

CATHOLICS VERSUS MASONS

James Franklin

Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society 20 (1999), 1-15

As is well known, one of the most significant events in Australian Catholic history was the withdrawal of state aid to Church schools late last century. In 1880 in New South Wales, and at similar times in other parts of Australia, the State Governments set up systems of 'free, secular and compulsory' schools, and at the same time withdrew aid they had paid to the Schools of the various churches. The Catholic Church maintained its system at great expense, at the same time as Catholics paid taxes for state schools. That situation lasted for ninety years, and defined the shape of Australian education thereafter, dividing Australian youth into three categories: those in private schools, usually run by a Protestant Church, those in Catholic schools, and the majority in the secular State school system. It was one of the main reasons for the distinctiveness of Australian Catholic culture.

The high point of the Catholics' struggle against the withdrawal of State aid came with Archbishop Vaughan's First Pastoral on education, attacking Henry Parkes' plan for a free and secular school system. Education without religion, Vaughan maintained, was impossible in principle. It was, he said, 'a system of practical paganism, which leads to corruption of morals and loss of faith, to national effeminacy and to national dishonour' and — in a phrase that caused particular offence — the existing state schools were 'seedplots of future immorality, infidelity and lawlessness, being calculated to debase the standard of human excellence, and to corrupt the political, social and individual life of future citizens.'¹ His extreme remarks caused a great deal of indignation in Protestant circles.

So much is well-known. What is not so familiar is what Vaughan thought about the enemy he was facing.

VAUGHAN AND THE MASONIC CONSPIRACY THEORY

On 9 October, 1876, he gave a speech on what he believed was really behind the campaign for secular education, later printed as a pamphlet called 'Hidden Springs'. It is one of the great conspiracy theories, combined with a vision of grand conflict of philosophical

systems. The three main currents of thought, he says, are Paganism, Supernaturalism and Materialism. Paganism, whose 'hidden spring' is man's animal passion, as shown by the gross immoralities of the gods of Olympus, belongs to the past. The future, unfortunately, may belong to Materialism; the threat is so great that the Catholic and Protestant churches need to co-operate against it. But Vaughan does not see Materialism as just a way of thinking into which it is natural to fall when religion begins to seem less plausible. It would soon disappear, he says, if it were not being ceaselessly revived by its own hidden spring. 'The Hidden Spring of Materialism is centred in, and derives its main energy from the Sect, the Church of the Revolution, the International Secret Society, which is weaving its network around the world', that is, Freemasonry. Promoting a Voltairean gospel of 'absolute toleration', its real programme is deicide, and the deification of humanity. 'The Sect fixes savagely on one dogma of its own, whilst gnashing its teeth at all dogmas, it is this, viz., that absolute liberty and unlimited freedom to do, say, or think anything he likes, is the natural and inalienable right of every man.' It is true that ordinary Masons do not know of the plots of the inner circle, and are often men of character, even dukes, but such men are 'paraded before the world, that the world may be reassured, that, a blind oath of secrecy notwithstanding, little harm could attach to a Craft, however secret, so long as Dukes and Lords, and men of large estate, and of high character were members of it. How could that Society be subversive of the throne, which is patronised by Royalty itself?' But the truth is otherwise. 'The Altar, the Throne, Civil Society as at present constituted, are, under the action of its breath, to melt down into an International Communism, when the impossible equality of all men shall be achieved, when the Almighty God, and, consequently, dogma and Christian morality shall be expunged.' Earlier, the Masons sneaked out of their lodges to foment the Revolutions of 1789, 1830 and 1848. But now they have a new plan. Spreading from Belgium is an 'Education League', and Masons around the world are now to rally behind their campaign. 'Its watchword or war-cry is "Universal Secular, Free and Compulsory Education".'²

This outburst raises a number of questions. The first one is, is it true? Was Freemasonry an international communist conspiracy, plotting revolutions and the downfall of the Church, and secular education in New South Wales? If not, who were the Masons, why did the Catholic Church find itself in conflict with them, and what is the relation of that conflict to job discrimination against Catholics in the 1930s?

No, it is not true. Not of Australia, at least. Freemasonry was not an atheist communist plot. An answer on behalf of the Masons was written by Wazir Beg, earlier a Muslim of Poona but at this period a Presbyterian minister in Redfern and editor of both the *Freemason* and the *Orangeman*.³ His reply to Vaughan denies the charges of atheism, immorality and disloyalty. Masonry inculcates a 'rigorous morality' — without dispensations or indulgences — and it is hardly likely that Masonry intends to subvert the State when the last King and the present heir to the throne are not merely members, but Grand Masters.⁴ Beg is right: the idea of an international communist conspiracy led by royalty is ridiculous.

All the same, Vaughan is not exactly making his theory up out of thin air. Nor is he alone. To understand what was happening we need to look at the situation in Europe on a long time scale.

The Masonic conspiracy theory is part of a plot theory that had wide appeal for the European political right from the time of the French Revolution to the Second World War. The principals in the supposed world conspiracy varied: Masons, Jews, Liberals, Socialists,⁵ but the linking idea was that a world conspiracy of some or all these was behind all revolutions real and potential, and all anticlericalism. The Masonic plot theory came first. It appeared in the Abbé Barruel's *Memoirs Illustrating the History of Jacobinism* of 1797, which claimed to expose the French Revolution as a Masonic conspiracy. After a long run in the nineteenth century, where it was promoted by Pius IX as an explanation for his troubles⁶ (and of course that was where Vaughan got it from), it acquired an antisemitic tinge in the last two decades of the century.⁷ The most famous expression of it, the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, written in France probably in the 1890s, was Barruel's theory over again,

with the addition that the Masonic plot was actually controlled from the inside by Jews.⁸ Descendants of the Protocols theory include the Nazis' Jewish conspiracy theory, the Jewish-Bolshevik plot theory that was an issue in Helen Demidenko's *The Hand That Signed the Paper*, and the Jewish-Masonic-Communist plot believed in by such people as Franco.⁹

Those full-blown conspiracy theories are all false. The *Protocols* were a forgery, there was no world Jewish plot, and there was no secret international organisation behind all revolutions.

