

Voluntary Associations in British Columbia's Frontier Communities:  
The Case of Freemasonry in Kelowna, 1905-1914

by

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Honours Program in History

University of British Columbia, Okanagan

2012

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### **Abstract**

Addressing a gap in British Columbia's provincial, and Kelowna's local, historiography, this thesis examines the role of Freemasonry in the growth of British Columbia and its early frontier communities. Arriving in Victoria prior to British Columbia joining Confederation in 1871, Freemasonry demonstrated itself to be a uniquely British form of social capital, the fraternity's role in early Victoria foreshadowing the organization's influence throughout the interior of the province. As seen through a microstudy of the frontier community of Kelowna in 1905, Freemasonry in British Columbia acted as an early social network regionally and locally, providing a province-wide system of connections while promoting similarly strong ties between individuals within the emerging communities themselves. A force for social organization, Masonic Lodges countered social disorder within British Columbia's frontier communities and eased movement between them while influencing notions of respectability, masculinity, and civic responsibility.

### **Acknowledgements**

I am indebted to many people in the fulfillment of my Honours degree. In particular I would like to thank Dr. Vernet for his positive and reliable support during the writing of this thesis. His insight and knowledge were fundamental to the completion of this project. I would also like to express my appreciation for the assistance I received from the Freemasons of St. George's Lodge No. 41, particularly Darren Botham, as well as the staff of the Kelowna Public Library and Kelowna Public Archives. The comments and suggestions provided by Dr. Hull and Dr. Frost were also of great value to me and for that I thank them. Finally, would like to express my gratitude to my family and friends for their support and patience during this year-long process, with special thanks to my grandma Eileen Stephenson for her continued assistance in editing and improving my writing abilities.

## Table of Contents

List of Tables .....	vi
List of Illustrations.....	vii
Preface: Theory, Method, and Freemasonry.....	1
Chapter 1: Freemasonry in Early British Columbia .....	11
Chapter 2: Kelowna and the Masonic Network.....	20
Chapter 3: Edwardian Kelowna, Victorian Respectability, and the Choice of Freemasonry.....	26
Chapter 4: Social Order and Masonic Exclusion.....	34
Chapter 5: Kelowna and Freemasonry: World War I and a Continuing Legacy.....	44
Bibliography .....	52
Appendix .....	59

**List of Tables**

Table 1: Ethnicity – Kelowna (1911) .....	27
Table 2: Religious Denomination – Kelowna (1911).....	27

**List of Illustrations**

Figure 1: St. George's Lodge No. 41 – Freemasons (2011/2012).....	51
Figure 2: Masonic Lodges in British Columbia's Twenty-One Incorporated Municipalities (1914).....	59

## Preface: Theory, Method, and Freemasonry

For centuries, the mysticism and interpretative complexity which surrounds the fraternal order of Freemasonry has dissuaded many historians from approaching the brotherhood in an academic fashion. Masonic history has been left to antiquarians who have concentrated almost exclusively upon the development and evolution of the Craft itself, thereby isolating the fraternity in history and limiting its examination within a broader scope.<sup>1</sup> Twentieth-century historians Douglas Knoop and G. P. Jones challenged this isolation however and promoted scholarly inquiry into the fraternity, stating that Masonic history should be thought of “as a branch of social history, as the study of a particular social institution and of the ideas underlying that institution, to be investigated and written in exactly the same way as the history of other social institutions.”<sup>2</sup> Concentrating upon the influence of Freemasonry in the frontier communities of early twentieth-century British Columbia, with particular emphasis upon the small town of Kelowna, this thesis applies the principles of social theory to Freemasonry in an attempt to address gaps in the historiography of the province. Freemasonry in British Columbia acted as an early social network regionally and locally, providing a province-wide system of connections between communities while promoting similarly strong ties between individuals. Acting as force for social order, Masonic Lodges countered disorganization within the province’s emerging communities, reinforcing the particularly “British” nature of British Columbia while influencing notions of respectability, masculinity, and civic responsibility.

Freemasons have played an undeniable role in the development of British Columbia. Of the province’s thirty-five Premiers, thirteen have been Masons. In fact, over British Columbia’s

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<sup>1</sup> Steven C. Bullock, “Remapping *Masonry*: A Comment,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33 (2000): 275-279. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org](http://www.jstor.org).

<sup>2</sup> Douglas Knoop and G. P. Jones, *The Scope and Method of Masonic History* (Oldham: Manchester Association for Masonic Research, 1944), 9.



141 year history as a province of Canada, Freemasons have held the office of Premier for fifty-six years. This means that for forty percent of its history as a province, British Columbia has been led by a Freemason. Clearly, the influence of this fraternal organization has been significant, and yet, Freemasonry is a subject which has received only superficial attention from provincial historians. Awareness of the fraternity is certainly there, with David J. Mitchell, in his work *W.A.C. Bennett and the Rise of British Columbia*, noting that, “socially and politically, Freemasons have played an important part in the development of British Columbia.”<sup>3</sup> Mitchell, however, does not expand upon this statement. Freemasonry’s presence is acknowledged, and its existence within the lives of key historical figures is recognized, and yet, this is where the conversation generally stops. The impact of Freemasonry within British Columbia’s early history, within its developing communities and within the lives of its inhabitants, has yet to be investigated in any depth. Indeed, within the authoritative and extensively researched provincial histories by Margaret A. Ormsby and by Jean Barman, there is not a single mention made of Freemasonry.<sup>4</sup> Freemasonry represents a prominent gap in the historiography of British Columbia, and in order to begin addressing this gap I will be examining the role of Freemasonry during the early development of the frontier community of Kelowna from 1905-1914.<sup>5</sup>

Through the application of social theory the institution of Freemasonry can be examined as a source of social capital. Social capital is a multifarious concept. Economic sociologist Ronald Burt applied its principles to examine the economic benefits of social networks in job attainment and business connections, while sociologist of friendship Claude S. Fischer was able

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<sup>3</sup> David J. Mitchell, *W.A.C. Bennett and the Rise of British Columbia* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1983), 44.

<sup>4</sup> Margaret A. Ormsby, *British Columbia: A History* (Vancouver: The MacMillan Company of Canada Limited, 1958) and Jean Barman, *The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991).

<sup>5</sup> Note: The “frontier community/society” concept will be addressed according to the theory of J.M.S. Careless, a theory which defines the frontier as an area of newly exploited resource development. For a more detailed explanation, see page 5.

to demonstrate how social networks positively impact our social, occupational, and emotional lives.<sup>6</sup> Social capital theory as a general concept emphasizes social connections, support, and the bonding and bridging effects of extra-familial networks, while recent writings extend the application of social capital as an individual asset to be a feature of communities and even nations.<sup>7</sup> Sociologist Alejandro Portes warns against applying social capital theory beyond the individual however, citing the tendency of the “sociological bias to see good things emerging out of sociability,” a tendency which results in sources of social capital being seen as a universal good rather than the reality of such sources being beneficial only to certain groups.<sup>8</sup> Awareness of who actually benefits from a particular source of social capital must be maintained. Furthermore, not limited strictly to individuals directly invested into social networks, the idea of social capital includes “externalities”, essentially the positive spill-over effects of social capital which affect the wider community.<sup>9</sup> Social capital influences norms of generalized reciprocity and trustworthiness and acts as a solidifier and lubricator within a community, promoting social connections and frequent interactions, facilitating action for mutual benefit, building trust and cooperation, and reducing incentives for opportunism amongst invested members.<sup>10</sup>

There are many dimensions which distinguish between various types of social capital. It can be organized formally or informally. Examples of the informal type can range from episodic pick-up soccer games to weekly drinks with co-workers, while the formal organization of social

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<sup>6</sup> Robert D Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 2000), 19. Note: Regarding economic benefits, Ronald Burt's *Freemasonry and business networking during the Victorian period* offers insight into possible business implications of Freemasonry through the case study of a British mining community.

<sup>7</sup> Alejandro Portes, “Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (1998): 1-24. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org](http://www.jstor.org).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>9</sup> Putnam, 20.

<sup>10</sup> Putnam, 21. Note: Since the advantages of social capital are the result of a combination of factors, while identifying Freemasonry as a unique source of this resource is legitimate, any attempts to declare the fraternity to be the “prime determinant” of an outcome are untenable. Cause and effect cannot be determined between Freemasonry and a Freemason.

capital often includes incorporation papers, regular meetings, a written constitution, and connection to a national federation, criteria which are met by voluntary associations such as the Freemasons.<sup>11</sup> Social capital can also be a source of “bridging” and/or “bonding”. In a simplified yet clever manner, political scientist Robert D. Putnam describes bridging as “sociological WD-40” while bonding is seen to act as “sociological superglue.”<sup>12</sup> Bridging networks, such as the civil rights movement, create broader identities and a more generalized trust, and are better for creating wider links and diffusing information. Bonding networks, such as an exclusive country club, conversely reinforce a narrower sense of solidarity and a more specific and more powerful sense of reciprocity.<sup>13</sup> Putnam admits that groups can simultaneously bond along some social dimensions and bridge across others, and I argue that such was the case with Freemasonry in early twentieth-century British Columbia, bridging along religious, political, generational, geographical, and to a degree, class, lines while bonding according to gender, race, morality, social values and feelings of social responsibility. It must be noted that the bridging and bonding effects of social capital, while generally beneficial for members of the social network, can have negative externalities, as seen through the exploitation of social capital for malevolent ends in organizations such as the Klu Klux Klan, urban gangs, and terrorist groups. In the case of Freemasonry in early British Columbia, bonding ultimately occurred along male, white, generally British, middle class, Protestant lines at the exclusion of women, non-white races, and, largely, the Catholic community. A formal organization of social capital, Freemasonry’s bridging and bonding abilities played an important role in stabilizing, consolidating, and assisting in the development of the province’s frontier communities.

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<sup>11</sup>Putnam, 22.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 23.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

Freemasonry in early twentieth-century Kelowna will be analyzed according to Canadian historian J.M.S. Careless' conception of the frontier, namely that the frontier was "a marginal area extended into natural wilds by a society engaged in acquiring and developing the soils or other resources of this rudimentary hinterland, through which process the margin gains its own newly emergent community."<sup>14</sup> As a new area of agricultural exploitation, frontier communities such as Kelowna developed according to their success in extracting that resource. Careless' theory, along with the writings of sociologist S. D. Clark, highlights the relationship between regional metropolitan centres and frontier communities by recognizing the economic and social links between the dominant urban centres and the developing hinterlands.<sup>15</sup> Despite this connection however, Clark notes a common lack of social organization within the frontier, characterized by degrees of communal disarray, dissociation, and lack of tradition.<sup>16</sup> There existed a vacuum of leadership in terms of social organization within the communities of Canada's hinterland. After 1871, with the incorporation of British Columbia into Canada and the formation of the Masonic Grand Lodge of British Columbia, issues of social instability and disorganization within the province's frontier communities were addressed through the creation of formal sources of social capital in the form of local Masonic Lodges. Appealed to by local middle class leaders in response to the challenges of community-building upon the British Columbian frontier, Freemasonry was a source of social organization, lubrication, and cooperation within emerging communities which lacked well-established structures of order and leadership.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> J.M.S Careless, *Frontier and Metropolis: Regions, Cities, and Identities in Canada before 1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 40.

<sup>15</sup> S. D. Clark, *The Developing Canadian Community* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 3-4.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 44.

<sup>17</sup> Don Harrison Doyle, "Social Theory and New Communities in Nineteenth-Century America," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 8 (1977): 151-165. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org](http://www.jstor.org).

Though commonly associated with great internal secrecy, modern Freemasonry is not an organization determined to remain hidden from society. Expectedly, internal records and member details are considered private information, though Freemasons are open to inquiry where appropriate and provide assistance whenever possible. The unique feature of Masonic study then is the indirect nature through which the organization must be studied. Causation related to social, political, or economic events can never be directly attributed to Freemasonry; therefore, attempting to form conclusions regarding the impact of the fraternity requires an approach based upon relation and association. Through the application of sociological principles and the definition of a frontier community according to economic considerations, primary material in the form of newspapers, biographies, obituaries, and census data were used in an attempt, not simply to tell the story of Freemasonry in Kelowna, but rather to analyze the organization's social utility and impact upon the development of emergent communities in British Columbia.

Primary research was carried out through an extensive examination of local archival material. Particular focus was placed upon developing an understanding of the state of Kelowna and other Okanagan communities during the period as well as learning the personal histories of, and relationships between, Kelowna's early Masons. Cross-referencing local histories, biographies, and obituaries, particularly those published within the annual reports of the Okanagan Historical Society, allowed Kelowna's early newspapers to be searched in a targeted fashion according to a specific year or day when a notable event was known to have taken place. Social connections amongst Masons and their relationship to their communities was a primary focus of this thesis, and therefore references to Masonic involvement in local activities and businesses were specifically noted wherever found. The advancement of the research process

saw a progressive development and realization of the interconnectivity of Kelowna's, and indeed the province's, Freemasons. Developing a framework within which to analyze these connections was then required so that their significance could be determined.

