Freemasonry and Business Networking  
During the Victorian Period

Abstract

This article looks at the role of Freemasonry in socio-economic networking during the late nineteenth century. It looks in detail at the role of Masonry in the Cornish mining community and contrasts it with its potential in the City of London. It demonstrates that, like many others fraternities, it created efficient conduits for the exchange of business information and created valuable structural opportunities for business transactions, locally and globally. Masonry is shown to have the unusual potential to bridge wide occupation, social and cultural divisions and the sources for further, wider ranging research are indicated.

In a recent article in this journal it was argued that the capital market for the British non-ferrous mining industry was heavily regionally segmented in the mid- to late nineteenth century. That argument was particularly developed in the context of Cornish mining, where it was suggested that local Cornish ’in-adventurers’ were able somehow to reserve the most productive and profitable workings for themselves while releasing only the more speculative ventures to ’out adventurers’, largely operating through the London. Elsewhere attention has been drawn to the failure of London speculators in making profitable investments in the American western mining frontier compared with the great success of Cornish miners in capturing most of the major managerial posts in successful American owned enterprises. Clearly much of this dichotomy of performance can be explained in terms of the relative expertise of the two groups - the practical skills and long experience of the Cornish, relative to the distant, amateur, often over-enthusiastic London investor. Equally, however, reference might be made to the quality of the information available to the two groups and the efficiency of the networks that transmitted it. Thus the Cornish had access to immediate, first hand information that could be verified from several different quarters, while London speculators received only partial, second-hand reports, that had to be taken on dubious trust. Similarly, Cornish networks were tight and efficient, exploiting strong filial, religious and cultural links that extended across the county and to emigrant communities in all of the world's major mining districts. By comparison the City's networks, although themselves multifarious, were looser, based mainly on commonality of economic interest rather than deeper societal connections.

Today, networks are recognised as playing a crucial role in the success of business enterprise and their study has become a central issue in both business history and contemporary business practice. Much of that literature has been referenced in Pearson and Richardson's recent article in this journal. Although these studies have examined wide-ranging networking systems, relatively little visibility has been given to the role of fraternity and benevolent association. Throughout history such associations have been regarded as providing some of the most powerful and influential networking systems. Mainly centred on local or regional structures, they have been shown to been capable of bridging the filial, religious, political and social structures on which other networks were commonly based and to have been highly influential in the promotion of civic engagement and the formation of social capital. They are also likely to have been more influential in promoting efficient networking
systems in small local Cornish communities than among increasingly dispersed and diversified London investors. Certainly fraternity and benevolent organisations of many different varieties made an important contribution to the formation of civil society in other parts of the country during the nineteenth century\textsuperscript{ix}, and they were strong. Gosden has estimated, for example, that as many as one in ten of the county's population may have been involved in such organisations for most of the century, roughly equal to the other industrial counties and considerably higher than the national average.\textsuperscript{x} Single organisations like the Oddfellows counted nearly 4,000 Cornish members in 1894,\textsuperscript{xi} and the Ancient Order of Foresters had 37 active Courts in the county by around the same date.\textsuperscript{xii} However, given the long and continuing history of suspicion of their influential networking activities in all aspects of local social, economic and political affairs, it is the role of the Freemasons that provides the most intriguing prospect for investigation. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, the number of Masons in Cornwall increased steadily to almost 2,000, organised in a series of urban based lodges spread across the county.\textsuperscript{xiii} They had an unparalleled capacity to bridge across communities, both at home and abroad, and no other organisation was so well organised, geographically dispersed, efficiently structured and durable. Although the role of masonry and other forms of fraternity in economic and social affairs have attracted serious historical attention in the United States,\textsuperscript{xiv} its more secretive reputation in Britain has discouraged serious and sustained historical research.\textsuperscript{xv} This article will suggest ways in which that gap may be filled. It will investigate the economic and social structure of Freemasonry in the central mining districts of Cornwall, the links between those lodges and others in major mining districts overseas, and estimate the potential of membership for investment and employment networking. A shorter comparative study of masonry in London will suggest that very different conditions operated there, which markedly reduced its networking potential. Overall it will be suggested that Masonic membership bestowed important networking potential that should be set equally alongside other powerful filial, religious and other local and cultural allegiances in the county.\textsuperscript{xvi} ‘Brother Jack’ may have been as important a ‘Cousin Jack’ in finding a job abroad or a profitable investment opportunity at home.

Originating in its modern form in Scotland at the beginning of the eighteenth century, Freemasonry described itself as, ‘a system of morality, veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols’.\textsuperscript{xvii} In more plain language, it made use of the tools and craft skills of the stone mason to act as an allegorical guide for the moral and spiritual improvement of its members.\textsuperscript{xviii} Organisationally it consisted of a series of mainly locally focused 'lodges', warranted by the Grand Lodges of Free and Accepted Masons of England, Scotland and Ireland. Fully initiated Master Masons attended frequent meetings of their own lodge (usually monthly) and had rights to visit and move between any other lodge at home or abroad. Their ritual embraced the egalitarian philosophy of the enlightenment, they were sworn to strict codes of moral conduct and were under an obligation to help other Masons, where there was no conflict with their own interests. In all aspects, it was highly 'business friendly'. Membership was by invitation, but highly 'permeable', and offered both 'bonding' opportunities with others in the same profession/business/locality, as well as 'bridging' to groups with which they may previously have had little contact.\textsuperscript{xix} The formalised dinning and socialising activities that followed every lodge meeting presented exceptional opportunities for networking between individuals and firms. Members could exchange information, seek credit, arrange capital movements, organise
contracts, find employment, exercise influence and ensure benevolent support against the unexpected. Most Masons, like most golfers, insisted that they had entirely different motivations for membership - the performance of ritual, the enjoyment of companionship, the simple excuse for drinking and dining - and they were probably absolutely genuine. But the opportunities for all forms of networking - consciously or unconsciously, within or without the lodge - clearly remained ever present. When individuals did wish to exploit those opportunities - for local, regional, national or even international contact or connection - the institutional framework was readily available.

Notwithstanding the common perception that, as a 'secret society', Freemasonry bequeathed few available records, there is a surprisingly large volume of material to facilitate at least broad investigation of these issues. The main source material for this study has been derived from the archive of the English Grand Lodge, located in Great Queen Street, London. There is no full guide to this archive, the material is stored as it was collected, and access is by arrangement with the librarian, though there are no stated restrictions. Some material has been derived from the Secretaries of extant lodges, as well as privately published lodge histories, and these have been footnoted appropriately. The principal single source has been annual 'Lodge Returns', made by lodge secretaries to Grand Lodge. These returns provide details of the location of the Lodge meeting; the founding members of the lodge; the names, date of initiation/joining, age, occupation and place of residence of new members; and miscellaneous information on migration/emigration, death, expulsion etc. Unfortunately, these data are heavily skewed to those joining the lodge for the first time. There are periodic notices of changes of residence when members move away from the area but not of local movements. Similarly, there are even fewer notices of change of occupation. The material thus provides a snap shot of the structure of the initiates/joining members of the lodge but not necessarily of the average for the lodge as a whole. However, other qualitative evidence suggests that, apart form the average age of all lodge members, this does not change significantly over time.

There were 30 Masonic lodges operative in Cornwall during the late nineteenth century, a few warranted in the eighteenth century but mainly dating from a major expansion of the fraternity in the mid-century. The concentration of mining mainly in the west of the county means that many of these lodges were at some distance from the mining districts, and random inspection of their membership reveals that they had little connection with mining related activities. They have therefore been excluded from this study. Of those lodges that met closer to the mining areas, six have been chosen for detailed investigation. They are roughly distributed along an east-west line across the central copper and tin mining district, from Truro to Hayle and they represent both large and small towns, as well as inland and coastal communities. Together, over the period from 1850, or their later foundation, to 1900, they had a total membership of over 2,000. See Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Lodge</th>
<th>No. of Lodge</th>
<th>Place of Meeting</th>
<th>Date Established</th>
<th>Total Members to 1900</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The age structure of those joining the lodges was relatively young. The minimum age for initiation was 21 but most joined in their late twenties or early thirties. The modal distribution was 27 years and the average nearly 30. This age distribution of new members changed very little over the period, but the average age of lodges as a whole, particularly the new foundations, probably increased as few resigned and most remained life-long members.