It might seem, then, that although Vaughan was not alone, his plot theory was a pure fantasy. That is not quite true. It does not follow that there was no basis at all for the fears of the right. To understand what was really happening, it is necessary to look at what Freemasonry was, and why the Catholic Church was in conflict with it. If it was not a communist plot, what was it?

FREEMASONRY IN EUROPE

It was an institutional embodiment of the Enlightenment, or at least of one version of it. The difficulty with the common view of the Enlightenment is that it portrays it as existing purely in the realm of ideas. The *philosophes* are supposed to have written learned books full of dangerous theories and radical ideas, which somehow filtered down to the bloodthirsty souls who cut off the aristocrats' heads. Apart from making the mistake of conceiving the Enlightenment as primarily atheist and an enemy of the state, when in general it was neither, this is to take far too intellectual a view of it. A church is not simply a creed and catechism, but also an institution that supplies tradition, ritual, mutual comfort and community support for right conduct and sanction for wrong, and, at least in earlier times, a social security agency. The organ through which the Enlightenment competed in these respects was Freemasonry. After developing in a still obscure fashion out of Scottish and English guilds of stonemasons around 1700, it spread quickly to the Continent and the American colonies during the eighteenth century, and included among its members such notables as Walpole, Pope, Hogarth, Franklin, Washington, Voltaire, Haydn, Mozart and Goethe.¹⁰ It was not the intention of Freemasons to undermine the existing political or

religious order. There was nevertheless an inevitable tension between Freemasonry's ideals of internal constitutional self-government and the absolutist regimes on the Continent. There was also a philosophical conflict between Freemasonry's ideals of religious toleration and the Catholic view of dogma. As a result, there was a certain amount of police action against the lodges in countries like France, and the Catholic Church condemned Freemasonry.¹¹ Up to the time of the French Revolution, however, the conflict was not a matter of great importance to either side. Indeed, the Church's condemnations of Freemasonry were not promulgated beyond the English Channel, and around 1800 Irish Freemasonry was full of Catholics.

The French Revolution was not a Masonic plot in any simple sense, but it is true that Masonic ideals, symbols and organisation had something to do with the origins of the Revolution.¹² Liberty, equality and fraternity were originally Masonic ideals, which one needs to read free of associations with the Terror — in the spirit of the American Revolution, not the French.¹³ In the years of the Napoleonic Wars and the Restoration, the lodges did act as covers for the spread of revolutionary brotherhoods, even if Freemasonry as a whole was not revolutionary.¹⁴ It must be emphasised that Freemasonry does not have any international central controlling body — something, of course, which the Catholic Church found hard to understand. That means, on the one hand, that an actual international Masonic plot is unlikely; on the other hand, it means that individual lodges or groups of lodges and shadowy quasi-Masonic organisations can be captured by strange ideas, and develop in their own, sometimes revolutionary, directions. For example, around 1820, there were genuine Masonic connections to the Decembrist revolutionaries in Russia, the Carbonari in Italy, and Spanish liberals resisting the Restoration.¹⁵ Even in early New South Wales, there were fears of Masonic revolutionary activity. Governor King feared the French might sail up the Hawkesbury, unite with the Irish at Castle Hill, and leave him defended only by the mutinous rabble of the New South Wales corps. Since all three of these threats were riddled with Masons, he took seriously the possibility of their cooperation on the basis of brotherhood, and suppressed attempts to form a lodge.¹⁶

For the rest of the nineteenth century, Freemasonry was associated with the anticlerical 'liberal' political faction in Catholic countries. Latin America was a scene of perennial conflict.¹⁷ An article in the *Australasian Catholic Record* of 1899 on 'The just man of the nineteenth century' tells the story of the Catholic President of Ecuador, Gabriel Garcia Moreno, who dedicated Ecuador to the Sacred Heart, gave the state education system to the Catholic Church, and then was assassinated by, it was thought, Masons.¹⁸ It was the same in Spain.¹⁹ The unification of Italy, with the confiscation of the Papal States, was a success for Freemasonry, among other forces.²⁰ By and large, the Catholic right fought a losing battle. As we saw, they did not attribute that to their being out of touch with the spirit of the age, or to a lack of concern for social problems, but to a literal plot.

The control of primary education was one of the main issues in the conflict. Vaughan's story that the Education League in Belgium was a Masonic front promoting free, compulsory and secular education is entirely true.²¹ In France, laws instituted by a heavily Masonic government in 1879-82 took public money from Church schools, and instituted general moral education in public schools.²² When the Catholics added a Jewish conspiracy theory to the Masonic one, they were discredited over the Dreyfus affair, and in the early years of this century, a vigorously anticlerical and largely Masonic government took advantage of having the upper hand to expel the religious teaching orders from France and seize their property without compensation.²³ There was a lot of interest in these events among Australian Catholics,²⁴ and Australia benefited by the immigration of the De La Salle Brothers, whose first Australian school, in Armidale, was founded in 1906 by brothers just expelled from France.²⁵ At the same time, it came to light in the 'Affaire des fiches' that there really was a Masonic conspiracy: the French Masons were keeping a huge card index on public officials who went to Mass, with a view to preventing their promotions.²⁶ The animosity between French Freemasonry and the Catholic Church waned somewhat in the next decades, but revived when the Vichy regime published long lists of Masons, and sacked them from state schools and other employment.²⁷ Naturally, not much has been heard of these things since 1945.

