

Catalogue of Masonic Materials

associated with the exhibition

Freemasonry in Georgia: Ideals, Imagery, and Impact

at the Hargrett Library Gallery,

Special Collections Libraries, University of Georgia, Athens, GA

January 23—July 7, 2023

by

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Acknowledgments

Over the five years I worked on these masonic and masonic-related materials, taught courses centered on them, and prepared this exhibition and catalogue, I have relied on and incurred debts of gratitude to an array of superb librarians, archivists, and scholars. Here I will try to acknowledge as many as possible, with apologies to anyone I have inadvertently left off the list. I start with those who made the project possible and advised me throughout the years. I am most grateful to Kat Stein, Director of the Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, and Jan Levinson Hebbard, Exhibitions Coordinator, who welcomed my exhibition proposal and put their first-class staff at my disposal, especially Mazie Bowen, Anne Meyers DeVine, and Mary Palmer Linnemann who never failed to answer my emails and requests. To Nicholas Allen, Director of the Willson Center of the Humanities and Arts at UGA, who secured a large Mellon Foundation grant on the Global Georgia Initiative, for which my research project received multi-year funding, I am deeply grateful for his vision and support, and to his staff who were always helpful with the administrative side of the funds. The directors of the Lamar Dodd School of Art, Chris Garvin, Michael Marshall, and Isabelle Wallace, also provided support for conference papers and departmental talks that allowed me to work through my ideas.

I am profoundly grateful to the following institutions and their staffs who were essential to the success of my research trips, always time-constrained and sometimes hampered during the coronavirus pandemic: Atlanta Masonic Library and Museum; Chancellor Robert L. Livingston Masonic Library, New York, NY; House of the Temple Library, Washington, D.C.; the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library; Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University, Atlanta, GA; Georgia Historical Society, Savannah; Washington Memorial Library, Macon, GA; Library, Wesleyan College; Laurens County Library, Dublin, GA; and, Athens-Clarke County Library, Athens, GA. And for on-site study of masonic buildings and materials, I owe the following institutions, officers, and staff my heartfelt thanks: Benevolent Lodge No. 3, Milledgeville, GA; Mount Vernon Lodge No. 22, Athens, GA; Georgia Museum of Art, Athens, GA; Greene County Courthouse, Greensboro, GA; and, Blackwell Furniture Company, Eatonton, GA.

The following scholars, Masons, and librarians provided encouragement, patiently fielded questions or provided sources, or engaged in discussions that buoyed me when I felt

overwhelmed by the unfamiliar field of freemasonic study: Dale Couch, former curator, Georgia Museum of Art, Athens; Ian McMullen, Secretary, Benevolent Lodge No. 3, and Dutch Henderson, Milledgeville; Jim Marshall, President, Eatonton-Putnam County Historical Society; Ed Robinson, Reference Librarian, Middle Georgia Regional Library, Macon; Howard Sutcliffe, River Region Costume and Textile Conservation, Arley, AL; Katherine Walters, former director, Chancellor Robert L. Livingston Masonic Library, New York City; C. Danny Wofford, Curator and Librarian, Atlanta Masonic Library and Museum; Reva Wolf, Professor of Art History, State University of New York at New Paltz; and, Kathryn Blackburn Wright, Archivist, Jack Tarver Library, Mercer University, Macon.

Finally, but no less importantly, my warmest thanks to all the friends, family, and colleagues who put up with my arcane pursuits and sent me their masonic discoveries, sometimes from their daily routines seen with new eyes, sometimes while traveling, and frequently within their own families.

Preface

This catalogue represents six years of research on and thinking about freemasonic materials related to Georgia and a significant departure from my own areas of expertise in French and Spanish eighteenth- and nineteenth-century art. As a faculty member of a land-grant institution, I felt it was an appropriate and worthy effort, especially in the later years of my career, to create new knowledge and produce scholarship directly related to the state of Georgia, which my specialized area of research almost never allowed.

The exhibition and catalogue primarily consist of materials found dispersed within the three major collections within the Special Collections Libraries at the University of Georgia: the Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library; the Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Studies; and the Walter J. Brown Media Archives. The exhibition and catalogue cannot be comprehensive of the history and range of masonic life in Georgia, but despite the various gaps, it is remarkable how much one can demonstrate and say about freemasonry, its principles, accomplishments, and symbolism through the objects available in these non-specialized collections. What are, for the most part, rather ordinary examples of masonic regalia, records, publications, and architecture have provided windows into the characteristic and individualist aspects of this secret fraternal organization and its particular manifestations in Georgia. For those seeking further information and examples of masonic life and customs, the numerous publications and institutions cited in the footnotes and bibliography offer some means for doing so.

The exhibition and the catalogue are organized in three parts, to reflect a major theme and symbol of freemasonry, the three columns of Strength, Beauty, and Wisdom, that resonates in the State Seal of Georgia and the arch symbol of the University of Georgia. However, it will soon become apparent that the objects selected for one section and sub-section could easily serve in many if not all of the others. The themes in each sub-section were selected for their significance and to prompt visitors to reflect upon the ideals and practices of these men and—eventually—women who took oaths to become better people and contributors to their community. The catalogue also includes a few items that were not displayed in the exhibition and its introductory texts are often somewhat longer than those in the exhibition, which had to be shortened for limitations of space.

As the French Romantic, Charles Nodier, who himself belonged to a secret society in his youth, once wrote regarding freemasonry, “We are not able to create another society than our own.”¹ In his critical view, the brotherhood could only reproduce the same behavior and priorities of its general culture, and in many aspects and historical instances, I would agree with his assessment. But it is through the ways in which freemasonry escaped from the limiting views and dared to create new solutions to certain problems of its era or culture that remain remarkable and worthy of our attention. I was struck by their fierce commitment to and defense of education, their tolerance for religious differences, however irregularly it was practiced, and their boldness in structuring their self-governance. If they did not always meet their highest principles, their noblest ideas and best efforts can inspire all of us.

¹ Charles Nodier, *De la maçonnerie et des bibliothèques spéciales* (Paris, 1834), 3.

Format of Entries

The entries are formatted in the following way, when such information is known:

Title of an object. The wording may be different from the title in the online collection catalogue of the various Special Collection Libraries, as research is brought to bear on its interpretation, or on the exhibition label, for space limitations.

Followed by its date, when known or possible to approximate.

Author or maker's name and/or location of manufacture.

Materials.

Dimensions, height followed by width, then depth, if warranted.

Collection information. In those cases where a scan has been made, the physical or digital source is provided; the dimensions may not be.

The items within each section are listed in alphabetical order by titles, not necessarily reflecting how they are displayed in each case.

INTRODUCTION

“Masonry speaks a universal language. It is a golden chain, encircling the civilized world, and linking together the inhabitants of all countries... *It knows no religious or political differences...It recognizes no distinctions of rank.*”

Rev. E.P. Birch, *An Address on Freemasonry...at the request of Rising Star Lodge No. Four, in Eatonton, Georgia* (Milledgeville, GA, 1856), 12-13.

Freemasonry was a new social organization when it emerged around 1720 in England with the founding of its authoritative body, Grand Lodge. Initially it was a secret society for men of varied backgrounds who met in lodges to improve themselves through enlightened practices of fraternity, liberty, tolerance, and benevolence. Rich in humanist learning and visual traditions, the fraternity also evolved, spreading across the globe thanks to British imperialism and spawning new orders and rites that included women and people of color. Nowhere did it enjoy more respectability than in the United States which, as Alexis de Tocqueville remarked, was a nation of joiners. Never entirely secret, freemasonry contributed in visible ways to American culture and values, and its particular terminology entered everyday speech, such as “getting the third degree” or “blackballed.”

This exhibition explores the ideals, imagery, and impact of freemasonry in Georgia which arrived with the earliest colonists and still exists today. In spite of the obstacles to researching a secret society whose historical records were frequently destroyed by fire, war, or self-protection, more than one hundred objects from the Special Collections Libraries at the University of Georgia, supplemented by generous loans, are displayed for the first time. Through these physical materials --some common, others rare or unique--, one can grasp the ambitions and tensions within freemasonry. Organized in three sections paralleling the masonic symbol of the three columns of Strength, Wisdom, and Beauty, these materials are interpreted in their masonic significance as well as from a modern, critical perspective.

General reading suggestions:

Jasper Ridley. *A Brief History of the Freemasons*. London: Constable, 1999.

Margaret C. Jacob. *Living the Enlightenment: Freemasonry and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.

- Steven C. Bullock. *Revolutionary Brotherhood: Freemasonry and the Transformation of the American Social Order, 1730-1840*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.
- Mary Ann Clawson. *Constructing Brotherhood: Class, Gender, and Fraternalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.
- Jessica Harland-Jacobs. *Builders of Empire: Freemasons and British Imperialism, 1717-1927*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007.
- James Stevens Curl. *Freemasonry and the Enlightenment: Architecture, Symbols, and Influences*. London: Historical Publications, 2011.

I. STRENGTH

Modern freemasonry's strength lay in the close bonds it nurtured through ritual and secrecy outside of traditional ties of family, faith, and profession. In seeking social harmony, the brotherhood emphasized tolerance, accepting men of different spiritual and political beliefs in reaction to centuries of bloody religious wars and persecution in Britain and Europe. It brought together nobles and artisans, clergy and merchants, the native-born and foreigners who were attracted to the positive self-image, social capital, and broad network it offered. Though primarily Christian, some Jews, free persons of color, and Native Americans were initiated into the fraternity, but mostly in separate lodges or parallel orders like Prince Hall Masonry for African Americans.

Masonic benevolence supported brethren and their families during illness or death with visits, funds, schooling, or a dignified burial, so important to their moral trajectory. Charitableness did not stop at the lodge door, for Masons raised money to build schools, orphanages, and community centers that benefited non-Masons, too. English lodges contributed funds to the fledgling colony of Georgia.

Nevertheless, the secrecy of masonic rituals was always problematic, beginning with the Pope's ban against freemasonry in 1738. Suspicious outsiders read masonic rhetoric literally and condemned the brotherhood as heretical, violent, and anti-establishment, despite its published constitutions that refuted those charges. While it might seem contradictory to present the hostility to freemasonry as a strength, the deep sense of persecution inculcated by Masons probably intensified their fraternal bonding.

Freemasonry's global expansion was facilitated by its concept of travel. Travel to other cultures, in body or mind, was considered beneficial to cultivating tolerance of others and unfamiliar customs, while the lodge system offered welcome and comfort when far from home. Professions that required extensive travel, such as the military, trade, sea-faring, and theatre, had substantial membership in freemasonry's first centuries.

Fraternity, Tolerance, Benevolence

[Freemasonry] enlarges the mind...Promotes Philanthropy!...Harmonizes Society...Controls the Passions!...Produces friendship...Free Masonry cheers the dying with the hopes of immortality.
 “The Benefits of Freemasonry,” *The Masonic Journal* (Augusta) 1, no. 1 (October 1841): 3-8.

Freemasons met in lodges to “work,” to discuss moral lessons and re-enact metaphorical narratives in order to improve themselves, from “rough” to “perfect ashlar,” an analogy to stonemasonry. Lodge work was balanced with periods of refreshment, when Masons ate, drank, sang masonic tunes, and perhaps played cribbage. Freemasonry provided a new kind of meeting space in which men could aspire and take on other roles.

A foundational text, Reverend James Anderson’s *The Constitutions of the Free-Masons* (1723), set a new tone of tolerance, stating that a freemason need only profess a faith, not a particular one. The Trustees of the Georgia colony proscribed Jews and Catholics from settling there, but the Sheftall and Nunes men were early Jewish colonists who joined the masonic lodge in Savannah, founded in 1734. In contrast, when free Blacks and Native Americans became Masons, they were typically compelled to segregate. African Americans formed a parallel order that was later named after Prince Hall, who was initiated in Boston in 1775 and obtained a charter for a lodge of free Black men from the Grand Lodge of England.

Masonic benevolence took many different forms, from a local lodge caring for the gravesite of a deceased brother to the Grand Lodge of Georgia soliciting contributions for a Mason’s widow and children.

Al Sihah Temple Band Uniform. Circa 1950s?

Jacket: wool, embroidery thread. Approximately 27 ½ x 26 inches.

Vest: linen, silk, metal tie buckle. Approximately 20 ¼ x 17 ¾ inches.

Pants: wool, embroidery thread. Approximately 38 x 29 ½ inches.

Georgia Music Hall of Fame Collection, GMHF-97-3-2-A-B-C, Box 11. Special Collections Libraries, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

This uniform belonged to a member of the Shriner band of the Al Sihah Temple of Macon, Georgia. The Shriners, the nickname for the Ancient Arabic Order of Nobles of the Mystic Shrine, were a more theatrical and fun-loving order within freemasonry, putting on elaborate ritual plays but also raising large sums of money to establish hospitals that help the disadvantaged through serious illness. Originally members had to have the first three degrees and the Scottish Rite's thirty-three degrees, but these criteria have changed over the last half century.

As we see in the excerpt of an amateur film of a parade in Athens, Georgia in this exhibition, the Shriners enthusiastically participated in public processions and brought their band to play in front of the Chamber of Commerce next to the stately courthouse. Music was a central part of lodge banquets where brethren joined in singing masonic verses to well-known airs, literally creating the harmony that the lodge sought within its walls and among society at large. This band may have been particularly admired, for it was invited to play at the Imperial Council or annual governing board meeting of the Shriners in San Francisco in June of 1922. The band may also have benefitted from the fact that the national leader, the Imperial Potentate, elected that year was the Macon resident and Shriner, Ernest Allen Cutts.²

Al Sihah Temple was chartered in 1910, at a time when Masonry was flourishing throughout the United States as well as in Georgia.³ Its Arabic name not only befits the Shriners' orientalism, it is the title of a foundational dictionary of the Arabic language by the 10th-century Turkic author Al-Jawharī. Like many shrines, Al Sihah founded a hospital as its principal charitable endeavor. The shrine's fine, spacious hall, built in the 1930s in an Egyptianizing style, was recently acquired and renovated into a gaming show space in 2019.⁴

² "Shrine Potentate Mercer Graduate," *The Mercer Cluster* 3, no. 27 (June 2, 1922): 1.

³ <https://www.41nbc.com/al-sihah-shrine-temple-becomes-temple-renovations>, consulted 06/20/2022.

⁴ <https://www.alsihahshriners.com/about-us.html>, consulted 06/20/2022.

The owner of this uniform, John Johnston Kimball, Jr. (1910—1994), was born the same year as the Macon shrine. Known as Jack, he was 5 feet 4 inches tall and weighed 135 pounds, as the uniform's dimensions suggest. He served for two years during World War II (1942-1944). In documents from 1940, he was listed as both a storekeeper and an employee of J.L. Bradbury, who may have been a contractor with Georgia Power.⁵ Sometime between 1936 and 1940, Kimball married Jenelle Spivey, a telephone operator four years his junior. They died within two and a half months of each other, and their shared gravestone in Macon's Rose Hill Cemetery (designed by the freemason Simri Rose) is decorated with the motif of incense burning from a shallow dish, an orientalist reference if not a specific Shrine symbol.

⁵ This information is found in the 1940 U.S. Census and Kimball's WWII draft card of 1940 at Ancestry.com. Consulted 06/20/2022.

The Arch Masons Advice To His Brethren. Mid-19th century.
Paper, ink.
11 5/16 x 4 3/8 inches.

Irish Broadside. IBB 008. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

This Irish ballad would have been sung at chapter meetings, banquets, and other special occasions. Music and other sound effects, like the knocks on the door of the Chamber of Reflection where candidates waited during their initiations and the banging of drinking glasses on the table to suggest cannons firing, were integral to the social life of Masons. The two feast days for Master Masons, those of St. John the Baptist (June 25) and St. John the Evangelist (December 27), come near the solstices, moments celebrated since ancient times. Collective singing was a masonic form of sociability and expressive release, particularly among men. Songs are often included in masonic manuals such as *Ahiman Rezon* (displayed in Emblems and Metaphors).

Above the stanzas appears a vignette of visual forms central to freemasonry and Royal Arch degrees: the sun and the moon; compasses; square, mallet; trowel; and, holy book. The arrangement is somewhat different from that for the blue or first three degrees, in that the non-celestial symbols are depicted along diagonals, rather than centered or symmetrical. These diagonals reflect the triangulated ritual space of Royal Arch Masonry, while that of blue Masonry is rectangular.