In order to effectively examine the impact of Freemasonry within British Columbia's frontier, an approach adopted by a large portion of this thesis is that of a microstudy. Microstudies are historiographical approaches which focus upon small towns, single individuals, or specific incidents that may seem insignificant in and of themselves.<sup>18</sup> The benefit of such a study is that these relatively specific topics can provide insights into broader social and cultural structures, and deepen the historical understanding of the study's particular focus.<sup>19</sup> The great challenge of micro-historical studies then is to analyze the relation between the specific and the general, between the community and the world beyond it.<sup>20</sup> To this end the thesis presented here, though concentrating largely upon the effects of Freemasonry in Kelowna from 1905-1914, also engages with the arrival of Freemasonry in British Columbia, its role in the creation of the province, and its subsequent expansion into the Okanagan Valley of the Interior. Focusing on the effects of a local Masonic Lodge upon Kelowna's prominent citizens and the community as a whole, this study will examine Freemasonry as a source of social capital, respectability, and social order, as well as assess its ability to connect British Columbia's relatively isolated frontier communities with each other and with Great Britain. In order to properly carry out an investigation of Freemasonry as a social institution however, the history of the fraternity requires consideration.

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<sup>18</sup> Soraya de Chadarevian, "Microstudies versus big picture accounts?," *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science* 40 (2009): 13-19. *Academic Search Complete*, www.EBSCOhost.com.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>20</sup> Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History?* (Cambridge: Polity, 2008), 47.

The eighteenth century saw the commencement of organized Freemasonry as it is understood today. In June 1717, noncraftsmen attached to London's Masonic trade guild severed their connection with the trade and created speculative Freemasonry, a fraternal order which "sought to build moral character rather than buildings."<sup>21</sup> The formal institutionalization of British Freemasonry in 1717 saw the founding of the Grand Lodge of England in London, followed by the Grand Lodge of Ireland in 1725 and the Grand Lodge of Scotland in 1736, marking the beginning of these similar, yet distinct, Masonic orders.<sup>22</sup> Freemasonry was not limited to the British however, and by 1725 Freemasonry in France had been centralized under the Grand Lodge of France, resulting in a distinct Masonic model which would become much more secular and much more politicized than its British counterpart.<sup>23</sup> Ultimately, Freemasonry would be adopted and adapted by various nationalities, even producing Asiatic derivatives in the form of the Chinese Hongmen, or Chee Kung Tong, who would later rename themselves Chinese Freemasons.<sup>24</sup>

Although Freemasonry is an ever-changing and evolving institution, since 1717 the general shape of Freemasonry has remained well-defined worldwide. The teachings of Freemasonry are vast and intricate, something to which men dedicate large portions of their lives in an attempt to gain full comprehension. For our purposes, a basic understanding of what the Craft means for its members will suffice. According to the 1984 leaflet "What is Freemasonry", published by the Masonic Board of General Purposes:

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<sup>21</sup> Steven C. Bullock, "The Revolutionary Transformation of American Freemasonry, 1752-1792," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 47 (1990): 347-369. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org](http://www.jstor.org).

<sup>22</sup> Jessica Harland-Jacobs, "'Hands across the Sea': The Masonic Network, British Imperialism, and the North Atlantic World," *Geographical Review* 89 (1999): 237-253. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org](http://www.jstor.org).

<sup>23</sup> William H. Stemper Jr. and Guy L. Beck, *Freemasons*, in *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., ed. Lindsay Jones (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2005), 3195.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 3196. Also see, "Chinese Freemasons," *Grand Lodge of British Columbia and Yukon*, [http://freemasonry.bcy.ca/history/chinese\\_freemasons/index.html](http://freemasonry.bcy.ca/history/chinese_freemasons/index.html).

Freemasonry is one of the world's oldest secular fraternal societies... a society of men concerned with spiritual values. Its members are taught its precepts by a series of ritual dramas, which follow ancient forms and use stonemason's customs and tools as allegorical guides. The essential qualification for admission and continuing membership is a belief in a Supreme Being. Membership is open to men of any race or religion who can fulfill this essential qualification and are of good repute.<sup>25</sup>

Freemasonry is built upon three main tenets: Brotherly Love, Relief and Truth.<sup>26</sup> Brotherly Love is the placing on another man the highest possible valuation as a friend, encouraging a distinctive fellowship which is not valued for its usefulness but rather for its own sake.<sup>27</sup> Relief is practiced in that Masons care for their own as well as for those who are not Masons, though they are neither a charity nor an insurance organization. Freemasonry is like an extension of the family; it introduces Masons to, at the very least, friendly acquaintances who can lend a hand should circumstances become too difficult to bear alone. Finally, Truth relates to striving for higher moral standards so that a Masonic Brother may positively influence those around him.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, though not a main tenet, Freemasonry practices tolerance towards all religious creeds and is itself firmly rooted in religious belief, making the fraternity an ally to all forms of spirituality.<sup>29</sup>

Not all religions, however, have looked favorably upon Freemasonry. In 1738, Pope Clement XII issued a papal bull citing the great harm caused by the strict and unbreakable vows which obliges "Societies, Companies, Assemblies, Meetings, Congregations or Conventicles called in the popular tongue Liberi Muratori or Francs Massons," to an inviolable silence about

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<sup>25</sup> John Hamill, *The Craft: A History of English Freemasonry* (London: Crucible, 1986), 12.

<sup>26</sup> Albert Pike, *Morals and Dogma of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry* (Richmond: L. H. Jenkins, Inc., 1871), 21.

<sup>27</sup> Carl H. Claudy, "Introduction to Freemasonry: Entered Apprentice," *Grand Lodge of British Columbia and Yukon*, [http://freemasonry.bcy.ca/library/books\\_textfiles/](http://freemasonry.bcy.ca/library/books_textfiles/).

<sup>28</sup> Hamill, 144.

<sup>29</sup> Pike, 6.



all that they do in secret together.<sup>30</sup> The formal secrecy and rituals surrounding Freemasonry thus prompted Pope Clement XII to command Catholics to remain clear of Freemasonry “under pain of excommunication.”<sup>31</sup> According to Canon Law, therefore, membership in Freemasonry was prohibited for Catholics, and remained so until the late twenty-first century.<sup>32</sup> Despite Catholic condemnation, or maybe because of it, Freemasonry flourished within Protestant Britain, and as the British Empire expanded throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Freemasonry followed in its wake.<sup>33</sup> Arriving in Nova Scotia more than a century before the Canadian nation was born, Freemasonry’s advance west can be traced through the history of British North America.<sup>34</sup> Unfortunately, adequate consideration of early Masonic development throughout British North America cannot be provided here. What must be understood is that there was no formal plan, no comprehensive system of Freemasonry which was to be superimposed upon Britain’s developing North American colony. Freemasonry emerged where Freemasonry was desired, and in Canada’s developing provinces and frontier communities following 1867, such desire was plainly evident.<sup>35</sup> While Freemasonry would arrive in Kelowna in 1905, the influence of the fraternity within British Columbia began much earlier, with the fraternity playing a visible role in the development of the colony of Victoria.

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<sup>30</sup> “In Eminent on Freemasonry: Papal Bull of Pope Clement XII, April 28, 1738,” *Papal Encyclicals Online*, <http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Clem12/c12inemengl.htm>.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> “Freemasonry and Rome: Does the Roman Catholic Church allow her members to join Freemasonry?,” *Grand Lodge of British Columbia and Yukon*, <http://freemasonry.bcy.ca/texts/RomanCatholics.html>.

<sup>33</sup> Ronald Hyam, *Britain’s Imperial Century, 1815-1914* (London: The MacMillan Press Ltd, 1993), 300. Note: By 1815, Masonic Lodges had been established in Calcutta (1728), Gibraltar (1729), Boston (1733), West Africa (1735), West Indies (1739), Cape Breton and Louisburg (1746), Nova Scotia (1749), Madras (1752), Quebec (1759), Bombay (1764), Ontario (1792), South Africa (1801), New South Wales (1803), Ceylon (1810) and Malta (1815).

<sup>34</sup> Ross J. Robertson, *The History of Freemasonry in Canada from its Introduction in 1749*. Vol. I. (Toronto: George R. Morang & Company, Limited, 1900), 159. Also see William Douglas, *Freemasonry in Manitoba: 1864-1925* (Winnipeg: Bulman Bros. Limited, 1925) and Walter S. Herrington, *The History of the Grand Lodge of Canada in the Province of Ontario: 1855-1930* (Hamilton: Robert Duncan Company, 1930).

<sup>35</sup> Note: 1866 saw the formation of the Grand Lodge of Nova Scotia, 1867 the Grand Lodge of New Brunswick, 1871 that of British Columbia, and 1875 witnessed the creation of the Grand Lodge of Manitoba and of Prince Edward Island. These Grand Lodges were formed out of a need for a regional Masonic authority to oversee the growth of Freemasonry in their respective provinces. See William Douglas, 123.

## Chapter 1: Freemasonry in Early British Columbia

The earliest record of Freemasonry's presence in what would later become British Columbia can be found in the July 10, 1858 issue of *The Victoria Gazette*, within which American Mason J. J. Southgate and his business partner Thomas Mitchell advertised a meeting place for local Victoria Masons to discuss "matters connected with the permanent interests of the Order in Victoria."<sup>36</sup> The impetus for this summons can be found in the increasing numbers of Masons in the area. British and other international immigrants had been arriving by ship in Victoria since 1844, while during the mid-nineteenth century excitement over gold in the Fraser River saw large numbers of American "gold-seekers" sail northward from California and establish their base camp in Victoria.<sup>37</sup> Between 1850 and 1860 there was over 100,000 Masons in the United States and it is known that there were Freemasons amongst the gold-seekers who, as soon as they settled, "wanted a new Lodge in their new home."<sup>38</sup> These American Masons, including J. J. Southgate, recognized that they were now on British soil and expected that they would have to get a Charter from the United Grand Lodge of England.<sup>39</sup> Since there was urgent need for a Lodge through which to carry out Masonic fraternal and benevolent duties, Victoria's American Masons worked with British Masons to initiate the creation of a Lodge.<sup>40</sup> After several Masonic meetings hosted by Southgate and Mitchell, a petition to the United Grand Lodge of England was drawn up, "praying" for a Charter for a Masonic Lodge in Victoria.<sup>41</sup> In December, 1859, Mason Amor de Cosmos, in his newspaper *The British Colonist*, published a notice stating

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<sup>36</sup> John T. Marshall, *History of the Grand Lodge of British Columbia 1871-1970* (Victoria: The Colonist Printers Limited, 1971), 16-18.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> Bobby J. Demott, *Freemasonry in American Culture and Society* (Boston: University Press of America, 1986), 31. Also see Marshall, 18.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> Marshall, 20.

he was “pleased to learn that the Grand Lodge of F. and A. Masons of England has granted a Charter for a Lodge here, and that it is now on its way, in the hands of a brother, via Cape Horn.”<sup>42</sup> Finally, after a wait of over two years, the Charter for Victoria Lodge No. 1085 was received from England, its arrival publically announced in *The British Colonist* on March 20, 1860.<sup>43</sup> American Masons and their influence had played an important role in the founding of Freemasonry in British Columbia, and it would be an influence which would continue to affect Masonry’s growth in the region.

Events within British Columbia’s Masonic history were reflective of broader issues of imperial connection and colonial loyalty to Britain. In 1858, Victoria was growing at great speed; indeed, an article published in *The British Colonist* entitled “The History of Four Months” cited the impressive pace and scope of Victoria’s development which had occurred in only a few short months.<sup>44</sup> Victoria’s population had become inundated with American Masons who were more accustomed to the ‘American’, or ‘Scottish’, Rite of Freemasonry, and they found the ‘English’ Ritual used in the Victoria Lodge to be quite unusual.<sup>45</sup> As such, in 1861 some American Masons wished to apply to the Grand Lodge of the Washington Territory for a Charter to found an American Lodge in Victoria.<sup>46</sup> The response of the existing Victoria Lodge was immediate, declaring that “as the Colony of Vancouver Island was a British Colony, no other Masonic body except the Grand Lodges of the Mother Country had any right to grant a Warrant for a Masonic Lodge.”<sup>47</sup> British authority was asserted and Victoria’s Masonic community became divided into two nationalistic camps. In an effort to maintain Masonic peace as well as reinforce British

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<sup>42</sup> “Masonic,” *The British Colonist*, December 13, 1859.

<sup>43</sup> Marshall, 21.

<sup>44</sup> Alfred Waddington, “The History of Four Months,” *The British Colonist*, December 11, 1858, <http://www.britishcolonist.ca/display.php?issue=18581211&pages=001,002,004>.

<sup>45</sup> Marshall, 22.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Marshall, 23.

Columbia's Freemasonry as being a derivative of Britain, respected Mason Dr. Israel Wood Powell convinced those desirous of an American Lodge to forgo their petition to the American Grand Lodge of the Washington Territory and instead appeal to the British Grand Lodge of Scotland for their Charter, stating that the Grand Lodge of Scotland had no standard Ritual and would accept the practice of the American Rite so long as it was consistent with the principles of the Craft.<sup>48</sup> Dr. Powell's efforts were successful, and in 1862, Vancouver Lodge No. 421 of the America Rite was warranted by the Grand Lodge of Scotland and formally recognized by Victoria Lodge No. 1085.<sup>49</sup> Though centered upon Masonic matters, the affirmation of British authority was an important moment in defining the distinctly British character of Victoria and the future province.