There was, however, a problem with Vaughan's theory that what was happening in Australia was the same as what was happening in France and Belgium. It is significant that all the Masonic documents Vaughan quotes as evidence are Continental, and all Beg's British. British (and hence Australian) Freemasonry is not the same as the Continental variety. It was not in conflict with the Established Church or the state — on the contrary, kings, prime ministers and Archbishops of Canterbury have been Freemasons. There is no need to plot revolution against a state one controls already or if not 'controls', at least has an easy relationship with. Catholic propagandists knew their theory had a problem here, and made the most of the occasional meeting between the Prince of Wales and an Italian Mason.²⁸

FREEMASONRY IN AUSTRALIA

The story of the influence of the Masons is one of the great untold narratives of Australian history. Manning Clark, for example, though seeing Australian history as an epic struggle between Christian and Enlightenment principles, hardly mentions the main Enlightenment institution, and even full-length biographies of famous Australians often fail to mention they were Masons. They were involved in most of the significant developments in Australia. Joseph Banks was a Mason, and in the early colony, so were Governor Macquarie, Francis Greenway, and the explorers Oxley, Hume and Leichhardt.²⁹ More than thirty of the hundred and eleven members of the first Commonwealth Parliament were Masons, either at the time or later, 'some indication', according to Masons, 'that our Commonwealth was in its beginning also based on righteousness and virtuous character.'³⁰ Almost all of the conservative Prime Ministers up to 1972 — Barton, Reid, Cook, Bruce, Page, Menzies, Fadden, McEwen, Gorton and McMahon — were Masons.³¹ Many governors were Masons, often the Grand Masters of their states.³² Masons prominent in other fields include Edward Hargraves, the discoverer of gold, Lawrence Hargrave, the pioneer of flight, and such quintessentially Australian heroes as Sir Charles Kingsford Smith, Sir Don Bradman and Sir Edward 'Weary' Dunlop. The Masonic Historical Society's web site is informative.³³

The first recognised Lodge, the Lodge of Social and Military Virtues, arrived with the regiment it was attached to in 1814,³⁴ and Freemasonry was associated with wealth and the party of political reform by the 1830s, in both Sydney and Hobart.³⁵ The lodges spread widely, especially in the 1890s and again between the Wars.³⁶ Specialised lodges included Lodge Cricket, of which Bradman was a member, Lodge Literature, for newspapermen,³⁷ and lodges for the old boys of particular schools, such as Sydney Grammar, Fort Street, Sydney High and Shore.³⁸ Melbourne University, Sydney University and later the University of New South Wales had lodges for academics and graduates.³⁹ Freemasonry was particularly strong in the Armed Forces, the police, banks, AMP, the state and commonwealth public services, and the councils of country towns.⁴⁰ Freemasonry in the army was an issue in the conscription campaigns of 1916 and 1917, since Catholics were not enthusiastic about being drafted as fodder for an officer corps dominated by Freemasonry, 'the most insidious enemy of God and country ... a huge tumour growing upon the life and blood of the whole of the country' (Mannix).⁴¹ Membership increased again after the Second War, as returned servicemen used the lodges to continue the mateship of the armed forces, and a high point of membership was reached in the mid-1950s, with some 330,000 members in about 2000 lodges, or one Australian man in sixteen.⁴² Since there were no Catholic members, and very few blue collar workers, this represents an extraordinary penetration of the target group, the 'managerial classes'.

This leaves the question, what did Masonic membership mean? It could, of course, mean nothing: like religious membership, it could simply be a way of getting out of the house, meeting people who might help one get a better job, or providing security for one's widow. Masonic membership seems to have meant nothing to Menzies, for example. He was a club man rather than a lodge man. But for those who took membership more seriously, and many did, more was on offer. Freemasonry is a philosophy. It is not easy to say precisely what that philosophy is, not only because part of it is kept secret, but also because putting 'doctrines' into propositional form is not the preferred method of exposition of the Masonic point of view, even to initiates. Freemasonry is officially 'a system of morality veiled in

allegory'.⁴³ The allegory and symbolism, intended to assist the imagination and memory of the initiate,⁴⁴ is the main method of instruction, and the interpretation of the symbols is to some extent left to the individual. But the general outline of the system is not secret. The only Masonic 'dogma', strictly speaking, is the existence of God, belief in which is a condition of entry. Belief in immortality is, however, strongly suggested.⁴⁵ Beyond that, religious matters are left to the individual's own sect; a Mason is expected to pursue his own faith, which may be of any Christian or other theistic persuasion.

