilizes this understanding in the way it seeks to explore how the practice of the Craft of Freemasonry both represents the ideals of the Masonic system, but also creates them through a complex procedure of individual and collaborative participation. Pierre Bourdieu (1990) published a dialogue on the various components of both group and individual behavior that affect the daily realities of any given cultural group. Most known for his use of the term *habitus,* Bourdieu posited that the observable practices of a group are derived from an individual's notions of 'normal' in terms of behavior, dress, speech, etc. These norms, theoretically, could be created by individual choices which are eventually incorporated into the larger group, inciting change or the construction of collective practice. Bourdieu argued that people tend to choose actions that make practical sense in any given situation based on the current established parameters of norms, thus making manifest grand social institutions. As he noted in his (1990) publication, "*habitus* is what enables the institution to attain full

realization: it is through the capacity for incorporation, which exploits the body's readiness to take seriously the performative magic of the social, that the king, the banker or the priest are hereditary monarchy, financial capitalism or the Church made flesh" (Bourdieu 1990:, 57); or, I might argue, the activity of Freemasonry enables (Bourdieu 1990) the performative magic (Bourdieu 1990) where the individual Freemason *is* the Craft of Freemasonry, the fraternal, and the discreet. Both Ortner and Bourdieu combine essential arguments for the structuralist, and individualist, approaches to see the formation of culture as an interaction between the two. For example, Practice Theory extended the significance of *meaning* beyond the state of mind of the individual, to include the practices individuals incorporate into their daily activities. Also, while individuals are a 'product of their culture' in many modes of behavior, thought, speech, and habit, the ability to operate outside of those norms exists; in fact, social change, according to this frame, stems from individual action. Within anthropology, the work of foundational theorists such as Bourdieu and Ortner, opened the door for a methodological approach which moved the field away from the sweeping notions of generalizable laws, even within specific cultures, to a more 'on the ground' intuitive form of observation and analysis which is fundamentally relevant to the both the approaches and conclusions of this dissertation.[204]

In 2003, Ulf Hannerz described the formulaic, Evans-Pritchardian image of field-work as "the only fully publicly acknowledged model for field work, and for becoming and being a real anthropologist" (Hannerz 2003, 202). Yet, he added, he suspected that,

[204] The above discussion on practice theory, featuring the works of Bourdieu and Ortner, was taken from work I completed as a part of a UNR course I took in the Fall of 2012 with Dr. Erin Stiles, Graduate Seminar in Cultural Anthropology (ANTH 703).

whether they admit it or not, many contemporary anthropologists are actually "engaging in a greater variety of spatial and temporal practices as they have gone about their research" (Hannerz 2003, 202).[205] Through his ethnographic study of foreign correspondents (Hannerz 2003) he sought to define the activities (205) of foreign correspondents in relation to each other and their journalistic locations, along with how they navigate the representation (205) of Others. Hannerz (2003) also argued that to use the term 'multilocal' (206) to describe this type of fieldwork misses the point. Since it is the connections between (206) places, not the places themselves, that are significant then the term translocal (206) may be more accurate. He argued that "in some loose sense, there is a world-wide 'community' of foreign correspondents, connected through local and long-distance ties" (Hannerz 2003, 206). From my perspective, I would assume that, like Freemasonry, the *activity* of foreign *correspondence* is the variable by which the collective identity of foreign *correspondents*, is most significantly forged. Hannerz (2003) agreed that it would be reasonable to discuss possible issues of "depth and breadth" (208) when moving away from the Evans-Pritchardian fieldwork formulation, however, he also noted that sites are now different (208) and that familiarity with people, how relationships between people are formed and maintained, and the "local ecology of their activities" (208) is more reasonable than the premise of studying a whole culture, fixed in space. Indeed, as Hannerz (2003) observed, there may be another potential fallacy in the traditional field-work model in that the ethnographer is expected "to

[205] Hannerz added that "It may have been only Gupta and Ferguson's Anthropological Locations (1997) that really brought this variety entirely into the open. (I realize, certainly, that the power of the model has not been as strong among the ethnographically inclined in other disciplines, not so fully exposed to it, and obviously working under other conditions.)" (Hannerz 2003, 202).

develop in that year or two the understandings which match what the locals assemble during a life time" (Hannerz 2003, 209). Hannerz (2003) also suggested that field work must, often, fit into the lives (212) of the fieldworker.

While I consider an "activity-based approach" to include more than a re-conception of the 'field site' as embracing non-places, I feel the precedence for this type of approach has its roots in dialogues of the relevancies of space, place, and location. Supplementing his earlier notions, Smith (2005), for example, added that individuals are inherently linked to their immediate social and spatial (243) confines, yet move transnationally through various formations. Smith (2005) noted that a potential prospect for future research into a transnational urbanism would be a study of "power-knowledge venues by which states, institutional channels and other powerful actors broker or otherwise affect our mobile subjects' translocal interconnectivity" (M. Smith 2005, 244). Sassen (2011), however, argued that global processes are inherently place-centered (2) in that economic activity in terms of labor and management are dispersed (1) in specific ways. These contingencies, in a way keeping with Smith's (2005) suggestion, build particular forms of knowledge economies (Sassen 2011).

The dissemination of Masonic literature and ideology is done, in large part, online, as many other culturally-specific activities are likewise represented in cyberspace.[206] While online activity could certainly be included in an "activity-based approach" to ethnography, this approach, as I employ it in my dissertation, involves the activity of Freemasonry as practiced in myriad locations, some physical, some mental,

[206] See also Cliff Porter's discussion on "Social Networking and Media" (Porter, C. 2011:236).

some virtual. However, an "activity-based approach" is certainly enhanced by research in the areas of virtual ethnography as this type of scholarship, necessarily, focuses on non-places as significant sites of meaning-making and the maintenance of globally-relevant collective identities. Wilson and Peterson (2002), for example, described online exchanges as "new forms of technologically mediated language and human interaction" (Wilson and Peterson 2002, 454). While they certainly did not advocate an approach to research which excludes face-to-face interaction in favor of online exchange (456) they do encourage anthropologists to consider the complex connections between offline and online (Castells 1996) social realities and how each can, and does, inform the other. Ardichvili, Page, and Wentling (2003) proposed a practical approach to virtual information exchange, noting that corporations were able to enhance knowledge exchange and a perceived unity amongst their employees by increasing participation in "virtual knowledge-sharing communities of practice" (Ardichvili, Page, and Wentling 2003, 65). They concluded that this occurred, in part, because it allowed new employees to assimilate to the habitus of the company quicker, allowing geographically dispersed employees to work in concert (71). Moreover, Golub (2010) argued that the internet is a site of specific "knowledge-making practices" (Golub 2010, 27) whereby "creating, spreading, and sharing knowledge becomes part of a project which is both "real," "virtual," and "actual" (Golub 2010, 42). Indeed, much web-based Masonic information exchange is geared at both educating the new initiate on the Craft, through tools such as online Masonic education courses, and connecting Masons through access to shared, interactive, databases, such as online Masonic libraries, chat rooms, and journal archives. Carter (2005) argued that new identities and sets of practices were formed as humans

formed relationships in cyberspace. Shumar and Madison (2013) proposed a reconsideration of the paradigm of physical/virtual in favor of a more nuanced interpretation of culture as existing in both bounded and boundless spaces simultaneously. Shumar and Madison (2013), furthermore, noted that there has been little consensus in contemporary anthropological work on virtual communities (Miller and Slater 2001; Boellstorf 2008; Kozinets 2010) and that, in regard to the use of online mediums, anthropologists often disagree on "the range of social groupings, interactions and identities and ways to conceptualise field locations" (Shumar and Madison 2013, 265).

Marion did not argue the relevance and significance that place and location has on the formation and production of cultural forms of knowing, activity, or worldview. He did, however, advocate for a less location-based (Marion 2006, 7) approach to anthropological fieldwork. As he noted "There can be no doubt that where people live their lives matters, often quite greatly, but this does not change the fact that no matter how geographically positioned, it is people who live those lives. It is not places, but what people personally and collectively think and do in those places, that ultimately shape the lives that are lived" (Marion 2006, 7). Basso (1996) may argue that place has a very significant impact on the formation of self and reality. Indeed, in his quintessential work *Wisdom Sits in Places,*[207] Basso argued (using Heidegger's (1977) work on dwellings (Basso 1996, 106)), that it is precisely those features of one's familiar surroundings (or *places* [Basso 1996]) "that possess a marked capacity for triggering acts of self-

[207] 1996. Full title: *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language among the Western Apache.* UNM Press. (See References for full citation)

reflection, inspiring thoughts about who one presently is, or memories of who one used to be, or musings on who one might become" (Basso 1996,107). Indeed, the primary premise of my Master's Degree work, relying heavily on Basso's reflections on place-based identity (Basso 1996,107), was that identity, culture, and being can be precisely created and ultimately tied to a specific, sometimes comparatively small, geographic location[208] (Wilhelm 2011). By incorporating an "activity-based approach", which moves my anthropological inquires away from a place-based approach to ethnography, I am not, like Marion, discounting the significance of place. I would argue, however, within the case-study of this dissertation, that the activity of Freemasonry, for example, imprints an additional layer of reference upon those self-reflective (Basso 1996) places and spaces. Memories and musings (Basso 1996) related to landmarks and geographic features are considered within the frame of Masonic activity and understanding. Indeed, Mahmud (2012) described sites and landmarks in Italy that an uninitiated visitor would not consider outside of his or her own interpretation of the place. For the Mason, however, by either design or shared worldview, the sites had significant Masonic meaning. Indeed, as Mahmud (2012a) put it, "Freemasons could learn to experience the world around them as a forest of symbols waiting to be interpreted; in turn, it was their ability to see the world as a forest of symbols that allowed Freemasons to find meaning, beauty, and sociality in their lives" (Mahmud 2012a, 435).[209] The Masonic-self, as I see it, is therefore superimposed upon the dweller (Basso 1996) to render places both meaningful to the

[208] I am referring to the former United States Panama Canal Zone which existed between 1914-1999 and included a space that was 557 square miles (5 miles wide by 55 miles long) which extended the length of the Panama Canal in the Republic of Panama (Wilhelm 2011:1) and was the site of a unique experience and culture, known as *Zonians.*

[209] This particular quote is utilized in whole, or in part, in various locations in this dissertation.

individual outside of Masonry (the profane self), but also, and perhaps with more force of recollection, to the collaborative approach to worldview made meaningful through the activity of the Craft (the sacred self).[210] It is precisely because of this assumption that I found useful a comparative approach to the activity of Freemasonry by working with participants in different geographic settings. By finding an alternative to place-based ethnography I discovered, with more clarity, the impact "activity-based" identity has on the formation of culture, which is in and of itself is at the heart of anthropological inquiry. Indeed, Marion's (2008) own work within the arena and activity of competitive ballroom dancing, I feel mirrors my own approach to the arena and activity of Freemasonry. As he put it in the introduction to his 2008 work:

> "Values and identities are always contextual, which means that ballroom competitors, coaches, studios, adjudicators and competitions are all contingent upon their place within a field of activity replete with all its constituent practices, values, negotiations of agency and power, and constructions of meaning and identity that transcend geographic positioning. As all this helps to make clear then, there is not always a simple 'where' to fieldwork. The overlooking and under-theorizing of 'locations' that do not fit traditional models of 'place', unfortunately and unnecessarily leaves open critical methodological concerns, undermining both the empirical and theoretical contributions possible from such research. This book is a step in the opposite direction; it looks carefully – and finds that the 'how', 'who' and 'what' defining the 'where' cannot always be said to be 'there.'" (15).

Activity based approaches have been used in other fields outside of anthropology before Marion's use of the concept in the early 2000s. Operational Management analysts, for example, have extolled the benefits of an 'Activity-Based Costing' (e.g., Cooper and

[210] Mahmud also explores issues of the *profane*, etc., see for example Mahmud 2013.

Kaplan 1991; Roodhooft and Konings 1996, ; Gosselin 2007[211]) approach to profitability (Cooper and Kaplan 1991) indexes. Within the field of business economics, an 'activity-based approach' "reveals the links between performing particular activities and the demands those activities make on the organization's resources, it can give managers a clear picture of how products, brands, customers, facilities, regions, or distribution channels both generate revenues and consume resources" (Cooper and Kaplan 1991,130). Indeed, studying an activity itself through an ethnographic process is not unique. In 2007, for example, Cécile B. Vigouroux published an account of the *activity* of transcription for *Ethnography*.[212] Vigouroux (2007) argued that "in order to deconstruct scription, I move upstream and investigate the activity that produced it, thus focusing on the *trans* process" (Vigouroux 2007, 61–63). Vigouroux found, for example, that the collaborative (83) activity of transcription itself was deep-seated in the kinds of identities (66) that are constructed and assumed through the process (Vigouroux 2007) of "language socialization" (Vigouroux 2007,66; multiple uses)

Processes (Fraser 2007) furthermore, rather than places, have been studied, particularly in the sub-field of urban anthropology, in their articulation of practices. Indeed, Fraser (2007) argued, "urban life is poorly understood as a static container for human activity and is better conceived instead as a multidimensional process – variegated and even contradictory" (Fraser 2007, 59). Fraser (2007) suggested anthropologists move away from theoretical frames which take a dualistic approach to urban research and

[211] In an earlier version of this dissertation I had listed "Gosselin 1997", upon attempting to locate the original citation I came acroos a review written by Gosselin of 'activity based costing' and so have used that reference in place of the original, see References and Reference Notes)
[212] Vol 8, Iss 1, Pp 61-97.

instead conceptualize urban phenomena as more multivariate. Indeed, a new wave of urban anthropologists (D. Harvey 1989, 1996, 2000; Nylund 2001; Fraser 2007) argued that previous approaches often separated urban spaces into a dualistic polarity between the built environment and social life (Fraser 2007) or into spheres of public life and private life. The range of theories outlining the juxtaposition between the public and the private, and the distinctions between physical places and social spaces, is significant to my approach to this project. Fraser (2007) also noted that the significance of urban spaces, both in the formation of public memory and the daily experiences of actors, are in constant motion (Fraser 2007) and thus the separation of the *public* and the *private* is neither applicable in its simplicity, nor acceptable in its limited scope, to urban anthropology (Staeheli 1996; M. Brown 1999).

In 2007, Matei Candea defended the traditional 'bounded' field site[213] and discussed multi-sited ethnography as an attempt "to transcend boundaries, spatial, intellectual, and disciplinary, to weave together accounts of ever-increasing complexity, in multiple spaces, times, and languages" (Candea 2007, 169). He argued that while un-binding the field-site may seem to privilege the processes (171) of culture rather than the location of it, it overlooks "the necessity of bounding as *an anthropological practice*" (Candea 2007, 172). While Candea (2007) did not recommend favoring the kind of Evans-Pritchardian tradition discussed above, as the most favorable form of fieldwork (180), he did suggest that having one's research be geographically fixed does not overlook the complex multi-sited (175) processes that make up the lives that are lived

[213]Indeed, Candea (2007) titled his article: *Arbitrary Locations: In Defence of the Bounded Field-Site* (Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol 13, Iss 1, Pp 167-184).

there. While my own research does not favor spatially-fixed locations as primary units of analysis (Candea 2007, 169) I believe that I do, as Candea 2007 suggested, produce a "bounded unit of analysis" (Candea 2007, 169) by defining the boundaries within which the activity of Freemasonry is practiced. The boundaries of my field-site are drawn, in part, by the exclusivity of those who practice it, the concepts[214] that express its practice, where it is practiced, and what implications Masonic activity has on how philosophical systems of individualism are sustained through collaboration.

In 2009, Jenna Burrell found that "a realization that the field site is in certain ways constructed rather than discovered is crucial to contemporary practice" (Burrell 2009, 182). She reviewed the various ways that 'field-site' (182) had been discussed and also explored the implications of imagining "the field site as a heterogeneous network" (Burrell 2009, 182). Burrell (2009) argued that meaningful access was predicated on the ability of the researcher to be accepted and confided in, as a kind of quasi-'insider' (182), yet meaningful analysis was predicated on the ability of the researcher to be able to distance (182) themselves, often physically (182), from their subjects of study. Newer conceptions (183) of the field, Burrell (2009) added, included attention to the mobility of both concrete and abstract components of culture, as well as, later, to the virtual, social (184), worlds found online. Burrell (2009) asked the question "Should we define the field site by the movement and dwelling of the fieldworker or, alternately, as the space in which a social phenomenon takes place?" (Burrell 2009, 186). Burrell (2009) tackled this challenge, to some extent, through a network (189) perspective. Among other benefits,

[214] See Chapter 5.

this perspective allowed Burrell (2009) to reimagine both time and space in relation to fieldwork and field-site. Indeed, she noted "continuity does not imply homogeneity or unity; it implies connection. The continuity of a network is evident in the way that one point can (through one or more steps) connect to any other point" (Burrell 2009, 190). Points of entry (190) became, therefore, more significant to Burrell (2009) in accessing the field than places of entry. Burrell (2009) also noted that textual references, and language more generally (192), rather than units of data analysis (192) following field work[215], can indicate significant lines of inquiry and access at the beginning of field work. "Imagined spaces" (194), Burrell (2009) observed, can become critical points of inquiry that help to define "social reality" (194). Burrell's (2009) case-study involved "the social appropriation of the Internet in Accra, Ghana" (187) was thus a relevant example for this type of approach. Some hurdles to overcome within a network approach, Burrell (2009) admitted, included the difficulty in attempting to be a participant-observer in an imagined space (194), determining a good "stopping point" (194) for research, and how to define the role of the researcher (194) within the network. Following the work of Charmaz (2006, cited in Burrell 2009), Burrell (2009) suggested one useful technique would be to employ 'meaning saturation'(194).[216] Burrell (2009) concluded by noting that the network approach is applicable to the ultimate inquiries of ethnographic study. Indeed, she noted that "the field site transitions from a bounded space that the researcher dwells within to something that more closely tracks the social phenomenon under study" (Burrell 2009, 195).

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[215] Here Burrell (2009) references the work of Jovchelovitch and Bauer (2000). (192).
[216] Burrell 2009 directs the reader to "See Charmaz (2006:113–14) for a nuanced discussion of what saturation is and what it entails in a grounded theory approach." (Burrell 2009:197).

In 2014, Ashley Carse reviewed the work of anthropologists who explored cultures of circulation (Carse 2014) and the implications of such work on how the field has "reconceptualize(d) cultural forms" (Carse 2014, 391). Indeed, she observed that "in 2013, anthropologists followed circulating things along global routes, often showing how they brought distant communities into relationships" (Carse 2014, 391). She recognized that this was not necessarily a new innovation in the field[217] yet remarked how the contemporary approach to *circulation* included "the entanglement of circulating things with the specificities of place and attendant emphasis on both flow and form" (Carse 2014, 391). Carse (2014) noted that these contemporary approaches, while broadening the anthropological understanding of global (398) processes, have narrowed the focus of conclusions (398), moving away from generalizable attributes and towards a certain specificity that does not occur in more traditional approaches to bounded (398) cultures, which, she argued, may be what many anthropologists are after. Carse (2014) concluded by noting that "our challenge is to find a way of studying and writing about global cultures of circulation without giving up on wisdom[218], a mode of communication that brings contemporary life into a more humane configuration" (Carse 2014, 398–399). Indeed, as Sarah Ives (2014) observed through her study of rooibos tea growers in South Africa, the sense of indigeneity is often strongly associated with a specific place/geographic area, yet, at the same time, it is important to understand how these

[217] She references the past work of "(Appadurai 1986; Lee and LiPuma 2002; Marcus 1995)" (Carse 2014:391).

[218] Here Carse (2014) references the quintessential work on 'place' by Basso (1996). Indeed, she prefaces the above quote with "As Keith Basso—who passed away in August of 2013—reminded us in his lyrical study of the cultural landscapes of the Western Apache, wisdom sits in places (Basso 1996). Anthropologists have been adept at cataloguing cultural wisdom around the world." (Carse 2014:398).

ideologies travel in the face of environmental changes. As she noted, "understanding climate change's impacts involves destabilizing ideas of place and of rooted cultural cosmologies" (Ives 2014, 311). Exacerbating the issue for the rooibos tea farmers also included the social, political, and economic (311/313) issues involving global (319) and local (311/319) trade, migration (320), ethnic tensions (311), and private property (320) ownership. Ives (2014), like Carse (2014), referenced some of the quintessential work on 'place' in her reference to Escobar's (2001) exposé[219], outlining his misgivings on the impact of an anthropology of global processes on the significance of place(311)-based identity (Ives 2014). Ives admitted that she "echo(ed) Escobar's emphasis on the importance of place in anthropological research. However, I focus on the point that he leaves for parentheses: the instability of place and the role this instability plays in scholars' and certain communities' understandings of the rootedness of cultures and of indigeneity in particular" (Ives 2014, 312). The movement, therefore, of a key cultural element (rooibos), which is ultimately tied to the complex process of identity(320)-formation not only through its material existence and geographic placement(320), but, I would promote, through the activity involved in its creation, becomes a site for re-imagining "human mobility" (Ives 2014, 320). Indeed, as Ives (2014) noted "the movement of rooibos and the climatic conditions that helped it thrive, that created its "taste of place," unsettled people's ideas of rootedness and their concepts of indigeneity as a one-to-one connection between people and place" (Ives 2014, 320). This, I suppose, begs the question of what the variable weight is, to the construction and maintenance of

[219] She is referring to Arturo Escobar's (2001) *Culture Sits in Places.* (Ives 2014:311).

collective identity and other factors, on both the *activity* of tea-growing, and the *location* that the tea grows. As a colleague of mine defended recently (Alcalde Sorolla 2015), indigenous identity (in his case the Mapuche of Southern Chile) is often tied to concepts of sacred place, where ethnicity is enacted and identity is ultimately tied to specific landmarks through stories and activities involving those landmarks, and indeed, for his participants, was "the unique place that possesses the spiritual power from where each individual can restore this personal relationship" (Alcalde Sorolla 2015, 60). When these individuals move to the cities, such as Santiago (Alcalde Sorolla 2015), to find adequate livelihoods, their place-based identity must necessarily travel with the identifier as those individuals are swept up in the transient life of urbanization. They create indigenous microcosms within the city, and enact other forms of remaining close to the land[220] (or "*el sur"* as Mapuche refer to their ancestral geography (Alcalde Sorolla 2015[221])), to retain some connection with their ethnicity (Alcalde Sorolla 2015). Indeed, as Alcalde Sorolla (2015) noted "The *Wallmapu*([222]) not only represents the Mapuche territory, but it is also the ethnic locale—the place where Mapucheness resides" (Alcalde Sorolla 2015, 58). Although, Alcalde Sorolla (2015), also noted that he had a difficult time moving

[220] Alcalde Sorolla (2015) mentioned some ways Mapuche remain close to the land while living in, or near, Santiago, in an email where he was answering some inquiries of mine related to his work, it is therefore referenced but not properly cited in text; and thus I do not claim the above sentiments, in relation to the Mapuche, as my own. Alcalde Sorolla discusses the various ways Mapuche adjust to an "urban environment" (4) in his (2015) work.

[221] While the term 'el sur' was used throughout his work, Alcalde Sorolla (2015) mentioned this to me in an email where he was answering some inquiries of mine related to his work, it is therefore in quotes, yet is not properly cited in text; attempting to go back and 'double-check' any verbatim, or implied, notions I discovered that the email has since been lost; any misrepresentation of Alcalde Sorolla's work or words is unintentional.

[222] Here Alcalde Sorolla (2015) references the work of Antileo Baeza (2010) in that "After centuries of settlement in the same area, Mapuche have constructed the geographical notion of *Wallmapu* to refer to the extension of their territory (Antileo Baeza 2010)" (Alcalde Sorolla 2015, 57–58).

away from a place-based approach in his research when trying to situate indigeneity in multiple tropes.[223]

Granted, the complexities of human cultural process and identity undoubtedly renders many variables significant, and thus it is up to the researcher to determine the relative significance of both *activity* and *location*, not through a generalizable form, but through an emic approach which weighs these variables against the constructions of meaning inherent to the population of study. I hope to show, through my own research, that an "activity-based approach" has the potential to be at least as well-suited to the enhancement of a place-based approach as multi-sited, or transnational, approaches have thus far been.

An "activity-based approach", as discussed in the above brief review, is not the product of a clear and linear trajectory of thought within a specific paradigm of discourse. Nor is it the life's work of a single researcher[224] laboring to revolutionize the field. It was, for Jonathan Marion, a useful tool for analyzing the culture of competitive ballroom dance. Marion (2008) found that to provide an adequate and in-depth portrayal of dancesport (Marion 2008) he must emphasize, to some extent, the activity of competitive

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[223] I am paraphrasing/summarizing a more in-depth exchange between us. As I also note in 'Reference Notes': Information related to his work was also used in my dissertation as garnered through conversations I had with him related to it.]

[224] I am referring here to the combined works of Jonathan Marion who, as he told me during a SSSA meeting in 2015 in Denver, Colorado, found the creation of an *activity-based approach* a useful tool to discuss his work with Competitive Ballroom Dancing culture. Indeed, Marion is better known for his innovative work on performance, embodiment, and gender along with his extensive contributions to the field of visual anthropology. (see: http://news.uark.edu/articles/18817/anthropology-department-adds-scholar-on-gender-performance-identity-to-faculty)

dancing. Beyond being multilocal, translocal (see Hannerz 2003), and multi-sited (see footnote 76), Marion's (2008) study "explored the performing of dancesport as an activity involving elements of spectacle, art and sport" (Marion 2008, 168). He found "explored the rituals (105/169) and practices that set ballroom competition apart from other facets of ballroom life, unpacking the formality, invariance, symbols and rites of passage embedded in ballroom competitions" (Marion 2008, 169). An "activity-based approach", from my perspective, and for my uses, is a collection of approaches which extends the parameters of both 'culture' and the 'study' of culture. Despite the many exposés attempting to construct, or deconstruct, its proper procedure, Mahmud (2013) found that "fieldwork…is often viewed as an incommunicable practice, to be experienced, rather than a method to be formally taught" (Mahmud 2013, 202). I find that the application and interpretation of an "activity-based approach" is my own version of an "answer to the riddle of the ethnographic method" (Mahmud 2013, 203). Though there are certainly other researchers whose innovative methodologies, case-studies, or theoretical backgrounds could enhance a discussion on the formation, and use, of an "activity-based approach", the above review adequately traces a precedence for this type of approach, specifically as is relevant to the conclusions of this dissertation.

The above 'review of literature' is a concentrated presentation of the topics of ritual identity, secrecy, the network perspective, the contemporary scholarship of Freemasonry, and the contributions to a conception of an approach focused on 'activity.' It is no way intended to represent an exhaustive review of all relevant pieces of work within any of these themes, but rather briefly present the paradigm in such a way as its contributions to this project, either direct or indirect, can be identified. Furthermore, I make extensive use

of interdisciplinary and inter-affiliative citation and reference within this project which, as I discussed previously, enhances the overall discussion of the salient points within my own discoveries and observations. Therefore, there may be more 'review' outside of this 'review of literature' than within it and, doubtless, there are myriad significant works that have been developed subsequent to the writing of this review which would have enhanced my interpretations.

In the following Chapter, I will provide background to the case-study and the people who frame its composition. I will discuss issues of legitimacy, multi-site collaboration, and identity. I will, likewise, touch upon components of Masonic knowledge production and present an underlying central theme that punctuates a unique metaphorical practice. After a brief overview of both Reno, Nevada, and Bucaramanga, Colombia sites I will segue into a presentation of Masonic activity forms, focusing on its lexicon, enactment, links to familial, social, and textual networks, and the differing approaches to the ideal of Masonic experience.

Chapter 4: THE SONS OF LIGHT. [BACKGROUND]

"…Freemasons, too, travel in search of spiritual light, which can be found only in the East, from whence it springs, and having attained its possession, they are thenceforth called 'the sons of light.' But the light of masonry is pure, as emanating from the source of all purity and perfection; and Masons, remembering that they are brought out of darkness into light, are admonished to let the light which is in them so shine before all men, that their good works may be seen, and the great fountain of that light be glorified."

Mackey (1845/2004, 273)

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The Free/Ancient & Free and Accepted Masons

Due in part to the oral tradition of Freemasonry, there is little documented evidence of the existence of the Order prior to the 17th-18th centuries, though there are documents supporting the establishment of Lodges, or charges, in the British Isles as early as the 16th century (Gould 1885[225]). Some have demonstrated possible ties between the Crusades' Knights Templars and the formations of Freemasonry (Kittell 2007). In the first years of the 14th century King Philip IV of France, in the name of Pope Clement V and the Holy Inquisitors, orchestrated mass arrests, followed by trials, imprisonments, and executions of the Knights Templars (Barber 2006). The Grand Master of Templars,

[225] In an earlier version I also cited "Carson et al." here.

Jacques DeMolay was executed in 1314 (Cullingford 1983), although some have argued he had been absolved by the Pope (Frale 2004). Freemasonry, possibly, formed as Templars fled persecution and shrouded the remnants of their order in secrecy, hiding their wealth and knowledge within a system of trade guilds[226] which would have allowed freedom of travel, sanctioned gatherings, and a hope of future restoration. Indeed, contemporary Masonic lexicon includes numerous Templar associatives, as well as Appendant and Concordant bodies named after the Order, such as The Knights Templars, or the Order of DeMolay. Others argue for a much earlier formation, as many participants of this project have pointed towards the Halliwell Manuscript, c. 1390, as supporting evidence for the existence of Freemasonry as early as 926 AD (Pietre-Stones 1996/2015). The Halliwell Manuscript was published in the 1840s by James Halliwell who dated it to the 1390s, though others of the period believed it was derived from work written in the mid-15th century, and evidence was also presented as to its basis being the "Book of Constitutions" from AD 926 (Mackey 1898/2008, 25-26). Mackey (1898/2008) points out that the "language (of the Manuscript) is more archaic than that of Wycliffe's version of the Bible, which was written toward the end of the 14th century" (Mackey 1898/2008, 26). The Manuscript contains nearly 800 lines of verse containing the origins of geometry/Masonry, regulations adopted by the Assembly of King Athelstan, stories of Martyrs, and the 'Legend of the Craft' (Mackey 1898/2008, 26-27). The content of the Manuscript forms the foundation of what has been referred to as the Old Charges (Masonic Lodge of Education 2007/2015) forming the basis of contemporary regulations

[226] There are multiple sources which describe Medieval Trade Guilds, the link to the formation of modern Freemasonry, and the practices of Trade Guilds which would have made them ideal places to sequester a "discreet" organization.

of the Craft. Others have argued that Masonry has its beginnings as early as 1000 BC with the building of King Solomon's Temple (Kaltenbach 2010). The building of King Solomon's Temple, for example, forms the basis of a Masonic allegory around which many symbols and rituals are built, and on which the rituals for the passage between all the degrees of Masonry are based. Indeed, apart from political motivations (Jacob 1981) for the persecution of Freemasons during the Inquisition, there were also some genuine questions of unorthodox, or heretical, beliefs lobbied by the Church against Freemasonry*. For example, the fact that Freemason lore claimed that the origins of the Order went back to the building of Solomon's Temple* in Jerusalem, was an issue. This "leyenda de Hiram"[227] (Ferrer Benimeli 1974, 5) was also acted out in symbolic, as well as ritual, form through the reenactment* of Hiram and his Masons, "a quien acudió Salomon a fin de que le proporcionara cedros del Líbano para la construcción del templo de Jerusalén" (5) .[228] Not only did this story of Masonic origin question certain Biblical versions*[229], but it also placed Masons into an important position in Christian history. Many treatises have been written attempting to pinpoint the exact date when Freemasonry was established, or to adequately trace its evolution from a single point in history to the present, indeed, one participant of this project brought me a framed scroll, produced c. 1950, which traced the "Struggle of Mankind for Religious and Political Freedom".[230] This timeline suggests that the origins of Masonry may coincide with the '*establishment of Masons soldalty by Numa* (which) *began between 685BC & 680BC'*.

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[227] Approximate translation: "Legend of Hiram"
[228] Approximate translation: "went to Solomon bringing him ceder wood for the construction of his Temple of Jerusalem"
[229] Unknown citation
[230] See Appendix 4, sub-section i, for reference and notes/re-production of the Timeline.

Many of these works are divided, contradict each other to some extent, or are based on incomplete records, indeed, as numerous participants of this project have noted during interviews, there is no single Masonic authority, and different versions and interpretations of Masonic history, symbolic significance, and meaning are both accepted and encouraged. Fairly widespread agreement does exist, however, on a few critical points in Masonic history. For example, Speculative Freemasonry evolved during the Enlightenment Period (Jacob 1981, 1991, 2006) with the inclusion of Scottish nobility in the order. *Speculative* Freemasonry replaced *Operative* Freemasonry in the late 18th century (Mackey 1921; Ridley 2011[231]); the difference being that the Speculative Mason placed an emphasis on the production and dissemination of knowledge, tolerance, and egalitarian ideals, rather than the construction, design, and maintenance of physical structures which was the function of Operative Masonry. Also, while Masonic Lodges were meeting, unofficially, prior to the 18th century, the first Grand Lodge of England (today:UGLE) was chartered in 1717 (Hodapp 2005) which became, to the chagrin of some foreign Lodges (Hodapp 2005, Mahmud 2014), the main regulating body, though not the main authority, of contemporary Masonry. The first book outlining the regulations of the Order was published in 1723 (United Grand Lodge of England 2002/2015). Though there is much scholarship on the establishment of Freemasonry (and/or Masonic Lodges) following trade, traders, and trade routes, Freemasonry quite possibly also spread worldwide during particular periods of persecution such as occurred during the Inquisition. 'First issuing a bull prohibiting Freemasonry in 1738, Pope

[231] In an earlier version I referenced Ridley 1999 for this segment.

Clement XII officially established a growing trend of suspicion from both the public and clerical domains. Many trial records exist depicting the prosecution and sentencing of Freemasons, such as those of Tommaso Crudeli in Florence in 1739, or of Edward Wigat and James O'Kennedy in Manila in 1756, or the individuals investigated by Antonio Lante in Malta in 1776, among others. The persecution of Freemasons lasted until the demise of the Inquisition, first repealed by King Joseph of Spain in the first decade of the nineteenth century and finally vanishing in the 1830s' (modified version in Wilhelm 2014a). Active persecution of Freemasonry also existed within the Fascist dictatorships in the mid-20th century.[232] Freemasonry may have also been established in the Americas following Freemasons from Spain during the colonization of Mexico[233] and other parts of Latin America. Persecution also followed Freemasonry from the Iberian Peninsula to Latin America. Indeed, Ferrer Benimeli (1974) noted that there are more surviving documents of Inquisition cases against Freemasons in Lima and Mexico, than in Europe*. However, the cases in the 'new world' are not direct accusations of 'freemasonry' but rather a known Freemason is charged with a series of other offenses* "por incidir en terrenos más directamente teológicos o morales."[234] (1974, 356).

Freemasonry was brought to North America during the 1600s (Tabbert 2005) and the 1730s saw the establishment of the first UGLE recognized Lodges in the American colonies (Tabbert 2005). It is also my understanding that individual Freemasons, but not

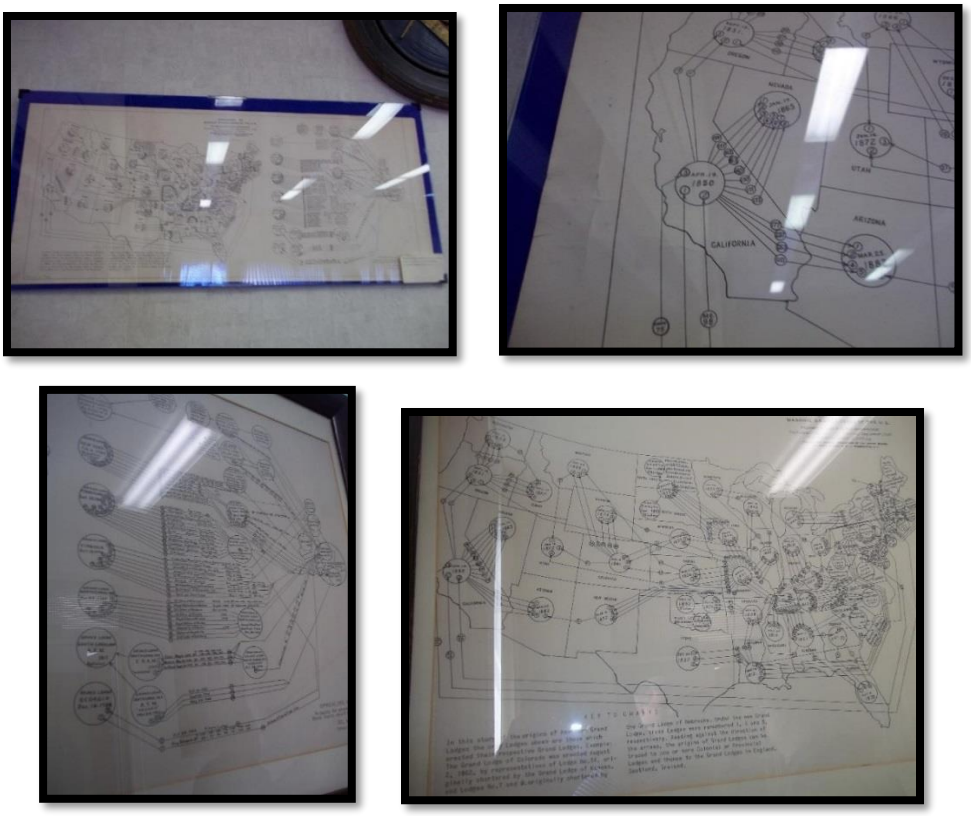
[232] Multiple sources; unrecalled first exposure; though I do recall a committee member, Joseba Zualika, early in this project, noting that Franco was very anti-Masonic, participant/s of this project have also relayed/questioned stories (lore) of Masonic activity during the Nazi regime in Germany.
[233] And indeed of the English colonization of the (northern) Americas; see Tabbert 2005.
[234] Approximate translation: "based on theological or moral grounds"

necessarily Masonic jurisdictional authorities or collective decisions, also played significant leadership roles in the independence movements of the United States and many Latin American nations. Many Masonic Temples, particularly those of Grand Lodges, I visited as part of this research had a chart hanging within the Temple tracing the chartering of Lodges across the United States (see Figure24). Each Masonic Lodge must be chartered by an established, and recognized, Lodge, participants have told me, with the region's Grand Lodge normally chartering[235] new Lodges (De Hoyos and Morris 2010). Thus, charts tracing Masonic recognition/establishment appear as grand social networks, with central nodes and myriad connections.

[235] In his 2011 work, Cliff Porter notes that "Although the procedure varies by jurisdiction, most Grand Lodges require the prospective lodge to do some or all of the following:

- Contact lodges in the area to request their consent to form a new lodge in their area.
- A recommended set of by-laws.
- Proving some level of ritual proficiency in front of a Grand Lodge official.
- Having a requisite number of Master Masons formally petition the Grand Lodge for a charter or dispensation, together will a list of charter officers.
- Designate a fixed premises where the lodge will meet and a schedule for those meetings."

(C. Porter 2011, 232-233)



(**Figure 24:** Charts tracing the establishment of Lodges across the United States, within the Grand Lodge of Nevada, Reno (top) and within the Grand Lodge of Utah, Salt Lake City (bottom): Wilhelm 05/2014-08/2014)

Many Lodges are followed by the abbreviation F. & A.M. (such as Reno Lodge #13, F. & A.M. in Reno, NV) or A. F. & A.M. (such as Casper Lodge #15 A.F. & A. M. in Casper, WY). These stand for Free and Accepted Masons and Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, respectively. In the Gran Logia de Los Andes, the jurisdiction to which La Serenisima Logia Renovación 1-12 belongs, the abbreviation used is AA LL Y AA MM (behind each letter set is a triangle made of tree dots). The double letters, according to Augustin Rivera, are translated and explained as follows “Antiguos Libres Y

Aceptados Masones / abbreviation used in all masonic writing's, is a tradition."[236] In the mid-18th century, Irish working-class would-be Masons formed a Lodge of their own upon feelings of rejection from the gentlemen's Lodges of London (Tabbert 2005). Dermott was a leading figure of this movement and subsequently published his own book of Masonic laws in 1756 whereby he sought to bring Freemasonry back to its traditional, or *Ancient*, origins (Tabbert 2005). As Tabbert (2005) notes, "Ancient Freemasonry became a pathway to extend a man's business contacts, confirm his honor and integrity, improve his manners and knowledge, and further his aspirations of becoming an affluent and respected gentleman" (27). Also, the Ancients, as opposed to the *Moderns* (Tabbert 2005), more readily chartered new Lodges, including many in the colonies, and created additional degree/s (Tabbert 2005, 27). By 1813 (Tabbert 2005) the two systems unified and eventually streamlined a common core of ritual and membership standards (28). Seemingly, the only remaining remnant of the division remains in the use of "A" in front of F. & A.M. in some Lodges, which indicates a lineage, formed after 1756, tracing its roots through the charter system back to Dermott's Ancients.

The Blue Lodge confers all three degrees of Masonry. As numerous participants have told me, there is no higher degree than the third degree, or Master Mason. As de Hoyos and Morris (2010) have explained, "After becoming a Master Mason, a member may join many other 'appendant' or 'concordant' bodies" (De Hoyos and Morris 2010, 110), many of which confer additional degrees. Indeed, *concordant* bodies are those additional Masonic groups, requiring Masonic membership, which will confer degrees as

[236] I sent an email inquiry to Ricardo Rivera related to the meaning of the Double Letters. He talked with his father Augustin Rivera and the above quote is the verbatim reply as it was received in a reply to my email.

a continuation of the three Blue Lodge degrees (Hodapp 2005). *Appendant* bodies will not necessarily confer degrees. However, as De Hoyos and Morris (2010) note, "Grand Lodges exercise the executive administrative power to determine which organizations may be considered 'Masonic' in their jurisdiction, and they reserve the right to prohibit their membership from joining any organization which requires Masonic membership" (De Hoyos and Morris 2010, 3). There are also some groups which are sponsored by Masonry (A. Jones 2010), in many jurisdictions, such as youth groups and ladies' auxiliaries. Appendant, Concordant, and other Masonic groups beyond the Blue Lodge, were developed to appeal to special interests within Masonic memberships. Membership in Appendant/Concordant bodies is a fairly common occurrence in Masonry. According to the results of a survey distributed as part of this project, approximately 75% of both U.S. and Colombian (76.6% U.S., 75% Colombian)[237] participants belonged to at least one Appendant/Concordant body with more memberships, generally, among U.S. Masons.[238] Indeed, many Masons join multiple additional bodies; as Abe Marshall noted during a May 5th, 2014 interview, "(I am a) compulsive joiner…I believe in the social world." It has been suggested to me numerous times during this research that Appendant/Concordant bodies developed as Masons wanted to socialize outside of the Lodge[239], in a less formal environment. Augustin Rivera, for example, has referred to the

[237] All participants from other locations belonged to at least one Appendant/Concordant body
[238] To calculate this percent I looked at the highest number of respondents answering they belong to the Scottish Rite (which had the highest membership across all geocoded locations) and used the average (as discussed in notes/footnote corresponding to Table 27) to determine, if no other membership category was chosen, that 85, out of approximately 111 U.S. respondents, and 45, out of an approximately 60 Colombian respondents, indicated membership in at least one (in this case Scottish Rite) Appendant/Concordant Body.
[239] In Wilhelm 2014b I discussed "socializ(ing) outside the Lodge" in reference to Augustin and the Bucaramanga Masons (Wilhelm 2014b,17). A quick scan of that publication (Wilhelm 2014b)

Shriners a number of times as "the Masons who laugh." Many of the U.S. participants of this project, likewise, noted that they felt that Masons spent more time/interest in their Appendant/Concordant bodies than they did in Blue Lodge; thus, they felt that attendance at Blue Lodge meetings, events, and volunteer opportunities was low in comparison to that of Appendant/Concordant bodies. Part of this perception of "competing loyalties", Herman Clayworth mentioned during our interview in Springfield, Ohio, may be due to the fact that Blue Lodge memberships have gotten so large. Although, as Herman observed, "in my little Lodge my guys don't generally join the other bodies – no need." Clayworth, who is part of the new Restoration Movement in Masonry[240], works to keep membership in his Lodge low, while providing ample Lodge social activities outside of regular meetings for its members. Although, beyond familiarity, perhaps it is also a dedication to the Craft that draws Masons to additional organizations; as Leonid Averin mentioned during a June 6th, 2014 interview, Blue Lodge is "the most important" but that Appendant bodies provide "more light, additional light." A few participants also mentioned that they joined the Masons primarily so they could become a member of an Appendant Body (namely, The Shriners). In the survey that was distributed as part of this project, participants were asked, in an open-ended text question[241], "Of the Appendant/Concordant Bodies listed, which do you feel you spend most time with (going

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showed some parallel phrasing, it appeared mostly to be related to participant quotes that I have used in both works, along with more generalized ideas. Since the Wilhelm 2014b publication was a 'research report' (see Wilhelm 2014b) related directly to this dissertation, I expect parallels to exist and will therefore not attempt to self-cite more thoroughly.

[240] Clayworth, and others I have interviewed, discussed their involvement in a Restoration Movement in Masonry whereby Masons are working to bring Masonry back to more traditional practices, focusing on the perception of quality of membership over quantity, and increasing the significance of degree-progression, among other attributes.

[241] 158 participants provided a written response to this question. Responses were written in either English or Spanish.

to meetings and events, researching at home, etc.) please type the name/s of the top ones (where you dedicate the majority of your time/efforts), you can also type 'I divide my time equally' or 'I dedicate most of my time to Blue Lodge'.[242] The majority of all respondents declared that they dedicated the majority of their time to their Blue Lodge (approximately 38%), followed by responses that they divided their time equally between Blue Lodge and other Appendant / Concordant bodies (approximately 32%), followed by participants stating they dedicated most of their time to Scottish Rite (approximately 13%), followed by those who dedicated most of their time to York Right, or York Rite bodies (approximately 7%). Additionally, approximately 5%[243] of respondents mentioned they divided their time equally between two or more Appendant bodies (not including Blue Lodge), approximately 2% mentioned they dedicated most of their time to the Shriners, and approximately 1% mentioned they dedicated most of their time to an Appendant/Concordant body not already mentioned (e.g. Order of the Eastern Star, or the Sojourners). Also, when asked "How often do you attend in Blue Lodge…"[244], the majority (68.93%) of respondents from all locations (U.S.=67.3%, Colombian=70.5%,

[242] (SP) De los cuerpos adjuntos y / o grupos concordantes escogidos, a cuales le dedica la mayor parte del tiempo (en las reuniones y eventos, la investigación en el hogar, etc) por favor escriba el nombre/s de los principales (donde le dedicas la mayor parte de su tiempo / trabajo), también puede escribir "Yo divido mi tiempo en partes iguales" o "le dedico la mayor parte de mi tiempo a la Logia Azul"

[243] A single survey that was added to the aggregate data after the above mentioned general trends were calculated indicated it would fall into this category of "equally between two or more Appendant bodies", while the inclusion of his results are tallied in the graphical representations of general results, geo-coded results, cross-tabulated results and were considered along with others for inclusion of examples in certain sections of this dissertation they are not reflected in the above percent.

[244] (SP) ¿Con qué frecuencia va usted en Logia Azul (por favor, indique la respuesta que mejor se adapte a su situación)?

83.3% other locations) responded “barring exceptional circumstances I attend every stated meeting”.[245]

Membership in the Freemasons is exclusive and voluntary and although many of the activities of the Masons are closed to non-members the society itself is not so much a *secret society* (Daraul 1962) as one in which members operate with discretion (Mahmud 2012), limiting their outward displays of belonging. “The only (real/true) secrets of Masonry”, numerous participants and literary sources have mentioned, are the signs, grips, words, and knocks that indicate one’s identity as a Mason. These are learned during ritual degree progression and are closely guarded secrets. A Mason who wishes to identify himself as a Mason to a Brother can use a combination of these signs of recognition. Additionally, one participant has told me, there are “sign/s of distress.” These are used when a Mason is in a public setting, in a threatening situation, and not knowing if any other Masons are in the area. He can make these signs of distress and any Bothers who see him will come immediately to his aid. MacNulty (2002) argued that Masonic secrets are not many, and indeed, since “there are some six million Masons in the world; and it is difficult to argue that anything known to six million people is a secret in any ordinary sense of the word” (MacNulty 2002, 58) it would be useful to look at Masonic *secrets* from a different perspective. Freemasonry, as I argue in this dissertation, is an activity. As MacNulty suggests, the secrecy of Masonry are those aspects of the “creative process” (58) that are specific to each individual Mason who practices the Craft.

[245] (SP) A excepción de circunstancias excepcionales atiendo a cada reunión oficial

The Masonic Journey is considered as a deeply personal experience, contained within the psyche, seldom shared, except through common ritual practices. Thus;

> "It is in this context that we should understand the obligation for secrecy imposed on the Entered Apprentice. As he works with the principles of the Craft, he will learn about the nature of himself and his relationship to the universe and to Divinity. These are intensely personal experiences and secrecy is the container within which the individual preserves them. It is this critically important internal process which the Craft nurtures by its external symbol of secrecy."
> (MacNulty 2002:59)

Additionally, as Roberts (1974) notes, "silence and circumspection are considered Masonic virtues" (A. Roberts 1974, 75). However, often, the "uniformed Mason…knows so little about the fraternity he believes everything is secret" (A. Roberts 1974, 75). Beyond signs of recognition and the internalized journey of the Craft, Roberts promotes the idea that the secrets of Masonry can also be those intimate conversations shared between Brothers. Masons are "charged to keep a brother's secrets when confided to you as such…the brother's trust in you must not be violated. To betray the confidence placed in you would be unforgiveable." (A. Roberts 1974, 88). Freemasonry is a way of life that is based on a philosophical system of tolerance for difference and the inviolability of the individual, reinforced through belonging.

LEGITIMACY, REGULARITY, AND COLLABORATION

Although each Lodge has some autonomy, and each Grand Lodge has a great deal of autonomy, official recognition can be traced to the Grand Lodge of England, established in London in 1717; or, as De Hoyos and Morris (2010) note, "to one of the British Grand Lodges" (7). In order for a Lodge to be recognized as legitimate, and the term *regular* applied to it, it must be chartered, and in good standing with a jurisdictional

Grand Lodge which has likewise been chartered, and is in good standing, with "most of the community of regular Lodges, including England, Ireland, and Scotland" (De Hoyos and Morris 2010, 7). Each year a book is published and distributed within a jurisdiction listing all the Lodges around the world which are recognized by that jurisdiction. If a man declares himself a Mason and wishes to enter a Lodge the members of that Lodge, among other tests, will ask him which Lodge he belongs to and consult the List of Lodges, which is a small book published by a jurisdictional Grand Lodge each year that lists all of the Lodges, worldwide, that it recognizes. In the 2014 version of the List of Lodges issued by the Grand Lodge of Nevada to its Constituent Lodges (GLNV 2014) for example, La Serenisima Logia Renovación Nº 1-12 is listed as Renovación 1-12 on page 220, within the list of all regular Lodges within the recognized jurisdiction of Gran Logia de Los Andes. I know this, in part because I was given a copy of the 2014 List by a Past Grand Master and participant of this study, but also because of an early encounter with a Reno Lodge #13 participant. It was in April of 2014, I was attending a Masonic dinner for Reno Lodge #13 members (which precedes their monthly meetings). I was describing my project to a gentleman who asked what the name of the Colombian Lodge was that I was working with. After telling him he excused himself and returned a while later with a small book (the List). He said it would be good for me to know if that Lodge was *recognized,* "because people will ask you." We found the La Serenisima Logia Renovación Nº 1-12 in the book.

Recognition is consistently re-evaluated within the varied network of Masonic authorities. Lodges which were previously in good standing can have recognition revoked, such as occurred in the 1970s with the Italian P2 Lodge. Lucio Gelli,

Worshipful Master of Propaganda Due (P2) Lodge, “abused his authority by using his Masonic influence to gain favors” (De Hoyos and Morris 2010, 6). This abuse led to criminal activity and the eventual overthrow of the Italian government at the time (De Hoyos and Morris 2010). By 1976, P2 was considered illegitimate and recognition was revoked, and Gelli was expelled from the Order (King 1998-2014). The Italian government collapsed in 1981, due, in part to the deeds of Gelli and his followers. On July 24 1981, the Italian government banned all secret societies (King 1998-2014), a ban, which I have been told by participants of this study, is still in effect today.

Lodges, or Grand Lodges, which are considered illegitimate, or clandestine, can also become legitimate, such as occurred, and is still ongoing, with the jurisdiction of Prince Hall Lodges. Formed in 1775 between 15 “free blacks” (Swanson 2007-2015), Prince Hall Lodges were, according to some participants of this study, considered illegitimate by mainstream Lodges because of the original chartering of their first Lodge. Though many other participants note that it was likely that the illegitimacy of these primarily Black Lodges was due more to the racial prejudice/segregation of the time, which still extends into the system of regularity today. Still others declare that though the original refusal by mainstream Lodges to recognize Prince Hall Freemasonry may have been due to an entrenched system of racism that existed in the United States, the refusal of some contemporary Grand Lodges to recognize Prince Hall is based on the logistics of meeting with members of an ‘irregular’ Lodge. Joint recognition (Hodapp 2005) between the Most Worshipful Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Nevada and the Grand Lodge of Nevada, for example, occurred in 1999 (Bessel 1998-2015). Because the Lodges hadn’t

yet recognized each other[246], they were considered clandestine, hence, meetings between the Lodges could not take place. One participant of this study noted that he was part of the committee working on the recognition process. They would meet in secret in cafes and diners and the night the vote came in for recognition, business had to be conducted over the telephone. Up until 2012, 41 out of 51 U.S. Grand Lodges recognized Prince Hall Lodges (Bessel,1998-2015). According to the proceedings of these 41 Grand Lodges, published by Paul M. Bessel, the first Grand Lodge to accept full recognition of Prince Hall Lodges was the Grand Lodge of Connecticut in 1989 (Bessel 1998-2015). Although the jurisdictions of Prince Hall Lodges are not included as a separate section for analysis in this dissertation, I do outline a need for prospective research on this topic in Chapter 7.

Also, legitimacy can be questioned through lengthy dialogues and result in non-uniform recognition, such as occurred within the Colombian Grand Lodge system in the 1930s. While visiting the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia, PN in September of 2014, I accessed the Colombia files (containing all documents the Grand Lodge Library and Museum had relevant to Colombia). I came across a series of letters, an exchange of correspondence, and a few articles outlining a situation of recognition and legitimacy. According to these documents there was a discrepancy whereby the Grand Lodge of the Republic of Colombia in Bogota disputed claims of regularity of another named Grand Lodge of Colombia due to apparent nefarious actions. Indeed, as one letter

[246] I recall picking up on a difference in verbiage, during the course of this project, where Mason/s used the verbiage 'recognizing each other' rather than 'we recognized them' when discussing Prince Hall Masonry; which, in and of itself, denotes a fundamental shift in how the issue/s of recognition is/was perceived in relation to these different forms of Masonry: I, myself, after becoming aware of this difference, have attempted to adjust my own use in this dissertation.

from the Grand Lodge of Colombia, Bogota to the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania stated "With pain and sorrow in our heart, we have to inform you that a few Masons headed by _____ ([247])(calling themselves the 'Grand Lodge') do not stop at anything in their determination of demoralizing Masonry in this jurisdiction…This simulation of 'regularity' will have no effect,…Masonic recognition is granted exclusively by regular Grand Lodges" (GLPN.Correspondance-GLColombia 05/16/1936). The letter further explains that this group applied for incorporation, and that they had attempted to direct all mail sent to the Grand Lodge to their facility. As the correspondence continues, the Grand Secretary states "We are compelled in this occasion to denounce before the masonic world this new attack against masonic morals, so that those Grand Lodges in fraternal and cordial relations with the legitimate Grand Lodge of the Republic of Colombia shall be on guard against the unethical methods practiced by the group misusing the name of our Grand Lodge" (GLPN.Correspondance-GLColombia 05/16/1936). In a correspondence sent by the same Grand Lodge to the Grand Lodge of New York,[248] one day previously, the Grand Secretary declared that "The small group headed by _____, pretending to have been recognized by you as 'Grand Lodge of the Republic of Colombia', is working hand to hand with the clergy, and has just published an article in the conservative paper 'El Siglo'…" (GLPN.Correspondance-GLColombia 05/15/1936).[249] The Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Colombia at Bogota urges legitimate Lodges to conduct their own investigations. From the proceedings of the

[247] I have removed an individual's name from the copied/quoted text.
[248] a copy was present in the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania's Library, addressed to the Grand Lodge of New York.
[249] I have removed names

Grand Lodge of New York, 1936 (accessed through the Chancellor Robert R. Livingston Masonic Library in New York, NY, in September of 2014) the situation was described as "a disastrous situation" where "two Grand Lodges dispute regularity between them" (GLNY Proceedings 1936: 96). It was recommended "that fraternal relations with the two Colombian Grand Lodges at Bogota and at Cartagena be cancelled forthwith, and that fraternal relations with the Grand Lodge at Barranquilla remain undisturbed" (GLNY Proceedings 1936: 93). By 1938 the situation had been resolved to the satisfaction of the Grand Lodge of New York and it was recommended, "that fraternal relations be resumed with the Grand Lodge of Colombia, with headquarters at Bogota,…and that an exchange of Representatives be, and hereby is, authorized between that Grand Lodge and the Grand Lodge of New York" (GLNY Proceedings 1938:149).

While the Lodge system, and particularly the Grand Lodge system, within Masonry is designed around the principles of autonomy and tolerance of differentiated interpretation, there are notable similarities in basic structure, formations of belief, and membeerships. Beyond the procedures of recogntion which serve to streamline the individual practices of each Lodge, there are a number of shared stories, documents, and codes which help to homgenize Masonic operations to some extent. One of the most prominent are Anderson's Constitutions. Quite simply, Anderson's Constitutions is significant because "it contains the laws of Masonry" (A. Roberts 1974, 75). While Freemasonry relied on an essential outline of regulations passed down from the Stone Mason's Guilds of the 15th-16th centuries (Tabbert 2005) a more nuanced code was developed by James Anderson in 1723 and supplemented in 1756 by Dermott's Ahiman Rezon (Tabbert 2005). The Anderson Constitutions served, and still do, as a guideline for

individual admittance, recogntion between Lodges, and procedures for appointing leadership roles (Tabbert 2005). More specifically, within 6 sections and 6 sub-sections (Kittell 2007) the Constitutions work to address the ideal treatment of religion, civic duty, Lodge presence and administration, work ethic, and behavior. The section on behavior includes 6 sub-sections outlining proper behavior in Lodge meetings inside the Temple, outside Lodge meetings inside the Temple, outside Lodge meetings outside the Temple with only Masons present, in the presence of non-Masons, within one's home, and in the presence of someone claiming to be a Mason without yet proving to be so (Kittell 2007, 268–275). For example, it is written that "A Mason is oblig'd by his Tenure, to obey the moral law…" "…by whatever Denominations or Persuasions they may distinguish'd…"(Kitell 2007, 268 see Appendix 3, referencing/possibly reproducing, "Anderson's Cnstitutions" (268)[250]). Furthermore, a Mason is expected to be a law-abiding citizen and to "never be concern'd in Plots an Conspiracies against the Peace and Welfare of the Nation…" (Kittell 2007, 268). Also, Masons are required to "not hold private Committees, or sperate Conversations" (Kittell 2007, 272) while a Lodge is in session. Once the meeting is over, they should not doing anything which hinders "an easy and free conversation" (272), and if non-Masons are present should be "cautious in (their) Words and Carriage" (273).

Beyond base recognition and a common constitution, or set of constituions, there are a number of ways in which Masons unite across borders. A sense of Brotherhood and

[250] Kittell (2007) Introduces this segment by writing: "Anderson's Constitutions of 1723 – In 1723, James Anderson wrote and published *The Constitutions of the Freemasons, For Use of the Lodges in London and Westminster*. This work was reprinted in Philadelphia in 1734 by Benjamin Franklin, who was that year elected Grand Master of the Masons of Pennsylvania." (Kittell 2007, 268).

belonging unfettered by time, space, or language culiminates in what Kaplan (2014b) describes as *Collective Intimacy.* Masons also share, distribute, and access both formal and informal systems of Masonic knowledge which includes information, proceedings, correspondance, opinion, publications, lectures, and other pieces of writing. Civic engagement is also coordianted between and across national borders by Masonic Appendant bodies. Masonic charities and aid projects often include coordination across and betweeen borders, benefitting individuals in mutliple locations. For example, the Shriners in Bucaramanaga, Colombia, according to Augustin Rivera who was among the first group of Colombian Masons to be intiated into the Shriners via the Abou Saad Temple in the Republic of Panama, have worked together to send afflicted children to Shriner's hospitals in the United States. I had asked whether children from Bucaramanga are sent to the Shriner's hospital in Sacramento and Augustin replied, "Not yet to Sacramento, they decide where to send the kids based on the specialty of the clinic they have sent to other Shriners in the USA, that is done by the board of directors of the Bucaramnaga Shriners Club."[251] Regional and International Masonic conferences are likewise held on a regular basis which brings Masons together to engage in dialouge, share jurisidctional procedures and operations, network, and exchange ideas and research on a wide variety of topics. Freemasonry has no centralized authority. It is a philosophical system that is founded on the principles of individualism, from a particular member's distinct interpretation of Masonic symbols to the way in which a Lodge

[251] I sent an email inquiry to Ricardo Rivera asking if Bucarmanaga Shriners send kids to the Sacramento, CA Shriner's hospital, as I was under the impression that they did, and I also asked who the Bucaramanga Shriners coordinate with. He talked with his father Augustin Rivera and the above quote is the verbatim reply as it was received in a reply to my email.

organizes its meetings to how and whom a Grand Lodge chooses to recognize; yet it is a system which is ultimately sustained through collaboration.

