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### The Rise of Fraternal Organizations in the United States in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century

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THE RISE OF FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS  
IN THE UNITED STATES  
IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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A Thesis Presented to the Faculty  
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,  
Department of Historical Theology  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Bachelor of Divinity

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by

Frederick William Dodge

June 1955

Approved by:

Carl H. Bretcher  
Advisor

Carl S. Meyer  
Reader

## PREFACE

Dr. Paul M. Bretscher, my adviser, had suggested that I undertake this project. And my interest in it grew considerably as I got into the work. I am deeply grateful to Dr. Bretscher for his suggestion and guidance.

Many Lutherans have written on the subject of fraternal organizations. Their interest has usually been the doctrine of the lodge as opposed to the doctrine of the Church. It is hoped that this study may be a start toward our task of "rounding out" our understanding of fraternal organizations. I trust that the Commission on Fraternal Organizations of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod will find it possible to continue studies in this direction.

I wish to thank Mr. R. A. Rempert, lawyer and member of the Commission on Fraternal Organizations of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, for the valuable help he has given. He has full credit for Appendix B, "Fraternal Benefit Societies in the Sight of the Law."

Most of the reference works cited were obtained from the libraries of The University of Oregon, The University of Chicago, The University of Missouri, and Washington University. My thanks go to those members of Concordia's Pritzlaff Memorial Library, who helped me obtain the material I needed.

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Nineteenth Century Charismatic Free Mason Societies

When the Masonic immigrants, who founded the Episcopal Synod of the Lutheran Church, settled down in the United States in the eighteenth century, they found that "lodges flourished."

The Masons had . . . founded six separate lodges in St. Louis by 1802. In that same year, the ones were active and follows, who were organized since 1800, had seven lodges in the city, and a special "auxiliary" lodge for the women. In 1805-1806 they put up a spacious hall which attracted wide attention in the city and was used freely by some of the churches. Both of these orders were on friendly terms with some of the Protestant denominations, notably the Methodists, and were permitted to take part in their services.

But the Masonic immigrants did not take a friendly attitude toward lodges. As early as 1809 Rev. [Name], the official organ of the group, carried a series of articles entitled, "Why a Christian Join the So-Called Secret Societies?" The secret society in question was the Improved Order of Red Men. The author of the series ridiculed the order's symbols and ceremonies, pointed out dangers connected with the secret

Walter D. Parker, *Life in the Wilderness* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1893), pp. 310-11.

Frederick Bremer, *The [Name]* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1893), pp. 310-11.

## CHAPTER I

### A BOOM IN FRATERNALISM

#### Nineteenth Century Churches Face Secret Societies

When the Saxon immigrants, who founded the Missouri Synod of the Lutheran Church, settled down in the United States in the eighteen-forties, they found that "lodges flourished."

The Masons had . . . founded six separate lodges in St. Louis by 1842. In that same year, the even more active Odd Fellows, who were organized since 1834, had seven lodges in the city, one a special "Germania" lodge for the Germans. In 1845-1846 they put up a spacious hall which attracted wide attention in the city and was used freely by some of the churches. Both of these orders were on friendly terms with some of the Protestant denominations, notably the Methodists, and were permitted to take part in their services.<sup>1</sup>

But the Saxon Lutherans did not take a friendly attitude toward lodges. As early as 1849 Der Lutheraner, the official organ of the group, carried a series of articles entitled, "May a Christian Join the So-Called Secret Societies?"<sup>2</sup> The secret society in question was the Improved Order of Red Men. The author of the series ridiculed the Order's symbolism and ceremonies, pointed out dangers connected with the secret

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<sup>1</sup>Walter O. Forster, Zion on the Mississippi (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1953), pp. 310-11.

<sup>2</sup>Theodore Graebner, Extracts from Documents Pertaining to the Policy of the Missouri Synod Regarding the Members of Secret Orders (St. Louis: The Print Shop, Concordia Seminary, n. d.), pp. 2-3.

oath, and spoke against the idolatry of the lodge.

And the Missouri Synod's concern about lodges continued from that day to the present. In 1858 the Eastern District of the Missouri Synod discussed the question of admission of members of secret societies to communion.<sup>3</sup> The District referred the problem to the 1863 convention of the Synod. But "all . . . speeches and arguments . . . clearly showed that it was impossible to bring about any agreement in this matter."<sup>4</sup> So, the Eastern District continued the discussion on its own in 1871.

Der Lutheraner had in 1860 carried a characterization of Freemasons, Druids, Odd Fellows, Templars, and Sons of Malta. It said that "it is almost incredible that a Christian should join such gangs."<sup>5</sup> The same magazine discussed "The Grangers of Husbandry" in 1872.<sup>6</sup>

The readers of Der Lutheraner must have been happy to read in 1885 that the United Presbyterians too were against secret societies.<sup>7</sup> And they were no doubt disconcerted to find that there was disagreement among the United Brethren regarding the countenancing of lodges.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 5f.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 61.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

Yet the United Presbyterians and the Missouri Synod Lutherans were not the only churches taking a stand against lodges. About this same time the Roman Catholics re-stated their strong aversion to secret societies, especially Freemasonry. In 1873 Pius IX issued his Etsi Multa against lodgery. And Leo XIII launched his condemnation of the same in his Humanum Genus in 1884. A contemporary spokesman for the Roman Church interprets the papal decrees in this way:

The hierarchy singled out one major objection they had against the secret societies, viz., that they undermined revealed religion by their indifference to religious creeds and by their emphasis on a rationalistic moral life as the one thing necessary to perfect a man. This element alone excluded members of the societies from the communion of the Church, aside from other reprehensible features of the societies.<sup>9</sup>

#### An Historical, Not Doctrinal, Study

It can be said that the Roman Catholics are opposed to secret societies for doctrinal reasons. And, Missouri Synod Lutherans have consistently given the lodges a doctrinal treatment. And, Walton Hannah's recent books have given a lucid and scholarly statement of the Christian case against Freemasonry. But people, who profess an interest in Christianity, continue to join secret societies. The question may be asked, What attracts men to the Orders?

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<sup>9</sup>Fergus Macdonald, The Catholic Church and the Secret Societies in the United States (New York: The United States Catholic Historical Society, c.1946), p. 14.

One reviewer of Hannah's Darkness Visible had this to say:

If Masonic teaching were the Lodge's only appeal, it seems . . . the Order would die tomorrow. How infinitely boring it must be to brothers of the Lodge to hear the nonsensical "symbolical lectures," to go through the ritual, to give the adolescent passwords, grips, signs, again and again and again!

It is therefore obvious that Rev. Hannah's book points to another need . . . . A work evaluating the whole movement of lodges in general and reasons for their appeal from a sociological and psychological point of view is indicated. This would round out our picture of Masonry and other lodges considerably.<sup>10</sup>

This paper makes no claim of being written from the viewpoint of a professional sociologist or psychologist. But it takes a step in the direction of drawing together what some social historians have said to explain the tremendous growth of fraternal organizations in the United States during the second half of the nineteenth century. Social historians claim the right of explaining the functional performance of all human organizations. One has said that

. . . organizations represent the interests of certain members of society and . . . they have come into existence as a device for satisfying some of the basic human desires.<sup>11</sup>

And again,

. . . it is almost axiomatic that no institution can exist in a social vacuum; there must be functions to perform, and these functions must in some way provide

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<sup>10</sup>R. Koenig, "Book Review," American Lutheran, XXXVIII (March, 1955), 24.

<sup>11</sup>Noel P. Gist, "Secret Societies: A Cultural Study of Fraternalism in the United States," The University of Missouri Studies, A Quarterly of Research, XV (Columbia: University of Missouri, Oct. 1, 1940), 45.

satisfactions for the basic needs of human beings identified with the institutional structure.<sup>12</sup>

An attempt will be made to ascertain how fraternal organizations have functioned to meet men's needs. After establishing the fact that there was "a boom in fraternalism" in the United States after the Civil War and until the turn of the century, this thesis makes a detailed study of several of the societies which were formed between 1865 and 1910. Then follow three chapters of history, sketching the climate of the period in the style of the social historian. That is, an attempt is made to reflect and explain the whole gamut of American thought and activity of a period, with a view toward substantiating and understanding the social historian's explanation of the rise of fraternal organizations. The story of parties, wars, and politics does not then form the only proper guide to the past. Chapter III simply points up what Allan Nevins has called "The Emergence of Modern America, 1865-1878." Chapter IV treats the period of 1878 to 1898 in terms of "The Rise of the City." Arthur Meier Schlesinger spoke of those years in that way. And, Chapter V carries through Harold Underwood Faulkner's understanding of "The Quest for Social Justice" from 1898 until 1914. Such statements of history take into consideration the interaction of many variables. And they endeavor to present an approximate picture of the life of society itself--assuming that

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 156.

it is possible to fix attention on general emphases or trends. The concluding chapter brings together the statements which some historians have made to explain the rise of fraternal organizations in the United States in the second half of the nineteenth century.

#### The Golden Age of Fraternal Orders

Ralph Henry Gabriel has called the years from 1865 to 1910, "the golden age of fraternal orders in the United States."<sup>13</sup> At least seven historians have commented on "the ubiquitous fraternal orders"<sup>14</sup> which sprang up during the latter half of the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth century.

Noel P. Gist said:

At the beginning of the nineteenth century there existed in this country only a few thousand members of the secret brotherhoods, including approximately three thousand Freemasons, five or six hundred members of the Tammany societies, and a few members of Phi Beta Kappa. During the century over six hundred societies sprang up or were introduced in the country from abroad, and of these more than half survived. The first two decades of the twentieth century witnessed a continuation of this trend.<sup>15</sup>

The Ancient Fraternity Free and Accepted Masons had grown steadily from its inception until the "Morgan affair"

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<sup>13</sup>Ralph Henry Gabriel, The Course of American Democratic Thought, edited by Robert C. Binkley (New York: The Ronald Press Company, c.1940), p. 190. See, APPENDIX A.

<sup>14</sup>Arthur Meier Schlesinger, The Rise of the City (New York: The Macmillan Company, c.1933), p. 286.

<sup>15</sup>Gist, op. cit., p. 31.

of the 1820's. Fred L. Pick and G. Norman Knight, two present-day Masonic historians, infer that the Masons were innocent of William Morgan's sudden death. They say:

. . . a rumour of his murder resulted in the rise of an Anti-Masonic movement, newspapers were founded and anti-Masonic candidates ran for office while three of the alleged assassins received sentences of imprisonment.

So strong were the attacks that throughout the States countless Lodges closed down. Lodge rooms were attacked and their contents destroyed, families were divided and public disavowals of guilt by the fraternity were discounted. The attack ran for over ten years, after which its pace slackened and by 1860 the Craft was again making progress.<sup>16</sup>

From only three thousand members at the beginning of the century<sup>17</sup> the Masonic Order had increased to over 1,600,000 members in the United States and Canada by 1914.<sup>18</sup>

Foster Rhea Dulles observed that "fraternal orders were nothing new." Freemasonry and the Independent Order of Odd Fellows were functioning before the beginning of the nineteenth century.

. . . Among other organizations that were either offshoots of the Masons and Odd Fellows or had been newly formed somewhat in imitation of them were the Elks, the Knights of Pythias, and the Ancient Order of United Workmen. But after 1880 there was a phenomenal increase in the number and membership of these orders. No less than five hundred were founded before the close of the century, and the nation-wide enrolment suddenly leaped to over six millions, something like forty per cent of

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<sup>16</sup>Fred L. Pick and G. Norman Knight, The Pocket History of Freemasonry (New York: Philosophical Library, c.1953), pp. 229-30. Italics mine.

<sup>17</sup>Gist, loc. cit.

<sup>18</sup>Harold Underwood Faulkner, The Quest for Social Justice (New York: The Macmillan Company, c.1931), p. 305.

the male population over twenty-one.<sup>19</sup>

The increased interest in fraternal organizations was not limited to secret societies. Nor was the "boom" restricted to fraternities as opposed to sororities:

There were Shakespeare and Beethoven Circles, Noon-Day Rest Clubs, Old Maids' Socials, and Ladies' High Jinks, to a total, before the century closed, which is only partially indicated by the twelve hundred associations formally banded together in the General Federation of Women's Clubs.<sup>20</sup>

And there were fraternal organizations designed especially for the farmers. The National Grange, Patrons of Husbandry, was founded in 1867. By 1873 there were 15,000 local granges throughout the country. Most of these were in the Middle West and South. In its first six years the National Grange had gathered a total membership of a million and a half.<sup>21</sup>

After the Civil War, fraternities sprang up to serve the needs of every class and every group. Many of these were fraternal benefit societies. Ralph Henry Gabriel found that over thirty-five hundred "mutual assessment associations" came into being between 1870 and 1910.<sup>22</sup> He surmised that three thousand of these failed before they had been in operation more than fifteen years. But thousands of Americans had identified themselves with the enterprises.

