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A Micro-Study

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Freemasonic and Orange Order Membership in Rural Ontario During the Late 19th-century: A Micro-Study*

By Gregory Klages

During the second half of the nineteenth century, Ontario experienced fundamental change. The development of rail networks encouraged trade between established centres, opening wider markets while also expanding the bounds of settlement within the province. Hundreds of thousands of immigrants struggled to preserve a sense of their home cultures while adapting to the dynamics and unique challenges of new communities.[1] Widely popular, fraternal orders contributed to the negotiation of community by providing men with ways to communicate their values, to structure social behaviour, and to shape community identity. The study of fraternal orders in Ontario is a burgeoning field, but the dynamics of these organizations in rural life has rarely been considered. Focusing on a small, southwestern Ontario settlement between the late 1860s and early 1900s, this microstudy compares observations made about fraternal life in urban and mid-size Ontario communities against the dynamics of fraternal life that can be observed in a smaller population centre.

The terms 'secret societies', 'friendly societies', 'fraternal associations' or 'fraternal organizations' have been used to describe organized social activities where men, bound by oath to common rituals and values, gather together to share in comradeship, self-improvement, and mutual aid.[2] These groups differ from other associational activities such as labour organizations, sports groups, church societies, or common interest groups such as agricultural clubs, in that they do not

* The author acknowledges the assistance of the late AF&AM Lodge #262 Past Master Milt Zeigler with this research, as well as the contributions of Dr. Terry Crowley to the preliminary research. Additionally, thanks for helpful advice are extended to the anonymous *Ontario History* peer reviewers.

[1] The population of Ontario grew from 150,000 in 1824 to 925,000 in 1851. Eric P. Kaufmann, "The Demise of Dominant Ethnicity in English Canada?: Orange Order Membership Decline in Ontario, 1918-1980", presented at Institute of Commonwealth Studies conference, London, England, 2000, 3. [http://www.sneps.net/OO/images/2000ICS-Decline%20of%20Orange%20Order%20in%20Canada-webversion.pdf, accessed: 29 Oct. 2009].

[2] Gillian Covernton, "A system of morality veiled in allegory: The Private Rituals and Public Performances of Freemasonry in Winnipeg, 1864-1900," unpublished Master's thesis, University of Manitoba/University of Winnipeg, 4.

Abstract

This study tests observations regarding the dynamics of fraternal organizations in urban and semi-urban Ontario communities against those in a rural settlement. The study focuses on Freemasonic and Orange Lodges that operated in a southwestern Ontario town of less than 2,000 persons between the late 1860s and the early 1900s. Exceptional results indicate fraternal organizations operating in rural Ontario during the late nineteenth century may have had some unique characteristics. Further study could test the wider applicability of these results and serve to shed further light on the role of fraternal organizations in community- and identity-building in rural Ontario during this period.

Résumé: *Cette étude examine les loges maçonnique et orangiste d'une ville de moins de 2000 habitants du sud-ouest de l'Ontario entre la fin des années 1860 et le début des années 1900. Les différences entre nos résultats et ceux obtenus par les études de communautés plus grandes suggèrent que les sociétés fraternelles fonctionnant en milieu rural ontarien dans la dernière partie du XIXe siècle avaient peut-être des caractéristiques uniques. La poursuite de cette études pourrait montrer si les mêmes résultats se retrouvent ailleurs, et pourrait nous aider à comprendre le rôle des sociétés fraternelles dans la formation des communautés et des identités en Ontario rural du XIXe siècle.*

openly proclaim to defend the interests of a particular social or economic class or address concerns associated with a definite cultural pursuit. Rather they usually involve formal rituals specific to the group, and oaths of loyalty and fidelity to fellow members.[3] Some of these groups have attempted to maintain a degree of secrecy about their rituals or activities. Similar rituals and symbolism used by many of them, however, indicate Freemasonic models or influence.

This study will use the term 'fraternal organizations' in part to bring to the foreground the concepts of fidelity and loyalty that these organizations claim to operate under. It will also focus on two of these groups in particular, the Loyal Orange Institution (LOI), more commonly known as the Orange Order, and the Ancient Free & Accepted Masons (AF&AM), more commonly known as the Freemasons. The Orange Order originated in Ireland in the eighteenth-century, and is named in tribute to Protestant William of Orange, who defeated Catholic James II at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690. A Canadian Grand Orange Lodge was founded in 1830, with two Ontario Grand Lodges formed in 1860. The Freemasons are a Scottish or English colonial import of unclear origin, but have a clear record in England dating to at least the mid-eighteenth-century. Freemasons were active in Ontario by the 1780s, but the Grand Lodge of Canada was not formed until 1857.

Fraternal organizations played a number of roles in nineteenth-century Canadian society. Harland-Jacobs' observations regarding Freemasonry—that it promised good friendship, moral and

[3] See, for instance, Gregory S. Kealey and Bryan D. Palmer, *Dreaming of what might be: The Knights of Labor in Ontario* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

spiritual development, material help, and upward social mobility—can be applied to most of these groups.[4] Distinctions can be made between their practices and expectations, however. As one of its founding principles, the Orange Order desired to defend and advance the Monarchy and Protestantism, particularly the Church of England, against Catholicism. By 1869, for instance, Canadian Orangemen were required to commit themselves, by oath, to disassociate themselves and their children from Catholics.[5] Other organizations, such as the Freemasons, required their members to commit to helping fellow members improve themselves, regardless of their religion, requiring only that members recognize a 'higher power' (referred to in Masonic ritual as the 'Great Architect of the Universe'). Another concern of fraternal organizations in Canada during the nineteenth-century was the pooling and saving of resources to provide a form of insurance for their membership before such services became commercialized in Canada.[6] In the case of member's death, injury, or sickness, most fraternal groups offered some kind of support for a member and/or their family if they were in need. Some organizations, such as the Canadian Order of Foresters, touted their insurance role as a primary concern, certainly more so than the Freemasons or Orange Order.[7]

In the late nineteenth-century, fraternal organizations were the most popular form of voluntary association in Ontario.[8] Some of them, such as the Freemasons and Orange Order, included oaths that bound members to keep secret some of the activities the group, creating such a shroud of mystery that they have seldom figured in writing about Canada's history. But their importance should not be overlooked. It has been asserted, for example, that Canadian historians do not always recognize or value the historical importance of Freemasonry. W. MacLeod notes, "It is worth remembering that Freemasonry is inextricably interwoven with the early history of Canada."[9] Similarly, it has recently been suggested that the Orange Order is "one of Cana-

[4] Jessica L. Harland-Jacobs, *Builders of Empire: Freemasons and British Imperialism, 1717-1927* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 3.

[5] By 1869, men joining Canadian Orange lodges swore the following: "I... do solemnly and voluntarily swear...that I am not, nor ever will be, a Roman Catholic or Papist; nor will I marry a Roman Catholic or Papist, nor educate my children, nor suffer them to be educated in the Roman Catholic Faith..." Cecil J. Houston & William C. Smyth, *The Sash Canada Wore: A Historical Geography of the Orange Order in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 120.