The development of Freemasonry in Victoria did not occur within a vacuum but rather mirrored wider social and political issues of the times, the debates over British or American Masonic authority in the early 1860s becoming a microcosm for larger provincial political issues of the late 1860s, particularly the issues surrounding the Annexation Petition of 1869.<sup>50</sup> British Columbia's American heritage dated back to the influx of California miners in 1858, but long after the majority of gold-seekers had returned to America a significant portion of the Americans remained and became permanent residents.<sup>51</sup> Geographical isolation hindered augmentation of the British population, and soon the colony developed a population increasingly sympathetic to ideas of American "manifest destiny." Annexationists petitioned American President Ulysses S. Grant to arrange the transfer of the colony to the United States, but Victoria's British advocates

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<sup>48</sup> Marshall, 26.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Edgar McInnis, *Canada: A Political and Social History* (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, Limited, 1969), 369.

<sup>51</sup> Marshall, 68.

of union with Canada launched a vigorous counter-campaign.<sup>52</sup> One of the most active political agitators against annexation was Mason, and future Premier of British Columbia, Amor de Cosmos.<sup>53</sup> Accompanied by influential Mason Dr. Israel Wood Powell, these two Masonic leaders became important promoters for Confederation with the Canadian colonies.<sup>54</sup> Powell's professional status and active participation in community organizations made him an effective advocate for Confederation, while De Cosmos' continuing public service in the Legislative Assembly of Vancouver Island, his influential newspaper *The British Colonist*, and his flamboyant and liberal personality were of such importance to the pro-Confederation cause that he would later earn the title of "Father of British Columbia's entry into confederation."<sup>55</sup> Presumably, both De Cosmos and Powell were able to utilize their Masonic connections in mobilizing support for the ultimately successful bid for Confederation..

A year of great political importance for British Columbia, 1871, was also one of great Masonic importance. In 1871, British Columbia entered Confederation, officially becoming a province of Canada.<sup>56</sup> Furthermore, that same year saw the differences between the two branches of the Masonic Craft in British Columbia smoothed away, and on October 21, 1871 a convention was held in Victoria which resulted in the organization of the Grand Lodge of British Columbia as the supreme Masonic authority of the province.<sup>57</sup> Freemasonry had emerged as a significant institution in the province. Providing a means of networking for newly arrived colonists of British and American heritage, membership within a Lodge had facilitated the creation of local

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<sup>52</sup> McInnis, 370.

<sup>53</sup> George Woodcock, *Amor de Cosmos: Journalist and Reformer* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1975), 135-136.

<sup>54</sup> John Lutz, "Powell, Israel Wood," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online* XIV (2000): 1, [http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id\\_nbr=7654](http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=7654).

<sup>55</sup> Robert A. J. McDonald, and H. Keith Ralston, "De Cosmos, Amor," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online* XII (2000): 1, [http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id\\_nbr=6066](http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=6066).

<sup>56</sup> McInnis, 389.

<sup>57</sup> Marshall, 77.

connections amongst fellow Masons, easing the transition into colonial society.<sup>58</sup> At the very least, being a Mason was a sign of respectability and, perhaps more importantly at the time, acceptability. Ultimately, Freemasonry had served to reify the British identity of Victoria while accommodating its American population. With the construction of many railways, the inauguration of a provincial University, large increases in public works, and the immense wealth generated by British Columbia's natural resources, the province continued to grow and its residents enjoyed a period of prosperity.<sup>59</sup> As historian Robert McDonald states however, British Columbia was "a society in the making rather than a society made."<sup>60</sup> Continuing economic and population expansion contributed to the growth of Freemasonry in the province, and from 1885-1901, twenty-five new Lodges were constituted by the provincial Grand Lodge, twenty of which are still in operation.<sup>61</sup> In the Okanagan region, Lodges were established in Lansdowne, Vernon, and Enderby, playing a visible role in development of these emerging communities. The growth of these communities, however, came at a cost to others.

The Okanagan is the traditional homeland of the Okanagan First Nations.<sup>62</sup> Primarily hunters and gatherers, exposure to European fur traders as early as 1814 had a significant impact upon the lifestyle of the Native peoples of the Okanagan, introducing them to steel traps, firearms, new horticultural techniques, novel consumable goods, and virulent diseases.<sup>63</sup> The Okanagan Indians had an ambivalent relationship with traders and white people in general,

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<sup>58</sup> Note: Chinese secret societies and fraternities styled after Freemasonry had arrived in Victoria with Chinese and American Chinese immigrants in 1858. Early records of any formal organization of such groups are scarce and will not be investigated in this thesis; however, it is important to be aware of these voluntary associations in their ability to mimic the advantages of social capital as presented by Freemasonry. For Chinese, American, and European immigrants, Freemasonry, and other voluntary associations, acted as a source of social capital, providing a means of networking and easing the transition of moving to a foreign land.

<sup>59</sup> Allen Seager, "The Resource Economy, 1871-1921," in *The Pacific Province: A History of British Columbia*, ed. Hugh J. M. Johnston (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1996), 205-206.

<sup>60</sup> Chad Reimer, *Writing British Columbia History, 1784-1958* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009), 47.

<sup>61</sup> Marshall, 159 and 183.

<sup>62</sup> D. Duane Thomson, *A History of the Okanagan: Indians and Whites in the Settlement Era, 1860-1920* (Vancouver: The University of British Columbia, 1985), 19.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

sometimes antagonistic while at others “quiet and well affected.”<sup>64</sup> When British Columbia joined Canada in 1871, the federal government assumed jurisdiction over Native affairs, at which time, according to the Canadian Census of 1881, the Okanagan-Similkameen Native population was found to be 627 persons while the region’s white and Chinese population stood at 413.<sup>65</sup> As the white rural population of the Okanagan increased, urban centres developed to service settlers’ needs. The Okanagan Native’s homeland became inundated with immigrant settlers, and the gradual dispossession and increasing discrimination of the Okanagan’s Native peoples became an unfortunate reality, a reality which Freemasonry was a part. Freemasonry was an institution which catered mainly to one group within the wider Okanagan community of persons, the white, generally middle class, man, and Freemasonry’s assistance in the propagation of that group in British Columbia at the expense of First Nations is an unfortunate yet undeniable fact.

While the gold rush had brought Freemasonry to the coast of British Columbia, it would be the railways which would bring Freemasonry into the Interior. The Canadian Pacific Railway and the regional railway construction it promoted had an important impact upon many aspects of Canadian history, the development of Freemasonry in British Columbia included. In 1881, the Canadian Pacific Railway had reached Winnipeg, in 1883 it arrived in Calgary, and in 1885, after many struggles to find a suitable mountain pass, the last spike of the CPR was driven at Craigellachie, finally making the transcontinental railway a reality in Canada.<sup>66</sup> Reminiscent of how Freemasonry had followed in the wake of the expanding the British Empire, British Columbia’s Masonic Lodges followed in the wake of the railways, starting in Kamloops and Revelstoke before penetrating into the Okanagan Valley at Lansdowne, Vernon, and Enderby.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Thomson, 23.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 22 and 29.

<sup>66</sup> Edna Oram and John Shephard, *Ninety Years of Vernon* (Vernon: Wayside Press Ltd., 1982), 20.

<sup>67</sup> Marshall, 158.

As a result of the railways, the Okanagan-Shuswap regional population of 2,543 in 1891 would explode to 8,725 in 1901 before doubling to 15,981 by 1911.<sup>68</sup> In 1891, Vernon, located at the northern end of Okanagan Lake, became the terminus of the Shuswap and Okanagan Railway. The railway cemented Vernon's role as the Okanagan's main hub of commerce and communication for decades, with the railway connecting freight and passengers at Sicamous to Okanagan Landing, from which point lake boats provided transport to the southern end of the Valley.<sup>69</sup> The opening of the Shuswap and Okanagan Railway flooded the Vernon area with land and mining prospectors while giving great impetus to farming, fruit growing, and ranching industries.<sup>70</sup> As a result, Vernon's impressive economic progress and population growth was formally recognized on December 30, 1892 with its incorporation as an official city of British Columbia.<sup>71</sup>

Twenty-four miles north of Vernon in the small town of Lansdowne emerged the first Masonic Lodge to be established in a British Columbia rural community.<sup>72</sup> Known as Spallumcheen Lodge No. 13, the Lodge habitually advertised in the neighboring newspaper, *The Vernon News*, extending an invitation to Masons in Vernon to attend its meetings.<sup>73</sup> Vernon's Masons accepted the invitation, becoming known as "Sojourning Brethren" due to their frequent travels. Such journeys to and from Lansdowne were difficult and expensive however, and in the fall of 1892 Vernon's Masons decided it was time that Vernon had a Lodge of its own.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Thomson, 22.

<sup>69</sup> Oram and Shephard, 21.

<sup>70</sup> F. M. Buckland, *Ogopogo's Vigil: A History of Kelowna and the Okanagan* (Kelowna: Regatta City Press Ltd., 1979), 81.

<sup>71</sup> Burt R. Campbell, "Vernon's Diamond Jubilee," in *The 16<sup>th</sup> Report of the Okanagan Historical Society*, ed. Margaret A. Ormsby. s.n., 1952, 45. <sup>71</sup> Note: Lansdowne, along with its Masonic Lodge, later physically moved to what is now Armstrong.

<sup>72</sup> Lorraine Uzick, *A History of Miriam's Beginning* (Vernon: Miriam Lodge No. 20 A.F. & A.M., 1985), 2.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>74</sup> O. Arthur Strandquist, *Floreat, St. George's Lodge No. 41 A.F. & A.M.: A brief history of Freemasonry in Kelowna, B.C. 1905-1980* (s.n., 1981), 2.



Initially, however, the Grand Lodge of British Columbia was disinclined to establish a new Lodge in Vernon as it would deprive the already established Spallumcheen Lodge No. 13 of a large part of its territorial jurisdiction.<sup>75</sup> Yet, due to the persuasive efforts of Vernon Mason Ainsley Megraw, Spallumcheen Lodge withdrew its objections and on June 23, 1893, the Grand Lodge of British Columbia ordered a Charter to be issued for Miriam Lodge No. 20 of Vernon.<sup>76</sup>

The Masons who founded Miriam Lodge No. 20 were prominent figures in the city of Vernon, holding public positions and stabilizing the local economy through their businesses. Mason Ainsley Megraw, editor of *The Vernon News*, acted as Secretary at local public meetings and worked hard to build a hospital for the community, while Mason James Purvis Burnyeat was a prominent land surveyor and civil engineer, credited with all the early surveying of Vernon and the surrounding area and served on the local School Board for six years.<sup>77</sup> The original membership of Miriam Lodge also included Vernon's first permanent settler, Luc Girouard. A farmer-orchardist, Brother Girouard generously offered land for a local hospital and also donated property for Vernon's Pioneer Cemetery.<sup>78</sup> Girouard's importance within the community was emphasized when, upon his death on January 23, 1895, the local newspaper *The Colonist* declared Girouard's funeral to have been the largest that had taken place in Vernon, with a procession which stretched out a quarter of a mile in length.<sup>79</sup>

Freemasonry created close ties amongst Vernon's early citizens, forging bonds of such significance that Luc Girouard, despite being raised as a Roman Catholic, remained an active

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<sup>75</sup> Marshall, 167.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Uzick, 10-12.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 19. Note: Other charter members of Vernon's Miriam Lodge included: Dr. George T. W. Reinhard, Will Leston, Harry McIntosh, James Martin, Richard N. Taylor, and Leonard Norris.

<sup>79</sup> Leonard Norris, "Luc Girouard," in *The 13<sup>th</sup> Report of the Okanagan Historical Society*, ed. Margaret A. Ormsby (s.n., 1949), 91.

member of Freemasonry until his death.<sup>80</sup> The intimacy of the connection forged amongst Masons within frontier communities was evident when almost every Freemason in town attended Girouard's last rites in their Masonic regalia, standing "with bowed heads and sorrowing hearts as his mortal remains were lowered into the grave."<sup>81</sup> Vernon's Masons figured prominently in the development and consolidation of Vernon and they have been a long-standing source of leadership in their community, as exemplified by the sixteen Mayors who have held allegiance to Miriam Lodge No. 20 over Vernon's history, a testament to the positive influence which Freemasonry has had upon the young and growing city of Vernon.<sup>82</sup>

Freemasonry provided a unique, British form of social capital. The presence of Freemasonry in Victoria and the Interior sponsored by the Grand Lodges of Britain acted as a means of reifying the region's British character and acted as an anchor for allegiance to Britain. Indeed, Masonic and political loyalty to Britain had been adhered to in British Columbia largely due to the significant role which British Masons played in bringing the province into the Canadian union. Perhaps the clearest indication of the prominence of Freemasonry within British Columbia's early history is the location which the first Masonic Lodge of British Columbia, Victoria Columbia Lodge No. 1, commands in Victoria, sitting only blocks away from the Provincial Legislature.<sup>83</sup> Within Victoria and the emerging communities of the Interior, Freemasonry bonded like-minded individuals and helped establish local power structures while serving to bridge geographical gaps through the creation of a broader provincial Masonic identity.

