

## **The Roots/Routes of the Ancient Order of Foresters in the Anglophone Caribbean with Special Emphasis on Barbados**

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### **Introduction**

Fraternal organisations transplanted into the Caribbean from the eighteenth century were aspects of European, African and American cultural expressions embraced by West Indians over time. This work does not propose to expose any of the secrecy of fraternal organisations or Lodges, as they are known. It explores from the mid-nineteenth century, the roots and routes of the fraternal organisation, the Ancient Order of Foresters (AOF), primarily in Barbados and selected territories of the Anglophone Caribbean. It will be shown that former colonies such as Barbados were pivotal in both the early development and spread of some fraternal organisations in the Caribbean that had originated in Europe. This paper also seeks to determine whether there was any degree of regional unity facilitated by fraternalism. The intention here is to offer more perspectives on the connections between Barbados, the wider region and the former Mother Country, Britain.

### **Fraternal Organisations**

Fraternal organisations have their own languages, ideas, symbols, and traditions that are peculiar to their cultures. Fraternal organisations can be categorised into two groups, Freemasonry (also referred to as the Free and Accepted Masons, the Craft, Masonry or the brotherhood) and other fraternal societies, which though not Masonic, have similar concepts and components. Mary-Ann Clawson defines fraternal orders as fictive kinship groups, which conceive of themselves as brotherhoods, accepting that definition to create and sustain relationships among biologically unrelated individuals. Clawson states that ritual, especially the initiation rite, is used in the construction and maintenance of the fraternal bond. Some fraternal groups typically exclude women from membership and make this exclusion a central part of their organisational identity. Further, some fraternal orders function as benefit societies, which recognise a kinship to one another, rested in their common usage of imagery and forms derived from Freemasonry (Clawson 1986: 42).

Some non-Masonic societies such as the AOF can be viewed as fraternal benefit societies, some of which are similar to friendly societies. A friendly society (sometimes called a mutual society, benevolent society or fraternal organisation) is a mutual association for insurance-like purposes, and often, especially in the past, served ceremonial and friendship purposes. Friendly societies are described as associations with some Masonic features, formed chiefly among fraternal societies, such as the Mechanics for mutual protection and assistance. According to Robert Macoy, such societies help their members in sickness and misfortunes and, at their death, furnish assistance to their families. "All of them seem to have borrowed their idea of mutual relief from the Masonic brotherhood" (Macoy 1994: 151). Freemasonry differs from friendly societies because the masons practice beneficence but friendly societies supply insurance (Cordery 2003: 18).

Freemasonry is the name of one of the largest and oldest fraternal organisations in the world. Within Britain, it is traced to the late Renaissance and Scottish origins. There are several definitions of Freemasonry. According to David Stevenson:

Freemasonry, as it emerged in seventeenth century Scotland, was based on lodges, secret or semi-secret organisations of initiates, combining sociability and fraternity with elaborate secrets and (usually) with efforts to regulate entry to the Craft of stone masons and the networking practices of stonemasons... (Stevenson 1990: 7)

Margaret Jacob points out other components of Masonry. Jacob states that “Freemasonry provided a system of constitutions, elections, majority rule, pluralities, annual assemblies, sealed ballots, even taxes and eventually “Courts” where disputes between Lodges and brothers could be adjudicated” (Jacob 2006: 54). This definition of Freemasonry by W. Kirk Mac Nutly offers this perspective:

Freemasonry is a very old, secular, fraternal society which requires belief in a Supreme Being as its principal qualification for membership and which is dedicated to the practice of tolerance, respect and understanding of others; the encouragement of high standards of morality among its members; and the performance of charitable works (Mac Nutly 1994: 6).

Freemasonry has been founded on its capacity to join members together by a fraternal bond, which functions simultaneously as a barrier to the uninitiated. The signs, grips and passwords, initiations and the rituals that identify brethren and strengthen that bond, give fraternal organisations like Masonry the power to include and exclude who has access to the fraternal space. It is important to highlight “The Constitutions of the Free-Masons” written by James Anderson. Published in 1723, they have contributed to the binaries of the included and excluded with respect to Masonry in its formative years. The Constitutions’ rule 3 (1) provided the criteria for candidates. This rule states that the membership applies to those who are “... free by birth and of the full age of 21 years.”<sup>1</sup> More specifically, “The Persons admitted Members of a Lodge must be good and true Men, free-born, and of mature and discreet Age, no Bondmen, no Women, no immoral or scandalous Men, but of good Report.”<sup>2</sup>

