


The Golden Age of Fraternalism: 1870–1910

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 PRIOR TO THE CIVIL WAR the system of social institutions known as fraternalism was well established in the United States, but it appealed to only a small segment of the male population. The most prevalent orders, Freemasons and Odd Fellows, limited membership to men of like social and economic status. The select few members of such orders as the Sons of Liberty and the Society of Cincinnati considered their affiliations as honorary or beneficiary. Lodge activities represented only a small part of a brother's lifestyle. Most of the various fraternal orders survived the Civil War intact, but with membership still limited to a select and somewhat elite group.

However, a few years after the war ended this state of affairs changed radically. For a variety of reasons men by the thousands affiliated with multiple fraternal orders. In the four decades following the war, fraternal orders grew both in number and type. They garnered membership from every social and economic class, and from a variety of immigrant ethnic groups; they established auxiliary orders for women based on the fraternal form; and total membership as well as the numbers of lodges for all the orders increased dramatically. From 1870 to 1910 fraternalism dominated the social life of some twenty percent of

American males, while a significant percentage of America's women also focused their social interactions around fraternal auxiliaries and sisterhoods. Membership in Eastern Star, Rebekah, the Daughters of Ruth, or the Pythian Sisters was every bit as important as membership in church circles and literary guilds. Contemporary observers termed this phenomenal rush to join secret societies "The Great Fraternal Movement," and students of the movement referred to this time period as "The Golden Age of Fraternalism."

As early as 1897 scholars acknowledged the phenomenon and attempted to find a cause or explanation for this uniquely American pattern of social behavior. Historians, sociologists, and philosophers have analyzed fraternalism from various perspectives and have suggested multiple reasons for the rise and demise of the Great Fraternal Movement.¹ One area of social behavior which has not yet been sufficiently considered as a factor in the movement is that of dress. The purpose of this essay is to examine the use of clothing by fraternal orders during the forty years from 1870 to 1910 and to consider the notion that increased use of regalia and non-normative forms of dress and body adornment contributed to the Great Fraternal Movement—that men (and women) joined fraternal orders and created new orders, ranks, ceremonies, and rituals to wear fraternal regalia.

A comparison of manuals from the first half of the nineteenth century with those from the last third of the century show that the nature of fraternalism changed drastically with regard to the use of garments and accessories of dress.² Secret societies experienced an overwhelming concern with clothing. As fraternalism increased in size and influence, so did the use of clothing and regalia. Artifacts of dress became a very public identifying feature of the secret societies. The amount and types of clothing, and the frequency of use of clothing in fraternal rituals changed during this time, as did the manner in which clothing was used. Lodge activities and rituals formerly conducted with improvised, symbolic garments and accessories now required extensive use of ornate robes, cloaks, special headgear, specific accessories, theatrical costumes, and military uniforms. Governing bodies of the orders considered regalia an important issue—the defining element of the fraternity's image, both public and private. Leaders hotly debated the subject of regalia, while the rank-and-file membership engaged in lengthy discussions about uniforms, costumes, gloves, aprons, and headwear.³ Without doubt, dress served as an identifying feature of the Golden Age of Fraternalism and as a contributing factor that influenced men to join secret societies in such great numbers.

FRATERNALISM DURING THE CIVIL WAR

As the first cannon fired on Fort Sumter in 1861, leaders of fraternal orders (Freemasonry in particular) concerned themselves with regaining respectability and open public acceptance for the institutions. Following the debacle of the Morgan Affair in 1826 and the subsequent rise of the politically motivated Anti-Masonic Party, lodge membership and active participation in fraternal activities declined drastically. However, by 1852 the Anti-Masons held no significant political influence, and the brethren returned slowly to the sacred meeting places. Initially, as the lodges reconvened, attendance was small—some older members had died, others dropped their affiliations, and recruitment was a slow process. Only a small segment of American men actively and openly participated in fraternal activities, but membership was on the rise, and was no longer something to hide.

The American Civil War interrupted and slowed the growth of fraternal orders in this country, but it did not destroy the secret societies. Smaller fraternities such as the Druids and the Redmen simply held their activities in abeyance until the end of the war. A few of the less serious fraternal societies, such as the Sons of Malta disappeared during the conflict and never revived.⁴ The larger, national organizations remained active on a limited basis during the hostilities, but did not focus on recruiting new members or organizing new lodges. Further, where lodges convened on bivouacs or near battlefields, regalia mattered little. The governing bodies of the fraternities showed almost no concern for regalia during the war, other than to preserve and protect items owned by lodges.

As hostilities raged on for four years, Freemasons and Odd Fellows kept the fraternal spirit alive on the home front, particularly in their attentions to widows and orphans of fallen brothers and in performing funeral rites for deceased members. Regalia for these activities usually consisted of aprons, collars, and gloves. With a large part of the male population engaged in active military service and wearing military uniform, fraternal orders did not parade publicly in regalia.

As in previous military actions (the American Revolution, the War of 1812, and the Mexican-American War), Freemasons in the armed services, most of whom were officers, convened military lodges in both Union and Confederate armies. Such regalia as was used in military lodges consisted only of aprons and gloves, which a man could easily pack and carry. For sessions held in field tents, devoted and faithful Freemasons carried portable symbolic lodge equipment.⁵

Among the civilian population, Freemasonry in the Northern states slowly recovered from the decline in active membership that resulted from the rise of the Anti-Masonic Party. Lodges acquired few new members; some older men,

those not serving in the military and who had quietly withdrawn from Masonic activities in the face of the Anti-Masonic movement, now re-affiliated.

In the South, along with every other aspect of civilian social life, fraternalism suffered. Prior to 1861, Charleston, South Carolina, had been the seat of the Scottish Rite, the most elite of the Masonic bodies. As that city was isolated, besieged, burned, and devastated by Northern troops, fraternal activity came to a halt. For a time, Scottish Rite activity in the South ceased.⁶ In New Orleans, Atlanta, Vicksburg, and elsewhere desperate people converted Masonic and Odd Fellows halls to other uses, as needed by the military and by the civilian population. In both the North and the South few men were available or so inclined or had the leisure time and money to convene fraternal lodges in the midst of war. Many lodges and meeting rooms served as hospitals, canteens, and even makeshift morgues.

Odd Fellowship survived the conflict and, like Freemasonry, fared better in the North than in the South. Correspondence from Odd Fellows confirms that the fraternity continued to operate during the Civil War and that toward the end of the war fraternal activity increased. For the last twelve months of the Civil War, from April 1864 to April 1865, Odd Fellowship in Ohio had a net increase in membership of 1,218.⁷ With the cessation of hostilities in 1865, fraternalism revived, flourished, and became a dominant force in American male society for the next five decades.

THE EXTENT OF THE GREAT FRATERNAL MOVEMENT

Statistics from the time period provide a measure of the enormity of the fraternal movement.⁸ In 1901 B. H. Meyer identified 568 fraternal societies whose date of organization could be ascertained and found that

only 78 had been founded before 1880, 124 between 1880 and 1900, 136 between 1890 and 1895, and 230 from 1895 to 1901. In other words, 86 per cent of the fraternal societies are only twenty years old, nearly one-fourth are between ages of five and ten, and over 40 per cent are either infants or children below five ... the increase during the last five years has been 25 per cent, and during the past ten years it has doubled.⁹

Only five years earlier, W.S. Harwood had estimated that over 5,400,000 men belonged to at least one secret fraternal society, and that figure excluded an estimated 500,000 members of the Grand Army of the Republic.¹⁰ Both Harwood and Meyer claimed that one in five American males over the age of twenty-one belonged to one or more secret societies at that time.

A few years later in 1907, Albert Stevens listed in his *Cyclopaedia of Fraternities* seventy-eight “general fraternal orders which offer low-cost life insurance plans to members.” These seventy-eight secret fraternal societies claimed a total membership of 5,637,672. Stevens added to this figure, “membership in minor fraternal orders” of 310,000, and “total membership of [ten] secret fraternities of a charitable, benevolent, religious or philosophical and mystical character, but which do not include life insurance features” of 4,620,000. Stevens claimed that since 1797 some six hundred secret societies had existed in the United States and that by 1907 350 of these survived. He estimated a total membership in fraternal societies in 1907 of 10,567,672—well over forty percent of the male population.¹¹ By any measure, fraternalism was an impressive social presence throughout the last three decades of the nineteenth century and into the first decades of the twentieth century.