The lyrics are rich in references to the Old and New Testaments, which were common to masonic texts, as authors expected masonic readers to observe a faith and the moral principles and conduct found in their narratives. Unfortunately, negative stereotypes of other faiths (“the wicked Jew”) creep into these lines. Their emphasis on trials and suffering – the persecution of the Israelites, Christ healing the sick, then being crucified – is deployed to urge the reader to worship in order to be saved, per Christian theology: “And no power on earth can destroy you.”

A surprising number of typographical and grammatical errors (“Harim” instead of “Hiram”; “haud” instead of “hand”; “The Israelites was”) cannot be explained by the variable spelling at the time. A more likely cause is a printer who was unfamiliar with masonic expressions or not particularly careful. To avoid such mistakes, Masons often turned to masonic brothers for their

printing needs. The format, paper, and printing suggest an earlier date than the library catalogue indicates.

Certificate of Membership of the Masonic Relief Association. January 19, 1908.
 Most Worshipful Union Grand Lodge of A. F. and A.M. of Georgia.
 Paper, ink.
 17 x 11 inches.

Black Print Culture Collection. MSS 921, Box OP4, Folder 27. Stuart A. Rose Manuscript ,
 Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University, Atlanta, GA.

Brotherhood and benevolence between freemasons are evident in the internal benefits available through entities like the Masonic Relief Association. White Masons developed new instruments such as life insurance or funeral guarantees to brethren in which small premiums, paid by all, produced larger funds that could be invested to continue growing, thereby allowing lodges to provide funds or funerals when a brother died young, unexpectedly, or without much savings, thereby securing aid to their family left behind. The Most Worshipful Union Grand Lodge of Georgia was the state-wide masonic authority for African American or mixed-race men who were not accepted into white lodges or chapters. It recognized the need for such in-house insurance in the face of the racial and economic discrimination that Blacks and mixed-race people still faced in the United States, despite the passing of the Thirteenth Amendment.⁶ Black men were especially anxious about unexpected death and proper burial, given the fatal and brutal violence often inflicted upon them. The Grand Master, H.R. Butler, and Grand Secretary, Sol. P. Johnson, signed the certificate, making the Union Grand Lodge responsible for these guarantees.

Such insurance practices increased with the evident failure of Reconstruction to provide freed people of color with the means to live safe and participatory lives. In 1882, African Americans of Athens formed a non-masonic association called the Gospel Pilgrim Society to open the Gospel Pilgrim cemetery where they were guaranteed burial in return for their monthly dues. Near the founding site of Athens, this lovely cemetery with winding trails and tall sheltering trees includes gravesites of prominent African Americans like Monroe Morton, also a Mason.

⁶ Anne S. Butler, "Black Fraternal and Benevolent Societies in Nineteenth-Century America," in *African American Fraternities and Sororities: The Legacy and the Vision*, ed. Tamara L. Brown, Gregory S. Parks, and Clarendia M. Phillips (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2005), 67-93. For the role of Black freemasonry and other fraternal societies in the pursuit of civil rights, see Corey D.B. Walker, *A Noble Fight: African American Freemasonry and the Struggle for Democracy in America* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008); and, Theda Skocpol, Ariane Liazos, and Marshall Ganz, *What a Mighty Power We Can Be: African American Fraternal Groups and the Struggle for Racial Equality* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006).

Everything about this certificate shows that Black Masons knew the traditional rhetoric and visual symbolism passed down from white British freemasonry. The illustration at the top depicts several of the principal symbols of the lodge: a pair of columns topped by orb; square and compasses; beehive; mallet; open book; three steps; and, a radiant sun. The recipient, J.V. Johnson, is declared a Master Mason in good standing at the time of his death, a member of John Wesley Lodge No. 161, of Register, Georgia. The number of the lodge indicates that Union Grand Lodge had warranted 161 lodges, and perhaps more, by that time. Register was a small town that had recently benefited from a new railway line. This lodge may have furnished an important social and financial network for Black men living in the area.

Circular Appealing For Aid to a Mason's Widow and Children. January 20, 1894.
Grand Lodge of Georgia, August.
Paper, ink.
8 x 5 7/16 inches.

Hollonville Lodge No. 70, Correspondence 1889-1902. Leeman Anderson Collection of Masonic Lodge Records, RBRL/141/LA, Series II, Box 1, Folder 11. Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Study, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Since modern freemasonry emerged in the first quarter of the eighteenth century in London, Masons have taken it upon themselves to help their brethren and their families in physical or economic distress, especially after the death of a Mason. Widows and children were frequent recipients of their benevolence, and Masons gradually built schools, hospitals, and residential communities to educate, heal, and shelter them. Some of these buildings and their benefactors appear or are mentioned in other materials in this exhibition. No doubt the freemasons' sense of responsibility derived from biblical teachings to support widows and orphans, and their benevolence was typically sought and distributed by their local lodge or chapter. In this instance, the circular was issued by the Grand Lodge of Georgia, the state-wide authority for the first three or blue degrees of freemasonry. Its involvement could be solicited when the local lodge had no further resources to offer or no longer existed, or the family had moved from the location of the deceased Mason's lodge.

Cribbage Board. Late nineteenth or early twentieth century.
Wood, inlay.
12 1/16 x 4 x 1 1/4 inches.

Haynes Family Masonic Aprons and Cribbage Board. Ms 4397, Box 1. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Not all the time spent in a masonic lodge was “work,” the term for its serious and high-minded ritual. Masons always took refreshment afterward, and sometimes between different rituals. This cribbage board with the fundamental masonic symbol of the square and compasses at its center may have belonged to an individual Mason or might have served in the lodge’s socializing rooms, separate from the ritual space. Some masonic halls or temples offered lodging for traveling brethren, who could have availed themselves of such games during their stay.

Cribbage is a card game with seventeenth-century English roots and still practiced in the United States today.⁷ The board is actually only used for scoring; pegs are moved through the series of holes to signify the points acquired. The patterns and geometry of the board design would have pleased Masons aesthetically and symbolically. The chevron design of the differently colored inlay resonates with the shapes of the square and compasses, and a long rectangle with a central dot was a masonic symbol of the lodge room itself.

This cribbage board was donated by the Haynes family of Darien, Georgia, along with three masonic aprons which appear to date from the early nineteenth to twentieth centuries.

⁷ David Parlett, *The Penguin Book of Card Games* (London: Penguin, 2008), 423.

John Ross, A Cherokee Chief. 1843.

after Charles Bird King. In Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall, *History of the Indian Tribes of North America*, vol. 3 (Philadelphia: Daniel Rice and James G. Clark, 1844), opposite p. 176.

Hand-colored lithograph.

19 ¼ x 14 inches.

Folio DER 1836 M3 v. 3. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Of Scottish and Cherokee parentage, John Ross, also called Guwisguwi (1790—1866), was raised as a Cherokee but also received an English-language education. He was chosen to be the principal chief in 1828. He had a successful trading post and ferry service near Chattanooga. From there it was not far to Jasper, Tennessee, where he was made a Mason in 1827,⁸ unlike other Native American leaders who were initiated into freemasonry in Washington, D.C., during their visits on official tribal business.⁹ His childhood home in Rossville, Georgia (the town was later renamed in his honor), was restored in the mid-twentieth century with administrative and financial support from the Grand Lodge of Georgia.¹⁰ It is plausible that Ross's experiences with intolerance and injustice as a Native American led him to freemasonry, which professed ideals of tolerance, equality, and social harmony. And yet, like many white and masonic peers, he overlooked injustices to other people, for he owned slaves.¹¹

As a life-long advocate for the Cherokee, Ross could speak with and for them to government officials as they tried to preserve their lands and way of life. In 1828, gold was found in some of the tribe's ancestral lands in present-day North Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia, and the federal government was eager to allow exploitation of this area. Government negotiators exploited divisions within the Cherokee people, and signed the New Echota Treaty in 1835 with a splinter group called the Treaty Party, despite the fact that nearly two-thirds of Cherokees in Georgia and Tennessee, following Ross's lead, disagreed with its terms. The treaty ceded all Cherokee lands

⁸ The Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art in Tulsa, Oklahoma, holds Ross's Master Mason certificate, dated April 5, 1827, issued from Olive Branch Lodge No. 53, of Jasper, Tennessee. John Ross Papers, Acc. No. 4026.33a. Gertrude McDaris Ruskin, *John Ross, Chief of an Eagle Race* (Rossville, GA: John Ross House Association, 1963), 38, mentions the document but calls it a demit, which it is not.

⁹ J. Fred Latham, *The Story of Oklahoma Masonry* (Guthrie: Grand Lodge of Oklahoma, 1978), 2.

¹⁰ Ruskin, *John Ross, Chief of an Eagle Race*, 6-7 and 57.

¹¹ Bernice McCuller, "Georgia Notebook: John Ross of 'Trail of Tears' Had Colorful Life in State," clipping. William H. Thomas Papers, Ms 234, Box 1, Folder 35. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

east of the Mississippi—some 8 million acres—to the government at 50 cents per acre, and expelled the Cherokee to the Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma) by 1838.¹² Ross journeyed to Washington and issued petitions denouncing the illegal treaty: “We are denationalized! We are disenfranchised!...In truth, our cause is your own. It is the cause of liberty and justice. It is based on your own principles, which we have learned from yourselves!”¹³ Ross’s efforts were unsuccessful, and his reputation and motivations came under attack. The U.S. military was called in to force the Cherokee to leave their lands along the “Trail of Tears” that is believed to have killed about one quarter of the exiles, including Ross’s first wife, the Cherokee Quatie.

The co-author of the large and sumptuous *History of the Indian Tribes of North America*, Thomas Loraine McKenney (1785—1859), served as superintendent of Indian Trade and then of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and had a keen interest in Native American culture. Expected to execute the aforementioned government objectives to remove the Cherokee, he was dismissed from the latter post in 1830 for not sufficiently advancing them. Perhaps foreseeing the disappearance of these indigenous cultures, McKenney commissioned the painter Charles Bird King to make dozens of portraits of tribal leaders which became iconic. When McKenney began a lengthy, large-scale book on Native Americans with James Hall, Bird’s paintings were reproduced in lithography, then hand colored. By that time, Ross had befriended McKenney and invited him to his second marriage in 1844.¹⁴

McKenney and Clarke’s book presents a conflicted portrayal of the Cherokee chief. Their words represent him as “civilized,” reasonable, and unthreatening, “the leader of his people in their exodus from the land of their nativity to a new country, and from the savage state to that of civilization...His talents are those of the civilian. Plain and unassuming in his appearance, of calm and quiet deportment, he is a man of great sagacity and of untiring energy.”¹⁵ He was also one of the few chiefs in the book to be depicted in Western clothing, a jacket, vest, and tie, but he did wear these, especially on his official visits to Washington, D.C., where he probably sat to King, who preferred to work from the live model. But King’s image insists on Ross’s Cherokee ancestry and strong opposition to the federal government’s expropriation of his people. The

¹² Latham, *The Story of Oklahoma Masonry*, 3.

¹³ Ross, quoted in McKenney and Hall, 177-8.

¹⁴ *The Papers of Chief John Ross*, ed. Gary E. Moulton (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), vol. 2.

¹⁵ Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall, *History of the Indian Tribes of North America*, vol. 3 (Philadelphia: Daniel Rice and James G. Clark, 1844), 176.

document depicted at the lower left corner identifies the sitter as “John R/General Chief/the Cherokee Nation,” and his indigenous heritage is expressed in his darker skin tone. Another document in Ross’s right hand is inscribed, “Protest and Memorial of the Cherokee Nation Sept. 1836,” which Ross authored and other Cherokees signed, denouncing the Treaty of New Echota.

About ten years after their expulsion, the Cherokee established the first masonic lodge in Indian Territory. Cherokee Lodge No. 21, in the new capital of Tahlequah, was chartered through the Grand Lodge of Arkansas.¹⁶ Most of the lodge’s early officers were active in tribal affairs.¹⁷ In 1850, Ross is listed as a brother but not a member, and he appears to have maintained his participation, for he was given masonic rites at his burial.¹⁸ Other Masons with Georgia roots, such as Joseph H. Vann (1798—1844) and his son John Shepherd Vann (1826—1876), also joined Cherokee Lodge.¹⁹ Four more lodges were chartered in Indian Territory between 1850 and 1855, though Choctaw Lodge No. 52 may have mainly attracted white soldiers in the area.²⁰ Following the Civil War, most of these lodges lost their charters. However, in 1868, Ok-la-ho-ma Lodge No. 217 at Boggy Depot (Choctaw Nation) was chartered and welcomed both white and Native American candidates, upholding the masonic ideal of tolerance.²¹ In 1874, the Indian Territory was granted a Grand Lodge, giving Native American Masons more direct control over the warranting of lodges on their lands.²²

Ross tried to keep the Cherokee nation neutral during the Civil War; like many Masons north and south, he was uncomfortable at the prospect of waging war against fellow citizens and brethren. Nevertheless, Confederate General Albert Pike, a 33rd degree Mason, pressured tribal leaders to sign an alliance with the Confederacy. After the Union victory, the Cherokee were in an even weaker position to reclaim their ancestral lands or receive an appropriate value from

¹⁶ Latham, *The Story of Oklahoma Masonry*, 7-8.

¹⁷ The first Worshipful Master, Walter Scott Adair, was of Scotch and Cherokee ancestry and had been active in the tribe’s political affairs in Georgia. Ross’s nephew, William Potter Ross (1820—1891), was Secretary of the lodge, having graduated first in his class at Princeton. Latham, *The Story of Oklahoma Masonry*, 6.

¹⁸ William R. Denslow, *Freemasonry and the American Indian*, vol. 13 *Transactions of the Missouri Lodge of Research* (Columbia: Missouri Lodge of Research, 1956), 176-7. Some Masons continued paying dues to the lodge in which they were raised, even after they moved away from the area, but most demitted and affiliated with a local lodge nearby. Ross’s funeral was held in Washington, D.C.

¹⁹ Patrick Neal Minges, “The Keetoowah Society and the Avocation of Religious Nationalism in the Cherokee Nation 1855-1867,” PhD dissertation, Union Theological Seminary, New York, 1999, 187, 194, and 200. Accessible at Proquest 9930856. Consulted May 11, 2021. John S. Vann’s gravesite in Tahlequah Cemetery bears the square and compasses.

²⁰ Latham, *The Story of Oklahoma Masonry*, 9-10.

²¹ Latham, *The Story of Oklahoma Masonry*, 14.

²² Latham, *The Story of Oklahoma Masonry*, 18-34.

their sale. Ross never gave up fighting for Cherokee claims, and died in Washington, D. C. on one such mission.

Letter of Condolence to the Family of Howell Cobb, Athens, GA. October 12, 1868.
 Mount Vernon Lodge No. 22, Athens, GA, with a note by Dr. James Camak, November, 1868.
 Paper, ink.
 Letter, 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 7 $\frac{11}{16}$ inches; note, 8 x 5 inches.

Howell Cobb Family Papers, Correspondence. Ms 1376, Series 1, Box 60, Folder 11. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Dr. James Camak (1822—1893), a medical doctor and member of Mt. Vernon Lodge No. 22 of Athens, Georgia, presented to surviving family members an extract from the lodge minutes expressing their condolences and admiration for their deceased brother, Howell Cobb (1815—1868). Camak is said to have designed the landscape of the new Oconee-Hill Cemetery in Athens around the mid-1850s, where Cobb and Camak are buried.²³ The lodge’s eulogy features masonic metaphors, describing Past Master Cobb as “our symbolic column ‘polished in the similitude of a Temple’ . . . and now this beautiful shaft lies shattered and broken, draped with the melancholy cypress.”

Cobb came from an established white family of Athens, many of whom, like his brother T.R.R. Cobb, ardently championed the Confederate secession during the 1860s. Like many freemasons, Howell Cobb trained as a lawyer and sought public office, first as a member of the U.S. Congress in 1842, rising to Speaker of the House, then serving as governor of Georgia (1851-53), and Secretary of the Treasury in the years leading up to the Civil War. An obituary among Cobb’s papers indicates the esteem in which he was held when it describes his funeral procession in Athens on October 15, 1868 that included church ministers, freemasons, members of the Bar, trustees and faculty of the University of Georgia, and the Order of Odd Fellows, in addition to the press and citizens.²⁴

²³ James K. Reap, *Athens: A Pictorial History 1801—2001*, 3rd ed. (Virginia Beach: Donning, 2001), 35. An embossed stamp at the upper left on Camak’s note resembles the emblem of the Farmer’s Alliance, a secular, agricultural association with a masonic-like initiation ritual.