The occupational structure of all lodges reflected the entire spectrum of economic activity in the immediate locality, from gentlemen and professionals to artisans and labourers, from clergymen to tavern keepers, from industry and commerce to services and transport. Over 180 different professions and commercial and industrial occupations between them. However, as expected, mining related activities were clearly the leading occupations in all of the sample lodges. A total of 561 members described their occupations as directly mining related - or more than a quarter of the total membership declaring their occupation. See Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fortitude</th>
<th>Truro</th>
<th>1772</th>
<th>436</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cornubian</td>
<td>Hayle</td>
<td>1848</td>
<td>343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Druid's</td>
<td>Redruth</td>
<td>1851</td>
<td>402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boscawen</td>
<td>Chacewater</td>
<td>1857</td>
<td>388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tregullow</td>
<td>St.Day</td>
<td>1865</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Edgcumbe</td>
<td>Camborne</td>
<td>1875</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2
The Distribution of Mining Related Employment Among Initiates/Joining Members of Six Lodges

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agents, Captains and Managers</th>
<th>Engineers and Contractors</th>
<th>Assayers and Metallurgy</th>
<th>Dressers and Streamers</th>
<th>Miners</th>
<th>Mining Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>166</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the next largest occupational groups - including accountants, unspecified 'engineers' and tradesmen, such as blacksmiths, carpenters and builders - many probably also found their principal occupations in mining or mining related activity. Even those not directly related to mining - such as inn and hotel-keepers, merchants, builders, drapers and farmers - undoubtedly derived a large part of their income from providing goods and services to the mining population. See Table 3. The only large group that does not at first appear to be significantly related to mining was that of mariners and maritime related activities, such as shipbuilding, pilots, and harbour-masters. Unsurprisingly, these groups were found in significant numbers only in the two lodges that were located close to the sea. Yet again, however, many may have found their primary occupation in servicing the needs of the mining industry, taking copper ore out and bringing in return cargoes of coal and materials. So too the 44 'gentlemen' Masons probably derived a significant part of their income from mining related investments.
Table 3
Other large Occupational Groups Among Initiates/Joining members of Six Lodges

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Boscawen</th>
<th>Cornubian</th>
<th>Druids</th>
<th>Fortitude</th>
<th>Mount Edgcumbe</th>
<th>Tregullow</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accountants</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>Hotel/Inn Keepers</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>Engineers</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>Merchants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineers</td>
<td>191</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mariners &amp; Maritime</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>Builders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mariners &amp; Maritime</td>
<td>82</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Builders</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>Drapers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenters &amp; Smiths</td>
<td>63</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Merchants</td>
<td>53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While all lodges exhibited a similar broad range of occupations, the balance of occupations varied between them. As already suggested, the principal variation was in the number of mining and maritime related occupations, but several other categories also differed considerably. See Table 4.

Table 4
Distribution of Principal Occupations in the Six Lodges

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Boscawen</th>
<th>Cornubian</th>
<th>Druids</th>
<th>Fortitude</th>
<th>Mount Edgcumbe</th>
<th>Tregullow</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Miners</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mine Agents &amp; Engineers</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineers (Other)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assayers &amp; Chemists</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenters &amp; Smiths</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mariners &amp; Maritime</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Builders</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchants</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accountant</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drapers &amp; Grocers</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotel &amp; Innkeepers</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gentleman</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.of Other Occupation</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Other Occupation</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>59</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Using occupation as a means of analysing the social structure of lodge membership produces a similar picture. Allocating according to the categories used in the 1991...
census (adjusted to take account of changes in the social status of some groups during the intervening period) indicates significant differences between lodges, although again all retain an overall wide spread of membership. See Table 5.

Table 5
Social Structure of on the Initiates/Joining Members of Six Lodges.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lodge</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III (M)</th>
<th>III (N)</th>
<th>IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boscawen</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>41.1</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>35.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cornubian</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>69.0</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Druids</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>57.6</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortitude</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>55.3</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mt.Edgcumbe</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tregullow</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>38.7</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>35.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Av.all Lodges</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>54.0</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Fortitude, Mount Edgcumbe and Druids', 'middle class' groups (ie. I and II together) accounted for around two thirds of the membership and in Cornubian they made up well over three-quarters. However, in Boscawen and Tregullow 'working class' Masons (ie III(Manual), III(Non-manual) and IV together) were in a clear majority among new members. These differences in membership profiles clearly reflect the differing character of the communities they represented. Thus the prosperous and economically diversified county town of Truro supported large numbers of accountants, merchants and gentlemen who made up much of the membership of Fortitude lodge, while the relatively small and highly specialised mining community of Chacewater meant that miners and other practical mining men inevitably dominated the membership of Boscawen lodge. The picture thus often differs from that often painted by historians. It does not, for example, match with Martin Gorsky’s view of Freemasonry being generally based on ‘horizontal social ties’ or to John Tosh’s description of the fraternity as ‘socially exclusive’ and ‘closely associated with status and respectability in the community’. Indeed, it approximates far more closely with the newly emerging picture of Victorian friendly societies, such as the Manchester Unity of Odd Fellows, as fully socially inclusive organisations. It was not an elitist exception to that general movement but very much part of it - one that Michael Savage might describe as ‘amenable to elitist involvement’.

In most years during the period, the active membership of these lodges appears to have varied between 30 and 60, though it could rise over a hundred. Any member attending meetings could expect to have access to trustworthy and helpful ‘brothers’ with economic and civic interests extending into every corner of the local economy and community. Frequent visiting between lodges greatly extended this circle of association across the whole spectrum of activity in central Cornwall. The egalitarian principles of masonry ensured that no major internal barriers developed between members of different social standing, while the secrecy that surrounded lodge proceedings protected the confidentiality of any transactions that might take place. Under such circumstances, it is unsurprising that only 2 journalists were granted membership of the six lodges surveyed here, while at least 20 commercial travellers,
usually based outside of Cornwall, became enthusiastic members. Masonry clearly provided unequalled opportunities for networking of every description and while the great majority may never consciously have exploited it for personal gain, they were, no doubt, far more widely and better informed than most non-members.

To assess the particular potential for the local networking of investment information, and the capacity of the local mining interest to sustain a segmented capital market, a broad analysis has been undertaken of the managerial and mine ownership interests of lodge members. This has been done by searching the annual lists of mine owners and managers published in the official _Mineral Statistics of the United Kingdom_ for the names of Masons giving their occupation as mine agent, captain, purser or other manager. This is not a straightforward process however. The metal mining industry was the earliest to develop a complete reliance on specialist employee managers and by the mid-nineteenth century the best of them usually enjoyed careers at a number of different mines and frequently held joint appointments. They also shared very similar surnames. It is, therefore, often very difficult to be certain that identities are not being confused and/or conflated. However, of the 166 Masons making declarations of managerial employment, it is reasonably certain that 85, drawn from all six lodges, had lifetime career managerial interests in more than 260 mines in the county, as well as many more elsewhere in England, Wales and overseas. Several members of a mine's management team might be members of the same lodge, one member sometimes succeeded another in management positions at the same mine, and many of the managers also held financial interests in the company for which they worked. The mining company prospectuses published in the weekly _Mining Journal_, also indicate a wide range of multiple employment and directorships held by lodge members.

The picture derived from the broad analysis of the lodge and ownership and employment returns is reinforced by individual cameos of major Cornish mining figures written during the period. For example, George Henwood, the _Mining Journal_’s Cornish correspondent, described William Pascoe (born 1821 and initiated into Tregullow Lodge in 1866; joining member of Boscawen Lodge in 1866; founding member of Mount Edgcumbe Lodge in 1875) as the highly successful manager, and shareholder in, South Frances mine, 'one of the largest and richest in Cornwall', as well as two or three smaller but developing concerns. 'He has been a large speculator... enjoys a wide reputation, and is much employed in giving opinions on the prospects of various mining localities.' Similarly, Symons wrote of William Teague (born 1847 and initiated into Druid's Lodge in 1872) as 'One of the most prominent promoters of mining in Cornwall in recent times....he has exhibited a singular tenacity for mining. He never, I believe, sold a share in any mine with which he is or has been connected, although a few years ago, his interest in Tincroft was worth, in the market, about £100,000. He is a legitimate miner - no dealer. He is the manager and purser of Tincroft, Carnbrea, Wheal Kitty (ST. Agnes), Great Work, and West Poldice, in each of which he holds large interests, and he also has interests in Penhale, Blue Hills, etc.' There is little doubt that the masonic mining interest had unparalleled access to insider knowledge of the profitable potential of all mines, large and small, throughout the county. They were certainly in a prime position to 'filter out' the best future prospects and to seek to retain control of major long-established workings - such as Carn Brea, Tincroft, and Dolcoath - that continued to show future potential. In modern management parlance, 'know-who' was an invaluable mechanism
for the transfer of 'know-how' when it came to investment decisions and other business relationships. xxvii