During the years from 1870 through 1910, the dominant fraternal orders in terms of size, activity, and public visibility were the Grand Army of the Republic, the Masonic orders, the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, and the Knights of Pythias. But the social movement that began in the 1870s was not limited to increased membership in existing fraternities. Men from a variety of backgrounds formed dozens of new fraternities that mimicked the features of these established orders. Most of the American secret societies were founded after 1870, and most of those were founded by men who already belonged to other secret societies.¹² Members of the Masonic fraternity, the Ancient Order of United Workmen, the Royal Arcanum, the Knights of Honor, and the Odd Fellows established the Royal Society of Good Fellows in 1882.¹³ Members of the Independent Order of Rechabites organized the Sons of Jonadab, a temperance group in 1877.¹⁴ A group of Masons, Odd Fellows, and Knights of Pythias with special political leanings founded the Knights of Reciprocity in 1890.¹⁵ Members of the Independent Order of Foresters founded the Knights of the Maccabees in 1878.¹⁶ John Burbadge conceived the idea of The Knights of the Golden Eagle in 1873, taking the ritual from that of the Knights Templar. Both the Independent Order of Odd Fellows and the Knights of Pythias introduced this order, with qualifications for membership identical to those of the Order of the Heptasoph.¹⁷

It would not be uncommon for an Odd Fellow to be also a Freemason, a Pythian Knight, a Maccabee, or some other knight or fellow. An active fraternal brother often belonged to two or three or more secret societies and shared the secret rituals of all of them.

From Masonic lodges to Grange halls, all fraternal organizations share basic similarities. Rituals and degrees borrow exotic titles and dramatic scenarios from ancient legends, historical incidents, or mythology... Regalia provides fantasy and drama.¹⁸

Race presented no barrier to fraternal membership, although the fraternal orders unequivocally subscribed to a policy of racial segregation. Prince Hall, an educated, free African American “was made a Mason by an English army lodge connected with General Gage’s command in 1775, and on March 16 of that same year, fourteen other Boston negroes were made Freemasons in the same Lodge, at Castle William, Boston Harbor.”¹⁹ The survival and growth of segregated Freemasonry is evidence of the persistence of fraternalism in America. Throughout the Anti-Masonic movement(1826–1852), the Civil War, and Reconstruction, this secret society, known as Prince Hall Masonry, survived, endured, and eventually prospered along with other fraternal orders during Golden Age of Fraternities. In 1875 the Grand Lodge of Freemasons in Ohio, with the endorsement and approval of Albert Pike, acknowledged the legitimacy of the “colored Freemasons.” In 1896, there were Grand Lodges of Free and Accepted Negro Masons in thirty-two states, in the District of Columbia, in the Province of Ontario, and in Liberia. By 1907, Stevens allowed that some 60,000 men of African American heritage were active in what came to be known as Prince Hall Masonry.²⁰

THE START OF THE MOVEMENT

Two specific occurrences in the summer of 1866 marked the beginning of the Great Fraternal Movement: the founding of a veteran’s group, the Grand Army of the Republic, which adopted the fraternal form, and the creation of the Knights of Pythias, which held its first Grand Lodge in 1866.

The Grand Army of the Republic was a huge Civil War veterans’ organization composed of

Union soldiers and sailors of the War of the Rebellion, 1861–1865... [It was] founded to preserve and strengthen those kind and fraternal feelings which bind together the soldiers, sailors and marines who united to suppress the late Rebellion, and to perpetuate the memory and history of the dead; to assist such former comrades in arms as need help and protection, and to extend needful aid to the widows and orphans of those who have fallen.²¹

The G.A.R. took the associational form of a fraternal society, complete with secret rituals, grips, and oaths. Founded by and for Union veterans, the G.A.R.

assumed the hierarchical structure of the Army, and its regalia consisted of the military clothing the members had worn during their term of service. The members added to their uniforms some medals with emblems of the G.A.R. and later introduced sashes and ribbons to which they affixed their G.A.R. medals. The G.A.R. offered former soldiers and sailors the opportunity to continue the positive aspects of military service—friendship, mutual aid, public expressions of patriotism, wearing of uniforms, and general male bonding.

Because so many men were eligible for membership, the G.A.R. garnered members from a broad cross-section of society, unlike the Masonic orders, the Odd Fellows, and some of the other extant secret societies of the time. For many men, the G.A.R. formed their first experience with a secret society. They eagerly and willingly embraced the notion of fraternalism. First organized in the spring of 1866, within three years the G.A.R. claimed more than 250,000 members.²²

The G.A.R. did not purport to be a source of philosophical enlightenment or a repository of moral guidelines, as did Freemasonry and the Odd Fellows. Nor was the G.A.R. elitist. It was primarily a social club that focused on patriotism and appealed to a broad spectrum of society. And it offered men the opportunity to dress in military clothing—to wear sashes, ornamental belts and buckles, baldrics and swords, fancy hats, gloves with decorated gauntlets, and uniforms with shiny brass buttons.

A second event which helped to launch the Great Fraternal Movement was the creation of the Knights of Pythias. This fraternal order was the brainchild of one man, Justus Henry Rathbone, who before the war had belonged to the Sons of Malta. He was both a Freemason and a member of the Improved Order of Redmen by the time he was twenty-two.²³ As a young schoolteacher at a mining camp in Michigan, he whiled away long winter evenings by devising a ritual based on a contemporary theatrical play dramatizing the legend of Damon and Pythias.

Seven years later, in 1864, while serving as a non-combatant member of the Union army in Washington, D.C., he invited four co-workers to join him in organizing a secret fraternal society employing his ritual. Rathbone incorporated into his fraternity all the elements that he believed would entice men to join. From its inception the Knights of Pythias regarded regalia as an essential element in the organization. Rathbone's first initiation rites included ceremonies that required collars of different colors for each of three degrees, and a participatory drama which required costumes.²⁴

Less than two years after establishing the first lodge, Rathbone and his colleagues had constituted a number of lodges sufficient to form a Grand Lodge

that met in May, 1866. Two years later, with two hundred subordinate lodges in seven states, the first annual session of the Supreme Lodge of the Knights of Pythias assembled in Wilmington, Delaware. Just five years after Rathbone and his friends first met in Baltimore to create a new secret fraternal society, the Supreme Secretary reported total fraternal membership at 35,000.

Writing the history of the order in 1909, James Carnahan attributed the early swift growth of the fraternity to the military nature of the society. He described the fraternity as a “semi-military organization” that generated “soldierly feelings ... and naturally led former soldiers from both sides of the Civil War to investigate its principles and tenets.” He claimed that the Knights of Pythias espoused patriotism in the spirit of peace, and noted that an ex-soldier, Col. George H. Crager, was responsible for spreading the order west of the Alleghenies. Carnahan stated clearly that from its inception, Pythian Knighthood was open to all who wished to subscribe to its teachings, and that the intentions of the founders and officers were to spread the organization, to gain as many new members, and to form as many new lodges as possible.²⁵ However, the open invitation was typical of American society at that time: Pythian Knighthood, like the Scottish Rite, the York Rite, Odd Fellowship, and most other secret societies, was open to all males of European American background. It was not open to African American, Asian, or Native American men.²⁶

This fraternal order fulfilled the intentions of the early founders. By 1870, the Pythians claimed 52,000 members with 465 subordinate lodges and 16 Grand Lodges; the Supreme Lodge met at a huge convention in a different city every year. By 1877, the Supreme Lodge alone claimed over 2,000 active members. Within thirty years, this fraternity grew to encompass almost 500,000 members.²⁷ Eventually it numbered over a million members and became the third largest of the American secret societies.

Wildly popular among middle-class working men, the Knights of Pythias was fraternalism at the most entertaining and appealing level, with secrets, rituals, costumes, ragalia, and uniforms, and it welcomed white men from every social and economic level.

Both the G.A.R. and the K. of P. were different from the Freemasons, the Odd Fellows, the Druids, or the Society of Cincinnati. These new fraternities were purposefully invented and modeled on the older societies, but they were neither as selective nor as exclusionary as their models. The new fraternities wished to become large organizations, and actively recruited members from among all classes and levels of the white male population.

