FRATERNAL REGALIA IN AMERICA, 1865 TO 1918:
DRESSING THE LODGES; CLOTHING THE BROTHERHOOD

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment for the Requirements for
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By

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* * * * *

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Prescribed forms of dress, including theatrical costumes, ritual articles of clothing and militaristic uniforms, were a singular and essential element in the phenomenon of the secret fraternal society movement in the United States in the years 1865 to 1918. The demand for fraternal regalia spawned a distinct and prosperous industry which flourished for eighty years. The story of the fraternal society movement is incomplete without consideration of the garments used by the secret societies, and of the companies that made them.

Since their inception, secret fraternal societies have used ritual items of dress imbued with symbolic meaning. In nineteenth century America, as fraternalism embraced twenty percent of the male population, the use of clothing increased and took on new meanings. Rituals increased in complexity and initiation rites assumed a theatrical quality. Fraternal orders added new degrees and side orders modeled on private militias, which required uniforms. Fraternal regalia evolved into three distinct categories reflecting the three aspects of the Great Fraternal Movement
- sacred rites, theatrical dramas and public displays of patriotic militarism.

This story of fraternal regalia is told from the perspective of The M.C.Lilley & Co. of Columbus, Ohio. This firm manufactured, distributed and sold fraternal regalia from 1865 to 1953. It was the largest of the regalia houses and serves as an example of the industry that fraternalism supported in the years of the Great Fraternal Movement.

Regalia manufacturers used specialized marketing techniques and capitalized on political events to create demand for their wares. These companies were instrumental in organizing new lodges and devising new rituals in order to expand markets for their products.

The rise of the regalia industry in the United States paralleled that of the societies it served. Firms which identified themselves specifically with the fraternal orders, and which concentrated their product lines on items of dress, prospered as the movement grew. The fortunes of the secret fraternal societies and those of the regalia manufacturers were intertwined, and the interests of one organization informed and served the interests of the other.
To my sister, Diane Wainwood
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and Sixth Streets, and told me about the last days of the company. Ward Weber explained his duties as wardrobe master for the Valley of Columbus Scottish Rite, and provided access to the organization’s costumes and regalia. Dr. Jim Tresner opened the Wardrobe Room of the Scottish Rite Temple in Guthrie, Oklahoma, and allowed me to browse at my leisure and to photograph M.C. Lilley & Co. garments. Charles Scott gave me a personal tour of that wonderful building. Terry Barrett, Sovereign Grand Secretary of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows along with his staff provided unlimited access to the library and collections of the Sovereign Grand Lodge, and made me most welcome. Keith Bailey, successor to the M.C. Lilley & Co., was generous with his time, artifacts, information and documents unavailable anywhere else. Dr. John Terrence Golden supplied the genealogy of the Lindenberg family. Chad Simpson, Calvin Smith, Keith Moore and Grace Ann Inskeep shared personal perspectives on fraternalism. I appreciate your contributions.

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To Bob and our children, Betsie, Brad, Jennie, Sarah and Dave, thanks for your love, patience and understanding.
VITA

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The mid-summer heat and humidity weighed heavily across the Indiana prairie on a late August day in 1911. Finally, that evening the summer skies cleared over Indianapolis, the air cooled, and a sense of excitement and energy moved through the city.

On Friday morning, the sun began to peep through the clouds and everybody began to move. Automobiles began to toot at the pedestrians at the corners and crossings; the carriages and barouches began to line up; men in their military garb mounted on horses could be seen hurrying and scurrying as though preparing for a great battle in earnest. The Supreme Court Sisters in their gorgeous costumes on floats and in automobiles - Good Lord! this is the people's day and no mistake. Hark! I hear the drums beating which tells every one the great Pythian line is moving. Yes, here they come! 6,000 in line.¹

The Indianapolis Commercial described the pageant as "superb, surpassing every other organization that ever congregated in the city of Indianapolis." A platoon of police led the parade, followed by a Colonial brass band. Uniformed men from every state in the Union drilled and marched and side-stepped to the beat of drums, with banners 1
waving overhead. The Knights of Omar, from Louisville, Kentucky "composed a dramatic procession with each man dressed in a Turkish suit, red fez, carrying a blue, red and yellow umbrella." The Battle-Ax Company from St. Louis and a company from Ohio were dressed in white flannel suits, and garnered applause from the crowds for their neat appearance. The three-hour parade concluded with a contingent of richly robed officers wearing large velvet collars and heavy jewels of office. Brilliantly arrayed men walked with a solemn dignity that reflected their lofty titles -- Supreme and Grand Chancellors, Supreme Outer and Inner Guards, Keeper of the Records and Seals. The magnificent pageant ended at the steps of the State Capitol leaving the participants and the citizens of Indianapolis inspired, thrilled and, to say the least, entertained! Thus ended the 1911 Supreme Council of the Knights of Pythias, Supreme Jurisdiction North America, South America, Europe, Asia, Africa and Australia.²

In the years from 1865 to 1918 such conventions and parades were not unusual. Across the United States, millions of men belonged to thousands of lodges, which were affiliated with hundreds of secret fraternal societies. The organizations were hierarchically structured, with state-wide conclaves bearing the prefix "Grand" as in Grand Lodge, Grand Council, etc.; and the national assemblies known even today as "Sovereign" and "Supreme," as in Sovereign Lodge, Supreme Council, Supreme Temple. Annual
meetings of Grand and Supreme councils were eagerly anticipated occasions, promising colorful public displays of ritualistic pageantry, patriotism and militarism. The meetings, with their lavish public and private ceremonies entailed extensive planning, hours of committee meetings, many evenings practicing rituals and performances, and considerable expenditure of funds for the requisite clothing and accessories.

Participants reveled in the opportunities to wear fantastic costume, to parade in ornate uniforms, and to announce to the world that they were part of an elite brotherhood wherein all souls were equal, honored, loved and cared for. As for the observers, the parades were second only to the Ringling Brothers circus for entertainment value; and the "brethren" meeting in convention meant an economic windfall for the community chosen as the meeting site.

At the time of the 1911 Supreme Council parade, one in every five American males belonged to one or more secret societies; and fraternal orders dominated the social life of some twenty percent of men in this country. Fraternal societies influenced how members behaved, how they spent their time and money, and how they perceived themselves and were perceived by others. The time from 1865 to 1918 was termed the "Golden Age of Fraternalism," and the fraternal
movement was acknowledged as a social phenomenon, even as it was occurring.4

At the moment of its greatest popularity, the most visible element of fraternalism, one common to all the fraternal orders in the United States was the use of special clothing known as regalia. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, The Great Fraternal Movement created a demand for regalia so great that it spawned a distinct and prosperous industry which flourished for eighty years. The leader of that industry was The M.C.Lilley & Co. of Columbus, Ohio. This firm became the largest of the American regalia houses, and set the standard for the production and marketing of fraternal clothing in the years following the Civil War until the start of World War I.

In the interests of furthering knowledge about American social history, and documenting the role of clothing in social history, this dissertation examines the use of clothing by secret fraternal societies in the United States from Colonial times to 1918. It approaches the topic of fraternal clothing from the perspective that dress, a human invention, does more than provide shelter and protection. Clothing and its use have social meaning within the context of time and place. Dress is a human invention created in a purposeful fashion. For the historian, the study of dress and of its past uses opens a window through which we may
view and better understand a particular culture. Because
dress is a product of culture, it has historical relevance. 5

Scholars have analyzed fraternalism from various
perspectives, and suggested multiple reasons for the
phenomenon of the Great Fraternal Movement. This study
offers an additional perspective -- that of the importance
of prescribed forms of dress in fraternalism.

This dissertation will tell the story of fraternal
clothing and dress in the late nineteenth and early
twentieth centuries from the perspective of the largest of
the great regalia houses, The M.C.Lilley & Co. of Columbus,
Ohio.

To better understand the role of clothing in The Great
Fraternal Movement, and the interrelationship between the
fraternal societies and regalia industry, this dissertation
considers three issues. First, fraternalism was a social
movement. Fraternal regalia was important because it
influenced how people within and outside the movement
perceived themselves and each other.

Second, this dissertation addresses the issue of
change. Among the hallmarks of fraternal societies are
their strict adherence to tradition and established rituals,
and their resistance to change. Yet, it is certain that as
American fraternal societies increased in number and size,
particularly during the latter part of the nineteenth
century, they did change. And the changes were most evident in the clothing the brethren wore.

Third, this dissertation considers the notion that a special relationship existed between the fraternal societies and the firms that made the ritual clothing. This study identifies some circumstances and events which prompted the increased use of clothing by fraternities; and the concomitant rise and growth of the regalia industry. This dissertation examines the relationships between fraternal societies and the regalia industry to determine how and to what extent the regalia industry influenced the fraternal movement, the form and style of fraternal clothing, and the way in which clothing was used by the secret societies.

Until the beginnings of the Great Fraternal Movement following the Civil War, only a very small part of the male population in the United States belonged to secret fraternal societies. Fraternalism simply was not important enough to merit study. Only when fraternalism was visible as a social movement which encompassed a large part of the male population was it recognized as a significant topic, worthy of academic scrutiny and analysis. Therefore, although secret fraternal societies have been on the American scene since well before the Revolution, these organizations have only recently become a subject for scholarly consideration.

In the closing years of the nineteenth century a few sociologists published commentaries and statistical data
about the movement, and noted German scholar Georg Simmel published a lengthy discourse on the nature of secrecy and rituals. Simmel acknowledged that the impetus for his essay was the widespread popularity of secret fraternal societies. In the twentieth century, fraternalism in America has been examined by scholars from various disciplines over the past century, particularly sociologists and historians. The topic continues to draw inquiry from students of popular and material culture.

These studies provide valuable insights regarding fraternalism and its role in the history of America. They acknowledge that prescribed forms of dress and regalia have been a consistent and integral part of American fraternal rituals since their inception. Most agree that the symbol-laden garments serve as conveyors of non-verbal messages, and that the meanings of these messages, both to members and to outsiders have changed over time. What remains to be discovered, analyzed and evaluated is the clothing itself - what it looked like; how clothing changed over time; who determined style, form and color; how the clothing was produced and distributed; and how clothing served the purposes of the secret societies.

The time of the phenomenal growth of the fraternal orders, and the period of their greatest influence on American life, was also the time when the great regalia houses constituted a singular sector of manufacturing and
sales in the American market place. In those years The
M.C.Lilley & Co. grew, prospered and became a significant
force in the economy of Columbus, Ohio.

The M.C.Lilley & Co. was one of only a few companies
which engaged in the design, production, mass-manufacturing,
marketing and wide-spread distribution of a full complement
of fraternal regalia. This firm was the largest of its
kind. Exemplary of all the regalia firms, the fortunes of
this company paralleled that of the organizations it served.
This firm provides a fascinating setting for a tale of
ceremonial garments, costumes and uniforms.

This chronology of the M.C.Lilley & Co. ends just prior
to America’s entry into World War I. This event signaled
the end of an era in American history which coincides with
the beginning of the gradual decline of the fraternal order
movement. Social values changed and interest in secret
societies tapered off. The company remained a family-owned
and operated firm and prospered for another two decades, but
its influence waned with the slow decline of fraternalism in
the United States. While this decline is also an important
story, it remains to be told at a later time.

Practical considerations impose some limitations on
this study. The terms dress, clothing, garments, costume,
uniforms and regalia all have specific and singular
definitions. However, for purposes of this research, all
are considered artifacts of dress as defined by Eicher and
Roach-Higgins: "an assemblage of modifications of the body and/or supplements to the body." This study is concerned specifically with garments, clothing, costumes and accessories, those items which are added to and worn on the body. And while the term regalia may include items other than dress, which are not modifications of or supplements to the human body, such items are excluded from consideration here. Further, while jewelry is a popular vehicle for displaying fraternal associations, and it is worn on the body, fraternal jewelry as an element of dress is excluded from consideration in this study because it is used and worn in a secular sense, and is not part of the dramas and rituals and quasi-military activities of the secret orders.

Although the first fraternal orders originated in Europe, the secret societies of the United States are distinct from those of Europe, in history and in character. This dissertation is concerned specifically with fraternal regalia in the United States, which is very different from that used in lodges abroad, both in form and function.

This dissertation does not address women's involvement in The Great Fraternal Movement, nor does it discuss fraternal clothing and regalia for women, although such clothing was used. These issues are not unimportant, but women's role in fraternalism is significant because it is so minimal. Women's fraternal regalia is a suitable topic for
continued research related to nineteenth century fraternalism in America.

The M.C. Lilley & Co. corporate records were destroyed as the firm's inventory and buildings were liquidated in 1953. Therefore, this study is limited to some degree by the information available from extant company publications, from lodge records, from advertisements and newspaper articles, and from the catalogues and artifacts produced by the company.

Sources for this dissertation include items of fraternal regalia produced by the M.C. Lilley & Co. during the time period, as well as some comparable artifacts made by this company's competitors. Photo documentation of men wearing the regalia gives an indication of how the regalia was regarded and used, and provides evidence of stylistic changes to regalia over the years.

Although no actual business records exist for this company, the M.C. Lilley & Co. and its successors continued to publish fraternal order periodicals and catalogs, while maintaining their manufacturing endeavors. In its heyday, this company was very self-promoting, and much of the company's history, growth, philosophy and business practices can be discerned from these publications.

The Masonic Chronicle and The Odd Fellow's Companion were used by the company as advertising vehicles, promoting the company, its products and its sales representatives.
Some of this promotional information was presented as commercial advertising, but other promotional information was couched as news reports. The company used the publications to document from time to time its growth and expansion. Consequently, we have a biased but nonetheless valid source of information about where and when garment manufacturing took place.

The early regalia catalogs document the dates at which the company moved its locations and changed its product lines, going from a publishing house to a retail broker of regalia, to a manufacturer, marketer and distributor of regalia. The catalogs date the growth and expansion of the company, and contain promotional statements which include employment figures, locations of licensed agents and branch offices, and lists of the many fraternal orders which were serviced.

Lodge records and fraternal order histories provide evidence of the role of dress in the fraternal societies, and confirm that the owners and managers and agents of the regalia houses were active in lodge activities -- an indication of when and how and to what extent the lodges and the regalia houses intermingled their interests, and served each other.

Other primary sources for this dissertation are contemporary newspaper accounts of lodge activities, and of events at which lodge members participated wearing regalia.
Local history books written at the turn of the century have detailed records and photographs of public events in which fraternal orders were a visible presence, particularly those in which regalia is worn. Local lodge publications record the use of the elaborate costumes in ceremonies, parades, conventions and occasionally in the ritual dramas.

Contemporary writings from the time period by the individuals who organized, reorganized and controlled the fraternal orders are valuable and indisputable sources of information about the rituals and the dress which accompanied the rituals. The leaders of the movement were literate men, with the time and financial security to allow them to write prolifically, documenting every aspect of the rituals in minute detail. The writings selected for this dissertation include Albert Mackey's *Symbolism of Freemasonry* and works by Thomas Smith Webb, James Hardie, Albert Pike, Charles McClenachan, Justus Henry Rathbone, James Carnahan, James Ridgely, Joseph Morgan, Emmanuel Rebold and Jabez Richardson.

Other writers contemporary to the period but not overtly associated with any fraternal organization, also published a number of books about the fraternal orders and the fraternal society movement. Albert Stevens’ *Cyclopaedia of Fraternities* and Preuss’s *A Dictionary of Secret and Other Societies* remain credible sources of statistics on membership roles, geographic distributions and other
demographics of the fraternal orders at the height of their popularity.

Because the M.C.Lilley & Co. remained a family-owned concern until the late 1930s, family histories, genealogical information, church records, city directories, property ownership records, as well as contemporary biographies of the principals in the firm (the Lilleys, the Lindenbergs and the Sieberts) serve as secondary sources for information about individuals.

Some limited data about the regalia industry, its productivity, employment figures, raw material use, distribution of product, and other manufacturing information is found in publications of the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; the U.S. Census of Manufacturers, Statistics for Selected Industries; and the Ohio Department of Industrial Relations, Directory of Ohio Manufacturers.

This story of fraternalism, fraternal regalia and the regalia industry is told in chronological sequence, using accepted methods of historical research and interpretation. Appendix A provides an explanation of the historic method.

Chapter Two of this dissertation tells how fraternalism evolved from the medieval craft guilds in Europe into social and philosophical clubs for nobility and gentry in seventeenth century England; and how, as speculative Freemasonry, fraternalism spread across the European
continent and gained a foothold in the American colonies in the 1730s.

Regalia was a part of fraternalism from its inception. Long before fraternal regalia became a source of commercial enterprise, secret societies used special clothing. Early use of regalia determined the importance of clothing to fraternalism in later years. This chapter discusses the earliest use of artifacts of dress in fraternal orders, both in Europe and America up to 1800.

Chapter Three discusses fraternalism in America from the beginning of the nineteenth century until the start of the Civil War. From 1800 to 1860 fraternalism in America grew slowly, dispersed geographically, and diversified among a broader segment of the population. This chapter documents the regalia used by secret societies in these years; the source of the regalia (who made it, how it was produced and distributed); and the role of specialized clothing as part of American fraternalism at that time. This chapter also introduces the concept of militarism as an element of fraternalism in America.

Four Columbus, Ohio residents founded The M.C.Lilley & Co., the setting for this story of fraternal regalia. The firm remained in this city until it closed its doors. Chapter Four relates the development of this city in the nineteenth century. It identifies the social, economic, political and demographic features which contributed to the
success of the firm that set the standard for the fraternal regalia industry.

Chapter Five tells the story of the founding and early years of the firm, documenting its evolution from a small publishing house to a large, diversified manufacturing operation.

Chapter Six describes the social phenomenon that was The Great Fraternal Movement in America, from 1870 to 1910. In the years following the Civil War, fraternalism as a social form became embedded in the American scene, and experienced explosive growth. Existing secret societies grew so rapidly that Grand Lodges could barely keep accurate records of membership; and new fraternal orders were founded at a breathtaking pace. As the movement increased in size and importance, nature of fraternalism changed, particularly with regard to the use of clothing.

In the years from 1870 to 1910, secret societies employed special clothing in new and different ways and in increasing amounts. Rituals took on theatrical qualities, and simple regalia became elaborate costume. Chapter Seven describes the clothing and regalia used by the secret societies, focusing on garments designed, manufactured and marketed by the regalia houses.

Chapter Eight discusses the relationship between militarism, fraternalism and the use of uniforms. Beginning in the 1870s, a spirit of militarism swept across the
nation, insinuated itself into the fraternal movement, and was manifested openly in the use of military-type fraternal regalia. This chapter examines the role of the regalia manufacturers in the promotion of patriotic militarism within the fraternal orders.

Chapter Nine tells the story of The M.C. Lilley & Co. from 1870 through its peak years, well into the second decade of the twentieth century. The M.C. Lilley & Co. began as a small proprietary business and grew to be a very large firm. This chapter examines the growth patterns and organizational features of this company in terms of the business models outlined by historians Glenn Porter, Alfred Chandler and Mansel Blackford, to determine the factors that contributed to its success, and to identify the role this firm and others like it played in the Fraternal Movement.

Chapter Ten offers some conclusions about fraternalism in America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, about the role of a large business enterprise in a wide-spread social movement, and about the significance of clothing to both.

Scholars and historians have studied the origins and evolution of secret fraternal societies from a variety of perspectives, and the topic continues to draw inquiry from students of popular and material culture. As a part of America’s past, it remains a phenomenon worthy of continued
investigation, from a previously unexplored perspective - that of clothing and dress.

An historical study of any social phenomenon, particularly one in which costume and uniforms are a significant feature, is incomplete without consideration of the role of dress in its development. The story of the M.C. Lilley & Co. and the clothing it made and sold will add to the existing body of knowledge about fraternal orders, and will provide a fuller understanding of the role of clothing in this great social movement.
NOTES


2 Ibid.


4 Ibid., 622.


America (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989); and Mary Ann Clawson, Constructing Brotherhood (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.)


11 Arthur Preuss, A Dictionary of Secret and Other Societies (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1924).


The fraternal form of social organization originated with the European craft guilds, which evolved from traveling bands of skilled workers who joined together in the middle ages for mutual support, benefit and protection. As secret fraternal societies rose to prominence in eighteenth century Europe, they retained some visible vestiges of their predecessors, including the use of symbols and ritual clothing. The practical leather apron of the working stone mason became the "badge of a Freemason," and symbolized a Freemason’s commitment to the ideals of the Enlightenment and his loyalty to the brotherhood.

British migrants brought Freemasonry to the New World. By the end of the eighteenth century, fraternalism in this country took on distinctly American characteristics with strong patriotic overtones, manifested by the way in which clothing and regalia were used in secret rituals and in public.
From Craft Guild to Fraternity

Without exception, all secret fraternal societies originated with or patterned their organizations after that of speculative Freemasonry, which evolved from operative stone-masons' guilds in late seventeenth century England. Historians of early Freemasonry place the origins of the fellowcraft at the time of the Roman Empire. Precursors to the guilds were groups of skilled workers who followed the occupying legions of Rome throughout Europe, building roads, bridges and military fortifications. As the Roman Empire spread over the continent, these workers structured their groups into formal organizations, sometimes called colleges. At the behest of the military governors, they constructed the early cities of Europe, spreading Roman culture as they worked their trade. Within each college were architects, artisans, tradesmen and laborers. There were master craftsmen, general builders, skilled and unskilled workers and apprentices at varying levels of training. The colleges defined and categorized levels of competency, and an individual's expertise was determined by demonstrating skills to other members of the group. Over centuries, these colleges evolved into corporations, confraternities and eventually into the craft guilds of Medieval Europe. Such groups of builders, whatever they were named, roamed the
European continent for centuries, going wherever their skills and labors were required. They followed the military, the clergy and ruling nobility, building churches and cathedrals, fortifications and castles, great palaces, civic buildings, roads, bridges, aqueducts, monumental edifices of every sort. The most highly valued and skilled of these groups were the stone masons, whose masters were also designers and architects, literate men with knowledge of geometry and principles of engineering.

The fraternal form of social organization originated with these medieval stone masons. In the era of feudalism and city-states, craftsmen engaged in the building trades were not permanent residents of any city or town. Rather, they traveled to sites where their skills were in demand, and erected temporary living quarters near the construction project - a cathedral or castle or public building. They might live at that site for many years, but they didn’t own land, nor were they indentured to other land owners.

Because their skills and knowledge were so highly valued and sought after, recognized members of stone masons’ lodges were considered “free” men, permitted to travel freely from city to city, town to town, in order to perform their work, hence the term “freemason.” Because it was known that the craft guild demanded of its members a high standard of integrity, and enforced its own code of morality and behavior, these freemasons were sometimes exempted from
local laws. However, concomitant with this freedom, they did not always receive protection from rulers, the Church or local civil authorities. Their allegiance was to their fellow craftsmen, and members of the stonemasons' craft lodges were obliged by oath to afford each other succor and assistance.

In addition to constructing homes for themselves and their families near their work, the medieval stone masons erected a lodge building at each work site which served as an administrative center for the craftsmen, and as a social gathering place. The lodge was the focal point for the building project and for the community of workers. In it, workers kept their tools, and the master of the lodge kept the plans for the building. The Master of the lodge determined the daily distribution and execution of the work, and allocated tools and protective clothing. Workers met at the lodge every morning to receive task assignments and instructions for the day. Workers reconvened at the end of the work day to receive pay, to discuss any mutual problems and concerns, and to socialize.

Lodge meetings were organized affairs with rules and protocols. The Master of the lodge was elected by the membership from among those men qualified as Masters. Members elected officers in addition to the Master: a scribe, who recorded proceedings and maintained records of the lodge's business transactions; a treasurer who monitored
financial transactions; wardens to assure that all members followed appropriate procedures; and guards to protect the privacy of the meetings and security of the lodge hall. Officers served for limited terms, at the pleasure of the membership. Decisions relating to the community of workers were discussed in the lodge, and the lodge Master was accountable to the membership for actions affecting the workers. Members were sworn to secrecy regarding the proceedings within the lodge walls.

Lodges had their own training systems in which new initiates were instructed incrementally in the use of the various tools of the trade, such as the ruler, the level, the square, the compass, the plumb line, the trowel and the mallet. As apprentices gained experience, they were taught craft techniques, construction procedures, principles of engineering, geometry and architecture. They learned how to prepare and read building plans, which were laid on tables known as trestle boards.

The tools of the craft were used as allegorical symbols to enforce the lessons. The apprentices were also taught discipline, morality, and the social skills necessary to function effectively within the community of workers. The lodge advanced the trainees through designated ranks, from apprentices to craftsmen and eventually to Master Masons. And before advancing in rank, an apprentice or craftsman was
tested as to the knowledge he had acquired, assuring that he was worthy of advancement.

The medieval master stone mason was more than a craftsman – he was a literate man in a society where most men were illiterate; he was trained in arithmetic, geometry, engineering and architecture; and he was capable of planning and executing complex building projects.  

Highly respected by the ruling classes, master masons jealously guarded the knowledge and skills which gave them a privileged position in society. Bound by oaths of secrecy, they kept their knowledge within the lodge walls. Masters and craftsmen alike preserved and transmitted knowledge of their craft only to those of their own choosing. They maintained the oath of secrecy in order to protect their livelihood from competition, and to secure the mason’s privileged status.

To enforce secrecy and to maintain high standards of performance, the mason’s lodges, particularly in England and Scotland, promulgated an allegory-based code of morality and personal conduct which admonished the worker to strive to live his life as he would construct a building: with a sound plan, with high quality materials, with straight and true dimensions, and with accurate execution of workmanship. Initiates were taught to be honest, industrious, trustworthy, and to protect and assist fellow lodge members.

Evidence suggests that some early lodges may have included religious rites in their induction ceremonies, as
an incentive to enforce the code of secrecy considered necessary to protect the knowledge held by the builders.

Emmanuel Rebold suggests that because membership in the lodges was composed of men from many different regions and countries, and consequently of different beliefs, that a Supreme Being necessarily had to be represented under a general title, and therefore was styled "Grand Architect of the Universe" - the universe being considered the most perfect work of a master builder. This is a questionable assumption, as no documentary evidence has yet been presented to confirm that the craft lodges acknowledged any form of religious commitment or identification at this early stage.

It is known that, in the course of moving from job site to job site, the Masonic corporations, and later the Masonic craft guilds and lodges, absorbed members from the local populace. Rebold suggests that, with workers from different cities and countries, multiple languages may have been spoken within the lodges, creating the need for communication by means of signs and symbols. Whether or not this is the reason, the stone mason's lodges throughout Europe used a sophisticated system of bodily signs such as grips, postures, hand signals and handshakes, and symbols displayed on clothing and jewelry. Each level of skill was assigned a universally recognized symbol and password which was revealed to a worker only when he had proven his
capability at that level. This system of non-verbal communication assured that guild-member craftsmen in any city could recognize one another as fellows. The signs and passwords confirmed the level of skill a man had attained within the craft, and ascertained if he had occupied an office within a lodge. Universally recognizable signs permitted craftsmen to move easily from one lodge to another, finding employment where their skills were needed.

Further, the universal signs of recognition aided craftsmen in meeting their mutual obligations of "hospitality, succor and good offices" to fellow masons. A man in pursuit of employment could make a journey of great distance at small expense by staying with fellow craftsmen. Identified as a member of the craft, he had some assurance of safety during the journey. At any building site, he would be welcomed and assisted by fellows of his craft, if he could properly identify himself as a member of a lodge, and could prove his skill level by a mutually acknowledged test.

During the Middle Ages, when the Catholic Church funded the building of the great cathedrals and abbeys, a number of selected clergymen were trained as architects to supervise the Church's interests in the building projects. The trained clerics gained admittance to those craft lodges, and served to represent the interests of the patron. As these member-priests learned the rituals and secrets of the
mason's lodge, they taught the secular craftsmen the liturgy of the Christian church. Through this interchange, ultimately the myths, legends and rituals of the Catholic church and the Christian bible were insinuated into the rites of Freemasonry at the local lodge level.

As did many early craftsmen, working stone masons wore protective aprons fashioned from animal skins, "with the forelegs forming the ties, and the bottom edge rounded and hanging below the knees. The natural flap remaining at the top edge could either hang down or be worn above the waist by attaching it with a button hole or additional ties." The very earliest pictorial records of working stone masons show them wearing a protective garment tied about the waist, hanging below the hips - an apron. A leather apron was (and still is) a practical garment, necessary for safety and cleanliness when hewing rock in a quarry, or chiseling stone or laying mortar at a building site. When Masonic lodges in England were still craft guilds, a newly "made" Master Mason was sometimes awarded a new leather apron, as a gift from his lodge brothers signifying that he had attained the skills of a master of the craft, and therefore was entitled to a sturdy protective garment to wear for work (although he no doubt already had an apron, and had been wearing it for some time as he learned his craft).

Workers in stone also often used gloves to protect their hands when working the rough stone. Early on, the
apron and gloves were the identifying clothing of a stone mason, a worker in a skilled craft, and a member of an honorable and respected guild lodge.

**From Operative to Speculative Freemasonry**

Masonic historians place the origin of speculative Freemasonry in Scotland and England around 1650. With the decline of the Holy Roman Empire and the rise of Protestantism, the Catholic church had all but ceased building the great cathedrals. The ruling secular nobility, the landed gentry, and particularly the military became the patrons of large construction projects. In England some military engineers were admitted to operative craft guilds to assist these builders and architects in planning and constructing fortresses and defenses. These military men were educated, and had knowledge of engineering, geometry, basic science and principles of physics, as did the master stone masons and architects. As men who were mutually conversant about problems related to building fortified structures, the engineers were welcomed into the lodges and were designated speculative freemasons.
Freemasonry and the Enlightenment

“Central to the Masonic identity was the belief that merit and not birth constitutes the foundation for social and political order;” that belief was also central to and most easily identifies with the English republican traditions that crystallized in the 1650s - the start of the Enlightenment.10 Followers of this movement, many of whom were wealthy, of the landed gentry and the nobility, believed that Masonic lodges were practicing a form of enlightened citizenship. Knowing that the lodges had already admitted some non-craftsmen, these philosophers petitioned to join the craft lodges, as did the military engineers, as speculative Freemasons. Lodge members who were trained and skilled in architecture, stone working and the building crafts, the operative masons, understood the economic and political advantage inherent in opening their lodges to potential patrons. The operative masons selectively invited these wealthy and powerful men to join the fraternity along with the military engineers as speculative Freemasons. It was at this time, with the acceptance of non-craftsmen into the guild, that the nature of the Masonic fraternity changed from a craft guild to a philosophic and social organization.
Speculative masons were not granted full guild privileges for purposes of employment as master masons, nor did they seek such privileges. They were not expected to perform labors on the building projects, as were the operative stone masons, but they were considered equals within the lodge. Speculative freemasons were privy to all the mysteries of the lodge. The complex training systems of the operative lodges were adapted as induction rites for speculative Freemasons. The new speculative Freemasons were initiated with the age-old rituals; passwords, signs and grips were revealed to them along with knowledge about the building projects. Initiates became familiar with the fraternal form of organization, and took their turns as lodge officers. As they studied the lessons and proved through tests that they had learned the concepts and morals espoused by Freemasons, they advanced symbolically in rank. Rank was conferred by degrees, beginning with Entered Apprentice, advancing to Fellowcraftsman and finally the highest degree, that of a Master Mason was conferred. Speculative Freemasons accepted the Masonic codes of morality and behavior; and swore oaths of secrecy and fraternal loyalty.

Craft lodges continued using the builder's tools allegorically in the initiation rituals, for speculative as well as for operative Freemasons. Trowels, plumb lines, levels, measures and squares were endowed with meaning, and
miniature replicas were fashioned into "jewels" suspended from wide ribbons hung about the neck.

Most significantly, the new speculative masons learned the meanings attributed to items of clothing. The rite of investiture for the new masons mandated that the initiate wear the appropriate regalia, specifically a workman's apron, when sitting in lodge session. Sometimes referred to as the ceremony of clothing, this ritual included presenting the candidate with a white lambskin apron and a pair of white gloves. This particular ceremony and the Masonic rite of burial (both still in use today) are among the most important rituals in the fraternity.

The apron, central to both rituals, is a direct transfer to speculative Freemasonry from the lodges of the operative craft guilds. Originally a stone mason's mundane, practical item of working clothing, the lambskin apron became a value-laden artifact. It remains the most significant symbolic artifact which speculative Freemasonry carried from its operative precursor. Not only was the apron "the badge of a Freemason," most of the fraternal organizations which developed over the next two hundred years required an apron as part of their ritual dress.

By the end of the seventeenth century, British lodges counted among their members more non-working masons than actual builders and craftsmen. The working men realized that their fraternity had taken a different turn, and they
separated the practical functions from the social and philosophical functions. The craft lodges continued as a guild for working builders, and at the same time, speculative lodge affiliation proved popular among the elite. Membership in speculative Masonry grew and more lodges were formed in major cities all over England, Scotland and Ireland. Within thirty years of admitting speculative members, Freemasonry was completely divorced from the craft guilds. When the Grand Lodge of England was organized in 1717, there were 180 speculative Masonic lodges in England alone.

Freemasonry in Europe

Speculative Freemasonry emerged from the seventeenth century as a philosophical and social organization comprised of upper-class gentlemen, members of the nobility and royalty. Bound by fraternal oaths of loyalty and sworn to keep the secrets of the rituals, these brothers met to discuss the new discoveries of science and mathematics, to debate notions of reason and rationality, and to share their mutual intellectual curiosity in a social setting. Within Western Europe's most elite social class, Freemasons were regarded as convivial men of wealth, good heritage and high moral standards.\textsuperscript{13}
From 1690 forward speculative Freemasonry spread through the British Isles and across the Channel to France, the Netherlands, Germany, Austria and elsewhere. As did the operative stone masons' guilds, the system of speculative lodges transcended international boundaries. Over the next twenty years, the elite and intelligentsia of Europe constituted Masonic lodges throughout the continent, seeking "higher truths" as well as expressing continuing fascination with the seemingly purer wisdom of the ancient world.

Speculative Freemasonry became so influential so rapidly that as early as 1738 Pope Clement XII denounced and condemned the fraternity as a threat to the authority of the Church. The papal bull not withstanding, by 1775 Grand Lodges were established in England, France, Germany, Holland, Poland, Italy, Scotland, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland. And subordinate lodges were meeting in cities and towns, in palaces and courts, in military encampments, and in colonial settlements across the globe.

Lodge work in Europe was considered a private affair. Membership in a secret fraternal society was a personal option, and served social and intellectual purposes within the strata of a man's social class. Relevant to the use of clothing in these rituals, an examination of the early Charges of Blue Lodge Freemasonry confirms that the white apron, fashioned from lambskin or leather, and white gloves
are the only articles of dress consistently prescribed for
the ritual.

In 1772 William Preston described the appropriate dress
for "all the brethren" as a full suit of black, with white
gloves and white apron. He also added that a properly
clothed Mason should wear white stockings and a white
neck-cloth. The stockings and neck-cloth were normative
fashion, not part of the regalia or Masonic clothing.
Preston simply specified that when wearing Masonic regalia,
those items should be white, to present a uniform
appearance.

As speculative Freemasonry spread through Western
society, it retained the unique organizational form of a
fraternal lodge, with codes of morality, allegories and
rituals, signs, symbols, grips and special aprons. These
elements gave the organization an air of sanctity and
mystery. The secret ceremonies had great appeal, and as the
fraternity grew and spread, the ritual aspect of the
fraternity gained importance.

Since the early 1700s, and still today, without
exception, every Masonic lodge executes a three-level
initiation, consisting of rituals based on a mythological
tale of the building of Solomon's Temple. To attain full
membership in the fraternity, a candidate who has petitioned
to join the order passes through the ranks of Entered
Apprentice, Fellowcraft and finally is raised as a Master
Mason. These first three degrees are termed Symbolic or Blue Lodge Masonry, the term blue being an allegorical reference to the blue sky, a symbol of the universality of Masonry’s influence. These three original rites of initiation changed scarcely at all during the eighteenth century, and were essentially the same in every country.

For almost three hundred years, Freemasons throughout Europe and America have proclaimed the immutability of the Blue Lodge rituals, and members of the fraternity admonish that a man who has attained the third degree is “as much a Mason as he ever will be.” However, as the eighteenth century drew to a close, Freemasonry did change. New rituals and degrees were devised and instituted in France and England, and in America the fraternity diverged from its European precursor, in both structure and appearance.

Freemasonry in America

Freemasons in America first convened in seaport and trade cities “where there were a number of regular English Masons residing in those Colonies.” Quite possibly the order was introduced on this continent by British naval officers. True to the nature of the fraternity, these Masons were educated, literate men, engaged in respected trades and professions – military officers, merchants, shipping agents and barristers. The fact that they were
Masons affirms that they were for the most part from the upper social and economic classes.

Far from the comforts and familiarity of their homes and families, Masonry in America served as a connection to the home country. In the new cities of North America, on the edge of the wilderness, these Englishmen welcomed the opportunity to participate in the familiar Masonic rites. The associational form had a guiding logic which was defined by ritual. The acts of donning aprons and performing the ceremonies provided a sense of stability and continuity, and the sacred quality of the rituals reinforced high-minded principles of a universal morality.

By the third decade of the eighteenth century Freemasonry was firmly established in America, and by 1760 lodges existed in all of the colonies. In 1776 there were 100 Masonic lodges in America, with 5,000 members out of a population of 2.5 million, representing a small but select .2 per cent of the total population. As in Europe, these American Masons were educated and prosperous, considered somewhat elite. Unlike their European brethren, the Americans were not born to wealth and privilege. They came from widely divergent social and economic backgrounds. American Masons were not men of leisure. They were artisans, craftsmen, entrepreneurs, planters and yeoman farmers, many of whom had been born in humble circumstances and had earned their wealth and position. This difference
would shape the nature of fraternalism in America for generations to come, opening the lodge doors to men of modest means and accepting members on the basis of their interest in the organization, not on the basis of wealth or lineage or education.

Masonic lodges were constituted in all the major cities along the Atlantic seaboard and in the trading centers of the Caribbean. The first American lodges met in taverns and public houses, and the rituals were solemn, simple and dignified. Lodge meetings resembled a strange combination of classroom lessons and Protestant church services. As prescribed in the Ancient Charges of England, every lodge room was arranged and furnished in a like manner, with an altar, a bible, candles placed in symbolic positions, and chairs arranged in a specific pattern. Blue Lodge ritual consisted of a liturgy, lectures and sermon-like discourses in which lodge officers related allegorical lessons illustrated by symbols. Orating like preachers, quoting passages from both Old and New Testaments, they defined the principles and values by which a Freemason is obliged to live his life. Various symbolic meanings were attached to tools used by architects and stone-masons, and a prospective Freemason memorized these symbols and meanings, along with lengthy passages from Charges, which were published in books known as Monitors. As the candidate advanced through the degrees he was presented with symbolic artifacts, the most
important of which was “the badge of a Mason,” the white
lambskin apron, and white gloves. Members wore normative
dress to lodge meetings, and put on their aprons over street
clothes. Early Masonic initiation ceremonies did not
involve elaborate costumes or regalia.

As was the English custom, after a lodge was formally
closed, the Masons remained to eat and drink together, a
format of sociability that continues to this day. The
oaths, the signs, symbols, passwords and grips varied little
from one lodge to another, and the lectures and lessons were
consistently recognizable.

**Regalia in the Eighteenth Century**

As the first American Masonic lodges were chartered by
the Grand Lodge of England, the regulations laid down by
that body applied to the colonial societies. At this time,
the regalia, which was an important part of the ritual, was
for the most part the same in America as in England,
Scotland and later, France. Masonic regalia consisted of
the traditional white lambskin apron worn long, below the
knees, and gloves, a sash and a neck ribbon or collar. When
Master Masons convened and opened a lodge they wore their
street clothing and their aprons. Brethren who were not
officers wore only their aprons and gloves. Lodge officers
wore “collars” of wide ribbon, with jewels suspended from
them, and initiates participating in induction rituals wore shirts and trousers, and at times were barefooted or removed their shirts as part of the ritual. There were no costumes, no special headgear or footwear.

The apron was the most important element of dress. So important was the apron that Masons used it repeatedly as a gift and an emblem of recognition. Preston reported that in 1780 the Grand Lodge of England presented a blue silk apron to Omdit-ul-Omrah Bahauder, eldest son of the nabob of the Carnatie, on the occasion of his initiation into Masonry in the Lodge at Trichinopoly, near Madras. The Marquis de Lafayette presented his fraternal brother George Washington with a silk satin apron which Madame de Lafayette had elaborately embroidered with Masonic symbols. The Marquis made the gift to Washington on the occasion of his return to America in 1784, to commemorate their shared Masonic brotherhood and their shared battles for independence. In fact, both Washington and Lafayette, and other public figures who were openly committed to Freemasonry, received a number of such commemorative aprons.

Among the most famous aprons is the "Watson-Cassoul Apron," on display in the George Washington National Masonic Memorial in Alexandria, Virginia (Figure 2.1). This apron was commissioned by Washington's friends and admirers, Mssrs. Watson and Cassoul, from a convent of nuns in Nantes,
Figure 2.1 Watson-Cassoul Apron
George Washington National Masonic Memorial
Alexandria, Virginia
France. It is a finely crafted artifact, of elegant silk satin, edged in gold bullion fringe. The men carefully worked out the design, which shows the French and American flags crossed, and surrounded by Masonic symbols. The fact that most Masonic temples and museums have such commemorative and ceremonial aprons in their archives attests to the importance and sanctity ascribed to the apron as an item of regalia.

Aside from serving as a commemorative artifact, the apron played a significant role in the Masonic ritual. In 1731 the Grand Lodge of England specified that the leather aprons have colored silk linings, and provided instructions for finishing and hemming the aprons. Illustrations from 1780 and later indicate that toward the end of the century Masonic aprons became much smaller, covering only the lower torso and extending to mid-thigh. At this same time, aprons became a medium for elaborate decoration, and eventually decorated aprons in America assumed the status of folk art. They were frequently made of linen, silk or satin, but fine sheepskin or lambskin was not abandoned. Aprons were often painted or engraved with Masonic symbols, emblems and secret signs. In some European lodges, trims of specified colors, such as borders of blue silk, or rosettes of blue or gold, were applied to the apron to denote rank.

As with other clothing of the time period, Masonic regalia was fashioned by seamstresses, possibly women of a
Mason's household, or by tailors or seamstresses commissioned to make the garments.

Albert Mackey understood the unique role of clothing in Masonic ritual. Writing in the mid-nineteenth century in his Symbols of Freemasonry and in The Encyclopedia of Freemasonry he describes the early aprons, sashes and gloves. In 1884, Mackey said that "the Collar was originally a simple ribbon, supporting the jewel of office ... from the ribbon has gradually evolved the broad decorative collar worn so generally in Great Britain." At the end of the eighteenth century, an elaborate collar was accepted as part of the regalia of Freemasonry in both Europe and America. Collars were sometimes decorated, usually made of fine material such as taffeta, silk or velvet, and were used to suspend jewels of office.

Since the middle ages, mayors of cities, burgermeisters, governors, judges and other men in high office all wore embellished collars or decorative chains which served as symbols of the offices they held, and this practice, imported by the British to colonial America, continued well into the eighteenth century. Collars may have been adopted as items of Masonic regalia as a means of affirming the importance and dignity of the fraternity, or to distinguish officer holders from rank and file members.

Mackey explained the symbolic significance of white gloves, and noted that gloves were presented along with
aprons at the investiture rite. The gloves were intended to "teach the Mason that the works of his hands should be as pure and spotless as the gloves then given to him."32 Gloves symbolized the Mason's duty to act and behave in a manner that is free from moral blemish. Mackey and other Masonic historians referenced an antiquated custom known as "cloathing the lodge," wherein an initiate, upon his acceptance into the fraternity, provided each member of his lodge with a new pair of gloves. Apparently, this custom was not widespread, and was discontinued by the end of the eighteenth century.33

Freemasons in the eighteenth century also displayed secret symbols and signs on ornate wide sashes suspended from one shoulder to the opposite hip. Although both European and American Freemasons opted to wear decorated sashes to display symbols of their Masonic affiliation, writings do not indicate that the sashes were considered ritual regalia. Mackey suggested that the use of a sash was related to the practices of "Hindostan", which he claimed had a ceremony of investiture using a "sash or cord of nine threads twisted into a knot and hanging from the left shoulder to the right hip."34 Mackey gave no further explanations of who or what was Hindostan (presumably, he meant India), nor did he explain how this item of dress transferred from Hindostan to Freemasonry. Further, Mackey attached no symbolic value to the sash, but it was of
sufficient importance for him to address it as an item of regalia.

A probable explanation for the use of the sash may be found in contemporary dress of eighteenth-century Europe. At this time in Europe, such ribbon sashes were common accessories for formal dress of upper class gentlemen and nobility. In times past, when men walked about armed with swords, they wore baldrics from which a scabbard and sword were suspended. Elaborate colored sashes draped from one shoulder to the opposite hip were a fashionable vestige of a baldric. Sashes often indicated membership and rank held in a specific organization, such as a military unit. Frequently, sashes were embellished with rosettes, brooches and jeweled emblems. It is possible that as the European nobility affiliated with the Masonic fraternity, they transferred this clothing custom to the fraternal order, devising sashes to indicate membership and rank in a lodge. Illustrations from the eighteenth century show Masons both in Europe and in America wearing collars and aprons but not sashes while engaged in lodge activities. However, in formal portraits of Freemasons both in Europe and America, Masons are portrayed wearing their aprons, collars and sashes, if they hold rank in the lodge.