### **Fraternal Organisations in the Caribbean**

In the colonial society of Barbados, white Masons strictly interpreted and adhered to the “free by birth” rule of Freemasonry. This meant that no blacks who were enslaved, or were the descendants of the enslaved, could become Masons. Gary Lewis offers a possible perspective that white Masons had on this subject. Lewis states that the reason offered for the non-admittance of the enslaved:

is...not couched in terms of disqualification on the ground of alleged moral/social inferiority but in practical terms. It was claimed that the master, lord, or lawful

owner of the human property might call upon the man at any time (even out of the lodge), thereby causing problems of attendance (Lewis 1999: 40).

Therefore, in the formative years, Masonic Lodges were white, male spaces. Aviston Downes asserts that by the late nineteenth century, Freemasonry in Barbados mirrored the racial, class and gender configurations of Barbadian society: "... while poor whites and middle-class blacks and coloured had secured their places, women and the black working class remained excluded" (Downes 2002: 288).

In mapping the early development of Freemasonry in the Anglophone Caribbean, as early as 1730 there were attempts to formalise English Freemasonry in the British West Indies. In 1734, it is recorded that a Lodge at Montserrat became the second Lodge to secure a warrant from the Premier Grand Lodge of England (Parsons 2008). Despite this report of a Lodge in Montserrat, it is popularly believed that in the British West Indies, Freemasonry was first established in Antigua. Jessica Harland-Jacobs calls attention to this historical development by stating that English Freemasonry was introduced into the West Indies and the Caribbean by the appointment of a Provincial Grand Master (PGM) in Antigua in 1738. PGMs were appointed for 'the British Islands in America' among other places, between 1736 and 1737 (Harland-Jacobs 2007: 103-104). In 1739, a Lodge was established in Jamaica, and in the same year St. Kitts formed an English Lodge known as the Mother Lodge No. 56 (Downes 2002: 286).

Alexander Irvine is hailed as the father of Freemasonry in Barbados because he founded the first 'Modern' Lodge under the name of the St. Michael's in 1740. There is evidence to suggest that there was a Masonic presence in Barbados prior to 1740. Harland-Jacobs asserts that in 1738 a PGM for North America constituted a Lodge of "old Boston Masons" in Barbados when his ship stopped in the island. The Lodge is reported to have initiated "several men of distinction" (Harland-Jacobs 2007: 39). However, there is historical record of Masons in Barbados dating back to the seventeenth century. In "A Brief Relation of the Late Horrid Rebellion Acted in the Island Barbados" dated 1650 to 1652, there is mention of "a brother of that fraternity," that is, a member of a Masonic Lodge and a matter involving Lt. Colonel Christopher Codrington, a Royalist and planter (Hutson 2001: 8).

During the eighteenth century, Scottish and then Irish Freemasonry also developed in the Caribbean. On November 17, 1760, the first Scottish Lodge in the region, the St. Andrew's Scots Lodge No. 102, was constituted at Morant Bay in the parish of St. Thomas in the East, Jamaica. The first Scottish Lodge, the St. John Pythagorean Kilwinning based in St. John's, Antigua, was chartered by M. Kilwinning and warranted on October 1, 1767 (Sealcoon 1976: 19). Barbados's first Scottish Lodge, Scotia No. 267, was warranted on November 15, 1799.

Jamaica was the first location where Irish Masonry was formalised in the Anglophone Caribbean. In the eighteenth century, Jamaica was responsible for the issue of four warrants to Lodges. These were the following: No. 456 in 1767; No. 699 in 1789 and Nos. 733 and 738 in 1791. F.W. Sealcoon states that although the Irish military and other warrants were used by the GLI since 1732, there is no record of Irish Lodges working in Jamaica until 1795 (Sealcoon 1976: 19). The Grand Lodge of Ireland warranted its first Lodge in Barbados in 1783 (Downes 2003: 42-43). Indeed, Masonry spread throughout the Caribbean in the eighteenth century. In contrast, other secret societies were mainly established in nineteenth century Barbados such as the Independent Order of Oddfellows in 1842, the Ancient Order of Foresters in 1846, the British Order of Free Gardeners in 1887 and the Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds in 1888. According to Downes, fraternal orders such as these became a haven for "Blacks and Coloureds from

among the business community, elementary school teachers, clerks and master artisans began to organise their own friendly societies as colonial branches of the large affiliated orders in England” (Downes 2005: 176).