Clothing was an important part of these two new fraternities. Both societies required members to wear prescribed, non-normative clothing, both inside the lodge walls and outside in public, as a display of unity and affiliation. And both organizations had a strong element of militarism, which they proudly offered for public view. These new post-war fraternities were societies with secrets, but they were no longer secret societies.

After Appomattox, the nation yearned for a return to normalcy. Fraternalism offered a familiar social form in both Northern and Southern states. For those who belonged to a secret society before the war, a return to the lodge was one means of re-establishing pre-war social contacts. For many young men who had gone to war and experienced the strong bonds of male sociability associated with military life, a fraternal order was a means of continuing such associations.

In a society that was searching for order, fraternal organizations exuded order. They had carefully constructed constitutions, established rituals, stability represented by ancient histories (real or invented), far-reaching networks of lodges, bureaucratic administrative procedures, and hierarchical structures with tiers of ranks and degrees, and officers governing Supreme, Grand, and Subordinate lodges. Further, fraternal orders gave men the opportunity to change their appearance and persona by wearing non-normative dress. For men returning from military service, the most appealing features of secret societies had not changed. The fraternal orders offered entertainment, male companionship, group identity, and regalia. Men also joined fraternal societies to avail themselves of insurance benefits. And the G.A.R. and the K. of P. welcomed nearly every man, removing the element of exclusivity. All of these factors contributed to the phenomenon of the Great Fraternal Movement.

ODD FELLOWSHIP AFTER THE CIVIL WAR

The older, larger fraternal societies, particularly the Odd Fellows and the Masonic bodies, reacted to the popularity of the new fraternalism. Seeing men by the thousands joining the G.A.R. and the Knights of Pythias, the Odd Fellows altered their membership policies and relaxed their notions of exclusivity. After the war, Odd Fellows' lodges sought out and welcomed new members, and soon were constituting new lodges almost weekly, encouraging old and new members alike to bring in their friends and relatives.

Even as the war was drawing to a close, this fraternity willingly resumed its activities, and exhibited a fascination with regalia. In early 1865 the Grand Sires of all the Grand Lodges (presumably in the northern states) issued a proclamation

appointing members to serve on a national committee to erect a monument in Baltimore honoring the founder of American Odd Fellowship, Thomas Wildey. *The American Odd Fellow* gave an account of the laying of the cornerstone of the Wildey Monument in April 1865, just after Lee's surrender. The writer noted that "the members of the Order, without regalia, met at the hall on North Gay Street at two o'clock.... Members were dressed in dark clothes, and presented a truly fine appearance."²⁸ The writer described how the fraternity members then donned their aprons and collars and walked in procession to the monument site.

Another description of the procession at the dedication of that monument a short time later exclaimed:

Odd Fellows to the right of us, Odd Fellows to the left of us, Odd Fellows all around us—the banners rustling, flags waving, regalias glittering, music enchanting! Grand procession, finally bringing in to view the golden-fringed and beautifully bespangled regalia of the members of the Grand Lodge of the United States.²⁹

Yet another report of the same momentous event in Baltimore details the appearance of men wearing the robes of the High Priest, with mitres embellished with crossed shepherds' crooks as a symbol. This was an unusual public display of ritual clothing generally reserved for use inside the lodge, and seen only by the initiated brethren.³⁰ The published reports give no explanation for this. Perhaps the fraternity wished at this time to entice new members by exhibiting the clothing, or perhaps they simply wanted to make a lasting impression on the observing public, to confirm that Odd Fellowship was alive and well. Whatever the reason, as the War drew to a close, the appearance of men in ritual fraternal clothing was newsworthy.

Odd Fellowship not only revived after the war ended, it grew and expanded westward. Brethren once again convened regularly in lodges in cities and villages across the now reunited nation, and the members welcomed the opportunity to once again wear their fraternal clothing. Three Union veterans, former printers who were members of Odd Fellows lodges in Columbus, Ohio, took this revival into consideration when they started their publishing business in the summer of 1865. Selections from the earliest issues of *The Odd Fellow's Companion* illuminate the differences in Northern and Southern perspectives on fraternalism and regalia after the war ended.

One contributing editor listed all the times and places of Odd Fellows lodge meetings in Cincinnati, inviting brethren from other areas to visit if they were in town. In October, 1865, Odd Fellows in Bluffton, Ohio held a

celebration for the good of the Order... The procession, decked out in the regalia of the Order and largely extended by the long line of bodies who formed a constituent of it, made such an imposing appearance as the good people of that region had probably not witnessed before, and so they marched back again!³¹

The fraternity in the southern states did not report such cheerful news. Reflecting society in general, the Odd Fellows fraternity in the South survived the War, but not without damage. Their correspondence with the publishers provides an interesting view of Southern society after the Civil War. One Odd Fellow from South Carolina complained that “the Order in this jurisdiction is in a deplorable condition, depleted of membership to furnish soldiers for the army.”³² A letter from another Southern Odd Fellow related that before the War, the prosperous lodges had placed considerable assets in Southern banks. During the course of the War the Confederate government took the gold and silver that had backed the assets of the fraternities and replaced it with now-worthless Confederate currency. The Southern lodges found themselves stripped of their financial assets. Individual members had no money for dues, lodge furnishings, or regalia; more importantly, they were struggling to feed and clothe their families. Similar reports appear throughout subsequent issues in 1865 from Georgia, Louisiana, and Alabama. Older Odd Fellows were concerned with re-establishing lodges in the South as a way to return society to normalcy and to reunite the North and the South.³³ Others, more desperate, clearly saw the northern fraternal lodges as a source of much needed money, food, and clothing. The Southern Odd Fellows were not at all concerned just yet with parades, ceremonies and regalia.

The second issue of the *Odd Fellow's Companion* brought information from those states affected by the War, but not entirely devastated. There, lodge regalia was a concern. A writer from Missouri said in September 1865 that their lodges were in a state of disarray, and complained that subordinate Encampments had been forced to surrender their charters (he did not say to whom they were surrendered). Confirming that Odd Fellows' lodges owned regalia prior to the Civil War, he bemoaned the fact that lodge contents “including books, records and regalia were destroyed.”³⁴ However, fraternalists regarded renewed lodge activity as a positive element, indicating an upturn in the economy. The writer said that Odd Fellows “were trying to revive the Order, because with the restoration of peace to our country at large, the Order in Missouri, as in others of the southern states, begins to show us something of the old prosperity.”³⁵

In Kansas, where the Encampment Branch had been particularly active before the War, the lodges

were entirely broken up by the effects of the war ... the city of Wellington was sacked by the enemy, our hall in that place rifled of its contents; the books and other effects of the Encampment were lost in the general ruin which befell that place ... there is no prospect that Itaska Encampment will be revived ... the costumes, regalia, &c., of Evergreen Encampment are now in the keeping of Kansas City Encampment... [I] suggest that those effects be placed at the disposal of the former members of Evergreen Encampment, who are now members of Kansas City Encampment No. 27.³⁶

Apparently, Evergreen's regalia survived the sacking, and it was of sufficient importance to be addressed in this letter.

These early exchanges of communication hint at a growing interest in fraternal regalia even before the Great Fraternal Movement captured the public's fancy. Emphasizing the objective of "publication in the west," the inaugural copy of *The Odd Fellow's Companion* noted that warrants were issued for instituting new lodges in Colorado Territory and in Salt Lake City. Subsequent issues through July 1866 report lodge activities in New York, Massachusetts, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, making frequent reference to members wearing regalia and to public processions of "dressed" lodges. Odd Fellows in the Southern states wrote to decry the loss of lodge furnishings and regalia, and members from Western states wrote letters describing their pleasure in wearing the regalia.

Among the older fraternal societies that survived the war, the Odd Fellows became the largest of the orders, particularly after the authorization of uniforms for members of the Encampment Ranks in 1877. Many Odd Fellows' lodges adopted the practice of dressing in military-type uniforms and participating in public parades and processions while wearing regalia that identified them as fraternal brothers.

Some older Odd Fellows voiced concerns about an increasing emphasis on enlarging membership and objected to the inclusive rather than exclusive approach. They cautioned subordinate lodges to select competent leaders, to invite new members judiciously, to extend the hand of friendship, but to admit no unworthy members in haste just for the purpose of increasing rosters.³⁷

And the question of public displays and wearing of regalia was a sore point. Since the 1850s, Odd Fellows in the Grand Lodge had been debating the propriety of public displays of regalia.³⁸ Some older members, historians and traditionalists pointed out that Odd Fellows of the parent fraternity in England

frowned upon public displays wearing regalia, except for funerals. Some believed that public displays of regalia violated the codes of secrecy so important to the exclusive nature of the Order, and others argued that an emphasis on clothing diminished the importance of the spiritual nature of the fraternity.