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<sup>80</sup> Norris, 91.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Uzick., 24-25. Note: Vernon's Masonic Mayors included J. M. Martin in 1894, W. J. Armstrong in 1897, W. T. Shatford in 1898-99, and H. G. Miller in 1905-06.

<sup>83</sup> "Home," *Victoria-Columbia No. 1*, <http://www.victoriacolumbia.ca/>. Also see 1893 Petition for Incorporation of the Masonic Temple Association of Victoria: A. St. G. Flint, Archibald Blair Erskine, and Alexander Stewart, "Petition: Incorporation of Masonic Bodies," Petitions for Private Bills (March 15, 1893) *Legislative Assembly of British Columbia*, [http://archives.leg.bc.ca/EPLibraries/leg\\_arc/document/ID/librarytest/52754939#search=masonic](http://archives.leg.bc.ca/EPLibraries/leg_arc/document/ID/librarytest/52754939#search=masonic).

## Chapter 2: Kelowna and the Masonic Network

In the 1890s, Vernon was the centre of industry and the largest settlement in the Okanagan, while at the southern tip of Okanagan Lake, the community of Penticton consisted of just one or two general stores and some scattered ranches.<sup>84</sup> In 1892, the town site of Kelowna, positioned squarely between both poles of Okanagan Lake, was registered with the Registrar General at Victoria.<sup>85</sup> The community was named in recognition of pioneer August Gillard's First Nation's nickname "Kimach Touche", meaning "black bear's face", which in 1892 was substituted for the more attractive Okanagan Native word for "female grizzly bear", or "Kelowna."<sup>86</sup> Kelowna was in the embryonic stage of its development in 1892, while its neighbour to the north, Vernon, had just been incorporated as an official municipality of British Columbia. Both shared a common experience against the struggles of the frontier, and yet, while Vernon flourished as a transportation hub and possessed the patronage of British nobility in the form of the Aberdeen family, Kelowna in 1894 was described as "a crude and unpromising little place."<sup>87</sup> Though dissimilar in economic, political and even social terms, the two communities would soon develop a unique connection upon the basis of Freemasonry.

The Masonic connection between Kelowna and Vernon was embodied by Dr. Benjamin de Furlong Boyce. In 1894, having passed the medical board in Vancouver and been registered as a medical practitioner in British Columbia, Dr. Boyce and his wife arrived in Kelowna.<sup>88</sup> Then, in 1898, Dr. Boyce petitioned Vernon's Miriam Lodge No. 20 for initiation, marking the

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<sup>84</sup> Theresa Gabriel, *Vernon British Columbia: A Brief History* (Vernon: Vernon Centennial Committee, 1958), 44.

<sup>85</sup> Buckland, 82.

<sup>86</sup> G.P.V. Akrigg and Helen B, *British Columbia Place Names* (Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 1986), 152. Also see Buckland, 82-84.

<sup>87</sup> Sharron J. Simpson, *The Kelowna Story: An Okanagan History* (Madeira Park: Harbour Publishing Co. Ltd., 2011), 53.

<sup>88</sup> "The City," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, January 11, 1894. <http://www.britishcolonist.ca/>.

creation of the first Masonic link between Kelowna and Vernon and beginning a relationship similar to that which Vernon's Masons experienced with Lansdowne's Spallumcheen Lodge No.

13. Masons from Kelowna soon became frequent attendees of Vernon's Lodge, and to accommodate these travelling Masons, Miriam Lodge soon became classified as a "Moon Lodge", meeting on the Saturday on or before the full moon.<sup>89</sup> Due to the relative difficulties of late nineteenth- early twentieth-century travel over long distances, one way to make the journey safer and easier was to travel by the light of the moon; hence the title Moon Lodge.<sup>90</sup>

Very early in Kelowna's history a Masonic connection with Vernon had been established, and this connection was strengthened by the common struggles of Kelowna's first Masons as they shared in the difficult and lengthy journey to attend Lodge. For Dr. Boyce and other Masons from Kelowna wishing to gather together in Masonic fellowship at Miriam Lodge it meant an early start at a slow pace and with frequent stops. These Masons would have to stay the night and return the following day in the same wearisome way, ultimately at the cost of two days' time and considerable expense.<sup>91</sup> Such was the appeal of Freemasonry and the strength of the bond between the two communities however, that in 1902, although still living in Kelowna, Dr. Boyce became the Worshipful Master of Vernon's Miriam Lodge and was "reputed never to have missed a meeting, travelling over 35 miles each way, summer and winter by horse and buggy or cutter."<sup>92</sup> The road to Vernon was no road at all, and it is a testament to the Masonic Craft and the connections that it formed that Masons were willing to overcome great obstacles and make personal sacrifices in order to meet together with their fellow Masons. Despite their unflinching

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<sup>89</sup> Strandquist, 56.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>92</sup> Strandquist, "St. George's Lodge #41 A.F. & A.M.," in *The 45<sup>th</sup> Report of the Okanagan Historical Society*, ed. Carol Abernathy (Vernon: Wayside Press Ltd., 1981), 124.

determination however, Kelowna's Freemasons began to consider more practical alternatives to their situation, following the precedent set by Vernon's "Sojourning Brethren" in 1892.<sup>93</sup>

After a decade of Masonic travel between Kelowna and Vernon, action was taken in the winter of 1904 and 1905 when Kelowna's small band of Freemasons, the majority of whom were members of Vernon's Miriam Lodge, met to discuss the potential establishment of a Lodge in Kelowna.<sup>94</sup> A name was chosen, and a proposal for institution was sent to the Grand Lodge of British Columbia. On April 20, 1905, Kelowna's local newspaper, *The Kelowna Clarion and Okanagan Advocate*, published notice of the first meeting of St. George's Lodge No. 41, marking the formal organization of the fraternity in Kelowna.<sup>95</sup> *The Kelowna Clarion* noted the "diversity and universality of the Mother Lodge represented: brethren from all parts of the world sitting together, and also the strength of the east, no fewer than eleven Past Masters being present."<sup>96</sup> Frontier communities from across the Okanagan were represented in Kelowna on that day, including Masons from Vernon, Armstrong, Enderby, Peachland, Summerland, and "many other points."<sup>97</sup> St. George's Lodge facilitated the creation of inter-community connections upon the basis of Freemasonry and gave Kelowna access to a growing Masonic social network. The consequences of the social capital earned for Kelowna as a result of April 20, 1905, are not quantifiable; however, Freemasonry's formal organization in Kelowna was an important moment in solidifying the community while strengthening its bonds with other emerging towns and cities throughout the province in a way which transcended social, political, and economic considerations.

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<sup>93</sup> Strandquist, "St. George's Lodge #41 A.F. & A.M.," 124.

<sup>94</sup> O. Arthur Strandquist and Kevan F. van Herd, *Floreat St. George's Lodge No. 41 A.F. & A.M.: G.R. of B.C. and Yukon, 1905-2005* (s.n., 2005), 7.

<sup>95</sup> "A.F. & A.M.," *The Kelowna Clarion and Okanagan Advocate*, April 20, 1905.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*

Masonic membership not only bonded individuals but also bridged communities. Freemasonry acted as a social lubricant in early twentieth-century British Columbia, easing movement around the province and lessening the difficulties experienced in moving to a new town. As sociologist Göran Ahrne writes, “recognition is a central aspect of human interaction,” Ahrne noting that one’s behavior towards a person one sees, and whom one knows, is quite different from one’s behavior towards a stranger.<sup>98</sup> The implication of recognition, therefore, is that knowing something about a person provides a foundation upon which further relations can be based.<sup>99</sup> The voluntary association of Freemasonry was one such foundation. Freemasonry provided Masons with a formal, yet portable, form of recognition, facilitating their movement between British Columbia’s early communities. When Mason John F. Burne arrived in Kelowna in 1903, he had already experienced this great social utility of Freemasonry first hand. Immigrating to Canada from England in the late nineteenth century, Burne travelled west from Ontario into strange new lands, and by 1899 he had helped to establish a Masonic Lodge in Pincher Creek, Alberta, as well as one in Ymir, British Columbia.<sup>100</sup> Then in 1905, true to form, Burne provided valuable assistance to the founding of Kelowna’s own Lodge and was one of St. George’s charter members.<sup>101</sup> Arriving as an outsider to all three communities, the fact that Burne was a Mason would have immediately associated him with prominent local citizens such as Dr. Boyce in Kelowna, while his involvement in the organization of a Lodge would have solidified connections with the local businessmen and professionals who constituted British Columbia’s early Masons.

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<sup>98</sup> Göran Ahrne, *Social Organizations: Interaction inside, outside and between organizations* (London: SAGE Publications, 1994), 76.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> Mary E. Woods, “John Ford Burne,” in *The 24<sup>th</sup> Report of the Okanagan Historical Society*, ed. F. T. Marriage (s.n., 1925), 65.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

In 1906, Burne became the representative of the Masonic Grand Master of British Columbia in the district surrounding the Okanagan, his responsibilities connecting him to the province's capital of Victoria while bringing him to the Similkameen town of Hedley in that same year.<sup>102</sup> In his visit to this frontier mining community Burne reportedly "delivered to the local lodge a dispensation empowering them to ply the ancient and honorable craft, instituted the lodge in due and ancient form and placed the officers in their respective positions."<sup>103</sup> Due to Freemasonry, Burne was able to form positive social connections with complete strangers in Hedley upon the basis of Freemasonry. Amongst these Hedley Masons, in fact the new Worshipful Master of the Hedley Lodge, was Ainsley Megraw, formerly of Vernon's Miriam Lodge.<sup>104</sup> The experience of Ainsley Megraw in his transition from Vernon to Hedley would have been quite similar to that of Burne's early experiences, Megraw's Masonic membership providing common ground with Hedley's Masons while his role in establishing a formal Lodge undoubtedly strengthened those connections.

Acting as a means of networking for new Masonic community members, Freemasonry facilitated the creation of local contacts, was a basis for trust, and provided access to potential employment opportunities. Furthermore, membership in a Lodge was a sign of respectability amongst strangers and promoted acceptance into new social circles. The experiences of Burne and Megraw demonstrate the ability of Freemasonry to bridge between frontier communities and bond along individual lines. In fact, of such importance was the fraternity as a source of social capital to frontier communities that, out of the twenty-one incorporated municipalities in British

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<sup>102</sup> "Masonic Institution," *The Hedley Gazette and Similkameen Advertiser*, January 11, 1906, <http://cdmbackend.library.ubc.ca/cgi-bin/showfile.exe?CISOROOT=/hedley&CISOPTR=1193&CISOMODE=print>.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

Columbia's interior by 1914, not a single one lacked a Masonic Lodge.<sup>105</sup> Such a province-wide presence was indicative of Freemasonry's social utility and importance as a social networker and lubricator. Transcending traditional ties Freemasonry created a unique network of community inter-connectivity, a single strand of this vast and intricate web serving to link Victoria with Lansdowne, Lansdowne with Vernon, Vernon with Kelowna, and Kelowna with Hedley. The Masonic network in British Columbia served an unmatched socializing function, a function seldom represented within the provincial historiography. The bonding effects of Freemasonry embodied by Dr. Boyce demonstrating the strength of Masonic association while the bridging effects of this fraternal source of social capital were clearly seen in the cases of Mr. Burne and Mr. Megraw. Creating important social connections between communities, the positive externalities which resulted from the presence of Freemasonry were an important factor in the development of the emerging communities of the Interior.

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<sup>105</sup> Note: See Figure 2. in the Appendix for a map of British Columbia indicating the locations of incorporated communities by 1914, all of which possessed a Masonic Lodge. This information was determined through cross-referencing municipal incorporation dates and Masonic records of Lodge creation.



### Chapter 3: Edwardian Kelowna, Victorian Respectability, and the Choice of Freemasonry

The three decades after Confederation brought profound changes to British Columbia. During the period between the turn of the century and the First World War, industrialization, urbanization, and immigration would increase in speed and magnitude while the province's economy, driven by capitalist exploitation of British Columbia's vast natural resources, would be seen to expand at an explosive rate.<sup>106</sup> According to 1901 and 1911 Census of Canada statistics, British Columbia's population of 178,657 residents in 1901 would almost double in ten years, totaling 392,480 by 1911, with British immigrants and those of British descent accounting for a significant 60 percent of the population in both decades.<sup>107</sup> For the British subjects of the province, the presence of the British institution of Freemasonry provided a connection to their homeland. Although only a portion of British Columbia's British population would participate directly in Freemasonry, the existence and availability of Freemasonry provided an outlet for the reaffirmation of their British identity. Despite relative isolation in the newly-settled lands of British Columbia, Freemasonry enabled British subjects to recreate features of home while transplanting historical depth into their emergent communities.