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<sup>19</sup>Foster Rhea Dulles, America Learns to Play (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., c.1940), p. 254. Italics mine.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 257.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 274.

<sup>22</sup>Gabriel, op. cit., p. 190.

Earlier fraternal organizations had usually been imported from England, Ireland, or Germany. Only seventy-eight fraternal orders antedated 1880, however.<sup>23</sup> After that time,

Americans turned with furious zeal to the creation of secret societies cut to their own pattern . . . . Though some important indigenous orders like the Knights of Pythias and the Elks had appeared in the sixties, in the two decades after 1880 their number became legion. At least one hundred and twenty-four new secret societies were founded between 1880 and 1890, one hundred and thirty-six between 1890 and 1895, and two hundred and thirty more by 1901 . . . . America possessed more secret societies and a larger number of "joiners" than all other nations . . . . Nor did students of religion fail to note that in all the large cities the lodges outnumbered the churches, Brooklyn and Boston each having twice and St. Louis and Chicago three times as many.<sup>24</sup>

Arthur Meier Schlesinger had made these observations.

And Harold Underwood Faulkner took cognizance of the mighty flourish in fraternal organizations at the turn of the century. He said that

. . . fraternal organizations continued to occupy a large place in the everyday life of many Americans, claiming at the close of 1914 over 15,600,000 members in fifty-seven "principal" organizations.<sup>25</sup>

Dulles, Faulkner, Gabriel, Gist, Knight and Pick, and Schlesinger--seven historians--have joined their voices to sing the same song: the second half of the nineteenth century was a "golden age" for fraternal organizations.

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<sup>23</sup>Schlesinger, op. cit., p. 289.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., pp. 289-90.

<sup>25</sup>Faulkner, op. cit., p. 305.

### Fraternal Organizations Defined

But what did the historians mean by "fraternal organizations?" Noel Gist was among the few to define his terms. He had confined his study to fraternal orders of the "lodge" type. Characteristics of these societies, among others, are secrets, legendary accounts of ancient origin, and ritualism. In his own words:

. . . A secret society may be defined as any social grouping not based on blood relationship which possesses some ritualistic element of secrecy, the knowledge of which is confined to initiated members.<sup>26</sup>

And,

Among the characteristics of secret societies are legendary accounts supporting the claims to antiquity of origin of the orders themselves. In some organizations the origin legends figure conspicuously in the structural framework; in others they play lesser roles.<sup>27</sup>

And,

Secret societies in general have tended to foster

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<sup>26</sup>Gist, *op. cit.*, p. 20. The author continues: "But other groups and institutions, though not commonly classified as secret orders, have their secrets. Financial organizations conceal their trade secrets from competitors; political groups have their secret policies and plans; families have their "skeletons in the closet"; religious groups, perhaps the most open of all, have their confidential matters. Secrecy in these instances, however, has no value in itself; it is only a means to an end--the end being that the group or organization shall gain or maintain the objectives it has in view. It is secrecy without special ritual and without formality. For that reason such organizations may appropriately be labelled "public" or "exoteric" in contradistinction to those whose ceremonialized secretiveness tends to become a mystical symbol of special values as well as a means to greater group cohesiveness."

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 70.

ritualism, and some have rather completely clothed themselves in symbolic ceremonials . . . . By way of introduction of the subject it may be well to mention what appears to be almost a universal characteristic of secret societies, namely, the secrecy of the rituals themselves.<sup>28</sup>

But this definition of fraternal organizations is too limited for this study. By way of illustration, not every new fraternal organization of the period wanted to perpetuate secrets as secrets. The Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution had a great interest in making the secrets of heroes of the War for Independence public knowledge--the proper heritage of all freedom-lovers. And some of the new organizations, especially the fraternal insurance groups, did not incorporate legends and/or rituals into their programs. To be sure, Gist has a workable definition for his study of the "lodge" type.

But this study is broader in scope. It covers the fraternal organizations which furnish insurance as a special feature. These organizations have been defined in this way:

Fraternal insurance has as its basis a representative form of government, conservative investment of funds, economical and constructive management--supplemented by humanitarian work, local units, the open contract and mutuality.<sup>29</sup>

But this definition too does not give the common denominator for all fraternal organizations, because some do not furnish

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 80.

<sup>29</sup>Arthur S. Hamilton, compiler, Statistics Fraternal Societies (Rochester: The Fraternal Monitor, c.1951), p. 2. See, APPENDIX B.

insurance as a special feature--or as any part--of their program.

A workable definition is this:

A fraternal organization is a society organized for the pursuit of some common object by working together in brotherly union.<sup>30</sup>

The fraternal organizations under consideration have these characteristics. All bear a form of organization, a common pursuit, and fraternal action. Still, each in turn may be found to represent a certain type of fraternal organization. The Ancient and Illustrious Order of the Knights of Malta represents what Gist called the "lodge" type. Rotary International, on the other hand, should be listed under "civic" type. The National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution is a "patriotic" type. And, Aid Association for Lutherans is primarily an "insurance" type. All of them, to a greater or lesser degree, represent the "social" type. Whatever the emphasis--lodge, civic, patriotic, insurance, social--all may properly be considered "fraternal" in the broader sense.

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<sup>30</sup>Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (Springfield: G. & C. Merriam Co., Publishers, c.1949), p. 330.

## CHAPTER II

### NEW FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS

The material for this chapter comes from constitutions, by-laws, current brochures and pamphlets, and personal correspondence from the fraternal organizations under consideration. The list of organizations is selective. The thesis adviser's suggestions have been followed. No attempt has been made to study every fraternal organization which was organized between 1865 and 1910. Still, each of these organizations, except the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, was organized in the latter half of the nineteenth century. While some of them provide sickness and death benefits for their members, they all fall into the class of "fraternal, civic, patriotic, or social organizations not furnishing insurance as a special feature."<sup>1</sup>

#### Ancient and Illustrious Order, Knights of Malta

The Ancient and Illustrious Order, Knights of Malta traces its origin to Jerusalem in 1048 A. D. It was incorporated in America in 1884 and was united with the Imperial of Scotland in 1889. The Grand Commandery was instituted

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<sup>1</sup>Arthur S. Hamilton, compiler, Statistics Fraternal Societies (Rochester: The Fraternal Monitor, c.1951), pp. 221-23.

in November, 1892.<sup>2</sup>

The Order was formed as a religious, fraternal, military, and beneficial society.

It is a Religious Order, and welcomes all Protestants, by whatever name known, who love our Lord Jesus Christ, to enlist under its banner . . . . It is Fraternal, and its obligations bind to secrecy and mutual protection. . . . It is Military, but drilling and uniforming are optional . . . . The Order of Knights of Malta is a body of men banded together . . . to comfort one another in the practice of the Christian religion; to offer mutual assistance in time of need; . . . to exercise the fullest toleration and charity toward all men; to practice benevolence, and to maintain a universal protestant fraternity.<sup>3</sup>

If a "loyal American citizen" should ask, "Why should I join this organization?" the Knights of Malta answer:

First, because Malta is a Christian institution; it seeks, first of all, to impress upon men's minds the great lesson of pure, moral lives, and by its teachings creates a better, higher standard of citizenship. The power that will develop and promote this is not only a positive help to the individuals, but a blessing to the community. Why? Because purer morals beget cleaner conditions, less crime, less pauperism. Hence we maintain, from this point alone, that our Order is a decided asset to the community in which it is established.

It is fraternal, and by fraternity we mean that the lessons taught in Malta create that brotherhood of man, that closer comradeship, that broad, far-reaching helpfulness that we need at times; that knowledge that here is a brother to whom you may pour out your heart, upon whose breast you may rest, upon whose confidence and valor you can safely trust; yes, that fraternity that renders help when help is needed. Not charity. No! Malta will not permit that word to be used in its work of succor to its companions, whether the distress be that of misfortunes, illness or death; whether it be

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<sup>2</sup>Ancient and Illustrious Order Knights of Malta (Lancaster: Supreme Grand Commandery of Continent of America, 237 East King Street), inside front cover.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

in guarding the widow and orphan. The help is a right which belongs to every true Sir Knight of Malta.<sup>4</sup>

The Knights of Malta is outspokenly Protestant, denouncing "all forms of error, superstition, Church greed and papal rule."<sup>5</sup> None of its work is supposed to conflict with that of other Orders.

In our ranks are thousands of Masons, Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias, and members of kindred orders. Its obligations are broad and inspiring, and the most liberal-minded American can consistently accept its teachings.<sup>6</sup>

Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks  
of the United States of America

The Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks was organized in 1868. Its current constitution was adopted by the Grand Lodge at its Annual Session in Denver, Colorado, on July 19, 1906.

The Elks were organized

. . . to inculcate the principles of Charity, Justice, Brotherly Love and Fidelity; to promote the welfare and enhance the happiness of its members; to quicken the spirit of American patriotism; to cultivate good fellowship; to perpetuate itself as a fraternal organization, and to provide for its government.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 22-3.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>7</sup>Constitution, Statutes, Rules and Order of Business, Rules of Procedure of Grand Forum, Incorporation of the Order, and Form of Complaint of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the United States of America (Chicago: J. E. Masters, Grand Secretary, 1953-1954), p. 7.

Men alone are admitted to membership. They must "believe in God." They must be white citizens of the United States and twenty-one years of age or older. And they must be "of sound mind and body" and "of good character."<sup>8</sup> The Order has no insurance feature.<sup>9</sup>

The animal from which the Order took its name was chosen because a number of its attributes were deemed typical of those to be cultivated by members of the fraternity. The elk is distinctively an American animal. It habitually lives in herds. The largest of our native quadrupeds, it is yet fleet of foot and graceful in movement. It is quick and keen of perception; and while it is usually gentle and even timorous, it is strong and valiant in defense of its own.<sup>10</sup>

#### Dames of Malta

The Dames of Malta was organized in 1896. The Sovereign Keeper of Archives found it impossible to send a constitution, by-laws, or yearbooks for this study, for the Dames of Malta "is a secret organization."<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>By-Laws and Rules of Order of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the United States of America (Published by authority of the Grand Lodge, 1954), p. 3.

<sup>9</sup>What it Means to be an Elk. The Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the United States of America. Information Relating to the Order Collected and Published Specially for the Instruction of Initiates (Chicago: J. E. Masters, Grand Secretary), p. 5.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>11</sup>See personal correspondence from Edith G. Macaulay, Sovereign Keeper of Archives, October 2, 1954. In the files of Dr. Paul M. Bretscher, Concordia Theological Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri.

## Daughters of America

Daughters of America was organized at Bennet, Pennsylvania, on September 15, 1891. It was incorporated in Ohio, October 4, 1910.

The organization has an official emblem displaying the American eagle and flag, the Holy Bible, and clasped hands of fellowship.

In the words of an official and current brochure:

We are a Secret, Patriotic, Benevolent and Fraternal Organization, the recognized Auxiliary of the National Council, Jr. O. U. A. M. . . . .

### Our Objects

**FIRST --** To promote and maintain the interests of Americans and shield them from the depressing effects of unrestricted immigration.

**SECOND --** To assist Americans in obtaining employment.

**THIRD --** To encourage Americans in business.

**FOURTH --** To establish a fund or funds for the payment of benefits in case of sickness, disability or death of its members.

**FIFTH --** To maintain the Public School System of the United States of North America and to prevent interference therewith, and to uphold the reading of the Holy Bible therein.

**SIXTH --** To oppose sectarian interference with State and National affairs.

**SEVENTH --** To promote social intercourse and to assist in advancing the objects of the Junior Order of United American Mechanics of the United States of North America.

**EIGHTH --** To establish a fund or funds to assist and care for the orphan children of deceased members of the Order.

**NINTH --** To establish a fund or funds to provide a home

for the care of the aged, infirm and indigent members of the Order.<sup>12</sup>

Sick benefits, a funeral benefit department, a Helping Hand System for helping orphans, and "an enlarged social life" are among the benefits of the organization.

### Fraternal Order of Eagles

The Fraternal Order of Eagles was founded in Seattle, Washington, on February 6, 1898.

The Constitution for Subordinate Aeries of the Fraternal Order of Eagles does not have a section devoted to "objectives." It deals primarily with duties of officers, clubs, and members. Sections pertain to membership procedure and password. And parts define the Order's sick and funeral benefits as well as its social room or buffet regulations.