²⁴ “B,” an unidentified Macon journal, clipping. Howell Cobb Family Papers, Ms 1376, Series 1, Box 60, Folder 10.

Letter Requesting the Family's Permission to Restore and Maintain a Mason's Gravesite.
September 10, 1959.
Haynes Chapter No. 33, Sandersville, GA.
Paper, inks.
11 x 8 ½ inches.

Ashantilly Press Papers, Business Correspondence, Anne Lee Haynes, Royal Arch Masons. Ms 3395, Box 134, Folder 17. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

This letter is an example of the ongoing involvement and communication between lodges, brethren, and their families, even after a Mason's death. William P. Haynes may have rested easier knowing that his Royal Arch chapter would solicit his daughter's permission to restore and maintain his gravesite as a sign of respect and friendship.

The letterhead bears a fundamental symbol of Royal Arch Masonry: the keystone, an architectural reference of the stone that marks the center of an arch. A circle, another perfect geometric form so beloved in freemasonry, inscribed within the keystone is inscribed with the letters HTWSSTKS, an anagram for Hiram of Tyre, Widow's Son, Sent To King Solomon, rich with masonic and biblical references to the stonemason Hiram, builder of Solomon's temple, and the veneration for widows and for the wisdom of Solomon. The red ink resonates with the color of Royal Arch regalia.

Haynes Chapter was founded in 1853, showing its longevity and centrality to a small town like Sandersville through the mid-twentieth century.

Letter to the Honorable Judge Simms. Boston: Committee on Masonic Jurisprudence, Prince Hall Grand Lodge, 1874.

Lewis Hayden.

Paper, colored ink.

9 ¼ x 5 ¾ inches.

Rare Book DER 1874 H3. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

The author of this text, Lewis Hayden (1811—1889), was born into slavery in Kentucky. In 1844, he escaped with his wife, also enslaved, and they settled in Boston where he operated a clothing store and his wife ran a boarding house out of their home.²⁵ The couple were active abolitionists, making their home a stop on the Underground Railroad. Hayden joined the Boston Vigilance Committee, and risked his own freedom to protect runaway slaves like Shadrach Minkins of Virginia. Hayden also promoted freemasonry and education for fellow African Americans and advocated for women's suffrage. His letter was published under the aegis of the Prince Hall Grand Lodge, the oldest and most venerable masonic authority for Black freemasonry in the United States, indicating Hayden's high standing within that community.

Hayden's addressee, James M. Simms (1823—1912), was also born into slavery near Savannah, Georgia. He was trained as a carpenter and builder, and bought his freedom in 1857. Years earlier, his brother Tom Simms (sometimes spelled Sims) was forcibly returned from Boston under the Fugitive Slave Act.²⁶ During the Civil War, Simms lived in Boston where he knew Hayden. In 1871, the governor of Georgia appointed Simms to be a judge in the newly created court for the First Senatorial District. The District Court Act of 1870 did not stipulate that legal training was a requirement for such positions, and thus Simms, who was not a lawyer, became the first Black judge in Georgia. The fact that Hayden wrote to Simms about freemasonry is a clear indication that Simms was also a Mason.²⁷ In 1870, Simms was instrumental in establishing the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge for Black freemasons in Georgia. A gifted speaker, Simms understood the debilitating effects of enslavement in every dimension

²⁵ <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/hayden-lewis-c-1811-1889/>. Consulted 11/27/2020.

²⁶ See <https://www.savannahbar.org/page-1830304>. Consulted 11/27/2020. As a member of the Boston Vigilance Society, Hayden may have participated in trying to keep Tom Simms from being returned to slavery.

²⁷ James Simms was also a Baptist minister, elected legislator, newspaper publisher, and the author of *The First Colored Baptist Church in North America, in Savannah, Georgia, in 1788* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1888). Simms, 202-3, describes the laying of the cornerstone by the Union Grand Lodge for a new church building for this Savannah congregation in 1873. He reports that their masonic hall stood at the corner of Bay and Lincoln Streets.

of Black life: “the white race had never understood or known us perfectly; because we have always dissimulated. This was a natural result of tyranny – of the tyranny of slavery.”²⁸

²⁸ Cited in Jacqueline Jones, *Saving Savannah: The City and the Civil War* (New York: Vintage Books, 2008), 22.

Recollection of Enslaved Africans Making Masonic Signs. circa late 1850s-1860, typed later, 1920s?

Typing paper, ink.

4 5/16 x 8 1/2 inches.

African Masons, a propos Hopi Masons. Miller-Morris Collection. Ms 755, Box 12, Folder 5. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

This recollection echoes others from the contentious period preceding, during, and after the American Civil War that sometimes later made their way into print. During this time, freemasons were torn by fraternal connections and patriotic feelings, and many despaired that these internal hostilities would make social harmony after it impossible. Many remembrances recount how freemasons recognized their enemy brethren in distress and spared their lives on the battlefield, reduced their discomfort while imprisoned, or removed masonic items from lodges and homes to safety, eventually returning them to their owners. One would like to believe these reports of good will, but they do not negate the fact that many southern Masons, like those discussed below, were slaveholders and fighting to remain so.

Certain details in this anecdote ring true. A ship called *Wanderer* loaded with nearly 500 West Africans to be sold into slavery in the United States docked at Jekyll Island in 1858.²⁹ The vessel was a luxury ship that had been retrofitted by businessmen Charles A.L. Lamar, of Savannah, and William C. Corrie, of Charleston, to smuggle in slaves, in defiance of the Slave Importation Act of 1807 that outlawed the practice. Lamar and Corrie moved the Africans to towns in Georgia, South Carolina, and Florida and sold them there. After witnesses reported their activities, the federal government investigated and brought three counts of piracy against Corrie, Lamar, and their collaborators. In 1860 they were tried in federal court in Savannah but acquitted of all charges, no doubt by white jurors all too comfortable with the ongoing practice of slavery.

Another protagonist mentioned in this recollection was the prominent Georgia Mason, Lieutenant Colonel William Spencer Rockwell (1809—1870).³⁰ Born in the State of New York, Rockwell attended Union College (Class of 1829), the cradle of Greek fraternity life, which emulated masonic initiations and secret handshakes. Settling in Milledgeville, the capital of

²⁹ Katherine Rohrer, "Wanderer," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, last modified Sep 24, 2020. <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/wanderer/>. Consulted 11/08/2021.

³⁰ Not to be confused with his father, also a well-known Mason, William Samuel Rockwell (1788—1841), who went by Samuel.

Georgia, Rockwell worked as a lawyer, served in the Indian War of 1836, and became a Mason in 1845. He distinguished himself, first as Worshipful Master of the respected Benevolent Lodge No. 3 of Milledgeville, then as Grand Master (1856), Deputy Grand Commander (Knights Templar, 1860), and Inspector General (Scottish Rite).³¹ In the later 1850s, Rockwell authored a ritual handbook called *Ahiman Rezon*, sometimes translated as *Help For a Brother*, for Georgia Masons. A later edition is on display in this exhibition. Rockwell also served in the Civil War.

In 1857 Rockwell moved to his wife's hometown, Savannah; he could have been present when West Africans from the *Wanderer* arrived there. As an authority on freemasonry, his interpretation of their signs as masonic would have been persuasive. While we may not have evidence that Africans practiced freemasonry during the 1800s, they certainly could have come into contact with it through European colonists and slave traders, either in their native lands or in colonial territories to which they were forced to go. In Saint Dominique, present-day Haiti, Katherine Smith brings to light the ways in which enslaved Africans and free natives of African descent incorporated certain aspects of Christianity and freemasonry into their African cultural practices and spiritual beliefs, called Vodou.³²

The second part of the archival heading is quite strange: Hopi Masons. Because the *Wanderer* anecdote represents a portion of a larger sheet of paper, perhaps the missing part contained another recollection about freemasons among the Hopi people. The typescript comes from the papers of Sylvanus Morris (1855—1929), best known as the Dean of the Lumpkin Law School at the University of Georgia and a history buff. He could not have witnessed this event, being born in Virginia in 1855, nor does he appear to have had a connection to Rockwell, who died the year Morris entered UGA. He may have acquired a manuscript or taken notes from others that included this curious story.

³¹ This and other biographical information can be found in William H. Sachs, "A Forgotten Giant: William Spencer Rockwell, 33°," *The New Age* 97, no. 5 (May 1989): 21-23.

³² Katherine Smith, "Saint Jean Baptiste, Haitian Vodou, and the Masonic Imaginary," in *Freemasonry and the Visual Arts from the Eighteenth Century Forward: Historical and Global Perspectives*, ed. Reva Wolf and Alisa Luxenberg (New York and London: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2020), 243-61.

Shriner Fez. Circa 1965.

Manufacture unknown.

Wool.

Hat size 7 1/8, approximately 6 1/4 inches high by 7 1/4 inches wide.

Richard B. Russell, Jr. Collection, Artifacts. RBRL/001/RBR_E_V, Box 87. Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Studies, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

This hat comes from the collection of Richard B. Russell, Jr. (1897—1971), Governor and U.S. Senator of the State of Georgia, who bequeathed his papers to the library that bears his name at the University of Georgia. Born in Winder, Georgia, Russell was raised to Master Mason in the local lodge there, continued in the York Rite and became a Royal Arch Mason. He probably went through the Scottish Rite's thirty-three degrees, as this was once the criteria for joining the Shriners, as the Ancient Arabic Order of Nobles of the Mystic Shrine are known. He was initiated into the order at the Yaarab Temple in Atlanta on December 26, 1964.³³ Unlike that of other masonic orders and rites, the regalia for a Noble of the Shrine was orientaling and included this unusually shaped cap.

The fez hat was given its name by Westerners after the city of Fes, the capital of Morocco until 1927, where it was worn by Muslims, Christians, and Jews, but it appeared in various Mediterranean cultures. The hat's origins are obscure and its wearers and meaning shifted. In lands under Ottoman rule before World War I, the fez was associated with the Turkish empire and its political and cultural oppression of other peoples. During the nineteenth century, when the French intervened in Moroccan affairs, wearing the fez was a show of resistance to Western intervention.³⁴ For Westerners, it conjured associations with the exotic through its unusual shape, bright red and yellow colors, and swinging tassel.

³³ Shrine Certificate. RBRL/001_E_V, RBRF 256. Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Studies, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

³⁴ Chris Hodges, "Fez Journal: Last Refuge of the Tall Tasseled Hat," *New York Times*, March 22, 1995, A-4.

Visitor Pass to the 28th Triennial Conclave. 1901.
 Knights Templar Commandery, Louisville, KY.
 Cardboard, ink.
 2³/₄ x 4 5/8 inches.

Knights Templar, Grand Commandery (GA) records. Ms 1161. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

The order of the Knights Templar was accessible to Masons who had obtained several degrees, the first three or blue degrees and several more in the York Rite. These brethren were committed to the overarching objectives of freemasonry: brotherhood, morality, and charitable endeavors. Because Knights Templary required candidates to have several degrees, which in turn necessitated paying more dues and purchasing another set of regalia, it had fewer members than blue lodges and Royal Arch chapters. Its local assemblies were known as asylums or commanderies, and because there were fewer of them, they were usually farther apart.³⁵ That meant that some Knights had to travel quite far to attend their monthly gatherings.

Like blue and Royal Arch Masonry, Knights Templar also met at the state and national level; those meetings were called conclaves. Knights from other states were welcome to attend; indeed, a neighboring state's conclave might have been as close or closer than the one held in the Knight's own state. Masonic authorities obtained special rates for train tickets and hotel rooms in the host city to make such conventions affordable and appealing to brethren.

This pass identified the visitor to the combined Kentucky and Georgia conclave as having paid the registration fee and thus entitled to attend those events for which he (or she) qualified. Though blue, Royal Arch, and Knights Templar freemasonry were male-only, their brethren were encouraged to bring their wives to special assemblies like feast-day lodges and annual conclaves, where the banquet, oration, and investiture of newly elected officers were open to women and sometimes the wider public. Wives were not allowed to attend any "work," voting, or initiation rituals that were performed in local lodges or chapters, not even those women who

³⁵ Conclaves were usually held every year after a Grand Commandery was established in a state. This does not mean that no commanderies or Knights Templar were practicing in the state before then. Qualified Masons and asylums could seek degrees or dispensation to practice from other states' authorities. Knights Templar practiced in Georgia at least since the 1840s, but it was not until 1860 that there were a sufficient number of commanderies to form a Grand Commandery. See Josiah T. Clarke, *Knight Templary in Georgia* (Augusta: Masonic Home Print Shop, 1943).

belonged to affiliated orders like the Order of the Eastern Star and Heroines of Jericho.³⁶ The purple color of the pass echoed the regalia of Knights Templar state officers.

The owner of these materials, a Georgian named Earnest A. Cutts (1858—1927), was a highly esteemed Mason. He was elected to the top state position, Grand Commander of Knights Templary in Georgia, in 1901, the year of this conclave, and in 1921, the highest state office, Imperial Potentate, of the Ancient Arabic Order of the Nobles of the Mystic Shrine (known as the Shriners) in Georgia.

Like most masonic texts, the one on the back of the pass uses terms that were old-fashioned at the time, such as “libations” instead of “beverages.” This wording suggested that Masonry was an ancient institution, just as the Latin texts on their degree certificates did. In other aspects, the pass exemplifies the sociability and humor that was central to masonic life. Its statement that the pass was “not good” for water, soda, or ginger ale, common beverages at public events, and that any Knight caught drinking them would be expelled was clearly ironic. It suggests that attendees drink something else, like wine or beer, which were often consumed at masonic gatherings. But temperance groups in the United States were quite vociferous, and their membership overlapped with that of freemasonry, especially in smaller Southern cities and towns. The notion that a Knight Templar would be thrown out for proper conduct was ludicrous and meant to encourage these men to relax, have a drink, and feel comfortable doing so.

³⁶ Chapters of Eastern Star and Heroines of Jericho had to include at least two Master Masons or Royal Arch Masons as officers, but the majority of members were women with close family relations to Masons, such as wives, widows, mothers, sisters, or daughters.

Widows' Fund Application Form. Undated.
Yaarab Temple, Atlanta, GA.
Paper, ink.
3 ½ x 6 inches.

Yaarab Temple of the Ancient Arabic Order of the Nobles of the Mystic Shrine (Atlanta, GA), Georgia Ephemera Collection. Ms 3496, Box 54, 12. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

The duty of freemasons is to take care not only of their brethren, but their brethren's family, and this responsibility permeates all of the orders and rites within freemasonry. None had greater right to that aid than a Mason's widow. Masonic bodies had various ways of offering financial aid and support, but it primarily came from donations from brethren. Benevolence and charity were central qualities for Masons.

In the Shriner Yaarab Temple of Atlanta, Georgia, the Widows' Fund was a dues-paying association within the membership that was intended to provide some immediate financial benefit to a Noble's widow upon his passing. Any Noble of the Mystic Shrine who was 50 years of age or older and in good health at the time of enrollment was eligible. The member paid a two-dollar entrance fee. When a member died, every other Widows' Fund member was asked to pay \$1.10 within thirty days to his beneficiary (if his wife predeceased him, it could be another relative). Given these sums, one might speculate that this fund was formed when such amounts were significant, perhaps between the 1920s and 1940s.

Anti-Masonry

From the start, modern freemasonry encountered hostility to its very existence, beginning with the papal bull of 1738 that condemned freemasons for heresy and threatened them with excommunication or worse. Wary of this new association whose members met in public taverns and inns but behind closed doors, and were known to swear oaths to each other, not to the king or deity, political authorities had them surveilled and, in some places, shut down lodges. The fraternity's reputation suffered at the hands of pranksters, like those in Philadelphia in 1736 who pretended to be Masons initiating a young man and caused his death.³⁷ Screeds were common, especially in Catholic countries, and exposés such as George Crafts' book titillated the curious public.