In the eighteenth century, regalia in both Europe and in the United States was similar, but its use and meaning differed. Masons in London, Edinburgh, Paris, Berlin and
Vienna wore their regalia only when the lodge convened. Brethren considered the unauthorized public display of regalia as objectionable behavior. Preston reported "an unfortunate dispute" among the members of the Manchester Lodge of Antiquity in May, 1777. Some lodge members appeared:

in Fleet-street, in the clothing of the Order, and walked back to the Mitre Tavern in their regalia, not having obtained a dispensation for that purpose. The Grand Lodge determined the measure to be a violation of the general regulations respecting public processions; and . . . several Brethren were highly dissatisfied.\textsuperscript{35}

In Europe, Masonic brothers had their portraits painted wearing identifying regalia, but they were never seen parading publicly wearing aprons, ribbons and sashes.

Unlike in Europe, the public display of regalia was accepted as a mode of behavior for colonial American Masons. Benjamin Franklin confirmed that in eighteenth century Philadelphia Masons made their affiliation known to the community at large by wearing their regalia in public. He noted in a 1730 news item that the appearance of the Masons caused people to "conjecture" about them, and "much amus'd" the public.\textsuperscript{36}

An eighteenth century diarist describing the customs of Williamsburg reported seeing men dressed for special occasions, and remarked that they announced their
occupations by wearing distinctive clothing. His description included the Masonic fraternity:

the garb put on . . . for wedding, funerals, assemblies and social amusements . . . [includes] . . . the peculiar garb of such men as ministers, judges, sea captains, and soldiers; for the judge on the bench wore his robe of scarlet, the lawyer his suit of black velvet, and officials in office and representatives in the Assembly donned the habiliments suited to the occasion. The royal Governors were often gloriously bedecked, their councilors bewigged and befrilled, and Masons in procession to their lodges 'wore their clothes.'

This willingness to publicly announce Masonic affiliation may be attributed to the patriotism attached to Freemasonry in America.

Fraternalism and Patriotism

Throughout the Revolutionary War and well into the formative years of the United States, Freemasonry was a visible presence and an important political influence. The fraternity took on a decidedly patriotic aura during the War years, as many leaders of the Revolution were also Freemasons. It is the identification of Freemasonry with the founding of this nation, with American independence, with equality of the individual, and the notion of self-government, that ultimately gave the fraternity in America a character very different from that of the lodges in England and on the Continent.
Benjamin Franklin, Paul Revere, Peyton Randolph and George Washington joined such men as John Hancock, Israel Putnam and Benedict Arnold in Masonic lodges. Of the fifty-six men who signed the Declaration of Independence, nine were Masons; and of the thirty-nine who signed the Constitution of the United States in 1787, fourteen are known to have been Freemasons. Both Generals von Steuben and Lafayette were Masons. Military leaders of the Revolution supported and encouraged the Craft, and a number of Masonic lodges were warranted and convened at encampment sites.

Freemasonry exerted a particularly strong influence on George Washington throughout his life. He was initiated into the Craft at the age of twenty-one, and remained devoted to the fraternity until his death, serving as Master of his lodge and Grand Master. A surveyor by profession, and trained in geometry, he identified very personally with the allegorical teachings of Blue Lodge Masonry. And he made a concerted effort to announce his Masonic affiliation publicly. During his administration, the cornerstone for the District of Columbia was laid at Jones Point, Virginia with elaborate Masonic ceremonies, and Lodge No. 9 of Maryland laid the cornerstone for the President's House in 1792. Washington wore his full Masonic regalia - apron, ribbon, sash and jewel of office - when he presided at the
Masonic ceremonies to lay the cornerstone of the United States Capitol Building in 1793.\textsuperscript{40} These early patriots who shaped the form and character of this country were themselves deeply influenced by Freemasonry. They openly acknowledged their Masonic affiliations, and incorporated the principles of the fraternity into their political beliefs and into the conduct of their daily lives. They wore the symbols of their fraternal affiliation on their clothing, and dressed in regalia for public events. Proud of their Masonic affiliations, all of them had their portraits painted wearing their Masonic regalia - an apron, sash and jewel of office.

By 1800, Freemasonry was well established in the New World, with lodges in the United States, in seaport towns of the West Indies, and in trading ports of South and Central America. Owing to its association with respected leaders, Freemasonry was regarded with respect and admiration by most of the public at this time. A few other societies in America also adopted the fraternal form. Phi Beta Kappa, the first academic Greek Letter fraternity was founded at the College of William and Mary in 1776. The Society of the Cincinnati, patterned after Freemasonry, was a brotherhood composed of military officers who served under George Washington in the War for Independence.\textsuperscript{41} Patriotic groups such as the Sons of Liberty also considered themselves a
fraternity. These groups all used some form of regalia patterned after that of Freemasonry - ribbons or sashes or jeweled emblems, and of course, aprons.

At the close of the eighteenth century in America, fraternalism was a preferred organizational form for men's social clubs. In the United States, men openly acknowledged their fraternal affiliations, and through the use of clothing, they publicly displayed their membership. Artifacts of special dress were an essential element of fraternalism, and the brethren imbued their special dress, their regalia, with deep meaning and sacred qualities.

Throughout the first six decades of the nineteenth century, as fraternalism grew with the new nation it changed in form and feature. Clothing continued as an identifying feature of the secret societies, but the manner in which the societies used garments changed. New rituals called for new kinds of clothes.
NOTES


3 Some historians suggest that the term "freemason" was applied to master craftsmen who were sufficiently skilled as to work in "free" stone. Rebold traces the origin of this term to the actions of Pope Benedict XII who, in the year 1334, issued diplomas to Masonic corporations in all Christian countries, making them free of all local laws, all royal edicts, all municipal regulations, and every other obligation to which the other inhabitants of country had to submit. They then became known as "free corporations," and their members were free masons. Rebold, History of Freemasonry, 49-50.


5 Mackey, Encyclopedia, 34.

6 Rebold, History of Freemasonry, 75.

Robert Freke Gould, *A Concise History of Freemasonry* (London: Gale & Polden, Ltd., 1903). Gould explained and documented the transfer of rituals, signs and symbols from the operative stonemasons' guilds of medieval Europe to modern lodges of Freemasonry. Using original documents from the tenth century forward, Gould traced the development and spread of operative stonemasons guilds throughout medieval Europe, including the craft lodges of English and Scottish stone masons, the French Compagnons, and the German Steinmetzen. He identified the sources of Masonic rituals, signs and symbols; and identified the myths, legends and historic writings from Hebrew, Egyptian, Greek, Ancient Roman legends, and from early and Medieval Christianity which have been incorporated into the ritual of modern Freemasonry. Historians and Masonic scholars alike regard his research and conclusions pertaining to the early operative lodges as accurate and unbiased.


See Mackey, *Symbolism*, 136-140. See also McClenachan, Charles T., *The Book of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry: containing instructions in all the degrees from the third to the thirty-third, and last degree of the rite* (New York: J.J. Little, 1885). McClenachan described the use of regalia for each Masonic and Scottish Rite degree in the Northern Jurisdiction. McClenachan specified colors and trims for gloves used in Chapter, Council and Consistory degree work.


Fox, *The Lodge*, 10.

Masons use the terms "work" and "labors" when referring to executing the rituals of a secret fraternal order when the lodge is in session. The term originated with the stonemason's guilds, when Masters of an operative lodge assigned to members the daily duties for a building project.
In this dissertation, the term "normative" refers to dress which is in use and accepted as appropriate for its time and place. "Non-normative" describes dress which is used but not accepted as a standard.

Mackey, Encyclopedia, 212-13.

Ibid., 108-10.


Ibid.

See Tatch, Freemasonry in the Colonies. Tatsch traces and documents the founding of subordinate and Grand Lodges of Freemasonry from 1730 to 1808.

Preston, Illustrations, 388.

This apron is in the Museum of the Masonic Temple of Philadelphia. The artifact is of sufficient importance to American Freemasons that a replica is on display. The original is stored in a vault.


Franco, Bespangled, 22.

See Franco, Bespangled. This publication is the catalog for an exhibition of Masonic aprons at The Museum of Our National Heritage, Lexington, MA, September, 1980. The
exhibition focused on the apron as a medium for various decorative art forms in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

31 Franco, Bespangled, 24.

32 Mackey, Encyclopedia, 92-97.

33 Ibid., 214.

34 Mackey, Symbolism, 136-140.

35 Ibid., 212

36 Ibid., 131.

37 Preston, Illustrations, 385.

38 Tatsch, Freemasonry in the Colonies, 19.


41 American Union Lodge No. 1, formed during the Revolution and later disbanded, was reactivated after the war by Israel Putnam at Marietta, Ohio, where it remains an active lodge today.

42 Fox, The Lodge, 20-21. These events are recounted in many Masonic histories. Fox's description is particularly succinct.

43 Preuss, Arthur, A Dictionary of Secret and Other Societies (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1924), 436.
At the dawn of the nineteenth century, fraternalism was a small but respected element of elite American male society. Freemasonry was the largest, the most recognizable and well-known of the secret societies. As the century progressed, the role of clothing in fraternal orders expanded. In America, public displays of fraternalism became commonplace, with groups of men parading at civic events dressed in garments decorated with the secret symbols of their orders.

European Freemasons created new degrees which were adopted, adapted and changed by American ritualists. The new degrees in the United States took on a theatrical aspect, requiring initiates to participate in dramas styled as morality plays. Clothing worn by the participants in the dramas was costume. Freemasons considered the costume used for dramatic productions as secular, yet they imbued the clothing with meaning. The symbolic items of dress, particularly the aprons and collars, remained sacred and retained their symbolic meanings.
Theatricality, and the accompanying costumes heightened the mysticism and romanticism associated with Freemasonry, and drew interest in fraternalism from a broader segment of male society. The drama form soon permeated all aspects of fraternalism, even changing the Blue Lodge rituals.

For sixty years, fraternalism in America continued a slow, steady growth, developing patterns and characteristics which distinguished it from fraternalism in Europe. These differences were manifested by the form and use of clothing in the rituals.

As Freemasonry added new degrees and orders, new fraternal societies sprang up in the United States, some originating in Europe and crossing the Atlantic, and some home-grown. While these orders had names, rites, purposes and social agendas which were different from Freemasonry, all used the fraternal form that originated with the Freemasons. These new societies mimicked Freemasonry's use of clothing, as they too prescribed aprons and collars for lodge meetings and ceremonial functions; and used costumes to enact dramatic initiation rites.

By mid-nineteenth century American fraternities formed degrees and side orders which called for members to wear uniforms and militia-like accessories when they convened. This group behavior by the larger fraternal orders hinted of a growing public fascination with militarism, manifested
most obviously in the use of military-type clothing as fraternal regalia.

The Hautes Grades

Fraternality’s shift from ritual to theater in America began when new degrees were instituted by the leaders of European Freemasonry as a natural extension of the brotherhood. In the mid-1700s, while the American Freemasons proclaimed the immutability and simplicity of the fraternity, their European brethren expanded Freemasonry. They created complex new degrees organized into tiered systems of lodges, chapters and councils, all of which eventually mandated specialized costumes and prescribed forms of dress. The use of elaborate fraternal regalia originated with these higher degrees (hautes grades).

William Fox refers to Freemasonry’s “plethora of degrees,”¹ and the term is appropriate. He claims that the various Masonic orders have generated, at one time or another, some eleven hundred different degrees, or lessons. A paradox of the Masonic fraternity is the multiplicity of orders, rites and degrees, all of which profess that “All Masonic philosophy and teachings are contained in the Symbolic (Blue Lodge) degrees.”² The rituals and lessons of the Entered Apprentice, Fellowcraft and Master Mason serve as an enlightened pathway which leads men to Masonic truths,
and such truths provide the foundation for building a virtuous life. Presumably, that knowledge is sufficient for a Mason to be a Mason. And the only artifacts of dress required of a Master Mason are his apron and gloves.

Nevertheless, European Freemasonry at mid-eighteenth century was characterized by an "incessant creation of new degrees." According to Margaret Jacob, the French brethren believed that the true Mason must be more than a virtuous man - he must be a freethinking man of reason, and one who is sociable as well. The higher degrees were written to provide a ritualistic base for this expansion of Masonic thought. First documented in France and Germany in 1743, by 1754 Freemasons practiced these rites throughout the Continent and in England. Ritualists designed these degrees to convert thought to action, and the strategy was successful. As prominent Masons "conjured up mythologies" and created rites and degrees which were "a proliferation of competing institutions and rituals," gentlemen brethren were enchanted. Many joined simply to participate in the mystical ceremonies. By 1800 Freemasonry was a form of entertainment as well as a gathering place for enlightened intellectuals.

Freemasonry is often described as "a science of morality, veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols," but it has no scientific basis. Rather, it is a social organization which subscribes to a code of moral behavior,
taught allegorically, and illustrated by symbols.7 With this understanding, the Masonic ritualists created the higher degrees as stories which illustrated allegorically an expanded Masonic philosophy. Each story represented a degree, described by Coil as an

esoteric ceremony . . . which advances the member or candidate to a higher rank, including the communication to him of particular distinguishing works, signs, grips, tokens or other esoteric matter, those of each degree being denied to members of lower degrees as firmly as they are denied to complete strangers."8

The new rituals were based on an assortment hermetic writings, adulterated legends of medieval knights, folk tales, misconstrued biblical lore, and fictionalized stories of historical figures. While these degrees purported to serve as "additional reflections of the ideal of becoming enlightened," in fact they "reflected aristocratic affects and . . . invoked a fashionable mysticism."9 They resembled in many ways the comedies and dramas performed for the amusement of royalty at court.

Writers set their tales in a variety of time periods, including Old Testament, New Testament, ancient Greece and Rome, the Crusades, early and late Medieval times, and some were even situated as late as the seventeenth century. Casts of characters populated each story; and texts described clothing and scenery in graphic detail. Ritualists assigned fantastic names to the new degrees, and men who received the degrees took on esoteric titles such as Sublime
Philosopher, Prince of the Orient, Knight of the Kadosh, Emperor of the East and West and Sublime Prince of the Royal Secret.\textsuperscript{10}

**The Higher Degrees "Americanized"**

As with so much of early Freemasonry, the higher degrees originated in Europe, then dispersed throughout the Continent and to England, migrated to the New World where they diverged from their European origins and took on distinctly American characteristics. Toward the close of the eighteenth century, some deeply committed leaders of the Masonic movement took it upon themselves to document the new French and British rites, to refine and standardize the readings, and to update and "Americanize" the rituals.\textsuperscript{11} Ritualists created whole mythologies and artificial histories for these degrees, seeking to tie them to revered people and places in antiquity.\textsuperscript{12}

In this country the higher degrees became, in effect, separate fraternal orders comprised of men who first had been made Master Masons, and thus had a predisposition to the fraternal form and a commitment to and knowledge of the philosophy of Freemasonry. With an American penchant for structure and organization, the new degrees were formed into hierarchically ranked units titled Lodges, Rites, Councils, Chapters and Consistories, each with its own separate
governing body, set of officers, geographic districts, signs and symbols.13

Writers standardized the rituals by recording them in formulaic books called monitors, which were published for use by subordinate lodges. The writers sold the rituals to Grand Lodges, who in turn sold them in quantity to organizers of subordinate lodges.14 These monitors were frequently re-written and updated, and confirm that in America Masonic rituals were not immutable; they changed over time and place, particularly in terms of the use of clothing.

Thomas Webb, Joseph Cerneau, Laurence Dermott, Albert Pike and other ritualists selectively copied, adapted and embellished texts from the British and French hautes grades, using the same story lines and morality lessons, but creating a different form of presentation. They also created some totally new story lines which were worked into new degrees. No longer sermons and responses, the American higher degrees were dramas and morality plays, requiring initiates and lodge officers alike to participate in re-enactments and to wear elaborate costumes and accessories. Further, the member brethren who were observers were mandated to wear prescribed clothing during the ceremonies.
In devising the higher degrees, the ritualists attempted to out-do one another with melodrama and theatrics. Thomas Smith Webb was one of the first and most notable of the American ritualists responsible for dramatizing the higher degrees. Initially, Webb focused on regularizing and organizing the rituals of the first three degrees, revising in 1797 rituals published by Preston in England in 1772. The first three degrees did not require elaborate costumes or regalia. Blue Lodge Masons still wore normative dress to lodge meetings, and wore their aprons and jewels over street clothing, only during the meetings and when appearing in public as a group. Webb’s initial concern with fraternal clothing was confined to his comments in the first degree, and this statement is identical to Preston’s:

Every candidate, at his initiation, is presented with a lamb-skin, or white leather apron.

The lamb has in all ages been deemed an emblem of innocence; he, therefore, who wears the lamb-skin as a badge of masonry, is thereby continually reminded of that purity of life and conduct, which is essentially necessary to his gaining admission into the Celestial Lodge above, where the Supreme Architect of the Universe presides.

By 1808 Webb had published an original Monitor of Freemasonry in which he not only dramatized the Blue Lodge degrees but added his own rituals and high degrees. Webb acknowledged that his "observations . . . are many of them
taken from Preston's *Illustrations of Masonry,* that being an acknowledged English publication of the Charges and Rituals of British Freemasonry. But Webb went on to say that Preston’s “distribution not being agreeable to the mode of working in America, they are differently arranged in this work.”¹⁷ As a recognized leader of Freemasonry, Webb took it upon himself to modify and re-establish the rituals to suit what he believed was “agreeable” to his countrymen. In so doing he created new degrees, all of which used clothing to convey the messages and lessons. Webb’s degrees ultimately became the uniquely American Rite, and his higher degrees evolved into the enormously popular Knights Templar.

Webb was one of several notable ritualists writing at this time. Other were Laurence Dermott, Frederick Dalcho, Etienne Morin and Joseph Cerneau who adapted and revised the Scottish Rite. Steven Bullock suggests that Webb (and other American ritualists of the post-Revolutionary War period) intended to create a secret world far removed from urbanity, civility and all that was familiar to the initiate. This was “an affective, private sphere” into which the brethren could retreat for a time.¹⁸ Clothing was an intimate part of that environment, and a necessary element of that private sphere.

Webb’s rituals in *Part Second, Charges of the Ineffable Degrees of Masonry,* written in 1812 exemplify the new American fraternal rituals, and illustrate the importance of
clothing in the American higher degrees. The rituals contained no lessons, lectures, prayers or songs. Rather, for each degree the author described a scene and introduced a cast of costumed characters who took part in an action-driven tale of morality and virtue. Webb’s fourth degree of the Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite states:

The lodge of the Secret Masters is spread with black. The master represents Solomon coming to the temple to elect seven experts. Solomon holds a sceptre in his hand, standing in the East, before a triangular altar, upon which is a crown, and some olive and laurel leaves. Adoniram, the inspector, stands in the West.

The first officer is decorated with a blue ribbon, from the right shoulder to the left hip, to which hangs a triangle. The second officer is decorated with a white ribbon, bordered with black, in a triangular form, and an ivory key suspended therefrom, with a figure of Z upon it.

All other brethren are decorated in the same manner, with white aprons and gloves, the strings of the aprons black; the flap of the apron is blue, with a golden eye upon it. This lodge should be enlightened by eighty-one candles, distributed by nine times nine.

Webb provided a dialogue which the candidate memorized and repeated as the lodge officers participated in the ritual. When the dialogue had been enacted and all the words repeated, the candidate received the degree. The Master presented him with symbols of the degree and explained their meaning. Artifacts of dress are prominent:

He is invested with the ribbon, the crown of laurels and olives, by the M.P. [Most Puissant - the term used for the Master of the Lodge] who thus addresses him:
My Brother, I receive you as Secret Master, and give you rank among the Levites. This laurel, the emblem of victory, is to remind you of the conquest you are to gain over your passions. The olive is the symbol of that peace and union, which ought to reign amongst us. I decorate you with the ivory key, hung to a white and black ribbon, as a symbol of your fidelity, innocence and discretion.

The apron and gloves are to be marks of the candour of a S.M. in the number of which you have deserved to be introduced. The eye upon your apron is to remind you to have a careful watch over the conduct of the craft in general.

Webb presented over twenty more degrees in this book, and in each successive degree the rituals became more theatrical and the clothing more prominent. The Degree of Intimate Secretary involved only two persons, but their clothing was elaborate, consisting of blue mantles lined with ermine, with crowns on their heads and sceptres in their hands. The observing brethren are told to wear white aprons lined and embroidered with a blood colour, with strings of the same, and ribbons of the same colour around their necks, to which must be suspended, hanging on the breast, a solid triangle.

The thirteenth degree, the Knight of the Ninth Arch, called for the lodge to be hung with red and white hangings embroidered with red and white flames, and for the brethren to be dressed in black, and their hats flapped, with a broad black ribbon from the left shoulder to the right hip, on the lower part of which are nine red roses, four on each side, and one at the bottom, to which is suspended a poinard. The aprons are white, lined with black, speckled with blood; on
the flap a bloody arm with a poinard, and on the area a bloody arm holding by the hair a bloody head.23

Webb’s rituals clearly created two classes of fraternal clothing - the secular costumes and the sacred regalia. The blue mantles lined with ermine, and the crowns and sceptres were costumes worn by characters in a play, and such clothing had no symbolic meaning; that clothing was part of the secular world, a vehicle by which participants were transported into a different place and time. However, the various aprons with specific colored linings and trims and embellishments, the colored sashes and ribbons, and even the flapped hats were imbued with mystical qualities and symbolic meaning. This was sacred regalia, which bonded the wearer to the fraternity.

Some ten years later, in 1819, Jeremy Cross published his Masonic Chart, or Hieroglyphic Monitor, significant as the first publication illustrating all the symbols used in Masonic rituals, with explanations of their meanings. As with other monitors, clothing and regalia was mentioned only for higher degrees. For his Order of High Priest within the Royal Arch Chapter, Cross’s monitor had an engraving of three men, the Priest and two Excellent Companions, wearing heavily embellished costumes which replicate ecclesiastical garments of the contemporary Catholic clergy.24 The garments included robes, albs, chasubles and miters, in addition to fringed and decorated aprons. Cross’s regalia
was of a sacred nature, as he assigned symbolic meaning to each garment.

All of the ritualists understood the theatrical value of clothing. Thomas Webb, Andrew Ramsay, Etienne Morin, M. Desaguliers and Joseph Cerneau all dictated the color and style of costumes for every rite and degree. Later ritualists such as Albert Pike and Charles McClenachan even specified the fabric, buttons and trim for the costumes.25

Probably, local seamstresses and tailors, or women of the Mason's household fashioned the clothing that Webb, Cross and their contemporaries described. Although some tailors and seamstresses provided some ready-made clothing for sale at this time,26 most certainly, churches and theatrical production companies commissioned specialty items such as clerical robes and costumes from artisans skilled in tailoring and costume-making. Bullock concluded from his study of Jeremy Cross's diaries that in the 1820s Cross supported himself by selling not only the Charters for his new degrees, but the regalia and ritual equipment as well.27 Possibly, Cross took orders for the garments, and brokered the work to craftsmen he knew.

The monitors require wall hangings, furniture and theatrical props in addition to special clothing for all the observing brethren and the officers and candidates. This suggests that even at this early time in America, the lodges owned wardrobes and sets of furnishings. Some
well-established lodges in urban areas had their own buildings and lodge halls by this time, allowing for storage space for such items. Cross confirmed that by 1819, lodges were expected to own such costumes as well as the props and scenery for ritual performances. Item 15 of the Charge for the Order of the High Priest states:

The furniture, clothing, jewels, implements, utensils, &c. belonging to the chapter, (having been previously placed in the centre, in front of the grand officers, covered,) are now uncovered, and the new chapter is dedicated in the ancient manner and form . . . 28

This further suggests that commercial opportunity existed for craftsmen to make and sell the specialty items required for these fraternal activities, even as early as 1812, and without a doubt, by 1819.

It must be acknowledged that in these early years of the nineteenth century only a very few men in America engaged in the advanced degrees of the Scottish and York (sometimes known as the American) rites. Fox confirms that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, even after convening its first Supreme Council in 1801 the Scottish Rite was just getting organized. The York or American Rite existed only in the form of a few Knights Templar Commanderies, which were not yet fully integrated into a sequence of degrees. Webb was still working on that ritual. Fraternalism in general, and the Masonic fraternity in particular was the purview of a very small segment of the
male population, and the number of men who had the time, money and inclination to pursue additional Masonic degrees was smaller still. The advanced degrees were “a superfluous part of American Freemasonry.”

Nevertheless, the Americanization of the higher degrees in the first decades of the nineteenth century introduced costume as an element of fraternalism and expanded the form and use of regalia. These changes influenced the nature of fraternalism in America for the next hundred years.

Blue Lodge Rituals and Costume

In writing the higher degrees for American Masons, the ritualists modified the characteristics of Masonic rituals at all levels. Early nineteenth century American Masons who had taken the higher degrees continued to participate in their subordinate lodge rituals, but after experiencing the mystical ceremonies of the York and Scottish Rites, the lecture-and-lesson format of the Blue Lodge seemed dull and unappealing.

Recognizing theatrics as an effective and appealing means to convey the moral lessons, ritualists re-designed the lecture-response format. Blue Lodge degrees, like the higher degrees, became dramas. Not light-hearted amusements, initiations were serious but nonetheless entertaining and exciting affairs.
In Freemasonry, the notion of costumed role-playing intended to invest the candidate in the fraternity on a personal level. He learned the lesson, the moral, the secret sign, word and grip not only from a lecture or a reading or by observing, but by enacting a sequence of events in the presence of those who had done the same.

The new scripts engaged the candidate in progressive, experiential ceremonies. To enter the enlightened world of the Masonic Lodge, the initiate discarded his normative dress, and appeared before the lodge partially naked. The first and second degree rites taught interrelated lessons that led to the Third Degree, in which the candidate for Master Mason became a leading character in a full-blown drama. Officers and members of the lodge also played active roles in this drama, which re-created the murder of the Temple architect.

New Blue Lodge rituals could not alter the basic foundation themes of Freemasonry, nor could they ignore the fraternity’s ties to its precursor, the operative stone masons’ lodges. The rituals had to promulgate certain basic morals and virtues using builders’ tools as symbols. Most important, they had to include the Masonic legend of Hiram Abif and the building of King Solomon’s Temple. 30

The dramatized Blue Lodge initiation ceremonies did not require elaborate costumes or regalia, but non-normative dress was important in the rite. A candidate for the first
degree, that of Entered Apprentice, prepared to enter the lodge room as follows:

the candidate is divested of his clothing (shirt excepted,) and is made to put on a pair of red flannel drawers. He is then blindfolded, his left foot made bare, his right foot in a slipper, his left breast and arm naked, and a rope ... put around his neck and left arm.31

Divesting the candidate of his personal clothing removed him from his nearest familiar environment. The ritual mode of dress, one bare foot, a sleeve missing from his shirt and red flannel drawers, placed him in an unfamiliar environment and rendered him different from others in the room.

the candidate is conducted by the Junior Deacon to the door, where he is caused to give ... three distinct knocks ... the door is then partly opened ... The candidate then enters, the Senior Deacon at the same time pressing to his naked left breast the point of the compass.

Senior Deacon: Did you feel anything?

Candidate: I did ... a torture.

Senior Deacon: As this is a torture to your flesh, so may it ever be to your mind and conscience, if ever you should attempt to reveal the secrets of Masonry unlawfully.32

As the ritual continued, a guide led the blindfolded candidate round the lodge room three times while the Master of the lodge read passages of scripture. Lodge officers asked him a series of questions, to which he replied with scripted answers. The candidate then prostrated himself before the altar and kissed Bible, while the other lodge
members surrounded him clapping their hands and stamping their feet. When the guide dramatically snatched the blindfold from his eyes, he was “brought to light”, called “brother”, and various Lodge members revealed to him the symbolic meanings of the Bible, the square, the compass and the three candles which lit the altar. Further, they showed him the secret sign, the grip and “due guard” (secret password). He then proved his Masonic competency by executing these rituals for the Master in the presence of all the lodge members, after which he was permitted to put on his own clothing and remain in the lodge for the closing ceremonies.

Each successive degree was longer, more complex and more dramatic. For the second degree of Fellowcraft, the candidate was prepared thus (Figure 3.1):

All his clothing taken off, except his shirt; furnished with a pair of drawers; his right breast bare; his left foot in a slipper; the right foot bare, a cable-tow twice round his neck; semi-hood-winked.33

Again, a guide paraded the initiate in front of his prospective brothers, the Master lectured him, the officers questioned him as to what he had learned, and then permitted him to put on his own clothes.

A candidate taking the third degree had a more involved and emotional experience. Again he partially undressed. Richardson explains:
Figure 3.1 Candidate for a Lodge of Fellow Craft Masons
A candidate for advancement to the Master Mason’s degree is prepared by the Junior and Senior Deacons, who strip him naked, and furnish him with a pair of drawers reaching just above his hips, both legs of them being rolled above the knees. His shirt is then put over his head, and slipped down around his body, and is partly covered by his drawers — the sleeves and collar hang dangling behind, over the waistband of his drawers. A rope, or cable-tow, is put three times round his body, and he has a bandage over his eyes.\textsuperscript{34}

The initiate had by this time studied and learned the Masonic legends, the meanings of all the symbols, and memorized the script for a reenactment of the Hiram legend.\textsuperscript{35} The candidate’s assigned role was that of the slain Master Architect for Solomon’s temple, Hiram Abif. The Lodge Master played the role of Solomon, and other lodge members represented temple guards, workmen, the gang of murderers, priests, and wayside travelers. Sometimes these men wore costumes which identified their characters, but costumes for them were not mandated. As Hiram, the candidate lay prostrate, his body hidden in a secret grave. When the faithful lodge brethren rediscovered him, they “raised” him (they physically lifted the man from a prone position on the floor to an upright posture, using the secret grips), and revealed the Mason’s word. He then assumed the degree of a Master Mason. From that time forward, when sitting in Blue Lodge or walking in a Masonic procession, the man wore normative dress and his Masonic apron.
Participating in these dramatic rituals, the candidate had a unique physical, verbal, auditory experience which bonded him socially and emotionally to others who had shared the same experience. The wearing and non-wearing of specified articles of dress heightened this sensory experience. Clothing worn by the initiate in the Blue Lodge rituals served to transform the man’s near environment. It gave special meaning to the surroundings and events.

Masonic monitors documented this participatory ritual and most Blue Lodges quickly adopted it. By the 1820s it was the norm in American Freemasonry. Members enjoyed repeating the drama many times over. Its use proved a major incentive for men to join the fraternity. When Blue Lodge rituals became participatory, membership in Freemasonry increased significantly. Some lodges took it upon themselves to embellish the ritual, to hone and polish its presentation, and to provide costumes and props, making it ever more dramatic. The enactment of the murder and resurrection of Hiram Abif is unique to speculative Freemasonry, and it became the model for rituals of other fraternal orders established in nineteenth century America.

By the 1820s, Blue Lodge meetings which once were solemn sessions of quasi-religious preachings and responsive lessons became entertaining, action-packed adventures. But the theatrical activity remained within the closed
sanctuary of the lodge. The general public never saw the strange clothing.

The public did see Masonic regalia in the form of the ritual aprons and ceremonial collars and sashes.

The Masonic Apron — Recognition and Identity

Freemasonry was an elite and exclusive organization, with historic ties to the founders of this nation. In the second and third decades of the nineteenth century public visibility and identity with Freemasonry was mutually advantageous to the organization as a whole, and to the individual members. Regalia worn at public events provided that visibility and recognition.

The American fraternity had developed an extensive network of lodges through which members gained not only fellowship but charity and economic aid when needed, and commercial and political advantages. At the high levels of organization, the Grand Lodges increasingly emphasized to the brethren the obligation to support their brothers. This encouragement extended beyond providing for fellow Masons and their families in times of distress. It included giving preferential treatment in matters of commerce, employment, and voting. At this time, membership was comprised mainly of merchants, artisans and professionals, and a high proportion of these men sought and held political office in
the growing nation. Masonic membership was an asset to an ambitious politician. His apron announced his affiliation.

When worn in processions, colorful aprons and sashes immediately identified the wearers, proclaiming their elevated social status and announcing the benefits of the institution. By the 1810s, public ceremonies and processions were sufficiently important Masonic functions that monitors written at that time included instructions for the formation of processions, the duties of each member of a procession, and orders of dress:

When two or more lodges walk in procession, they form either in one body or in separate lodges. If separately, the youngest lodge precedes the elder.

The marshals are to walk on the left of the procession.

All officers of lodges, in procession, should wear the badges of office.

None except master masons, are to wear decorated aprons. Those on the third step, may have an edging of silk, or a square and compass made of silk, and the aprons of those of higher degrees, according to their order. None but officers, who must always be master masons, are permitted to wear sashes; and this decoration is only for particular officers.38

As fraternalism engaged more men and became more widespread, aprons took on a dual role. They were sacred symbols when the lodge was in secret session; but when worn in public, they were secular vehicles for social recognition.
Early lodge records from the Colonial era indicate that initially the lodge, not the individual Mason ordered the aprons. Lodges purchased aprons (or purchased the materials and had aprons made) in bulk lots, in order to bestow one upon each man at the time he became an Entered Apprentice. Prior to 1800 and the writing of American monitors, Masonic aprons lacked uniform or consistent decoration, but most were embellished in some manner. This lack of uniformity was of sufficient concern that some lodges specifically prohibited wearing painted and decorated aprons, in spite of the fact that many men had adopted the practice. Acknowledging the embroidered and sequined aprons that wealthy colonial Freemasons bestowed upon each other, men of more modest means adopted the practice of wearing Masonic aprons which were painted, printed, engraved and otherwise decorated.

In the early years of the nineteenth century, Masonic aprons became a medium for folk art. Many examples of these ceremonial garments still exist which have been engraved, painted, embroidered and bespangled. After 1800, the monitors of the early nineteenth century provided some uniformity and consistency in the design of aprons, assigning symbolic value to colors, linings, edgings, trims and strings. However, the practice of wearing aprons embellished with Masonic emblems was attractive, and many Masons continued to purchase and wear their own decorated aprons.
aprons for public occasions. Decorated fraternal aprons as a popular form of folk art persisted in America well into the 1850s.

Regalia as a Business

As early as the 1820s, enterprising craftsmen and women recognized that fraternal regalia was a singular product line with commercial value, one that increased as fraternalism spread. Businesses began to produce and market fraternal regalia in quantity, including specifically designed clothing such as aprons and sashes, serving a small but prosperous market.

Aprons and sashes were the first items of fraternal clothing in demand. Booksellers who published and sold Masonic books and diplomas also published and distributed engraved aprons and sashes, and advertised these items for sale. In 1821, W.G. Hunt of Lexington, Massachusetts advertised "Masonic Aprons, Sashes and Diplomas." Artists, sign painters and illustrators did a lively business decorating aprons for fraternal members. In Portland, Maine, Charles Codman advertised that he did "Masonic painting," of all kinds, including painting aprons. Frederica Ferguson, a Boston milliner in 1820 sold "Masonic clothing such as Aprons and Sashes." Mrs.
Ferguson’s advertisement mentioned that her aprons could be purchased *unmade* - not decorated - as well. 42

Although tradition demanded that a Mason’s apron be fashioned from lambskin, or at least from some leather skin, cotton aprons were used in Boston in 1802, and in Fitchburg, Massachusetts in 1807. By the 1820s, milliners in Boston and Philadelphia were known as the source for silk or linen aprons, either plain or trimmed with ribbons, pleating and braids. 43

For the next hundred years, as fraternalism spread across the United States, a ceremonial apron was the first and most obvious artifact of regalia used by Freemasons, and adopted by virtually every new secret society. The manufacture and sale of such aprons constituted the first product line for a new kind of commercial enterprise, the regalia business. Entrepreneurs recognized that the manufacture and sale of fraternal products, especially clothing and regalia, represented a small but sustainable business. With an eye toward profit, forward-thinking businessmen began to promote fraternalism as a means to increase the use of the fraternal regalia which they manufactured and sold.
The New Fraternities
Beneficial, Charitable and Fraternal

Freemasonry in Great Britain and Europe remained a social and philosophical club, the purview of the elite, the nobility and the upper classes. However, the shopkeepers and the new classes of white-collar and industrial workers were familiar with the fraternal form of social organization, and adopted it to serve their own special social and economic needs. Emphasizing sociability and mutual financial benefits, new fraternal societies appeared. As did Freemasonry, the new fraternalism crossed the Atlantic and imbedded itself in American social life in the nineteenth century.

Odd Fellowship

The first of the charitable and beneficial fraternities, Odd Fellowship proved especially popular in the industrializing countries of Europe. It spread across the continent almost as quickly as Freemasonry did. Odd Fellowship originated in Manchester, England, established by working men and laborers as a mutual beneficial and relief society. A reaction to the "crushing burdens imposed on laborers by the aristocracy of a dissipated, semi-despotic government," Odd Fellowship used the fraternal form to
organize groups of men into cohesive units for purposes of social action and mutual financial benefits. The fraternal form provided a vehicle for the "delivery of mutual relief and offices of mutual kindness.\textsuperscript{45}" As popular with the working classes as was Freemasonry with the upper classes, Odd Fellowship gained a foothold in the industrializing countries of Europe where its form and benefits appealed to the laborer.

Introduced to America in 1819, by mid-century Odd Fellowship was larger and more wide-spread than Freemasonry. The first of many friendly societies and beneficial companies which adopted the fraternal form, the Odd Fellows set a pattern of social and organizational behavior that shaped male culture in the United States until the onset of the Civil War. In the United States early Odd Fellow's lodges focused primarily on sociability with the added incentive of a mutual benefits fund. Members were tradesmen, shopkeepers, clerks and laborers - mainly city-dwellers, and men who were more inclined to the middle class than were members of the Masonic orders. The officers of the first I.O.O.F. Grand Lodge in America were a coach-spring maker, a printer, a currier, a ship painter, a mahogany Sawyer and a cabinet maker.\textsuperscript{46}

This new fraternity appealed to a broad base of men by offering male companionship, regular social gatherings, the experience of fraternal rituals along with a unique and
much-needed security asset - mutual benefits in the event of sickness and death. The Odd Fellows were more inclusionary in nature than were the Freemasons, and their total numbers soon exceeded that of American Masons.

As happened with the orders of Freemasonry, American Odd Fellowship quickly separated itself from its English origins. British Odd Fellowship mimicked the rites of Freemasonry, with three degrees espousing the virtues of Friendship, Brotherly Love and Truth, administered to initiates by a series of lectures, readings and responses. Founders of the American fraternity, Thomas Wildey and Thomas Welch along with other ritualists modified these Odd Fellows' rites, making them participatory affairs using specified artifacts of clothing and regalia as part of the ceremonies.

Within two years of founding the fraternity in Baltimore, Wildey had inserted two additional rites, making a total of five degrees worked in the subordinate lodges of American Odd Fellowship. Texts for the rituals drew from Old Testament tales in the King James version of the Holy Bible. Presented in the form of dramatic narratives, the rituals were populated with familiar Biblical patriarchs, prophets and kings. Lodge officers assumed these roles for enactment of the initiation ceremonies, while the initiate played the part of a slave, bound in chains and a visitor to the secret world inside the lodge.
Each degree espoused a quality or virtue such as friendship, brotherly love and truth; and each degree was assigned a color which represented the virtue. The Initiatory degree, represented by the color white, introduced the candidate to the lodge; the First degree, also assigned the color white, espoused brotherly love; the second or Covenant degree, styled pink, illustrated the bond of human brotherhood by narrating the tale of David and Jonathan; the Third or royal blue degree taught the lesson of friendship; and the Fourth degree used green to signify remembrance.

Candidates wore normative dress for these initiation ceremonies. As a man passed each degree, he was entitled to wear the regalia of the degree, consisting of aprons and collars fashioned in the prescribed colors. To receive the Fifth (and highest) degree the candidate also wore a white robe accented with scarlet, the color of truth. Upon completion of all five degrees he received a white apron trimmed in scarlet. Trimmings on the collars and aprons indicated the candidate's progression through the degrees:

- The regalia of the Initiatory Degree is a white apron only . . . The regalia of the first degree is a white collar trimmed with white fringe or ribbon. A white rosette may be worn at the point or joining of the collar in front . . . The regalia of the Second or Covenant degree is a white collar trimmed with pink fringe or ribbon. It may be ornamented with a pink and white rosette worn at its point in front.49

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Leaders of the Odd Fellows soon realized that lectures and lessons, aprons and collars were not sufficient to sustain active membership in the fraternity or to attract new members. As happened with Freemasonry, participatory rituals using more elaborate clothing and accessories contributed to the continued growth of the order. In 1827 members of the Grand Lodge created a new level or branch of Odd Fellowship, that of Encampment, which at that time included three additional degrees:

They [the rituals] were quite barren and naked, and had much need for dress and decoration. At the November session of 1826 a crozier was devised as insignia for the Patriarchal degree. . . . It was plain that much was necessary for their proper exemplification; a full set of emblems and a set of appropriate regalia were indispensable to give effect to their lecture and charges . . . . There was great enthusiasm and the usual energy for working the new machinery; an encampment room was fitted up, emblems, implements and suitable regalia were procured, and the "Encampment" was duly instituted in the G.[rand] Lodge Hall on the 6th of July, 1827.50

Ridgely's account of the events of 1827 attests to the importance of clothing and regalia in attracting men to the new degrees, and confirms that organizers recognized and acted upon this notion. Writing some fifty years after the fact, James Ridgely stated that these additional degrees were designed to add to the attractions of the order, and to help sustain a feeble treasury.51 The Odd Fellows customarily charged fees for a member to take a degree, and such fees were a major source of income for the Grand Lodge. The theatrical nature of the degree work mandated regalia,
and made the rituals attractive. As men wanted to wear the
regalia, more men took more degrees and the Lodge made
money.

By 1831 Odd Fellowship had grown and prospered
sufficiently as to warrant building a meeting hall in
Baltimore, Maryland. Contemporary accounts of the
dedication of the new Odd Fellows Hall on April 26, 1831
confirm that, by this time Odd Fellows considered pageantry
and public displays an important activity, and that this
fraternal order valued and promoted prescribed forms of
dress.52 Ridgely reported that at the dedication:

about six hundred persons appeared in line of
procession, with music and banners, under a chief
marshal and his aids. The regalia of the members and
various symbolic devices being all new, the general
appearance was respectable and imposing. Altogether,
it was a grand display.53

Over the next sixty years, various Grand Lodges and the
Sovereign Grand Lodge rewrote the Odd Fellows’ rituals a
number of times. As new degrees were added and old ones
were modified, combined or eliminated, ritualists and lodge
activists always addressed the issue of regalia, and from
time to time they altered the prescribed regalia.

Documentation has not yet been located to indicate that
Odd Fellows’ regalia was produced and sold commercially
prior to 1845. However, aprons and collars from the period
exist and can be identified as Odd Fellows’ regalia by the
symbols worked on the garments. The Sovereign Grand Lodge

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of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows in Winston-Salem, North Carolina has an impressive collection of lavishly decorated aprons, collars and other artifacts dating from the early years of American Odd Fellowship.

Artifacts in the collection of the Nevada History Museum include an early Odd Fellows apron and a collar. The apron is fashioned of purple silk satin, edged in black with gold bullion fringe. The field of the apron is painted with a scene of two men standing in front of a Patriarch’s tent, holding croziers. (Figure 3.2) The collar is purple silk velvet, edged in gold bullion fringe, and embellished with seven stars worked in brass sequins. The Seven Stars has symbolic meaning to American Odd Fellows, as the name of the Baltimore inn where the founders of the fraternity first met. (Figure 3.3) The iconography and the colors suggest that these garments were regalia for the Royal Purple Degree of Encampment. Although these artifacts are in very good condition, they show signs of wear, indicating that Odd Fellows wore such elaborate regalia frequently for rituals and probably for public events.

For both Freemasonry and Odd Fellowship, artifacts of dress were an integral part of fraternal ritual. The public display of clothing and the use of clothing in lodge rituals contributed to the growth and expansion of fraternalism in the United States in the early nineteenth century.
Figure 3.2 Apron for Odd Fellow’s Encampment
Nevada State Museum

Figure 3.3 Collar for Royal Purple Degree
Nevada State Museum
Expanded Fraternalism

Mary Ann Clawson correctly describes fraternal orders in the nineteenth century as an early and effective model for social organization, a vehicle for the promotion and support of collective interests based on class, gender, race, ethnicity and labor. The rites, with their purported ties to antiquity affirmed the stability and strength of the societies. These features rendered the fraternal orders a potential resource for cultural identity and for organized social action.\textsuperscript{54}

By 1825, Americans of all social and economic levels were fully acquainted with the system of secret fraternal societies. Men from all walks of life accepted the notion of joining fraternities, of meeting within lodge walls with other men to participate in secret rituals and to socialize. They accepted the practice of wearing costumes while engaging in dramatic enactments. They enjoyed wearing regalia for special occasions, and willingly participated in pageants and parades.