Although it might be a compelling conclusion, men did not become Masons simply to improve their business connections. When a society is a secret as Masonry, it is difficult for an outsider to know exactly what is on offer but even the casual observer would be aware that it was a multi-faceted institution. Prospective new members could not apply for membership but needed to wait on invitations from a friend, and placed their faith in the judgement of those friends as to their suitability for membership. Once initiated, masonry came to mean many different things for different members. For some it became almost a religion, being firmly based in familiar Old Testament allegories and utilising complex rituals. It may have been that the latter satisfied some unfulfilled need in the lives of people whose regular worship was largely bereft of such activity. Certainly the rituals developed in Freemasonry proved immensely popular and became an inspiration for those adopted by a wide range of other associations, from the Oddfellows to trade unions. xxviii Perhaps it was ritual that was the primary attraction for the 24 clergymen of various denominations that joined the six lodges during this period - or perhaps they also saw a networking benefit in 'fishing for souls'. For many others, however, it may have been simply a method of bridging religious, family and social divides and improving the quality of life. In this respect, all forms of organised fraternity in the eighteenth and nineteenth have to be seen in the context of 'tavern society' and the regularisation of drinking activities. Here ritual became the means of formally structuring proceedings, a combination of moral justification and improvement, and perhaps little more than a challenging 'entertainment product.' xxix For abstemious Cornish dissenters, who shunned the alcohol of the festive board, it may have been one of the few outlets to brighten otherwise dull provincial lives. To spiritual reassurance and conviviality might also be added social association and mutual benevolence. Attendance at public parades and 'perambulations' demonstrated an act of fraternal commitment, belonging to the locality, and a display of being part of the local order. When Cornwall's Provincial Grand Lodge held its annual meetings, for example, attending members of the various lodges paraded through the host town under their lodge banners, lead by a military band and watched by thronging crowds. xxx Similarly the laying of the foundation stone of Truro Cathedral in May 1880, one of the greatest public events in Cornwall of the late nineteenth century, was dominated by Masonic ceremony, officiated over by the Prince of Wales, the Grand Master of the Order. xxxi By such acts of association, men and their families could prove their status in the community and mark their progress and improvement.

Freemasonry was not a benevolent society in the normal sense that members acquired rights to relief in times of adversity, but all lodge members contributed in addition to their lodge dues, and in separate acts of charity, to a national Benevolent Fund. They and/or their families could petition for relief from this Fund in the event of unexpected adversity. In the 1890s, it had an average annual income of around £23,000 and at the end of that decade it serviced 270 aged annuitants at £40 per annum and 248 widows at £30 per annum, as well as many half pensions and other one-off payments to occasional claimants. xxxii In addition, there was the Royal Masonic Institute for Girls, established in 1788 and the Royal Masonic Institute for Boys, established 1798, that provided for the clothing and education of the children of indigent Masons. xxxiii In the 1890s these charities also disposed of considerable sums
from an average income of more than £19,000 and £38,000 respectively annually. In addition to these national funds there were also a number of local or regional charities. Thus in the late 1890s, when war in South Africa caused great distress to many migrant Cornish workers and their families, Cornish lodges raised £473-6-0d in a special appeal for the 'Brethren in South Africa.' There is no doubt that for even the currently rich and successful there was considerable reassurance to be derived from having the financial arms/alms of the Brotherhood around them and their families. There was, however, disapproval of those who joined with that prospect as their primary incentive. When the Cornish Provincial Grand Master observed a slight fall of in the number of new initiates in 1900 he concluded with some satisfaction that it, 'showed that the lodges were beginning to appreciate the fact that Freemasonry should be regarded as a luxury, and not as a benefit society.' Together, these 'other' aspects of masonry did much to cement its 'business friendly' attributes. Certainly, there were many and various advantages to membership and no one would easily risk exclusion by transgressing the rules of behaviour. A high level of trustworthiness in dealings between members was assured. Of even greater importance, however, were their 'educational' functions. At one level they became cradles of organised activity, showing how otherwise independent, solitary workers and tradesmen might come together, regulate their affairs and assemble their finance in pursuit of an agreed range of purposes. The skills and personal attributes needed to run a harmonious lodge were similar to those required in a success business enterprise. More generally, Gorsky's has suggested that such associations facilitated the growth of Civil Society in that they, 'fostered social capital by encouraging solidarity between members .... promoted civic engagement .... acted as nurseries of democracy, and .... cultivated an attitude of social welfare founded on independence and self-help.' Less visibly, but with far greater long-term effect, they helped to modernise the ideas and aspirations of businessmen. Through its ritual and other practices, Masonry melded together the practical common sense traditions of an ancient manual craft with the intellectual challenges of the Renaissance. Ordinary men, practitioners of everyday commercial and industrial affairs, in a remote corner of Britain, were introduced to the aspirations of Baconian science, with their emphasis on the reciprocal relationship of science and technology in advancing the material well-being of society. New concepts of Latitudinarianism and Newtonian science, with their emphasis on natural laws and the harmony of the universe, were popularised and architecture, exemplifying the coming together of practical and scientific traditions, was enshrined as one of the most suitable areas of study by the cultured and humane gentleman. As Clawson has concluded, 'Freemasonry offered a complex of values and assumptions that can be characterised as those of an emergent bourgeoisie - a detachment from inherited social identities, a belief in social mobility, an acceptance of market relations and property based authority, and a positive evaluation of science, technology and productive labour.' The latter was particularly important for those engaged in a cutting edge industry such as mining and metallurgy where the importance of science for further technological progress was becoming increasingly important. It may be no accident that Cornwall remained a technological world leader in these industries while other sectors of the British economy did relatively less well. Without wishing to press the point too far, few other social institutions had the capacity to play a more important role in civilising the practical and vulgarising the scientific for the emergent Victorian middle class.
With all of these advantages to membership it might be assumed that queues of potential initiates formed outside every lodge and that the numbers joining followed a smooth maximum throughout the period. However, as Fig. 1 shows, this was far from the case. The numbers initiated varied considerably over time, but with all six lodges following a similar pattern. Clearly there are likely to have been common influences at work varying the numbers either applying for membership or the lodge's capacity to absorb them. The latter does not appear to have been important. There were no size constraints imposed on lodges and their active numbers could and did vary from year to year. The principle cause of changes in the numbers joining are therefore likely to be found in a changing level of demand for membership. Here the main constraint may have been its relatively high costs - not just lodge fees, but expenditures on socialising and charity. If that were to be the case, it might be expected that during prosperous times membership would increase, while in depression the number of applicants would decline. However, comparing changes the numbers of new members over the period as a whole with fluctuations in the price of tin, as a proxy for the prosperity of the mining economy of central Cornwall, reveals no such clear relationship. See Fig.2. There were some sub-periods, such as the 1870s and the mid-1880s to the mid-90s when the two indices appear to have moved together but during other periods the relationship appears to have broken down and even to have been reversed. The causes of the changes in the numbers becoming Masons therefore appear to be complex, possibly variable, and likely to be found as much in the changing social and cultural attitudes as in direct economic issues. These are not crucial to this analysis of the business networking potential of Freemasonry among the mining community and have not been fully investigated. However, one potentially highly significant development does emerge, namely the potential advantages for emigration bestowed by Masonic membership.

After years of peak production and prosperity around the mid-nineteenth century, Cornish mining went into sharp and sustained decline from the 1860s. In just over 35 years between the early 1860s and the late 1890s Cornwall's world copper, lead, silver and manganese output collapsed and only tin and arsenic survived, much reduced from its mid-century levels. The number of mines that needed agents, managers and engineers was reduced from around a thousand to less than a hundred and mining employment fell from over 30,000 in 1851 to less than 10,000 in 1891. The long established pattern of economic migration from Cornwall was stepped up, with more than a quarter of a million people going abroad 1840 - 1890, and it saw the largest outflow of population of any county in England and Wales.

The membership of the six lodges sampled here clearly reflected this pattern of movement, with a large and rising numbers of members moving abroad during the period. Experience was not uniform however. Some lodges had higher levels of migration than others. As might be expected, the least migratory lodges were those with the highest percentage of relatively well off social groups I and II in their membership. The assets and skills of these groups were also often difficult to re-deploy in other areas. The most migratory lodges were those with the highest percentage of economically exposed social groups III and IV - viz. Boscawell, Druids, and Tolgullow. See Fig. 3. Between 1860 and 1899, 27% of all new recruits to these three lodges found work overseas with the share rising over 40% during the 1880s. See Fig. 4. However migration was not entirely restricted to the poorer contingent of their lodge membership. All groups took part to one degree or another,
with the highest mobility among those directly linked to the declining mining sector. Thus 23% of the mine agents and 39% of mining engineers followed the 48% of miners in finding work abroad. Under recording, resulting from short absence and/or a continuation of the paying of lodge fees while away, would suggest that these figures might be even higher. However, although emigration was high, movement within the UK appears to have been remarkably low. Only 32 members of all six lodges were ever listed as resident elsewhere in the United Kingdom, compared with more than 380 returned as going and/or living abroad. By comparison with the probable average level of geographical mobility for their host communities - estimated as being roughly equal for domestic and overseas movement, and accounting together for about 25% of the population of mining communities, xli Masonic migration thus appears high and heavily skewed towards emigration.