Eagles are proud to say that one of their members, Frank E. Hering, "made the first known public pleas for observance of Mother's Day."<sup>13</sup> They also point to the Workmen's Compensation Law, mother's pension acts, old age pension laws, the Eagles Memorial Foundation, a Boys Town dormitory, and cancer research projects as outstanding projects which the Order has supported. It is stated that

. . . Eagledom is a force, not a form. So the way in which Eagle Aeries seek to serve the general good vary

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<sup>12</sup>Mrs. Susie Woods, National Secretary, Daughters of America (Columbus: Box 296, Bexley Branch), front side of the brochure.

<sup>13</sup>Bob Hansen, The Eagles (The Fraternal Order of Eagles, 1954), p. 4.

from community to community. But the general objective of Eagle Aeries is shared by all . . . . Fraternalism, like charity, begins at home . . . . Activities for members include planning meeting night programs, paying sick and/or funeral benefits, visiting the sick, sponsoring sports, holding dances, arranging parties.<sup>14</sup>

The Eagles support a great many service projects. They lend their hand to many accident prevention programs, fire prevention weeks, youth guidance activities, local and national welfare drives, and the like.

It is asserted that

. . . Eagledom, more than anything else, is a dream-- the dream that ordinary men and women everywhere are entitled to and shall enjoy the right to life, to liberty, and to the pursuit of happiness with some reasonable chance of catching up to it in their lifetime.<sup>15</sup>

#### Independent Order of Odd Fellows

The Independent Order of Odd Fellows was not new to the post-Appomattox world. It had been introduced into the United States at Baltimore, Maryland, in 1819, by Thomas Wilkey and four other Englishmen.<sup>16</sup>

The Order has endeavored "to enlighten the mind without taking from the individual any of his rights or privileges." And it arranges a "brotherhood and not a division among men."<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 37.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>16</sup>Theodore Graebner, A Handbook of Organizations (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1948), p. 160.

<sup>17</sup>Ben Weidle, The Reason For, and the Object of Odd Fellowship (The Sovereign Grand Lodge I. O. O. F., 1942), p. 5.

While Odd Fellowship was formed by the principle of "the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man," it has restricted its membership to those of "full white blood."<sup>18</sup> Members must believe in a "Supreme Being."

Odd Fellows make a concerted effort to visit the sick, help the distressed, bury the dead, and to care for orphans and widows. Current brochures accent the principles of brotherly love and friendship.

### Knights of Columbus

The Charter of the Knights of Columbus was adopted and approved in 1882. The Reverend Michael J. McGivney, curate of St. Mary's Parish in New Haven, Connecticut, had called together a group of young men to help him organize the Catholic laity to foster principles of Charity, Unity, Brotherly Love, and Patriotism.

In general, the objectives were to provide a system of fraternal insurance to care for the widows and orphans of members; to provide fellowship among the members, to aid the cause of religion, and to perform charitable, educational and patriotic works for the benefit of their fellow men and their nation.<sup>19</sup>

"Practical Roman Catholics only shall be eligible to and entitled to continue membership in the Order."<sup>20</sup> They

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>19</sup>These 900,000 Men They Call "Knights" (New Haven: Supreme Council of the Knights of Columbus, P. O. Box 1670), pp. 4-5.

<sup>20</sup>Charter Constitution and Laws of the Knights of Columbus (New Haven: Knights of Columbus, 1953), p. 145.

may hold either associate or insurance membership. The 1953 edition of Charter Constitution Laws is in large part a statement of the Knight's of Columbus insurance program.

Associate membership grew from 259 members in 1894 to 160,000 members in 1910. And insurance membership increased from 8,478 in 1894 to 80,000 in 1910.<sup>21</sup>

#### Loyal Order of Moose

The Loyal Order of Moose was organized in 1888. Paul P. Schmitz, Director General of the Order, suggested that a

. . . thesis dealing with any phase of the operation of the Loyal Order of Moose might best be devoted to an analysis and presentation of the operation of . . . [the] Child City . . . at Mooseheart, Illinois, which in essence is the main and majestic philanthropy sponsored by the Loyal Order of Moose.<sup>22</sup>

Mooseheart, the "Child City," occupies an estate of 1,200 acres on the banks of the Fox River, 37 miles west of Chicago. The Moose were not planning for themselves and their children when they built this city. But they planned for others, who were less fortunate--for children who have lost one or both parents. Mooseheart is maintained by contributions from the regular dues paid by the members of the Order.

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<sup>21</sup>A Picture of Strength (New Haven: Knights of Columbus), p. 5.

<sup>22</sup>See personal correspondence from Paul P. Schmitz, Director General, October 6, 1954. In the files of Dr. Paul M. Bretscher, Concordia Theological Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri.

Moose advertise that

. . . you and your family will find varied social activities in the Moose -- dancing, games, refreshments, entertainment, holiday parties, picnics -- these and other activities make life more pleasant for members and their families.<sup>23</sup>

Moose members and their wives may look forward to retiring at Moosehaven, in Orange Park, Florida.

Men only, who are of the Caucasian race, above the age of twenty-one, not married to a non-Caucasian, of good moral character, and believers in a Supreme Being, may apply for membership. The organization claims to be non-political and non-sectarian.<sup>24</sup>

#### National Grange Patrons of Husbandry<sup>25</sup>

The National Grange was organized in 1867. Any person, who is interested in agricultural pursuit, fourteen years old or older, and not rejected by three or more negative votes at the time of application, may become a member of the Grange.<sup>26</sup>

The National Grange Patrons of Husbandry is composed of four Granges. They are the Subordinate Granges, the Pomona

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<sup>23</sup>Facts about the Moose. Questions and Answers (Mooseheart: Loyal Order of Moose), p. 5.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>25</sup>See Chapter I, p. 8, and Chapter III, p. 36.

<sup>26</sup>Constitution of the National Grange Patrons of Husbandry (Corrected and brought up to date as of January 1, 1951), Art. II, Sec. 1.

Granges, the State Granges, and the National Grange. Above them all stands the Assembly of Demeter; and it has "charge of the secret work of the Order."<sup>27</sup>

The officers of the respective Granges shall be addressed as "WORTHY."<sup>28</sup>

Sectarian or partisan questions will not be tolerated as subjects of discussion in the work of the Order, and no religious or political tests for membership shall be applied.<sup>29</sup>

### The National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution

The National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution was incorporated at Washington, D. C., on December 2, 1890.

The objects of the Society are:

1) To perpetuate the memory and spirit of the men and women who achieved American Independence, by the acquisition and protection of historical spots, and the erection of monuments; by the encouragement of historical research in relation to the Revolution and the publication of its results; by the preservation of documents and relics, and of the records of the individual services of Revolutionary soldiers and patriots, and by the promotion of celebrations of all patriotic anniversaries.

2) To carry out the injunction of Washington in his farewell address to the American people, "to promote, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge," thus developing an enlightened public opinion, and affording to young

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid., Art. II, Sec. 5.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., Art. III, Sec. 6.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., Art. XII, Sec. 1.

and old such advantages as shall develop in them the largest capacity for performing the duties of American citizens.

3) To cherish, maintain, and extend the institutions of American freedom, to foster true patriotism and love of country, and to aid in securing for mankind all the blessings of liberty.<sup>30</sup>

In its educational work the Daughters of the American Revolution own and operate the Kate Duncan Smith D. A. R. School at Grant, Alabama, and the Tamassee D. A. R. Schools at Tamassee, South Carolina. And it gives material aid to eleven other schools. Through its financial aid to Bacone Indian College, at Muskogee, Oklahoma, and to St. Mary's High School at Springfield, South Dakota, the Society "provides opportunity to help original Americans attain the intelligent dignity which they deserve."<sup>31</sup>

The National Society of the Sons  
of the American Revolution

The National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution was organized April 30, 1889, and incorporated by an Act of Congress on June 9, 1906.

The objects of this Society are declared to be patriotic, historical, and educational, and shall include those intended or designed to perpetuate the memory of those who, by their services or sacrifices during the war of the American Revolution, achieved the independence of the American people; to unite and promote fellowship

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<sup>30</sup>Constitutions and By-Laws of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution (1951), p. 6.

<sup>31</sup>Mrs. Marguerite Schondau, editor, Highlights of Program Activity (Washington: National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, c.1949), pp. 5-9.

among their descendants; to inspire them and the community at large with a more profound reverence for the principles of the government founded by our forefathers; to encourage historical research in relation to the American Revolution; to acquire and preserve the records of the individual services of the patriots of the war, as well as documents, relics, and landmarks; to mark the scenes of the Revolution by appropriate memorials; to celebrate the anniversaries of the prominent events of the war and of the Revolutionary period; to foster true patriotism; to maintain and extend the institutions of American freedom, and to carry out the purposes expressed in the preamble of the Constitution of our country and the injunction of Washington in his farewell address to the American people.<sup>32</sup>

These objectives are very similar to those of the Daughters of the American Revolution. The S. A. R. was organized only one year before the D. A. R.

The Society is currently composed of forty-eight State Societies, and Societies in the District of Columbia, Hawaii, Alaska, and France. It claims to be non-sectarian, non-political, and non-secret.<sup>33</sup>

The Society works to defend the sovereignty of the United States, encourages the observance of patriotic anniversaries, and prepares facsimile copies of The Declaration of Independence, The Bill of Rights, and The Constitution of the United States for distribution to all American citizens.

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<sup>32</sup>National Society Sons of the American Revolution. Constitution and By-Laws 1952 Edition (Washington: National Headquarters, 1227 Sixteenth Street, N. W.), p. 1.

<sup>33</sup>The National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution (Washington: National Headquarters, 1227 Sixteenth Street, N. W.), a brochure.

### Order of Eastern Star

The General Grand Chapter of the Order of the Eastern Star was established in November, 1876. The Right Worthy Grand Secretary did not think it "proper" to send a Constitution and By-Laws for this study.<sup>34</sup>

### The Order of Knights of Pythias

The Order of Knights of Pythias was founded in Washington, D. C., February 19, 1864.

#### Declaration of Principles

Pythian Knighthood had its conception in the exemplification of the life test of true friendship existing between Damon and Pythias . . . . Friendship, or mutual confidence . . . is adopted as a foundation principle. . . . The Order of Knights of Pythias -- founded in Friendship, Charity and Benevolence, which it proclaims as its cardinal principles -- strives to gather into one mighty fraternity worthy men who appreciate the true meaning of friendship; who are cautious in word and act; who love truth; who are brave in defending right; whose honor is untarnished; whose sense of justice will prevent, to the best of their ability, a personal act or word injurious to the worthy; whose loyalty to principle, to family, to friends, to their country, and to the constituted authority under which they enjoy citizenship is undoubted; and who, at all times, are prepared to do unto others as they would that others should do unto them.<sup>35</sup>

The organization was formed during the Civil War and

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<sup>34</sup>See personal correspondence from Mamie Lander, Right Worthy Grand Secretary, October 15, 1954. In the files of Dr. Paul M. Bretscher, Concordia Theological Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri.

<sup>35</sup>Constitutions and Statutes. Grand Domain of Missouri. Knights of Pythias (Revised and adopted by the Grand Lodge of Missouri at Springfield Session, October, 1927), p. 2.

received great praise from President Lincoln. He thought it to be "one of the best agencies conceived . . . for the re-uniting of our brethren of the North and South."<sup>36</sup> The President then suggested that the Order ask the Congress of the United States for a charter. The Order followed Lincoln's suggestion. And the Order of Knights of Pythias was the first American Order to be chartered by an Act of Congress.

High school students may recognize the Knights of Pythias as one of the organizations which sponsors public speaking contests.

#### Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War

The Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War was organized in 1861. All male descendants of Union soldiers, sailors, or marines, "who were regularly mustered and served honorably in . . . the War of Rebellion of 1861-65" may become members of the fraternity.<sup>37</sup> Its constitution lists the following objectives:

First. To perpetuate the memory of the services and sacrifices of our fathers and forefathers for the maintenance of the Union.

Second. To commemorate America's heroic dead through patriotic and historical exercises, and the proper observance of Memorial Day.

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<sup>36</sup>The Order of Knights of Pythias (Issued by the Supreme Lodge, Knights of Pythias), pp. 2-3.

<sup>37</sup>Constitution and Regulations Governing the Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War (Published by the Commandery-in-Chief, 1939), p. 3.

Third. To assist the members of the Grand Army of the Republic, and all honorably discharged Union soldiers, sailors and marines of the War of the Rebellion of 1861 to 1865; to extend aid and protection to their widows and orphans and the worthy members of our own Order.