SACRED IDENTITY

Those who 'stand outside the temple' are referred to as 'profanos' or the 'profane' by Freemasons, and the 'sacred' are those who are Free and Accepted Masons.[252] Although not intended as depreciatory, this separation, from the perspective of Freemasonry, gives precedence to the deeds and works produced from within the Lodge, in relation to Masonry and Masonic ideals. Within the context of the Masonic system of values, 'knowledge' and 'truth' are principle tenets. *Sacred* truth can be held in higher regard then *profane* truth. Freemasons put a premium on objectivity in research and the continuing quest for accuracy. That being said, works produced by Masonic scholars address the identities constructed by practitioners of *the Craft* and have a tendency to reinforce loyalty to those theoretical frames, methodologies, and concepts offered by Masons, or which generally adhere to Masonic values. Indeed, the Masonic 'self' in many ways transcends national borders and becomes part of a unique affinity to which the belief-elements of the Craft are critical components. The Masons, by acknowledging their position as Brothers to members of the order, can be said to "represent themselves as identity groups, [and thus] cast themselves as the owners of their identities and

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[252] I presented extended versions of this description at the College of Liberal Art's Graduate Research Symposium (CLAGS) in Reno, NV on 02/15–02/15 2013 and at the Southwestern Social Science Association's (SSSA) Annual meeting in New Orleans, LA on 03/27-03/30 2013. The titles of my presentations, respectively, were *Subjective Identities: Case Study of the Sacred and the Profane* and *The Sacred and the Profane: Anthropology of Freemasonry from Within, and Outside, the Lodge.*See References for Wilhelm 2013a and Wilhelm 2013b.

histories" (Leve 2011, 525). Furthermore, a Mason, in many circumstances, may be a member of one or more Lodges simultaneously, as well as additional Appendant bodies, and each local Lodge is also regulated by a jurisdictional Grand Lodge; thus, the broader context of Masonic identity is malleable and goes beyond national borders and the colloquial interpretations of Masonic doctrines.

As mentioned previously, there are three degrees in regular, Blue Lodge Freemasonry: The first degree, or The Entered Apprentice, the second degree, or the Fellowcraft Mason, and the third degree, or the Master Mason. The lessons taught during the progression between degrees reinforces the notion of a sacred identity, not only because a member gains levels of inclusion and understanding with each degree but because the symbol-laden metaphors used during allegorical degree rituals reflect concepts of good and evil, dark and light, and the sacredness of enlightenment and brotherhood. The Entered Apprentice is expected to educate himself in Masonry (its systems, rituals, symbols, lexicon, literature, membership, and other activities) and is seen to begin his life-long journey of becoming a better man. An Entered Apprentice is encouraged to become "more tolerant" (A. Roberts, 1974) and to be pious towards his own god, while being accepting of others' versions of the Great Architect, he is encouraged to embrace change, and not base judgments on "present day customs and standards" (A. Roberts 1974, 8). Because of Freemasonry's strong position on individual freedom (A. Roberts 1974) an Entered Apprentice, or any Mason, will "never be ordered to do anything in or for Freemasonry" (A. Roberts 1974, 4). The Entered Apprentice should learn the rituals and expectations of degree progression in order to advance, and is encouraged to seek knowledge with "freedom, fervency, and zeal" (A. Roberts 1974, 38).

The Fellowcraft Mason is an Entered Apprentice who has been "vouched for" (A. Roberts 1974, 41) by a mentor and represents the transition from youth to adulthood (A. Roberts 1974). A Fellowcraft has proved his loyalty by keeping the secrets of Freemasonry and learning the rituals, and is now expected to act towards the good of both his Masonic Brothers, and all people, while recognizing that to be *moral* can mean different things (A. Roberts 1974). The Fellowcraft Mason is expected to value hard work (A. Roberts 1974), to acquire, produce, and share knowledge (57) and to value individuality (44). The third and final degree of Masonry is that of Master Mason. A Master Mason can enjoy all of the inclusion, and responsibility, of Masonic activity. A Master Mason may enter "any Lodge in the world" (A. Roberts 1974, 61) and is expected to continue his search for wisdom and understand that "there is no greater enemy than ignorance" (A. Roberts 1974, 85). A Master Mason is expected to continue to keep the secrets of Freemasonry, but also those of his fellow Masons, if they confide in him (A. Roberts 1974). He is also expected to judge others based on their own interpretations of themselves. As a Master Mason, a man can be elected to any position in a Lodge and can be as active in Freemasonry as he desires. The Master Mason degree may be the "pinnacle of Freemasonry" (A. Roberts 1974, 61), but as Abe Marshall, a principal participant of this project, told me during an interview, the Master Mason degree is the highest, and many men feel that once they have reached the third degree, "they think it's the end, but it's the beginning…just the start…(of the) journey."

KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION

Masonic research has been a part of the Craft since the turn to Speculative Masonry in the 18th century. Indeed, Freemasons were, on many accounts, tried for the illegal printing and distribution of censored texts during the Spanish Inquisition (Jacob 1981) and were ultimately tied to the dissemination of libertarian ideals to the New World through books and pamphlets during that period (Reyes Heredia 2006). The first Masonic organization dedicated specifically to inquiry was the Masonic Archaeological Institute of London, c. 1871; however, the first officially recognized research Lodge was Quatuor Coronati Lodge, No. 2076, established in London in 1884 (McLeod 1999). Masonic publications, which identified the sources as Masonic in origin and topic, began to circulate shortly after the end of the Spanish Inquisition (Oliver 1867; Garrido and Cayley 1876). *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, a Masonic journal, has been in circulation since the 1880s. Another widely distributed peer-reviewed Masonic scholarly journal, which is still in circulation, was the *Philalethes*, established in 1928. Contemporary Masonic research includes topics relevant to Masonry, but also more generally relevant issues including medical, social, and political research and application, according to the contents of some journals.[253] Research divisions today take one of two forms. The first is an "independent research society"[254] which is supported by a Masonic lodge and has both Mason and non-Mason members. An example of such a division is the *Centro Nacional de Estudios para investigación y transferencia tecnológica, y Las Actividades Desarrollo*

[253] Reference unknown.
[254] Original citation lost, however, a likely source, and one which discusses this, is a paper (McLeod 1999) found through *The Masonic Trowel*, cited elsewhere in this dissertation. See References and footnote 338.

Socioeconómico (CNITTS) (Approximate translation: The national research center for the study of technological transfers and socio-economic development) tied to Lodges in Bucaramanga, Colombia. The second contemporary form a research division can take is one that is a "regularly warranted research lodge"[255], dedicated specifically to research, many times but not always esoteric in nature, and has only Masons as members. An example of such a division is the Nevada Lodge of Research 1 (NVLR1), located in Reno, Nevada.[256] According to the results of the survey distributed as part of this project, 24.3% of U.S. respondents indicated they were members of a research Lodge, with an additional 4.5% of U.S. respondents indicating membership in the Philalethes Society (a Masonic Research society). No Colombian respondents indicated membership in either a Research Lodge or Philalethes Society, and 3 of the 6 respondents from other locations indicated membership in a research Lodge.

The Masonic production and dissemination of knowledge extends beyond the affiliated authorship attached to articles and other works. It is 1) a unique approach to knowledge production, seen as a moral "duty" of Masonry (Ward 2005/1993[1926][257], Herron 2012; see also References and Reference Notes), and 2) a unique body of

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[255] See footnote 254 and 256.

[256] I discuss Research Lodges in more detail and example in other segments of this dissertation.

[257] As a point of interest, I noted in an article (see Wilhelm 2014a), in relation to Ward's piece on an Inquisition trial (though it has relevance, generally, to any use of his work in this dissertation): "Ward's approach to filling in the gaps has received some criticism but he responded by noting that his depictions were based on the realities of that specific trial. In the places where he did create fiction it is a further tribute to Freemason culture because, as he wrote in his introduction to his series of Masonic stories, "Freemasonry is acknowledged to be a 'System of Morality, veiled in allegory,' and in this volume I have endeavored to convey the old moral teachings under a new guise.""(Also used and cited in Wilhelm 2014a, 18) The trial of John Custos becomes an issue beyond the gathering of 'valid' historical data, it becomes an issue of an accurate portrayal of culture, of which belief, allegory, and morality are an integral part." (Also used and cited in Wilhelm 2014a, 18). Also see Reference Notes.

knowledge consisting of a system of morality, allegory, political and religious philosophy (Pike 1871). Masonic knowledge-production, beyond creating a shared *sense* of identity, often explores the practical application of Masonic ideals into the larger societies to which Masons belong. Civic engagement, charities, and particularly child wellbeing programs, are some of the ways in which Masons, and Masonic organizations, enact the principle that Masonry is a system dedicated to the promotion of "private virtue and public prosperity" (McKenzie 1923; Driber 2001). To some extent, Masonic knowledge is marked apart from other forms of knowledge in popular society by its subject matter and intertextual production of Masonic lexicon. According to the results of the survey distributed as part of this project, 51.7% of Colombian respondents noted that they have published a piece of writing related to Masonry, 39.6% of respondents from the United States noted they had published a piece of writing related to Masonry, and 4 out of the 6 respondents from other locations noted the had published a piece of writing related to Masonry. Also, 50% of respondents from Colombia noted that they had given a lecture/speech related to Masonry, 75.7% of respondents from the United States noted that they had given a lecture / speech related to Masonry, and all 6 respondents from other locations noted that they had given a lecture/speech related to Masonry. When cross-tabulating results across questions (for participants from all locations) 52.17% of Masons who were Raised (became Master Masons) between the ages of 26-35 have published a piece of writing related to Masonry, 50% of those Raised between the ages of 18-25 have published, 45.83% of those Raised between the ages of 46-55 have published, 36.96% of those Raised between the ages of 36-45 have published, and 27.78% of respondents who indicate they were raised between the ages of 56-65 have published.

Both respondents who indicated they were Raised over the age of 66 have published. One respondent chose “other” and indicated they were in the process of publishing and also indicated they were Raised between the ages 26-35. Also, 66.67% of the members of a Research Lodge have published a piece of writing related to Masonry, and 100% of the members of the Philalethes society have published. Interestingly, overall, more Colombian participants have published pieces of writing, though no Colombian participants indicated membership in a Research Lodge or the Philalethes society. Likewise, among members of a Research Lodge, 96.67% have given a lecture/speech related to Masonry and, again, 100% of the members of the Philalethes Society have given a lecture/speech related to Masonry. In this case, less Colombian respondents than U.S. respondents, overall, have given a lecture/speech related to Masonry, and no Colombian respondents indicated membership in either a Research Lodge or Philalethes Society. The results for this survey indicate that being a Mason, generally, has a positive impact on either publishing a piece of writing or presenting a lecture relating to Masonry (particularly among those Raised at a younger age, although more Colombians were Raised between the ages of 46-55, and more Colombians have published overall, which likely accounts for the inclusion of this age category in the above 40% range for publication). Being a Mason in Colombia appears to have a more significant impact on the likelihood of publishing a piece of writing relating to Masonry than being a Mason in the U.S. (though the opposite is true for presenting a lecture). However, within the U.S., being a member of either a Research Lodge or the Philalethes Society has a significant positive impact on publication/lecture (particularly in the case of the Philalethes Society

where 100% of its membership, within this survey, have both published a piece of writing and presented a lecture/speech related to Masonry).

While Masonic knowledge-production has a higher degree of intra-circulation than inter-circulation the themes and inferences contained within Masonic productions often make their way into mainstream society. This is done, in part, through the activities, examples, and productions of Masonic scholars in non-Masonic settings. These can be found, for example, in the works of enlightenment philosophers, contemporary social scholarship influenced by a subtle Masonic subjectivity, as well as through Lodge-hosted open colloquia and non-Masonic scholarly production. Some have maintained that the association between Freemasons and an *occult* knowledge (Vidal 2005) forms the boundaries of identity and practice. Although, practitioners of the Craft might argue, and have in different ways in both personal interactions and through published works, that it is the *search* for, not the *possession* of, truths that is at the heart of Freemasonry.

Allegory and Ritual

As mentioned, and cited, in Chapter 2, Freemasonry has been defined as a *System of morality, veiled in allegory, and illustrated by symbols*. As participants of this project have noted, allegory and ritual form the shared experiences and common symbol-references of the Craft. Freemasonry may be a *personal experience,* as the title of this dissertation suggests, and certainly the concept of *journey*, discussed in Chapter 5, highlights this phenomenon. It is, however, the ritual enactments of Masonry that becomes an experience

which is at the same time deeply personal and necessarily collaborative. Indeed, during an interview with Herman Clayworth of the Grand Lodge of Ohio on September 10th, 2014 in Springfield, Ohio, I mentioned the quote from Augustin Rivera that *Freemasonry is not a collective, it's a personal experience that happens to be shared.* He responded by saying that he would add that it is "essential that it is (shared)." He had mentioned before that the rituals of Masonry "are very specific – word perfect" that they provide the "same experience" to Masons, but that the "interpretation of symbolism and philosophy" are, and as other participants have noted, intended to be, "left up to the individual." However, Peter Field, a participant of this study, indicated during an interview on September 16 at the George Washington Masonic National Memorial in Alexandria, Virginia, that he believes that the *quality* of Freemasonry declined in an attempt to increase the *quantity* of Masons. He noted that a Reformation is needed, and is of a sort underway, in American Masonry; and that in the U.S. today "ritual is performed…the candidate is secondary, giving the ritual properly is a status."

Bell (1992) considered how ritual and ritualizations created a tangible 'medium for expression' (94) which could result in the internalization of diverse social systems of form and meaning (97). This internalization results in a *sense* of ritual which, at its core, as I previously mentioned, is an "experience of redemptive hegemony" (Bell 1992, 116). Bell also argued that ritual is neither a "mask of force", "type of power" (Cannadine 1987, 19), or coercive force. Rather, ritual is a strategy whereby influence can be embodied and empowerment bestowed upon both the performer and the observer (206–207). The symbols and meanings (Bell 1992, 221) inherent in ritual activity, furthermore, are ultimately malleable beyond space, time, or predetermined systems of analysis. Mahmood (2005)

explored the relationship between outward acts, as comprised in ritual, with internalized belief (31). She posited that belief is the product of, rather than the catalyst for, such outward bodily acts. Furthermore, the traditional discussions of ritual in terms of liminality (Van Gennep 1960; Gluckman 1962; V. Turner 1966; D'Aquili, Laughlin, and McManus 1979) often suggest that the ritual action precedes, rather than follows, the new phase. Ritual, therefore, is to some extent a means to an end, rather than the display of an already existing sentiment (V. Turner 1966; Koster 2003; Bloch 2005), as I previously mentioned. Indeed, Mahmood (2005) made the argument, I noted, that instead of ritual always being a display, or control, of, for example, emotions, ritualized emotions can precede the sense (Bell 1992) of the experience and, if oft repeated, can form the experiential feelings, recreating one's "natural disposition" (Mahmood 2005, 130). Gilmore (2010), I likewise stated, did not assume a universal understanding of the term *ritual* admitting that it can be "problematic…recognizing the difficulties and ambiguities inherent in any attempt to unequivocally define [it]" (Gilmore 2010, 2). Gilmore described certain collective actions as 'rituals without dogma' (68) as participants are aware of such actions, particularly a set of core principles (156), yet tend, as a group, to describe participation in the events as individual, or personal, experiences, as I previously mentioned. Indeed, participants certain events tend to offer "competing discourses" (Eade and Sallnow 1991) about the meaning of, or proper performance of, certain ritualizations (70). Comparing rituals to theatrical performances Gilmore declares that "When ritual tools are skillfully employed and the lines between audience and performer are artfully blurred, really good theater can –…– change the course of human lives and cultures" (Gilmore 2010, 165). Koster (2003) equated ritual to "'territory'" (212/1), I also noted previously, in the sense that ritual performance removes

the individuality aspect of identity and replaces it with group notions of "'sacred space'" (Koster 2003, 217/1: Koster is also referencing Mosse [1964, 1975, 1999] as well as Huntington [1996] and Oakes [1997]). Self-expression (1), although often taken as an act of individual thought and action, Koster argued, is the primary means by which humans negotiate social reality using pre-established ritual formations I added. Like others (Bell 1992, Gilmore 2010) Koster (2003) claimed to avoid a succinct definition of *ritual* acknowledging its somewhat problematic category as both enacted and symbolic (19; unknown article reference—ostensibly 239). He, however, argued that human expression is a myriad display of "simple ritual acts", "complex ritual acts", and "ritual performances" (213/2) I stated. Simple ritual acts are those which constitute, primarily, a person's membership in a group, complex ritual acts are the appropriate sequence with which a person utilizes these identity markers, and ritual performances are "a community's symbolic demarcation of territory in space and time by complex ritual acts and techniques affecting the experience of identity of the participants away from individuality" (Koster 2003, 214/3) I also added. Koster further organized his notion of identity formation through ritual by noting that the particular ritual sequences are of a "*deconstructive* or *constructive*" (219/6 (Koster is referencing Staal (1986) also:234) nature in which a person's notion of individuality are either broken down and replaced with a shared identity, or are strengthened and reconstructed against a backdrop of mutual space. Indeed, the notion of *individuality* itself can be a construction of collective identity. Frank Karpiel (2000) discusses the components of public ritual that mark the manifestations (359) of civil society, in particular the ritual and symbolic significance of Freemasonry in the formation of the state. A narrative ritual drawing from biblical stories of the erecting of Solomon's Temple, for

example, is the basis for the transference of Masonic degrees. The enactment of this narrative, also, blurs the lines between the initiate and the audience (Gilmore 2010) which contributes to a sense of shared meaning for an, often potently, individual experience. Karpiel (2000) argued that becoming a Freemason "promoted a shared rapport rooted in ritual and fellowship between those who came from vastly different cultural background" (Karpiel 2000, 365). Freemasons' position between the private and the public spheres was well suited to the development of communitas (V. Turner 1966) which resulted in a ritualization (Bell 1992) of expression, meaning, and membership. Using the example of the Hawaiian *ali'i*[258], Karpiel (2000) noted that the ability of the Freemason society to remove boundaries between class, race, and nationality, drew individuals with an interest in social change. Furthermore, the combination of public ritual, such as the laying of cornerstones and parades which often featured Masons alongside royalty (359), with the enigmatic mystique of this private fraternity (Carnes 1989) played a role in the "changing system of values that overcame Hawai'i in the nineteenth century" (Karpiel 2000, 397).

Indeed, rituals are enacted with slight variation between Lodges, but ostensibly not between individuals within the same Lodge. The rituals of Masonry are based on allegorical representations and while they may vary in their interpreted meanings, they are uniform in their significance of forming part of the activity of Masonry.

[258] Ali'i refers to the hereditary chieftainship of Hawaiian monarch, as well as referring of the highest caste in the Hawaiian social hierarchy.

A CENTRAL ALLEGORY, ENACTED THROUGH RITUAL: THE STORY OF HIRAM ABIFF.[259]

Shared Masonic allegories have a tendency to reinforce constancy to a global Masonic identity above the regional variations created by distance and language. The progression between Masonic degrees, for example, is mediated through an allegorical representation of a particular "origin myth*"* (Lévi-Strauss 1955, 436). While reviewing the historical origins of Masonry, particularly as assembled *by* Masonry, one often comes across a similar reproduction of the 'operative origins', the 'speculative origins' (Jacob 1981, 1991; Ridley 2011) and the possible, ancient, and legendary foundations (Mackey 1921; Ridley 2011; Hodapp 2005). These legendary foundations constitute the substance of the story of Hiram Abiff.[260] While Masons, generally, agree that the story of Hiram Abiff may have been augmented by elements of imagination, the story has substantial symbolic, as well as historical, significance for the order. Today, the Hiram Abiff story is central to the rituals enacted during the passage between Masonic degrees. In Blue Lodge Masonry, there are three degrees through which member's progress in the organizational hierarchy, as mentioned above. Each level represents a greater understanding of Masonic ideals and rituals, as well as a demonstration of the continuing quest for personal betterment. The names of these degrees, as well as the symbolic elements of the rituals enacted during degree ceremonies, comes from the operative Masonic trade guilds of the Middle Ages, and perhaps earlier, according to the story of Hiram Abiff. Each degree

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[259] I presented, by proxy, an extended version of this description at the Southwestern Anthropological Association's (SWAA) annual meeting in Orange County, CA on 04/24-04/26 2014. The title of my presentation was: *Modeling Hiram Abiff: The Structure and Meanings of a Masonic Parable.* See References for Wilhelm 2014c.

[260] See Appendix 3 for a summary of the story Hiram Abiff.

builds on the last one in terms of knowledge attained, oaths[261] taken, and construction of the elements of the story of Hiram Abiff. In several Appendant bodies of Masonry there are more than three degrees. For example, in the Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite there are 32 degrees.[262] The Scottish Rite, championed by Albert Pike in the late 18th – early 19th centuries, builds on the traditional 3 degrees of Masonry by conferring degrees 4 through 32. Each degree of the Scottish Rite is entered into by acting out a continuation of the story of Hiram Abiff. The Hiram Abiff story was ritualized during Masonic degree progression in 1730 (Bessel 1999) and has become the core of most Masonic ritual allegory.

There is a nominal variation in different versions of the story of Hiram Abiff, although all share some basic similarities. While the Masons are a transnational order, no Lodge, or Mason, exists in a cultural vacuum. A variety of considerations influences members as they form identities around certain components of shared meaning that mark them as both a Mason, and a member of a community outside of Masonry. These confluences can be seen in the temporal and spatial modifications to Masonic narratives, such as the story of Hiram Abiff. Furthermore, when perusing the synopsis of the story, as staged by different Lodges, there exists some degree of variation in the motivations of actors in the story, and common lexes. The story of Hiram Abiff is chiefly known to Masons through its re-enactment during private ceremonies. Amongst Masons it is a story that is widely known, yet seldom discussed. The retelling of the narrative is often left to Masonic scholars who wish to synthesize its various components for symbolic or

[261] Also, see Roberts (1974:26) discussion on the difference between an oath and an obligation.
[262] A 33rd degree is occasionally bestowed upon a 32nd degree Scottish Rite Mason for recognition of a lifetime of service to the order, or to humanity.

historic relevance, or to non-Masonic scholars who attempt to find commonalities between the story and a standard set of Judeo-Christian myths, and other overlaps with non-Masonic literary traditions (Fellows 1835; Bach 1971; Clack 2008, Mackintosh and Forsberg 2009).

In Lévi-Strauss' (1967) structural analysis of the *Tsimshian* native myth of Asdiwal, he outlined several "essential points of its structure" (Lévi-Strauss 1967, 7). Modifying this construct has been useful for the analysis of the Hiram Abiff story, as it relates to a transnational order. For example, while specific Masonic jurisdictions are geographically bounded and subject to their local economic structures, policies, and resident belief systems, Masonry at large is not a single, bounded, force. The four elements, or levels, on which I feel this story exists are its operative hierarchy, cardinal directions, its reticent knowledge, and its cosmology (this last element is applicable to both the Tsimshian example and the belief structure of modern Masonry). Indeed, the story of Hiram Abiff relies on the operational hierarchy of craftsmen and patrons. As the story continues there is a clear distinction between the different levels of workmen on the temple site. At the end of the story, of the regular three degrees of Masonry, Hiram Abiff ascends to a spiritual after life in which a Higher Power (the Great Architect of the Universe) represents the ultimate level in the hierarchy. The Masons, likewise, arrange their society hierarchically, mirroring that which is represented in the story, as well as that which existed during the period of the Medieval Masonic trade guilds. The three degrees of Masonry follow the trajectory of Apprentice, Fellow Craft and Master Mason. There is also an organizational hierarchy within the Lodge that includes certain roles members will fulfill for specific periods of time. For example, the Worshipful Master of

any given lodge, elected by his fellows, has a subordinate group of officers which help carry out the tasks of the Lodge. These tasks include, but are not limited to, the performance of ritual and degree work, maintenance of lodge regalia, communication, and updates to Lodge by-laws. Additionally, the Worshipful Master represents his Lodge at the jurisdictional Grand Lodge (Pierce* 2007). The hierarchy also consists of positions in which Masons move in a progressive line, such as Worshipful Master, Deacon, or Steward, and those whose positions move laterally, such as Treasurer, Secretary, or Tiler.

Another essential element of the Hiram Abiff allegory is the prominence of cardinal directions. Cardinal directions, i.e.: North, East, South, and West, play an important role in the story of Hiram Abiff and likewise in Masonic symbology. For example, the Lodge room itself is organized according to these directions. Masons enter from the west, and certain officers sit in the east, while other members sit in the South or North. The Lodge rooms themselves are aligned to mimic the east-west path of the sun (Hodapp 2005). These arrangements, in turn, hold a specific sense of place for Masons. The Masonic practices and experiences contained within the Lodge room, and in reference to specific cardinal directions, creates a space where their "place is rendered meaningful – through which, one might say, [the] place [is] actively sensed" (Basso 1997, 7). Indeed, "every Masonic Lodge room represents the physical man and its occupants (that is, the officers and brethren in attendance) his mind and spirit. Each time we enter the Lodge, we are, symbolically, entering into our own consciousness" (Kriegeskotte 2012, 1[263]). Furthermore, cardinal directions hold symbolic meaning for

[263] He makes reference to Wilmhurst (1922/2008), Hall, Bardon, and Tucker (unknown)

certain tenets of Masonic allegory more generally. For example, the East becomes a representation of spirituality and wisdom, the West comes to represent conscious thought and immortality, and the South represents the mind and rationality. North is rarely mentioned and is seen as 'place of darkness' due to the representation of malevolence disseminating from the North in various Masonic myths and manuscripts, as I have discovered both through conversations with participants and in literary sources.

The story of Hiram Abiff also highlights the concept of reticent knowledge. In the story, Masons move through the labor hierarchy, according to their knowledge and basic set of skills. Secret knowledge becomes the primary motivation for conflict, journey, and enlightenment. When a man joins the Masons he takes oaths which, in part, serve to uphold the secrets of Masonry. Just as Hiram Abiff was killed for refusing to share his knowledge, Masons are warned of the consequences that will befall them if they share the secrets of the Lodge (Ridley 2011). The knowledge, secret or otherwise, contained within the story of Hiram Abiff is also ritually preserved through Masonic symbols and oral traditions. For example, the letter "G" is present, in combination with a square and compass, as one of the foundational symbols of Masonry and can be seen adorning everything from Lodge exteriors to the pages of Masonic literature. The main components of Masonry that are not to be shared with non-Masons constitute the grips, penal signs, passwords, and exact enactment of certain rituals. The three grips, for example, are mirrored in the story of Hiram Abiff. As a Mason moves through the degrees of Masonry, from Apprentice to Master, he learns each of these grips through the course of the ritual reenacting Hiram Abiff. Being a non-Mason myself I am not privy to the manner of these physical and verbal signs of Masonry, and indeed I have no interest

in discovering and dispelling Masonic secrets. Suffice it to say, based on the research which was conducted for this project, the manner of the grips as well as a number of secret words, the details of which were not disclosed to me, are confirmed by Masons to be both mirrored in the story of Hiram Abiff and enacted during the ritual degree ceremonies.

A final essential element of Hiram Abiff allegory is the cosmology (Lévi-Strauss 1967) inherent to the story. Cosmology, loosely defined, is the overall belief in the origins, evolution, and/or components of existence that determines, in many ways, how a people will perceive and interpret their own experiences (Scheffler 1966). In the story of Hiram Abiff there are a number of allusions to a specific order of belief. For example, Hiram Abiff is said to have "worshipped" the Grand Architect of the Universe. The use of concrete modes of thought, such as geometry, science, and practical skill, used to describe creation and spirituality is a tenet that both runs through the story as well as the basic canons of most regular Masons. The story of Hiram Abiff is, itself, an origin story because it outlines the legendary beginnings of the Brotherhood. I have come to understand through this project that this understanding is presented as having always existed, for when a man moves through the three degrees of Masonry he is taking part in the story of Hiram Abiff, but is only made aware of that fact once he reaches the level of Master Mason. Ostensibly, having no prior knowledge of the story before that point he is nonetheless greeted with phrases which *assume* his prior knowledge (W. Harvey 1919). This acts as both a compliment to the man and recognition of the enduring existence of certain collective 'truths.' Within that story, furthermore, certain elements of belief about existence are highlighted. For example, like many legendary heroes, Hiram Abiff is

remembered, in large part, due to the manner of his death. Also, his eventual resurrection points to a belief that there is an existence beyond that which makes up the experiential reality of everyday living. The belief in some force beyond one's self is a requirement for joining a Lodge. The ambiguous use of the term 'Grand Architect of the Universe' becomes a representation of that higher power which can accommodate a variety of spiritual beliefs. Also, the use of secret words and grips in the story of Hiram Abiff denotes an acknowledgement of the connection that humans can achieve with another order of existence through ritualized, and tangible, actions. This connection is mirrored in the use of these signs as an acknowledgment of membership between Masons.

I relied on eight written versions of the story of Hiram Abiff in addition to Harvey (1919). I also discussed this story with Masons from affiliated with La Serenisima Logia Renovación Nº 1-12, and Reno Lodge #13. The written versions were published between the years 1914 and 2011. All of the authors, save one, are Masons, affiliated with the Lodges in international and U.S. locations including South Carolina, Scotland, Southern Arizona, Australia, British Columbia and the Yukon, New South Wales, and Israel. The one outlier (Kitchen 1997) offered a detailed 'profane' interpretation of the legend which, in many ways, complemented Harvey's (1919) version and supplied details which other versions lacked. The aims and interpretations of the story of Hiram Abiff vary appreciably within contemporary non-Mason scholarship. It is this *variation* that helps shape our understanding of topics such as the Hiram Abiff allegory, or any social phenomenon. As a point of interest, Kitchen's (1997) version was part of a larger work, the purpose of which was to act as "prayer tool…set[ting] people free from the powerful

curses of Masonry" (*Fruitful Vine* 1997[264]*).* Ordinarily, such a clear example of predisposition would not be a wise choice for an academic analysis. However, Kitchen's version demonstrates how minor variations within a particular version of a story can have a significant influence on its interpretation. For example, in place of 'geometry' Kitchen (1997) declares that the secret knowledge was in fact the name of God.[265] Furthermore, instead of being 'fellow craft' the assailants were "ruffians" or "Juwes" (1997, 1). Being a vibrant senior minister in Melbourne, Kitchen's interpretation of the story of Hiram Abiff, with increased biblical references, speaks to the type of popular suspicion of Masonry found in films, debates, novels, and other contemporary popular works (D. Brown 2000; Lachman 2008; see also references made by De Hoyos and Morris 2010).

The versions presented by Masons, published or via interview, have many more similarities than differences. There is some variation, however, in the time spent describing Hiram Abiff's death. In some versions (Mackey 1914[266] Hughes 1982) it is merely mentioned that Hiram Abiff was killed, often with a generic reference to tools of the trade. In other versions (W. Harvey 1919; Henderson 1996*) the death scene is described in detail such as where each assassin stood, which tools[267] were used and how Hiram Abiff reacted, e.g. "the firmness of his demeanor" (Henderson 1996, 1[268]). Hughes (1982) noted that part

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[264] Original citation for this lost. Coming from an earlier paper, and conference presentation (see Wilhelm 2014c) I used an online source, most likely which contained an excerpt from Kitchen's (1997) book: see References and Reference Notes.

[265] Upon discussion, some Masons argue that 'the name of God' can be used in the story interchangeably with 'geometry' and the "G" has come to symbolize Geometry, God, and the Great Architect of the Universe, in modern Masonry.

[266] Reference lost

[267] plumb line, level, and Maul

[268] The original reference for this has been lost, however, after searching I have found a presentation by Henderson, on a site with © 1996; with identical quote/s to the ones I present in the dissertation. I have therefore used this citation; which, ostensibly, has been taken from a work

of this variation is due to the fact that "the death of Hiram Abiff is poorly documented" (Hughes 1982, 3) and thus some authors will take liberties, and others will avoid the topic. Interestingly, when speaking to Masons, I discovered that it is precisely the death of Hiram Abiff that plays one of the most significant roles in their transition to a 3rd Degree Mason. Another variation comes by way of "religious" reference. Some authors (Doron 2008; Apple 2010) spend a great deal of time describing The Great Architect of the Universe, the Light and the Afterlife, or include religious references in their analysis. Others (Harvey 1919; Hughes 1982; Bessel 1999) do not. For example in Rabbi Apple's (2010) account, possible links between the Hiram Abiff story and Jewish Midrashim traditions are drawn. Bessel (1999), on the other hand, notes that although there may be some plausible likenesses[269] "(there) is no 'Hiram Abiff' in the Bible" (Bessel 1999, 1) and spends more time analyzing the narrative in conjunction with history and Masonic notions of *freedom* and *cognition*. Many of these variations are indicative of changes inherent to the retelling of oral traditions over time, as well as the meanings that are constructed within culturally-bound Brotherhoods, translating a common symbol over space and time. As Apple (2010) noted, the variations within the story of Hiram Abiff "is evidence of the common phenomenon whereby a custom or story loses its original significance, undergoes reinterpretation and rationalization, and gains a new message and mission" (5).

To Lévi-Strauss (1967), these types of variations do not detract from the conclusions that can be drawn from analyzing a mythology. He noted that rather than describing a group's manifest reality, a myth often spoke to their "unconscious categories"

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by Linton, which I could not locate]. Can be accessed through URL: http://www.freemasons-freemasonry.com/legend_hiram_abif.html. See References and Reference Notes.

[269] He notes "but there are 'Hiram's' in connection with the Temple of Solomon" (Bessel 1999,1)

(Lévi-Strauss 1967, 30); categories such as the cosmology that is integrated in all levels and planes of meaning within the story of Hiram Abiff, such as the using cardinal directions to represent place and spirituality, the appropriate hierarchy within a lodge, the maintenance of secrets and loyalty to the Brotherhood, and a general belief in the search for truth, the existence of a higher power, and the probability of eternal life.

The story of Hiram Abiff is but one of the many stories that make up the allegorical component of Masonic lore. The story of Hiram Abiff is unique, perhaps, in the fact that it is highly significant, almost exclusively so, in the ritualized transition through the degrees of Masonry across geographic locations. Furthermore, the essential elements of the myth, such as its operative hierarchy or reticent knowledge, as well as the recurrent oppositions that can be found within its text, speak to the common system of beliefs shared by this global organization, and provide a glimpse of its established structures. The story of Hiram Abiff highlights some of the sources of shared meaning, and systematic definitions of reality, which help to perpetuate the *culture* of Freemasonry. The *activity* of Freemasonry includes the exercise of knowledge-seeking, the participation in Lodge events, and through the ritualized recreation of the activities of a set of symbolic characters at the heart of Masonic identity.

Overview of Primary Localities

As mentioned previously, this dissertation is not designed as a true cross-cultural comparison, it likewise argues for an "activity-based approach" which provides an

alternative to notions of place-based identity.[270] The value of traditional site-based ethnography is not being disregarded through my approach, but rather, I argue that the case of Freemasonry would not be enhanced, apart from perhaps a better cross-cultural comparison of Masons, by employing long term geographic study. Freemasonry occurs in the Lodge, on designated days, but also in the minds, literature, and actions of Masons when not in Lodge, depsite their physical location. The (culture) of Freemasonry, as one participant indicated, occurs in the mind and in the heart, and thus the value of geographic embeddedness would be somewhat superseded by discussion, review of Masonic literature, and considerations of the activity of Masonry which can occur outside of a fixed location. The methods employed favor an examination of the role of a shared activity, in this case Freemasony, on the genesis of collective cultural experiences and conversant woldviews. That being said, the research for this project, as mentioned in Chapter 2, took place in a variety of ethnographic settings, many of which were geographically placed. One of the primary localities of research occurred within, and amongst the members of Reno Lodge #13, and by consequence of its placement within the same Masonic Temple, the Grand Lodge of Nevada. Because of my residential location, as well as my spousal connection to this particular Lodge, Reno Lodge #13 became a location with a meaningful level of access and positive participant response. An additional site of research occurred in relation to La Serenisima Logia Renovación Nº 1-

[270] "Alternatives to Place-Based Identity" was the title of the session I presented a paper in for the Southwestern Social Science Association's 96th annual meeting in Denver, CO, April 08-12, 2014. All Anthropology session titles were created by the 2015 Anthropology program Chair: Jonathan Marion. The title of my paper presentation was: *Following the Path of Journeys: Examining the Particularized Kinship of Freemasonry, as Practiced in the U.S. and Colombia.* See reference for Wilhelm 2015a.

12, and by extension, particularly through the distribution of an online survey, additional Colombian Lodges/jurisdictions. Because of my initial exposure, as discussed in Chapter 1, my affinitive (L. Morgan 1871/1997) familial location, and my affinitive familial connection to this particular Lodge, La Serenisima Logia Renovación Nº 1-12 became a location with a meaningful level of access and likewise positive participant response.

RENO LODGE #13 F. & A.M., RENO, NEVADA, U.S.A.

While Masons existed in what is now Nevada prior to the mid-19th century, and likely congregated outside of an official setting, the first Masonic meeting held in the state of Nevada was held in Virginia City during the summer of 1860 for the funeral of fellow Mason, Captain E. Faris Storey (Torrence 1944). The first officially chartered Masonic Lodge in Nevada was Carson Lodge #154, chartered through the Grand Lodge of California, in early spring of 1862 (Torrence 1944). Several months later, what came to be called Virginia City Lodge #162 was established in Virginia City, likewise within the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of California (Torrence 1944). Since Nevada had not yet reached statehood, Carson City became a kind of acting Grand Lodge, receiving communications from Masons in the territory, and was, to some extent, a kind of middleman for the Grand Lodge of California (Torrence 1944), while still honoring its place within the hierarchy of the Grand Lodge system (Torrence 1944). A meeting was set on January 15, 1865 (Torrence 1944), after a discussion "in Carson Lodge on the evening of December 15, 1864" (Torrence 1944, 8-9) for all Nevada-territory Lodges under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of California, to meet in Virginia City to discuss forming a Grand Lodge of Nevada. It was agreed, and on January 17, 1865, those

Lodges who attended the meeting “surrendered their California charters” (Torrence 1944, 9) and became part of the Grand Lodge of Nevada, changing their demarcation to reflect the jurisdictional change; Carson Lodge #154, for example, became Carson Lodge #1 (Torrence 1944). Masons residing in Reno and adjacent areas began to discuss the formation of a Lodge in Reno (Torrence 1944). On January 14, 1869, the Reno Masons were granted the right to establish a Masonic Hall on Virginia Street in Downtown Reno. The Hall, called Alhambra Hall (Torrence 1944, 105) became a “popular meeting place for the people of Reno. In it, the first Christmas tree in Reno was made the occasion for an elaborate entertainment, and it became the resort and meeting place not only of fraternal organizations, but of political, social and civic societies as well” (Torrence 1944, 105). When the Grand Lodge of Nevada met in Virginia City a year later, official recognition and chartering were granted to the Lodge, which came to be called Reno Lodge #13 (Torrence 1944). In December of 1906 the Reno Masonic Temple (Kittell 2015) was opened, with an annex being added in 1955 (Kittell 2015). The temple survived a major fire in 1965 and flood in 1997 (Kittell 2015) and is the current home of Reno Lodge #13 (see Figure 25).

(**Figure 25**: Masonic Temple, downtown Reno. Wilhelm 04/2015)

In Reno Lodge #13 F. & A.M., according to a July 19, 2013 phone interview with an officer of the Reno Lodge #13 Lodge, there are around 280 members, though Kittell (2015) noted that fifty years ago Reno Lodge #13 had 834 members. The annual dues are currently $70 per Mason, with additional fees to move through the three degrees, and donations are encouraged. Reno Lodge #13 belongs to the Grand Lodge of Nevada jurisdiction which, as of 2014,[271] recognizes 42 Lodges within Nevada, as well as the recognized Lodges within the system of Most Worshipful Prince Hall Grand Lodge Free and Accepted Mason Jurisdiction of Nevada. Reno Lodge #13 holds regular meetings one evening per month. Reno Lodge #13 has a number of projects underway which include the maintenance of the Masonic cemetery in downtown Reno; according to a July 19, 2013 phone interview with an officer of the Reno Lodge #13 Lodge, Reno Lodge #13 does not own the cemetery, but runs it. Masons, he also noted, own 51% of downtown Reno's buildings. In the year 2000, the officer added, Reno Lodge #13 "started the Child I.D. Program – demographics, biometrics for missing kids…also through small smiles, dental impressions and DNA. 30,500 kids so far, very successful."[272] He (believes) "Masons (in Nevada) are alive and well." There are many Appendant / Concordant bodies which are allowed to operate within the jurisdiction including the Scottish Rite, York Rite, Odd Fellows, Order of the Eastern Star, Shriners, as well as youth groups such as Rainbow Girls, Job's Daughters, and Order of DeMolay. Many of Reno Lodge #13's members, likewise, are affiliated with the Nevada Lodge of Research #1 located in Reno.

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[271] GLNV 2014

[272] According to a follow up email received more recently that number has increased to "35,000 children processed."

Approximately 5.7% of the participants in the survey distributed as part of this research indicated membership in Reno Lodge #13, that is approximately 10% of the total U.S.-based survey participant body, and about 4.5% of the total Reno Lodge #13 membership.

LA SERENISIMA LOGIA RENOVAION N.1-12, BUCRAMANAGA, COLOMBIA

The quantity of published records depicting the development of Freemasonry in Colombia is far less present in the historic record, less concentrated in historical scholarship (of both Masonic and Non-Masonic origin), and less accessible, generally, than that of treatises on the development of Freemasonry in the United States. Part of this could be due to the variation in the levels of discretion enacted by Freemasons in each location due to the real or perceived threat of known affiliation. There are histories of the development of Masonry in many places of the world within Masonic texts and proceedings, yet to a lesser extent than U.S. Masonic histories in more publicly accessible venues. However, published documents do exist of Masonic history, generally, in Colombia. Likewise, Augustin Rivera was generous enough to supply me with a brief written history of his Lodge, La Serenisima Logia Renovación Nº 1-12. While Rivera's history is not published,[273] he is a well-published Masonic scholar and his role as both Past Master of his Lodge as well as Grand Chancellor of the Gran Logia de Los Andes, puts him in a position to access and provide credible sources of information. I consider this document, which I will call *Rivera 2015* for citation purposes, to fall somewhere between an interview and a Masonic publication.

[273] Which likewise allows me to continue the use of his pseudonym while citing his history, which he titled: A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE GRAND LODGE OF LOS ANDES: Historical background of the Colombian Masonry.

According to *Rivera 2015* the first Lodge in Colombia was chartered through the Grand Lodge of Jamaica in 1809. Though some sources argue that jurisdictions in France held regular chartering authority over Lodges in Colombia until 1920 (APMR 2011; see References and Reference Notes) while others attest that the combined areas of Venezuela, Ecuador, and New Granada, which made up the region of the Republic of Colombia (Omholt 2007 / Gould), should be considered when determining which Lodge/s existed first in the region. Today, there are six Grand Lodges in Colombia and a seventh, in the region of Santa Marta, currently has recognition under way (*Rivera 2015*). In the Santander Province, to which the Gran Logia de los Andes has jurisdiction, the first Lodge was established in 1865 (*Rivera 2015*). In 1971 the Gran Logia de los Andes was recognized by the Gran Logia Oriental de Colombia (*Rivera 2015*) and had five Lodges within its jurisdiction. On December 7, 1912 (*Rivera 2015*) the first Lodge in Bucaramanga was established under the name, Santander No.57 (*Rivera 2015*). Renovación 1-12 was granted recognition and a charter by the Gran Logia Nacional de Colombia in 1928 and is "now seen as the 'mother Lodge' of all the Lodges of the Grand Lodge of Los Andes" (*Rivera 2015,2*). Interestingly, according to Ricardo, the Gran Logia de los Andes was not recognized by the Grand Lodge of England until recently due to the fact that all of the charters, documents, correspondences, seals, etc. were in Spanish. Augustin himself translated each document into English about five years ago and sent them to the Grand Lodge of England which resulted in uniform recognition.

In La Serenisima Logia Renovación 1-12, according to Augustin and Ricardo,[274] there are currently 44 members. In the 1930s La Serenisima Logia Renovación Nº 1-12 had 71 members. The annual dues are about $400 per Mason. La Serenisima Logia Renovación Nº 1-12 belongs to the Gran Logia de Los Andes jurisdiction which, as of 2015, recognizes 12 Lodges within the province (*Rivera 2015*), there are no Prince Hall Lodges within the jurisdiction. La Serenisima Logia Renovación Nº 1-12 holds regular meetings one evening per week. There are some Appendant / Concordant bodies which are allowed to operate within the jurisdiction including the Scottish Rite, Shriners, Eastern Star and a youth group called 'Lubetones.' The area's Shriners also coordinate various projects within the local community, Augustin noted. When I asked if there was a Research Lodge within the jurisdiction, Augustin answered, through Ricardo, "they have 4 study groups, that focus on researching the following topics: Music, Masonic History, Catedra de Pensamiento Colombiano(275) and Physics."[276] Approximately 10% of the participants in the survey distributed as part of this research indicated membership in La Serenisima Logia Renovación Nº 1-12, that is approximately 31.7 % of the total Colombia-based survey participant body and approximately 42.2% of the total La Serenisima Logia Renovación Nº 1-12 membership.

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[274] I sent an email to Ricardo asking a few basic demographic questions relating to La SLR1-12 and Gran Logia de Los Andes. He contacted his Agustin to relate my questions and responded with the answers in an email. I also discussed the answers with Ricardo (both before and after receiving the email) who added some clarification (particularly in one case where I had asked how many members SLR1-12 had 50 years ago, the answer I received was "71" but Ricardo said this number was from the 1930s (which were the only records they could find).

[275] Approximate translation: Seminar related Colombian Thought (Ricardo added later "this was one that they organized.")

[276] I sent an email inquiry to Ricardo Rivera asking a few basic demographic questions, as stated above, he talked with his father Augustin Rivera and the above quote is the verbatim reply as it was received in a reply to my email.

In the following Chapter, I will engage with the notion of *activity* as it is utilized within the Masonic conception of participation, dedication, and/or typologies of 'labor.' I will discuss Masonic lexicon generally, and a lexicon of activity more specifically. Likewise, I will discuss the variable links between Masons, with an excerpt on the choice to join. The Features of *active* and Masonic activity will be presented, and will include an examination of issues of attendance, multiple memberships, charity, and knowledge production. I will also include a brief account of the movement in Masonry related to 'Restoration' and 'Tradition', as told by Masonic author Cliff Porter, and will segue into a presentation of the Masonic *journey* concept, focusing on notions of "way-of-life' and the layers of experience.

Chapter 5: FIVE. [TOPIC: "Active"]

"One of the sacred numbers of freemasonry. Its symbolic properties are many and curious. It is formed by a combination of the Duad with the Triad, of the first even number with (excluding unity) the first odd one, 2 + 3. In the school of Pythagoras, it represented Light, and among his disciples a triple triangle, forming the outline of a five pointed star, was an emblem of health, because being alternately conjoined within itself, it constitutes a figure of *five* lines…Among Freemasons, five is more particularly symbolical of the five orders of architecture, and the five human senses, but still more especially of the Five Points of Fellowship."

Mackey (1845/2004, 273)

"*He was very Active…It was an Active Lodge…*" 299

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"He was very active…It was an active Lodge."[277]

Participation in the activity of Freemasonry, from my observations, seems to be gauged by a conceptual measure called 'active.' I have heard, throughout my conversations with Masons as part of this project, references made to other Masons, or Masonic Lodges, in terms of how 'active' they are or were, thus forming a category of identity within Masonry. The continuum of 'active', furthermore, appears to begin with a Mason who regularly pays his dues and is therefore granted all of the rights and privileges of membership including mutual aid, visitation to all regular Lodges

[277] This is not a direct quote in its entirety, but rather a compilation of common utterances I have heard from particiapants.

worldwide, access to exclusive online forums, the right to a Masonic funeral, etc. A man who simply pays his dues, but does not regularly attend meetings, contribute to the functioning of the Lodge, engage in research, give lectures, or visit Brothers may not be considered truly 'active' by his fellow Masons. However, there is a level of cognitive participation which is worth considering, and which is discussed in further detail in the next chapter, described through the use of the concept of *journey* and which includes, but is not limited to, spiritual search, personal betterment, knowledge attainment, and charity.[278] Incidentally, even a Mason who does not regularly pay his dues, while he would likely be described as 'inactive', and some doors would be closed to him, would still be afforded many of the rights of membership until such time as those are revoked. As one participant of this research noted during an interview on July 21, 2015 in Reno, NV, a Mason, once made, is always a Mason, and is considered to have been 'a Mason in his heart'[279] even before being initiated into the Fraternity.

In the center of the continuum of 'active' appears to be the dedication of a significant amount of time and effort to the functional aspects of a Lodge, such as attending meetings and events, performing duties of the Lodge including, but not limited to, officership, upkeep of the Temple, organizing charity events, participating in forums and ceremonies, giving a lecture or two in Lodge, etc. This, I feel, describes the minimum level of 'activity' expected of any Mason, but does not truly describe what it means to be

[278] The multiple uses and meaning of the term 'charity' in reference to Masonic expectation, experience, and obligation is discussed later in this chapter.
[279] This a commonly used Masonic phrase that can be found in multiple venues and utterance. Herman Clayworth noted, during our interview in Ohio, that one could be "a good person before (becoming) part of a society that formally demands it." Which I will take the liberty to say is likely a significant part of this sentiment.

'active' in the *Craft* of Masonry. The shared quality of the *Craft* is facilitated by a well-functioning Lodge which necessitates the kind of practical participation described above. However, the *Craft* itself, as a personal journey, as described in more detail in the next chapter, is practiced through the mind, spirit, and actions of the individual Mason. The *Craft*, as a shared journey, is practiced through the discretion, discussion, encouragement, aid, and "fellowship"[280] of the Lodge.

An active Mason, therefore, pays his dues, contributes to charity, attends meetings, may take on the extra responsibilities of Lodge governance, and enthusiastically enjoys the company of his fellows. An active *Craft*sman does all of these things while truly embracing the journey towards knowledge, purity of spirit, and both private and public improvement. An active Lodge upkeeps its Temple, may contribute to local civic engagement on some level, efficiently runs meetings; electing officers, recording the minutes, and increasing membership, and hosts a number of both Blue and White events. An ideal Lodge, perhaps, does most of these things while at the same time concentrating its membership, and through various means, is also truly "fulfilling and compelling" (C. Porter 2011, 28).

The *activity* of Masonry will be further discussed in this section by exploring the Masonic lexicon of activity, the links formed through Masonic membership which include the links to family, friends, and texts, which, likewise, will include a discussion on the choice to join. This section will also outline some of the practical features of Masonic activity such as attendance and multiple memberships, the numerous constructs

[280] Multiple references, including C. Porter 2011

and obligations of 'charity', the utility of Masonic events, and the Masonic tradition of research, publication, and knowledge production. As a segue to the next chapter, which details the lived and conceived concept of the Masonic journey, this section will conclude with a discussion of the Masonic Restoration movement by reviewing the work, and its implications, of Masonic author Cliff Porter who details the inception, purpose, and practice of A Traditional Observance Lodge (C. Porter 2011).

The Lexicon of Activity

"QUARRY

> The Latin quadratum was a square; originally, quadrate and quarry meant the same. The word became applied' to the pit from which rock is hewn because the principal task of workmen therein was to cut, or square, the stones; hence, literally a quarry is a place where stone-squaring is done. In Masonry "quarry" sometimes refers to the rock pits from which Solomon's workmen hewed out the stones for his Temple; at other times it refers to the various arenas of Masonic activities, as when it is said of an active Lodge member that "he is a faithful laborer in the quarry." (Masonic Dictionary n.d.)[281]

As mentioned in previous discussions, Masonic lexicon includes an extensive cache of operative terms; from the tools used to construct buildings, to geometric concepts, and architectural references. *Doing*[282] Freemasonry is often described in metaphorical reference to the craft of constructing an edifice; the stone work, the labor,

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[281] (Masonic Dictionary, North Raleigh Masonic Lodge. J.J. Crowder Lodge #743 A.F. & A.M. accessed online (2015) from: http://www.jjcrowder743.com/dictionary.html)

[282] At a Scottish Rite of Freemasonry family summer 2014 picnic in Reno, NV, Marcus Flores (pseudonym), a jurisdictional officer in Scottish Rite, noted when I mentioned Masonic literature that he didn't much engage in those types of queries, rather, he said, "I *do* Masonry." Marcus Flores was not necessarily referencing the lexicon of activity, or the topics I discuss above, but I have used the phrase 'to *do* Masonry', 'Masonry is something one *does*'/ 'something I *do*' and '*doing* Freemasonry' in various formats including this dissertation, based, in part, from Marcus' comment; as well as a 2014 publication entitled "Freemasonry is Something you Do…" (see Wilhelm 2014a) where I used a modified version of his quote as my title.

and the ultimate goal. Indeed, referring to the activity of Freemasonry as "the Work" (29) MacNulty (2002) argues that the "interior work" (29) of Freemasonry is not suitable to all people, thus, the prerequisites (29) of membership are specifically designed to deny entrance to anyone who is not able or willing to work towards "a conscious awareness of the presence of Divinity" (MacNulty 2002, 29); work towards "know(ing) himself as he is" (30); be at a point in life where he can "continue the normal pattern of human growth by developing the capacities of the psyche" (MacNulty 2002, 31); and "be prepared to accept responsibility for (his own) behaviour" (MacNulty 2002, 31).

Masonic lexicon is broader and more extensive than those terms related to activity; some of which are highlighted here. Indeed, Masonry, regularly practiced, may create a speech community (M. Morgan 1999) whereby "members can identify insiders from outsiders, those passing as members and those living in contact zones and borderlands" (M. Morgan 1999, 38). In over 500 pages, Mackey's (1845/2004) *Lexicon of Freemasonry*, for example, lists, defines, and comments on approximately 900 Masonic terms, abbreviations, expressions, figures, concepts, and historic or legendary events. Beyond this extensive list, and the similar lists, dictionaries, and guides to Masonic vernacular that have been published, are the everyday interactions between Freemasons, which "reflects what people do and know when they interact with one another…when people come together through discursive practices, they behave as though they operate within a shared set of norms, local knowledge, beliefs, and values…they are aware of these things and capable of knowing when they are being adhered to and when the values of the community are being ignored" (M. Morgan 1999, 36). Local Lodge-mates could reasonably be expected to share a common set of phrases and idioms based

on their regional proximity, shared Lodge experiences, and recommended readings. However, the speech community of Freemasonry, which includes but is not limited to, a lexicon of activity, extends across borders, which was fairly well summed up in a comment made to me by a Reno Mason during the summer of 2014 when Augustin Rivera was visiting from Colombia; he enjoyed meeting him, he had said to me, "he speaks Mason." The Masonic 'register' (Agha 1999) which includes both the Masonic lexicon itself and the "non-linguistic semiotic activity…, such as gestures, or the extended patterning of kinesic and bodily movements" (Agha 1999, 217) is apparently translatable between users of different macro-languages. For example the term 'Light' is an oft used Masonic word meaning many things including, but not limited to, knowledge, divinity, morality, the direction of the Masonic journey, etc. Though the term in Spanish is 'Luz', and not 'Light', the Masonic meaning is similar enough that when the term is translated and used between Masons from different regional and linguistic backgrounds, its meaning is understood within the context of the shared experience of a common "social practice" (Agha 1999, 216), i.e., Masonry. At the same time, as Peter Field, of the George Washington Masonic National Memorial in Alexandria, Virginia, reminded me during an interview on September 16, 2014, most Freemasonry is local, with the "most important thing (being)… the Brothers in your Lodge."

In the Masonic register, The *Working Tools*[283] of Freemasonry are symbolic of certain aspects of Masonic Work and are represented by the square, the compass, the level, and the plumb. These tools are terminologically employed in expressive speech and

[283] I am not including a specific citation for the term "working tools" here. This phrase is used extensively in Masonic literature, and in utterance by Masons. While the first time I heard the term is lost to me, the lexicon itself has become particularly familiar through this project.

are an integral part of the Masonic lexicon of activity, as well as made manifest in tangible object and pictorial form. Black (2013) noted that "Contemporary (Linguistic Anthropological) work also focuses on how embodiment is interconnected with the definition and semiotic valuation of objects… (which) demonstrates how objects are endowed with symbolic meaning—in other words, how things become objectified" (Black 2013, 277). Numerous participants have described to me, during the course of this project, how the use of these tools, in symbolic, expressive, or tangible form, are designed to remind Masons of the ideal mental state in which to approach the world, and how to respond to and act towards their fellow Masons, as well the profane. As Ricardo Rivera stated when I asked him the meanings of these terms,

> "Square: Emblem of morality, teaches us to square our lives and actions by the laws of God, and to regulate our conduct accordingly, it teaches us to live in brotherly love with all mankind.
>
> Compass: Emblem of virtue, the true and only, measure of a Freemason's life and conduct. As the Bible gives us light on our duties to God, and the square illustrates our duties to our neighborhood and Brother, so the compass give(s) that additional light which is to instruct us in the duty we owe to ourselves-the great, imperative duty of circumscribing our passions, and keeping our desires within due bounds.
>
> Plumb: An instrument used by Operative Masons to erect perpendicular lines, and adopted in Speculative Freemasonry as one of the Working tools of a Fellow Craft. It is a symbol of rectitude of conduct, and inculcates that integrity of life and undeviating course of moral uprightness which can alone distinguish the good and just man.
>
> Level: Emblem of equality; and reminds us that, in the sight of God, all men are equal."[284]

[284] While these concepts are familiar to me, I wanted to substantiate the exact wording. I thus sent an email to Ricard Rivera on 08/20/2015; he responded on 08/20/2015 with the quote (direct) above, and added when I asked if I could cite him "You can cite me on the square and level. Those I remembered, but the compass and plumb I looked online and confirmed the information in my black book." (note: the 'black book' is a book given to all Master Masons, written primarily in code (which, if I recall correctly, can be different colors), which has the lessons, rituals, and salient points of Masonry inscribed within. The book is not always black,

Additionally, the Working Tools were described to me during an interview with Mark Quinn Bryant and Joseph Sato on a visit to Casper Lodge # 15 A.F. & A.M. in Casper, Wyoming, on August 30, 2014. As we walked through a Lodge Room they indicated the placement of these tools in different areas of the room, according to cardinal direction and hierarchical position (see Figure 26). The tools are used to symbolize officers and Masonic instruction, they explained.

(**Figure 26:** Example of Working Tool placement in the Lodge: Plumb in the West, placed on the podium of the Senior Warden. Casper Lodge #15, Casper, WY. Wilhelm 08/30/2014) .

As Phil Archer remembered during an interview on July 21, 2015 in Reno, NV, these concepts mean that he is "supposed to meet on the level, act on the plumb, and part on the square." The compass, he had mentioned just before, encourages him to "learn to keep my passions in bounds." Through an exchange of email correspondence, Sam Scrivener of _____ Lodge #__, in _____[285], Wyoming, wrote on February 15, 2015:

Ricardo explained, in both Panama and Colombia it is blue, but its purpose and function is the same).

[285] I have removed Lodge name and location to preserve anonymity

> "The best known Masonic symbols are the square, compass, level, and plumb. These have similar symbolic meanings, and are used to remind us to be loyal, trustworthy, honest, charitable, tolerant, fair, honorable, etc., in our dealings with mankind, and more especially with brother Masons. The Masonic ritual often uses the word "teach", but in reality, if a man does not already posses these virtues, he is not worthy to become a Mason. But as we are all merely human, and therefore fallible, we all must occasionally be reminded to follow these moral tenets of behavior."
>
> (Scrivener (pseudonym) 02/2015, verbatim text drawn from correspondence)

As with other Masonic terms, including but not limited to those encompassed in the lexicon of activity, the broad meanings are understood by all through shared practice, ritual use, object reinforcement, and linguistic expression. Yet, like other Masonic terms, including but not limited to those encompassed in the lexicon of activity, the specific meanings are personal, individually determined, and expected to be useful in different ways to each Mason. As Leonid Averin remarked during an interview on June 3, 2014 in Reno, Nevada, "if things were prescriptive it would cut the searching…you can never really know until you can't tell anybody."

There are, indeed, many terms and expressions in the Masonic lexicon which are related to activity, in the sense of work, labor, effort, contribution, or conduct. For example, the term *Labour* is included in Mackey's (1845/2004) *Lexicon of Freemasonry.* As Mackey (1845/2004) writes:

> "Labour. From the time of opening to that of closing, a lodge is said to be at labour. This is but one of the numerous instances in which the terms of operative masonry are symbolically applied to speculative; for, as our operative ancestors, when congregated in lodge, were engaged in the building of material edifices, so Free and Accepted Masons are supposed to be employed in the erection of a superstructure of virtue and morality, upon the foundation of the masonic principles which they were taught at their admission into the order. Extending the allusion, the lodge is said 'to be called from labour to refreshment,' whenever, in the course of the meeting, it adjourns for a definite period, or takes a recess of a few minutes. During this time, the Junior Warden presides over the craft." (263-264)

Masons, likewise, are said to be, indeed are 'obligated' to be, 'working the rough stone.'[286] If an un-initiated man is an "imperfect"(multiple cites), and unworked stone, then an initiated, and more so, Raised, Mason, has a duty to himself, to his Lodge, and to his conception of Deity, to, throughout his life, "chisel"(multiple cites) away the rough edges, through moral behavior, self-control, and the pursuit of knowledge, ultimately creating a perfect[287] stone, worthy of placement in a great building (humanity, among other concepts), approved by The Great Architect of the Universe.

The *activity* of Freemasonry, in part, includes a concept of being *active* in Lodge and *actively* engaged in cognitive pursuit, which is metaphorized through a culturally-specific, commonly understood yet individually interpreted, lexicon of activity, derived, in part, from the terminology of operative stone work (masonry).