The centre of Freemasonry is not doctrinal but moral. 'The whole purpose of Freemasonry is to teach the Moral Law and show that man should live rightly with his fellow man under the all-seeing eye of God.'⁴⁶ The normal meanings of the symbols mostly concern morality. The well-known symbols of square and compasses, for example, symbolise respectively rectitude in general and the circle separating right behaviour from wrong. Truth and honesty in dealings are crucial.⁴⁷

Harmony has not characterised the relations of Freemasonry with the more dogmatic religions, and the reasons for conflict concern basic matters of the relation between philosophy and religion. Freemasonry insists that it is not a religion, but admits to being 'religious', or having something to say in areas already occupied by religion.⁴⁸ Its tolerance of all religions can easily give rise to the impression that dogmatic differences do not matter, even though that is never asserted explicitly. Suspicion in this regard is encouraged by the phrase 'the Religion in which all men agree', in the original 1723 Constitutions of Freemasonry.⁴⁹

It is clear why Masons should have generally felt happy with a system of secular education. Vaughan's suspicion that a large-scale movement inimical to his position was under way, and that the Masons had something to do with it, was not altogether without foundation, even if there was no plot. W.C. Wentworth and John Woolley, the earlier leaders of the campaign for secular education, were Masons, while William Wilkins, the effective decision-maker on the syllabus, was a prominent Mason, who wrote in favour of the possibility of moral education free of dogma.⁵⁰ Parkes was not a Mason, but that was not

much consolation for the Catholics, since his views were actually closer to those of the anticlerical European masons.⁵¹

The conflict between Catholics and Masons did not rest so clearly on any matters of principle. There is nothing explicitly anti-Catholic in Freemasonry (unlike the Orange lodges), and Catholic objections, other than on the secular education question, rested mostly on supposed Masonic plots in Europe and job discrimination in Australia. The main objection of principle was to Masonic oaths, committing Masons not to reveal secrets before they knew the nature of the secrets.⁵² Since the 1960s, better relations have prevailed,⁵³ mainly because Catholic theology has itself adopted a more tolerant view of other religions. The reasons for this are probably not, as some think, that the last four popes have been secret Masons.

DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT IN AUSTRALIA

This brings us to the vexed question of job discrimination. Catholics believed that up to about 1960, at least, most positions of power in organisations like the armed services, many public service departments, the private banks, and so on, were virtually barred to them by a conspiracy of Masons looking after one another.⁵⁴ It is very hard to discover any undeniable facts about it. It has not even proved possible to establish whether the best-known story about the whole matter is literally true: that NSW Police Commissioners were by arrangement alternately Masons and Catholics.

For one thing, it is difficult to prove that any given failure to get a job is due to underhand motives. And even if there were hard statistical evidence that there were almost no Catholics in, say, the management of the Bank of New South Wales — which there is not⁵⁵ — it is hard to demonstrate anything about the reasons for it. And even if there was discrimination against Catholics, it may have been due to Protestant sectarian feeling, or anti-Irish racism, rather than to the Masons. I know of no admissions by anyone that they ever discriminated against a Catholic in favour of a less qualified applicant for a job, though the Masons have informally agreed that they did provide a certain amount of help to one

another with jobs.⁵⁶ As one senior Mason explained it to me, Freemasonry is intended to make good men better — unlike religions that hope also to make bad men good. So being a Mason is, other things being equal, a sign of being a good man, and hence a recommendation for a job. Applicants for membership who appeared to be interested simply in improving their employment prospects were supposed to be denied membership.

There are hardly even any complaints by Catholics that they were passed over for any definite job. There is one case, though, recently described in some detail. It is in a life of Frank Letters, recently written by his widow. Letters was a classical scholar who applied for and failed to get positions in the late 1930s.

When Frank was a young graduate hoping for an academic post, there was not one practising Catholic senior staff member at Sydney University. In 1938, of the forty professors at Sydney University there was no Catholic. It was little different in the higher echelons of education departments, the police force, the public service, banking, and in many businesses. Equally obvious, when you looked closely, was the absence of Catholics from the top legal appointments and among hospital specialists.

For a start, Catholics could not be Freemasons, and were therefore automatically excluded from the mutual help towards promotion that Freemasons gave one another. There were of course men with high ideals — and good friends of ours — who enjoyed the convivial nights out at the local masonic lodge with men friends, helping one another, perhaps even relishing a night out away from the wife. The rank-and-file Mason probably didn't realize that helping his buddy get ahead in business or career could and often did mean that a better-qualified applicant didn't stand a chance. That is not justice.⁵⁷

It is not entirely obvious, nevertheless, that Masonic influence was responsible in this case. The Professor of Latin, Todd, was a peculiar person, who disliked Letters on personal as much as sectarian grounds. Letters eventually obtained one of the foundation lectureships at the New England University College. When the College became an autonomous University in 1954, all the pioneers were given chairs, except Letters⁵⁸ He never did become a professor, despite his international reputation based on respectable books on Sophocles, Virgil, Thomas Mann and Huysmans, and successful essays and poetry. Academic excellence is more open for inspection than talent in, say, the public service, and it is fair to say that for Letters to fail to get a chair at a provincial university was an obvious scandal. The book has some actual evidence about the role of masonic influence.

All Armidale could see the university men's cars on Thursday nights near the Masonic Lodge on the corner of Faulkner and Barney Streets. Frank could not fail to deduce that he, a Catholic and the only one not a Lodge member, 'would never get anywhere'. The dice were loaded against his professional advancement ...

Frank also recalled the invitation to a welcome for a Supreme Court judge and two barrister friends of Frank's at Tatt's Hotel. One had just won a spectacularly interesting case and offered to send some details to Frank, asking for his address. 'Send it to The Lodge' was the answer. [The Letters family lived in a former gatekeeper's lodge at the University.] One of a nearby group, half-hearing the answer but not the question, complained, 'You university men have taken us over', assuming that Frank had meant the Masonic Lodge. This was news to Frank who had not up to that point seen the close link between Freemasonry and his colleagues.

Once, when delivering a packet of Leaving Certificate English papers to Sid Musgrove [the only other member of his department], Frank looked over the bookshelves where to his surprise he saw books to do with Freemasonry.