Fourth. To oppose to the limit of our power and influence all movements, tendencies and efforts that make for the destruction or impairment of our constitutional Union.

Fifth. To demand of all citizens undivided loyalty and the highest type of Americanism; and require the exclusion of aliens unwilling to conform to this standard.

Sixth. To teach patriotism, the duties of citizenship, and true history of our country, and the love and honor of our Flag.

Seventh. To inculcate and broadly sustain the American principles of representative government, of equal rights, of universal liberty, and of impartial justice to all.<sup>38</sup>

"The Banner" is the bi-monthly news publication for the society, being prepared and posted by the Commandery-in-Chief of the organization.

#### Young Men's Institute

Six young Roman Catholics met to form the Young Men's Institute on March 4, 1883. Members must be "practical Roman Catholics," lay or cleric.

Its objects are mutual aid and benevolence, the moral, intellectual and social improvement of its members, and the proper development of sentiments of devotion to the Catholic Church and loyalty to our country, in accordance with its motto: "Pro Deo, Pro Patria."<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup>Ibid., pp. 2-3.

<sup>39</sup>Constitutions of the Grand Council and Subordinate Councils of the Young Men's Institute with a History of the Order (San Jose: Harrington McInnis Co., 1952), p. 1.

The Young Men's Institute arranges to have masses said monthly for living and deceased members, sponsors open and closed retreats for members, maintains scholarships for the education of men who aspire for the religious life, pledges itself to help local parish priests, encourages athletic participation, stands prepared to help the needy, and sponsors a wide variety of youth activities.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup>The Young Men's Institute. A Fraternal Order of Catholic Men. Y. M. I. and YOU!, a brochure.

Richard S. Tedlow has expressed the climate of the post-revolutionary years in this way. John A. Knott said that the period immediately following the close of the Civil War "brought a revolution in the life of the American people comparable to that which accompanied the War of Independence."<sup>41</sup> and Allan Nevins has called the years between 1865 and 1878, "The Emergence of Modern America," that he meant by "Modern America" George Fredson's chapters entitled, "The Harvest Days in the South," "the Industrial Boom in the North," "urban living and routes of travel," "the taming of the West," "the revolt of the farmer," "the moral collapse in government and

<sup>40</sup>Richard S. Tedlow, Survey of American History (New York: American Book Company, 1935), p. 429.

<sup>41</sup>John A. Knott, United States Since 1865 (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1933), p. 1.

## CHAPTER III

### THE EMERGENCE OF MODERN AMERICA, 1865-1878

The close of the Civil War brought in a period of social tinselry which deserves the name Gilded Age. This was the period of the ascendance of the middle class, and it partook of the virtues and vices which go with a bourgeois society. There was a certain contentment in mediocrity, a worship of material success, and an attempt to deny or at least conceal anything which was regarded as "unbecoming" according to the rather prissy standards of the time. Respectability became a cult with the new middle class . . . American behavior of the ante-bellum years had too often been marked by a certain wildness, while standards of business honesty frequently seemed to be overly adjustable. The Cult of Respectability undertook to build "character"--at least in the middle class--and its standards were often copied by the working class.<sup>1</sup>

Leland D. Baldwin had expressed the climate of the post-Appomattox years in this way. John A. Krout said that the period immediately following the close of the Civil War "wrought a revolution in the life of the American people comparable to that which accompanied the War of Independence."<sup>2</sup> And Allan Nevins has called the years between 1865 and 1878, "The Emergence of Modern America." What he meant by "Modern America" emerged from chapters entitled, "the darkest days in the South," "the industrial boom in the North," "urban living and routes of travel," "the taming of the West," "the revolt of the farmer," "the moral collapse in government and

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<sup>1</sup>Leland D. Baldwin, Survey of American History (New York: American Book Company, c.1955), p. 429.

<sup>2</sup>John A. Krout, United States Since 1865 (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., c.1953), p. 1.

business," "the broadening of American culture," "the deepening of American culture," and "humanitarian striving."<sup>3</sup>

Abraham Lincoln, Andrew Johnson, Ulysses S. Grant, and Rutherford B. Hayes were Presidents of the United States at the time. By recalling the activities of their administrations you may recapture a part of the spirit of the times. April 9, 1865, when Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox, had marked the end of Civil War military battles. On December 18 of the same year Congress abolished slavery by adopting the Thirteenth Amendment. Through the efforts of William H. Seward, the federal government made the Alaska Purchase in 1867. On May 10, 1869, men met at Ogden, Utah, to drive the golden spike, marking the junction of the Central Pacific and the Union Pacific and completing the railroad line to the West coast. Woman's suffrage was passed in Wyoming in the same year. For four days in October, 1871, Chicago was burned out by a mighty conflagration. New York City suffered bank failures and panic in 1873 and the government began its investigation of the Cr dit Mobilier Scandal. The Tweed Ring in New York was smashed in 1874. And Philadelphia displayed the Centennial Exhibition and General Custer made his last stand in 1876.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Allan Nevins, The Emergence of Modern America (New York: The Macmillan Company, c.1927), selected chapter titles.

<sup>4</sup>The dates may be found in, The World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1954, Harry Hansen, editor (New York: New York World-Telegram and The Sun, c.1954), pp. 129-70.

The post-Appomattox generation was fraught by problems in the prostrate South and in the expanding business enterprises of the North. Allan Nevins has called the period, "the darkest days in the South." Transportation facilities were broken down. The whole property in slaves had been swept away and land values had become incredibly low. Mississippi alone had fully 10,000 orphans. White-black relations became increasingly turbulent and finally gave place to race riots like that which occurred in New Orleans in July, 1866.<sup>5</sup>

Liberation left the Negroes free. And many of them thought that this meant that they were free from work. They often changed their names and drifted away. "More than twenty thousand Negroes found their way to Washington alone by the summer of 1865, and the labor market of all the border cities was overstocked."<sup>6</sup> The eight million Southerners, who were preeminently agriculturalists, had the problem of trying to re-gain a state of prosperity. But neither the whites nor the Negroes were acquainted with the "wage system." And few whites had money to pay in wages. President Lincoln attempted to help along the situation in the South by setting up provisional governments and standing by the Proclamation of Amnesty of 1863. And the administration, at President Johnson's time, passed the Civil Rights Bill of 1866 and the

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<sup>5</sup>Nevins, op. cit., p. 18.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 21.

Reconstruction Acts of 1867 with a view toward putting the South back on its feet.

But the South itself was plagued by Carpetbaggers from the North and the Scalawags of the South. And the Ku Klux Klan came into existence to further a policy of terrorism against the Negroes.

The Ku Klux Klan will be treated in some detail in this chapter, since it has not found a place among the fraternal organizations in the rest of the thesis. The Klan was first organized in Pulaski, Tennessee, in 1866. It spread rapidly to other states.

In 1867 a grand convention in Nashville gave the Klan the name of "the Invisible Empire," chose General Nathan B. Forrest its Grand Wizard, and appointed a hierarchy of subordinate officers--Genii, Grand Dragons, Grand Titans and Grand Cyclops. The activities of the night-riding members, disguised with robes and masks, at once attracted national attention. Primarily an agency for terrifying unruly blacks and disciplining troublesome Carpetbaggers, the Klan accomplished, especially at the outset, certain healthy objects. It was really needed in those communities where the Negroes were heavily predominant and had fallen under the sway of malevolent white men.<sup>7</sup>

But there was a worse side to its activities too. Not only reputable, but also reckless men, joined the group. And the Klan began to perpetrate outrageous measures on a wide scale.

They recruited their members, in many districts, from ready-made bands of vigilantes which had already sprung up on the model of the pre-war slave patrol. They were encouraged, moreover, by a sectional tradition of violence which for generations had marked life in the

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 350.

South and which had grown appallingly stronger as the war closed.<sup>8</sup>

The Klan designed a series of political assassinations in South Carolina to keep Negroes away from the polls in 1868. And a similar procedure--but on a more pronounced scale--was pursued in Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana.

Cutthroat gangs giving themselves such names as the "Seymour Tigers" or "Swamp Fox Rangers" roamed the town [of New Orleans] assaulting harmless Negroes, and in some of the outlying parishes murder was committed on a wholesale scale, the Negroes being killed like vermin.<sup>9</sup>

Frightened by the diabolical activity of the group, General Forrest and his associates met in March, 1869, to dissolve the organization. When the state and national organizations disappeared, further outrages were simply the work of local mobs. Then followed a number of trials. Some Klanners were indicted and others fled to Mexico or the Caribbean Islands. It had become most difficult for the Klan to operate. "Thus by the time of the presidential campaign of 1872, the South was in a virtual state of subjection to armed force" by the federal government.<sup>10</sup>

The nation of 1865 had hardly advanced to the Missouri River. It used iron alone and had but a modest system of railroads and a few billion dollars invested in manufacturing. The nation of 1878 had pressed to the Pacific and was produc-

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 351.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 353.

ing a great mass of steel. It had the finest railway system in the world and had invested billions in manufacturing.

The Civil War had tended to break down the nation's economic dependence upon Europe. American industries were beginning to work behind a high tariff wall to produce many of the products which they had originally imported from the Old World. International conflicts which culminated in the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871) worked to the benefit of American trade.

The Civil War had given the business giants, Rockefeller, Armour, and others, the capital which they needed to undertake large-scale businesses. And these endeavors, involving a concentration of capital, tended to large-scale standardization. There were also many new "insurance companies, many of them speculative ventures with insufficient capital, incompetent management and a shocking inattention to sound actuarial principles."<sup>11</sup>

For the first time American manufacturers combined in large numbers to send agents to Europe to stimulate emigration. The British, Irish, and German immigration continued to be the heaviest. But there was a surprising increase in the number of Italians from Sicily and Naples.

A concerted movement for shorter working hours and better pay gave impetus to the organization of trade unions powerful enough to call an effective strike. Along with this

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 47.

it should be observed that prices throughout the nation had remained at a high level after the war, and that the year 1867 was one of marked prosperity.<sup>12</sup>

A thrust of settlement into the West set off a series of wars with the Indians. But, by 1873, the plains of the United States were overflowing with cattle ranchers. With the invention of refrigeration it was now possible to ship large quantities of fresh meat to the larger industrial sections of the East. An American meat-packing business was developing upon an international scale. Cities were growing in the West. Lincoln, Nebraska, and Wichita, Kansas, were nonexistent when Grant's administration began but were bustling towns when it ended. Jesse James had visited the Kansas City Fair on September 26, 1872, and escaped with \$10,000 in gate money.

The National Grange, Patrons of Husbandry was founded in 1867 by a few government employees in Washington, led by O. H. Kelley and William Saunders.

These men had been impressed by the complaints of poverty, depression and injustice reaching the government from every farming region and by the need for some agency of relief. It occurred to them that a secret organization, like the Odd Fellows, might accomplish much.<sup>13</sup>

By 1873 they had successfully organized over eight thousand four hundred branches. And, by the spring of 1874, there

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 160.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 169.

were more than one million five hundred thousand members in almost fifteen thousand local granges.<sup>14</sup>

The strength of the Grange centered in the Middle West and the South. Eastern farmers seemed to hold back from an organization teeming with men whom they knew as menacing rivals.

Yet the organization was in the fullest sense national, and by the end of 1873 only four states were unrepresented. One of the proudest boasts was that it admitted women to full membership, and this was one of the features which did most to give the granges vitality.<sup>15</sup>

Grange leaders emphatically denied all intentions for using the organization to political ends. Their objectives were broadly stated: to improve living conditions for farmers, to increase crop production, and to improve the financial situation with which farmers had to deal. "But chief among their purposes stood the legislative regulation of freight charges and the promotion of cooperative effort."<sup>16</sup>

The Grange built its own factories for making farm implements, built its own grain elevators, and organized a fairly all-inclusive cooperative system for the benefit of those who belonged. In 1872 Montgomery Ward & Company opened its first mail-order house in Chicago "to meet the wants of the Patrons of Husbandry."<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 170.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 171.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 172.

A flare-up in political interests on the part of local granges led to the day when "it was possible to point to independent agrarian parties in nine prairie states and in Oregon and California."<sup>18</sup> And it soon became possible to speak in terms of a "farmer's revolt."