Fraternalism slowly took on the characteristics of a social movement. The decade of the 1830s saw the establishment of the Ancient Order of Foresters, the United Ancient Order of Druids, and the Improved Order of Redmen, all of which were friendly and beneficial societies with rituals based on legends and folklore.\textsuperscript{55} And even though
these groups were primarily mutual beneficial agencies (the forerunners of today's insurance companies), members held regular meetings in which they participated in rituals. Each organization conferred degrees; had secret signs, grips and passwords; and members wore identifying regalia - mostly (and not surprisingly) aprons, ribbons and jewels.

As the first of the great waves of immigrants arrived from northern Europe, they founded new fraternal orders in the United States based on ethnic origins. The Irish joined the Ancient Order of Hibernians; Germans joined the Sons of Hermann, and the German Order of Harugari; European Jews formed relief societies such as the B'nai B'rith and the Free Sons of Israel. In addition to providing mutual insurance benefits, such nationalistic-based secret societies allowed men to maintain an ethnic identity privately, while in public they strove to assimilate into Anglo-American society. All of these societies conformed to the fraternal form wherein members met regularly in lodge sessions, conducted rituals, conferred hierarchically structured degrees, shared secret passwords and signs, and used regalia.

In the 1840s, a number of families from the German states left Europe to escape the political turmoil and, for young men, to escape military impression. Settling in the industrializing cities of the Mid-west, these immigrants were familiar with Masonic orders and the Odd Fellows in
their native countries. They eagerly formed lodges in the New World where they could enact the familiar rituals in their native tongues. For those who had been excluded from fraternal orders in Europe because of their social class, the opportunity to join a fraternal order was one more blessing of the New World. The ethnic-based lodges adopted American forms of the rituals, as prescribed by the American Grand, Supreme and Sovereign lodges, but delivered them in languages other than English. American governing bodies of the fraternities welcomed the new lodges (and their monetary contributions), although interaction between lodges which spoke English and those that did not was limited.

Not to be left behind in the social movement, promoters of temperance at mid-century founded fraternal orders committed to promoting abstinence. The Independent Order of Good Templars and The Independent Order of Rechabites were among the more prominent and successful of these groups established in 1850. During the years of Reconstruction in the American South, temperance leaders organized a separate temperance society for African-Americans, styled in the fraternal form, the United Order of True Reformers. Their purpose was to assure that African-Americans were included in the temperance movement, but that they remained segregated. One result of this effort was the introduction of the fraternal form to African-Americans.
The Anti-Masonic Movement

Freemasonry went into a decline of sorts after 1826. The infamous Morgan Affair sullied the reputation of Freemasonry (and by association, that of fraternal societies in general) in America, and launched a fifteen-year unsuccessful crusade by the Anti-Masonic movement to eradicate fraternalism in America. Freemasonry was less publicly visible for a period of years, but it never completely disappeared, nor did other fraternal orders. Fraternalism persisted even during the period of Anti-Masonic Party activity. From 1826 to 1840, the fraternal form still remained the preferred organizational structure for male clubs and associations of all sorts.

By the 1840s the Anti-Masonic movement had lost its political power and its appeal. Many of its proponents had been "nativists," native-born Americans who feared that the masses of immigrants would corrupt American traditions and take away jobs. When the Anti-Masonic Party dissipated, these same proponents of nativism formed organizations styled as fraternal orders, such as the Order of United American Mechanics, the Order of the Star Spangled Banner and the Brotherhood of the Union. Like the Masons and the Odd Fellows, these groups adopted rituals, used symbols and signs, had secret words and grips, and wore regalia.
Leaders of these fraternities used their lodges as platforms for their political views. They occasionally attempted to influence governmental policy by offering politicians and office-holders controlled blocs of votes from their members.\textsuperscript{61} Much as the nativists and anti-Masons feared Freemasonry, they too embraced the fraternal form to promote their own agendas. Like all the fraternal orders, they used clothing as part of their rituals.

\textbf{Fraternalism and Militarism}

Fraternalism has been identified with the military way of life in the United States since before the American Revolution. As early as 1756 the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts granted warrants for Masonic lodges to operate within the ranks of militia men, and to travel with regiments from place to place as duty required.\textsuperscript{62} It is reasonable to suggest that the early American Freemasons recognized in Freemasonry patterns of structure and authority that paralleled those of military organizations; and that they insinuated the concept of militarism into fraternalism.

The concept of militarism "presents a vast array of customs, interests, prestige, actions and thoughts associated with armies and wars," but militarism does not represent a love of war or bellicosity. The objective of
militarism is not armed intervention, to make war, or to use men and materials for purposes of defense or to seize property and power. Rather, militarism is a counterpart of civilianism; it is a way of thinking that values military institutions, customs and modes of behavior. Militarism seeks to apply these institutions, customs and modes of behavior to civilian life. Further, persons who align themselves with militarism adopt for themselves the prestige which they believe accrues to the military life. Civilian militarism appeals to men when it offers respite from an impersonal world, security, discipline and order in a seemingly disorganized society. Militarism thrives where corresponding forms of organization exist -- a hierarchy coupled with comradeship. Fraternalism, especially as expressed in Freemasonry, offered those corresponding forms.

The notion of a select, voluntary military unit as part of a secret fraternal society is the essence of civilian militarism. This type of organization originated with the hautes grades, some of which were based on legends about the secret orders of crusading knights in Europe. In trying to establish unbroken connections with antiquity, European ritualists devised higher degrees which claimed descent from Church sponsored armies such as the Knights of Malta, the Knights of the Red Cross, the Knights of St. John and others. Historically, such Orders had actually existed and romantic tales abounded. It was not difficult to invent
rituals derived from the adventures, heroism and camaraderie of brave men in search of the Holy Grail, committed to finding and rebuilding Solomon’s temple in Jerusalem, and reclaiming the Holy City of Jerusalem from infidels for the glory of Christianity.66

When these higher degrees made their way to America ritualists, Thomas Webb and Joseph Cerneau in particular, seized upon the idea of armed and uniformed soldiers dedicated fraternally to defending the honor and secrecy of the Order. They wrote their own versions of these degrees, and termed them chivalric, because presumably they recreated the codes of chivalry followed by medieval knights. The ritualists worked these degrees into a sequence which became parts of both the York Rite and the Scottish Rite.

The Orders of the Royal Arch Chapter were the first American higher degrees. The subsequent chivalric degrees were then open only to Royal Arch Masons. The Order of the Red Cross led to the Order of the Knights of Malta which led to the Order of the Knights Templar, all of which were organized under a governing Commandery. Meetings of these orders were called by a military term - encampments.

Both Cerneau and Webb described elaborate clothing required for their knights.67 These fanciful outfits resembled the uniforms of European military officers of that time, with embroidered and fringed sashes, epaulets, shoulder capes, baldricss, swords with embellished scabbards,
and plumed bi-corn chapeaux. Lodges and commanderies did not own these uniforms. Brothers who received these degrees were obliged to obtain this regalia at their own expense.

Bullock suggests that the substantial investment required for the uniforms, coupled with intensely dramatic rituals deepened the commitment of the brethren and served to strengthen the position of Freemasonry in American society. The fact that men owned this clothing encouraged them to wear it, thereby acknowledging publicly, via clothing, their membership and status in the fraternity. At the same time, processions of men wearing this distinctive apparel increased prestige and public awareness of Freemasonry, and its military branch, the Knights Templars.

Other fraternal orders followed the patterns set by Freemasonry. When the Odd Fellows expanded their degree system to include the Patriarch’s, the Golden Rule and the Royal Purple degrees, they used the military term to title these three higher orders the Encampment Branch.

But not all fraternalists approved of the militaristic ranks and activities. Even as local lodges participated actively in parades and pageants, and marched with bands and banners, throughout the 1840s, the leadership of the I.O.O.F debated the propriety of such public display. Stillson explained:

As the Order began to grow in this country . . . an element worked its way into the Order which became somewhat inclined toward public display. The elder and more conservative membership
strenuously opposed any tendency in that direction, but little by little the new element increased in influence, and step by step the change gradually came about until finally, aided as it was by the influence which had grown up in this country, resulting from the formation of other semi-military and fraternal societies, this tendency became an established fact, and the degree of the Patriarchs Militant was the result.\textsuperscript{69}

The desire to dress up and play soldier prevailed. The Patriarchs Militant was a huge success, and ultimately contributed to Odd Fellowship's rise to become the largest fraternal society in the United States.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, military fraternal regalia, like military uniforms, was made by tailors who specialized in that type of clothing. Regalia for the various military units and side orders conformed meticulously and without variance to the designs specified in the monitors. Even the trims and embellishments were standardized. Brass manufacturers at this time made distinctive buttons for such uniforms, and the tailors followed the descriptions in the monitors, adorning the garments with buttons, braid and fringe.

To some extent, membership in these military orders was limited by the cost of the garments. Uniforms were expensive, so before a man pursued one of the chivalric degrees, his brethren ascertained that he had the necessary financial assets to make the purchase. A man would purchase his uniform once he had attained the military degree. This fraternal military regalia then was the man's personal
property, made for his own use during rituals and public displays. Lodges did not provide military regalia for use by many different men.

By mid-century, Americans were accustomed to seeing local fraternal lodges marching in uniforms at patriotic events, parades, at funerals, political rallies and public occasions of all sort. There was no pretension of the groups performing any actual military functions. They simply wished to appear in public as a military unit, to drill and march and carry swords and to wear uniforms. The military type regalia identified fraternal military orders as cohesive, disciplined, unified organizations with patriotic inclinations. A few years hence, when the Civil War created a need for drill instructors and administrative officers, many men were already trained in those capacities as a result of their fraternal military activities. Unfortunately, these brothers were prepared only for parade duty and clerical chores, not for the realities of daily military life or for combat.

For a variety of reasons and purposes, throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, Americans embraced fraternalism. At mid-century, fraternal orders were an accepted part of American social life for a small but growing number of men. No longer considered only the purview of the elite, fraternalism encompassed men from every social and economic class save the very poor.
All secret fraternal societies used clothing in their rituals. Fraternal regalia at mid-century fell into three distinct categories: sacred ritual regalia worn only in the presence of other fraternal members, bestowed by the lodges or by fellow lodge members, but owned by the individual and imbued with symbolic meaning; theatrical costumes used for dramatic enactments, owned by the lodges, and which had no personal implications; and military regalia, purchased and owned by the individuals who wore it, and which had some sacred qualities and some profane. Fraternal military clothing was worn and displayed in the secular world for patriotic purposes and for display and entertainment at public events; but it was also used in special ceremonial rituals in the secret world inside the lodge.

In the years preceding the Civil War fraternalism grew as the nation grew, followed the westward movement of the population, and established footholds in urban centers, wherever literate men lived and congregated. Fraternalism in America was a small, widespread but clearly defined social form that used of artifacts of dress for identity and for rituals. Society members were prosperous men, willing to spend some of their disposable income to display their fraternal affiliations. At mid-century, secret fraternal societies constituted a market segment for specialty commodities, including clothing, and businesses developed to serve that market.
Columbus, Ohio ultimately became a major center for the production and marketing of fraternal products, and the home of the world's largest manufacturer and distributor of fraternal regalia, The M.C.Lilley & Co. This business enterprise was as much a phenomenon as the market it served. Its origins are best understood in the context of the city's social, economic and political development during the first sixty years of the nineteenth century.
NOTES


3 Margaret Jacob, Living the Enlightenment (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 146.

4 Fox, The Lodge, 14; Steinmetz, Royal Arch, 11.

5 Fox, The Lodge, 8.


7 Ibid., xiii-xxvi.


9 Jacob, Living the Enlightenment, 146.

10 Emmanuel Rebold, A General History of Free-Masonry in Europe: Based upon the Ancient Documents relating to, and the Monuments erected by this Fraternity from its foundation in the Year 715 B.C. to the present time, trans. J. Fletcher Brennan (Cincinnati: Geo. B. Fessenden, 1867) 212-31.

11 Among the European ritualists whose works have made a lasting impact on American Freemasonry are the Scotsman Andrew Ramsay and the Frenchman Desaguliers. Ritualists who developed rites specifically for the American fraternity in
the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries include Laurence Dermott, Etienne Morin, Joseph Cerneau, and Thomas Smith Webb. Later in the nineteenth century, at the behest of Albert Mackey, Albert Pike almost single-handedly created the Southern Jurisdiction Scottish Rite that is still practiced today. McClenachan wrote his monitor sometime after publication of Pike’s work, and acknowledged using many of Pike’s rites as models.

12 See Laurence Dermott, The True Ahiman Rezon, or, Help to all that are or would be free and accepted Masons, with many additions, 1st American ed. from 3d London ed (New York: Southwick and Hardcastle, 1805); Thomas Smith Webb, The Freemason’s Monitor; or, Illustrations of Masonry: in Two Parts (Salem: Cushing & Appleton, 1812); and Dorothy Lipson, Freemasonry in Federalist Connecticut (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 15.

13 By the early 1800s, American Freemasonry had settled into the organizational structure that it would retain for the next two hundred years: Blue Lodge Masonry consists of subordinate lodges constituted by and responsible to one Grand Lodge in each State or Territory. There has never been a national lodge in America for the Symbolic Degrees. The Scottish Rite, which traces it origins to France, has a Grand Lodge in each state, and is split into two jurisdictions, each of which has a Supreme Lodge. The Northern Jurisdiction is responsible for grand and subordinate lodges, known as valleys, in states east of the Mississippi River and north of the Ohio River; the Southern Jurisdiction is responsible for valleys in all other states. Further, the Southern Jurisdiction is the self-appointed Mother Lodge of the World for the 330 of the Scottish Rite, the highest degree in Freemasonry. The York (or American) Rite maintains Knights Templar Commanderies in each state. Commanderies meet at Enclaves held at regular intervals, every three years. These governing bodies each maintain constitutions which include the regulations and specifications pertaining to dress, clothing and regalia for their respective orders. The constitutions are continually reviewed and occasionally revised; and individual lodges are known to have adapted rituals to their own liking and preferences, sometimes contradicting the Constitutions, and sometimes having their adaptations incorporated into the Constitutions.

15 Bullock, Revolutionary Brotherhood, 252-55.

16 Webb, Freemason’s Monitor, 37.

17 Ibid., v, vi.

18 Bullock, Revolutionary Brotherhood, 253.

19 See Webb, Freemason’s Monitor, 231-58.

20 Ibid., 231-33.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid., 235.

23 Ibid., 240.

24 Jeremy L. Cross, The True Masonic Chart, or Hieroglyphic Monitor: containing all the Emblems Explained. (New Haven: Clagg & Gray, 1819), 32.

25 See Albert Pike, The Magnum Opus, or Great Work: Pike’s First Version of the Esoteric Work and Lectures of the Scottish Rite Rituals (1857), 4 1, 6; 6 1, 10 1; and Charles T. McClunachan, The Book of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry: containing instructions in all the degrees from the third to the thirty-third, and last degree of the rite. (New York: J.J. Little, 1885), 101 187, 199-200, 215.


27 Bullock, Revolutionary Brotherhood, 247. See also Freemasons, United States, Royal and Select Masters, General Grand Council, A History of the Cryptic Rite (Cedar Rapids, IA: General Grand Council, R & S M of the United States, 1918,) 186-189.
See Douglas Knoop and G. P. Jones, An Introduction to Freemasonry (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1937). The Hiram legend is a mythological construct, based on a brief Biblical reference to the master architect of Solomon's Temple in II Chronicles 2:13-14. In tracing the origins of Freemasonry in Great Britain from the time of the Roman occupation, Knoop and Jones find the Hiram legend first incorporated into Masonic ritual in the late seventeenth century, coinciding with the emergence of speculative Freemasonry. Masonic writings and exposes written after the early eighteenth century reiterated the legend.

Jabez Richardson, Richardson's Monitor of Free-Masonry; being a Practical Guide to the Ceremonies in All the Degrees Conferrein Masonic Lodges, Chapters, Encampments, &c. Explaining the Signs, Tokens and Grips, and giving all the Words, Pass-Words, Sacred Words, Oaths and Hieroglyphics Used by Masons (New York: Lawrence Fitzgerald, 1860), 9.

Richardson, Monitor of Free-Masonry, 8-12.

Ibid., 19.

Ibid., 27.

See Knoop and Jones, An Introduction to Freemasonry.

See Fox, The Lodge, 25-39 for a detailed discussion of the creation and evolution of the rituals which became the Scottish Rite in the United States. Scotsman Andrew Ramsay wrote the initial rituals which were revised and re-written by John Mitchell, Frederick Dalcho, Joseph Cerneau, and others at the same time that Webb was writing his monitors for the American Rite. It remained for Mackey, Pike and McClenachan later in the nineteenth century to finalize and document the rituals of the Scottish Rite for both the Northern and Southern jurisdictions.

Bullock, Revolutionary Brotherhood, 185.

Barbara Franco documented and illustrated the evolution of form and style for Masonic aprons, and explained how they were advertised for sale, and worn in the years from 1790 to 1850. Her research drew extensively on a study by British Masonic researcher Harry W. Rylands, "The Masonic Apron," Ars Quatuor Coronatorum Transactions of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, vol. 5 (London, 1892). This discussion of Masonic aprons in the early nineteenth century is taken from Franco's essay. Barbara Franco, Bespangled, Painted & Embroidered: Decorated Masonic Aprons in America 1790-1850 (Lexington, MA: Scottish Rite Masonic Museum of Our National Heritage, 1980), 30-36.

Franco, Bespangled, 36.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.


T. G. Beharrell, Odd Fellows Monitor and Guide: Revised and Illustrated in Three Parts (Indianapolis: Robert Douglass, 1884), 137.

Ibid., 32.


Rigdely, History of Odd Fellowship, 304.
51 Ibid., 303

52 See Ridgely, History of Odd Fellowship, 147, for accounts of the dedication from The Baltimore American, 27 April 1831, and The Niles Register, 30 April 1831.

53 Ibid., 146


57 Mackey, Encyclopedia of Freemasonry, 552-54; and Ridgely, History of Odd Fellowship, 450.


59 Ibid., 72-75.

60 In 1826, a Masonic Lodge in upstate New York denied William Morgan the Master Mason’s degree, after he had received the Entered Apprentice and Fellowcraft degrees. In retaliation, an angry Morgan threatened to publish the rituals, signs and passwords of Blue Lodge Masonry. To protect the secrecy of the Masonic rituals, a few lodge members kidnapped Morgan and took him to Canada. There he either escaped and disappeared, or was murdered by the Masons. A body, purported to be Morgan’s eventually was discovered in the Niagara River. Four of the accused Masons were tried for murder, but only one was sent to jail, and that sentence was quite short. The incident aroused the public’s furor, and gave voice to long-smoldering fears and hatred of the exclusive secret society. The Morgan Affair became a rallying point for a small group of political activists who formed the Anti-Masonic Party, seeking to outlaw all secret societies. The incident and resulting political and social impact is well documented. For a detailed analysis, see William Preston Vaughn, The Antimasonic Party in the United States, 1826-1843 (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1983).

62 For descriptions of various fraternal orders including their origins and rituals, see Preuss, *Dictionary*; and Albert Stevens, *Cyclopaedia of Fraternities* (New York: E.B. Treat, 1907).

63 John Hamilton, *The Material Culture of American Freemasonry* (Lexington, MA: Museum of Our National Heritage, 1994) 167. As a point of interest, military lodges have existed during all succeeding conflicts in which American armed forces have served.


65 Ibid., 21.


The city of Columbus, Ohio grew from a village where Ohio eventually decided to locate its capital. Situated at the intersection of the National Road and the confluence of the Scioto and Olentangy Rivers, in the geographic center of the state, the city became a trade and transportation center. Surrounded by rich farmland and abundant forests, in its earliest years Columbus developed a town economy. It was a market place for agricultural products, a shipping and receiving point for both producer and consumer goods. Early on, the culture of this city favored urbanization, growth, commercial enterprise and manufacturing.

The founders of Columbus planned the city’s growth via land development and commerce. The town developed a stable economic base, with several locally owned banks and some proprietary commercial and manufacturing businesses. Government activities attracted educated men to the city. Institutions of higher learning prospered, printers and
bookbinders fared well, and a significant percentage of the population was literate.

The social climate of this city was generally free from conflict. Throughout the early nineteenth century, the town welcomed immigrants from Europe. Families from Germany found Columbus particularly attractive, and after 1850 the south side German community became a distinct feature of city life.

Fraternalism came to Columbus with the westward migrating population. Secret societies fared well in Columbus. Freemasons and Odd Fellows established lodges here in the early part of the century, and over the years, a number of residents rose to high office in those orders. Some of the first German-language fraternal lodges were constituted in Columbus.

As in many American cities, private militia groups were a visible presence in this city throughout the 1840s and 1850s. The local population looked favorably on men wearing uniforms and military-type regalia.

Economic, social and demographic features of Columbus, Ohio in the nineteenth century provided a welcome climate in which a new company, one that manufactured clothing and military regalia, could prosper and grow.
Life in early Columbus was "concerned primarily with political and commercial activities . . . common to a capital city set in the heart of a productive agricultural land."\(^1\)

Although industrial development was not an objective, ample flowing water allowed several lumber and grain mills owned by individual proprietors to prosper. Most early manufacturing endeavors in the city reflected the importance of agriculture in the nineteenth century. The surplus output of local farms - grain, wool and animal skins, provided the raw materials for manufactured products, along with the seemingly limitless supplies of lumber from surrounding hardwood forests. As early as 1810, local businesses produced woolen fabrics, leathergoods, grain and milled lumber in surplus quantity in Columbus and marketed their output to rural consumers. Some producer goods such as rolled iron, tools and building supplies were barged up the Scioto from the Ohio River, or hauled over the National Road, along with consumer goods such as silks and cottons, hats, gloves, household tools and implements.

Small general stores and fabricating enterprises supplied imported goods and locally made products to farmers in the surrounding area, to westward-bound emigrants, to settlers passing through Ohio, as well as to town residents.
In turn, the city dwellers and the passing travelers constituted a fairly stable market for surplus rural produce and for manufactured goods. Columbus had a commercial "town economy . . . mostly one-man enterprises and partnerships in commercial and manufacturing undertakings," tied to agriculture and the implications of an agricultural economy.²

Second and third generations of the first settlers of Franklin County divided and sold off family land as the city grew. Civic-minded city leaders provided for public schools, parks and churches. Local landholders and entrepreneurs who fared well financially established banking institutions which helped stabilize currency in central Ohio, even through several periods of inflation, recession and depression.³ When the canal system linked Columbus to distant markets, business activities related to transportation and trade increased, and the city fathers responded by funding the construction of public docks and warehouses.⁴

The city grew rapidly in the years from 1812 to 1845. Education was a community priority. Public building projects -- bridges, toll roads, canals, the capitol building and the penitentiary -- offered employment with cash remuneration, and attracted craftsmen and laborers to Columbus. Legislators, judges, attorneys and persons with business and legal concerns traveling to the city on a
regular basis created a need for service establishments such as taverns, boarding houses, liveries, tailors and seamstresses. As the seat of state government, markets existed for specialized services, including printing, publishing and bookbinding. These trades prospered in Columbus, and ultimately were the forerunners of the regalia business.

Columbus clearly was not an industrial center before the Civil War. Henry Hunker attributed this to the social and economic patterns established in the city's early years, that tied manufacturing to agriculture, and the importance of government in the life of the community. Another analyst contended that the Columbus business community prior to the Civil War was not economically innovative; that it was more interested in land and transportation than in industry. The small manufacturers already settled in the city had a passive opposition to industrial development and were not anxious to encourage more local competition. These two positions are not mutually exclusive, both have merit, and both accurately describe the business climate in pre-Civil War Columbus, Ohio. Historians agree that the arrival of German immigrants in the 1840s provided the city with the initiative to industrialize, and the large supply of skilled labor necessary for industrialization.
The Germans

Early in the nineteenth century, German immigrants found central Ohio attractive. The rolling hills and thick woods bounded by rivers and streams were reminiscent of their native countryside. German farmers settled comfortably on the fertile land. Beginning in 1812, when Christian Heyl numbered among the first property owners in Columbus, this city welcomed the German immigrants. Most of the early arrivals were working class urbanites, unskilled laborers and shopkeepers. They were joined in the 1830s by a few families of skilled tradesmen and some former soldiers who immigrated here to avoid impressment of their sons into military service. These European city-dwellers came to America to escape an oppressive class-based society which afforded them little opportunity for economic security or property ownership. They found both in the city on the Scioto. Over the next fifty years, as "immigrants poured in from all quarters" the Germans left an indelible mark on the city. Settling on the south side, they created a village within the town, giving the fourth and fifth wards a character distinctly different from that of the remainder of the city.

The Columbus Germans clustered around City Park on South Third Street. They bought lots, built snug brick cottages with walled gardens, and supported their families
as butchers, grocers, bakers, proprietors of small markets, brewery workers and day laborers. They tended to socialize within their own community, and their activities reflected the culture of their European homeland. They established German-speaking Lutheran and Catholic churches, singing groups and athletic clubs, and private German-language schools for their children. By 1843 the German-speaking population was sufficient to support a German-language newspaper, Der Westbote.

Even while retaining their European social customs, these early German-American wage-earners and shopkeepers were openly patriotic. They valued their American citizenship, participated in governmental affairs, voted and fervently supported the Democratic Party.

In 1848 when Germany was a loose collection of independent political entities, a movement developed among the educated middle-class to establish a democratic system of government and a national union. When the movement failed, its supporters fled Europe, and many settled in Columbus, Ohio. These late-arriving Germans, known as "48ers" were socially and culturally different from the Germans who settled the fifth ward. These were educated men and women, professionals, skilled tradesmen and artisans primarily from major urban centers.

Many of them chose not to live in the predominantly German section of town. As they established themselves in
the city, they purchased homes in the newer residential sections of town, among the English-speaking residents, and sent their children to English-speaking public schools. Motivated by a desire to assimilate into mainstream American society and to disassociate themselves from the Lutheran and Catholic Germans clinging to "old world" customs, they went so far as to organize a non-denominational congregation, the German Independent Protestant Church.12

These educated and skilled German immigrants were shrewd businessmen, eager to join the social life of the community at large, and to participate in the free market economy. Politically, they aligned themselves openly with the Republican Party. The skilled tradesmen from this group of immigrants led the movement for industrial development in Columbus, establishing many of the manufacturing firms that eventually grew to dominate the city's economy after the Civil War.

The Nature of Business

The growth patterns in Columbus, as elsewhere in America, confirm that the community ideology was predisposed to favor business. The ideals of individualism and independence, self-sufficiency and self-determination were prevalent in the public outlook, and were reflected in all aspects of American life throughout the nineteenth century.
The entrepreneur seemed to embody these ideals, and a successful business owner was respected and admired. With government policy encouraging business development, business and manufacturing existed in a favorable social, economic and political climate. The United States had the largest domestic free-trade region in the world in the nineteenth century, and a steadily increasing, westward moving population created markets for goods and services wherever an enterprise was established. The form and nature of business in Columbus was typical of that throughout the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century. Columbus offered an ideal location for an entrepreneur to engage those markets, especially after the city was linked to the growing railroad network after 1850.

The dominant form of business at the time was the small proprietary establishment. The small firm and the small business person were prevalent and were held in high social esteem. Even with some ninety per cent of the population engaged in agriculture, farming was a business. Since this town was first settled, local family-run farms near Columbus produced surplus crops and agricultural products for market in town for cash. Owners reinvested profits land and equipment for the purpose of capital gain.

Most American businesses prior to 1850 were characterized by single or partnership ownership. They
were usually managed by the owner(s), who also worked in the business. Employees, if there were any, were often family members. The owner set the hours of operation, which were flexible, and he kept his own account records. Most enterprises were single units, and non-bureaucratic. If an additional site was opened, it was usually managed by a partner-owner or by a trusted family member. Businesses obtained their supplies or raw materials locally or from nearby sources, and marketed mainly to a local clientele. If any non-family labor was hired, it was from the nearby area. A new business required a relatively small amount of start-up capital, generally borrowed locally by the owner or partners. Business was personalized, and the entrepreneur invested his reputation as well as his capital and energy in the business.

The goal of most early American entrepreneurs included achieving financial independence and a comfortable standard of living, and securing one’s reputation through the quality of the product or service offered. In an uncontrolled marketplace, business failures were common, and not considered shameful. Many Americans opened and closed several commercial enterprises in their lifetimes. Proprietors were generally active members of their community, dependent upon the well-being of the community for their continuing success, and they participated in civic affairs and governmental decisions which affected not only
their businesses but their social lives and their relations with others in the community.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, American businesses tended to specialize according to function, and by 1840 many firms specialized in both function and product. Merchants bought and sold a single line of products, service providers tended to serve a single clientele, companies specialized in banking, insurance, exporting, etc. These generalizations accurately reflect the business and commercial climate in Columbus, Ohio in the years just prior to the Civil War.

**Fraternal Orders in Columbus**

When Columbus Lodge No. 30 Free and Accepted Masons was chartered as the first fraternal lodge in Columbus in June, 1815, Freemasonry was already active in Ohio. The first secret fraternal society in Ohio came with the earliest pioneers. The American Union Lodge No. 1, initially constituted as a military lodge at the Battle of Bunker Hill, was reactivated in 1790 at Marietta, Ohio by members of the Ohio Company. In 1803 The Grand Lodge of New England granted a charter for a lodge in Worthington, Ohio, located just north of the fledgling city of Columbus; and in 1805 Amity Lodge was constituted in Zanesville, some distance east of Columbus. Blue Lodge Freemasonry
flourished in Ohio, and a Grand Lodge of Ohio was constituted in 1803. It convened in Columbus annually from 1818 through 1828, again from 1831 to 1836, yet again from 1845 to 1847, and throughout the Civil War years. Freemasonry was an acknowledged presence in Columbus throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. Without question, these first Ohio Freemasons, like their brethren in the Eastern cities, wore aprons. Quite possibly, they wore collars, or at least ribbons from which they suspended their jewels of office.

The higher degrees of Freemasonry were also present in Columbus as early as March, 1818. Sir Knight John Snow was authorized by letter of dispensation from no less a personage than Thomas Smith Webb to "assemble and congregate a sufficient and legal number of knights to open a council and commandery" at the Masonic Hall in Worthington. Mt. Vernon Commandery No. 1 thus became the first establishment of Knights Templars organized west of the Allegheny Mountains. Records confirm the presence of only three men at this occasion: Snow, Webb himself and one Frederick Curtis. However, by September 16, 1819 there were a sufficient number of active Knights Templar in the vicinity to charter a Commandery (lodge) and fill all eight of the requisite offices. Webb placed considerable importance on wearing the proper regalia at Masonic lodge meetings, especially for the Knights Templars. Given that he was
personally involved in chartering this commandery, it is reasonable to suppose that these first Ohio Knights wore some version of Webb's prescribed clothing when they convened for rituals.

In 1819, dress uniforms such as those worn by Knights Templars were certainly available locally in Columbus, Ohio. The town had a number of skilled tailors and seamstresses, as well as retail establishments that sold fabric and trimmings. Moreover, the town had at least two businesses experienced in making uniforms for American troops and officers in the War of 1812. In 1812, James Kilbourne, who operated woolen mills in both Columbus and Worthington, "yield[ed] to the urgent request of the United States government, [and] undertook to manufacture clothing to supply the Western Army."24 In the summer of 1814, D. F. Heaton advertised in the Freeman's Chronicle that he made "uniforms of all descriptions ... in the most elegant style."25 By the time the Mt. Vernon Commandery was chartered in 1818, the war was over and the federal government no longer needed uniforms from Kilbourne and Heaton. However, these establishments were still in business in 1818, and other tailors and clothing shops existed in Columbus throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. These firms had the skilled workers and the materials, patterns and equipment to produce the kinds of regalia required by these early Knights Templars. It is
of interest to note that the same James Kilbourne who had manufactured uniforms for the government was a charter member and officer of Mt. Vernon Lodge No. 1, serving as senior warden.\textsuperscript{26}

The first Odd Fellows' Lodge, Columbus Lodge No. 9, was organized in 1839. The lodge historian wrote in 1873 that "the association increased very rapidly, and numbered among its members some of our most prominent citizens." Within four years, the association "moved into a new hall, specially fitted up for its use" in the Buckeye Block, a large new office building at the intersection of Broad and High streets. A second lodge, Central No. 23 was constituted that same year, and by 1860, three more Odd Fellows' lodges were meeting regularly in Columbus. Indicative of the role of the German population in the greater community, Harmonia Lodge No. 358, chartered with thirty-six members in May, 1860 conducted all its rituals in German, and all its members were German-speaking.\textsuperscript{27}

The "hall specially fitted up" implies that the lodge room was arranged and furnished to facilitate the performance of the rituals, which required regalia. Local advertisements in newspapers and city directories for that time do not include any references to fraternal regalia, costumes or clothing being made or sold in Columbus. However, the necessary items were available in other cities and could be shipped in. Furthermore, women of the
household, local tailors and seamstresses had the necessary skills to fashion the aprons and collars as well as such costumes as were used in these lodges.

New fraternal orders were well-received in this community, particularly among the German immigrants. The first Grove of the United Order of Druids in Columbus, "No. 10, working in the German language, was instituted June 15, 1857." The Improved Order of Red Men announced the formation of the first lodge in Columbus with the statement that "The Algonquin Tribe No. 3 kindled its first council fire January 10, 1852," even before a Great Council for the State of Ohio was instituted. Eventually, this secret society with a mythology based on native American folklore established a German-speaking lodge in Columbus.

While fraternalism spread and grew slowly throughout the United States, at mid-century in Columbus, secret societies fared well and were an acknowledged element in the city's social patterns. Freemasonry for the most part limited membership to the descendants of the early settlers, Columbus' "first families," and to professionals and bankers. Men of more limited means and education, tradesmen, shopkeepers, wage-earners and working men embraced the new fraternities.

The city directory for 1860 lists: three Masonic Blue Lodges, one Royal and Select Chapter (Freemasonry) and one Encampment of Knights Templar; seven Odd Fellows lodges,
one of which was worked in German; one Tribe of Improved Order of Red Men, also worked in German; one German-language Grove of Druids; and two secret fraternal temperance societies. The orders maintained permanent meeting spaces and convened weekly, bi-weekly and monthly. A Masonic Hall situated on High Street between State and Town was home to the various Masonic orders as well as to the Red Men and the Temperance groups. The Odd Fellows occupied two floors of the Carpenters Block, a commercial building on Town Street between Third and Fourth Streets; and the Druids met in their own hall at the north east corner of Fourth and Mound.

**Militarism and Militia in Columbus**

As with many communities in the nineteenth century, militarism in Columbus, Ohio was evident in the form of private volunteer militias. The Franklin Dragoons, a remnant of the War of 1812, were a presence in Columbus for over twenty years. This unit was primarily a social club, and it existed for over twenty years, disbanding in 1832. Private groups with actual military functions were rare until after 1826.

After 1812, federal law required American males to serve a limited stint in a federal militia, but anti-military sentiment following the War, and the dispersion of the young male population in the westward
expansion contributed to the collapse of America's compulsory militia. Recognizing the need for some form of national defense force, in 1826 federal militia reforms sanctioned volunteer military agencies at the state level. In response, the Ohio legislature authorized a volunteer state militia and provided funds for "rented rooms for the deposit of the public arms." Thereafter, until the late 1850s, a few small companies met regularly, drilled and kept membership rosters, but public interest and support for a state militia was minimal.

Private militias, however, became a form of social organization. Participation in a volunteer militia had universal social appeal. As social clubs, they gave young men a reason to congregate regularly and to wear uniforms. In Columbus, Ohio as elsewhere in nineteenth century America militia duty was considered honorable service, and membership provided a man with public visibility and recognition along with a degree of respectability. Further, private militias "provided a setting for the display of patriotism, loyalty and nationalism."

The militia companies met weekly or bi-weekly for practice drills and marches, and many groups included bands and high-stepping flag units led by drum majors in fancy dress. They appeared in parades on holidays, and private militia were frequently called upon to accompany funeral processions or to escort notable personages visiting the
city.¶ They sponsored social functions, hosted balls, dinners and theatricals at which they had the opportunity to wear their "self-designed uniforms worthy of Hungarian hussars or grenadier guards."¶

After 1826, a number of private militia sprouted and grew in this city. The Columbus Guards, first organized in 1827, operated for fourteen years and disbanded in 1841, only to reorganize in 1843.¶ The same group, for some unknown reason changed its name in 1846 to The Montgomery Guards, and that same year The Franklin Guards were formed.

As in other urban areas, ethnicity was a factor in the organization of militia units in Columbus. Davies confirms that "in all cities large enough to support several companies, there were almost invariably one or more nationality units, that is an Irish unit, a German unit, etc. the very existence of which indicates the social appeal in recruiting."¶ Columbus's fifth-ward German community proudly supported not one but two private military units - the First German Artillery Company formed in 1840, followed shortly by its friendly rival, the German Washington Artillery Company.¶ According the Der Westbote, no public event of any importance was complete without the appearance of one or both of these groups. Their accouterments included full brass bands, colorful uniforms, flags and banners, swords, rifles and cannon.
The declaration of war with Mexico in 1846 generated a call for volunteer troops. Ohio filled its quota in three weeks, primarily with private militiamen. The Fourth Ohio Volunteer Infantry from Columbus included a company made up of the two German artillery units and another company made up of the Franklin Guards. When they marched off to Mexico on May 28, 1847, Der Westbote reported that the German company was “trimly clad in new blue and white uniforms,” and that they carried a flag made for them by women of the German community. The 4th OVI returned to a triumphant city-wide celebration in July, 1848. Margaret Sittler interpreted reports in Der Westbote, “actual warfare [service in the Mexican War] did not quell the enthusiasm of young Germans for military companies.” At urging from editors of the newspaper, three more companies were organized from 1851 through 1859: the German Grenadiers, the Steuben-Garde and the Deutsche Jaeger Compagnie.

After the Mexican War, two more English-speaking private militia companies formed in 1849 - the Columbus Light Guards and the Columbus Light Artillery. The State Fencibles organized in 1855 and proved to be a popular group, having sufficient membership to comprise at least three companies. Also in 1855 another new militia organized and took up the abandoned name of The Columbus Guards. The Columbus Vedettes made their first appearance in 1857, and in 1860 the last of the pre-war private
militias in Columbus gained recognition as The Governor’s Guards. The city directory of 1860 lists two additional private militia groups - the Columbus Grays and the Columbus Cadets.\textsuperscript{45}

Modern writers have attempted to liken the private militias to the fraternal orders.\textsuperscript{46} Many men who belonged to a fraternal order also were members of a militia company. Wallace Davies suggests that the propensity for American men to form and join both fraternal societies and voluntary military organizations stems from the early association of patriotism and loyalty with the Masonic fraternity and with fraternal-styled veterans’ societies such as The Society of Cincinnati.\textsuperscript{47}

Private militias were different in nature and purpose from the secret fraternal orders. Militia units had no secret grips, signs or passwords. Some elements of militia performances were ritualistic, but they were not events and experiences intended to transform a man’s life and behavior, as were fraternal rituals.

Nevertheless, both types of organizations shared certain important characteristics. Both types of organization were all-male, voluntary and invitational. Both groups had formal, hierarchical structures defined in written constitutions, both elected officers from among the body of membership and officers served for limited terms (except in time of war, when the Chief Executive appointed
the leadership of the activated militias to serve for the duration of the duty.) The two types of organizations shared a commitment to benevolence. Militia groups, especially those comprised of veterans of an armed conflict, had a long history of obligation to care for the dependents of fallen comrades. Fraternal orders were committed to caring for the widows and orphans of the brethren. Both types of organizations encouraged a masculine form of camaraderie; and both groups engaged in public processions and displays; and militias and fraternal lodges both used regalia.

**Militia and Fraternal Regalia Before the Civil War**

For militia members, the uniforms served as group identifiers, provided a framework for interaction, and influenced members' willingness to enter and serve the group. Uniforms were designed to transfer to the wearers the prestige and honor which accrues to the legitimate military. Militia uniforms were "formal . . . a modality of dress whose standardization is based upon legal sanctions." Militia garments were also show pieces, intended to create a visual effect for crowds of viewers at outdoor events.

But they were not theatrical costumes. Costumes represent attempts to create a new status and individual identity for the wearer, to "obfuscate social position."
In contrast to this notion, the parade uniforms legitimized the militia man's position in society by identifying him publicly as a part of a recognized and respected group. At the same time, a uniform also suppressed the militia man's individuality. When he drilled and paraded he was no longer a unique person, rather he was part of the group. His status in society when he was wearing his uniform derived from the status of the group. The uniform was a means of enforcing conformity to the group.

Each militia organization selected its own style of uniform including color, fabric, trim and accessories. Styles varied greatly from one group to another, prompting the comment that they were "uniforms but not uniform." Militia uniforms had social meaning, but the garments were not imbued with sacred meaning, as were the fraternal order aprons and collars and sashes.

Fraternal regalia differed in form, function and meaning from militia regalia. The aprons and sashes were inspired by historic tradition and fashion, not militarism. Like military uniforms, fraternal regalia was used as a group identifier, but it was not used to suppress individuality within the group. The uniformity of fraternal regalia served as a symbolic statement that the individual elected to adhere to group norms, had mastered group skills and voluntarily accepted group values. When worn in lodge sessions, fraternal regalia eradicated ambiguity about the
wearers. The apparel proclaimed and verified all the information necessary for one fraternal brother to know about another. His apron and sash, along with the password, sign and grip afforded him entrance to any lodge of his order, and guaranteed him a welcome.

As with the militia clothing, fraternal regalia was not costume. When an initiate was participating in the rites of Blue Lodge Freemasonry, the ritual clothing took on some characteristics of costume. The red flannel drawers, a torn shirt and a blindfold replaced the initiate's ordinary clothing, and set him apart from the group. He assumed an individual identity with autonomous status. When he was led by a cable-tow around the lodge room, unshod and clad in a pauper's dress, he became a different person, one who was seeking to become a part of the group. When he passed his initiation, and had enacted the role of Hiram Abif, he was permitted to don his own clothing, was then awarded his leather apron, and became a part of the group.

The apron was not costume. As group clothing, the apron signified that the initiate was a member of the group. Because the apron was worn during sacred rituals, the garment itself assumed a sacred quality.

As indicated in the preceding chapter, fraternal regalia in the first half of the nineteenth century was both home-made and commercially produced by artisans and craftspersons, and was easily obtainable. Militia units
needed complex uniforms which required special tailoring skills, and the availability of elaborate trims, embellishments and buttons. Generally uniforms were not home-made. Militiamen ordered their uniforms from local craftsmen or from tailors in large eastern cities who advertised their special skills and products. Although this research has not found evidence that militia uniforms were made and sold in Columbus, the possibility existed. As early as 1831 Columbus had several craft shops, considered "luxury trades," which would have had the capability to provide uniforms. Such businesses included wool processors, dyers, dealers in brass buttons and metallic braids and laces, and at least one merchant tailor who claimed that he corresponded with the city of New York and could provide the latest fashions. By 1840, transportation facilities in Columbus made such connections possible. Further, these same transportation facilities gave Columbus residents access to products from Eastern cities where uniforms and other types of ready-to-wear garments were being made in quantity.

The City at Mid-Century

In 1860, as war loomed on the horizon, Columbus was a thriving urban center with a stable economy and an estimated population of 18,555. Railroads had replaced canal traffic,
the telegraph linked Columbus with other major cities. The city boasted a Federal court house, county and city government buildings, a state penitentiary and the new Capitol Building dominated the center of town. Multi-storied business blocks lined both sides of paved streets illuminated by gas lights. Bridges spanned the Scioto at Broad and Town streets, and a railroad bridge crossed the river just north of the center of town.

Small retail establishments, financial institutions, artisans and craft shops, transportation and government defined the economy. A few small manufacturing firms produced light machinery, furniture, household tools, farm implements, and building supplies. Businesses were family-owned and operated, single proprietorships or partnerships. The town supported a number of service enterprises including taverns, hotels, doctors, lawyers, dentists and private as well as public schools.

A close-knit population of German immigrant workers and shop owners were a visible presence in the community, with a number of well-organized social clubs. They constituted a reliable bloc of votes committed to the Democratic Party in central Ohio. A separate, small group of German immigrants, also closely knit, were striving to assimilate into the mainstream population and to dissociate themselves from their ethnic origins.
All the major fraternal orders of the day had lodges in Columbus which were active and sufficiently prosperous to maintain their own meeting halls. Two units of the State Militia were fully staffed and active in Columbus, and a number of private militia companies, including some all-German units, had seen active duty in the Mexican War, and continued to be a visible presence in the city. Men in Columbus were familiar with both fraternal regalia and military regalia; they had access to it, purchased it and wore the clothing publicly.

At mid-century four remarkable men, Mitchell Lilley, John Siebert and Charles and Henry Lindenberg took advantage of the assets of this community and embarked on a business venture that grew to be the world’s largest regalia house, The M. C. Lilley Company of Columbus, Ohio.
NOTES


4 Ibid., 222


6 See Michael S. Speer, "Urbanization and Reform: Columbus, Ohio, 1870-1900" (Ph.D. diss., The Ohio State University, 1972), 22-26.