These warnings had little apparent effect, as the fraternity continued to grow rapidly in the late 1860s, and clothing and regalia continued to be a matter of concern for the membership at large, as well as for the governing bodies.

Sometime before the fall of 1870, the Grand Lodge of the United States discontinued the use of the apron as part of the official regalia of Odd Fellowship. This move upset some members, one of whom carried the debate into print. Past Grand B. F. Rathburn wrote to *The Odd Fellow's Companion* in September:

I find that many are dissatisfied with the manner in which we lost our regalia, or a portion of it—the apron.

The willingness with which the Subordinates laid off this beautiful part of the regalia, obedient to the mandates and order of the Grand Lodge, should be as an example unto them, to return it with the same spirit. Give us what was destined for an Odd Fellow, and our Order will continue to prosper as in days that are past and gone. If not, we may expect other organizations to spring up which will entice members from us, and many a genuine Odd Fellow will join it, leaving our old and noble Order.

Odd Fellowship is now doing more for the community at large, than all the similar organizations upon the earth. Where is the organization that pays more attention to the sick, or keeps a more watchful guard over the widow and orphan, or subscribes more liberally to the wants of the needy, than Odd Fellowship? And I would regret to see its usefulness injured by a refusal to restore to us our time-honored regalia.³⁹

The next month, *The Odd Fellow's Companion* reported on the Grand Lodge of the United States, which had met in September and voted on a proposition to restore the apron as a part of the regalia, or at least permit it to be used by the Encampment Branch. Proponents of the Apron Issue were not successful.

The pending proposition to restore the apron as a portion of our regalia was defeated by a large majority, by the adoption of the majority report of the special committee on that subject, laying over from the last session.

Subsequently a memorial was presented, asking the Grand Lodge to permit the apron to be used in public by the Encampment branch, and signed by all the Representatives from Maine, Delaware, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont, Lower Provinces and Connecticut, and by a portion of the delegations from Iowa, Mississippi, Georgia, Illinois and Texas. This memorial was laid on the table.⁴⁰

At the same session of the Grand Lodge, a proposition to adopt a new regalia for funeral purposes was also defeated.⁴¹ In the “Letters to the Editor,” an Odd Fellow from Illinois responded to Rathburn’s letter of the previous month, giving voice to the minority of members who felt that too much attention was given to the issue of clothing.

I don’t know what Bro. Rathburn can mean when he says he finds many who are dissatisfied with the manner in which we lost the apron. I do not think men join the Order for the show of regalia, but for the good they may be the means of accomplishing. I would ask if there is one sensible brother who would leave an Order doing as much as the Order of Odd Fellows, simply because the Grand Lodge of the United States says he shall be prohibited from wearing a piece of cotton cloth about a foot square ... and I believe that, if the G.L.U.S. should take away all the regalia, the institution of Odd Fellowship would be just as prosperous and be as attentive to all the sick; widows and orphans will be taken just as good care of, as if we wore nothing but aprons.⁴²

The debates over regalia raged on. Ultimately, aprons for Odd Fellows went by the wayside, and proponents of uniforms and the Encampment Rank prevailed. The regalia of Odd Fellowship took on a decidedly militaristic character, with belts, baldrics, gauntlets, and military-style hats.

The Encampment Branch of Odd Fellowship proved to be especially active after the War ended. Encampment Lodges originated in the late 1820s, when the American Odd Fellows’ fraternity added additional degrees to the standard three degrees of the Manchester Unity, the original English Odd Fellows’ fraternity. Men who had attained the Patriarch’s Degree, the highest of the newer ranks, formed separate lodges known as Encampments of Patriarchs. These lodges were very exclusive, with membership limited to men who had passed the first three degrees and wished to continue further up the ranks in Odd Fellowship. The symbols for this degree included a tent with opened flaps and crossed shepherds’ crooks. These images derived from nineteenth-century imagined perceptions of patriarchs in Biblical times, tending flocks and living in tents.

However, as fraternalism became a social movement after the Civil War, Odd Fellows who took this higher degree reinterpreted the word “Encampment,” and gave it a modern, militaristic meaning, perhaps because most of the new members of the Encampment degree had served as officers in the Army.⁴³ The Encampment Rank, after the Civil War became somewhat of a veterans’ group for officers. Without approval from the Grand and Supreme lodges, Encamp-

ment members eschewed the apron and collar, and began to wear military-type uniforms at lodge meetings and at public events. In 1877, after much debate and argument, the Grand Lodge of the United States approved the wearing of uniforms for Encampments, but warned that the cost of the uniforms must not fall to the lodges—a member had to purchase his own regalia. Not everyone was resigned to this change, but in 1878 James L. Ridgely commented that “Whatever may be said of the Encampment Branch by those who do not seem to appreciate its value, everything points to its popularity and perpetuity.”⁴⁴

In the same way that the Grand Army of the Republic drew men to its ranks so they could wear military uniforms, so men were drawn to join the Odd Fellows, in order to attain the Encampment Rank, so they could wear uniforms, drill, and parade. Perhaps men who had served in the Army were reluctant to give up the camaraderie and prestige and trappings of military rank. And perhaps, for men who had never served in the military, the Encampment Rank offered an opportunity for them to wear a uniform.

The uniforms and regalia accomplished the goals of the Odd Fellows’ hierarchy. The Encampment Rank was enormously popular and served to swell the membership rosters of Odd Fellows’ lodges across the nation. Subordinate and Grand Lodges alike prospered, and in turn the financial operations of the Grand Lodge of the United States were secure. Reports of Encampment activities across the nation filled columns in fraternal magazines.

As evidence of the significance of clothing and regalia in the Golden Age of Fraternalism, Ridgely said that the most important legislation considered by the Grand Lodge of the United States in 1870 was the resolution that gave subordinate encampments a street uniform in lieu of ordinary regalia. Further, subordinate encampments were permitted to appear in public wearing “such uniform style of headdress as may be approved by the G[rand] Patriarch of the jurisdiction.”⁴⁵

While subordinate encampments engaged the rank and file membership in ritual activities, the Grand and Supreme Encampments spent time and energy debating at length the form and propriety of regalia which included “chapeaux, crooks, swords and belts, and all military paraphernalia.” They decided in 1870 that such apparel was “inadmissible.” Later, they amended their ruling to allow the wearing of chapeaux. “Friends of the movement [to permit elaborate uniforms] were greatly encouraged, and came up in fine spirits to the session of 1872.”⁴⁶ At this session, Brother Rand of Massachusetts introduced a new resolution regarding uniforms and dress. The preamble and resolution reveal the reason for this intense interest in clothing:

WHEREAS, The wearing of a uniform style of dress on occasions of street parades by the encampments of several jurisdictions has proved a great success in securing membership, inspiring interest, and adding largely to the financial operation of this branch of the Order; therefore,

Resolved, That encampments be permitted to wear such a style of street uniforms, on parade, as may be sanctioned by the Grand Encampments of their respective jurisdictions.⁴⁷

Rand and his New England Odd Fellows openly acknowledged that the use of prescribed forms of dress led to expanded membership and the subsequent enrichment of lodge coffers. This time the Grand Lodge “resolved that Encampments be permitted to wear such style of street uniform, on parade, as may be sanctioned by the Grand Encampments of their respective jurisdictions; but under no circumstances shall the funds of an Encampment be appropriated to meet any expense incurred thereby.”⁴⁸

The Grand Lodge now permitted their members to dress as elaborately as they wished, as long as their state Grand Lodges approved the design of the clothing, but the leadership cautioned the lodges not to expend the fraternity’s money for the uniforms—parade regalia was a man’s own responsibility. Within two years “a revolution of sentiment” regarding militaristic regalia took place. “New England was particularly anxious for the change, and the conservative members were disposed to acquiesce.” In 1875 the indulgence went further, and the G.L.U.S. agreed that a Patriarch could wear his street uniform in his Encampment (not just for parade purposes), provided he also wore his encampment regalia.⁴⁹ Ridgely said that soon this arrangement “was everywhere adopted with beneficial results, and assumed such proportions as to become a matter of grave importance.”