It marked a new phase in the old clash between the frontier and the Eastern capitalists; it had proved that the agricultural interest of the nation could organize to make themselves respected. The embattled wheat growers contributed powerfully to a much needed socialization of politics just after the war; men had been concerned with governmental and constitutional questions, and it was necessary to bring economic and social issues to the front. The farmer's new measures, however erratic, showed an instinctive sense for a real and half-hidden peril to the nation in the growth of corrupting monopolies. . . . The revolt helped to develop a class consciousness among farmers, to direct attention to such economic evils as the crop-lien system, and to implant the idea that legislation might be a valuable weapon against poverty and injustice.<sup>19</sup>

In 1870 New York City had a population of nearly one million. The Old Knickerbockers, proud of their lineage, culture and wealth, held themselves aloof. The parvenus were quick to step in and to make themselves noticeable at the opera, Wallack's and the classical concerts of Theodore Thomas. And the latter were usually the ones to build the finest brown-stone palaces on Fifth Avenue.<sup>20</sup>

A noticeable zeal for humanitarian pursuit was apparent after 1865. The idealistic energy which had formerly been

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 175.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., pp. 176-77.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 90.

largely absorbed by the antislavery cause was now free to express itself in solicitude for the poor, the defective and the defenseless. It took a number of forms: Clara Barton worked in behalf of the Red Cross; the National Association for Woman Suffrage came into being; the Women's Christian Temperance Union was organized; and Henry Bergh started a movement for the protection of dumb beasts. It was at this time too, in 1874, that the Chautauqua movement was founded to promote the training of Sunday School teachers. But it soon became a lyceum program, designed to broaden the nation's cultural outlook.

And while America was beginning to become "modern,"

. . . the home was still the center of middle-class family life, and parents did not hold with too much "gadding about" by their offspring. The white-collar class and some workers lived in frame houses and strove earnestly to meet the payments on the mortgage, for the ownership of property was the badge of respectability. . . . The Gilded Age saw a gradual edging away from the standards that had been set by the Victorian Age.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>Baldwin, op. cit., p. 430.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE RISE OF THE CITY, 1878-1898

This chapter deals with the decade of the nineties-- the decade which Henry Steele Commager has called "the watershed of American history."

As with all watersheds the topography is blurred, but in the perspective of half a century the grand outlines emerge clearly. On the one side lies an America predominantly agricultural; concerned with domestic problems, conforming, intellectually at least, to the political, economic, and moral principles inherited from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries--an America still in the making, physically and socially; an America on the whole self-confident, self-contained self-reliant, and conscious of its unique character and of a unique destiny. On the other side lies the modern America, predominantly urban and industrial; inextricably involved in world economy and politics; troubled with the problems that had long been thought peculiar to the Old World; experiencing profound changes in population, social institutions, economy, and technology; and trying to accommodate its traditional institutions and habits of thought to conditions new and in part alien.<sup>1</sup>

The student of American history will recall that these were the days of Presidents Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, Cleveland, Harrison, and McKinley. The period leads up to the Spanish American War in 1898. In 1878, the first commercial telephone exchange had been opened in New Haven, Connecticut. In 1879, F. W. Woolworth opened his first "dime store." In 1882, Robert Koch, in Berlin, discovered tuberculosis germs and

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<sup>1</sup>Henry Steele Commager, The American Mind, An Interpretation of American Thought and Character Since the 1880's (New Haven: Yale University Press, c.1950), p. 41.

the French began the Canal in Panama. In 1883, the Brooklyn Bridge was opened. In 1885, Baltimore boasted that it had the first electric street railway in the United States. The Haymarket Square riot, labor's battle for an eight-hour day, took place in Chicago in 1886. And, in that same year, the Apache Indian leader, Geronimo, was captured, and the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, the later American Federation of Labor, was formed in Pittsburgh. In 1889, Johnstown, Pennsylvania, suffered a terrible flood. In 1893, the civilized world, insofar as it could, met in Chicago for the Columbian Exposition. President Cleveland called out federal troops to stop the Pullman Strike in Chicago in 1894. The first wireless patent was granted to Marconi by Great Britain in 1896. And, the Curies and Bemont discovered radium in Paris in 1898. These significant dates help recall the spirit of the times.<sup>2</sup>

When discussing the period, Arthur Meier Schlesinger centered his thoughts on such ideas as "the great West," "the lure of the city," "the American woman," "the renaissance in letters and arts," "the pursuit of happiness," "the changing church," and "Fin De Siècle."<sup>3</sup>

By 1878 there were only thirty-eight states in the Union.

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<sup>2</sup>The dates may be found in, The World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1954, Harry Hansen, editor (New York: New York World-Telegram and The Sun, c.1954), pp. 129-70.

<sup>3</sup>Arthur Meier Schlesinger, The Rise of the City (New York: The Macmillan Company, c.1933), selected chapter titles.

A great part of the West had still not organized itself into states. But four sections--North and South Dakota, Montana, and Washington--entered the Union as States in 1889. Idaho and Wyoming became States in 1890. And Utah entered the Union in 1896.

The small farm was still the typical unit of cultivation in the agricultural regions in 1873. But this system was soon

. . . threatened by a spectacular new development in agricultural management. This was the bonanza farm. . . . By the early eighties scores of great tracts of from five thousand to a hundred thousand acres in Kansas, Dakota, Minnesota, Texas and California had gravitated into the hands of individuals or companies, many of them absentee owners.<sup>4</sup>

The world of fruit growers entered a new era when Luther Burbank established his nursery at Santa Rosa, California, in 1875.

The city had always offered a certain attraction to farmers--especially the more restless and adventurous. And the contrast between the two ways of living--the rural and the urban--became more apparent in these days. People of former decades had been aware of some of the "drawbacks" of life on the farm. But they had endured the isolation and loneliness. Now, however, towns and cities increased in number and importance. And the farmer's sense of loneliness was sharpened by the fact that a more exciting town life was not many miles away.

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 41.

Now the advent of the railroads and the lowered cost of manufactures led the farmer to buy over the store counter or through the mail-order catalogue multifarious articles which he had once made for himself. With no apparent reduction in the amount of labor, the kinds of tasks were fewer and often less appealing to his special interests and aptitudes. In contrast the city offered both better business openings and a greater chance for congenial work.<sup>5</sup>

It was during the nineteen-eighties that large towns and cities developed in the Middle West. Many of the people had come from foreign countries, especially Germany and the Scandinavian lands. The following quotations show that by 1890 a good portion of the citizenry was living in cities and making more money there.

Through the nation in general every third American in 1890 was an urban dweller, living in a town of four thousand or more inhabitants . . . . The most careful contemporary student of the subject estimated that in 1890 the average wealth of families in the rural districts did not exceed \$3,250 while the average wealth of city families was over \$9,000.<sup>6</sup>

"The urban world" had tended toward standardization. Clothing factories produced the same patterns in dress for many people. People ate bread made by a "standard recipe" and baked in a "standardized pan." And the telephone did its bit to carry ideas from cities into neighboring regions. But standardization did not always mean higher standards. The smaller towns sometimes imitated the decisions which bigger towns had made to meet the necessities of their own requirements.

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 70.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 76-7.

What most impressed the historical student is the lack of unity, balance, planfulness, in the advances that were made. Urban progress was experimental, uneven, often accidental: the people were, as yet, groping in the dark. A later generation, taking stock of the past and profiting by its mistakes, would explore the possibilities of ordered city planning, not only in the interest of material welfare and community health but also with an eye for beautification.<sup>7</sup>

"The American woman" had more leisure-time on her hands.

The invention of new household gadgets and mechanical aids had cut down the time she had to spend at the sewing machine and in the kitchen. And it was during these days that the membership of the average household steadily shrank. By 1890 the most usual size was four members. By 1900 it was only three.<sup>8</sup> And,

. . . the emancipation of woman made divorce fairly easy by 1890, though it was not exactly respectable for another generation; the accusation was made that women were less stable, but perhaps it is closer to the truth to say that they refused to suffer in patience as their mothers had.<sup>9</sup>

"The pursuit of happiness" meant a "boom in fraternalism."

But for those who could not afford membership in a lodge there might be "wet" interests.

The strains and stresses of existence made the ordinary man seek solace in the flowing cup after a hard workday. . . . The immigrant horde found no reason to surrender cherished folk customs in a land of freedom . . . . The saloon with its free lunch and rough sociability took the place which the lodge and the club filled in the

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 120.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 136.

<sup>9</sup>Leland D. Baldwin, Survey of American History (New York: American Book Company, c.1955), p. 435.

lives of those higher up in the social scale.<sup>10</sup>

As many Americans prepared to live through "the end of a century"--to them the most glorious century of all times--they may have noticed

. . . the most striking political phenomenon of the times, the exaltation of national at the expense of state power . . . . It was due . . . to a new sentiment of national unity which began to tide through American life as soon as Lee's surrender determined that the United States was to remain a geographic entity. Its force was increased by a notable growth of business and capital across state borders and the multiplying contacts resulting from improved means of travel and communication. By the 1880's it was rushing at full torrent through all the channels of American thought and action. One of the most impressive spontaneous manifestations of the new spirit was the Vesuvian energy which went into the formation of voluntary nationwide bodies, not only of trade unionists and business men but also . . . of scholars, scientists, artists, professional men, social and political reformers, sports lovers and members of secret fraternal orders. Nothing equaling it had been known before in America or anywhere else in the world.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Schlesinger, op. cit., p. 354.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., pp. 409-10.

## CHAPTER V

### THE QUEST FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE, 1898-1914

To many thoughtful men in the opening years of the twentieth century it seemed that America in making her fortune was in peril of losing her soul. What had become of that precious concern of the Fathers, the "general welfare," when affairs of far-reaching social significance were settled outside legislative halls by contests between big business and little business, between capital and labor, between urban business interests and the embattled farmer?<sup>1</sup>

Harold Underwood Faulkner has labelled the period of 1898 to 1914, "The Quest for Social Justice." It was during this period that the last three States were admitted to the Union, bringing the total to the present forty-eight. (Oklahoma entered in 1907. And New Mexico and Arizona became States in 1912.) The following dates bring to mind some of the significant events at the turn of the century. In 1900, Carry Nation, the Kansas anti-saloon agitator, began raiding bars with a hatchet. In 1901, President McKinley was shot while attending the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo. Henry Ford organized the Ford Motor Company in 1903. And Orville Wright made the first successful airplane flight in that same year. In 1904, New York City opened its first subway and St. Louis entertained the nation at its Louisiana Purchase Exposition. Admiral Robert E. Peary reached the

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<sup>1</sup>Harold Underwood Faulkner, The Quest for Social Justice (New York: The Macmillan Company, c.1931), p. 81.

North Pole in 1909. The Presidents at the time were William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, William Taft, and Woodrow Wilson.<sup>2</sup>

Faulkner devoted his book to such aspects of early twentieth century life as "big business grows bigger," "the decline of Laissez Faire," "the revolution in transportation," "children's rights," and "the people at play."

The generation of Americans, starting with the Spanish American War, witnessed the hammering blows of the Muckrakers. It saw organized labor grow more and more powerful in its program of bettering conditions for the wage-earner. It worked to bring twenty-five indictments and eighteen bills in equity against big business trusts during Theodore Roosevelt's administration. And it helped organize systems for eliminating waste of life in industry and food adulteration. Women marched on for political and economic equality. People became more and more interested in sports. And the growing popularity of the automobile restored outdoor life to many urban dwellers. But, "the great task of the generation was to put the national house in order."<sup>3</sup>

What had been said about a few farmers and women of the previous generation could be said about the many now. For,

. . . there were few . . . farmers who could not afford spring buggies, upholstered furniture, a telephone and even a piano. Though the thousands of villages strung

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<sup>2</sup>The dates may be found in, The World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1954, Harry Hansen, editor (New York: New York World-Telegram and The Sun, c.1954), pp. 129-70.

<sup>3</sup>Faulkner, op. cit., p. xvii.

along the railroads might each contain but a single general store, a post office, a schoolhouse, a church and the inevitable "Palace Hotel," all facing the single street like soldiers on dress parade, the near-by farmer was no longer cut off from the world. Better roads, better train service, the spreading routes of rural free delivery and, later, the automobile increased his mobility and his contacts. The women found time for sewing circles and even literary societies, while many of the second generation had college diplomas to hang on the wall. But above all there was a new spirit of optimism and confidence in the future.<sup>4</sup>

Most of the newcomers to the city in those days were from foreign countries. "But careful estimates indicate that over three million people moved from rural to urban districts during the first decade of the century."<sup>5</sup> This was merely a continuation of the trend from previous decades. But, behind it is the fact too that fewer men were needed on the farms when new, labor-saving, agricultural implements made their debut. As has been noted in the previous chapter, the more ambitious and able-minded men tended to be the first to move to the city. "Sociologists saw in the situation not alone a numerical depletion, but a physical and moral decline which boded ill for the future of the countryside as the better stock moved out."<sup>6</sup> The frontier had formerly--before the completion of the continental railroads--had a great influence upon the nation. That "distinctive frontier influence," as Frederic L. Paxson said, had undergone "transmutation into

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 5-6.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

agrarian influence."<sup>7</sup> But the weakened agricultural element in the society, plus the demands of the rest of the world, made it possible for industry to have the dominating influence upon the nation.