8 Margaret Sittler, "The German Element in Columbus Before the Civil War" (Master's thesis, The Ohio State University, 1932), 2-8.

9 See Sittler, "The German Element," 29-34.

10 Ibid., 2.

12 Jacob H. Studer, *Columbus, Ohio: Its History, Resources, and Progress, with Numerous Illustrations* (Salem, MA: Higginson Book Company, 1873), 211.


14 See Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1977) and Blackford, *History of Small Business*. This descriptive information is extracted from both Chandler, Chapters 1 and 2; and from Blackford, Chapter 1.


16 Ibid., 15-16.


18 The Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of the State of Ohio.


20 Studer, *Columbus, Ohio*, 380.

21 Ibid., 391-2.

22 Ibid., 391.


25 Ibid., 69.

26 Studer, *Columbus, Ohio*, 391.

27 Ibid., 397-8

28 Ibid., 409.
29 Ibid., 405.

30 Lathrop, Columbus Directory, for the two years ending April, 1862, Containing a History of the City (Columbus: Richard Nevins Printer, 1862), 25-27.


32 History of Franklin and Pickaway Counties, Ohio (Columbus: Williams Brothers, 1880), 514.


34 Studer, Columbus, Ohio, 364.

35 Davies, Patriotism, 4.

36 Hooper, History of Columbus, 63.

37 Ibid.

38 Osman Castle Hooper, History of the City of Columbus, Ohio: from the founding of Franklinton in 1797, through the World War Period, to the Year 1920 (Columbus-Cleveland: The Memorial Publishing Company, 1921), 44-45.


40 See Sittler, “The German Element,” 25-26, for translations of Der Westbote's descriptions of the German militia companies' activities.

41 Hooper, History of Columbus, 41.


43 Ibid., 27.

44 C. S. Williams, Columbus Directory for 1862 (Columbus: Joseph H. Riley, Printer, 1862), 26.

45 Ibid.


Ibid., 720.

Ibid., 722.

Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard*, 15.

Joseph and Nichols, "The Uniform," 723.


Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard*, vii-xii.

CHAPTER 5

THE M.C.LILLEY & CO.

THE FOUNDING AND EARLY YEARS

The great regalia house that was The M.C.Lilley & Co. originated before the Civil War, as two young immigrant printers started a small publishing company in 1858. After the Civil War, these same men joined a brother and a friend in a four-man printing and publishing operation. Family ties, friendships, political affiliations, bonds with the German community in Columbus, fraternal associations and mutual interests led to several different business arrangements which, by 1890 culminated in a family-owned corporation that served and supplied America’s fraternal lodges and secret societies with all their needs. Eventually, the company employed over 1,200 persons producing and marketing stationery supplies, books and magazines, costumes, uniforms, furniture, suitcases, jewelry and swords.

In the late 1850s, Mitchell Campbell Lilley was proprietor of a moderately successful bindery and printing firm in Columbus, Ohio. Over the course of fifteen years,
he had engaged in several business ventures in the printing and bindery trade, both as a sole proprietor and with partners. Lilley was active in community affairs, had served in the Mexican War, and belonged to two private militias. Lilley’s friend and first business partner, William Siebert was the eldest son in an immigrant family of German printers. Siebert’s apprentice and younger brother John, was friendly with the Lindenberg brothers, also printers and sons of a “48er” German immigrant family.

For these men and their contemporaries in Columbus, Ohio, male social organizations were an important part of life at mid-century. Mitchell Lilley maintained membership in one or two private militias for over twenty years; like Lilley, the elder Lindenberg brother, Henry, belonged to a militia, one of several German-speaking companies. As were many young men at that time, both Henry Lindenberg and John Siebert were Odd Fellows. All of these men openly acknowledged their political inclinations, suggesting that they may have belonged to some local political clubs. Lilley was a Democrat; the Sieberts and Lindenbergs were Republicans.

After the Civil War, Lilley, the Sieberts and the Lindenbergs combined their printing skills, their talents as salesmen, their shrewd business acumen and unbridled enthusiasm for secret fraternal orders. Taking advantage of the assets of the community in which they lived, they
created a business enterprise whose name and label became known and respected by fraternal society members throughout the United States.

The Founders

Mitchell C. Lilley came to Columbus at the age of twelve with his uncle and guardian, a district court judge appointed by President Andrew Jackson. The nephew aligned himself with the Democratic Party, perhaps because of his uncle's patronage position, and retained his affiliation with the Democratic Party for the remainder of his life. Educated in the public schools, young Lilley was apprenticed into the trade of bookbinding in 1835 at the age of sixteen. Typical of young men of his time, he joined a private militia at the age of eighteen, served as orderly sergeant of the Columbus Guards from 1837 to 1841, and reportedly "had a fine reputation."3

Perhaps through his militia activities or perhaps through trade and business connections, he formed a close friendship with another printer and bookbinder, a German immigrant two years his junior, William Siebert. In 1842 William Siebert and Mitchell Lilley formed a business partnership, Siebert & Lilley Bookbinders and Publishers.4 Over the next few years, as their business prospered they took several family members into the firm as apprentices.
Mitchell's nephew, John W. Lilley, and William Siebert's brother Louis were among their first trainees. Another Siebert brother, John joined the firm in 1850, at the age of fourteen and remained associated with Mitchell Lilley for the rest of his life. Louis Siebert and John W. Lilley severed their business connection with M.C. Lilley amiably in the 1840s, and formed a life-long business partnership which kept the Siebert and Lilley names prominent as bookbinders and printers until the end of the century.

In July of 1846 Mitchell Lilley led his private militia company which answered the call for volunteers to fight the Mexican War. They were joined by a German militia unit from Columbus captained by Dr. Otto Zirkel. The two units became part of the Fourth Ohio Volunteer Infantry. No doubt, Lilley established some close relationships with many Germans from the Columbus community while engaged in the year-long tour of duty. While Lilley was away in Mexico, the Siebert brothers managed the printing and bindery business. After Lilley returned in 1848, William Siebert left Columbus and the bookbinding trade, but his brother John Siebert remained in Mitchell Lilley's employ until 1857.

Lilley was a prudent businessman and his firm prospered, aided in part by lucrative contracts with the Ohio General Assembly for printing and binding services. Contracts for government work were regarded as a form of
political patronage, and it is likely that Mitchell Lilley obtained these contracts through his personal associations with the Democratic party. It is also possible that the partnership with the Sieberts, who were committed Republicans, gave the firm access to patronage work from both parties. While there is no hard evidence to affirm this conclusion, records of the Ohio General Assembly do confirm that from 1846 through 1852 the Auditor of State paid M. C. Lilley, John Siebert and Siebert & Lilley Bookbinders for binding services.

For the years 1853 and 1854, both Siebert and Lilley are noticeably absent from the list of General Assembly payees. Lilley was constantly seeking new avenues for his business endeavors, hoping to reduce his dependence on political patronage for cash business. In the early 1850s he purchased some print shops in towns in northwest Ohio, and in 1853 he sent John Siebert on the road to supervise these firms while he continued to operate the printing and binding firm in Columbus. Apparently, these out-of-town businesses were not as successful as he had hoped, because he later closed these shops, and in 1855 M. C. Lilley was once again supplying the General Assembly with printing and bindery services.

Thanks to his apprenticeship with M. C. Lilley, by the time John Siebert was twenty-three he was a skilled printer and bookbinder and had knowledge and experience in the
business aspect of printing. In addition, he could read, write and speak fluently in both German and English. In search of adventure, he left Ohio in early 1857, traveling first to his brother William in Illinois, and then moving on to Iowa and Nebraska, working in newspaper offices and print shops. He returned to Columbus in the late summer of 1858, seeking work.

Siebert had a close friendship with another German immigrant printer, Henry Lindenberg, who had learned his trade from his father. The Lindenberg family emigrated to Columbus in 1849, fleeing Germany after they had supported the failed revolution of 1848. Like the Sieberts, the Lindenbergs joined the German Independent Protestant Church, lived in the non-German section of town, and focused on assimilating into American culture. John and Henry shared similar cultural backgrounds. Like their parents, both were avowed Republicans, and typical of young men of their time, both belonged to an Odd Fellow’s Lodge. They included Henry’s younger brother Charles Lindenberg and John’s sister, Susan Siebert in their social activities, and ultimately the two families were united by business ties and by marriage.
In Ohio the years 1854-1856 were a period of political transition. The anti-slavery issue had crumbled the old alignments of Whigs against Democrats, and new alliances shifted to the divisions of Republicans and Democrats. By 1858, Republicans prevailed in Ohio. Salmon P. Chase had won a second term as governor, and the Party was striving to increase its power by electing anti-slavery Republicans to Congress. Party leaders were acutely aware of potential votes available within the burgeoning immigrant population, particularly the Protestant Germans, who constituted almost half the population of cities such as Cincinnati and Columbus. The voting German laborers at this time were predominantly Democrats. In order to break up this voting bloc, Republican party leaders in the state capitol believed that they needed a German-language vehicle by which to promote their candidates. In October of 1858, they solicited the talents of John Siebert and Henry Lindenberg. Both men were skilled printers, Republicans, fluent in the German language, and their families were well-known and respected by the Columbus German community. The party invited Siebert and Lindenberg to participate in the 1858 Congressional campaign by publishing a German-language version of the party’s newspaper and called it the Republicanische Presse. As compensation, these gentlemen
received, after the election in October, their printing outfit and any stock that might be left over. After the election (the Republicans were successful), with equipment secured, these young entrepreneurs began the publication of a monthly newspaper.

**The First Publication - Der Odd Fellow**

As literate men, and as members of an English-speaking Odd Fellows lodge, John Siebert and Henry Lindenberg were familiar with some fraternal publications that existed at that time. As members of the German-speaking community in Columbus, Ohio they knew that many immigrants had joined the fraternal order, and they shrewdly perceived a need for a German-language fraternal newspaper. As they now owned a press, German type fonts, and some paper stock, they began *Der Odd Fellow*, a monthly tabloid format publication with news, stories and commentaries about the fraternity, all in German. When they started their venture, there were four active Odd Fellows lodges chartered in Columbus, and four more in surrounding villages in Franklin County, all English-speaking. Five months after the publication of the first issue of *Der Odd Fellow*, the Grand Lodge of Ohio constituted Harmonia Lodge No. 358 in Columbus, as being "worked in the German tongue." Records show that Henry Lindenberg was a charter member of that lodge.
The Odd Fellows fraternal order was active in Europe in the 1850s, and Germans were familiar with that organization. Membership in an American fraternal lodge worked in their native tongue offered them welcome relief from the social isolation experienced by newly arrived immigrants. Further, as a mutual beneficial society, the Odd Fellow's endowment ranks offered insurance benefits. Because membership in one lodge allowed an Odd Fellow to visit other, English-speaking lodges, the fraternal order could serve as a means of assimilating into American society if the man chose to do so. In the late 1850s, the Odd Fellows had lodges worked in German in other cities with large German populations, including Chicago, St. Louis and Cincinnati.14

The young publishers had a ready market for their newspaper, and as Odd Fellows themselves they had access to mailing lists and names of potential subscribers. Further, it is possible that Henry Lindenberg took advantage of his membership in the fraternity to encourage German-speaking friends and acquaintances to join German-language lodges and to subscribe to this paper. The two entrepreneurs supplemented their income with small printing jobs that required German language and type. The Odd Fellow's fraternity welcomed the new publication, and it was a moderate financial success.

Readership and subscriptions increased, but the paper survived for only twelve issues when it became clear that
civil war was inevitable. During the year that they published Der Odd Fellow Siebert and Lindenberg had learned that fraternal orders constituted a viable commercial market, and that they could make a comfortable living publishing a fraternal periodical. But any plans they may have had were postponed, as the call went out for volunteers to support the Union in the War of the Rebellion.

In April of 1861 John Siebert left the business to join Company G of the 13th Ohio Volunteer Infantry. Henry Lindenberg enlisted also, but was rejected from military service due to poor eyesight. His younger brother, Charles then joined Siebert’s unit, and those two men served together for three years. Mitchell Lilley also enlisted with his militia group, and stayed with the Fourth Ohio Volunteer Infantry through the Battle of Shiloh in 1862. In his absence, Siebert’s friend Henry Lindenberg looked after M. C. Lilley’s shop. It is clear that by 1860 Mitchell Lilley, John Siebert, Henry and Charles Lindenberg all knew each other, had business relations with each other, and at least three of these men were skilled printers and binders.

Ill health forced Captain Lilley to retire from active duty and return to Columbus in early 1863. Lilley then commanded a home guard militia for the duration of the War and continued to operate his bindery. During the war years, Henry Lindenberg worked as an assistant assessor for the
Internal Revenue Service, and in 1862 married Susan Siebert, sister to John and William, Mitchell Lilley's partners.

John Siebert mustered out in June of 1864, after being injured at the Battle of Chicamauga. Charles Lindenberg returned to Columbus shortly thereafter, as soon as his term of enlistment expired. Upon their return from the Army, John Siebert and Charles Lindenberg joined Henry Lindenberg and M.C. Lilley in a four-man partnership book binding business, operating out of one room on the third floor of an office building.

The M.C. Lilley & Co.

Since 1846 Mitchell Lilley, John Siebert and other local printers had secured contracts with the Ohio General Assembly for printing and bindery work. When Democrats dominated the legislature, Lilley's political affiliation helped him to get business, and when the Republicans held a majority, the Siebert name had served the same purpose. However, after the Civil War ended, public issues focused on reducing patronage. With a post-war spirit of government reform, in 1866 the legislature debated establishing a state government office of printing and binding, thus eliminating the need to contract this work privately and the patronage that accompanied the contracts.
Apparently Lilley had the ear of some influential legislators, because he conceived the notion of training students at the state institution for the deaf in the bookbinding trade, and he sold this idea to the General Assembly. Funds were appropriated, M. C. Lilley schooled himself in sign language, and became the first Master of the Book Bindery at the Asylum for the Deaf, a position he held for almost thirty years. This job remained his primary vocation for the remainder of his life, although he was associated with a number of commercial business ventures. With a guaranteed government salary to support his growing family, Lilley was at liberty to invest capital in private enterprises managed by his friends, and he did so very effectively.

Lilley was considerably older than John Siebert and the Lindenbergs, knew all of them very well and trusted them. Evidence suggests that he capitalized their new venture, and possibly provided advice, but did not take an active part in the day-to-day operations of the company that bore his name. The partnership arrangements established at that time apparently were satisfactory to all concerned, as they endured until the deaths of all the principals. Lilley maintained his financial interest in the firm, and a number of his relatives were employed by the firm in responsible positions, but he was not a visible presence at the company. In his lifetime, Lilley considered his work with the deaf to
be his vocation and his greatest achievement, but he is known and remembered as a manufacturer of fraternal regalia. Long after his death, until its merger in the 1920s, the business was known as The M.C.Lilley & Co.

The First Endeavor - Publishing

Recalling their previous success with a fraternal newspaper, Siebert and the Lindenbergs targeted the Odd Fellows as a market for their products. Initially the small firm printed forms, ledger books and printed office supplies, and sold them to Odd Fellows Lodges as well as to other organizations and businesses. At the same time, in 1865, The M.C.Lilley & Co. once again began publication of an English-language fraternal monthly newsletter, The Odd Fellow’s Companion. Henry Lindenberg was the editor of the paper, and in his initial editorial he stated:

Believing in the necessity of an organ of our Fraternity in the Great West, the undersigned have undertaken the publication of a new magazine, called the ODD FELLOW’S COMPANION; to be issued on or about the first day of each month . . . the chief purpose . . . will be the dissemination, advocacy and if the occasion should require it the defense of those great and good principles and teachings whose establishment as the guide of mankind, is the leading object of Odd Fellowship; while the current history of the Order and selections from the general literature will fill a large portion of its pages.16
Lindenberg was aware that other fraternal publications existed, specifically *The Independent Odd Fellow, The Odd Fellows Casket and Review* and *The American Odd Fellow*. However, their readership and subscription list was mostly from eastern United States, including Ohio, Pennsylvania, the New England States and New York particularly. Activists in the secret society understood the advantage to the growing fraternity to have a publication for members in the Western states. A new periodical was not perceived as unfavorable competition.

Before publishing its first issue, the new company "secured a 'certificate of ability and character' signed by . . . the most prominent leaders in Odd Fellowship in Ohio." Mathew Newkirk, Grand Master of Ohio, said he supported and approved the publication after he "received a circular advising of intention to commence the publication of a periodical," and "references were given of the ability [of the owners] to sustain and carry out the undertaking." The Lindenergs and John Siebert solicited support for their periodical from the Grand Lodge of Ohio, using mailing lists of the officers of the fraternity in Ohio and of Ohio lodges, which they received as members of the Odd Fellows. They probably obtained similar information for other states through their connections with the Ohio Grand Lodge. By requesting and receiving approval from the fraternal leadership, they paved the way for a successful beginning.
for their venture. They would depend on good relations with Odd Fellows everywhere to obtain not only subscriptions, but also for information to fill the pages of the publication. Their intentions clearly were to launch a monthly magazine. They did not intend to become a manufacturing firm at the outset.

**Organization and Business Strategy**

The operation was well organized from the start, with clearly defined responsibilities, separation of duties and specialization of functions. While Charles Lindenberg “took to the road to solicit subscribers,” John Siebert “superintended the mechanical part of the duties, and well he discharged them.” Henry Lindenberg served as editor of the publication, writing original articles and securing permission to reprint items from other Odd Fellow publications which were of an informative nature.19 A married man with a family to support, Henry continued his job with the Internal Revenue Service until 1866, while the small publishing operation struggled to make a profit.

Mail delivery in 1865 was sufficiently reliable to permit on-going correspondence with Odd Fellows throughout the country. Early exchanges of communication with the Ohio-based publication confirms that The Odd Fellow’s Companion reached its intended audience, Odd Fellows in the Western states. Emphasizing the objective of “publication
in the west," the inaugural copy noted that warrants were
issued for instituting new lodges in Colorado Territory and
in Salt Lake City. Subsequent issues of The Odd Fellow's
Companion through July of 1866 contain references to lodge
activities in New York, Massachusetts, Illinois, Michigan
and Wisconsin, as well as in the Southern and Western
states. Reports from Grand Lodges discussed membership
increases, financial solvency, reports of benevolency, rules
for applications and withdrawals, and building funds.
Lodges in the Northern states began to build new meeting
halls, indicating increasing membership and solvency.
Readers were occasionally reminded by the editors to adhere
to the principles of Odd Fellowship -- to bury the dead,
visit the sick and educate the orphans, and to extend
brotherly love to their fellow Odd Fellows.\textsuperscript{20}

In its first year of publication, a typical issue of
the magazine contained some humorous or moralistic fictional
short stories, then reports of the Grand Lodges by state
(with Ohio's always appearing first), some letters to the
editors and responses, and concluded with an inspirational
article or speech reprint. Grand Lodges gave statistics on
membership, lodges and charters surrendered or reclaimed,
and new lodges instituted.

Grand Lodges often submitted local news articles to
fraternal publications. With increasing frequency, the
articles in The Odd Fellow's Companion recounted public
events, parades and social functions which invariably gave vivid descriptions of lodge brothers wearing regalia. The publication contained no advertising for regalia, but the third issue did have a brief notice that Jacob Studer of Columbus, Ohio had for sale “excellent lithographic portraits of Past Grand Sire Wildey,” which readers could purchase by writing to the publishers.

By the end of the first year of publication, “the books of the firm showed a total profit of six dollars and fifty-two cents, (6.52).” M.C.Lilley & Co. informed its readers that:

the enterprise has not been remunerative to the publishers in a pecuniary sense; but in this result they were not disappointed. They expected to be doing a losing business, until time had enabled them to bring their work fully to the notice of the Brotherhood, and to gain their confidence in its stability.

Promoting Fraternalism for Profit

Although the partners of the M.C.Lilley & Co. did not get rich that first year, the firm was solvent. The owners realized that fraternalism was on the rise, and they recognized it as a commercial market waiting to be tapped.

Writing twenty-four years later, Frank Baxter said that the owners were satisfied in July of 1866 that the firm had not lost ground, that they were holding their own, and had succeeded in partially establishing
their magazine on what proved to be a firm basis, and success was assured. 23

John Siebert and the Lindenbergs intended to make money from their business. And certainly, as the financial backer, Mitchell Lilley shared that goal. Perhaps with advice and guidance from their investing partner, and certainly with his approval, the fledgling publishing house soon added a new dimension to the business, brokering supplies to fraternal lodges. As this proved profitable, the company took a short but important step, moving from brokering supplies to manufacturing them as well. As that was successful, they took a bigger leap, and began producing more than lodge supplies, they made and sold regalia. After five years, they were still publishing The Odd Fellow’s Companion, and they were making and selling supplies and regalia for other fraternal orders as well as for the Odd Fellows.

Circulation of The Odd Fellow’s Companion increased from 1865 to 1870 as the fraternity became more widespread. Members of new lodges, reading about the parades and public activities of other lodges began to inquire of the publishers as to where they could purchase the regalia described in the news articles. According to the company historian these came so frequently that the firm concluded to establish an agency for the sale of such goods, adopting the system of having the manufacturers ship all orders to them that they might examine the goods before they were forwarded to the
Lodges, permitting no goods to go forward that were not satisfactory.

The company established itself as a source for lodge supplies and for regalia. By taking on the responsibility of quality assurance, they created an important link between their firm and the Grand Lodges (who determined what regalia was acceptable) as well as to the subordinate lodges who were the customers for the products. Within one year the small publishing firm became a mail-order supplier for fraternal regalia. They solicited and accepted orders for goods, purchased the items from other manufacturers, had the goods shipped to their Columbus offices, and then re-shipped them to the purchasers. The company’s glowing history published in 1890 does not explain how this brokering function was profitable. But, probably, the M.C.Lilley & Co. would have tacked onto each order a percentage for profit for themselves.

It is clear that as the company launched into its second year of operation they had changed their business objectives. They intended to do more than publish a monthly periodical. They focused on developing a manufacturing and wholesale supply operation. Baxter’s history says that early in 1866 they were compelled to begin the manufacture of such articles as required no special skill or machinery, and the second year, finding their quarters of one room 16 x 30 feet, at No. 28 North High street, too small, they removed to larger quarters.24
The manufactured articles referred to were not regalia, but were lodge supplies, printed paper items which the M.C. Lilley & Co., as a print shop and bindery, could easily manufacture with the materials, equipment and personnel they had on hand.

Fraternal lodges used account ledgers, membership rosters, receipt books, engraved certificates, membership cards, stationery and envelopes, and a variety of other printed materials. The print shop turned out such items in quantity, with the fraternal emblems engraved or embossed, and personalized with the name and address of individual lodges added.

Henry Lindenberg, as Editor of the Odd Fellows' Department of the magazine, promoted the sale of these paper goods with support from no less a personage than the Odd Fellows' Grand Secretary of the United States, James Ridgely. In the first issue of Volume II of The Odd Fellow's Companion, Lindenberg wrote a news article in which he cited a report from Ridgely. The Grand Secretary addressed the issue of revenues to support the Grand Lodge of the United States. He listed three sources of funds, one of which is the profit on the sale of cards, books, odes, diplomas and charters. The profit on the sale of these supplies is very great, in some cases exceeding one thousand per cent.25

The article encouraged state Grand Lodges to build membership in the organization in order to increase the
number of subordinate lodges, because each newly-formed subordinate lodge required a supply of all of the printed products listed. Subordinate lodges were mandated to order supplies through a Grand Lodge, which purchased the items from The M.C. Lilley & Co. in bulk, at a wholesale price, and sold them at a significant mark-up. Ridgely provided a table listing purchase price, sale price and profits for Lodge Books, Odes, Charge Books and Cards for one year. He claimed that in the twelve months from September 1865 to September 1866 the Grand Lodge earned a profit of $14,911.36 from the sale of these lodge supplies. The article further gave state-by-state statistics showing per capita membership and the amount paid for supplies, and summarized by promising

in our next number we will give tables showing the per centage of increase in each jurisdiction, etc., that will exhibit the condition of the Order and the relative prosperity in the various entities. 26

Editor Lindenberg and his partners understood that the expansion of fraternalism was a key to profits for the company. Through their magazine-format publication, they encouraged the creation of new subordinate lodges as a means of generating demand and creating market outlets for the firm’s products. The M.C. Lilley & Co. would continue this promotional strategy for the next forty-five years, and it would serve the business very well.

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As The M.C.Lilley & Co. became a marketer and supplier of goods to Odd Fellows' lodges, they used their publication as an advertising medium. The sales force, led by Charles Lindenberg, used promotional strategies to increase magazine circulation. In Volume II, Number 1, the August, 1866 issue of *The Odd Fellows' Companion*, the Odd Fellows Departments opens with a promotional paragraph:

Our new portraits of Past Grand Sire Wildey are now ready for delivery. If any one of our subscribers, entitled to a copy of the portrait, has not received it, he will oblige us by informing us, and we will at once send it. The portrait of Past Grand Sire Nicholson will be ready on the 5th instant, when all subscribers entitled to a copy of it will be supplied.27

Subsequent issues of the magazine reveal that Charles Lindenberg offered the portraits, the same ones that Jacob Studer had advertised earlier, as incentives or premiums to subscribers. Recognizing that increased readership led to increased orders for lodge supplies and regalia, the company took measures to expand subscriptions and at the same time let the readers know that the company made and sold fraternal supplies and products.

The second paragraph of this 1866 column in the publication is also an advertisement:

We desire our new subscribers to take notice that we are now prepared to furnish the first volume of the "Companion," neatly bound, in half-turkey Morocco leather. See advertisement on third page of cover.28
No doubt, the purpose of printing these newsy items was to entice readers to inquire about the portraits, and to purchase the leather-bound back issues. But the news column also conveyed the message that the M.C.Lilley & Co. stocked and sold things other than the monthly magazine. Further, the publishers now openly used the magazine as an advertising vehicle.

Recognizing that a fraternal magazine provided access to markets for other profitable products, the firm soon enlarged its publications activities. In an 1867 city directory M.C.Lilley and John Siebert were listed individually as "bookbinders and publishers of the Odd Fellows Companion." The 1870 city directory listed the company as publisher of the "Monthly English Publication of the 'Odd Fellows Companion,'" and also as the publisher of "'Der Odd Fellow' a German monthly." Recalling their earlier success with a German-language fraternal publication, the entrepreneurs once again sought out the Odd Fellows in the German immigrant communities as a special market for their products.

From 1866 to 1870 as the company expanded it diversified its activities and changed its public image. It moved into manufacturing and retailing while continuing to publish periodicals. By 1870 The M.C.Lilley & Co. occupied an entire four-story building, with a glass-fronted showroom and retail store on the first floor. The sign on the
building at 253-255 South High Street announced that The M.C.Lilley & Co. sold “Society Goods and Regalia” as well as *The Odd Fellow’s Companion*.31 (Figure 5.1)

The M.C.Lilley & Co. was no longer a bookbindery or print shop. In an 1870 City Directory, entries in two separate categories list the five-year old company as a “Purveyor of Odd Fellows Regalia,” as well as a publisher of two fraternal magazines.32

By 1870 America was entering The Gilded Age, an era characterized by (among other things) industrialization, the growth of managerial capitalism, and the social phenomenon labeled The Great Fraternal Movement. Clothing and regalia were an important part of the movement, as were the companies that manufactured and sold those goods. To understand the relationship between the fraternal orders and the fraternal supply houses, it is necessary to understand the rise of fraternalism as a social movement in the United States after the Civil War.
Figure 5.1 The M.C. Lilley & Co. Offices
The Masonic Chronicle July 1890
NOTES

1 Osman Castle Hooper, *History of the City of Columbus, Ohio: from the founding of Franklinton in 1797, through the World War Period, to the Year 1920* (Columbus: The Memorial Publishing Company, 1921), 41.


4 Ibid., 164-69.


7 State of Ohio Secretary of State, *Stationer’s Report*. Columbus: Ohio 1837-1848 (Ohio Historical Society Record Series 1028.)


Johnson Publishing Co.: 1898); Jacob Studer, Columbust, Ohio: Its History, Resources, and Progress, with Numerous Illustrations (Salem, MA: Higginson Book Company, 1873.)


11 Taylor, Centennial History of Columbus, 628.

12 The term “worked” refers to executing the rituals of a secret fraternal order when the lodge is in session. The term originated with the stonemason’s guilds, when members of an operative lodge assigned the daily duties for a building project. Masonic lodges also use the term “labors.”

13 Studer, Columbus, Ohio: Its History, 399.


15 Mitchell Lilley’s role in establishing and managing the State Bindery at the Asylum for the Deaf is recounted in several versions in: Studer, Columbus, Ohio; and Hooper, History of Columbus; and in Lilley’s obituary, Ohio State Journal (Columbus), 23 June 1897.

16 The Masonic Chronicle, July 1890.

17 Ibid.

18 The Odd Fellow’s Companion, Devoted to the Interests of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, and General Literature, August 1865.

19 The Masonic Chronicle, July 1890.

20 See The Odd Fellow’s Companion, August 1865-July 1866.

21 The Masonic Chronicle, July 1890.

22 The Odd Fellow’s Companion, June 1866, 510.

23 The Masonic Chronicle, July 1890.

24 Ibid.
The Odd Fellow's Companion, December 1866, 225-6.

Ibid.

The Odd Fellow's Companion, August 1866.

Ibid.

C. S. Williams, Columbus Directory for 1866-'7 (Columbus, Ohio: Joseph H. Riley, Printer, 1866).

Bailey, Columbus Directory for 1870-71 (Columbus: Bailey Publisher, 1871).

The Masonic Chronicle, July 1890.

Bailey, Columbus Directory for 1870-71 (Columbus: Bailey Publisher, 1871).
Prior to the Civil War, fraternalism as an institution was well established in the United States, but it appealed to only a small, select segment of the male population. As a social institution, fraternalism survived the Civil War intact, but soon after began to change radically.

After the war ended, for a variety of reasons men by the thousands affiliated with fraternal orders. Contemporary observers termed this phenomenal rush to join secret societies as "The Great Fraternal Movement." The years when fraternalism dominated the social life of some twenty percent of American males, 1870 to 1910, was called "The Golden Age of Fraternalism."

Freemasonry and Odd Fellowship, the dominant fraternal orders, grew and spread at an unprecedented rate. Fraternalism as a social form was once limited to a few societies, but after 1870 hundreds of new secret orders were formed, and they too grew and spread rapidly. At the peak of the movement, one in five American males belonged to one
or more secret fraternal orders. Fraternalism was no longer small nor was it limited to the elite.

In same these years, another significant change occurred in the nature of fraternalism. Secret societies experienced an overwhelming concern with clothing. During the Great Fraternal Movement ceremonies and lodge activities centered on the use of ritual garments, theatrical costumes and military uniforms. As fraternalism increased in size and influence, clothing and regalia became an identifying feature of the secret societies. Further, the amount and kinds of clothing used in fraternal rituals changed during this time, as did the manner in which clothing was used. Regalia became an important issue for governing bodies of the orders; it was the focus of rituals both public and private and was the subject of debate and discussion among the membership. Arguably, clothing was one of the factors that influenced men to join secret societies.

This chapter contains a discussion of the extent of the Great Fraternal Movement and the significant changes that occurred in fraternalism during this time, particularly with regard to the use of clothing, and especially the clothing used by the leading fraternal societies.
The Extent of the Movement

Statistics from the time period provide a measure of the enormity of the fraternal movement.\(^1\) In 1901, B. H. Meyer identified 568 fraternal societies whose date of organization could be ascertained and found that only 78 had been founded before 1880, 124 between 1880 and 1900, 136 between 1890 and 1895, and 230 from 1895 to 1901. In other words, 86 per cent of the fraternal societies are only twenty years old, nearly one-fourth are between ages of five and ten, and over 40 per cent are either infants or children below five. . . . the increase during the last five years has been 25 per cent, and during the past ten years it has doubled.\(^2\)

Only five years earlier, Harwood had estimated that over 5,400,000 men belonged to one or more secret fraternal societies, and that figure excluded an estimated 500,000 members of the Grand Army of the Republic.\(^3\) Both Harwood and Meyer claimed that one in five American males over the age of twenty-one belonged to one or more secret societies at that time.

A few years later, in 1907, Albert Stevens listed seventy-eight “general fraternal orders which offer low-cost life insurance plans to members.” These seventy-eight secret fraternal societies claimed a total membership of 5,637,672. Stevens added to this figure, “membership in minor fraternal orders” of 310,000, and “total membership of [ten] secret fraternities of a charitable, benevolent, religious or philosophical and mystical character, but which
do not include life insurance features" of 4,620,000.
Stevens claimed that since 1797 some 600 secret societies
had existed in the United States, that by 1907 350 of these
survived, with an estimated total membership in fraternal
societies in 1907 of 10,567,672, well over forty percent of
the male population. By any measure, fraternalism was an
impressive social presence throughout the last three decades
of the nineteenth century and into the first decades of the
twentieth century.

During the years from 1870 through 1910, the dominant
fraternal orders in terms of size, activity and public
visibility were the Grand Army of the Republic, the Masonic
orders, the Independent Order of Odd Fellows and the Knights
of Pythias. But the social movement which began in the
1870s was not limited to increased membership in existing
fraternities. Men from a variety of backgrounds formed
dozens of new fraternities which mimicked the features of
these established orders. Most of the American secret
societies were founded after 1870, and most of those were
founded by men who already belonged to other secret
societies. The Royal Society of Good Fellows was
established in 1882 by members of the Masonic fraternity,
the Ancient Order of United Workmen, the Royal Arcanum, the
Knights of Honor and the Odd Fellows. The Sons of Jonadab,
a temperance group, was organized in 1877 by members of the
Independent Order of Rechabites. The Knights of
Reciprocity was founded in 1890 by a group of Masons, Odd Fellows and Knights of Pythias with special political leanings. The Knights of the Maccabees was founded in 1878 by members of the Independent Order of Foresters. John Burbadge conceived the idea of The Knights of the Golden Eagle in 1873, taking the ritual from that of the Knights Templars. This order was introduced under the auspices of both the Independent Order of Odd Fellows and the Knights of Pythias, and the qualifications for membership were identical to those of the Order of the Heptasophs.

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

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

Race was not a barrier to fraternalism, although the fraternal orders were unequivocally racially segregated. Prince Hall, an educated free African-American, “was made a Mason by an English army lodge connected with General Gage’s command in 1775, and on March 16 of that same year, fourteen other Boston negroes were made Freemasons in the same Lodge, at Castle William, Boston Harbor.”12 The survival and
growth of segregated Freemasonry is evidence of the persistence of fraternalism in America. Throughout the Anti-Masonic movement, the Civil War and Reconstruction, this secret society, known as Prince Hall Masonry survived, endured, and eventually prospered along with other fraternal orders during Golden Age of Fraternities.

In 1875, the Grand Lodge of Freemasons in Ohio, with the endorsement and approval of Albert Pike, acknowledged the legitimacy of the “colored Freemasons.” In 1896, there were Grand Lodges of Free and Accepted Negro Masons in thirty-two states, in the District of Columbia, in the Province of Ontario and in Liberia. By 1907, Stevens allowed that some 60,000 men of African-American heritage were active in what came to be known as Prince Hall Masonry.13

African Americans also organized fraternally using the rituals of the Knights of Pythias and the Independent Order of Odd Fellows. Reflecting the prevalent attitudes of contemporary society, these fraternities were considered by many, but not all European-American lodges, as spurious, unauthorized or illegitimate. Nevertheless, fraternalism was as popular among middle-class African-Americans as it was among European-Americans, offering male companionship, dramatic rituals, secret mystical rites, mutual insurance benefits, and the opportunity to wear uniforms and regalia. Like their European-American brethren, the African-American
lodges met regularly in convention and staged lavish ceremonies, rituals and public parades. The Grand Lodge of the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows convened in Wilmington, Delaware in the early fall of 1870 with representatives from eighty lodges in ten states. The publication *Heart and Hand* reported on this convention, and *The Odd Fellow's Companion* copied the news item for its readers.

At the close of the session a street parade in full regalia was held. Some half a dozen brass bands discerned excellent music; the procession was many squares in length, with flags and banners waving along the line, and the demonstration was imposing as well as creditable. Immense crowds gathered on the sidewalk, and as the Society passed, followed by carriages containing the higher officers, all pronounced it the very best parade of colored men ever seen in Wilmington.¹⁴

Regalia was an important feature of the convention, and regalia used by the African-American lodges was no different from that used by the white lodges.¹⁵ The Great Fraternal Movement did not break down racial barriers, but it did extend to minorities, and regalia was universally important.

The Golden Age of Fraternalism was all-encompassing. It inserted itself into America's ethnic and black communities, even as it engaged non-minority men from every social and economic class in the years from 1870 to 1910.
Fraternalism at the Close of the Civil War

The American Civil War interrupted and slowed the growth of fraternal orders in this country, but it did not destroy the secret societies. Smaller fraternities such as the Druids and the Redmen simply held their activities in abeyance until the end of the war. A few of the less serious fraternal societies, such as the Sons of Malta disappeared during the conflict and never revived. The larger, national organizations remained active on a limited basis, but recruitment of new members was not a priority. Regalia was not a matter of concern for the governing bodies of the fraternities during the war.

The largest and most active fraternities, the Masons and the Odd Fellows kept the fraternal spirit alive on the home front, particularly in their attentions to widows and orphans of brothers, and in performing funeral rites for deceased members. Regalia for these activities was generally limited to aprons, collars and gloves. With a large part of the male population in military service, and wearing military uniform, fraternal orders did not parade publicly in regalia.

As in previous military actions, Freemasons in the armed services, most of whom were officers, convened military lodges in both Union and Confederate armies. Such regalia as was used in military lodges consisted only of
aprons and gloves, which a man could easily pack and carry. Lodge furnishings were not necessary for sessions held in field tents, and the requisite symbolic lodge equipment was portable. 17

Among the civilian population, Freemasonry in the Northern states slowly recovered from the decline in active membership that resulted from the Anti-Masonic Party. Lodges acquired a few new members, and some older men, not serving in the military and who had quietly withdrawn from Masonic activities in the face of the Anti-Masonic movement now reaffiliated.

In the South, along with every other aspect of civilian social life, fraternalism suffered. Charleston, South Carolina, which was devastated by Northern troops, had been the seat of The Scottish Rite, the most elite of the Masonic bodies. As that city was isolated, besieged and burned fraternal activity came to a halt and Scottish Rite activity in the South ceased. 18 In New Orleans, Atlanta, Vicksburg and elsewhere Masonic and Odd Fellows halls were converted to other uses, as needed by the military and by the civilian population. In both the North and the South, few men were available or so inclined or had the leisure time and money to convene fraternal lodges in the midst of war.

Odd Fellowship survived the conflict, and like Freemasonry fared better in the North than in the South. Correspondence from Odd Fellows confirms that the fraternity
continued to operate during the Civil War, and that toward the end of the war, fraternal activity increased. For the last twelve months of the Civil War, from April 1864 to April 1865 Odd Fellowship in Ohio had a net increase in membership of 1,218.19

With the cessation of hostilities in 1865, fraternalism revived, flourished and became a dominant force in American male society for the next five decades.

The Start of the Movement

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

The Grand Army of the Republic was a huge veterans' organization composed of

Union soldiers and sailors of the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1865. . . [It was] founded to preserve and strengthen those kind and fraternal feelings which bind together the soldiers, sailors and marines who united to suppress the late Rebellion, and to perpetuate the memory and history of the dead; to assist such former comrades in arms as need help and protection, and to extend needful aid to the widows and orphans of those who have fallen.20

The GAR took the associational form of a fraternal society, complete with secret rituals, grips and oaths.
Founded by and for military men, the GAR assumed the hierarchical structure of the Army, and its regalia consisted of the military clothing the members had worn during their term of service. The members added to their uniforms some medals with emblems of the GAR, and later they introduced sashes and ribbons to which they affixed their GAR medals. The GAR offered former soldiers and sailors the opportunity to continue the positive aspects of military service -- friendship, mutual aid, public expressions of patriotism, wearing of uniforms and general male bonding.

Because so many men were eligible for membership, the GAR garnered members from a broad cross-section of society, unlike the Masonic orders, the Odd Fellows and some of the other extant secret societies of the time. For many men, the GAR was their first experience with a secret society. They eagerly and willingly embraced the notion of fraternalism. First organized in the spring of 1866, within three years the GAR claimed more than 250,000 members.21

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

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

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

Less than two years after establishing the first lodge, Rathbone and his colleagues had constituted a number of lodges sufficient to form a Grand Lodge which met in May,
1866. Two years later, with 200 subordinate lodges in seven states, the first annual session of the Supreme Lodge of the Knights of Pythias assembled in Wilmington, Delaware. Just five years after Rathbone and his friends first met in Baltimore to create a new secret fraternal society, the Supreme Secretary reported total fraternal membership at 35,000.

Writing the history of the Order in 1909, James Carnahan attributed the early swift growth of the fraternity to the military nature of the society. He described the fraternity as a "semi-military organization" which generated "soldierly feelings . . . and naturally led former soldiers from both sides of the Civil War to investigate its principles and tenets." He claimed that the Knights of Pythias espoused patriotism in the spirit of peace, and noted that an ex-soldier, Col. Geo. H. Crager, was responsible for spreading the Order west of the Alleghenies.

Carnahan stated clearly that from its inception, Pythian Knighthood was open to all who wished to subscribe to its teachings, and that the intentions of the founders and officers were to spread the organization, to gain as many new members and form as many new lodges as possible.24 However, the open invitation was typical of American society at that time: Pythian Knighthood, like the Scottish Rite, the York Rite, Odd Fellowship and most other secret societies, was open to all males of American-European
background. It was not open to African American, Asian or Native American men.

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

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

Both the GAR and the K of P were different from the Freemasons, the Odd Fellows, the Druids or the Society of Cincinnati. These new fraternities were purposefully invented and modeled on the older societies, but they were not as selective nor as exclusionary as their models. The new fraternities wished to become large organizations, and they actively recruited members from among all classes and levels of the white male population.

The nature of fraternalism changed after the Civil War, and dress was one of the vehicles of this change. Clothing
was an important part of these new fraternities. Both societies required members to wear prescribed, non-normative clothing, both inside the lodge walls and outside in public, as a display of unity and affiliation. And both organizations had a strong element of militarism. These new post-war fraternities were societies with secrets, but they were no longer secret societies.

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

In a society that was searching for order, fraternal organizations exuded order. They had carefully constructed constitutions, ordered rituals, stability represented by ancient histories (real or invented), far-reaching networks of lodges, bureaucratic administrative procedures, and hierarchical structures with tiers of ranks and degrees, and officers governing Supreme, Grand and Subordinate lodges. And, fraternal orders gave men the opportunity to change their appearance and persona by wearing non-normative dress.

For men returning from military service, the most appealing features of secret societies had not changed. The fraternal orders offered entertainment, male companionship,
group identity, and regalia. Men also joined fraternal societies to avail themselves of insurance benefits. And the GAR and the K of P welcomed nearly every man. All of these factors contributed to the phenomenon of the Great Fraternal Movement.

Odd Fellowship After the Civil War

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

Even as the war was drawing to a close, this fraternity willingly resumed its activities, and exhibited a fascination with regalia. In early 1865 the Grand Sires of all the Grand Lodges (presumably in the northern states) issued a proclamation appointing members to serve on a national committee to erect a monument in Baltimore honoring the founder of American Odd Fellowship, Thomas Wildey. The American Odd Fellow gave an account of the laying of the cornerstone of the Wildey Monument in April of 1865, just
after Lee's surrender. The writer noted that "the members of the Order, without regalia, met at the hall on North Gay Street at two o'clock . . . members were dressed in dark clothes, and presented a truly fine appearance."26 The writer described how the fraternity members then donned their aprons and collars and walked in procession to the monument site. Another description of the procession at the dedication of that monument a short time later exclaimed:

Odd Fellows to the right of us, Odd Fellows to the left of us, Odd Fellows all around us - the banners rustling, flags waving, regalias glittering, music enchanting! Grand procession, finally bringing in to view the golden-fringed and beautifully bespangled regalia of the members of the Grand Lodge of the United States.27

Yet another report of the same momentous event in Baltimore details the appearance of men wearing the robes of the High Priest, with mitres embellished with crossed shepherds' crooks as a symbol. This was an unusual public display of ritual clothing generally reserved for use inside the lodge, and seen only by the initiated brethren.28 The published reports give no explanation for this. Perhaps the fraternity wished at this time to entice new members by exhibiting the clothing, or perhaps they simply wanted to make a lasting impression on the observing public, to confirm that Odd Fellowship was alive and well. Whatever the reason, as the War drew to a close, the appearance of men in ritual fraternal clothing was newsworthy.
Odd Fellowship not only revived after the war ended, it grew and expanded westward. Brothers once again convened regularly in lodges in cities and villages across the now reunited nation, and the members welcomed the opportunity to once again wear their fraternal clothing. Surely John Siebert and the Lindenberg brothers, Odd Fellows themselves, took this revival into consideration when they started their publishing business in the summer of 1865. Selections from the earliest issues of The Odd Fellow's Companion illuminate the differences in Northern and Southern perspectives on fraternalism and regalia after the war ended.