One event in upstate New York in 1826 mired U.S. freemasonry in scandal and embarrassment, causing an exodus from its ranks and many lodges to close. A local Mason named William Morgan announced the publication of his exposé of the fraternity's secrets. Several Masons kidnapped him from jail and supposedly rowed him in a boat to Canada; Morgan was never heard from again, but his corpse was never found. Suddenly the masonic oath of secrecy did seem literal in promising death to those who betrayed it. Playing on related fears that freemasons were corrupting government and the courts, the Anti-Masonic Party, the first third major one in U.S. history, arose in 1832. Even today, as Jim Marrs's book shows, Masonry remains a target of conspiracy theories about "deep states" and world domination.

³⁷ This event is described in Julius F. Sachse, *Benjamin Franklin as a Free Mason* (Philadelphia, 1906), 49-75.

“Anti-Masonic Committee of Middlesex County, MA.” *Georgia Courier* (Augusta), July 26, 1833, p. 2.
Herman Atwill.

Digital scan from Georgia Historic Newspapers, <https://gahistoricnewspapers.galileo.usg.edu/>

Given its novelty as the first national third party in the United States, news of the Anti-Masonic Party’s activities and candidates reached other states, as demonstrated in this Georgia newspaper’s report.³⁸ In heavily biased language, a committee member for a local chapter of the party in Massachusetts asks his U.S. congressman, Edward Everett (1794—1865), who served the Middlesex District from 1825 to 1835, for his opinion on freemasonry. The author, Herman Atwill, trots out an inflammatory stereotype of Masons as anti-government disrupters, despite the fraternity’s constitutions that demand that its members obey the laws of their land.³⁹ Without providing any evidence but certainly relying on the suspicions aroused by the Morgan Affair, the writer implies that freemasons favor the well-being of their masonic brethren over that of the nation. It would be interesting to read the reply, if one were made, of Everett, an eminent orator and statesman who served as U.S. Senator, governor, Secretary of State, and president of Harvard University.

On the other hand, is it so strange that this rebellious identity was attached to freemasons? Masons had figured prominently among the Sons of Liberty and participated in the war of independence from Britain, helping to overthrow a tyrannical monarchy. But having served in the revolutionary war was the strongest proof of patriotism in the young republic and the opposite of someone who wished to destroy this new form of government. The anti-government stereotype took root with a French book, *Memoirs Illustrating the History of Jacobinism* (1797-1798), written in the bloody aftermath of the French Revolution by the Jesuit priest Augustin Barruel. He blamed the violent overthrow of the monarchy, class stability, and the Catholic religion on a broad conspiracy between Enlightenment thinkers, atheists, and freemasons. Through translations Barruel’s ideas made their way to the United States and may have

³⁸ For a history of the party, see William Preston Vaughn, *The Antimasonic Party in the United States 1826-1843* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983).

³⁹ According to the Library of Congress, Atwill was the editor of *Yeoman’s Gazette, Mechanic’s Journal and Middlesex Advertiser*, from 1831 to 1833, and publisher of John M. Cheney, *An address delivered before the Society of Middlesex Husbandmen and Manufacturers, at Concord, Mass., October 5, 1831* (Concord, 1831).

persuaded some who believed that freemasons had broken laws and evaded justice in the Morgan Affair through an underground network.

Breve idea de la masonería española, y refutación del primer discurso que pronunció en la gran logia de Madrid Don Juan Andujar. Madrid: D. Francisco de La Parte, 1812.

L.J.M.

Ink on paper.

5 ¾ x 3 7/8 inches.

Rare Book HS635.L45 1812. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

This little pamphlet, *A Brief View of Spanish Freemasonry, and A Refutation of the First Address Delivered by Don Juan Andújar in the Grand Lodge of Madrid*, reprints the first lecture given at the Grand Lodge of Madrid by its Grand Orator, Don Juan Andújar, but the reason is for its author to refute the speaker's claims about freemasonry in his preface and footnotes.⁴⁰ The author, who signed only with his initials, perhaps fearing reprisals, made clear his hostility to freemasonry, calling it "this monstrous system...nothing else but an organization of immoral men" that was trying to destroy Christianity. In fact, all masonic lodges at that time required their brethren, the vast majority of whom were Christian, to profess a religious faith, and the text identifies Andújar as a priest. Men of the cloth were often elected as Orators because they had experience in rhetoric and public speaking.

No doubt L.J.M. knew of the conspiracy theory that freemasons and other secret societies had master-minded the French Revolution, made popular in a book by the French abbot Augustin Barruel during the late 1790s.⁴¹ Barruel, a monarchist and Jesuit, linked freemasonry with "diabolical" French Enlightenment writers like Voltaire, d'Alembert, and Diderot whose works were banned in Spain, the revolutionary Jacobins, and the esoteric Illuminati, who were all, he claimed, "conspiring for worldwide upheaval, to overturn crowned heads, and for a fantastical liberty and equality." In fact, the earliest Constitutions of modern freemasonry from the 1720s and 1730s specifically forbade political discussions in lodge and required brethren to obey the ruler and laws of their land. L.J.M. willfully mocks and misinterprets Andújar's high-minded ideals that call for "the ministers of [religion, to be] learned, tolerant, and model citizens who obey the law: a legislation cemented in the eternal rights of mankind...judges [to be]

⁴⁰ I have inserted the diacritical in Andújar's name, according to modern Spanish usage, in my discussion, but left the pamphlet's title as it originally appeared in print. Spelling and diacritical marks could vary widely at this time.

⁴¹ Augustin Barruel, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du Jacobinisme* (Paris, 1797-1798). Various translations were made such as Barruel, *The AntiChristian and Antisocial Conspiracy, an extract from the French* (Lancaster, PA: Joseph Ehrenfried, 1812).

enlightened, with integrity, and dispassionate like the law...laborers, gathering the precious fruit of their sweaty efforts, without fearing that the greedy will despoil them of it in the name of heaven or centuries-old customs.”

According to the text, Andújar gave his lecture on April 3, 1810, and like many masonic lectures, it was published, hardly an act of secrecy and conspiracy.⁴² From its earliest years, freemasonry had been vigorously persecuted in Spain where the Catholic Church was all powerful and its Holy Office upheld papal bans. However, in 1810, Spain was ruled by a Frenchman, Joseph Bonaparte, brother of Napoleon, propped up by the French military. The Bonapartes were favorable to or at least tolerant of freemasonry, and reined in the Holy Office in Spain.

⁴² The Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, has digitized its copy, call number R/820546.

The Cabinet. In *New-England Anti-Masonic Almanac for the year of Our Lord 1832*, 4 (1831?): 32.

David Claypoole Johnston
Wood engraving.

Digital scan from Internet Archive,
<https://archive.org/details/newenglandantima1831bost/page/n53/mode/2up>.

Anti-Masonry appeared nearly simultaneously with the establishment of modern or “speculative” freemasonry circa 1720 in London. Monarchs were suspicious of secret meetings and sworn oaths by their subjects as potential breeding grounds of rebellion, while the Catholic Church, which claimed the authority to hear secrets (confession), accused freemasons of heresy in the papal bull of 1738 that threatened to excommunicate any Catholic who engaged with the fraternity. Within a decade, screeds and cartoons appeared that charged freemasonry with various nefarious intentions and activities, and exposés purported to have inside knowledge of the workings of the lodge, mostly to defame the fraternity.

In the United States, the lurid accounts of the kidnapping and disappearance in upstate New York of William Morgan, who made known in 1826 that he was going to publish an exposé on freemasonry, implicated a number of Masons.⁴³ The governor of New York, DeWitt Clinton, a leading freemason, called for the perpetrators to be caught and tried, but conflicting reports and the lack of Morgan’s corpse led to protracted and often unsuccessful trials. Some Masons were tried and given sentences for kidnapping (a misdemeanor at the time), not for murder. By 1827, popular opinion held that Masons had murdered Morgan and were being protected by brethren with political and legal clout. Moral outrage at this perceived injustice led to publications like this Boston journal, the *New England Anti-Masonic Almanac*, and the creation of the first significant third party in U.S. presidential politics, the Anti-Masonic party.⁴⁴ In 1828, in the

⁴³ William Morgan, *Illustrations of Masonry, by One of the Fraternity, Who Has Devoted Thirty Years to the Subject* (Rochester, NY: printed for the author, 1827).

⁴⁴ For this and other analysis of the Anti-Masonic party, see William Preston Vaughn, *The Antimasonic Party in the United States 1826-1843* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983), 1. Vaughn, 190-1, holds that the fraternity actually benefitted in two ways from the Antimasonic movement: it rid itself of members with little investment in the order’s moral objectives; and, during that time, Masons refrained from their regular processions and cornerstone laying ceremonies, thereby removing a source of public irritation. But Vaughn also contends that when freemasonry re-emerged in the early 1840s, it was somewhat diminished from its earlier standing as an intellectual and socio-cultural leader.

midst of the Morgan Affair, a Tennessee freemason, Andrew Jackson, was elected as the seventh President.

The party was founded in New York State and often held meetings in towns associated with the Morgan Affair and its subsequent trials, but its followers soon spread throughout New England, the Mid-Atlantic, and the Midwest. Its initial platform, signaled by its name, was the eradication of freemasonry, which it condemned for having too much influence and self-interest in politics and the legal system and facilitating drunkenness. But the Morgan Affair also brought increasing knowledge of masonic rhetoric and symbolism to the average American. Indeed, for cartoons like the one here to function, some familiarity with masonic regalia and signs was required, belying the group's total secrecy. In this image by David Claypoole Johnston (1799—1865), the cabinet of President Jackson, who is caricatured at the far right, are represented wearing aprons, some with the square and compasses, others with the all-seeing eye, and making gestures that imitate the gestures that freemasons used to recognize each other discreetly and when they did not speak a common language.⁴⁵ While some members of Jackson's first cabinet (Martin Van Buren, Secretary of State, John Eaton, Secretary of War, and William T. Barry, Postmaster General) are known to have been Masons, due to internal factions it had to be almost completely revamped during 1831. The Anti-Masonic party campaigned against political candidates who were known to be freemasons, but sometimes sought political alliances with parties or groups that included Masons. Nor should we assume that Johnston held anti-masonic attitudes; he also illustrated sheet music with a masonic song.

⁴⁵ For an excellent study of Johnston's anti-masonic imagery, see Jeffrey Croteau, "From Blind Man's Bluff to the Poor Blind Candidate: David Claypoole Johnston's Anti-Masonic Illustrations," *Heredom* 22 (2014): 107-36.

Circular Warning of an Imposter Mason. September 9, 1895.
Grand Lodge of Georgia, Macon.
Typed letter.
13 x 8 ½ inches.

Hollonville Lodge No. 70, Correspondence, 1889-1902. Leeman Anderson Collection of Masonic Lodge Records, RBR/141/LA, Series II, Box 1, Folder 11. Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Studies.

Lodges warned their brethren when outsiders tried to infiltrate their lodges and meetings or to obtain aid that Masons were obliged to offer to other Masons, whether they had ever met them or not. The fear was that these “profane” men would then reveal masonic identities and secrets, possibly in publications as in the Morgan Affair of 1826 that led to a crisis in U.S. freemasonry. However, the extensive publications by Masons, Grand Lodges, and local lodges already provided a great deal of information about the Craft, as freemasonry is sometimes called.

Grand Lodges frequently issued a circular to its brethren across the state to put them on guard against an imposter who might move from town to town trying to gain entry to or funding from different lodges. Sometimes notices of masonic imposters were even printed in newspapers. These Grand Lodge notices usually repeated the stories given by the pretend Mason, along with an eyewitness physical description, to allow brethren to identify and exclude the imposter.

“Masonic Institutions,” *The Southern Whig* (Athens), September 17, 1841, p. 1.
J.F.F.

Response to “Masonic Institutions,” *The Southern Whig*, September 17, 1841, p. 2.
Unsigned.

Digital scans from Historic Georgia Newspapers, <https://gahistoricnewspapers.galileo.usg.edu/>

Just after Ben Perley Poore (1820—1887) seems to have sold his ownership of the Athens newspaper, *The Southern Whig*, this article on masonic institutions and a response appeared in its pages. The timing of its publication is intriguing, for the local lodge, Mount Vernon Lodge No. 22, was negotiating its return to the official register of the Grand Lodge of Georgia, and was granted a new charter later that fall. The writer, J.F.F., is clearly not a supporter of freemasonry, and casts doubt on its claims to morality, virtue, and merit. He is careful to distinguish himself from the conspiracy theorists (like Barruel) who accused the Masons as being part of “mystic cabals,” but he claims something similar, that it is an anti-Christian organization, without providing any evidence. In ignorance of or contradiction to the published constitutions of freemasons, J.F.F. states that “their rules and regulations, adopted in these recesses, does impose upon personal freedom, where a terrible Oath is extorted from every one...not to reveal its secrets or plans!” To use terms like “extorted,” “terrible,” and “recesses” and “secrets” leads the reader to imagine a nefarious and violent association. In practice, the fraternity sought willing and mature candidates, making them wait until age 21 (when men often started a trade by 15) to be considered for membership, undergo inquiries about their character, and then study for their degree rituals.

An unsigned response appeared in the same issue, which suggests that it likely came from the publishers, editor, or perhaps Poore himself, given his masonic affiliation, since no others would have been able to read the initial article and react without their intervention. The responding author identifies himself as a Mason of experience, and sets out to correct the claims made by J.F.F. He defends the brotherhood as a religious body, one that welcomes men of varied socio-economic, religious, cultural, and political standing, for charitable aims and promotes “quiet and order.” It is also possible that the initial article was fabricated by the newspaper staff in order to give a response favorable to freemasonry, emerging from years of unfavorable media attention from the Morgan Affair.

Morgan's Exposé of Free-Masonry as written by Captain William Morgan. Printed in U.S.A, undated (20th century).

Edited by George R. Crafts.

7 5/16 x 4 3/4 inches.

Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Library, Athens.

The Morgan Affair of 1826 caused many freemasons to reconsider their participation in the fraternity, and over the following decade many lodges throughout the U.S. either closed or saw a precipitous drop in membership. William Morgan was a brick mason in upstate New York who acquired a Royal Arch degree, though there is no record of his having obtained the requisite Master Mason degree first.⁴⁶ When Morgan pushed to open a second Royal Arch chapter in the town of Batavia, other Royal Arch Masons blackballed him, rejecting him as a future member, perhaps because he seemed to sow divisions within the masonic community. In what appears to have been an angry or vengeful reaction, Morgan wrote a book revealing the “secrets” of freemasonry that the local publisher David C. Miller agreed to print. Miller’s printing establishment was attacked, and Morgan was abducted after being put in jail on a minor charge. Dozens of freemasons in New York State, including some of the sheriffs involved in charging and holding Morgan, were implicated and put on trial over several years.

Morgan’s book, *Illustrations of Masonry*, did see the light of day, but its greatest dissemination came through later edited versions like this one by George R. Crafts. Crafts called himself a former Grand Master of Manitou Council, an odd mixture of masonic terms from blue lodges and higher degrees of the Scottish Rite. The Algonquin word “Manitou,” which signified a powerful spirit, was also taken by New York Masons for Manitou Lodge No. 106, chartered in 1846.

The first edition of Crafts’ book was published in 1850 in New York by Wilson and Company, with a more titillating title, *Mysteries of Freemasonry*, than Morgan’s neutral original one, and was probably motivated by financial profit. In the much later edition on display here, the more explicit title, *Morgan's Exposé*, on the cover appeals directly to public curiosity and scandal-mongering. Furthermore, the cover image of a man riding a bucking goat related to a new image of freemasonry in the United States: that initiates were made to ride an unwilling goat

⁴⁶ For a critical account, see Stephen Dafoe, “Batavia to Baltimore and Beyond: A Re-examination of the William Morgan Story and Its Effects on Freemasonry,” *Heredom* 15 (2007): 43-116.

that tried to buck them off.⁴⁷ This external association seems to have derived from older accusations that freemasonry was anti-religious, combined with a popular Christian belief that the Devil rides a goat. Masonic bodies have rejected this connection as having nothing to do with their ritual.⁴⁸ The title page retains Crafts' initial title. These differing titles and the lack of a publisher's or printer's name on this later version may have been strategies for avoiding copyright fees or claims. Although this book has been dated around 1860, the elegant flowers and curving stems on the cover appear more in keeping with the Art Nouveau style which flourished around the turn of the century.