[6] Livio D. Matteo and J.C. Herbert Emery, "Wealth and the demand for life insurance: evidence from Ontario, 1892", *Explorations in Economic History* (2002), 446-69; D. T. Beito, *From Mutual Aid to the Welfare State: Fraternal Societies and Social Services, 1890-1967* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

[7] Houston & Smyth, 132.

[8] Lynn Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-town Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 108.

[9] W. McLeod, "Freemasonry, as a matter of fact," *Canadian Historical Review* LXIX, 1 (1988), 60.

da's most important institutions".[10] As groups with a history continuous from the British conquest to the present, these groups constitute part of the socio-cultural fabric of the country. Additionally, because many Freemasonic and Orange lodges have substantial archives of important early documents and material history, these organizations in particular present a substantial resource for Canadian historians.

Professional scholarship related to the Canadian Orange and Freemasonic experience is limited, although a growing field of interest.[11] The seminal academic work is Houston and Smyth's 1980 *The Sash Canada Wore: A Historical Geography of the Orange Order in Canada*. This work was the first and remains one of very few academic studies to quantify the ethnic, religious, and social character of a particular order in this country.[12] In the last twenty years, several new works touching on fraternal organizations in Canada have appeared, either as monographs, journal articles, or unpublished doctoral dissertations.[13] A recent volume of essays, *The Orange Order in Canada*, is the first significant academic publication devoted solely to exploring Canadian fraternal activity in several decades.[14] While there are many histories of individual Freemasonic lodges and provincial histories of Freemasonry produced by members of the organization, institutional sanction does place their objectivity under suspicion.[15]

Discussion of fraternal organiza-

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[10] Allan Rowe, "Book review: *The Orange Order in Canada*. Edited by David A. Wilson." *Canadian Historical Review* 89/4 (Dec. 2008), 601.

[11] McLeod, "Freemasonry," 54. See also, Gregory S. Kealey, "Orangemen and the Corporation: The Politics of Class in Toronto during the Union of the Canadas", *Workers and Canadian History* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press), 163-208; rep. from *Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980, rev. ed. 1991). A new turn in scholarship is represented by Harland-Jacobs, and *The Orange Order In Canada*, David A. Wilson, ed. (Portland, OR: Four Courts Press, 2007).

[12] Houston & Smyth, 84. Quantitative studies of English and other lodges have been conducted, however, such as in Donald M. MacRaild, *Faith, Fraternity and Fighting: The Orange Order and Irish Migrants in Northern England, c. 1850-1920* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2005).

[13] Harland-Jacobs; Andrew C. Holman, *A Sense of Their Duty: Middle Class Formation in Victorian Ontario Towns* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000); Sean Cadigan, "Paternalism and Politics: Sir Francis Bond Head, the Orange Order, and the Election of 1836," *Canadian Historical Review*, LXXII/3 (1991), 319-347; Christopher J. Anstead, "Fraternalism in Victorian Ontario: Secret Societies and Cultural Hegemony," PhD thesis, Department of History, University of Western Ontario, 1992; James E. Taylor Calnan, "Blessed be the ties that bind: Voluntary Associations and Community in Picton, Ontario, 1870-1914," PhD thesis, Department of History, University of Guelph, 1999.

[14] *The Orange Order In Canada* (2007).

[15] *Whence come we? Freemasonry in Ontario, 1764-1980*, Special Committee on the History, Grand Lodge Ancient, Free & Accepted Masons in the Province of Ontario, editors (Hamilton: Masonic Holdings, n.d.); *The first one hundred years: A history of the Grand Lodge Ancient, Free & Accepted Masons of Canada in the Province of Ontario, 1855-1955*, William J. Dunlop, ed. (Toronto: MacCallum Press, 1955); Roy S. Foley, *A hundred years under the Grand Lodge of Canada in Ontario, 1855-1955* (Toronto: Canadian Masonic Research Association, 1954).

tions in Canada has focused on activities in Ontario, particularly during the late nineteenth century. It has predominantly dealt with communities ranging in size from 2,000-5,000 persons. This focus is sensible, given that, according to the 1881 census, approximately sixty-five percent of the population of Ontario lived in communities of less than 5,000.[16] However, very little scholarship has been carried out on the dynamics of communities smaller than 2,000. Better understanding of how semi-secret, all-male organizations functioned in such small communities might shed significant light on the development of rural life in Ontario at the end of the nineteenth-century.

Much of the work concerned with fraternal orders in Canada has focused on either the role of these groups in national or provincial political life, the emergence of gender or class sensibilities (particularly in urban areas), and most recently, the emergence of a transnational sense of identity.[17] A number of works have approached the activities and dynamics of fraternal organizations as but one subset of other, similar social and civic activities.[18] The majority of these studies, working from observations made about the American fraternal experience, suggest that fraternal organizations proved instrumental in enabling particular strata of the male population to organize themselves to exert socio-political influence, and to reinforce their sense of gender identity.[19] With regard to the Canadian experience, significant attention has been paid to the relationship between fraternal organizations and the emergence of class-oriented behaviours and sensibilities, although no consensus has been reached as to whether fraternal organizations should be understood as working-class or middle-class bodies.[20]

Comparing the dynamics of Orange Order membership in Ontario, Newfoundland, Scotland and Northern Ireland during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Kaufmann has recently suggested that "local, contextual factors" are important for understanding Orange membership.[21] Responding to Kaufmann's suggestion, this study will

[16] William J. Patterson, "Table III: Comparative Statement of the Population of Cities and Towns in the Dominion having more than 5,000 inhabitants, showing increases and decreases", *The Dominion of Canada with particulars as to its extent, climate, agricultural resources, fisheries, mines, manufacturing and other industries* ([Montreal?]: s.n., 1883), 12.

[17] Aside from works already mentioned (such as Anstead, Cadigan, Colman, Covernton, Harland-Jacobs, Holman, Houston & Smyth, Marks, and *The Orange Order In Canada*), see also, David A. Wilson, *Thomas D'Arcy McGee* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008).

[18] See, for instance, the works of Anstead, Calnan, Holman, and Marks cited above.

[19] Mary Ann Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood: Class, Gender, and Fraternalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989); Mark C. Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989); Lynn Dumenil, *Freemasonry and American Culture 1880-1930* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

[20] Holman; Bryan D. Palmer, *Working-class experience: rethinking the history of Canadian labour, 1800-1991*, second edition (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1992), 95-97.