The Masonic Links to Family, Friends, and Texts

As discussed previously in this dissertation, networks can be described as the patterns that emerge from complex relationships between individuals and between groups. These intricate, overlapping, webs of interaction are at the same time actor-focused and also underscore the complexity of social institutions. Citing Mitchell (1974) in Chapter 3 of this dissertation, for example, I supported the notion that the points on

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[286] The term 'rough stone' and the expression 'working the rough stone' are fairly common phrases, with some slight variation, in Masonic usage. I have heard reference to this term/expression numerous times through both Masonic literature and verbal utterance. However, for a good description of this common phrase see also the Masonic Lodge of Education's discussion on the Rough and Perfect Ashlar, accessible online at: http://www.masonic-lodge-of-education.com/rough-and-perfect-ashlar.html

[287] See citation (link) above for the 'Rough and Perfect Ashlar.'

which to define links in a network was an important aspect of anthropological research. Likewise, as I noted, Mitchell (1974) suggested that links could be based on such things as systems of exchange (293), the importance of certain relationships from the perspective of the individual under study (294), or influence and modes of communication (293). Also citing Hage and Harary (1983), I remarked that Hage and Harary (1983) posited that anthropology is, essentially, the study of the relationships between people, structures, systems, ideas, or change (1). They argued that these relationships and interactions involve complex models which are often "implicit if not explicit, informal if not formal" (Hage and Harary 1983, 1). A true Social Network Analysis (SNA) involves, and has evolved into (Scott 2013), a technical (Scott 2013) application of matrix visualization[288] utilizing specific mathematical and social-scientific techniques for discrete data analysis. Borgatti, et al. (2009), however, argue that SNA provides an in-depth focus on the individual and emic perspective and is not, contrary to criticism (893), "lack(ing) a [native] theoretical understanding-it is (not) 'merely descriptive' or 'just methodology"'"(Borgatti et al. 2009, 893). Indeed, they argue that "whereas traditional social research explained an individual's outcomes or characteristics as a function of other characteristics of the same individual…social network researchers look to the individual's social environment for explanations, whether through influence processes…or leveraging processes" (Borgatii et al. 2009, 894). To run a true SNA of the links between family, friends, and texts in a Masonic network I would, fairly, need to use regression analysis where the knowledge of the relationship/flow between the individuals

[288] 'Matrix Visualization' is a commonly employed term/method, original reference for the term lost.

is determined first by an interpretive preliminary map where I would represent each participant and piece of writing encountered during the study along with an account of independent variables along which centrality can be measured.

While my intent at the onset of this project was to include a more formal SNA of a Masonic network I find now that given the variables of data-type and extent, lack of formal training in its technique, time, a motif of narrative-interpretation present thus far in my description, and a requisite of limiting its scope, I will not include such an analysis. I do, however, examine the benefits and possibilities of running a separate project, focusing exclusively on SNA for analysis, in my discussion of prospective research in Chapter 7; that is not to say, however, that I cannot describe the links between family, friends, and texts that are an essential part of the Masonic experience. Indeed, a network, while certainly conducive for technical methodology and graphical representation (Borgatti et al. 2009; Scott 2013) can also be a conceptual, descriptive, tool for highlighting the links between people and ideas within the boundaries of a social setting. Indeed, as I noted in Chapter 3, Latour (1999) remarked that a network, just like *culture* (Kroeber 1949) was viewed, in previous decades, as a tool for analysis but has become a "technical metaphor" (Latour 1999, 15). Criticizing both the 'modern' insistence on objectivism and the 'postmodern' rejection of objectivism, I also noted in Chapter 3, Latour likewise described networks as being able to "cross the borders of the great fiefdoms of criticism: they are neither objective nor social, nor are they effects of discourse, even though they are real, and collective, and discursive" (Latour 1993, 6). Burrell (2009), described the usefulness of 'network thinking' in ethnographic research, as I outlined in Chapter 3, where I noted that newer conceptions (183) of the field, Burrell

(2009) observed, included attention to the mobility of both concrete and abstract components of culture, as well as, later, to the virtual, social (184), worlds found online. Burrell (2009) asked the question, I stated in Chapter 3, "Should we define the field site by the movement and dwelling of the fieldworker or, alternately, as the space in which a social phenomenon takes place?" (Burrell 2009, 186). Burrell (2009), tackled this challenge, I added in Chapter 3, to some extent, through a network (189) perspective. Among other benefits, this perspective allowed Burrell (2009), I also stated, to reimagine both time and space in relation to fieldwork and field-site. Indeed, she noted "continuity does not imply homogeneity or unity; it implies connection. The continuity of a network is evident in the way that one point can (through one or more steps) connect to any other point" (Burrell 2009, 190). My description of a Masonic network includes the links between family and friends, as well as texts.

According to the results of the survey that was distributed as a part of this project, 62.57% of all respondents affirmed that they had family members who are, or were, Masons. This trend appears stronger in the United States than in Colombia, as 74.1% of U.S. respondents had familial connections to Freemasonry, whereas only 41% of Colombian respondents did. Furthermore, 89.47% of Masons who were Raised to Master Mason between the ages of 18-25 had familial connections to the fraternity, with the second highest correlation between affirmative family connections and Raised-age being between the ages of 26-35 (68.09% noted familial connection). Though, as mentioned previously in this dissertation, Masons in the U.S. had a higher frequency of being Raised

at a younger age than Colombian Masons,[289] while also having a higher frequency of familial connections. The younger age of Raising[290] could be due to familial links, but could also be due to other factors which occur more frequently in the United States than in Colombia. For example, by talking with participants of this project from both Colombia and the United States it appeared to me that, generally, people move through the degrees at a quicker pace in the U.S. than they do in Colombia, which could also contribute to the variation in age data related to age of being Raised. However, according, if my recollection serves, to Ricardo Rivera, this may be the case only in Appendant Bodies, such as the Scottish Rite, where a person can move through all of the degrees in a few days'-long ceremonies in the U.S., where in Colombia it takes decades of intense study. Ricardo feels that the move between Entered Apprentice and Master Mason in the Blue Lodge occurs at around the same interval in both Colombia and the U.S. There was, likewise, a possible link between familial connection and the number of Blue Lodges a Mason is a member of. In the cross-tabulated results of the survey, 61.36% and 59.38% of those who noted they were members of either one or two Lodges, respectively, affirmed familial connection to Freemasonry; 85.71% and 100% of those who noted they were members of either 3 or 4 Lodges, respectively, affirmed familial connection. Again, however, through information gathered from talking with Masons during the course of

[289] The geocoded results of the survey indicate that U.S. Masons had the highest percentage of responses indicating they were Raised between the ages of 18-25 at 31.9% (followed by 26-35, and 36-45 respectively); Colombian Masons had the highest percentage of responses indicating they were Raised between the ages of 36-45 at 29.5% (followed by 46-55, and 26-35 respectively).

[290] According to Ricardo, a participant of this project, in most jurisdictions of the United States, a man may apply to enter the fraternity at age 18; in most jurisdictions of Colombia the same regulation applies.

this project, in particular Ricardo Rivera, I have come to understand that while multiple Blue Lodge membership may be acceptable in most U.S. jurisdictions, it is *un*acceptable in most Colombian jurisdictions. Thus, the frequency of multiple Blue Lodge memberships would be predictably higher in the U.S., where generally, there is also a higher rate of multiple family members who are members of the Fraternity. As mentioned previously in this dissertation, links to family did not appear to have much of an effect on whether or not a Mason took on a leadership role (officership) in the Lodge or Grand Lodge. Indeed, 88.39% of those who affirmed familial connection are currently, or were in the past, an officer in their Lodge or jurisdictional Grand Lodge, and 86.36% of those who indicated they did not have a familial connection are currently, or were in the past, an officer of their Lodge or jurisdictional grand Lodge. Officership appears to be fairly common[291] for respondents from all locations.

For Cohen (1971), whom I discussed briefly in Chapter 3, the links between family, friends, ethnic-identity, and Freemasonry were very strong within Freetown, in Sierra Leon (Cohen 1971). Indeed, he noted that "Even when a father is dead, older brothers or other relatives urge their younger brothers that it was their father's wish that the sons should join. Pressure also comes from other kin who are already within the movement or who are not" (Cohen 1971, 436). As I have mentioned previously in this dissertation, pressuring someone to join the Fraternity goes against both the constitution/s and basic

[291] Though still higher in the U.S. the majority of respondents from all locations answered 'Yes' / 'Si' to the question "Are you currently, or have you been in the past, an officer of your Lodge, or of your jurisdictional Grand Lodge? / ¿Está usted actualmente, o ha sido en el pasado, un oficial de la Logia, o en su jurisdicción de Gran Logia?" (93.8% U.S., 77% Colombia, 83.3% Other Locations).

tenets of Freemasonry. That is not to say, however, that I have not observed a certain sense of pride among those who share Brotherhood with their fathers, sons, brothers, grandfathers, uncles, and so on. Indeed, both Ricardo Rivera's father Augustin, and brother Augustin Jr. were part of his initiation ceremony in Bucaramanga. In the ceremony of the swearing-in for 'a new officer' of Reno Lodge #13 in 2011, prior to the beginning of this project, that I was fortunate enough to attend, 'the new officer's' father, who, I believe, was a Past Master, was a member of the ceremony. For, Phil Archer, whom I conducted a second interview with on July 21st, 2015 in Reno, NV, Freemasonry was the "social life of my father." He grew up going "to Barbeques and other (Masonic) functions." He had lived in a "large house" and his family would "put up traveling Masons." He also recalled "collecting (the) obligation" when he travelled with his family across the U.S. and Canada, "staying every night with a Mason." Phil noted that he "joined after I came back from the army." On June 23rd, 2014, during an interview in his home in Reno, NV, Rudy McGee mentioned that he and his wife Alice were "both raised in Masonic families." They are also both very active in the auxiliary groups associated with the Washoe #35 Lodge in Reno, NV. Indeed, as Rudy referred to the women's and youth groups as additional components to "the Masonic family." During an interview on April 27, 2014 in Reno, NV, Rob Dunnely mentioned that both of his daughters were members of Eastern Star, that he "went through Eastern Star with his oldest daughter" and "traveled with his younger daughter to various meetings." I conducted an interview on August 27th, 2014, in the Grand Lodge of Utah's offices in Salt Lake City, with Victoria O'Brien, a (past)Worthy Grand Matron of the Grand Chapter Order of Eastern Star for the state of Utah. She mentioned that in order to join the Eastern Star a lady must

"be related to a Master Mason." That if someone petitions for membership they will "look up family members." She herself, was "born into it (father, mother, Job's Daughters)" she noted, as for her it was a "rite of passage", becoming a "member the night before () high school graduation."

Beyond the family links to membership in auxiliary organizations, there are, among other obligations, the Masonic obligation to insure the welfare of a fellow Mason's family. Indeed, as Phil Archer noted that it is an obligation to help a distressed Brother, his widow, or orphan. He also said to me that "you're the wife of a Mason so you are part of my family." He also felt that "Masons anywhere in the world (are) more family than my (own) sisters." Phil also recounted a story where a woman was going to be traveling across the country with her two children. Her father and/or uncle were Masons. He had reminded her before she departed to look in the phone book for a Lodge if she found herself in trouble along the way. Phil also mentioned that Masons are warned to never "defraud Masons, widows, (or) orphans out of the value of anything." On another occasion, after visiting Washoe #35 Lodge, Rudy embraced me and (asked if he could call me..or called me) his "sister-in law" a title which has been used by at least one other participant as well. Nestled between Masonic Drive and Lodge Road in Springfield Ohio, there exists a retirement home for Masons and Masonic family. It used to be an orphanage, Herman Clayworth recalled, as I have mentioned previously in this dissertation. "Masons start retirement homes" after the civil war, Herman noted, "[like always] (Masons) start something no one else is doing." Masonic insurance is another of these instances, as mentioned by a number of the participants of this project. Some researchers have reasoned that Freemasonry was the birthplace of the contemporary life-

insurance industry. Burt (2003) for example, noted that joining Masonry, particularly for immigrants to new lands[292] was both a draw and a benefit (Burt 2003;various). He noted that:

> "Americans and new arrivals alike, now distant from family, friends, and a familiar hometown, submerged in an increasingly ethnically mixed community, clung together for essential job and investment networking, financial insurance against illness and injury, cultural bonding, camaraderie, entertainment, and relaxation[293("57")]. Masonry could also provide invaluable defence in an often hard and hostile world." (672).

Burt (2003) also added that joining fraternities (672) generally was an attractive prospect for migrants. As he noted, "in a strongly patriarchal society they were not just advantageous for single men but essential for accompanying family members, providing them with some level of security and wide-ranging support mechanisms"[294("59")] (Burt 2003, 672-673). For Harland-Jacob (2007), Freemasonry provided some of the first large-scale mutual aid. Indeed, she noted:

> "In the days before disability and life insurance, before governments helped their most needy citizens, voluntary associations (like friendly societies) were crucial for helping people deal with the tenuousness of life. Freemasonry was among the first voluntary associations to perform these functions; it was certainly the first such institution to operate on a global scale…Thus, a Mason could rely on Masons in his particular locality and in other parts of the world. In addition to operating on a global scale, Freemasonry's safety net worked because the brethren had a sense of familial obligation toward one another." (58)

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[292] He makes particular reference to the Keweenaw Peninsula mining district in the mid 1800s (Burt 2003).

[293] Burt includes a footnote here (footnote "57") that references the following, "See Jameson, *All that glitters*, ch. 4." (Burt 2003, 672). Full reference = "Jameson, E., *All that glitters: class, conflict and community in Cripple Creek* (Urbana, 1998)." (Burt 2003, 687).

[294] Burt includes a footnote here (footnote "59") that notes "The role that fraternities and other networking systems could play in the assimilation of immigrants and their families is discussed in Macleary, 'Networks'." (Burt 2003, 673). Full reference = "Macleary, G. F., 'Networks among British immigrants and accommodation to Canadian society,1900-1914', *Histoire Sociale/Social History,* 17, 34 (1984), pp. 357-74." (Burt 2003, 687).

Beyond the links to sanguine kin (L. Morgan 1871/1997) through multiple familial Masonic memberships comes the "particularized kinship" (Wilhelm 2015a) of Masonry. I have found through this project that the kinship bonds that underlie the Masonic experience go beyond an academic approach to 'brotherhood' as a conceptual and metaphorical (Clawson 1989)[295] tool to discuss Freemasonry in an etic approach to fraternalism. The legend of Hiram Abiff, for example, as a central allegory to both Masonic degree-progression and identity formation, outlines the genesis of the Widow's Sons, as discussed in both Chapter 4 and Appendix 3 of this dissertation. Indeed, Ricardo Rivera noted to me in August of 2015, as a I prepared a public lecture on my research "among The Widow's Sons" (Wilhelm 2015c), that Hiram Abiff, son of the Widow of Tyre, constructor of the Temple of Solomon, is regarded by Masons as "the first Mason", and thus, all Masons are brothers, and are the representational sons of the widow of Tyre; "you need to explain it" he told me seriously as I agreed to use the term 'Widow's Sons' in my presentation. Indeed, when preparing for this particular semi-public presentation[296] I did not want to use the term "Freemason" in my title. There were a number of other descriptors I know that identify Masons including, but not limited to, 'The Sons of Light', 'The Widow's Sons', 'A.F. and F. & A.M.', etc. I wanted to use the most appropriate term which would identify the group I would be discussing, and that would be known to Masons and those familiar with Masonry, but not necessarily to those unfamiliar with the Freemasons. I also wanted to respect the significance of different identity-terms to members of the Fraternity based on varying levels of inclusion, insider

[295] Mahmud also discusses 'Sisterhood.'
[296] See References for Wilhelm 2015c

knowledge, discretion, and ownership. I consulted Ricardo Rivera on the matter, who in turn consulted Augustin Rivera in the matter. It was decided that 'The Widow's Sons' would be most appropriate to use in my title.

Discussing fraternal friendship models, Kaplan and Yanay (2006) suggested that the academic approach to 'friendship' can construe it as a type of voluntary (128) arrangement which "has become the purest and most widely available instance of the personal and the subjective, an ideal arena for modern notions of individual agency and freedom, based on liberal ideology and morality" (Kaplan and Yanay 2006, 128). Kaplan (2007) has, furthermore, promoted the usefulness that studies of 'friendship' have to understanding political frames, as particularly related to collective (225) and civic friendship (225/226). Cohen (1971) argued that Creole (436) friendships are maintained or renounced (436)[297] based, in large part, on successful initiation into Freemasonry. He argued that while the links to family was a strong motivator for joining, "Most important of all is the pressure of friends. Friendship ties are significant among the Creoles" (Cohen 1971, 436). And thus, for Cohen (1971), the types of *interpersonal* (Kaplan 2014b) and *collective intimacy* (Kaplan 2014b) that were already present between men in a "relatively small town" were reinforced by the global-local Masonic bond. As I noted in Chapter 2 of this dissertation, one technique I used to assess the varying perspectives included in this synthesis was to employ Kaplan's (2014b) framework of collective-intimacy modeling (89). As I noted in Chapter 2, likewise, Kaplan (2014b) suggested creating three separate analytical categories (83) ("analytic[al] categories" [Kaplan

[297] He also adds that "Although only about a third of Creole men are full members of the Masonic lodges, the other two-thirds are to a large extent structurally involved within the (436) movement (437)." (Cohen 1971, 436-437).

2014b, 89]) on which to measure the global bonds of community (87) which exist between Freemasons, those of "interpersonal intimacy, public intimacy, and collective intimacy" (Kaplan 2014b, 83). Furthermore, I noted that Kaplan warned that these categories "may intersect, overlap, and at times collapse. This becomes clear when one tries to map the spatial and temporal shifts between formal lodge work and informal lodge interactions onto the private–public divide" (Kaplan 2014b, 89). By interpersonal intimacy, Kaplan (2014b) described two (83) essential attributes, "that of a private, exclusivist communication (associated with disclosure of the self) and that of a personal, partial, and particularist relationship (in a dyadic or group setting)" (Kaplan 2014b, 83).[298] By public intimacy, Kaplan (2014b) extended (83) this formulation to the demonstrative sphere whereby the interpersonal links between individuals, as described in the quote above, are communicated (83) in some way to the outside world. Finally, by collective intimacy, Kaplan (2014b) took the notions of friendship, as described above, and suggested that they move "from the concrete to the symbolic, from relationships that are taken to be 'really' familiar to those that are merely 'imagined' as familiar, such as the imagined worldwide community of Freemasons, or even the imagined national community" (Kaplan 2014b, 83).

The links to friends within a Masonic network, I have found through the research for this project, certainly interact between different spheres of familiarity. Indeed, as I also

[298] Kaplan 2014b also references here the work of "Jeff Weintraub's (1997, 5) distinction between a dimension of "visibility" and "collectivity" in the private–public dichotomy" (Kaplan 2014b, 83). Full reference = "Weintraub, Jeff (.) 1997 The Theory and Politics of the Public/Private Distinction. *In* Public and Private in Thought and Practice: Perspectives on a Grand Dichotomy. Jeff Weintraub and Krishan Kumar, eds. Pp. 1–42. Chicago: University of Chicago Press." (Kaplan 2014b:93)

noted in Chapter 3, Santos-Granero (2007) discussed the fluid nature of interpersonal relationships (2) between people, as well as between people and "mystical associations" (Santos-Granero 2007, 6). These, I have found, include the daily realities of association between individuals, the conceptual notions of instant friendships and wider sociability within the Fraternity, and the *imagined* (Kaplan 2014b) landscape of familiarity between an individual and figures in history or literature. This framework of collective-intimacy (Kaplan 2014b), I have found, is based upon the types of frequent interactions and shared disposition that might, arguably, constitute any sort of friendship bond, but is also based on the knowledge of shared practice, experience, obligation, outlook, and links to others in the network through common associations with persons living, persons departed, and familiar texts. Through my interactions with participants of this study, I would agree that the types of concepts of collective-intimacy described above, could certainly have an effect on a Mason's concepts of Freemasonry as a whole, their sense of belonging and security, and their formation, embodiment, and personalization of shared identity. However, I have also found, by talking with participants of this study, that it is the more direct and interpersonal links between individuals that determines, to some extent, their level of *activity* in the Fraternity. Indeed, for Ricardo Rivera, his attendance at meetings waned when he relocated to Reno, NV. He moved from a Masonic experience in Colombia which constituted a membership of less than 50, who met once a week, engaged in in-depth discussions in Lodge, and met frequently outside of Lodge; to a Masonic experience in Reno which constituted about 250 members, most of whom did not attend the monthly meeting, where practical issues of Lodge business often superseded scholarly or esoteric dialogue, and members rarely met outside of Lodge.

Ricardo is proud of his membership in Reno Lodge #13, feels a familial connection to the Brothers in his Lodge, and feels connected to the collective experience of Freemasonry through Reno Lodge #13, while at the same time, he often skips meetings because he, as he noted to me, feels uncomfortable attending meetings because he "doesn't know anybody there." This dichotomous phenomenon may not be an uncommon experience. As I conceive Kaplan's (2014b) model, the three categories of analysis in which to situate Masonic friendship modes, includes both the cognitive and practical aspects of the formation, maintenance, and intersections between interpersonal, public, and collective intimacy. Perhaps one of the reasons Masons join multiple Appendant bodies is because they are hoping to personalize their collective experience through a more concentrated familiarity and shared interest. Herman Clayworth, whom I interviewed on September 10, 2014, in Springfield, Ohio, noted that "in my little Lodge my guys don't generally join the other Bodies – no need." His Lodge has a smaller membership, and many opportunities for socializing outside the Lodge. Cliff Porter (2011) also discusses this issue through his work on a Traditional Observance Lodge, outlined subsequently in this chapter. In addition to an academic interpretation of friendship, belonging, and practice, however, there is the consideration of the Masonic duties of the Five Points of Fellowship, promoted and reinforced through declaration, oath, text, conveyance, and ritual.[299] Likely, from an emic perspective, this, along with other obligations of the

[299] On September 1, 2015, I wrote an email to Ricardo Rivera asking for clarification on how the Five Points of Fellowship were imparted to Masons. He answered in an email on September 2, 2015 with the following statement "(The Five Points of Fellowship) is part of a ritual, and yes you have to memorize them, they give you a book where everything is written. Now, both in the US and Panama (the Massachusetts jurisdiction) you cannot read from the book during the rituals,

Fraternity, helps inform how Masons inhabit and negotiate each sphere of interpersonal, public, and collective intimacy as well as contributes to the characterization of their level *activity.* As Mackey (1845/2004) provides:

> **"Five Points of Fellowship.** Masons owe certain duties of brotherly love and fellowship to each other, the practice of which, as the distinguishing principles of our order, are inculcated by the Master in the most impressive manner.
>
> First. Indolence should not cause our footsteps to halt, or wrath turn them aside, but with eager alacrity and swiftness of foot, we should press forward in the exercise of charity and kindness to a distressed fellow-creature.
>
> Secondly. In our devotions to Almighty God, we should remember a brother's welfare as our own, for the prayers of a fervent and sincere heart will find no less favour in the sight of heaven, because the petition for self is mingled with aspirations of benevolence for a friend.
>
> Thirdly. When a brother intrusts to our keeping the secret thoughts of his bosom, prudence and fidelity should place a sacred seal upon our lips, lest, in an unguarded moment, we betray the solemn trust confided to our honour.
>
> Fourthly. When adversity has visited our brother, and his calamities call for our aid, we should cheerfully and liberally stretch forth the hand of kindness, to save him from sinking, and to relieve his necessities.
>
> Fifthly. While with candour and kindness we should admonish a brother of his faults, we should never revile his character behind his back, but rather, when attacked by others, support and defend it." (147)

As mentioned in Chapter 2 of this dissertation, Masonic literature forms a kind of intertextuality (Foucault 1972) inherent to the practice of shared forms of meaning. As I suggested, the discourse produced, interpreted, circulated, and embodied by Masons becomes a unique "ecology of knowledge" (Anspach 1987:217) with which Masons can, in part, navigate their activity in the Craft. Citing Bauman (2004) in Chapter 2, I noted that Bauman (2004) argued that the collective works (3) of a genre creates a framework for the "production and reception of discourse" (Baumann 2004, 3) which can be analyzed for ideology, and, ultimately, manifest in perceptible ways (152). Prasad's

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everything is memorized. In La Serenisima, they allow you to use the book if needed, but they prefer that you memorize it as well."

(2007) work, also, as I noted in Chapter 2, juxtaposed *shruti* (the unwavering tradition and written word) and *smriti* (what is remembered of the stories, and the flexibility of interpretation) (242). This, particularly, is useful when looking at what texts are most often recommended, mentioned in conversation, used in ceremonials, or present in Masonic libraries (shruti) and those common quotes drawn from the same texts, and interpreted in reference to an individual's sense of his own Masonic journey, or the collective experience of Masonry (smriti). Furthermore, the Masonic links to texts not only contributes to a Mason's lexicon, demonstration, and perception of *activity* but, as I mentioned in Chapter 2, becomes a means by which the "performance of cultural membership" (Taylor 1999, 62) can be partially based, as I discuss in more detail in Chapter 6 where I explore the establishment of a Masonic way-of-life literature.

Towards the beginning of the research period with Reno Masons, as part of this project, I, as mentioned previously, attended a dinner at Reno Lodge #13 on April 1st, 2014. I made a general announcement of my project and handed out a project outline and IRB protocol as well as discussed my project in more detail with a few Masons who were in attendance. A few days later I noticed a large manila envelope in my departmental mail box, post marked April 4, 2014. The sender's address plate had a Masonic symbol; the square and compass. When I opened the folder I found a letter which noted the sender's interest in my project and an offer to utilize his personal Masonic library. Included in the envelope was a printed and indexed database of his entire collection. The list includes around 250 works produced by both Masonic and non-Masonic scholars and covers a wide variety of topics from Masonic histories, to general histories, to classic works of

philosophy, religions, and social sciences, to Masonic ritual books, encyclopedias, and metaphysics. Included in the list is one of Abe Marshall's own publications which I have cited in this dissertation.[300] I have, indeed, taken Abe Marshall up on his offer as well as met with him in interviews and at events numerous times. Likewise, many of the Masonic works cited in this project are from his collection.

When I visited the George Washington Masonic National Memorial in Alexandria, Virginia, on September 16, 2014, I met with Peter Field and had the opportunity to interview him, as mentioned previously in this dissertation. During the course of our conversation he produced a print-out of a similar index. It was, granted, a "10 year old bibliography", he noted, but it included a list of *suggested readings* and used as the title of one of the books he had published recently which I have cited in this dissertation.[301] The list included 158 basic references, general works, and Masonic articles and periodicals.[302] The list includes both Masonic and non-Masonic authors and as I glance through the list now I realize that I recognize many of the names, have used a number of them in this dissertation, and can point out whom could be considered some of the fathers of Masonic discourse. A more thorough literature review, or indeed an extensive ethnographic study of Masonic literature, is an enticing large-scale project, some of the

[300] I am not including the name of the book here as the pseudonym of 'Abe Marshall' would then be linked to the true identity of the individual through the inclusion of the author's name which is properly included in the cited portions.
[301] I am not including the name of the book here as the pseudonym of 'Peter Field' would then be linked to the true identity of the individual through the inclusion of the author's name which is properly included in the cited portions.
[302] "BASIC REFERENCE" (Pp 1-2) , "GENERAL WORKS" (Pp 2-10), and "MASONIC ARTICLES AND PERIODCIALS" (Pp 10-11) are the section titles of *Peter Field*'s index.

details of which are outlined in the final chapter of this dissertation where I discuss prospective research engendered by this project.

One of the references I pulled from the shelves of the library of the House of the Temple, for the Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, Supreme Council, 33^0, Southern Jurisdiction, U.S.A. in Washington D.C. during a research period during the week of September 15, 2014 was titled "American Masonic Periodicals 1811-2001: A Bibliography of the Library of the Supreme Council, 33^0, S.J." (Watkins 2003). Through one of the exposés included within the bibliography, Kleinknecht (2003) writes:

> "…our unique collection of American Masonic periodicals…has been acquired slowly, patiently, steadily, one issue at a time. Like snow flakes building up huge drifts and beautiful landscapes, the individual issues in our library have built up a monument to Masonic scholarship. Our volumes of periodicals preserve the words and images of the past, that students can study in detail. By publishing this catalog, we hope to better serve the inquiring minds seeking to understand our history, society, culture, and especially the Ancient, Honorable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons." (x)

In a similar vein, during an interview on April 27, 2014, Rob Dunnely had offered to send me, and subsequently sent, his collection of "Newspaper Articles on Masonry in Nevada" published during both the 19^{th} and 20^{th} centuries. Charles Shire, whom I have had a number of interviews with, and whom I have accompanied on research trips in aid of his ongoing projects to document historic Masonic figures in the area, I often find in the Grand Lodge of Nevada's Library and Museum in Reno, NV, tirelessly working on organizing the extensive York Rite journal collection therein. As I have observed during the course of this project, the collection, preservation, and arrangement of Masonic texts is an important activity, similar in import to the production, publication, and reading of Masonic texts, on both an individual and collective level.

Cliff Porter (2011), whom I discuss in more detail in the final section of this chapter, included mentions of a number of the forefathers of Masonic discourse within his discussion of a Traditional Observance Lodge where he also reminds Masons that they should continue to seek knowledge and self-education (46).[303] Porter (2011) also suggested that one thing Masons can do for a man interested in joining the Fraternity is to "give him some recommendations to read and study Freemasonry…we can expose the future candidate to Masonic thought in the thousands of available books that can open and expand the mind without discussing the specifics of the ritual" (C. Porter 2011, 98).

Incidentally, one of the questions I asked as part of the survey distributed as part of this project was "If, hypothetically, you had to recommend to a newly raised Mason, a short-list of books to read, what, if any, would you recommend? / Si, hipotéticamente, tuviera que recomendarle a un Aprendiz Mason, una breve lista de libros para leer, ¿cuáles, si alguno, recomendaría usted?" Granted there is a significant difference between a newly Raised Mason, which is a new Master Mason having already gone through the other two degrees (English), and an Apprentice Mason, ostensibly a new Entered Apprentice which is the first degree (Spanish). This was, admittedly, an oversight in both terminology and translation; my intention was not to ask for a recommendation for two different levels of membership. Regardless, there was some noticeable consensus within each response category (English and Spanish / Newly Raised, and Apprentice recommendations). For example, *Freemasonry for Dummies* (Hodapp 2005) and *Born in Blood* (Robinson 1989) were popular choices among the English respondents, as were the

[303] Porter, C. (2011) is citing and interpreting the work of Masonic author William Preston here. "Preston's *Illustrations of Freemasonry 12th ed., (1812),…"* (C. Porter 2011, 45)

Apprentice Manuals of Aldo Lavagnini among the Spanish respondents.[304] For Cliff Porter (2011) the purpose of such recommendations, as a Mason to a man considering Masonry, could be to:

> "pick a book the man might disagree with, that might be hard for him to read, and discuss the book with him as you meet for lunches during his six months([305]). It is easy for a man to say he is tolerant until he is presented with an idea that he does not agree with, or is foreign to him. We are not testing to see if the man has already learned all the lessons of Masonry, but we are testing to see if the stone is not so fractured that it can still be smoothed and worked while in the quarries of Masonry" (98).

Many of the participants of this project have extensive Masonic libraries and are themselves published Masonic authors who have produced texts for intra- and inter-circulation. The Masonic links to text is highly complex and nuanced, stemming from a tradition of both the pursuit and production of knowledge inherent to the Fraternity. The link to text is created from within the Lodge, supplemented by works from outside it, sustained through discourse, activity, and Masonic culture, and creates a unique way-of-life literature.

I also asked, as part of the survey for this project, "Do you subscribe (or regularly read) any Masonic journals? (if yes, please list; you can also write no, or only occasionally) / ¿Está suscrito (o lee regularmente) alguna revista Masonicas? (en caso afirmativo, indique el nombre, también se puede escribir "no", o "rara vez")".

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[304] see Appendix 2b, question 15, for a complete list of responses.

[305] Concerned with the "numbers-driven membership drive" (97) of some Freemasonic initiatic programs. Cliff Porter (2011) suggests that Masons should "resolve that the Fraternity is no longer easy to get into" (97). One of the ways this can be accomplished, Cliff Porter (2011) suggests, is to "(have) the man attend dinner or other social functions of the lodge for a set period of time, not less than six months, while he gets to know his future Brethren and you get to know him" (C. Porter 2011, 97). More on Cliff Porter's views on the membership crisis in Freemasonry is discussed in the final section of this chapter, "Masonic Restoration and Traditional Observance."

Approximately 60%[306] of the respondents noted that they did, or they conducted research generally, and most of the 60% provided specific titles. Two of the more commonly referenced journals appear to be *Revista Cúbica* and *Scottish Rite Journal*.[307] Additionally, 44.63% of survey participants (39.6% of U.S. respondents and 51.7% of Colombian respondents) noted that they had themselves published a piece of writing related to Masonry, and 67.8% (75.7% of U.S. respondents and 50% of Colombian respondents) had given a lecture related to Masonry. Incidentally, Ricardo mentioned to me in passing that as part of the Lodge experience in Colombia, members were required to write papers and give lectures during meetings. The research tradition in Masonry, through both widely published works, as well as intra-lodge "*tracing boards"*[308] and pursuit of knowledge, is discussed in more detail later in this chapter as well as thorough the discussion of literature in Chapter 6.

This dissertation, in large part, explores the activity of Freemasonry, of which research, publication, and knowledge acquisition and production[309] is, has been, or, according to proponents of the restoration movement[310], needs to be, a significant measure. Though not all research and pursuit of knowledge ends in a tangible product, i.e.: text, the Masonic links to text are a critical area of concern to the methods, inquiries, and conclusions of this research. Indeed, the Masonic links to texts are created through the reading, producing, exchange, promotion, cataloguing, and familiarity of the

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[306] A late-added survey response (see footnote 243 for mention in context of general trends in that section) produced a four-item list in response to this question
[307] See Appendix 2b, Table 15, for a complete list of responses.
[308] Multiple references, see Chapter 6.
[309] Discussed in more detail below, see "Features of Active: subsection 4, "Research, Publication, and Knowledge Production."
[310] Discussed in more detail below, see "Masonic Restoration and Traditional Observance"

concepts, people, and worldviews present and associated with those texts. I have interacted with Masonic texts, through this project, in a reference capacity, and as a source of insider-knowledge, but also, as I mentioned in Chapter 3, as a virtual set of informants. I relate Masonic literature not only to the body of mutual knowledge to which Masonic forms of identity and activity are inseparably linked, but to the individuals who have produced the works, as Masons themselves.

THE CHOICE TO JOIN

On June 20, 2014, I met with a non-Mason in Reno for an interview about Masonry, with a brief follow up discussion in October of 2015. He was recommended to me, and his contact information was passed along, by a colleague who had heard him recount a story about Masonry, and believed he had information about the Fraternity, that she thought I might find useful. In this particular case Bartholomew Jergins had considered petitioning for membership. His perspective on what drew him to the Fraternity, his perceptions of the Fraternity as an interested outsider, and, ultimately, what led to his decision not to petition, enhances an understanding of the choice to join. I consider relevant points of the discussion from my interview with Bartholomew while contemplating issues of joining, membership, and inclusion.

In college, Bartholomew was a member of a campus fraternity, Phi Delta Theta, whose origins date back to 1848. Indeed, as has been discussed in previous sections of this dissertation, the mid- to late-19th century was the “Golden Age of Fraternalism”

(Moore 2011: vii)[311] and saw some of the largest membership numbers in Freemasonry. Indeed, as Cliff Porter (2011) noted, "The explosive growth of Masonry in America during the Era of Fraternalism from 1870 to 1910 combined with American's enjoyment of a bigger is better mentality, resulted in small town lodges being replaced by lodges of a 1,000 or more men. Even small towns with populations of under 10,000 would boast multiple Masonic lodges." (C. Porter 2011, 39). I fully expected similar results to apply to Reno Lodge #13. I visited the Grand Lodge of Nevada, in Reno, NV, towards the end of this project to gather membership statistics from their proceedings. What I found instead was that, of the years I reviewed,[312] the highest membership occurred between 1957-1974 with a low of 748 members, and a high of 832 members. In the period mentioned above (1870-1910) Reno Lodge #13 had, within the years I reviewed, a low membership of 70 (in 1884) and a high membership of 237 (in 1908). This does not, however, disprove the general trend.

Phi Delta Theta became a "secret society", Bartholomew noted, after an incident in the mid nineteenth century where fraternities were disbanded "from Miami University in Oxford, Ohio" following a confrontation with the administration, known as the "Great Snowball Rebellion." He did note that in his fraternity there was a difference between open and closed secrets. Open secrets were those that they "don't go around telling

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[311] William D. Moore is citing Harwood (1897) and crediting Harwood with the phrase "Golden Age of Fraternalism." Indeed, Moore (2011) writes, "In 1897, W.S. Harwood, writing in the *North American Review*, dubbed the post-bellum period the 'Golden Age of Fraternalism.'(in-text footnote) He noted that fraternal organizations, then commonly called 'secret societies,' claimed 5.5 million members while the total U.S. adult population was approximately 19 million." (Moore 2011, vii). [in-text footnote (1): "Harwood's essay is reprinted in this volume" (Moore 2011, xii)]. For complete citation for Harwood (1897) see References.

[312] I gathered membership numbers from the following years: 1872, 1881, 1884, 1888, 1894, 1908, 1921, 1923, 1932, 1942, 1957, 1963, 1973, 1974, 1984, 1985, 1996, 1997, 2010, 2011, 2014, 2015.

people;" closed secrets were those that "have never been written down".[313] He also noted that the "Bond is our founding document…every Chapter has a copy" when a "new Chapter" is formed, he added, a Bond is brought and they copy the whole text by "hand." I am reminded here of Simmel's (1906/2011) piece on secrets and secret societies that was précised in Chapter 3 of this dissertation. As I noted in Chapter 3, Simmel described varying levels of discretion as the complex relationship between "the knower to the known" (Simmel 1906/2011:, 120). I also noted that when secrecy is applied to a group, thus forming a secret society (Simmel 1906/2011), secrecy itself becomes a shared experience to which borders of inclusion and exclusion can be drawn and the *knower to the known* (Simmel 1906/2011) is extended to include identification with a collaborative effort.

Later, Bartholomew noted, when Phi Delta Theta was reorganized, the "second founders", in "late nineteenth century, early twentieth century" members were all Masons.[314] Many of the rituals used in his college fraternity, he also noted, are similar to Masonic rituals; shared rituals, generally, are "pretty powerful" he mentioned later, they are "built on hundreds of years of common connection." Indeed, as I mentioned in Chapter 3 of this dissertation, the ritualization (Bell 1992) of the body, through the performance of common ritual, creates a tangible 'medium for expression' (94) which can result in the internalization of diverse social systems of form and meaning (Bell 1992, 97). This internalization, I further added in Chapter 3, results in a "sense" (Bell

[313] Bartholomew also noted that "during the McCarthy Era" when mandates were issued requiring written documentations generally, Phi Delta Theta left out information by including "blanks."
[314] Bartholomew also mentioned, in relation to the truth of some of the stories surrounding his Fraternity, "everyone seems to know it, but no one ever writes it down."

1992, 69) of ritual which, at its core, is an "experience of redemptive hegemony" (Bell 1992, 116). Ritual, I also noted, as Bell (1992) suggested, is a strategy whereby influence can be embodied and empowerment bestowed upon both the performer and the observer (206/207). Indeed, Koster (2003), in his synopsis of the functionality of ritual to the politics of identity (Koster 2003), argued that "the elements of ritual" (Koster 2003, 211/1) serve as "a set of identity-affecting techniques" (211/1). Bartholomew perhaps identified with Masonry through a similar set (Koster 2003) of expressive mediums (Bell 1992).

Bartholomew had a strong sense of belonging and found his experience with Phi Delta Theta very meaningful. One major difference, he observed, between Masonry and Phi Delta Theta, though, is that his experience with his fraternity "end(s) after college."[315] Freemasonry, as observed elsewhere in this dissertation, is, for Masons, comprehended as a Brotherhood that extends beyond borders and even beyond death, creating an ultimate shift in one's worldview, sense of permanent inclusion, and level of activity. There are, indeed, no Masonic alumni. Bartholomew admitted that he hadn't realized the Masons were "still around", he "kind of knew, but not to what extent", but became "very interested" after he was given a tour of a downtown Reno Lodge. Indeed, during his tour he was able to "identify things (in the) Lodge" based on some common symbols, for example, by the "raised platforms around the room, I kind of have an idea of where

[315] Granted, Bartholomew noted that there is a "yearly event" but there is no more "ritual." Also, he mentioned Phi Delta Theta is "not a college interlude" it models how to live life through the three principles of "friendship, sound learning, and moral rectitude" (incidentally, it was changed to "moral rectitude" after non-Christians began to join; the sentiment remained the same, which was to "follow (your) own code of ethics and own morality instead of Christian ethics." Phi Delta Theta, likewise, promoted "truth for its own sake" and a "culture of questioning", for example, he mentioned that 'members would read the Bond 'as literature', without being 'required to.'

officers would sit" he remarked. In his college fraternity the symbols were "not secret" but the rituals were, which also mirrors the Masonic approach to some extent.

Bartholomew mentioned during our discussion of his time 'considering Masonry,' that a "friend" of his had been "recruited" by the Masons "in college." As mentioned earlier in this dissertation, active recruitment is avoided by Masonic Lodges. Indeed, as mentioned previously, one of the requisites of membership is that the individual came to Masonry of his own volition and idea. This does not ignore the fact, however, that some influence may be extended to candidates through peer and familial pressure, as Cohen (1971) argued. Also, in some cases, all but direct recruiting efforts have been undertaken by Masonic Lodges. The presence of the *Masonic Publicity Kit,* which I mentioned in Chapter 3 and provided an image of in Appendix 4, sub-section ii, attests to the desire, by some, at some point, to reach a wide audience of potential candidates. Augustin Rivera also had mentioned to me some radio programs geared towards college students in Colombia that discussed morality and other Masonic principles in a hope of drawing young interest. Abe Marshall, during an interview on May, 2014, also mentioned that the Oregon jurisdiction had lifted the ban on direct recruitment/invitation; Masons could now "ask" men to join in that area. Proponents of a more traditional approach, which I discuss in the final section of this chapter, however, appear to remain quite adamantly opposed to open recruitment. Indeed, Cliff Porter (2011) discussed the benefit of a stricter admittance process. He advocated smaller Lodges (39), longer wait periods (27), ample time between degrees (37), and more serious consideration of potential candidates (34). In some cases, as I mentioned in Chapter 3, public campaigns are designed to educate the public on the meaning of the Fraternity and as an attempt to dispel myths. As I mentioned

in Chapter 3, Mahmud (2102b) noted that Freemasons in Italy had themselves developed a "publicity campaign" (1180) to try to renovate the image of Masonry in the public conscious. In other cases, publicity campaigns, and even open recruitment, may be done in an attempt to bolster membership and restore Lodges to the days when membership was in the thousands (C. Porter 2011:39). However, Porter (2011), a proponent of traditional observance, noted that "the philosophies of Traditional Observance demand that Masonry be treated not as an entitlement to anyone over the age of eighteen, but as a special affiliation made up of only the best kind of men" (C. Porter 2011, 32). Casting a wide net does not necessarily prevent the exclusion of those who are not *the best kind of men* but the combination of public campaigns with what Porter (2011) sees as a slip in standards (34), may.

For Abe Marshall, a principal participant of this project, the choice to join came after many years of waiting for an invitation. Indeed, he didn't become a Mason until he was 40, "no one ever asked before then" he noted in an interview in his Reno home on May 5, 2014. He was interested in Masonry when he was in the military, he saw it as a "union" and waited patiently for someone to ask him to join. He discovered much later that he himself had to ask the Masons for permission to join. He has a son who became an Entered Apprentice in the Fraternity, though, at the time I interviewed him, his son had gone "no further." He also mentioned during that May 5th interview that his grandson was receiving his "second degree (Fellowcraft) tomorrow." I met Abe's grandson five months later when I attended the celebration, outside of a research setting, welcoming the 2014 Scottish Rite class, to which both Ricardo Rivera and Abe's grandson had recently joined. Abe also mentioned that he "believe(s) in the social world" and is "a compulsive

joiner", being a member of many organizations including the Lions, the military, the Shriners, the Scottish Rite and York Rite. Wilson (1980) noted in his study, mentioned elsewhere in this dissertation, that there is a link between demographics, joining, value, and Freemasonry. As he noted,

> "…Masons by and large confirm the empirical generalizations about America's 'joiners.' They tend to be of higher socioeconomic status and to be active in other voluntary associations. I have also shown that Freemasonry is more than just another voluntary association and have suggested that it can best be understood as part of the civil religion. Its activities are, in fact, a kind of perpetual morality play in which the meaning and implications of fraternalism are dramatized…" (134).

For Mitch Hill, a 'past' Venerable Master of the Nevada Lodge of Perfection, in the Reno Valley of Scottish Right, whom I interviewed on July 5, 2014, in Reno, NV, the choice to join came by way of interest in the Shriners. Others have also mentioned that for many men, the choice to join Freemasonry comes out of interest in the Shriners. Indeed, as a number of participants noted, it used to be a requirement that a Master Mason, first join Scottish Rite or York Rite, before joining the Shriners. Hence interest in the Shriners filled seats in both Blue Lodge and the Rites. Wilson (1980) also observed the link between the choice to join the Freemasons, a wider variation in demographic make-up of the Fraternity, and an active role in the Shriners. Indeed, he noted,

> "Freemasonry has been a ritualized celebration of the American experience as filtered through the values and interests of the white adult male. This makes the suggestion that the socioeconomic status of the membership is declining particularly interesting, for it raises the possibility that the adherence of the order to strictly middle-class values might in the future begin to waiver. The imponderable here is the role the Shriners play in attracting recruits to Freemasonry; it would seem that the Shrine neither enjoys nor seeks the elite status once characteristic of Masons. Any increase in the use of Masonry as a 'way station' to the Shriners might well accelerate the changes which would be due to declining socioeconomic status alone." (134/135)

Bartholomew Jergins, who received his Master's Degree in museology (MA), after completing a BA in International Affairs with a minor in Archaeology, curates a local Reno museum. He observed that "19th century" Masonry developed in an "age" of "individualism." In addition, the "west" in the U.S. was and is different than the "East Coast", that "Nevada (is) still a frontier", and that Nevadans are "proud of (the) rural nature of Nevada." Bartholomew noted that it "makes sense (the Masons) do well in Nevada", they are a "very libertarian organization." He also noted that to "outsiders" the "perception of Reno Masons" is that they are "republican", "old guard", and "elderly." Though, he mentioned, he encountered young Masons, in their "twenties (to) thirties" that were into "revitalization" and "identify as Nevadans." I myself have heard the term 'old guard' from participants of this research who are members of the Fraternity. Indeed, Abe Marshall mentioned during a May 5, 2014, interview that he would be "79 years old next year", yet, because of Masonry, he was "dealing with young men" and could "connect" with them through the "computer." Abe also mentioned that it was "the 150th year of Masonry this year" and that he was looking into the "historical record of each Lodge." The "ritual" Abe continued, was passed down "mouth to ear", that in the "'old guard', no one could read." He also admitted that he was "the right age" for the "old guard", but "just a different philosophy." Bartholomew observed that he "picked up a little tension" among the younger group.

Bartholomew ultimately decided not to petition for membership in the Fraternity of Masons. Some of the reasons included that the "dues (were) an obstacle", as well as the fact that he "wanted to join", but a specified religious belief, and belief in a higher

power, is a requisite for membership and Bartholomew identifies as "agnostic." Also, he would be a bit uneasy about petitioning, as he said, "when it comes to joining things I want be invited."

The etic, practical, and 'assembled', considerations of the choice to join, as outlined in this section, and through this chapter, include factors from the links to family, friends, and texts, to an impulsive desire to be included in a social collective, to having the right qualifications for membership at the right time and place, to a desire to be active in organizations related to Masonry. The abstract, and individual, drive to join Masonry, from the emic perspective, may, at some level, stem from what Masonic author A.S. Macbride (1971)[316] phrases in a book loaned to me by a participant of this research; namely, "the quest of the ideal" (Macbride 1971:, 21). Indeed, it is a purpose for which Masons gather in solidarity, and journey individually, and the choice to join is, or according to many *should* be, ultimately tied to a consideration of the cognitive experience of searching for, 'building'(21), and reproducing, a yet unknown 'ideal'. As Macbride (1971) wrote:

> "Masonry does not exist to combat any particular evil, to solve any special problem, to advance any particular cult, or to propagate any precise dogma in the outer world. It does not claim to possess any patent pill for the evils of humanity nor does it propose to build a Utopian State of political freedom and economic happiness. It is not for social fellowship, although that forms, and in many quarters forms too prominent, a part of it. It is not constituted for the exercise of benevolence only, although that occupies no insignificant place, both in its

[316] In the preface to this work it is written: "This book is a revision and condensation of several lectures delivered to the Lodge of Instruction, in connection with Lodge Progress, Glasgow. At the urgent request of a large number of members of the Craft these are now published, mainly through the labours of a Publication Committee, appointed by that Lodge." "…" "Glasgow, *December,* 1913." ((in) Macbride 1971, xi) (earlier copyright date of 1924): Thus, for context, the date of Macbride's works likely preceed 1924, particularly as, Newton's (1971), in his introduction to this edition, discusses Macbride in terms of events in the late 19th-early 20th century (see Macbride 1971) for additional attribution/s as well as Newton 1971.

> precepts and its practice. It teaches no science, yet science holds an important position within it. It favours no philosophic school, yet a profound philosophy permeates its system of symbolism. It instructs in no special art, yet in it all the arts are honoured. It has no religious creed, yet religion forms its foundation and crowns its pinnacles. It is not the product of any age, nor the work of any nation. It is the evolution and growth of centuries and has received contributions from many diverse races and peoples." (26)

Features of Active

As mentioned previously, being *active* in Freemasonry is gauged on a continuum that begins with a Mason who regularly pays his dues, increases with the dedication of a significant amount of time and effort to the functional aspects of a Lodge, is ideally practiced through the mind, spirit, and actions of the individual, and shared through the discretion, discussion, encouragement, aid, and "fellowship"[317] of the Lodge. Beyond the cognitive, spiritual, and to some extent intellectual, measure of Masonic activity, which is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6, there are features of 'active' which have been observed and examined through the course of this project that merit further discussion. Attendance in Lodge, and in respective Appendant and Concordant Masonic bodies, is one of the features of Masonic activity that elucidates a man's level of participation in Freemasonry. Furthermore, 'charity' is a clearly stated Masonic obligation that has been interpreted and enacted in a variety of ways on both the individual and collective level, the participation in which helps form an image of an active Mason. Finally, the tradition, contribution to, and use of Masonic research, publication, and knowledge production has been, and is, a feature of active Masonry.

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[317] See footnote 280

ATTENDANCE AND MULTIPLE MEMBERSHIPS

Membership, joining, belonging, inclusion, and association have been topics of discussion in academia for decades. Beginning, perhaps with a shift in the discourse, away from kinship formations and towards the concept of voluntary associations, as discussed in Chapter 3, researchers have been describing the ways people organize themselves into complex groupings of perceived likeness, and how these grouping overlap with other associations in society. For Harel Shapira (2013), who conducted an ethnography among a voluntary citizen's border-patrol group called the Minute Men, the actual activity of patrolling the border was secondary, in some ways, to the pursuit (Shapira 2013) of belonging, inclusion, camaraderie (152), and usefulness. For many of Shapira's (2013) participants, joining The Minute Men was a way for them to re-create the solidarity they left behind after being discharged from the military. As Shapira (2013) noted, their membership helped them "find a renewed sense of meaning and purpose" (Shapira 2013, 152). Indeed, many of the participants of my own project are military veterans, but the overlap between Shapira's (2013) work and my own comes by way of examining, more generally, the human drive to be socially active, despite, what one participant of this study noted during an interview on June 4, 2014, in Reno, NV, that "you see a lot of cocooning" these days, due in part to (the internet and) television; a point which has been made by other participants of this project as well. One feature of *an active Mason* is his attendance at Lodge and, though separate, his membership in Appendant and Concordant bodies.

One question that I asked in the survey distributed as part of this project was "How often do you attend in Blue Lodge (please indicate the answer that best fits your

situation)?"[318] Participants were given the following options: 1) Barring exceptional circumstances I attend every stated meeting; 2) I attend stated meetings regularly but don't have perfect attendance; 3) I rarely go to stated meetings; 4) I will often go to meal (dinner/breakfast, etc.) but will usually skip the meeting; and 5) Other.[319] With noticeable consensus across the two primary locations of this project, a total of 68.93% of all respondents answered that 'barring exceptional circumstances they attend every stated meeting' (67.3% of U.S. respondents and 70.5% of Colombian respondents answered this way). 24.29% of all respondents answered that they 'attend regularly but don't have perfect attendance' (23.6% of U.S. respondents and 27.9% of Colombian respondents answered this way). In the category of 'other' a couple of participants mentioned that they frequently travelled, and in one response the participant mentioned that, "I attend all regular stated of our lodge when at home, and attend many other towns stated communications also. traveling quadrant visiting lodges for the Grand Lodge, usually two to three a week in many cases". One remote participant of this project, Sam Scrivener, noted to me in an email correspondence sent May 25, 2015, that, "the survey data provides a very nice profile of active members, which of course were the ones most likely to respond to the questionnaire", a point which should certainly be considered both in terms of the composition of my sample, but also when considering what types of activities an 'active' Mason may be more or less likely to participate in.

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[318] SP: "¿Con qué frecuencia va usted en Logia Azul (por favor, indique la respuesta que mejor se adapte a su situación)?"

[319] SP: "1) A excepción de circunstancias excepcionales atiendo a cada reunión oficial; 2) Atiendo reuniones oficiales regularmente -, pero no tengo asistencia perfecta; 3) Rara vez voy a las reuniones; 4) Muchas veces participo en la comida (cena / desayuno, etc.), pero por lo general no voy a la reunión; y 5) Otro."

Another question that was asked as part of this survey was "Which Appendant, and/or Concordant, Bodies are you a member of…?"[320] Participants were given twenty options, as well as an option for 'other'.[321] As I mentioned in Chapter 2, respondents could choose "all that apply" and among the nearly 180 respondents[322] who answered this question, a total of 822 options were chosen, indicating overlapping and multiple memberships. There was both consensus and variation in Appendant body popularity. For example, among respondents from the U.S., around 54.1% answered that they were members of The York Rite, whereas only around 5% of Colombian respondents indicated membership in the York Rite. Discrepancies in these rates may be due in part to the history of formation, global distribution, and nuances of this organization. The Scottish Rite, on the other hand, had nearly identical positive response rates (approximately 76.6% and 75% of U.S. and Colombian respondents, respectively, indicated they were members). This is significant, on the one hand, because of the high overall popularity of the Scottish Rite, and on the other, despite the U.S. sample being nearly double that of the Colombian sample, the disclosure of membership response rate remained the same,

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[320] SP: "¿De Qué cuerpos adjuntos, y / o grupos concordantes, eres un miembro (marque todo lo que corresponda)?"

[321] The options for question 9 of the survey: **ENG:** York Rite; Royal Arch; Cryptic Rite; Knights Templar; Scottish Rite; Lodge of Perfection; Rose Croix; Council of Kadosh; Consistory of Sublime Princes; Supreme Council; Shrine International (Shriners); Grotto; Tall Cedars of Lebanon; Sojourners; Order of the Eastern Star; Amaranth; High Twelve; SCIOTS; Philalethes Society; Member of a Research Lodge. / **SP:** Rito de York; Arco Real; Rito Críptico; Caballeros Templarios; Rito Escoces Antiguo y Aceptado; Logia de Perfección; Rosa Cruz; Consejo de Kadosh; Consistorio de los Príncipes Sublimes; Supremo Consejo; Shrine International (Shriners); Grotto; Cedros Altos del Líbano; Peregrinos; Orden de la Estrella de Oriente; Amaranth; Doce Altos; SCIOTS; Sociedad Philalethes; Miembro de Logia de Investigación.

[322] As I mentioned in Chapter 2, completion rates in this case are based on the average number of total completed responses for each location category for all survey questions. I averaged the response rate, per location, for this question because the report gave total options only, which in the case of this question which had a "choose all that apply" option, was 822 total responses.

which indicates a positive trend across the larger body of Masonry. Incidentally, all 6[323] respondents from other locations indicated they were a member in the Scottish Rite. As I discussed in previous sections of this dissertation, the U.S. Appendant Body membership, with the exception of the Scottish Rite, had significantly higher disclosure of membership response rates in all categories, as compared to Colombian respondents. Also, the majority (approximately 85.7%) of respondents who included a response of 'other', were from U.S. locations, most of these 85.7% (30 total responses) indicated their membership in bodies not listed; 4 out of the 5 Colombian respondents who included a response of 'other' wrote the equivalent of 'none of the above'[324] (see Chapter 2, Table 10 for a complete list of responses). This indicates that multiple memberships, or membership in Appendant/Concordant bodies generally, is more common in the U.S. than in Colombia. Gathered from talking with members of this project, part of this could be due simply to the number of Appendant bodies present in Colombia (at least Bucaramanga). The Shriners, for example, had no presence in Bucaramanga until 2010. Indeed, Augustin Rivera was among the first cohort of Colombian Masons to be initiated into the Shriner's organization through the Abou Saad Temple in the Republic of Panama in 2010. This could also be due, as I interpret the message of Cliff Porter's (2011) work in the final section of this chapter, and supported by comments received from participants of this study as discussed in relevant sections of this dissertation, to differences in the typical Blue Lodge experience commonly found in each location which leads, or not, members to join additional Appendant/Concordant bodies.

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[323] See previous footnote.
[324] One, approximately, noted pending memebership

CHARITY

As Mackey (1845/2004) noted "Charity is the chief corner-stone of our temple, and upon it is to be erected a superstructure of all other virtues, which make the good man and the good Mason" (75).

There are numerous conceptions of *charity* however which leads to various ways in which it is enacted and conceived by Masons. Indeed, as Mackey (1845/2004) proposed, Masonic charity goes beyond a drive "to assist the poor with pecuniary donations" (75). Rather, it is a state of being which encourages the Mason to regard the world, and the people in it, with kind sympathy and tolerance, and, in particular, to attempt to help any fellow Mason on both a spiritual and material level when needed. However, the strong tie between Masonry and charitable organizations such as the Rite Care, Shriner's Hospitals, or other local programs in the public consciousness promotes an image of *Masonic charity* as one primarily concerned with local civic engagement. Indeed, this popular conception is so permeous that my original conception for this project, several years ago, included an investigation into how Masonic literature promoted a moral global ideal to civic engagement. As an example of this assurance, the opening statement of one of the earlier drafts of my initial research prospectus stated:

> "This project explores the processes of transnational knowledge production within Freemasonry and the influence of these networks of civic associations on the formation of collective identity and civic engagement. This project examines how collective identity is created, or significantly enhanced, through the creation and distribution of reflective works. In particular, this project examines the production and dissemination of Masonic literature, and its profound influence on Masonic collective identity, through the process of conceptual interaction. I also examine how a shared knowledge and morality, promoted through common themes and concepts in those pieces of Masonic literature, manifest in particular forms of civic engagement." (Wilhelm, 2013c, 1).

However, on January 7, 2014, I conducted a short interview between myself, Augustin Rivera, and Emilio Perez in Bucaramanga, Colombia, during a family dinner at Emilio's house. I briefly explained my topic, as it was construed at that point, and was honestly surprised, and possibly even a bit dubious, when Emilio Perez responded with "but Masonry is not about changing the public, but about personal betterment. Philanthropy (is a) different matter…one of the pillars…".[325] As I have observed through the course of this project, it has often been the case that a single utterance by a participant has resulted in a significant change to the path of my investigation and understanding. It is worth noting, therefore, that while many, if not most, Masonic Lodges are in some way involved in large- or small-scale public charity projects, *Masonic charity*, from an emic perspective, as I have come to understand primarily through Masonic literature, is an internalized state of love (C. Porter 2011), primarily for one's fellow Masonic Brothers, and the corresponding actions resulting from that impression.

One question from the survey I distributed as part of this project asked "Since becoming a Mason, have you ever participated in any community action or charity events (donating, fund-raising, volunteering, etc.)?"[326] Just over 93% of all respondents answered "yes/si" with a slightly higher affirmative response from U.S. respondents (96.4% of U.S. respondents answered "yes", 86.4% of Colombian respondents answered "si."). Masons do not appear to be against public charity, indeed, Cliff Porter (2011) described it as "a good and laudable and part of our charge" (C. Porter 2011, 41).

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[325] The response was in Spanish, it is provided here in English as it was translated to me by Augustin Rivera during the interview.

[326] SP: "Desde que se inicío como Mason, ¿alguna vez ha participado en alguna acción de la comunidad para eventos de caridad (donación, recaudación de fondos, voluntariado, etc)?"

However, a sentiment I have heard repeated was the idea that public charity has become of primary concern to many Lodges, to the possible detriment (C. Porter 2011) of both the practice of Masonry and the upkeep of its Temples. As Abe Marshall noted during an interview on May 5, 2014, in Reno; Masonry is a "character building organization" and "charity (is) part of character." But he also noted that one conceivable fault is that most of the money donated to the Lodge by its members is put straight into the public charity funds; that there are copious amounts of funds in the "charitable account", but the Temple can't afford a "bucket of paint." He concluded that "charity begins at home." Abe also felt that the shift in Masonry to become, in many ways, focused on philanthropy occurred as a reaction to an incident in the mid-1800s known as the Morgan Affair.[327] Public suspicion of Masonry followed it is said, and as others may point out potentially also preceded, the event. An "anti-Masonic group (was) formed," Abe mentioned, which was "almost the demise of Freemasonry in the U.S.".[328] As Gist (1938/2011) also stated, "Anti-Masonic agitation growing out of the famous Morgan case in the nineteenth century may have retarded fraternal development for a time, but in the end it probably

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[327] Although accounts of this story differ slightly, particularly in characters involved and underlying motivations, The Morgan Affair is an incident that occurred in "1826" (Barrett ©1996-2016 [see also Barrett's references to other works, and works used, in his "paper" (Barrett ©1996-2016)). A man by the name of William Morgan (Barrett ©1996-2016) who "was probably a mason but there is no record of his membership of a blue lodge." (Barrett ©1996-2016). From accounts told to me by participants, and through items I have read, Morgan was arrested by police for criminal activity. He then broke out of prison (or was "discharge(d)" (Barrett ©1996-2016) and subsequently vanished. Accounts hold that Masons broke him out and then killed him (or helped him escape to "Canada" (Barrett ©1996-2016). Or, he was "apparently abducted, disappeared and presumed murdered by Freemasons." (Barrett ©1996-2016) Ostensibly, because he intended "publish a malicious book on Freemasonry incl. its secrets, …" (Barrett ©1996-2016). See also Cliff Porter (2011) 192-194.