### **The Ancient Order of Foresters**

The Ancient Order of Foresters (AOF), which was a benevolent society, originated in England under the name The Foresters as far back as 1460. A period of dormancy spanning approximately 300 years followed. In October 1745, the Order, which was resuscitated in Leeds, England, functioned under the name of the Ancient Order of Royal Foresters. It is stated that Freemasons established the original Lodge of the Foresters (Cordery 2003: 18). In 1813, the Royal Foresters began establishing subsidiary Courts (branches). Courts are responsible for their own funds, relief for their members, make their own decisions, and are merged into Districts. In 1834, the Court at Leeds dictated that any changes in the rules governing all the Courts of the Royal Foresters should be decided by that Court. Consequently, the majority of Courts seceded to form the AOF. Forestry continued its spread across England to cities such as London and Bristol (Cooper 1984: 1-6). Its administrative body, the Executive Council, has the responsibility for issuing dispensations. Foresters Courts, which spread across the world, owe their origin to this Executive Council, located in South Hampton, England (Figure 1). In terms of its spread to the Caribbean, Walter Cooper informs us, “Great Britain was becoming a trading nation and the ‘Workshop of the World’ in a developing British Empire and those who emigrated or worked abroad took their own pattern of life with them, including their Friendly Society interests” (Cooper 1984: 1).



Figure 1: Some of the material culture of the AOF, which includes axes, a crown and a banner.

Barbados remains significant in the discussion on fraternalism because during the colonial era, this island was the location where the first AOF Court, the Court Western Star No. 2066 was formed outside of England. Established in 1846, Court Western Star No. 2066 is the oldest in the British Commonwealth, and is second only in age to the Court in Holland and the British Isles (Lorde 2005). This was possibly due to Barbados being one of the older colonies in the West Indies that England held at the time. Therefore, more substantial inter-cultural linkages and exchanges between Britain and Barbados because of colonialism and the migratory patterns were therefore highly likely.

According to Rudolph Lorde, a Barbadian who has been a Forester for more than fifty years, ancient Forestry was introduced to Barbados by a group of Barbadians of English descent in 1846. The Dispensation, bearing the date 24 January 1846, was issued by the Executive Council of the Order to the Court Western Star No. 2066. The three founding members were Frederick Augustus Belgrave, Nicholas Gibson, and Joseph Sullivan. Their first meeting was held on July 26, 1846, and on September 30, 1846 an additional 56 men became members.

The growth of Forestry in Barbados continued with the establishment of the Court St. Michael's Diamond No. 2203 on Wednesday, September 29, 1847 (St. Michael's Day). On the evening of that day, "the Brethren assembled at the house of Brother John R. L. Gall (where the Court is kept) for the celebration." According to the following account:

At an early hour, the room was tastefully decorated with branches of the evergreen... the emblems and insignia of the Order and the beautifully chaste dispensation of the Diamond Court, being conspicuously prominent...A band of musicians were likewise in attendance. Several gentlemen, strangers, having by request attended to join the Brethren in the celebration at 7 o'clock, the company sat down to a sumptuous dinner...<sup>3</sup>

The event was chaired by the presiding chairman Brother G.T. Matthews, Chief Ranger, with Brother Robert Straker, Sub Chief Ranger as the Vice Chairman. By 1890, the combined membership of these two AOF Courts stood at 159 plus 25 honorary members and total Court funds amounted to £714 (Downes 2005: 176).

The Barbados Windward and Leeward District, which was established on 5 September 1873, enhanced the development of Forestry in the Eastern Caribbean. By December 31, 1876, among these Courts there was £598 in Court Funds, £5 in District Funds and 324 benefit members of which the average age was thirty-two. Six of these Courts granted contributions. One hundred and thirteen (113) benefit members were admitted, two members died and there were five honorary members (Shawcross 1877: 303, 307, 312). The creation of this District signalled a step towards autonomy where these men of the Eastern Caribbean desired to be in charge of Forestry in this part of the region. It meant that there was an increase in the interest in Forestry as more men were becoming members.

In the late nineteenth century, specifically between 1886 and 1887, the District Chief Ranger (DCR) was James A. Nurse; District Sub-Chief Ranger was Alfred H. Harris and the District Treasurer was J.W. Scantlebury (Shawcross 1857: 370). Officers of the District Court between October 1896 and October 1897 were from Barbados. The DCR was W. Baker; District Sub Chief Ranger was J.S. Cumberbatch; District Treasurer W.B. Marshall and secretary of the Barbados District from April 1897 to April 1898 was Fitzherbert Adams (Listerstead 1897: 484). Adams, who lived at Government Hill, St. Michael was the father of national hero the Right Honourable Grantley Adams, Barbados's first Premier. Fitzherbert Adams was also a Freemason (Listerstead 1897: 488).