[21] Eric Kaufmann, "The Orange Order in Ontario, Newfoundland, Scotland and Northern Ireland: a

test whether a micro-level understanding of 'local context' might apply to understanding Orange membership, as well as to other fraternal organizations, by using a mixed quantitative and qualitative approach to assess the dynamics of fraternal membership in a rural Ontario community. In particular, this study will look at membership in Freemasonic and Orange Lodges between the 1860s and early 1900s in Harriston, a southwestern Ontario town whose population did not exceed 2,000 during this period. Using MacRaild's analysis of the minutes of northern English Orange lodges as inspiration, this study will test qualitatively whether the operational concerns of larger lodges in Ontario also apply in a more rural setting.[22] While Harriston does not fall under the benchmark of 1,000 residents used to define a 'rural' environment in the 1881 Canadian census, it is one of the smallest Ontario communities yet to receive in-depth analysis of fraternal activity.

Houston and Smyth's very brief consideration of the dynamics of Orange Order membership in the Ontario hamlet of Kinlough, located in Bruce County's Kinloss Township, approximately 50km west of Harriston provides a rural reference point for this study. In 1876, Kinlough had a population of twenty-six families.[23] In 1875, among 13 of 22 members of the Kinlough Orange lodge identified, 6 were born in Ireland, 4 in England, and 3 in Canada. Twelve were employed as farmers. Located in a smaller, less-industrialized Ontario community than others that have been considered, it would seem plausible that Harriston's lodges might have a similar occupational makeup, although the ethnic makeup observed by Houston and Smyth may be specific to the Orange Order, given its Irish origins.

Harriston is located in Minto Township, at the north end of Wellington County, about 80km northwest of the city of Guelph. In the summer of 1845, the first non-Aboriginal settlers arrived on the site, although the township lands were not opened for sale until 1854. The community developed slowly, essentially providing a stopover on the rough Elora-Saugeen road that linked Harriston to southern communities such as Guelph, and eventually to the port of Southampton, on Lake Huron, about 85km northwest. Gravelling of the road in 1861 opened easier access to the community and, by 1867, Harriston's population was estimated to be 150.[24]

Improved access to and communication with larger southern centres facilitated significant growth in the com-

macro-social analysis", *The Orange Order in Canada*, David A. Wilson, ed. (Dublin, Ireland: Four Courts Press, 2007), 67.

[22] Donald M. MacRaild, "The Anatomy of Orangeism", *Faith, Fraternity and Fighting: The Orange Order and Irish Migrants in Northern England, c. 1850-1920* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2005), 71-108.

[23] Kinloss Township Historians, *Kith and Kin of Kinloss* (Auburn, ON: Possibilities, 2003), 260.

[24] Judy Tuck. *A History of Harriston: a commemorative book for the Harriston centennial July 1-8, 1978* (Mildmay, ON: Town Crier, 1978), 17.

CHART 1: Population change, Minto township & Harriston, 1871-1911

	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Minto	4,861	4,443	3,637	3,128	2,665
Harriston	- *	1,772	1,687	1,637	1,491

* The Canadian census did not distinguish the population of Harriston from Minto until 1881.
Source: Canada census reports.

munity during the 1870s. In 1869, four factories opened in the settlement.[25] Continued improvements to the Elora-Saugeen road were supplemented by the opening of the Wellington, Grey and Bruce Railway into Harriston in October 1871. Soon thereafter, telegraph service followed. Local railway service increased the attractiveness of farmland around the settlement. By 1873, Minto Township farmers were producing more grain than the region was able to ship out on its rail service.[26] Competition to meet this need led to the opening of a second rail line, the Toronto, Grey and Bruce, by the end of the year. This is also the year that the settlement was incorporated as a village. In June 1875, the *Elora Express* noted that "21 buildings had been built" in the village in the last six months, with "28 more being built."[27]

Incorporated as a town in 1878, Harriston reached the peak of its pre-First World War population in the early 1880s (see Chart 1). The arrival of the Grand Trunk railway in 1882 represents a high point, for about this time many residents began to leave the area for lands opening up in the Canadian and American West. From this point, the population of the town and its agricultural hinterland would decline steadily for decades.

A number of male-only fraternal organizations operated in Harriston during the late-nineteenth century, including the Loyal Orange Institution, which opened a Harriston Lodge in 1868, the Ancient, Free & Accepted Masons (1871), the Independent Order of the Oddfellows (1874), the Canadian Order of Foresters (1879), as well as a number of gender-inclusive organizations such as the Independent Order of Good Templars (active by 1874) and the Royal Templars of Temperance (active by 1900). Other organizations, such as church societies, sports teams, etc., also functioned in the community. This study focuses on the membership of the two earliest fraternal organizations in the settlement: the Loyal Orange Institution (Lodge #1152), and the Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons (Lodge #262).

Significant though incomplete records exist for the Harriston Orange and Freemasonic lodges, as well as sparse records for some other organizations (such as the Harriston lodge of the Cana-

[25] *Ibid.*, 73.
[26] *Ibid.*, 18-19.
[27] *Ibid.,* 73.

Members of AF&AM Lodge #262, 1879. Photo by Andrew Jaunzemis. Courtesy of AF&AM Lodge #262.

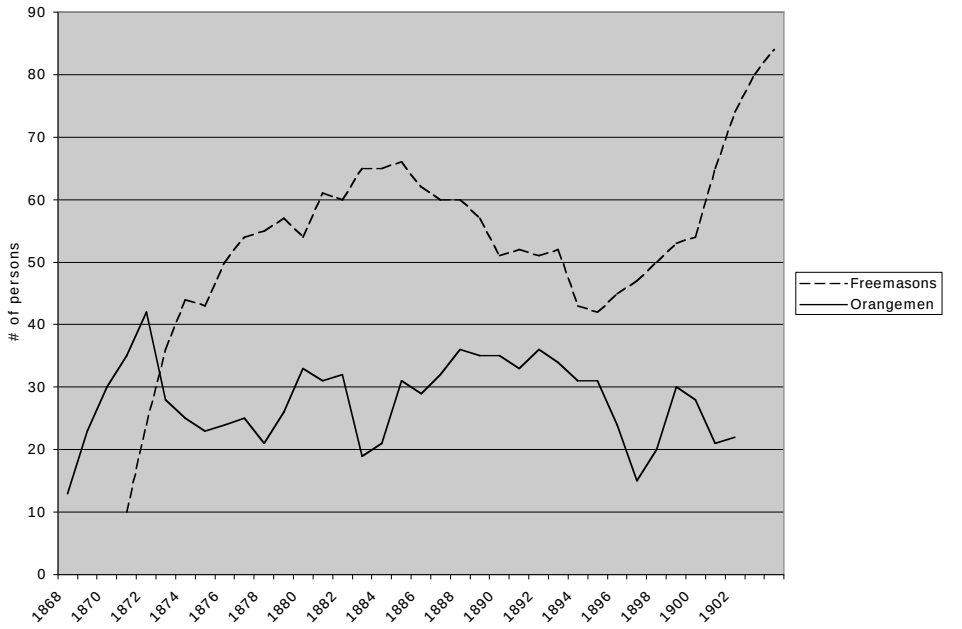
dian Order of Foresters). These records consist primarily of personal data collected about each man when the lodge membership considered their candidacy for admission, as well as minutes of meetings, and some financial records. Information was also drawn from census reports, voters' lists, community tax assessment records, county gazetteers, and business directories. AF&AM Lodge #262 also provided generous access to historical materials.