Finally recognizing what Mr. Rand had pointed out so clearly in 1872, that uniforms and regalia did in fact serve to increase membership and bring money into the organization, the Grand Lodge of the United States in 1877 appointed a committee to determine the style of uniform to be worn by all the lodges. After several amendments, the G.L.U.S. approved a street dress uniform for subordinate lodges. Further, it named a committee to prepare a style of street uniform for Patriarchs, who preferred uniforms which distinguished them from the subordinates. At this time, 1877, the Grand Lodge considered the use of any of these uniforms optional from their standpoint. But Grand Secretary Ridgely understood that clothing, uniforms in particular, was the key to growth and prosperity for the fraternity. He concluded

Thus it will be seen that the Patriarchal branch has introduced a feature, which has conquered prejudice and given a new impulse to the whole Order . . . we may soon expect to see [in] the Patriarchal branch one of the best disciplined bodies in the country. They are already recognized as the leaders in our public demonstrations. This brilliant array of Odd Fellows have [*sic*] already added to our processions a dignity and beauty which cannot be surpassed.⁵⁰

By 1877, as the Grand Lodge of the United States approved Odd Fellows' Encampment uniforms, a new generation of young men became eligible to join the fraternity. These men had been too young to serve in the army during the Civil War. Yet, they too wanted the military experience, and joined the Odd Fellows' Encampment so they could wear uniforms, parade and drill, and be in the company of like-minded men. Within seven years, this desire for military dress and activity resulted in the establishment of a new degree and rank within Odd Fellowship, the Patriarchs Militant.

Clearly, the use of clothing, military regalia in particular, significantly furthered the growth and expansion of Odd Fellowship during the early years of the Golden Age of Fraternalism.

AFRICAN AMERICAN FRATERNALISM IN THE GOLDEN AGE

After 1866, reconstruction policies in the South and prosperity from post-war industrialization in the north allowed for the rise of a small but socially significant African American middle class, some of whom were Prince Hall Masons. Consistent with established social patterns, African American men organized fraternally, adopting the rituals of the Knights of Pythias and the Independent Order of Odd Fellows in addition to Prince Hall Masonry. These men assumed the prevalent attitudes and behaviors of contemporary white society and followed identical rituals. Many (but not all) European American lodges considered these lodges spurious, unauthorized, or illegitimate. Nevertheless, African American fraternalists enjoyed sharing male companionship, dramatic rituals, secret mystical rites, mutual insurance benefits, and the opportunity to wear uniforms and regalia. Like their European American brethren, African American lodges met regularly in convention and staged lavish ceremonies, rituals, and public parades. The Grand Lodge of the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows convened in Wilmington, Delaware, in the fall of 1870 with representatives from eighty lodges in ten states. The publication *Heart and Hand* reported on this convention, and *The Odd Fellow's Companion* copied the news item for its readers.

At the close of the session a street parade in full regalia was held. Some half a dozen brass bands discerned excellent music; the procession was many squares in length, with flags and banners waving along the line, and the demonstration was imposing as well as creditable. Immense crowds gathered on the sidewalk, and as the Society passed, followed by carriages containing the higher officers, all pronounced it the very best parade of colored men ever seen in Wilmington.⁵¹

Regalia featured prominently at any fraternal convention, and that used by the black lodges mirrored the garments used by the white lodges.⁵² The Great Fraternal Movement did not break down racial barriers, but it did extend to minorities. An all-encompassing social movement, it inserted itself into America's ethnic and black communities, even as it engaged non-minority men from every social and economic class in the years from 1870 to 1910. Without exception, specialized clothing and dress held a universally important place in every fraternal organization.

AMERICAN FREEMASONRY AND EXPANDED FRATERNALISM

The Masonic orders in the United States also experienced a revival of interest and growth after the Civil War. Still a selective and exclusionary organization, Freemasonry did not recruit members. A man had to petition to become a Freemason, and his acceptance depended to a great extent on his financial solvency and his social status. This fraternity jealously guarded its reputation for exclusivity. Further, the form and ritual of Blue Lodge Freemasonry remained unchanged, and this fraternity retained a more solemn focus than the Odd Fellows or the Knights of Pythias. Regalia for Blue Lodge rituals consisted of the badge of a Freemason—his white lambskin apron and his white gloves.

But the Masonic fraternity, like its imitators, became part of the Great Fraternal Movement. Blue Lodge Masonry experienced growth through the appeal of Freemasonry's higher degrees, particularly the Scottish Rite and the Knights Templar, both of which greatly expanded their use of regalia in the form of costumes and uniforms during the years from 1870 to 1910.

The Scottish Rite in particular changed the nature of fraternalism in America in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, bringing the theater into the lodge room. This branch which had been only a small part of Freemasonry before the Civil War, became one of the most visible and active of the secret societies in the Great Fraternal Movement. The form and growth of the Scottish Rite in America after 1865 is universally attributed to the work of one man: Albert Pike.

At the time Albert Pike was elected Sovereign Grand Commander of the Scottish Rite Southern Jurisdiction in 1859 he had been a Mason for only nine years, but he was an Odd Fellow before that. A lawyer by profession, Pike was an intellectual, a mystic, a student of ancient and esoteric mythologies, and was fascinated with ritual of all sorts. Pike committed himself wholly to the Scottish Rite, and he promoted the spread and growth of the Order. Appointed in 1855 to the committee charged with revising the rituals of the Scottish Rite for the Southern Jurisdiction, Pike took it upon himself to completely rewrite the rituals, and finished his first polished version in 1857.⁵³

Albert Pike's writings indicate that he believed clothing was singularly important to a secret fraternal society. His rituals mandate very specific dress requirements (including color, fabric, texture, trims, etc.)⁵⁴ Possibly from his experience as a military leader, or perhaps from his close association with Native Americans who used clothing for ritual purposes, Pike understood the power of dress to influence behavior and to reinforce ideals. The lavish clothing he ordained often turned the rituals into breathtaking spectacles which attracted public attention and garnered members for the Order. Men by the thousands became Freemasons so that they could petition to take Pike's degrees of Southern Jurisdiction Scottish Rite.⁵⁵

Since 1815, the Scottish Rite in North America had been divided into two Supreme Councils, North and South, with the Northern Masonic Jurisdiction defined as the geographic region east of the Mississippi River and north of the Ohio River and the Mason Dixon Line plus Delaware. Each jurisdiction had its own version of the rituals. Periodically an appointed committee reviewed and revised these rituals, including in such revisions the style of regalia and ritual clothing to be worn in their lodges.⁵⁶ Few could match the detailed ritual work of Albert Pike, and when Charles McClenachan revised the rituals and regalia for the Scottish Rite Northern Masonic Jurisdiction in 1885, he incorporated Pike's ideas, and gratefully acknowledged Pike's efforts and influence.⁵⁷

McClenachan was either unimaginative or constrained by influences from Scottish Rite Leadership. He chose to distinguish the Northern Jurisdiction of the Scottish Rite by changing the shape of the apron, from a square to a triangle, and he opted to embellish the aprons with colored edgings, pockets, rosettes, and embroidered symbols.⁵⁸ But McClenachan's ritual costumes were virtually identical to those described by Pike in his *Magnum Opus*. Although Pike opposed the notion that fraternal rituals were theatrics, ultimately his rituals and McClenachan's did in fact move fraternalism into the realm of theater,⁵⁹

and the result was an unprecedented rise in membership. Men by the thousands petitioned to become Freemasons so they could petition to join the Scottish Rite and be privy to the wonderful rituals which only members could witness.

The Scottish Rite was one of two branches of American Freemasonry. The other was the York or American Rite, the most selective and exclusionary of the Masonic orders. York Rite ritualists shaped their allegorical lessons around the mythology and tales of the medieval Knights Templar. Since the founding of this Rite in the late 1700s, their regalia consisted of uniforms modeled after the ornate garb of eighteenth-century European military officers and royal guards, with tabard capes hung with cords and tassels, and plumed bi-corn chapeaux.

Like the Scottish Rite and the Odd Fellows, this fraternal branch also revised its rituals and constitutions during the Golden Age of Fraternalism, to incorporate even more fanciful uniforms. Unlike the Scottish Rite, where members observed rituals being performed, membership in the York Rite required the member's full participation in the rituals, and members had to purchase uniforms before they could join the order.