For the frontier community of Kelowna and its very high concentration of British residents, such effects were even more profound. According to the 1911 Census of Canada, Kelowna's population was 82.4 percent British, while the next single largest ethnic group was the Chinese, constituting a mere 6.6 percent of the city's total population of 1,663. Furthermore,

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<sup>106</sup> Reimer, 47.

<sup>107</sup> *Fourth Census of Canada, 1901: Volume I Population* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1902), 2 and 285. And *Fifth Census of Canada, 1911: Volume I Areas and Populations by Provinces, Districts, and Subdistricts* (Ottawa: C. H. Parmelee, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1912), 12 and 38. Also see "Canada Year Book 1932," *Statistics Canada*, [http://www66.statcan.gc.ca/eng/acyb\\_c1932-eng.aspx?opt=/eng/1932/193201460108\\_p.%20108.pdf](http://www66.statcan.gc.ca/eng/acyb_c1932-eng.aspx?opt=/eng/1932/193201460108_p.%20108.pdf).

Kelowna's population was only 7.5 percent Catholic, meaning that involvement in Freemasonry was nominally acceptable for the remaining 92.5 percent of Kelowna's religious community. The presence of Freemasonry was a defining feature of early Kelowna and an irreplaceable source of social capital for the community's large British, Protestant population.

**Table 1: Ethnicity – Kelowna (1911)**<sup>108</sup>

Total Population	British <b>1,371</b> (82.4%)				Chinese	German	French	Other
	English	Irish	Scottish	Other				
<b>1,663</b>	<b>743</b> (44.7%)	<b>157</b> (9.4%)	<b>436</b> (26.2%)	<b>35</b> (2.1%)	<b>109</b> (6.6%)	<b>63</b> (3.8%)	<b>56</b> (3.4%)	<b>64</b> (3.8%)

**Table 2: Religious Denomination – Kelowna (1911)**<sup>109</sup>

Total Population	Anglican	Baptist	Lutheran	Methodist	Presbyterian	Roman Catholic	Other
<b>1,663</b>	<b>519</b> (31.2%)	<b>159</b> (9.6%)	<b>6</b> (0.4%)	<b>285</b> (17.1%)	<b>431</b> (25.9%)	<b>125</b> (7.5%)	<b>138</b> (8.3%)

The fear of the unknown commonly associated with change reified the social importance of the British tradition associated with Freemasonry. Mirroring the rapid growth of the province, the transition into the twentieth century had been a period of significant development for Kelowna. Possessing rich soils rather than rich mineral veins, Kelowna was a community on the agricultural frontier. Produce had been shipped from the Okanagan to nearby mining towns for years; however, in 1901 the true beginning of an industry in the region would be seen with the shipping of the first freight car entirely packed with Okanagan apples out of Kelowna, totaling

<sup>108</sup> *Fifth Census of Canada, 1911*, 168-169.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 12-13.

some seven hundred boxes.<sup>110</sup> The fruit industry became the mainstay of Kelowna's economy, necessitating the creation of land companies, railway links, and additional stern-wheelers such as the *SS Sicamous* for Okanagan Lake. Packing houses, storage buildings, and an entire infrastructure emerged due to the economic success of Kelowna's orchards. Soon the open range and timberland which Oblate Missionary Father Pandosy had settled in 1859 became transformed into hundreds of acres of fruit trees.<sup>111</sup> In 1905, Kelowna had just officially become a city and was still adjusting to this new title. Nonetheless, Kelowna was aware of its potential, and so were others. There were fortunes to be made, and the region saw a steady influx of settlers and money. For the pioneers who had struggled to raise Kelowna into "cityhood", 1905 became a moment when class consciousness was changing, social status could be purchased, and respectability was up for negotiation.

For Kelowna's prominent pioneers of the Victorian tradition, the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth century saw local societal change combine with a global ideological evolution to challenge the status quo. The Edwardian period, with its roots in the 1890s and its end in 1914, was a brief stretch of turbulent history in which pre-existing Victorian attitudes and rigid hierarchies clashed with the more liberal ideas of the emerging Edwardians.<sup>112</sup> In the face of social change however, Freemasonry served the Victorian middle class through the promotion of their traditional value system. Indeed, Lynn Dumenil's study of Freemasons in the late nineteenth century concludes that "Masonry mirrored middle-class culture," while Roy Rosenzweig and Christopher Anstead argue that Boston's Masonic Lodges became a bulwark of

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<sup>110</sup> Buckland, 111.

<sup>111</sup> Ursula Surtees, *Kelowna: The Orchard City* (Burlington: Windsor Publications, Ltd., 1989), 45.

<sup>112</sup> Hynes, *The Edwardian Turn of Mind* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), vii.

the middle class world view.<sup>113</sup> It must be noted that middle class is not a precise economic term; it covers a large group from merchants to farmers, professionals to trade professions, manufacturers to financiers. Nonetheless, 1905 Freemasonry emerged in Kelowna as a vehicle for reaffirming Victorian standards of respectability, specifically those standards held by a white, male, Protestant, generally British middle class. Through its promotion of Victorian social values, its strong connection with Old World Britain, and its elitist exclusivity, Freemasonry acted as a bastion of Victorian tradition for prominent local figures whose status felt threatened by the rise of Edwardian ideas. Freemasonry was a constant in a society of sporadic change, entrenching a value system and hierarchy which was under attack by emerging Edwardian economic, social, and political developments.

Arriving in a climate of change and a decline in Victorian standards of social status, Freemasonry served as an important medium for the communication of respectability. Kelowna's early Masonic Brothers were important pioneers and founders of the community, sharing similar lifestyles and attitudes while possessing a common desire to communicate to others that they were respectable. St. George's Lodge had nineteen charter members who made up a good cross section of the middle and upper class business and professional people of Kelowna, including Henry Raymer, Dr. B.F. Boyce, John F. Burne, Frank DeHart, John Curts, P.B. Willits, and Dave Crowley.<sup>114</sup> Started by affluent businessmen, successful professionals, and active community members, only a single year would pass before more men of similar caliber joined St. George's Lodge.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> Lynn Dumenil, *Freemasonry and American Culture, 1880-1930* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 56. Also see Christopher J. Anstead, "Fraternalism in Victorian Ontario: Secret societies and cultural hegemony," PhD diss., The University of Western Ontario (Canada), in *Dissertations & Theses: Full Text* [database on-line]: available from <http://www.proquest.com.ezproxy.library.ubc.ca> accessed July 26, 2011.

<sup>114</sup> Strandquist, *Floreat*, 3.

<sup>115</sup> "Kelowna Business Interests," *The Kelowna Clarion and Okanagan Advocate*, July 28, 1904. Note: By 1906 those who had petitioned for membership included the likes of John William Knox, David Alan Lloyd-Jones, Daniel

An analysis of voluntary associations closely predating Freemasonry in Kelowna is critical to realizing the great influence which the appearance of St. George's Lodge had, comparatively, upon informing notions of respectability within early twentieth-century Kelowna. Throughout its history Kelowna has not been bereft of clubs and associations. Indeed, as early as 1892 a skating and curling club had been established in the community.<sup>116</sup> In 1901, Okanagan Lodge No.27 of the fraternity known as the Order of the Knights of Pythias was founded in Kelowna and included amongst its membership list many local elites and future Masons, including Henry Raymer.<sup>117</sup> Established in Washington D.C. in 1864 by Justus H. Rathbone, the Knights of Pythias were, and remain, an international, non-sectarian fraternal order.<sup>118</sup> Okanagan Lodge No. 27 played an active role in Kelowna, hosting an Annual Ball open to public attendance which, in the early 1900s, was held in Raymer's Hall.<sup>119</sup> The fraternity was a benevolent society which promoted the Order's commandments of Friendship, Charity, and Benevolence in Kelowna. To exemplify their benevolent goals, the Knights held an annual Church Parade which marched from Raymer's Hall to the local Presbyterian Church, fundraising for a hospital in Kelowna.<sup>120</sup> Yet, as a fraternity the Knights of Pythias were a very young, American-based order, and although the organization may have been able to satiate a desire for moral guidance in some men while promoting good will and peace, it did not have nearly the same influence, nor was associated with the same level of respectability, as Freemasonry.

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Wilbur Sutherland, Ernest Wilkinson, John Dilworth, and Walter Robert Pooley, to name a few. Also see: Strandquist, *Floreat*, 5-6.

<sup>116</sup> "Okanagan Mission", *The Daily Colonist*, December 31, 1892, <http://europa.library.uvic.ca/colonist/display.php?issue=18921231&pages=001,&terms=kelowna>.

<sup>117</sup> Ephemera File: *Clubs – Miscellaneous Kelowna*. Kelowna Public Archives. Also see Information File: *Raymer, Henry*. Kelowna Public Archives.

<sup>118</sup> "History of the Knights of Pythias," *The Pythians: The Order of Knights of Pythias*, <http://www.pythias.org/about/pythstory.html>.

<sup>119</sup> Ephemera File: *Clubs – Miscellaneous Kelowna*.

<sup>120</sup> "The Knights March," *Kelowna Clarion and Okanagan Advocate*, May 1905.

The Knights of Pythias had been formed in response to the bloodshed of the American Civil War, giving them a relatively superficial hold upon history. Furthermore, the Order did not utilize symbolism or rituals connected to a venerable historical group, as Freemasonry did, a fact which denied the Knights a certain legitimacy and devalued their exceptionality. They lacked both historical tradition and the Old World British connection which garnered such respect amongst Her, and later His, Majesty's loyal subjects in Kelowna. As such, while the Knights of Pythias shared with Freemasonry features of exclusivity, demonstrations of private and public cohesion, a laudable social purpose, and even possessed overlapping membership, the Order did not appeal to Kelowna residents' British values to the same degree as Freemasonry. Indeed, historian Gillian Covernton in her Master's Thesis on Freemasons in Winnipeg from 1864-1900, noted a similar occurrence with the Winnipeg Loyal Orange Order, that although membership in the Masons and the Orange Order did overlap, the Loyal Orange Order "did not often carry the political and social weight that the Masons did."<sup>121</sup> In terms of social influence the Knights of Pythias of Kelowna paled in comparison to the Masons of St. George's Lodge.

By the early twentieth century, Kelowna was no stranger to voluntary associations which, like Freemasonry, were gender exclusive and constituted by the leisured. In 1904, Kelowna's loyal British subjects yearned for regular and diverse news sources from the Home Land. As such, on July 28, 1904 the Kelowna Club was organized under Mason John F. Burne and obtained a Charter under the Benevolent Societies Act of British Columbia.<sup>122</sup> Under this Charter the objects of the Club were declared to be social intercourse, mutual helpfulness, mental and

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<sup>121</sup> Gillian Covernton, "A system of morality veiled in allegory': The Private Rituals and Public Performances of Freemasons in Winnipeg, 1864-1900," (Master of Arts Thesis, The University of Manitoba Faculty of Graduate Studies, 2005), 3.

<sup>122</sup> Winston A. Shilvoek, "The Kelowna Club," in *The 52<sup>nd</sup> Report of the Okanagan Historical Society*, ed. Jean Webber (Vernon: Wayside Press Ltd., 1988), 41. Also see E. M. Carruthers, "History of the Kelowna Club, 1903-1945," in *The 13<sup>th</sup> Report of the Okanagan Historical Society*, ed. Margaret A. Ormsby (s.n., 1925), 172-174.

moral improvement, rational recreation and the promotion of good fellowship among members.<sup>123</sup> No official record of names was kept but by the end of 1904 it is known that about seventy local men were associated with the Kelowna Club, an amazing number when one realizes that Kelowna's population by 1903 had only been 300 persons.<sup>124</sup> Indeed, in 1905 *The Kelowna Clarion* published an article declaring the continuing prosperity of the Kelowna Club as shown by the induction of fourteen new members.<sup>125</sup> Ultimately, the purpose of the Club was to supply members with British reading material, with fourteen papers and magazines originally ordered including *Punch*, *Spectator*, *The Pink 'Un*, *Illustrated London News*, *Navy and Army*, *Strand*, *Sketch*, and *London Times*.<sup>126</sup>

The Kelowna Club was essentially a “gentlemen’s club”, a place “that men could enter any time any day of the week, to get away from their work or families for a while,” while women were content knowing where their husbands were at night.<sup>127</sup> The Club was exclusive, including only the segment of society which was deemed “respectable” by the current members.<sup>128</sup> As such, the Kelowna Club provides evidence of social selectiveness exercised in voluntary associations prior to the introduction of Freemasonry to the city. Interestingly, many of the early members of the Club would also become founders of St. George’s Lodge in 1905, including Henry Raymer, Hugh S. Rose, Daniel W. Sutherland, and John F. Burne, all of whom acted as the first officers of the Club.<sup>129</sup> Kelowna’s professional and business elite were members of this voluntary association although, indeed, “just about every businessman in the city belonged to the

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<sup>123</sup> F. M. Buckland, “Kelowna: Commercial and Social,” in *The 18<sup>th</sup> Report of the Okanagan Historical Society*, ed. s.n. (Vernon: Wayside Press Ltd., 1954), 86.

<sup>124</sup> Shilvock, 41.