In the late nineteenth century, black men had become Foresters in Barbados. Thus, there was an identifiable change in the racial and colour identities constructed within the Forestry. However, it was still a gendered space since worldwide there were no women in this Order, that is, until the late nineteenth century. In England, there was a policy change, which was in place by 1887, which stated that women could be Foresters<sup>4</sup> but this was not enacted in the Caribbean at the same time.

Forestry was not confined just to the British West Indies but was disseminated elsewhere in the Caribbean. In the Francophone Caribbean, the Court No. 6722 Salmon was founded in Port-au-Prince, Haiti in 1880. In the Danish West Indies, the Court No. 7447 Eureka was formed in 1886 in St. Thomas and the Court Colon No. 6725 was established in 1881 in Panama. It had 41 benefit members, with an average age of 34 and had £50 in its coffers. By 1887, thirteen

members were initiated (Shawcross 1857: 365). This is evidence of the Forestry's expansion in the region. No more Courts were established in the nineteenth century in Barbados.

During the 1880s, the youth was introduced to the Forestry through the formation of a youth arm of Forestry in the Anglophone Caribbean. In Jamaica, a Juveniles Foresters Society No. 6086 was founded in 1886 at the Savanna-la-Mar Hotel and had 16 members. In the same year, another was opened at Gladstone House, Falmouth, Jamaica. It was called Court No. 6113 and had 25 members (Shawcross 1857: 469). A similar exercise took place in Grenada where the Juvenile Foresters Society No. 8045 began in 1894 and had eight members (Listerstead 1897: 477).

In terms of its development in the twentieth century, the AOF headquarters were constructed in the city of Bridgetown (Figure 2). The now deceased Past District Chief Ranger, Edward Carlisle Bourne was pivotal to this project.<sup>5</sup> A dedication ceremony was held at 'Notton' Passage Road, St. Michael and its first meeting on 30 May 1958, was held on the same date.<sup>6</sup> On that day, Bourne laid the corner stone of the building that still houses the Court Western Star.<sup>7</sup> The building is owned by the Court Western Star and several Lodges, including the Elks in Barbados, rent this building for meetings. Their headquarters can be identified as a Foresters's building because of the use of green, which is the AOF's colour. Its abbreviated name AOF is over the front steps leading up to main entrance of the building. On the inside, it is painted in the colour green. On the front gate are the words, the Court Western Star No. 2066. There is a sign on the lawn of the property with these words in green, "The Home-Ancient Order of Foresters Court Western Star, Court St. Michael Gem and Court Northern Star."



Figure 2: The Ancient Order of Foresters headquarters at 'Notton' Passage Road, St. Michael.

Forestry in Barbados took another step when the Barbados United District Court, which is the highest administrative body of Forestry in Barbados, was formed in 1964 out of the Courts Western Star, St. Michael Diamond, St. Michael's Gem, and Northern Star.<sup>8</sup> This indicated that there were high levels of membership and that these Courts had been functioning well enough to sustain a District Court. Its first DCR was Edward 'Cossy' Dacosta Inniss who held that office in 1965. The second was Bertham Mc Cloude Reid from the Court St. Michael's Diamond, and the third was Elton Rudolph Lorde, who was the DCR in 1966. On the island, there is a Chapter of the Rovers of Sherwood Forest, which is an organisation for past senior officers of merit.<sup>9</sup>

Under Rudolph Lorde's leadership, a Regional Conference for the Caribbean and Americas for Foresters was held in 1973. This was an attempt by Barbados to strengthen the

Forestry network in the region. The conference resulted from a decision made at the Combermere School, Station Hill, St. Michael, Barbados in the same year. At this conference, were present Foresters from the English-speaking Caribbean, such as Jamaica, Guyana, St. Vincent and St. Kitts. There were also representatives from Central America such as Costa Rica and Panama, in addition to the Dutch speaking territories namely Aruba, Curaçao and Suriname, in attendance.<sup>10</sup> Between 1973 and 1975, Foresters's rules, constitutions and the rituals were created. In August 1975, another conference was held, this time in Trinidad. Lorde was elected president for a two-year term. However, for more than five years, these AOF members have not met. A meeting had been set for 2004 but in that year Hurricane Ivan devastated Grenada, thereby ending hopes for another conference.<sup>11</sup> Future attempts to bring the Foresters in the Caribbean and Latin America together, if successful, will enhance the regional network of Forestry.