Harriston's Loyal Orange Lodge received its charter in September 1868.[28] Eleven persons attended its first meeting. Between 1868 and 1902, the active membership averaged 28 persons. During the mid-1880s and late-1890s the number of active members dipped to below 20. The high point before 1903 was reached in 1872 when there were approximately 40 active members (see Chart 2).

The first meeting of Harriston's Masonic Lodge was held in October 1871. With 10 founding members, the lodge membership swelled to between 60 and 70

[28] Houston & Smyth list Minto Township as not having an Orange Lodge until after 1869. "Figure 3: Spread of the Orange Order, Ontario, by township, 1830-1900", 33.

CHART 2: Membership, AF&AM Lodge #262 (1871-1902), and LOI Lodge #1152 **(1868-1903)**



Sources: AF&AM Lodge #262, Membership records; AO, F225, Judy Tuck Fonds, 3-0-2, Loyal Orange Lodge No. 1152, Harriston, Minute book [1868-1902].

during the mid-1880s. A decade later, the membership decreased to approximately 40, but rebounded to 74 by 1902. The membership mean of the lodge between 1868 and 1902 was 52 (see Chart 2).

Between 1871 and 1902, seven persons belonged to both the Orange and Freemasonic lodges in Harriston. One person joined both lodges in the same year, while the majority joined the Orange Lodge first. Three Orangemen did not join the Freemasons until more than five years after joining the Orange Lodge.

Members of the Freemasonic and Orange lodges also belonged to other, similar organizations in the village, including the Canadian Order of Foresters (COF), and the International Order of Oddfellows (IOOF). Membership crossover between the groups suggests a kind of hierarchy among them. A COF membership ledger covering the years 1899-1902 indicates that eight Orangemen and sixteen Freemasons also belonged to the Foresters.[29] While some men who joined the Orange Lodge later applied to join the COF, no

[29] AO, F225, Judy Tuck Fond, 4-0-1, Canadian Order of Foresters, Harriston Court No. 34, Membership Account Ledger, 1895-1902.

man joining the COF would later apply to join the Orange Lodge. Ten men who joined the COF would later apply to join the Freemasons. An 1879 photo of the Harriston IOOF shows 24 Freemasons as members, and 4 Orangemen. Two members of the IOOF belonged to both the Freemasonic and Orange lodges.[30] These indicators suggest the Freemasons offered a stronger attraction for men in the area than other, similar groups.

An aspect of the competition and the hierarchy between fraternal organizations, friendly societies, and social organizations within the community, was the costs associated with membership. The initiation fee for the Harriston Freemasonic lodge was $25, with $3 annual membership dues (which were sometimes decreased for distant members). The amount of dues paid by Orangemen is unclear, but appears to have ranged between $1 and $2 annually. The COF charged $1.15 per month, but this was based on the premise of repayment of accumulated funds upon the member's death.[31] While membership dues for Harriston's Templars are not available, an Independent Order of Templars lodge in a nearby township charged an initiation fee of 75¢ in 1875, and monthly dues of 12.5¢ for men and 5¢ for women.[32] Clearly, membership in the Freemasons involved a significantly higher degree of financial commitment than any similar organizations in the community, suggesting a higher degree of exclusivity.

Considering the costs of membership, what might have compelled Harriston's men to seek membership in a fraternal organization? A number of scholars have suggested that in the Victorian era, fraternal orders supplied a more respectable place of convivial, all-male, leisure-time sociability than taverns, blacksmith shops, or similar locales that female society often associated with sloth, vice, and moral turpitude.[33] The presence in the community of at least two organizations that organized local social and educational activities in support of temperance, and supported the adoption of stricter provincial control of alcohol, lends indirect support to such an interpretation.

Analysis of the social context in which the fraternal organizations of Harriston functioned suggests that changes among the regions' population also support the conclusion that "male only" social opportunities would likely have been particularly attractive in this time and place. As shown above, the population of Harriston and Minto Township dropped continuously from the 1870s to the First World War (Chart 1). More men were leaving than women, however, as were a greater proportion of rural than town residents (Chart 3). Between 1881 and 1901, the female population of Harriston increased slightly, while the male population de-

[30] Tuck, 142.

[31] *Ibid.,* 144.

[32] University of Guelph McLaughlin Archives, XR1 MS A 403, International Order of Good Templars, Morning Star Lodge, #27, Ennotville, Ontario, Register, February 1870 - June 1878.

[33] Clawson, 256; Harland-Jacobs, 51-63; Marks, 110.

CHART 3: Population change by gender, Minto township & Harriston, 1871-1901

	1871	1881	% change	1891	% change	1901	% change
Males	2,547	2,343	-8.0	1,888	-19.4	1,666	-11.8
Females	2,314	2,100	-9.2	1,749	-16.7	1,462	-16.4
Males	- *	895	n/a	825	-7.8	751	-9.0
Females	- *	877	n/a	862	-1.7	886	+2.8

* The Canadian census did not distinguish the population of Harriston from Minto until 1881.
Source: Canada census reports.

CHART 4: Birthplace and ethnicity, AF&AM Lodge #262, LOI Lodge 1152, Minto township, and Harriston, 1868-1903

Birthplace

	England	Ireland	Scotland	Ontario	Quebec	Other	Unknown
AF&AM	4	6	13	42	2	2	136
Orange	7	6	2	21	1	n/a	112

Ethnicity (# of members; as percentage of tracked members)

	English	%	Irish	%	Scottish	%	Other	%	Unknown
AF&AM*	15	22.4	19	28.4%	27	40%	6	(8.9%)	136
Orange**	10	27.8	15	41.7%	9	25%	2	(6.6%)	74
Harriston+	538	31.6	580	34.1%	493	29%	91	(5.3%)	
Minto+	1067	24.2	1358	30.8%	1690	38.4%	288	(6.5%)	

* n=67 (33% of membership, 1871-1902)
** n=36 (32.7% of membership, 1868-1903)
+ As reported in 1881 Canadian Census.
Sources: AF&AM Lodge #262, Membership records; AO, F22, Judy Tuck Fonds, 3-0-2, Loyal Orange Lodge No. 1152, Harriston, Minute book [1868-1902]); Canada census reports.

creased by more than fifteen percent. Additionally, over this period, the population of women in the town slowly but steadily moved from minority to majority status, unlike in the surrounding township.

Just as fraternal organizations may have provided a place of temporary 'escape' into a morally acceptable, exclusively male environment free from the eyes of women, the Freemasonic and Orange lodges may have also allowed men with similar experiences or identities to find kinship and to buttress or build personal and local identities within a changing community. Analyzing factors such as the birthplace, ethnicity, religion, and occupation of members indicates some important differences between the Freemasons

and Orange Order, as well as between the organizations and the larger community.