⁴⁷ In a hardbound copy that belonged to the University of Georgia Libraries (HS527 .M64 1860), but is unfortunately now lost, a lurid red cover emphasized the scandalous nature of the text.

⁴⁸ "Goat," *Masonic Messenger*, July 1971, 10. Nevertheless, the Scottish Rite Masonic Museum of Our National Heritage in Lexington, Massachusetts, has a "bucking goat" form, made around 1915 of wool and pine, with a saddle and stirrups, by a national manufacturer of masonic paraphernalia, DeMoulin Brothers, of Greenville, Illinois. It may have been something enjoyed by college rather than masonic fraternities. One can imagine such "wild rides" appealing to fraternal societies as a physical expression of manhood that constituted their bonding practices.

Rule By Secrecy: The Hidden History That Connects the Trilateral Commission, the Freemasons, and the Great Pyramids. New York: Harper Collins, 2000.

Jim Marrs.

Bound, 9 ¼ x 6 ½ inches.

E840. M36 2000 University of Georgia Library, Athens.

This book is part of a long tradition of speculating on historical and global conspiracies involving freemasons. These publications may have been motivated by various factors, but a primary one was fear (of the author or the audience), generated by the secrecy and international reach of the order as well as perceptions of its prosperity and political influence. The title of Marrs's book highlights this crucial aspect of secrecy that feeds such ungrounded assumptions. A common notion in anti-masonic conspiracy theories is that the order's secrecy and swearing oaths to the fraternity must be anti-democratic, immoral, and hostile to religion, even though the masonic constitutions require its brethren to obey their government and laws, to practice a faith, and to vote for their members and officers as well as conduct themselves in a respectable and morally upright manner. Moreover, the U.S. constitution guarantees the rights to assembly, to free speech, to worship (or not), and to voting (which remains secret unless one chooses to reveal one's choices). Two other important factors lay behind many screeds and exposés of freemasonry: revenge, for several authors were blackballed by lodges or expelled for unmasonic conduct, which appears to have been the case with William Morgan; and, profit, for these books sometimes sold quite well.

James Marrs (1943—2017) was a journalist for Texas newspapers, radio, and television shows, and the author of several books on controversial topics, such as the assassination of John F. Kennedy and UFOs. In this book, he combines several of these and other targets of conspiracy theorists, but without coherently connecting them. Instead, he repeatedly warns his readers that they are constantly being lied to or kept in ignorance of financial and political relationships, government programs, uncomfortable truths, and esoteric thinking. Rather than examine masonic origin stories critically and historically, his discussion more or less confirms them through speculation, innuendo, and exaggeration. The book's sections on historical and modern political plots, government programs, and dealings of wealthy businessmen and financial institutions seem to function as multipliers of the instances of media or official misinformation that leave the public ignorant, but without a clear connection to freemasonry.

Equality and Hierarchy

Equality and hierarchy may seem to be contradictory values, but together, freemasons believe, they foster order, freedom, and harmony within the lodge. In early years, Masons divested themselves of their “metals,” meaning swords (carried by gentlemen) and money, and donned aprons to make them “equal.” However, the masonic apron also identifies the wearer’s degree or office, thereby differentiating Masons by experience and rank.

After obtaining the third degree of Master Mason, a brother could earn additional degrees in the York Rite or Scottish Rite. Some of these degrees involved highly esoteric study, others were more specifically Christian; each necessitated more time and money, so not all brethren pursued them. Any Master Mason, Royal Arch Mason, or Knights Templar could be elected to office in their respective lodge, chapter, or consistory. In this way, a modest clerk or artisan learned to lead his lodge, which sometimes translated into leadership outside the fraternity. In freemasonry, labor was recognized and valued at a time when most people did not deem working hard a virtue.⁴⁹

Once the thirteen colonies threw off Britain’s yoke, American Masons had to create their own authorities, Grand Lodges and Grand Chapters in each state. Although the Grand Lodge of England recognized free Black Masons like Prince Hall, the new state Grand Lodges did not, even though they observed the same rules and rituals.

⁴⁹ As suggested in George C. Lorimer, *Masonry and the Dignity of Labor* (ca. 1889).

Alfred Ennis in his Knights Templar Regalia. Circa 1871-1884.
Leonard & Martin, photographers, Topeka, KS.
Cabinet card/silver albumen photographic print.
6½ x 4¼ inches.

George Horace Lorimer Family Papers. Ms 2944, Box 116, Folder 3. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Like many Masons, Alfred Ennis (1837—1916) had himself photographed in his masonic regalia, a way of commemorating his affiliation that was meant to be shared in limited contexts, as freemasons were only to wear their regalia in the lodge and at official public ceremonies like processions and funerals. However, the oaths to secrecy that a Mason took largely required his silence on his fellow members' identities and lodge ritual, including passwords and handshakes, but did not forbid him from acknowledging his own masonic identity. In addition to his membership in a blue lodge, Royal Arch chapter, and the Scottish Rite, Ennis also joined the Knights Templar in Topeka Commandery No. 5 in Topeka, Kansas. The order of the Knights Templar was part of the York Rite which seemed to be addressed to members of the Christian faith, though Jews were known to have taken its Royal Arch degrees. The Templar name derived from the similarly named medieval Knights Templar, more officially called the Knights of the Temple, a Catholic military order involved in the Crusades.⁵⁰ Its military and Christian associations are obvious in the uniform-like regalia and sword and its symbols of a cross, halberd, and suit of armor.

⁵⁰ Biographical information from Alfred Ennis Family, George Horace Lorimer Family Papers, Ms 2944, Box 1, Folder 15.

Charter for a Black Royal Arch Chapter, Pride of Athens No. 45. March 4, 1954.
 Smooth Ashlar Grand Royal Arch Chapter of the State of Georgia.
 Paper, inks.
 17 x 13 inches.

Georgia Education Collection. Ms 2991, Box 2. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

This charter was granted for a Royal Arch chapter of Black freemasons, who, because they were not welcome in white lodges and chapters, developed a parallel system of Grand Lodges and chapters throughout the United States. Even after emancipation, the segregated situation in freemasonry, as in American society, continued. Although a few men of African heritage—typically those who could “pass” as white—are known to have been initiated into blue lodges, these were isolated cases in northeastern states like New Jersey and New York.⁵¹ Nevertheless, the debate over the “regularity” or conformity of African American lodges to freemasonic tradition as established by the Grand Lodge of England has raged for more than two centuries. Today, only a handful of white Grand Lodges in the United States do not acknowledge the legitimacy of Prince Hall freemasonry, the largest membership of Black Masons in the country. The Grand Lodge of Georgia seems to have joined the majority of states on this issue.⁵²

This masonic order was named after the courageous Prince Hall, a free man of color who, with several others, were initiated by a military lodge of Irish Masons in Boston in 1775. Prince Hall embraced the new political ideals of the revolutionary cause, but was confronted with discrimination. He was not allowed to enlist in the revolutionary army, and he petitioned the Massachusetts government to protect free Blacks who were being coerced to board ships and then sold into slavery. Unable to obtain a charter for a lodge of Black men in the colonies, Hall wrote directly to the Grand Lodge of England, the mother lodge of freemasonry, and it was granted. African Lodge No. 459 came into being. After Prince Hall’s death in 1807, lodges of free African Americans continued to exist, but they faced numerous challenges. With the federal abolishment of slavery and the constitutional amendment for racial equality in the mid-1860s, Black men were catalyzed to form masonic lodges.

⁵¹ See Harold Van Buren Voorhis, *Negro Masonry in the United States* (New York: Henry Emerson, 1940).

⁵² The coronavirus pandemic delayed many masonic projects and meetings. For one report that appears to have knowledge of a Grand Lodge of Georgia vote on this matter, see <https://freemasonsfordummies.blogspot.com/2021/10/gl-of-georgia-votes-for-prince-hall.html>. Consulted 11/01/2022.

Smooth Ashlar Grand Lodge was an important model in Black freemasonry. It was formed in Atlanta in 1892, not within the Prince Hall Order but as Prince Hall Affiliated.⁵³ It was the first Prince Hall Grand Lodge to purchase a building as its headquarters, in 1920, at 277 Auburn Avenue NE.⁵⁴ It seems that Smooth Ashlar Grand Royal Arch Chapter, also in Atlanta, was related to Smooth Ashlar Grand Lodge, but the connection has not been acknowledged or documented in the scholarly literature.⁵⁵

Smooth Ashlar Grand Royal Arch Chapter approved this charter for a Black Royal Arch chapter in Athens, Georgia, which had a century-old chapter for white men. As was customary, the Masons who were to hold the three principal offices signed their names: Reverend Walt B. Thomas, Leonard Curry, and George Appling. At the very bottom of the sheet, ten other officers signed their names and positions, such as Aaron Kendricks, Secretary, Robert Walker, Treasurer, and Eddie Gillams, Master of the First Veil. The fact that Athens in 1954 was able to sustain at least two blue lodges and two Royal Arch chapters, one white and one Black of each, indicates that the principles of freemasonry were deeply rooted and widely spread among its citizens. One wonders if these Athens men of color were galvanized to establish their chapter by national events. The landmark case of *Brown vs. Board of Education*, which led to federal enforcement of integrated grade-school education, was underway, and although the decision did not come until mid-May, its discussion in the media could have inspired the Black community to form its own masonic chapter, given the long masonic tradition of valuing and supporting education.

At the top of this certificate we see the fundamental symbol and color of Royal Arch Masonry, a keystone in red. Around a circle circumscribed within the keystone is the mnemonic device HTWSSTKS, which stands for Hiram of Tyre, Widow's Son, Sent to King Solomon, a reference to the foundational legend of freemasonry in which Hiram, the head stonemason of

⁵³ The date of its founding comes from Christopher Belcher, *Making Rough Edges Smooth: A Historical Study of Free & Accepted Ancient York Masonry Prince Hall Origin-National Compact in the State of Georgia* (lulu.com, 2017). Yet the Grand Lodge itself gives the date 1865, though its evidence is not documented. Smooth Ashlar Grand Lodge, *Centennial Anniversary, 1865-1965* (Atlanta, 1965), 31. On Smooth Ashlar's Prince Hall Affiliation, see Matthew Brock, *A History of the National Grand Lodge* (Columbus, OH, 1980), 49-50.

⁵⁴ Smooth Ashlar Grand Lodge, *Centennial Anniversary*, 31.

⁵⁵ By 1965 Smooth Ashlar Grand Lodge was also a lodge for York Rite Masons, thus providing the Royal Arch degrees. Smooth Ashlar Grand Lodge, *Centennial Anniversary*, 30. Originating in the mid-eighteenth century, the York Rite was created by Irish freemasons who claimed to practice a "purer" form of ritual than did those who adhered to the practices of the Grand Lodge of England. This distinct rite created a schism between the Irish-led "Antients," and the Grand Lodge "Moderns." The conflict was eventually resolved with unification in 1814 as the United Grand Lodge of England. Harmony within freemasonic circles was not always possible.

Solomon's Temple, is killed by other masons who wanted his secrets. This keystone is the symbol of the Mark Master degree of the York Rite, which can only be acquired after obtaining the Master Mason degree. The Hebrew letters on the charter are among several Judaic references, such as the menorah and six-pointed star, that are symbols of the Royal Arch degrees.

Entered Apprentice Apron. Circa 1902-1950.
 Luther Glove Company, Berlin, WI.
 Lambskin, cotton.
 12 x 13 ¼ inches.

Haynes Family Masonic Aprons and Cribbage Board. Ms 4397, Oversize Box 1. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

This plain white apron is probably that of an Entered Apprentice. As a candidate for full membership, an initiate wore this undecorated item to mark his state of innocence as he entered the lodge and began to follow its moral instruction. When made of relatively expensive lambskin, it alluded to that state of innocence and also faith, the lamb being associated with sacrifice and devotion in Judeo-Christian narratives. An Entered Apprentice could not vote, hold office, or partake in the ritual until he had passed the second degree of Fellow Craft and was raised to the third degree of Master Mason. A Master Mason had an apron decorated with symbols of his rank, but it's not always clear whether or when a Mason kept the plain apron and had it modified or obtained an already decorated one. Under this apron's flap, printed in blue, are the lodge name, Richland Lodge No. 39, Columbia, South Carolina, a line for the name of its owner—though it remains blank—, and the manufacturer's name. Though not one of the major U.S. masonic supply firms, Luther Glove Company specialized in soft leathers like lambskin, and was manufacturing other masonic items since 1902.

Lodges kept plain white aprons on hand for initiations as well as public ceremonies like funerals, cornerstone laying, and feast day processions. In 1854, the *Marietta Masonic Signet and Journal* instructed brethren to wear only plain white aprons and gloves during such public events, and blamed showy spectacles of regalia on the influence of another secret society, the International Order of Odd Fellows.⁵⁶ By wearing identical, simple aprons, Master Masons performed their professed principle of equality. The exception to this equality was that lodge officers always wore their special aprons and “jewels,” or crafted symbols of their rank, on silk ribbons around their necks in the lodge and at public ceremonies. And while the white apron is

⁵⁶ Unsigned, *Masonic Signet and Journal* (Marietta) no. 3 (July 1854): 167-8. The writer claims that thirty years ago, one did not see “richly ornamented golden collars” at masonic funerals. He described a plain white apron being laid on the Mason's coffin, and a service performed by his brethren, typically after the religious one at the gravesite, but possibly at the home or in church if the coffin were taken there. See also, “A Masonic Funeral Service Prepared by a Committee of the Grand Lodge of Ohio,” *Freemasons' Monthly Magazine* (Boston) 1, no. 7 (May 1, 1842): 207-9. This article directs that the apron *not* be buried, but removed before lowering the coffin into the grave.

plain, the rope-like ties and full tassels are beloved masonic forms that appear on everything from certificates to architectural façades.

Family tradition holds that at least one of these masonic aprons belonged to their patriarch, William Greaner Haynes, Sr. (1869—1967), who moved his family in 1918 from Columbia, South Carolina, to Darien, Georgia, where he acquired the tabby house and estate called Ashantilly.⁵⁷ Since this apron came from a lodge in Columbia, it is likely that it was his, perhaps one he wore in public ceremonies or the one laid on his casket.

⁵⁷ His son, the artist, printer, and environmentalist, William Greaner Haynes, Jr. (1908—2001), set up Ashantilly Press, which produced books, cards, and posters, many in letterpress. In 1991, Haynes, Jr. closed the press and transformed the property into Ashantilly Center, a non-profit educational and cultural organization.

Knights Templar Regalia. Circa 1910s-1940s.

Sword Holder.

Unknown manufacture.

Leather, metal. 42 inches long.

Belt.

Henderson Ames Co., Kalamazoo, WI.

Leather, grosgrain, and metal. 48½ inches long.

Shoulder or Cuff Boards.

Pettibone Bros., Cincinnati, OH.

Velvet, cotton, cardboard.

3 13/16 x 2 and 3½ x 2 inches.

Star badge.

5 inches diameter.

Rectangular badge.

4 x 2 3/16 inches.

Peninah W. Thomas Family Papers. Ms 1738, Box 11. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Bicorn.

C.E. Ward Company, New London, OH.

Wool, feathers, embroidery thread, leather band.

Size 7 ¼. 16 inches long, 5½ inches high, 8 inches wide (including feathers).

Historic Clothing and Textile Collection. HCTCO15, Box 58. College of Family and Consumer Sciences, University of Georgia, Athens.

The order of the Knights Templar was a higher masonic degree associated with the York Rite. All its members would have first obtained the three blue degrees, as well as higher degrees of Royal Arch Masonry. The order was named after the similarly named medieval Catholic military order, officially called the Order of Solomon's Temple—a central metaphor in masonic rhetoric and ritual. The medieval Knights Templar protected European pilgrims to the Holy Land and asserted their rule of Jerusalem by military force. Similar to blue Masonry, which adds 4000 years to the current year to suggest its ancient origins, the Knights Templar subtracted 1119 years from the current year in honor of the year it is believed that the medieval order was founded.