[328] While browsing the literature in the Masonic library contained within the Grand Lodge of Utah I came across an entire section on anti-Masonry, and the many publications that were produced as part of this movement and apparently were widely distributed, publications. The 'Anti-Masons' were also a bonafide political party (mu;tiple references, see aslo Barrett ©1996-2016. Also, a more general discussion of Anti-Masonry in De Hoyos and Morris (2010)).

served to sharpen the curiosities and stimulate the interests of many who might otherwise have been indifferent to fraternity life" (197). Abe Marshall concluded that "up until that time (Masonry was) very political, (it was) redesigned to be charit(able)." Granted, charity existed in Masonry long before the infamous Morgan Affair, in both inter-and intra-Masonic donation. As Harland-Jacobs (2007) exampled:

> "Eighteenth-century Freemasons responded to crises affecting individuals as well as whole communities, to man-made and natural disasters, to misfortune and even mistakes on the part of their brethren. Money and brotherly compassion flowed not only out from the metropole but also from one colony to another and from the empire to the British Isles. Early evidence of the transatlantic scale of Masonic charity came in 1733 when the English Grand Lodge urged members to make generous contributions to help 'send distressed Brethren to Georgia where they might be comfortably provided for.' Some decades later, in the midst of the Seven Years' War, residents in Quebec faced war-time conditions compounded by difficult winters. Lodges in Quebec reported that they were 'extending our Charitable Collections not only to Distress'd Brethren and poor Widows of Brethren who have fallen in the fields of Battle but even to relieve the distresses and miserys [*sic*] of some hundreds of poor miserable Canadians [d]uring the Course of a long and Severe Winter.'[329]" (58/59)

One of the features of *activity*, as stated above, is a Mason's contributions, dedication, and participation in charity. Masonic charity, however, can be as apparent and large-scale as donating time and money to the worthy pursuit of children's healthcare, or as discreet and personal as 'whispering good counsel in a Brother's ear'.[330]

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[329] Here Harland-Jacobs (2007) is quoting (footnote "68" (p.59) portions of text from the following sources: ["Milborne, ''Overseas Development,'' 248; memorial of Quebec Lodges to GLE(M), 8 November 1762, reprinted in Wright, Gould's History, 6:85–86; GLE(M) Proceedings, 12 November 1777; John Ordeson to GLE(M), 22 May 1782, UGLHC 23/B/9." (Harland-Jacobs 2007:312)].

[330] Taken from a Masonic charge stated/described elsewhere in this dissertation. See Chapter 1, visa-a-vie [Indeed, Masons, during the ceremony of the third degree, are asked to tenderly seek out any fellow Mason who is not behaving in an ideal manner and are asked to "whisper good counsel in his ear, gently admonishing of his errors, and in a most friendly manner, seek to bring about a reformation" (Dunn 2008[(3)]).] as well as this passage's corresponding footnote [(3) This quote came directly from the January 2008 edition of the Masonic Blog *A Beacon of Masonic Light* which is sponsored by Theron Dunn, a Master Mason from the Grand Lodge of California and is contributed to by Masons, for Masons. The sentiment of *whispering good counsel,* as a requirement of Master Masons, is one which has been

RESEARCH, PUBLICATION, AND KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION

Research and publication are, arguably, key components of knowledge production generally and are not necessary mutually exclusive concepts. My use of the concepts of 'research', 'publication', and 'knowledge production' as separate "analytic(al) categories" (Kaplan 2014b, 89) however, is done in an attempt to describe a venue of Masonic activity through three variable, yet related, processes. By 'research' I mean that quest for information, 'Truth', explanation, description, or meaning of an historical, contemporary, practical, philosophical, etymological, "esoteric"(cite), or metaphysical[331] nature in both general and specific, collective or individual, scopes. Many Masons pursue research of these types, and are indeed charged with the task to some extent, to which specific organizations within Masonry have been built in aid of. Publication is the act of sharing the results of such pursuit with others, primarily through preservable, textual formats. Masonic publication, I discovered through this project, occurs through print, in the form of books and journal articles (academic, Masonic, and/or public). Online blogs, opinion pieces, and exposés, and in the form of leaflets, newsletters, and lectures (which are often re-printed and made available) also occur and exist in the category of publication. Knowledge production is a nuanced and complex concept which has been used in myriad ways in scholarship and through different academic fields of inquiry. For my own uses and purposes in this dissertation I consider Masonic 'knowledge production' to include the publication of research, as described above, but also the many

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repeatedly acknowledged to me directly, or in my presence, during the course of research for this project. Also, see References and Reference Notes (see Dunn 2008)]

[331] Through talking with participants of this study, as well as through the review of Masonic literature, the above described general thematic areas appear to be the most common research emphases.

oral forms of Masonic knowledge which have been collectively and individually construed throughout Masonic history and includes lectures, degree work, lessons, Tracing Boards, private contemplation and cooperative discussion, as well as a commitment to education, both of its own members, and society at large, as will be explained in more detail below, and in Chapter 6. Masonic research, publication, and knowledge production are key components of the activity of Masonry and the construction of the active Mason.

While touring Casper Lodge #15 in Casper, Wyoming on August 30, 2014, with Mark Quinn Bryant and Joseph Sato, Mark showed me the ports for concealed projectors which were used during ritual ceremonies to illuminate certain symbols within the Lodge Room (see Figure 27). I have come across the concept of Tracing Boards through this project, which is what, I assume, these projected images would re-create in full or in part.

(**Figure 27:** Two square openings above the Master Warden's seat within Casper Lodge #15, ostensibly used (with a projector(?) behind each), if my memory serves, to project symbolic images in to the Lodge Room during meetings and/or ritual ceremonies. Casper, WY. Wilhelm 08/30/2014)

Mackey (1845/2004) succinctly defined a *Tracing Board* as:

> "A painting representing the emblems peculiar to a degree, arranged for the convenience of the lecturer. Each degree of symbolic masonry has its tracing-board, which are distinguished as tracing-boards the first, second, and third. It is, therefore, the same as the flooring or carpet." (489)

I have not conducted any research to verify the history or purpose of Tracing Boards outside of a Masonic perspective; I rely, exclusively, on Masonic sources to enlighten this description. MacNulty (2004)[332] noted, for example, that, "Masonic Tracing Boards are training devices. In the earliest days of speculative Masonry the master, using chalk, would sketch designs on the floor of the lodge before the meeting. Then he would talk about the drawing during the meeting " (MacNulty 2004, 231). According to The Masonic Lodge of Education (MLE), for example, a Tracing Board, also called a *trestle board*, has a long history of use in Masonry for the purpose of diagramming points of a lesson, or reference of an individual, during ritual. They note that secret Lodges would trace these lessons in the dirt (MLE ©2007-2015), which, in turn, evolved into the use of chalk (MLE ©2007-2015) on the floors of meeting places, both of which could be wiped away at the closure of the meeting. Eventually the drawings were, ostensibly, standardized and stitched onto rugs (MLE © 2007-2015) which could be placed on the floor and then later removed. The rugs were transformed into tapestries, hung on easels (MLE © 2007-2015) and eventually presented in various media from elaborate paintings to projected images to online newsletters (MLE © 2007-2015). In a four-part publication, culminating from a variety of lectures given by himself, Mark S. Dwor presented his findings on the history of the Tracing Board at the Vancouver Grand Masonic Day,

[332] Earlier versions may exist.

October 16, 1999.[333] Although the Masonic Lodge of Education, noted above, referenced a study which indicated that Masonic Tracing Boards[334] had been uncovered at the ruins of Pompeii (MLE © 2007-2015)[335], Dwor (1999) noted that, "The time frame when the Tracing Boards came into being is roughly at the very end of the Eighteenth Century and the first decades or so of the Nineteenth Century" (Dwor 1999; Part 1, numbered point 2) and does not necessarily agree that there is a direct progression from dirt etchings to flooring to Tracing Boards. For Dwor (1999), Tracing Boards, simply put, "are teaching aids" (Dwor 1999; Part 1, numbered point 4). In Part 1 of his exposé, Dwor (1999) pointed to two published articles which were instrumental in his own analysis. These were the Dring (1916, cited in Dwor 1999) and Haunch (1962, cited in Dwor 1999) articles on Tracing Boards which were published, in those years, in a prestigious Masonic journal, of sorts, titled *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*. This journal was, and still is, the volumed publication of papers and the proceedings of Quatuor Coronati Lodge No. 2076, a substantial Masonic research Lodge that was established in the 1880s.

MacNulty (2002) engaged in an extensive discussion on the symbolic meaning, representation, and purpose of the individual components of the commonly used Tracing

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[333] Accessed by me, online, 10/5/2015, at: http://freemasonry.bcy.ca/texts/gmd1999/tb_history01.html. See References for Dwor 1999.

[334] According to Gerd Wilhelm, it would be "Interesting to note that master builders and masons (operative craft) used another form of tracing boards extensively in antiquity through the medievial period to describe the work to craftsmen who could typically not read. Usually they were large slabs of plaste(r) which the master builder could etch and erase as needed. In fact the compass was often used as the etching tool, and the square to erase the board." (Comment made during review of this dissertation on 2/14/2016). Gerd Wilhelm is a (retired) Lieutenant Colonel in the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.

[335] See: http://www.masonic-lodge-of-education.com/trestle-board.html

Boards (see Figure 28)[336] and how they relate both to the rituals of the degree progression / Masonic lessons, as well as how they come to represent the human psyche (33). MacNutly's (2002) analysis will also be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6, within an examination on the concept of the Masonic *journey.*

(**Figure 28:** 'Tracing Boards'. (Left to Right): (1)"First Degree Tracing Board" (MacNulty 2002:glossy insert, page 2). (2)"Second Degree Tracing Board" (MacNulty 2002: glossy insert, page 3). (3)"Third Degree Tracing Board" (MacNulty 2002: glossy insert, page 4). (4)"Figure 3" (MacNulty 2002:34) / "a sort of composite Tracing Board" (MacNulty 2002:35). Photographed/Scanned by Wilhelm)

The Masonic connection to research, publication, and knowledge production extends beyond the Lodge room with its moral, spiritual, and practical lessons learned and ritualized; indeed, Freemasons have been associated with a wide range of scholarship with both intra- and inter- distribution and aim.

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[336] See MacNulty (2002) for a discussion of these images and their symbolism. Credit to original artist of these pieces, unknown.The images I have included were the ones (cited) drawn from MacNulty 2002. In a 2004 work, edited by De Hoyos and Morris (MacNulty 2004), black and white renditions of what appear to be the same art (for two of the pieces) are included with the following credits: (for the 'first degree board' (see below), "…by J. Harris, England, circa 1820-1830" (MacNulty 2004, 233); for the 'second degree board' (see below), "…by J. Harris, England, circa 1820-1830" (MacNulty 2004, 238); 'third degree board' (see below) and 'composite board' (see below), cannot locate credit.

The first Masonic organization dedicated specifically to inquiry, beyond the tradition of research, publication, and knowledge production already present in the Lodges, was the Masonic Archaeological Institute of London, c. 1871; however, the first officially recognized research lodge was Quatuor Coronati Lodge, No. 2076, established in London in 1884 (McLeod 1999). Research divisions today take one of two forms. The first is an "independent research society"[337] which is supported by a Masonic lodge and has both Mason and non-Mason members. An example of such a division is the *Centro Nacional de Estudios para investigación y transferencia tecnológica, y Las Actividades Desarrollo Socioeconómico (CNITTS)*[338] in Bucaramanga, Colombia. The second contemporary form a research division can take is one that is a "regularly warranted research lodge,"[339] dedicated specifically to research, and has only Masons as members. An example of such a division is the Nevada Lodge of Research 1 (NVLR1), located in Reno, Nevada. According to the results of the survey distributed as part of this project, approximately 24% of U.S. respondents indicated that they were "Members of a Research Lodge." No Colombian respondents (0%) indicated membership in a Research Lodge.

The connection between Freemasonry and scholarship is evident in myriad ways, both through the works of individual Masons through history in such fields as philosophy, science, politics, or social change, as well as the activities of the Craft today, as garnered through an appreciation for scholarly pursuit. As Cliff Porter (2011)

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[337] Although the original citation for these terms has been lost, they are discussed through *The Masonic Trowel*'s "Masonic Research" piece by McLeod, accessible through URL: http://www.themasonictrowel.com/masonic_talk/stb/stbs/99-09.htm

[338] Approximate translation: The national research center for the study and transfer of technology, and socio-economic development.

[339] See footnote 337

observed, some of the early charges (36) of candidates was to be well-versed in various fields of inquiry. In his 2011 work, Cliff Porter provided an excerpt from (the) Ahiman Rezon (1868) which reads: "'[t]he study of the Liberal Arts, that valuable branch of education, which tends so effectually to polish and adorn the mind, is earnestly recommended to your consideration; especially the science of Geometry, which is established as the basis of our art…'"(C. Porter 2011 (quoting the Ahiman Rezon):36).

A general commitment to education, in the various ways that concept may be considered, is exemplified through many specific, local, examples. Augustin Rivera, for example, noted that at one point La Serenisima Logia Renovación Nº 1-12 had a program during each weekly meeting whereby a piece of classical music would be played; after which members in attendance would be quizzed in relation to the piece. Indeed, as Mason and Masonic author Andrew Hammer (2011) also noted "the very origin of Freemasonry itself is in education. Whether it be the practical education in stone-cutting found in the operative craft of masonry, or the search for inner knowledge and science presented to us by the speculative Craft, the foundation of the art is inexorably based in teaching and learning" (Hammer 2011, 4, see also, note in references).

As mentioned previously in this dissertation, one site I commonly explored during the research for this project was Masonic libraries. One thematic similarity I began to notice during my inspection of Masonic proceedings contained within these libraries involved the topic of public education. For example, pages 50-52 of the 1961 proceedings of the Grand Lodge of North Dakota included the "report" from the 'Committee on

Public School Education'[340] (GLND 1961[341]). The report included a proposed "need (for) forward(-)looking programs", a suggestion that the "needs and problems of local public schools" be addressed/examined, a consideration of the idea of federal monies being used for private education, and for federal monies being used, generally, for education, to which the following statement was included, and moved to be accepted: "Masons will oppose (any) further encroachment on our public schools through federal aid to education." Also, on page 279 of the 1961 proceedings of the Grand Lodge of New York, which were accessed by me through the Chancellor Robert R. Livingston Masonic Library of the Grand Lodge of New York in New York, NY, in September of 2014, had an excerpt on Public Education which included a tally of states which observed "Public Schools Week", and "American Education Week" as well as noting that "certificates of appreciation" had been "presented" to "teachers" and encouraging Masons to take an interest in their local schools. The report also included the following statement:

> "In Washington, 'It was the expressed wish of our Grand Master that this Committee concentrate on a positive program stressing a better understanding of school problems such as financing, curriculum, personnel, and urging a general participation in the business activities of the schools…avoid controversial issues such as religion and the endorsement of particular individuals to the School Board and the like…acquaint all Masons with the problems of the schools and interest them in seeking solutions to those problems and enable them as individuals to intelligently work, vote and act for the benefit and advancement of the American School System…" (GLNY 1961, 279)

[340] Accessed by me from the Grand Lodge of North Dakota, Fargo on Spetember 4, 2014.
[341] Within notes on various topics [taken form GLND proceedings], the "Report of Committee on Public Edication"; Wakefield/et.al. appeared within a stream of excerpts of which I had written "Proceedings 1961" at the top.As opposed to some other, but not all, proceedings used in this dissertation which were either photographed or photocopied; the GLND were copied, as were some others, by hand; Any misprint, typo, etc. is wholly unintentional.

The Grand Lodge of Nevada's Proceedings for 1961-1963 also includes a section on "Public School Week" (35[342]) in which there was, apparently a "disappoint(ing)" (35) "lack of interest" (35) by Masons in the jurisdiction along with the warning that "an attempt in the Congress of the United States to destroy or weaken the free public school system through Federal aid to education" (GLNV Proceedings 1961-1963:35). The segment also includes a note that "It is therefore necessary to keep constantly in mind that freedom of education and Freemasonry go hand in hand and that the public school system must be guarded jealously and we must do our part to maintain that institution free from Federal and sectarian influence" (GLNV 1961-1963: 35).[343]

The connection between Freemasonry and public education may have evolved from an earlier tradition of scientific/mathematical inquiry and dissemination in England. Mary Ann Clawson (1989) noted that "…well before the emergence of accepted Masonry, British society was distinguished by an active process of interaction and collaboration between scientifically educated gentlemen and artisans" (Clawson 1989, 60). This was done, in part, out of necessity, Clawson (1989) argued, as scientific thought was not a staple in universities prior to the 17th century (60) and thus "many scientists had to make their livings by giving popular lectures; in this way they developed close ties with the

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[342] Multiple Page "35"s will appear in a multi-year proceedings. Author attrubtion missing from my note.

[343] Many of the quotes on education were taken from sources stemming from the 1960s period. In reality, I happened to come across an education quote quite by accident, while flipping through some proceedings, then, out of curiosity, I began to look for quotes on education during the same general time peiod in proceedings from other jurisdictions (to see if thematic similarities had a tendency to circulate). This last education quote (from GLNV 1961) was also discovered quite by accident. A further analysison why education was discussed during this period (both within and outside the Lodge), where the Masonic interest in education began and how Masonry influenced this institution (if at all), and numerous other inquiries could certatinly be an extensive, and worthy, project for future research.

largely self-educated tradesmen, artisans, and mechanics who comprised their primary audience" (Clawson 1989, 61). Eventually, clubs and institutions dedicated to scientific inquiry (64) developed where individuals from various demographic and occupational backgrounds (Clawson 1989) could meet and collaborate (64) in the promotion of "useful knowledge" (Clawson 1989, 64). Clawson (1989) made the argument, furthermore, that Masonry may have developed to mimic, in some ways, these intellectual societies, but incorporated more social aspects to draw larger memberships and include those who could not be involved in societies dedicated solely to scientific inquiry. As she noted "The creation of Masonry served to express in a particularly vivid and accessible way the broader social importance of craft labor, which contributed to scientific advance as well as to commercial and manufactured wealth" (Clawson 1989, 65).

However a scholar wishes to approach the scale of whether Enlightenment ideals and an age of intellectualism emanated from, or produced, the Masonic Lodge, I have found, as with many other notions presented in this dissertation, that the link/s between Masonry and education (public or otherwise) could, itself, be a hefty dissertation, a point which I re-iterate in the section of Chapter 7 where I discuss the types of prospective research engendered by this project.

Masons have, likewise, had a long history with the publication of texts, despite being what participants of this project have noted as being a 'mouth to ear' society. Granted, there are components of the Masonic experience, ritual, lexicon, and gesture which is expressly forbidden from ever finding its way into print through any purposeful action by any member. This requisite has caused some issues both in terms of what is considered 'print' (I have had discussions with Masons on whether or not tattooing Masonic symbols

on one's body violates this oath) and how well one can be expected to maintain an oral tradition in a digital age. Despite these exceptions, there are, currently, according to one Masonic website,[344] approximately twenty Masonic publishing/selling firms, and I have come across others which either did, or still do, publish Masonic works (primarily books). In addition, not including academic journals related to the study of Freemasonry, of which there are many (and where both non-Masons and Masons publish academic, peer-reviewed articles), there are numerous Masonic nationally/internationally circulated journals, in multiple languages. This number does not include periodicals, newsletters, Trestle Boards,[345] local journals, and other print archives. Masonic research has been a part of the Craft since the turn to Speculative Masonry in the 18th century. Indeed, "Freemasons were, on many accounts, tried for the illegal printing and distribution of censored texts during the Spanish Inquisition (Jacob 1981) and were ultimately tied to the dissemination of libertarian ideals to the New World through books and pamphlets during that period (Reyes Heredia 2006). Masonic publications, which identified the sources as

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[344] Paul M. Bessel, © 1998-2015, operates a website with Masonic information, links, suggestions, and other information including, but not limited to, titles and links to Masonic articles and books, general information about Masonry as well as specific requirements for certain Masonic advancements, statistics pertaining to membership numbers by state and by year (within the U.S.) and by nation and jurisdiction (outside the U.S.), constitutions and amendments, rules and regulations, articles, events, and incidents, links to sites for Masonic education, committee reports, and many other indexes; he often prefaces certain collections or pieces noting that he received the information from a 'Brother' or 'sources thought to be reliable', or otherwise indicates where the information was pertained (e.g. through a Grand Lodge), as well as includes links to published materials and additional links. Bessel includes a disclaimer at the bottom of his home page which states "Please note that I no longer am updating the webpages about Freemasonry. I still maintain my memberships but otherwise I am not active" (Bessel © 1998-2015: accessed online 10/2/2015: http://bessel.org/]. The link to the list of Masonic publishing/selling firms is thus (accessed 10/2/2015): http://bessel.org/. NOTE: email/contact options for this website did not function; I was unable to gain direct permission to cite; I did, however, reference this work.

[345] A Trestle Board is an internal Lodge communication sent out by the Worshipful Master on a regular basis which covers news, events, reminders, and schedules of the Lodge along with short articles, obituaries, advertising, and other related news. The term *trestleboard*, incidentally, is another example of the Masonic lexicon of activity as related to Operative Masonry.

Masonic in origin and topic, began to circulate shortly after the end of the Spanish Inquisition (Oliver 1867; Garrido and Cayley 1876)". *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, mentioned previously in this section, is a Masonic journal, and has been in circulation since the 1880s. Another widely distributed Masonic scholarly journal, which is still in circulation, *Philalethes*, was established in 1928. In 2014, I had the honor of publishing an article I had written outlining a historiography of the persecution of Freemasons during the Spanish Inquisition in *The Masonic Society Journal* (Wilhelm 2014a). Augustin Rivera has published in *Revista Cubica,* one of the highly cited Spanish-language Masonic Journals in the survey. Indeed, one of the open-ended questions I asked through the survey that was distributed as part of this project was "Do you subscribe (or regularly read) any Masonic journals? (if yes, please list; you can also write no, or only occasionally)".[346] Around 62%[347] of respondents answered in an affirmative manner and/or provided some explanation or list of journals or topics.[348] Of those who provided journal title/s and or topics,[349] the more commonly, as mentioned previously, listed journals appear to include The Scottish Rite Journal and The Revista Cubica, along

[346] SP: "¿Está suscrito (o lee regularmente) alguna revista Masonicas? (en caso afirmativo, indique el nombre, también se puede escribir "no", o "rara vez")"
[347] the 'late-added' survey response included a list of journals/research sites
[348] I received a total of 167 responses to this question. 40 individuals answered in the negative. 23 individuals answered with the equivalent of "only occasionally" ("rara vez", "muy pocas veces", "once in a while", etc.). I have included all other answers (including those which answered in the negative, but followed with an explanation such as they do not subscribe to journals, but read them online, or they read Masonic books with no mention of journals, etc.).
[349] Around 86 individuals listed one or more titles, or general topics (e.g.: one participant answered "I do a great deal of research/reading on Knights Templar", another answered "Leo revistas de otras logias del país o de otro país que me lleguen, enciclopedía masónica y libros que traten de masonería.") [in a previous version I included a note to "see footnote 261" (now footnote 270) which does not appear, at this time to relate, both in this version, or a previous one where it related to calculations of responses; ostensibly, I was directing the reader to see the footnote related to the 'late-added survey' (243), also referenced in footnote 306.]

with York Rite/Knights Templar/Short Talk Bulletin, etc.[350] Another question I asked as part of the survey was "Have you ever published a piece of writing (article, book, op-ed, etc.) related to Masonry in a Masonic, or Non-Masonic, (journal, book, online, etc.) forum?"[351] A total of 44.63% of participants noted that they had, and one individual wrote that he was in the process of publishing a centennial history of a specific Lodge. Geo-coded results indicate that Colombian respondents have a higher rate of publication (51.7% answered that they have published and 48.3% answered that they have not) compared to U.S. respondents (39.6% answered that they have published and 59.5% answered that they have not). Also, 4 out of the 6 respondents from other locations indicated that they have published. Indeed, as I have mentioned previously, I have cited the works of many Masonic authors in this dissertation, some of whom are also participants in this project.

The term 'lecture' and 'lecturer' in the Masonic lexicon mean something very specific to the functioning of the Lodge and ritual/degree progression. Mackey (1845/2004), for example, noted that "each degree of masonry contains a course of instruction, in which the ceremonies, traditions, and moral instruction appertaining to the degree, are set forth" (Mackey 1845/2004, 266). He, furthermore, defined a *Lecturer* as "A brother of skill and intelligence, entrusted with the task of instructing the lodges in the proper mode of work, in the ceremonies, usages, legends, history, and science of the order…" (Mackey 1845/2004, 269). When I refer, and have referred in this project, to

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[350] See Appendix 2b, Table 15, for a complete list of responses.
[351] SP: "¿Alguna vez ha publicado un escrito (artículo, libro, artículo de opinión, etc) relacionados a la Masonería en un Masónico, o No-Masónica, (revista, libro, línea, etc) foro?"

'lecture' within the context of 'an active Mason…' and within the context of Masonic 'research, publication, and knowledge production', I intended it to denote an audienced speech which entailed some amount of research and covered a topic Masonic in nature that was delivered in either a public/semi-public (White) or private (Blue) setting. It was not until I began to examine the categories of Masonic research, publication, and knowledge production, the concept of Tracing Boards, and the Masonic inclination towards general and specific education that I came to fully realize the more nuanced, and Masonic, significance of the terms, and activities, of 'Lecture' and 'Lecturer.' That being said, one of the questions of the survey that was distributed as part of this project asked "Have you ever given a lecture/speech related to Masonry (this does not include memorized degree-work) in a Masonic, or Non-Masonic, setting (a colloquia, a conference, as part of a regular meeting)?"[352] A total of 67.8% of respondents answered "yes/si." The geo-coded results indicate that there is some non-consensus in the results as respondents in the U.S. had a higher positive response rate to affirmation of lecture (75.7% of U.S. respondents, compared to 50% of Colombian respondents answered "yes/si."; all respondents from other locations noted that they had given a lecture of the sort described in the question). I remember, well before this project was conceived, approved, and undertaken, I once found myself in a Masonic Lodge in the Republic of Panama by invitation of an acquaintance. The event we were attending was a (White) lecture, given in a Lodge room, by a Mason. The audience (which comprised both Masons and non-Masons) listened attentively, and had an opportunity to ask questions.

[352] SP: "¿Alguna vez has dado una conferencia / discurso relacionada con la Masonería (esto no incluye trabajo de grado memorizado) en un establecimiento Masónico, o No-Masónica, (a coloquios, una conferencia, en el marco de una reunión oficial)?"

On another occasion, in Reno, NV, after this project was fully underway, I was attending a dinner, prior to a stated meeting, sponsored by Reno Lodge #13. The casual conversation turned toward differences between Lodge experiences in Colombia and the U.S. Ricardo, being affiliated with Lodges in both locations, was asked by 'an officer' to give a lecture during the following month's stated meeting (a Blue lecture) on some of those differences. Ricardo prepared, consulted Augustin, and wrote notes. He would not show me the notes, as they contained some information that was oathed not to be shared with non-Masons. One of the differences, however, that he included in his discussion was the inclusion of a *Chamber of Reflection*[353] during the initiation ceremony in Colombia.

The *activity* of Freemasonry, in part, includes a recognition of the need for, and practice of, knowledge production and distribution. There are myriad ways those terms can be defined and made manifest within the context of Freemasonry, including, but not limited to, research, publication, education, lecture, and individual pursuit.

Masonic Restoration and Traditional Observance

The term 'active', as applied to a Mason or Masonic Lodge, I have found to be a fairly common reference through the course of this project. I have heard participants describe themselves, others, and Lodges based on their level of activity through

[353] In my understanding, based on conversations with participants and through the reading of Masonic literature, a Chamber of Reflection, in brief, is a room where an candidate for initiation waits for the initiation ceremony; the Chamber is meant to engender self-reflection in the candidate, and an air of mystery, with various objects of Masonic significance placed about the room with little or no explanation (which, incidentally, begins a practice of independent interpretation inherent to the Masonic experience…).

phrases[354] such as 'he was a very active Mason…'; 'we have an active Lodge…'; 'I am not very active anymore…'; or 'after I retired I was able to really become active….' In one correspondence sent to me via email by Sam Scrivener of Wyoming on February 12, 2015, describing his experience with Masonry, he uses the term 'active' five times. He wrote, for example, "I am **active** in the local shrine club…"; he also noted that "Obviously, their Masonic membership and the lessons of Masonry mean a great deal to them, but for reasons known only to them, they choose not to be **active**"; and he wrote, "Others, like me, wait many years to become **active** due to other demands upon their time. We patiently wait, knowing that someday we will have the time to become **active**"; as the fifth reference he wrote, "Still others become Masons so they may become Shriners. You will never see those individuals at a Masonic meeting, but they are usually very **active** in the Shrine, and as such, are true Masons."[355]

Masonic activity, likewise, may be a concept employed as a measure to rate the current state of the Fraternity. For example, during an interview on September 16, 2014, with Peter Field in Alexandria, VA, he remarked that in Masonry, "75% (are) casual Masons (and) 25% actually care." He also noted that there are different "types of active Freemasons", from "old Joe (who) goes because he likes to go (he is a) good man, regular", to the "extrovert, (who) organize(s) everything, belong(s) to everything, (is a) joiner, master, lapel pins…", to the "best one" which is the type "in between; quiet,

[354] These are not direct quotes, rather paraphrased examples of the types of statements I have heard from participants, drawn from memory.
[355] verbatim text (**bold** is my emphasis to highlight the use of the concept of 'active') drawn from correspondence sent to me via email on February 12, 2015 by a participant of this study, Sam Scrivener (pseudonym) whom I received permission from to quote, cite, and otherwise reference his correspondence as related to Masonry and this project.

ritualist…." Peter also mentioned that currently in the U.S. he feels that the "candidate is secondary" in the degree rituals, also that in a push for increased membership many Lodges were incorporating a "passive selection process (they would) take everyone (and) see who sticks around." He also mentioned that there is a "reformation underway." About a week earlier, on September 10, 2014, in Springfield, OH, I was interviewing Herman Clayworth. His measure was slightly grimmer as he remarked that "only 8% of members (are) 'active'." Like Peter, Herman also let me in on his view of the different types of Masons. Corresponding to the Masonic habit of using metaphor Herman categorized the "four schools" through which "new Lodges formed" through the analogous examples of "Hogwarts", "Steampunk", "Socrates", and "Wigs" to describe Masons who encompass such qualities as "mystical", "traditional observance", "European concept", "Victorian gentlemen", "pretend philosophers", "oldest – always done it (for the last) 300 years", etc. Dissatisfied with the large membership, low attendance, Lodges Herman mentioned that "guys like myself" wanted the Masonic experience to be based on "more than just mak(ing) Masons." He favored a "smaller group." He was part of the opening of a new Lodge in 2010 which was hoped to create meaning through activities that could act as a "bonding experience" and that was formed through a reflexive process that inspired members to "think about what we do and why." He noted that in Masonry there are "individual interpretations (and) also (there are) individual Lodge interpretations." Like Peter, Herman noted that there is a "restoration movement in American Freemasonry…"[356]

[356] Interview notes were written by hand, by me. Portions that are quoted are utterances that I am

In 2011, Cliff Porter published his book *A Traditional Observance Lodge: One Mason's Journey to Fulfillment* where he described his choice to join Masonry, his dissatisfaction with the current state of the Fraternity as he saw it, his connection with the restoration movement, and his approach to Masonry through 'traditional observance.' This was a self-published work, as he has/had done with other writings, and as is indeed done with many Masonic works in general. I will not provide a discussion here on the benefits and drawbacks[357] of self- versus traditional publishing. I am not using Cliff Porter's work as a source of academic analysis or anthropological interpretation. Rather, Cliff Porter, who is a Freemason and member of a 'regularly warranted' Masonic Lodge, is discussing his experiences with Freemasonry within the context of a movement that has been mentioned by participants of my project. I am highlighting Cliff Porter's work here, as I would any observation of native/inside knowledge, to provide an emic representation of a topic that is of use to my own discussions and the greater inquiries of this project.

Cliff Porter (2011), in large part, intended for his experience (14) with the abstract need for reform, along with the practical application of such reform through the founding (14) of a new Lodge (14) to serve as an example for the possibilities of change. He noted in his introduction that "this book gives advice on forming a Traditional Observance Lodge, or reshaping your current lodge, to provide a more fulfilling Masonic experience" (C. Porter2011, 13). In the opening chapter Cliff Porter described his choice to join as a

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fairly certain occurred verbatim, others are paraphrased based on the content of the conversation. Any oversight in this regard is my fault alone.

[357] Discussion on this topic are plenty; indeed, I reviewed a posting (reference lsot) on this topic which inspired me to make note of it.

process that included a great respect for his grandfather who was a Freemason. After an initial aversion to the fraternity based primarily upon his acceptance of Lutheranism (17-18) he later developed a kind of awe-inspiring admiration (C. Porter 2011) for Masonry. He was quickly disappointed by his lackluster (C. Porter 2011 (…/34…)) initiation process and exposure to what was, seemingly, a disorganized, indifferent, corner-cutting, Masonic experience. Instead of simply becoming inactive, or quitting the fraternity altogether, Cliff Porter began to search for a way to create the kind of Masonic experience he had expected based on his research(20) prior to joining. The result was the founding of a new Lodge which Cliff Porter wrote "is, by every definition, a success. Lodge is fulfilling and compelling. It is looked forward to with great anticipation and it is with lamented faces that the men leave, wishing it was not over and hoping already for the next meeting" (C, Porter 2011, 28).

The Masonic Restoration movement,[358] quite simply put, was formed based largely around the idea that Freemasonry needed to raise their standards of membership and activity, in keeping with what they considered to be the primary purposes of the Fraternity. The provided index[359] of the Masonic Restoration Foundation (MRF)[360] provides publications, statements of purpose, notions of the ideal Masonic experience as

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[358] I have drawn this information from a website owned and operated by the Masonic Restoration Foundation © 2014. In his text, Cliff Porter (2011) provides the URL for what he calls the "official site of the Masonic Restoration Foundation" (Porter, C. 2011: 30 [footnote "2"]). However, the website provided in Cliff Porter's footnote was inaccessible, even with variation in spellings, and I speculate it was changed sometime between 2011, when Cliff Porter's work was published, and 2015, when I write this passage. I initially accessed the website of the Masonic Restoration Foundation on 10/15/2015 through the following URL: http://www.masonicrestorationfoundation.org/.

[359] See footnote above.

[360] The abbreviation 'MRF' is used by Cliff Porter and the Masonic Restoration Foundation, and I assume many other sources as well. Granted, had these sources not abbreviated the organization thus, I certainly would have, but is worth noting that I did not coin the abbreviation.

originally intended, and links to conferences, libraries, museums, and papers on topics of relevance to the movement, among other sources of information. The MRF notes that:

> "The Masonic Restoration Foundation is an educational organization that provides news, research, and analysis relating to the rich heritage in Freemasonry and current trends in the North American Masonic experience.
> The MRF was organized to identify and distribute, through its research, the time-tested cultural and fraternal Masonic practices that have proven successful in the historical repertoire of Masonic experience. The focus of the MRF is to promote the characteristics which form the best lodge meetings, fraternal and social practices across the Masonic landscape, while preserving Freemasonry's landmarks and upholding its identity as a transformative art."[361]

As I browse the list of authors and publications, Board of Directors, and past Board of directors provided by the MRF I recognize the names of men whose works I have read and cited as part of this project, as well as men I have interviewed as part of this project. The MRF also lists the names of 43 U.S. Lodges (in 21 states plus the District of Columbia) and four Canadian Lodges (in four provinces). These Lodges, I assume, are either deemed as Traditional Observance Lodges or are, ostensibly, in keeping with the mission of the MRF, and may be members or, at least, "support the MRF".[362] The MRF stipulates, in multiple passages, that all Lodges being formed or operating must absolutely be 'regularly warranted' Lodges following the protocols of their jurisdictional Grand Lodges. The MRF's *Statement of Purpose* reads:

> "Since 2001, the Masonic Restoration Foundation (MRF) has been examining the issues facing North American Masonry, identifying successful current and historical practices and offering realistic solutions aimed at improving the experience of Masonic labor. We have tried to understand modern perceptions of Masonry, and identify what newer Masons seek in the lodge experience. We are aware that many men who are joining the fraternity today have generally already

[361] Drawn from the *Organization, Mission and Goals* segment of the Masonic Restoration Foundation (website listed in footnote above) paragraphs 1 & 2 (complete).
[362] Drawn from the *Organization, Mission and Goals* segment of the Masonic Restoration Foundation (website listed in footnote above) paragraph 9, sentence 1.

> done a lot of reading and web surfing and have formulated an opinion about the fraternity.
> Many of these men come into Masonry knowing more than those who have been members for some time. Young men tend to perceive Freemasonry as a venue for truth seeking, a vehicle for self-improvement and philosophical development; the discovery of one's inner potential. Our new brothers know what they want from a fraternity and have high expectations that their lodge will meet their needs as men.
> As North American Freemasonry faces some of the most important challenges in its history, the MRF stands to ensure a sense of purpose and identity for the Craft."[363]

One publication provided by the MRF explains the meaning of the term *observe* in connection with the intentions of the founders of Freemasonry and in keeping with the goals, more broadly, of the MRF. This publication is an excerpt taken from the book *Observing the Craft: The Pursuit of Excellence in Masonic Labour and Observance* by Mason and Masonic author Andrew Hammer (2010).[364] Hammer (2011) provided a concise list of attributes that define an ideal, or from his perceptive an authentic, Masonic experience. These attributes, Hammer (2011) promoted, are what make a successful Lodge, regardless of the quantity of members (1), or type of Temple (1) in which the meetings take place. Hammer (2011) proposed that men wishing to join the Fraternity be thoroughly vetted and those wishing to mentor good candidates be truly willing (2) and capable of doing so. He also argued for proficiency (2) in the rituals and laws (2) of Masonry (2) generally, and the Grand Lodge (2) to which that Lodge is a member more specifically. Hammer (2011), further, noted that advancing through the degrees should only be undertaken through study, and sufficient proof of the candidate's (2) understanding of the Craft, or requirements of the particular degree. Hammer's (2011)

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[363] The *Statement of Purpose* is reproduced in its entirety as provided on the MRF's website (listed above).
[364] The excerpt provided on the MRF website includes a copyright © of 2011.

fourth step in *observing* traditional Masonry lies in the method for which officerships are given. Positions within the hierarchy of a Lodge "should be" (2) based on "merit alone" (Hammer 2011, 2) and not on a system of "a progressive line" (Hammer 2011, 2) he noted. The next two steps Hammer (2011) outlined were focused on the quality (3) of Masonic external variables, from how members dress for meetings (3), to the types and value (3) of the components of Masonic events (3). Hammer (2011) closed by noting that Masonic ceremonies (3) should be awe(3)-inspiring, as he argued they once were, and should include such features as the Chamber of Reflection (3), the Chain of Union (3), and sufficient and thoughtful accoutrements and special effects to render rituals places where the focus of the effects is "to stimulate and manage the sensory experience of the brethren, in the endeavour to create the sense of uniqueness one expects from a Masonic experience" (Hammer 2011, 3). Finally, Hammer (2011) promoted Masonic Education (4) in the sense that a Lodge meeting (4) should include an educational feature which can be interpreted in a variety of ways such as "through the degrees, or through presentations on the various lessons of the Craft. Even a ten-minute talk focused on the symbolic meaning of a single working tool…" (Hammer 2011, 4). Many of the points Hammer (2011) made, and indeed, the crux of the MRF's mission and presence, are mirrored in the work of Cliff Porter who outlines his experience with Masonry, and with Traditional Observance Masonry.

In his book, Cliff Porter described some of the aspects of contemporary American Freemasonry that he felt were in need of reform, as primarily related to the "process" (36) of Freemasonry (36), beginning with how and whom may be admitted (33) into the Fraternity, who may serve in leadership (34) positions, the care and value that needs to be

attributed to the initiation ritual/s, a revitalization of the pursuit of knowledge, a reconsideration of the common approach to charity (41), as well as an overall refining of the Masonic material culture. C. Porter (2011) listed a serious of "common complaints" (62) about Masonry in the U.S. These included, "boring meetings…lack of fellowship…lack of beauty…horrible food…poorly done ritual…underdressed attendees…emergency Masonry…lack of purpose…progressive lines…ridiculously low dues…apathetic members…(and) worse than rough ashlars…" (C. Porter 2011, 62-64).

The label (57), evolution (77), and philosophy (81), of the Traditional Observance method is also explained in Cliff Porter's exposé as well as a glimpse into the arguments (123) against it. Porter (2011) noted that he disliked (57) labels generally, particularly in this case as he felt the term Masonic (57) should be sufficient enough to describe the experience (59) one can expect when entering a Lodge. He noted "(labels) are an extremely common form of communication and almost as common is the misunderstandings and misconceptions that they cause. To understand how the Traditional Observance label developed, we need to investigate how Masonry came to a state in which a label was deemed necessary" (C. Porter2011, 57). As the *process* of Freemasonry was diluted and the *Masonic experience* became substandard, Cliff Porter argued, Lodges who sought to redefine their Lodge along the lines of what was, conceivably, the ideals and intentions of the Fraternity, they applied various labels to *communicate* that redirection from "'Knights of the North'" (60) to "European Concept" (64). The problem became, according to Cliff Porter, that "men began to debate the qualities of the label instead of the qualities of the concept itself" (C. Porter2011, 67). "The Traditional Observance label" (67), Cliff Porter noted, was eventually created by

the "founding president of the Masonic Restoration Foundation" (C. Porter 2011, 67) at the time. The philosophy behind Traditional Observance are both practical, in the sense of how Lodges could be established, organized, etc. to create the best possible Masonic experience, but also can be dedicated to an understanding, according to Cliff Porter, of the philosophical underpinnings of Masonry itself, as based on the theories inherent to "Christianity, hermeticism, alchemy, and the birth of science" (C. Porter2011, 75). He, likewise, explained that though the term 'traditional' is used it is not meant to convey a movement towards an archaic form of Masonry, or even a new kind of variation on contemporary Masonry. Rather, simply put, Cliff Porter finds the Traditional Observance method to provide Masonry as it should be, and essentially always had been, practiced. However, the arguments against the implementation of the model, from within the Masonic community at large, include, Cliff Porter proposed, a concern that Traditional Observance Lodges may operate outside of, or in spite of, a jurisdictional Grand Lodge, thus usurping, to some extent, its authority. Cliff Porter, however, referenced and ostensibly supported the MRF's statements mandating that all Lodges be fully transparent in their establishment and operation within the rules of their respective Grand Lodge. Cliff Porter also mentioned that intra-Masonic objections to certain practices employed by many Traditional Observance Lodges are a source of consternation. These are primarily centered on the use of a *procession* (124) leading into a Lodge meetings, a *Chain of Union* (124) after closing a Lodge meeting, and the use of a *Chamber of Reflection* (124) prior to an initiation ritual. Cliff Porter, however, made the point that all

of these practices[365] are neither new, nor do they occur during a regularly stated meeting, hence they are neither an alteration to ritual (C. Porter 2011), or an innovation (124). Incidentally, all three of these practices are undertaken in La Serenisima Logia Renovación Nº 1-12 and indeed in all Colombian Lodges. I remember Augustin Rivera was describing the Chain of Union to Rudy McGee as they toured Washoe Lodge #35 in Reno, NV on July 27th, 2014, describing the differences in Lodge practices. Augustin also mentioned that in Colombian Lodge Rooms there is a chain painted, or hung, around the room, near the ceiling, to remind members of the unity of the Fraternity. In the work of Lilith Mahmud, likewise, the Chain of Union is described multiple times in reference to the Italian Masonic experience. The Chamber of Reflection has likewise been mentioned numerous times, and indeed appears to be a point of interest when Ricardo explains his initiation experience in Colombia, to non-Colombian Masons. Other Masonic objections to the Traditional Observance model, Cliff Porter mentioned, include their use of alcohol (125) at celebrations, which was banned from many Masonic events after "the infusion of puritan ideals such as prohibition against alcohol…" (C. Porter 2011, 125). Also, a

[365] A brief description of the three practices listed above are as follows: "the procession achieves the aura of sanctity by asking everyone not to enter the lodge room proper until it is time for the actual meeting to start" (Porter, C. 2011:127). Candles (127), incense (127), and music (127) are also set-up prior to the meeting to increase the Lodge experience (126) and create the sense (127) that the Lodge Room is "not just special, but sacred" (Porter, C. 2011:127).The members then "line up in an order determined by the lodge" (Porter, C. 2011:127) and remain reverent and respectful, and not sitting after they enter the Lodge Room. Various routes into the room are taken, and signs given. "This procession" Cliff Porter explains, "also delineates the day. We are now clearly at labor and the work is underway" (Porter, C. 2011:128). The Chain of Union takes places after the meeting has come to an end (see 147). Cliff Porter described it thus: "The Chain of Union is the gathering of the brethren around the altar after lodge has closed. Its purpose is to create a closing benediction reminding Masons of the power of their word and the strength of Masonry in the world when the Craft is unified as a brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God" (Porter, C. 2011:147). Masons cross their arms in a specific way and recite specific phrases (see Cliff Porter and Lilith Mahmud's work) The Chain of Union was similarly described by both Augustin Rivera to a member of Washoe Lodge 35 dirng a visit. The Chamber of Reflection was described in a previous footnote.

perception that Traditional Observance Lodges are practicing elitism (194) is raised as an objection by some Masons, Cliff Porter noted. However, Cliff Porter differentiated between the terms *elite* (194) and *elitist* (194) and, indeed, does not appear to shy away from the charge that Traditional Observance Lodges, and all Masonic Lodges are, or should be, elite organizations. He argued that "as Masonry has particular requirements to join, has exclusionary practices built into the obligations, and provides that it will take only 'good men,' and then make them even better – it promotes, by definition, a quest for the elite within a community" (C. Porter2011, 195). Cliff Porter continued that Freemasonry is by obligation and practice a very tolerant (196) society, but is also a society which maintains certain standards (196/197) to membership. Other objections include that the use of candles (199) in Traditional Observance Lodges increase fire-risk, that their ornate and reverent ceremonies appear "too religious" (203), and 'that' they are "not Masonically pure" (205). Cliff Porter countered these objections by noting that Masonic ceremonies where candles are being used are populated, thus candles are never left unattended (202), that quality (204) and reverence do not a religion make, and indeed that "Freemasonry certainly celebrates the beauty and glory of creation, the necessity of morality, and a faith in Deity without ever laying down a dogma or requiring a particular belief outside of the basic requirement of a belief in God" (C. Porter 2011, 203-204). Cliff Porter also warned that fundamentalism (206) inhibits growth, change, and "the big picture" (C. Porter, 2011, 206). Cliff Porter also noted that some objections come by way of the commitment required of Traditional Observant Masons, who may then not have sufficient time for Appendant Bodies (207). He closed by noting that there will likely always be controversy, given human (207) nature, but he encouraged those wishing to

establish a Traditional Observance Lodge to persevere by holding fast to the "instructions and charges of Freemasonry" (208) and to invite (208) critics to discuss and experience (208) the model.

Cliff Porter (2011) ended his work with some practical suggestions on how one can go about establishing their own Traditional Observance Lodge. He, for example, suggested that interested Masons should "form a club" (221) that was dedicated to the establishment of a new (223) Traditional Observance Lodge, "or reform an existing one" (223). He suggested opening the pool (222) of potential participants to multiple Lodges, Bodies, and Masonic (221) groups in the area. The benefit of forming a club, that met "away from the lodge" (223), Cliff Porter noted, was that it would "not violate any Masonic protocols because you are not a Masonic entity" (223). Other suggestions included, "defining the lodge's approach" (225)[366], as well as "practice(ing) ritual(s)" (229), deciding on officers (229/231), working out the finer points of overhead and operation along with "the details" (231) that will "represent your lodge's special way of celebrating Freemasonry" (231). Understanding and following the jurisdiction's *Book of Constitutions* (228) as well as deciding on the new/reformed (C. Porter, 2011) Lodge's preferred by-laws (227/multiple cites)[367], while staying positive (C. Porter, 2011[368]) and being prepared to work hard (C. Porter, 2011[369]) were also suggested. Cliff Porter

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[366] As an example, Cliff Porter noted that his lodge "considers its approach to be philosophical enrichment" (225) and provided some examples of how his lodge fosters this.
[367] Which Cliff Porter suggested be fairly basic; as he noted "Once something is in the by-laws it is difficult to change the rule, and the rule then becomes the culture. It is smarter to keep your by-laws to the minimum required by the Grand Lodge and, in doing so, granting your lodge the flexibility to change the culture as it grows and progresses" (232).
[368] Page number lost
[369] Page number lost

concluded his book by noting that “Masonry is exceptional and extraordinary, so too can the lodge experience be; but it is going to take work, difficult decisions, and dedicated members” (238).

Freemasonry as a “personal experience” that is ultimately shared is the crux upon which the research, analysis, and interpretations of my dissertation are primarily based. In his 2011 work, Cliff Porter described, what he has found to be, the ideal Lodge experience (87), which may certainly contribute, as I stated previously in this chapter, to a man’s overall Masonic experience as it is personally perceived. Cliff Porter argued that the Traditional Observance approach “add(s) quality to the Masonic experience” (2011, 95).

As mentioned previously, being an *active* Mason has multiple connotations which includes a flexible measure of one’s participation in the *activity*/*activities* of Masonry. These activities may begin with the practical side of maintaining the Temple and its membership, and may also ideally include an understanding and use of Masonic lexicon, the contribution to the variable conceptions of charity, as well as the task of research, publication, and knowledge production/attainment. Furthermore, links to family, friends, and texts, can be drawn in an active Masonic network and the components of the choice to join may affect how active a Mason becomes. The relative juxtaposition between the individual journey and the collective fellowship of a Lodge, furthermore, is a context within which ‘active’ may be understood and the ‘ideal’ Masonic experience delineated.

In the following Chapter, I will engage with the notion of *journey* as it is utilized within the Masonic conception of “travel”, pursuit, individual effort, and identity. I will

discuss the Masonic journey-concept more specifically and lay the groundwork for an analysis of a Masonic way-of-life literature. Likewise, I will present ‘the journey’ as one which is undertaken as an individual experience, and one that is shared before I segue into a conclusion of this work by responding to the core inquiries of the project, describing its contributions, and suggesting avenues for future research.

Chapter 6: SEVEN. [TOPIC: "Journey"]

"The number seven, among all nations, has been considered as a sacred number, and in every system of antiquity we find frequent reference to it. The Pythagoreans called it a *venerable* number, because it referred to the creation, and because it was made up of the two perfect figures, the triangle and the square…"
"…In Freemasonry, seven is an essential and important number, and throughout the whole system the septenary influence extends itself in a thousand different ways."

Mackey 1845/2004:437.

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"He was a Traveling man…"

Traveling has multiple connotations in the practice of Freemasonry. Indeed, Freemasonry, as a journey, is often perceived as a process of travel towards manifold ends. Working "toward the summit" (A. Roberts 1974, 61) is indeed a significant part of the transition between the three degrees of Masonry. To declare to "seek light… (and) discover truth…" (Roberts 1974, 61) is an integral part of the degree of Master Mason. If two men meet and neither is certain if the other is a Mason, participants of this project have also told me, one may ask the other if he 'has traveled…'[370] to which the man may

[370] It appears, from discussions with participants, that the initial inquiry of whether or not a man has traveled may be asked in a number of different ways. For example, Phil Archer, during an interview of July 21, 2015 in Reno, NV mentioned that a man might be asked "have you traveled?" During an interview on August 24, 2014 with Dean and Max (pseudonyms) of Elko Lodge #15 F. & A.M. in Elko, NV, it was mentioned that the inquiry may be brought up by remarking "I see you've been traveling." However, it appears as though the subsequent questions

answer “yes”, to which he may be asked “where” he has traveled, to which the man may answer that he travels from ‘west to east…’. This exchange involves more indications of membership and further knowledge of specific terms, which would then be followed up by additional inquiry if the ‘traveling’ man then requested admittance to a Lodge. A ‘traveling man’ is synonymous with an active and recognized practitioner of the Craft of Freemasonry, i.e.: a Mason. This dissertation aims to discover how philosophical systems of individualism may be sustained through collaboration. The idea that each Mason is in the process of traveling, each on his own journey, united by a common experience of seeking “More Light (or Further Light)” (A. Roberts 1974, 61) is one of the myriad ways this phenomenon manifests. *Traveling* may be highly symbolic, used as part of the lexicon of insider-knowledge, and descriptive of a collective, yet decidedly individualized, metaphorical reality. Yet, it can also have practical applications in terms of the movement of a man through the degrees, and/or the hierarchy, of the Fraternity; which in and of itself is symbol-laden. It can also denote the actualized voyage between two points on a map.

As one respondent to the survey that was distributed as part of this project noted, he felt that what the term ‘journey’, within the context of Freemasonry, meant to him personally[371] was “moving through the ‘chairs’.” Although it was not the most common type of answer to the question, a number of participants also remarked that the Masonic

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and answers to follow an affirmation of travel must be asked and answered in a very specific way as laid out by the series of Masonic signs of recognition that only members of the Fraternity are aware.

[371] As the final question in the survey that was distributed as part of this project, participants were asked to describe what *Journey* meant to them in an open-ended question**,** i.e.: **ENG:** “In the context of Masonry, what does the term journey mean to you personally?”; **SP:** “En el marco de la Masonería, ¿qué significa el término "viaje" para usted personalmente?”

journey was directly related to, or provided in the symbolism, of moving through the degrees and/or hierarchy. One respondent, for example, noted that it is "the journey from joining to being Master of the Lodge."[372] Another respondent mentioned that what journey meant, to him, "es el recorrido simbolico que hacemos para ascender en cada grado."[373] Another wrote, "It means the journey of a man's life portrayed symbolically by going through the Masonic Blue Lodge degrees." As Margaret Jacob (2006b) noted in her exposé on *The Origins of Freemasonry*[374], "The life of any freemason was (and is) governed by the degrees held in the lodge, indicating his or her progress through rituals designed to mark each stage in a passage toward wisdom and knowledge" (Jacob 2006b, 99). I am not sure, based on my own readings, observations, and discussions, that the participants of my study would completely agree with the statement that their Masonic "life" is "governed by the degrees", they may agree, however, from my understanding, with the notion that the degrees are an integral part of the Masonic identity and come to mark, in a broad sense, their "passage toward wisdom and knowledge." Incidentally, as will be discussed in further detail in subsequent sections of this chapter, the journey toward knowledge,[375] or other aims, without mention of the degrees, was a more common answer to the survey question, then mentioning the journey as a movement through the degrees.

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[372] This particular answer was written in all capital letters. I have changed it to provide ease of reading, and have taken the liberty of capitalizing the words "Master" and "Lodge."
[373] Approximate translation: "It is the symbolic journey that we partake in in order to ascend through the degrees."
[374] See References for complete title citation.
[375] Described in various ways, as will be discussed in further detail in subsequent sections.

Another practical application of the concept of *travel* comes by way of the actual movement between two locational points. For example, as noted previously in Chapter 5, one participant's early recollections of the Fraternity came from his childhood when his family would travel and stay with fellow Masons along the route, which would then be returned as travelling Masons were welcomed in their home. Links between emigration/immigration and membership in Freemasonry was also previously discussed in Chapter 5, within the discussion on Fraternal insurance and mutual aid (Burt 2003, Harland-Jacob 2007).

As another example, on May 6th, 2014, I attended the dinner prior to the regularly stated meeting of Reno Lodge #13. As people filtered in to the large dining area, many stood around engaged in casual conversation, sipping one of the assortment of drinks provided at the bar, the conversations would continue through dinner as people sat around large round tables enjoying the thoughtfully prepared meal and would continue as people finished, many standing again around the bar until they were called into Lodge. During one of these periods a young Mason, Daniel Forlanini offered to show me the Grand Lodge library. While we were in the library, an officer of the Lodge mentioned to me that I should talk with Daniel about my project, for Daniel had recently undertaken a Masonic pilgrimage to the East Coast. Daniel's pilgrimage was mentioned to me again by other Masons. This, in part, inspired my own trip across the United States visiting Masonic sites of significance during the late summer-early fall of 2014, in some ways recreating Daniel's pilgrimage. This research trip heavily influenced the course and conclusions of this project in a number of significant ways, as I discussed in Chapter 2 (section 3, sub-section a). My trip comprised a number of Masonic sites, as I mentioned, which included

small rural Masonic temples, grand Masonic libraries and museums, Masonic national monuments, Appendant body headquarters, and some of the first Lodges chartered in the United States: I was able to gather images, observations, and interviews at these sites which supplemented my research in Reno, Bucaramanga, online, and in literature. I have detailed this journey, to some extent, in pictorial form, which can be found in both Chapter 2 and Appendix 1. Nick Couldry (2007) investigated the "structural concept" (66) of pilgrimage in contemporary society (63) through a consideration of media-pilgrimages. He included a number of working definitions of the term 'pilgrimage' from the anthropological tradition which are also useful in this instance to describe the significance of such travel. For example, Couldry (2007) supplied the notion that Durkheim, Victor and Edith Turner, Giddens, and Reader (cited in Couldry 2007) can all inform the discourse of pilgrimage in a meaningful way. For example, the Turners noted that pilgrimage was "'some form of deliberate travel to a far place intimately associated with the deepest, most cherished axiomatic values of the traveler' (Turner and Turner 1978, 241: qtd. in Couldry 2007, 63))" (Couldry 2007, 63). Couldry (2007) included Giddens' notions of "'disembedded'" and "'reembedded'" (Giddens 1990; cited in Couldry 2007, 63) to describe the contemporary (Couldry 2007, 63) significance of place (63) as "gathering-points" (63). Couldry (2007) also used Reader (1993, cited in Couldry 2007)[376] to bolster his point that concepts of 'pilgrimage' can demonstrate "the general usefulness of isolating the distinctively modern form of chosen journeys to distant places

[376] Although Couldry (2007) does not directly quote Reader here, he includes the citation "(cf. Reader 1993:233-235)" (Couldry 2007:63) after his statement on the "general usefulness" (63) of working with 'pilgrimage' concepts, despite some academic criticism (63). He includes the reference for cf.Reader as: "Reader, I. 1993. Conclusions. In: I. Reader and T. Walter (Eds.), Pilgrimage in Popular Culture. Basingstoke: Macmillan. Pp. 220-246." (Couldry 2007:73).

of shared significance" (Couldry 2007, 63). Couldry (2007) is careful to distinguish different types of pilgrimage, such as religious versus touristic (66) or online versus offline (71), in acknowledging "the intensity of the emotions undergone within, and/or the subsequent narrative resonance of, a journey" (Couldry 2007, 66), which may include the recognition (71) of "others who have done it before" (71). Pilgrimages, Couldry (2007) concluded, continue to have anthropological (71) significance. I use the term pilgrimage here to describe Daniel Forlanini's travels for a number of reasons. One the one hand, the term 'pilgrimage' is the term that was used by Masons who discussed Daniel's trip with me and I am thus reporting our conversation/s in their original context, which I found to be anthropologically significant. On the other hand, after browsing Couldry's (2007) piece, I evaluate Daniel's trip as one that fits the various considerations of 'pilgrimage' presented in the exposé. For example, the point that Daniel Forlanini certainly deliberately traveled to place/s far from home that held value based on his Masonic experience (Couldry (2007) discussing the Turners (1978, cited in Couldry 2007)), that Daniel "encounter(ed) specific places" (Couldry 2007, 63, citing "Turnerian insights" (63)) which "'reembedded'" (Couldry 2007, 63, citing Gidden 1990s) his connection[377] to other Masons,and the places Daniel chose certainly held "shared significance" (Couldry 2007, 63; on Reader 1993). Finally, by recreating[378] Daniel's

[377] Couldry 2007 writes "In fact, the Turnerian insight fits well with the broader sociology of modernity. We can argue that 'pilgrimages' work as potential gathering-points where the highly abstract nature of contemporary social connection can be redeemed through an encounter with specific places where the 'disembedded' nature of late modern communities is 'reembedded' (Giddens 1990)." (Couldry 2007, 63)

[378] I recreated Daniel Forlanini's pilgrimage in the general sense, travelling across the United States visiting Masonic sites of significance, ending at the East Coast. I did not visit every place he visited, but I did visit some of the places he visited and some of those that were most recommended by him and other Masons.

Forlanini's pilgrimage I established the trip as a form "recognizable as a journey across space that I can do, and in doing so follow the path of others who have done it before me" (Couldry 2007, 71[379]).

It is also a seemingly common practice for Masons to travel between jurisdictions, or within their own jurisdiction, and visit other Lodges. For example, the 1930 Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Nevada contained a segment whereby "Official Visitations" (13) were described, including visits of Grand Lodge officers to Lodges within their jurisdiction, which is, ostensibly, part of their duty as Grand Lodge officers. However, Masons who are not officers of their Lodge or Grand Lodge also often visit other Lodges within or outside their own jurisdiction. According to Masonic author Kent Henderson (1985)[380] there are ten steps to gaining entry into a Lodge by a travelling Mason, along with some other procedures, habits, and considerations (Henderson 1985). For example, a Mason seeking entry into a Lodge meeting other than his own should first alert the secretary of his own Lodge, Henderson noted, who may research specific procedures. Also, documents are produced for the travelling Mason such as a diploma, dues card, letter of introduction, or Masonic passport (Henderson 1985). The Lodge which the traveler wishes to attend will, likewise, check to see if the Lodge he comes

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[379] Here Couldry 2007 is discussing on "online" (71) sites and also commenting on/referening the work of William Gibson (1993, 2003: cited in Couldry 2007) and others (see Couldry 2007, 71).
[380] I have included the official citation for Henderson's (1985) published book in the References (see also Reference Notes); However, I first accessed his discussion on Masonic Travel from the Masonic website *Pietre-Stones Review of Freemasonry* © 1996-2015, where the segment on Masonic Travel, attributed to pages 6-14 of Henderson's book, was displayed. I accessed the site at various times during 11/2015 through the following URL: http://www.freemasons-freemasonry.com/trvguide.html. I have not done this for other works I have referenced which, themselves, reference the work of another author, though I have attempted to include their in-cite rferences in those instances. Since the above excerpt appeared in previous versions of this dissertation as is, I included here with the Henderson (1985) reference. I assume the author (Kent Henderson) and the reference to the original work (Kent Henderson) are the same person.

from is legitimate, and recognized, by their own jurisdiction, and will also check, through various means, whether the man himself is legitimately a Freemason. During the summer of 2014, as previously mentioned, Augustin Rivera visited Lodges in Nevada as part of his visit to the United States. He brought with him a letter of introduction, like the one mentioned by Henderson. The letter, written and signed by 'a Grand officer' of the Colombian jurisdiction where Augustin was a Lodge member and Grand Lodge Officer, introduces him, mentions he will be travelling in the area, requesting courtesy be extended to him. I have come to understand through the course of this project that traveling to other Lodges serves an important function in Masonic culture (see Cliff Porter 2011, along with interviews with Herman Clayworth and others). One respondent to the survey answered the question of what the concept of journey meant to him that it meant "Traveling through life's journey, traveling to other Masonic Lodges and Concordant bodies."