The possibility that applications for Masonic membership may have become influenced by a desire of individuals to exploit its international networking links is strengthened by two other pieces of evidence. Firstly, there were a large number of 'gold miners' seeking membership. Over 100 of the 266 miners initiated into the six lodges gave this as their occupation and nearly all were in their early 20s. Gold was not mined in Cornwall during the period and it must be assumed that these were young men returning from foreign gold fields. Their motivation for joining may have been enjoyment of the fraternal support, elevated status, social conviviality or any of the other advantages to membership while at home. However, it is equally likely that they had seen how Masonic membership had facilitated successful economic and social integration in frontier mining districts and sought to achieve that membership, using home town connections, before undertaking further journeys. Visiting rights to other lodges were available to all Master Masons, either at home or abroad, and presentation of their 'lodge certificates', a kind of Masonic passport, ensured access where full lodge membership was jealously guarded by established local interests.

Further corroboration for the view that Masonic membership was seen as a major emigration asset is found in the correspondence between the Cornish lodges and Grand Lodge in London. Time and again, lodge secretaries wrote to Grand Lodge requesting the swift receipt of initiates' lodge certificates because they were 'about to leave the country' or are 'leaving for .... at the end of the week', etc. Many had needed extraordinary or emergency meetings of the lodge to complete their initiation on time, xlii irregular multiple ceremonies were conducted, and some sought dispensation to complete their initiation when they arrived at their final destination. When their certificates did not arrive on time, some sent a forwarding address at the port of embarkation and some even delayed or cancelled their sailing. It was not only new members that found their Masonic 'passport' so essential. Old members, whose certificates had been lost or destroyed - 'eaten by ants', 'eaten by a mouse' and 'washed away in a flood' as some emigrants pleaded xliii - were also desperate for replacements.

Of course it has to be asked why the lodges went to such trouble for what, initially, were non-members. The correspondence unfortunately provides few clues. It could be that members were pleased to accommodate the aspirations of fellow locals, who were sometimes family members, but equally they may have been motivated by financial consideration. With the local adult male population dwindling, it was a useful method for lodges to claim initiation fees, and perhaps continuing membership, from those who later intended to return home. However, this behaviour by some lodges caused serious concern among the Cornish Masonic establishment. In
September 1899 the Provincial Grand Master expressed concern that these lodges, 'were laying the foundations of a great deal of misery and sorrow by introducing unsuitable candidates' and three months later the *Freemasons' Chronicle* called for 'quality not quantity' in the numbers being brought into masonry. Whatever the rights and wrongs of the expansionist strategy, Grand Lodge continued to keep meticulous records of membership for the issue of lodge certificates and ensured the smooth and proper functioning of a rapidly expanding international Masonic order. xliv

The advantages and attractions of Masonic membership in overseas mining districts can be illustrated by reference to three different mining districts: the Keweenaw copper country of Upper Michigan in the U.S.; the Rand gold fields of South Africa; and the Ballarat/Bendigo gold field of Victoria, Australia. These were all districts to which the Cornish migrated in large numbers and where they made up an important part of the local population. xlv It is regrettable that it has not be possible to utilise Jameson's excellent study of the role of fraternity and masonry in the Cripple Creek district of Colorado in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Unfortunately the Cornish did not make up an important part of that community and its inclusion was therefore not appropriate. xlvii

The Keweenaw Peninsula became one of the world's leading copper producers during the mid-nineteenth century and was a favourite destination for many Cornish migrants. xlvi It was, however, a remote wilderness, well away from developing east-west lines of communication, and suffered from long and horrendous winters when it was frequently entirely cut off from the outside world. xlviii In that harsh world fraternal societies provided the staples for economic and spiritual survival - and they proliferated. During its most productive period, at least 21 operated in the district. Anyone of substance - mostly men, but also many women - became a member of at least two or three different associations. xlix The Masons appears to have enjoyed a particularly close association with the Forester and the Oddfellows - organisations which offered better and more secure benevolent assurance than Masonry itself. In 1889, for example, Calumet Masonic lodge jointly celebrated its anniversary with Hecla Oddfellows lodge, the members joining a combined parade and attending a grand concert and ball in the evening. i 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. li All of the things that were attractive about fraternal and benevolent association at home were writ much larger there. 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. lii Together with other social and economic linkages, they became a powerful influence for 'chain migration' liii and, more than most other facilitators, assisted the process of assimilation. liv

Within the overall context of fraternity, the Freemasons appear to have held a dominant position. Of the 240 entries in a biographical record of the district's leading notables, compiled at the end of the century, over a quarter were said to have been Masons and they included leading figures from all parts of the local economy. Of these Masons, 11 were the owners/managers of large mining operations, and five of them were from Cornwall. lv The career of one of them illustrates the wide
international networking opportunities that might have been enjoyed through long
Masonic membership, as well as the advantages that making his acquaintance may
have had for newly arrived migrants in the districts. Captain Thomas Wills was born
in Cornwall and spent his early working life there as a copper and tin miner. He
emigrated to the Peninsula in 1851, shortly after knowledge of its great potential
became known in Cornwall, and rapidly gained managerial status, firstly as a foreman
and then as a mine manager/captain. Once on the move and eager to find other
opportunities, he left the district for a year to try his luck in the Californian gold
fields. Probably not too successful, he returned to the Keweenaw shortly after, to
again work at various mines in different capacities. Gradually accumulating some
resources, he returned to Cornwall for a visit in the mid-1850s and then went on to
Australia. Again he had a go at gold mining, and clearly met with some success, but
six years later he went back to the Keweenaw, via England. For a third time he re-
established himself in managerial positions at a series of mines, before finally taking
over the great Calumet and Hecla operation, one of the largest in the district, and the
world, at that time. He was no doubt a better manager than speculator, but he was
certainly a heavily committed Mason. During his time on the Keweenaw he was
actively involved in many different lodges and aspects of the fraternity, while also
being a 30 year member of the Foresters. He knew everyone in the district, the
prospects of every mine and had the capacity to dispense jobs, supply contracts and a
host of other business opportunities.

Although the records of various Keweenaw lodges are almost complete, they
contain no details of the ethnicity or occupations of members, so it is not possible to
be sure of the exact level of mining and/or Cornish involvement. However, an
inspection of names suggests that it was probably high. Certainly some tried to join
and were rejected. However, as has been suggested, full membership of local
lodges was not necessary just to access the networking system. Presentation of their
mother lodge certificates bestowed visiting privileges and the Visitors Books of
Keweenaw lodges record the coming and going of a large number of Masons from all
over the world, many of them from Cornwall. See Appendix 1. With Cornish mine
captains dominating the local mining industry until the end of the century, any of the
various networking arrangements that connected new arrivals from Cornwall, or even
established residents, to them would have greatly improved employment
opportunities. Clearly, such arrangements also had advantages for the established
lodge members and the lodge itself. They provided a ready supply of new labour, that
had some 'guarantee' of quality and reliability, and a queue of potential new joining
members. They could, however, also create serious problems for lodges when the cost
of providing transit relief for 'tramping' Masons bit into lodge funds. In 1881, for
example, the secretary of Saint John Lodge No.18, Nevada, wrote to the secretary of
Druids lodge, telling him that one of their members, Matthew Rogers, had died
penniless in the mining town of Pioche. Their Pioche lodge had buried him, at a cost
of $135, and they now requested to be re-imbursted - “as owing to other matters of the
same sort we are in financial straights.” Similarly in 1887 another American lodge
wrote to the secretary of Cornubian Lodge to request a £5 contribution to the cost of
relieving one of their members. The Oddfellows encountered similar problems with
itinerant members and the American lodges moved to restrict relief by moving its
status from a right to a matter of discretionary charity.
The key role of Freemasonry on the Keweenaw was closely paralleled on the Rand. South Africa had long been a major centre of activity for the English Grand Lodge with around one fifth of all its 500 colonial lodges being located there by the late 1890s. With an estimated average of 50 members per lodge this would suggest a total membership more than twice that in Cornwall at this time. And they were not alone. There were almost 30 additional lodges formed under the Scottish Grand Lodge, mainly in Natal and Transvaal, a few under the Irish constitution, in Johannesburg, and over 20 under the Dutch constitution. They were not nationally exclusive, with members of all nationalities joining and visiting each other's lodges, so creating the widest possible bridging networks. However, certain constitutional differences showed through. As *The Freemason* commented, 'The English are the most numerous, the Scotch the most lenient as to qualifications of the candidates, and the Dutch the most regular in attendance.' Masonry, in one form or another, embraced every strata of local society, from the ordinary to the most influential.