One contributing editor listed all the times and places of Odd Fellows lodge meetings in Cincinnati, inviting brethren from other areas to visit if they were in town. In October, 1865, Odd Fellows in Bluffton, Ohio held a celebration for the good of the Order... The procession, decked out in the regalia of the Order and largely extended by the long line of bodies who formed a constituent of it, made such an imposing appearance as the good people of that region had probably not witnessed before, and so they marched back again!29

The fraternity in the southern states did not report such cheerful news. Reflecting society in general, the Odd Fellows fraternity in the South survived the War, but not without damage. Their correspondence with the publishers provides an interesting view of Southern society after the Civil War. One Odd Fellow from South Carolina complained that "the Order in this jurisdiction is in a deplorable
condition, depleted of membership to furnish soldiers for the army.\textsuperscript{30} A letter from another Southern Odd Fellow related that before the War, the prosperous lodges had placed considerable assets in Southern banks. During the course of the War, the Confederate government took the gold and silver which had backed the assets of the fraternities, and replaced it with now-worthless Confederate currency. The Southern lodges found themselves stripped of their financial assets. Individual members had no money for dues, lodge furnishings or regalia, and were struggling to feed and clothe their families. Similar reports appear throughout subsequent issues in 1865 from Georgia, Louisiana and Alabama. Older Odd Fellows were concerned with re-establishing lodges in the South as a way to return society to normalcy, and to reunite the North and the South.\textsuperscript{31} Others, more desperate, clearly saw the northern fraternal lodges as a source of much needed money, food and clothing. The Southern Odd Fellows were not at all concerned just yet with parades, ceremonies and regalia.

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

In Kansas, where the Encampment Branch had been particularly active before the War, the lodges were entirely broken up by the effects of the war. . . . the city of Wellington was sacked by the enemy, our hall in that place rifled of its contents; the books and other effects of the Encampment were lost in the general ruin which befell that place . . . there is no prospect that Itaska Encampment will be revived . . . the costumes, regalia, &c., of Evergreen Encampment are now in the keeping of Kansas City Encampment. . . . I suggest that those effects be placed at the disposal of the former members of Evergreen Encampment, who are now members of Kansas City Encampment No. 27.

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

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

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

Some older Odd Fellows voiced concerns about an increasing emphasis on enlarging membership, and objected to the inclusive rather than exclusive approach. They cautioned subordinate lodges to select competent leaders, to invite new members judiciously, to extend the hand of
friendship but to admit no unworthy members in haste just for the purpose of increasing membership rosters.\textsuperscript{35}

And the question of public displays and wearing of regalia was a sore point. Since the 1850s, Odd Fellows in the Grand Lodge had been debating the propriety of public displays of regalia.\textsuperscript{36} Some older members, historians and traditionalists pointed out that among Odd Fellows of the parent fraternity in England, public displays wearing regalia was frowned upon except for funerals. Some believed that public displays of regalia violated the codes of secrecy so important to the exclusive nature of the Order, and others argued that an emphasis on clothing would diminish the importance of the spiritual nature of the fraternity.

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

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

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

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

Odd Fellowship is now doing more for the community at large, than all the similar organizations upon the earth. Where is the organization that pays more attention to the sick, or keeps a more watchful guard over the widow and orphan, or subscribes more liberally to the wants of the needy, than Odd Fellowship? And I would regret to see its usefulness injured by a refusal to restore to us our time-honored regalia.37

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

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

Subsequently a memorial was presented, asking the Grand Lodge to permit the apron to be used in public by the Encampment branch, and signed by all the Representatives from Maine, Delaware, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont, Lower Provinces and Connecticut, and by a
portion of the delegations from Iowa, Mississippi, Georgia, Illinois and Texas. This memorial was laid on the table.\textsuperscript{38}

At the same session of the Grand Lodge, a proposition to adopt a new regalia for funeral purposes was also defeated.\textsuperscript{39} In the “Letters to the Editor,” an Odd Fellow from Illinois responded to Rathburn’s letter of the previous month, giving voice to the minority of members who felt that too much attention was given to the issue of clothing.

I don’t know what Bro. Rathburn can mean when he says he finds many who are dissatisfied with the manner in which we lost the apron. I do not think men join the Order for the show of regalia, but for the good they may be the means of accomplishing. I would ask if there is one sensible brother who would leave an Order doing as much as the Order of Odd Fellows, simply because the Grand Lodge of the United States says he shall be prohibited from wearing a piece of cotton cloth about a foot square . . . and I believe that, if the G.L.U.S. should take away all the regalia, the institution of Odd Fellowship would be just as prosperous and be as attentive to all the sick; widows and orphans will be taken just as good care of, as if we wore nothing but aprons.\textsuperscript{40}

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

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

However, as fraternalism became a social movement after the Civil War, Odd Fellows who took this higher degree reinterpreted the word “Encampment,” and gave it a modern, militaristic meaning, perhaps because most of the new members of the Encampment degree had served as officers in the Army. The Encampment Rank, after the Civil War became somewhat of a veterans’ group for officers. Without approval from the Grand and Supreme lodges, Encampment members eschewed the apron and collar, and began to wear military-type uniforms at lodge meetings and at public events. In 1877, after much debate and argument, the Grand Lodge of the United State approved the wearing of uniforms for Encampments, but warned that the cost of the uniforms must not fall to the lodges, a member had to purchase his own regalia. Not everyone was resigned to this change, but in 1878, James Ridgely commented that, "Whatever may be said
of the Encampment Branch by those who do not seem to appreciate its value, everything points to its popularity and perpetuity.\textsuperscript{42}

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

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

As evidence of the significance of clothing and regalia in the Golden Age of Fraternalism, Ridgely commented that the most important legislation considered by the Grand Lodge of the United States in 1870 was the resolution that gave subordinate encampments a street uniform in lieu of ordinary regalia. Further, subordinate encampments were permitted to
appear in public wearing "such uniform style of headdress as may be approved by the G[rand] Patriarch of the jurisdiction." 43

While subordinate encampments engaged the rank and file membership in ritual activities, the Grand and Supreme Encampments spent time and energy debating at length the form and propriety of regalia which included "chapeaux, crooks, swords and belts, and all military paraphernalia." They decided in 1870 that such apparel was "inadmissible." Later, they amended their ruling to allow the wearing of chapeaux. "Friends of the movement [to permit elaborate uniforms] were greatly encouraged, and came up in fine spirits to the session of 1872." 44 At this session, Brother Rand of Massachusetts introduced a new resolution regarding uniforms and dress. The preamble and resolution reveal the reason for this intense interest in clothing:

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

Resolved, That encampments be permitted to wear such a style of street uniforms, on parade, as may be sanctioned by the Grand Encampments of their respective jurisdictions. 45

Rand and his New England Odd Fellows openly acknowledged that the use of prescribed forms of dress had led to expanded membership which would enrich the coffers of the lodges. This time, the Grand Lodge

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resolved that Encampments be permitted to wear such style of street uniform, on parade, as may be sanctioned by the Grand Encampments of their respective jurisdictions; but under no circumstances shall the funds of an Encampment be appropriated to meet any expense incurred thereby.46

The men were now permitted to dress as elaborately as they wished, as long as their State Grand Lodges approved the design of the clothing, but lodges were not to expend the fraternity's money for the uniforms - parade regalia was a man's own responsibility. Within two years there was "a revolution of sentiment" regarding militaristic regalia. "New England was particularly anxious for the change, and the conservative members were disposed to acquiesce." In 1875 the indulgence went further, and the GLUS agreed that a Patriarch could wear his street uniform in his Encampment (not just for parade purposes), provided he also wore his encampment regalia.47 Ridgely said that soon this arrangement "was everywhere adopted with beneficial results, and assumed such proportions as to become a matter of grave importance."

Finally recognizing what Mr. Rand had pointed out so clearly in 1872, that uniforms and regalia did in fact serve to increase membership and bring money into the organization, the Grand Lodge of the United States in 1877 appointed a committee to determine the style of uniform to be worn by all the lodges. After several amendments, the GLUS approved a street dress uniform for subordinate lodges.
Further, it named a committee to prepare a style of street uniform for Patriarchs, who preferred uniforms which distinguished them from the subordinates. At this time, 1877, the use of any of these uniforms was optional from the standpoint of the Grand Lodge. But Grand Secretary Ridgely understood that clothing, uniforms in particular, was the key to growth and prosperity for the fraternity. He concluded, "Thus it will be seen that the Patriarchal branch has introduced a feature, which has conquered prejudice and given a new impulse to the whole Order . . . we may soon expect to see [in] the Patriarchal branch one of the best disciplined bodies in the country. They are already recognized as the leaders in our public demonstrations. This brilliant array of Odd Fellows have already added to our processions a dignity and beauty which cannot be surpassed." 48

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

Clearly, the use of clothing, military regalia in particular, was a significant factor in the growth and expansion of Odd Fellowship during the early years of the Golden Age of Fraternalism.

American Freemasonry and Expanded Fraternalism

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

But the Masonic fraternity, like its imitators, became part of the Great Fraternal Movement. Blue Lodge Masonry experienced growth through the appeal of Freemasonry's higher degrees, particularly the Scottish Rite and the
Knights Templars, both of which greatly expanded their use of regalia in the form of costumes and uniforms during the years from 1870 to 1910. (The unique clothing and regalia used by these two fraternities is discussed in Chapter 7 of this dissertation.)

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

At the time Albert Pike was elected Sovereign Grand Commander of the Scottish Rite Southern Jurisdiction in 1859 he had been a Mason for only nine years, but was an Odd Fellow before that. A lawyer by profession, Pike was an intellectual, a mystic, a student of ancient and esoteric mythologies, and was fascinated with ritual of all sorts.

Pike also aspired to personal power and recognition. A large organization served his personal ambitions well, and he promoted the spread and growth of the Order. Appointed in 1855 to the committee charged with revising the rituals of the Scottish Rite for the Southern Jurisdiction, Pike
took it upon himself to completely rewrite the rituals, and finished his first polished version in 1857.\textsuperscript{49}

Albert Pike believed that clothing was singularly important to a secret fraternal society. Costumes and regalia were essential elements of the rituals he devised. The lavish clothing he ordained turned the rituals into spectacles. They attracted public attention and garnered members for the Order. Men by the thousands became Freemasons so that they could petition to take Pike's degrees of Southern Jurisdiction Scottish Rite.\textsuperscript{50}

Since 1815, the Scottish Rite in North America had been split into two factions, North and South, with the Northern Jurisdiction defined as the geographic region east of the Mississippi River and north of the Ohio River and the Mason Dixon Line. Each jurisdiction had its own version of the rituals. Periodically an appointed committee reviewed and revised these rituals, including in such revisions the style of regalia and ritual clothing to be worn in their lodges.\textsuperscript{51} Few could match the detailed ritual work of Albert Pike, and when Charles McClenachan revised the rituals and regalia for the Scottish Rite Northern Jurisdiction in 1885, he incorporated Pike's ideas, and gratefully acknowledged Pike's efforts and influence.\textsuperscript{52}

McClenachan chose to distinguish the Northern Jurisdiction of the Scottish Rite by changing the shape of the apron, from a square to a triangle; and he opted to
embellish the aprons with colored edgings, pockets, rosettes, and embroidered symbols. But McClenachan’s ritual costumes were virtually identical to those described by Pike in his *Magnum Opus*. Ultimately, Pike and McClenachan moved fraternal ritual into the realm of theater, and the result was an unprecedented rise in membership. Men by the thousands petitioned to become Freemasons so they could petition to join the Scottish and be privy to the wonderful rituals which only members could witness.

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

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

As with other secret orders, the exclusive York Rite's membership increased in the years from 1870 to 1910, and their system of commanderies and consistories expanded during the Great Fraternal Movement. This fraternal order met nationally every three years, at Triennial Enclaves, where the individual lodges marched, paraded and performed competitive drills. The regalia of the Knights Templars was (and remains today) among the most distinctive and elaborate of all fraternal military clothing. (See Figure 8.1) As with the Encampment Rank of the Odd Fellows, Knights Templars purchased and paid for their own uniforms, but the lodges selected the designs.

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

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

Why Did They Join?

Students of American fraternalism are fond of citing Alexis de Tocqueville’s astute observation that Americans were predisposed to form associations and societies, that this population was a nation of joiners. But the Frenchman visited America in the 1830s, his remarks were written long before the Golden Age of Fraternalism, and he was not referring to secret societies. A cultural penchant for meeting in groups to exercise rights of self-expression and self-government is not sufficient to explain the phenomenon of the Great Fraternal Movement.

Mutual insurance benefits were a primary incentive for working men to join fraternities, as they had no other source of insurance. As commerce resumed after the Civil War, mutual and beneficial insurance companies elected to use the fraternal form as a means of soliciting and retaining new accounts. Many fraternal associations were primarily insurance companies which men joined in order to obtain insurance benefits.

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

As early as 1937, Alfred Vagts understood the strong appeal of the military ranks of the fraternal orders. He believed that men joined fraternal societies to alleviate the social isolation created by the industrializing workplace. He further believed that participation in the military ranks of the fraternities gave these same ordinary men an opportunity to escape the ordinary, to wear extraordinary clothing, to be called by extraordinary titles, to express their patriotism and to step into an illusory world where they could appear noble and heroic.

Some other simplistic explanations have been offered to explain why so many men joined so many secret societies in these few years. One such notion suggests that the fraternal movement was a form of entertainment and amusement; others, like Vagts, suggest that various aspects of fraternalism provided ways for men to escape the dehumanizing realities of daily life in an industrializing
society. All of these notions have merit, and when considered in combination, may explain why so many men formed and joined so many secret societies. But these explanation do not reveal the scope and nature of this remarkable moment in American history.

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

Scholars and commentators are in agreement that the secret societies that proliferated in the years from 1870 to 1910 shared certain characteristics and values. The rush to join secret societies was group behavior which encompassed men from all levels of society. Fraternalism was equally popular in big cities, small towns and rural areas. And fraternalism crossed social, economic and cultural lines. Men of every occupation, native-born and immigrants, young and old, educated professionals, proprietors, merchants, clerks, skilled artisans, tradesmen and laborers all joined fraternal orders of some kind.
Secret fraternal societies were always voluntary organizations. While membership in some of the more elite fraternal orders certainly offered some economic and social benefits, no man was coerced to join a secret society. Although a significant number of men in the United States belonged to fraternal orders in the late nineteenth century, still the majority of American males did not. Peer pressure was not a reason to join. Non-membership carried no penalties. The decision to join a secret society was purely a man's own doing.

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

Fraternalism in general idealized hierarchy and structure in an increasingly disorderly world, and promoted notions of upward social mobility. And secret fraternal organizations at the end of the nineteenth century were noted for their use of ceremonial clothing, costumes and uniforms.
Carnahan attributed the growth of the Knights of Pythias directly to the formation of the Uniform Rank and the authorization of street uniforms for the rank and file members.

The honors conferred on the Uniform Rank have been shared by the Order in general, and through the prominence of the Uniform Rank the subordinate lodges have been enabled to increase their membership throughout the length and breadth of the Supreme Jurisdiction. 59

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

the new arrangement [uniforms] assumed such proportions as to become a matter of grave importance . . . we may soon expect to see the Patriarchal branch one of the largest bodies in the countries. They are already recognized as the leaders in our public demonstrations. 60

Like Carnahan, Ridgely attributed growth of his order to the growth of the uniformed rank.

The effect of costumes and theatrical clothing on Scottish Rite membership was truly amazing. In the 1870s, only a few Scottish Rite lodges were active, and they were small groups. Initiation into the Scottish rite required the initiate to participate in dramatized versions of its rituals, using a few costumes which became available from fraternal regalia companies at that time. In the mid-1890s the lodges staged the rituals as dramatic events. By 1910, the lodges no longer carried out the initiations in traditional rectangular lodge rooms. Instead, “the most
active Scottish Rite valleys had constructed auditoriums with fully equipped proscenium stages for the presentation of a performed ritual.\textsuperscript{61} These twice-a-year "reunions" involved extensive casts of performers, and the temples soon acquired vast wardrobes of elaborate costumes from manufacturers such as The M.C.Lilley & Co. Membership skyrocketed from 11,946 in 1901 to 55,588 in 1911, as men flocked to the temples to see the colorful costumes, lavish robes and jeweled crowns. As the Scottish Rite became more theatrical, the membership continued to grow.\textsuperscript{62}

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

Historians and sociologists have not arrived at a single explanation for the phenomenon that was the Great Fraternal Movement. Fraternal records and artifacts of material culture from this movement suggest that, in addition to all of the above-stated reasons, men joined the orders for the opportunity to see and wear ceremonial clothing, costumes and uniforms.
The Great Fraternal Movement created a huge demand for specialized clothing. A new industry arose to meet this demand, the fraternal regalia industry. Led by The M.C.Lilley & Co., regalia houses designed every type of clothing and dress imaginable for use in rituals, dramas and parades. Costumes, wigs and masks; footwear, headwear and underwear; aprons, collars, sashes, robes, tunics and uniforms; all were made and marketed by the regalia companies, as part of the Golden Age of Fraternalism.
NOTES

1 Many fraternal orders offered mutual insurance benefits or had separate organizational entities for insurance purposes, known as Endowment Ranks. Because insurance sold well among fraternal brothers, many insurance businesses deliberately took the organizational form of a fraternal society. Reliable statistics exists for those fraternal beneficial societies. Both Harwood and Meyer used insurance statistics to document the size of the fraternal movement. In 1896, a Fraternal Insurance Society was formed to represent the interests of insurance companies doing business as fraternal orders. Beginning in 1896, the Fraternal Publishing Company of Rochester, NY published annually a manual for Fraternal Insurance Companies, listing the names, dates of origin and membership of the member societies. This data does not include figures for secret fraternal societies which did not have insurance ranks, or which were not members of the Fraternal Insurance Society.


5 See Arthur Preuss, A Dictionary of Secret and Other Societies (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1924); and Stevens, Cyclopaedia. Both Stevens and Preuss list fraternities by name, provide their known date of origin, and give a brief description of the purpose or history of each order. Writing in 1924, Preuss credited much of his information from Stevens’ 1907 edition.

6 Preuss, Dictionary, 421.

7 Ibid., 441.

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8 Ibid., 228.
9 Ibid., 262.
10 Ibid., 232.
12 Stevens, Cyclopaedia, 72-78.
13 Ibid.
14 The Odd Fellow's Companion, November 1870.


16 See Stevens, Cyclopaedia, 284; and Preuss, Dictionary, 442.

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


19 The Odd Fellow's Companion August 1865, 33.

20 Stevens, Cyclopaedia, 365.

21 Ibid., 369.


26 Ibid., 44.
27 *The Odd Fellow’s Companion*, October 1865, 115.
28 Ibid., 140-41.
29 *The Odd Fellow’s Companion*, October 1865, 114.
30 *The Odd Fellow’s Companion*, August 1865, 47.
31 Ibid. See report from Alabama, 131-32.
32 *The Odd Fellow’s Companion*, September 1865, 78.
33 Ibid.
34 Ibid., 79.
35 *The Odd Fellow’s Companion*, November 1865, 188, 192.
37 *The Odd Fellow’s Companion*, September 1870, 131.
38 *The Odd Fellow’s Companion*, October 1870, 238-239.
39 Ibid., 239.
40 Ibid., 212.
43 Ibid.
44 Ibid., 314.
46 Ridgely, American Odd Fellowship, 314.
47 Ibid.
48 Fox, The Lodge, 63.
51 McClenachan, Book of the Scottish Rite, 8.
52 Ibid., 72.
57 Mary Ann Clawson, "Fraternal Orders and Class Formation in the Nineteenth-Century United States," Comparative

59 Carnahan, Pythian Knighthood, 477.

60 Ridgely, American Odd Fellowship, 314.


62 Fox, The Lodge, 164.
An inordinate and unprecedented concern with special clothing characterized the Great Fraternal Movement. Without exception, all of the fraternal societies used items of dress as part of their secret rituals. The nature of fraternal rituals and activities changed during the Golden Age of Fraternalism, from a lecture-lesson meeting, to participatory dramas and to theatrical productions, military parades and drills. Changes in clothing paralleled changes in ritual.

Throughout the Golden Age of Fraternalism, secret societies employed special clothing in new and different ways and in increasing amounts. Ceremonial clothing became costume. Items of dress once seen only by the brethren, behind lodge walls, became mediums of public display, announcing fraternal membership and unity.

The men who devised the fraternal rituals for the Scottish Rite, the Knights Templars, the Odd Fellows and the Knights of Pythias devoted great attention to clothing and regalia. The governing bodies of the societies considered
dress an important subject for discussion; committees were responsible for designing fraternal clothing and determining how and when and where such clothing would be worn; constitutions specified styles, colors and fabrics for fraternal clothing. In some instances, representatives of the regalia houses who were also members of the fraternities served as advisers to the regalia committees.

Fraternities, both old and new, serious and frivolous, were a market for the products of regalia manufacturers such as The M.C.Lilley & Co. The regalia houses made garments that conformed to specifications established by the governing bodies of the fraternities. But they also made unofficial regalia which lodges purchased and used; and they produced regalia in a wide variety of fabrics, colors, qualities and designs. Even where regalia was prescribed in minute detail, the manufacturers offered their customers multiple choices.

By offering a wide variety of clothing products, and by encouraging fraternal orders to use clothing more frequently, to use more clothing in their rituals, and to use more kinds of regalia and dress, the manufacturers promoted the growth and spread of fraternalism.
Aprons, Collars and Sashes

Harkening back to the lodges of speculative Freemasonry, the earliest fraternal societies used regalia, and those first items of fraternal regalia were an apron and gloves. The only regalia required of a Freemason has always been "the badge of a Freemason -- a white lambskin apron." Collars and sashes were added in the eighteenth century. Excepting the penchant for decorating aprons in the early nineteenth century, the nature of fraternal regalia in the United States changed little until after the Civil War.

Throughout the nineteenth century Blue Lodge Freemasonry, the fountainhead of American fraternalism, strongly resisted any changes in ritual or regalia. And, while American Freemasons had for generations decorated their aprons, this custom was never acknowledged by Masonic ritualists nor was it incorporated into the monitors by the Masonic leadership. Constitutions and monitors continued to prescribe only plain aprons for Masons, and plain collars and sashes for lodge officers and past officers.

As the Great Fraternal Movement took shape, commercial manufacturers and distributors of regalia offered the Masonic bodies variety and choices of ritual dress. Nothing about regalia was plain after the 1870s.

Engraved and painted aprons had gone out of style and use in the 1840s, following the Anti-Masonic movement. But
by 1879, as the fraternal movement was gaining momentum, the Blue Lodge Masonic regalia offered for sale was more than simple silk sashes and plain leather aprons. The earliest catalogue found to date from the M.C.Lilley & Co., List No. 35 Descriptive Catalogue of Masonic Supplies for Lodges,1 from 1879, offered aprons in lots of one dozen each. As in years past, lodges still purchased the aprons to award to men who were Entered Apprentices.

The choices were amazing. Seventeen different styles of aprons ranged in price from $2.15 for twelve “Sateen jeans or Drilling, plain, 13 by 15 inches” to “Satin, embroidered with vine leaves and emblems, blue and silver, trimmed with blue silk, silver lace, fringe and tassels, silk cord and tassels” for $29.00 a dozen. Within this range of prices and styles, a lodge could purchase “Lambskin, plain” for $4.79 a dozen, or “Lambskin, lined, and bound with blue silk ribbon, blue square and compass in centre” for $15.75 a dozen.

Little could be done to embellish gloves. The catalogue has only one choice -- plain white gloves sold for $1.50 per box of one dozen.

The company offered twelve kinds of Officers' collars and eight different types of sashes. Fabric choices ranged from French merino to silk to silk velvet. All collars and sashes were lined and interlined, and prices varied with different materials and trimmings.
The least expensive collars were trimmed with silver-plated gimp and had one small star. Silk velvet collars in the middle price range had half-inch lace and one star. Other collars could be had with larger stars or with five or seven stars; with bullion fringe, vine and emblems "neatly embroidered." Collar No. 733 had "Silk velvet, lace, bullion fringe, vines and emblems neatly embroidered" for $6.25 each and Collar No. 734, priced at $8.00, $10.00 and $12.00 respectively was described as "Same as 733, but richer."

All the sashes offered for sale were trimmed with lace, star rosettes and fringe. The fringe was of string on the less expensive models, but the finer sashes had bullion fringe. As the price went up, the embellishment became more elaborate. Model 744 was silk velvet with lace, tassels, bullion fringe, stars and was "handsomely embroidered all around."²

Masonic monitors from the 1870s did not describe anything like the elaborate ritual regalia offered for sale in this catalogue. The monitors did specify that a candidate taking the degrees be stripped of his street garments and be clothed in drawers, a shirt with one sleeve torn or missing, and slippers. (See Figure 3.1) Interestingly, the 1879 catalogue offered only one style each of the drawers and slippers required for the initiate in the Blue Lodge degrees. And it offered no shirts for
sale. The company gave a wide range of design choices for ceremonial regalia but not for the prescribed but humble costume used in reenacting the murder of Hiram Abif.

List 35 was directed only to Blue Lodges, but two notes in the List inform the reader that The M.C.Lilley & Company also sold Chapter, Council and Commandery Supplies, Knights Templar Uniforms, and

Collars, Jewels, Uniforms and complete paraphernalia for every degree of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, manufactured by us, according to the standard authorities.\(^3\)

Apparently, by 1879 several Masonic bodies were using specialized and complex kinds of clothing for their rituals, and there was sufficient demand for these products in 1879 to warrant separate catalogues describing the items.

**The Scottish Rite - Theatrical Fraternalism**

In the 1850s, as Grand Secretary of the Scottish Rite Southern Jurisdiction, Albert Gallatin Mackey had a vested interest in the success of the organization. He had given up a thriving medical practice to serve as head of the Scottish Rite. Mackey had enormous admiration for his intellectual fraternal brother, Albert Pike. He knew Pike had the literary skills to write rituals that would enliven lodge meetings and entice new members. With encouragement and tacit approval from Sovereign Grand Secretary Mackey, Albert Pike elected to design costumes, robes, aprons,
sashes and uniforms of all sorts to be used in the rituals he re-wrote for the Scottish Rite in the late 1850s.⁴

Pike abandoned his fraternal labors for four years, while he served as a general in the Confederate forces. But as soon as the war ended, he returned to his beloved fraternity and eventually became Sovereign Grand Commander. For the remainder of his life, Pike wrote and rewrote rituals for every degree of the fraternity, always giving painstaking attention to regalia.

Standing well over six feet tall, with a full head of wavy hair, Sovereign Grand Commander Pike was a charismatic presence in any group. He had a deep baritone voice, which added to his ability to entrance an audience when he orated. Wearing the regalia of his office, he presented a commanding figure, and enjoyed his position of power and respect in this rather elite, nation-wide voluntary organization. Pike was well aware of the impact of a uniform on an audience. He used his power and influence to ensure that special clothing and regalia remained important elements of his fraternity.⁵

When he created or re-created the rituals, Pike also created regalia. Pike’s prologue to the first three degrees for Blue Lodge Freemasons stated:

No Brother should be permitted to sit in a Lodge, unless properly clothed, with the Cordon, Apron, and jewel of the Degree, or of a higher one.⁶
The Introduction to his *Liturgy of the Blue Degrees* listed the titles of the dignitaries and officers, and assigned the jewels and badge for each. Then Pike addressed the clothing:

The dress should be a black coat, black pantaloons, and a black or white vest. Master Masons wear their hats in each of the Lodges.

The Clothing is a square Apron of white *Lamb-skin* (not of cotton or linen), tied by a blue silk cord, which ends in front with tassels. The apron is entirely plain, without any emblems or devices, lined with light-blue silk, and edged with light-blue ribbon, no more or less than half an inch wide. The flap is cut to a point in the middle, and lined and edged like the main apron. The width and depth of the apron, fourteen inches.

The Dignitaries alone wear scarfs of light-blue silk. All Officers and Brethren wear swords, steel-hilted, with black belts round the body and black shoulder-strapds. The scabbard is of black leather and steel-mounted.

All wear white gloves. These are part of the Clothing. They should be of silk or cotton.  

Pike devoted a page in his *Liturgy* to the importance of the apron and the white gloves, and gave neither apologies nor recognition for re-phrasing the writings of Preston and Thomas Smith Webb. In dictating appropriate behavior for Blue Lodge Masons at social functions, he told the brethren

At a reception, all the Masters should be dressed in black, with a slouched black hat, and weeper of crape, white gloves, apron, and blue sash. In strictness, they ought to wear long black dominoes, and a white plume. All wear swords and sit covered. The Worshipful Master should wear a long black velvet mantle.
Pike not only described what he considered the appropriate attire, he specified style, fabric, color, trimming, lining, dimensions and even used some rather interesting fashion terminology (weeper - a mourning badge, and dominoe - a long, black hooded cloak). Throughout his Liturgy, Pike repeatedly reminded the Freemason to wear his apron with the flap turned down, and to "sit covered in the lodge." Further, Pike insisted that the Mason's apron have square corners, and a triangular flap.

Pike's Magnum Opus provides detailed instructions and scripts for the degrees of the Scottish Rite from the fourth to the thirty-second, and is peppered with references to clothing. In Pike's view, no Masonic business of any sort could be properly conducted unless all participants and observers were "wearing the clothing" appropriate to the activity. And some special attire was required for any and all activities. Pike dramatized the rituals, made them into theatrical plays, and as author he determined the appearance of the costumes.

For the Fourth Degree of Secret Master, the Master of the Lodge represented King Solomon and wore a black robe lined with ermine. He also wore a "broad blue watered ribbon, from the right shoulder to the left hip, at the end of which hung a jewel." For the Fifth Degree of Perfect Master, the Master represented Adonhiram, and wore an apron of white sheepskin, lined and bordered with green, and the
flap green. “In the middle of the apron are painted or embroidered three circles, with a cube in the center, and in the center of that a Hebrew letter.”

The higher the degree, the more elaborate was the regalia. Collars of varying colors, crimson and gold, were added to the Master’s regalia, and the colors and embellishments for the sashes or cordons changed with the degrees. By the Fourteenth Degree, Pike had the Master wearing a purple robe with a collar, and all the other officers of the Lodge wearing highly embellished aprons, red velvet collars and jewels; and the brethren of the Lodge, the observers of the ritual were to be clothed in black, with black gloves and wearing swords. In the seventeenth degree, he referred to the brethren as Knights, and they were required to wear all black clothing, “a very short Chasuble of silk stuff, edged all round with black silk or velvet two inches wide”, with a crimson cross upright, and two inches wide, a plain black cordon with a crimson cross and a crimson rosette at the bottom and an apron of black silk or velvet with a large crimson cross in the center.10

The robes, collars, aprons and embellishments that Pike described were considered sacred ritualistic clothing. But as the rituals he wrote became more theatrical in nature and less ritualistic, he assigned roles to each of the individuals in the dramatic presentation of the degree work. Each assigned role had specified clothing. The clothing he
mandated became secular costume rather than ritual artifacts imbued with sacred symbolic meaning. By the twenty-fifth degree, The Knight of the Brazen Serpent, the lodge members had assigned parts in a scripted play, with dialogue and stage directions. This ritual designated costumes for everyone in the room, including the candidate for the degree, who was "dressed in plain garb."\textsuperscript{11} Pike did not limit his detailed descriptions and mandates to clothing. He specified scenery for each degree, stage directions and props and furniture to be used in the ritual enactments. As with the clothing, the higher the degree, the more elaborate the settings. As much as Pike was a ritualist, he was also an accomplished playwright, stage designer and costumer.

Mackey's instincts were correct. Albert Pike's rituals attracted men of wealth and prominence to the Scottish Rite and the order grew and prospered. Within a few years, Scottish Rite temples throughout the southern and western United States staged the degrees and even elaborated on Pike's dramatized rituals.

Noting the success of the Southern Jurisdiction, Charles McClenachan, Grand Master of Ceremonies of the Scottish Rite Northern Jurisdiction opted to revise the rituals of that branch of the Masonic fraternity. Few could match the detailed ritual work of Albert Pike, and when Charles McClenachan revised the rituals and regalia for the
Scottish Rite Northern Jurisdiction in 1885, he gratefully acknowledged Pike’s efforts and influence.\textsuperscript{12}

McClenachan was not particularly imaginative. To distinguish the Northern Jurisdiction of the Scottish Rite from the Southern, he changed the shape of the apron, from a square to a triangle; and he added embellishments to the aprons.\textsuperscript{13} McClenachan’s costumes were virtually identical to those described by Pike in his Magnum Opus.

McClenachan’s dramas were a bit gory, and pandered to the public’s desire for theatrics. His regalia for degree work was purely costume and displayed little of the sacred qualities attributed to ritual garments in years past. For the ninth degree, The Knight Elect of Nine, he specified:

\begin{itemize}
  \item **Apron** - White, lined and bordered with black, sprinkled with blood; in the centre a bloody head held by the hair; on the flap, an arm holding a dagger.
  \item **Sash** - A broad black watered ribbon, worn from the right shoulder to the left hip; at the closer end nine red rosettes, four on each side, and one at the bottom, from which pendent the
  \item **Jewel** - A dagger, hilt of gold and blade of silver.
\end{itemize}

During the reception the Thrice Potent [Master] and Senior Inspector wear Royal robes, with crown and scepter; the secretary wears robes and mitre of the High Priest.

The Junior Inspector and other officers, robed in black with cowles, and the apron, sash, and jewel of this degree, sit during the working of this degree, with right elbow on the knee and head on the right hand, as if fatigued. Stranger - clothed as a shepherd.\textsuperscript{14}
As the degrees advanced, the regalia became more lavish and complex. For the Thirteenth Degree, The Royal Arch of Enoch, King Solomon wore a yellow robe with a purple chasuble lined with blue, sleeves reaching to the elbows, and rich purple sash. King Hiram wore a purple robe, yellow chasuble and rich purple sash. Both Kings wore velvet aprons and silk or velvet collars. A few degrees later, these same Kings appeared again in the same robes and chasubles, but with fur-trimmed collars and jeweled crowns.

McClenachan portrayed the Scottish Rite degrees in the Northern Jurisdiction as grouped into series. The last degree of the Fourth series was the eighteenth degree of the Scottish Rite, the Knight of the Rose-Croix. Regarding this as a milestone to be noted in the Freemason’s climb to the thirty-second (and highest) degree, that of Sublime Prince of the Royal Secret, McClenachan chose an item of clothing as a visible token. (Figure 7.1) He designed a special hat which he said was

In all bodies of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, brethren who have attained the degree of Grand, Elect, Perfect and Sublime Mason, are entitled to, and should of right, be covered, . . . and lend their endeavors to aiding in the effectiveness of the drama, by robing and costuming accordingly . . . the following [engraving of a hat is] the most appropriate, convenient and economical form of covering, it being light . . . with movable joints, in order that it can be pressed flat."15

McClenachan’s publication contained illustrations, showing elaborate robes and headdresses, and hats with
fanciful plumes and cockades. As did Pike, he specified textured fabrics, bright colors and dramatic embellishments. For the Knights observing the degree of Knight Commander of the Temple

each wears a tunic of white woollen stuff, reaching to the mid-thigh; and over all a Knight’s mantle of scarlet velvet, reaching nearly to the ground, lined with white silk. On the breast of the tunic is embroidered a Teutonic Cross . . . on the right side of the mantle a passion cross, in black. The hat is broad-brimmed, with red plumes, and a black and white cockade. A gilt spur is worn on each heel. 16

In their monitors, both McClenachan and Pike described in detail elaborate costumes for every participant in each ritual. These writings set the standard for all other fraternal orders to imitate. Regalia companies manufactured fantastic outfits which conformed to the ritualists’ descriptions and dazzled the men of the Scottish Rite. A typical example from McClenachan is the twenty-ninth degree, The Knight of St. Andrew:

The Knights are all dressed in crimson robes, with a deep scarlet sash around the waist, a green collar edged with crimson about the neck, to which the Jewel is suspended, and a white silk sash worn from the left shoulder to the right hip, ornamented with gold fringe. On the left breast is the large white Cross of St. Andrew. 17

As this degree proceeds, a scene is set in the Court of Saladin, and costumed characters represent a Sultan; Hugh of Tiberias, the Lord of Galilee; Malek Adhel, the brother of the Sultan; an assortment of visiting sultans, emirs,
The hat is broad-brimmed, with red plumes, and a black and white cockade.
A gilt spur is worn on each heel.

Battery——●●●——●●——●.

The following engraving designates the most appropriate, convenient, and economical form of covering, it being light, composed of four sides, purple, with movable joints, in order that it can be pressed flat—fillet of crimson, and crowning-button of white velvet.

Figure 7.1 Scottish Rite Hats
oriental princes and potentates; and a smattering of military personnel. While costumes for these characters are not specified, their titles suggest appropriate garb, which the regalia companies illustrated in their catalogues and offered for sale. The ritual continued

The Knights all wear the Turkish costume -- that is, the wide trousers [sic], vest and turban, all white, and a red sash around the waist, with a scimitar [sic].

Illustrated programs listed cast members, and frequently featured photographs of participants in costume. Charles E. Rosenbaum as Master of the Kadosh at a lodge in Little Rock, Arkansas (Southern Jurisdiction), wore a costume from an unidentified manufacturer. It closely resembles the ensemble described by McClenachan for that office in the Northern Jurisdiction:

The regular costume of a Knight Kadosh, as prescribed by the Ancient Rituals, is as follows:

A white tunic of fine woollen stuff, in the shape of a Dalmatica, with large sleeves; reaching to the knees, bordered with black, and having on the left breast a red Latin cross.

A mantle of black velvet, very full, and reaching midway between the knee and ankle, edged with red velvet, and having on the left breast a red Latin cross. It is clasped in front of the throat with a plain Teutonic cross of gold.

Such complex theatrical garments were expensive. In addition to the initial cost, these wardrobes required significant expenditures of money to store and clean and maintain them. Membership fees in the Scottish Rite
reflected the cost, and the climb to the thirty-second degree was an expensive proposition.

Nevertheless, this formula for fraternal initiations proved popular. By 1900, membership in the Scottish Rite had grown from 1,505 in the Southern Jurisdiction and fewer than that in the Northern Jurisdiction in 1890 to a combined membership of over 40,000 just ten years later.21

The costumes that The M.C.Lilley & Co. and other regalia houses offered to fraternal lodges in the early 1880s were intended for use in relatively small lodge rooms. The ritual allegorical dramas were somewhat like amateur parlor theatrics, performed on a modest scale in small intimate rooms. Rituals were usually enacted in the center of the lodge room, with the brotherhood observing from seats arranged in a circle or hollow square around the room. This arrangement, a direct carry-over from eighteenth century Freemasonry, reinforced the concept of the equality of all the brethren of the lodge. In this setting, the dramas still had a ritualistic quality.

However, as competition for membership among the fraternal orders increased at the end of the nineteenth century rituals in many of the fraternities were subsumed by theatrics. The Scottish Rite set the standard for theatrical fraternalism. This branch of American Freemasonry, under the leadership of Albert Pike in the Southern Jurisdiction and Charles McClanachan in the
Northern Jurisdiction created rituals during this time period which were elaborate performances requiring theatrical costumes. 22

Eventually, Scottish Rite lodges, which were known as Valleys, built vast cathedrals with huge auditoriums, in cities across the country. Scottish Rite temples were designed with fully equipped theaters in which the rituals were staged at annual or semi-annual meetings known as reunions.

Participants in the rituals were in fact actors, and the candidates "took the degree" by observing the play presented on the stage. As audience members, classes of initiates sometimes wore the designated regalia of the degree -- aprons, sashes, gloves and ribbons -- and entered the auditoriums in formal procession. 23

While the candidates for the degrees observed, the allegorical stories came to life on stages, complete with scenery, backdrops, special lighting, props and sound effects. Members of the fraternity with thespian inclinations formed "degree teams," actually casts of amateur actors who rehearsed the dramas and performed them regularly, wearing elaborately constructed costumes. 24

Temples with active Valleys had huge wardrobe rooms with storage and maintenance facilities to house and care for massive collections of robes, gowns, cloaks, tunics, shirts, trousers, masks, wigs, turbans, helmets, crowns,
caps, footwear, leggings, breastplates, accessories of all sorts. The wardrobes of the Scottish Rite temples rivaled those of any theatrical company of the day. (Figure 7.2) A wardrobe master in each temple had a wardrobe team to care for the elaborate costumes, to ready the outfits for performances, and to put them away when the degree work was done. Some of the more conscientious wardrobe masters, particularly those whose wardrobes held the more expensive clothing, maintained detailed records of the costumes, noting when they were worn and for what degree work, and who wore each outfit. They further noted the initial cost of the garment, the company that manufactured it (although the clothing usually carried a label), and documented any alterations or repairs done to the garment.25

The move from ritual to theater, especially within the Masonic orders, was clearly a factor in the Great Fraternal Movement. Men attended the ritual performances expecting to be entertained. Costume as an essential part of the theater of the fraternity contributed to the strength and extent of the movement.

Regalia manufacturers recognized that a market existed for theatrical costumes. By the mid-1880s, in addition to making and selling aprons, collars and sashes, the regalia houses marketed elaborate robes and gowns, capes and crowns, turbans and tunics, leggings, hose, sandals and costumes that replicated medieval knights in full armor.
Figure 7.2. Scottish Rite Robes
Valley of Columbus, Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite
By the 1890s, other fraternal orders mimicked the theatrical productions of the Scottish Rite, and organized degree teams to stage rituals. Soon the costumes offered for one fraternal society looked almost identical to those offered for another. (See Appendix D) Kings and knights, guards and messengers, heroes and villains, all could be found in the rituals of the Scottish Rite, the Knights of Pythias, the Odd Fellows and any one of the dozens of new fraternal societies that sprouted and grew in the years from 1870 to 1910. (See Appendix D)

The men who devised the rituals, McClenachan, Pike, Wildey, Rathbone and their imitators assigned symbolic meanings to ritual clothing; and they wrote fanciful descriptions to identify the characters they created in the allegorical dramas. But certainly the regalia manufacturers added to their inspiration and encouraged the lodges to use more clothing than the ritualists ever imagined.

**The Odd Fellows - A Biblical Tale**

The M.C.Lilley & Co.'s Catalogue # 178 (see Appendix D) presented all the regalia needed by a subordinate lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows to conduct the basic degree rituals. This publication is typical of the clothing offerings presented to lodges of all the fraternal orders during the Great Fraternal Movement. Text which accompanies
the illustrations confirms that the regalia manufacturers were well acquainted with the fraternity's approved rituals, and that they consciously promoted the use of many items of dress, far beyond those called for in the official guides and monitors. The regalia manufacturer offered multiple styles and designs of costumes for every character and role in a ritual. They created entire ensembles for even minor characters, complete with headwear, footwear, capes, gowns and accessories, and offered enough costume choices to permit creative directors of lodge works to invent new characters. And it is possible that the regalia houses themselves invented new characters for the dramas.

The Initiatory Degree for Odd Fellows served to introduce the candidate to the lodge. Although the approved rituals specified only that lodge officers wear their aprons and collars, Catalogue # 178 illustrated exotic robes and headdresses to be worn by the Noble Grand, the Vice Grand and the Past Grand during the ceremonies. Gowned and crowned, these officers appeared to the new initiate as regal personages, powerful and worthy of great respect and admiration. The catalogue further presents elaborate long robes and strange head coverings for other lodge officers who served as Supporters and Guardians in this degree ritual.

Regalia firms designed ornate robes and accessories for lodge officials in order to inspire the candidate with awe.
and wonder. And most assuredly, the effort was successful. The costumes could not be too elaborate. In this single catalogue, M.C.Lilley & Co. offered seven different models of robes for the offices of Noble Grand, Vice Grand, Past Grand and Supporters. These same robes could be used in subsequent degree work for the roles of High Priest, Conductor, Warden and King. Complete ensembles included long gowns or robes, capes and elaborate headdresses in the form of crowns, mitres and turbans. Any of these seven models could be purchased in eight choices of fabric ranging from all-wool merino to superfine silk plush. Trims and embellishments included fine silk and crystal bead fringe. Descriptions assured the buyer that the robes had "flowing sleeves," and were ornamented with "wide borders of very fine satin embroidered in beautiful colors."

Mindful of the expense involved, and the limited resources of smaller lodges, the text reminded lodges that "these three officers [King, Past Grand and High Priest] never appear on the floor at the same time, [so] it is very simple and convenient to make one costume serve for all three officers." In the same spirit of economy the company designed interchangeable parts for some costumes.

A MONEY SAVER - Three Robes in One

the robe . . . makes a most beautiful King's costume. By unhooking the mantle at the throat, it is as readily removed as any cape is thrown off, and by the substitution of a cap for the crown, a magnificent Past Grand's robe is had.
Then by slipping on an ephod and a breast plate and changing the cap for a mitre, you have your High Priest. You pay for one costume and by the above simple steps and the addition of the head dresses, etc., you have costumes complete for three of the principal Officers.28

After a candidate was initiated into a Lodge of Odd Fellowship, he experienced The First Degree of Friendship, a drama based on the Biblical tale of the friendship between David and Jonathan. Other characters in this degree as recounted in Beharrell’s Monitor of Odd Fellowship are King Saul who is Jonathan’s father, David’s father Jesse who is only mentioned by name once, and the enemy Goliath, also mentioned by name only once. When Percy Howard scripted this same drama of the First Degree of Friendship he included more characters: Inside and Outside Guardians of the Door; a Herald who was a messenger from King Saul to Jesse; Goliath had a number of dramatic lines in Howard’s version; and a very minor character known as “a lad” was inserted into the dialogue with two short lines in one scene.29 The Sovereign Grand Lodge approved both versions of this relatively simple degree ritual.