Mackey (1845/2004) also discussed travelling in terms of both its historical significance to Freemasonry and in terms of non-locational Lodge Charters. He, for example, noted that travelling was a significant part of Masonic history, particularly "when the whole of Europe was perambulated by our brethren in associations of travelling artisans, under the name 'Free and Accepted Masons', for the purpose of erecting religious edifices" (Mackey 1845/2004, 490). He also noted that speculative Lodges, particularly Lodges associated with the military (497), could be issued what is called a "Travelling Warrant" (497) that allows them to conduct Masonic business, presumably including holding regular meetings, conferring degrees, etc., in any place that they are able to discreetly congregate.

To describe someone as a 'Traveling man' is a meaningful mark of Masonic identity for a number of reasons illustrated in this chapter, which is in many ways symbolized through the lessons learned during the abstract movement between Masonic degrees and is *not* related to the concrete movement between two locational points. I included a brief description of the more material forms of Masonic travel, such as migration, aid, pilgrimage, visitation, and warrants, to highlight some of the common practices inherent to Masonic culture.[381] Furthermore, during an interview on June 3rd, 2014, in Reno, NV, Leonid Averin remarked that "as a Mason, traveling (is) a part of it…(the) physical journey (is a) representation of Masonry."

This chapter, which opens with a depiction of "…a Traveling man…", offers a conversation around the journey concept, the experiential search, and Masonry as being simultaneously an individual/personal journey and a collective/shared experience. As has been mentioned previously in this dissertation, Freemasonry can be considered as an activity which contains, as a pivotal objective[382], a "quest for the ideal" (Macbride 1971:, 21) within the framework of fellowship, metaphor, and the individual interpretation of collective symbols.

The Journey Concept

As mentioned previously, the final question in the survey that was distributed as part of this project asked participants to describe what *Journey*, within the context of

[381] I had included in a previous version: "which has a rich 'history of travel' (citation lost)
[382] Macbride (1924/1971) discusses the "Mission of Specultavie Masonry" (19).

Freemasonry, meant to them personally in an open-ended question. One participant noted that for him the *journey* was "the ongoing process of understanding myself and my place in the social world and in my relationship with the transcendent, and the part that Masonic principles play in framing that process." Another participant noted that "My personal Masonic Journey has thus far been amass Masonic related history, philosophy and conjecture in a communicable format for those who follow behind me." Indeed, many responses included a reply related to the acquisition/production/distribution of knowledge or wisdom, for example, another respondent noted that the journey is "A pathway to higher knowledge and becoming a better person." Another answered that "The study of Freemasonry is a philosophical journey toward enlightenment relating to various physical, metaphysical, anthropological and moralistic aspects of mankind and passing such enlightenment to those who follow." Many other responses included a reply related to the life journey between birth and death, which was also mentioned to me by Masons, as part of this research or outside it, explaining the layout of a Masonic Lodge being a representation of life's journey; for example one respondent noted that the journey is "A life journey in all its aspects--ups & downs, tragedies, and joys, etc., etc.." Another respondent noted "The 'journey' is the reason for life. We have no control over our birth or death. The 'trip' and how we live is the important part. Make the journey valuable for yourself and all those whom you come in contact with."; or "journey of ones maturity from child to man" another responded. Another respondent answered that the journey is simply "Una etapa de la vida".[383] The esoteric, nature of life/God, and

[383] Approximate translation: "A phase/stage of life."

metaphysical considerations also comprised a set of responses, for example, one respondent noted that "The object of freemasonry is to enhance one's rational & spiritual experience of the Divine and Creation/Universe through the development and reconciliation of Faith & Reason." Another respondent noted "Personal faith and inner awareness of God and his greatness shown thru humanity;" or "The[384] journey to the celestial Lodge above.", another responded.[385] Finally, the idea that the journey represented the work towards morality and/or self-improvement was a common theme. For example, one respondent noted the journey is "la oportunidad de que el ser humano tome conciencia de su imperfección, se eleve sobre ellos, rompa las cadenas que lo atan a las pasiones y los vicios y se proyecte a hacerle el bien a sus semejantes."[386] Another respondent noted that the journey is "Constant serendipity to Masonic morality."; or "To travel towards becoming A better person than I Am today" another responded. Another respondent mentioned that " Un viaje es un cambio, el viaje te lleva de la imperfección a la búsqueda de la perfección."[387] In a correspondence sent to me on February 12, 2015, Sam Scrivener, who comes from an active Masonic family, wrote that:

> "…The highlight of becoming a Mason was the night I was raised to the Master Mason degree. Not because of the degree itself, as the lessons therein have taken many years for me to fully comprehend. But rather, because the degree team

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[384] I have attempted to leave survey responses verbatim, including any spelling/punctuation/grammar uses. In those surveys that were hand-written (which I entered into the survey software manullay) I also attempted to maintain the orginal content as was written, for example, this statement had the "e" in "the" capitalized in my notes, I have changed it for ease of reading, I apologise for any oversight this may have caused. Responses entered online I have attempted to leave as is.

[385] See Table 19 for a complete list of responses

[386] Approximate translation: "the opportunity for the human being to become aware of his imperfections, to rise above them, break the chains that bind him to his passionss and vices, and the expectation of being a good person to others/peers."

[387] Approximate translation: "A journey is change, the journey takes you from the imperfect to the pursuit of perfection.

> traveled 140 miles from my father's home lodge to confer the degree. These men included three uncles, a cousin, and family friends going back over 50 years. Many of them have since passed away. While they attended my raising primarily to honor my father and grandfather, they also knew that I would remember the honor, and perhaps someday, I too would become a Mason, not merely on paper, but in my thoughts and actions as well. I hope I have not disappointed them…
>
> This journey was fraught with family and economic problems, and it was there I really discovered Masonry. Always, when the trials and tribulations of life became great, I reached out for support to the moral lessons and values of Masonry, and persevered, at least in part, because I was a Mason, and had obligated myself to ever 'walk and act as such.' If I had failed, or should I fail in the future, I would not only fail myself, but also my family, and the greater Masonic Fraternity.
>
> The *Journey* my life has taken has been one of gradually gaining in wisdom, knowledge, and morality. Masonry and the values it teaches, and our reciprocal obligations and responsibilities as brothers, provided the light. All I had to do was follow the path toward the light…
>
> …The knowledge of 'things' is certainly a part of wisdom, and I have spent all of my life stuffing my head with interesting facts and figures. I am no wiser for it. Rather, it is my life's experiences, and especially the mistakes I have made, that have given me whatever measure of wisdom I might possess. Wisdom can only be gained by experience, and more important, deep reflections on that experience. Masonry provides a moral context for our experiences, and very often, a moral anchor for our thoughts and actions.
>
> Fortunately, we do not have to experience all of life's pleasures, pains, and trauma to gain some degree of wisdom, but can instead learn from others. But only if we embrace the age-old moral and social virtues which all good men (and women) have embraced through the ages. Without these virtues (e.g., loyalty, honesty, morality, etc.), there can be no wisdom. Masonry does not have exclusive rights to these virtues and the search for wisdom, but for ca. 700 years it has provided a path, or in Masonic terms, it has provided the light, by which its members can gain at least some wisdom. And therefore, be happier, more content, and lead a richer life, than we might otherwise. Our Masonic rituals, aided by symbolism and allegory, are designed to teach the lessons of life (therefore the wisdom) learned through the ages."
>
> (Scrivener (pseudonym) 02/2015, assorted segments of verbatim text drawn from correspondence)

Roberts (1974) remarked to the Fellowcraft Mason, that after passing between the pillars (46/47) "you are ready to begin your journey up the Winding Stairs to the Middle Chamber" (A. Roberts 1974, 47). The Winding Stairs, still used during degree ceremonies in many Lodges (see Figure 29), contain three sets of interrelated stairs.

(**Figure 29:** Winding Stairs; Lodge room within the Temple of the Grand Lodge of Utah, Salt Lake City, UT. Wilhelm 08/2014)

The first, at the starting point, and for the Entered Apprentice, is a set of three. Each of the three symbolizes one "of the three Stationed Officers of the lodge…"[388] (A. Roberts 1974:51). The number three also represents Deity (51). Both of these serve to remind the Mason that he is "not travelling alone" (A. Roberts 1974:51). The next set up the Winding Stairs, and for the Fellowcraft, is a set of five. Each of the commonly-understood five human senses, and accompanied by an architectural form, is present; five also represents geometry (A. Roberts 1974, 51),: i.e., the first step is "hearing" and includes the "Tuscan" column (A. Roberts 1974, 51), followed by seeing/Doric, feeling/Ionic, smelling/Corinthian, and lastly Tasting/Composite (51). This set represents the idea that, like the different, yet effective, ways to erect a column, there are different ways a man may "build his Spiritual Temple" (A. Roberts 1974, 52). Likewise, the five human senses remind the Mason that "without the five senses, a man couldn't live as a

[388] Specifically the Junior Warden at the bottom, followed by the Senior Warden, and then the Worshipful Master (Roberts 1974:51).

man. He couldn't plan. He couldn't learn" (A. Roberts 1974, 52/53). The final set of steps up the Winding Stairs is a set of seven, and contains a step for each of "the seven Liberal Arts and Sciences (which) are Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, Arithmetic, Geometry, Music, and Astronomy" (A. Roberts 1974, 53). The Winding Stairs are one of many ways the Masonic journey concept is represented in symbol, becomes part of ritual, and serves as an ever-present "reminder." Indeed, Roberts (1974) described the Winding Stairs thus:

> "…A straight stairway can be climbed with an easy mind. You can see what's ahead. Not so with a winding stairway. You can't tell what's just around the bend. The Winding Stairs you travel to the Middle Chamber are symbolic of life. We don't know what lies ahead. Each individual must climb his own stairway to his destiny. Seldom will the way be straight." (54)

ESTABLISHING A WAY-OF-LIFE LITERATURE

Part of the framework of the Masonic identity involves a shared understanding of the common symbols, lexicon, discoveries, experiences, influential persons, and discourse of the Craft. Freemasonry, as this project has demonstrated, is at the very least a "*way-of-life"*.[389] Many variables contribute to this frame of being, one of which is a common literature, which, as with other particular discourses, can follow discernable trajectories of thought, prominent figures, thematic inquiries, and paradigm shifts. As mentioned previously in this dissertation, it was part of my original hypothesis to substantiate that the exchange of literature, and/or a common set of textual production and reference, affects the development of collective culture, and the manifestation of comparable local activities, between Masons in different geographic locations. As I also

[389] Also called such by participants/Masonic authors

mentioned previously, however, I did not end up following this particular path to its fullest, as conversations with participants led me in a different direction. However, it is worth briefly mentioning here how a way-of-life literature contributes, in some ways, to the Masonic identity and journey/s of discovery. The term ‘way-of-life’ to describe a meaningfully comprehensive set of shared, and observable, practices and beliefs in not a new construct. Indeed, a simple search of the term ‘way-of-life’ in conjunction with ‘anthropology’ yields more results than are practical to cite. Furthermore, the notion of ‘way-of-life’ has been extended to studies of literature in terms of the productions supplied by and for proponents of a particular ethos. Taylor (1999), for example, wrote an article titled *Browsing the Culture: Membership and Intertextuality at a Mormon Bookstore.* He argued that texts (61), as in his case displayed in a Mormon bookstore (Taylor 1999), could in and of itself be a valuable ethnographic site (63/61/63/multiple). Indeed, he noted the company (63) was:

> “a site where local knowledge of Mormon culture, history and doctrine materialized in communication surrounding the production (publishing, ordering, marketing and sale) and consumption (purchase and interpretation) of organizational commodities. This communication occurred among and between members of company management, store employees, and customers, and indicated the salience for these actors of the relationship between organizational- and host-cultures. This salience stemmed from the prominence of Deseret Book as an institution in Salt Lake City's dominant LDS community. The company's stated mission was to serve all "Saints" through the production and distribution of textual materials supporting the Mormon lifestyle. The store's mission in turn was to serve both local and visiting Mormons in the spiritual "homeland" of that religion. In this way, the store facilitated the practical reproduction of Mormon culture.” (63)

Furthermore, Prasad (2007) wrote a book titled *Poetics of Conduct: Oral Narrative and Moral Being in a South Indian Town.* She studied the juxtaposition between morality (Prasad 2007), as prescribed by religious institutions (12) and as practiced by local

residents, (various pages), oral narrative (Prasad 2007), and written narrative in the display of *culture.*

Masonic textual production is so extensive, in theme/s, format, and sheer quantity, that I had periods of angst associated with decisions on which pieces of writing to use, and which not to; which portions of Masonic literature to skim for common themes, and which to read in full; where to look, who to ask, and which versions of publications to consult. Establishing a Masonic way-of-life-literature is unavoidably a large-scale project in and of itself. I found that my use of Masonic literature in this project became an issue of both logistics and anthropological method. I attempted to narrow the field to those most prevalent, or commonly known/used/quoted, works of literature by asking participants (both formally through the survey and informally during interviews) which pieces they would recommend. I also conducted informal assessments of the texts present in the Masonic libraries I visited and in the homes and offices of Masons I visited, and noted recognizable, and/or common, works, topics, publications, etc. Since Masonic literature is written *by*, and also typically *for*, Masons, I often regarded Masonic literature as an interaction with a set of participants who were relating insider/native knowledge and experience across space and time. Ultimately, when using Masonic literature in this project, I attempted to determine if the segment of a particular piece of writing I came across, quite often "as a matter of luck" (Van Maanen 2011, 78), would contribute something meaningful to my discussion/s, to the core inquiries of the project, or to the understanding of the culture of Freemasonry itself.

In his 2011 work on Traditional Observation, Cliff Porter (2011) mentioned his time researching (20) Freemasonry prior to his initiation. He mentioned some of the

forefathers of Masonic discourse, such as “Wilmshurst, Pike, Robinson, Hall, Preston, Oliver, and others” (21). He read these works and also investigated the “mysteries of the Craft” (21). As I mentioned previously, I have obtained bibliographies, list of articles, and library catalogues from participants of this project. I have likewise read my own list of Masonic authors who cite other Masonic authors in their own exposés. Participants of this project have likewise loaned me, or mentioned, certain pivotal works of Masonic literature. The names that Cliff Porter mentioned certainly recur in the lists, references, and discussions. In his introduction to Macbride’s (1971) *Speculative Masonry*, Joseph Fort Newton, Litt.D., (1971) honored Macbride’s contribution to Masonic discourse, while noting the trajectory that lead to it. Indeed, Newton (1971) wrote:

> “Masonry had many great teachers in the last generation, men of the first order of intellect who devoted their fine powers to a critical study of the history of the Craft, and the exposition of its simple, wise and beautiful truth. Gould, Pike, Mackey, Hughan, Crawley, Speth, Fort, Parvin, it is an honour to recall the names of such men, into whose labours we have entered, and whose legacy is a rich inheritance. Noble men, great Masons, tireless scholars – our debt to them is beyond calculation. But reverence for the men of other days should not make us forget our leaders to-day, who are doing so much to interpret Masonry and make it effective for its high and noble purposes.” (iii)

One question of the survey that was distributed as part of this project, as mentioned in previous sections, asked participants to recommend books to a newly raised, or entered Apprentice, Mason. With this question I was hoping to generate, or add to, a common set of works currently utilized by Masons in different locations. There are also those informal contributions to Masonic discourse through published works that become part of the “collective consciousness” and contribute to a way-of-life literature. Rudyard Kipling, for example, a notable literary figure outside of Masonry, may also an

influential figure within it. Being a Mason himself[390], many of his poems outline common Masonic experiences. There are framed copies of some of Kipling's works on display in the libraries of various Grand Lodges, and pointed out to me by Mason/s during tour/s of such libraries. Kipling is a prominent/influential person who represents a Masonic historical tie, and these particular pieces speak to the Masonic feeling of Brotherhood/tolerance/etc.

As I mentioned in Chapter 1, the circulation of intra-group literature may be one part of what makes up the activity of Freemasonry and serves to highlight the practice of introspection and the pursuit of knowledge. Masonic discourse contributes not only to the establishment of a way-of-life literature, but also to the global, common, bond of Masonry through recognizable, and shared, references to lexicon, persons, and concepts which may be incorporated, if only by analogy, into the individual's contemplative journey.

The point of common reference, recognizable themes, or specific pieces of Masonic literature as representing central nodes in a Masonic network may be readily observable through a variety of methods. What becomes more complex is the determination of *why* these particular works are pivotal in the foundations of Masonic published thought. While, certainly, there is a continuum of effect, as Masonic writers both influence and are influenced by the culture of Freemasonry, there is also a need to separate the *production* from the *distribution* of Masonic knowledge. It may be as simple as what Herman Clayworth suggested during a September 10th, 2014, interview in

[390] As noted by participants

Springfield Ohio: He proposed that certain works of Masonic literature are "standards because Masonic publishers peddled them…people have them, but don't read them." He also mentioned that from his own perspective "(I) do it all (here), (I) don't really want to read it at home." This mirrors, to some extent, the comment made, during the Scottish Rite Masonic family picnic in Reno, NV, when I mentioned Masonic publications/reading Masonic literature to Marcus Flores and he responded that he didn't read/write about it, rather, "I *do* Masonry."[391]

Wilson (1980), whom I have discussed in previous sections of this dissertation, used the 1978 of work of Pamela Jolicoeur and Louis Knowles (cited in Wilson 1980), who ran a content analysis (Jolicoeur and Knowles 1978, 3) of Masonic Literature from one of the many Masonic Journals in publication.[392] Wilson (1980), who conducted a survey-based project, used their work to bolster his own discussion on the concept of Freemasonry as being a "civil religion" (Wilson 1980) which has been promoted by multiple authors.[393] Indeed, Wilson (1980) noted that "Jolicoeur and Knowles report that Masonic literature reflects a heavy emphasis on building character as a means of building societies, on the moral education of individuals as opposed to the social reconstruction of communities. These survey data lend credibility to their findings" (Wilson 1980:134).

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[391] As mentioned previously, I used this quote in the variation "Freemasonry is Something you *Do"* in the following publication: Wilhelm, LM. 2014. Research Report: "Freemasonry is Something you Do". *SWAA Newsletter, Vol 55, Iss 3, Pp 14-17.*

[392] Specifically, *The New Age Magazine* (Jolicoeur and Knolwes 1978:3), which I have also come across during the course of my own project.

[393] Wilson (1980) makes extensive use of the work of Robert Bellah* to draw connections between Freemasonry and Civil Religion. [* 1970: Beyond Belief: Essays on Religion in a Post-Traditional World. *Harper and Row.* (Wilson 1980:135)]. Jolicoeur and Knowles (1978), likewise, mention Robert Bellah's work, and also credit "the works of Will Herberg, Sidney Mead and others" (Jolicoeur and Knowles 1978:4) with "the notion of civil religion" (Jolicoeur and Knowles 1978:4).

Wilson (1980) also added that both the works of Jolicoeur and Knowles (1978, cited in Wilson 1980) and Bellah (1970, cited in Wilson 1980) found Freemasonry to contain a "Deistic theme" (Wilson 1980, 132) which was reinforced by the content analysis of Jolicouer and Knowles who found that "46 percent of the articles reviewed mention 'God'[394] or 'the Supreme Being'(Jolicoeur and Knowles 1978, 12: qtd. in Wilson 1980, 132)[395]" (Wilson 1980,132).

The journal that Jolicoeur and Knowles (1978) reviewed, *The New Age Magazine*, which was later called *The Scottish Rite Journal of Freemasonry, Southern Jurisdiction, USA*, was first published in 1904,[396] based off of an earlier, 1870 bulletin,[397] and was "The Supreme Council's official publication".[398] As Jolicoeur and Knowles (1978) noted, "This inquiry into the religious character of fraternal associations is focused specifically on the Freemasons" (Jolicoeur and Knowles 1978, 6) to which they added "the Scottish Rite, Southern Jurisdiction, (is) one of the higher orders of Masonic degrees" (Jolicoeur and Knowles 1978, 7).[399] The basis of their study was intriguing, and to an extent unique, i.e.: running a content analysis of Masonic publications. There are numerous Masonic publications, of many varieties, including, but not limited, to journals. They focused on

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394 Wilson (1980) cites the following references for these quotes: "(Jolicoeur and Knowles, 1978:12)" (Wilson 1980:132).
395 See reference above
396 Information on the history, new title, and thematic issues of the journal were gathered from the older website of the journal (© 1996-2004 The Supreme Council, S.J., U.S.A. All Rights Reserved) written by the managing editor at the time, John W. Boettjer, Ph.D., accessed by me on 10/24/2015 from: http://204.3.136.66/web/journal-files/Issues/jan-feb04/boettjer.htm.
397 See reference above
398 See URL reference above: paragraph 7, sentence 1 (Boettjer © 1996-2004).
399 My own research indicates that membership in the Scottish Rite is fairly popular among Freemasons. Indeed, approximately 75% of both U.S. and Colombian respondents to the survey (100% other locations) indicated membership in the Scottish Rite.

one journal,[400] and of that journal, "eleven volumes" (Jolicoeur and Knowles 1978, 7) over a ten year period, and of those volumes they chose certain types of articles which constituted "approximately 75 percent of each issue" (Jolicoeur and Knowles 1978, 9), and then discussed the thematic similarities within this sample; applying them to an overarching religious theme in Masonry generally. Furthermore, they acknowledged that the three degrees earned in a regular Lodge constitute the basis (7) of Masonic degrees, they likewise argued that the Scottish Rite is a kind of higher (7) order Freemasonry, and promoted the image of its representation of Freemasonry generally. They did discuss Freemasonry as a point of comparison to current[401] notions of civil religion through such statements as "Although the term 'civil religion' does not appear in the Masonic vocabulary, we have attempted to demonstrate that Masons are devoted to a transcendent, universalistic set of values which they explicitly identify with God but not with sectarian religion" (Jolicoeur and Knowles 1978, 17/18). Their work implies some intent on the part of Freemasons to orchestrate the kind of civil religion, evidenced through statements such as "Freemasonry, the oldest, largest, and most prestigious of American fraternal associations, has as one of its major purposes the maintenance and propagation of civil religion" (Jolicoeur and Knowles 1978, 3). Additionally, statements were made by Jolicoeur and Knowles (1978) in their article such as "Freemasonry views itself as…" (16); "the Masonic God…" (14); "the Masons overlook the…" (15) that highlight the generalization of Freemasons by Jolicoeur's and Knowles' (1978) work. I have, in my

[400] In response to the survey that was distributed as part of my own project, where participants were asked about journals they subscribe to or regularly read (discussed in more detail elsewhere), the Scottish Rite Journal was one of the common responses.
[401] The article was published in 1978, by "current" I mean of that time period.

own project, come across a certain degree of aversion to conglomeration of thought through examples of having read in Masonic publications directly, and heard from participants, declarations such as that their statements are 'their opinions alone', that "no one speaks for Freemasonry", that "there is no Masonic authority", etc. Jolicoeur and Knowles (1978) work contributes to an understanding of the extensiveness of Masonic Literature, the wide potential for scholarship centered on Masonic literary productions, and the propensity for research and publication within the fraternity. Jolicoeur and Knowles' (1978) content analysis derived work demonstrates the potential for a way-of-life literature that could certainly be enhanced through additional qualitative research.

Experiencing the Search

It has been mentioned to me by Freemasons during the course of this project, that Freemasonry is an experience, one 'which can not be understood unless you "actually go through" it.'[402] While Freemasonry is an especially complex arrangement of activities and practices, understandings, both shared and personal encounters, and worldviews; one of the many ways a man 'experiences Freemasonry', I discovered, is through a cognitive construction of 'searching', which manifests in a variety of ways in his 'lived reality'. Each Mason, I have found through this project, is on his own journey, as it were: There are, however, certainly elements of travel which are shared through ritual, symbol, and discussion, and some common practices, in terms of typologies of quest objectives. One

[402] Based on comments made during an interview with Herman Clayworth, noting it was an "experiential thing": similar sentiments have been made by other participants (and authors).

of these commonalities is the pursuit of knowledge, as mentioned previously in this dissertation. Mahmud (2014) suggested that part of the underlying purpose, intentional or not, of the 'search', as related specifically to the practice of speculation was the production of a kind of *social capital*[403] which resulted in a categorization of members based on their accumulation (125) of such capital. Indeed, she noted that "symbolic capital is what Masonic speculative labor produces and accumulates through sometimes unconscious and sometimes self-conscious practices. Given that speculative labor, like any other form of labor, is characterized by pervasive hierarchies of difference, and given that capital results from and reproduces structural inequalities, I am interested in analyzing the social differences that are reproduced alongside symbolic capital within Masonic lodges" (Mahmud 2014, 125). Granted, as has been mentioned previously in this dissertation, the idea that there may exist "structural inequalities" or "social differences" amongst members of a Lodge, particularly as may be created by the very activities of the Lodge itself, most definitely goes against a fundamental Masonic tenet. However, as has been demonstrated in my illustration of a continuum of activity[404], and has been discussed in works such as Cliff Porter's (2011) which highlight a perceived need by some to restore Masonry[405], there are differences in how the Craft of Freemasonry is practiced, which can in turn engender discussions of best practices (see also C. Porter 2011), ideal experiences, and/or what it means, or should mean, to be a Mason.

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[403] I use the anthropological concept of 'social capital' here not attempting to cite the original coinage, Mahmud uses the term "social capital" (Mahmud 2014, 14) in numerous places in her work.

[404] In the different ways a member may be considered an 'active Mason'

[405] I am referring here to the practice of Traditional Observance and the Masonic Restoration movement more generally.

I have found in this project that for Masons generally, the experience of Freemasonry, which includes but is not limited to the concept of searching, travel, journey, and the pursuit and construction of a personalized ideal, is remarkably profound. As Cliff Porter (2011) noted, "I have been fortunate in my Masonic journey. I have had experiences that are truly ineffable and have proven the old adage that the secrets of Freemasonry are such because they cannot accurately be communicated with the limitations of human speech and language" (81). As MacNulty (2002) noted, the Masonic experience is "intensely personal" (143) but also includes a kind of collaboration as, he put it, "generally speaking, one does not undertake interior work alone" (143).

I am not attempting to unequivocally define or describe the Masonic experience, as I mention elsewhere, nor am I interested in holding a magnifying glass to a man's personal experience of Freemasonry. As an anthropologist I am interested in the culture that the activities of The Craft produce. I am attempting here, therefore, to demonstrate how the distinctly separate, yet effectively overlapping and combined, categories of *the journey* as both 'an individual' *and* 'a shared' experience contribute to the production of a philosophical system of individualism which is sustained through Masonic collaboration.

THE JOURNEY AS AN INDIVIDUAL EXPERIENCE

A single statement can form the basis of an entire project. As has been mentioned previously, I had a variety of broad inquiries at the inception of this research endeavor. However, the focus of the project, highlighting the personal nature of Freemasonry, was developed, in large part, upon the reflection of a comment made by my father-in-law,

Augustin Rivera, without which I doubt I would understand Freemasonry in the same way. He told me, approximately, "(Freemasonry) is not a collective, it's a personal experience that happens to be shared...". My project's course became, largely, an investigation into Freemasonry as an experience, as a personal experience, as an activity which manifests in palpable as well as cognitive ways, and ultimately as a way-of-life that is greatly informed by the individualized concept of *journey*. My project, as it had been, was not faulty in its inferences, yet it lacked a certain understanding and nuance that this new avenue of inquiry brought. I was interested to discover how Masons experience, practice, ritualize, and act out 'the journey', what each individual is searching for, and what the final destination of travel may be conceived as. Granted, as I have been told by participants, and have read in Masonic literature, Masonry, as an experience, is undefinable. Indeed, during an interview on September 16, 2014, at the George Washington Masonic National Memorial in Alexandria, VA, Peter Field noted that "(it) is important to remember…Freemasonry transcends definition and descriptions." Cliff Porter (2011) wrote of his own time researching Freemasonry before he joined and that now, in retrospect (21), he could say that "academic knowledge just isn't the same as experiential knowledge" (21). Herman Clayworth, during an interview on September 10, 2014, mentioned that "some academic stuff is useful because (we can) find stuff we have forgotten about" but preceded with the comment that those who "study us…don't get it, academics get it wrong." I am not hoping to unequivocally define the individual Masonic journey and experience, this would be impossible, not only because I am not, nor could

not be,[406] a Mason, but because one can never truly know the constitution of another person's mind,[407] nor how an experience that one has not been part of shapes the relationships between people who have. I only seek to describe, based on my own observations, discussions with Masons, readings, and interpretations, how the Masonic journey can be an individual one.

For Abe Marshall, whom has been mentioned numerous times in this dissertation, the Masonic journey could involve anything from a search for "wisdom", "knowledge", "logic", or "the name of God".[408] Like others, he remarked during an interview in his Reno home on May 5th, 2014, that "each man interprets", and that "no one speaks for Freemasonry." For Edwin Ealy, whom I interviewed on April 30th, 2014 in Reno, NV, he "see(s) (Freemasonry as) philosophical (he) like(s) what it is; service to others, not overt, treat others as you would be treated…" he particularly likes "the 2nd degree." Phil Archer noted during our first interview that he had spent a "year" "reading" 'without television' to try and answer questions he had always had, that were left unanswered after years of schooling. While this journey was partook outside of Masonry to some extent, he said at a second interview over a year later, it is indicative of the type of searching that is

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[406] I have read the works on co-gender Freemasonry, particularly as practiced by the participants of Lilith Mahmud's combined works. The comment I made above is based on the perspective of the participants of my research and the system of regularity as practiced by Masonic Lodges who generally adhere to the recommendations of the UGLE.

[407] As Geertz (2000) noted, "To discover who people think they are, what they think they are doing, and to what end they think they are doing it, it is necessary to gain a working familiarity with the frames of meaning within which they enact their lives. This does not involve feeling anyone else's feelings, or thinking anyone else's thoughts, simple impossibilities. Nor does it involve going native, an impractical idea, inevitably bogus. It involves learning how, as a being from elsewhere with a world of one's own, to live with them" (Geertz 2000:16).

[408] Incidentally, in a comment made to me while I was visiting him in his home, and returning some of the Masonic works he loaned me, he admitted he (may have) found the name of God, but sharing it would detract from its menaing, conjecturing that it is possible that God's name is unique to each person.

common among members of the Fraternity. During an interview on June 3rd, 2014, in Reno, NV, Leonid Averin noted that the "journey" is interpretative, one has to "figure out what it means to you." He also mentioned that while "religions (provide) a specific path, Masons (essentially say) 'here's a door…here you go'."

Leonid also mentioned that some Masons join Appendant bodies for "more light", "additional light". The December 2015 issue of *The Scottish Rite Journal* mentions a video being released by the Northern Jurisdiction (19) titled "*Seeking Further Light"* which "follows the Masonic and Scottish Rite paths taken by four Brothers, each from different parts of the Northern Masonic Jurisdiction. Ill" (JSRFSJ 2015, 19) (note, this publication is sent to members, I later received permission from a member to use his cop/ies). This indicates the recurrence of the theme of 'seeking further light' mentioned numerous times in this dissertation as well as supports the notion of the journey concept, and its individualized nature.

As mentioned previously, the three degrees of Masonry are meant, in part, to teach lessons through symbolism which can be extended to a man's every day life.[409] Each Masonic degree has a different allegorical emphasis, as discussed previously, which weaves together many of the Masonic messages. Indeed, Macbride (1971) noted:

> "The Quest of the Ideal we find in masonry at every turn. The travel from West to East, like the Earth to receive the life-giving Light of the Sun; the working of the rough Ashlar, into the form of the perfect Ashlar; the mystic Ladder, reaching up to the cloudy Canopy; the sacred Stair, leading to the mysteries of the middle Chamber; the lost key-stone, perfecting the secret Arch; the lost word, that will make a true Master; the destroyed Temple, that is to be restored; all symbolise the throbbing, yearning, seeking of the human heart for something better and happier than the actual world around us. But the grand ideal in masonry, to

[409] Others, both participants and Masonic authors, have used nearly this exact phrase (related to every day life), e.g. GLNV 1931, 75, Brown's Oration, etc.

> which all the rest are subsidiary and contributory, is that which represents the soul of man as a Holy Temple and dwelling place for The Most High." (25)[410]

Also, MacNulty (2002) wrote that the Lodge is a model for the human psyche (33) noting that "when a candidate knocks on the door of a Masonic Lodge he is standing, symbolically, at the threshold of his own consciousness" (MacNulty 2002, 33). It is a 'model for the psyche' he argued because it covers the concerns with structure (33), as represented by the Temple (33), with dynamics (33), as represented by the basic laws (46), and with development (33), as represented by the age requirement to join and the progression through the degrees (33).

For some, the individual journey of Masonry walks hand in hand with a conceptual religious journey. For example, Kaltenbach (2010) noted in his foreword that "It is my hope that our Creator will be able to use this book to help you have a closer walk with Him." (Kaltenbach 2010, foreword pg 2). He, likewise, mentioned in Chapter 1 (1) that "the stories of Freemasonry are drawn from the Holy Bible" (1) yet makes sure to include that "Freemasonry is ***not*** a religion!" (Kaltenbach 2010, 1).

The idea that Freemasonry provides a "moral anchor", as Sam Scrivener pointed out, may also serve to anchor Freemasonry as an individual journey.

The Proceedings from the Grand Lodge of Nevada 1930-1932 contained a re-print of a lecture given by Merwyn H. Brown, Grand Orator of Nevada, who delivered the lecture entitled *Freemasonry and the Individual* (GLNV 1931) to the Grand Lodge's morning session (75) held on June 12, 1931, which outlined a number of ideas about

[410] Some spacing changes made to preserve flow.

Freemasonry's purpose and place, and the notion of a need for 'hard "work'"' (77/78/various) among its members. Brown (1931) noted that "The teachings of Freemasonry are all directed to the personal practice of its arts by the individual" (GLNV Proceedings 1931, Brown's Oration, 81) yet, at the same time, he previously noted that "He must practice them through life in his dealings with his fellow men, if Masonry is to continue to be the great power for good and enlightenment as in the past" (75).

Freemasonry as a personal experience is certainly not limited to the phenomenon of journeying. However, the concepts of traveling, seeking, and quest are central to its practice and activity and contribute meaningfully to the identification of being at labor in the Craft of Freemasonry, as one who may identify as "building an edifice in consciousness in which he, himself, is an individual stone" in an eventual Temple in which "God will behold God in the Mirror of Existence" (MacNulty 2002, 148).[411]

THE JOURNEY AS A SHARED EXPERIENCE

A single statement can alter the course of a project. As I mentioned previously, I had a variety of broad inquiries at the inception of this research which were drastically transformed after the comment made by Augustin Rivera on the very individual and personal nature of Freemasonry. On September 10, 2014, I was sitting in the Grand

[411] Indeed, and is also relevant to the discussion on the Lexicon of Activity, as well as the personal, yet shared, quality of the Masonic experience, MacNulty (2002) writes: "These exercises of individual labour are all that can, or need, be given in such a book as this. If they are practised faithfully, they will produce tangible results of great benefit. But one who would walk in the Way of the Craftsman must do one thing more. He must remember, always, that he is building a temple to God. He is building an edifice in consciousness in which he, himself, is an individual stone. In time, each human being will square his stone and place it in that temple, and when that temple is complete, God will behold God in the Mirror of Existence and there will be then, as there was at the beginning, only God." (MacNulty 2002:148)

Lodge of Ohio offices with Herman Clayworth. I mentioned to him that my father-in-law had remarked that "it's not a collective, it's a personal experience that happens to be shared" and fully expecting a nod of approval, an inspired recognition of truth, or some other sign of unambiguous agreement. What I received instead was a moment of thoughtful silence, followed by the statement that, "no", he would add that it is "essential that (it) is" shared. What had been my informed understandings up until that point changed to some degree. This single statement, as with previous utterances mentioned in this project, brought with it a world of new inquires; most gratefully expanding my endeavor. My project, as it had been up until that point was not faulty in its inferences, and was certainly a great deal better informed and nuanced than it had been, yet it lacked a certain understanding and gradation that this new avenue of inquiry brought. I was compelled to discover how an experience can be both very personal and necessarily shared and how this phenomenon involves the complexities of a philosophical system of individualism which is sustained through the practice of collaboration.

As one respondent noted in his answer to the survey question relating his personal meaning of *journey,* noted that "There are (2) journey's. The first is the individual journey you take by yourself. The 2nd is the journey you take collectively with your Brothers." The shared nature of the Masonic journey can also be gleaned through other responses to the survey that was distributed as part of this project. For example, when asked "What do you feel the basic values/beliefs/tenets of Freemasonry are?"[412], one respondent answered, "Friendship, Morality, Brotherly Love, relief, truth", another

[412] (SP): "¿Cuáles usted siente que son los valores / creencias / principios básicos de la Masonería?

answered “Fellowship with right thinking men.” Indeed, to this question, “Brotherly Love”, “Brotherhood”, “Fraternity”, “Fraternidad” were very common inclusions in the answers. In the Merwyn H. Brown lecture on *Freemasonry and the Individual* (1931) mentioned above, the shared aspects of freemasonry were discussed alongside the experience of the individual. For example, he noted that the mission (75) of Freemasonry is, in large part, “is working for the friendship of the whole human family” (GLNV 1930–1932, 75). Masonic ceremonies can likewise be viewed as enactments of the juxtaposition between the personal and the shared.

Cliff Porter (2011) discussed the power of the initiation ceremony as being potently personal, yet acts as a way to bring the individual into the group in a meaningful way (see C. Porter, 2011, Chapter 6); and for those attending the ceremony it is a powerful reminder of their own Masonic journeys. Indeed, he noted that in degree lessons, the lecturer (should) “spea(k) to the newly admitted Brother as if he was talking about his Masonry…” (93). Indeed, to confer degrees is one of the functions of a Masonic Lodge, I have learned through this project. MacNulty (2002) noted that the Lodge is a working group (143). For him the Lodge can be seen as “a group of people working to apply the principles of the Craft to their own experience and to realise in their own consciousness the levels of awareness symbolized by the Degrees” (MacNulty 2002, 143).

For Danny Kaplan (2014) Freemasonry was an ideal place to study the recurring social phenomenon of conglomeration of the private and the public, of the personal and the collective. As he noted in his article on Masonic friendships/collective intimacy (Kaplan 2014b) “As lodge administrative and democratic procedures undergo ceremonial

dramatization, the juxtaposition of mundane sociability and sacred rituals serves to rescale the distance between the personal and the collective. I conclude by suggesting how these intersections of intimacy can model for collective attachments beyond Freemasonry" (Kaplan 2014b, 84). As I mentioned in Chapter 1,the core inquiries of my own project include an examination of a complex interrelated grouping of worldviews focused on the positive value and promotion of the individual person, with a focus on the benefit of distinct ways of thinking, feeling, and believing, with a requirement for the tolerance of diverse modes of cogitating the world, and including an expectation for specific interpretations of self-sufficiency and endorsement for the pursuit of personal reflexivity. This philosophical system of individualism that is inherent to Freemasonry, I likewise argued, is maintained in the mind, reflected in the actions, and both informs and is informed by, a particular and meaningful collective practice which affects the reception and creation of reality and lived realities. Freemasonry as an activity involves and includes a very internalized practice of self-reflection and pursuit, as reflected in some ways by the example of the journey concpet, and is simulateansuly experienced through prevailing positions of fellowship and attachment. Thus the concept of journey, as part of the greater experience of Freemasonry, in how it is both an individual and a shared experience, contributes to an investigation into how a philosophical system of individualism can be sustained through the specific form of collaboration found in the Masonic Fraternity.

In the following Chapter, I will re-visit the core inquiries of this project and will outline ways in which this work has responded to them. I will, likewise, discuss some of

the ways this project has contributed to the scholarship both through its specific case study and through its broader use of anthropological insight, theory, and methods: Some of the interludes in the research will be addressed through an examination of the possibilities for prospective research. I will conclude with an ‘exiting the field’ narrative where I hope to illustrate the culmination of my own journey through this process.

Chapter 7: COPESTONE. [CONCLUSIONS]

"The topmost stone in a building; the last laid, as the foundation stone is the first. 'To celebrate the copestone,' is to celebrate the completion of the edifice, a custom still observed by operative masons."[413]

Mackey (1845/2004, 88)

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Responding to the Inquiries

As I stated in the first chapter of this dissertation, the core inquiries of this project involve discovering how philosophical systems of individualism are sustained through masonic collaboration. As I likewise noted, I consider, for the objectives of this dissertation that a *system* is a conglomeration of intricate and interrelated parts that work in conjunction with each other, resulting in the formation of a unified model of *being* and *acting.*

Philosophy, I wrote in Chapter 1, I mean to be those complex formations of worldview which are influenced by culture, derived through cognition, and reflected in

[413] Mackey includes a footnote here, noting that "In masonic language this word is usually but incorrectly pronounced *capestone*. Its derivation is from the Saxon *cop*, the head." (Mackey 1845/2004, 88 – footnote 14).

speech, thought, relationships with others, and decision-making. Masonic philosophy, as I have highlighted through this dissertation, is certainly reflected in the lexicon of Masonry, the thoughts and discoveries of Masons as written and represent in textual formats, their particularized approach to both kinship and friendship which denotes a unique relationship between themselves and non-Masons, and the decisions that go into petitioning for membership, granting membership, operating a Lodge, and the topics of Masonic research.

A *philosophical system*, I noted in Chapter 1, is considered in this dissertation to be a complex interrelated grouping of worldviews which are maintained in the mind, reflected in the actions, and which both inform and are informed by, a particular and meaningful collective practice. The rituals of Masonry and the fellowship discovered through fraternity contribute to the collective practice of Masonry. Practices which include the Landmarks (Macbride 1971:, 200) of the operation and exhibition of Masonry, along with ritual forms and common symbols, and the shared understanding of interpreting those symbols as individuals and personalizing the ritual experience.

I also described in Chapter 1 that I consider that the term *individualism* means that emphasis on the positive value and promotion of the individual person, with a focus on the benefit of distinct ways of thinking, feeling, and believing, with a requirement of tolerance for diverse modes of cogitating the world, and including an expectation for specific interpretations of self-sufficiency and endorsement for the pursuit of personal reflexivity.

To the core inquiries of this project, therefore, a *philosophical system of individualism*, is, as I stated in Chapter 1, considered as a complex interrelated group of

worldviews which emphasize the positive distinctiveness of the individual mind and effort, affecting the reception and creation of reality and lived realities. This system is sustained, as exampled in the unique form of Masonic collaboration, through association, knowledge production, ritual, shared activity, and through a way of life which promotes the internalization of identities related to *activity,* or *being active,* and to the personalized concept of journeying. In this project I was also influenced by the work of Marilynn Brewer (1991) who developed 'optimal distinctiveness theory', examining the intricacies and balance of being different and the same (Brewer 1991) simultaneously (Brewer 1991). Indeed, perhaps the pursuit of individuality is best accomplished together. As Herdt (1990) also remarked "The greatest feat of a secret collective is its organizational control of intentionality: linking the inside and outside of the secret collective, and the internal and external of the self/person, into a compelling cultural reality" (Herdt 1990:369).[414] Although Masons themselves avoid the description of their fellowship as a

[414] This statement was made within the context of a larger notion, which I did not think was as applicable to the case of Freemasonry, as I have perceived it, as the first portion of Herdt's (1990) argument. For reference, the complete statement is as follows: "The greatest feat of a secret collective is its organizational control of intentionality: linking the inside and outside of the secret collective, and the internal and external of the self/person, into a compelling cultural reality. The accomplishment is part of its charm: 'Secrecy elevates the value of the thing concealed' (Luhrmann 1989:161).Secret collectives also subvert and use force. It would be a mistake, however, to agree with the miserly theory that the secrets of secrecy are mere hoax, artifice, or imposture. Individual actors may in fact perpetrate hoaxes or feel that they are frauds. In the throes of drastic social change, as instanced by Williams' Orokolo account, such a possibility exists in every performance that requires secrecy. But this is largely because the ontological system of the secret collective has already begun to erode or break down. Moreover, the differentiating process of all secrecy inclines actors to both contradictory tendencies. Victor Turner (1968:143), in writing of the Mukanda rite among Ndembu, speculated of their intentionality:(indented quote) (')If one could have access to the private opinions of the participants, it could probably be inferred that ideals and selfish motives confronted one another in each psyche before almost every act(')" (Herdt 1990:369). Herdt references Luhrmann 1989, Williams ("Orokolo"(369), Turner 1968: "LUHRMÁN.T.M. 1Q8Q. The Magic of Secrecy. *Ethos* 17:131-65.(:) WILLIAMS, F.E. (mentions Orokolo in reference to Williams through a 1976 citation multiple times (Herdt 1990)….1976. Bull Roarers in the Papuan Gulf. In E.G. Schwimmer (e d.), '*The Vailala Madness' and Other Essays*, pp.73-122. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.(:) Turner, V.W….1968. Mukanda: the Politics of a

true 'secret society', as discussed and cited previously in this dissertation, the links between sacred/profane, member/non-member, and the micro and the macro,[415] do link Masons to a perception of the 'outside' in a unique way. Additionally, the 'internal and external of the self' are interwoven in a complex formation of *a personal experience that happens to be shared*, which certainly contributes in a significant way to a unique, and decidedly Masonic, 'cultural reality.'

Contributions

Arguably, how any project contributes to any other, or more significantly perhaps, how it contributes broadly to the discourse of a field in a meaningful way, could be left, to some extent, to the interpretation, purposes, and project-goals of the researcher who is considering that work. For example, for my own purposes I have cited many anthropological, interdisciplinary, and Masonic authors in this dissertation. My reading, both thorough and browsed, understanding, and use of those works would, ideally, be in line with the claims the scholars were making, and within the larger theoretical frame to which they would admittedly ascribe. Hence, based upon my own understanding of my own work, which I have presented through this project, and my broader understanding of the core tenets of the anthropological field, I would argue that my project provides a set

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Non-Political Ritual. In M.J. Swartz (ed.), *Local-Level Politics*, pp.135-50. Chicago: Aldine Publishing." (Herdt 1990:380:381:381).

[415] See reference, in Chapter 1, to Herman Clayworth interview where he discusses the "secret of Freemasonry is we create society in the micro so we can exist in the macro." Although not necessarily put in these terms, other Masons have mentioned similar sentiments of learning to get along with others based on their experiences through Masonry. Kaplan's (2104b) work examining the different levels of attachment (Kaplan 2014b) is also useful here.

of both specific and general contributions. The specific contributions of this project include my use of an "activity-based approach", which contributes to the growing trend to move ethnography away from the field of location and towards the field of practice within groups that may exist in multiple, moving, or non-locations; my definition of culture and my determination to place Freemasonry within those definitive terms; my use of consensus to describe those attributes of Freemasonry that are observable and describable among its members despite their geographic or temporal location; the idea that a 'way-of-life' can be produced in myriad ways and manifests through such conceptions as perpetual journeying; and that individuality, as defined in this dissertation, can be produced and maintained through collaboration. Similarly, a core inquiry of this project was the question of how philosophical systems of individualism are/can be sustained through (in this case Masonic) collaboration. While this project, admittedly, lacked a thorough review of the literature on group/individual, collectivity, and individualism; it contributes to a unique approach to culture which argues that certain voluntary associations and/or civic associations (in this case Freemasonry) act as a culture (and cultural system – see Geertz) in their own right due to the very internalized processes of the collaborative system to which individuals voluntarily join and then become embedded to its fluid, yet established, habitus. The Freemasons, arguably, are one of the most long-standing successful examples (as observed and cited throughout this dissertation) of the kind of voluntary/civic association which I describe. Part of this success, I would attest, comes from the 'philosophy of individualism' which allows the member to fully incorporate the Masonic identity in a way that matches his own proclivities and background while at the same time being highly collaborative and

assistive, and bound together by a shared set of hero figures, common lexicon, shared textual productions, notion of secrecy (see the work of Simmel cited in this dissertation), notions of particularized kinship (see Wilhelm), and common behavioral tenets and worldviews.

The additional, more general, contributions of this project include the provision to a small, yet perhaps growing, anthropological discourse on Freemasonry; a comparison, though as stated previously not a true cross-cultural comparison, of a case-study involving the U.S. (Nevada, Reno) and Colombia (Santander, Bucaramanga); as well as my use of combined and interdisciplinary approaches to the production of ethnography. I also feel that this project, generally, displays one way in which a balance can be achieved between privileging participant voice and asking critical questions. Critical scrutiny in this dissertation was, purposefully, not heavily applied to the participants' motivations and perspectives, but rather to the topics that discussions with those participants engendered. For example, I discuss Freemasonry as a Fraternity. For the Masons I worked with on this project it is (see the work of Mahmud for variation), and thus describing their experience as Masons necessitated the description and acceptance as such. I, however, discussed fraternalism and gender more broadly in this dissertation by citing the work of those (such as Mahmud, Gist, or Moore and Tabbert, etc.) who have taken an academic approach to the implications of fraternity, fraternalism, and/or gender on society. I believe, and I hope this dissertation has shown, that scholarly analysis and thick description (see Geertz) can coexist in a frame that respects both the members of a culture (developed through the anthropologist's rapport with them which, in part, agrees to take them at their word when describing their culture) and the application of academic

insight (developed through the anthropologist's exposure to vast interdisciplinary paradigms and varied approaches to the dialogues and questions that those cultural "givens" necessitate).

Prospective Research

A keen, and somewhat uneasy, awareness struck me during the descriptive and inscriptive process of this project. It was an awareness of the latent interminability of any research endeavor. Each line written had the potential, in and of itself, to become its own large-scale project; each citation brought with it the works of many others who could have contributed to my analyses in a meaningful way; each method not used, or work not thoroughly reviewed, could become a point of reflection. This dissertation, though lengthy, does not lack clarity, depth, or conciseness, but rather, I am aware of the unexplored digressions, the unused interviews, the unread monographs, and the untried methods. The ways in which this project may engender future research comes by way of what has been left out, but also comes from the inspirations drawn from what has been included.

One avenue of prospective research involves the use of an "activity-based" "approach"/perspective beyond Masonry. Jonathan Marion's work on dancesport paved the way for the potential this approach has. My own project has used it in a different, yet arguably equally effective way. To see research done utilizing the underlying assumptions and foci of an "activity-based approach" has the potential to reshape how many anthropologists talk about culture. Another point I make in this dissertation is that

Freemasonry, itself, is a culture, a practice, and an activity to which individual members contribute to, and are shaped by. I use comparative examples to demonstrate the consensus and variation within the culture of Masonry and make the argument that, generally speaking, Freemasonry inspires a worldview that affects its members beyond other particularities of their own geographic locations to form a union of similar attributes across time and space. While the scale of my project was not stunted, conducting the research across larger locational and ethnographic settings would further add to this dialogue and may serve to bolster, or disprove, this point.

Also, given the individualized, or "personal experience" of Freemasonry, differences between Masonic worldview are expected. However, interestingly, I found in this project that these 'differences' did not seem to outweigh the 'similarities' in how the individual approached their Masonic inclusion, ideal, and tenets of belief and behavior. Clearly, and as noted in this dissertation, there are differences in the tangible activities of different Lodges (such as membership numbers, ritual differences, or frequency of meetings) which have an impact on how one participates in the Fraternity in different locations (such as a feeling of closeness, or lack of closeness; an emphasis on the social versus the intellectual aspects of a Lodge; or the opportunity, or desire, to join (and attend) additional appendant bodies). These differences certainly provide a point of prospective research as an additional point of comparison to the larger Masonic culture which, as stated elsewhere in this dissertation, is as much, if not more so, an *activity of the mind* as it is the 'tangible activities' of Lodge members.

Furthermore, as I mentioned previously in this dissertation, I had, at the onset, intended to run, or utilize in part, a social network analysis of Freemasonry, as limited to

my sample and including both persons and written works. I realized that this was beyond the scope of my project as it was, and my abilities at the time. I discussed the usefulness of the network perspective and how it can influence the study of Masonry in this dissertation. I did not, however, run a true network analysis which prospective research may prove useful. As it is described by Borgatti et al. (2009), "A key task of social network analysis has been to invent graph-theoretic properties that characterize structures, positions, and dyadic properties (such as the cohesion or connectedness of the structure) and the overall 'shape' (i.e., distribution) of ties" (894). Also, including a more extensive and detailed demographic study of Masons in comparison to local non-Masons (such, to some extent, was done in the Wilson 1980 study) and then cross-compared to the same demography of Masons in cross-regional locations would be valuable. Such information could provide data related to general trends of membership in the inclusion of socio-economic variables, professions, education levels, etc. which could add to discussions both contained and not contained in this dissertation related to the choice to join, models of power and inclusion, variation in the Masonic presence in certain social strata, etc.

Likewise, as I noted above, Brewer's (1991) development of 'optimal distinctiveness theory', examines the intricacies and balance of being different and the same (Brewer 1991) simultaneously (Brewer 1991). A detailed study of how the literature on 'collectivity', 'individualism', 'collective memory' (mentioned briefly in this dissertation) and social-psychological interdisciplinary contributions to the group/individual divide would have proved beneficial to the outcomes and discussions of this project and certainly provide an obvious avenue for prospective research.

Further prospective research engendered by this project involves participatory research among the Most Worshipful Prince Hall Masons. Prince Hall Masonry has been mentioned in this project, but diligence has not been observed in relaying its rich history, current members, or overlapping contributions with the Masons, Lodges, and Grand Lodges which became the focus of this study. Granted, through this project, I am making inferences about Masonry as a culture, beyond those individuals, and individual works, I interacted with during its course. I assume, therefore, and based on comments made by participants of this study, and the little exposure I had to Prince Hall Masonry through literature, that similar attributes, as discussed in this dissertation, as particularly related to the concepts of activity and journey, would apply, and that, Traditional Observance Lodges notwithstanding, Lodge meetings practiced in Prince Hall Masonry would find more similarities to the Lodge experiences in Colombia than to Lodges in other jurisdictions in the U.S. This, of course, is highly provisional, and unsubstantiated, but may prove a useful starting point for prospective research among the Most Worshipful Prince Hall Masons. The Order of the Eastern, and in reality the other Appendant bodies of Masonry, have been mentioned in this project, but no truly in-depth considerations have been granted them beyond their supplementation to larger discussions more relevant to the Masons, Lodges, and Grand Lodges which were the focus of this study. Hence, prospective research may prove useful. Finally, as mentioned previously in this dissertation, an intriguing future research project involves the large scale ethnographic study of Masonic literature. Such a project may include a vast categorization of typologies of Masonic textual production from the easily identifiable published journals, books, and proceedings; to the more elusive op-eds, re-printed lectures, pamphlets, and

myriad other forms. Running a true content analysis of works within each category would also prove interesting, as would connecting thematic similarities across time and space, along with tracing a network between Masonic printed works, those who wrote them, their intended audiences, and the prevalence of their themes, verbiage, or titles across different geographic and Lodge localities.

Finally, as I stated previously, the literature which was reviewed for this project did not constitute a separate analytical event preceding the development of a central theoretical argument, but rather was surveyed for salient points before, during, and at the conclusion of data gathering, analysis, and interpretation, forming a considerable, and varied, interdisciplinary discussion throughout the manuscript. I also believe that any project could arguably benefit from any number of additional review, citation, and contribution depending upon the perspective with which one approaches that piece of academic work. However, this project, as I stated in Chapter 3, certainly would have benefitted from, and prospective future research would ideally also include, a substantial review of literature on the development and concept of agency, native anthropology, holistic approaches in the social sciences, cognitive anthropology, collectivism, and individualism.

Exiting the Field

As I lay down my pen, so to speak, I realize, as I stated in the foreword to this work, that I have barely scratched the surface of the vast chasm of Masonic experience.

This point alone makes a true 'exiting the field' narrative somewhat difficult as I do not feel I am leaving my experience behind, so much as I am pausing, for the moment, in my pursuit to describe Masonic culture. The Masonic experience, I hope to have shown through this project, is at its core an individual one, yet enacted communally, through fellowship and Brotherhood, and one which can be described, in some ways, through the concepts of *activity* and *journey*. My endeavor to describe Masonry along anthropological terms has been a few years in the making, yet, in candor, had a significant portion of its foundation laid years ago at the celebration of my husband's initiation into the Craft, a pivotal moment for him, for us, and for my academic pursuits. This chapter, entitled *Copestone,* as the metaphorical final stone (Mackey 1845/2004), serves as a conclusion to this project yet will not attempt to offer any fundamental great Truths, undebatable points of observation, or academic analyses which openly challenge the emic perspective of the participants of this project. My goal was to describe the modest portion of Masonry that I had access to, from the perspective of those who practice it, and enhanced through informed interpretation and anthropological assessment.

In this dissertation I asked, 'how are philosophical systems of individualism sustained through collaboration?' I argued that Freemasonry was a good place to help find the answer to this question, and that using an "activity-based approach" was an effective method for approaching the case of Freemasonry.[416] I looked at Freemasonry in the United States and Colombia, as well as within Masonic literature, and through survey, to distinguish variation and consensus within the culture of Freemasonry, to some extent,

[416] As based off comments made to me during a discussion with Dr. Jonathan Marion about research techniques and the anthropological procedure at a SSSA conference.

and also because of the ease of fieldwork in these areas, and the level of meaningful access to Reno Lodge #13 and La Serenisima Logia Renovación 1-12 due to familial connection and pre-established access.

I began this dissertation with a narrative, involving Ricardo Rivera's *agape*, among other encounters along my more formalized research journey. I wove into this narrative some themes which depict the inherencies of Masonic culture as valuable anthropological sites of inquiry; themes such as ritual, relative morality, gender, the juxtaposition between individualism and collectivity, intracultural literary production, and belonging. I also described the goals and organization of the project. In the next chapter I described the settings and sites of research, such as Temples, libraries, interview spaces, literature, and the inscriptive field along with a description of the methods I used to research the topics of this project, such as the use of Marion's (2006, 2008) 'activity-based approach' along with the use of, or potentials of, techniques such as considering Kaplan's (2014) work on collective-intimacy, or viewing Masonry as a network. I also described the analysis of qualitative, and provided the analysis of quantitative, data. In the third Chapter I provided the theoretical orientation of the project through the use of discourse, and related it to the core inquiries of the project. I discussed work done in areas of ritual and identity, secrecy, and network studies, along with tracing precedence (or highlighting potential contributions to a paradigm) for the approaches I used and citing some of the available scholarship on Freemasonry. I followed this with a background to Freemasonry to provide context to the topics under discussion in the dissertation. I mentioned some of the known history, along with some legendary, or possible, origins. I included a description of a central Masonic allegory, one whose motif

runs through the ritual activity and lexicon of the Masonic experience. I also briefly described the history of both Reno Lodge #13 and La Serenisima Logia Renovación 1-12. In Chapters 5 and 6 I outlined the concepts, and relevance, of the notions of Masonic *activity* and the Masonic *journey*, through such descriptions as lexicon, links in a network, publication, membership, and restoration; along with Masonic literature and the simultaneity of the individual and shared experience of Masonry.

As I 'exit the field', both the field of research and the field of inscription, I pause to consider the core inquiries of this project and how my discoveries shed light on these questions, I also consider some of the possible future courses this project could take, or how this project may contribute to future research in related areas. I, likewise, reflect on the ways in which my project, my particular use of techniques, approaches, theory, analysis, and description, contributes in a meaningful way to the field and to the fundamentals of anthropological inquiry.

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Ararat Shrine Temple:
http://www.araratshrine.com/
Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, Valley of Washington, Orient of the District of Columbia:
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Bessel 1998-2015:
http://www.bessel.org. [Also, see also note in references, attached to Bessel 1999].

Notes (for Additional Webites):

* Some variation may exist as references were added at time of writing, and (some) URLs were included later.
* Other websites may have been consulted for general information that are not directly referenced here.

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1. **Template** used in Appendix 1: "Traveling Field-Work (2012-2015; 2014) Map and Descriptions." (Figure 30):

"(U-S- Map ©)
Summary[edit]

Description	Blank map of the states, created specifically for use with thick borders, without labels nice

Date	29 October 2007
Source	self-made, based on the 2001 CIA map found at http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/united_states.html (specific link)
Author	Kaboom88
Other versions	Derivative works of this file: FHLB-territory map.png

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	Date/Time	Thumbnail	Dimensions	User	Comment
current	**06:31, 29 October 2007**		600 × 400(62 KB)	Kaboom88~commonswiki (talk | contribs)	== Summary == {{Information |Description=Blank map of the the states, created specifically for use with thick borders, without labels |Source=self-made, based on CIA map found at http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/united_states/usa_ref01.pdf |Date=October 29,

Accessed and downloaded 08/10/2015:
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Blank_US_map_borders.svg

REFERENCE NOTES

Corresponding To:

References Generally:

I utilized many sources, as discussed in the dissertation to contribute to the forming of the project. Certain portions of the dissertation, in particular portions of the discussion on Ritual Identity and the Network Perspective, along with the use of the term 'intertextuality' and a brief overview of 'practice theory', along with a few others, were taken directly from papers I had written (unpublished) for courses taken at University of Nevada, Reno between 2009-2014, along with the Bibliographic Essays and Research Prospectus (defended, as well as modified and sent to granting agencies). These are my original works creating a portfolio of research, at various stages, leading up to the writing of this dissertation, I thus did not make specific note of these cases as they occurred (other than if a portion of text was published in a formal format, such as a journal, or in an informal format such as conference abstracts/proceedings/presentations

Alcalde Sorolla 2015:

Information related to his work was also used in my dissertation as garnered through conversations I had with him related to it.

AMR 2011:

The contact link did not work for this website, I was unable to notify them of my use of information from their site for use in this dissertation.

Banton 2004:

Original reference pertaining to BibEssay 1 altered (see dissertation) above reference drawn from BibEssay 1 in unaltered state.

Bessel 1999:

Email/contact options for this website did not function; I was unable to gain direct permission to cite; I did, however, reference this work.

Braggion 2008/2011:

I utilized a 2008 version which is categorized as "working paper/pre print" from "Tilburg University, Center for Economic Research, Discussion Paper: 2008 36, 2008.