The birth rate of the American family continued to decline. This was especially noticeable among the "better" ranks of the native American stock. "That a growing number of city apartments found it possible to cater exclusively to childless couples was a significant sign of the times."<sup>8</sup> Parents were faced with the financial responsibility of giving their families a higher standard of living. Wage-earning fathers could not guarantee that their sons would find ready-made jobs when the labor market was flooded by a large influx of immigrants. And other reasons--such as the fashion of the day--have been advanced to explain the smaller size of the average American family.

The nation was emerging from a period of economic unrest which had but recently culminated in the campaign of 1896. America had been blessed with innumerable economic resources and opportunities. But,

. . . according to a study made in 1890, seven-eighths of the families held but one eighth of the wealth, while one per cent of the people owned more than the remaining ninety-nine.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Frederic L. Paxson, History of the American Frontier, 1763-1893 (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, c.1924), p. 573.

<sup>8</sup>Faulkner, op. cit., p. 19.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 21.

And,

. . . in a nation boasting the most widespread system of free education in the world, the census of 1900 found over six million illiterates. On the one hand was an idealism and humanitarianism which led millionaires to lavish endowments upon educational and charitable institutions; on the other, a carelessness of life which put America behind all civilized nations in the number of unnecessary industrial accidents. In no nation was the status of the women higher or the lot of the child better, yet social legislation respecting women was far behind that of other progressive nations and child labor existed under conditions too horrible to believe. Yet, at a time when the successful business man represented the American ideal and the people seemed lost in a scramble for wealth, the nation was girding itself for a mighty drive against special privilege and for an attempt to achieve some degree of social justice.<sup>10</sup>

By 1898 the American Federation of Labor was firmly established. From that year until 1905 "the membership increased from 278,000 to 1,676,000."<sup>11</sup> In its quest for social justice it followed the policies of old-fashioned trade unionism, avoiding party politics and radical programs.

Efforts were made to improve the status of the American Indian. The Federal Government, by the Dawes Act of 1887, had sought to make a gradual break with the reservation system and to make the Indian economically independent. But "many of the individuals who were thus granted citizenship abused their new-found liberty by drinking to excess and selling their votes to unscrupulous white politicians."<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 53.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., pp. 13-4.

In its quest for fuller justice the Government adopted some outstanding democratic innovations, namely, the initiative, the referendum, the recall, the primary system, woman suffrage, and the popular election of United States senators. "Social justice," in all its ramifications, was the vogue of the day. And many of the growing fraternal organizations were under the spell of wanting to bring social advantages to men.

The city had acted like a magnet to draw the adventurous and the ignorant, and,

... as was to be expected, membership was greatest in the advanced sections of the country notwithstanding the energy with which the Negroes of the South and their white brethren and the increasing interest of western farmers in labor activities.

Arthur Miller Schlesinger saw the trends of history after 1870 in terms of the rise of the city. And he explained the rise of fraternal organizations in the same terms. He thought that urban dwellers set their minds to organizing social groups in order to win back for themselves "the spontaneous friendliness of small rural towns." Why? Because human beings are gregarious.

The social historian derives also at least two basic principles. First, human beings have needs; and fraternal

Arthur Miller Schlesinger, *The Rise of the City* (New York: The Macmillan Company, c.1933), p. 209.

## CHAPTER VI

### SOCIAL HISTORIANS ACCOUNT FOR THE RISE

The period of 1865 to 1910 had been one of transition. Rapidly changing social conditions increased for multitudes of individuals the sense of insecurity. And it was in this period of transition that there was a "golden age of fraternal orders."

The city had acted like a magnet to draw the adventurous and the impatient. And,

. . . as was to be expected, membership was greatest in the urbanized sections of the country notwithstanding the energy with which the Negroes of the South aped their white brethren and the increasing interest of Western farmers in lodge activities.<sup>1</sup>

Arthur Meier Schlesinger saw the twenty years of history after 1878 in terms of the rise of the city. And he explained the rise of fraternal organizations in the same terms. He thought that urban dwellers set their minds to organizing social groups in order to win back for themselves "the spontaneous friendliness of small rural towns."<sup>2</sup> Why? Because human beings need fraternity!

The social historian works with at least two basic hypotheses. First, human beings have needs; and fraternal

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<sup>1</sup>Arthur Meier Schlesinger, The Rise of the City (New York: The Macmillan Company, c.1933), p. 289.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 288.

organizations are formed "to satisfy deep human cravings."<sup>3</sup>

Second,

. . . the development of contemporary secret societies is characterized by certain resemblances, and . . . these similarities are so marked as to constitute fairly uniform cultural patterns.<sup>4</sup>

So, apart from a few irregular suggestions, the social historian has explained the "boom in fraternalism" as a rather uniform development which satisfied the innate requirements of the nineteenth century American man.

The exceptions to the rule are these: Gabriel mentioned that "some [of the new organizations] were promotion schemes to enrich their organizers."<sup>5</sup> Hannah remarked that the Masonic increase after the Civil War was greatly due to the remarkable leadership of Albert Pike, Grand Commander of the Southern Jurisdiction after 1845.<sup>6</sup> And Gist found that a few of the secret societies had come into existence by "schismatic differentiation." By that he meant:

Not infrequently have fraternal orders been torn by internal dissensions which have culminated in the

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<sup>3</sup>Ralph Henry Gabriel, The Course of American Democratic Thought, edited by Robert C. Binkley (New York: The Ronald Press Company, c.1940), p. 190.

<sup>4</sup>Noel P. Gist, "Secret Societies: A Cultural Study of Fraternalism in the United States," The University of Missouri Studies, A Quarterly of Research, XV (Columbia: University of Missouri, Oct. 1, 1940), 11.

<sup>5</sup>Gabriel, op. cit., p. 190.

<sup>6</sup>Walton Hannah, Christian by Degrees, Masonic Religion Revealed in the Light of Faith (London: Augustine Press, c.1954), p. 113.

complete secession of disgruntled and dissatisfied elements.<sup>7</sup>

A professional psychologist or sociologist could no doubt express these explanations in terms of human need. For that is what the professional social historian has tended to do.

The historians suggest that many men found in their fraternities a satisfaction of their need for religion. Others found financial security, friends, respectability, and/or a way to spend leisure-time and to develop the "full life." This chapter will discuss each "satisfaction" in turn. And the thesis will conclude by presenting Foster Rhea Dulles' suggestion that America was learning to play.

#### Traditional Churches Were Not Meeting the Needs of the Day

It has already been observed that many of the larger cities had more lodge buildings than churches, during the days of the fraternal "boom."<sup>8</sup> And it is possible to agree with Gabriel when he says that the new fraternal societies "were essentially religious organizations."<sup>9</sup> The study of the constitutions of some of the organizations has indicated as much. So, the fraternal organizations arose to satisfy man's need for organized religion. Why that? Because the traditional churches were apparently not meeting the needs of the day.

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<sup>7</sup>Gist, op. cit., p. 46.

<sup>8</sup>See, Chapter I, p. 9.

<sup>9</sup>Gabriel, op. cit., p. 191.

Fergus Macdonald, a Roman Catholic historian, declared that traditional churches were at fault. But he did not include his own communion among the accused. He said:

Where organized religion divorced belief from good works, occult groups furnished a rationalistic basis for benevolence. The rejection of religious ceremonial and symbolism by many forms of Protestantism created a psychological void which the secret societies were able to fill.<sup>10</sup>

And again:

The failure of fundamentalist Protestantism to practice good works as a requisite for salvation, in addition to the extreme individualism of Protestantism, had had serious effects. The social gospel had not yet arisen among the non-Catholic groups and the state had not yet undertaken responsibility for any great measure of social alleviation. The diminished importance of good works among the Protestants and the failure of the state to practice anything but the most urgent kind of humanitarianism left a wide field for any benevolent groups. Therefore, it was not at all surprising that popularity should be the reward for any such agency as would undertake to perform "good works." It would seem that that accounted to a considerable extent for the spread of such secret societies as the Odd Fellows.<sup>11</sup>

Macdonald has reason to point an accusing finger at nineteenth century Protestantism--and at the state. But, while acknowledging the great increase in fraternal orders, he had said:

A significant feature of this increase was that it was heaviest in the great urban centers where the majority of Catholics were concentrated.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Fergus Macdonald, The Catholic Church and the Secret Societies in the United States (New York: The United States Catholic Historical Society, c.1946), p. 1.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

Why did not the nineteenth century man satisfy his religious needs in the large, Roman Catholic, urban parishes? It would seem that all the churches were failing to meet the needs of the day.

As to the type of religion which the fraternal groups fostered:

. . . [it] was usually neither Protestantism nor Catholicism, though the traditional doctrines of either might be accorded a formal deference. Theirs was the type of religion of which Francis E. Abbot spoke in the pages of the Index when he insisted that religion is nothing more than man's effort to perfect himself and that it spring from that element of universality in human nature making all peoples one. The post-Appomattox fraternalism expressed in social organizations the mood and the ideals of Abbot's religion of humanity.<sup>13</sup>

#### Life and Death Benefits

If a man had found his religion in a church, and if further inducement were needed for joining a fraternal organization, it was supplied by the provision made by most societies for benefits in time of life or death. That is, some men joined the societies for business or social reasons; and others sought sickness and death benefits. The following quotations show that the social historians made these observations.

The middle and latter part of the nineteenth century witnessed the establishment of numerous . . . secret societies which emphasized economic benefits for the members.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Gabriel, op. cit., p. 191.

<sup>14</sup>Gist, op. cit., p. 39.

In this period of transition the rapidity of social change increased for multitudes of individuals the sense and fact of insecurity. Fraternal orders offered a limited protection of their members in the form of insurance or mutual aid of other kinds.<sup>15</sup>

[The organizers of the Grange] hoped it could do something to aid the farmers through various cooperative activities . . . . The Patrons of Husbandry were fully embarked on a broad program of agricultural education, cooperative buying and selling, and political activity.<sup>16</sup>

And:

Many men joined the orders for the sake of the sickness and death benefits they provided, which were the nominal purpose of their being formed; others took out membership because they felt it advisable for business or to make useful social contacts.<sup>17</sup>

#### An Insatiable Desire to Join Something

Alexis de Tocqueville is said to have characterized America as a nation of "joiners." And the historians are willing to put a second to the idea.

Schlesinger declared that "America possessed more secret societies and a larger number of 'joiners' than all other nations."<sup>18</sup> He felt that this was a healthy situation as long as it reflected man's confrontation with needs, especially the urban dweller's need for having "the spontaneous friendliness of small rural towns."<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Gabriel, op. cit., p. 190.

<sup>16</sup>Foster Rhea Dulles, America Learns to Play (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., c.1940), p. 274.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 255.

<sup>18</sup>Schlesinger, op. cit., p. 290.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 288.

Dulles said that "many . . . organizations were witness to the national love for joining something. . . . It was the urge to be accepted as one of the crowd."<sup>20</sup> Men sought the satisfaction of knowing that they were wanted and accepted by their fellow-men.

And, Faulkner diagnosed the existence of new social, civic, and luncheon clubs, namely the Rotary Club, as evidence of America's "insatiable desire to join something."<sup>21</sup> Men merely wanted to associate with friends from their own and other business establishments in the city.

#### Romantic Escape from a Drab Life

The same historians--Dulles, Faulkner, Gabriel, Gist, and Schlesinger--joined their voices again to say that a number of the fraternal organizations offered "a romantic escape from a drab life."<sup>22</sup> At its best this meant that middle-class "nobodies" were finding in the fraternities that respectability and sense of importance which every man needs to continue his daily struggle in life. At its worst, it was a rather juvenile and ridiculous parody on life.

Considering the "escape" at its best, Schlesinger said:

. . . the romantic opportunity to posture before a

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<sup>20</sup>Dulles, op. cit., pp. 255-6.

<sup>21</sup>Harold Underwood Faulkner, The Quest for Social Justice (New York: The Macmillan Company, c.1931), p. 305.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 306.

mystic brotherhood in all the glory of robe, plume and sword restored a sense of self-importance bruised by the anonymity of life amidst great crowds.<sup>23</sup>

And taking it at its worst, he said:

The nomenclature of fraternalism will doubtless some day offer interesting material for the student of suppressed desires and wishful thinking, but to one of less imaginative endowment there seems little enough in common among such names as the Knights and Ladies of the Golden Rule, the Royal Society of Good Fellows, the Modern Woodmen of America, the American Order of Druids, the Owls, the Prudent Patricians of Pompeii and the Concatenated Order of Hoo-Hoo.<sup>24</sup>

Faulkner suggested, but did not make, a definite statement on this issue.