Using these scripts as guidelines, The M.C.Lilley & Co. created costumes for the Degree of Friendship. Pages 44 through 55 of Catalogue # 178 illustrate ten different models of costumes which can be used interchangeably for the characters of Jonathan, David, the Herald, the Armor Bearers and the Guards. Models wear a wide assortment of elaborately decorated tunic coats, capes, leggings, hose,
sandals and helmets. Each element of costume is offered with six or seven different choices of fabric, including for the less expensive versions, “Cashmere, Fine Satteen, All-wool merino, Silk Finished Velvet, 'Verybest' Satin, Silk Plush and Fine Silk Plush.” The most expensive line of coats in this group of costumes, items 1422 through 1428, have “gilt lace, studs, stone sets and solid embroidery outlined with cordinette.” More elaborate and costly designs included tunics which were ornamented all over with lace, braid, and nickel and gilt studs. Cloaks and coats were fastened with gilt metal clasps set with colored stones.

For the minor character of “the lad,” who appears only in Percy’s version of the ritual drama, The M.C.Lilley & Co. offered two complete ensembles. One set consisted of a long-sleeved embroidered tunic, matching embroidered leggings and an embroidered turban ornamented with three fine ostrich plumes. All component parts were available in a choice of seven different fabrics. The second lad costume included an embroidered tunic, hose (either knee-length or thigh-length), an “embroidered rolled turban with an ostrich plume, fine lining and a leather sweat band,” and sandals which could be purchased separately. The various combinations of these components ranged in price from $40.00 for the most expensive to less than $7.00 for the least.
expensive (not including the sandals). All this for a part with only two lines.

The catalogue descriptions of the costumes varied somewhat with each different garment, giving the prospective purchaser a sense that each one was very different from the others. The text, directed to members of Regalia Committees, implied that differences in features and quality of the garments required carefully thought-out decisions. One text noted the leggings were "held on by patent fasteners," and another described the helmet frames as "exceptionally strong."

Although the allegorical story about David and Jonathan was set in Old Testament Jerusalem, the costumes illustrated in the catalogue reflected design elements of Roman Gladiators' clothing, medieval knights' armor, nineteenth century European military uniforms, and some designs were pure fantasy.

The manufacturer vouched for the quality of each of the items with short prefacing statements:

All the Coats are lined throughout and are beautifully ornamented with stone sets, metal studs and solid embroidery in colors.

Leggings are all well lined and ornamented with metal studs, as illustrated.

Helmets are all made with flexible frames, with front shield and comb shaped, as illustrated, ornamented with metal studs, thread lace and colored embroidery.32
As the prospective Odd Fellow progressed through the next Degrees of Brotherhood and Truth, he met more costumed characters, some taken from the King James version of the Holy Bible, some from Greek and Roman mythology, and some invented for dramatic purposes. Two such fabricated roles were the Altar and Ark Bearers. Apparently, there was some concern about the validity of including these characters in the ritual because an explanation in the catalogue states:

Costumes illustrated herewith are historically correct. They are the exact reproductions of the old Jewish robes worn by the Cohens or Lesser Priests, and the officers whose duty it was to carry the Altar and the Ark. According to Biblical description, the proper color of these costumes is white and they will always be made so, unless otherwise ordered.33

The Altar and Ark Bearers illustrated in the catalogue each wear an unadorned long robe, a turban, sandals and are shown with long hair. The catalogue offers each style of robe and turban in choices of six different fabrics. Robes and turbans are sold separately. Each style of wig is offered in “good quality” for a cost of $2.10, but for an additional sixty-five cents either wig could be purchased in “fine quality.” A notation here refers the reader to page 83 for descriptions and prices on sandals and hose.

Typically, a lodge appointed a Regalia Committee and a Degree Team who worked with a sales representative from a regalia company to select a set of regalia. The regalia company then customized the wardrobe components for each
lodge. (Figures 7.3, 7.4) According to the catalogues, the company fabricated the costumes only after they received the order. The text of the catalogues encouraged the committees to purchase complete sets of regalia, so that as soon as a lodge received the goods from the company, it could perform every ritual in the monitor. Lodges purchased only those items that they wanted or could afford, and they could "mix and match."

The manufacturer fashioned tunics and robes from brightly colored, textured fabrics, and embellished them with embroidery, appliqués, braid and metal studs. They styled these pieces as straight, T-shaped, unfitted garments which hung from the wearer's shoulders. The higher-quality, more expensive garments were lined with cotton or linen, and had twill-tape belts and ties on the inside, so the garment could be adjusted to fit men of different sizes. Decorative belts and sashes also helped achieve a fit.

Less expensive versions of the robes, made from cheaper fabrics were brightly colored, had fewer embellishments, and were not lined. However, these inexpensive robes also had the twill-tape belts and ties on the inside. The garments usually closed at the center back and fastened with buttons or hooks and eyes.

The presence of so many costumes for each role, and so many non-essential roles suggests that costumes and characters (such as The Lad and The Ark Bearers) were
Figure 7.3  Odd Fellows Encampment Ritual Costumes
Figure 7.4  Odd Fellows Encampment Ritual Costumes
The M.C.Lilley & Co.

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created to provide an opportunity for as many men as possible to participate in the dramatic enactments and to wear costumes. That roles were invented by the regalia house suggests that rituals requiring ever more costumes were intended to generate product demand.

The Knights of Pythias

From Roman Legend to Medieval Tale

Clothing has been a part of the Knights of Pythias from the time it was founded. Justus Henry Rathbone freely acknowledged that his inspiration for the Knights of Pythias ritual was a popular contemporary drama written by John Banim, based on the legend of two Roman men each of whom was willing to sacrifice his life for the other. Banim’s play was first produced in England in 1821, and copies were available to amateur theater groups, for small royalty fees. Rathbone served as the stage manager for a local dramatic association which had performed the play. He was familiar with the drama and the story line.

The idea presented itself to me one day while reading over the play at the school-house. It occurred to me that there was an excellent foundation in the story of Damon and Pythias for a fraternal secret society. The high type of friendship therein portrayed seemed to me to be the basis upon which such a society could and should be established.
His original ritual included a version of the story to illustrate the moral of brotherly love and fidelity. When he wrote the ritual in 1864, Rathbone invented titles for officers of his fraternity which he believed reflected the nobility of the characters in his ritual. Every lodge had a Venerable Patriarch, a Worthy Chancellor, a Vice Chancellor, a Banker, Scribes, Guides and Stewards. As these brothers advanced through the ranks, and moved up to positions in Grand and Supreme Lodges, they added prefixes to their titles, such as Past Venerable Patriarch or Grand Recording Scribe or Supreme Vice Chancellor. Rathbone prescribed a set of regalia for every titled position, consisting of an apron and a collar in designated colors, marked with emblems of rank. As a man's position changed, he was entitled to wear a different set of regalia.

In May, 1866 the governing body of the first Grand Lodge of the Knights of Pythias appointed a committee to design regalia for its members which would distinguish them from members of subordinate lodges only. They debated the issue of regalia throughout that summer, and finally decided upon an apron. Later, when the Grand Lodge adopted an apron designed by Past Chancellor King as regalia for subordinate lodges, some Grand Lodge members objected, citing the possibility that subordinate lodge members might be mistaken for Grand Lodge members. Understanding that clothing was an indicator of status, the Grand Lodge then appointed a
committee "to get up a design for working regalia for the [subordinate] lodge." That committee fulfilled its duty with dispatch.

The following was established as the working regalia of Subordinate Lodges: for Knights, plain red collar; Esquire, yellow collar; Pages, blue collar; for officers, plain red collar, with movable insignia of office upon them; for V[enerable] P[atriarch], plain black collar, with Bible in metal upon it. It was resolved that the apron regalia (which they opted to retain) should never be worn in the lodge room, except in visiting or receiving sister lodges, official visitation, and funerals.

Two weeks later, on August 20, 1866 a special session convened and established the apron as the official regalia of the Grand Lodge only. The discussions continued into November when three officers "were appointed a committee to procure the officers' rosettes and emblems." The committee did its job well, incorporating into the Constitutions for Supreme, Grand and Subordinate Lodges the specifications for new regalia. The text detailed descriptions of aprons, collars and sashes for each rank, and forbid entry into any lodge meeting without the appropriate prescribed clothing. (See Appendix B) The constitution specified color, style, size, shape, fabric and material, trim and embellishments for every item of clothing worn by Knights when sitting in the "Castle Hall" (lodge).

As hundreds of thousands of men became Knights of Pythias they were not content to just go to lodge meetings and to wear only collars and aprons. The rituals were...
constantly revised, and each revision called for more and different types of regalia. By 1872, the simple aprons had been discontinued, supplanted by new, much more elaborate regalia.

An expose published by a disgruntled former Knight in 1878 revealed the extent to which clothing and regalia dominated the workings of subordinate lodges. When a Castle of the Knights of Pythias convened, the first duty of the Chancellor Commander was "seeing that the members are clothed in proper regalia, or insignia of the Order" before the meeting was called to order. Then, the Outer Guard was obliged to "see that the brethren clothe themselves in proper regalia" in the ante-room, before they enter the lodge room. Next, the Inner Guard's duties "are to allow no brother to enter the Lodge who is not clothed in proper regalia or insignia and who does not give the correct raps and passwords." And all this was necessary just to conduct a business meeting, before any rituals were performed.

The initiation ritual for the first or Initiatory Rank of Page required the candidate to remove his coat and vest in the anteroom and to don a white robe, while the Chancellor Commander and the rest of the lodge "clothed themselves in their Masks and Black Robes." Throughout the initiation rite, scripted questions directed the candidate's attention to his apparel, asking, "Stranger, clad as you are, is this your desire?" and "Master at Arms, why is the
stranger brought before me in this garb?" The official form of the ritual required at the conclusion that the Master at Arms remove the white robe ceremoniously, and invest the candidate with his own coat and vest. The acts of donning and removing even normative clothing were considered sacred parts of the ritual. After the lodge officers delivered the lectures and lessons the candidate received the secret sign, grip and password. The Master then invested the candidate with the proper regalia. In the case of the initiatory rank, he received a black and white apron (before 1872) and a blue collar.

For the Armorial or Esquire rank the initiate wore his blue Page’s collar until he had completed the degree work, after which he received a yellow Esquire’s collar. The initiation into the third rank, that of Knight, entailed much more activity. The candidate wore a helmet, shield, baldric, belt and sword during the initiation ceremony. He then participated in a bit of play-acting intended to test his bravery and loyalty to the brotherhood. At the end of this ritual, he received a red collar, and he was entitled to wear his own helmet, baldric, belt and sword, along with a ceremonial apron (before 1872).

At the 1872 annual session, the Supreme Lodge considered carefully the ritual of this Third Rank with its theatrical quality and acknowledged that additional regalia was a key to bringing in new members. They "amended,
perfected and amplified the ancient and chivalric form of the Third Rank, Knights of Pythias." In this new version, the degree ritual became a dramatic reenactment of the legend of Damon and Pythias. But where the original play and legend was set in ancient Syracuse, the new ritual had an undefined, medieval setting. The Lodge officers and the initiate assumed roles, as a cast of characters in a play. Originally, the characters in the Banim play had included Dionysius who is a ruler or king; his advisors Procles, Philistius and Damocles; citizens of Sparta Lucullus, Damon and Pythias; several Roman senators; a few servants and a host of Roman guards and soldiers. In the new ritual the titles changed, as the Chancellor became the King, a Past Chancellor became Pluto and other officers became councilors. The revised ritual specified

The King and Councilors should be clothed in full uniform of the Order, or in suits of armor - all being either visored or masked. The Knights and visitors are seated as usual around the room, masked and in black robes or uniform of the order.

As the drama proceeded the character of Pluto was dressed in a suit of silver mail, cavalier cloak of black, trimmed with silver lace, suspended from left shoulder, helmet similar to that worn by the herald Mercury; and sword.

Later, the Chancellor Commander appeared dressed in a scarlet robe, with a white cross upon his breast, a gilt crown upon his head and a gilt cross, as a sceptre, in his hand.
The candidate’s role involved working with his clothing, as he wore a white robe and sandals, and during the course of the ritual he removed the sandals, and later put them on again. The script made allegorical references to the clothing, such as the “bright armor of Truth and Virtue,” referring to the Councilors. At the conclusion of the scripted play the new Knight donned the “proper regalia of the Third, Chivalric and Honorable Rank of Knight.” In fact, he put on his red collar.⁴¹

The effusive descriptions of some of the clothing implies that garments were fashioned of metal, which seems very impractical. Actually, companies such as The M.C.Lilley & Co. used a fabric which they advertised as “armour cloth.” Armour cloth consisted of a napped or brushed cotton fabric with a scalloped pattern printed in metallic ink to simulate the metal leaves of medieval armour. They made tunics, coats and cloaks of armour cloth, and helmets were covered with this distinctive fabric. (Figure 7.3) The M.C.Lilley & Co., Pettibone Brothers and Henderson-Ames all used this fabric for fraternal regalia, most often for Knights of Pythias and Odd Fellows characters.

The Regalia committees of the Grand and Supreme Lodges, and the men who re-wrote the rituals did not leave a record of where they intended to procure the clothing they so vividly described. However, Carnahan noted that one of the...
Pettibone brothers advised the Knights of Pythias regalia committee,42 and VanValkenburg confirmed that when the Ohio Grand Lodge of the Knights of Pythias was constituted in 1869, just five years after the founding of the order, the First Venerable Grand Patriarch of Ohio was none other than Henry Lindenberg, one of the owners of the M.C.Lilley & Co.43 By 1872 a number of manufacturers, including The M.C.Lilley & Co., which were mass-producing fraternal regalia and costumes were also engaged in helping the societies determine the prescribed regalia.

It is not unreasonable to suppose that through Henry Lindenberg’s influence, The M.C.Lilley & Co. contributed to the early design of both the ritual regalia and the performance regalia of the Knights of Pythias. The company manufactured regalia as early as 1872. Catalogue No. 82, Knights of Pythias Lodge Paraphernalia and Costumes, published sometime after 1880, and reissued periodically through the 1890s, confirms that the company did make and market a complete line of regalia and clothing for the Knights of Pythias.

As use of clothing gained favor with the membership, the governing bodies granted subordinate lodges and state Grand Lodges some latitude in selecting additional regalia for their lodges. The manufacturers provided a choice of such items. The M.C.Lilley & Co. made a sash for Knights of Pythias to wear over normative dress, for lodge meetings or
for parades. (Figure 7.5) Not part of the regalia prescribed by the Grand or Supreme Lodges, artifacts such as this sash were designed by the regalia houses, and offered to subordinate lodges as special identifiers. Items such as this gave a fraternity brother something personal and tangible which bonded him to his home lodge as well as announcing that he was a Pythian Knight. And it certainly was colorful.

Like the Scottish Rite and the Odd Fellows, the Knights of Pythias had moved from ceremonial rites with ritual clothing to theatrical productions with costumes.

Costumes Without Rituals

Some of the later and smaller fraternal orders were organized for pure entertainment purposes, and did not attempt to convey any noble and serious messages of friendship, truth, brotherhood or religious commitments. Nevertheless, they claimed to be fraternal orders, and they enacted plays which called for costumes. M.C.Lilley & Co. recognized and served the clothing needs of these non-ritualistic fraternities with a delightful catalogue of character costumes.

Unlike the beautiful costumes made for the elaborate ceremonial productions of the large fraternal orders, these costumes were very inexpensive and cheaply made, similar to
Figure 7.5 M.C. Lilley & Co. Regalia for Knights of Pythias
Oilcloth parade sash, Armour cloth helmet,
Gauntlets and shoulder straps for Subordinate Lodge of the
Uniform Rank
Nevada State Museum
Halloween costumes sold today. The outfits often included masks, wigs and accessories. Most were offered in "silesia," a lightweight twilled cotton usually reserved for linings and pockets. But the customer had a choice of "better" and "fine" fabric also. The catalogue noted that "These costumes can be used in any degree or entertainment . . . [and] are suitable for burlesque side degrees, etc. . . they are neatly made and adjustable to any size." 44

Recognizing that not all fraternal lodges had sufficient funds for elaborate and expensive wardrobes, this catalogue also offered some inexpensive costumes which could be used for Scottish Rite, Odd Fellows and Knights of Pythias dramas. Egyptians, Turks, Goliath and an evil Mephisto could be ordered for less than ten dollars each.

As the Great Fraternal Movement gained momentum, fraternalism grew in two directions. First, the established orders, Freemasonry and Odd Fellowship added new branches and ranks along with increasing total number of members. Second, hundreds of new fraternal societies appeared on the scene. Pythian Knighthood set the example for these new societies, also adding branches and ranks while building membership.

While the leading fraternal orders still conducted serious initiation rituals, and continued to use clothing which had sacred connotations -- aprons, gloves, sashes and collars -- ritual enactments became increasingly more
theatrical. Much of the clothing used in rituals was in fact costume. Because the dramas were representational ritual, fraternal members still regarded the clothing as regalia, with some sacred connotations. The costumes were not considered clothing for play or amusement. The brethren who acted the parts in the dramas enjoyed participating in the theatrical performances, but they understood that the dramas had a serious purpose, to impart the allegorical messages of the fraternal degrees. They considered the costumes as part of the ritual, and regarded the clothing with respect.

For those societies which had no serious purpose, but which were clubs that parodied rituals, the clothing was purely costume, and had no sacred connotations whatsoever. Catalogues issued by the regalia houses advertised and promoted both forms of costume, along with aprons and sashes and collars.45

As fraternalism became a major social movement, it employed ever-more clothing. Fraternities, both old and new, serious and frivolous, constituted a market for the products of regalia manufacturers such as The M.C.Lilley & Co., Purveyors of Regalia and Society Goods.

But ritual garments and costumes represented only two forms of regalia. A third form of clothing - the most extensive, pervasive and commercially profitable form of fraternal regalia - was military-style uniforms.

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NOTES

1 The M.C.Lilley & Co., List No. 35 Descriptive Catalogue of Masonic Supplies for Lodges (Columbus, Ohio 1879).

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.


5 Biographies of Albert Pike include: Brown, A Life of Albert Pike; Tresner, Albert Pike, The Man Beyond the Monument; and Fox, The Lodge of the Double-Headed Eagle.

6 Albert Pike, Liturgy of the Blue Degrees: of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry for the Southern Jurisdiction (1877; reprint, Kila, MT: Kessinger, 1996), 16.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid., 153.

9 Ibid., 4.5.

10 Ibid., 18.2.

11 Ibid., 25.5.

12 Charles T. McClenachan, The Book of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry: containing instructions in all the degrees from the third to the thirty-third, and last degree of the rite. Author’s Edition. (New York: J.J. Little, 1885), 8.
13 Ibid., 72.

14 Ibid., 100-101. Compare this description to the regalia Webb described for his thirteenth degree, The Elected Knights of the Ninth Arch, in Thomas Smith Webb, The Freemason's Monitor; or, Illustrations of Masonry: in Two Parts (Salem: Cushing & Appleton, 1812), 240.

15 Ibid., 214.

16 Ibid., 390.

17 McClenachan, Book of the Scottish Rite (New York: J.J. Little, 1885), 421.

18 Ibid., 422.


20 McClenachan, Book of the Scottish Rite, 443-44.


22 Clawson, “Spectatorship and Masculinity,” 54.


24 Brockman, Theatre of the Fraternity. Brockman’s exhibition and catalog documented the manner in which the American Scottish Rite transformed fraternal rituals into theater.

Valley of Columbus Scottish Rite, taped interview with the author, 20 April, 2000, Columbus, Ohio.


28 The M.C.Lilley & Co., Catalogue No. 178 Odd Fellows Regalia (Columbus, Ohio nd), 3.

29 Beharrell, Monitor, 50-52; Howard, Oddfellowship, 38-50.

30 The M.C.Lilley & Co., Catalogue No. 178 Odd Fellows Regalia (Columbus, Ohio nd), 55.

31 Ibid., 63.

32 Ibid., 54-55.

33 Ibid., 80.


35 Ibid., 270.

36 Carnahan, Pythian Knighthood, 136.

37 Ibid., 131.


39 Knights of Pythias Illustrated: A Full Illustrated Exposition of the Ceremonies of the Three Degrees of the Subordinate Lodge (Chicago: Ezra A. Cook & Co., 1880), 4-95.

40 Ibid., 45-101.
41 Ibid., 45-54, 71-77.

42 Carnahan, *Pythian Knighthood*, 528.


44 M.C.Lilley & Co., *Catalogue 134 Burlesque and Specialty List* (Columbus, c. 1905).

A spirit of militarism engulfed the American population in the early 1870s, and fraternal societies embraced this spirit by creating a series of uniformed ranks.

All the leading fraternal orders had militaristic ranks for their membership. A number of the new secret societies based their ritual, regalia and fraternal activities around military themes. Fraternal regalia in the form of uniforms was the most visible manifestation of militarism.

Some secret societies added military ranks with the announced intentions of serving as volunteer militia to supplement federal armed forces, if needed to defend the nation and to quell civil disorder. While the fraternal military branches were never called upon to exercise any actual military functions, they frequently drilled, marched, paraded publicly and wore their uniforms.

Militarism manifested in the use of uniforms as regalia increased fraternalism's popular appeal and swelled membership. Men by the thousands joined secret societies with the express purpose of entering the military ranks.
They wanted to wear uniforms, to march to stirring music and parade before cheering crowds.

**Militarism and Uniforms**

Alfred Vagts\(^1\) defined the notion of militarism and suggested some valid reasons for the popularity of the military ranks of the secret societies during the Golden Age of Fraternalism.

Militarism is different from the military way. Militarism as a concept does not represent a love of war or bellicosity; it is a way thinking that values military institutions and ways of life above the ways of civilian life. A counterpart of civilianism, militarism values the military mentality and modes of acting and decision-making; and it carries those values into the civilian sphere.

The military way, on the other hand, is defined as a concentration of personnel and materials committed to achieving specific objectives of power with maximum efficiency and minimum expenditure of resources. The military way is limited in scope, confined to a singular function, and has scientific qualities. It appeals to a small segment of society, those who are ambitious for power, wealth and control.

Militarism consists of an array of customs, interests, actions and thought associated with armed forces and with
war, but which transcend true military purposes. **Militarism**
is often created history, romantic in nature, and
constructed from memories of past successes, glories,
victories and achievements, real or fabricated, in order to
preserve them. **Militarism** flourishes in peacetime, and in
time of war is subsumed by the military way.

Vagts believed that the militarism which manifested
itself in late nineteenth century America appealed to men
who felt isolated by a society that was increasingly
industrialized and urbanized. In a workplace that lacked
congeniality and comradeship, where greed and corruption
dominated the highest levels of business and industry, men
had little opportunity to achieve recognition, glory and
honor. The military ranks of the fraternal societies
"re-erected the state of knights and saints," and gave
average men an opportunity to be noble and honorable.

Men found respite from poverty and relief from an
impersonal world in the processions in which the
equal step, the music, the bands, the mass
chanting drown out, temporarily, the dissension of
ordinary life . . . it was an illusion overtaken
by a large sector of the American male population
known as joiners, comprising not only ex-soldiers
but marchers called by knightly names and bearing
knightly insignia.

One behavior which most clearly defines militarism is
the wearing of uniforms. Within a group, a uniform is an
honor garment which transfers to the individual the accrued
glory of the group. A uniform confers upon the wearer the
prestige and honor of the group, and provides a symbol of
the group toward which the public may demonstrate its attitudes.4

According to Vagts, militarism flourishes where corresponding forms of organization exist. The fraternal orders were precisely such organizations. They had tiered levels of membership and established chains of authority. They conducted their activities in accordance with pre-determined formulae. They emphasized comradeship within established hierarchies, and they invented mythical worlds with Biblical-feudal-military settings populated by heroes. It is not surprising that militarism flourished within fraternalism.

Militarism was one of the most appealing aspects of fraternal membership, and the first requisite of membership in a fraternal military orders was a uniform.

Uniforms as Fraternal Regalia

After the Civil War, fraternal societies fulfilled social needs which had been served previously by other organizational forms. Prior to the War, a popular form of male sociability was membership in militia units, both government funded and private. For a variety of reasons, after the War these groups disappeared.5 Because Southern State militias had formed the core of the Confederate Army, Congress was reluctant to again provide funds for armed
troops at the disposal of state governments. The government-sponsored volunteer militia system in America all but vanished.\textsuperscript{6}

The social features which had made private militias so popular before the War -- regular meetings for men only, shared adventures, banquets and balls, public displays wearing colorful clothing -- all were now offered by fraternal orders. As men by the thousands joined the secret societies, private militias disappeared. And so did the opportunity for men to publicly display patriotism and nationalism.

As appealing as they were, fraternal orders in the 1860s lacked one important attraction. With the exception of the veterans’ groups, fraternal orders did not offer men the opportunity to proclaim their patriotism. The quasi-religious nature of Freemasonry and the social and beneficial emphasis of Odd Fellowship and other fraternities at that time left little opportunity for expressions of patriotism. And American men after the War craved opportunities to openly demonstrate their patriotism, loyalty and nationalism. As a spirit of militarism spread across American society, the fraternal orders both old and new soon realized that a focus on militarism, with parades and uniforms could provide those opportunities, and would draw men to their organizations. Uniforms changed the appearance of fraternalism in America.
Militarism appealed most strongly to younger men. The private militias of the pre-Civil War years had provided physical, social and emotional outlets for young men. But by the mid- to late 1870s, young men who came of age after 1865 had no such outlets. They were too young to have served in the active armed forces, state militias were all but defunct, and volunteer militia groups had gone by the wayside. The men who had been too young to participate in the Civil War wanted the social and emotional benefits of a shared military experience. These same young men were the "joiners" of the Great Fraternal Movement in the decades following the close of the Civil War. These young brothers promoted the establishment of military ranks within the fraternal orders.

Confirming Vagts' analysis of militarism, fraternal historian Henry Stillson suggested an explanation for the strong desire of younger fraternal brothers to wear uniforms and to participate in militaristic activities. He explained that after the Civil War veterans from both the North and the South, wishing to "perpetuate the glories" and "recount the excitements" of their military experiences, formed fraternal veterans organizations which met regularly and held colorful annual encampments. Stillson said that through such organizations these men passed on to their sons a love of military display which later was manifested in the military ranks of the fraternal societies. Stillson based
his argument in part on remarks by John H. Albin, Past Grand Master and former Judge Advocate-General of the Patriarchs Militant. Albin editorialized that the push for an acknowledged military branch of Odd Fellowship, with official uniforms came from younger men in the fraternity, and especially throughout the Middle and Western states.9

They had witnessed the formation and growth of many semi-military organizations, where the brilliant uniform, the band of music, and an attractive street parade made a splendid appearance in public. They had attended balls given by similar organizations in full dress and glittering uniforms. The military spirit which had come down to them, as a result of the civil war, had tended to develop and strengthen a desire for military display.10

Stillson’s (and Albin’s) argument has merit, although evidence suggests that some expressions of militarism existed to a limited degree within fraternalism before the Civil War ended.

The most visible aspect of militarism is clothing -- uniform coats, trousers and capes; belts and baldrics which support ceremonial weaponry; distinctive hats, gloves and footwear; and decorations and accessories such as shoulder straps, epaulettes, chevrons, buttons and buckles. Some fraternal orders used such regalia even before the onset of the Great Fraternal Movement. After 1880, uniforms replaced aprons and sashes as the single most identifiable feature of fraternal membership.

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Freemasonry and Militarism

Since the late eighteenth century, the Masonic fraternity has included a militaristic order, The Knights Templars. As the higher degrees of Freemasonry were organized into Rites, the Knights Templars became the highest level within the York (sometimes called the American) Rite. The Knights Templars were a small group, elite and very exclusive. Consistent with Vagts' description of militarism, the Knights Templar styled itself a feudal-military organization and based its rituals on legends of the medieval Christian crusaders.

This haute grade had a distinctive uniform, and its members proudly participated in civilian public events such as building dedications, cornerstone ceremonies, funeral processions, escorts for prominent citizens and patriotic parades. Knights Templars were particularly visible at events where other Masons appeared publicly in groups, wearing their traditional aprons and sashes.

Official Masonic monitors and ritual guides devoted considerable attention to the design, components and appropriate display of the uniform. Early nineteenth century American Knights Templar regalia was a variant of standard Masonic regalia - a white leather apron trimmed in black and adorned with gold-tasseled black ribbons, a black sash decorated with Templar symbols, and a small Templar
Cross pinned to the front of a shirt. A Templar uniform always included a sword.

By 1860, the uniform of an American Knight Templar was much more elaborate, with characteristics of both medieval chevaliers and European military officers. From the 1860s forward, the uniform of the American Knights Templar changed very little. The elegant cape, sash and apron worn by a Templar in Nevada around 1915 is typical of Knights Templar regalia during the Golden Age of Fraternalism. (Figure 8.1) Most Commanderies used (and still use) the plumed bi-corn chapeau that has become an identifying feature of the Order. (Figure 8.2)

The Odd Fellows' Patriarchs Militant

Early Odd Fellows fraternities looked with disfavor on public displays of regalia, and there was no place for militarism in that fraternity until well after the Civil War. Over time some members and lodges opted to wear their aprons and collars publicly, first in funeral processions, and later at balls and in ceremonial and patriotic processions. Grand Lodges in 1841, 1848 and 1855 made incremental revisions to fraternal legislation and by 1865 the Grand Lodge agreed that it would “not prevent lodges or Encampments from joining in public processions in regalia.”

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Figure 8.1  Knights Templar Regalia, circa 1916
Nevada History Museum
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Figure 8.2 Knights Templar Chapeau, The M.C.Lilley & Co.
The Ohio State University Historic Costume and Textiles Collection
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For a number of years, leaders of Odd Fellowship debated and discussed the propriety and desire for public display of military-type regalia. Many who joined the Encampment after the Civil War had served as officers in the Army. They were familiar with military regalia, with marches and drills and patriotic displays. These ex-officers were now setting policy for the Patriarchal Branch, the highest degree of the Encampment order of Odd Fellowship. These fraternal leaders favored the adoption of "an improved regalia" consisting of chapeaux, swords, belts, gauntlets, crooks and military paraphernalia.

Apparently, there was little objection from the Supreme Council to the swords, belts and gauntlets; and the shepherds' crooks were a visual reference to the Order's ritual based on stories of Biblical patriarchs. Crooks were acceptable regalia. However, various factions in the Grand and Subordinate Lodges argued for years about appropriate headwear. Traditionalists within the fraternity especially objected to hats which had military connotations.

Records of Grand Lodge sessions throughout the 1870s are filled with resolutions and proposals and memorials relating to uniforms and regalia. News items from The Odd Fellow's Companion in 1875 indicate that mid-Westerners and Westerners favored the militaristic activities. When the Grand Lodge of Minnesota met in Minneapolis on June 2 of that year, one thousand Odd Fellows paraded, and
seventy-five of them were “uniformed Patriarchs in procession.” A new Encampment Branch in Pioche, Nevada was “on substantial a footing . . . having a good set of regalia and not owing a dollar,” and the “Cincinnati Encampment is flourishing . . . [the] Cincinnati Drill Corps and Union Battalion expect to soon have their uniforms.”

Some Easterners also favored militaristic fraternal units. With the approaching Centennial Celebration in 1876, Encampment branches in Philadelphia organized a battalion, and urged their members to equip and uniform themselves in order “to give prominence to the Patriarchal Order” during the festivities. Without sanction from the national governing body, members of Encampments organized themselves into semi-military groups and paraded publicly in military-type uniforms, as early as 1875.

By 1877, the Grand Lodge authorized Encampments to wear uniform regalia for public events. Membership records and financial reports proved beyond a doubt that military-type regalia was an enticement for men to join the fraternity. Further, the practice of lodges purchasing the required regalia and selling it to members at a mark-up was profitable for subordinate and Grand lodges. Practical leaders perceived militarism as a positive influence for Odd Fellowship.

Finally, in 1882 the Sovereign Grand Lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows authorized Grand
Encampments to institute uniformed degree camps for uniformed patriarchs and to confer a separate Uniformed Degree on Odd Fellows holding the Royal Purple Degree of Encampment. This degree ultimately became the Patriarchs Militant degree in 1885.

Without question, the men who pushed to create the Patriarchs Militant wanted a semi-military organization with uniforms. The name, Patriarchs Militant, was defined as "a peaceful ruler serving as a soldier." Rank and file members were titled chevaliers - a European term for horse soldier; the order had a "battle-cry of action - 'pax aut bellum'"; subordinate units termed cantons were organized into battalions, regiments, brigades, divisions, and "the army at large embraced the entire rank and file of the Patriarchs Militant." Officers bore military titles, with the Sovereign Grand Commander designated as the Commander-in-Chief. A full complement of generals, commanders, lieutenants, majors, captains and combinations thereof gave every member ample opportunity to advance his status within the organization. At last, Odd Fellowship had a militaristic branch, and each officer needed a uniform which communicated his rank.

As early as 1872 Odd Fellows had sources from which they obtained their military regalia. By 1884, The M.C.Lilley & Co., and certainly other regalia firms had been manufacturing and marketing military-type regalia for Odd
Fellows for some time. But the Committee which created the Patriarchs Militant Rank in 1884 devoted special attention to the matter of designing uniforms.

A committee of three representatives to the Grand Lodge was appointed to

construct the Uniformed degree ritual, so as to make it acceptable, and accompany the same with all of the legislation necessary to put it into successful operation . . . so far as all matters of regalia, military tactics, and everything relating thereto were concerned.18

None of the original committee members had any real military experience, so a former U.S. Army Officer, Representative Underwood of Kentucky, was appointed to this committee. He was responsible for all military matters relating to this degree, including furnishing the military commands which were inserted into the ritual, and preparation of the uniform. Underwood "called to his assistance Brother James Pettibone, of Ohio, a gentleman admirably fitted for the position, to aid him in the preparation of the uniform."19

Pettibone was one of the owners of The Pettibone Bros. Regalia Manufacturers of Cincinnati, one of M.C.Lilley & Co.'s chief competitors. In 1875, the same James Pettibone had served on a regalia committee for the Knights of Pythias, and had designed a helmet for that fraternity's regalia.20 No doubt, the presence of a regalia manufacturer on the regalia design committee influenced the committee's product, to the benefit of the regalia industry. It is
reasonable to presume that Pettibone suggested and perhaps promoted designs that could be readily produced and profitably sold.

In recounting the history of the Patriarchs Militant, Stillson affirmed the concern that this committee had for regalia.

Great expense and labor were expended in designing [the uniform], and the fraternity at large are under great obligations to these two [Pettibone] brothers, they having produced the finest and most attractive street uniform that ever has been adopted by any organization. It is a uniform that has become a matter of pride to every Odd Fellow who, as a member of the Patriarchs Militant, is entitled to wear the same. The legislation establishing this uniform, -- including all the insignia of rank, the various gradations of officers, form the lowest to the highest, with the fullest possible details as to banner, colors, markers, jewels, sword-knots, sashes, gloves, buttons, and saddle-housing, -- is laid down in this code with the greatest care and minuteness, and is in force to-day.21

By 1885, the Independent Order of Odd Fellows firmly established the Patriarchs Militant Rank in the fraternal movement. The first canton of thirty men "mustered in" on September 21 of that year.

The success of the Patriarchs Militant is indicative of the role of militarism in the Great Fraternal Movement. In order to receive the Patriarchs Militant degree, a man had to advance through the first five degrees of Odd Fellowship, and then through the three higher ranks of Encampment. The Patriarch was responsible for purchasing his own uniform, once he had received the degree. Time and money were

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necessary for fraternal participation at this level. Nevertheless, "at the end of the first year, the Patriarchs Militant army embraced three hundred and fifty-seven cantons, with an active membership of some fourteen thousand."22 Eight years after its adoption this military branch of the IOOF claimed membership of 23,426 in six hundred and seventy-two cantons. The total amount of money that passed through the Grand Lodge for the purchase of uniforms was estimated at $1,161,970.29, and another $44,378.02 was spent for banners, flags and other regalia and supplies.23

The Uniform Rank of the Knights of Pythias

Justus Henry Rathbone founded the Knights of Pythias after the Civil War with the intention of creating a militaristic organization. Within thirty years, it was the third largest fraternal society in the United States. "The Founder [of the Order] proposed to place it on a semi-military basis, patterned in a certain degree after the knighthood and military organizations of the age of chivalry."24 Justus Rathbone and his associate founders admired both the Masonic fraternity and the Odd Fellows. But their intention in forming a secret fraternal society was to establish a brotherhood based on military principles, not on principles of philosophy or altruism. The founders
acknowledged that they modeled their Order on the two older fraternities, but emphatically denied that the Knights of Pythias was an "offshoot or branch from Masonry or Odd Fellowship." Carnahan protested that Pythian Knighthood was more militaristic than fraternal, noting that the first Pythians chose "rank," a military term in place of "degree" to designate levels within the fraternity.25

Rathbone's first three ranks were Page, Esquire and Knight, and he called these the Chivalric Ranks. By 1870, the Knights of Pythias had thousands of members, some of whom raised the question of establishing a higher degree. Enamored with the rituals and mindful of the appeal of militarism, representatives to the Supreme Lodge meeting in 1872 took steps to develop a Uniform Rank, available only to men who had attained the rank of Knight within the fraternity.26

By 1877 a committee completed a ritual with accompanying regalia and the Uniform Rank of the Knights of Pythias was adopted. Grand Secretary Carnahan made clear the importance of this event:

The establishment of the Uniform Rank marks the beginning of the era of permanent prosperity for the Knights of Pythias. In the uniform Rank we show to the world a complete military organization, systematically officered, thoroughly drilled, that might in case of need be utilized as a means of untold good for the defense of the national government, and with credit to the Order.27
Carnahan viewed the Uniform Rank as an opportunity for the Order to move in a different direction from fraternal and benevolent activities. He and his fellow Pythians constituted this branch in order to "create military men out of civilians." They viewed their Order as a trained militia, ready at the call to perform any needed type of military action.

Sir Knights of this Rank have entered a determined protest against the designation of "semi-military" as applied to them, and are striving to make it the military body not only of the Order but of this continent, next to the army of the United States, after which it is patterned.28

One of the most important issues in forming this Rank was determining the appropriate regalia. The prescribed regalia adopted by the Supreme Lodge in 1872 consisted of a "cap, baldric, sword, belt and cuff." But this did not satisfy the thousands of Knights who chose to dress up and parade. They

wore baldrics of velvet, plush, silk and leather . . . blue and yellow . . . from the dark indigo blue to the lightest possible shade of that color, and so of the yellow, varying from the deepest and most pronounced yellow of the Yankee pumpkin, to the lightest cream color . . . while the swords were of all possible patterns and designs. It was a uniform with absolutely no uniformity.29

In 1880 Supreme Chancellor Woodruff complained that the style of clothing and color of materials worn by the Knights not infrequently bordered on the burlesque; that having lost the distinctive features of a uniform, the order was being ridiculed and discredited. Jonathan Van Valkenburg, later
to become Supreme Chancellor in 1886, expressed similar concerns about clothing and regalia.

It has never been compulsory to uniform, and since the organization of the Uniform Rank, the old Knight's uniform has been almost entirely cast aside.

The want of some appropriate distinctive regalia for Knights, to be worn on public occasions, is very generally felt and recognized, and it is to be hoped that the Supreme Lodge will take the matter under consideration as early as possible. As it is now, it is almost impossible to induce members of the Subordinate Lodges to turn out in public, and loss of zeal and interest, and a falling off in membership, is the consequence in many localities.

The very essence of this fraternal order, indeed even its survival depended on the design and use of regalia. Subsequently, the committees wrote strict guidelines pertaining to dress and clothing and regalia. The fraternity published books illustrating the regulation uniform for subordinate lodges in 1884. This uniform consisted of a set of accessories which could be worn with or over civilian clothes. (Figure 8.3)

That same year, the Supreme Lodge revised the General Laws for the Uniform Rank, devoting all six pages of Article XII to describing mandated clothing for every position in the Uniform Rank, including coats, trousers, chapeaux, helmets, gauntlets, gloves, epaulets, shoulder straps, chevrons, aguillettes, and sashes. All these items were in addition to the belts, baldrics and swords that were part of the subordinate lodge uniform.
Figure 8.3 Regalia for the Uniform Rank Subordinate Lodge
Knights of Pythias
Selected paragraphs from Section 4 of Article XII illustrate the importance of clothing to this fraternal Order.

COATS. -- All officers above the rank of Captain shall wear the double-breasted frock-coat, made of blue-black cloth, the skirt to extend from one-half to three-fourths of the distance from the hip down to the bend of the knee; standing collar not less than one nor more than two inches in height, to hook in front at the bottom, slope thence upward and backward at an angle of thirty degrees on each side, corners rounded; cuffs three inches deep to go around the sleeves parallel with the lower edge, and with three small buttons on the under seam; pockets in folds of the skirts, with two buttons on the hip and one at the lower end of each side edge, making four buttons on the pockets of the coat.

For Major-General. -- The coat for Major-General shall have two rows of gold buttons on the breast, nine buttons in each row, placed in groups of threes; collar and cuffs of the coat to be of dark-blue velvet.31

The laws set down equally detailed descriptions for every item of clothing for every single rank and office in the fraternal order. Sword belts were to be made of "Red Russia leather," and the braid on chevrons was to be "gold, one-eighth inch wide."

Once the regalia of the Uniform Rank was firmly established, The Knight of Pythias grew in size and stature to become the third largest fraternal order in America. At the 1888 Supreme Lodge Knights of Pythias of the World the Supreme Keeper of Records and Seals reported that as of December, 1887 there were 3,015 subordinate lodges with 208,949 members, representing a net gain during the calendar year of 292 lodges and 23,961 members. The fraternity was
solvent with $24,000 in the treasury, $4,000 due from Grand Lodges, all accounts settled in full to date, $5,500 worth of supplies on hand and paid for, and $204 in outstanding liabilities. Carnahan attributed this remarkable success to the Uniform Rank, whose members were so focused on wearing military regalia.

the Uniform Rank had increased in numbers and grown in popular favor even beyond the fondest anticipations of its most ardent friends. One peculiar fact is this: the Order in general had grown and prospered most in those Grand Jurisdictions where the Uniform Rank had received the most attention and encouragement.

In many instances new lodges were organized and instituted through the direct and special efforts of the Sir Knights, and then immediately after the institution of the lodge, a Division of the Uniform Rank was instituted, and in not a few instances where persons were first attracted to the Order by the Uniform Rank, men went into the work of organizing a lodge for the express purpose of securing a Division of the Uniform Rank, realizing that the lodge of Knights of Pythias was the only door through which they must pass to attain the Military Rank and wear the Uniform of this fraternity.

Militarism Displayed

The governing bodies of both the Knights of Pythias and the Odd Fellows desired the fraternities to grow. They recognized that providing men the opportunity to wear military-type uniforms was one key to growth for the orders. Other fraternalists shared this viewpoint.
Many of the new secret societies that proliferated after the 1870s were unabashedly militaristic. Rituals with costumes drew men into fraternities in large numbers. But uniforms for parades guaranteed a continued active membership and a viable society.

Even as the ritual clothing and theatrical costumes for the various societies were similar, so were the uniforms. The basic elements of all fraternal society military regalia consisted of caps for subordinate lodge members, chapeaux for officers and members of higher ranks, plumed helmets, belts, sashes, baldrics, swords, epaulets, shoulder straps, gloves with decorated gauntlets, and metal buttons and buckles. These accessory items could be worn with or over plain black or dark blue suits, which most men already owned.

For parade units, drill teams, and lodges established as strictly military organizations members could purchase single- and double-breasted frock coats with matching trousers trimmed with side stripes. Each knight or brother purchased his own coat and trousers, which were finely tailored to individual specifications. Men ordered their uniforms through the lodge regalia committee, and paid for them through the lodge treasurer. Catalogues distributed to lodge officials included illustrated instructions on how to measure before ordering a garment.
As with the costumes, the manufacturers made both uniforms and component parts available in a wide selection of materials ranging from the finest and most expensive worsted woolens lined with silk, to cheaper quality fabrics such as serge and broadcloth, unlined or lined with cotton.

Clothing was of such importance to these military units that members sometimes dressed in special uniforms just for practice sessions. Practice uniforms for "drills and fatigue use" consisted of broadcloth or flannel shirts, and doeskin or broadcloth trousers, available in four different qualities and price ranges. Unlike the personally owned dress regalia, lodges purchased and retained ownership of sets of practice garments. These uniforms were part of the lodge regalia, as were the degree costumes. 36

Design elements distinguished uniforms for different orders. Color of accessories, emblems applied to the clothing, stamped onto buttons, buckles and pins affixed to the uniforms identified the fraternal order, such as "three links" for Odd Fellows, or the double-headed eagle for Scottish Rite drill teams. Pythian Knights wore plumes of blue, white and yellow, the fraternity’s colors.