### **Women in Forestry**

The entrance of women into the Ancient Order of Foresters and their progression in this organisation occurred from the twentieth century in the British West Indies. This transpired despite the change of policy, which stated that women could be Foresters, was in place in England by 1887. Although all of the Foresters's Courts solely for women were established in the twentieth century in the region, Barbados's move towards this was relatively late compared to the rest of the region. In comparison, by 1914, in Trinidad, two of its eleven Courts were female only Courts. Eventually, of the 22 Courts in Trinidad, four were for women, two of which were located in Port-of-Spain. These were the Court No. 9743 Emancipation Pride and the Court No. 9750 Lily of the Forest. Another was called the Court No. 10086 Gem of Coronation Rose and the Court No. 10027 Pride of Shamrock was located in San Fernando, Trinidad.<sup>12</sup>

It was only from the mid-twentieth century that Forestry in Barbados no longer became a male dominated space. As a result of the example of the AOF, women in the Courts in Barbados contested the gender norms that governed their society. The Court St. Michael's Diamond No. 2203 admitted women but did so with the view that when they had sufficient women, they would then form their own Court. The women complied, and this led to the rise of the Court St. Michael's Gem No. 1034, as a Court solely for women.<sup>13</sup> It originated when four Foresters: Dorothy Coulston, Eureka Ramsey, Monica Smith and Hildegard Weekes who had previously attended a Lodge dominated by men, decided to create a special haven and forum for women within Forestry (Deeyal 2002: 32). The formation of women's Courts enhanced the movement of women into fraternal societies in twentieth century Barbados. In 1992, the Court St. Michael's Gem had 50 members, under the then Chief Ranger Gloria Hinds.<sup>14</sup> One decade later, in 2002, there were 30 members.

Along with male and female only Courts, there are mixed Courts which cater to both sexes. These have provided more avenues for women to become Foresters. One example is that of the Court Western Star. In 1953, women originally joined this Court with the intention of forming their own. They opted not to do so but preferred to remain there. Therefore, the presence of women transformed it into a mixed Court since it caters to both sexes. In so doing, the women altered the gender identity of a previously all-male Court.

Women have never been passive actors in history. It was from this infiltration of women into this male Court that this Lodge's cultural practices, which privileged men, became



problematic for the female Foresters. Although accommodated in the Court Western Star, the women of this Court challenged the order of hierarchy on the issue of leadership positions. In the Court Western Star, there was an unwritten rule that only the men “went to the chair,” that is, to acquire the highest post of Chief Ranger. This would have been the norm since for decades that Court was all-male, and therefore men held leadership positions. It took five years for two women, Marjorie Riley and Enid Grant, to officially oppose this unwritten rule.

Women in fraternal history have been both initiators and leaders of protests for various reasons such as gender equality. Riley and Grant, seeking the right to be leaders in the Court based on merit and not sex, exemplifies women contesting patriarchal norms embedded within the Lodge. These women sought to redress an imbalance. They were activists who were advocating gender equality through women’s leadership. In pioneering women’s leadership in the AOF, these two women paved the way for other women to become Chief Rangers in the mixed Courts. Some of the Barbadian women who served as Chief Ranger in mixed and female only Courts include Juanita Hinkson, Maria Asgill, Muriel Lorde, Jean Alleyne and Dorothy Coulston.<sup>15</sup>

In 1968, another mixed Court, the Court Northern Star, was formed out of the Court Western Star by Foresters, such as Rudolph Lorde (member of Western Star), Hazel Lashley and Edward ‘Cossy’ Da Costa Inniss. Northern Star was founded for members who lived in the north of the island, hence its name.<sup>16</sup> In Barbados, the Court Good Shepherd was established in the 1990s as a mixed Court while Western Star, originally for males, became mixed.<sup>17</sup> Figure 3 (below) shows some of the members of the Barbados United District of the AOF, comprised of both male and female membership. This highlights a continuance of the trend where both sexes continue to join Forestry in Barbados.



Figure 3: Foresters are donating items to the Evalina Smith Centre, St. Philip, Barbados

In January 2009, a woman, Roseita Watson, was the District Chief Ranger of the Barbados United District Court of the AOF. In this capacity, she is in charge of all of the Courts in Barbados. In Figure 3, to the far left, she is depicted shaking hands with the supervisor of the Evalina Smith Centre, Yvette Cumberbatch.