‘Oh no! not you, Sid’, he said, laughing heartily at the thought of Sid, the cynic, being caught up in a conservative secret society.

‘I wouldn’t get anywhere if I didn’t belong’, Musgrove said simply.⁵⁹

Catholics didn’t take things lying down, of course. Their best chance for advancement came through the system of public service entry through competitive examination, and promotion by seniority. It is an expensive solution to job discrimination, but an effective one. The Knights of the Southern Cross, a kind of Catholic Masons, acted frequently as an employment agency.⁶⁰ In due course, there were networks of Catholics as well as networks of Masons in public service departments; if anyone had a just complaint, it was those in neither camp. The best opportunity for Catholics to use raw political power to recover territory from the Masons was in Queensland, where there were Catholic-dominated Labor governments for decades. Freemasons lost ground in the Queensland public service after 1915,⁶¹ and in 1957 the Premier, Vince Gair, took on the University of Queensland for, among other things, an alleged bias in favour of Masons.⁶² He failed.

Nationalising the banks might have helped, but Chifley and Calwell did not succeed with that particular plan. They did achieve a major change in the ethnic composition of Australia, away from the Anglo-Saxon Protestant mould that prevailed up to then, by importing 180,000 displaced Eastern Europeans, mostly Catholics. It is the multiculturalism of Australia that has done as much as anything to make the old conflicts irrelevant.

Finally, a moment of speculation. Possibly the most significant effect for the Church of its long conflict with Freemasonry has been that many of the men in the highest positions in the Church have not understood the English-speaking countries. With the English kings being Grand Masters, and many American presidents being Masons and operating under a Constitution embodying Masonic ideals, how could the mind of the Roman Curia be anything but gravely suspicious of anything coming out of England or America? In particular, ideals of ‘freedom’, toleration and constitutional government have not been well understood by the Roman mind. There has been a grave misunderstanding

between the international Church and the international language, which has been a great misfortune for both.

¹ Archbishop and Bishops of N.S.W. Pastoral, *Catholic Education* Sydney, 1879, repr. in P. O'Farrell (ed.), *Documents in Australian Catholic History*, vol. 1, London, 1969, pp. 386-99.

² R.B. Vaughan, *Hidden Springs, or the Perils of the Future and How to Meet Them*, Sydney, 1876; brief summary in J.N. Molony, *The Roman Mould of the Australian Catholic Church*, Melbourne, 1969, p. 150; similar later in Anon, 'Freemasonry versus Church and State', *Australasian Catholic Record* 10, 1904, pp. 23-41; by Archbishop Kelly, in M. Clark, *Sources of Australian History*, London, 1957, p. 577, *Sydney Morning Herald* 15/7/1913, p. 8.

³ 'Wazir Beg', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 3, p. 130.

⁴ W. Beg, *Dr. Vaughan's Ignorance of Freemasonry Exposed*, Sydney, 1876, pp. 10, 19-21, 34; other replies: D. Allen, *Reply to Dr Vaughan Upon Hidden Springs* (Sydney, 1877) (on Allen's anti-Catholic struggles, see F. Beedel, *Letters and Other Writings of the Late Pastor Daniel Allen* (Sydney, 1901), ch. 13); J.A. Downie, *Rome's Polluted Springs* (Sydney, 1877).

⁵ J. Rogalla von Bieberstein, *Die These von der Verschwörung 1776-1945. Philosophen, Freimauer, Juden, Liberale und Sozialisten als Verschwörer gegen die Sozialordnung*, Berne, 1976 (see reviews in *Annales* 33, 1978, pp. 754-6; *History of European Ideas* 4, 1983, pp. 109-11.)

⁶ R.F. Esposito, *Pio IX. La Chiesa in conflitto col mondo. La S. Sede, la massoneria e il radicalismo settario*, Rome, 1979 (see review in *Catholic Historical Review* 68, 1982, pp. 667-8); L. Leoni, *La massoneria e le annessioni degli Stati pontificii*, Viterbo, 1892-3; summary in F.A. Ferrer Benimeli, *Masoneria española contemporánea*, Madrid, 1980, vol. 2 pp. 36-41; Australian comment in T.A. Fitzgerald, 'The present condition of Italy', *Australasian Catholic Record* 4, 1898, pp. 361-79, 460-74, at p. 467.

⁷ R.F. Byrnes, *Antisemitism in Modern France* vol. 1, New Brunswick, 1950; pp. 126-40, 187-92; R. Millman, 'Jewish anticlericalism and the rise of modern French antisemitism', *History* 77, 1992, pp. 220-36; J. Katz, *Jews and Freemasons in Europe*, trans. L. Oschry, Harvard, 1970, chs. 10-11.

⁸ N. Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide*, 2nd ed, London, 1996, ch. 3.

⁹ J.A. Ferrer Benimeli, *El contubernio judeo-masonico-comunista: del satanismo al escandalo de la P-2*, Madrid, 1982?; Ferrer Benimeli, *Masoneria español contemporanea*, vol. 2 ch. 5; M.R. Marrus & R.O. Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews*, N.Y., 1981, pp. 76, 199.