<sup>125</sup> “Items of Interest,” *Kelowna Clarion and Okanagan Advocate*, April, 1905. Note: Such was the popularity of the Kelowna Club that by 1905 a large two-story building dedicated for Club use was constructed at the cost of \$2,500, an amount raised relatively quickly and easily through the selling of stocks at \$1.00 per share to members.

<sup>126</sup> Shilvock, 41.

<sup>127</sup> Information File: *Clubs*. Kelowna Public Archives.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>129</sup> Buckland, “Kelowna: Commercial and Social”, 86.

Kelowna Club, mainly because ‘it was the only place you could get a drink.’<sup>130</sup> In terms of social distinction however, though it inspired ideas of social exclusivity, the Kelowna Club was not a vehicle of significance when it came to influencing public notions of respectability. Though the Club had a Charter under the Benevolent Societies Act, it took no significant benevolent action in the larger community.<sup>131</sup> Membership in the Kelowna Club did not entail respectability in the public eye because it was not associated with any benign activity in the community nor was it part of a larger institutional structure. The Kelowna Club was simply that, a club, a local place of gathering and of entertainment. Kelowna’s leading figures in a changing world however, wanted to be distinguished as more than just a clique of men reading newspapers in loungers while sipping on Scotch, and Freemasonry would provide them with the chance to satiate that desire.

The Masons of Kelowna came to embody the greatest form of connection with Britain that existed in the community, a connection far superior to imported newspapers, and one which reinforced the social status of the local Masons and of the city itself. The introduction of Freemasonry to Kelowna in the form of St. George’s Lodge in 1905 would be a defining moment in the town’s social consciousness. The presence of a globally recognized, distinctly British fraternity provided a vital connection with the Old Mother Country and a sense of historical depth otherwise unachievable by other sources of social capital in the relatively isolated frontier of the Okanagan Interior. Freemasonry blunted the force of local peculiarities and individual idiosyncrasies, the Masonic brotherhood providing an organizing principle that allowed broad, though selective, fellowship, directly contributing to the fraternity’s province-wide success.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> Information File: *Clubs*. Kelowna Public Archives.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> Bullock, *Revolutionary Brotherhood: Freemasonry and the Transformation of the American Social Order, 1730-1840* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 26.



## Chapter 4: Social Order and Masonic Exclusion

Respectability in the community contributed to the entrusting of Kelowna's municipal development to Masonic hands. According to political scientists Michele P. Claibourn and Paul S. Martin, voluntary associations and the social relationships they create help increase political awareness.<sup>133</sup> Freemasonry, through its ritual voting, internal hierarchy, procedural rules, minute-taking, financial management, and by-law creation and enforcement, introduced to, and prepared Kelowna's Masons for, the necessities of local government. The regular practice of Freemasonry exposed Masons to democratic learning processes, improved public speaking abilities, and promoted social responsibility, while the formal process of establishing and maintaining a Masonic Lodge provided Kelowna's Masons with managerial and organizational experience translatable to municipal governance.<sup>134</sup> As social historian Mary Ann Clawson notes, a fraternal order such as Freemasonry represents a resource, a resource of organization, of coordination, and of the capacity to mobilize for particular ends.<sup>135</sup> In the Kelowna of 1905, Freemasonry became one such resource for social order. When Kelowna was incorporated as an official municipality in 1905, a municipal government had to be established quickly. Kelowna's rapid development necessitated equally rapid municipal organization and action, the urgency of the matter best highlighted by the statements made by the Secretary of the British Columbia Bureau of Information and Immigration in *The British Colonist*, that, "among the very first things to have attention [in Kelowna] will be the sanitary arrangements, a matter which is urgent, and a water

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<sup>133</sup> Michele P. Claibourn and Paul S. Martin, "The Third Face of Social Capital: How Membership in Voluntary Associations Improves Policy Accountability," *Political Research Quarterly* 60 (2007): 191-201. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org](http://www.jstor.org).

<sup>134</sup> Dietlind Stolle, "Bowling Together, Bowling Alone: The Development of Generalized Trust in Voluntary Associations," *Political Psychology* 19 (1998): 467-525. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org](http://www.jstor.org).

<sup>135</sup> Mary Ann Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood: Class, Gender, and Fraternalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 7.

supply.”<sup>136</sup> Effective and efficient leadership was required immediately, and fortunately for Kelowna, according to *The Kelowna Clarion*, the city was saved the expense of an election due to the election by acclamation of Kelowna’s first municipal government led by Henry Raymer, a prominent local Freemason.<sup>137</sup> Of the city’s four aldermen, all were also Masons, including David Lloyd-Jones, D. W. Sutherland, P. B. Willits, and E. R. Bailey.<sup>138</sup> The respectability and quality of Kelowna’s Masons elected to public office was such that *The Kelowna Clarion* suggested local citizens “congratulate themselves with having secured the services of men of public spirit and business ability”, the community’s public celebrating the successful start of Kelowna’s political life guided by such worthy men.<sup>139</sup>

Indeed, Kelowna’s civic history has been significantly influenced by members of St. George’s Lodge, with Masons of St. George’s having accounted for an astounding nine Mayors, forty-seven councillors, four Freeman of the city, and several members of the District School Board.<sup>140</sup> The holding of public office provides an excellent demonstration of the merit of Kelowna’s Masons as well as the historical force which Freemasonry has been for social order. The obituary of Kelowna’s first Mayor, Henry Raymer, best exemplifies the role Masons played in stabilizing early Kelowna during its municipal infancy, the public announcement of his death noting that “Mr. Raymer had led an active part in all civic affairs and had played an important role in bringing both the city and district to its present state of prosperity and popularity.”<sup>141</sup> The local pioneers who had played such a significant part in the founding of Kelowna became the Masons who were so vital in leading the young city. Like many other population centres in

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<sup>136</sup> “Opposition to Investment,” *Victoria Daily Colonist*, May 23, 1905.  
<http://www.britishcolonist.ca/display.php?issue=19050523&pages=004>.

<sup>137</sup> “Proclamation,” *The Kelowna Clarion and Okanagan Advocate*, May 11, 1905.

<sup>138</sup> Strandquist, *Floreat*, 53.

<sup>139</sup> “Items of Interest,” *The Kelowna Clarion and Okanagan Advocate*, May 18, 1905.

<sup>140</sup> Strandquist and van Herd, *Floreat*, 112.

<sup>141</sup> “Obituary: The Late Mr. H. W. Raymer,” *The Kelowna Courier and Okanagan Orchardist*, April 6, 1916.

British Columbia, the presence of Freemasonry had been a force for social order in an emerging community which lacked well-established structures of leadership.<sup>142</sup>

St. George's charter members had associated themselves with a British institution which was centuries old, which spanned the globe, and which included countless reputable British public figures and heroes.<sup>143</sup> As such Kelowna's Masons, though already prominent figures in the community, gained a special standing, if only by Masonic association. Furthermore, these Masons became socialized into specific world and moral views through demonstrations of public and private cohesion.<sup>144</sup> Freemasonry exposed Kelowna to Masonic regalia, symbols, and publically-performed rituals, all of which contributed to the shroud of esotericism surrounding the fraternity. Religious historian Urban correctly argues that esotericism is not necessarily a counter-cultural or subversive phenomenon but rather that it is very often an elitist phenomenon, the domain of educated, affluent, and powerful intellectuals who wish not to undermine existing social structures but rather to subtly reinforce them.<sup>145</sup> Such reinforcing displays of esoteric ritual became epitomized by the Masonic funeral. Of St. George's earliest members, Frank DeHart, Daniel Wilbur Sutherland, George Frederick Budden, and John F. Burne are all confirmed to have received full Masonic funerals.<sup>146</sup>

Masonic funerals became a public exhibition of the unity, venerability, and respectability of local Freemasons, often featuring impressive numbers of influential community members gathered in allegiance to one another. Indeed, though predating the arrival of St. George's Lodge, the Masonic funeral of Alexander Gammie in September of 1904 is reported in *The Kelowna*

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<sup>142</sup> Marshall, 201-204.

<sup>143</sup> Note: Famous British Freemasons by this time included King Edward VII (1841-1910), Edmund Burke, Robert Burns, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, the Duke of Wellington, and Alexander Pope, amongst others.

<sup>144</sup> Covernton, 3.

<sup>145</sup> Hugh B Urban, "Elitism and Esotericism: Strategies of Secrecy and Power in South Indian Tantra and French Freemasonry," *Numen* 44 (1997): 1-38. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org/stable/3270380](http://www.jstor.org/stable/3270380).

<sup>146</sup> Art Gray, *Kelowna: Tales of Bygone Days* (Kelowna: Kelowna Printing Co. Ltd., 1968), 17. Also see Strandquist, *Floreat*, 38.

*Clarion* to have been “one of the largest ever seen in this place”, and featured a Masonic procession marching in full regalia from the local Presbyterian Church to the Kelowna Cemetery.<sup>147</sup> The funerals of Masons were notable local events, and although direct textual evidence of the impact of public displays of Masonic rituals and cohesion upon Kelowna’s early twentieth century population in shaping their perceptions of respectability may not exist, that does not mean we can overlook its significance; indeed, prominently displayed upon the grave marker of John Ford Burne is a Masonic emblem, a lasting symbol of Freemasonry’s influence upon Kelowna’s pioneers and a sign of the fraternity’s continuing legacy within the community.<sup>148</sup>

A critical aspect of Masonic culture was the Lodge and the Lodge meetings held within. Lodge meetings, though publically announced, were restricted to members. The meetings of Masons have always been advertised in local papers, *The Kelowna Clarion* being the medium through which Kelowna’s Masons published their meeting times in 1905. One such publication read as follows: “The first meeting of St. George’s A.F. & A. M. Kelowna, will be held in the Lodge Room, Raymer Block, on Friday Apl. 14<sup>th</sup> at 8 p. m. Visiting brethren who intend to be present will kindly notify the undersigned. John F. Burne.”<sup>149</sup> There is something to be said about ‘secret’ meetings, especially when they are made known to all. It is a public declaration of the bonding and bridging principles of social capital, simultaneously stimulating unity and

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<sup>147</sup> “Obituary,” *Kelowna Clarion and Okanagan Advocate*, September 22, 1904. Note: Even when evidence of a formal Masonic ceremony cannot be confirmed, it was very atypical if the passing of a Mason was not attended by his Masonic Brothers. In fact, though H.W. Raymer’s service was conducted by the Presbyterian Church, *The Kelowna Courier and Okanagan Orchardist* specifically noted the attendance of the local Freemasons. See “Local and Personal News,” *The Kelowna Courier and Okanagan Orchardist*, April 13, 1916.

<sup>148</sup> Note: See John Ford Burne’s tombstone in the Pioneer Section of Kelowna’s Memorial Park Cemetery.

<sup>149</sup> “Items of Interest,” *Kelowna Clarion and Okanagan Advocate*, April, 1905. Also see “Lodges,” *The Kelowna Courier and Okanagan Orchardist*, January 1, 1914. Lodge meeting notifications were consistently published before 1906 and long after 1914.

division, demarcating those “in the know” from outsiders.<sup>150</sup> The creation of private and public spheres is important in our understanding of Masonic influence upon society and upon Masons, a notion which can be better understood through an examination of the Lodge and the Lodge meeting room.

The Lodge fulfilled many functions. It separated Masons from the public, it created an internal hierarchy through specific seating arrangements, demarcated furniture, and ritual clothing and rankings, and it reinforced Brotherly bonds through an intimate and shared experience segregated from the outside world. As William D. Moore in his study of American Masonic Lodges points out, the Lodge room “was designed to shut out the exterior world and outsiders... in its totality, the Lodge room was a fantastic realm in which the power of the organization was emphasized and outside reality was consciously abrogated.”<sup>151</sup> For Masons, the Lodge acts as a bonding force while facilitating a separation, and indeed an elevation, from others. For non-members there was a similar feeling of separation as non-Masons were restricted from all involvement save witnessing the creation of an exclusive group.

The Lodge was a private social space which promised internal equality for all classes, while at the same time constructing new and more rigid social hierarchies.<sup>152</sup> The prestige one earned through membership was cemented through access to this new private social space, thereby reinforcing Victorian notions of privilege through association.<sup>153</sup> Social and class hierarchies were reinforced outwardly by the exclusivity of Freemasonry, while within the fraternity, Masons of all stations were able to transcend their traditional societal position.

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<sup>150</sup> Putnam, 22-23.

<sup>151</sup> William D. Moore, “The Masonic Lodge Room, 1870-1930: A Sacred Space of Masculine Spiritual Hierarchy,” *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 5 (1995): 26-39. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org.

<sup>152</sup> Urban 1.

<sup>153</sup> Margaret C. Jacob, *Living the Enlightenment: Freemasonry and Politics in Eighteenth Century Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 50-52.

Freemasonry was able, thereby, to bridge along lines which transcended the conceptions of class relations outside of the Lodge, allowing for the creation of connections between economic groups which typically did not associate. These new associations did not threaten the external social order however, appealing to Masons fearful of Edwardian challenges to the Victorian status quo. The creation of a local Masonic Lodge, positioned centrally in downtown Kelowna, acted to simultaneously outwardly maintain, yet inwardly transcend, the traditional social structure within Kelowna's emerging community.