Parade units, drill teams and marching units often wore billed caps for practice session or when sitting in lodge session. For public displays in parades and ceremonies, they wore steel helmets, some with spikes or plumes on top.
Almost every officer carried a ceremonial sword ornately decorated with emblems of the fraternity.

As the Golden Age of Fraternalism flourished, parades of brothers at conventions in major cities became a frequent occurrence. To the non-initiated, it was often difficult to tell one fraternal order from another. But meetings of Grand or Supreme lodges were always gala affairs, providing fabulous entertainment for the attendees and the local populations alike. Stirring martial music performed by brass bands in smart uniforms accompanied high-stepping drill teams, also in smart uniforms. Color guards with flags and banners interspersed the marchers. Brass buttons and silver buckles sparkled, and colorful plumes waved atop steel helmets and outlandish bi-corn chapeaux. Such parades often involved thousands of men, and lasted for hours.

A Pythian Parade

In documenting the history and literature of the Knights of Pythias, James Carnahan provided a superb description of one of the more memorable biennial meetings of the Supreme Lodge of the Knights of Pythias. The event, and Carnahan’s memory of it typifies the spirit of militarism that engulfed fraternalism as the end of the nineteenth century.
A parade highlighted the Supreme Lodge convention on June 13, 1888 at Cincinnati. Carnahan described the event as a "moving mass of over six thousand men in dazzling uniform, joined by over two thousand brothers clothed alike, but without the military trappings." In addition to the marchers that day, twenty-eight military bands and four drum corps added to the splendor of the occasion. A cheering crowd of over one hundred thousand watched for more than three hours as wave after wave of The Uniform Rank of the Knights of Pythias marched in a line extending over one and a half miles through the heart of Cincinnati, Ohio.

Carnahan wrote his history in 1904, at the peak of the Great Fraternal Movement. Relevant to militarism, his editorial comments are even more revealing than his descriptions of the parade.

It was a magnificent sight from the head of the column to look back and see that splendid body of men, with the flags and the banners of the Order and Rank Flying in the breeze. Citizens they were, it is true; not trained soldiers . . . but they were of that class of men who enjoy the military exercise, love military study, and throw their whole hearts into it, making the highest and best type of soldiers when needed -- the American citizen soldiers, who can be trusted in all emergencies to perform their whole duty, and do it well.

He claimed that everyone watching that parade must have "had a greater feeling of safety and confidence" knowing that the Order had educated young men in the principles of
Friendship, Charity and Benevolence, taught them the virtues of Honor and Purity,

while to these is added an education that makes it possible to intelligently defend the home circle, and preserve and perpetuate the Republic. In the military branch of the Order we are erecting a bulwark of safety for 'home and fatherland.' And this will be true for every land in which it is established, loyalty to one's own nation being one of the great principles of true Pythianism.39

A leader in the fraternal movement, Carnahan saw the fraternity as the embodiment a nationalism, and he apparently believed that the fancy dress uniforms made soldiers of the wearers.

During the course of the parade in Cincinnati, various groups competed for recognition by executing intricate drills using swords and rifles. The parade committee awarded ribbons, banners and small cash prizes to the winning divisions and battalions. This form of group recognition served to make the Uniform Rank even more popular. After the Cincinnati parade in June, 1888 until June, 1889, the Uniform Rank added one hundred and nine new divisions to their roster, and Carnahan said,

The honors conferred on the Uniform Rank have been shared by the Order in general, and through the prominence of the Uniform Rank the subordinate lodges have been enabled to increase their membership throughout the length and breadth of the Supreme Jurisdiction.40

In the same manner that the Patriarchs Militant Rank generated growth for the Odd Fellows, so the Uniform Rank

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generated growth for the Knights of Pythias. Men wanted to own military uniforms and to wear them publicly.

The amazing amount of ornate, elaborate regalia used in these demonstrations represented a significant investment in clothing products. But lodges did not intend to make this investment from the organization's funds. A Sir Knight of the Uniform Rank was obliged to buy his own regalia. The Supreme Lodge meeting in convention at Toronto in 1886 spelled out the uniform requirements in a series of additions and amendments to the by-laws of the fraternity.

Decision 3 itemized the types of parades and public events at which Pythian Knights could wear their uniforms, explaining that "the purpose of such decision was intended to prevent the Uniform Rank from making itself too common." Decision 8 mandated that every new initiate to the Uniform Rank "must be fully equipped in the uniform of the Rank." If, after initiation a man desired to be put on the retired list [inactive], he must retain the uniform of the rank and wear it when attending meetings and funerals. Paragraphs 3, 4 and 5 of Decision 9 reconfirmed that no applicant could be initiated to the Rank unless he was the owner of and dressed in the full uniform of the Rank; that any Sir Knight lending his uniform to a candidate for the purpose of initiation is guilty of a violation and could be court-martialed; a Sir Knight could wear his uniform only in parades of the Uniform Rank, and "under no circumstances can he be permitted to
loan it, or any part of it, to one who is not a member of the Uniform Rank, for any purpose whatever.\textsuperscript{41} Decision 14 confirmed that there was but one legal uniform, that new members should purchase the Rank uniform as defined in the by-laws; and Decision 16 said that "the Uniform Rank must be conferred on the candidates by the Division in \textit{full dress uniform}. This includes helmets and plumes. There is no exception to this law." Yet again, in Decision 23, the committee ruled that all members of the Uniform Rank must own and keep in their possession a full dress uniform, whether they are on the active or retired list. If a Sir Knight was without his uniform for more than thirty days he was suspended from the division.

After these decisions were approved, the Supreme Lodge then amended the Constitution to establish a Standing Committee on Law for the Uniform Ranks, assuring that any changes to these new regulations had to be approved by the men who first devised them. The intended outcome of these stringent rules was that every man who wished to wear a uniform and parade with the Knights of Pythias had to purchase his own uniform, to the specifications of the Supreme Lodge and of his own subordinate lodge. Further, he had to order the uniform through the Committee of his own lodge, who then purchased the uniforms through the Grand lodges.
In the same way that Grand Lodges earned revenues by selling lodge supplies to subordinate lodges, so Grand Lodges earned revenues by selling uniforms and regalia. Subordinate lodges also earned a percentage of the sales of uniforms. With this arrangement, the Decisions of the Supreme Lodge of 1886 served the best economic interests of the regalia manufacturers.

The parades encouraged men to join to fraternal orders so they could wear uniforms. The fraternal orders required each man to purchase his uniforms before he joined, and he could not loan his uniform to prospective or new members. As more men joined, more uniforms were needed. The uniforms were sold at a mark-up through the lodges. As membership increased, demand for regalia increased, the fraternities made money, and so did the manufacturers of the regalia. A single convention parade, impressive as it was, only hinted at the extent of the industry that produced and sold fraternal regalia.

Beginning in the 1870s, as fraternalism became an outlet for expressions of militarism and displays of nationalism and patriotism, the militaristic ranks created a huge demand for military clothing and accessories. The fraternal supply houses were only too happy to oblige. Fraternal military regalia was a most lucrative product line for the regalia houses. Consequently, they actively participated in promoting militarism within fraternalism, in
order to increase use of military clothing by the fraternal orders.

Manufacturers regarded the regalia committees as their target market. Representatives of the regalia firms were members of the fraternal orders, and worked with the committees of the Grand and Supreme Lodges to determine the style, design and composition of fraternal military regalia.

Regalia committees in subordinate and Grand Lodges determined the style, color and decorative elements of the uniforms, and also set rules and regulations about when and where and how the uniforms could be worn. Individuals, not lodges owned fraternal military uniforms, and only the man for whom a uniform was made wore that uniform. While this kind of regalia had great personal and symbolic meaning to the wearers, but uniform regalia was considered more secular than sacred.

As the Great Fraternal Movement surged forward, the suppliers of fraternal regalia grew into a distinct industry with a narrowly defined market, with specialized but diversified product lines, and unique marketing techniques. From the 1870s forward, the regalia houses, as the source of ritual clothing, costumes and uniforms, became an integral part of the Great Fraternal Movement.
NOTES


2 Ibid., 23.

3 Ibid., 444.


6 Ibid.

7 In recounting the construction of the ritual for the Patriarchs Militant rank of IOOF Stillson noted that none of the members of the Committee which created the Ritual had any actual military experience. The Grand Sire added Mr. Underwood, from Kentucky, to the Committee expressly because he had served in the armed forces and was familiar with military procedures. Ridgely’s history of the debates in the early 1870s leading up to the adoption of uniforms as regalia for the Encampment Branch, consistently differentiates between the “older men” who objected to public displays of regalia and to uniforms in general, and the “young men” who desired to wear uniforms and to parade publicly. Henry Leonard Stillson, The Official History of Odd Fellowship (Boston: The Fraternity Publishing Company, nd), 693-696; James L. Ridgely, History of American Odd Fellowship: The First Decade, (Baltimore: by the author, by the authority of the Grand Lodge of the United States, I.O.O.F, 1878).
8 Stillson, *History of Odd Fellowship*, 668.


10 Ibid.


12 Ibid., 114.


15 *The Odd Fellow’s Companion*, August, 1875.

16 Ibid.


18 Ibid., 694.

19 Ibid., 697.


22 Ibid., 699.

23 Ibid., 701-2.


25 Ibid.

26 Ibid., 246.

27 Ibid., 526.

28 Ibid., 527.
29 Ibid., 529-30.


31 Ibid., 142-149.


33 Ibid.


36 Ibid.

37 Ibid., 400-403.

38 Ibid.

39 Ibid.

40 Carnahan, *Pythian Knighthood*, 476.

41 Ibid., 481.
Clothing in the form of ritual garments, theatrical costumes and militaristic uniforms was an impetus for the phenomenal growth and spread of fraternalism. The sustained growth of fraternalism demanded large quantities of affordable, standardized, non-normative items of dress, available in every city, town and village of the United States and its territories. The clothing had to conform to predetermined designs; it had to be adaptable to a wide range of sizes; it had to be durable to withstand repeated use; and it had to accurately convey the messages of the secret societies, both for the wearers and the observers. The secret societies needed special, standardized clothing in huge amounts.

This need became apparent at the same moment in history when managerial capitalism evolved, and changed the nature of business in America. The M.C.Lilley & Co., initially a small proprietary business, became the largest firm of its kind by adopting the principles and using the techniques of
managerial capitalism. They met the clothing needs of the fraternal orders, and made huge profits.

As in other industries, new technology made possible the success of the regalia industry. Mechanized factories powered by steam and electricity changed America’s urban landscape. The telegraph system linked every city in the nation and in the territories. Railroads spanned the continent and reliable postal service guaranteed parcel delivery. These developments permitted mass production and mass distribution of standardized items of dress.

New methods of conducting business made mass production and mass distribution profitable. The regalia industry exemplified by The M.C.Lilley & Co. was industrial and managerial capitalism tailored to serve a social movement.

Columbus, Ohio 1870 to 1910

The early history of this company reflects the course of many businesses in the latter half of the nineteenth century. No single aspect of this company’s history is unique to businesses of its time. The mid-western urban setting provided the ingredients for a successful manufacturing and mail-order operation. The physical, social and economic environment and the labor market in Columbus, Ohio favored a successful business.
Prior to the Civil War, Columbus was home to several large, heavy manufacturing firms that made steel fittings, machinery, castings, and parts for steam engines and pumps. A number of light industries produced furniture; suitcases; stamped metal work; processed wool; boots and shoes; leather straps, belts and reins; and some ready-to-wear clothing items such as hats, hoop skirts and gentlemen’s clothing.\textsuperscript{1} Telegraph lines had been operating in Columbus since 1847, and the postal service was well-established,\textsuperscript{2} as were railroads.

During the Civil War Columbus developed as a center for the manufacture of tools and farm implements, and for the manufacture of military clothing.\textsuperscript{3} By the time the war ended in 1865, the city had an existing labor force already familiar with large-scale production techniques, and with some of the products that the regalia house would eventually make. Further, the city had basic communication and transportation services in place which were adequate to conduct trade and commerce with distant markets. For the next five years, Columbus grew in size and population, and Columbus industrialized.

1870 was a benchmark year for this city. Henry Hunker defined this date as a turning point in the city’s history. It was also the year that The M.C.Lilley & Co. redefined itself as a purveyor of fraternal regalia.

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From 1870 to 1910 the population of Columbus, Ohio quadrupled.\textsuperscript{4} For several decades following the Civil War the city experienced a sustained economic upswing. The boom-and-bust cycles that disrupted the economy in some of the large industrial cities in these years made a relatively small impact on this community.

Hunker credited railroad expansion with three factors that resulted in what he termed the Evolution of Industry in Columbus. "The nature of market and raw material accessibility changed appreciably during the thirty years from 1870 to 1900."\textsuperscript{5} Expanded rail service between Columbus and southern Ohio facilitated access to the coal, iron ore and lumber in that region. Specifically, the Hocking Valley Railroad and the Columbus and Ferrara Rail lines, controlled by Columbus capital, brought coal, iron ore and lumber into the city.

Rail connectors opened up markets for manufactured goods in Toledo, Detroit, Indianapolis, Chicago, St.Louis and points west. The Baltimore and Ohio carried finished goods such as furniture, dry goods, boots and saddlery to East Coast markets. Columbus became a jobbing center, with sixty-seven firms engaged in wholesale trade by 1885.

Expanded railroads also brought people to Columbus. Mostly European immigrants, particularly Germans in the 1880s, and some native-born Americans from the war-ravaged South came to this city to enjoy the employment
opportunities. The growing population included a significant number of reliable, experienced industrial workers who were available to manufacturing interests.

In the early 1870s, natural gas from southeastern Ohio was piped into Columbus, lighting city streets and powering steam engines in factories. Railroads made the canal system obsolete for transportation, but the canal and river systems continued to serve the city well as a source of water for industrial operations and for steam power used by the factories.⁶

As industrial enterprises prospered, local investors capitalized a variety of insurance, banking and utilities ventures. Throughout the Gilded Age and well into the Progressive Era, the city of Columbus had a pool of capital available for local investment.

These events encouraged industrial growth, and manufacturing firms in this city multiplied, increased in size and prospered in the years from 1870 to 1910.

Business and Fraternalism

In 1870, the founders of the M.C.Lilley & Co. had affiliated with all of the leading fraternal orders. On the firm's twenty-fifth anniversary, the company historian remarked that

One of the causes of the success of this company has been the fact that Messrs. LILLEY, SIEBERT,
HENRY and CHARLES LINDENBERG, were active members of the leading benevolent societies, such as Free Mason, Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias, etc., and they brought to the business an intelligent knowledge of the needs of such societies in the way of paraphernalia.

John Siebert and Henry Lindenberg in particular were deeply involved as charter members of a number of secret societies. This involvement assured that they had full knowledge of the regalia needs of lodges, and of changes in Grand and Supreme Lodge constitutions that pertained to the use of regalia.

John Siebert, who had been an Odd Fellow with Henry Lindenberg in 1858, advanced beyond the original three degrees in this fraternity and joined the Encampment Rank. He was a charter member of Columbus Encampment 135 when it was instituted in May, 1871. He was also a charter member of Columbus Lodge No. 3 of the Knights of Pythias, instituted in 1869, and a charter member of the Druids Central Grove Lodge No. 32 instituted in 1872. Upon his return from military service, he had joined the Grand Army of the Republic and the Loyal Legion, both veterans' fraternal societies.

Three fourths of the management of The M.C. Lilley & Co. participated in chartering Knights of Pythias Lodges on May 17, 1869! On that same day, Columbus Lodge No. 3 was instituted with John Siebert as a charter member. Henry Lindenberg, along with his brother Charles and another brother Philip were all charter members of Germania Lodge
No. 4 Knights of Pythias, instituted at the same time. (The name suggests that this lodge was worked in the German language.) The three Lindenberg brothers also were charter members of the Right Worthy Grand Camp of Independent Order of Knighthood, organized on November 11, 1870. Apparently, this was a side order of the I.O.O.F. This was a new fraternal order, and was short-lived (its last session was held in October, 1872). Nevertheless, it was a secret fraternal society, and significantly, the principles of The M.C.Lilley & Co. were founding members.

Henry Lindenberg was a very active fraternalist. In addition to his membership in the Odd Fellows, he was an early member of the Knights of Pythias. When that fraternity constituted a Grand Lodge in Ohio in July, 1869 Henry Lindenberg was the first Venerable Grand Patriarch.10 Henry Lindenberg was also considered “a leading member” of the Masonic fraternity.11 Further, Henry was a “corporator” (founding member and major investor) in The Odd Fellows’ Beneficial Association, incorporated in July, 1872.

Commitment to fraternalism extended beyond the owners of this company. H. P. Gravatt, who succeeded Henry Lindenberg as editor of The Odd Fellow’s Companion in 1875, was a charter member of Odd Fellows National Lodge No. 509, and was elected Vice Grand for 1873. W. R. Hazlett, who later worked for The M.C.Lilley & Co., served as Grand
Patriarch of the Ohio Grand Encampment, and he instituted Buckeye Encampment No. 148 in 1872.12

From Small to Big Business

From 1870 through 1879, The M.C.Lilley & Co. was a visible presence in downtown Columbus, Ohio. The firm occupied the four floors of the High Street Building. Now a large variety of goods were being manufactured, adding thereto yearly, until in 1879 they occupied most of the two adjoining buildings . . . and could extend no further. Yet, the business continued to grow, and they were now making every grade of Lodge supplies, and regalia and paraphernalia of every description, from the plainest to the most elaborate, and it was decided to build the factory on Gay Street, 100 x 52 feet, four stories and basement.13

Even as the company moved into large-scale manufacturing, making and selling furniture along with regalia, they continued to publish fraternal literature. They used the publications to create markets for their products and to promote use of regalia.

The format and content of The Odd Fellow's Companion changed little in the first ten years. But after 1875, the space devoted to fiction decreased, and the number of pages devoted to news of Odd Fellows lodge activities increased. Reports of gatherings, parades, parties and meetings always included effusive descriptions of the clothing and fraternal regalia worn by participants. The publication featured lengthy articles about Grand Lodge proceedings and
amendments to constitutions and by-laws. Financial reports and membership figures assured that the Odd Fellows was a thriving organization.

From 1872 to 1877, the governing bodies of the Odd Fellows had been arguing the question of authorizing military-type uniforms and granting uniform rank degrees. By 1877, the issue was settled when the Grand Lodge authorized the Encampment Rank to wear uniforms and parade in public. The regalia houses immediately stepped up production of military regalia for the rapidly growing Encampment Rank. The M.C.Lilley & Co. in particular was closely identified with Odd Fellowship, and had given much editorial space in their publication to the debate over uniforms. They were quick to take up manufacturing and marketing of the military regalia.

That same year, 1877, the United States experienced its first national labor strike. Beginning in the mountains of central Maryland and spreading west through Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri, railroad workers first slowed, and then stopped entirely the east-west movement of all rail traffic in July of 1877. Without a doubt, labor issues were the cause and focus of this incident, but the strike created repercussions in a number of other areas. After the strikers returned to work, public officials expressed concern that local law enforcement agencies had been unable to deal with labor violence; that few national guard troops
were available, and those that were had been unable to secure private property and maintain domestic tranquillity. The federal government responded by increasing financial support for state militias. With federal assistance, a number of state governments revived their state militias. And the militias needed uniforms to outfit their volunteers.

These events occurred at the same time that Americans were seeking ways to publicly demonstrate patriotism and nationalism. Years later, Frank Baxter explained

In the year 1877 the military spirit of the country, which had been surfeited during the late unpleasantness, and had lain dormant for twelve years; began to revive, and the various State governments began the task of re-organizing the militia of their respective commonwealths. State after State authorized the organization of uniformed companies and regiments, and issued arms and equipment's furnished by the general government, leaving, however until recently, to each organization the task of procuring its own uniforms and the glitter and pomp so dear to the citizen soldier.

The M.C.Lilley & Co., of Columbus, Ohio . . . at once made arrangements to meet this growing demand for Military and Band Uniforms and Equipments, and applying the same conscientious and faithful attention to the wants of their customers, and the strict integrity which had heretofore led to such pre-eminent results to this then new branch, have succeeded in building up . . . the largest and most extensive military house in the country, far exceeding their most sanguine expectations.14

Baxter's noble story intimates that the M.C.Lilley & Co. early on became a supplier of uniforms to government military organizations, and that this was the source of their profits and prosperity in the late 1870s. Catalogues,
publications and records from state agencies suggest that the company did not secure any contracts for military uniforms until well into the 1880s. And even then, government contracts were not their primary source of business. The M.C.Lilley & Co. was first and foremost a supplier of fraternal regalia.

Baxter correctly identified the spirit of militarism that swept the country. This spirit most assuredly invaded the fraternal orders in 1877 and led to the growth and expansion of militaristic fraternal ranks at the same time that the state militias were re-activated. The fraternal military ranks were the market that the M.C. Lilly & Co. served so well. The company made and sold thousands of uniforms, complete with accessories, fittings and ceremonial weaponry to fraternal lodges from coast to coast. Not only the Odd Fellows, but the Knights of Pythias, the Knights Templars, Knights of the Maccabees and Knights of the Golden Eagle all needed military regalia.15

A manifestation of their militarism, many fraternal lodges organized marching bands to perform at parades, and concert bands to perform at balls and dinners (this WAS the age of John Philip Sousa and Johann Strauss!). The bands required uniforms which were different from those of the rank and file fraternal members, and different from the officers. Advertisements and promotional information from the late 1870s indicate that the company "exceeded their
most sanguine expectations" by making and selling regalia for fraternal military ranks and bands.\textsuperscript{16}

While they were expanding their product lines, and making great profits from fraternal clothing, newspapers and periodicals continued to be an important part of this firm. In addition to publishing \textit{The Odd Fellow's Companion} and the revived \textit{Der Odd Fellow}, in 1871 they advertised and sold subscriptions to \textit{Heart and Hand}, a national weekly newspaper for Odd Fellows. Sometime in the 1870s they added a publication for the Knights of Pythias, \textit{The Knight}.\textsuperscript{17} They also advertised and sold printed matter from other publishers, including \textit{Webster's Unabridged Dictionary},\textsuperscript{18} and publications from other Masonic publishing houses.\textsuperscript{19}

The May 1871 issue of \textit{The Odd Fellow's Companion} reveals the sales technique that the company established early in its life. Charles Lindenberg had a staff of traveling salesmen. Seven men were listed as "traveling agents" and "brothers are cautioned not to pay money on our account to any but the above agents, or to the local agents whom they know."\textsuperscript{20} Only six years old, the company had a sales network through which they intended to market their fraternal products.

In the late 1870s The M.C.Lilley & Co. acquired a competing publication, \textit{The American Odd Fellow}. Founded in 1862 by John W. Orr, a Past Grand of New York Odd Fellowship, this monthly magazine billed itself as "the
official organ of Odd Fellowship." The first issue of this periodical informed the readers that the editors received their information from "correspondents" in the subordinate lodges, and they invited contributions.

Apparently subscription fees were not sufficient to sustain this business, because by 1872 the paper was owned by the A.O.F Association, of which Mr. S. A. Law Post was the Secretary and business manager. Post was an active Odd Fellow, and since 1862 had been a dealer in Odd Fellows regalia. Under Post's management, The American Odd Fellow became an advertising and promotional vehicle, with published rates for column space. By 1872, the last fifteen pages of the paper were devoted to paid advertising. Regalia dealers and manufacturers from New York, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania promoted their products in The American Odd Fellow. Retailers and manufacturers who were Odd Fellows touted their wares -- fraternal publications, books and magazines, some household goods, a lot of patent medicines, hats and gloves and ceremonial swords. Printers, engravers and photographers advertised their services, and The Covenant Mutual Insurance Company advertised life insurance for Odd Fellows.

Publisher Post solicited agents to sell magazine subscriptions, and offered premiums, in the form of merchandise at reduced prices, to persons securing prepaid subscriptions to The American Odd Fellow. Would-be salesmen
were enticed with the promise of affordable silver tea sets, a dictionary, watches and knives, a sewing machine or washing machine or clothes wringer, even a melodeon or a piano or a parlor organ, if only they would sell those subscriptions!

The entrepreneurial Mr. Post announced that he maintained an advertising register, and this also was for sale, the equivalent of today’s mailing list! By the time the M.C. Lilley & Co. acquired this periodical, the notion of using a fraternal publication as an advertising medium and to promote the sale of products was well established. 23

In the fall of 1879 the two publications merged. The new masthead named the periodical The Companion with which is consolidated The American Odd Fellow: A Monthly Magazine for Odd Fellows and their families.” 24 H. P. Gravatt, Grand Master for Ohio Odd Fellows, was the editor.

Content of the new magazine hinted that The M.C. Lilley & Co. wished to continue Law Post’s aggressive approach to marketing. Charles Lindenberg sought to expand his network of sales agents. From October 1879 through February 1880 the same advertisement ran:

We are desirous of securing the services of good, active canvassers to sell our I.O.O.F., Masonic and K of P charts, books &ct., to whom exclusive territory will be given. Popular prices and good discounts allowed. There is money in it for you. Address, M.C. Lilley & Co., Columbus, O. 25
Fraternal periodicals continued to form a communications base for The M.C.Lilley & Co., and contributed to the company’s expansion. A thinly veiled marketing ploy is evident in news articles that encourage the use of regalia. In a monthly column entitled “Entertainments,” short articles describe lodge functions in each state. Several write-ups note gifts of elaborate, specially ordered regalia, such as collars and sashes given to illustrious members as mementos and gratuities. The garments were purchased from The M.C.Lilley & Co.26

The spring and summer of 1881 signaled an increase in publishing activities. Not content with the acquisition of The American Odd Fellow, the firm launched a new fraternal monthly - The Masonic Chronicle. The publishers promised the readership that they would “make The Chronicle as interesting as possible to all jurisdictions, by giving, so far as we can, a faithful report of all items of public interest of each and every Lodge, and branch of the Order.”27 This periodical intended to reach Freemasons of every level, in every state and territory.

In August, 1881, the Odd Fellows publication again changed its name, to The Companion and all reference to its predecessor was dropped. The format changed to a large tabloid layout, and S. C. Chorlton, M.D. succeeded Mr. Gravatt as editor. To underscore the new approach, the numbering system was revised and the August 1881 issue is
Volume I, Issue 1. That same month the company released Volume I, Issue 1 of *The Masonic Chronicle*, also a tabloid, with the same page layout, paper size, type fonts and decorative borders as *The Companion*. Dr. Chorlton was editor of this periodical as well.

By 1881, The M.C. Lilley & Co. was a multi-faceted business, engaging in some of the activities that characterize industrial capitalism. Task specialization was evident as areas of responsibility were separated, identified and named. Correspondence was directed to The Military and Band Department or the Shipping Department. The periodicals were prepared by The Editorial and Publications Department.

Owner Henry Lindenberg no longer engaged in the daily operations of the magazine; he hired Dr. Chorlton as a professional editor, and Frank Baxter was on staff as a full-time writer. The similar physical appearances of the two monthly periodicals suggest a deliberate plan to increase efficiency by using standardized tools and supplies. Using the same paper stock, type fonts and steel-cut engravings for both journals decreased production costs, and provided economies of scale, even in this relatively small operation.

The new techniques proved profitable. The owners of the little fraternal publishing house on South High Street, who had claimed that they made no profits at the end their
first year, soon became wealthy. The combination of publishing and manufacturing for the fraternal market generated capital, and two of the founders explored new avenues for their capital and their business acumen.

Mitchell Lilley invested in street car lines, and in 1873 was president of the Capital Building and Loan Association. John Siebert also entered the banking field and was president of the Ohio National Bank while serving as vice-president of The M.C.Lilley & Co. Siebert also was a principle investor in Columbus' first successful electric utility, The Edison Light & Power Co. Henry and Charles Lindenber also became very wealthy, but they focused their energies on the regalia business and remained active in the management of The M.C.Lilley & Co. until their deaths.

Confirming that 1881 was a time of new beginnings, the inaugural issues of both The Companion and The Masonic Chronicle carried the same news item:

In order to accommodate their immense and rapidly increasing business, Messrs. Lilley & Co. have been compelled to seek larger quarters. They have therefore commenced to erection of a new building, which they will push on to completion as rapidly as possible. The proposed edifice will have a frontage of 100 feet, a depth of 50 feet and will be four stories in height; and when finished will be, we believe, the largest and best appointed building in the country devoted to their line of business.
The Gay Street Factory - Ornament to the City

As the M.C. Lilley & Co. moved into their new building in April, 1882, the company exhibited a concern for structure, orderly planning and efficient operation. The Evening Dispatch sent an inquiring reporter to tour the new facility, and his subsequent feature article proclaimed the new factory and office building "an ornament to the city, and a busy place where uniform methods prevail."³³

In the April 1882 issues of both The Companion and The Masonic Chronicle the editor described the new facility floor by floor, department by department. The Dispatch article is almost identical to the company's own stories, but it also provides employment figures which offer some additional information about the importance of clothing in the regalia industry at this time. Charles Lindenberg, as the general manager of the firm escorted the newspaperman on a tour of the factory, beginning in his own office.

Commencing on the lower floor, we found an elegantly appointed office, where fourteen clerks were busy, each having a distinct and separate desk. . . we arrive[d] at the salesroom, adjoining which is the packing room. In these departments eight persons are employed.

On the second floor we were ushered into the sewing room, where we found 109 young ladies at work, and in close proximity another room containing 29 ladies employed in embroidering different articles with silver, gold, silk and other material. Passing from this room we enter the cutting room, where two gentlemen are engaged in preparing the cloth and other articles for the
Here, the writer noted that he inquired about the firm’s expenses. Apparently, bookkeepers were on hand with the requested information, because the reporter was amazed that annual expenses for the printing department alone exceeded $3,600.00. He commented that “Evidently, these gentlemen believe in advertising!” This remark suggests that the reporter assumed that all the printed matter, subscription magazines as well as catalogues, was promotional media. And perhaps he was correct.

The tour continued on to the third floor where thirty-two employees manufactured metal buttons, badges and emblems, and engaged in electroplating with gold and silver. Also on the third floor, seven leatherworkers made belts, scabbards and “military equipments.” The largest room on the third floor was reserved for the tailor shop, employing twenty tailors making “uniforms for College, Society, Band and Military purposes.” The fourth floor housed a millinery shop “where eight persons are engaged in manufacturing military and society hats, the material used being felt, silk and gossamer.” Other workers sewed flags and banners on the fourth floor, and in the Paint Room five men made charts and transparencies. Also on the fourth floor, skilled craftsmen executed several specialty functions, including etching sword blades and carving ivory grips. The basement was reserved for storage. The reporter further
noted that a portion of the basement was reserved for "the secret society work" of the company, an indication of the close identity of The M.C.Lilley & Co. with secret fraternal orders. This statement was misleading. There was no secret work - the basement housed the heavy machinery used for sheet metal stamping, and the main gears and belt drives which moved various machines throughout the plant.

The news article summarized

there are 237 persons, and an immense capital, for the purpose of providing the paraphernalia used by secret societies principally, and as there are in all large cities establishments devoted to the same business, though there is probably none of such size as this it can readily be seen that . . . they are really factors in the prosperity of the country.

In addition to the building on Gay street, Messrs. Lilley & Co. have . . . a wood shop used for the manufacture of chairs, altars, stands, flagpoles, ballot-boxes, etc. Here are employed twelve persons, making altogether the number of employes 249 for whom the weekly pay-roll amount to about $1,900.35

The Evening Dispatch story reported in April 1882 that of the 249 employees, more than two thirds -- sewers, embroiderers, tailors, leatherworkers and milliners -- were engaged in producing regalia that constituted items of dress.

By the time The Masonic Chronicle reprinted the local newspaper story in August 1882, the company had added yet another department, the ceremonial sword-making facility housed in another building adjoining the main factory. For
the next eight years, "additions were made to the premises every year since, until the space now occupied was double what it was in 1882, and the overflow has taken possession of two other near-by buildings."36

The 1887 Report of the State Inspector of Workshops and Factories listed 194 establishments in Columbus, fifty-eight of which employed over forty hands. The M.C.Lilley & Co., with 420 employees was the second largest employer in the city.37

Before 1882, the company incorporated. Apparently after this date Mitchell Lilley was not associated with the firm, but continued to own stock. Some of his thirteen children, numerous grandchildren and their spouses were associated with the firm until well into the 1920s. The other three original founders remained as officers until the death of Henry Lindenberg in 1890. In 1890, Charles Lindenberg was President; John Siebert was Vice-President; William Scarlett, Henry's son-in-law, was Secretary-Treasurer; and Philip Lindenberg, nephew of Charles and Henry, was General Manager. The firm had assumed a mantle of bureaucracy.

After incorporation as "THE M.C.LILLEY & CO.," others who had been active in the business as Mr. PHILIP LINDENBERG, Mr. O.A.B.SENTER, etc. were admitted . . . [Philip Lindenberg] has supervisory control over the entire business, and is ably assisted by Mr. O.A.B.Senter. The business is divided into "Departments" or "bureaus," with a responsible head to each, to whom all matters
connected with his especial department are referred.38

The five named departments identified the target markets for the firm’s products -- Odd Fellows’ Department, Masonic Department, Knights of Pythias Department, Military Department, and Trade Department. Unquestionably, these department heads were actively involved with the fraternal organizations for whom their departments supplied uniforms and clothing.

These “heads of departments” are responsible for the character and quality of all goods sent out by them. They are also largely responsible for the correctness and variety of the designs of the almost innumerable articles of paraphernalia shipped to lodges, societies and individuals.

This assignment of responsibility required that the manager have full knowledge of the rituals in order to know the “correctness” and the “character” of the goods made for a particular fraternal order. The department heads provided quality assurance to the regalia committees of the societies. In turn, the regalia committees had to approve designs that could be produced by the regalia house in a timely fashion at an affordable price.

Company personnel participated in the design of fraternal regalia.

They [the department heads] are also entitled to much of the credit due for the magnificence of many of the robes and other ‘fixins’ used by organizations which come under their departmental control, and which go to make up the extensive catalogues, lists and descriptions sent out from time to time.39
These statements suggest support for the notion that this firm established an interdependent relationship with its clientele, the fraternal orders.

The Silver Jubilee Issue of The Masonic Chronicle, July 1890, celebrated M.C.Lilley & Co.’s twenty-five years in business. The issue listed the company’s sixty-four separate regalia catalogues which were current for the year 1890. Of these, fifty-five were for fraternal orders, four were for band and/or military uniforms, and five were for trade organizations. (The term “trade” refers to uniforms for brotherhoods of railway conductors, locomotive firemen, telegraphers, trainmen and switchmen. See Appendix D for a list of secret fraternal societies for which The M.C.Lilley & Co. made clothing and regalia from 1890 through 1920.)

The M.C.Lilley & Co.’s advertisements consistently boasted that they were “the leading house for military goods”, and that they had contracts for such goods from most of the States to supply their National Guards with uniforms and equipments. However, most of the large regalia houses had contracts with state National Guards - these were not exclusive contracts. The company’s catalogues suggest that they produced and sold more military-type clothing to militaristic societies, rather than military goods to military organizations.

A study of garments produced by M.C.Lilley & Co. from 1895 to 1915 reveals that coats, trousers and parade caps
for National Guard units from Nevada, Missouri and Ohio are identical in cut, fabric and trim to the same garments made for college R.O.T.C. units in Tennessee, for Knights of Pythias drill corps in Nevada and for city fire department dress uniforms in Ohio. Many of the uniforms made and sold by The M.C.Lilley & Co. were the same garment marketed by different departments within the company to different customers.

It is possible that the regalia houses, Pettibone Brothers and The M.C.Lilley & Co. in particular, influenced the regalia committees of the fraternal orders to approve uniform designs which were the same as the government-approved designs for the state militias. It is also possible that, since the individual states could determine the uniforms for their own militias, that representatives of the regalia houses provided the National Guards with designs that they were already producing for the fraternities, and that these designs were adopted by the National Guards. Whichever the case, the material evidence suggests that the regalia houses had a hand in uniform design for both types of organization, and that they targeted the fraternal societies as their primary market. Design and production was standardized, advertising and sales promotion was diversified.

The company continued to grow and expand. In 1890 the company had production units at three separate locations in
the city, they were renting storage facilities on the river docks, and were paying employees to work out of their homes because there was no more space in the building. The owners decided to build yet another factory and office building, larger and more modern than any the industry had seen to date.

The World’s Largest Regalia House

In 1892 The M.C. Lilley & Co. moved into their new headquarters located on the south east corner block at the intersection of Sixth and Long Streets in Columbus, Ohio. This site remained as their headquarters until the company closed its doors permanently in 1951.

The new location was an enormous complex of office buildings, factory buildings, workshops and service and support facilities. Engravings of the complex graced the inside covers of the firm’s catalogues for thirty years, and the company’s logo from 1894 to 1918 claimed that they employed 1,200 people. The engravings were updated from time to time, illustrating expansion and modernization. They help to tell the story of the company.

The main building was five stories tall, built in a hollow square, with a seven-story tower in the center. This building occupied one quarter of an entire city block.
Ground-floor administrative facilities boasted private offices with individual telephones, a separate telegraph room and typewriters for the crew of stenographers. This new building was lighted and powered by electricity, had its own steam heating system with generators which could serve as a back-up power source in the event that the electricity which powered some of the machinery should fail.

The second, third and fourth floors were devoted to the various aspects of garment production. This modern factory had a hydraulic elevator for moving heavy supplies, and sanitary facilities for both men and women were available on all floors, as were as fire extinguishers and fire escapes. 40

Surrounding the main building, six two- and four-story brick buildings housed The Cap Department, the Metal Shop, the Advertising and Publishing Department, the Furniture Department, the Art Department, the Shipping Department, the Suitcase, Bag and Box Department and the Stock Room. The engravings show loading docks with dray wagons waiting to be loaded, stacks of boxes and lumber stored outside and a covered lumber-drying shed. One engraving from the early 1900s shows trolley tracks extending into the loading yard in front of the Shipping Department, suggesting that at one time the company may have had its own freight trolley cars to transport goods to and from the railroad yards. The arrangement of the buildings as depicted in the engravings.
indicates that the plant was designed to facilitate the efficient movement of raw materials and producer goods into the fabricating areas and the efficient movement of finished product to the packing and shipping areas.

This firm did not engage in true vertical integration. There is no evidence that the company at any time owned sources of raw materials or supply, such as cotton or wool producing operations, or fabric mills, or lumber operations or mining and metal processing works.

This firm made not only the clothing for the fraternal societies, it made the metal decorations and fasteners which embellished the garments - buttons, buckles, studs and grommets. It made and sold custom-designed suitcases to hold and store the elaborate and odd-shaped artifacts, such as feathered chapeaux, epaulettes, capes and gauntlets. They made and sold oil-cloth, water-proof covers for parade caps, special brushes for cleaning uniform coats, and brass button boards to protect fabric while polishing buttons. Every item they manufactured was stamped with the distinctive script "The M.C.Lilley & Co."

This firm engaged in international trade, both buying producer goods and selling finished products. M.C.Lilley & Co. sold military regalia to lodges in Australia, Hawaii, Japan, England and Scotland. 41

Well-known for making ceremonial swords, the hilts, fittings, trims and embellishments were manufactured in
Columbus. But some, if not all the blades were imported from Germany. The company also imported wool and cotton fabric from England.\textsuperscript{42} One Knights of Pythias sword, in a private collection, has a Pettibone Brothers hilt, and a blade stamped "M.C.Lilley & Co.," prompting the current owner to believe that the M.C. Lilley & Co. made and sold blades to its competitors. A more likely possibility is that elements of two old swords in need of repair were combined to make one good artifact.\textsuperscript{43}

Product design was coordinated with marketing, so that the purchase of one M.C.Lilley & Co. item led to the purchase of another. The Sword Department fabricated ceremonial swords, while the leathergoods operation made baldric\textsuperscript{s} and scabbards to hold and carry those swords, and the uniform department inserted metal clasps into uniform coats to hold the sword belts. The suitcase department made carrying cases to fit the oddly shaped chapeaux; and they made compartmentalized trunks to hold sets of regalia. All M.C.Lilley accessories were made to be used with M.C.Lilley garments.

These practices intended to facilitate large-scale production and mass distribution of standardized goods, to reduce per unit cost to produce, sell and deliver; and to increase per unit profit on each item sold. However, the company's literature repeatedly states that they did not mass produce or warehouse the clothing. They made regalia...
only as it was ordered. They did, however, mass produce and store buttons, buckles, gloves, gauntlets, shoulder straps, epauletts, and other small items. Further, much of the decorating work in the clothing operation was done by hand, and mass production was not possible. The firm achieved high volume output by employing many hands.44

The firm instituted and employed such managerial tools as inventory tracking, forms, filing systems and personal accountability. A post card dated January 24, 1911 is in fact an advertisement and business record. (Figure 9.1) Addressed to Carl F. Meitzler of West LaFayette, Ohio, the front of the card is a color tint of the engraving showing the factory at Sixth and Long Streets. The message side of the card is preprinted with an identifying form number, space for the date, a message acknowledging receipt of an order, and blank spaces for an order number, the source of the order (Book No. 81 - Catalogue No. 81 is Knights of Pythias Regalia and Lodge Paraphernalia), the department responsible for filling the order, and the initials of the employee who handled the order.

The one-cent postage stamp affixed to the card is perforated with the initials “MCL,” suggesting that the company maintained an in-house mailing operation. The perforated identification served to deter personal use of the company’s pre-purchased postage stamps, in a time before postage meters.

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DEAR SIR:—

We are pleased to acknowledge receipt of your valued order, which will have our prompt attention.

If you write about this order please mention:

Order No. 197 Book No. 81

Thanking you for your patronage and assuring you that it will always be our aim to please you, we are,

Yours very truly,

[Signature]

Dept. MAS

[Stamp: WEST LAFAYETTE OHIO]
As the company expanded, the system of sales agents that Charles Lindenberg instituted in 1865 remained in tact and grew along with the firm. The company had sales agents in almost every state, and maintained sales offices in as many as twelve cities. Over the years, the locations of some of these offices changed, reflecting the success or failure of the various sales agents.

Bestor G. Brown was arguably the company’s star salesman. Brown was the western region sales manager for the M.C.Lilley & Co., operating out of Kansas City, Missouri. Brown’s success as a salesman is attributed to his tireless activities on behalf of the Scottish Rite in Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri and Oklahoma. He was appointed to the various planning committees of lodges and Valleys that were building or remodeling facilities. He collaborated with those committees in recommending the necessary costumes and regalia that the lodges and temples would need, and of course he sold them M.C.Lilley & Co. products.

Around the turn of the century the company ceased publication of the periodicals, and focused on manufacturing. Their sales network was firmly established, and the distinctive black and gold label became synonymous with fraternal regalia and furnishings. The publishing department concentrated on producing catalogues. They no longer needed to advertise their regalia products in
fraternal journals. As the journals were not as profitable as the regalia line, the monthly publications were dropped. This strategy further supports the contention that fraternal regalia in the form of clothing was of primary importance to the fraternal societies, and was the mainstay of this business.

Even without its monthly publications, The M.C. Lilley & Co. actively promoted and encouraged the expansion of fraternalism, even devising new degrees as a means of enlarging markets for the company's clothing products. The inside back cover of Catalogue 143, Costumes, Supplies and Paraphernalia for the Ancient Order of Hibernians is a full-page advertisement for a "Swift New Side Degree."

Along with a few sketches of men in costumes, the text says:

This is it . . Get It! The Sons of Osiris is a New Degree of initiation, with new features to interest lodge members, induce a larger attendance and make meetings more lively and interesting -- A ritual that will put life into your lodge and attract new members.

A Degree Suitable for Any Lodge, society, club or organization. Can be conferred by three of four members. A degree that meets with the approval of all and keeps the candidate "a going" from start to finish.

The Only Side Degree Worth The Money. If you want the best thing out in this line, a ritual that suggests what to do and tells you how to do it, the OSIRIS DEGREE is Just What You Want, and You Should Order Outfit Without Delay.46

The degree is offered in sets of regalia, termed outfits, which include ritual scripts, and costumes for five
named characters. Prices range from $3.75 for the least expensive set (which did not include costumes) to $25.00 for the most expensive, which is described as “very complete.” The small print at the bottom of the page offers advice in securing funds to pay for the outfit.

Send in your Order. You can raise the necessary amount in five minutes by starting a collection among your friends. Try it, pass around the hat. The degree is all right and you’ll not be disappointed in anticipating a merry time in conferring the ceremony.47

In Catalogue 134 Burlesque and Specialty List, which markets a wide range of theatrical costumes, band uniforms and fraternal ritual clothing, three pages are devoted to advertising new degrees and ritual enactments for fraternal societies. In addition to the Sons of Osiris, company offered for sale “The Knights of Athens” in three acts with nine leading characters; “The Bachelors’ Cabal and Spinsters’ Sorosis - A Humorous Melodrama for Lodges and Societies;” and on a more serious note, “The Grand Order of the Orient - An Interesting Side Degree.” Mindful of a lodge’s concern with expenses, but ever ready to sell clothing, the advertisement says

Can be readily put on by any organization, and is a dandy after-ceremony to regular lodge work. This side degree portrays the travels of the pilgrim while in the search of wisdom, and has a fascinating Oriental atmosphere. Can be worked in any lodge room. Most every lodge has costumes that would be suitable. But if you have not, we will gladly quote prices on a complete outfit.48
Not only did this regalia company devise and promote new degrees in order to sell clothing, they created reasons for lodges to purchase special clothing that was not required for either rituals or for public displays. From 1890 forward, as rituals became more theatrical and less participatory on the part of the initiates, lodges formed "degree teams" or "degree staffs," consisting of the men who actually donned the costumes and performed the ritual dramas. The men who served as directors were the team leaders. The Odd Fellows chose to call this ritual director by a militaristic term - the Degree Staff Captain.