While religious affiliation (other than the Orange prohibition of association with Catholics) does not appear to have been a deciding factor in attracting or holding members, ethnicity did play a role. The Freemasons particularly appealed to members of the Scottish diaspora, while the Orange Order addressed the needs of Irish immigrants and their descendants.

A survey of the birthplace of Harriston's Freemasons and Orangemen (as reported to census-takers) indicates most members were born in Ontario (Chart 4). Records of ethnic heritage indicate significantly different results. Approximately 40 percent of Harriston Orangemen indicated Irish heritage, 28 percent English, and 25 percent Scottish. These figures closely correspond to the ethnic makeup of Harriston, where 34 percent reported Irish heritage, almost 32 percent English, and 29 percent Scottish. Among Freemasons, 40 percent of the membership identified themselves as Scottish, while 28 percent were Irish, and 22 percent English. These proportions more closely mirror those found in Minto township where, in 1881, Scots represented 38 percent of the township's population, while Irish represented 31 percent, and English 24 percent.

Rejections for lodge membership by the Freemasons do not appear to reflect a significant ethnic bias; between 1871 and 1902, applicants from all nationalities represented within the membership were turned down. Of the 30 men refused membership, 25 are traceable; 10 of them were Irish, 7 were English, and 5 Scottish. While refusals appear to be more heavily weighted against Irish applicants, it should be noted that four of the Irish, and almost all of the English and Scottish applicants initially refused would later be admitted as members.

Harriston's Orangemen do not appear to have refused many entrants, although the Orange Order was not as rigourous in their record keeping. What sort of members they sought can be found in the report offered by a committee appointed to assess a potential new candidate in 1881. They noted "that he is a free white person of good moral caritchar [sic]" and deserving of admission into the Order.[34]

A survey of the religious affiliations of Freemasonic lodge members reveals an overwhelming representation of Presbyterians, Methodists, and Church of England. Of the 77 members (out of more than 200) whose religious affiliations could be traced, 42 were listed as Presbyterian, 16 as Methodist, and 15 Church of England. The proportions within this distribution are very similar to those found within the general populations of Harriston and Minto Township as reported in census data.

The religious affiliations of those denied admission to the Freemasonic lodge between 1871 and 1902 were proportionally the same as the lodge's member-

[34] AO, F225, Judy Tuck Fonds, Loyal Orange Lodge No. 1152, Harriston, Minute book [1868-1902], 12 Jul. 1881.

ship. Of 25 applicants refused (out of a total of 30), 13 were Presbyterians, 8 were Methodists, 4 were Church of England. Four of the Presbyterians and three of the Methodists refused entry on their initial attempts were later admitted to the Lodge.

Religious discrimination within the Orange Lodge was fundamentally different than among the Freemasons. The terms of the initiation oath that forbade members from associating with Roman Catholics appears to have been taken seriously, even though Catholics made up less than one percent of Harriston's population and approximately five percent of the population of the township. One man was expelled from the Lodge in the fall of 1875 "for marrying a Roman Catholic."[35] On the other hand, Orange Lodge records do not include any other references to anti-Catholic sentiment, whether in regard to community, national, or international persons or events. This is particularly noteworthy given the strong feelings events such as the Northwest Rebellion generated in some urban Orange lodges.

An analysis of the occupations of Harriston's Orangemen and Freemasons offers interesting insights into whether Canada's fraternal organizations supplied a ground for the development of either working class or middle class sensibilities. (Chart 5). The 1881 census of Canada identified five employment categories: agricultural labour (farmers, dairymen, etc.), commercial labour (agents, clerks, railway employees, etc.), industrial labour (blacksmiths, carpenters, tailors, potters, etc.), professional labour (clergymen, doctors, teachers, etc.), and unclassed labour (contractors, retired persons, messengers, etc.).[36] Working from these categories, the following observations can be made about the Freemasonic and Orange membership in Harriston. About one-third of the 200 men who joined the Harriston Freemasonic lodge between 1871 and 1902 held commercial employment. Approximately one-quarter of the men were employed in the industrial category, and slightly less were professionals. Just over ten percent were employed in agriculture. Of the 112 men who joined the Orange Lodge in Harriston between 1868 and 1903, occupation type could be identified for 53 (47 percent). Of these, almost half were employed in industrial labour, and over one-fifth were employed in commercial labour. The remaining men whose occupation could be traced were split between unclassed, commercial, and agricultural labour.

Clearly, there were significant differences between the two Harriston lodges. The majority of Orange Lodge members were industrial workers, with very low representation of agricultural and professional workers, and less than one-quarter from the commercial sector. This differs in some key ways from the Freemasonic membership. Both Freemasons and the Orange Lodge had few agricultural

[35] *Ibid.,* 18 Sep. 1879.

[36] Census of Canada 1881, "Table XIV: Statement of the Component parts of the Several Classes of Occupation", vol. 2 (Ottawa, ON: Maclean, Roger and Co., 1884), 440-441.

CHART 5: Occupations of members, AF&AM Lodge #262 and LOI Lodge 1152 (1868-1903), Harriston and Minto (1881)

	Agricultural	Commercial	Professional	Industrial	Unclassed
Freemasons	26 (12.8%)	73 (36%)	45 (22.2%)	53 (26.1%)	6 (3%)
Orange	2 (4.3%)	10 (21.7%)	4 (8.7%)	24 (52.2%)	6 (13%)
Wellington North	4968 (63.3%)	416 (5.2%)	248 (3.1%)	1369 (17.2%)	976 (12.2%)

NOTES:

a) Occupation categories adapted from 1881 Canadian census.
b) Percentages expressed as portion of members whose occupation could be identified.

Sources: AF&AM Lodge #262, Membership records; AO, F225, Judy Tuck Fonds, 3-0-2, Loyal Orange Lodge No. 1152, Harriston, Minute book [1868-1902]; Canada census report 1881; Harriston Tax Assessments (AO, F1698, Town of Harriston Fonds, MS904 reel 1).

workers, but commercial sector workers constituted the largest component of the Freemasonic Lodge, while professionals and industrial workers each made up approximately one-quarter of the Lodge's members. Clearly, Freemasonry offered benefits that spoke across employment categories, but appealed significantly to workers in the commercial sector, while the Orange Order appealed primarily to those in the industrial sector.

The occupational characteristics of the memberships of both lodges differed markedly from the regional population. In 1881, a strong majority of those living in the northern townships and settlements of Wellington County were employed in the agricultural sector, with less than twenty percent employed in industry, and less than five percent in the commercial or professional sectors. This differs substantially from Houston and Smyth's observations on the 1875 membership of the Orange lodge of Kinlough, where twelve of thirteen members whose occupation was traced were employed as farmers.[37] With their predominance of professional, commercial, and industrial workers, the composition of Harriston's Freemasons and Orangemen is much closer to the Orange membership of Toronto in 1894 (as studied by Houston and Smyth), two Masonic lodges in Ingersoll (a community of over 4,000) during the second half of the nineteenth-century, and the officers of Orange and Freemasonic lodges in Thorold and Campbellford in the 1890s (communities with approximately 2,500 persons).[38]

Consideration of factors associated

[37] Houston and Smyth, *The Sash*, "Table 6: Occupational characteristics of Orangemen in rural and small town Ontario, 1850-1913", 98.