¹⁰ European background in M.C. Jacob, *Living the Enlightenment: Freemasonry and politics in eighteenth-century Europe*, N.Y., 1991; W.R. Weisberger, *Speculative Freemasonry and the Enlightenment*, Boulder, 1993; R. van Dülmen, *The Society of the Enlightenment*, trans. A. Williams, N.Y., 1992, pp. 52-65, 151-65; S.C. Bullock, 'Initiating the Enlightenment?: recent scholarship on European Freemasonry', *Eighteenth-Century Life* 20, 1996, pp. 80-92; Australian knowledge of it in M. Conway, 'Freemasonry and the Age of Enlightenment', *Masonic Research in South Australia*, (South Australian Lodge of Research) 1, 1990-4, pp. 19-21; K. Brindal, 'Brother Mozart, Freemason', *Masonic Research in South Australia* 2, 1995, pp. 27-9; N.J. McDonald, 'Desaguliers', *New South Wales Freemason* 29, 1934, pp. 81-2; American background in S.C. Bullock, *Revolutionary Brotherhood: Freemasonry and the transformation of the American social order, 1730-1840*, Chapel Hill, 1996.

¹¹ J.A. Ferrer Benimeli, *Los archivos secretos vaticanos y la masonería*, Caracas, 1976; G. Adilardi, *Un'antica condanna. le origini di un conflitto tra Chiesa Cattolica e massoneria*, Foggia, 1989; R.E. Jenkins, 'The evolution of the Church's prohibition against Catholic membership in Freemasonry', *Jurist* 56, 1997, pp. 735-55.

¹² *Annales historiques de la revolution française*, special issue July-Sept 1969, especially D. Ligou, 'Structures et symbolisme maçonniques sous la révolution', pp. 511-23.

¹³ Jacob, *Living the Enlightenment*, p. 12; emphasised in J.E. Carnegie, *Freemasonry: its origin, history, principles and doctrines*, Melbourne, 1862, p. 7; also P. Carter, 'Visions of God — a Masonic perspective', *Theosophy in Australia* 58, 1, Mar 1994, pp. 16-19.

¹⁴ J.H. Billington, *Fire in the Minds of Men: origins of the revolutionary faith*, London, 1980, pp. 91-9.

¹⁵ L.G. Leighton, *The Esoteric Tradition in Russian Romantic Literature: Decembrism and Freemasonry*, University Park, PA, 1994; Billington, pp. 141-2, 330; R. Lansdown, 'Byron and the Carbonari', *History Today* 41, May, 1991, pp. 18-25; B.R. Hamnett, 'Liberal politics and Spanish Freemasonry, 1814-1820', *History* 69, 1984, pp. 221-37.

¹⁶ A. Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia*, Melbourne, 1997, ch. 12; King to Sullivan, 21/4/1804, *Historical Records of Australia*, series I vol v p. 142.

¹⁷ C. Gazmari, *El '48' chileno: igualiterios, reformistas, radicales, masones y bomberos*, Santiago, 1992; J.A. Ferrer Benimeli, 'Bolivar y la masoneria', *Revista de Indias* 43, 1983, pp. 631-87; J.-P. Bastian (ed.), *Protestantes, liberales y francmasones: Sociedades de ideas y modernidad en América Latina, siglo xix*, Mexico, 1990; P. Rich & G. de los Reyes, 'Freemasonry's educational role', *American Behavioral Scientist* 40, 1997, pp. 957-67.

¹⁸ J. Brennan, 'The just man of the nineteenth century', *ACR* 5, 1899, pp. 162-72.

¹⁹ M.A. Ortiz de Andres, *Masoneria y democracia en el siglo xix: el Gran Oriente Español y su proyeccion politico-social, 1888-1896*, Madrid, 1993.

²⁰ R.F. Esposito, *Le grande concordanze tra Chiesa et massoneria*, Firenze, 1987; L. Braschi, *La massoneria e la Chiesa cattolica: un terribile scontro, un possibile incontro*, Firenze, 1984; A. Luzio, *La massoneria e il Risorgimento italiano*, Bologna, 1966; A. Lattanzi, *Bibliografia della massoneria italiana e di Cagliostro*, Firenze, 1974.

²¹ R. Desmed, 'A propos du mémoire de la Loge des Amis Philanthrops sur l'enseignement primaire obligatoire et laïque', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 53, 1975, pp. 357-401, especially pp. 385, 395-401.

²² J.S. Schapiro, *Anticlericalism*, Princeton, 1967, pp. 56, 60, 153-6; E. Acomb, *The French Laic Laws, 1879-1889*, N.Y., 1941; T.F. Power, *Jules Ferry and the Renaissance of French Imperialism*, N.Y., 1966, pp. 16-21; J. Fulton, 'The revival of church/state hostility in France: the affair of the religious decrees, 1879-80', *Journal of Religious History* 20, 1996, pp. 20-31; P. Nord, 'Republicanism and Utopian vision: French Freemasonry in the 1860s and 1870s', *Journal of Modern History* 63, 1991, pp. 213-29.

²³ M. Larkin, *Church and State After the Dreyfus Affair*, London, 1974, pp. 23-8, 91-101, 138-41; C.S. Phillips, *The Church in France, 1848-1907*, 1936, repr. N.Y., 1967, ch. 9.

²⁴ J.J. Norris, 'The Catholic Church and liberty', *ACR* 3, 1897, pp. 564-72; letter of Leo XIII, *ACR* 2, 1896, pp. 149-53; D. Lynch, 'Freemasonry in France', *ACR* 8, 1902, pp. 529-46; P.S. Cleary, 'Freemasonry — the enemy of throne and altar', *ACR* 17, 1911, pp. 467-510; M.Q., 'A few notes on Freemasonry', *Austral Light* 4, 1903, pp. 672-4; 'Hiram', 'Sidelights on Freemasonry', *Austral Light* 5, 1904, pp. 403-12, 467-73, 515-21, 609-14, 772-8.