Several lodges were established near to the gold fields under the English Grand Lodge. Among the largest and most successful were Johannesburg Lodge No. 2313 and Gold Fields Lodge No. 2478. When Gold Fields was consecrated, in October 1893, the ceremony took place in the presence of 350 Masons, including 49 Past Masters of other lodges and was 'generally acknowledged to have been the most successful Masonic function that has ever been held in South Africa.' Both lodges initially met in the Johannesburg Stock Exchange Hall, while their own Temple was being built, and they soon received a number of joining Masons from Cornish lodges as well as many others from elsewhere in South Africa and abroad. See Appendix 2. Although generally more 'elitist' than most Cornish lodges, new members were able to establishing bridging networks to representatives of every part of the local economy, as well as the miscellaneous national and ethnic groups that flooded into the field, including men of Dutch, German, Italian, Australian and Jewish extraction. There were numerous representatives of social groups III and IV that might have helped travelling Cornish miners feel at home, but they would also no doubt also have enjoyed the opportunity to acquaint themselves with fellow members such as George Richards, the Managing Director of Consolidated Gold Fields and John Hays Hammond, the eminent American mining speculator. So great were the attractions of membership that the numbers seeking initiation often could not be accommodated by the normal working of the lodges. Thus shortly after its foundation, Edward Letchworth, the Master of Gold Fields, wrote to London asking leave to 'ease' its working. As he explained, 'In a floating population like this, circumstances are continually arising which would cause me as Master of the Lodge to be beset with demands for degrees to be given within the prohibited dates, and unless I have dispensation from the Worshipful Grand Master, I should be unable to comply with the most urgent demands.' As has been seen, similar problems were occasionally encountered in Cornwall around that time but none of their lodges ever approached the nearly 300 members that Gold Fields Lodge had in 1897.

For those that tired of the challenges of bridging to other diversified occupational and ethnic groups, the Cornish also established their own narrowly defined bonding lodge, the Lodge of Cornwall. Very largely comprised of working miners, tradesmen and mine managers, this was probably more concerned with socialising and cultural reinforcement than with serious economic networking. However, it also provided a useful 'entry-level' lodge for new arrivals to the mining field. By 1910, when it was
consecrated, the established Johannesburg lodges had passed firmly into the hands of senior local figures and immigrants would have found entry to regular membership difficult. The Lodge of Cornwall could receive incoming Masons, initiate non-mason new arrivals, and, through the visitor system, prepare them for further integration into the colony's wider Masonic system. Complementary facilities were provided by the South African Cornish Association, which had its own labour bureau to find newcomers jobs, and furnished rooms for their initial accommodation. Links between the two organisations were extremely close. Henry Young, originally from St. Ives, and a later President of the Association, was the first Master of the Lodge, G.L. Vincent, the Association's Treasurer, a founder of the Lodge, and S.U. Pearce and M.A. Rodda, both Association branch chairman, were also Lodge members.\textsuperscript{lxvi} It is notable that several of the joining members of the Lodge of Cornwall had been made Masons in other overseas lodges, some under the Scottish and Dutch constitutions. While relationships between lodges formed under different Grand Lodges often became very strained in South Africa, here at least some common ground could be found.

In the Ballarat/Bendigo gold field of Victoria, Australia the socio-occupational structure of Zenith Lodge No.1133 was a near mirror image of those of small mining towns in Cornwall. Surprisingly, no established Cornish Masons were recorded as joining members of the lodge but a significant number of initiates probably had Cornish origins, such as mine managers William Curnow and Francis Trounson, the mining speculator James Trevarrow, as well as the miners James Nancarrow, Joseph Paull, John Oates and Thomas Williams. Mining related occupations predominated throughout, supported by a wide range of other professional, commercial and artisanal groups. Out of a total membership of 471 joining Masons and initiates 1866-1889, over one third derived their income directly from mining and most of the others from supporting the activities of the mining community. The socio-occupational structure of the lodge was thus very similar to some of those in Cornwall. See, for comparison, Tables 6 and 4. Also, as in Cornwall, Clergymen and Commercial Travellers figured significantly. There was, however, one very important difference. Zenith lodge included a large number of share brokers and mine speculators. These groups were also commonly encountered in the mining lodges of South Africa but they were uncommon in Cornwall, notwithstanding its own active share market. Whatever the causes of this, it is clear that the Cornish migrant community had exceptional access to local capital and labour market information in distant mining fields - and, \textit{vice versa}, that local capital could acquire exceptional skills and informed first hand mining intelligence. There is little evidence that London mining investors and promoters ever had similar access, and to the extent that they did, it was largely provided through the 'filter' of their Cornish employees.

\begin{table}[h]
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\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|}
\hline
Occupations & Numbers & Occupations & Numbers \\
\hline
Miners & 70 & Drapers & Grocers & 17 \\
Mine Managers & Engineers & 50 & Hotel Keepers & Publicans, Brewers & 31 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Mining Related Employment in Zenith Lodge, Victoria, Australia 1866 - 1889}
\end{table}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>No. of Members</th>
<th>Other Occupations</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Carpenters &amp; Smiths</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Farmers &amp; Gentlemen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brokers &amp; Speculators</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Butchers &amp; Bakers</td>
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<tr>
<td>Builders</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchants</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>No. of Other Occupations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accountants</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>In Other Occupations</td>
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Whatever the advantages of Masonic membership for migrants and their families, they may have remained hidden from lodge members at home had it not been for the frequent comings and goings within the Cornish lodges themselves. Like their foreign counterparts, they received a constant stream of foreign visitors, returning joining members who had been made Masons in foreign lodges, and their own 'commuting' members, such as the 'gold miners', who shuttled backwards and forwards between foreign mining districts. There can have been few social venues, even in London, where members would have been so exposed to up-to-date foreign intelligence on wide ranging socio-economic issues in mining districts across the globe. Appendix 3, for example, shows the number and origin of members of overseas lodges that visited Tregullow lodge between 1864 and 1901, while Appendix 4 provides details of some overseas joining members of the six sample lodges. In both cases they map the changing geography of the world's mining districts, with the focus of emigration and sources of visitors and returnees moving slowly from the Americas during the third quarter of the century to Australia, Asia and particularly Southern Africa by the 1890s. Awareness of the opportunities overseas, the rise and decline of different mining fields, and the means of travel to them, would also have been propagated among the membership by the various shipping and emigration agents, several of whom were themselves Masons.

Note should also be taken of the 'social remittances' that return migrants brought with them, and the impact that they had on local Cornish society. Thus the successful migratory experience of the few modified the attitudes to emigration and international travel of the many. Experience of free and easy frontier mining camps made migrants more independent, less respectful of authority, more democratic, more flexible in spotting and responding to economic opportunity. In short, Cornwall became the most 'American' of British counties.

Masonic connections at home and abroad clearly worked to the considerable professional benefit of the Cornish mining interest. So why could they not provide an equally effective network for London based mining promoters and investors? Perhaps they did but their operation is far more difficult to detect and they are likely to have operated less efficiently. The main strengths of the Cornish Masonry lay in the numbers involved, their narrow local focus, their strong loyalties, the very high level of their mobility, and above all their ability to work in combination with other local networks. The metropolitan mining community would have found it difficult to match any of these. Clearly they were far less numerous, less geographically mobile, not directly involved in the day-to-day business of the mining districts, and devoid of any strong group loyalties. Whereas the other networking systems of the Cornish - filial, religious, benevolent etc - drew them even closer together, those of the metropolitan
community tended to pull them further apart. Those that met in the transit house that was the City of London generally came from many different areas and backgrounds with connections that exerted centrifugal rather than centripetal force. More particularly, there were also fundamental structural problems with London Masonry that was likely to undermine its role in producing a focused network. While the City may have seen the emergence of lodges with a strong 'mining interest', they were probably few in number, had relatively little contact with others with similar interests, and would have found it difficult to sustain their focus. They are certainly difficult to find.

Logic would suggest that 'mining interest' lodges were most likely to have developed in or around the areas of the City where home and overseas mining companies located their offices. Company prospectuses and reports, giving office addresses, suggest that there may have been such 'clusters'. One was in the Old Broad Street area. Returns for three lodges meeting in that area have been examined. These provide only a small sample of the probable total, and may not prove to be typical, but they suggest some useful indicators and a range of general problems. The lodges were Royal Jubilee No.72, Honour and Generosity No.165, and Unity No.183, all of which had a continuous operative life running from the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century. All had periods when they met in the City near to Old Broad Street - viz at Taverns on Ludgate Hill, Bishopsgate St., Cornhill. They also all moved to the western environs of the City - Fleet St, Lincoln's Inn, the Strand - as the century progressed, reflecting the possible residential re-location of City speculators/brokers/share dealers. The membership of these lodges reveals some broad characteristics and trends of development. Firstly, at the mid-century, the size and general occupational/social structure of the lodges was similar to their Cornish counterparts. There were clearly no miner/management groups, but they were dominated men who would have common local interests and reflect much of the range of the local economy of the immediate vicinity - viz. tradesmen, inn keepers, victualers, coal and wine merchants, together with a sprinkling of professionals, such as barristers, solicitors, and physicians.