[38] *Ibid*., "Table 10: Occupational structure of Toronto Orangemen, 1894," 105. Anstead, "Table 5.1: Occupational Composition of Ingersoll Lodge Memberships, 1856-1895," 184. Marks, "Table 23: Officers of fraternal orders by occupational group, Thorold,1888-1894" and "Table 24: Officers of fraternal orders by occupational group,Campbellford,1888-1894", unp.

with the members' sense of identity do not seem to provide any conclusive indicators as to what might have motivated members of the Harriston Masons or Orange Order to join these organizations, other, perhaps, than Orangemen being unified by religious identity, and perhaps being more likely to be involved in an industrial occupation. Unlike the expectation of correlation between the agricultural employment of rural and 'small town' lodges created by Houston and Smyth's study, the correlation between employment type and lodge membership suggests a social divide between the inhabitants of this small community and those within its surrounding, rural hinterland. In this respect, the membership of the fraternal organizations bears a striking resemblance to that found within larger centres, raising questions about how the members perceived their community. Additionally, this difference also suggests that, aside from 'secrecy', the notion of exclusivity may have extended into a sense of preserving social distinction or privilege. Both lodges attempted to protect the perceived privileges associated with membership, and to represent themselves publicly as community leaders. One Harriston lodge was far more attentive to these concerns than the other, however.

Both the Freemasons and Orange Order regularly engaged in large public events. Each group organized or significantly contributed to a number of annual community celebrations such as parades, picnics, and concerts, and organized highly visible rituals associated with deaths of members. They were also active in visiting other fellow lodges in neighbouring communities, as well as inviting members of these lodges and their families to organizational celebrations in Harriston.

The activities of the Freemasons indicate that the lodge took seriously its claim to be a mechanism for positive change among its members. Their minutes show that members were regularly given clear directions for decorum both inside and outside the lodge. Orange Order meeting minutes, on the other hand, deal almost solely with internal business, such as completion of ritual procedures and organizational duties ranging from collection of dues to election processes for officers.

The Freemasonic lodge valued its perception as a place of instruction and, starting in the mid-1880s, held regular meetings during the winter months to tutor members on the proper practice of Freemasonic ritual. These rituals clearly were important, particularly for the administration of justice among the membership. The lodge minutes contain a number of accusations of conspiracy, defamation of character, intimidation, and improper representation on the part of various members. Each complaint was handled in a parliamentary fashion, being presented as motions, receiving amendments, and then being taken to a vote to be carried or defeated. Successful complaints were sent to committees that returned with motions based on their findings.

Generally, the force of lodge-administered justice and the sense of honour stemming from Freemasonic commitment were powerful. On one occasion the members formally reprimanded a

member for writing two letters that were considered 'very indiscreet.'[39] He was compelled by their admonition to offer an apology. During more than one meeting a member formally withdrew an 'offensive word' he had called another member outside the meeting hall. At a unique meeting in December 1885, four Freemasons formally apologized for committing separate offensive acts or using offensive language towards each other.[40] The prevailing notions of propriety within the lodge, while challenged by occasional outbursts, facilitated the resolution of conflict among lodge members, and reinforced notions of restraint, reason, and order among the men.

The formality of lodge proceedings may have helped to direct dissent along constructive paths, but sometimes it caused unrest. In December 1876, a past leader of the lodge charged four other members

> with gross unmasonic conduct, said unmasonic conduct commencing several months ago and continued to the present time in connection with a charge made against me by one [member] and said conspiracy having for its object in fury and annoyance to me and being calculated and intended to bring me into disrepute among my Brethrens [*sic*] and said charge being left uninvestigated so as to be used for the purpose of intimidation and in fact has been so used on at least two occasions by [another member]. I therefore ask that this charge against the said Brethren be duly investigated and that I be protected from said conspiracy and Justice be done in the premises.[41]

Despite strongly worded accusations such as these, violence is never mentioned in meeting minutes.

Along with encouraging 'good' behaviour among their members by providing models for constructive disagreement both the Freemasonic and Orange lodges in Harriston occasionally felt it necessary to punish members for unacceptable behaviour outside lodge activities. Both suspended members charged with crimes such as theft. Other cases presented more complicated challenges to the administration of lodge justice. In the fall of 1880, the members of the Orange lodge considered an exceptional case of misbehaviour. One of their members charged the Worshipful Master (the highest elected position within the lodge) of violating the constitution and laws of the Orange Institution, in "that he did willifully [sic] seduce my Daughter" and "he promised to marry her but has left for parts unknown."[42] The regional head of the Orange Order was asked to investigate, and several months later, the regional officers decided to expel the Worshipful Master.

Similar discussions within the Orange lodge concerned the need for local members to abide by socially acceptable standards of behaviour with regards to consumption of alcohol at annual 12 July celebrations. These concerns led the Lodge to proclaim in July 1872, "that any member of No. 1152 drunk or disorderly

[39] *Ibid.,* 18 March 1878.
[40] AF&AM Lodge #262, Minute Book, Jan. 1885 -Dec. 1898, 7 Dec. 1885.
[41] AF&AM Lodge #262, Minute book, Jun. 1871 - Dec. 1884, 27 Dec. 1876.
[42] *Ibid.*, 7 Oct. 1880.

Members of AF&AM Lodge #262 photographed by Andrew Jaunzemis in 1902. Courtesy of AF&AM Lodge #262.

be fined one dollar or any member of No. 1152 disobeying the committee on the 12th of July be fined one dollar."[43] Three years later, this fine was quintupled.[44]

The Freemasons also acted to protect and enforce standards of proper behaviour among their members outside lodge activities. On four occasions between 1871 and 1903 the Freemasonic lodge adopted resolutions calling for the observation of periods of mourning and delimiting the terms of observation. In 1879, the lodge adopted rules prohibiting the use of tobacco on the premises.[45]

In another exceptional case, the Harriston Freemasonic lodge went so far as to enlist the assistance of non-Freemasonic parties in addressing a member's unacceptable behaviour. In July 1894, the lodge resolved to inform two members who were hotelkeepers in the settlement "that if they are found harbouring or supplying liquor to [the offending member] in the future, a charge would be preferred

[43] AO, F225, Judy Tuck Fonds, Loyal Orange Lodge No. 1152, Harriston, Minute book [1868-1902], 1 Jul. 1872.

[44] *Ibid.,* 30 Jun. 1875.