As with other secret orders, the exclusive York Rite's membership increased in the years from 1870 to 1910, and their commanderies expanded during the Great Fraternal Movement. This fraternal order met nationally every three years, at Triennial Conclaves, where commanderies marched, paraded, and performed competitive drills. The regalia of the Knights Templar was (and remains today) among the most distinctive and elaborate of all fraternal military clothing. As with the Encampment Rank of the Odd Fellows, Knights Templar purchased and paid for their own uniforms, but the lodges selected the designs.

By 1870, the Great Fraternal Movement was well under way. As the old orders revived and built membership, new fraternal orders popped up everywhere, growing and expanding so rapidly that it was almost impossible to account for all of them. However, all the secret fraternal societies shared a love of ritual and ceremonial clothing.

Indicative of the significant role of clothing in the Great Fraternal Movement, much of the documentation about fraternal orders in that era exists because the suppliers of that clothing, the regalia houses, kept records of all the societies that were part of the Golden Age of Fraternalism.

WHY DID THEY JOIN?

Students of American fraternalism are fond of citing Alexis de Toqueville's astute observation that Americans were predisposed to form associations and

societies, that this population was a nation of joiners. But the Frenchman visited America in the 1830s, and wrote his remarks long before the Golden Age of Fraternalism; he was not referring to secret societies. A cultural penchant for meeting in groups to exercise rights of self-expression and self-government is not sufficient to explain the phenomenon of the Great Fraternal Movement.

Mutual insurance benefits surely provided incentive for working men to join fraternities, as they had no other source of insurance. As commerce resumed after the Civil War, mutual and beneficial insurance companies elected to use the fraternal form as a means of soliciting and retaining new accounts. Many fraternal associations existed *de facto* to market policies and to provide insurance benefits; men joined them in order to obtain these benefits. Vestiges of this social/business partnership remain in such insurance firms as The Grange and the AIU.

When W.S. Harwood examined secret societies in America in 1896, he acknowledged their pervasiveness, marveled at their size, documented their social influence and financial power, and questioned whether or not fraternal orders were a force for good in the United States. Harwood's significant contribution to the study of secret societies is that he correctly identified fraternalism at the moment of its greatest impact in the late nineteenth century, as a social movement, a wide-spread, unprecedented form of voluntary group behavior.

From 1870 onward, American men by the thousands chose to enter the mystical world of the lodges. They committed themselves to hours of intensive study, memorizing symbols and signs and passwords and grips. They took vows of loyalty, fidelity, and secrecy. They willingly paid initiation fees, weekly dues, and assessments. And they eagerly dressed themselves in exotic costumes, fantastic ceremonial aprons, collars, and robes, and elaborate militaristic uniforms.

Carnahan attributed the growth of the Knights of Pythias directly to the formation of the Uniform Rank and the authorization of street uniforms for the rank and file members.

The honors conferred on the Uniform Rank have been shared by the Order in general, and through the prominence of the Uniform Rank the subordinate lodges have been enabled to increase their membership throughout the length and breadth of the Supreme Jurisdiction.⁶⁰

In the same vein, Ridgely responded to critics of the Uniformed Patriarchs of the Odd Fellows with the statement that

the new arrangement [uniforms] assumed such proportions as to become a matter of grave importance ... we may soon expect to see the Patriar-

chal branch one of the largest bodies in the countries. They are already recognized as the leaders in our public demonstrations.⁶¹

Like Carnahan, Ridgely attributed growth of Odd Fellowship to the growth of the uniformed rank.

Alfred Vagts understood the strong appeal of the military ranks of the fraternal orders. He believed that men joined fraternal societies to alleviate the social isolation created by the industrializing workplace. He further believed that participation in the military ranks of the fraternities gave these same ordinary men an opportunity to escape the ordinary, to wear extraordinary clothing, to address each other by extraordinary titles, to express their patriotism, and to step into an illusory world where they appeared noble and heroic.⁶²

During the 1880s an entire generation of American males grew up hearing romantic and adventuresome stories of the Civil War. While their fathers, uncles, and older brothers, veterans all, were honored members of society. Most young men had never worn a military uniform. A nation at peace offered little opportunity for expressions of militarism and the perceived glory and glamour of bivouacs and battles. The writings of Alex and Joseph⁶³ combined with those of Vagts suggest the possibility that, by the 1880s, American fraternal orders provided young men access to the desirable aspects of militarism, unavailable elsewhere in society. This may explain some of the popularity of the Great Fraternal Movement.

Costumes and theatrical clothing had a truly amazing effect on Scottish Rite membership. In the 1870s only a few Scottish Rite bodies were active, and with relatively small membership. Initiation into the Scottish rite required the initiate to participate in dramatized versions of its rituals, using a few costumes which became available from fraternal regalia companies at that time. In the mid-1890s the lodges staged the rituals as dramatic events. By 1910, the lodges no longer carried out the initiations in traditional rectangular lodge rooms. Instead, "the most active Scottish Rite valleys had constructed auditoriums with fully equipped proscenium stages for the presentation of a performed ritual."⁶⁴ These twice-a-year "reunions" involved extensive casts of performers, and the temples soon acquired vast wardrobes of elaborate costumes from manufacturers who specialized in the design, manufacture and distribution of fraternal regalia. Membership in the Scottish Rite skyrocketed from 11,946 in 1901 to 55,588 in 1911, as men flocked to the temples to see the colorful costumes, lavish robes, and jeweled crowns. As the Scottish Rite became more theatrical, the membership continued to grow.⁶⁵

A variety of other, more simplistic notions attempt to explain why so many men joined so many secret societies in these few years. One such notion suggests that the fraternal movement served merely as a form of entertainment and amusement;⁶⁶ others, like Vagts, suggest that various aspects of fraternalism provided ways for men to escape the dehumanizing realities of daily life in an industrializing society.

At the end of the twentieth century, scholars still ponder the questions, and offer a variety of explanations. Barbara Franco suggested that in the last quarter of the nineteenth century American men flocked to the fraternal orders because, more than other organizations of the day, they offered members fellowship, mutual aid, self-improvement, and shared values.⁶⁷ Mark Carnes argued that the phenomenon of the Great Fraternal Movement was a gendered response from American males to women's control of the institutions of morality, specifically the Christian Protestant church. A proliferation of orders and degrees gave a man multiple opportunities to express his masculinity in a society that elsewhere tended to suppress it.⁶⁸

All of these notions have merit, and when considered in combination, may explain to some extent, but not completely, why so many men formed and joined so many secret societies. These explanations do not adequately account for the scope and nature of this remarkable moment in American history. As it is now, membership in secret fraternal societies always has been voluntary. While membership in some of the more elite fraternal orders certainly offered some economic and social benefits, no man was coerced to join a secret society. Although a significant number of men in the United States belonged to fraternal orders in the late nineteenth century, still the majority of American males did not. Peer pressure was not a reason to join. Non-membership carried no penalties. The decision to join a secret society was purely a man's own doing.

The two oldest and largest fraternities, the Masons and the Odd Fellows, never proselytized. As the American fraternal movement gained momentum, these orders changed their rituals and made membership more appealing, so as not to lose members, but they never recruited. A man still had to petition to join. The third large fraternity, the Knights of Pythias, was committed to growth from its inception and welcomed new members. However, no man was sanctioned for not joining.

Scholars and commentators do agree that the secret societies which proliferated in the years from 1870 to 1910 shared certain characteristics and values. Fraternalism in general idealized hierarchy and structure in an increasingly dis-

orderly world and promoted notions of upward social mobility.⁶⁹ The rush to join secret societies epitomized group behavior, encompassing men from all levels of society. Fraternalism enjoyed equal popularity in big cities, small towns and rural areas. And fraternalism crossed social, economic and cultural lines. Men of every occupation, native-born and immigrants, young and old, educated professionals, proprietors, merchants, clerks, skilled artisans, tradesmen, and laborers all joined fraternal orders of some kind.

Although scholars, historians and sociologists have not arrived at a single explanation for the phenomenon that was the Great Fraternal Movement, lodge records and artifacts of material culture from this movement suggest that, in addition to all of the above-stated reasons, men at that time joined the orders for the opportunity to see and wear ceremonial clothing, costumes and especially the military-type uniforms.