Castells 1996/2000:

Part of a three volume set under the cumulative title: *The Information Age: Economy, Society, and Culture*. 1999. Hoboken: NJ: Wiley-Blackwell. Vol.1: *The Rise of the Network Society* (1996. Blackwell); Vol.2: *The*

Power of Identity (1997. Blackwell); Vol.3: *End of Millennium* (1998. Blackwell).

I came across multiple publication dates (and volumes) listed for this work from 1996 to 1999 to 2000 to 2010. I have kept 1996/2000 as the reference as that is how it was originally presented in BibEssay 2. I also cited, simply "Castells 1996" in my dissertation, while I assume I am referring to the above citation (the quote was drawn from my research prospectus), I did locate further Castell 1996 reference/s, namely, "The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture Volumes I, II, and III."

Dunn 2008:

I was unable to send a notification to the publisher/copyright owner of this site to inform them I was citing/referencing material from the site for this dissertation, it appears as though R. Theron Dunn has passed away, as per announcement/s I have found online through Masonic sites.

Fonseca Moreno 2008:

I could not find contact information for this blog, but wrote to the author of the piece informing him that I accessed/used his work.

Gist 1936/2011:

The editors' include the following as the original format of publication "***Social Forces***, 14 (4) (May 1936), 497-505." (Moore and Tabbert 2011:172).

Gist 1938/2011:

The editors' include the following as the original format of publication "*Social Forces*, 16(3) (Mar. 1938), 349-357." (Moore and Tabbert 2011:186)

GLPN. Various:

Quotes taken from various documents found within, including correspondence from the Grand Lodge of Colombia to the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, and correspondence sent to the Grand Lodge of New York, May 15, and May 16th 1936.

González Navarro 2000:

I had originally listed "2001" s the publication date.

Gosselin 2007:

Original reference to "Gosselin 1997" may have been: Gosselin, M. 1997. The effect of strategy and organizational structure on the adoption and implementation of activity-based costing. *Accounting, Organizations and Society*: Vol 22, Iss 2, Pp 105-122.(which appears to be based off of his

1995 Dissertation through [Business Administration] Boston University the with the same title).

Gooding 1984:

I citing the "First 100 Years of Freemasonry in Utah" here, which I purchased from the Grand Lodge of Utah when I visited in the summer of 2014. On page iii of this work it is noted that the work was written and researched by one Gustin O. Gooding. The work was, likewise, published by *Grand Lodge, Free & Accepted Masons of* Utah, which I assume is located in Salt Lake City, Utah, as that is the location of the Grand Lodge of Utah. There is no publication date listed. However, the work I have is "Vol.I: 1872-1972", and there is a forward (written by Curtis N. Lancaster) dated December 10, 1983. There is also a note on page ix directing the reader to reference the 1984 proceedings. Since '1984' is the most current date listed on the initial pages of this work, I have chosen "1984" as the referencing date, and have attributed the work to "Gooding." Any error on my part is unintentional.

Hammer 2010:

Within the text in Chapter 5 of this dissertation I use the following citation in reference to Hammer, "Hammer (2011)." I include the "2011" there because the excerpt I am citing includes a copyright © of 2011, as published/provided by/on the Masonic Restoration Foundation's website, although it is an excerpt taken from his 2010 work. When I cite from Hammer's full book (as I do in Chapter 6) I use the "2010."

I also found a 2012 publication date for this work.

I also purchased the Third Edition; 2014.

Hammer 2011:

I could not find contact information for this website to notify them of my use of information from their site.

Harwood 1897/2011:

The editors' include the following as the original format of publication "*North American Review* 164 (May 1897), 617-624." (Moore and Tabbert 2011:1)

Henderson 1985:

I first accessed his discussion on Masonic Travel from the Masonic website *Pietre-Stones Review of Freemasonry* © 1996-2015, where the segment on Masonic Travel, attributed to pages 6-14 of Henderson's book, was displayed. I accessed the site at various times during 11/2015 through

the following URL: http://www.freemasons-freemasonry.com/trvguide.html.] (see footnote 381 in dissertation).

Henderson 1996:

The original reference for this has been lost, however, after searching I have found a presentation by Henderson, on a site with © 1996; with identical quote/s to the ones I present in the dissertation. I have therefore used this citation; which, ostensibly, has been taken from a work by Linton, which I could not locate]. Can be accessed through URL: http://www.freemasons-freemasonry.com/legend_hiram_abif.html.

-Also, in an earlier version I listed the citation as follows: "*Henderson, K. 1996 ['developed by…'] with a note "From: SONS OF LIGHT by K. Linton].The Legend of Hiram Abif / The Legend of Hiam Abif. Masonic Education Course: Masonic Education: Online Masonic Education. *Pietre-Stones Review of Freemasonry © 1996-2016."*

Herron 2012:

Contact information could not be found to notify the site of my use of this information.

Kittell 2015:

I have removed information to preserve an individual's anonymity.

Koster 2003:

URL of original PDF citation: http://www.let.rug.nl/koster/papers/JHP.Koster2.Edit.pdf.

Lavagnini 2007:

There appears to multiple publication dates and version (?) of this manual.

Mackey 1845/2004:

I also had: [1908 by *McClure Publishing Co*].

Morgan 1871/1997:

In the dissertation (see page 172) I reference Morgan's use of the terms 'descriptive system' to discuss 'relationship(s)'. This can be found on page 1 of the 1997 print, and I continue the citation (for context) as 1871/1997; however, at the bottom of the page where I drew this citation there is a date printed as "May, 1868" (L. Morgan 1871/1997, 1).

Murray and Baoqi 1994:

This works lists the author as Dian H. Murray "*in collaboration with*" Qin Baoqi [front cover]. I have included both authors in referencing.

Pike 1871/1958/2002:

I used various version/edtions of the *Morals and Dogma* through the course of this project. I loaned out my newer version (likely the 2002 edition) and it was not returned. I then was loaned an edition that I used which had the following publication attributions:

> "New and Revised Edition. Copyright 1950. The Supreme Council (Mother Council of the World) of the Inspectors General Knights Commanders of the house of the Temple of Solomon of the Thirty-third Degree of the Ancient and Acceted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry of the Southern Jurisidiction of the United States of America.
>
> L.H. Jenkins, Inc.. Edition Book Manufacturers. Richmond, VA. Reprinted February 1958."

Quetelet 1835/1842:

I originally listed 1942 as the translation date (which appears to be an error as a translateion appeared in 1842). I also originally had "Knox, R." listed as a possible translator but have not been able to locate this reference subsequetly.

Rappaport 1968:

I also found a 1984 publication date for this work, I may have used a Second Edition (2000-Waveland Press) as well.

Ridley 2011:

In portions of this dissertation I cited Ridley 1999, being either the original publication date (these occurred in my references to Ridley; see pages 252, 281, and 285), or I had used that edition of his work (see Reference) in other writings I have produced, reproduced here.
I also mention Ridley 2011 on pages 19 and 20.

Simmel 1906/2011:

The editors' include the following as the original format of publication "*American Journal of Sociology*. 11 (4)(Jan. 1906), 441-498." (Moore and Tabbert 2011:119).

Strathern 1988:

Cited in-text, and referenced (381), in Herdt (1990).

Urías Horcasitas 2004:

This statement, and accompanying citation stream, found in the dissertation relevant to this reference was taken from Bibliographic Essay 3 (BibEssay 3), as produced in part for the Comprehensive Exam, UNR.

The citation was missing from the reference document I surveyed in reproducing the reference list for this dissertation; I therefore searched for 2004 publication from Urías Horcasitas and discovered the above reference as a likely match.

Van Maanen 2011:

I also used the first edition of this work: 1988: University of Chicago Press.

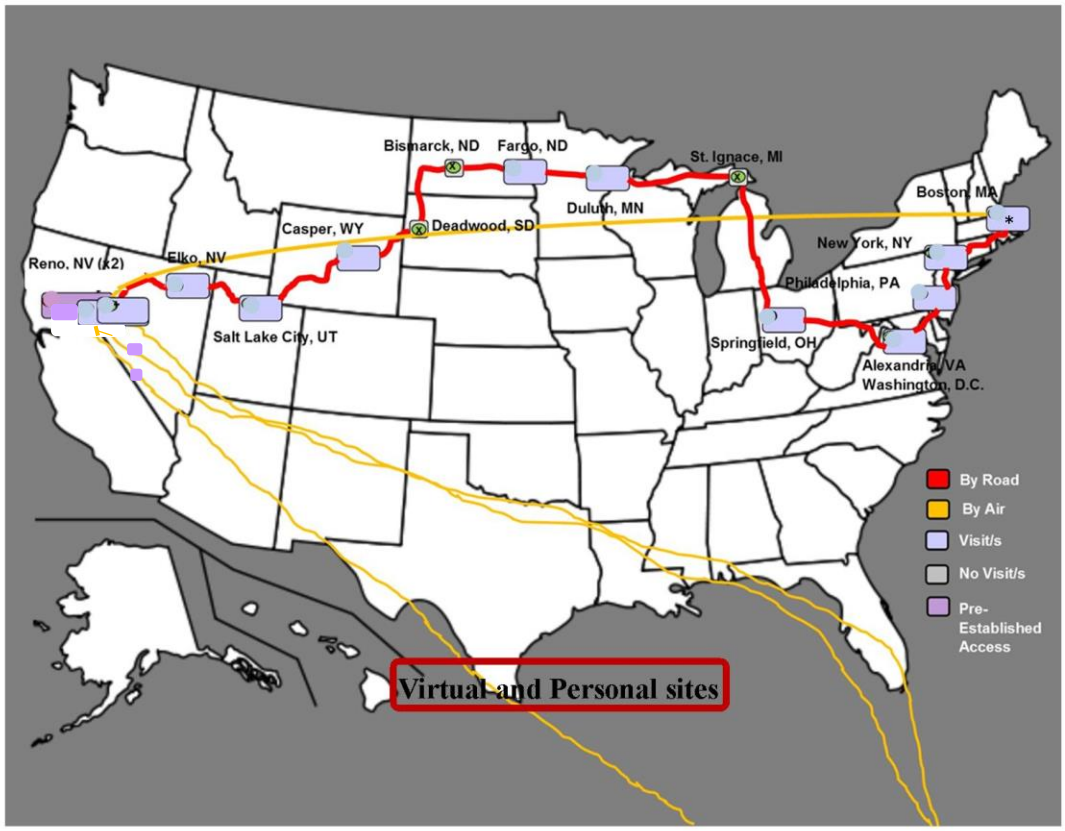
Ward 2005/1993[1926]:

I have come across 'original publication date' listed as 1926/possibly through *Baskerville Press* (unknown location, possibly England). There is also a 2005 version available for purchase which s just the "John Custos" segment.Whitefish, MO: Kessinger Publishing, LLC.

Wilhelm 2013-2016:

Topics and Discussions within professional presentations may also overlap with eachother, for example 2013b no doubt included segments from the 2013a discussion, etc. See footnote 72 for additional overlap, as well as footnotes 15, 39, 43, 47, 112, 239, 257, and 282.

APPENDIX 1: Traveling Field-Work (2012-2015; 2014) Map and Descriptions.



(**Figure 30**: Map of Travel. LM Wilhelm. 2015. Template copyright included in references)
NOTE: I downloaded a template ("Blank Map of the States") on which to impose my travel map: see Additional References for image copyrights.)

Three yellow "by Air" lines represent travels to Colombia (and the Republic of Panama) as part of "pre-established access" (Panama and Colombia) and as a research site (Colombia)

La Serenisima Logia Renovación 1-2 (Temple), Bucaramanga, Colombia (the Temple was visited as part of "pre-established access", though the Temple itself played a role in this research, as did members of the Lodge therein)

Reno Lodge #13 F.&A.M. Reno, NV (pre-established access and established)

Grand Lodge of Nevada, Reno, NV

Washoe Lodge #35, Reno, NV

Elko Lodge #15; Elko, Nevada

The Grand Lodge of Utah; Salt Lake City Utah

Casper Lodge #15 A.F. & A.M.; Casper, Wyoming

The Grand Lodge of North Dakota; Fargo, North Dakota

Glen Avon Lodge #306; Duluth, Minnesota

The Grand Lodge of Ohio and the Masonic Center; Springfield, Ohio

The George Washington Masonic Memorial; Alexandria, Virginia

The Scottish Rite House of the Temple; Washington D.C

The Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

The Chancellor Robert R. Livingston Masonic Library; New York, NY

***:** The Grand Lodge of Massachusetts; Boston, Massachusetts (Simple Temple Tour as visiting tourist)

Virtual and Personal sites (interview spaces, texts, online, correspondence, telephone) (NO PICTORIAL REPRESENTATION)

NOTE: those areas marked on the map with a "not visited" indication were contacted via email, planned, and driven through, yet, for various reasons, the Temples were not visited.

APPENDIX 2: The survey that was distributed as part of this project**.**

**** Author's Note:*** *All textual responses have been sorted to preserve confidentiality, all identity markers have likewise been removed from lists of responses.*

APPENDIX 2a: ENG/ESP(SP) Survey 467
APPENDIX 2b: Complete list of text responses to survey ENG/ESP(SP) 476
APPENDIX 2c: Complete visual representation of survey results (Graphical) (Tables*)* 504

APPENDIX 2a:
ENG/ESP SURVEY

SURVEY:
Survey Provider: www.Questionpro.com (merits on file with IRB, previously approved)

Participants are emailed a link to the survey personally (by me) or en-mass through, and with the permission of, their Lodge/Grand Lodge, sent, posted, or directed to link with no requirement to participate.

Participants Open the survey and receive the following message:

"Select language you would like to take the survey in:
Por favor, seleccione el idioma que prefiera para completar la encuesta en:"

[They then click, from a scroll down menu, either:] "English" or "Español (Spanish)"

ENGLISH VERSION:

"Hello:
You are invited to participate in a survey as part of the research I am conducting for my doctoral dissertation in Cultural Anthropology at the University of Nevada, Reno. In this survey, Freemasons across the United States and Colombia will be asked to complete a survey that asks general demographic questions as well as few more in-depth questions. It will take approximately 20 minutes to complete the questionnaire.

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. There are no foreseeable risks associated with this project. However, if you feel uncomfortable answering any questions, you can withdraw from the survey at any point. It is very important for me to learn your opinions.

Your survey responses will be strictly confidential and data from this research will be reported only in the aggregate (no names will be used). Your information will be coded and will remain confidential. If you have questions at any time about the survey or the procedures, you may contact me (Laura Wilhelm) through email to lwilhelm@unr.edu or by phone at 775-225-0525.

Thank you very much for your time and support. Please agree to participate by clicking on the Continue button below. Once you have completed the survey a thank you message will appear, please do not take the survey more than once."

() continue

1. What is your current age?
   - 18-25
   - 26-35
   - 36-45
   - 46-55
   - 56-65
   - 66-70
   - 71-79
   - 80-89
   - 90-99
   - 100+
   - Other:_____

2. How old were you when you were Raised?
   - 18-25
   - 26-35
   - 36-45
   - 46-55
   - 56-65
   - 66-70
   - 71-79
   - 80-89
   - 90-99
   - 100+
   - Other:_____

3. Do you have family members who are, or were, Masons?
   - Yes

- No
- Other:_____

4. How many Blue Lodges are you currently a member of?
   - 1
   - 2
   - 3
   - 4+
   - Other:_____

5. Which Blue Lodge do you attend (or, if you are a member of more than one, which do you attend most frequently?) Please type the name of the Lodge below.

6. How often do you attend in Blue Lodge (please indicate the answer that best fits your situation)?
   - Barring exceptional circumstances I attend every stated meeting.
   - I attend stated meetings regularly but don't have perfect attendance
   - I rarely go to stated meetings
   - I will often go to meal (dinner/breakfast, etc.) but will usually skip the meeting
   - Other: _____

7. How would you qualify your participation in your Blue Lodge organized meetings/events?
   - I would like to attend every meeting and social event, but have too many conflicting obligations
   - I like to attend stated meetings, but often skip social events (BBQs, fundraisers, family-days, card-nights, etc.)
   - I like to attend social events, but often skip stated meetings
   - I often skip both stated meetings and social events
   - Other:_____

8. Are you currently, or have you been in the past, an officer of your Lodge, or of your jurisdictional Grand Lodge?
   - Yes
   - No
   - Other:_____

9. Which Appendant, and/or Concordant, Bodies are you a member of (check all that apply, or go to the next question if none)?

1. York Rite
2. Royal Arch
3. Cryptic Rite
4. Knights Templar
5. Scottish Rite
6. Lodge of Perfection
7. Rose Croix
8. Council of Kadosh
9. Consistory of Sublime Princes
10. Supreme Council
11. Shrine International (Shriners)
12. Grotto
13. Tall Cedars of Lebanon
14. Sojourners
15. Order of the Eastern Star
16. Amaranth
17. High Twelve
18. SCIOTS
19. Philalethes Society
20. Member of a Research Lodge
21. Other:_____

10. Of the Appendant/Concordant Bodies listed, which do you feel you spend the most time with (going to meetings and events, researching at home, etc.) please type the name/s of the top ones (where you dedicate the majority of your time/efforts), you can also type I divide my time equally or I dedicate most of my time to Blue Lodge

11. Have you ever published a piece of writing (article, book, op-ed, etc.) related to Masonry in a Masonic, or Non-Masonic, (journal, book, online, etc.) forum?

- Yes
- No
- Other:_____

12. Have you ever given a lecture/speech related to Masonry (this does not include memorized degree-work) in a Masonic, or Non-Masonic, setting (a colloquia, a conference, as part of a regular meeting)?

- Yes
- No
- Other:_____

13. Since becoming a Mason, have you ever participated in any community action or charity events (donating, fund-raising, volunteering, etc.)?

- Yes
- No
- Other:_____

14. Do you subscribe (or regularly read) any Masonic journals? (if yes, please list; you can also write no, or only occasionally)

15. If, hypothetically, you had to recommend to a newly raised Mason, a short-list of books to read, what, if any, would you recommend?

16. What qualities do you feel an individual must have in order to become a Mason?

17. What do you feel the basic values/beliefs/tenets of Freemasonry are?

18. In the context of Masonry, what does the term journey mean to you personally?

19. This concludes the survey. If you have any additional comments/suggestions, feel free to use the space below:

"I Thank you very much for your participation. If you would like to know the aggregate results of the survey, or are interested in finding out more about the project, please feel free to contact me via email: lwilhelm@unr.edu.
Most Sincerely,
Laura Wilhelm
PhD Candidate
Department of Anthropology
University of Nevada, Reno"

SPANISH VERSION:

"Hola:
Usted está invitado a participar en esta encuesta como parte de la investigación que estoy llevando a cabo para mi tesis de doctorado en Antropología Cultural en la Universidad de Nevada, Reno. En esta encuesta, se le pedirá a Los Masones en Estados Unidos y Colombia que completen una encuesta que hace preguntas demográficas generales, así como algunas preguntas más a fondo. Tomará aproximadamente 20 minutos para completar el cuestionario.

Su participación en este estudio es completamente voluntaria. No hay riesgos previsibles asociados a este proyecto. Sin embargo, si se siente incómodo al responder a cualquier pregunta,

usted puede ser retirar de la encuesta en cualquier momento. Es muy importante que yo aprenda de sus opiniones.

Sus respuestas a la encuesta serán estrictamente confidenciales y datos de esta investigación se reportara sólo en el agregado (no se utilizarán nombres). Su información se codifica y se mantendrá confidencial. Si usted tiene preguntas en cualquier momento acerca de la encuesta o los procedimientos, puede ponerse en contacto conmigo (Laura Wilhelm) a través de correo electrónico a lwilhelm@unr.edu o teléfono al 01-775-225-0525.

Muchas gracias por su tiempo y apoyo. Por favor, ingrese haciendo clic en el botón que dice Continuar a continuación. Una vez que haya completado la encuesta un mensaje "gracias" aparecerá, por favor, no tome la encuesta más de una vez".

() Continuar

1. ¿Cuál es su edad actual?
   - 18-25
   - 26-35
   - 36-45
   - 46-55
   - 56-65
   - 66-70
   - 71-79
   - 80-89
   - 90-99
   - 100+
   - Otro:_____

2. ¿Qué edad tenía cuando fue Exaltado?
   - 18-25
   - 26-35
   - 36-45
   - 46-55
   - 56-65
   - 66-70
   - 71-79
   - 80-89
   - 90-99
   - 100+
   - Otro:_____

3. ¿Tiene familia que son, o eran, los Masones?
   - Sí

- No
- Otro:_____

4. ¿De cuantas Logias Azules es actualmente miembro?
   - 1
   - 2
   - 3
   - 4+
   - Otro:_____

5. A Qué Logia Azul pertenece usted (o, si usted es un miembro de más de una, ¿cual usted atiende con mayor frecuencia?) Por favor escriba el nombre de la Logia abajo.

6. ¿Con qué frecuencia va usted en Logia Azul (por favor, indique la respuesta que mejor se adapte a su situación)?
   - A excepción de circunstancias excepcionales atiendo a cada reunión oficial
   - Atiendo reuniones oficiales regularmente -, pero no tengo asistencia perfecta
   - Rara vez voy a las reuniones
   - Muchas veces participo en la comida (cena / desayuno, etc.), pero por lo general no voy a la reunión
   - Otro:_____

7. ¿Cómo calificaría su participación en las reuniones / eventos organizados de su Logia Azul?

   - Me gustaría ir a todas las reuniones y eventos sociales, pero tengo muchas otras obligaciones que atender
   - Me gusta ir a las reuniones oficiales, pero a menudo no voy a eventos sociales (barbacoas, recaudadores de fondos,-día de la familia, noches de cartas, etc.)
   - Me gusta ir a eventos sociales, pero a menudo no voy a las reuniones oficiales
   - A menudo no voy a reuniones indicadas ni a eventos sociales
   - Otro:_____

8. ¿Está usted actualmente, o ha sido en el pasado, un oficial de la Logia, o en su jurisdicción de Gran Logia?
   - Si
   - No
   - Otro:_____

9. ¿De Qué cuerpos adjuntos, y / o grupos concordantes, eres un miembro (marque todo lo que corresponda)?
   - Rito de York

- Arco Real
- Rito Críptico
- Caballeros Templarios
- Rito Escoces Antiguo y Aceptado
- Logia de Perfección
- Rosa Cruz
- Consejo de Kadosh
- Consistorio de los Príncipes Sublimes
- Supremo Consejo
- Shrine International (Shriners)
- Grotto
- Cedros Altos del Líbano
- Peregrinos
- Orden de la Estrella de Oriente
- Amaranth
- Doce Altos
- SCIOTS
- Sociedad Philalethes
- Miembro de Logia de Investigación
- Otro:_____

10. De los cuerpos adjuntos y / o grupos concordantes escogidos, a cuales le dedica la mayor parte del tiempo (en las reuniones y eventos, la investigación en el hogar, etc) por favor escriba el nombre / s de los principales (donde le dedicas la mayor parte de su tiempo / trabajo), también puede escribir "Yo divido mi tiempo en partes iguales" o "le dedico la mayor parte de mi tiempo a la Logia Azul"

11. ¿Alguna vez ha publicado un escrito (artículo, libro, artículo de opinión, etc) relacionados a la Masonería en un Masónico, o No-Masónica, (revista, libro, línea, etc) foro?
- Si
- No
- Otro:_____

12. ¿Alguna vez has dado una conferencia / discurso relacionada con la Masonería (esto no incluye trabajo de grado memorizado) en un establecimiento Masónico, o No-Masónica, (a coloquios, una conferencia, en el marco de una reunión oficial)?
- Si
- No
- Otro:_____

13. Desde que se inició como Mason, ¿alguna vez ha participado en alguna acción de la comunidad para eventos de caridad (donación, recaudación de fondos, voluntariado, etc)?
- Si

- No
- Otro:_____

14. ¿Está suscrito (o lee regularmente) alguna revista Masonicas? (en caso afirmativo, indique el nombre, también se puede escribir "no", o "rara vez")

15. Si, hipotéticamente, tuviera que recomendarle a un Aprendiz Mason, una breve lista de libros para leer, ¿cuáles, si alguno, recomendaría usted?

16. ¿Qué cualidades usted siente que una persona debe tener para llegar a ser un Mason?

17. ¿Cuáles usted siente que son los valores / creencias / principios básicos de la Masonería?

18. En el marco de la Masonería, ¿qué significa el término "viaje" para usted personalmente?

19. Este es el final de la encuesta. Si usted tiene cualquier comentario y / o sugerencias adicionales, por favor, utilice el siguiente espacio:

"Muchas gracias por su participación. Si desea conocer los resultados globales de la encuesta, o está interesado en saber más sobre el proyecto, por favor póngase en contacto conmigo por medio del correo electrónico: lwilhelm@unr.edu.
Muy Amable,
Laura Wilhelm
Estudiante de Doctorado
Departamento de Antropología
Universidad de Nevada, Reno

APPENDIX 2b:

COMPLETE LIST OF TEXT RESPONSES TO SURVEY ENG/ESP

As an added measure of privacy responses for each question have been sorted. Questions cannot be reliably cross-tabulated for individual response identification. Identity markers have likewise been omitted from all following lists, and, if necessary, as in the dissertation text, replaced with an underline.

Question 5 (Q5):
(ENG) Which Blue Lodge do you attend (or, if you are a member of more than one, which do you attend most frequently?) Please type[417] the name of the Lodge below.
(ESP) A Qué Logia Azul pertenece usted (o, si usted es un miembro de más de una, ¿Cuál usted atiende con mayor frecuencia?) Por favor escriba el nombre de la Logia abajo.
(see Table 6)

NOTE: Lodge names are not provided as part of this list. This is based, in part, upon consideration of a respondent's feedback indicating discomfort with providing his Lodge's name. This data was used with the potential for comparing responses between the two primary Lodges of this study with responses from Lodges located in additional jurisdictions; as well as to consider the responses of participants who formed the greater society of Freemasons from many different locations. There were over 190 respondences to this question, approximately 95% of whom entered text for this question (others leaving it blank) with Lodges from jurisdicitions across the U.S., Colombia, and other locations (a few responses were vague, i.e. non-Lodge-name specific, another respondent, for example, noted they had entered a ficticous name).

(**Table 6:** Survey Responses to Question 5, Primary Blue Lodge Affiliation Data)

Question 10 (Q10):
(ENG) Of the Appendant/Concordant Bodies listed, which do you feel you spend most time with (going to meetings and events, researching at home, etc.) please type the name/s of the top ones (where you dedicate the majority of your time/efforts), you can also type "I divide my time equally" or "I dedicate most of my time to Blue Lodge")[418]
(ESP) De los cuerpos adjuntos y / o grupos concordantes escogidos, a cuales le dedica la mayor parte del tiempo (en las reuniones y eventos, la investigación en el hogar, etc) por favor escriba el nombre / s de los principales (donde le dedicas la mayor parte de su

---

[417] The word "write" was used here in place of "type" on the paper copy
[418] Paper version did not include quotations around 'I divide my time equally', or 'I dedicate most of my time to Blue Lodge' (in the English version)

tiempo / trabajo), también puede escribir “Yo divido mi tiempo en partes iguales” o “le dedico la mayor parte de mi tiempo a la Logia Azul”
(see Table 11)

NOTE: I have removed any position/location/personal link information that was listed to protect the identity and privacy of the participant.

RESPONSES
sorted

1. A LA LOGIA AZUL
2. A logia
3. Al escocismo
4. all
5. AMD, Scottish Rite, and York Rite
6. As I can
7. Asisto regularmente a todos
8. Atiendo a todos los eventos programados de todos, salvo que circunstancias temporales lo impidan.
9. Azul
10. Blue
11. Blue Lodge and Scottish Rite
12. Blue Lodge
13. Blue Lodge
14. Blue Lodge
15. Blue Lodge
16. Blue Lodge and Scottish Rite have priority over other bodies.
17. Blue Lodge gets all my time.
18. blue lodge then york rite Scottish rite shrine in that order
19. Blue Lodge, Scottish Rite, Shriners
20. Cryptic Masons and Blue Lodge
21. Currently Potentate _____Temple in _____. Also Currently District Deputy Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of _____ and Hold an office in Star
22. Dedico cuatro horas semanales a la investigación en mi casa
23. dedico la mayor parte de mi tiempo al trabajo
24. dedico màs tiempo a la logia azul y al Rito Escoces Antiguo y aceptado
25. Dediicate most time to bllue ledge
26. Distribuyo racionalmente mis tiempos entre mis obligaciones y deberes masónicos y mis obligaciones y deberes profanos.
27. Divido mi tiempo en partes iguales
28. Divido mi tiempo en partes iguales
29. divido mi tiempo en partes iguales entre Logia Azul, Rito Escoces Antiguo y Aceptado y Shriners
30. Divido mi tiempo en partes iguales entre mi logia azul y el Rito Escoses Antiguo y Aceptado.
31. Divido tiempo partes iguales familia logia
32. equally between Shrine and Blue lodge
33. GRAND YORK RITE BODIES OF _____
34. I dedicate most of my time @ Blue Lodge.
35. I dedicate most of my time to Blue Lodge
36. I dedicate most of my time to Blue Lodge
37. I dedicate most of my time to Blue Lodge
38. I dedicate most of my time to Blue Lodge
39. I dedicate most of my time to Blue Lodge
40. I dedicate most of my time to Blue Lodge - I am the Worshipful Master of my Lodge this year

41. I dedicate most of my time to Blue Lodge and Scottish Rite
42. I dedicate most of my time to Blue Lodge I then divide my time equally between the York Rite bodies, Royal Arch, Cryptic Rite and Knights Templar with a small portion, weekends usually going to the other listed groups above.
43. I dedicate most of my time to Blue Lodge, but spend any additional time with the Knights Templar.
44. I dedicate most of my time to Blue Lodge, then OES and then Scottish Rite
45. I dedicate most of my time to Blue Lodge.
46. I dedicate most of my time to Blue Lodge.
47. I dedicate most of my time to Blue Lodge.
48. I dedicate most of my time to Blue Lodge.
49. I dedicate most of my time to Blue Lodge. Alson Scottish Rite Reunions.
50. I dedicate most of my time to Blue Lodge. But, I participate heavily in Scottish Rite meetings and activities.
51. I dedicate most of my time to Blue Lodge. Without Blue Lodge none of the Appendant/Concordant bodies would exist. I feel most Mason's have forgotten this.
52. I dedicate most of my time to Knights Templar.
53. I dedicate most of my time to one Blue Lodge and Scottish Rite
54. I dedicate most of my time to the Blue Lodge.
55. I dedicate most time to the blue lodge
56. I dedicate My time equally betwen My blue lodge and shriners
57. I dedicate the majority of my time to the Blue Lodge. The Knights Templar is closest to my heart, and I put a huge effort into them.
58. I dedicated my time to blue lodge first and foremost, next is Scottish Rite and then the Shrine.
59. I divide my time
60. I divide my time equally between blue lodge and Scottish rite
61. I divide my time equally between my Blue lodge, Scottish Rite And Scots Guard
62. I divide my time equally between York Rite and Scottish Rite Bodies.
63. I divide my time equally with all
64. I Divide my time equally.
65. I divide time equally unless Grand line obligations come in conflict and then they take precedence.
66. I give equal time to Blue Lodge and York Rite
67. I have been very active at one time or other in: DeMolay, Blue Lodge, Grand Lodge, Eastern Star, York Rite Bodies, Scottish Rite, KCCH, and numerous officers in the AAONMS,
68. i only attend blue lodge
69. I spend most of my time attending blue lodge. For Scottish Rite, I do not regular meetings. Instead I only attend the bi-annual reunion meetings.
70. I spend quality time in all of them.
71. I try to divide my time equally
72. I try to divide my time equally. I'm currently Grand Recorder of KT of _____, and officer in the Grand Line of Royal Arch Masons of _____ and Grand Council of Cryptic Masons of _____.
73. Knight templar
74. Le dedicfo mi tiempo a la logia azul
75. le dedico la mayor parte de mi tiempo a la logia azul
76. Le dedico la mayor parte de mi tiempo a la Logia Azul
77. Le dedico la mayor parte de mi tiempo a la Logia Azul
78. le dedico la mayor parte de mi tiempo a la Logia Azul
79. le dedico la mayor parte de mi tiempo a la Logia Azul
80. le dedico la mayor parte de mi tiempo a la Logia Azul.
81. Le dedico la mayor parte de mi tiempo a mi logia azul.
82. Le dedico la mayor parte del tiempo a la Logia Azul
83. le dedico la mayor parte del tiempo a la logia azul.
84. Le dedico la mayor parte del tiempo a mi Logia
85. Le dedico mi tiempo a la Logia azul ya que no pertenesco algun grupo adjunto y/o concordante

86. Logia Azul
87. LOGIA AZUL
88. LOGIA AZUL
89. Logia azul, rosa cruz y Shrine
90. Mas al Escocismo y a los Shriners
91. Most of my time is divided between Blue Lodge and Grand Lodge.
92. Most of the time is in Blue lodge in California- in Idaho time was split divided with the Shrine
93. Most time at Blue Lodge, but most with Shrine
94. Most time to Blue Lodge but I mostly attend every meeting of all of them.
95. Mostly Blue Lodge
96. mostly blue lodge
97. My primary obligation is to my Blue Lodge.
98. My Time is divided as is needed for the responsibility I have assumed.
99. N.A.
100. none
101. _____Chapter #_____ OES
102. Partes iguales a Logia Azul y Escocismo
103. Prioritariamente a la Logia Azul
104. Rito Escoces antiguo y aceptado
105. Rito Escoces Antiguo y Aceptado, También atiendo las reuiones de Logia Azul
106. Rito Escoces y Consejo Kadosh
107. Scottish Rite
108. Scottish Rite
109. Scottish Rite
110. Scottish Rite
111. SCOTTISH RITE
112. SCOTTISH RITE
113. Scottish Rite
114. Scottish Rite
115. Scottish Rite
116. Scottish Rite
117. Scottish Rite
118. Scottish Rite
119. Scottish Rite
120. Scottish Rite
121. Scottish Rite
122. Scottish Rite
123. Scottish Rite and Blue Lodge equally
124. Scottish Rite is where my interests are curently.
125. SCOTTISH RITE, BUT MOST MY TIME GOES TO BLUE LODGE
126. Scottish Rite, Shrine
127. Scottish Rite, York Rite, Allied Masonic Degrees, Societas Rosicruciana, Red Cross of Constantine
128. Scottish Rite/Lodge of Perfection, And a equal amount of time to my Blue lodge
129. Scottishrite and york rite
130. Shrine
131. Shrine and OES
132. Shrine International, would like to be more active with Scottish Rite Bodies
133. Shrine My unit, Scotitsh rite
134. Shrine, Scottish Rite, York Rite, Blue Lodge all equally
135. Shriners internacional
136. shriners international
137. Sojourners
138. Soy completamente del Simbolismo
139. Todo mi tiempo a la Logia Azul

140. trabajo permanentemente con mi Logia Azul, El escocismo y los Shiners
141. Trato de estar en todas las reuniones programadas por igual
142. voy a todas
143. yo divido mi tiempo en partes iguales
144. Yo divido mi tiempo en partes iguales
145. Yo divido mi tiempo en partes iguales
146. Yo divido mi tiempo en partes iguales
147. Yo divido mi tiempo en partes iguales
148. Yo divido mi tiempo en partes iguales
149. YO DIVIDO MI TIEMPO ENTRE LA LOGIA AZUL Y LAS CAMARAS ESCOCISTAS
150. Yo divido mi tiempo proporcionalmente, generalmente no falto a ninguna Tenida
151. Yo le dedico la mayor parte del tiempo a la Logia Azul
152. York
153. YORK RITE
154. York Rite
155. York Rite
156. York Rite Bodies
157. York Rite bodies all three
158. Yorkrite and its appendent bodies

(**Table 11:** Survey Responses to Q10, Dedication of time Data)

Question 14 (Q14):
(ENG) Do you subscribe (or regularly read) any Masonic journals? (if yes, please list; you can also write no, or only occasionally)
(ESP) ¿Está suscrito (o lee regularmente) alguna revista Masonicas? (en caso afirmativo, indique el nombre, también se puede escribir "no", o "rara vez")
(see Table 15)

NOTE: I have removed any position/location/personal link information that was listed to protect the identity and privacy of the participant.

RESPONSES
sorted

1. A MUCHAS POR INTERNET
2. Acasia
3. aside from the occasional article i come across online nothing.
4. _____ Freemason, The Journal of the Masonic Society
5. Cúbica
6. Cúbica
7. Cubica
8. Cúbica, Diario Masónico, Otras
9. Cubica,retales de masoneria
10. diariomasonico.com y la revista cubica de la gran logia de los andes
11. Grand Lodge of _____ Southern _____ Research Lodge
12. I do a great deal of research/reading on Knights Templar.
13. I read various books on Masonic subjects.
14. Knight Templar Magazine, and York Rite College newsletter
15. Knight Templar magazine. I don't read much Masonic stuff.

16. Knight Templar, Scottish Rite Journal
17. Knights Templar, What the lodge sends me
18. KT mag, Scottish Rite Journal
19. Leo revistas de otras logias del país o de otro país que me lleguen, enciclopedía masónica y libros que traten de masonería
20. Leo revistas Masónicas de las Logias de nuestra jurisdicción y de otras jurisdicciones que nos llegan a la Biblioteca
21. Living Stones
22. Living Stones, Scottish Rite, York Rite
23. Masonic Journal
24. Miscellanea, QCC, Knights Templar Magazine, Scottish Rite, Royal Arch Magazine
25. MSA
26. Muy pocas veces
27. _____Mason
28. _____ Mason, Templar Magazine, Burning Sands. This are the ones I read most often. I do receive more but it is less frequent that I read through them.
29. no
30. no
31. No
32. NO
33. no
34. no
35. NO
36. NO
37. No
38. no
39. No
40. No
41. No
42. NO
43. no
44. no
45. no
46. No
47. no
48. no
49. No
50. No
51. No
52. No
53. No
54. NO
55. No
56. No
57. No

58. No
59. no
60. No
61. no estoy suscrito pero si leo algunas revistas por internet
62. No,
63. No.
64. No.
65. No.
66. None
67. Not anymore
68. not that I recall
69. Occasionally
70. occasionally
71. Occasionally
72. Occasionally
73. occasionally
74. once in a while
75. only occasionally
76. ONLY OCCASIONALLY
77. only occasionally
78. only occasionally
79. Only occasionally
80. Only occasionally.
81. only occassionally
82. Plumbline
83. Rara vez
84. RARA VEZ
85. rara vez
86. rara vez
87. rara vez
88. Rara vez
89. RARA VEZ
90. Rara vez
91. revista cubica
92. Revista Cubica
93. Revista Cubica
94. revista Cubica
95. Revista cúbica
96. Revista Cúbica
97. Revista Cúbica
98. Revista Cúbica
99. Revista Cúbica
100. Revista cúbica
101. Revista CÚBICA (Gr.:Log.: de los Andes). Revista de la Gr.:Log.:de Colombia (Bogotá)
102. Revista CÚBICA, de la Gran Logia De Los andes, Oriente de Bucaramanga, Santander, Colombia.
103. Revista CÚBICA. Gran Logia de Los Andes.
104. revista electrónica de la escuela masónica de la gran logia de los andes. Y revista semestral
105. Scootish Rite maggazine Strait talk bullitons
106. Scottish Rite and York Rite quarterlys
107. Scottish Rite Joirnalgoodc
108. Scottish Rite Journal
109. Scottish Rite Journal, Philalethes, American Lodge of Research
110. Scottish Rite Journal, Plumb Line, Knights Templar

111. Scottish Rite Journal, York Rite Journal
112. Scottish Rite Journal, Philalethes: The Journal of Masonic Research & Letters, The Journal of the Masonic Society
113. Scottish Rite Journal, The M_____ (Shrine)
114. Scottish Rite Journal, comes with membership. I page through it, but only occasionally read the articles.
115. Scottish Rite Magazine, Northern Light (Scottish Rite), Short Talk Bulletin (Masonic Service Assn.)
116. Scottish Rite Magazine, Short Talk Bulletins
117. Scottish rite magazine, Knight Templar magazine
118. Scottish Rite Research Society, Masonic Society, Pietre-Stones Review of Freemasonry, Ad Lucem
119. Scottish Rite, Shrine K_____, _____Shrine M_____
120. Several Scottish Rite journals, publications, and magazines.
121. Short Talk Bulletin, Scottish Rite Plumb Line Northern Light (Rite), Scottish Rite Journal
122. si
123. si
124. Sí
125. Si Revista Masónica Hiram Barranquilla Colombia
126. Si, la revista Cubica.
127. Si, Revista CUBICA.
128. Si. La revista Cubica de la Gran Logia de Los Andes
129. Si. Revista cúbica, red masonica
130. SI: REVISTA CUBICA. RED MASONICA
131. Sorry, no.
132. _____ MINERVAS donde se tocan mayormente temas Masónicos. http://www.opusartis.net/Minervas/Portal.html
133. SR magazine
134. The Lodges subscription to 'The Cornerstone'
135. The Masonic Society Journal. Philalethes. AQC
136. The Philalethes. Journal of the Masonic Society. The PHylaxis. Ars Quatuor Coronatorum. Knight Templar Magazine. Royal Arch Mason Magazine. Scottish Rite Journal. The Northern Light. Heredom. Ars Quatuor Coronatorum
137. The scottish rite annual publication
138. The Short Talk Bulletin. The Knight Templar. The Scottish Rite Journal
139. The Short Talk Bulletin. The Knight Templar. The Scottish Rite Journal
140. The SJ Scottish Rite Journal; Quarterly Royal Arch Masons Magazine; Quarterly Gen Grand Council publication; Scottish Rite Research Society; Knights Templar Magazine; misc. online articles and publications and books out of print.
141. The Working Tools
142. to both, the ALR and AQC research journals.
143. Transactions of the Quator Coronati Lodge No 2076, The Northern Light (Scottish Rite magazine), Knight Templar magazine
144. Varias paginas por internet
145. When they are sent to me.
146. Yes
147. Yes
148. yes
149. yes
150. yes
151. Yes
152. Yes
153. Yes Short talks, Templar Mag, Scottish rite mag, Shrine mags. some on line
154. Yes many
155. yes Rocky Mountain Mason
156. yes Scottish Rite
157. yes. Scottish Rite Journal. Plumb line. Midnight Freemason (Blog)

158. YES. SCOTTISH RITE MAGAZINE. ROYAL ARCH MAGAZINE. CRYPTIC MASON MAGAZINE. KNIGHTS TEMPLAR MAGAZINE. NATIONAL SOJOURNER MAGAZINE
159. Yes, all of them.
160. Yes, I receive the Masonic Service Association short talk bulletin.
161. Yes, Knights Templar Magazine, Byzantine
162. Yes, Scottish Rite Journal, Plumbline, Knights Templar Magazine
163. Yes, the Knights Templar Magazine, (Hard Copy), and the Square - (On Line Mag)
164. Yes,Scottish Rite, York Rite, Knights Templar, and National Sojourner journals
165. Yes. Scottish Rite Journal
166. Yes; The Plumbline (the journal of the Scottish Rite Research Society)
167. York Rite magazine, Scottish Rite magazine, Bridge to Light

(**Table 15:** Survey Responses to Q14, Masonic Journal subscription/exposure Data)

Question 15 (Q15):
(ENG) If, hypothetically, you had to recommend to a newly raised Mason, a short-list of books to read, what, if any, would you recommend?
(ESP) Si, hipotéticamente, tuviera que recomendarle a un Aprendiz Mason, una breve lista de libros para leer, ¿cuáles, si alguna, recomendaría usted?
(see Table 16)

NOTE: I have removed location-specific title positions, names, specific locations, or personal links that were listed here to protect the identity and privacy of the participant.

RESPONSES
sorted

1. A Bridge to Light
2. ' American Freemasons' by Mark Tabbert, ' The Complete Idiot's Guide to Freemasonry' by S. Brent Morris, PhD
3. Freemasonry for dummies
4. . Manual del Aprendiz de Aldo Lavagnini. Manual de Derecho Masónico de Rodolfo Mantilla Jácome
5. ?
6. A Bridge to Light by Rex R. Hutchens. Albert Pike's Morals and Dogma. Annotated by Arturo De Hoyes
7. A golpe de Mallete
8. A pilgrims path or born in blood.
9. A Pilgrims Path. Born in Blood
10. Albert Pike
11. American Freemasons: Three Centuries of Building Communities – Tabbert. Freemasonry for Dummies – Hodapp. Cracking the Masonic Code - Bob Cooper. Intro to Freemasonry, 3 vols. Carl Claudy
12. Any and All on the subject
13. Any that help explain their degree work.
14. ARS series, Morals and Dogma, Look to the East, Heredom Series
15. at my age I might not reccommend. Masonry for dummies might be a good 1st book
16. Bellief tn God, good mmoral caracter, a lawful age, physical able to take the degrees.
17. Bible
18. Bible

19. BIBLE. MORALS & DOGMA. FREEMASONS FOR DUMMIES
20. Born in Blood
21. Born in blood
22. Born in Blood by John Robinson
23. Born In Blood , author's last name was Robinson.
24. Born in Blood by Robinson. The Mystic Tie by Allen C. Roberts. The Little Masonic Library edited by Carl H. Claudy
25. Born in Blood by Robinson. The Mystic Tie by Allen E. Roberts. The Little Mason Library edited by Carl H. Claudy
26. Born in Blood john Robinson. Pilgrim's Progress
27. Born in Blood. A Pilgrims Path. Morals & Dogma by A. Pike
28. Born in Blood. Freemasonry for Dummies
29. Born in Blood. Pilgrim's Path. To Be Made A Mason. Lost Symbol
30. Born in Blood, a pilgrims path
31. Born in Blood, Free from restraint, Masonry for Dummies (seriously) by brother De Hoyas.
32. Buscar en la web la página www.eeema
33. Cien años de soledad.
34. Claudy series
35. Complete Idiot's Guide to Freemasonry. Is It True What They Say About Freemasonry? Coil's Masonic Encyclopedia. Freemasons for Dummies
36. constitution. Masonry for Dummies
37. Curso Filosófico de las Iniciaciones Antiguas, y De la Masonería Oculta y de la Iniciación Hermética, J.M. Ragón; Historia Filosófica de la Masonería, Kauffman y Cherpin; La Vida Oculta de la Masonería y demás obras de C.W. Leadbeater; Las Claves Perdidas de la Masonería y demás obras de Manly P. Hall; Los Arquitectos y La Religión de la Masonería, de J. F. Newton, etc.
38. Dan Brown's Books, Secrets of Freemasonry
39. Diccionario Enciclopédico de la Masonería de Frau Abrines. Masonería el Código de la Luz de Kabaleb y Kashiel
40. Diccionario masónico de Lavanini
41. dont know
42. El aprendiz mason
43. El aprendiz masón de Aldo lavagnini
44. El aprendiz mason y sus misterios. autor Jorge adoum
45. El hombre mediocre Tartufo. Ensayo sobre la ceguera
46. EL LIBRO NEGRO DE LA MASONERIA
47. EL LIBRO NEGRO DE LA MASONERIA
48. El libro negro de la Masonería
49. El manual del aprendís. Filosofía masónica. El kibalion. Los cátaros. La inquisición. Ensayo de la ceguera
50. el manual del aprendiz
51. el manual del aprendiz Mason
52. El protocolo de los sabios de Sion.
53. Enciclopedia masonica
54. Enciclopedia Masónica
55. ENCICLOPEDIAS MASONICAS
56. Encyclopedia of Freemasonry by Albert G. Mackey. However, the internet is much more convenient to request information on Freemasonry.
57. Filosofía de la masonería. Simbolismo de la masoneria
58. First choice would be all the books written by John J. Robinson
59. Free from Restraint de Lewis E Kittell
60. Free Masons for Dummies
61. Freemasonry Before King Solomon's Temple. Stellar Theology and Masonic Astronomy
62. Freemasonry for Dummies
63. Freemasonry for Dummies

64. Freemasonry for Dummies by Christopher Hodapp
65. Freemasonry for dummies for a starter
66. Freemasonry for Dummies. Born in Blood
67. Freemasonry for dummies. Duncan's Ritual of Freemasonry
68. Freemasons for Dummies
69. Freemasons for Dummies. Idiot's Guide to Freemasonry. Free From Restraint
70. Freemasons for Dummies. Meaning of Masonry
71. Freemasons for Dummies. The Origins of Freemasonry. Introduction to Freemasonry.
72. freemasony for dummies
73. Goldstein Touvia Francmasoneria en preguntas y respuestas
74. hand outs from Grand Lodge
75. Haven't thought about it.
76. Hiram's Key. The Idiots Guide to Freemasonry
77. Historia de la masonería
78. Historia de la masonería. El aprendiz. El símbolo perdido
79. I can't think of any. I would talk to and answer questions they might have
80. I don't recommend books. Too many are long winded essays on what a great Mason I am. I recommend the ocasional short article. Let Masonry unfold with time and make it yours.
81. I HAVE MANY I RECCOMEND THE FIRST IS 'FREEMASONRY FOR DUMMIES'
82. I recommend Born in Blood. To new members or nonMasons I reccomend Freemasonry for Dummies and The Idiots Guide to Freemasonry. I know the authors personally and they are well written to inform.
83. I would suggest, however, that that newly raised Mason hit the Public Library to pick our any and all he might like to read
84. I wouldn't recommend any.
85. Idiot's Guide to Freemasonry. Freemasons for Dummies
86. it good event to belong to
87. Jay Kinney's Masonic Myth, David Stevenson's Origins of Freemasonry, Tobias Churton's Golden Builders, S. Brent Morris Royal Secret in America before 1801, Dafoe's The Compass and the Cross
88. John J. Robinson
89. John J. Robinson's, 'A Pilgrim's Path.' 'Freemasons For Dummies' is an excellent primer for non-Masons and new Masons.
90. La constitución de la orden en Bucaramanga
91. la historia de la masonería en santander
92. La Leyenda de Hiram. El Codigo Da vinci. El simbolo perdido. El cementerio de praga
93. LA LITURGIA DE APRENDIZ
94. La Masoneria deChristian Jacq
95. La Masonería en la Independencia de la Nueva Granada- Manual del Derecho masónico,
96. Le indicaría que en la biblioteca de la Gran Logia de Los Andes hay bastantes libros sobre todos los tópicos de la institución
97. Libros de aldo lavagnini. los 33 temas del aprendiz. manual de derecho masónica. historia filosofica de la masonería. historia de la masoneria colombiana
98. LOS 33 TEMAS DEL APRENDIZ MASON
99. Los 33 temas del Aprendiz Mason, El Aprendiz y sus Misterios, La Constitucion de Anderson y La constitucion, los estatutos y los reglamentos internos de nuestra logia
100. Los diccionarios de masoneria
101. LOS GRANDES INICIADOS. LIBERTAD Y TOLERANCIA. PELÍCULA 'EL DIPUTADO' de Cantinflas. LA REBELIÓN Y EL RETORNO DE LOS BRUJOS
102. Los hijos de la Luz el cual fue traducido del manuscrito Francés por Gloria Susana de Aibourg y el Catecismo Masónico simbolico, Elemental de Miguel Camacho Sanchez E.·.E.·.O.·.E.·.
103. Los manuales de aldo lavagnini
104. Lost Symbol, Dan Brown. The Da Vinci Code, Dan Brown. The Builders, Newton. Complete Idiot's Guide tomFreemasonry, Brent Morris
105. Manual del aprendiz

106. Manual del Aprendiz - Aldo Lavagnini. Los 7 Principios Hermeticos - El Kybalion. Los 33 temas del Aprendiz -Terrones Benitez. The Secret Teachings of all ages - Manly P. Hall. El Libro del Aprendiz - Wirth Oswald
107. Manual del Aprendiz de Aldo Lavagnini. Manual de Derecho Masónico de Rodólfo Mantilla
108. manual del Aprendiz masón (Lavagnini). Kybalion El libro negro de la Francmasonería(S.R.deLaFerriere). El alma del liderazgo(D.Chopra). La sabiduría antigua(Annie Besant)
109. Manual del aprendiz mason de Aldo Lavagnini
110. Manual del Aprendiz, el ara, la masoneria,
111. Manual del aprendiz. El Segundo Mesías.
112. Manual del Profano Aspirante, Slideshere. Masonería para Profanos, _____ _____ _____ 'Diálogo entre un Masón y un Profano, recomendada para ser publicada.
113. Masonry for Dummies
114. Masonry for Dummies
115. Masonry for Dummies is good. There are many good resources available for a newly raised Mason.
116. masonry for dummies.
117. masons for dummies
118. me reservo las referencias solo lo haría en persona
119. Morals & Dogma
120. Morals and Dogma, Bridge to light, encyclopedia of freemasonry.
121. Morals and Dogma.
122. Ninguno en especial,,, que sea guiado por el respectivo maestro de su columna.
123. No tengo en mente ninguno, mi recomendación es que investigue y lea sobre los temas que su Vigilante le sugiera.
124. none
125. none
126. NONE
127. NONE
128. Old Tyler Talks Claudy. freemasonry for dummies Hodapp
129. Our places and stations, the Masonic officer's handbook, and freemasonry for dummies.
130. Primero que lea bien y asimile la liturgia del grado, despues el Manual Del Aprendiz de Aldo Lavagnini de Ediciones KIER.
131. Probably none.
132. Raised in Blood
133. Ritual book only.
134. Setting the Record Straight - Mormons Masons by Gilbert Scharffs
135. Short talk bulletin
136. Short Talk Bulletins. FreeMasons for Dummies
137. SI: MANUAL DEL APRENDIZ. EL SIMBOLO PERDIDO
138. some Shakespeare to warm up to olde english. ha
139. The Builders by Joseph Newton and Freemasons for Dummies
140. The Craft and The Cross by Chris McClintoch;The Lion's Paw by Claudy; Born in Blood by John J. Robinson;
141. The Freemasons by Jasper Ridley. Way of the Craftsman by Kirk Macnulty. The Masonic Myth by Jay Kinney. Masonic Trivia and Facts by Allen Roberts
142. The Master's book by Claudy, Duncan's Masonic Ritual and Monitor, The Mystic Tie,
143. The Short Talk Bulletin. ANY or ALL of them.
144. The Short Talk Bulletins from the Lodge Library. The Masonic Information in his Masonic Bible. His respective city cemetery headstones.
145. There is a huge amount of literature. But one good place for those short of time are the short talk bullitensno
146. Those by Mr. Robertson
147. Todos los libros que hablen de masonería, escritos por Masones de diferentes grados y ópticas
148. too many to list

149. Too wide a choice. Would have to tailor to his interests, philosophy? History? Ritual? Charitable activities or opportunities?
150. Vigilar y castigar Cien años de soledad. Damin. Entrevista con la historia
151. visiting a Masonic library
152. What is a Mason. Masonry for Dummies
153. Would have to get advise from a lodge member

(**Table 16:** Survey Responses to Q15, Book Recommendation Data)

Question 16 (Q16):
(ENG) What qualities do you feel an individual must have in order to become a Mason?
(ESP) ¿Qué cualidades usted siente que una persona debe tener para llegar a ser un Mason?
(see Table 17)

NOTE: I have removed location-specific title positions, names, specific locations, or personal links that were listed here to protect the identity and privacy of the participant.

RESPONSES
sorted

1. No alienado
2. Want to learn what Masonary is all about.
3. ¡El amor por el hermano!
4. 1. Good character - especially being honest. 2. Strong belief in Fatherhood of God & brotherhood of man + evident being put into actual practice. 3. Financial means + stability. 4. Willingness + desire to memorize ritual or you will get nowhere in Masonry
5. 1:Estudioso. 2:Fraterno. 3:Tolerante. 4:Libre y de buenas costumbre
6. A basic honesty and a desire to improve himself
7. A belief in A Supreme Being
8. A belief in a Supreme Being. A desire to make friends from different backgrounds, religions and ethnicities. A need to be a part of something larger than oneself. A willingness to serve. A willingness to accept all men as equal.
9. A belief in his Deity, self worth, passion for others
10. A Christian, law abiding, honest
11. A desire to improve himself
12. A desire to improve himself. A belief in God. A willingness to serve others.
13. A desire to see the world as a just and pleasant place for all.
14. A desire to work towards the elevation of man
15. a good character/ soul. integrity, compassion
16. a good man. Well reccommended by younger Masons and older.
17. A good sense of right and wrong
18. A great person, moral and brotherly
19. A man must above all else be truthful and of high personal integrity.
20. A man of good morals and good heart.
21. A man of recognizably good character, temperance and curiosity.
22. A man, freeborn, of good report, and well recommended.
23. A reasonably pure heart, and a strong desire to help mankind
24. Además de ser libre y de buenas costumbres, demostrada honestidad, adogmático, preferentemente laico, pero respetuoso del credo de los demás.

25. Age, be smart enough to ask to join, and a desire to be a better man.
26. An honest man willing to learn.
27. Ante todo, sentirlo en su corazón.
28. Be a decent human being and have a clean slate (no criminal past)
29. Be a good man, a fair man, and belif in God.
30. Be a man of good moral standards and principles
31. belief in a supreme being and a good person
32. Belief in deity. Interest in learning
33. BELIEF IN GOD
34. Belief in God, seeker of truth
35. Belief in God. Good Morals. A desire to become a better person.
36. Believe in a higher power. Man of good
37. Believe in Deity or a supreme being (God)
38. Believe in God
39. believe in god and like help other to be their best
40. Brotherly love, relief and truth. Belief in the Supreme Being or the Great Architect of the Universe. A moral code to become a better man and Mason.
41. BUEN CIUDADANO BUEN ESPOSO BUEN PADRE
42. Buscador de la verdad y del perfeccionamiento humano
43. Charity. Honesty. Integrity. Committment.
44. Clean charater, good repute, belief in a supreme being (monothesistic), charitable.
45. common sense for one, a good person inside..
46. Como lo dicen nuestros principios, libre y de buenas costumbres
47. compassion, self-motivation, self-discipline, patience, tolerance, objectivity, common sense
48. COMPRENCION Y RESPETO
49. Decent morals, Thinker, Well liked be peers.
50. Dedication, willingness to better oneself, charitable.
51. Deseo sincero de conocerse a sí mismo. Deseo de servicio a los demás. Honestidad
52. Dignidad es el principal valor que nos hace diferente de los demás seres vivos.
53. el deseo de ser mejor , sobre todo en su entorno, en su famiia y el deseo de servir a sus semejante sean masones o no.
54. Enamorarse de la masonería. cumplir con lo que juro en la iniciación. trabajar por la masonería. ser una persona solidaria. estudiar todos los dias
55. Enjoy sociability with men. Toleration of religious and other differences. An interest in learning
56. Espíritu investigativo. Bondad. Fraternidad. Capacidad de lectura y cuestionamiento. Capacidad de sacrificio y lealtad
57. Espiritualidad
58. Etica, Honestidad y libre pensamiento.
59. Faith Hope and Compassion
60. Fidelidad. Tolerancia. Filantropia
61. Good / quality person
62. Good character and morals
63. Good character. Integrity. Intelligence
64. good character. thoughtful and free-thinking
65. Good chariter, Secure financially, tolerance. charity.
66. Good man, belief in God/Higher Power/lawful age/interested in worldwide equality of all people/interest in charity & community commitment to basic tenets of Freemasonry (Brotherly Love, Relief & Truth), interest in bettering himself mentally & spiritually
67. Good Moral Character

68. Good Moral character
69. Good moral character, honest, and is in good rapport with is fellow man.
70. Good morals. Desire to improve oneself. Curiosity. Strong urge for introspection
71. Great ethics and morals
72. High integrity as well as a commitment to the task at hand. Also interested in outreach to help those in need.
73. hombre libre de Buenas costumbres, que practique la fila tropa,
74. hombre libre y de buenas costumbres
75. HONEST. LOYAL. COMMITTED. CHARITABLE
76. honest, ethical, compassionate, help others because it's the right thing to do.
77. honest, God-fearing, charitable, tribal
78. Honest, loyal, committed, responsible,
79. Honest, respectable, in search of improvement for self, difference maker, devoted, a clear sense of right and wrong
80. Honest, tolerant especially i the religious sector, and a penchant for joining, wotking with, etc. such a group
81. Honest, trustworthy, loyal, good moral character
82. Honestidad
83. honestidad y filantropia
84. Honestidad y libre pensamiento
85. Honestidad, deseo de aprender, tolerancia y altruismo
86. Honestidad, Fraternidad, amante de la lectura, culto, gentil, de buenas costumbres
87. Honest-not addicted to porn,alcohol.drugs-be well regarded in the community-be able to support himself & family-The ability to read and understand our laws rules & regulations
88. Honesty
89. HONESTY & FAITH IN GOD
90. HONESTY AND FAITH IN GOD
91. Honesty, a belief in the goodness of man and a trusting faith in deity
92. Honesty, capable of individual thought, intellectual curiosity, moral and courage
93. Honesty, humility, willingness to contribute.
94. Honesty, integrity and selflessness.
95. Honesty, Integrity, and Compassion for others.
96. Honesty, Integrity, Dedication & belief in a Supreme being.
97. honesty, integrity, honor, work ethic
98. Honesty, integrity, true, Loyal, (traditional old school values)
99. honesty, loyalty, good attitude
100. honesty, open-mindedness, fearless ideas.
101. honesty, sobriety
102. Honesty, work ethic, willingness to ask questions and to understand you don't become a mason over night.
103. Honor and commitment.
104. Honor, Loyalty, Integrity and a desire to give back.
105. honor, trustworthy
106. Honradez solidaridad, estudio,sensibilidad social libertad, fraternidad, igualdad,honradez, estudio, respeto y tolerancia.
107. Honrado, de buenas costumbres, cuestionador
108. Humildad, afán de superación y conocimiento en la Masonería, constancia, honestidad
109. integridad, tolerancia, respeto a la opinion de los otros y creencia en la capacidad de mejoramiento del ser humano
110. Integrity

111. Integrity
112. Intellectual curiosity, Spiritual yearning, Moral rectitude and a desire to be a greater service to God, his neighbor and his family.
113. intelligence, want to learn and expand the mind.
114. Intelligent, honest, helping othersFaith in so
115. Interested in improving self and community.
116. Just be a good man. Not much else.
117. JUST, UPRIGHT, OPEN MINDED, HUMBLE
118. Libre de pensamiento
119. Libre de pensamiento y de Buenas costumbres
120. Libre pensador
121. Libre y de buenas constumbres
122. Libre y de buenas costumbres
123. LIBRE Y DE BUENAS COSTUMBRES
124. Libre y de buenas costumbres
125. LIBRE, DE BUENAS COSTUMBRES, CORRECTO, HONESTO, ESTUDIOSO, SINCERO, BUEN AMIGO.
126. Long list... humble humility charity dignity chivalry honorable trustworthy faithful true compassionate etc etc
127. Looking to expand his knowledge. Involvement in his community. Willingness to follow and to lead
128. Man
129. Men of good character, honest, and believe in a supreme being.
130. Moral valules and having the abbition to want to help others and himself
131. Must be of sound mind, have high integrity, And be willing to put others first.
132. Must have a good moral compass. Generally a good person not taking advantage of others, doesn't lie or cheat, and shows an interest in Masonry
133. No Shelfish Interests. No Vanity. Not Prone to Anger. ALWAYS Positive. Never SLANDER others. His ACTIONS show WISDOM
134. One who is honest, forthright, and willing to listen, learn and change. A man with whom honor is sacred and virtue safe.
135. opened and free mind, solidarity with the pain or suffering their brothers.
136. outgoing, persistent, willing to give to others, caring, trusting, morals
137. Paciencia. Curiosidad
138. Passion and Intellect capable of refinement
139. Persona proba, correcta y de buenas costumbres
140. possitive attiduted
141. Que ame de verdad la masoneria, por algunos entren querrerla pero se van diluyendo con sus inasistencias ademas de ser libres y de buenas costumbres
142. Que crea la existencia de un ser superior. Hombre libre y de buenas costumbres
143. Que sea libre y de buenas costumbres
144. Religious. Integrity. High morals
145. selflessness, altruism, an interest in history
146. Ser de mente abierta y libre, tolerante y respetuoso de las ideas de los demás
147. Ser de pensamiento libre, honesto, responsable con las tareas que se propone, trabajador, con integridad, humilde, puntual, creyente en un principio creador, filantropo, confiabilidad, querer aprender
148. Ser hombre libre y de buenas costumbres
149. Ser hombre libre y de buenas costumbres
150. Ser honesto, serio y cumplido
151. Ser libre de dogma, capacidad para razonar y reclamar ante la duda, verticalidad moral. Gran interés en mejorarse como hombre espiritual.
152. Ser libre y de buenas costumbres

153. ser libre y de buenas costumbres, libertad, igualdad y fraternidad, caridad, esperanza y fe
154. SER LIBREPENSADOR
155. Ser Tolerante , sencillo y que comparta con sus semejantes, ademas de creer en un principio creador
156. Ser una persona honesta. Tener identidad con los preceptos de la masonería.
157. SER UNA PERSONA LIBRE Y DE BUENAS COSTUMBRES
158. Sinceridad, honestidad, ser caritativo y amante de la Libertad
159. Sincerity. Honesty. The ability to introspect. Commitment to improvement. Take the Craft seriously, for what it is, not what you want it to be.
160. Solidario, Fraterno, buenas costumbres
161. They must be at a place in their life where they can balance the obligations of the fraternity with their civil religious vocational and family duties
162. To be open minded, able to listen and understand others opinions and be of good moral character.
163. Tolerancia, sentimiento social, inquietudes intelectuales, estabilidad emocional.
164. Tolerancia. Discernimiento. Apertura a la nueva información
165. Tolerante, respetuoso y de una ética personal, empresarial a toda prueba
166. Transparente y puntual
167. Un gran respeto a si mismo, para poder entender y respetar la Masoneria
168. UN GRAN SENTIDO DE LA HISTORIA
169. willing to volunteer his time and speaking capability. Honesty, Integrity

(**Table 17:** Survey Responses to Q16, Qualities to Become a Mason Data)

Question 17 (Q17):
(ENG) What do you feel the basic values/beliefs/tenets of Freemasonry are?
(ESP) ¿Cuáles usted siente que son los valores / creencias / principios básicos de la Masonería?
(see Table 18)

NOTE: I have removed location-specific title positions, names, specific locations, or personal links that were listed here to protect the identity and privacy of the participant.