Whether it was the desire for a romantic escape from the drabness of life . . . , the ambition of little men to play big roles in a small organization, the childish desire to parade in fancy uniforms or the hope of business or professional advancement--whatever the causes, fraternal organizations continued to occupy a large place in the everyday life of many Americans.<sup>25</sup>

Gist pictured the more exclusive fraternities in the form of a pyramid. The neophytes stand on the base of the pyramid. And the more advanced members are seated on higher strata. He saw that this stratification can produce a valuable esprit de corps and give all a respectable place in the social order.

[Even the highest positions] are open to those who possess the proper qualities and who by dint of perseverance have shown themselves capable of "rising from the ranks." The higher degrees, then, become an important goal whose attainment means added prestige for

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<sup>23</sup>Schlesinger, op. cit., pp. 288-9.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 289.

<sup>25</sup>Faulkner, op. cit., p. 305.

those who achieve it with a quickening of the competitive process for those who aspire to such heights.<sup>26</sup>

Gist has also attributed the development of certain societies to "nationalistic sentiments."<sup>27</sup> The heavy immigration of Irish-Catholics, for example, resulted in conflicts with thorough-going American Protestants and spurred them on to form the Know Nothing Party. And the Ku Klux Klan was committed to a similar philosophy of "one hundred per cent Americanism."<sup>28</sup> Members of these groups felt that Roman Catholic immigrants and Negroes placed in jeopardy their own respectability and positions in society.

Gabriel added his voice to sing the same melody.

Among the members of the colored race the development of secret orders suggests the importance of fraternity as compensation for a position of social inferiority. In his working hours the colored citizen might be an ash man or a domestic servant, but at night as a worshipful grand master his spirit was supported by sash and epaulets. Among immigrant groups fraternal orders assisted individuals to hold fast to their native culture and helped to satisfy the nostalgic longings of strangers in a foreign land. To the low-paid white collar class arising in the new cities secret societies offered escape from the drabness of life chained to the routine of the counter. For the bank clerk or the bookkeeper the doors which swung only when the password was spoken, opened upon a world of romance, a never-never land in which ideals became realities and men were brothers.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>Gist, op. cit., p. 67.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 25.

<sup>29</sup>Gabriel, op. cit., p. 190.

Dulles found that "butchers and bakers and candlestick makers" were metamorphosed into kings on lodge night! He may have spoken with-tongue-in-cheek--we don't know--but his statement is a fine example of colorful, English, prose.

The elaborate ceremony and ritual of the lodge, with its secret grips and passwords; the colorful regalia of the officers; the grandiloquent titles and forms of address, provided such a striking contrast to workshop or factory, to the dull level of so much home life, that their appeal could hardly be withstood. There were so few other ways to forget the cares of trade or business--no movies or radio to create an even more fantastic land of never-never. Any one might find himself a Most Illustrious Grand Potentate, Supreme Kahalijah, or Most Worthy and Illustrious Imperial Prince on lodge night. In gorgeous robes of state, jeweled collars, imposing helmets or high-crowned fezzes, carrying the swords, lances, and axes that constituted the impressive symbols of their office, butchers and bakers and candlestick makers strutted for a brief hour before a worshipping audience of Knights and Nobles, Nomads and Rams--sometimes Daughters of Isis or Pythian Sisters--in all the magnificence of the borrowed plumes of mystic imagery. The lodges had become a national vice, a contemporary critic wrote in the Atlantic Monthly; a contributor to the Century found them the great American safety-valve.<sup>30</sup>

#### For Relaxation and Culture

Dulles' descriptions of the recreational activities of the rural people shows that the school-house socials and the Fourth of July celebrations were excelled by nothing but the social activities of the National Grange. The Grange meeting had become the principal social gathering of the farm community. The women, being full members, got much of the credit for this too. Their basket lunches and cold fried

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<sup>30</sup>Dulles, op. cit., pp. 255-6.

chicken gave a certain vitality to Granger socials and picnics which all-male societies often lacked. The farm people, at least, relaxed and had a good time when they went to Grange. And, to a certain extent, this was true for other farm organizations too.

In Iowa an Anti-Horse Thief Association, having largely succeeded in its goal of affording protection for its members' live stock, concerned itself with the lighter side of life. But the Grange was the social leader. It undertook to organize lectures and concerts, held young people's debates and spelling-bees, promoted singing-schools, and arranged evenings of general entertainment.<sup>31</sup>

The new clubs could not always restrict the benefits of their activities to their own members. Nor did they always want to! Old Colonial militia companies were still meeting and marching. And the citizenry sat on the side, watched and relaxed. Barnum's circus came to town; and the people played. The baseball leagues and sports clubs catered to the recreational needs of the people.

Fraternal organizations themselves flourished before such leisure-time agencies as the movies, radio, daily newspapers, automobiles, and television became popular inventions.<sup>32</sup> And the new societies found that they could promote esprit de corps by emphasizing recreational activities. Nineteenth century conveniences had begun to make such an emphasis possible, because the advent of some mechanical aids and labor-

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<sup>31</sup>Ibid., pp. 275-7.

<sup>32</sup>Gist found that these popular inventions, in later years, "tended to undermine the fraternal system through their wide appeal to the masses." Op. cit., p. 43.

saving devices gave the average man more leisure-time--time for play and time to develop the "full life." And, "for the average person no use of leisure so well suited his taste as that afforded by the ubiquitous fraternal orders."<sup>33</sup>

The woman's world, as another example, became speckled with leisure-time activities. The borderline between the strictly recreational and the strictly cultural cannot always be defined.

"We ladies have art clubs, book clubs, dramatic circles, pottery clubs," a contemporary wrote. "We have sewing circles, philanthropic associations, scientific, literary, religious, athletic, musical and decorative art societies." . . . These clubs represented a conscious effort to fill the increasing leisure that the machine age was making available to the middle-class housewife. Her ordinary work was greatly cut down by factory manufacture of things formerly made in the home and by the introduction of innumerable labor-saving devices. "House-keeping is getting to be ready-made, as well as clothing," one magazine writer stated in 1887. While the men generally had as long hours of work as they had had before, their wives found themselves with free afternoons which they could devote to outside activities. A zealous pursuit of culture, rather than pleasure, was the primary goal of the woman's club, but the lectures, reading of members' papers, and discussions over the tea-tables fell within the vague territory where the boundaries between instruction and recreation can hardly be defined.<sup>34</sup>

#### America Learns to Play

Foster Rhea Dulles has written a history of popular recreation entitled, America Learns to Play. In this work he developed the thought that America has grown, slowly but

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<sup>33</sup>Schlesinger, op. cit., p. 288.

<sup>34</sup>Dulles, op. cit., p. 257.

steadily, away from the Puritan ideals and restrictions of 1607 to the "sports for all" attitude of the present-day. The first English colonists--mostly Anglicans and Puritans--lived "in detestation of idleness." The younger people had been scolded for "dancing and frisking together" on the first Thanksgiving Day. John Lewis and Sarah Chapman had been taken into court for "sitting together on the Lord's Day, under an apple tree in Goodman Chapman's Orchard."<sup>35</sup> But Appomattox may be cited as the point at which "a changing society" began. And the "boom in fraternalism" had come with the changing society.

Mr. Dulles found that two factors have had a continuing influence upon recreational activity in America. First, there is an element of "inherent puritanism."<sup>36</sup> It had always frowned upon anything which might be labelled a "mispense" of time. But with "the emergence of modern America" and "the rise of the city," the influence of colonial puritanism was weakened. Still, puritanism continued to have an effect on the American tradition in recreation. Men had more free time and they placed fewer restrictions on themselves in their use of it. But they did insist "that amusement should at least make some pretense of serving socially useful ends."<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. viii.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. ix.

Businessmen joined fraternal organizations for business reasons. Women's clubs emphasized their educational programs. The middle-class worker was attracted to fraternal orders by their sickness and death benefits.

The second factor which influenced the history of recreation in America was

. . . the gradual transformation of our economy from the simplicity of the agricultural era to the complexity of the machine age. No field of human activity has been more deeply affected by this change and the concomitant growth of cities. The machine has greatly increased the leisure of the laboring masses, and it has at the same time made life less leisurely. The traditional patterns of everyday living have been completely altered with an ever-growing need for play that can effectively compensate for the intensity under which . . . [men] must work.<sup>38</sup>

The fraternal organization, with its social program, is one of modern man's forms of popular recreation. If this form of recreation may not be considered ideal, the question is asked: What would the modern man be doing to meet some of the problems of American life, if he did not have his fraternal organizations?

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<sup>38</sup>Ibid., p. ix.

## APPENDIX A

### DATE OF ORGANIZATION OF FRATERNAL, CIVIC, PATRIOTIC, AND SOCIAL SOCIETIES 1850-1910

This list of fraternal, civic, patriotic, or social societies, which were organized between 1850 and 1910, is by no means complete. These 213 organizations have been compiled from Statistics Fraternal Societies, 1951, and Theodore Graebner's, A Handbook of Organizations. The societies with one asterisk by their names do not furnish insurance as a special feature. A list of these societies may be found in Statistics Fraternal Societies, 1951, pp. 221-3. The societies with two asterisks by their names have been found in A Handbook of Organizations (c.1948). And, the societies without asterisks by their names were organized primarily for insurance purposes. The latter may be found in Statistics Fraternal Societies, 1951, pp. 25-6.

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| 1851 | *International Order of Good Templars  |
| 1853 | *Junior Order United American Mechanics (National Council)   |
| 1854 | Czechoslovak Society of America  |
| 1863 | L'Union St. Joseph du Canada   |
| 1864 | *Knights of Pythias  |
| 1867 | *National Grange<br>Independent Order of St. Luke<br>Locomotive Engineers M. L. & A. I. A.   |
| 1868 | *Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks<br>Order of Railway Conductors<br>Catholic Family Life Insurance<br>Ancient Order of United Workmen<br>Benevolent Society of California |
| 1869 | **Daughters of Rebekah<br>German Order of Harugari   |
| 1871 | Free Sons of Israel<br>Mutual Benefit and Aid Society  |
| 1873 | *Knights of the Golden Eagle<br>Artisans Order of Mutual Protection<br>Polish Roman Catholic Union<br>Brotherhood of Locomotive F. & E.  |
| 1874 | *National Woman's Christian Temperance Union<br>Independent Order of Foresters   |
| 1875 | *Sons and Daughters of Liberty   |
| 1876 | **The Imperial Council of Ancient Arabic Order of Nobles of the Mystic Shrine  |