[45] AF&AM Lodge #262, Minute book, June 1871 - Dec. 1884, 21 Apr. 1879.

against them for unmasonic conduct."[46] A committee was also struck "to try and induce [this member] to abstain from drink and act as becoming a mason [*sic*] in the future." Only three months later, the lodge resolved to "notify all the hotelkeepers not notified already" that they too were not to serve or sell the member any liquor. If the hotelkeepers in the community ignored this Masonic injunction, "the Lodge intend[ed] to take the proper steps to compel them to refrain from so doing."[47] In December 1894 and January 1895, accusations against the offending member were formalized as charges of the unmasonic offences of "1st) Drunkenness, 2nd) Fighting, 3rd) Cruelty to his Wife and Children." A resolution on the charges was carried, and a committee was struck to speak with the member. In May 1895, the committee reported, recommending the suspension of the member from the lodge. They reported that he had ignored two registered letters calling him to a meeting with them, and that he had pleaded guilty to the three charges placed against him. The motion to suspend him from the lodge was defeated, though, and referred back to the committee "to report in proper shape at next meeting."[48] Before the committee was called to report at the next meeting, the offending member applied to leave the lodge in good standing. His application was accepted and the committee was disbanded, without ever having its report accepted.[49]

What becomes clear is that the both the Orange and Freemasonic lodges struggled to create and apply a system of morality and ethics for their members, and intended for these standards to be adhered to within as well as outside the lodge. It is obvious, however, that administration of these standards was pursued with more tenacity within the Freemasonic lodge during these years.

Adherence to the behavioural standards of the fraternal organizations not only guaranteed a member's continued inclusion within a close society of local men, but also came with other potential perks, such as explicit or implicit promises of support in times of need.

While members of Harriston's Orange lodge rarely concerned themselves with enforcing standards of polite disagreement and dispute resolution between members, they did occasionally seek to protect the interests of Orangemen in distress. In October 1878, in response to a request from the Grand Lodge, members were each charged 25 cents to help Montreal Orangemen cover legal fees related to events stemming from 12 July celebrations.[50] (A Montreal Orangeman had been murdered during celebrations in the city in 1877.[51]) Several times, the Harriston lodge granted funds to Or-

[46] *Ibid*., 9 July 1894.
[47] *Ibid.,* 8 Oct. 1894.
[48] *Ibid*., 8 May 1895.
[49] *Ibid*., 10 Jun. 1895.
[50] AO, F225, Judy Tuck Fonds, Loyal Orange Lodge No. 1152, Harriston, Minute book [1868-1902], 2 Oct. 1878.
[51] Houston & Smyth, 29.

angemen of other lodges who found themselves in need for reasons including blindness or other forms of disability, or to cover funeral expenses.

Harriston Freemasons less frequently initiated help for members, although frequent references appear within the minutes to inquiries after the well-being of Freemasons' families, and collections were made for the families of deceased members, even long after the members' deaths. In the most charitable case, the widow of a lodge member who died in 1873 was still receiving aid almost fifty years later. Funds for these purposes were raised through subscriptions of lodge members, donations at Freemasonic church services, as well as through appeals to the provincial Grand Lodge. The local lodge provided cash donations, assisted with legal and medical help, and acted in caretaking functions such as purchasing a cow for the aforementioned widow.

Just as fraternal organizations provided a unified social system for members and attempted to enforce particular conceptions of propriety, they also ostracized pretenders and interlopers, greeting the unfamiliar but only accepting those who held proper credentials and familiarity with their organization's practices.

For instance, in 1880, a Harriston Orangeman was sent to a neighbouring lodge to lay a charge against one of their members who appeared to have lent his Orange sash to someone who did not belong to the institution.

Concerns regarding imposters appear to have been far more important for the Harriston Freemasons than their Orange brethren. In the first twelve years of the Harriston lodge, warnings were often received from other lodges across southwestern Ontario naming citizens illegitimately claiming Freemasonic membership, in addition to members suspended for unmasonic conduct or non-payment of dues. The Harriston lodge provided similar warnings to neighbouring lodges. It was not unusual for the lodge to query distant lodges and to receive queries regarding the truthfulness of particular claims to Freemasonic membership. With the receipt of each notice, the members were reminded to be vigilant against imposters. Ever sensitive to the privacy of their activities, Freemasonic practice dictated that any visitors or applicants to the lodge be tested by committee before they could gain entry. This vigilance was well-maintained by the Harriston lodge. In May 1899, during his annual visit, the District Deputy Grand Master (a regional representative of the Freemasonic bureaucratic hierarchy) complimented the Harriston brethren "on the strictness with which they guarded their portals against strangers."[52] The Harriston Freemasons continued to pursue a strong interest in their exclusivity right into the new century. In August 1903, the Harriston lodge purchased circulars from the Masonic Relief Association showing photographic images of masonic imposters.[53] The lodge Secretary was instructed to display the circulars prominently.

[52] AF&AM Lodge #262, Minute Book: Dec. 1898 – Jan. 1907, 22 May 1899.

The threat posed by imposters could be perceived as substantial, especially if their behaviour conflicted with the standards the Freemasons and Orangemen attempted to encourage among their members, and if that impression might damage the standing of the organization among members of the wider, non-fraternal community.

Membership in the Masonic lodge may have enhanced respectability within the larger community, or experience with formal systems of rule and regulation and the instruction received during Freemasonic activities may have prepared members to use similar skills beyond the lodge, in areas such as municipal politics. It does not appear the same was true of the Orange experience in Harriston. Almost half the first town council (elected in 1879) were Freemasons (six of fourteen officers), as were four out of seven of that year's other civic officers (such as the market clerk and auditors). On average, these men had been Freemasons for three years. One member of the council had been an Orangeman for almost a decade. Before the year was over, however, he was expelled from the lodge for dishonourable conduct. Of fourteen Harriston mayors elected between 1878 and 1906, six were Freemasons of long-standing (at least a decade). None were Orangemen. Between 1873 and 1884, three of seven Harriston reeves were Freemasons of at least five years standing, while none were Orangemen.

As both the Orange and Freemasonic organizations provided an internationally-transferable system of identification, and promised significant benefits to members, the potential for encountering imposters seeking admission to either lodge was high. The Orange Order minutes very rarely indicate outside visitors in attendance, however, while the local Freemasonic lodge clearly provided an important way for a member to stay linked with a 'home' community or to transition into a new region. For instance, the feelings of a member arriving in Harriston from England were described as, "in meeting with Masonic Brethern [*sic*] in Canada he felt as if he was not as far away from England."[54]

The ongoing attraction of the Harriston lodge can be evidenced by the number of members who left the settlement, and yet who occasionally reappeared at meetings. Returning members came from Ontario locations such as Niagara and from points as distant as North Dakota and Arizona. Freemasons from communities in Quebec and Prince Edward Island attended meetings in Harriston, with surprisingly frequent visitors coming from lodges as far away as the midwestern American territories and eastern states, as well as England. A sense of community awareness meshed with financial benefit in the management of departing members. Dues for members departing the immediate geographic region were often reduced, inducing them to remain paying members of the Harriston lodge wherever they might move.