RESPONSES
sorted

1. - Be a man of 'lawful age,' which is usually either 18 or 21, depending on the rules of the Grand Lodge of your jurisdiction -Believe in God or a Supreme Being (it does not matter what religion you subscribe to or how you worship) -Be loyal to your country and abide by its laws -Be a man of good character
2. 1. Fatherhood of God + brotherhood of man.
3. A duty to God , faith in your neighbor, honesty, a feeling of charity to man kind
4. A fundamental belief in doing what is right; a hope for life after death.
5. A man of sound moral principles and character, along with a faith based belief in Deity and the immortality of the human soul and healthy degree of curiosity.

6. All of the above plus the greatest value is to help your fellow man.
7. All the goals and hopes of the Enlightenment
8. Altruismo,honestidad,fraternidad,unión
9. Always try to improve yourself as a person being the best person you can be in all circumstances. Control your passions about subjects and never judge another by his appearance or by the choices he makes as if you were in the same situation, you have no idea what your choices would be.
10. An understanding that the world is complex and there is a greater power
11. As God is our Father, all men are Brothers.
12. Be the man that you want your children to think you are.
13. Belief in A higher power, Brotherly love, Relief + Truth
14. BELIEF IN A SUPREME BEING. CHARITY. HONESTY. FAITH
15. Belief in Deity and the immortality of the human soul.
16. Belief in God, the Bible and teaching morals and behavior
17. Belief in God. Good Morals. A desire to become a better person.
18. Believe in one God-honest-loyal
19. Brotherhood, self improvement and thereby community improvement, honesty, trust, all things that are good and wholesome.
20. Brotherhood, spritual ecumunism and self development.
21. brotherly love
22. Brotherly Love (equality of all persons). Relief (charity and helping those in need generally). Truth (honesty and a search for Truth in a spiritual/esoteric sense
23. Brotherly Love / Fraternity: Relief. Truth
24. brotherly love and friend ship
25. BROTHERLY LOVE. RELIEF & TRUTH
26. BROTHERLY LOVE. RELIEF & TRUTH
27. Brotherly love. Relief. Support
28. Brotherly love. Relief. Truth
29. Brotherly love. Relief. Truth .Faith. Hope. Charity
30. Brotherly Love. the relief of others as is possible. to be good and True. Fortitude. Prudence. Temperance. Justice
31. Brotherly love, as well as those qualities from the above question.
32. Brotherly Love, integrity, charitable.
33. Brotherly love, relief
34. Brotherly love, relief & truth.
35. Brotherly Love, Relief and Truth. Faith, Hope and Charity
36. Brotherly love, relief and truth.
37. Brotherly Love, Relief and Truth.
38. brotherly love, relief and truth.
39. Brotherly Love, Relief Truth
40. brotherly love, relief, and truth
41. Brotherly Love, Relief, and Truth
42. Brotherly love, relief, and truth. Help the world by being the best person you can be, and spread that. We look out for each other, but try to help everyone.
43. BROTHERLY LOVE, RELIEF, TRUTH
44. Brotherly love, relief, truth
45. Brotherly love, relief, truth, charity
46. Buscar la perfección del ser humano y lograr la igualdad entre todas

las personas. Respeto y enseñanza como escuela mutua del conocimiento.

47. By improving men and strengthen each Mason, Masonry seeks to improve the community. Charity, education and being religious all make a greater Man and Mason. Teaching honor and responsibility with charity
48. Ceo en un se Supremo Creador de todas las cosas y hacer siempre el bien sin mirar a quien
49. charity and truth
50. Charity to others as needed and when deserving. Genuine love and affection for Masonic bretheren and in turn for the larger brotherhood of man. Truth; seeking it and spreading it as well as staying true to my vows to my brothers and my G*d.
51. Charity, Brotherly Love, Reief and Truth.
52. charity, relief, truth, tolerance.
53. Charity, reverence, decency, honesty.
54. Commitment to the core of members within our Lodges here in _____ and a willingness to work in harmony with other members.
55. Como constructores debemos seguir afirmando y sosteniendo los principios ideales y valores morales para que sobre ellos puede establecerse en el mundo el reino de la Luz de la Paz y de la Felicidad.
56. Creencia en un ser supremo que llamamos el Gran Arquitecto del Universo, la honestidad, la ética a toda prueba y la solidaridad con sus hermanos y semejantes
57. CREER EN LA LIBERTAD DEL HOMBRE Y EN LA IGUALDAD DE LOS HOMBRES
58. Creer en un principio crador del universo, ser de mente abierta y disernir entre lo bueno y lo malo para todos y no para el,
59. Deity, Family, Country and Friends
60. El mejoramiento del ser interior.
61. El respeto a la dignidad humana. Tener la capacidad de tratar con fraternidad y en un plano de igualdad a todos los miembros de la orden
62. Faith hope Charity, Brotherly Love,
63. Faith in something bigger than yourself, hope in a worthwhile future, and charity to others.
64. Faith. Charity
65. faith, hope and filial love
66. faith, hope, charity and brotherly love.
67. Faith, hope, charity, brotherly love, relief and truth.
68. Fatherhood of God. Brotherhood of mankind. Chirty towards all
69. Fellowship with right thinking men.
70. fraternalism, honor, valor,respect. love of country
71. Fraternidad igualdad libertad
72. fraternidad, tolerancia, respeto, filas tropa, creencia en un ser supremo creador de todo
73. fraternidad, filantropia, tolerancia
74. FRATERNIDAD, FILANTROPIA, TOLERANCIA, LAICISMO, LIBERTAD, IGUALDAD,
75. Fraternidad, independencia religiosa, estudio de virtudes
76. Fraternidad, Solidaridad, Igualdad.
77. Fraternidad.

78. Fraternity - that all men are equal despite religion, politics, profession, etc.
79. fraternity. benevolence. personal enlightenment
80. Friendship, Morality and Brotherly love.
81. Friendship, morality, and brotherly love
82. Friendship, Morality, Brotherly Love, relief, truth
83. frienship, brotherly, charity
84. Good works, deeds and intentions should be practiced at all times to strive toward making it into everlasting heaven.
85. Hay muchos pero yo diría conocer la vida y estudiar
86. Help men and other Mason's become better men and Mason's and help children become better children in the Demolay, Jobe's daughter, and Rainbow girls
87. Helps me be a better person.
88. Honest, loyal, committed, responsible,
89. Honestidad, Justicia, Libertad y buenas costumbres
90. Honesty and helping others
91. Honesty and integrity
92. Honesty helping our fellow man
93. Honesty, believing in a higher power, willing to learn, helping one another.
94. Honesty, character, human solidarity, involvement
95. honesty, integrity, honor, work ethic
96. HONESTY,BRAVERY,PATRIOTIC BELIEFS,BELIEF IN GOD,COMMON SENSE VIRTUES
97. Honor, la prudencia, la rectitud.
98. Honor, Loyalty, Integrity, a desire to become a better person and helping others.
99. Igualdad
100. IGUALDAD. LIBERTAD
101. Igualdad educacion
102. Igualdad y equidad. Libertad. Fraternidad. Tolerancia
103. La fraternidad , ayuda al prójimo , búsqueda del conocimiento y de la verdad
104. la fraternidad, la tolerancia, el libre pensamiento, el laicismo.la filantropia y el deseo de autoconstruirse.
105. La fraternidad, no hacer al otro lo que no quieras que te hagan a ti.
106. La igualdad, la libertad y la fraternidad entre hermanos
107. La libertad de pensamiento
108. LA LIBERTAD, EL RESPETO AL DERECHO AJENO
109. La masonería es la más seria reserva moral de la humanidad. Un masón es un modelo digno de ser imitado y jamás repudiado. Libertad, fraternidad, igualdad, altruísmo y filantropía son las divisas que nos conducen al Amor a la humanidad, bajo el concepto de que todos somos hermanos.
110. Laicismo, Tolerancia, Apertura.
111. Lealtad. Fidelidad. Sigilo. Tolerancia. Firmeza. Templanza
112. Liberta, Igualdad, Fratenidad soportados en un verdadero amor por la humanidad.
113. Libertad de pensamiento, tolerancia, fraternidad
114. LIBERTAD IGUALDAD Y FRATERNIDAD
115. libertad. igualdad. fraternidad
116. Libertad. Igualdad. Fraternidad. AMOR
117. libertad, cultura, fraternidad, filantropia, autosuperacion,

espiritualidad, virtud, rectitud
118. Libertad, fraternidad, igualdad, tolerancia, honor a la palabra dada, sensibilidad social, respeto a los derechos de los demás, espiritualidad.
119. LIbertad, Igualdad y Fraternidad
120. Libertad, igualdad y fraternidad
121. Libertad, Igualdad y Fraternidad
122. Libertad, Igualdad, Fraternidad
123. Libertad,igualdad,fraternidad.
124. Libertad. Solidaridad. La búsqueda de la verdad.
125. Looking are yourself, the world around you and those around you in a very different way. A better understanding of life is about.
126. Los principios básicos de la masonería universal son: Libertad, Igualdad y Fraternidad. Los valores si son muchos y las creencias religiosas son libres y nunca las discutimos
127. Make you a better man
128. Making good men better recognizing brotherly love, charity and truth (in all itsw aspects)
129. Making good men better.
130. Making you a better rounded person
131. Moral conduct towards all.
132. morales, beleif in a superior being , ect.
133. Moralidad, fraternidad, espiritualidad
134. PARA MI EL PRINCIPIO BASICO ES EL DE HACER EL BIEN SIN ESPERAR A CAMBIO RECOMPENSA ALGUNA
135. Relief, Truth and Brotherly Love.
136. Relief,Truth and Brotherly love
137. religious toleration; rights of the individual; social equality
138. Respeto a toda creencia, libertad,libertad buenas costumbres.el crecimiento personal es responsabilidad individual
139. RESPETO POR LAS OPINIONES DIFERENTES
140. Respeto, tolerancia
141. See #16
142. see above[419]
143. See attached _____
144. Sensibilidad social y humana; Tolerancia, principalmente ante las creencias ajenas; Fraternidad; Supremacía de la Razón. Superar las barreras de la ignorancia y el dogma. Continua superación personal, con compromiso social.
145. Ser amigo de mis hermanos,leal,franco,creer en un ser superior,hablar con la verdad
146. Ser un hombre libre y debuenas costumbres, tolerante y creer en el principio del Gran Arquitecto del universo
147. Servicio. Entrega. Investigacion
148. Solidarity, fraternity, believe in any form of God.
149. that thoughts and ideas are the most the most valuable part of life.
150. The standard ones

[419] The responses for these questions have been ordered. Therefore “see above” here does not indicate the response directly above (i.e. “See #16) but rather, likely, their response to the previous question in the survey which indicates that they feel that the qualities an individual must have in order to become a Mason mirror the the basic values/beliefs/tenets of Freemasonry, which, incidentally, the above response (“See #16”) also indicates.

151. They believe in a supreme being that has given them free will and does not have radical beliefs about others.
152. They provide guidance to individuals on how to conduct their lives to be acceptable in the eyes of God
153. To make a man a better man
154. to help others
155. To make hood men better through brotherly love
156. Tolerancia y fraternidad
157. Tolerancia. Libertad de pensamiento. Solidaridad. Aceptación de los cambios
158. Tolerancia, libertad de pensamiento, sentimiento de ayuda para los demás.
159. trustworthy, honorable, brother hood.
160. Trustworthy, responsible,
161. truth, justice, and honor. God, family, and country
162. We are responsible for our choices and their effects. We are responsible for our neighbors and community.
163. We make men better by drawing their skills. Belief in our country. Want to make a difference for others
164. wisdom strange beauty temperance fortitude prudence justice brotherly love relief truth
165. yes believe helping others

(**Table 18:** Survey Responses to Q17, Values/Beliefs/Tenets of Freemasonry Data)

Question 18 (Q18):
(ENG) In the context of Masonry, what does the term journey mean to you personally?
(ESP) En el marco de la Masonería, ¿qué significa el término "viaje" para usted personalmente?

(see Table 19)

NOTE: Responses were read for identifying markers, none were removed as none were determined to be present. However, the question itself engendered responses of a personal nature. An aggregate list format also, I feel, unnecessarily simplifies this concept as it relates to the experiences of the participants of this study. I have, however, included it here as a response-list to the survey question. The responses to Q18 were considered for interpretation and discussion in relevant sections of this dissertation. Likewise, as with responses from other questions, excerpts and samples (with identifying information omitted) from this list of responses are given in relevant sections of this dissertation within broader contexts.

RESPONSES

Sorted (Responses that were left blank are included intentionally)

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23.
24.
25.
26. A journey to more learning in masonry
27. Its a learning experience every day, every meeting and every degree.
28. ?
29. 37 years ago it was about being a better person.

    Today the map is not so 'well defined.' Now it was just nice to have fellow travelers that I could turn to and rely one. (for the most part)

30. A journey of self-reflection and improvement to build a spiritual temple within.
31. A learning experience through the degrees
32. A life journey in all its aspects--ups & downs, tragedies, and joys, etc., etc.
33. A life well-lived is one of continuous learning and personal growth.....and along the way you can do some good for your neighbors and community.
34. A path of self betterment.
35. A PathwAy to higher knowlEdgE And becoming A bEttER pErson.
36. a spiritual path to enlightenment
37. A TRANSFORMATION OF ONES MIND AND THEiR ACTiONS THAT dISPLAY the BEAUtiES OF of GOD'S LOVe.
38. A través de los viajes vivimos experiencias simbolicas de la masoneria que nos enseñan para ser una mejor mason
39. accion determinada para afrontar una prueba que ha de enriquecernos

40. All men must begin at the bottom and as they

    work the their way up and journey to higher principles, they receive more knowledge and

    the Mystic Ties of Freemasonry.
41. Always learning
42. an experience that may go one indefinitely.
43. As I make my personal journey along life's winding path, there are many situations and factors that affect me. As such, when I apply the philosophies and influences of my Masonic experience to my own actions and reactions to life, I find myself making better and more harmonious life decisions. From the sweet grass to the packing house. Birth 'til death. We travel between the eternities. Freemasonry helps me do that in a rich and fulfilling way.
44. being the best I can be
45. Cada cual estudia por si mismo y procura ser una mejor persona
46. Cambio de estado mental
47. Caminar conociendo
48. Camino
49. Camino de aprendizaje
50. conjunto de vivencias
51. Conocer los misterios y pasajes de la vida
52. Conocimiento
53. Constant serendipity to Masonic morality.
54. Constantly studying Masonry to improve yourself as a human being.
55. Displaying the basic values/beliefs/tenets of Freemasonry as we journey daily through this life to prepare for the journey we hope to travel after this life, with Jesus.
56. Each day I have to try and improve myself as a man, a husband and as a friend. I must keep in tack my fidelity.
57. El camino hacia la Luz, la búsqueda de la verdad oculta dentro de nuestro ser interior. 'nosce te ipsum'...y conocerás el universo y los dioses.
58. El camino que debemos recorrer para superarnos y dejar atras las paiones mundanas y el egoismo
59. El camino que todo masón debe recorrer buscando el pulimento de su piedra bruta.
60. EL PASO DE UN PUNTO A OTRO
61. El paso por el mundo terrenal demuestra el viaje que hacemos desde la niñez hasta que trascendemos del mismo mundo terrenal
62. Emprender el camino del conocimiento y descubrimiento de cosas nuevas especialmente esotéricas
63. En todas las ceremonias de Iniciación se otorga este nombre a las pruebas físicas, a que nos sometemos los profanos candidatos. Imitación de la directriz que llevaban los antiguos aspirantes a la Iniciación en los grandes misterios a travez de lo subterráneo, en que tenían lugar estas ceremonias y su significado pertenece al simbolismos de la Masonería Azul
64. Endeavoring everyday to be a better person and child of God as we move toward death and immortal life..
65. Enseñanza
66. es el camino que debemos recorrer para renacer a la verdadera luz
67. Es el periplo que debemos realizar para el perfeccionamiento individual que debemos realizar en todas las etapas de la vida masónica y profana.
68. es el recorrido simbolico que hacemos para ascender en cada grado
69. Es la concentracion de nuestra energia interior hacia una meta determinada, la base de todo esfuerzo que podemos hacer y de todo paso que podemos dar en esa direcccion. Es el reconocimiento de un camino y el dicernimiento de una determinada direccion.
70. es la forma de indicar el rrecorrido o experiencia en la tenida de iniciacion

71. Es la iniciación a una auténtica introspección para llagar al más difícil conocimiento que existe: el CONOCERSE A SÍ MISMO.
72. Es la representación simbólica de nuestro

    continua búsqueda lo que se encuentra en nuestro interior y que tenemos que descubrirlo. Representan las vivencias y experiencias del ser humano en su tránsito terrenal buscando permanentemente su propio mejoramiento y el de sus semejantes.
73. Es trascender dentro del conocimiento
74. Evolución personal
75. EXPERIENCIA MISTICA
76. Experiencia que conlleva más conocimiento
77. EXPERIENCIA Y APRENDIZAJE
78. experiencia y aprendizaje
79. Growing in personal knowledge
80. Growth
81. Growth.

    Who I was opposed to who I hope to be.

82. happiness, effort, learning, integration.
83. How I live my life as I go through life until I pass on.
84. I don't relate 'journey' to Masonry
85. In a lodge there is a rough stone and a perfect (smooth) stone. The rough stone represents our current state and the perfect stone what we aspire to. The journey is going from rough to smooth knowing we will never reach perfection.
86. Irse para el otro mundo
87. It can mean many things, but chiefly, the path a person takes through life.
88. It is a personal journey set by a story of personal growth. It is also a spiritual journey to every search for lost knowledge and wisdom.
89. It is an intellectual, spiritual in the sense that I realized I needed to attend and participate in my Church, renewed sense of willingness to participate in society and serve others. In addition, growing from the mentored to mentor.
90. It is simply a way of life that will give you a better understanding of a proper relationship to others.
91. It is the path of your life from where you started until you pass away.
92. It means the journey of a man's life portrayed symbolically by going through the Masonic Blue Lodge degrees.
93. It means to begin the process of learning about who we are as a fraternity and advancing thru the degrees, taking to heart the lessons learned, practice them in life. Continue to expand your knowledge of our great fraternity study
94. It never ends. We develop and grow without ceasing.
95. its never ending. Self discovery. Helping others to become better.
96. Journey - the progress or making of one's way from being who you are to becoming the better, more enlightened person you were meant to be.
97. 'Journey' is traveling on the path of learning from our mistakes, growing from that learning, and helping others along the way.
98. journey of ones maturity from child to man
99. Journey,is the trip one takes with their Supreeme Guide as there walk hand in hand into that world beyond which this world can not compare.
100. LA APERTURA DEL PENSAMIENTO

101. La introspección racional para reafirmar nuestros valores universales, que permite reencontrar y reafirmar el compromiso con la verdad y esa fratrenidad al servicio de la Humanidad.
102. la oportunidad de que el ser humano tome conciencia de su imperfección, se eleve sobre ellos, rompa las cadenas que lo atan a las pasiones y los vicios y se proyecte a hacerle el bien a sus semejantes
103. La vida.
104. learning
105. Learning

Seeking and striving to be better than one's self
106. learning and improving.
107. learning new things and maturing as an individual = wisdom
108. Learning passage
109. Learning to all you can about Masonry, to becoming a better man.
110. Learning.
111. Life
112. life
113. Life to the end
114. Literally the path i have taken in my quest for masonic light. There is no destination but a lifelong quest to learn how to become a better mason and, subsequently, a better man.
115. Masonic education towards life's journey as a Mason and person
116. Mon stop learning
117. moving through the 'chairs'
118. Moving through the various stages of life and hopefully becoming a better person year by year.
119. My endeavor to find more light and to learn more about myself through the endeavor.
120. My path from the time I first petitioned my Lodge through the day my apron rests on my casket and what I accomplish during that time to make myself better as a man.
121. My personal journey through the Craft. Every person will have a different reason and experience in his own journey.
122. My personal Masonic Journey has thus far been amass Masonic related history, philosophy and conjecture in a communicable format for those who follow behind me.
123. MY PERSONAL PATH TO HEAVEN
124. Oportunidad de evolución
125. Our life on this planet and an open mind to be a part of a brotherhood.
126. Over the years my journey keeps changing. What I thought as a young man, now differs from what I now do in Masonry. The journey never ends, because to strive in Masonry it takes you down many paths and each one is a journey
127. PARA MI CONCEPTO EN MASONERIA EL TERMINO VIAJE SIGNIFICA VISITA A LO DESCONOCIDO.
128. Pasar de la oscuridad a la luz
129. Pasar por diferentes ciclos de la vida.
130. PASSAGE THROUGH LIFE.
131. Personal faith and inner awareness of God and his greatness shown thru humanity
132. Personal growth
133. Personal growth.
134. progress in degrees
135. Progression of the mind and good habits.
136. Prueba a que se somete el iniciado y en sus posteriores ascensos para confrontarlo con las

situaciones reales de la vida y los principios que orientan a la masonería

137. Recorrer un camino para adquirir una virtud y renacer en una nueva vida, mejorando como persona íntegra
138. Recorrido entre el mundo profano y el mundo Masón
139. Recorrido por las diferentes circunstancias que se presentan en la vida con la oportunidad de conocerse a si mismo y de mejorar su personalidad
140. Reflexion en el tiempo de tipo alegorico
141. reflexión y cambio
142. represetnación de una mirada sobre formas de actuar de la humanidad
143. Seeking more light and participating the work and fellowship.
144. Simbólicamente significa, conocimiento y sabiduría, los que se adquieren en el templo, sin necesidad de salir de la logia.
145. Son los diferentes actos masónicos simbolicos a que se somete al profano para ser iniciado, para recibir el aumento de salario y también para ser exaltadque.
146. Spiritual growth toward heaven
147. striving for personal improvement by application of - living - the above tenets
148. Supongo que se refiere al viaje por la vida, el de eterno crecimiento. Al de labrar la piedra bruta.
149. Tener la capacidad para ser cada día mejor
150. That we're constantly evolving.
151. That you have travel through the bodies of Masonary an d you have learned what a mason is.
152. The day to day experience between birth and death.
153. The growth of an individual both spiritually and mentally from birth to life in the celestual lodge.
154. THE JOURNEY FROM JOINING TO BEING MASTER OF THE LODGE.
155. THE JOURNEY FROM JOINING TO BEING THE MASTER OF THE LODGE
156. the journey is the constant in life. there are many ways to enrich that constant for yourself and others. freemasonry is one of many tools that we use to shape life beautiful and simply.
157. The 'journey' is the reason for life. We have no control over our birth or death. The 'trip' and how we live is the important part. Make the journey valuable for yourself and all those whom you come in contact with.
158. The journey of a Mason is personal and something that should change him for the better through out the course of a lifetime.

    Masonry is more than an experience it is a lifestyle.
159. The Journey through Life + Masonry
160. The journey to me, means personal growth, learning all I can about myself. It means being part of a global brotherhood where I am welcome, fellowship and the opportunity to continually make new friends. It teaches me acceptance, of different cultures, religions and philosophies. It's a life long learning experience. It teaches me patience, civility and industry.
161. ThE journey to the celestial Lodge above.
162. The logical path from a new maon to a older yearning mason. There is no end to a masonic journey.
163. The movement in mind and virtue towards your wanted position. This is up to the individual to define. for me, its all about being the best version of myself at all times.
164. the ongoing process of understanding myself and my place in the social world and in my relationship with the transcendent, and the part that Masonic principles play in framing that process
165. the path that lies before you.
166. The path you take yo become a better mason and a better person.
167. The process of personal self improvement.
168. The progression a mason experiences in searching for universal truths and the process of growing as a result.

169. The study of Freemasonry is a philosophical journey toward enlightenment relating to various physical, metaphysical, anthropological and moralistic aspects of

    mankind and passing such enlightenment to those who follow.
170. There are (2) journey's. The first is the individual journey you take by yourself. The 2nd is the journey you take collectively with your Brothers.

171. This 'journey' started when I was initiated, during this time I seek to grow my 'inner temple' meaning I try to be a better father, husband, brother and citizen.
172. Time and path to the destination.
173. To continually improve myselt as a person.
174. To go from who I am now (general good, fair & compassionate person) To a better version of myself (improve myself as a man, husband, father, member of society at large)
175. To learn and make me a better man among my brothers
176. To learn from what I have been taught to use it to improve my knowledge and seek more education to improve myself
177. To learn. The destination is the same for all (death) but what you can learn a along the way is the journey
178. to reach a greater understanding of all things, god, Country, and man
179. To travel towards becoming A better person thAn I Am today.
180. Transformacion
181. Traveling East in search of Light, Knowledge, and Self Improvement.
182. Traveling through life's journey, traveling to other Masonic Lodges and Concordant bodies
183. UN EPISODIO MUY INTERESANTE
184. Un viaje es un cambio, el viaje te lleva de la imperfección a la búsqueda de la perfección
185. una enseñanza simbólica.
186. Una etapa de la vida
187. una proyección hacia un tema definido al pasado, al presente o al futuro.
188. understanding the different lectures in masonry
189. Vivencia práctica
190. walking with my brothers thru their troubles.

(**Table 19:** Survey Responses to Q18, Masonic Journey Description Data)

APPENDIX 2C:
COMPLETE VISUAL REPRESENTATION OF SURVEY RESULTS (GRAPHICAL) (TABLES).

AGGREGATE RESULTS

All Participants
Total Number of Responses: 191
Completion Rate: 71% (questionpro)
(Potential skew based on drop-out rates being calculated for all views of the survey (328 viewed, 269 started, 191 completed) (questionpro) which were uncompleted; some of these include my own views of the survey as well as the views of technical support when we were resolving the survey link error, which would indicate that the completion rate of study participants within this survey is higher than 71%. However, this percent does not account for those individuals who received a paper-copy of the survey and did or did not fill it out, or return it, or how many times it was copied between participants.)

Respondent Location (Country-based): see Table 1

List of countries / Lista de Países	
United States	57.25%
Colombia	34.94%
Puerto Rico	2.23%
India	1.86%
Unknown[420]	1.49%
Ecuador	0.37%
Uruguay	0.37%
Switzerland	0.37%
Great Britain	0.37%
Mexico	0.37%
Spain	0.37%

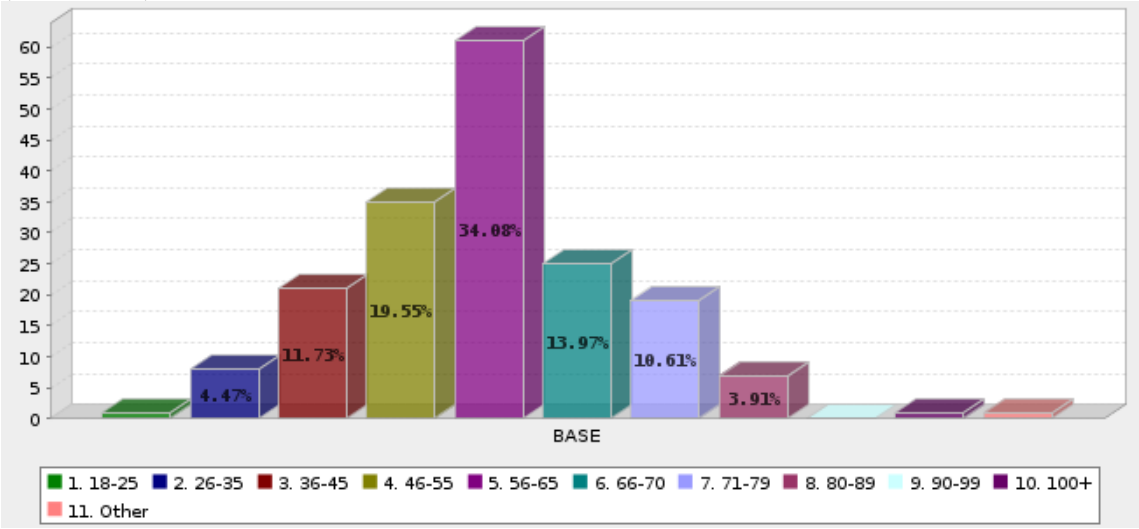
(Potential skew based on location data being calculated for all views of the survey which were both completed and uncompleted; technical support, for example, account for location data from **India**. I can

[420] "Unknown" locations are those for which there is no geocoded data in terms of IP address generation or other geographic marker for respondent. Geocodes are generated automatically based on location of respondent's device (lap top, tablet, mobile, etc.) at the time of survey completion. I have left the percentage of unknown responses included in the above gross data table, I have, however, accessed individual survey responses for each unknown location and, based on the response to Question 5: "(ENG) Which Blue Lodge do you attend / (SP) A Qué Logia Azul pertenece usted" I have manually included all "unknown" locations into the appropriate geographic location for results in the following section (Analysis of Survey Results – Additional Results[Geocoded]) based on the geographic location of stated Lodge.

calculate the location data based on Lodge location listed in the survey, which may indicate the location of the participant, but does not eliminate a potential skew for those participants who belong to multiple Lodges, or belong to a single Lodge, but reside in a different location, or were travelling at the time of survey taking.)

(**Table 1:** Survey Reponses, Country Location)

Question 1[421]:
(ENG) What is your current age? (SP) ¿Cuál es su edad actual?
(see Table 2)



18-25: 0.56%. **90-99:** 0%. **100+:** 0.56%.

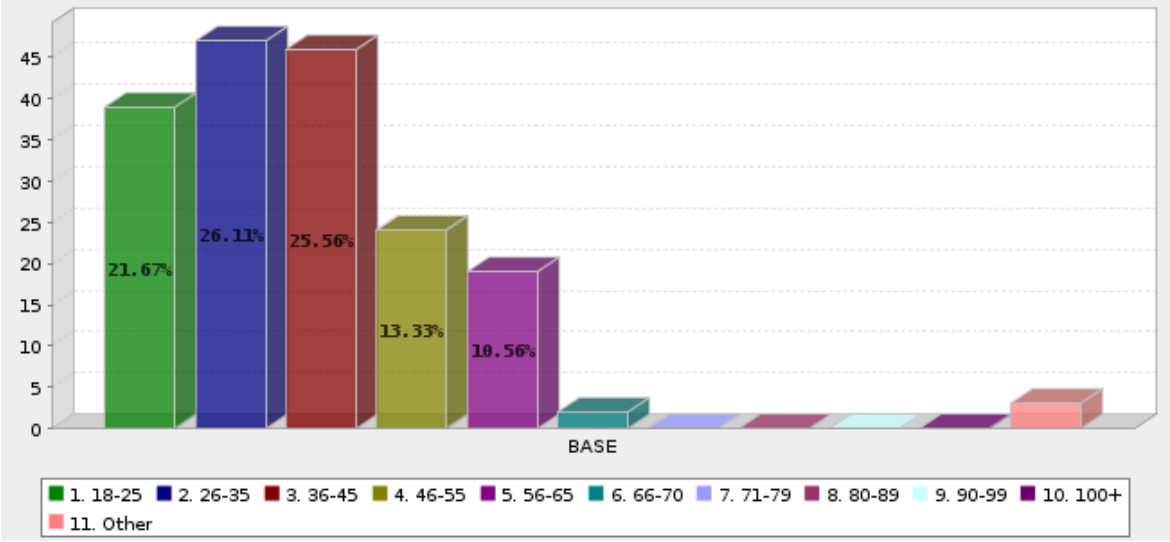
- one response for choice of *Other/Otro:*

2. 40

(**Table 2:** Survey Response to Question 1, Age Data)

[421] ENG: English; SP: Spanish. The survey was administered in both English and Spanish (participants had the option to choose). Questions are listed in both English and Spanish, typed results are listed in both English and Spanish. Some translations are provided for responses in relevant discussion sections.

Question 2:
(ENG) How old were you when you were Raised?[422] (SP) ¿Qué edad tenía cuando fue Exaltado?
(see Table 3)

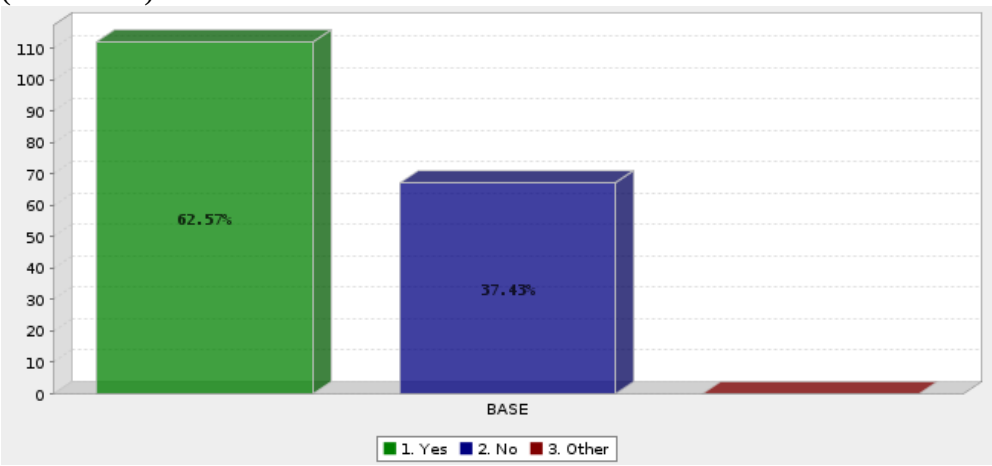


66-70: 1.11%. **71-79:** 0%. **80-89:** 0%. **90-99:** 0%. **100+:** 0%.

- three Response for choice of *Other/Otro:*
  1. 62
  2. *selected but no response entered*
  3. 38

(**Table 3:** Survey Reponses to Question 2, MM data)

Question 3:
(ENG) Do you have family members who are, or were, Masons? (SP) ¿Tiene familia que son, o eran, los Masones?
(see Table 4)

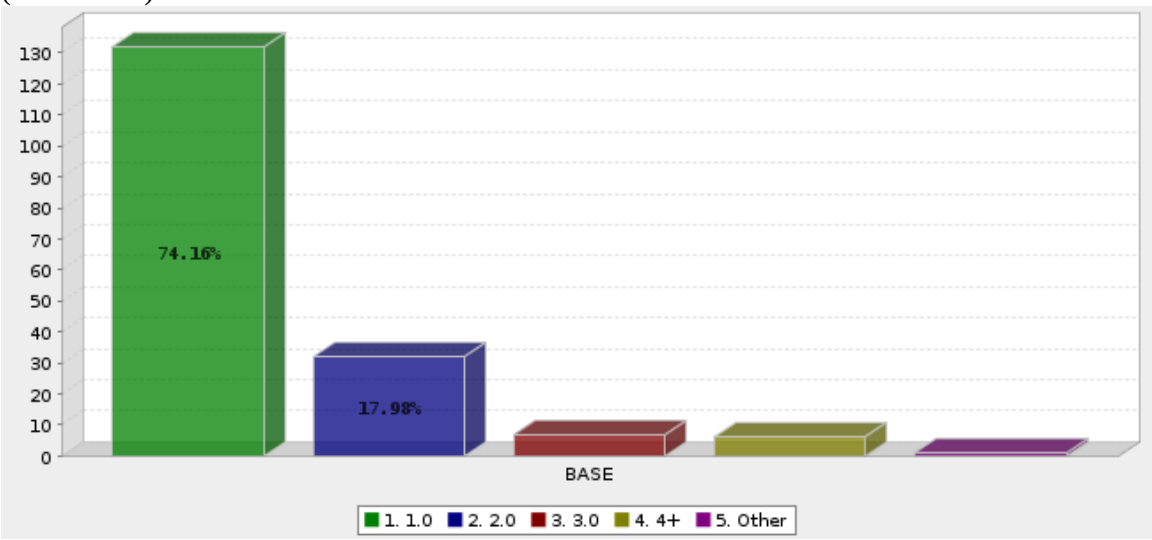


- No Responses for choice of *Other/Otro:*

(**Table 4:** Survey Response to Question 3, Familial Connection Data)

[422] Raised/Exaltado means to become a Master Mason (MM).

Question 4:
(ENG) How many Blue Lodges[423] are you currently a member of? (SP) ¿De cuantas Logias Azules es actualmente miembro?
(see Table 5)



3: 3.93%. **4+:** 3.37%

- One Response for choice of *Other/Otro:*

1. 6

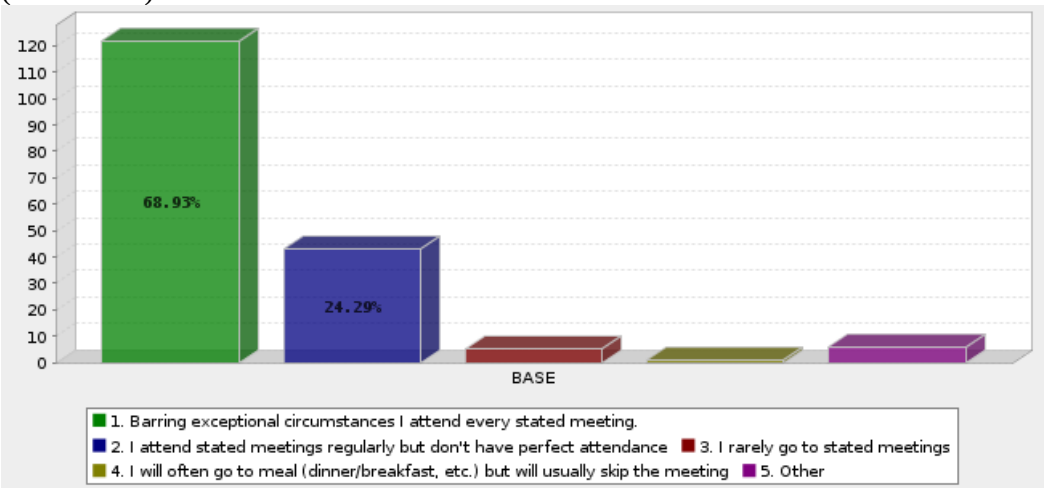
(**Table 5:** Survey Reponses to Question 4, Blue Lodge membership data)

Question 5:
(ENG) Which Blue Lodge do you attend (or, if you are a member of more than one, which do you attend most frequently?) Please type[424] the name of the Lodge below.
(SP) A Qué Logia Azul pertenece usted (o, si usted es un miembro de más de una, ¿Cuál usted atiende con mayor frecuencia?) Por favor escriba el nombre de la Logia abajo.

(see Table 6 in Appendix 2b for total list of all responses, or explanations of omission)

[423] Primary Masonic Lodge, not an Appendant body.
[424] The word "write" was used here in place of "type" on the paper copy

Question 6:
(ENG) How often do you attend in Blue Lodge (please indicate the answer that best fits your situation)? (SP)¿Con qué frecuencia va usted en Logia Azul (por favor, indique la respuesta que mejor se adapte a su situación)?
(see Table 7)



- ENG: Barring exceptional circumstances I attend every stated meeting. SP: A excepción de circunstancias excepcionales atiendo a cada reunión oficial

68.93%

- ENG: I attend stated meetings regularly but don't have perfect attendance. SP: Atiendo reuniones oficiales regularmente -, pero no tengo asistencia perfecta

24.29%

- ENG: I rarely go to stated meetings. SP: Rara vez voy a las reuniones

2.82%

- ENG: I will often go to meal (dinner/breakfast, etc.) but will usually skip the meeting. SP: Muchas veces participo en la comida (cena/desayuno, etc.) pero por lo general no voy a la reunión

0.56%

- Other / Otro:

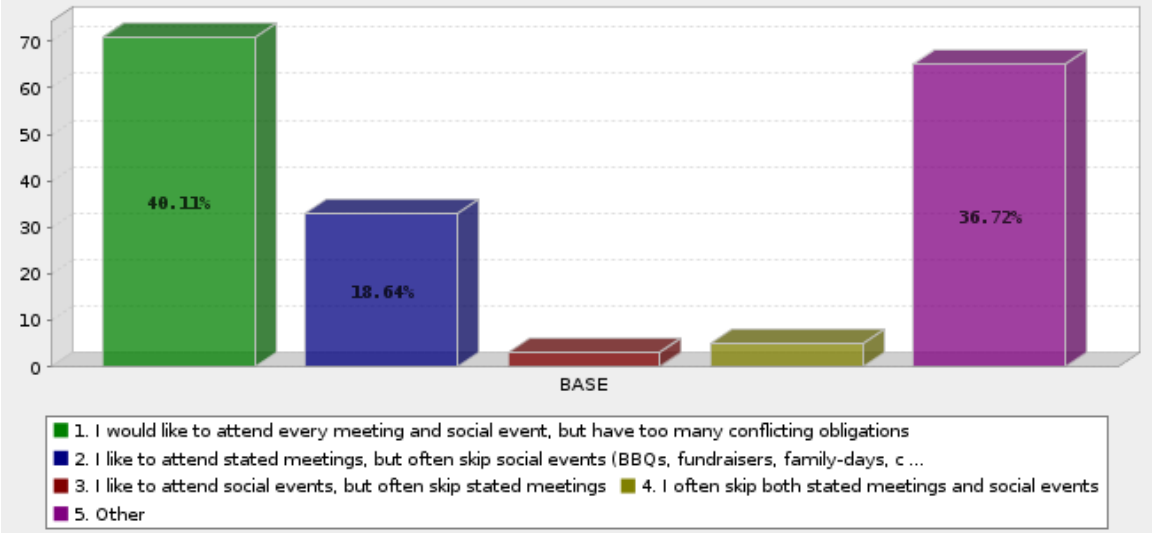
3.39%

- Six Responses for choice of *Other/Otro:*

1. Con regularidad
2. Active in RAM
3. I attend all regular stated of our lodge when at home, and attend many other towns stated communications also. traveling quadrant visiting lodges for the Grand Lodge, usually two to three a week in many cases
4. all the time
5. I travel world wide a lot attend when possible
6. Every Friday all year round

(**Table 7:** Survey Responses to Question 6 Blue Lodge attendance Data)

Question 7:
(ENG) How would you qualify your participation in your Blue Lodge organized meetings/events?
(SP) ¿Cómo calificaría su participación en las reuniones / eventos organizados de su Logia Azul?
(see Table 8)



- ENG: I would like to attend every meeting and social event, but have too many conflicting obligations. SP: Me gustaría ir a todas las reuniones y eventos sociales, pero tengo muchas otras obligaciones que atender

40.11%

- ENG: I like to attend stated meetings, but often skip social events (BBQs, fundraisers, family days, card-nights, etc.). SP: Me gusta ir a las reuniones oficiales, pero a menudo no voy a eventos sociales (barbacoas, recaudadores de fondos, -día de la familia, noches de cartas, etc.)

18.64%

- ENG: I like to attend social events, but often skip stated meetings. SP: Me gusta ir a eventos sociales, pero a menudo no voy a las reuniones oficiales

1.69%

- ENG: I often skip both stated meetings and social events. SP: A menudo no voy a reuniones indicados ni a eventos sociales

2.82%

- Other / Otro:

36.72%

- Sixty-five Responses for choice of *Other/Otro:*

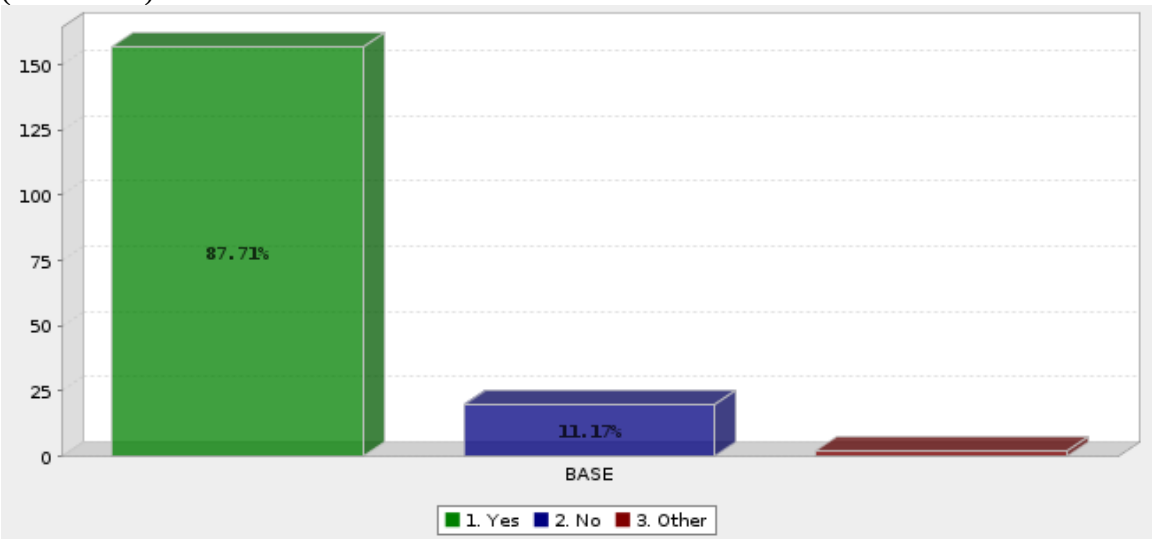
1. I attend regularly attend both meetings and social events
2. I attend most stated meetings and most social events.
3. mixed depending on time of year
4. I attend everything.
5. I do attend near all.
6. This is a poorly stated question

7. asisto a todas las reuniones oficiales y eventos sociales
8. Procura atender toda clase de tenidas, oficiales y sociales
9. Asisto regularmente a todas las reuniones
10. voy regularmente
11. Voy a todas las reuniones oficiales y a los eventos sociales, salvo que no me encuentre en Bucaramanga
12. voy a todas
13. Salvo inconvenientes insalvables asisto a reuniones y eventos sociales
14. Voy a las reuniones oficiales y a los eventos sociales de la Masonería
15. ATTEND ALL
16. I rarely skip anything
17. I go all the time
18. ATTEND ALL
19. I go to everything
20. ATTEND ALL UNLESS SICK OR TRAVELING
21. I ATTEND NEARLY EVERY MEETING / EVENT
22. I attend both on a regular basis
23. I Attend every meeting & social event.
24. I do attend almost every meeting and every social event.
25. I attend almost all meetings and events
26. As a retiree I actively seek out both business as well as social gatherings
27. I have attended just about every event.
28. Active in RAM
29. I try to attend all stated meetings. and social events
30. Barring exceptional circumstances I attend every meeting and most social events
31. I attend all events and activities
32. Attend communications and functions of interest.
33. I like attending all functions.
34. I attend all meetings and events.
35. I attend all I can.
36. I attend all Aspects of lodge functions if there are no conflicts with other organizations
37. I attend all meetings and social events.

38. I attend almost all
39. very active
40. Never miss
41. i make most all meeting and events
42. Attend all
43. I attend all meetings and social events.
44. I don't have that many scheduling conflicts.
45. Voy a casi todas las reuniones oficiales de Logia, Gran Logia, conferencias, seminarios, actividades culturales, reuniones sociales y familiares de la Logia
46. Semanalmente a mi logia y a las cuatro de la Gran Logia cada año. Mas algunos eventos sociales y culturales de las demás logias
47. I attend all the meeting and social events
48. Voy a todas las reuniones
49. Siempre voy a las reuniones
50. voy a reuniones y a eventos sociales, por lo general
51. Asisto a la mayoría de reuniones
52. solo reuniones oficiales semanales
53. Generalmente voy màs a las reuniones oficiales que a las sociales.
54. Asisto a todas las reuniones, independientemente de mis ocupaciones profanas.
55. Me gustaria asistir a todas las reuniones y eventos sociales
56. NO FALTO A LAS TENIDAS
57. I attend both as often as my schedule will permit.
58. I attend all the stated meetings and functions I can.
59. Voy a todas
60. As many as I can.
61. Voy a la mayoria y cuando no voy es por compromisos inneludibles
62. Asisto a todas mis reuniones salvo q exista una eventualidad
63. I attend everything having to do with blue lodge
64. I attend both stated meetings and social events and support concordent bodies
65. activa y asisto a todos los eventos a no ser que pase algo de fuerza mayor

(**Table 8:** Survey Responses to Question 7, Qualification of participation Data)

Question 8:
(ENG) Are you currently, or have you been in the past, an officer of your Lodge, or of your jurisdictional Grand Lodge? (SP) ¿Está usted actualmente, o ha sido en el pasado, un oficial de la Logia, o en su jurisdicción de Gran Logia?
(see Table 9)



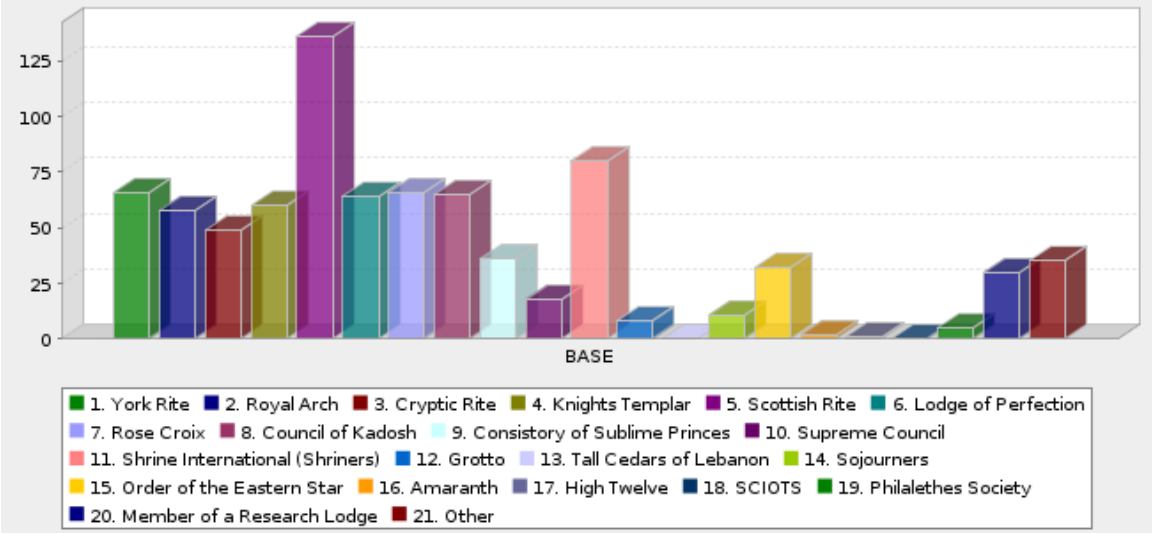
- Two Responses for choice of *Other/Otro:*

1. Electo para 2015
2. estoy actualmente en mi logia

(**Table 9:** Survey Responses to Question 8, Present or past officer of Lodge/s Data)

Question 9:
(ENG) Which Appendant, and/or Concordant, Bodies are you a member of (check all that apply)?[425] (SP) ¿De Qué cuerpos adjuntos, y / o grupos concordantes, eres un miembro (marque todo lo que corresponda)?
(see Table 10)

[425] A discrepancy exists in question 9 English version. The online version of this question (in English) sates “check all that apply”, the paper copy of this question (in English) states “check all that apply, or go to the next question if none).



(ENG / SP)

York Rite / Rito de York	66	8.03%
Royal Arch / Arco Real	58	7.06%
Cryptic Rite / Rito Críptico	49	5.96%
Knights Templar / Caballeros Templarios	60	7.30%
Scottish Rite / Rito Escoces Antiguo y Aceptado	136	16.55%
Lodge of Perfection / Logia de Perfección	64	7.79%
Rose Croix / Rosa Cruz	66	8.03%
Council of Kadosh / Consejo de Kadosh	65	7.91%
Consistory of Sublime Princes / Consistorio de los Príncipes Sublimes	36	4.38%
Supreme Council / Supremo Consejo	18	2.19%
Shrine International (Shriners) / Shrine International (Shriners)	80	9.73%
Grotto / Grotto	8	0.97%
Tall Cedars of Lebanon / Cedros Altos del Líbano	0	0.00%
Sojourners / Peregrinos	11	1.34%
Order of the Eastern Star / Orden de la Estrella de Oriente	32	3.89%
Amaranth / Amaranth	2	0.24%
High Twelve / Doce Altos	1	0.12%
SCIOTS / SCIOTS	0	0.00%
Philalethes Society / Sociedad Philalethes	5	0.61%
Member of a Research Lodge / Miembro de Logia de Investigación	30	3.65%

Other / Otro	35	4.26%	
	Total	**822**	**100%**

- Thirty five Responses for choice of *Other/Otro:*

1. The Masonic Society
2. Another poorly designed question; no room for NONE
3.]
   ][[01111111111

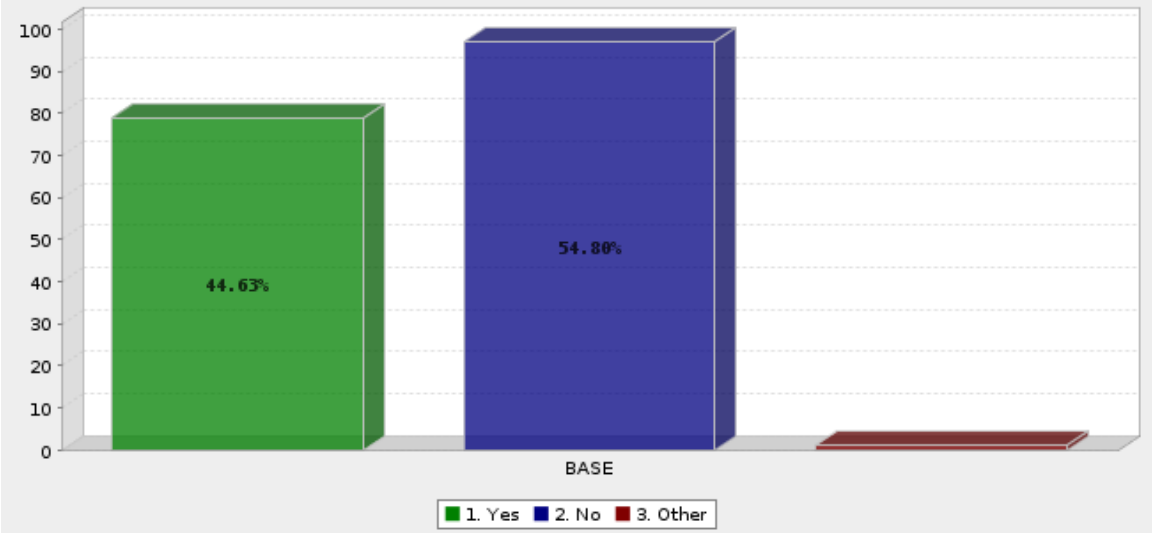
26. Royal Order of Scotland
27. Turtle
28. Red Cross of Constine
29. KYCH,KCCH,KNIGHTS PRECEPTORS, Jobs Daughters International
30. Quator Coronati Allied Masonic Degrees
31. ninguna de las anteriores
32. Ninguno
33. Knights of Saint Andrew
34. Knights of st. Andrew
35. Red Cross of Constantine, Societas Rosicruciana, Allied Masonic Degrees, Mark Lodge, Knights York Cross of Honor, York Rite Sovereign College

(**Table 10:** Survey Responses to Question 9, Appendant/Concordant Body Membership Data)

Question 10:
(ENG) Of the Appendant/Concordant Bodies listed, which do you feel you spend most time with (going to meetings and events, researching at home, etc.) please type the name/s of the top ones (where you dedicate the majority of your time/efforts), you can also type "I divide my time equally" or "I dedicate most of my time to Blue Lodge")[426] (SP) De los cuerpos adjuntos y / o grupos concordantes escogidos, a cuales le dedica la mayor parte del tiempo (en las reuniones y eventos, la investigación en el hogar, etc) por favor escriba el nombre / s de los principales (donde le dedicas la mayor parte de su tiempo / trabajo), también puede escribir "Yo divido mi tiempo en partes iguales" o "le dedico la mayor parte de mi tiempo a la Logia Azul"
(see Table 11 in Appendix 2b for total list of all responses)

Question 11:
(ENG) Have you ever published a piece of writing (article, book, op-ed, etc.) related to Masonry in a Masonic, or Non-Masonic, (journal, book, online, etc.) forum? (SP) ¿Alguna vez ha publicado un escrito (artículo, libro, artículo de opinión, etc) relacionados a la Masoneria en un Masónico, o No-Masónica, (revista, libro, línea, etc) foro?
(see Table 12)

[426] Paper version did not include quotations around 'I divide my time equally', or 'I dedicate most of my time to Blue Lodge' (in the English version)

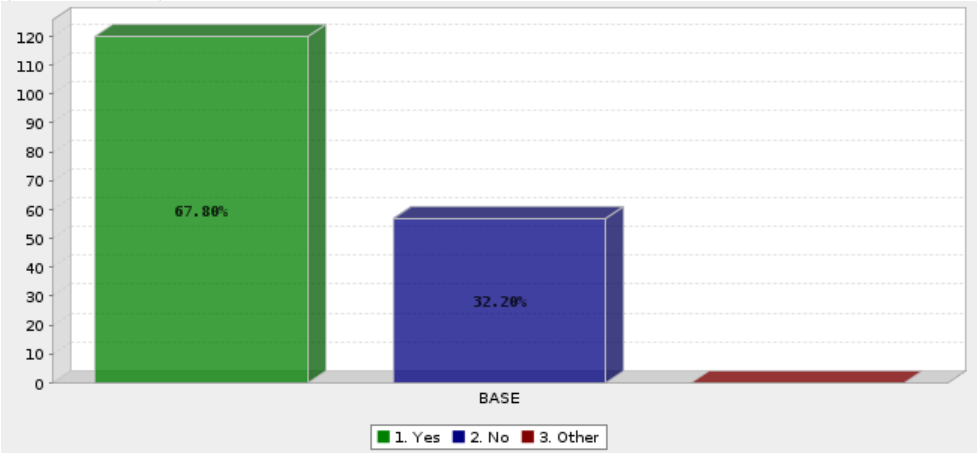


- One Response for choice of *Other/Otro:*

1. In the process of publishing a centennial history of _____ Lodge #___.

(**Table 12:** Survey Responses to Question 11, Publication Data)

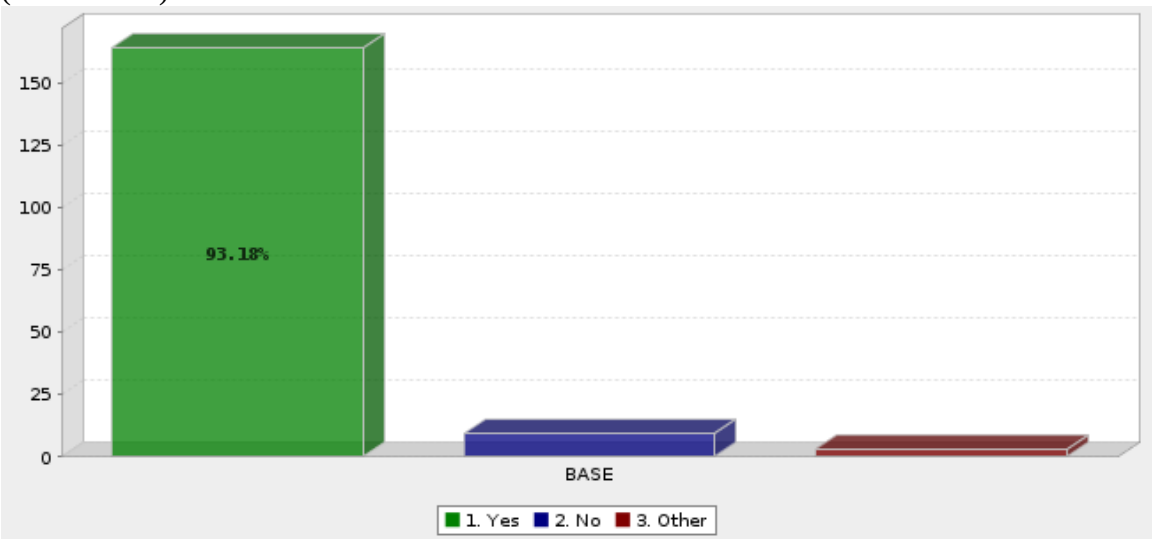
Question 12:
(ENG) Have you ever given a lecture/speech related to Masonry (this does not include memorized degree-work) in a Masonic, or Non-Masonic, setting (a colloquia, a conference, as part of a regular meeting)? (SP) ¿Alguna vez has dado una conferencia / discurso relacionada con la Masoneria (esto no incluye trabajo de grado memorizado) en un establecimiento Masónico, o No-Masónica, (a coloquios, una conferencia, en el marco de una reunión oficial?
(see Table 13)



- No Responses for choice of *Other/Otro:*

(**Table 13:** Survey Responses to Question 10, Lecture Data)

Question 13:
(ENG) Since becoming a Mason, have you ever participated in any community action or charity events (donating, fund-raising, volunteering, etc.)? (SP) Desde que se inicío como Mason, ¿alguna vez ha participado en alguna acción de la comunidad para eventos de caridad (donación, recaudación de fondos, voluntariado, etc)?
(see Table 14)



Yes / Si: 93.18%. **No / No:** 5.11%. **Other / Otro:** 1.70%

- Three Responses for choice of *Other/Otro:*

1. are local is very active food banks with the homeless and more
2. option "other" chosen, no written response
3. option "other" chosen, no written response

(**Table 14:** Survey Responses to Question 10, Participation in Community Action / Charity Data)

Question 14:
(ENG) Do you subscribe (or regularly read) any Masonic journals? (if yes, please list; you can also write no, or only occasionally) (SP) ¿Está suscrito (o lee regularmente) alguna revista Masonicas? (en caso afirmativo, indique el nombre, también se puede escribir "no", o "rara vez")

(see Table 15 in Appendix 2b for total list of all responses)

Question 15:
(ENG) If, hypothetically, you had to recommend to a newly raised Mason, a short-list of books to read, what, if any, would you recommend? (SP) Si, hipotéticamente, tuviera que recomendarle a un Aprendiz Mason, una breve lista de libros para leer, ¿cuáles, si alguna, recomendaría usted?