Catalogue 178 Odd Fellows Regalia offered a Degree Staff Captain's Uniform. (Figure 9.2)

SOMETHING NEW, NEEDED AND REASONABLE. It adds a great deal to the appearance of the Degree Staff to have your Degree Captain dressed in Full Uniform.50

This research has not determined if these promotional efforts produced the desired results. The Sons of Osiris and the Grand Order of the Orient are not listed in any of the Encyclopedias or Dictionaries of Fraternal Orders. And catalogues from other regalia houses do not offer uniforms for Degree Staff Captains. These promotional efforts indicate that the company sought to broaden markets for their products within their existing clientele, the fraternities; and that they continued to promote clothing as a primary product.

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After the company ceased publication of its journals, it targeted lodge officials and committees for advertising and promotional efforts. M.C.Lilley & Co. sponsored hospitality suites at Grand and Supreme Lodge conventions, and handed out souvenir tokens at smaller gatherings. But it no longer needed to promote its products or its name to the rank and file of the fraternities. Lodges knew that The M.C.Lilley & Co. of Columbus, Ohio was the world’s largest manufacturer of fraternal regalia.
Degree Staff Captain's Uniforms.
SOMETHING NEW, NEEDED AND REASONABLE.
It adds a great deal to the appearance of the Degree Staff to have your Degree Captain dressed in Full Uniform as shown below.

THE UNIFORM IS CUT TO MEASURE.

PRICES
ON THIS PAGE
ARE
NET
NO DISCOUNT

DEGREE STAFF CAPTAIN'S UNIFORM
"T" QUALITY CLOTH.
Blue, Black, Maroon or Green.
R. 126. Coat, closed with concealed buttons, edged all around with black mohair braid; followed by a line of 3/8-inch braid of contrasting color; ornamentation on breast and sleeves in narrow braid of contrasting colors; trousers with braid stripe to match trimming on coat; cap, U. S. Army style, with "Captain" and number of lodge on front in metal; uniform, complete, net $12.30

"L B" QUALITY CLOTH.
Blue, Black, Maroon or Green.
R. 127. Coat, closed with concealed buttons, edged and braidted, as described above; trousers, with braid stripe to match trimming on coat; cap, U. S. Army style, with "Captain" and number of lodge on front in metal; uniform, complete, net $12.35

"A" QUALITY CLOTH.
Blue, Black, Maroon or Green.
R. 128. Coat, closed with concealed buttons, edged and braidted, as described above; trousers, with braid stripe to match trimming on coat; cap, U. S. Army style, with "Captain" and number of lodge embroidered on front in gold bullion by hand; uniform, complete, net $14.95

DEGREE STAFF CAPTAIN'S UNIFORM
"T" QUALITY CLOTH.
White Cotton Duck
R. 129. Coat, closed with concealed buttons, edged all around with black mohair braid, followed by a line of 3/8-inch braid of contrasting color; back seams ornamented to match trousers with braid stripe; four pockets; cap, latest U. S. Army style, with "Captain" and number of lodge on front; complete, net $11.75

"L B" QUALITY CLOTH.
Blue, Black, Maroon or Green.
R. 131. Coat, closed with concealed buttons, edged all around, as above, with braid, trousers with braid stripe; cap, latest U. S. Army style, with "Captain" and number of lodge on front; uniform, complete, net $11.65

"A" QUALITY CLOTH.
Blue, Black, Maroon or Green.
R. 133. Coat, trousers and cap, same description as for "T" Cloth; uniform, complete, net $13.30

Figure 9.2 Degree Staff Captain's Uniform
M.C.Lilley & Co. Catalogue 178 Odd Fellows Regalia
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NOTES

1 Lyder K. L. Unstad, "A Survey of the Industrial and Economic Development in Central Ohio with Special Reference to Columbus, 1797 - 1872" (Ph.D. diss., The Ohio State University, 1937), 400-403.


3 Ibid., 406.

4 Henry L. Hunker, Industrial Evolution of Columbus, Ohio, Bureau of Business Research Monograph 93 (Columbus: The Ohio State University, 1958), 40.


7 Jacob Studer, Columbus, Ohio: Its History, Resources, and Progress, with Numerous Illustrations (Salem, MA: Higginson Book Company, 1873), 403.

8 Ibid., 404-417.

9 Osman Castle Hooper, History of the City of Columbus, Ohio: from the founding of Franklinton in 1797, through the World War Period, to the Year 1920 (Columbus: The Memorial Publishing Company, 1921), 416.


11 Centennial Biographical History of the City of Columbus and Franklin County, Ohio: Illustrated (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1901), 167.

12 Studer, Columbus, 404-417.
13 The Masonic Chronicle, July 1890.
14 Ibid.
15 See The M.C.Lilley & Co., Catalogue 195 Blue Lodge (Columbus: 1909).
16 See The Masonic Chronicle, October 1884 and March 1887. The first illustrated advertisements in this periodical were for band uniforms.
17 The Masonic Chronicle, November 1887. Examples of The Knight have not been located, although other M.C.Lilley & Co. publications make reference to this publication several times.
18 The Odd Fellow’s Companion, May 1871.
19 Descriptive Catalogue of Masonic Supplies for Lodges, List No. 35 (Columbus: The M.C.Lilley & Co., 1879), 7-8. This catalogue lists for sale thirty-one books from other Masonic publishers, including all of Albert Mackey’s Masonic works, Macoy’s Masonic Ritualist, and Sickle’s Freemason’s Monitor.
20 The Odd Fellow’s Companion, May 1871.
21 American Odd Fellow, January 1862.
23 American Odd Fellow, October 1872.
24 The Companion, July 1880.
26 The Companion, June 1880, 147.
27 The Masonic Chronicle, August 1881.
28 Hooper, History of Columbus, 231.
29 Studer, Columbus, 553.

32 The Masonic Chronicle, August 1881; and The Companion, August 1881.

33 The Masonic Chronicle, August 1882.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid.

36 The Masonic Chronicle, July, 1890.

37 Henry Howe, Historical Collections of Ohio: an encyclopedia of the state (Columbus: H. Howe & Son, 1890-91) 618.

38 The Masonic Chronicle, July 1890.

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid.

41 Ibid.

42 The M.C.Lilley & Co., Catalogue 24, Regulation U.S. Army Uniforms and National Guard Equipment (Columbus: 1914).


44 See The Masonic Chronicle, July, 1890.

45 The Topeka Capital (Topeka, KS), 17 July 1917.

46 See Alvin E. Morris, To Shine in Use: A Centennial Celebration of the Scottish Rite Bodies of Wichita, Kansas (Wichita: Scottish Rite, 1986), 29; William D. Moore suggested that Brown’s positions as Grand Master of the Masonic Grand Lodge of Kansas, Grand Master in Chapter, Council and Commandery, and high offices in the Scottish Rite gave him singular access to Warrants with which he constituted fraternal lodges, and immediately thereafter took orders to furnish and clothe those lodges with M.C.Lilley & Co. products.

47 M.C.Lilley & Co. Catalogue No. 143 Costumes, Supplies 331
47 Ibid.

48 M.C.Lilley & Co. Catalogue 134 Burlesque and Specialty List (Columbus: c. 1905.)


50 M.C.Lilley & Co. Catalogue 178 Odd Fellows Regalia (Columbus: n.d.).
CHAPTER 10

This studied focused on the role of dress in the Great Fraternal Movement, a social phenomenon which occurred in the United States during the Gilded Age and the Progressive Era.

Robert Weibe’s perspectives on America’s search for order in the late nineteenth century are particularly relevant to a study of fraternalism and regalia at this time. American society in the years following 1865 was unstable. As new institutions and values were replacing the old almost daily, fraternal orders appeared as a solid pillar of moral strength, anchored in antiquity, and available in every city, town and village. The organizations had structure, a clearly defined hierarchy and centralized authority.

If, as Weibe suggests, society at that time was distended and had no central core, at least the lodge and the brotherhood provided a focal point for social activities and discourse, with a structured format. If society was fragmented, then the fraternal orders were centers of cohesion, and offered comforting, orderly respite from a chaotic world. Within a fraternal order, each lodge
executed the same rituals in the same way, and every brother wore the same kind of identifying clothing -- regalia.

Regalia has been a part of fraternalism from its inception. Ever since early stone masons’ guilds mandated that speculative Freemasons wear leather aprons while sitting in the lodge, clothing has been a unifying agent for fraternities. Just as secret words, symbols and legends were defining elements of a fraternal order, so was the regalia.

The early secret fraternal societies were exclusive and exclusionary organizations, which employed a few items of dress in ritual activities. Ritual clothing had a sacred quality, and held personal meaning for the wearer.

But during the Great Fraternal Movement, the nature of fraternalism changed. Fraternal orders focused on growth. Leaders and officers in Grand and Supreme Lodges established policies which included rather than excluded members. With one fifth of the male population involved in secret societies, they were no longer considered very exclusive.

After 1865, fraternalism in America subordinated its philosophical character. Lodge meetings became a form of participatory dramatic entertainment. Quasi-religious rituals evolved into theatrical productions. The ritual garments which once had sacred qualities and symbolic meaning diminished in significance, and ritual clothing became theatrical costume. Artifacts of dress lost their
personal implications. The regalia became a group identifier, and an element of performance.

The fraternal movement absorbed the spirit of militarism that encompassed American society in the 1870s. Fraternalism expressed that spirit through the use of military regalia. Rank and file members of fraternities lobbied their governing bodies to legitimize militaristic degrees, ranks and side orders. When the Supreme and Grand lodges of the leading fraternal orders authorized uniformed ranks for fraternal societies, membership in the societies soared, and the uniformed ranks became the most recognizable part of fraternalism. New secret fraternal societies were formed for the purpose of providing outlets for expressions of militarism, and to give members the opportunity to wear military-type clothing.

Fraternal regalia was visible evidence that the secret societies openly promoted patriotism, nationalism and militarism. As these notions reflected the values of society at large, the public perceived fraternal societies, the uniformed ranks in particular, as esteemed social institutions.

For the millions of men who joined the secret fraternal societies, ritual regalia represented their commitment to the ideals of their group. Costumes transported them to exotic realms and mystical worlds. Uniforms invited the public expression of patriotism, nationalism and militarism.
Fraternal regalia in all its forms gave ordinary men extraordinary identities.

The introduction to this dissertation stated that clothing and its use have social meaning within the context of time and place. As a human invention and a product of culture, clothing has historical relevance. This is clearly evident in the study of fraternal orders. The use of clothing was an impetus for the phenomenon of the Great Fraternal Movement.

Without question, the use and complexity of fraternal clothing increased as fraternal orders increased in size and numbers during the years from 1865 to 1918. The spread of fraternalism as a social institution in America was in direct proportion to the increased use, availability and diversity of fraternal clothing, especially theatrical costumes and militaristic uniforms.

The ritualists responsible for creating and standardizing American fraternal rituals recognized the importance of clothing to ritual activities. Throughout the nineteenth century, as they revised old rituals and created new ones, they assigned an element of dress to every ritual activity; they expanded the use of clothing in ritual enactments; and they used clothing in increasingly complex ways.

This study reveals that clothing was a significant factor in the social phenomenon of the Great Fraternal
Movement. Fraternal regalia motivated men to join the secret societies. Men wanted the opportunity to wear ritual garments, theatrical costumes and militaristic uniforms. Secret fraternal societies provided that opportunity.

Men joined the fraternities expecting to wear robes, costumes and uniforms. As they continued their affiliation, they wanted to wear new and different kinds of clothing as part of their fraternal activities. To sustain and increase membership, fraternal orders invented new traditions and ritualists devised new ceremonies which required additional clothing. Clothing was the vehicle by which the new constructs were displayed, both publicly and within the privacy of the lodge halls. Clothing served as a mechanism for the acceptance of new rituals, degrees and orders. As fraternal orders grew in size and importance, the regalia became ever more elaborate, more militaristic and more important.

The historic relevance which this study has revealed is that during the time of the Great Fraternal Movement, a special and unique relationship developed between the institution of fraternalism and the specialized industry which produced and marketed fraternal clothing. The interests of one served and informed the interests of the other.

This notion offers the most interesting challenge for the social historian. Confirming the importance of dress in
social movements, The M.C.Lilley & Co. manufactured a variety of products, but focused on marketing to fraternal lodges, primarily with costumes and uniforms. The owners and sales agents for the firm became intimately involved in the fraternities, occupying high office, in some instances holding warrants and patents to form new lodges, and serving as advisors for newly-formed subordinate and grand lodges.2

Evidence suggests that the regalia houses influenced and determined the type and amount of clothing used in fraternal rituals. In addition, the M.C.Lilley & Co.'s marketing techniques imply that this firm and others like it may have been instrumental in establishing new lodges, chapters and orders, specifically to generate purchases of their products.

The M.C.Lilley & Co. expanded the use of clothing by the fraternal orders by offering product choices. They created multiple versions of almost every garment, varying the style, fabric, decorations, quality and price. They created clothing for positions and activities that did not require special dress, such as the uniform for the Degree Team Captain, the practice uniforms for the drill teams, the ornate robes for the Venerable Past Grand of the Odd Fellows, and the costumes for minor parts in ritual plays. They invented characters and added costumed roles for degree enactments. And they created and promoted new ritual activities and degrees which called for clothing.

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The M.C. Lilley & Co. was the leader in the regalia industry. Early on, the owners of this firm focused singularly on supplying secret fraternal societies with all their needs, and they never changed that focus. The founders and owners of the firm committed the resources of the company to servicing fraternal societies before any other potential markets.

In many ways this company was a typical business of its time. The owners invested profits into capital improvements and modern equipment. They instituted progressive business techniques to assure efficient production; they instituted quality control procedures; they advertised; they marketed by mail order, and through commissioned sales agents. This company was unusual in that it never wavered from its goal of serving the clothing needs of secret fraternal societies.

The Golden Age of Fraternalism was a time when the cultural, economic and political climate in America was predisposed to favor business development. In this time period, a number of industries developed to fill special market niches. But few specialized industries touched the lives of so many men in such a personal manner as did the fraternal regalia industry.

Industrialization made possible the mass production and mass distribution of large quantities of elaborate clothing. The regalia manufacturers understood that the fraternal societies constituted a mass market for the clothing. This
study of fraternal regalia and The M.C.Lilley & Co. confirms that as fraternalism gained in popularity and numbers, the regalia manufacturers became active in the fraternal movement, devised new uses for fraternal clothing and worked to increase fraternal membership in the interests of selling their products.

The strategy was successful, as the firm’s prosperity paralleled that of the organizations it served. The two institutions, fraternalism and the regalia industry, were intertwined, and the interests of one served and informed the interests of the other.

The company reached the peak of its growth and prosperity around 1910. From that time until America’s entry into World War I, it maintained its manufacturing facilities in Columbus, Ohio, established regional sales offices in twelve cities in seven states, and claimed to employ 1,200 people.

After 1910, the firm carried a complete line of military clothing products for state militias, university ROTC units, and non-governmental organizations that used uniforms. These garments were identical to the fraternal uniforms they made and sold. The M.C.Lilley & Co. continued to identify itself with fraternal organizations.

From 1870 until the company closed its doors in 1951, it was, first and foremost, a supplier of fraternal regalia. Product lines included everything a lodge or a fraternal
brother could need. But their leading product was the clothing they produced and sold to the lodges. Regalia -- costumes and uniforms in particular -- was the mainstay of the business. The company continued to make and sell fraternal regalia until 1951.

The story of the M.C.Lilley & Co., of fraternalism and of fraternal regalia does not end here. The Fraternal Supply Company of New London, Ohio is the successor to three of the largest regalia houses -- The Henderson Ames Co., Ward-Stilson and The M.C.Lilley & Co. This small proprietary firm still manufacturers robes and gowns, costumes and crowns, swords and chapeaux, aprons and sashes; and uniforms with braid and buttons and fringe. The original paintings which served as design guides for making the luxurious costumes still exist in files, and are still used for reference. Hats, uniforms and costumes are still made from the original patterns and forms.

Men continue to wear fraternal regalia, and to assign personal value and social meaning to the clothing of secret fraternal societies. Some fraternal regalia is quite new, modern and fashionable, and some has changed little in the past two hundred years. The continued use of fraternal regalia is a story is waiting to be told.

The fraternal societies are still alive, albeit suffering from old age. Since 1960, fraternal membership has declined sharply and steadily. And clothing in general
is less important to the membership than in years past. Fraternal regalia is seldom seen in public, as men no longer dress up in uniforms and parade. The great temples and cathedrals that housed the lodges are being torn down, or converted to other uses. Ritual is de-emphasized and fraternal orders today are primarily agents of charitable good works. (Their social function is significantly diminished, but no less important to those men who are still active.) The passing of fraternalism is also a story waiting to be told.

Women played a role in the Great Fraternal Movement, and they too used regalia and clothing, but in a different form and manner than did the men. Fraternalism extended to young men and women, in the Order of DeMolay, Rainbow Girls, Job’s Daughters, and a host of “junior” orders. Clothing was integral to these organizations also. And these stories are waiting to be told.

Fraternal societies are but one social form for which clothing was an important feature. Historians and sociologists who study voluntary organizations such as bands, choirs, Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts may wish to include in their studies the role of prescribed clothing in various groups’ behavior.

As lodges disband and lodge halls are dismantled, museums and costume collections are acquiring some of the fraternal regalia. These artifacts should be preserved,
properly identified and shared with students of American history, sociology, business and clothing. More vivid and more expressive than mere words, the magnificent clothing tells best the story of the Golden Age of Fraternalism, and of The M.C.Lilley & Co., World's Largest Manufacturer of Fraternal Regalia - the company that dressed the lodges and clothed the brotherhood.
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2 Alvin E. Morris, To Shine in Use: A Centennial Celebration of the Scottish Rite Bodies of Wichita, Kansas (Wichita Scottish Rite, 1986), 28-29.
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APPENDIX A

THE HISTORIC METHOD

The purpose of historical research is to accurately document events, and to explain and understand the meaning of those events through the interpretation of acts and artifacts.\(^1\) The historic method entails the discovery and transmission of what is known about the past;\(^2\) and historic research proceeds by inference.\(^3\) The historian's task is to interpret meaning from information gathered from both primary and secondary sources, and manifested in multiple forms. History is a problem solving discipline, although the goal of a historic research project is not predetermined. Rather, the historian "asks an open-ended question about past events and answers it with selected facts which are arranged in the form of an explanatory paradigm."\(^4\)

"History is more than the passage of events whose sequence may be memorized . . . the past has continuing relevance for the present."\(^5\) It is the historian's task to not only uncover the sequence of events, but to discover and interpret the relevance of the events. "Historical work requires a point of view . . . the historic methodology
includes a way of looking at phenomena that 'captures the object of study.'" The historian then searches the past from a particular perspective, seeking information with which to tell a story. Information uncovered in the research process determines the path the story takes, and the story then flows from that information. Conclusions follow from the evidence as it is uncovered.

The results of historic research are not finite and immutable, but may change as new information comes to light. As with other modes of academic inquiry, the historian studies works from other qualified researchers and builds on them. The historian's objective is neither to prove nor disprove, but rather to draw together reliable and verifiable data from multiple sources, to view that data from a particular perspective, to find links between information both new and old, to synthesize that data into a coherent body of knowledge about the subject under examination, and to add substantively to that body of knowledge through analysis and interpretation.

The historian is obliged to obtain as much relevant information as possible, understanding that in many instances the possibilities are limitless. The researcher then assesses the information; identifies and confirms that which is factual; identifies and discards that which is incorrect or inaccurate; and identifies and qualifies that which is speculative, or incomplete, or from a source which
may be biased or whose reliability cannot be confirmed. In the historic process, the researcher evaluates the information, assembles, combines, compares and arranges it to facilitate a search for meanings. In this manner, information becomes evidence of linkages, cause-and-effect relationships in the occurrences of phenomena, events and human behaviors. Initially, the historian may arrange the evidence in chronological sequence. The researcher then extrapolates ideas from the evidence, and arranges the ideas topically, geographically or chronologically. Thus, the historian tells a story, suggesting generalizations based on the information uncovered and the ideas presented. The results of historic research may possibly answer some questions or the results may present new information, a new perspective from which we may view the past and perhaps better understand present and future events. Ideally, the historic research project will raise new questions which invite further research.

This narrative recounts the use of dress by secret fraternal organizations, and the story of a company that made and sold the clothing over a period of fifty-three years. The story of this specialized clothing, its form and use, can add to the body of knowledge about the historic importance and social influence of the organizations which mandated its use, the secret fraternal societies; and about
the attitudes, values and behaviors of the people who joined the organizations and who wore the clothing.

This historian's viewpoint is that dress, a human invention, is a social stimulus; an indicator and a predictor of behavior; and that as a means of communication, dress influences the culture of the group within which it operates, while at the same time expresses the values of that culture.

Because artifacts are primary evidence of human behavior at a particular time and place, they serve the historian as a vehicle, conveying cultural history from the past to the present. It is the historian's task to extract from the artifact its meaning, context and associations. This study looked at the types of dress products which were manufactured, how they were manufactured and marketed, how they were used and by whom, and the changes in style and use which occurred over time, using artifacts and documents of one business firm which designed, manufactured and marketed the clothing. The narrative includes description, discussion, analysis and interpretation of documents, artifacts, photos and contemporary writings relevant to the fraternal orders, and incorporates the research and writings of scholars who have studied fraternal societies, American business during the Gilded Age and the Progressive Era, American society during the time period studied, the nature of ritual, and the social meanings of dress. Further, the
narrative raise questions and draw conclusions based on the information, evidence and the analysis.
NOTES


5 Tuchman, “Historical Social Science,” 313.

6 Ibid., 306.

7 John Touliatos et al., Research Methods, 298-303.

8 Beckow, “Culture, History and Artifact,” 117.
APPENDIX B

KNIGHTS OF PYTHIAS REGALIA SPECIFICATIONS
FROM 1868 CONSTITUTIONS

Following are the regalia specifications from the Knights of Pythias Constitutions, enacted by the Supreme Lodge of the Knights of Pythias in 1868, as published in James R.Carnahan, Pythian Knighthood: Its History and Literature, being an account of the Origin and growth of the Order of the Knights of Pythias (Cincinnati: Pettibone Manufacturing, 1888) 188-189, 194-195, and 202-203.

SUPREME LODGE CONSTITUTION ARTICLE XII

The Regalia of the Supreme Lodge shall be as follows:
For the Founder and Past Supreme Chancellor, a purple collar skirted with Scarlet and white; the scarlet to be inside, to be trimmed with helmet, glove and tassels, lace and fringe of gilt bullion. Jewel - Knight’s mark or coat of arms, with the words, “Founder of the Order, K. of P.” engraved on the border.
For Past Supreme Chancellors - The same collar and jewel, but upon the latter "Past Supreme Chancellor" on the circle or oval surrounding the helmet, instead of "Founder," etc.

For Supreme Venerable Patriarch - White collar skirted with scarlet, trimmed with gilt lace and bullion fringe and tassels. On the right breast of the collar shall be embroidered in gilt bullion a visored helmet, with axe and lance crossed, illustrative of the name and general character of the Order. On the left breast shall be embroidered in gilt bullion a globe, emblematical of the universal fraternity and the supreme authority of this Lodge. The Jewel shall be an open Bible of yellow metal, and to be worn suspended from the collar where the ends are united.

The Supreme Chancellor and remaining officers shall wear collars of purple, skirted with scarlet, of the same form, style and trimming (including helmet and globe) as the Supreme Venerable patriarch. Jewels to be of yellow metal, of the same device as those worn by the corresponding officers of Grand and Subordinate Lodges, and to be worn suspended from the collar in the same manner as above stated.

For P.G.C’s black collar, trimmed with gilt lace and fringe.
For Supreme Representatives, the same, with “S.R.” upon the collar, in gilt bullion.

No member shall be allowed to enter the Supreme Lodge when in session unless clothed in the established regalia of his rank.

GRAND LODGE CONSTITUTION ARTICLE VIII
REGALIA

SECTION 1 The working regalia shall be as follows:
V.G.P. - Black velvet collar, trimmed with gold fringe, and open Bible in gold on left side.
P.G.Chancellors - Black velvet collar, trimmed with gold fringe, with P.G.C. embroidered in gold on left side.
P.Chancellors - Red velvet collar, trimmed with gold fringe.
Representatives - Same as Past Chancellors, rosette with number of Lodge on left side. Said rosette to be furnished by the Subordinate Lodge represented.
Officers - Same as Past Chancellors, with the insignia of office embroidered in gold on left side.

Sec. 2. The established outside regalia, if used, shall be as follows:

For G.C. - An apron made of the best black silk velvet, with lapel, and upon lapel letters K.P., crossed lances and helmet, with letters F.C.B. arched over it, and letters
P.C. on either side of the apron - the whole apron to be fringed with silver, one and a half inches in length, and all letters and emblems to be embroidered in silver. In addition a black rosette of ribbon-work upon the lappel of the coat, on the rosette crossed gavels in white metal, movable. On the outer edge of the apron, adjoining the fringe, will be placed a red velvet border, adjoining that a border of gold, then a border of blue velvet.

For V.G.C. - Same as G.C., except on rosette but one gavel.

For V.G.P. - Same as G.C., on rosette open Bible.
For G.R.S. - Same as G.C., on rosette crossed pens.
For G.B. - Same as G.C., on rosette crossed keys.
For G.G. - Same as G.C., on rosette staffs crossed.
For G.I.S. - Same as G.C., on rosette crossed swords.
For G.O.S - Same as G.C., on rosette one sword.
For Repr. - Same as G.C., on rosette letter R.
For P.C. - Same as G.C., no rosette

For District Deputy Grand Chancellor, the working regalia shall be red velvet collar, trimmed with gold fringe, and the letters D.G.C. embroidered thereon in gold. The Apron regalia of the D.G.C. shall be the same as the Past Chancellor's regalia. He shall also wear a rosette with D.G.C. upon it.
SECTION 1 The regalia for Subordinate Lodges, if used shall be as follows:

For Pages, a black and white apron made of the best "merino," fifteen inches in length in the middle, sixteen inches in width; lappel to be six inches and a half in length from top to end of point, with the letters K.P. embroidered on it in silver; on apron, crossed lances embroidered in silver, with the letter F embroidered in blue; silver fringe around the apron one and a half inches in length; lining to be black muslin; strings black; lances to be five inches in length.

For Esquires, the same as Page, with an additional letter C embroidered in gold.

For Knights, the same as Esquire, with an additional letter B, embroidered in red.

For Officers, with same as Knights, with a rosette of black and white ribbon, white on outer edge; also the "insignia' of office in center of rosette, made out of white metal and movable. The rosette to be worn on lappel of coat on left side. The V.P., R.S., and B. of Lodge wear the P.C. apron with rosette as above.

1 The Subordinate Lodge Regalia will be a matter of special news to the membership of to-day. The Apron "went the way of all the earth" at the session of 1872.
Sec. 2  The working regalia shall be as follows:

For Pages, a blue collar; for Esquires, a yellow collar; for Knights, a red collar; for V.P., a black velvet collar, with silver fringe one and a half inches long, and silver lace border on inner edge half inch wide, and an open Bible embroidered in silver on the left side; for W.C., a collar of scarlet velvet, trimmed in the same manner as the V.P.'s, with crossed gavels on left side; for V.C., the same as the W.C.'s with single gavel; for R.S., the same as the V.C.'s with crossed pens, omitting the fringe; for F.S., the same as the R.S.'s, with pen and key crossed; for B., the same as the F.S.'s, with crossed keys; for G., the same as the B.'s with crossed staffs; for I.S., the same as the G.'s, with crossed swords; for O.S., the same as the I.S.'s, with single sword; for P.C., the same as the W. C.'s, with gold fringe and without the gavels.
APPENDIX C

FRATERNAL ORDERS FOR WHOM

THE M.C.LILLEY & CO. SUPPLIED CLOTHING REGALIA

The following list was compiled from the Silver Jubilee Issue of The Masonic Chronicle, July, 1890, Catalogue 195, Blue Lodge, 1909, and Catalogue 99, Knights Templars Uniforms, 1920.

This list, spanning thirty years during the peak of the Great Fraternal Movement, indicates the size and complexity of the movement, the importance of clothing in the movement, and the commitment of the M.C.Lilley & Co. to supply fraternal regalia to all who desired it.

Sons of Veterans
Masonic Blue Lodge
Masonic Chapter and Council
Masonic Commandery
Masonic Knights Templar
Masonic Scottish Rite, Northern Jurisdiction
Masonic Scottish Rite, Southern Jurisdiction
Odd Fellows’ Subordinate Lodge
Odd Fellows’ Degree Staff
Odd Fellows' Encampment
Odd Fellows' Patriarchs Militant
Odd Fellows' Daughters of Rebekah
Knights of Pythias Lodge Uniforms
Knights of Pythias Uniform Rank Uniforms
Knights of Pythias Uniform Rank Regimental and Brigade Uniforms
Pythian Sisters
Good Templars Regalia
Good Templars' New Regulation Regalia
Improved Order of Good Templars
Ancient Order of United Workmen
Patriotic Order of Sons of America Camp Regalia
Patriotic Order of Sons of America Commandery Uniforms
Junior Order of United American Mechanics
United American Mechanics Uniforms
Ancient Order of Foresters
Knights of the Maccabees
Order of the Maccabees
Knights of the Golden Eagle Uniforms
Knights of the Golden Eagle Degree Team Uniforms
Heptasophs
Grand Army of the Republic
Order of Railway Conductors
Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen
Knights of Honor
Improved Order of Red Men
Independent Order of Red Men
Ancient Order of Red Men
United Ancient Order of Druids
Grand United Order of Odd Fellows
Grand United Order of Odd Fellows Household of Ruth
Grand United Order of Odd Fellows Past Masters Council
Grand United Order of Odd Fellows Patriarchie Uniforms
Independent Order of Immaculates
Brotherhood of Railroad Telegraphers
Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen
Brotherhood of Railroad Switchmen
Royal Arcanum
Mystic Shrine
Catholic Knights of America
Roman Catholic Knights of St. John
Royal Arch Masons
Eastern Star
Order of DeMolay
White Shrine
Job's Daughters
Ladies' Auxilliary Patriarchs Militant
Degree of Pocahontas
Degree of Pocahontas Council
Knights of Malta
Knights of Sherwood Forest

376
Loyal Legion
Fraternal Order of Eagles
Heroines of Jericho
Modern Woodmen of America
Woodmen of the World
United Woodmen
Highland Nobles
Royal Neighbors of America
United Commercial Travelers
APPENDIX D

SELECTED PAGES FROM M.C.LILLEY & CO. CATALOGUES
Combination Robes.

A MONEY SAVER.

Three Robes in One.

We are here putting into print for the first time our newest idea and scheme to save you money. The robe illustrated on this page, as it stands, makes a most beautiful King's costume. By unhooking the mantle at the throat, it is as readily removed as any cape is thrown off, and by the substitution of a cap for the crown, a magnificent Past Grand's robe is had. Then by slipping on an ephod and breast plate and changing the cap for a mitre, you have your High Priest. You pay for one costume and by the above simple step and the addition of the head dresses, etc., you have costumes complete for three of the principal Officers. You will find different head dresses illustrated throughout this Catalog. Ephods and breast plates will be found listed on page 82 and on pages 73 and 75.

<table>
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<th>Item</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Robe of Silk Plush, bordered with superior satin, beautifully embroidered in silk, mete of extra fine silk, embroidered as illustrated, in many colored silks, trimmed with silk and satin embroidery</td>
<td>$95.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Robe of Fine Silk Plush, otherwise same as above</td>
<td>$66.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Robe of Extra Fine Silk Plush, differently hemmed and embroidered as above</td>
<td>$65.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Robe of Superior Silk Plush, trimmed and embroidered as above</td>
<td>$75.00</td>
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**MANTLES:**

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<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Mantle of Silk Plush, beautifully embroidered in many colored silks, and lined with fine silk serge</td>
<td>$95.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Mantle of Fine Silk Plush, otherwise same as above</td>
<td>$30.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Mantle of Extra Fine Silk Plush, otherwise as above</td>
<td>$30.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Mantle of Superior Silk Plush, otherwise as above</td>
<td>$40.00</td>
</tr>
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**CROWNS:**

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<th>Description</th>
<th>Price</th>
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<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Crown, frame of light metal, finely gilded and ornamented with some arc, cap of silk plush, finished with bead</td>
<td>$37.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Crown, same as above, but cap of fine silk plush</td>
<td>$31.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Crown, same as above, but cap of extra fine silk plush</td>
<td>$27.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Crown, same as above, but cap of superior silk plush</td>
<td>$22.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE M. C. LILLEY & CO. COLUMBUS, OHIO

Combination Robes.

There are represented the three principal officers—King, Past Grand and High Priest, wearing the same robe. The robe illustrated in the center is for the Past Grand; a very attractive costume made of the materials listed below, lined throughout with the mohair lining, right with wide borders of very fine muslin, beautifully embroidered in colors and otherwise ornamented with crystal bead fringe and braid. The high-collared cape, the embroidered cap, the robe proper and hose in this illustration are equally provided for the High Priest. In the illustration on the left are represented the Robes for the King.

By adopting the long mantle to the above costume and substituting a crown for the cap, the King is provided with a costume. Then by replacing the crown with a mitre and adding an alb and hood plate to the robe described above, you have the High Priests. As these three officers never appear on the floor at the same time, it is very simple and convenient to make this costume serve for all three officers.

For Prices and Descriptions of Breast Plates, see Page 32.

D.2 Combinations Robes

The M.C.Lilley & Co. Catalogue No. 178 Odd Fellows Regalia

380
Costumes for Priests.
ALSO USED FOR CHAPLAIN

ROBES

1894. Robe of Cashmere, Steel blue, large flowing sleeves, lined with sable, trimmed around bottom, with and collar with wide horse of sable, embroidered in gold, and trimmed with gold fringe; Holy Bible embroidered on front ..... 61.00
1894. Robe of Extra Fine Cashmere, trimmed as above ..... 65.00
1895. Robe of Cashmere Medium, Steel blue, large flowing sleeves, lined with sable, trimmed around bottom, gold medallion and gold fringe, Holy Bible embroidered on front ..... 55.00
1896. Robe of Silk Finished Velvet, trimmed and ornamented as above ..... 15.95

BIRETTAS OR CAPS

1902. Cap of Cashmere, Steel blue and Sterlized, embroidered robe no flaps, lather even band ..... 1.40
1903. Cap of Cashmere, Steel blue and Sterlized, embroidered robe with flaps, lather even band ..... 1.45
1904. Cap of Extra Fine Cashmere, Steel blue and Sterlized, embroidered robe no flaps, lather even band ..... 1.40
1905. Cap of Extra Fine Cashmere, Steel blue and Sterlized, embroidered robe with flaps, lather even band ..... 1.45
1906. Cap of Cashmere Medium, Steel blue and Sterlized, embroidered robe no flaps, lather even band ..... 1.40
1907. Cap of Cashmere Medium, Steel blue and Sterlized, embroidered robe with flaps, lather even band ..... 1.45

CANDIDATE COATS

Illustrated on Page 72.

1908. Coat of Silk Finished Velvet, trimmed and ornamented ..... 1.45

ROBES

1897. Robe of Cashmere, Steel blue, large flowing sleeves, lined with sable, trimmed around bottom, with thread lace, wide horse of sable, trimmed around edges, with gold fringes. Prices as applied as illustrated ..... 9.60
1898. Robe of Cashmere, Steel blue, large flowing sleeves, lined with sable, trimmed around bottom, with gold fringes. Prices as applied as illustrated ..... 10.75
1899. Robe of Cashmere, Steel blue, large flowing sleeves, lined with sable, trimmed around bottom, with gold fringes. Prices as applied as illustrated ..... 11.75
1900. Robe of Silk Finished Velvet, trimmed and ornamented as above ..... 12.95

BIRETTAS OR CAPS

1901. Cap of Cashmere, Steel blue and Sterlized, embroidered robe no flaps, lather even band ..... 1.40
1902. Cap of Cashmere, Steel blue and Sterlized, embroidered robe with flaps, lather even band ..... 1.45
1903. Cap of Cashmere, Steel blue and Sterlized, embroidered robe with flaps, lather even band ..... 1.45
1904. Cap of Silk Finished Velvet, trimmed and ornamented as above ..... 1.45

D.3 Costumes for Priests and Chaplain
The M.C.Lilley & Co. Catalogue No. 178 Odd Fellows Regalia
381
Costumes for Jonathan, David, Guards and Gowns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1257</td>
<td>Coat, brown silk or black of finest bufflon or freestone cloth, lined with satin, shoulder straps of same, and buttons of same, with hand-made rings and saucers, hat with corded tassels and plume, hose of same, boots of same</td>
<td>3.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1259</td>
<td>Coat, brown silk or black of finest bufflon or freestone cloth, lined with satin, shoulder straps of same, and buttons of same, with hand-made rings and saucers, hat with corded tassels and plume, hose of same, boots of same</td>
<td>3.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1260</td>
<td>Coat, brown silk or black of finest bufflon or freestone cloth, lined with satin, shoulder straps of same, and buttons of same, with hand-made rings and saucers, hat with corded tassels and plume, hose of same, boots of same</td>
<td>3.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1261</td>
<td>Coat, brown silk or black of finest bufflon or freestone cloth, lined with satin, shoulder straps of same, and buttons of same, with hand-made rings and saucers, hat with corded tassels and plume, hose of same, boots of same</td>
<td>3.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1262</td>
<td>Coat, brown silk or black of finest bufflon or freestone cloth, lined with satin, shoulder straps of same, and buttons of same, with hand-made rings and saucers, hat with corded tassels and plume, hose of same, boots of same</td>
<td>3.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1263</td>
<td>Coat, brown silk or black of finest bufflon or freestone cloth, lined with satin, shoulder straps of same, and buttons of same, with hand-made rings and saucers, hat with corded tassels and plume, hose of same, boots of same</td>
<td>3.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1264</td>
<td>Coat, brown silk or black of finest bufflon or freestone cloth, lined with satin, shoulder straps of same, and buttons of same, with hand-made rings and saucers, hat with corded tassels and plume, hose of same, boots of same</td>
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</tr>
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<td>1265</td>
<td>Coat, brown silk or black of finest bufflon or freestone cloth, lined with satin, shoulder straps of same, and buttons of same, with hand-made rings and saucers, hat with corded tassels and plume, hose of same, boots of same</td>
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<td>1266</td>
<td>Coat, brown silk or black of finest bufflon or freestone cloth, lined with satin, shoulder straps of same, and buttons of same, with hand-made rings and saucers, hat with corded tassels and plume, hose of same, boots of same</td>
<td>3.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1267</td>
<td>Coat, brown silk or black of finest bufflon or freestone cloth, lined with satin, shoulder straps of same, and buttons of same, with hand-made rings and saucers, hat with corded tassels and plume, hose of same, boots of same</td>
<td>3.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Costumes for Jonathan, David, Guards

The M.C.Lilley & Co. Catalogue No. 178 Odd Fellows Regalia
Costumes for Altar and Ark Bearers.

Costumes illustrated here are historically correct. They are the exact reproduction of the old Jewish robes worn by the Cohens or Lesser Priests, the officers whose duty it was to carry the Altar and the Ark. According to Biblical description, the proper color of these costumes is white and they will always be made so, unless otherwise ordered.

ROBES.

- Robe of Silica, full lined, buttons across chest and girdle of silk attached to robe. 217$.
- Robe of Cashmere, hood lined, hands across chest and girdle of silk attached to robe. 217$.
- Robe of Fine Cashmere, full lined, hands across chest and girdle of silk attached to robe. 217$.
- Robe of Extra Fine Silica, full lined, hands across chest and girdle of silk attached to robe. 217$.
- Robe of Cashmere Cashmere, full lined, buttons across chest and girdle of silk attached to robe. 217$.
- Robe of Fine All-wool Moire, full lined, buttons across chest and girdle of silk attached to robe. 217$.

TURBANS.

- Turban of Silk, large puffs, leather sweat band. 217$.
- Turban of Cashmere, large puffs, leather sweat band. 217$.
- Turban of Extra Fine Silk, large puffs, leather sweat band. 217$.
- Turban of Wool-lined Cashmere, large puffs, leather sweat band. 217$.
- Turban of Fine All-wool Moire, large puffs, sweat band. 217$.

WIGS.

- Wig, good quality black hair. 217$.
- Wig, fine quality black hair. 217$.

See page 30 for Descriptions and Prices on Hose and Sandals.

D.5 Costumes for Altar and Ark Bearers
The M.C.Lilley & Co. Catalogue No. 178 Odd Fellows Regalia
Costumes for Lad

**TUNICA**

1715. Tunic of Cashmere. Fixed throughout, embroidered around front, drawn down and pleated bottom and sleeves in favorite design, as illustrated. $3.30
1716. Tunic as above, but made of Five-Button Fine Cashmere. $4.00
1717. Tunic as above, but made of Five-Button Extra Fine Cashmere. $5.00
1718. Tunic as above, but made of Five-Button Finished Velvet and embroidered in the vit. $7.50
1719. Tunic as above, but made of "Verbrecht" Satin. $10.00
1720. Tunic as above, but made of Silk, Plush. $11.00
1721. Tunic as above, but made of Extra Fine Silk Plush. $13.00

**TURBANS**

1722. Turban of Cashmere, lined throughout, embroidered with embroidery, and three fine cashmere plaits. $6.40
1723. Turban as above, but made of Cashmere. $6.00
1724. Turban as above, but made of Silk Finished Velvet. $7.30
1725. Turban as above, but made of "Verbrecht" Satin. $9.00
1726. Turban as above, but made of Silk, Plush. $9.50
1727. Turban as above, but made of Extra Fine Silk Plush. $15.00

**LEGGiNS**

1728. Leggings of Cashmere Lined and embroidered in keep- ing with Tunic. $6.30
1729. Leggings as above, but made of Five-Button Fine Cashmere. $7.50
1730. Leggings as above, but made of Five-Button Extra Cashmere. $8.00
1731. Leggings as above, but made of Silk Finished Velvet. $8.50
1732. Leggings as above, but made of "Verbrecht" Satin. $9.00
1733. Leggings as above, but made of Silk, Plush. $9.50
1734. Leggings as above, but made of Extra Fine Silk Plush. $10.00

**TUNICA**

1735. Tunic of Cashmere, fixed throughout, embroidered down front and around bottom and sleeves, as illustrated. $6.00
1736. Tunic of Five-Button Cashmere, otherwise as above. $4.60
1737. Tunic of All-wool Merino, heavy lined, embroidered, as illustrated. $6.00
1738. Tunic of Silk Finished Velvet, fine lining, embroidered, as illustrated, in the vit. $7.75
1739. Tunic of "Verbrecht" Satin, otherwise as above. $12.00
1740. Tunic of Silk Plush, otherwise as above. $14.00
1741. Tunic of Extra Fine Silk Plush, otherwise as above. $15.00

**TURBANS**

1742. Turban of Cashmere, over flexible frame, suit of cash- mere, fine muslin shawl on top, fine lining, feather crown $2.00
1743. Turban of Five-Button Cashmere, otherwise as above. $2.00
1744. Turban of All-wool Merino, otherwise as above. $3.00
1745. Turban of Silk Finished Velvet, otherwise as above. $3.50
1746. Turban of "Verbrecht" Satin, otherwise as above. $4.00
1747. Turban of Silk Plush, otherwise as above. $4.75
1748. Turban of Extra Fine Silk Plush, otherwise as above. $5.00

**HOSE**

1749. Hose, Extra Fine Silk Plush, extra durable, 12 inches, per pair. $6.30
1750. Hose, Extra Fine Silk Plush, extra durable, 16 inches, per pair. $8.00
1751. Hose, Extra Fine Silk Plush, extra durable, 20 inches, per pair. $10.00
1752. Hose, Extra Fine Silk Plush, extra durable, 24 inches, per pair. $12.00

D.6 Costumes for Lad

The M.C.Lilley & Co. Catalogue No. 178 Odd Fellows Regalia

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D.7 Robes and Head Dresses

The M.C.Lilley & Co. Catalogue No. 112 G.U.O. of O.F.
Grand United Order of Odd Fellows

385
THE MEDIUM UNIFORM

D.8  Military Regalia, Medium Uniform
The M.C.Lilley & Co. Catalogue No. 111 Knights of the
Golden Eagle

386
Costumes for Sons of Mattathias.
D.10  Costumes for Guards and Soldiers
The M.C.Lilley & Co. Catalogue No. 122 Knights of the Maccabees