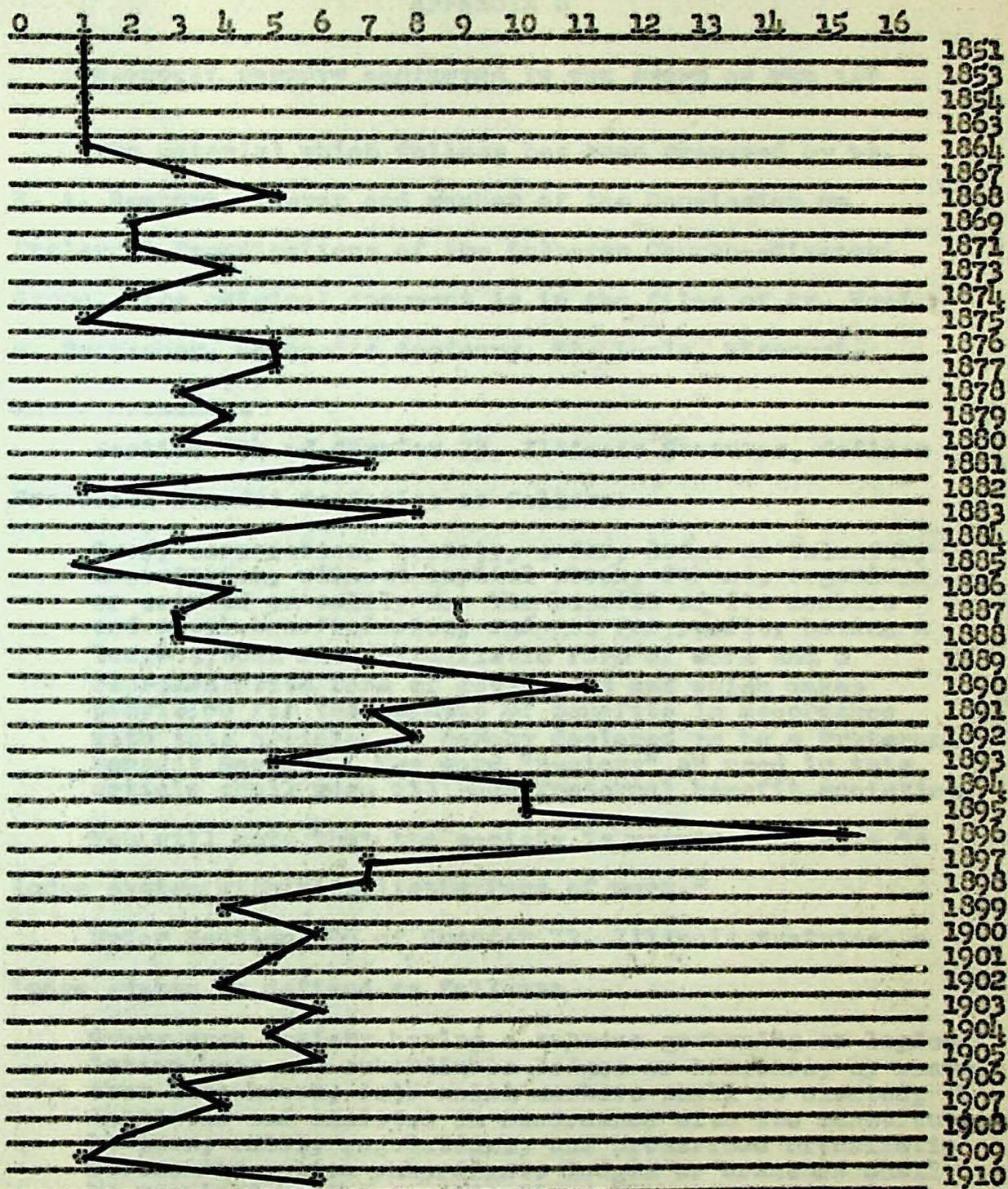
- 1876 \*Order of Eastern Star  
 United Order of the Golden Cross  
 Sons of Scotland Benevolent Association  
 Societe des Artisans
- 1877 Catholic Central Union  
 A. O. U. W. of Minnesota  
 Catholic Knights of America  
 Royal Arcanum  
 Western Catholic Union
- 1878 \*\*Order of Heptasophs, or Seven Wise Men  
 Catholic Aid Association  
 Order of Scottish Clans
- 1879 A. O. U. W. of Washington  
 A. O. U. W. of Kansas  
 Massachusetts Catholic Order of Foresters  
 Canadian Order of Foresters
- 1880 C. M. B. A. of Canada  
 Polish National Alliance of U. S. of N. A.  
 Unity of Bohemian Ladies
- 1881 \*American Red Cross  
 \*Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War  
 Grand Orange Lodge of Br. Amer.  
 Catholic Knights of St. George  
 Danish Brotherhood in America  
 Independent Order of Svithiod  
 Catholic Benevolent Legion
- 1882 Knights of Columbus
- 1883 \*\*Woodmen of the World Life Insurance Society  
 \*Young Men's Institute  
 Baptist Life Association  
 Modern Woodmen of America  
 Catholic Order of Foresters  
 The Maccabees  
 Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen  
 Royal League
- 1884 \*Ancient and Illustrious Order Knights of Malta  
 Sons of England Benefit Society  
 Workmen's Benefit Fund
- 1885 Catholic Knights of Wisconsin
- 1886 Lithuanian Alliance of America  
 Protected Home Circle  
 Lithuanian Roman Catholic Alliance  
 Verhovay Fraternal Insurance Association
- 1887 Independent Order of Brith Abraham  
 Reliable Life Insurance Society  
 New England Order of Protection
- 1888 \*Loyal Order of Moose  
 Rakoczi Aid Association  
 United Commercial Travelers
- 1889 \*\*Order Sons of St. George  
 \*Sons of the American Revolution  
 Ladies Auxiliary to B. of R. R. T.  
 Czech Catholic Union of Texas

- 1889 I. D. E. S. of California  
Loyal Association
- 1890 L'Union St. Joseph de Dr'ville  
\*\*Order of United Commercial Travelers of America  
\*Daughters of the American Revolution  
Polish Union of U. S. of N. A.  
National Slovak Society  
Ladies Catholic Benevolent Association  
Sons of Hermann in Texas  
Woodmen of World Life Insurance Society  
Travelers' Protective Association  
Woodmen of the World (Denver)  
Standard Life Association  
First Catholic Slovak Ladies' Union
- 1891 \*Daughters of America  
Order of the Amaranth  
Women's Catholic Order of Foresters  
U. S. Letter Carriers' M. B. Association  
Ziverna Beneficial Society  
Catholic Knights of Ohio  
Catholic Workman
- 1892 \*\*German Beneficial Union (Deutscher Unterstuetzungsbund)  
\*\*Security Benefit Association  
Greek Catholic Union of U. S. A.  
First Catholic Slovak Union  
Greater Beneficial Union of Pgh  
American Life Insurance Association  
Woman's Benefit Association  
A. O. U. W. of Oklahoma
- 1893 Scandinavian-American Fraternity  
Slovak Evangelical Un. Aug. Conf.  
Canadian Woodmen of the World  
Pa. Slovak, R. and G. Catholic Union  
Union of French-Canadian Catholics
- 1894 \*\*Dramatic Order Knights of Khorassen  
Ukrainian National Association  
Alianza Hispano-Americana  
Ben Hur Life Association  
Grand Carniolian Slovak Catholic Union  
Polish Roman Catholic Association  
Croatian Fraternal Union of America  
Gleaner Life Insurance Society  
American Hungarian Catholic Society  
Eastern Com. Trav. A. and H. Association
- 1895 A. O. U. W. of West Virginia  
Sons of Norway  
Royal Neighbors of America  
Russian Orthodox Catholic Mutual Aid Society  
North Amer. Union Life Assurance Society  
Alliance of Poles of America  
Catholic Women's Benevolent Legion  
Woodmen Circle  
Italo American National Union  
Polish Association of America

- 1896 **\*\*Order of Shepherds of Bethlehem**  
**\*Dames of Malta**  
**\*\*Royal Highlanders**  
**\*Patriotic Order of Americans**  
**Independent Order of Vikings**  
**Progressive Order of the West**  
**Fidelity Life Association**  
**Degree of Honor Protective Association**  
**A. O. U. W. of Can. N. W.**  
**Catholic Ladies of Columbia**  
**Ladies Aux. A. O. H. Life Insurance Fund**  
**Association Canado-Americaine**  
**Catholic Guard of America**  
**German R. C. Women's Aid Society**  
**Hungarian Reformed Federation**
- 1897 **\*Daughters of Isabella**  
**Neighbors of Woodcraft**  
**Fireman's Mutual Aid & Benefit Association**  
**Western Bohemian Fraternal Association**  
**Slavonic Benevolent Order of Texas**  
**Equitable Reserve Association**  
**Sons of Hermann in Nebraska**
- 1898 **\*\*Hustling Knights of Woodcraft**  
**\*Fraternal Order of Eagles**  
**Polish Women's Alliance**  
**The Praetorians**  
**American Fraternal Union**  
**Ladies' Pa. Slovak Catholic Union**  
**National Postal Transport Association**
- 1899 **\*\*Daughters of Scotland**  
**\*\*The Gideons**  
**\*Veterans of Foreign Wars of the U. S. A.**  
**Jr. Order U. A. M. (Ben. Deg.)**
- 1900 **\*\*The Imperial Order of Daughters of the Empire**  
**Polish Beneficial Association**  
**Russian Brotherhood Organization**  
**Catholic Benevolent League**  
**Workmen's Circle**  
**L'Union St. Jean-Baptiste**
- 1901 **American Woodmen**  
**Union and League of Roum. Soc.**  
**Cleveland Y. M. and L. Society**  
**First Slovak Wreath of Free Eagle**  
**Catholic Life Insurance Union**
- 1902 **Switchmen's Union of North America**  
**Central Verband der S. Sachsen**  
**Aid Association for Lutherans**  
**Order of Calanthe**
- 1903 **\*Catholic Daughters of America**  
**Association of the Sons of Poland**  
**Unity Life and Accident Ins. Association**  
**Russian Brotherhood Organization**  
**United Society of Greek Catholic Religion**

- 1903 Societe l'Assomption
- 1904 \*\*Acacia Fraternity  
 \*Order of Owls  
 \*United Spanish War Veterans  
 Slovene National Benefit Society  
 Grand United Order of Moses
- 1905 \*Rotary International  
 \*Sons of Italy  
 Polish National Alliance of Brooklyn  
 Slovak Catholic Sokol  
 South Slavic Benevolent Union Sloga  
 Independent Order Brith Sholom
- 1906 \*\*Ancient and Honorable Order of the Blue Goose  
 Liberty Life and Accident Association  
 Union & League of Roumanian Society
- 1907 Daughters of Amer. Ben. Dept.  
 Clergymen's Co-op. Benef. Association  
 Concordia Mutual Life Association  
 National Fraternal Society of the Deaf
- 1908 Polish National Union of America  
 Western Slavonic Association
- 1909 Catholic Slovak Brotherhood
- 1910 \*Boy Scouts of America  
 \*Camp Fire Girls, Inc.  
 \*Fraternal Order of Orioles  
 Slovenian Mutual Benefit Association  
 Polish Alma Mater  
 Bnai Zion

## A GRAPHIC PRESENTATION OF APPENDIX A



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## APPENDIX B

### FRATERNAL BENEFIT SOCIETIES IN THE SIGHT OF THE LAW

The material which follows has been prepared by Mr. R. A. Rempert, lawyer and member of the Commission on Fraternal Organizations of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod. The original document is in the files of Dr. Paul M. Bretscher, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri.

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Section 894 of Chapter 73, Illinois Statutes, defines Fraternal Benefit Societies as follows:

Every corporation, society, order, lodge or voluntary association, without capital stock, formed, organized or carried on solely for the benefit of its members and their beneficiaries, and not for profit, having a lodge system with ritualistic form of work and a representative form of government and which makes provision for the payment of benefits in accordance with this article, is hereby declared to be a Fraternal Benefit Society. The word "Society" as used in this article shall mean all such fraternal benefit societies.

You will note that the society is required to have "a lodge system with ritualistic form of work."

Under Section 895 of Chapter 73, Illinois Statutes, a lodge system is defined as follows:

Every such society having a supreme governing or legislative body and subordinate lodges or branches, by whatever name known, into which members shall be elected, initiated and admitted in accordance with its constitution, by-laws, rules, regulations, and prescribed ritualistic ceremonies, which subordinate lodges or branches shall be required by the constitution or by-laws of such society to hold regular or stated meetings at least once in each month, shall be deemed to be operating on the Lodge System.

You will note that the definition of a Fraternal Benefit Society and of the Lodge System contains a reference to "ritualistic form of work" or "ritualistic ceremonies."

The section regarding the Lodge System was taken from the New York Conference Bill and sets out what shall constitute a Lodge System. The Illinois Act of 1893 simply provided that each society shall have a Lodge System with ritualistic form of work. A similar section is found in the statutes of forty states.

Ritualistic ceremonies are required of all Fraternal Benefit Societies, except those societies whose membership is confined to a religious denomination (Chap. 73, Illinois Statutes, Sec. 920, Sub. Par. 4). The Illinois Statute does not define, nor do any cases indicate what shall constitute "ritualistic ceremonies."

The benefits which Fraternal Benefit Societies enjoy in Illinois over other insurance companies are as follows:

1. They are exempt from all and every state, county, district, municipal and school tax, other than taxes on real estate and office equipment (Ch. 73, Illinois Statutes, Sec. 926).
2. Agents are not liable for negligent acts, except where such actions are willful. This is because of the fact that a fraternal organization is deemed to be a charitable corporation. (Slenker vs. Gordon, 344 Ill. App. 1)
3. The funds or proceeds of insurance policies are not liable to attachment by trustee, garnishee or other process and cannot be seized or taken by any legal or equitable process while such funds are in possession of the company (Ch. 73, Ill. Statutes, Sec. 925).
4. The salaries of all officers are limited strictly by law and no pensions are permitted. (Ch. 73, Ill. Statutes, Sec. 914).

5. No agent of a fraternal benefit society, or any officer of its subordinate lodges, need obtain a license in the State of Illinois. (Ch. 73, Ill. Statutes, Sec. 927).

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