(see Table 16 in Appendix 2b for total list of all responses)

Question 16:
(ENG) What qualities do you feel an individual must have in order to become a Mason? (SP) ¿Qué cualidades usted siente que una persona debe tener para llegar a ser un Mason?

(see Table 17 in Appendix 2b for total list of all responses)

Question 17:
(ENG) What do you feel the basic values/beliefs/tenets of Freemasonry are? (SP) ¿Cuáles usted siente que son los valores / creencias / principios básicos de la Masonería?

(see Table 18 in Appendix 2b for total list of all responses)

Question 18:
(ENG) In the context of Masonry, what does the term journey mean to you personally? (SP) En el marco de la Masonería, ¿qué significa el término "viaje" para usted personalmente?

(see Table 19 in Appendix 2b for total list of all responses)

Question 19:
(ENG) This concludes the survey. If you have additional comments/suggestions, feel free to use the space below: (SP) Este es el final de la encuestra. Si usted tiene cualquier comentario y / o sugerencias adicionales, por favor, utilice el siguiente espacio:

67 Total Responses
Responses are not included in aggregate data or analysis. Examples from these comments will not be specifically used in this dissertation, though, I cannot say I was not influenced, to some extent, by some of their content.

Geocoding.

Question 1: Age Data (Table 20)

Total Responses **179**

[For total un-coded results]: Mean: 4.944. Confidence Interval @ 95%: [4.716 - 5.172]. Standard Deviation: 1.557. Standard Error: 0.116

Option	% of Total Respondents	Margin of Error	Total U.S.	Total Colombia	Total Other Locations	**% of U.S.**	**% of Colombia**	% of Other Location
18-25	0.56%	1.09%	1	0	0	**0.9%**	**0%**	0%
26-35	4.47%	3.03%	7	1	0	**6.3%**	**1.6%**	0%
36-45	11.73%	4.71%	12	8	1	**10.7%**	**13.1%**	16.7%
46-55	19.55%	5.81%	21	13	1	**18.8%**	**11.7%**	16.7%
56-65	34.08%	6.94%	39	22	0	**34.9%**	**36.1%**	0%
66-70	13.97%	5.08%	15	8	2	**13.4%**	**13.1%**	33.3%

71-79	10.61%	4.51%	10	8	1	**8.9%**	**13.1%**	16.7%
80-89	3.91%	2.84%	7	0	0	**6.3%**	**0%**	0%
90-99	0%	0%	0	0	0	**0%**	**0%**	0%
100+	0.56%	1.09%	0	0	1	**0%**	**0%**	20%
Other/ Otro	0.56%	1.09%	0	1	0	**0%**	**1.6%**	0%

(**Table 20**: Geocoding, Question 1: Age Data)

*** As a note:** Standard Deviation is included in responses; however, since the total population of Masons is unknown in this setting, standard deviation, which was included with the results generated through QuestionPro survey software was either estimated, or based on the total population of survey takers.

Question 2: MM Data (Table 21)

Total Responses **180**

[For total un-coded results]: Mean: 2.817. Confidence Interval @ 95%: [2.571 - 3.063]
Standard Deviation: 1.683. Standard Error: 0.125

Option	% of Total Respondents	Margin of Error	Total U.S.	Total Colombia	Total Other Locations	**% of U.S.**	**% of Colombia**	% of Other Location
18-25	21.67%	6.02%	36	1	2	**31.9%**	**1.6%**	33.3%
26-35	26.11%	6.42%	31	14	2	**27.4%**	**23%**	33.3%
36-45	25.56%	6.37%	26	18	2	**23.0%**	**29.5%**	33.3%
46-55	13.33%	4.97%	9	15	0	**8%**	**24.6%**	0%
56-65	10.56%	4.49%	11	8	0	**9.8%**	**13.1%**	0%
66-70	1.11%	1.53%	0	2	0	**0%**	**3.3%**	0%
71-79	0%	0%	0	0	0	**0%**	**0%**	0%

80-89	0%	0%	0	0	0	**0%**	**0%**	0%
90-99	0%	0%	0	0	0	**0%**	**0%**	0%
100+	0%	0%	0	0	0	**0%**	**0%**	0%
Other/ Otro	1.67%	1.87%	0	3	0	**0%**	**4.9%**	0%

(**Table 21**: Geocoding, Question 2: MM Data)

Question 3: Familial Connection Data (Table 22)

Total Responses **179**

[For total un-coded results]: Mean: 1.374. Confidence Interval @ 95%: [1.303 - 1.445]
Standard Deviation: 0.485. Standard Error: 0.036

Option	% of Total Respondents	Margin of Error	Total U.S.	Total Colombia	Total Other Locations	**% of U.S.**	**% of Colombia**	% of Other Location
Yes / Si	62.57%	7.09%	83	25	4	**74.1%**	**41%**	66.7%
No / No	37.43%	7.09%	29	36	2	**25.9%**	**59%**	33.3%
Other/ Otro	0%	0%	0	0	0	**0%**	**0%**	0%

(**Table 22:** Geocoding, Question 3: Family Connection Data)

Question 4: Blue Lodge Membership Data (Table 23)

Total Responses **178**

[For total un-coded results]: Mean: 1.382. Confidence Interval @ 95%: [1.269 - 1.495]
Standard Deviation: 0.767. Standard Error: 0.057

Option	% of Total Respondents	Margin of Error	Total U.S.	Total Colombia	Total Other Locations	**% of U.S.**	**% of Colombia**	% of Other Location
1	74.16%	6.43%	74	54	4	**66.1%**	**90%**	66.7%
2	17.98%	5.64%	25	6	1	**22.3%**	**10%**	16.7%
3	3.93%	2.86%	6	0	1	**5.4%**	**0%**	16.7%
4+	3.37%	2.65%	6	0	0	**5.4%**	**0%**	0%
Other / Otro	0.56%	1.1%	1	0	0	**0.9%**	**0%**	0%

(**Table 23:** Geocoding, Question 4: Blue Lodge Membership Data)

Question 5: Primary Blue Lodge Affiliation Data
Open-ended text responses: Specific response data, and the similarities and differences in responses across geographic regions, are discussed in relevant sections of this dissertation.

Question 6: Blue Lodge Attendance Data (Table 24)

Total Responses **177**

[For total un-coded results]: Mean: 1.452. Confidence Interval @ 95%: [1.324 - 1.579]
Standard Deviation: 0.866. Standard Error: 0.065

Option Key
A: Barring exceptional circumstances, I attend every stated meeting / A excepción de circunstancias excepcionales atiendo a cada reunion oficial
B: I attend stated meetings regularly but don't have perfect attendance / Atiendo reuniones oficiales regularmente - , pero no tengo asistencia perfecta
C: I rarely go to stated meetings / Rara vez voy a las reuniones
D: I will often go to meal (dinner, breakfast, etc.) but will usually skip the meeting / Muchas veces participo en la comida (cena / desayuno, etc.), pero por lo general no voy a la reunión

Option	% of Total Respondents	Margin of Error	Total U.S.	Total Colombia	Total Other Locations	**% of U.S.**	**% of Colombia**	% of Other Location
A	68.93%	6.82%	74	43	5	**67.3%**	**70.5%**	83.3%
B	24.29%	6.32%	26	17	0	**23.6%**	**27.9%**	0%
C	2.82%	2.44%	4	0	1	**3.6%**	**0%**	16.7%
D	0.56%	1.1%	1	0	0	**0.9%**	**0%**	0%
Other / Otro	3.39%	2.67%	5	1	0	**4.5%**	**1.6%**	0%

(**Table 24:** Geocoding, Question 6: Blue Lodge Attendance Data)

Question 7: Qualification of Participation Data (Table 25)

Total Responses **177**

[For total un-coded results]: Mean: 2.774. Confidence Interval @ 95%: [2.508 - 3.040]
Standard Deviation: 1.804. Standard Error: 0.136

Option Key
A: I would like to attend every meeting and social event, but have too many conflicting obligations / Me gustaría ir a todas las reuniones y eventos sociales, pero tengo muchas otras obligaciones que atender
B: I like to attend stated meetings, but often skip social events (BBQs, fundraisers, family-days, card-nights, etc.) / Me gusta ir a las reuniones oficiales, pero a menudo no voy a eventos sociales (barbacoas, recaudadores de fondos, -dia de la familia, noches de cartas, etc.)
C: I like to attend social events, but often skip stated meetings / Me gusta ir a eventos sociales, pero a menudo no voy a las reuniones oficiales
D: I often skip both stated meetings and social events / A menudo no voy a reuniones indicadas ni a eventos sociales

Option	% of Total Respondents	Margin of Error	Total U.S.	Total Colombia	Total Other Locations	% of U.S.	% of Colombia	% of Other Location
A	40.11%	7.22%	46	23	2	**41.8%**	**37.7%**	33.3%
B	18.64%	5.74%	20	11	2	**18.2%**	**18%**	33.3%
C	1.69%	1.9%	1	2	0	**0.9%**	**3.3%**	0%
D	2.82%	2.44%	4	1	0	**3.6%**	**1.6%**	0%
Other / Otro	36.72%	7.1%	39	24	2	**35.5%**	**39.3%**	33.3%

(**Table 25:** Geocoding, Question 7: Qualification of Participation Data)

Question 8: Present or Past Officer of Lode/s Data (Table 26)

Total Responses **179**

[For total un-coded results]: Mean: 1.134. Confidence Interval @ 95%: [1.079 - 1.189]
Standard Deviation: 0.373. Standard Error: 0.028

Option	% of Total Participants	Margin of Error	Total U.S.	Total Colombia	Total Other Locations	% of U.S.	% of Colombia	% of Other Location
Yes / Si	87.71%	4.81%	105	47	5	**93.8%**	**77%**	83.3%
No / No	11.17%	4.62%	7	12	1	**6.3%**	**19.7%**	16.7%
Other/ Otro	1.12%	1.54%	0	2	0	**0%**	**3.3%**	0%

(**Table 26:** Geocoding, Question 8: Present of Past Officer of Lode/s Data)

Question 9: Appendant/Concordant Body Membership Data (Table 27)

Total Responses **822**

[For total un-coded results]: Mean: 7.552. Confidence Interval @ 95%: [7.192 - 7.913]
Standard Deviation: 5.276. Standard Error: 0.184

The total number (822) is based on total number of options being chosen (respondents could "select all that apply"). The % of total respondents, and margin of error, are based on the total number of chosen options (822). However, the % of US, Colombian, or Other respondents who are members of each Appendant/Concordant body is reflected in the percentage column (calculated from the average completion rate for each other question included in geocoded results (10) rounded down to the nearest whole number[427]) for each location total. Completion rates in this case are based on the average number of total completed responses for each location category for all survey questions:

[427] Percentages calculated against gross average for: United States=111; Colombia=60, Other Locations=6.

Option	% of Total Respondents	Margin of Error	Total U.S.	Total Colombia	Total Other Locations	**% of U.S.**	**% of Colombia**	% of Other Location
York Rite / Rito de York	8.03%	1.86%	60	3	3	**54.1%**	**5%**	50%
Royal Arch / Arco Real	7.06%	1.75%	54	2	2	**48.6%**	**3.3%**	33.3%
Cryptic Rite / Rito Críptico	5.96%	1.62%	47	0	2	**42.3%**	**0%**	33.3%
Knights Templar/Caballeros Templarios	7.30%	1.78%	57	0	3	**51.4%**	**0%**	50%
Scottish Rite / Rito Escoces Antiguo y Aceptado	16.55%	2.54%	85	45	6	**76.6%**	**75%**	100%
Lodge of Perfection / Logia de Perfección	7.79%	1.83%	50	10	4	**45.0%**	**16.7%**	66.7%
Rose Croix / Rosa Cruz	8.03%	1.86%	53	9	4	**47.7%**	**15%**	66.7%
Council of Kadosh / Consejo de Kadosh	7.91%	1.84%	52	8	5	**46.8%**	**13.3%**	83.3%
Consistory of Sublime Princes / Consistorio de los Príncipos Sublimes	4.38%	1.4%	32	4	0	**28.8%**	**6.7%**	0%
Supreme Council/ Supremo Consejo	2.19%	1.0%	14	4	0	**12.6%**	**6.7%**	0%
Shrine International (Shriners) / Shrine International (Shriners)	9.73%	2.03%	62	15	3	**55.9%**	**25%**	50%
Grotto / Grotto	0.97%	0.67%	8	0	0	**7.2%**	**0%**	0%
Tall Cedars of Lebanon/Cedros Altos de Líbano	0%	0%	0	0	0	**0%**	**0%**	0%
Sojourners / Peregrinos	1.34%	0.79%	11	0	0	**9.9%**	**0%**	0%
Order of the Eastern Star / Orden de la Estrella de Oriente	3.89%	1.32%	32	0	0	**28.8%**	**0%**	0%
Amaranth / Amaranth	0.24%	0.34%	1	0	1	**0.9%**	**0%**	16.7%
High Twelve / Doce Altos	0.12%	0.24%	0	0	1	**0%**	**0%**	16.7%
SCIOTS/ SCIOTS	0%	0%	0	0	0	**0%**	**0%**	0%

Philalethes Society / Sociedad Philalethes	0.61%	0.53%	5	0	0	**4.5%**	**0%**	0%
Member of a Research Lodge / Miembro de Logia de Investigación	3.65%	1.28%	27	0	3	**24.3%**	**0%**	50%
Other / Otro	4.26%	1.38%	30	5	0	**27.0%**	**8.3%**	0%

(**Table 27:** Geocoding, Question 9: Appendant/Concordant Body Membership Data)

Question 10: Dedication of Time Data

Open-ended text responses: Specific response data, and the similarities and differences in responses across geographic regions, are discussed in relevant sections of this dissertation.

Question 11: Publication Data (Table 28)

Total Responses **177**

[For total un-coded results]: Mean: 1.559. Confidence Interval @ 95%: [1.484 - 1.634]
Standard Deviation: 0.509. Standard Error: 0.038

Option	% of Total Participants	Margin of Error	Total U.S.	Total Colombia	Total Other Locations	**% of U.S.**	**% of Colombia**	% of Other Location
Yes / Si	44.63%	7.32%	44	31	4	**39.6%**	**51.7%**	66.7%
No / No	54.80%	7.33%	66	29	2	**59.5%**	**48.3%**	33.3%
Other/ Otro	0.56%	1.1%	1	0	0	**0.9%**	**0%**	0%

(**Table 28:** Geocoding, Question 11: Publication Data)

Question 12: Lecture Data (Table 29)

Total Responses **177**

[For total un-coded results]: Mean: 1.322. Confidence Interval @ 95%: [1.253 - 1.391]
Standard Deviation: 0.469. Standard Error: 0.035

Option	% of Total Participants	Margin of Error	Total U.S.	Total Colombia	Total Other Locations	**% of U.S.**	**% of Colombia**	% of Other Location
Yes / Si	67.80%	6.88%	84	30	6	**75.7%**	**50%**	100%
No / No	32.20%	6.88%	27	30	0	**24.3%**	**50%**	0%
Other/ Otro	0%	0%	0	0	0	**0%**	**0%**	0%

(**Table 29:** Geocoding, Question 12: Lecture Data)

Question 13: Participation in Community Action/Charity Data (Table 30)

Total Responses **176**

[For total un-coded results]: Mean: 1.085. Confidence Interval @ 95%: [1.036 - 1.135]
Standard Deviation: 0.336. Standard Error: 0.025

Option	% of Total Participants	Margin of Error	Total U.S.	Total Colombia	Total Other Locations	**% of U.S.**	**% of Colombia**	% of Other Location
Yes / Si	93.18%	3.72%	107	51	6	**96.4%**	**86.4%**	100%
No / No	5.11%	3.25%	3	6	0	**2.7%**	**10.2%**	0%
Other/ Otro	1.7%	1.91%	1	2	0	**0.9%**	**3.4%**	0%

(**Table 30:** Geocoding, Question 13: Participation in Community Action/Charity Data)

Questions 14: Masonic Journal Subscription/Exposure Data
Open-ended text responses: Specific response data, and the similarities and differences in responses across geographic regions, are discussed in relevant sections of this dissertation.

Question 15: Book Recommendation Data
Open-ended text responses: Specific response data, and the similarities and differences in responses across geographic regions, are discussed in relevant sections of this dissertation.

Question 16: Qualities to Become a Mason Data
Open-ended text responses: Specific response data, and the similarities and differences in responses across geographic regions, are discussed in relevant sections of this dissertation.

Question 17: Values/Beliefs/Tenets of Freemasonry Data
Open-ended text responses: Specific response data, and the similarities and differences in responses across geographic regions, are discussed in relevant sections of this dissertation.

Question 18: Personal Meanings of 'journey' Data
Open-ended text responses: Specific response data, and the similarities and differences in responses across geographic regions, are discussed in relevant sections of this dissertation.

Cross-Tabulation.

Comparisons made for 9 of a possible 55 two-variable comparative configurations (accounting for 11 multiple –choice questions out 18 total survey questions).[428] Presentations of cross-tabulation results included for:

1. Q1:Q6
2. Q2:Q3
3: Q4:Q3
4. Q2:Q8
5. Q3:Q8
6. Q9:Q6
7. Q2:Q11
8. Q9:Q11
9. Q9:Q12

*NOTE: some formatting was done to preserve page flow.

1. Comparing Q1: Age Data with Q6: Blue Lodge Attendance Data (Table 31)

Cross Tabulation Frequency/Percent	[Q6] How often do you attend in Blue Lodge (please indicate the answer that best fits your situation)?						
[Q1] What is your current age?		Barring exceptional circumstances I attend every stated meeting.	I attend stated meetings regularly but dont have perfect attendance	I rarely go to stated meetings	I will often go to meal (dinner/breakfast, etc.) but will usually skip the meeting	Other	Row Totals
	18-25	0	1	0	0	0	1
		0%	**100%**	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**	**0.56%**
	26-35	7	0	0	0	1	8
		87.5%	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**	**12.5%**	**4.52%**
	36-45	12	8	1	0	0	21
		57.14%	**38.1%**	**4.76%**	**0%**	**0%**	**11.86%**
	46-55	23	10	0	0	2	35
		65.71%	**28.57%**	**0%**	**0%**	**5.71%**	**19.77%**
	56-65	46	13	1	0	0	60
		76.67%	**21.67%**	**1.67%**	**0%**	**0%**	**33.9%**
	66-70	15	5	3	1	1	25
		60%	**20%**	**12%**	**4%**	**4%**	**14.12%**
	71-79	13	4	0	0	2	19
		68.42%	**21.05%**	**0%**	**0%**	**10.53%**	**10.73%**

[428] Justification for choices, and significance of results, for cross-tabulations are discussed in relevant sections.

	80-89	4	2	0	0	0	6
		66.67%	**33.33%**	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**	**3.39%**
	90-99	0	0	0	0	0	0
		0%	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**
	100+	1	0	0	0	0	1
		100%	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**	**0.56%**
	Other	1	0	0	0	0	1
		100%	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**	**0.56%**
	Column Total	**122**	**43**	**5**	**1**	**6**	**177**
	Column Percent	**68.93%**	**24.29%**	**2.82%**	**0.56%**	**3.39%**	**100%**

Pearson's Chi-Square Statistics	
Chi-Square	34.553
p Value	0.713
Degrees of Freedom	40
Significant Corelation Between Variables Exists : @ 95%	
Critcal Value for (p = .01 [1%])	0.0
Critcal Value for (p = .05 [5%])	0.0
Critcal Value for (p = .10 [10%])	0.0

Freq. Analysis : 2. [Q1] What is your current age?

Analytics & Computed Values

Mean	4.944	Confidence Interval @ 95% [4.716 - 5.172] n = 179
Standard Deviation	1.557	
Standard Error	0.116	

Freq. Analysis : [Q6] How often do you attend in Blue Lodge (please indicate the answer that best fits your situation)?

Analytics & Computed Values

Mean	1.452	Confidence Interval @ 95% [1.324 - 1.579] n = 177

Standard Deviation	0.866	
Standard Error	0.065	

(**Table 31:** Cross-Tabulation, Comparing Q1 with Q6)

* As a Note: I have included 'verbatm' the results from the QuestionPro Survey Analysis software related to cross-tabulation. Any inclusion of Pearson's Chi Square Statistics, Confidence Intervals, Etc are included here to accurately cite the generated results as related to the QuestionPro process.

2. Comparing Q2: MM Data, with Q3: Familial Connection Data (Table 32)

Cross Tabulation Frequency/Percent	[Q3] Do you have family members who are, or were, Masons?				
[Q2] How old were you when you were Raised?		Yes	No	Other	Row Totals
	18-25	34	4	0	38
		89.47%	**10.53%**	**0%**	**21.23%**
	26-35	32	15	0	47
		68.09%	**31.91%**	**0%**	**26.26%**
	36-45	26	20	0	46
		56.52%	**43.48%**	**0%**	**25.7%**
	46-55	9	15	0	24
		37.5%	**62.5%**	**0%**	**13.41%**
	56-65	8	11	0	19
		42.11%	**57.89%**	**0%**	**10.61%**
	66-70	1	1	0	2
		50%	**50%**	**0%**	**1.12%**
	71-79	0	0	0	0
		0%	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**
	80-89	0	0	0	0
		0%	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**
	90-99	0	0	0	0
		0%	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**
	100+	0	0	0	0
		0%	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**
	Other	2	1	0	3
		66.67%	**33.33%**	**0%**	**1.68%**

	Column Total	**112**	**67**	**0**	**179**
	Column Percent	**62.57%**	**37.43%**	**0%**	**100%**

Pearson's Chi-Square Statistics	
Chi-Square	23.068
p Value	0.285
Degrees of Freedom	20
Critcal Value for (p = .01 [1%])	37.566
Critcal Value for (p = .05 [5%])	31.41
Critcal Value for (p = .10 [10%])	28.412

Freq. Analysis : [Q2] How old were you when you were Raised?

Analytics & Computed Values

Mean	2.817	Confidence Interval @ 95% [2.571 - 3.063] n = 180
Standard Deviation	1.683	
Standard Error	0.125	

Freq. Analysis : [Q3] Do you have family members who are, or were, Masons?

Analytics & Computed Values

Mean	1.374	Confidence Interval @ 95% [1.303 - 1.445] n = 179
Standard Deviation	0.485	
Standard Error	0.036	

(**Table 32:** Cross-Tabulation, Comparing Q2 with Q3)

3. Comparing Q4: Blue Lodge Membership Data with Q3: Familial Connection Data (Table 33)

Cross Tabulation Frequency/Percent	[Q3] Do you have family members who are, or were, Masons?				
[Q4] How many Blue Lodges are you currently a member of?		Yes	No	Other	Row Totals
	1.0	81	51	0	132
		61.36%	**38.64%**	**0%**	**74.16%**
	2.0	19	13	0	32
		59.38%	**40.62%**	**0%**	**17.98%**
	3.0	6	1	0	7
		85.71%	**14.29%**	**0%**	**3.93%**
	4+	6	0	0	6
		100%	**0%**	**0%**	**3.37%**
	Other	0	1	0	1
		0%	**100%**	**0%**	**0.56%**
	Column Total	**112**	**66**	**0**	**178**
	Column Percent	**62.92%**	**37.08%**	**0%**	**100%**

Pearson's Chi-Square Statistics	
Chi-Square	7.101
p Value	0.526
Degrees of Freedom	8
Critcal Value for (p = .01 [1%])	20.09
Critcal Value for (p = .05 [5%])	15.507
Critcal Value for (p = .10 [10%])	13.362

Freq. Analysis : [Q4] How many Blue Lodges are you currently a member of?

Analytics & Computed Values

Mean	1.382	Confidence Interval @ 95% [1.269 - 1.495] n = 178
Standard Deviation	0.767	

Standard Error	0.057	

Freq. Analysis : [Q3] Do you have family members who are, or were, Masons?

Analytics & Computed Values

Mean	1.374	Confidence Interval @ 95% [1.303 - 1.445] n = 179
Standard Deviation	0.485	
Standard Error	0.036	

(**Table 33:** Cross-Tabulation, Comparing Q4 with Q3)

4. Comparing Q2: MM Data, with Q8: Present or past officer of Lodge/s Data (Table 34)

Cross Tabulation Frequency/Percent	[Q8] Are you currently, or have you been in the past, an officer of your Lodge, or of your jurisdictional Grand Lodge?				
[Q2] How old were you when you were Raised?		Yes	No	Other	Row Totals
	18-25	36	3	0	39
		92.31%	**7.69%**	**0%**	**21.79%**
	26-35	45	2	0	47
		95.74%	**4.26%**	**0%**	**26.26%**
	36-45	42	4	0	46
		91.3%	**8.7%**	**0%**	**25.7%**
	46-55	18	6	0	24
		75%	**25%**	**0%**	**13.41%**
	56-65	14	4	0	18
		77.78%	**22.22%**	**0%**	**10.06%**
	66-70	2	0	0	2
		100%	**0%**	**0%**	**1.12%**
	71-79	0	0	0	0
		0%	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**
	80-89	0	0	0	0
		0%	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**

	90-99	0	0	0	0
		0%	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**
	100+	0	0	0	0
		0%	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**
	Other	0	1	2	3
		0%	**33.33%**	**66.67%**	**1.68%**
	Column Total	**157**	**20**	**2**	**179**
	Column Percent	**87.71%**	**11.17%**	**1.12%**	**100%**

Pearson's Chi-Square Statistics	
Chi-Square	131.455
p Value	0.000
Degrees of Freedom	20
Significant Corelation Between Variables Exists : @ 95%	
Critcal Value for (p = .01 [1%])	37.566
Critcal Value for (p = .05 [5%])	31.41
Critcal Value for (p = .10 [10%])	28.412

Freq. Analysis : [Q2] How old were you when you were Raised?

Analytics & Computed Values

Mean	2.817	Confidence Interval @ 95% [2.571 - 3.063] n = 180
Standard Deviation	1.683	
Standard Error	0.125	

Freq. Analysis : [Q8] Are you currently, or have you been in the past, an officer of your Lodge, or of your jurisdictional Grand Lodge?

Analytics & Computed Values

Mean	1.134	Confidence Interval @ 95% [1.079 - 1.189] n = 179
Standard Deviation	0.373	
Standard Error	0.028	

(**Table 34:** Cross-Tabulation, Comparing Q2 with Q8)

5. Comparing Q3: Familial Connection, with Q8: Present or past officer of Lodge/s Data (Table 35)

Cross Tabulation Frequency/Percent	[Q8] Are you currently, or have you been in the past, an officer of your Lodge, or of your jurisdictional Grand Lodge?				
[Q3] Do you have family members who are, or were, Masons?		Yes	No	Other	Row Totals
	Yes	99	12	1	112
		88.39%	**10.71%**	**0.89%**	**62.92%**
	No	57	8	1	66
		86.36%	**12.12%**	**1.52%**	**37.08%**
	Other	0	0	0	0
		0%	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**
	Column Total	**156**	**20**	**2**	**178**
	Column Percent	**87.64%**	**11.24%**	**1.12%**	**100%**

Pearson's Chi-Square Statistics	
Chi-Square	0.236
p Value	0.994
Degrees of Freedom	4
Critcal Value for (p = .01 [1%])	13.277
Critcal Value for (p = .05 [5%])	9.488
Critcal Value for (p = .10 [10%])	7.779

Freq. Analysis : [Q3] Do you have family members who are, or were, Masons?

Analytics & Computed Values

Mean	1.374	Confidence Interval @ 95% [1.303 - 1.445] n = 179
Standard Deviation	0.485	
Standard Error	0.036	

Freq. Analysis : [Q8] Are you currently, or have you been in the past, an officer of your Lodge, or of your jurisdictional Grand Lodge?

Analytics & Computed Values

Mean	1.134	Confidence Interval @ 95% [1.079 - 1.189] n = 179
Standard Deviation	0.373	
Standard Error	0.028	

(**Table 35:** Cross-Tabulation, Comparing Q3 with Q8)

6. Comparing Q9: Appendant/Concordant Body Membership Data with Q6: Blue Lodge Attendance Data (Table 36)

Cross Tabulation Frequency/Percent	[Q6] How often do you attend in Blue Lodge (please indicate the answer that best fits your situation)?						
[Q9] Which Appendant, and/or Concordant, Bodies are you a member of (check all that apply)?		Barring exceptional circumstances I attend every stated meeting.	I attend stated meetings regularly but dont have perfect attendance	I rarely go to stated meetings	I will often go to meal (dinner/breakfast, etc.) but will usually skip the meeting	Other	Row Totals
	York Rite	48	13	2	0	2	65
		73.85%	**20%**	**3.08%**	**0%**	**3.08%**	**7.98%**
	Royal Arch	39	13	2	1	2	57
		68.42%	**22.81%**	**3.51%**	**1.75%**	**3.51%**	**6.99%**
	Cryptic Rite	34	10	2	0	2	48
		70.83%	**20.83%**	**4.17%**	**0%**	**4.17%**	**5.89%**
	Knights Templar	42	12	2	0	3	59
		71.19%	**20.34%**	**3.39%**	**0%**	**5.08%**	**7.24%**
	Scottish Rite	94	35	2	1	4	136
		69.12%	**25.74%**	**1.47%**	**0.74%**	**2.94%**	**16.69%**
	Lodge of Perfection	44	16	1	0	3	64
		68.75%	**25%**	**1.56%**	**0%**	**4.69%**	**7.85%**
	Rose Croix	48	14	1	0	3	66
		72.73%	**21.21%**	**1.52%**	**0%**	**4.55%**	**8.1%**
	Council of	45	16	1	0	3	65

	Kadosh	**69.23%**	**24.62%**	**1.54%**	**0%**	**4.62%**	**7.98%**
	Consistory of Sublime Princes	24	10	0	0	2	36
		66.67%	**27.78%**	**0%**	**0%**	**5.56%**	**4.42%**
	Supreme Council	13	5	0	0	0	18
		72.22%	**27.78%**	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**	**2.21%**
	Shrine International (Shriners)	51	20	3	1	4	79
		64.56%	**25.32%**	**3.8%**	**1.27%**	**5.06%**	**9.69%**
	Grotto	6	2	0	0	0	8
		75%	**25%**	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**	**0.98%**
	Tall Cedars of Lebanon	0	0	0	0	0	0
		0%	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**
	Sojourners	9	2	0	0	0	11
		81.82%	**18.18%**	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**	**1.35%**
	Order of the Eastern Star	20	10	1	0	0	31
		64.52%	**32.26%**	**3.23%**	**0%**	**0%**	**3.8%**
	Amaranth	2	0	0	0	0	2
		100%	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**	**0.25%**
	High Twelve	1	0	0	0	0	1
		100%	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**	**0.12%**
	SCIOTS	0	0	0	0	0	0
		0%	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**
	Philalethes Society	4	1	0	0	0	5
		80%	**20%**	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**	**0.61%**
	Member of a Research Lodge	19	7	1	0	2	29
		65.52%	**24.14%**	**3.45%**	**0%**	**6.9%**	**3.56%**
	Other	29	3	1	0	2	35
		82.86%	**8.57%**	**2.86%**	**0%**	**5.71%**	**4.29%**
	Column Total	**572**	**189**	**19**	**3**	**32**	**815**
	Column Percent	**70.18%**	**23.19%**	**2.33%**	**0.37%**	**3.93%**	**100%**

Pearson's Chi-Square Statistics	
Chi-Square	27.401

p Value	1.000
Degrees of Freedom	80
Significant Corelation Between Variables Exists : @ 95%	
Critcal Value for (p = .01 [1%])	0.0
Critcal Value for (p = .05 [5%])	0.0
Critcal Value for (p = .10 [10%])	0.0

Freq. Analysis : [Q9] Which Appendant, and/or Concordant, Bodies are you a member of (check all that apply)?

Analytics & Computed Values

Mean	7.552	Confidence Interval @ 95% [7.192 - 7.913] n = 822
Standard Deviation	5.276	
Standard Error	0.184	

Freq. Analysis : [Q6] How often do you attend in Blue Lodge (please indicate the answer that best fits your situation)?

Analytics & Computed Values

Mean	1.452	Confidence Interval @ 95% [1.324 - 1.579] n = 177
Standard Deviation	0.866	
Standard Error	0.065	

(**Table 36:** Cross-Tabulation, Comparing Q9 with Q6)

7. Comparing Q2: MM Data, with Q11: Publication Data (Table 37)

Cross Tabulation Frequency/Percent	[Q11] Have you ever published a piece of writing (article, book, op-ed, etc.) related to Masonry in a Masonic, or Non-Masonic, (journal, book, online, etc.)?				
[Q2] How old were you when you were Raised?		Yes	No	Other	Row Totals
	18-25	19	19	0	38
		50%	**50%**	**0%**	**21.47%**
	26-35	24	21	1	46
		52.17%	**45.65%**	**2.17%**	**25.99%**
	36-45	17	29	0	46
		36.96%	**63.04%**	**0%**	**25.99%**
	46-55	11	13	0	24
		45.83%	**54.17%**	**0%**	**13.56%**
	56-65	5	13	0	18
		27.78%	**72.22%**	**0%**	**10.17%**
	66-70	2	0	0	2
		100%	**0%**	**0%**	**1.13%**
	71-79	0	0	0	0
		0%	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**
	80-89	0	0	0	0
		0%	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**
	90-99	0	0	0	0
		0%	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**
	100+	0	0	0	0
		0%	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**
	Other	1	2	0	3
		33.33%	**66.67%**	**0%**	**1.69%**
	Column Total	**79**	**97**	**1**	**177**
	Column Percent	**44.63%**	**54.8%**	**0.56%**	**100%**

Pearson's Chi-Square Statistics	
Chi-Square	10.504
p Value	0.958

Degrees of Freedom	20
Critcal Value for (p = .01 [1%])	37.566
Critcal Value for (p = .05 [5%])	31.41
Critcal Value for (p = .10 [10%])	28.412

Freq. Analysis : [Q2] How old were you when you were Raised?

Analytics & Computed Values

Mean	2.817	Confidence Interval @ 95% [2.571 - 3.063] n = 180
Standard Deviation	1.683	
Standard Error	0.125	

Freq. Analysis : [Q11] Have you ever published a piece of writing (article, book, op-ed, etc.) related to Masonry in a Masonic, or Non-Masonic, (journal, book, online, etc.) forum?

Analytics & Computed Values

Mean	1.559	Confidence Interval @ 95% [1.484 - 1.634] n = 177
Standard Deviation	0.509	
Standard Error	0.038	

(**Table 37:** Cross-Tabulation, Comparing Q2 with Q11)

8. Comparing Q9: Appendant/Concordant Body Membership Data with Q11: Publication Data (Table 38)

Cross Tabulation Frequency/Percent	[Q11] Have you ever published a piece of writing (article, book, op-ed, etc.) related to Masonry in a Masonic, or Non-Masonic, (journal, book, online, etc.)?				
[Q9] Which Appendant, and/or Concordant, Bodies are you a member of (check all that apply)?		Yes	No	Other	Row Totals
	York Rite	28	37	1	66
		42.42%	**56.06%**	**1.52%**	**8.05%**
	Royal Arch	27	30	1	58
		46.55%	**51.72%**	**1.72%**	**7.07%**
	Cryptic Rite	24	24	1	49

		48.98%	**48.98%**	**2.04%**	**5.98%**
	Knights Templar	28	31	1	60
		46.67%	**51.67%**	**1.67%**	**7.32%**
	Scottish Rite	68	67	0	135
		50.37%	**49.63%**	**0%**	**16.46%**
	Lodge of Perfection	36	28	0	64
		56.25%	**43.75%**	**0%**	**7.8%**
	Rose Croix	39	27	0	66
		59.09%	**40.91%**	**0%**	**8.05%**
	Council of Kadosh	36	29	0	65
		55.38%	**44.62%**	**0%**	**7.93%**
	Consistory of Sublime Princes	21	15	0	36
		58.33%	**41.67%**	**0%**	**4.39%**
	Supreme Council	9	9	0	18
		50%	**50%**	**0%**	**2.2%**
	Shrine International (Shriners)	38	41	0	79
		48.1%	**51.9%**	**0%**	**9.63%**
	Grotto	6	2	0	8
		75%	**25%**	**0%**	**0.98%**
	Tall Cedars of Lebanon	0	0	0	0
		0%	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**
	Sojourners	3	8	0	11
		27.27%	**72.73%**	**0%**	**1.34%**
	Order of the Eastern Star	16	16	0	32
		50%	**50%**	**0%**	**3.9%**
	Amaranth	0	2	0	2
		0%	**100%**	**0%**	**0.24%**
	High Twelve	0	1	0	1
		0%	**100%**	**0%**	**0.12%**
	SCIOTS	0	0	0	0
		0%	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**
	Philalethes Society	5	0	0	5
		100%	**0%**	**0%**	**0.61%**
	Member of a Research Lodge	20	10	0	30
		66.67%	**33.33%**	**0%**	**3.66%**
	Other	19	15	1	35

		54.29%	**42.86%**	**2.86%**	**4.27%**
	Column Total	**423**	**392**	**5**	**820**
	Column Percent	**51.59%**	**47.8%**	**0.61%**	**100%**

Pearson's Chi-Square Statistics	
Chi-Square	32.766
p Value	0.785
Degrees of Freedom	40
Significant Corelation Between Variables Exists : @ 95%	
Critcal Value for (p = .01 [1%])	0.0
Critcal Value for (p = .05 [5%])	0.0
Critcal Value for (p = .10 [10%])	0.0

Freq. Analysis : [Q9] Which Appendant, and/or Concordant, Bodies are you a member of (check all that apply)?

Analytics & Computed Values

Mean	7.552	Confidence Interval @ 95% [7.192 - 7.913] n = 822
Standard Deviation	5.276	
Standard Error	0.184	

Freq. Analysis : [Q11] Have you ever published a piece of writing (article, book, op-ed, etc.) related to Masonry in a Masonic, or Non-Masonic, (journal, book, online, etc.) forum?

Analytics & Computed Values

Mean	1.559	Confidence Interval @ 95% [1.484 - 1.634] n = 177
Standard Deviation	0.509	
Standard Error	0.038	

(**Table 38:** Cross-Tabulation, Comparing Q9 with Q11)

9. Comparing Q9: Appendant/Concordant Body Membership Data with Q12: Lecture Data (Table 39)

Cross Tabulation Frequency/Percent	[Q12] Have you ever given a lecture/speech related to Masonry (this does not include memorized degree-work) in a Masonic, or Non-Masonic, setting (a colloquia, a conference, as part of a regular meeting)?				
[Q9] Which Appendant, and/or Concordant, Bodies are you a member of (check all that apply)?		Yes	No	Other	Row Totals
	York Rite	54	12	0	66
		81.82%	**18.18%**	**0%**	**8.05%**
	Royal Arch	49	9	0	58
		84.48%	**15.52%**	**0%**	**7.07%**
	Cryptic Rite	42	7	0	49
		85.71%	**14.29%**	**0%**	**5.98%**
	Knights Templar	49	11	0	60
		81.67%	**18.33%**	**0%**	**7.32%**
	Scottish Rite	102	33	0	135
		75.56%	**24.44%**	**0%**	**16.46%**
	Lodge of Perfection	58	6	0	64
		90.62%	**9.38%**	**0%**	**7.8%**
	Rose Croix	57	9	0	66
		86.36%	**13.64%**	**0%**	**8.05%**
	Council of Kadosh	59	6	0	65
		90.77%	**9.23%**	**0%**	**7.93%**
	Consistory of Sublime Princes	34	2	0	36
		94.44%	**5.56%**	**0%**	**4.39%**
	Supreme Council	16	2	0	18
		88.89%	**11.11%**	**0%**	**2.2%**
	Shrine International (Shriners)	62	17	0	79
		78.48%	**21.52%**	**0%**	**9.63%**
	Grotto	7	1	0	8
		87.5%	**12.5%**	**0%**	**0.98%**
	Tall Cedars of Lebanon	0	0	0	0
		0%	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**
	Sojourners	10	1	0	11
		90.91%	**9.09%**	**0%**	**1.34%**
	Order of the Eastern Star	28	4	0	32

		87.5%	**12.5%**	**0%**	**3.9%**
	Amaranth	2	0	0	2
		100%	**0%**	**0%**	**0.24%**
	High Twelve	1	0	0	1
		100%	**0%**	**0%**	**0.12%**
	SCIOTS	0	0	0	0
		0%	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**
	Philalethes Society	5	0	0	5
		100%	**0%**	**0%**	**0.61%**
	Member of a Research Lodge	29	1	0	30
		96.67%	**3.33%**	**0%**	**3.66%**
	Other	29	6	0	35
		82.86%	**17.14%**	**0%**	**4.27%**
	Column Total	**693**	**127**	**0**	**820**
	Column Percent	**84.51%**	**15.49%**	**0%**	**100%**

Pearson's Chi-Square Statistics	
Chi-Square	23.723
p Value	0.981
Degrees of Freedom	40
Significant Corelation Between Variables Exists : @ 95%	
Critcal Value for (p = .01 [1%])	0.0
Critcal Value for (p = .05 [5%])	0.0
Critcal Value for (p = .10 [10%])	0.0

Freq. Analysis : [Q9] Which Appendant, and/or Concordant, Bodies are you a member of (check all that apply)?

Analytics & Computed Values

Mean	7.552	Confidence Interval @ 95% [7.192 - 7.913] n = 822
Standard Deviation	5.276	
Standard Error	0.184	

Freq. Analysis : [Q12] Have you ever given a lecture/speech related to Masonry (this does not include memorized degree-work) in a Masonic, or Non-Masonic, setting (a colloquia, a conference, as part of a regular meeting)?

Analytics & Computed Values

Mean	1.322	Confidence Interval @ 95% [1.253 - 1.391] n = 177
Standard Deviation	0.469	
Standard Error	0.035	

(**Table 39:** Cross-Tabulation, Comparing Q9 with Q12)

APPENDIX 3: Summary of the Story of Hiram Abiff

In brief, the story of Hiram Abiff outlines the building of Solomon's temple in Jerusalem around 800 BC. Solomon sent messengers to the King of Tyre requesting the services of a gifted craftsman. The King of Tyre recommended Hiram Abiff, a widow's son, renowned for his skill as a brass worker. Upon recommending Hiram Abiff, the King of Tyre not only justifies Hiram Abiff's skill, but also defends his position in Tyrian society; i.e.: he is a widows son whose mother is a Daughter of Dan (Harvey 1919) and whose father was a man of Tyre. Abiff became the chief architect of Solomon's temple, Hiram Abiff is not only skilled, but has earned the right to be called a Master of his craft. There were other master craftsmen, as well as lay workmen, present at the building of the temple, but none was privy to the true secrets of the trade, namely geometry (Harvey 1919), that Abiff possessed. Hiram Abiff was hired, and masons moved through the labor hierarchy, according to their knowledge and basic set of skills. There is a clear distinction between the different levels of workmen on the temple site. There is Solomon, the patron and overseer. There are a number of other Master masons, but Hiram Abiff is the manager. There exists of number of lay workers, and of course fellow craft, who are considered skilled labor. Many people were envious of Hiram Abiff's greatness. Indeed, trouble begins when the three fellow craft wish to be promoted to master masons. Hiram Abiff determines that they have not yet attained an adequate skill set to move forward. Harvey (1919) notes that in the 'original' version Solomon himself was jealous of the affections of Balkis, the Queen of Sheba, towards Hiram Abiff and hired three fellow craft brass workers to humiliate Hiram Abiff. This portion of the story

was omitted from the re-enactments during the late 18th century. Indeed, in many modern versions Solomon cares deeply for Hiram Abiff, and no mention of the Queen of Sheba exists. As the story continues, the three fellow craft were disgruntled because Hiram Abiff had refused to raise them to the level of masters of the craft because he felt they had yet to achieve an adequate skill set in the trade. The three fellow craft sabotaged various designs of Hiram Abiff, who, in his dishonor, sought consolation in the temple. One evening, as the sun was setting in the west, the three men positioned themselves in the west, south, and east entrances to the temple and demanded to know the secrets of the craft and/or the secret name of God. Hiram Abiff refused and was subsequently killed by the men who used various tools (Harvey 1919) of the trade to do the deed. Hiram Abiff's body is then carried out of the east gate by the three men and buried. King Solomon, upon finding Hiram Abiff missing, sent out many Masons to look for him. Three of them, together, found his body. The three fellow craft, who are denied promotion, attack Hiram Abiff hoping to gain his secret knowledge. Also, the manner in which Hiram Abiff is killed includes the use of masonry tools, of which the fellow craft had knowledge of their use. When Hiram Abiff is found missing Solomon and the craftsmen search desperately for the knowledge he had. Solomon and the other craftsmen feared they could not continue building the temple without Hiram Abiff's knowledge. They searched for this knowledge but could only find the letter "G" (Kitchen 1997): When Hiram Abiff's body is discovered they find a scrap of parchment with the letter "G" written on it, which is the only remaining remnant of Hiram Abiff's knowledge. Solomon then whispered

secret words known only to him, and with the other masons griped Hiram Abiff's body in a specific way, using three specific grips.[429] This resulted in Hiram Abiff being raised from the dead. Solomon then orders a search for the assassins. Rather than be caught the three fellow craft commit suicide (there is some variation here). Hiram Abiff, however, did not continue to work on the temple, he instead moved on to a glorious afterlife where a Higher Power (the Great Architect of the Universe) represents the ultimate level in the hierarchy. For the three degrees of regular Masonry, this is where the story ends. As mentioned previously, Appendant bodies, such as the Scottish Rite, continue the story through their additional twenty eight degrees.

Discussion with/Comments made by Augustin Rivera

Harvey, William. 1919. The Story of Hiram Abiff. Dundee: T.M. *Sparks.*

Kitchen, Yvonne. 1997. *Freemasonry Death in the Family*. Mountain Gate, Victoria, Australia: Fruitful Vine.[Originally used an online version/excerpt].

Supplemented by additional renditions mentioned in dissertation

***Note**: Harvey reference may have been accessed online, though original URL citation is lost: also, multiple publication years appear for this work.

[429] Original reference lost

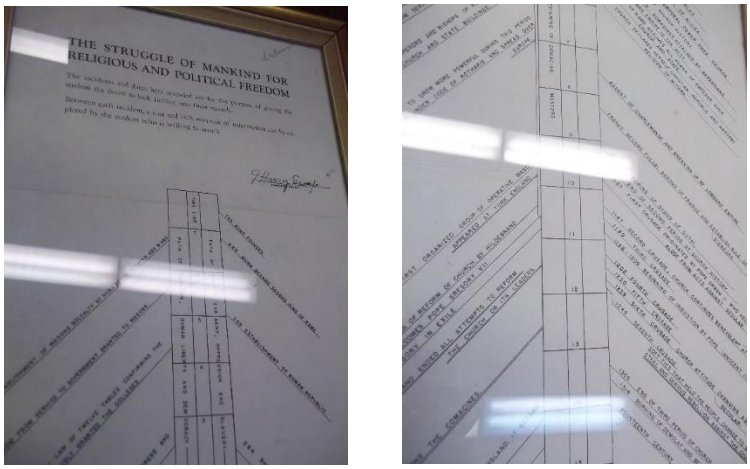
APPENDIX 4: Additional Notes/Excerpts from Materials Mentioned In-Text.

The excerpts contained here do not comprise a comprehensive list of all excerpts mentioned in-text; they are included as they were deemed at the time, within the chapter where they are referenced, to warrant a more detailed presentation:

Included:
Timeline: Struggle of Mankind for Religious and Political Freedom 547
… the "Masonic Publicity Kit: Advertising, 553
Public Relations, Promotions" (Free and Accepted Masons of California and Hawaii, 1989) viewed in the GLNV Library/Museum: 05/15/2014

Timeline: Struggle of Mankind for Religious and Political Freedom

See Figure 31 for image of timeline. See below for notes taken by myself pertaining to aforementioned document.
(copied from my notes below.)



(**Figure 31:** Images of the Timeline. Grand Lodge of Nevada Library & Museum; display/document brought to me by project participant. Wilhelm various dates/2014/5)

Notes[430] from reading (?:Chronologist), c.1950. "The Struggle of mankind for Religious and Political Freedom" (a framed scroll document that 'Bob Ramfield'[431] brought in)
(read: June 03, 2014)
Chronologist: J. (?) Harry Snomke (?)
Signed by Silas Ross

Personal notes deleted
"The incidents and dates here recorded are for the purposes of giving the student the desire to look further into these readings" "Between each incident a vast and rich reservoir of information can be explored by the student who is willing to search"

Separated into three long columns (vertical) written off to the side (horizontal). (see Images)
(right) "top" = "Path of Empire Tyranny, Oppression & Slavery"
(middle) "middle" = Timeline 753BC – 1949AD
(left) "bottom' = "Path of Freedom, Human Liberty & Democracy"

Right/Top [incidents]
<u>BC</u>
7 – 753BC Rome Founded
686BC Numa became 2nd King of Rome
6 - 509BC Establishment of Roman Republic
3- 284BC Sharp Dissension against Republican form of government began to appear
1- 31-27BC End of Republic of Rome
<u>AD</u>
4- 312AD Constantine Became Emperor
313AD Constantine calls Council of Alres
323AD Constantine calls council of Niciea
327AD Constantine assumes temporal power over church
5- [end of first period of church history]
455AD Rome sacked. Comacines attacked by Barbarians.
476AD Fall of Roman Empire in the West
489AD Bishop of Rome assumes all power of emperor over church and state
6- 500AD Church declares herself Christian Republic and absorbs religion of Mirtha
8- [Advent of Charlemange and Breaking up of Lombard Empire…]

[430] Includes verbatim text as well as my own notes
[431] Pseudonym for project participant who, although not mentioned much in the dissertation specifically, was an avid participant, always willing to talk and discuss Masonry, who took me on tours of the downton Reno Temple, including the underground storage areas, gifted me some Masonic books, and loaned me others from the GLNV library; he is an enthusiastic and knowledgeable member of the Fraternity to whom I owe many conversations and background knowledge.

9- [Franks Become Feudal Barons of France and Establish Rule of Signeurs]
10- 1046AD Opening of Synad of Sutri
1087AD End of Second Period of Church History
1097AD First Crusade Originated by Pope Urban II who held aloof from acts against
Secular
11- 1147AD Second Crusade. Church continues benevolent attitude
1189AD Third Crusade
1198AD-1209AD Beginning of Inquisition by Opoe Innocent III
1202AD Fourth Crusade
1220 AD Fifth Crusade
1229AD Sixth Crusade. Church attitude changing against secular
1244AD Seventh Crusade
[soft ties that held the people change to bands of steel and serious rebellion against
church begins]
14- 1305AD end of Third Period of Church History
1314AD Burning od DeMolay and beginning of confiscation of property of Templars
[Fourteenth Century saw complete destruction of Templars and their property turned over
to Hospitalers]
15/16- [By 1500 Church sought to utterly destroy Masonry on continent]
16- 1534AD Confirmation of the Order of Jesuits Pope Paul III
1542AD Forming of Congregation of the Inquisition Pope Paul III
1545AD Forming of Council of Trent
1563AD End of Council of Trent and End of Church Reform started by Hildebrand
1598AD Signing edict of Nantes by Henry IV of Navarre
17- 1685AD Repeal of Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV
1685AD-1715AD Great exodus from France to preserve religious liberty
18- 1738AD Clement XIIII April 28 issued Encyclical against Masons
[16 additional encyclicals ipsofacto were issued directly against all AF & M in the world]
1751AD May 18 Benedict encyclical against Freemasons
1774AD June passage of the Quebec Act by British Parliament
19- [End of the fourth period of Church history]
1821AD Sept.13 Pius VII encyclical against Freemasons
1825AD March 13 Leo XII encyclical against Freemasons
1826AD Morgan Affair brought on by Roman Catholic prejudice
1829AD May 21 Piux VIII encyclical against Freemasons
1832AD Aug 15 Gregory XVI encyclical against Freemasons
1846AD Nov 9 Piux IX encyclical against Freemasons
1849AD April 20 Piux IX Encyclical against Freemasons
1864AD Dec8 Piux IX Encyclical against Freemasons

1865AD Sept 25 Piux IX Encyclical against Freemasons
1869AD Oct 12 Piux IX Encyclical against Freemasons
1873AD Nov 24 Piux IX Encyclical against Freemasons
1878AD Leo XIII became Pope and takes infallibility to himself. Declares himself
viceregent of God and Vicar of Christ.
1884AD April 20 Leo XIII delivers the most scathing encyclical against Freemasons and
excommunicates them throughout the world.
1890AD Oct 15
1894 AD June 20 } From 1882-1902 Leo XIII continued unrelenting warfare against
1902AD Mar 18 Freemasons everywhere
19/20- [beginning of last period of church history]
20- [This period sees the battle lines forming between the Roman Catholic Hierarchy and the
Advocates of free public schools]
1949- [END OF TIMELINE}

(at bottom connecting right/middle/left):

Masons everywhere recognize that the mission of Masonry is the defense of human liberty as proclaimed by our constitution and its bill of rights and that only education can equip us for the fullest defense of that liberty.

Left/Bottom [incidents]
BC
7- [establishment of Masons soldalty by Numa began between 685BC & 680BC]
6- [freedom from service to government granted to Masons]
5- year 302 of the City- Law of Twelve Tables confirming the priviledges previously granted the colleges
3- 302-687 year of the City- Mason colleges progress and become part of the Roman culture.
1- Colleges suppressed for eight years.
AD
1- 27BC-14AD Augustus brought architecture to high position. From this reign Mason
colleges gained continued strength.
3-5- [End of Roman College]
3- About 200AD System of Patriarchs and bishops began to control the Church.
4- About 325AD Mason colleges granted freedom from government service and were
reaffirmed all past grants.

453AD Mason colleges begin flight from Rome – retire and fortify Como. Become
known as Comacine Masters.
5- Theodoric rule Lombardy 493AD-526AD appoint Comacine Master his chief architect of
his empire – granted complete freedom from service, taxes or law.
6-9 [Beginning of Comacine Masters] ←
6- In this period emperors and bishops of Rome employ Comacine Masons for church and
state buildings.
7- Comacines continue to grow more powerful during this period, Comacines operated
under Code of Rotharis and spread over Europe.
10- 926AD Probably first organized group of operative Masons appeared at York England.
11- 1046AD Beginning of Era of Reform of Church by Hildebrand.
1073AD Hildebrand becomes Pope Gregory VII
1086AD death of Gregory in exile
12- The death of Hildebrand ended all attempts to reform the Church or tis leaders
13- Relaxation sets in among the Comacines
15- 1390AD Appearance of Halliwell Manuscript in England. It became basis of new code
for English Masons.
[final disappearance of Comacines in North Europe]
16- 1517AD start of reformation by Martin Luther
[operative Masons guilds grow in strength in England]
17- 1598AD signing of Edict of Nantes by Henry IV granting liberty of conscious throughout
France
1717AD establishment Grand Lodge at London. Freemasonry changes from Operative to
Speculative
18- 1719AD Invention of Fellowcraft degree
1721AD Conferring of Fellowcraft degree first time in Edinburg
1725AD York lodge declares itself Grand Lodge of all England
1725AD Grand Lodge of Ireland established
1725AD Provincial Grand Lodge established in Belgium and France
1730AD MM Degree conferred first time in Past Master Lodge of England
1733AD Provincial Grand Lodge established at Boston, Mass.
1736AD Grand Lodge of Scotland established.
1751AD Grand committee of Ancients established in London
1752AD St. Andrews lodge in Boston erected by Scotland GL of Ancients.
1756AD Grand Lodge Ancients of England established
1762AD at Paris creation of Constitution of A &A.S.R.
1769AD Provincial GL of Scotland established in Boston Mass.

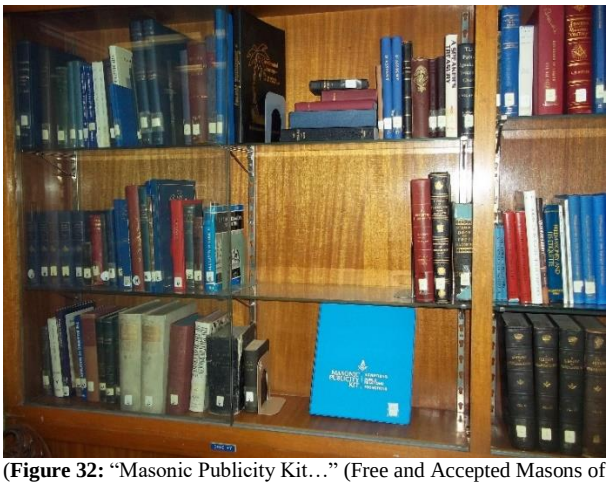
1776AD Declaration of Independence
1777AD Est of Doctrine of Grand Lodges by States
1782AD Resolution reaffiriming Doctrine by Grand Lodge of Mass.
1786AD at Berlin article ratified creating Supreme Councils of A & A.S.R. in every
civilized country
1792AD Uniting of Ancient & Modern Grand Lodges in Massachusetts
19- 1801AD at Charleston, SC first Supreme Council under constitutions of 1786 Ancient
and Accepted Scottish Rite established
1813AD Uniting Ancient & Modern Grand Lodges of England & Canada
1826AD Beginning of Anti-Masonic crusade in U.S. Masonry becomes static
1848AD Protestant Rebellion against church begins in Europe
1884AD Hierarchy retires voluntary imprisonment in Vatican State
1898AD Spanish American War. Masonry begins dynamic period
20- 1918AD World War I. Masonic membership increases greatly in U.S.
1941AD World War II. Masonry wiped out on continental Europe.
1945AD End of World War II. Tremendous increase in Masonic membership in U.S.
1949- [END OF TIMELINE}

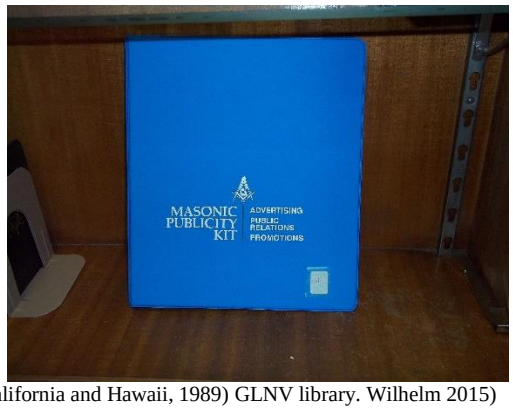
(at bottom connecting right/middle/left):

Masons everywhere recognize that the mission of Masonry is the defense of human liberty as proclaimed by our constitution and its bill of rights and that only education can equip us for the fullest defense of that liberty.

… the "Masonic Publicity Kit: Advertising, Public Relations, Promotions" (Free and Accepted Masons of California and Hawaii, 1989) viewed in the GLNV Library/Museum: 05/15/2014.

(I have removed notes taken from the 'Publicity Kit' in this Appendix). see Figure 32 for images and placement (as I originally found it) of publicity kit.





(**Figure 32:** "Masonic Publicity Kit…" (Free and Accepted Masons of California and Hawaii, 1989) GLNV library. Wilhelm 2015)