By the 1870s, however, the picture had changed considerably. The lodges had shared in the general mid-century expansion of Freemasonry - in 1880 Royal Jubilee Lodge had 80 paid up members compared with around 20 in the late 1840s - but had changed very considerably in their social structure. They were now dominated by 'gentlemen' and 'merchants' drawn from a wide geographical area, reflecting not only the new residential patterns to the west of the City but transportation facilities that enabled them to assemble from comparatively far flung suburbs. Thus in the late 1870s, Royal Jubilee, now meeting in Fleet Street, drew in a few members still resident in the City, but more extensively from south of the river (Borough, Southwark, Clapham, Peckham, Kennington, Brixton, Lewisham and Penge) as well as from the east (Mile End, Leyton, Walworth) and the north (Tottenham, Pentonville). It was no longer a common local interest that brought them together but some wider, as yet unknown, 'special interest'. With the bland occupational description of 'Gentleman' and 'Merchant' is not easy to identify that interest. Nevertheless, random evidence suggests that further investigation might be productive. In 1854, for example, Thomas Wheatley, the Secretary of Unity Lodge, wrote to Grand Lodge notifying them of a change in their place of meeting. He did so on his company's headed note-paper - The Gallt-y-Maen Silver Lead Mining Company of Merionethshire. Similarly, in late
1878, Jubilee Lodge welcomed Thomas Duff as a joining member from Golden Lodge, Bendigo - one of the principal Australian mining boom towns of the day. Both possibly coincidental, but perhaps indicating common mining interests among the membership.\textsuperscript{lxxiv}

While local City lodges were being pulled apart by improving urban transport networks, yet again the Cornish benefited from the new opportunities to assemble 'special interest' groups. Consecrated in 1890, Cornish Lodge No. 2369 met regularly in Mark Masons’ Hall and later Freemasons Hall, at the very centre of the Masonic establishment. The lodge acted as a focal point for Cornish brethren in London, and many members of lodges in Cornwall became joining members. See Appendix 5. There they could not only renew and sustain their regional identity but also access the City's other networking systems, consolidating a two-way flow of information.

To conclude. The records of Masonic Lodges suggest that Freemasonry, and possibly other fraternal organisations, had the capacity to create strong networking systems within small coherent communities and to extend those networks across great distances internationally. In that role they did not simply sit alongside other filial, religious, business, and cultural networks but, through regular socialising and informal contacts between individuals, had the capacity to fuse those other systems together. Chains of localised 'exchanges', formed by regular visiting, communication and movement between lodges, created conduits for information flows that transcended regional and national boundaries and had a global reach. By the middle of the nineteenth century they had established the institutional foundations for the emergence of fully trans-regional and trans-national communities, binding together men from every possible occupational background.\textsuperscript{lxxv} Overall, the smaller coherent Cornish communities, holding tightly together both at home and abroad, were probably better able to exploit these relationships effectively than the looser groupings of City. But Masonic lodges were more than simple information exchanges. They also provided an underpinning of exceptional trust relationships. Masons were sworn by the most fearsome of oaths to complete honesty and integrity in their conduct, and took part in a regular pro-capitalist rituals. They could have greater confidence in their dealings with each other than with members of their own families, the people that they prayed with, their political allies and even their business partners. As has been suggested elsewhere, such 'webs of affiliation' and 'localised mutualty' can produce important external economies for economic activity\textsuperscript{lxxvi}. Certainly Toms has shown in his study of Lancashire textile entrepreneurs, how efficient information flows and sound trust relationships can reduce uncertainty, limit transaction costs, and facilitate the efficient allocation of resources.\textsuperscript{lxxvii} It is important, however, to register a note of caution. Tight cliques and exclusive networks can also support unwarranted preference and breed rent-seeking behaviour. Popular concerns about Masonic corruption\textsuperscript{lxxviii} may have been overplayed but are probably not without foundation. With that scepticism in mind, the benefits often accorded to networking systems by the new institutional economics might be subjected to more critical review.\textsuperscript{lxxix}

Perhaps the most fitting conclusion to this study, however, is not what it has achieved but what might be revealed by further use of the large, but oddly under exploited, archive on which it has been based. Many threads of future research have been started but not followed in the available space. There has been no opportunity here, for example, to explore the role of Freemasonry in providing a cradle for democracy, in
fostering civic engagement and promoting the formation of social capital.\textsuperscript{lxxx} Nothing has been said of its role in local government, the judiciary and other wide ranging sectors of the economy beyond mining. Much might be made of the intellectual impact of Masonic philosophy in shaping more positive attitudes towards business, science and technology, as well as Hyam's hint that it became an integral 'link of Empire, replicating domestic cultural forms and values and integrating people into wider societies across the globe.\textsuperscript{lxxxi} Finally, the evidence of these six lodges, atypical as it might be, lends support to the new view of Victorian society - less 'triadic' and more 'gradients of power'.\textsuperscript{lxxxii} Within Masonic lodges at least, there is clear evidence of a regular dialogue between classes, of a diffusion of attitudes towards respectability, responsibility and benevolence across all socio-economic groups, and a clear absence of the deep divides of 'two nations'.

Appendix 1

*Some Cornish Visitors to Lodges on the Keweenaw Peninsula*  
(from Lodge Visitors Registers, Houghton, Michigan)

**Quincy Lodge, No. 135. Formed 1862**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Lodge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11\textsuperscript{th} July 1865</td>
<td>W.J. Babcock</td>
<td>Mount Olive, No.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21\textsuperscript{st} March 1876</td>
<td>J. Vissick</td>
<td>Fortitude Lodge, No.131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25\textsuperscript{th} June 1877</td>
<td>D. Bailey</td>
<td>Cornubian Lodge, No.450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20\textsuperscript{th} March 1888</td>
<td>P.J. Pearce</td>
<td>Friendship Lodge, No.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>G. Roberts</td>
<td>Boscawen Lodge, No.699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>E. Williams</td>
<td>Gold Fields Lodge, No. 2478</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>????</td>
<td>William Trevethan</td>
<td>Southern Cross Lodge, No.568</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Keweenaw Lodge, No.242, Formed**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Lodge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>August 1910</td>
<td>William Tonkin</td>
<td>True and Faithfull Lodge, No.318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18\textsuperscript{th} April 1912</td>
<td>Thomas and Arthur Cox</td>
<td>Boscawen Lodge, No. 699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23\textsuperscript{rd} April 1914</td>
<td>Richard Leddra</td>
<td>Tregenna Lodge, No.1276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4\textsuperscript{th} June 1914</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Houghton Lodge, No.218, Formed 1882**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Lodge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8\textsuperscript{th} June 1908</td>
<td>William Trevethen</td>
<td>Southern Cross Lodge, No.568, South India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16\textsuperscript{th} October 1908</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NB. Some of the visitors, such as William Trevethen, were probably Cornish in origin but became Masons outside of Cornwall. They then could use their membership to
move between lodges in other mining districts and even back to visit in England.

Appendix 2

Some Cornish Masons Joining Johannesburg and Gold Fields Lodges, South Africa, 1890 - 1898

Johannesburg Lodge, 2313.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Lodge</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Robert Edward Hall</td>
<td>founder</td>
<td>Mt.Edgcumbe</td>
<td>1890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Harmsworth Heath</td>
<td>musician</td>
<td>Druids</td>
<td>1896</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Goldfields Lodge, 2478

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Lodge</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Arthur Dotson</td>
<td>miner</td>
<td>Love &amp; Honour</td>
<td>1894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Laity</td>
<td>miner</td>
<td>Druids</td>
<td>1894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Jeffry</td>
<td>miner</td>
<td>Loyal Victoria</td>
<td>1894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Pope</td>
<td>mine manager</td>
<td>Cornubian</td>
<td>1894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Henry Laity</td>
<td>miner</td>
<td>Druids</td>
<td>1894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Polmear</td>
<td>engineer</td>
<td>Mt. Edgcumbe</td>
<td>1894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Blewett</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>Mt. Sinai</td>
<td>1894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Bennetts</td>
<td>miner</td>
<td>Tregullow</td>
<td>1896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Leigh</td>
<td>speculator</td>
<td>Love &amp; Honour</td>
<td>1896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Hosking</td>
<td>miner</td>
<td>Mt.Sinai</td>
<td>1896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ernest Grose</td>
<td>contractor</td>
<td>Boscawen</td>
<td>1898</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix 3