### **A Future for Forestry?**

Despite the fact that some of its Courts are no longer functioning, Barbados's role in the history of Forestry in the British West Indies remains important. In 1985, at the first ever World Conference of Foresters in London (in celebration of the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Order in overseas territories), Barbados's Elon Jordan, the then District Chief Ranger of the Barbados United District, was the first speaker to address the conference. In his speech, he lamented that active Forestry membership during that period had declined. According to Jordan, although approximately 1,000 members had been initiated in the earlier years, by 1985, there might only be 200 active male and female Foresters under the Barbados United District.<sup>18</sup> In the twenty-first century, this number has declined considerably, making this a continued concern for the organisation. For example, in Court St. Michael's Gem, it is estimated that during its peak period of the 1950s to the 1970s, there were approximately 100 members. Between 2005 and 2007, membership ranged from 24 to 30.<sup>19</sup> Some fraternal organisations such as the AOF are governed under the Barbados Friendly Societies Act of 1904. The Friendly Societies Act relates to societies being registered and regulated by the Registrar of Friendly and Cooperative Societies. Up until 2007, all of the AOF Courts were still on this list but Courts Good Shepherd and St. Michael Diamond were noted as inactive.<sup>20</sup> In any case, while its membership and number of Courts is not as considerable as it was in the past, the AOF continues to practice its secret rituals and remains an active organisation in twenty-first century Barbados.

### **Conclusion**

The development of the Ancient Order of Foresters in Barbados, and the wider Anglophone Caribbean, exemplifies the longevity of fraternity in the British West Indies. In examining this fraternal space, it is evident that while the AOF began and spread throughout the colonial era, it remains relevant into the twenty-first century. During the twentieth century, efforts were made to bring Caribbean and Latin American sisters and brothers together through this fraternal order. Despite its decline in recent years, the Ancient Order of Foresters continues to be vital to our understanding of social and cultural practices in the Anglophone Caribbean.

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## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup>*Constitutions of the Ancient Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons under the United Grand Lodge of England* (London: United Grand Lodge of England, 1884) 86.
- <sup>2</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>3</sup>*Foresters Miscellany No. 3* (n.p: n.p. Dec. 1847) 63-65.
- <sup>4</sup>*Directory of the Ancient Order of Foresters Friendly Society 1891*. (London: Executive Council, 1891).
- <sup>5</sup>Rudolph Lorde, "To the memory of Bro. E.C. Bourne Deceased P.D.C.R." *125<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Ancient Order of Foresters Caribbean and Western Hemisphere Souvenir Brochure*, (n.p.: n.p. 1971).
- <sup>6</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>7</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>8</sup>Rudolph Lorde, *Ancient Order of Foresters' Court Northern Star No. 10143 Bridgetown, Barbados*. (n.p: n.p, n.d).
- <sup>9</sup>Juanita Hinkson, Personal Interview, 10 Sept. 2005.
- <sup>10</sup>Elon Jordan, Personal Interview, 20 Sept. 2005.
- <sup>10</sup>Juanita Hinkson, Personal Interview, 10 Sept. 2005.
- <sup>11</sup>Rudolph Lorde, Personal Interview, 17 Sept. 2005.
- <sup>12</sup>*Directory of the Ancient Order of Foresters Friendly Society 1914*. (London: Executive Council, 1914).
- <sup>13</sup>Lorde, *Ancient Order of Foresters' Court Northern Star No. 10143, Bridgetown, Barbados*.
- <sup>14</sup>*Foresters' Miscellany: The Official Journal of the AOF Friendly Society* Vol. 104 No. 1269

(Southampton: Executive Council 1992) 250.

<sup>15</sup>Rudolph Lorde, Personal Interview, 17 Sept. 2005.

<sup>16</sup>Elon Jordan, Personal Interview, 20 Sept. 2005.

<sup>17</sup>Juanita Hinkson, Personal Interview, 10 Sept. 2005.

<sup>18</sup>'Foresters Celebrate in London,' *Foresters Miscellany Vol. 97* (Southampton: Executive Council College, 1985) 27.

<sup>19</sup>Juanita Hinkson, Personal Interview, 10 Sept. 2005.

<sup>20</sup>List of Friendly Societies, 2007, Registrar of Cooperative and Friendly Societies Cooperatives Department, Barbados.