Knight Templar regalia consists of a military-looking uniform replete with hat, called a bicorn for its two points, and sword, and a triangular apron, usually black bordered by silver.⁵⁸ The triangle is a principal form in their ritual, from the arrangement of the lodge room to their aprons and bicorns. Unlike blue Masonry, Knights Templar must profess a Christian faith and swear to protect their religion. Their ritual involves reenactments of a pilgrim knight's difficult journeys. The order's main symbols are a cross (often with a snake), crown, nine-pointed star within which a circle is circumscribed, and swords or halberds saltire (two weapons crossed on the diagonal). One can see most of these symbols in this collection of regalia.

These items were made by at least three of the leading masonic supply companies in the United States: Henderson Ames, of Kalamazoo, Michigan; C.E. Ward, of New London, Ohio; and Pettibone Brothers, of Cincinnati, Ohio, which also produced the Sciopticon magic lantern in this exhibition. By the later nineteenth century, freemasons across the country had access to similar regalia and lodge furniture, as well as the novelties that were incorporated into their catalogues and price lists, like the one from the W.W. Stratton Company on display here.

Most of these regalia items, as well as Knights Templar handbooks and annual communications, belong to the DuBose Family Papers. Bolling Stovall DuBose (1889—1973) attended the University of Georgia and then made Athens his home, working for the Southern Mutual Fire Insurance Company.⁵⁹ He was a Knight in Godefroy de Bouillon Commandery No. 14, of Athens, and held the highest state-wide office in the order, Grand Commander, in 1942.⁶⁰ Embroidered letters on one pair of cuffs are GC, for Grand Commander, and purple and gold were the colors of Grand officers. However, the sword holder's buckle is inscribed with the name of Benjamin F. Hardeman (1869—1924), a prominent Athens businessman, charter member of Godefroy de Bouillon Commandery No. 14, and himself Grand Commander in 1915.⁶¹ Though Hardeman died unexpectedly, and before DuBose entered the commandery, they

⁵⁸ Jeremy Cross, *The Templars' Chart or Hieroglyphic Monitor*, 4th ed. (New York: A.S. Barnes; Cincinnati: H.W. Derby, 1854), 59.

⁵⁹ Dubose's masonic life centered in Athens. He was made a Master Mason in Mt. Vernon Lodge No. 22 in 1923, a Royal Arch Mason in Keystone Chapter No. 1 in 1924, and a Knight in Godefroy de Bouillon Commandery No. 14 in 1926. Josiah T. Clarke, *Knight Templary in Georgia* (Augusta: Masonic Home Print Shop, 1943), 325.

⁶⁰ *The 154th Annual Conclave of the Grand Commandery of Knights Templar of the State of Georgia, Macon, May 6-7, 2014*, 128. Available at yorkriteofga.org/image/Files/Proceedings/2014-Proceedings.pdf. Consulted 02/10/2021.

⁶¹ For information concerning the charter and early officers of the Athens commandery and Hardeman's biography, see Clarke, *Knight Templary in Georgia*, 275 and 329. I thank Quynh Tien Tran, an undergraduate in my special topics course in Fall 2021, for her excellent research on the function of and manner of wearing this leather sword holder.

would have known each other from the local blue lodge, Mt. Vernon Lodge No. 22, and were both natives of Washington, Georgia. It's possible that the commandery or Hardeman's family passed the sword holder and perhaps the cuffs and badges to DuBose.

This bicorn, worn with the tapering ends facing front and back, was tailored by the Ward Company for E.E. Moody, as indicated by two labels sewn onto the crown.⁶² In contrast to the Templars' purported medieval origin, the bicorn, with its arching top, was first worn in the 1790s. Its sewn-on purple badge and cross evoke the Christian references of Templar imagery.

The Athens commandery was granted its charter in May of 1903, and supplied three Grand Commanders and hosted the annual conclave or state-wide conference in 1911 and 1925, suggesting it was an important group. Godefroy de Bouillon (1060—1100) was a commonly chosen name for masonic commanderies. A French nobleman, he led the First Crusade and became the ruler of Jerusalem in the decades before the medieval Templar order was formed. In 1843, the *Masonic Journal* of Augusta described the medieval knights this way: "Clothed in simple attire and covered with dust, [the Knights Templar] present a visage embrowned by the heat of the sun, and a look haughty and severe...they seek a sure victory or a holy and honorable death...They endured their sufferings with heroic composure...The spectacle excited in an extraordinary degree the pity and admiration of the people."⁶³

⁶² The 1930 census records two white men with these initials and last name in the south. The most likely candidate is Elwyn E. Moody, born in 1909 in Georgia and living in Atlanta in 1930.

⁶³ "Knights Templar," *Masonic Journal* 1, no. 7 (June 1843): 2 and 8.

Master Mason Apron. Circa 1780-1820.

Ink on leather.

13 7/8 x 15 3/4 inches.

Haynes Family Masonic Aprons and Cribbage Board. Ms 4397, Oversize Box 1. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

The curvaceous shape of this masonic apron reflects its animal origins. During the eighteenth century, masonic aprons were frequently made from lambskin, a highly desired material for its whiteness and suppleness, or another type of animal skin, in reference to the leather aprons worn by stonemasons, the Masons' legendary ancestors, for protection at work. This apron is made from a stiffer sort of leather, perhaps cow or deer hide, which was abundant in North America. The other common materials for masonic aprons were silk, linen, and cotton, which came to dominate during the nineteenth century. This apron's leather material, its shape, including the scalloped flap, slender ties, and the few large hand-painted symbols all suggest a date in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

The all-seeing eye takes its customary place on the upper flap, a symbol of The Grand Architect of the Universe, Masonry's all-purpose term for the divinity of various religions as well as a reference to its beloved metaphor of architecture. On the body of the apron appear other common masonic binaries, such as the sun and the moon, and a curving row of seven stars. Both the number and shape of the stars are significant: seven men are needed to form a lodge, and the six points of the hexagrams can be formed with two perfect triangles and are sometimes thought to allude to the Seal of Solomon. Such symbols attest to freemasonry's intriguing combination of rationalist thought, geometric aesthetics, strong faith, and esoteric interests. Below these forms is the fundamental symbol of freemasonry: the square and compasses, crossed in this specific way. When the two legs of the compasses overlap both arms of the square, it is a sign of a Master Mason.⁶⁴

If the dating of the apron is correct, it could have belonged to the original owner of Ashantilly, Thomas Spalding (1774—1851). He built the tabby house in 1820 and named the

⁶⁴ When both compass legs appear underneath the square's arms, it signifies an Entered Apprentice; when one leg appears under one arm and the other leg over the other arm of the square, it indicates a Fellow Craft. These degree symbols rarely appear on aprons, as most Masons waited to decorate their apron until they had obtained the third degree.

estate after his family's ancestral lands in Scotland. Perhaps he or a later owner tucked this apron discreetly away in the house that William G. Haynes, a Mason, eventually acquired.

Master Mason Apron with Red Trim. Circa 1820-40?

Maker unknown.

Silk and linen, watercolor or gouache painting.

17 x 17¼ inches.

Haynes Family Masonic Aprons and Cribbage Board. Ms 4397, Box OS 1. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

This apron is decorated with an arrangement of masonic symbols typical of a design called the Master's Carpet or the Masonic Chart which signified the third degree of the Master Mason. The term "carpet" alludes to the early days of the fraternity, when Masons had to create a make-shift lodge in rented rooms in pubs and inns. They did so by laying down a floor covering with symbols like these from which they imparted moral instruction and enacted rituals of initiation.

On the apron's upper flap is the all-seeing eye surrounded by rays of light. Below, the two pillars of Boaz and Jakin that were said to stand before the Temple of Solomon, the archetype for the masonic lodge, stand on high bases on a platform ascended by three steps. As in many religious and esoteric beliefs, three was a significant number in freemasonry, beginning with the three blue degrees and the three columns of Strength, Wisdom, and Beauty. Between the pillars hover a radiant sun and crescent moon, the latter surrounded by seven stars (another important number in freemasonry, seven Masons are necessary to form a lodge), and below them, the holy book is surmounted by the square and compasses. To the left and right of the pillars are standard masonic forms drawn from stone-carving and architectural practice, such as the plumb, ladder, trowel (for spreading the "cement of friendship"), and mallet.

The red trim is an unusual element for a Master Mason apron. Third-degree aprons are normally trimmed in blue, the color associated with the so-called blue or first three degrees of freemasonry. Red is the color associated with the York Rite whose higher degrees and aprons have distinctive symbols, such as a cornerstone, triple Tau, or menorah. Perhaps the red trim here signifies the fourth degree of the York Rite, the Mark Master, which was sometimes granted in a blue lodge in a town where no Royal Arch chapter existed. If the owner did not have the means to acquire new regalia, he might have had the trim added, perhaps by a female relative, to his Master Mason apron.

Scottish Rite Supreme Council Biennial Session Banquet Invitation. 1872.
 Orient of Louisville (KY), Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite.
 Paper, colored inks.
 11 1/8 x 8 5/8 inches.

William Letcher Mitchell, Masonic Material, 1872. E. Merton Coulter Manuscript Collection II, Ms 2345, Box 24, Folder 55. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

The Supreme Council is the name of the body of the highest-degree Masons in the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, a rite comprising thirty degrees after the first three Blue degrees. These higher degrees involved more esoteric studies and more time and money; consequently, only motivated freemasons pursued them. As in other masonic rites, the state bodies, called Orients in the Scottish Rite, held annual convocations and semi-annual banquets, and printed and mailed circulars like this one to their brethren throughout their region. The Supreme Councils were held in May, avoiding any overlap with blue lodge, Royal Arch, and Knights Templar celebrations to which their brethren might also be invited. The Scottish Rite has two major jurisdictions, Northern and Southern, headquartered in Lexington, Massachusetts, and Washington, D.C., respectively.

At the top of the sheet appears the radiant delta and the two-headed eagle, central symbols of the Scottish Rite. Purple was often used in masonic regalia to signal the highest authority, such as the Grand Lodge and Grand Commandery), but it is exceptionally used for the 33rd degree and the Supreme Council of the Scottish Rite. The print of this text appears purple, though it may have faded from a different color.

The addressee was William Letcher Mitchell (1805—1882), whose certificates and demits from Mt. Vernon Lodge No. 22 and Athens Chapter No. 1, both of Athens, Georgia, show his long involvement with freemasonry, going back to the 1850s, if not earlier.⁶⁵ It seems that Mitchell may have demitted from both the Athens lodge and chapter in the mid-1850s to concentrate his masonic participation in the Scottish Rite, which required more travel, since Athens did not have a consistory or lodge of perfection. Mitchell rose to the highest position in the state, Inspector General of Georgia, and had frequent correspondence with the Supreme

⁶⁵ There is some possible confusion about his masonic activity, as it overlaps with that of his first cousin, similarly named William Letcher Mitchell and an Athens resident, but only until 1860, when the latter died.

Grand Commander of the Southern Jurisdiction, Albert Pike. Mitchell was also familiar with Louisville, having studied law there.

Scottish Rite 32nd Degree Certificate. February 24, 1883.
 Supreme Council, Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, Southern Jurisdiction, U.S.A.,
 Washington, D.C.
 Paper, ink, gold-colored foil.
 22¼ x 17¼ inches.

George Horace Lorimer Family Papers. Ms 2944, Box 131. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Some Masons sought to further their masonic instruction by obtaining additional degrees in other rites and orders beyond blue Masonry, the first three degrees. Some of these rites and orders are more centered on faith, others on intellectual or esoteric pursuits, although this can vary according to the culture and time in which they are practiced. These degrees are often called “higher” degrees, which implies some superiority, although they are also numbered in a practical way to differentiate them beyond the first three degrees, which are always required as a foundation.

The Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite consists of 33 degrees, and its highest body is called the Supreme Council. Despite its name and the historical roots of some masonic practice in Scotland, the Scottish Rite was actually codified in 1801 in Charleston, South Carolina, and exported within a few years to France, where it thrived. Around the third quarter of the nineteenth century, the Scottish Rite in the United States received new momentum, attracting Masons who desired to lead in service, scholarship, and philanthropy.

In Topeka, Kansas, where he resided from 1871 to 1884, the lawyer and later judge Alfred Ennis (1837—1916) was a Master Mason (Orient Lodge, No. 51), Royal Arch Mason (Topeka Chapter No. 5), Knight Templar (Topeka Commandery No. 5), and Scottish Rite Mason (Lodge of Perfection, Oriental No. 3).⁶⁶ In this large, impressive certificate, the principal symbol of the rite, the double-headed eagle, presides near the top. The Egyptianizing columns, lotus-flower capitals, and sphinxes allude to the esoteric mysteries of ancient Egypt which were central to Scottish Rite ritual. The 33rd degree was an honorary award, usually granted automatically with the 32nd degree, and is here acknowledged by the large gold embossed seal at the bottom. This certificate was signed by the Sovereign Grand Commander, the leading officer of the warranting

⁶⁶ Biographical information from Alfred Ennis family, George Horace Lorimer Family Papers, Ms 2944, Box 1, Folder 15.

authority for the Scottish Rite in the southern part of the United States. From 1859 to 1889, this office was held by Albert Pike (1809—1891), a Confederate general and masonic author.

In terms of benevolence, the Scottish Rite in Georgia established the first hospital organized by freemasons in the United States.⁶⁷ Opened in 1915, the Scottish Rite Hospital for Crippled Children in Decatur served as inspiration for other Masons, especially the Shriners who founded and financed numbers of children's hospitals throughout the States.

⁶⁷ William L. Fox, *Lodge of the Double-Headed Eagle: Two Centuries of Scottish Rite Freemasonry in America's Southern Jurisdiction* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1997), 181.

Travel, Communication, and Commercialization

The Rite of Circumambulation is...an allegorical act rich with many meanings. One of these is that the Masonic life is a progressive journey... always [in] search for more light.

Grand Lodge of Georgia F.& A. M., Masonic Educational and Historical Commission, *The Lodge System of Masonic Education* (Macon: Masonic Home Print Shop, 1937), 39-40.

In a metaphorical sense, freemasonry considered travel an essential means of learning and tolerance, just as a trained craftsman gained experience by traveling to work sites before he could submit his masterpiece to qualify as a master mason and pass on his knowledge to apprentices. When Masons journeyed—literally or figuratively--to unfamiliar places, they acquired new knowledge through exchange with other cultures and customs, including those of another lodge.

Communication between distant brothers, lodges, and Grand Lodges was always critical to the strength of freemasonry. Lodges inform brethren of meetings and special events on local, regional, and national levels, report membership rolls, and pay dues to their Grand Lodge. Grand Lodges publish annual proceedings and sometimes periodicals on masonic matters. The central role of printing in masonic life is apparent in the number of Masons who were printers and publishers, beginning with the iconic Benjamin Franklin.

The spread of freemasonry within the expanding United States gave rise to a national industry for masonic regalia and furniture after 1870. No longer home- or locally made, masonic attire and lodge decoration became more homogenous despite great distances between lodges.

American Expeditionary Forces Masonic Certificate and Wallet. Dated July 1, 1918.
Paper, inks; leather.
5 ¾ x 3 inches, folded; 8 3/8 x 5 ¾ inches, unfolded.

Portrait of Stephen Grady Miller. 1918.
H. Dufour, Nevers, France.
Carbon photographic print.
6 ½ x 4 ¼ inches.

Stephen Grady Miller III, Subseries 2, Folders 4 and 13. Birdie Bryan Miller Papers, Series II. RBR/244/BBM, Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Studies, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

This masonic certificate was signed by the Grand Lodge of Georgia, but was probably a nationwide form offered to thousands of young Masons who were preparing to go abroad to fight in World War I. Its recipient, Stephen Grady Miller (1891—1932), was a Georgia educator and politician whose life reflected his commitment to the masonic priorities of education, community service, benevolence, and faith. He graduated in 1912 from Young Harris College, where he would return to teach history and then lead the school as Dean in 1932. From 1913 to 1914 he studied at the University of Georgia, and returned there after the war to complete his bachelor's program and take a master's degree in history.⁶⁸ He won a seat in the Georgia state senate in 1926, and worked on other Democrats' campaigns. His son Zell (1932—2018) had a more successful political career, serving as governor and U.S. senator of Georgia.