²⁵ Br Aloysius, *The De La Salle Brothers in Australia, 1906-1956*, Sydney, 1956, pp. 19-27; Fogarty, *Catholic Education in Australia*, vol 2, p. 274.; P.V. Dwyer, 'The Marist Brothers and their work in France', *ACR* 12, 1906, pp. 461-9; Count de Mun, 'The religious persecution in France', *ACR* 13, 1907, pp. 398-421, at pp. 414-16; R.S., 'France and the Catholic schools', *Austral Light* 3, 1902, pp. 726-9.

²⁶ Larkin, *Church and State after the Dreyfus Affair*, pp. 138-41; 'Freemasonry in France', *Austral Light* 6, 1905, pp. 164-72, 241-50.

²⁷ D. Rossignol, *Vichy et les francs-maçons. La liquidation des sociétés secrètes, 1940-1944*, Paris, 1981; R.O. Paxton, *Vichy France*, N.Y., 1972, pp. 4, 102, 156, 172-3, 255.

²⁸ T.A. Fitzgerald, 'The Jewish Masonic combination in France', *ACR* 6, 1900, pp. 342-88; Molony, p. 150; A. McLay, *James Quinn*, 2nd ed, Toowoomba, 1989, pp. 135-9.

²⁹ G.H. Cumming, *The Foundations of Freemasonry in Australia*, West Pennant Hills, 1992, pp. 1-10; 'Was Sir Joseph Banks a Mason?', *NSW Freemason* 47, 1952, pp. 185; 'Francis Greenway', *NSW Freemason* 46, 1951, pp. 133-6; P. Krüger, 'Ludwig Leichhardt: a German geologist of the "Vormärz" period', in H. Lamping & M. Linke (eds), *Australia: studies on the history of discovery and exploration*, Frankfurt, 1994, pp. 127-38.

³⁰ K.R. Cramp, 'Federation and Freemasonry', *NSW Freemason* 46, 1951, pp. 441-6, 47, 1952, pp. 313, 48, 1953, p. 5.

³¹ *Freemasonry: Australia's Prime Ministers*, Masonic Historical Society of N.S.W., booklet 2, Sydney, 1994.

³² K. Henderson, *Masonic Grand Masters of Australia*, Bayswater, 1988, *passim*.

³³ <http://www.uglnsw.freemasonry.org.au/historic/historical.html>

³⁴ Cumming, p. 6; K.R. Cramp & G. Mackaness, *A History of the United Grand Lodge of New South Wales*, Sydney, 1938, ch. 4.

³⁵ A. Atkinson & M. Aveling, eds, *Australians 1838*, Sydney, 1987, pp. 330-1, 314; Clark, *History of Australia*, vol. 2 pp. 300-1; G.M. Dow, *Samuel Terry: the Botany Bay Rothschild*, Sydney, 1974, pp. 215, 225-6.

³⁶ *The Tongue of Good Report: Lodge Zion no. 218, Gunnedah 1894-1994*, Gunnedah, 1994, and similar histories of individual lodges; A. Richards, *The Centennial Story: the history of Freemasonry in Queensland*, Brisbane, 1959; D. Lauder, 'Freemasons and Freemasonry in Queensland', *J. of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland* 14, 1990, pp. 33-40; R.W. Bell, 'Freemasonry and early Ballarat', *Ballarat Historian* 4, 2,

Mar, 1989, pp. 17-21 & 4, 10, Mar, 1991, pp. 6-12; W.C. Vahland, *History of Freemasonry in the Bendigo District*, Bendigo, 1904; M. Chapman, 'Jews and Freemasons in the Colony of Victoria 1840-1900', *Journal of the Australian Jewish Historical Society* 11, 3, Nov, 1991, pp. 415-91; R.J. Linford, 'Freemasonry in the Queanbeyan-Canberra area, 1877-1939', *Canberra Historical Journal* 36, Sept 1995, pp. 18-27.

³⁷ *Lodge Literature no. 500*, Sydney, 1938.

³⁸ Cramp & Mackaness, pp. 475, 587-8.

³⁹ Cramp & Mackaness, p. 475; K.R. Cramp, *Lodge University of Sydney*, Sydney, 1945.

⁴⁰ J. Maguire, *Prologue*, Toowoomba, 1990, p. 63; R. Haldane, *The People's Force*, 2nd ed, Melbourne, 1995, pp. 56, 171; B. Winter, *The Intrigue Master*, Brisbane, 1995, p. 174; Lieut-Gen H.G. Bennett, 'Anzac Day, 1953', *NSW Freemason* 48, 1953, pp. 133-6; R.J.W. Selleck & M. Sullivan, *Not So Eminent Victorians*, Melbourne, 1984, p. 127; Henderson, *Masonic Grand Masters*, pp. 89, 91; M. Cannon, *The Long Last Summer*, Melbourne, 1985, p. 62; 'Clarke, W.J.', *ADB* vol. 3 pp. 422-4; G. Davison, J.W. McCarty & A. McLeary, eds, *Australians 1888*, Sydney, 1987, p. 196; Bill Gammage & N. Spearritt, eds, *Australians 1938*, Sydney, 1987, p. 237; D. Armstrong, 'Freemasons on the march again', *Bulletin* 3/10/78, pp. 44-6, 51-4; M. Hogan, 'The Sydney style', *Labour History* 36, 1979, pp. 39-46, at p. 42; P. O'Farrell, *Catholic Church and Community*, Sydney, 1985?, p. 380; D. Horne, *The Education of Young Donald*, rev. ed., Melbourne, 1988, p. 20.