The Lodge room also became a place within which particular conceptions of masculinity were formed and reinforced. Freemasonry was an exclusively masculine institution, and as such featured in the construction of ideas of gender within British Columbia's frontier communities. The characteristics displayed by Masons and the values upheld in the Lodge, namely those of honour, integrity, tolerance, and social responsibility, became associated with, not only members' Masonic identity, but their masculine identity. This identity was informed purely by males since Masons were sworn, at least ceremonially, to withhold the happenings of the Lodge from their wives.<sup>154</sup> Male participation accompanied by conscious segregation of the feminine created an inherent gender hierarchy prevalent throughout Freemasonry which became imprinted upon its members. In addition, Masonic membership reified relationships between fathers and sons, as was the case when the sons of F.R.E DeHart, Dr. John Knox, and P.B. Willits accompanied their fathers in St. George's Lodge.<sup>155</sup> The greatest example of Freemasonry cementing paternalistic bonds takes the form of George Wilbur Sutherland. George was initiated into Freemasonry in 1922 and was destined to become the Lodge's twenty-ninth Worshipful Master, following in the footsteps of his father, Daniel Wilbur Sutherland, the sixth Worshipful

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<sup>154</sup> Mark C. Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America* (London: Yale University Press, 1989), 14.

<sup>155</sup> Strandquist, *Floreat*, 7-8.

Master of St. George's Lodge.<sup>156</sup> Masonic values were transmitted from father to son and a familial tradition of involvement in Freemasonry was initiated, creating bonds according to gender while bridging generational differences.

For all the bonding and bridging qualities of Freemasonry, Masonic exclusion was a reality. The fraternity catered to white, generally Protestant, middle-class, men. While Freemasonry connected communities and strengthened ties between them, these ties did not extend to the province's oldest communities, those of the First Nations peoples. Furthermore, as was the case in Kelowna, white non-Masons, women, and Chinese populations lacked direct involvement in Freemasonry and may have been placed at a disadvantage in the social and political marketplace compared to those with Masonic associations. Access to Masonic social capital as a source of respectability and authority was relatively exclusive and was not presented as an option to Kelowna's women or Chinese who made up 42.7 percent and 6.6 percent of Kelowna's population, respectively, by 1911.<sup>157</sup> As such, in many ways Freemasonry in early British Columbia can be viewed as an elitist institution.

Through association with a member of the local Masonic Lodge however, particularly through marriage bonds, women were able to indirectly access the social capital Freemasonry provided. In 1904, Mason Dr. Boyce made every effort to assist P. B. Willits in the establishment of a pharmacy in Kelowna. Later that year Dr. Boyce's wife, Mary Eliza Boyce, became a business partner with Mr. Willits, with "Boyce and Willits" opening for business on Bernard

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<sup>156</sup> Strandquist, *Floreat*, 20. Note: Freemasonry remained an important tradition in many family's lives. Douglas Edmund Arthur Haworth, of St. George's Lodge, followed in his father's footsteps and became Worshipful Master of the Lodge in 1969, Kenneth Stirling Nelsons Shepherd became Worshipful Master in 1959 while his father had held the position in 1928. Bertram Patterson was inducted into the Lodge by his older brother James Patterson and would become Worshipful Master himself in 1952. Being a part of Freemasonry allowed for the creation of a bond between males passed down through generations.

<sup>157</sup> Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, *Small Town in Mass Society: Class, Power and Religion in a Rural Community* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 23. Also see *Fifth Census of Canada, 1911*, 39 and 169.

Avenue, cementing the bond between two professions, and two Masons.<sup>158</sup> Mrs. Boyce contributed greatly to the success of the business and in July of 1904 *The Kelowna Clarion* publically declared that “Boyce and Willits have one of the most prominent business locations in town... and an excellent trade is being done.”<sup>159</sup> The following year, Kelowna’s Masonic family became even closer through the marriage of Mason P. B. Willits with Ellen Carrie Bailey, sister of Mason E. R. Bailey.<sup>160</sup> Freemasonry served as a portal to favorable marriages, and association with members of the local fraternity became a sign of respectability as well as a means of introducing and bonding families.

Freemasonry was not the only voluntary association within frontier communities however, and in Kelowna women were involved in numerous alternative clubs and events. In the early days of the Okanagan Mission district of Kelowna, horseback coyote hunts and paper chases were held, and amongst the daring riders noted were Mrs. W. D. Walker, Mrs. H. C. Mallam, and Mrs. C. A. V. Butler.<sup>161</sup> A local Rod and Gun Club featured mixed membership in 1907 as did the Kelowna Literary Society, while church groups such as the Baptist Women’s Mission Circle and the Presbyterian Ladies’ Aid group often featured female officers.<sup>162</sup> Women also played an active role in educating Kelowna’s children throughout the community’s early development. In August of 1904 Miss Howell taught at Black Mountain School and Miss N. Millan was appointed to Benvoulin School, while by 1914 Miss Murray, Miss Alice Elliot, and

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<sup>158</sup> Reba Willits, “P. B. Willits – 1874-1938,” in *The 31<sup>st</sup> Report of the Okanagan Historical Society*, ed. Major Hugh Porteous (s.n., 1967), 118-121.

<sup>159</sup> “Kelowna Business Interests,” *The Kelowna Clarion and Okanagan Advocate*, July 28, 1904.

<sup>160</sup> Willits, 119.

<sup>161</sup> Primrose Upton, “The History of Okanagan Mission: A Centennial Retrospect,” in *The 30<sup>th</sup> Report of the Okanagan Historical Society*, ed. s.n. (s.n., 1966), 230.

<sup>162</sup> Surtees, *The Orchard City*, 66. Also see Gordon H. Pousett, *Trials and Triumphs: The Story of First Baptist Church, Kelowna, 1906-96*, (Surrey: s.n., 1996), 8. Also see C. W. Knowles, *According to Bill: The Times and Tales of C.W. (Bill) Knowles*, (Kelowna: Manhattan Beach Publishing, 2001), 18. Also see “Items of Interest,” *The Kelowna Clarion and Okanagan Advocate*, November 10, 1904 and June 8, 1905.



Miss Emma Black, had all been school teachers at the Okanagan Mission.<sup>163</sup> Though excluded from direct involvement in Freemasonry, women were by no means excluded from participation in the community's early development or its other voluntary associations.

In British Columbia, the Chinese presence in the late nineteenth, early twentieth century, is considered by historian John Belshaw to be the “*sine qua non* of the province’s historiography.”<sup>164</sup> Evidence of prejudice against non-whites is prevalent throughout British Columbia’s history, particularly in the province’s mining and railroad history. In fact, Mason Amor de Cosmos’ views on British Columbia’s Aboriginal and Chinese inhabitants reflected the values and stereotypes of the period, with De Cosmos referring to both groups as “inferior.”<sup>165</sup> Masons such as Vernon’s Leonard Norris echoed these sentiments and, in a way, so too did the exclusivity of Freemasonry.<sup>166</sup> Arriving before the turn of the century, the Chinese had been amongst the earliest settlers of Kelowna.<sup>167</sup> While no official records exist, it is known that by 1922 there existed a “Chinese Masonic Lodge” in Kelowna, whose members sent expressions of sympathy and respect following the death of Kelowna pioneer and Mason George Frederick Budden.<sup>168</sup> This was considered a “most unusual gesture” by the historian of St. George’s Lodge as the Chinese Masonic Lodge was considered irregular and thus not recognized by Freemasons subordinate to the Grand Lodge of British Columbia.<sup>169</sup> The British fraternal order in Kelowna, though espousing tolerance according to class, creed, and political views, did not embrace a

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<sup>163</sup> Upton, 232. Also see “Items of Interest,” *The Kelowna Clarion and Okanagan Advocate*, August 25<sup>th</sup>, 1904.

<sup>164</sup> John Douglas Belshaw, *Colonization and Community: The Vancouver Island Coalfield and the Making of the British Columbian Working Class* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2002), 6. Note: *sine qua non* is Latin for ‘an indispensable and essential condition or ingredient.’

<sup>165</sup> McDonald, 1. Note: The Chinese were thought to represent a more fundamental threat than Aboriginals because the Chinese “did not assimilate.”

<sup>166</sup> Leonard Norris “S.R.I.A.C.,” in *The 11<sup>th</sup> Report of the Okanagan Historical Society*, ed. Margaret A. Ormsby (s.n., 1949), 71-75.

<sup>167</sup> Ettie Adam, “Kelowna’s Chinese,” in *The 31<sup>st</sup> Report of the Okanagan Historical Society*, ed. Major Hugh Porteous (s.n., 1967), 45-47.

<sup>168</sup> Strandquist, *Floreat*, 15.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*

variety of races, reinforcing ethnic divisions within Kelowna as well as other predominantly white communities throughout British Columbia.

Freemasonry acted as a unique source of social and political order in emerging communities in a manner which no other organization could emulate. The Masonic Lodge became the means through which connections between individual Masons were reinforced while also influencing ideas of masculinity, respectability, and loyalty to Britain. Freemasonry bonded like-minded individuals and their Victorian value system was further reified in the face of a rapidly change society. Public exposure to Masonic rituals and knowledge of their meeting times served to affirm the elite and restricted nature of the organization, demarcating the fraternity as an exclusive source of social capital. Indeed, Freemasonry bonded along lines of gender, race, and morality while bridging members otherwise separated by religious, political and generational discrepancies. While positive externalities certainly existed for those with familial connections to the Masons, Freemasonry discriminated against women and those who did not exist within specific racial categories. The fraternity was an important source of social capital and acted as a solidifier and lubricator within the emerging community of Kelowna and others like it. The connections and interactions it promoted, however, were largely to the benefit of white, middle class, men.

## **Chapter 5: Kelowna and Freemasonry: World War I and a Continuing Legacy**

The illustrious actions of Kelowna's Masons certainly stand out from a scarce population of 600 souls in 1905. Masons were Kelowna's first doctors, lawyers, businessmen, shopkeepers, teachers, chemists, landholders, contractors, organizers, and politicians. Freemason Henry Raymer, a prolific builder and Kelowna's first Mayor, is an ideal example of how Masons, literally and figuratively, laid the foundations for the prosperous city that is Kelowna today. Mason G. H. Dunn was a pioneer Amateur Radio Operator and was responsible for the formation of the current Radio Station CKOV, while the first telephone company in Kelowna, the Okanagan Telephone Company, emerged after Brother H.H. Millie donated his switchboard and patrons' lines and phones to the start-up project.<sup>170</sup> Besides laying the groundwork for Kelowna's future technological infrastructure, the Masons knew how to have fun and put on a show as well. Public entertainment was often provided by a local brass band which included Masons S. Gray, D.W. Crowley, E. R. Bailey, H. W. Raymer, and J. Gletcher, and between 1909 and 1914 the entire Lodge turned out to participate in five church parades. St. George's Lodge also sponsored various concerts in Kelowna, while Mason A.C. Poole contributed his voice to Gilbert and Sullivan musical productions when available in Kelowna.<sup>171</sup> Kelowna's Masons, amongst a great number of other things, provided the community with entertainment while marching to a distinctly Masonic beat.

In 1906, the Deputy Grand Master of District #3, following his visit to St. George's Lodge on May 25, 1906, reported that "in my 26 years of experience in Masonry this was the

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<sup>170</sup> Strandquist "St. George's Lodge #41 A.F. & A. M.," 126.

<sup>171</sup> Strandquist, *Floreat*, 31.

most perfect work I have ever seen... I expect to see this the banner Lodge of the Okanagan.”<sup>172</sup>

It seems that St. George’s lived up to this expectation when, in 1922, Mason Finlay Fraser stated in his report to the Grand Lodge of British Columbia that “one is not long in his Lodge (St. George’s) when he is impressed that everything is done well and in proper order. Even at the Banquets table, smoking is prohibited until the Toast to the King is drunk. I would like to see all Lodges follow this example.”<sup>173</sup> Clearly, the Masonic Craft had found fertile ground in Kelowna, and membership increased impressively each year. And yet, the history of St. George’s is not without misfortune. Tragically, for Masons, and for this researcher in particular, on August 1, 1909, the building containing the hall of St. George’s Lodge No.41 was destroyed by fire.<sup>174</sup> Furniture, regalia, and worst of all, all the books and records of St. George’s early history, were lost. The resolve and the loyalty of Kelowna’s Masons to their Craft was such however that by November 26, just four months after the disastrous fire, a new Lodge room was funded, equipped, and furnished to a beautiful standard unmatched in St. George’s history.<sup>175</sup>

Unfortunately, fate continued to be cruel towards St. George’s, and on October 29, 1916, in the midst of the upheaval of the Great War, Kelowna’s Masonic Lodge again succumbed to fire. While the books and records were thankfully preserved intact, the loss, though partly covered by insurance, was devastating in that it left Kelowna’s Masons without a home or any prospect of one in the near future.<sup>176</sup> Temporary accommodations were found, but the problem of obtaining a permanent home for the Lodge was not solved until Mason David Lloyd-Jones generously

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<sup>172</sup> Strandquist, *Floreat*, 35.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, 41. Note: St. George’s prided itself on remaining a completely ‘dry’ Lodge. This resulted in the long-standing practice of ‘Toasts’ of grape juice and ginger ale being drunk rather than wine.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>176</sup> Strandquist, “St. George’s Lodge #41 A.F. & A.M.”, 125.

decided to donate and construct a Lodge room in a new building he was in the process of erecting downtown.<sup>177</sup> St. George's Lodge No. 41 has resided there ever since.<sup>178</sup>

As the twentieth century advanced, Kelowna transitioned from a frontier community into an increasingly established and urbanized city. Indeed, in February of 1912 *The Kelowna Courier and Okanagan Orchardist* announced that “while there was great development all throughout Canada last year, in no province was it so marked as in British Columbia, in no part of the province was development more rapid than in the Okanagan, and no place had contributed more to the development of the Okanagan than Kelowna.”<sup>179</sup> Such change was not merely a quantitative change in size but a qualitative one in which Kelowna developed greater economic specialization, a wider range of influence, and a more prominent urban structure. Freemasonry had played a vital role in providing social stability as well as laying the foundations upon which Kelowna's general cultural, economic, and political growth occurred. Facilitating the creation of beneficial inter-personal relationships within Kelowna, St. George's Lodge consolidated the community while providing social and cultural connections amongst British Columbia's interior communities and coastal urban centres. As Kelowna changed however, so too did Freemasonry's role in it. In 1914, the world's focus shifted towards Europe, and as British men and Masons gathered to answer the call of the Mother Country, the role of Freemasonry in Kelowna likewise shifted.