The Great Fraternal Movement created a huge demand for specialized clothing, sufficient to spawn a new garment business and market segment—the fraternal regalia industry. Led by giant firms such as The M. C. Lilley & Co., Pettibone Brothers, and C. E. Ward, regalia houses designed, manufactured and marketed every type of clothing and accessory imaginable for use in rituals, dramas, and parades. Costumes, wigs, and masks; footwear, headwear, and underwear; aprons, collars, sashes, robes, tunics, and uniforms; all were part of the Great Fraternal Movement. Owners and principals in these firms were active in all the fraternal orders and influenced the type, amount, and purpose of clothing. Not surprisingly, these regalia firms flourished in the years from 1870 to 1910, and gradually disappeared as fraternalism declined in size and social significance by the mid-twentieth century.

A thorough study of The Golden Age of Fraternalism requires the consideration and inclusion of clothing and regalia as a compelling force in the singular social moment that was the Great Fraternal Movement.

NOTES

1. For early sociological studies, see W. S. Harwood, "Secret Societies in America," *The North American Review*, vol. 164 (1897), no. 485, pp. 617–24; B. H. Meyer, "Fraternal Beneficiary Societies," *The American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 6 (1901), no. 4, pp. 647–61; and Georg Simmel, "The Sociology of Secrecy and of Secret Societies," trans. Albion W. Small, *The American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 11 (1906), no. 44, pp. 441–98. Notable works of modern historians and sociologists include: Noel Gist, "Secret Societies: A Cultural Study

of Fraternalism in the United States,” *University of Missouri Studies*, vol. 15, no. 4 (Oct. 1, 1940), pp. 9–172; Dorothy Ann Lipson, *Freemasonry in Federalist Connecticut* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977); Lyn Dumenil, *Freemasonry and American Culture 1880–1930* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984); Margaret Jacob, *Living the Enlightenment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Steven Bullock, *Revolutionary Brotherhood: Freemasonry and the Transformation of the American Social Order* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Mark Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989); and Mary Ann Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.)

2. Compare Jeremy L. Cross, *The True Masonic Chart, or Hieroglyphic Monitor: Containing All the Emblems Explained* (New Haven: Clagg & Gray, 1819); Frederick Dalcho, *An Ahiman Rezon for the Use of the Grand Lodge of South Carolina, Ancient York Masons* (Charleston, S.C. Marchant, Willington & Co., 1807); Charles T. McClenachan, *The Book of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry: Containing Instructions in All the Degrees from the Third to the Thirty-third, and Last Degree of the Rite* (New York: J. J. Little, 1885); Albert Pike, *The Magnum Opus, or Great Work: Pike’s First Version of the Esoteric Work and Lectures of the Scottish Rite Rituals* (1857; reprint, Kila, Mt.: Kessinger, 1992); and Albert Pike, *Liturgy of the Blue Degrees: of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry for the Southern Jurisdiction* (1877; reprint, Kila, MT: Kessinger, 1996).

3. See James R. Carnahan, *Pythian Knighthood: Its History and Literature, being an account of the Origin and growth of the Order of the Knights of Pythias* (Cincinnati: Pettibone Manufacturing, 1888); James L. Ridgely, *History of American Odd Fellowship: The First Decade* (Baltimore: by the author, by the authority of the Grand Lodge of the United States, I.O.O.F. 1878); and McClenachan, Charles T. *The Book of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite*.

4. See Albert C. Stevens, *Cyclopaedia of Fraternities* (New York: E. B. Treat, 1907). p. 284; and Arthur Preuss, *A Dictionary of Secret and Other Societies* (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1924), p. 442.

5. Motts’ Military Museum in Grove City, Ohio, displays sets of miniature Masonic Blue Lodge jewels in traveling cases, designed for use in lodge meetings held during the Civil War at bivouac sites.

6. See William L. Fox, *The Lodge of the Double-Headed Eagle* (Little Rock: University of Arkansas Press, 1997), pp. 69–77.

7. *The Odd Fellow’s Companion* (M. C. Lilley & Co., Columbus, Ohio), Aug. 1865, p. 33.

8. Many fraternal orders offered mutual insurance benefits or had separate organizational entities for insurance purposes, known as Endowment Ranks. Because insurance sold well among fraternal brothers, some insurance businesses deliberately took the organizational form of a fraternal society. Reliable statistics exist for those fraternal beneficial societies. Both Harwood and Meyer used insurance statistics to document the size of the fraternal movement. In 1896, a Fraternal Insurance Society was formed to repre-

sent the interests of insurance companies doing business as fraternal orders. Beginning in 1896, the Fraternal Publishing Company of Rochester, N.Y., published annually a manual for Fraternal Insurance Companies, listing the names, dates of origin and membership of the member societies. This data does not include figures for secret fraternal societies which did not have insurance ranks, or which were not members of the Fraternal Insurance Society.

9. Meyer, "Fraternal Beneficiary Societies," pp. 655–56.
10. Harwood, "Secret Societies," p. 617.
11. Stevens, *Cyclopaedia*, pp. 113–14.
12. See Preuss, *A Dictionary*, and Stevens, *Cyclopaedia*. Both Stevens and Preuss list fraternities by name, provide their known date of origin, and give a brief description of the purpose or history of each order. Writing in 1924, Preuss credited much of his information from Stevens' 1907 edition.
13. Preuss, *Dictionary*, p. 421.
14. Preuss, *Dictionary*, p. 441.
15. Preuss, *Dictionary*, p. 228.
16. Preuss, *Dictionary*, p. 262.
17. Preuss, *Dictionary*, p. 232.
18. Barbara Franco, "Many Fraternal Groups Grew from Masonic Seed," *The Northern Light*, vol. 16, no. 4 (Sept, 1985) p. 4.
19. Stevens, *Cyclopaedia*, pp. 72–78.
20. Stevens, *Cyclopaedia*, pp. 72–78.
21. Stevens, *Cyclopaedia*, p. 365.
22. Stevens, *Cyclopaedia*, pp. 369.
23. James R. Carnahan, *Pythian Knighthood: Its History and Literature* (Cincinnati: The Pettibone Bros. Manufacturing Company, 1909), p. 272.
24. See Carnahan, *Pythian Knighthood*, pp. 102–19, 131–140; and Jno. Van Valkenburg, *The Knights of Pythias Complete Manual and Textbook* (Canton: Memento Publishing Co., 1887).
25. Carnahan, *Pythian Knighthood*, pp. 315–20. Van Valkenburg, *Knights of Pythias*, p. 242.
26. Van Valkenburg, *Knights of Pythias*, pp. 200–50.
27. Carnahan, *Pythian Knighthood*, pp. 315–20.

28. Carnahan, *Pythian Knighthood*, p. 44.
 29. *The Odd Fellow's Companion*, Oct. 1865, p. 115.
 30. *The Odd Fellow's Companion*, Oct. 1865, pp. 140–41.
 31. *The Odd Fellow's Companion*, Oct. 1865, p. 114.
 32. *The Odd Fellow's Companion*, Aug. 1865, p. 47.
 33. *The Odd Fellow's Companion*, Aug. 1865, p. 47, see report from Alabama, pp. 131–32.
 34. *The Odd Fellow's Companion*, Sept. 1865, p. 78.
 35. *The Odd Fellow's Companion*, Sept. 1865, p. 78.
 36. *The Odd Fellow's Companion*, Sept. 1865, p. 79.
 37. *The Odd Fellow's Companion*, Nov. 1865, pp. 188, 192.
 38. James L. Ridgely, *History of American Odd Fellowship*, pp. 330–34.
 39. *The Odd Fellow's Companion*, Sept. 1870, p. 131.
 40. *The Odd Fellow's Companion*, Oct. 1870, pp. 238–39.
 41. *The Odd Fellow's Companion*, Oct. 1870, p. 239.
 42. *The Odd Fellow's Companion*, Oct. 1870, p. 212.
 43. Terry Barrett, Sovereign Grand Secretary, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, interview with the author, Winston-Salem, N.C., May 16, 2000.
 44. Ridgely, *History of American Odd Fellowship*, p. 313.
 45. Ridgely, *History of American Odd Fellowship*, p. 313.
 46. Ridgely, *History of American Odd Fellowship*, p. 314.
 47. Henry Leonard Stillson, *The Official History of Odd Fellowship* (Boston: The Fraternity Publishing Company, n.d.), p. 672.
 48. Ridgely, *History of American Odd Fellowship*, p. 314.
 49. Ridgely, *History of American Odd Fellowship*, pp. 313–14.
 50. Ridgely, *History of American Odd Fellowship*, pp. 313–14.
 51. *The Odd Fellow's Companion*, Nov. 1870.
- 52 See Joseph P. Morgan, *History of the Knights of Pythias Supreme Jurisdiction North America, South America, Europe, Asia, Africa and Australia State of New Jersey*, by Joseph H. Morgan, *Grand Historian Giving a Brief Account of the Origin and Growth of the Grand and Subordinate Lodges, Uniform Rank, Court of Calanthe, and D.O.K.K.* (Nashville: A.M.E. Sunday School Union, 1912).