⁴¹ *Age* 15/2/1916, p. 8 repr. in O'Farrell, *Documents in Australian Catholic History*, vol. 2 p. 265; cf. pp. 107-9; reply in *Argus* 17/2/16, p. 9; also 10/7/16, p. 9; 'The coadjutor-archbishop and the freemasons', *Austral Light* 17, 1916, pp. 185-6; some facts about Catholics in the officer corps in D.J. Blair, 'An Australian 'officer-type'? A demographic study of the composition of officers in the 1st Battalion, First AIF', *Sabretache* 39, Mar, 1998, pp. 21-7.

⁴² N.S.W. membership figures in M.H. Kellerman, *From Diamond Jubilee to Centenary: history of forty years of the United Grand Lodge of Freemasonry in New South Wales, 1948-1988*, Sydney, 1990, vol. IV, ch. 5.

⁴³ M.H. Kellerman, 'Freemasonry', in *Australian Encyclopaedia*, 4th ed, Sydney, 1983, pp. 241-4; C.D. Morpeth, 'A peculiar system of morality', *NSW Freemason* 30, 2, Feb 1935, pp. 43-5. W.C. Bowler, 'Immortality', *NSW Freemason* 22, 1927, pp. 169-70.

⁴⁴ E.A. Hough, 'What is Freemasonry?', *NSW Freemason* 33, 1938, pp. 561-2; F.A. Maguire (ed.), *Masonic Foundations*, Redfern, 1940.

⁴⁵ W.C. Bowler, 'Immortality', *NSW Freemason* 22, 1927, pp. 169-70.

⁴⁶ 'Masonry and the moral law', *NSW Freemason* 42, 1947, p. 185.

⁴⁷ F.S. McDowell, 'Masonic philosophy', in K.R. Cramp, *From Jubilee to Diamond Jubilee: history of ten years of the United Grand Lodge of Freemasonry in New South Wales, 1938-1948*, pp. 262-4.

⁴⁸ 'Masonry not a religion', *NSW Freemason* 28, 1933, pp. 208, 223.

⁴⁹ 'The charges of a Freemason', Anderson's *Constitutions of 1723*, repr. in M.C. Jacob, *The Radical Enlightenment: pantheists, Freemasons and republicans*, London, 1981, p. 280; see L. Vibert, 'Anderson's Constitutions of 1723', *NSW Freemason* 47, 1952, pp. 397-404, 451-8, 467, especially p. 453.

⁵⁰ 'Woolley, John', *ADB* vol. 6 pp. 435-7; 'Wilkins, William', *ADB* vol. 6 pp. 400-2; W. Wilkins, *National Education: an exposition of the National System of New South Wales*, Sydney, 1865, p. 12; elsewhere, L. Fletcher, (ed.), *Pioneers of Education in Western Australia*, Perth, 1982, pp. 72, 159; for Queensland, T.L. Suttor, *Hierarchy and Democracy in Australia, 1788-1870*, Melbourne, 1965, pp. 302-3.

⁵¹ H. Parkes, 'Darkness or light — which is to conquer?', *Empire* 13 Oct 1851, p. 250, partly quoted in Martin, *Henry Parkes*, pp. 105-6; discussion in A.W. Martin, 'Henry Parkes and the political manipulation of sectarianism', *Journal of Religious History* 9, 1976, pp. 85-92; *NSW Parliamentary Debates* 1879-80, vol. 2, p. 1284; discussed in P.F. Cardinal Moran, *History of the Catholic Church in Australasia*, Sydney, 1895, p. 875, cf p. 869.

⁵² P.J. Lynch, *Freemasonry: its incompatibility with practical Catholicism*, Sydney, 1923, pp. 30-2; A.J. Dunn, 'Christianity and Freemasonry', *Austral Light* 8, 1907, pp. 179-90; E. Cahill, *The Truth About Freemasonry*, Australian Catholic Truth Society pamphlet, Melbourne, 1936; L. Rumble, *Radio Replies in Defence of Religion*, Sydney, 1936, pp. 292-9.

⁵³ M. Baume, 'Masons and Catholics: a new understanding', *Bulletin* 13/1/68, pp. 20-2; Jenkins, 'The evolution'.

⁵⁴ M. Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand*, Ringwood, 1987, pp. 197-202, 217.

⁵⁵ A preliminary attempt in Anon, 'Catholics in the Australian public service', *Australian Quarterly* 32, 3, Sep, 1960, pp. 16-22.

⁵⁶ 'The practical side of Freemasonry', *NSW Freemason* 31, 1935, pp. 19.

⁵⁷ K. Letters, *History Will Out: F.J.H. Letters at the New England University College*, Armidale, 1997, pp. 37-8; see also E. Campion, *Australian Catholics*, 1987, p. 152.

⁵⁸ *History Will Out*, ch. 10.

⁵⁹ Pp. 67-8.

⁶⁰ C. Kierce, 'The men in the know?', *Observer* 12/12/59, pp. 7-9; 'The silent knights', *Nation* 13/1/60, pp. 8-10; 'The meeting at Chapter Hall', *Nation* 6/10/62, pp. 5-6.

⁶¹ R. Fitzgerald, *From 1915 to the Early 1980s: a history of Queensland*, Brisbane, 1984, p. 13.

⁶² B. Costar, 'Vincent Clair Gair', in *The Premiers of Queensland*, P. Murphy et al (eds), 2nd ed, Brisbane, 1990, pp. 459-74, at p. 467; M.I. Thomis, *A Place of Light and Learning: the University of Queensland's first seventy-five years*, Brisbane, 1985, p. 138; cf. P. O'Farrell, *UNSW: a portrait*, Sydney, 1999, p. 133.