Ties with Great Britain across Canada were still very strong during the early twentieth century, as indicated by Prime Minister Sir Wilfred Laurier who stated in the House of

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<sup>177</sup> Strandquist, *Floreat*, 4.

<sup>178</sup> Note: St. George's Lodge No. 41 can be found in downtown Kelowna on Pandosy Street.

<sup>179</sup> *The Kelowna Courier and Okanagan Orchardist*, February 1912.

Commons in 1910, “When Great Britain is at war, Canada is at war.”<sup>180</sup> So when after many years of peace and prosperity the Great War broke out in the fall of 1914, the call to defend King and Country was met with enthusiastic response from Kelowna and the surrounding area. In 1916 the *SS Sicamous* carried off “Kelowna’s Gift of 1000 Men” for service during World War I. Though the gift consisted of a contingent of Okanagan recruits rather than of purely Kelowna citizens, Kelowna’s contribution of 200 men in 1916, followed by another 75 volunteers in 1917, was a greater per capita enlistment rate than most other English communities in Canada.<sup>181</sup> Amongst these men were a number of Kelowna’s Masons, in fact St. George’s charter members Dr. Benjamin de Furlong Boyce and John Ford Burne were cited within the “Kelowna District Honor Roll” published by *The Kelowna Courier* for their domestic services in the Canadian military.<sup>182</sup> Captain Dr. Boyce was appointed to the military medical board in Vernon while Sergeant J.F. Burne served as a military administrator and recruiter, in one instance advertising for volunteers to form a company to be sent overseas to reinforce the 2<sup>nd</sup> Canadian Mounted Rifles in 1917.<sup>183</sup> St. George’s Masons also served in the Canadian Over-Seas Expeditionary Force, with the obituary of Edgar L. Greenside and the attestation papers of Frank William Fraser and Elisha Rezeau Bailey Jr. confirming the brave service, and sacrifice, of Kelowna’s Masons on the battlefields of Europe.<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> James H. Hayes, “Kelowna in World War One,” in *The 61<sup>st</sup> Report of the Okanagan Historical Society*, ed. Denis Marshall (Salmon Arm: Hucul Printing Ltd., 1997), 73.

<sup>181</sup> Surtees, 50.

<sup>182</sup> “Kelowna District Honor Roll,” *The Kelowna Courier and Okanagan Orchardist*, October 1916.

<sup>183</sup> Information File: *Dr. B. F. Boyce*. Kelowna Public Archives and

“Items of Interest,” *The Kelowna Courier and Okanagan Orchardist*, January 4, 1917.

<sup>184</sup> “Attestation Paper,” *Library and Archives Canada*, <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca>. Also see “We Will Remember Them,” in *The 27<sup>th</sup> Report of the Okanagan Historical Society*, ed. Major H. Porteous (s.n., 1963): 136-140. Note: Evidence strongly suggests the enlistment of ten additional Masons before 1917, yet due to this historian’s inability to confirm their enlistment beyond all doubt, they must remain uncited as direct evidence. Nonetheless, there was a distinct and undeniable Masonic presence within Kelowna’s contributions to the war effort.

Those who did not directly join the war effort still made significant contributions to it, as seen through the work of Kelowna's city council during this period, led by Mayor and Mason J. W. Jones and aldermen W.E. Adams, R.A. Copeland, D.W. Sutherland, J.M. Harvey, J.B. Knowles, G.A. Meikle, and H.W. Raymer, all of whom were Masons. The latter two, G.A. Meikle and H.W. Raymer displayed such dedication to public service that they passed away while in office, bearing the rigors of government despite failing health.<sup>185</sup> Masons in Kelowna fought the battles at home, with city council attempting to boost morale by instructing that letters be sent to the two volunteer regiments, expressing appreciation for the willingness with which their members enlisted. Then, on August 14, 1914, Kelowna city council unanimously adopted a resolution to guarantee that the families of those on active service would not want for the necessities of life during their absence. Additionally, city council continued to take a leading role in war-related matters when it agreed to contribute financially to the cost of providing a local special war news service.<sup>186</sup>

Leading their community in defense of their Home Land, the enlistment of various members of St. George's Lodge and the actions of those left to run the city during difficult times reinforced the Masons as patriotic and respectable individuals who were a part of a patriotic and respectable institution. Indeed, during this time the Grand Master of Freemasonry in British Columbia recognized the great demands upon the Craft and Canada, issuing a circular on September 3, 1914 "asking [for Masons] to discontinue all expensive banqueting, requesting the husbanding of all resources, and the study of economy generally."<sup>187</sup> Later, on November 4 1914, the Grand Master then asked for contributions for a fund for War Relief and was

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<sup>185</sup> "Obituary: The Late Mr. H. W. Raymer," *The Kelowna Courier and Okanagan Orchardist*, April 6, 1916.

<sup>186</sup> Hayes, 74.

<sup>187</sup> Marshall, 224.

successful in raising large sums for relief and war purposes.<sup>188</sup> British Columbia's Masonic contribution to Canada's war effort was such that in 1917 the Military Service Department of the National Council of the Young Men's Christian Association recognized Freemasonry's role, celebrating the "patriotic work of that organization connected with the Canadian Army."<sup>189</sup> In fact, the Military Department admitted that Freemasonry had practically been charged with looking after the "off hours" of the military men, providing means for recreation while giving religious services which were entirely non-denominational.<sup>190</sup> The Canadian military and the nation relied upon Freemasonry during its time of need, and the Masons rose to the occasion.

The beginning of the First World War by no means marked the apex of Kelowna's involvement in Freemasonry. In fact, annual new membership rates would not see their highest level until 1922 when twenty-four new Masons were welcomed into St. George's. By 1914 however, Freemasonry's role in Kelowna had nonetheless changed. The introduction of St. George's Lodge in 1905 had been an important factor in Kelowna's transition from an emerging community into an established and stable society. Yet, Kelowna was no longer a frontier community, and, as social historian J. M. S. Careless would argue, by 1914 Kelowna had reached the "processing level" of its agricultural economy which "marked a transition from frontier to maturing region, and to the emergence within it of substantial cities out of towns."<sup>191</sup> With the community firmly established, the position of St. George's as social exemplar, stabilizer, lubricator, and consolidator, was no longer as prominent.

Freemasonry was a special source of social capital, respectability, and social order, helping to establish and stabilize British Columbia's frontier communities in the late nineteenth

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<sup>188</sup> Marshall, 224.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid., 249.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid., 250.

<sup>191</sup> Careless, 48.



and early twentieth century. Freemasonry fulfilled a purpose which no other voluntary association could, its presence in every incorporated municipality of British Columbia by 1914 acting as a clear indicator of its importance to these early communities. Acting as a stabilizing force, Freemasonry created positive, though exclusive, connections within and between British Columbia's frontier places. A white, male, generally Protestant, middle class institution, Freemasonry reinforced traditional Victorian social values and hierarchies within society while allowing members to transcend these very structures within Freemasonry. It created a private sphere of association and imbued its members with a certain ideal of masculinity and morality. Acting as a formal, yet portable, form of recognition, Freemasonry eased the transition from one community to the next while creating bonds which went beyond class, creed, and political allegiances. The fraternity was a constant in a rapidly changing world, serving as a medium for the communication of respectability and acceptability while providing emerging communities with a sense of historical depth, a connection to a larger whole, and played a significant role in informing the distinctly British character of British Columbia. Freemasonry provided for the political needs of emerging communities, and served its country in times of peace and in times of war. Freemasons were the early leaders of British Columbia, playing a formative role in the development of the province's early towns and cities.

The Masons of Kelowna's St. George's Lodge No. 41 were instrumental in the early development of the city. They came from a wide, though selective, segment of society, they founded and joined numerous associations, they invested money, they fought for their country, and they played prominent political roles. The names of Kelowna's major streets are a tribute to the legacy of St. George's early members, symbolic reminders of the important foundations upon

which Kelowna continues to flourish.<sup>192</sup> Freemasonry in British Columbia, and St. George's in Kelowna, survived two World Wars, a Great Depression, and countless other misfortunes while remaining a visible presence in communities throughout the province to this day through the Masonic Cancer Car program.<sup>193</sup> Transporting cancer patients to various treatment centres throughout the province at no cost to either the patient or the Canadian Cancer Society, the Masons continue to act as a benevolent force in the very communities they helped to establish throughout British Columbia. In Kelowna itself, St. George's Lodge No. 41 remains an active part of the community, with local Masons maintaining a tradition of Freemasonry which has lasted for over a century.

**Figure 1: St. George's Lodge No. 41 – Freemasons (2011/2012)**



<sup>192</sup> *Kelowna Street Names, Their Origins: A Brief History* (Kelowna: Menzies Printers, 2010).

<sup>193</sup> "Cancer Car Program," *Grand Lodge of British Columbia and Yukon*, <http://freemasonry.bcy.ca/textfiles/cancer.html>.

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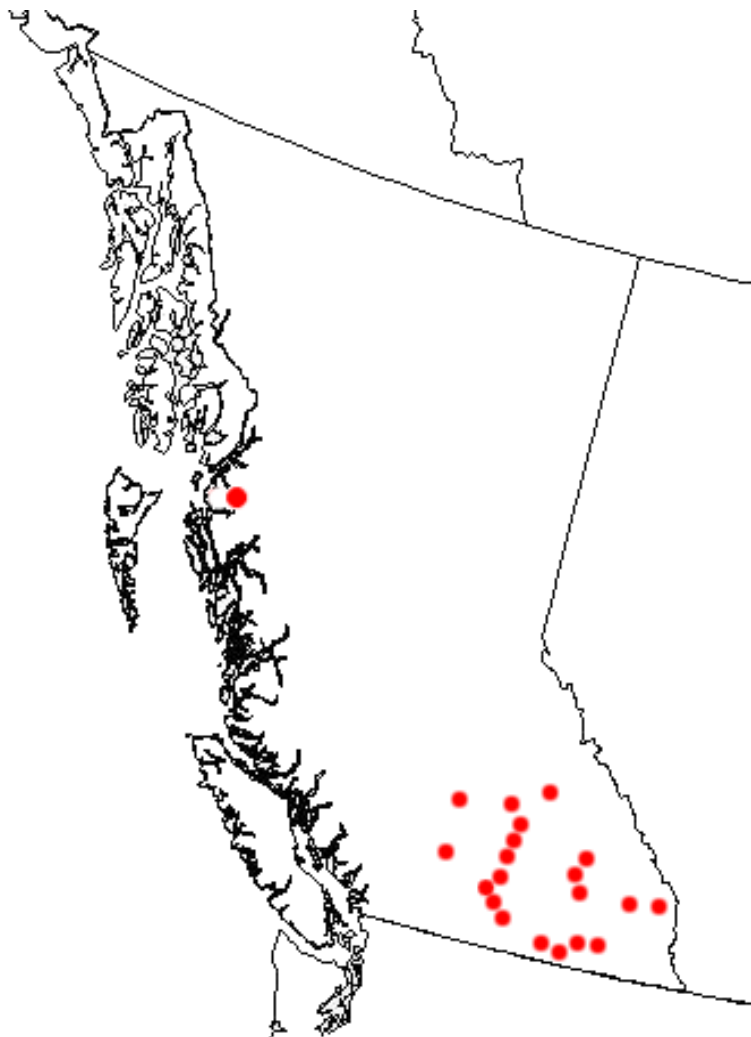
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## Appendix

**Figure 2: Masonic Lodges in British Columbia's Twenty-One Incorporated Municipalities (1914)<sup>194</sup>**



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<sup>194</sup> Excluding incorporated municipalities located on Vancouver Island or in the Greater Vancouver area.