Members of Foreign Lodges Who Visited Tregullow Lodge
St.Day 1864 -1901

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date Visited</th>
<th>Parent Lodge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Jewell</td>
<td>16th Aug. 1864</td>
<td>Owen Lodge No.108 California, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Clift</td>
<td>15th Sept. 1868</td>
<td>Maddison Lodge No.23, Grass Valley, California, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Michell</td>
<td>17th Nov. 1868</td>
<td>No.133 California, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonathan Bawden</td>
<td>16th July 1872</td>
<td>Charity Lodge, No.69, Real del Monte, Mexico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Date/Second</td>
<td>Location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Clift</td>
<td>19th Nov. 1872</td>
<td>Maddison Lodge No.23, Grass Valley, California, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Barnett</td>
<td>17th Nov. 1874</td>
<td>No.28 Colombia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Cook</td>
<td>17th Nov. 1874</td>
<td>No.5 British Columbia, Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.H.Hodge</td>
<td>16th July 1878</td>
<td>Silver Star No.5, Nevada, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Vincent</td>
<td>20th Jan. 1880</td>
<td>Maddison Lodge No.23, Grass Valley, California, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Curnow</td>
<td>16th Sept. 1884</td>
<td>Bodie Lodge, No.252, California, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James I. Dunstan</td>
<td>19th Sept. 1887</td>
<td>St.John's Devonport No.655, Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Trebilcock</td>
<td>17th April 1888</td>
<td>Morning Star No.5, Montana, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.Nicholls</td>
<td>17th April 1888</td>
<td>Lander No.8, Nevada, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Davey</td>
<td>16th July 1889</td>
<td>Butte No.20, Montana, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.H.Perry</td>
<td>20th Aug. 1889</td>
<td>Butte No.22, Montana, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Jeffery</td>
<td>15th April 1890</td>
<td>Golden Star, USA (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Wellington</td>
<td>17th Feb. 1891</td>
<td>Butte No.22, Montana, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Millett</td>
<td>21st July 1891</td>
<td>Philipstown No.236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Spargo</td>
<td>21st July 1891</td>
<td>St.John la Coquimbo No.616, Chile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zacharias Uren</td>
<td>17th May 1892</td>
<td>Athole Lodge No.591, Kimberley, South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.Chapple</td>
<td></td>
<td>Casilia Lodge, Valparaiso, Chile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alfred Martin</td>
<td>21st June 1892</td>
<td>Crockett Lodge No.139, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Hodge</td>
<td>21st June 1892</td>
<td>King Solomon Lodge No.9, Helena, Montana, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.A.Richards</td>
<td>16th Aug. 1892</td>
<td>Penrhyn No.258, California, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Oppy</td>
<td>c. 1890</td>
<td>Silver Bow, Montana, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.Angove</td>
<td>8th Dec. 1892</td>
<td>Cosmoss No.428, Shanghai, China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Bawden</td>
<td>20th June 1893</td>
<td>Cariboo Lodge No.4, British Columbia, Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John H. Pengelly</td>
<td>20th June 1893</td>
<td>Eagle Pass No.626, Texas, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James H.Peters</td>
<td>16th Jan. 1894</td>
<td>Central City No.22, South Dakota, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frederick Brenton</td>
<td>17th July 1894</td>
<td>Hiram No.1, Connecticut, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.H.Combellack</td>
<td>21st Aug. 1894</td>
<td>Monitor No.3, Montana, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.G.Jeffrey</td>
<td>18th Sept 1894</td>
<td>Butte No.22, Montana, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edwin Phillips</td>
<td>21st May 1895</td>
<td>Escurial No.7, Virginia City, Nevada, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Opie</td>
<td>16th July 1895</td>
<td>Monitor No.35, Walkerville, Montana, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.Bennett</td>
<td>14th Jan. 1896</td>
<td>Butte No.22, Montana, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.H.Bartle</td>
<td>15th Sept. 1896</td>
<td>Germiston No.2498, South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.W.Bartle</td>
<td>15th Sept. 1896</td>
<td>Germiston No.2498, South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Gray</td>
<td>17th Nov. 1896</td>
<td>Southern Cross No.528, India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.W.T.Patterson</td>
<td>19th Oct. 1897</td>
<td>Union of Malta No.407, Malta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.Gregory</td>
<td>19th July 1898</td>
<td>Royal George No.244, Krugersdorp, South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew E.Hand</td>
<td>21st Feb. 1899</td>
<td>Mount Moriah No.24, Montana, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frederick J.Scoble</td>
<td>16th Aug.1899</td>
<td>Roodepoort No.2539, Transvaal, South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.H.W.Paull</td>
<td>17th Oct. 1899</td>
<td>Germiston No.2498, South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.Argall</td>
<td>21st Nov.1899</td>
<td>Roodepoort No.2439, Transvaal, South Africa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
W.J.J. Morcom 21st Nov. 1899 South Africa
J.J. Trewern 21st Nov. 1899 South Africa
Alfred Teague 21st Nov. 1899 South Africa
C.E. Gregor 21st Nov. 1899 South Africa
Simon Kinsman 20th Feb. 1900 South Africa
James Cocking 15th May 1900 USA
Henry Jewell 21st Aug. 1900 South Africa
Charles R. Williams 15th Jan. 1901 Mexico

Source: Tregullow Lodge Minute Books, abstracted by Joseph Mills, Secretary.

Appendix 4

Members of Overseas lodges Joining Six Sample Lodges
1852 - 1901
(Variable available data)

Boscawen
1865 from 'an American lodge'
1872 'America'
1872 No. 16, Mexico
1872 Nevada, U.S.A.
1874 No. 128, Michigan, U.S.A. (2 members)
1874 No. 13, Nevada, U.S.A.
1875 No. 16, U.S.A.
1890 Venezuela
1892 Montana, U.S.A.
1898 No. 22, Montana, U.S.A.

Cornubian
1852 from Sussex No. 447, Kingston, Jamaica
1854 Quebec, Canada
1865 Union of Malta No. 407, Valetta, Malta
1868 Royal Sussex No. 479, Halifax, Nova Scotia
1874 War Eagle No. 6, Silver City, Idaho, U.S.A.
1875 San Andres, Santiago, Cuba
1875 Wetbuck No. 480, U.S.A.
1889 Grand Lodge of Hungary
1895 Rio Tinto, Spain (Past Master)
1900 Golden Thistle No. 840, Coolgardie, Australia

Druids
1866 from Sardinia
1866 California, U.S.A.
1871 New Zealand
1874 No.14, Nevada, U.S.A.
1875 No.23, California, U.S.A.
1876 Brazil
1883 Cosmopolitan No.1409, Kimberley, South Africa
1890 California, U.S.A.
1892 Burma
1893 Northern Star No.1463, Ferapazore, Punjab, India
1896 No.55, Victoria, Australia
1899 Charles Warren No.1832, Kimberley, South Africa

Fortitude

1891 from Anchor & Hope No.234, Calcutta, India
1894 Union Lodge, Elmira, U.S.A.

Mount Edgcumbe

1876 from Owyhee, Silver City, Idaho, U.S.A.
1884 Cariboo No.469, British Columbia, Canada
1888 Anchor of Hope No.1093, Wellington, Madras, India
1890 Michigan, U.S.A.
1890 Amity No.4, Silver City, Nevada, U.S.A.
1892 No.43, California, U.S.A.
1892 No.4, Nevada/Colorado, U.S.A.
1893 Unity No.6, Pachuca, Mexico
1894 Unity No.6, Pachuca, Mexico (3 members)
1894 Nevada No.4, Colorado, U.S.A.
1895 Unity No.6, Pachuca, Mexico
1896 No.13, Silver City, Idaho, U.S.A.
1897 Mexico
1899 No.2566, Bulawayo, South Africa
1899 No.2778, Kalgoolie, Australia

Tregullow

1865 from California
1872 Mexico
1876 California
1880 California
1880 West Indies
1886 Peru and Bolivia
1892 Chile
1892 Kimberley, South Africa
1900 United Tradesmen No.744, Ballarat, Victoria, Australia
1900 Toltec No.214, Mexico