53. Fox, *The Lodge*, 63.
54. See Albert Pike, *The Magnum Opus* (1857) and *Morals and Dogma of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry* (Charleston, S.C.: Supreme Council of the 33rd Degree, Southern Jurisdiction, 1871).
55. See C. Lance Brockman, "Introduction," pp. 12–17; "The Lure of the Spectacular," Kenneth L. Ames, pp. 18–29; "From Lodge Room to Theatre," William D. Moore, pp. 30–51; and C. Lance Brockman, "Creating Scenic Illusion for Theatre and the Fraternity," pp. 110–25, in *Theatre of the Fraternity*, ed. C. Lance Brockman (Minneapolis: Frederick R. Weisman Art Museum, University of Minnesota, 1996).
56. See Pike, *The Magnum Opus*, see also McClenachan, *Book of the Scottish Rite*.
57. McClenachan, *Book of the Scottish Rite*, p. 8.
58. McClenachan, *Book of the Scottish Rite*, p. 72.
59. Lance Brockman, *Theater of the Fraternity*.
60. Carnahan, *Pythian Knighthood*, p. 477.
61. Ridgely, *History of American Odd Fellowship*, p. 314.
62. Alfred Vagts, *A History of Militarism* (W. W. Norton, Inc., 1937; Meridian Books, 1959), pp. 13–23.
63. Nathan Joseph and Alex Nichols. "The Uniform: A Sociological Perspective," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 77 (1972), no. 4, pp. 719–30.
64. See Mary Ann Clawson, "Spectatorship and Masculinity in the Scottish Rite," in *Theatre of the Fraternity*, p. 59.
65. Fox, *The Lodge*, p. 164.
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INDEX

- A**
- African American fraternalism. See fraternalism, American, African American
 - African-American Masonry. See Prince Hall Masonry
 - American Odd Fellow, The 10
 - Anti-Masonic Party 3
 - Arcanum, Royal 5
- B**
- Burbadge, John 5
- C**
- Carnahan, James 8, 21–22, 25–28
 - Carnes, Mark 23
 - Cincinnati, Society of 1, 8
 - Crager, George H. 8
 - Cyclopaedia of Fraternities, A. Stevens (1907) 5
- D**
- Druids, Ancient United Order of 3, 8
- E**
- Eagle, Golden, Knights of the 5
 - Eastern Star, Order of 2
- F**
- Foresters, Independent Order of 5
 - Maccabees, Knights of the 5
 - Franco, Barbara 23
 - fraternalism, "golden age" of. See fraternalism, American, golden age of
 - fraternalism, American
 - 1870–1910 1–28
 - African American 17–18
 - Civil War period 3–4
 - dominant orders 5
 - golden age of 1–28
 - beginning of 6–9
 - extent of 4–6
 - militarism, attraction of 22
 - racial exclusiveness 8
 - reasons for joining 20–28
 - entertainment and amusement 23
 - escape daily life 23
 - insurance benefits 21
 - n8 25–26
 - shared values 23
 - women's control of the church 23
 - regalia houses 24
 - regalia, use of 2, 12, 21
 - escape from the ordinary 22
 - Knights Templar 20
 - Odd Fellows became largest because of 12
 - Encampment Branch uniforms, 1877 12, 15–17
 - regalia houses documented 20
 - Scottish Rite 18–19, 22
 - uniforms, military, attracted members 15
 - social movement 21
 - social order provided by 9
 - societies, extent of 4–6
- Freemasonry
- Civil War period 3
 - dominant fraternal orders 5
 - post-Civil War period 18–20
 - racial exclusiveness 8
- G**
- G.A.R. See Grand Army of the Republic
 - "Golden Age of Fraternalism: 1870–1910, The," H. McBride 1–28
 - Good Fellows, Royal Society of 5
 - Grand Army of the Republic 4–5
 - creation, 1866 6
 - Masons and Odd Fellows more selective 8
 - membership requirements 6
 - regalia 7, 9
 - uniforms, military, attracted members 15
 - Grange, the (Parons of Husbandry) 21
 - Great Fraternal Movement. See Fraternalism, American, golden age of
- H**
- Hall, Prince 6
 - Harwood, W.S. 4, 21
 - n8 25–26
 - Heart and Hand 17
 - Heptasophs, Order of the 5
 - Honor, Knights of 5

INDEX

- I**
I.O.O.F. See Odd Fellows, Independent Order of
insurance provided by fraternal orders 21
n8 25–26
- J**
Jonadab, Sons of 5
- K**
Knights Templar 20
regalia 20
- L**
Liberty, Sons of 1
Lilley, M.C. & Co., Columbus, Oh. (regalia
manufacturer) (1865–1953) 24
- M**
Maccabees, Knights of the 5
Magnum Opus, A. Pike (1857) 19
Malta, Sons of 3
McBride, Harriett W.
author 1–28
McClenachan, Charles 19
Meyer, B.H. 4
n8 25–26
- O**
Odd Fellow's Companion, The 10–13, 17
Odd Fellows, Grand United Order of 17
Odd Fellows, Independent Order of 5
African Americans adopt rituals 17
Civil War period 3–4
Encampment Branch 12
created in late 1820s 14
Evergreen Encampment 12
Kansas City Encampment No. 27 12
militaristic reinterpretation 14
uniforms, military, authorized, 1877
12, 15–17
Good Fellows, Royal Society of 5
post-Civil War period 9–17
Northern and Southern perspectives
10–12
racial exclusiveness 8
Rebekah 2
regalia
apron discontinued 13–14
funeral 14
public displays of 12
uniforms, military, attracted members
15, 21–22
uniforms, military, authorized for
Encampment, 1877 12, 15–17
Willey, Thomas, monument to 10
Ohio, Grand Lodge
acknowledges Prince Hall, 1875 6
- P**
Pettibone Brothers Regalia Manufacturers,
Cincinnati, Oh. 24
Pike, Albert 6
approves acknowledgement of Prince Hall,
1875 6
Scottish Rite, post-1865, formed by 18
Scottish Rite, S.J., rituals rewritten by 19
Prince Hall Masonry 6, 17
acknowledged by G.L. of Ohio, 1875 6
Pythias, Knights of 5
African Americans adopt rituals 17
creation, 1866 6
Masons and Odd Fellows more selective 8
middle-class working men 8
military nature contributed to growth 8,
21
regalia 7, 9
ritual inspiration 7
- R**
racial exclusiveness of American fraternalism
8, 18
Rand, Brother 15–16
Rathbone, Justus Henry 7
Rathburn, B.F. 13
Rebekah. See Odd Fellows, Independent Order
of
Rechabites, Independent Order of 5
Jonadab, Sons of 5
Reciprocity, Knights of 5
Redmen, Improved Order of 3, 7
regalia houses 24
Ridgely, James L. 15–16, 21–22
Ruth, Daughters of 2

INDEX

S

- Scottish Rite
growty, 1901–1911 22
Pike, Albert, post-1865 form due to 18
racial exclusiveness 8
regalia 18–19, 22
rituals, N.M.J., rewritten by Charles
McClenachan 19
rituals, S.J., rewritten by Albert Pike 19
Sisters, Pythian 2
Stevens, Albert 5–6
n12 26

T

- Templar, Knights. See Knights Templar
Toqueville, Alexis de 20

V

- Vagts, Alfred 22–23

W

- Ward, C.E., New London, Oh. (regalia manu-
facturer) 24
Willey, Thomas 10
Workmen, Ancient Order of United 5

Y

- York Rite
racial exclusiveness 8
regalia 18, 20