[53] *Ibid.,* 10 Aug. 1903.

[54] AF&AM Lodge #262, Minute Book, Jan. 1885 -Dec. 1898, 11 May 1896.

The Harriston Freemasonic lodge also attempted to buttress a sense of geographic community through competition with neighbouring Freemasonic lodges. A pronounced conflict with local settlements over the rights to form lodges and claim members played out during the 1870s, and occasionally reappeared as an issue of contention well into the 1890s. In 1873, applications to form lodges from two neighbouring communities, Clifford and Palmerston, were denied. These petitions were passed in 1874 on the condition that before the affected members left the Harriston lodge they would pay a levy to cover lodge debts.[55] During 1877 and 1878, the Harriston Freemasons engaged in a heated and ongoing dispute with the Palmerston lodge involving who had the right to claim a member living equidistant between the two communities. As late as 1898, the provincial Grand Lodge was forwarding complaints from the Palmerston lodge to Harriston, complaining of their disregard for jurisdiction in claiming members.

Geographic identity was also occasionally played out in the distribution of charity from the Harriston lodge. In December 1897, the Freemasons voted against sending a donation in response to a request from the Sick Children's Hospital in Toronto, moving instead "that the Worshipful Master appoint a committee of Benevolence whose duty it shall be to raise a fund which they shall distribute in charity to be applied in the neighbourhood irrespective of whether the needy are connected with the craft or not."[56] Two months later, the lodge voted in favour of sending money to assist a needy Freemason in a neighbouring community, as well as approving funds for the Hospital.[57] Torn between community spirit and Masonic moral expectations, lodge members gave precedence to their local concerns while attempting to follow the spirit of the Freemasonic code.

Analysis of the membership and operational dynamics of two fraternal lodges in Harriston during the late nineteenth-century suggests significant aspects of Ontario's rural fraternal experience may have been overlooked. Much of the study of fraternal organizations in Ontario has focused on mid-size communities of between 2,000 and 5,000 people. Evidence from this micro-study suggests that the rural fraternal lodge experience offers some novel and unexpected insights.

This study found that several attributes of lodge membership in Harriston showed unique qualities. Firstly, ethnic identities among Orangemen and Freemasons corresponded to those found within the local population. Ethnic representation among Orangemen more closely matched the town's population, while ethnic representation among Freemasons more closely corresponded to that found within the rural township surrounding Harriston. As well, Freema-

[55] AF&AM Lodge #262, Minute book, June 1871 - Dec. 1884, 5 Jan. 1874.

[56] AF&AM Lodge #262, Minute Book, Jan. 1885 -Dec. 1898, 27 Dec. 1897.

[57] *Ibid.,* 14 Feb. 1898.

sonic territoriality with regards to claiming members and allowing creation of competing lodges within the region suggests a certain convergence between local and fraternal identity that has not received attention in previous studies. That lodge membership might have related in some respect to a distinction between rural or settlement identities, as well intercommunity competition, merits further research.

Another intriguing finding of this study is that occupational characteristics within the membership of both lodges more closely resembled those found in much larger communities rather than those identified in smaller southwestern Ontario settlements. The membership of both lodges was drawn predominantly from the commercial and industrial sectors, showing a marked difference from the occupational characteristics of the regional population. The economic significance of membership in a fraternal organization and the relationship of this membership to emerging class sensibilities, particularly in a community with small commercial, industrial, and professional sectors is intriguing, and merits further research among similarly-sized Ontario communities to test whether such findings are exceptional.

A better understanding of the occupational characteristics of lodge members might help clarify issues of how fraternal organizations contributed to understandings of class in rural and semi-rural communities. As discussed above, Palmer has suggested that fraternal organizations in Canada during the late nineteenth-century were a complex ground where competing senses of class identity played themselves out. Holman's study of two mid-size Ontario communities suggests, on the other hand, that these organizations clearly show the dynamics of a nascent middle-class sensibility.

Class identity among the membership of the two Harriston lodges appears to have been somewhat different. Comparison of dues indicates that membership in the Freemasonic lodge required a higher disposable income, which perhaps explains their higher percentage of members involved in professional occupations. It is also apparent that Freemasons were disproportionately represented in municipal government in Harriston, a significant departure from Orange involvement in provincial politics identified in other studies.[58] Additionally, the Harriston Freemasons seemed far more concerned with establishing and defending boundaries for community membership, whether in terms of belonging to their lodge, or associating a person with 'their' town. Orange lodge members, on the other hand, more frequently had to punish their members for unwillingness or inability to pay dues and misbehaviour ranging from non-attendance at meetings to breaking their oath to the institution. A higher proportion of Orangemen were involved in trades and manufacturing than were Freemasons. These factors would seem to suggest that even within a

[58] See, for instance, Cadigan, "Paternalism and Politics..."; Wilson, *Thomas D'Arcy McGee*; *The Orange Order In Canada*.

small community there was an emerging sense of class identity related to membership within a fraternal organization, and that how this sense of identity played itself out may have been related to the lodge a man belonged to. The results of this study suggest that there is a middle ground between Palmer's and Holman's analyses. In order to understand the emerging class sensibilities within fraternal organizations, it might be necessary to distinguish between the membership, ideology, and activities of particular fraternal organizations, and perhaps even between particular lodges.

An aspect of fraternal membership that few scholars have addressed on the micro-level is the effect of population mobility. A number of scholars have suggested that fraternal organizations became popular in part because of the need for men to identify spaces of socially acceptable, exclusively male activity. In Harriston, these two concerns appear to be related, and to be connected to issues of geographic, socio-political identity as well. During the 1880s and 1890s, as the population of men in the town and township decreased, and as women came to outnumber men in the town, the fraternal lodges may have presented attractive pursuits for a significant cadre of men. Additionally, as a large portion of the male population moved away, the lodges appear to have presented a realm where new community members could be familiarized with the spoken or unspoken expectations of an organized group within the settlement. As population decrease was widespread across much of rural southwestern Ontario during the 1880s, the findings of this study suggest a unique and regionally specific factor that may have contributed to the popularity of fraternal organizations during this period.

This micro-study suggests that in the face of significant economic, political, demographic, and social change, the fraternal lodge may have served multiple purposes. It offered a set of rituals, rules and expectations about how a man should behave, and allowed a group of men to identify and pursue particular goals for their community beyond the lodge they belonged to. Men identified, either consciously or subconsciously, particular values and interests with particular fraternal organizations, and chose a group or groups they wanted to affiliate with. These findings indicate that the level of complexity within the fraternal social network in a small community was on par with that found in larger communities, and suggests that emerging class sensibilities may have been merging with ethnic sensibilities to provide a new logic for social distinction that has heretofore received little attention.