Appendix 5
### Cornish Lodge No.2369

Joining Members from Cornish Lodges Only

1890  Edward Carus-Wilson  Banker  Phoenix 331, Truro
1890  George M. Williams  Commission Agent  Phoenix 331, Truro
1891  Wallace W. Sharp  Accountant  Love & Honour 75, Falmouth
1891  Thomas R. Grylls  Bank Manager  Love & Honour 75, Falmouth
1891  Henry W. Hockin  Solicitor  Phoenix 331, Truro
1891  Frederick E. Remfry  Banker  Duke of Cornwall 1529, St.Columb
1891  Gilbert A.H. Chilcott  Solicitor  Phoenix 331, Truro
1891  Francis W. Pool  Merchant  Cornubian 450, Hayle
1891  Edward F. Whitley  Bank Clerk  Duke of Cornwall 1529, St.Columb
1891  Charles Truscott  Merchant  Peace & Harmony 496, St.Austell
1891  Rev. John Core  Clergyman  St. Petroc 1785, Padstow
1891  Charles Trevithick  Merchant  Mt. Sinai 121, Penzance
1891  William K. Baker  Merchant  Mt. Sinai 121, Penzance
1891  John J. Ross  Major (Rtd)  Mt. Sinai 121, Penzance
1892  John M. Richards  Builder  True & Faithful 318, Helston
1892  William Nettle  Merchant  St. Martin's 510, Liskeard
1892  Richard Rowe  Merchant  Mt. Edgcumbe 1544, Camborne
1892  George B. Treverton  Bootmaker  One & All 330, Bodmin
1892  William Bailey  Surveyor  Mt. Edgcumbe 1544, Camborne
1892  William F. Bennets  Safety Fuse Manufacturer  Mt. Edgcumbe 1544, Camborne
1893  Augustus C. Sandoe  Hotel Keeper  One & All 330, Bodmin
1893  William A. Sandoe  Hotel Keeper  One & All 330, Bodmin
1893  William Rowe  Merchant  One & All 330, Bodmin
1893  Arthur C. Criffe-Adams  Theological Student  Mt. Sinai 121, Penzance
1895  William J. Carn  Medical Student  Love & Honour 75, Falmouth
1895  S. Henry Hare  Lieutenant  Molesworth 1954, Wadebridge
1897  Henry Liddicoat  Merchant  Three Grand Principles 967, Penryn
1897  Benjamin L. Edyrean  Gentleman  One & All 330, Bodmin
1897  George J. Parkyn  Lt. Colonel  Fort 1528, Newquay
1897  George Brown  Surgeon  Loyal Victoria 557, Callington
1898  Jonathan W. Higman  Clay Merchant  Peace & Harmony 496, St. Austell
1900  Samuel Williams  Commercial Traveller  Love & Honour 75, Falmouth

By 1900, the lodge had over 60 paid up members. One of these was John Passmore Edwards, a notable newspaper proprietor and philanthropist.

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i See Burt, 'Capital Markets'.
ii See Spence, Mining Frontier pp. 216-7, 230; Harvey and Press, 'Mining Engineers': Burt, 'Technological Dependency'.
iii See Burt, 'British Investment'.
iv Harvey and Press, 'International Mining'.
v Church, 'Ossified or dynamic'
vi Pearson and Richardson, 'Business Networking'.
vii See, for example, Hobsbawn, Rebels
d Putnam, Bowling Alone.
ix See, for example, Jones, 'Friendly Societies': D'Cruze and Turnbull, 'Oddfellows' Lodges': Gorsky, 'Mutual Aid'
Gosden, Friendly Societies, p.23.

Report of the Registrar of Friendly Societies.


Lane, Masonic Records: The Freemason 23rd September 1899, p.465

Clawson, Constructing Brotherhood

Many have assumed, like Hosgood that, ‘few detailed membership records of Freemasons’ lodges are extant’. Hosgood, ‘Commercial travellers’ p.536.

See Rowe, Cornwall Ch.VI(i) for a discussion of the role of religion in Cornwall.

Wilmshurst, Masonry p.19. For attempts to trace the earlier origins of Masonry, see Baigent and Leigh, Temple.

See Bullock, Revolutionary Brotherhood Ch.1 for a succinct discussion of Masonic philosophy and ritual.

See Putnam, Bowling Alone p.22.

Burt, ‘Metal Mining since the Eighteenth century’

The number of the lodge signifies the seniority of the lodge in English Freemasonry and is necessary in identifying lodge records in the Grand Lodge archive

Gorsky, ‘Mutual Aid’ p.305: Tosh, Man’s Place p.133. This follows in a tradition dating back to Margaret Stacey who saw Freemasonry as part of a ‘conservative connexion’ to which ‘leading citizens’ belonged. Tradition and Change p.77.

See Gorski, ‘Mutual Aid’. p.316; D’Cruze and Turnbull, Fellowship and Family’ p.29; Jones, Friendly Societies’ p.337

See Savage, Working-Class Politics pp.125-6

Henwood, ‘Memoirs’ p.709

Symons, Cornwall p. 161

See Harryson, Know-Who Based p. 22

See Durr, Fraternal Groups to Trade Unions

In his study of the comradeship of commercial travellers, Hosgood has referred in detail to the ‘ritualism of commercial room culture’. Hosgood, ‘Commercial travellers’ p.535.

See, for example, Royal Cornwall Gazette 21st October 1836 p.2 col.4; The Freemason 11th September 1897 p.457

Cornubian and Redruth Times 23rd April 1880, p.5 and 21st May 1880, p.4. A contribution to construction costs of £600 was raised from Freemasons at the laying of the foundation stone. See also Luke (ed.), The Masonic Directory.

The Freemason 6th January 1900, p.1; The Freemasons’ Chronicle 9th December 1899 p.265

See Fish, Masonic Charities.

Stowell, Cornubian Lodge, p.89

The Freemason 3rd November 1900 p.635


Jacob, Radical Enlightenment.

Clawson, Constructing Brotherhood p.73

See Burt, ‘Metalliferous Mining’.

Baines, Migration p.159

See Payton, Cornish Overseas p.42; Schwartz, ‘Cornish Migration’.

See correspondence Druid’s Lodge No.589 September/October 1870

See correspondence Johannesburg Lodge No.2313

See Rich, Linctus of Empire for the role of Freemasonry in colonial government.

Records of the Keweenaw lodges are held in the Copper Country archive in Michigan Technological University while those of the South African and Australian lodges, which were chartered by the English Grand Lodge, are held in London.

Jameson, All that Glitters pp. 144-5

Rowe, Hard Rock Men Ch.4.

See Lankton, Beyond the Boundaries: Krause, MiningDistrict.

Fraternal Orders Operating in the Keweenaw copper district of northern Michigan, U.S.A. in the late nineteenth century included the Ancient Order of Foresters of America, the Hibernians, the Elks, the Eagles, the Freemasons, the German Aid Society, the German Benevolent Association, the Grand Army of the Republic, the Oddfellows, the Italian Aid Society, the Knights of Maccabees, the Knights of Pythias, the Woodmen, Hermann’s Sons, Robert Emmet Young Mens’ Benevolent Society, the St. Joseph Society, the St. Patrick Society, St. Stanislaus Kostka, the Soldiers and Sailors’ Association, the
Sons of St. George and the United Workmen. See *History of the Upper Peninsular and Biographical Record.*

2. See Jameson, *All that Glisters* Ch.4.
3. The role that fraternities and other networking systems could play in the assimilation of immigrants and their families is discussed in Macleary, 'Networks'.
4. For the operation of such mechanism in the migration process, see Wegge, 'Chain Migration'.
5. It is likely that Masonic membership would have assisted the reduction of the earnings gap between newly arrived immigrants and native workers. See Hatton, 'Immigrant Assimilation'.
6. There were eleven Cornish born notables in the list, including four mine captains, one mine owner/banker, one druggist/banker, one Methodist Minister, two merchants, one Registrar of Deeds and a State's Representative.
7. *Biographical Record* pp. 259-60
8. They are now housed in Michigan Technological University Archives and Copper Country Historical Collection
9. Jonathan Curnow was rejected in 1875 and his brother Joseph three times, in 1877, 1878 and 1881. Similarly J. Mitchell and J. Symonds were rejected in 1882, T.J. Bawden in 1887 and Alfred Kinsman in 1895. See *Quincy Lodge Black List*, Houghton, Michigan.
10. See Lankton, *Cradle to Grave* Ch.12
11. Stillson, *Oddfellowship* p.221, 254
14. Cecil Rhodes was a freemason for example. See Wheatcroft, *Randlords* p.140
15. Gold Field Lodge No.2478 correspondence 28th October 1893
16. Gold Field Lodge membership returns 1902. Hammond was a joining member from Oriental Lodge, No.687, established under the English constitution, in Constantinople, Turkey
18. Rodda was the chairman of the Fordsburg branch of the Association, which was the focal point for the Cornish community on the Rand. See Dawe, *Cornish Pioneers* pp. 272, 277
20. For the importance of information flows in influencing the character and direction of emigrations, see Hudson, 'English Emigration'.
21. For example, W.D. Matthews and F.V. Pascoe, of Mount Sinai Lodge, Penzance, acted as shipping and emigration agents. See *Penzance and West Cornwall Gazette* 14th January 1857
22. Levitt, 'Social Remittances'.
23. A data base of the location of these offices has been constructed from advertisements in the *Mining Journal* and from company records held in the Stock Exchange archive, now in the Guild Hall.
24. The names of lodge near to any given location can be derived from Lane, *Masonic Records*.
25. See lodge correspondence and annual returns.
26. See Glick-Schiller, Basch and Szanton-Blanc (eds), *Migration* and Levitt, 'Transnational Migration'.
27. Scranton, 'Webs of Productive Association'.
28. Toms, 'Windows of Opportunity'.
29. See for example Knight, *The Brotherhood*
30. See Libercap, 'New Institutional'.
31. For an introduction to this subject, see Gorsky, 'Mutual Aid'.
32. *Hyam, Imperial Century* pp. 298-9
33. Garrad, *Leadership*: Cannadine, *Class in Britain* pp. 72, 89, 92, 96

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