Miller was born in Choestoe, Georgia, and raised to Master Mason in Choestoe Lodge No. 651 by the time he left for war in 1918. The fact that a small town like Choestoe had a masonic lodge, which opened in 1914, confirms the pervasiveness of freemasonry in the state.⁶⁹ Once the U.S. entered the war, Miller enlisted, and was sent with the rank of corporal to France, where he was wounded. He remained in Europe for 18 months and attended King's College in London as an officer student.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ *The Enotah Echoes* (Young Harris, GA), March 29, 1932. Clipping, Birdie Bryan Miller Papers, Series II, Subseries 2, Box 2, Folder 3. This obituary implies that Miller received his M.A. in 1923, but *Athens Banner-Herald*, June 15, 1927, lists him that year among the Master's graduates.

⁶⁹ William Henry Rosier and Fred Lamar Pearson, Jr., *The Grand Lodge of Georgia Free and Accepted Masons 1786-1980* (Macon: Educational and Historical Commission of the Grand Lodge of Georgia, F. & A.M., 1983), 303. The lodge closed in 1936.

⁷⁰ Diploma, King's College, 1919. Birdie Bryan Miller Papers, Series II, Subseries 2, Box 2, Folder 1.

This masonic certificate was to function like other masonic ones: to identify the holder as a freemason in good standing so that he would be welcomed by and receive help from unfamiliar Masons while he was far from home. The text is repeated in four different languages, those of leading Allied and enemy forces in the war: English, French, German, and Italian. The international symbol of freemasonry, the overlapping square and compasses with the letter G at the center, is printed in blue over the text. Folded protectively within the small leather wallet, the certificate could be easily tucked into one's uniform, and, what is most important, read by foreign soldiers in case of injury or worse.

In times of war, such certificates provided some assurance that, in case of death, especially on the battlefield, the Mason would receive a decent burial. Freemasons reflected upon their life, character, and death during rituals and while studying for degrees, and one benefit of fraternal membership was a proper burial with a masonic service. Numerous accounts have been given of freemasons who made the secret sign of distress on the battlefield or while being captured and who were saved from execution or given better treatment by "enemy" brethren.⁷¹ Sometimes masonic lodges were victims of war and their ritual objects were taken, whether as loot or, as some claimed, to protect them from abuse, and were later returned to their rightful owners.⁷²

The certificate is a printed form with blanks that could be filled in and authorized by any Grand Lodge for a soldier Mason. But Miller did not sign it, so it would not have been viable. Perhaps he did not receive it in time for it to be useful, or perhaps his injury kept him from venturing to foreign lodges. (An old regulation of freemasonry excluded men with physical disabilities, but after WWII, this rule was modified due to all the returning servicemen who had lost limbs or suffered grave wounds while fighting.) A local obituary claimed that Miller's war injury continued to hamper him, but stated that he died of meningitis. Miller does not seem to have been buried with masonic rites, but freemasonic references were nevertheless made during the service. The eulogy was delivered by Miller's childhood friend and fellow Mason, Reverend

⁷¹ For examples from the American Civil War, see Michael A. Halleran, *The Better Angels of Our Nature: Freemasonry in the American Civil War* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2010).

⁷² In one instance, the Old Colony Lodge of Hingham, MA, returned the lodge charter and Master's gavel to St. Mary's Lodge in St. Mary's, GA, after a Union soldier took them after the bombardment of the town. "Preservation of a Charter and Master's Gavel during the War, by a Brother in the Federal Army," *The Signet and Journal* (Macon) 1, no. 1 (August 1866): 35-37. The article ended with a forecast that freemasons could play an important role in "restoring to health and wholeness our dismembered country, of re-establishing in wisdom, strength and beauty...a union of States...a living organism of related and co-operated parts, fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, edifying itself in love—many members but one body."

Claude Hayes, who quoted a masonic-inflected poem, “When the Earth’s Last Pictures Are Painted,” by Rudyard Kipling—an English Mason—, the same one that Miller cited in his commencement speech in 1912 in the same Young Harris chapel.⁷³ The college’s newspaper featured memorials written by fellow statesmen, Masons, students, and friends honoring Miller and his fraternal ideals of brotherhood, benevolence, and faith.

⁷³ *Enotah Echoes*. I thank Erica Parson, an undergraduate student in my Special Topics course in Spring 2020, for her research on and thinking about this masonic certificate and wallet.

Letter from Mount Vernon Lodge No. 22, Athens, GA to San Marino Lodge No. 34, Greensboro, GA. March 28, 1910.

John [or Jonathan] G. Quinn, Secretary, to T.B. Rice, Secretary.

Letterhead, type.

11 x 8 7/16 inches.

San Marino Lodge No. 34 Records, circa 1820-2000. MSS 1257, Box 8, brown folder. Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University, Atlanta, GA.

This friendly letter from one lodge to another is a good example of the frequent communication between masonic bodies and individuals through manuscript and typed correspondence as well as periodicals, circulars, and annual meetings and their publications (called communications). In this way, Masons discussed and remained informed of various matters of procedure, policy, and protection of the fraternal organization within their state, country, or across the globe while frequently socializing with each other.

In this instance, the white Masons of Athens sought the participation of other white lodges within the region to attend the cornerstone laying of the new building for the Young Men's Christian Association, a civic organization that had close ties to the Masons in Athens (and elsewhere). The heavy cost of the new building was likely mentioned in this letter to signify its civic importance and the Masons' generosity in donating funds for it. The secretary of the Athens lodge proudly announces that his brethren wished to organize "the largest parade of any kind ever held in this state" in honor of the new building. The Masons' patriotism is evident by their scheduling the cornerstone laying ceremony on Flag Day, as is their embrace of new technologies in the welcome extended to allowing automobiles in the parade and the filming of the festivities.

The Masons may have met in this YMCA building either in the early 1890s or during the 1920s after their longtime Masonic Hall in the Max Jacob building was destroyed in a devastating fire in January of 1921.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ James K. Reap, *Athens: A Pictorial History 1801-2001*, 3rd ed. (Virginia Beach: Donning Company, 2001), 85, claims that the Masons met in the first YMCA building, now the Georgia Theatre, at Clayton and North Lumpkin Streets. While that building also had a masonic cornerstone laying ceremony in 1889, a local newspaper describes the procession that day as ending at Masonic Hall, indicating that a suitable meeting place for the lodge already existed. "Cornerstone Laid," *Athens Weekly Chronicle*, May 4, 1889, 3. City directories and newspapers confirm that Mt. Vernon Lodge No. 22 and other fraternal orders met at Masonic Hall in the Max Jacob building at Wall and Clayton Streets from at least 1893 until the 1921 fire, but perhaps met there as early as 1890, when the Jacob building was opened. If the Masons did meet at the first YMCA building, it was only for a few years.

Moore College, University of Georgia, Athens. 1874-1878.
 Designed by Léon-Henri Charbonnier.
 Photograph.
 5 x 7 1/8 inches.

Society of the Colonial Dames of America, Athens Chapter. Ms 1482, Box 3, Folder 3. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Moore College was the only new building erected on the University of Georgia campus between the Civil War and World War I. It originally housed the Physics and Astronomy Department, and was named after Dr. Richard D. Moore, who helped to persuade the city council of Athens to provide municipal funding for its construction, but he died in 1873 before the building could be realized. Moore College was a gift from the city to the university.

The choice of Charbonnier, who was a professor of engineering and soon to become one of physics, to design the building was no doubt due to his earlier architectural work. In 1871, he was hired to design the Clarke County courthouse, jail, and jailor's house on Prince Avenue in Athens.⁷⁵ It was quite common for Masons to be interested in and engaged with architecture, given freemasonry's central metaphor of architecture, love of geometry, and embrace of industrial technology. The masonic appreciation of architecture could take different forms, from a neoclassical, Palladian, Georgian or Federal style to an Egyptianizing or medievalizing mode, all of which were used at some time and place for masonic lodges or masonic-sponsored structures. According to the masonic historians William Rosier and Fred Pearson, the Grand Lodge of Georgia laid the cornerstone for Moore College in July of 1874.⁷⁶

Moore College is unique on the university campus for its Second Empire style with a mansard roof, beloved in Charbonnier's native France (the term "mansard" comes from a French architect). Its raised base, regular window pattern, and sober surfaces speak strongly of masonic aesthetics as do the keystone with the inscription attesting to the city's gift and the seven-part fanlight window over its arched entrance (facing Broad Street).⁷⁷ Though Charbonnier is sometimes said to have designed his classicizing house at 387 South Milledge Avenue, Alfred L.

⁷⁵ James K. Reap, *Athens: A Pictorial History 1801-2001*, 3rd ed. (Virginia Beach: Donning Company, 2001), 68. Only the jail still survives.

⁷⁶ William Henry Rosier and Fred Lamar Pearson, Jr., *The Grand Lodge of Georgia Free and Accepted Masons, 1786-1980* (Macon: Masonic Home Print Shop, 1983), 228.

⁷⁷ James Stevens Curl, *Freemasonry and the Enlightenment: Architecture, Symbols, and Influences* (London: Historical Publications, 2011).

Dearing built the original house in 1865 before Charbonnier occupied it, and John J. Wilkins, who bought it from Charbonnier in 1909, added the giant Corinthian columns to the facade.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ <http://www.athenswelcomecenter.com/milledge>. Consulted 06/10/2021.

Portrait of Léon-Henri Charbonnier. 1933.
 William Wirtz.
 Oil on canvas. Signed and dated at lower left.
 39½ x 33 3/8 inches.

Property of the University of Georgia Special Collections Libraries, Athens. Presented to the university by Mrs. Bowdre Phinizy in 1933.⁷⁹

Léon-Henri Charbonnier (1837—1916) was a Mason of Athens, Georgia, an example of the welcome and social network available to strangers, even foreigners, by the fraternity. Born in Lorient, France, Charbonnier graduated from the French military academy at St. Cyr, probably with training in engineering. After an assignment in Algiers, he sailed across the Atlantic when his ship was stranded at Charleston, South Carolina, in 1860.⁸⁰ After teaching briefly at The Citadel, he came to Athens, Georgia, in 1862, with an educator, B.R. Carroll, to establish a preparatory high school (on the present-day Health Sciences campus). Charbonnier became the school's principal in 1863. Not long after he was recruited to teach at the University of Georgia, first as a professor of Ancient Languages (1866-1867), then of Civil Engineering (1867-1877), and finally, of Physics and Astronomy. He also served in administration, as President of the State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts (1875-1878), Dean of Franklin College, Vice Chancellor of the University, and acting Chancellor (1888). He retired in 1898, and moved to Augusta where his daughter, Mrs. Bowdre Phinizy, lived.

Although it is not yet known when and where Charbonnier was initiated into freemasonry, like many in the military, the fraternity provided welcome, sociability, and aid in unfamiliar places where officers and soldiers traveled and lived, at least temporarily. Plummer mentions that Charbonnier was estranged from his father,⁸¹ an absence that could have been filled by masonic brothers and mentors. The fraternity attracted a significant number of men who were orphans, illegitimate offspring, or those who traveled often or lived far from their homeland. By

⁷⁹ *Atlanta Journal*, June 4, 1933.

⁸⁰ Biographical information from Gayther Plummer, *Old Charby: Leon Henri Charbonnier, A.M., Ph.D.....1837—1916*, revised typescript (Athens, GA: March, 2007), Ga Room LD 1982.8. C53 P58 2007; and, Charbonnier biographical file, Vice President for Academic Affairs, Faculty, UGA 85-001, Box 10, Folder 6. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens. His obituary, *The Athens Banner*, May 4, 1916, 4 and 5-6.

⁸¹ Plummer, *Old Charby*, 1.

1866, Charbonnier affiliated with Mount Vernon Lodge No. 22 in Athens.⁸² His son, Leon-Henri junior, belonged to another fraternal order, the Knights of Pythias, in Athens' St. Elmo Lodge No. 40.⁸³

This posthumous portrait must have been painted from an earlier photograph, as Charbonnier appears to be in his sixties or seventies, his hair fully white, but his body erect and his gaze alert. One can't help but notice how his beard, in the French fork style, creates a compasses-like shape, and is echoed in reverse by the V-shape of his black vest and white shirt underneath, forming a kind of square and compasses. The artist was another immigrant, born Willem Frans Mari Wirtz (1888—1935), in The Hague, Netherlands. After studying in his hometown's art academy and at the Dusseldorf Academy, Wirtz left for the United States in 1912. He settled in Baltimore, married, had a son, and became a naturalized citizen in 1931.⁸⁴ Why and how Wirtz, in Baltimore, was selected to paint this portrait, in Augusta, is unknown, but the wide-ranging connections of freemasonry may be one possible answer. His obituary in the *New York Times* cited Wirtz's explanation for why he specialized in portrait painting; it was, he said, for "the friendships he made."⁸⁵

⁸² *Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Georgia* (Macon: S. Rose, 1866), 126-7. A number of Jewish members in Mt. Vernon Lodge No. 22 are listed that year: Caspar Morris, Moses Myers, Leo Cahn, Julius Cohen, D. Michael.

⁸³ "St. Elmo Lodge, Knights of Pythias," *Athens Daily Banner* November 24, 1899.

⁸⁴ Biographical information from immigration and naturalization documents in Ancestry.com; *Who's Who in Art* (1918) v. 14, 649; and, his obituary, *The Baltimore Sun*, April 21, 1935.

⁸⁵ "Willem Wirtz, Portrait Painter, Dies," *New York Times*, April 21, 1935, 29.

Price List of Emblems and Furniture for Secret Societies. Circa 1880.

W.W. Stratton and Co., Ashley, OH.

Paper, ink.

9 x 3 11/16 inches, folded; 9 x 35 inches, unfolded.

W.W Stratton Price List. Leeman Anderson Collection of Masonic Lodge Records, Box 1, Folder 12. RBR/141/LA, Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Studies, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

In this price list W.W Stratton and Company advertised itself as “strictly manufacturers of lodge Furniture, not dealers,” which seems to have meant that it did not create unique items and/or that it did not have a showroom. However, it welcomed special orders from lodges and individuals who wanted their names or seal inserted on aprons, mallets, and other regalia. It also reassured its clients that “all paraphernalia is created in accordance with the edicts of the Order,” and that satisfaction with their products was guaranteed through a strict but comprehensive return policy. The company was established in 1869 in Ashley (Delaware County), Ohio, but it sought a national market, as did other masonic supply companies in the United States.

Its price list came to the Richard B. Russell Library along with minute books and correspondence preserved from two Georgia lodges, Erin Lodge No. 70 (Meriwether County) and, in what seems to have been its reorganized successor, Hollonville Lodge No. 70 (Pike County). Companies like W.W. Stratton sent flyers to lodges across the country, hoping to entice them to buy new furnishings, while competing with other companies like M.C. Lilley Co., of Columbus, Ohio, and Pettibone Bros. of Cincinnati, Ohio, which made uniforms for civic groups and marching bands as well as masonic accessories.

The numbers of U.S. lodges and freemasons grew exponentially after the Civil War up to the Great Depression. This increase in membership brought in more dues, which in turn allowed for the building or renting of masonic halls that created higher demand for masonic furniture and regalia. The companies met this demand with new industrial processes that led to the first mass production of masonic items, which had formerly been created by local artisans or family members.⁸⁶ This industrialization of masonic goods led to standardization in materials and

⁸⁶ Diane Clements touched on this trend in her 2010 exhibition, “The Masonic Emporium.” See <https://www.freemasonrytoday.com/features/the-masonic-emporium>. Consulted 08/24/2020. I thank Margeaux Mazeall, an undergraduate student in my Special Topics course on freemasonry in Spring 2020, for her research into this price list.

design, which can be quite handsome, but they often lack the variety and idiosyncracies of earlier, handmade ones. Some manufacturers of lodge furniture and regalia, such as S.C. Small and Company of Boston, also produced church furniture; perusal of their catalogues shows similar designs and prices between these items, such as chairs in a medievalizing style.⁸⁷

The price list's title includes the term "emblems" which was so central to the functioning of masonic rhetoric and imagery, as word, image, and their associations conveyed the fraternity's ideals to its members. The price list unfolds to ten pages, printed on both sides, with illustrations of various models, prices, and catalogue numbers to facilitate ordering. This prompting of consumer activity, of creating new desires with different articles—the pulse of capitalism—, seems at odds with freemasonry's love of tradition and heritage.

Like freemasonry, W.W. Stratton used printing and publishing in masonic periodicals to advertise its wares and reach brethren across great distances. Georgia was well supplied with masonic periodicals. In 1842, the *Masonic Journal* of Augusta appeared, followed by the *Masonic Signal* of Madison in 1844, and the *Signet and Journal* of Marietta in 1853.

⁸⁷ William D. Moore, *Masonic Temples: Architecture, Masonic Ritual, and Masculine Archetypes* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2006), 33.

Ringling Brothers and Barnum & Bailey Circus Poster. Circa 1980s-1990s?
Glossy color lithograph.
22 x 14 inches.

Samuel Golden Theatre Collection. Ms 2623, Box 34 (Q-RI), Folder 28. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

This poster advertises the grandest traveling circus in the United States in the combined powerhouse firms of Ringling Brothers and Barnum and Bailey. The fact that they performed at Madison Square Garden in New York City underlines their huge appeal during most of the twentieth century. But their drawing power was not a given, especially in their early days. Due to the tricks of illusion, make-up, and other methods of testing the credulity of customers, the general opinion of the circus was not positive. Early handbooks of the University of Georgia forbade its students, all men, to attend the circus. The Ringling Brothers campaigned assiduously to present their circus as a “reformed” spectacle, banishing profanity, assuring better treatment for and hygiene of their human and animal performers, and a higher moral character in their acts. In one of their programs from 1917, the company complained that “one of the hardest things...was [the Ringling Brothers’] war on the fakirs and thugs who...could be found accompanying most all shows...it would be impossible to attain lasting success except by the most honorable and truthful means...The public soon realized the reform that had been inaugurated by these young showmen, and their popularity grew greater each year.”⁸⁸

In 1906, when Bailey died, the Ringling Brothers, a smaller operation at the time, saw their opportunity to expand. They acquired Barnum and Bailey’s “Greatest Show on Earth,” and ran it separately until 1919, when they merged the two circuses into the single most dominant one in the States. It traveled great distances, especially along the Eastern seaboard. Ringling Brothers and Barnum & Bailey continued to operate even after being bought by other owners in 1957, but finally closed in 2017 after dwindling ticket sales and criticism about the conditions for the animals.

The fascinating story behind U.S. circus impresarios is how many of them were freemasons, including the seven Ringling brothers and their father, who all joined Baraboo Lodge No. 34 in

⁸⁸ *Cinderella, The Magnificent Fairyland Spectacle* (Ringling Brothers, 1917), 8. Circus Ephemera Collection. Ms 2717, Box 1, Folder 3. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

Wisconsin within a year and a half.⁸⁹ It was not only the directors but the performers who sought out masonic ties. The acrobats and animal handlers were obliged to live an itinerant lifestyle, moving from place to place, without family or friends. In 1899, when the Barnum and Bailey circus was working in Scotland, thirteen of the performers obtained their Entered Apprentice degree at the local lodge in the town of Motherwell, followed by the Fellow Craft degree at their next venue in Aberdeen, at the Lodge Bon Accord No. 699. In Glasgow these same thirteen men were raised to Master Masons and Mark Masters at Dramatic Lodge No. 571 by the calling of an emergency meeting.⁹⁰ Furthermore, the Ringling Brothers circus developed a close connection with the Shriners, performing at their fundraisers for charitable causes.

⁸⁹ Because of the nature of their work, it was not often that the seven sons were all in Baraboo at the same time. Of the sons, Alfred T. Ringling was raised to Master Mason in January, 1890; John, in March, 1890; Albert, in March, 1890; Otto, in April, 1890, August, in February, 1891, and Henry, in March, 1891. Their father August was raised in August, 1891. http://www.midnightfreemasons.org/2011/06/ringling-brothers-six-lost-aprons_13.html. Consulted 06/17/2022.

⁹⁰ <http://pglglasgow.org.uk>. Consulted 06/18/2022.

Royal Arch Mason Certificate. Dated March 1, 1864.
 Georgia Chapter No. 3, Savannah, GA.
 Thick paper or vellum, ink, cotton ribbon.
 14 9/16 x 12 1/8 inches.

Demit. Dated June 16, 1879.
 Macon Lodge No. 5, Macon, GA.
 Paper, inks.
 10 x 8 inches.

Van Giesen Family Papers. Ms 2816, Folder OS1 and Box 1, Folder 39. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

These two documents tell a familiar tale of how freemasonry provided some sense of continuity or community throughout the vagaries of human life. Uriah Van Giesen (1833—1894) was born in Paterson, New Jersey; by 1858, he had moved to Georgia and married a woman in Camden, Georgia.⁹¹ Calling himself “Doctor,” he advertised with another dentist named McDonald in the *Georgia Journal and Messenger*, published by Simri Rose, a leading freemason, member of Macon Lodge No. 5, and publisher-printer.⁹² It seems likely that Van Giesen was initiated into Macon Lodge No. 5 sometime between 1854, when he turned 21, and 1861, when he volunteered for the Confederate Army. In October of 1863, he was judged unfit for field service and ordered to report to an engineer in Savannah.⁹³ Five months later, he obtained the degrees of Royal Arch Masonry in Georgia Chapter No. 3 of Savannah. By 1868, he reappears in Stockton, Georgia, as a delegate to the Democratic district convention, and in 1872 was appointed postmaster there. By 1877, he established himself again in Savannah where he was listed as a dentist, though at so many different addresses that one wonders if he had any real success in that profession.

In 1879, perhaps realizing that he would not be returning to Macon, he requested a demit from his lodge there. Although the two documents have typical symbols for blue lodge and York Rite Masonry, the embossed seals with the unique emblems of the Macon lodge and the Savannah chapter reveal the local-level individualism permitted in freemasonry. The seal of the venerable Macon lodge, warranted in 1824, features two shaking hands and a radiant eye, while

⁹¹ Biographical information was found on Ancestry.com

⁹² *Georgia Journal and Messenger* (Macon), August 4, 1858.

⁹³ Van Giesen Family Papers. Ms 2816, Box 1, Folder 41.

the even older Royal Arch chapter of Savannah, chartered in 1823, presents an equilateral triangle with three hands, each holding a different side of it.

Royal Arch Mason Returns. 1874.
 Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons of Georgia, Macon.
 Paper, ink.
 9 7/16 x 3 15/16 inches.

Royal Arch Mason Walton Chapter No. 40 Records. Ms 3556. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Every year the state authority of Royal Arch Masonry, the Grand Chapter of Georgia, required each local chapter to send in their returns. The return consisted of a list of officers and members, known as companions, and the portion of their dues that was owed or “returned” to the Grand Chapter. It was part of the larger communication and financial network of freemasonry by which every member in an authorized chapter or lodge was accounted for, and local, state, and national authorities could spread information quickly about upcoming masonic events, suspicious characters trying to gain entry or funding, and worthy charitable endeavors for their participation. As most of these communications went through the U.S. postal service, it makes sense that Masons were keen to have brethren appointed Postmaster of their town or state.

Walton Chapter No. 40 (the fortieth to be granted a charter in the state of Georgia at that time) was located in Monroe, a town in Walton County.⁹⁴ Both the county, created in 1819, and the chapter were named after George Walton, one of three Georgians to have signed the Declaration of Independence and one of the few to have served in the Continental Congress that drafted the U.S. Constitution. Walton was also a U.S. senator and Master Mason in the first lodge in the state, Solomon’s Lodge No. 1, of Savannah.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ This chapter seems to have been created slightly before the Civil War. According to a contemporaneous masonic publication, in 1865 the state of Georgia had 230 blue lodges and 45 chapters. *Cross’ Masonic Chart*, ed. William M. Cunningham (1865; reprint, New Orleans: Cornerstone Book Publishers, 2018), 273.

⁹⁵ William Bordley Clarke, *Early and Historic Freemasonry of Georgia, 1733/4-1800* (Savannah: Solomon’s Lodge No. 1, 1924), 66 and 138-9.

“To Our Patrons.” *The Southern Whig* (Athens), January 19, 1839, p. 1.
Benjamin Perley Poore.

Digital scan from Georgia Historic Newspapers, <https://gahistoricnewspapers.galileo.usg.edu/>

Before becoming a celebrated journalist, historian, and records publisher, Benjamin Perley Poore (1820—1887), arrived in Athens, Georgia, from his native Massachusetts in early 1839 as an 18-year-old novice whose father had bought a local newspaper, *The Southern Whig*, for him to run. Poore, who later signed his articles as Perley, is said to have affiliated with Athens’ Mount Vernon Lodge No. 22 as a Fellow Craft around 1841.⁹⁶ He remained active in Masonry for the rest of his life, obtaining York Rite degrees and leading the new Columbia Commandery No. 2 in Washington, D.C.⁹⁷ Along with other masonic luminaries such as Benjamin French, Albert Pike, and Albert Gallatin Mackey, he helped to revive Scottish Rite Masonry in the nation’s capital.⁹⁸ In 1876, the Scottish Rite Supreme Council awarded him the Grand Cross of the Court of Honor, one of its highest honors. Thus, he participated in both masonically encouraged activities of travel, considered a source of enlightenment and tolerance, and media, in running a newspaper.

He initially charmed Athenian society and made friends with the sons of leading families. But when he invited free blacks to his home for a so-called “mulatto ball,” it so enraged some town residents that he and his friends were brought to trial for immoral conduct and disturbing the peace. Meanwhile, Poore complained that the newspaper was owed so much money that he could not sustain it, and he gradually extricated himself from the business and left Athens for good.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Hugh Y. Bernard, “Wheelbarrow and Gridiron: The Colorful Life of Ben Perley Poore.” *Heredom* 3 (1994): 11. The Grand Lodge of Georgia in Milledgeville scratched the Athens lodge from its register in 1828 for refusing to recognize the Grand Lodge and pay dues. During this time Georgia freemasons disagreed over where the Grand Lodge should be located, in Milledgeville or Savannah, and Athens sided with Savannah. It is possible that Athens’ Masons continued to meet in lodge during this time, but they were not considered “regular.” They reconciled with the Grand Lodge and were given a new charter in late autumn of 1841, but this was after Poore seems to have left Athens. If he were a lewis, a son or grandson of a Mason, he could have been initiated as an Entered Apprentice at the age of 18 in Massachusetts, either in his hometown of Newburyport or in Worcester where he apprenticed as a printer.

⁹⁷ Bernard, “Wheelbarrow and Gridiron,” 12.

⁹⁸ Bernard, “Wheelbarrow and Gridiron,” 12. Poore received all the Scottish Rite degrees through the 32nd while he was in France.

⁹⁹ Poore grew up on his family’s 400-acre property, Indian Hill Farm, and loved agriculture and gardening. By 1840, he owned extensive property in Coosawattee, Georgia, once home to the Cherokees before they were forced out in 1838. Benjamin Perley Poore, Letter to Gorham Parsons, February 18, 1840, Coosawatee, GA. Ms 1222. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library. During the later 1850s, Poore served as Secretary of the U.S. Society of Agriculture when no federal Department of Agriculture existed. Bernard, “Wheelbarrow and Gridiron,” 11.

After various journalistic and scholarly activities in Paris from 1842 to 1848, he returned, married, and settled in Washington, D.C. His journalism and publishing centered on Congress and U.S. politics, resulting in countless articles, several historical books, and reference tomes like the new *Congressional Directory*, which is still being issued today. During the 1870s, he was named chief clerk to a special Senate committee for the printing of public records, which combined his pursuit of transparency with his printing expertise. In 1885, he initiated the Gridiron Club, the first social club for Washington journalists, and was elected its first president.¹⁰⁰ A gridiron is an iron grill for cooking, and the name refers to the club's annual dinner during which notable public figures, including Presidents, are wittily "roasted" by the members. In 1926, the composer and Mason John Philip Sousa wrote "The Gridiron Club March" in its honor.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Donald A. Ritchie. *Press Gallery: Congress and the Washington Correspondents* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991).

¹⁰¹ Bernard, "Wheelbarrow and Gridiron," 16.

Will Rogers. Before 1935.

Promotional photograph signed “Will Rogers, for fun” at the lower left.

10 x 8 inches.

Circus Ephemera Collection. Ms 2717, Box 1, Folder 9. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Will Rogers (1879—1935), cowboy, vaudeville performer, humorist, and movie star, was born a citizen of the Cherokee Nation, in Indian Territory, present-day Oklahoma. He grew up on his family’s ranch and acquired the skills of a cowboy. But in 1901 he left for a farming venture in Argentina with a friend, which failed, and then pushed on alone to South Africa and Australia, mostly working in circuses. In 1904 he returned to the United States and went into vaudeville. Perhaps this itinerant lifestyle and time spent among different cultures led him to join the Masons where he would have a stable group of brothers. In 1905, he petitioned Claremont Lodge No. 53 for the first three degrees, and then went to McAlester in 1908 to obtain Scottish Rite degrees. His celebrity status and political satire made him wealthy and beloved, and he often performed for charitable causes.¹⁰² His early death in an airplane accident was mourned by the nation, and a memorial museum was erected to him in Claremont.

¹⁰² Most of this information can be found in Mike Cathey, “William Penn Adair ‘Will’ Rogers in McAlester,” *McAlester News-Capitol*, June 20, 2022, 1. Accessed at https://www.mcalesternews.com/news/local_news/cathey-william-penn-adair-will-rogers-in-mcalester/article_0f585377-05d8-5bbf-ae9f-b170c32879d5.html. Consulted 06/25/2022.

II. Beauty

Aesthetics played a central role in the rhetoric, and imagery of freemasonry, founded on deep humanist study. Visual symbols and color conveyed attractive values and qualities of Masonry as well as the various rites, degrees, and offices. Through metaphors of geometry, architecture, and stonemasonry, Masons aspired to meet in lodge as equals (“on the level”) to improve themselves (“working the stone”) through moral instruction (“light”) and good moral conduct (“within the compasses”).

The square (or right angle) and compasses, configured in an overlapping pattern, is the universal symbol of freemasonry; the square signifies moral rectitude while the compasses refer to proportion and moderation. Yet, such standard interpretations of these forms and metaphors were frequently elaborated with additional readings depending on the theme under discussion or the individual Mason’s experiences. Certain architectural styles were always in favor with Masons, such as Greco-Roman antiquity, Renaissance and Palladian Revival, but the Rococo, Gothic, and Egyptian were also appropriated for certain associations they conjured. Ironically, freemasons enlisted beauty to justify excluding women from lodges: “*Woman is already a Mason by nature. She needs no obligations to make her faithful or benevolent. Her charity needs no training. The beautiful proportions of her moral character defy the sculptor’s art, or the mason’s rule...She is already from the hand of the great architect, as the polished corners of the temple.*”¹⁰³

¹⁰³ Rev. B. Johnson, *Masonic Address delivered at Lowndesville, Abbeville District, S.C., on the 24th of June, 1857* (Charleston: A.J. Burke, 1857), 19.

Emblems and Metaphor

The Scottish Mason, William Preston (1742—1818), described freemasonry as “the science of morality veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols.” He also underscored the vital importance of its visual imagery: “everything that strikes the eye more immediately engages the attention, and imprints on the memory serious and solemn truths.”¹⁰⁴ Masons conveyed their lessons with visual symbols through the decoration of their lodges, charts, regalia, and magic lantern projection. Their central imagery was based on the tools and geometrical shapes of stonemasonry and related artisanry to reflect masonic principles of obedience to the law, good judgment, and a moral, fraternal, and charitable life.

Like masonic rhetoric, its visual imagery operates through association and metaphor whose readings are slightly pliant. Rooted in the history of art and philosophy, emblems were types of visual symbols accompanied by a cryptic phrase or short text, often seemingly unrelated to each other and thus somewhat enigmatic. Through humanist learning and imagination, one could make sense of the image-text relationship and significance, which provided intellectual pleasure. As Masons became leaders on local, state, and national stages, masonic imagery came to color U.S. political and domestic culture.

¹⁰⁴ Cited by Rev. B. Johnson, Rev. B. Johnson, *Masonic Address delivered at Lowndesville*, 6.

Ahiman Rezon, comprising the rituals, ceremonies, laws, constitutions, history and formulary of Freemasonry. Savannah: J.H. Estill, 1881 [1882].

William S. Rockwell, revised by W.F. Dorsey.

9 x 6 ¼ inches.

Ga Room HS445 .G4 F855 1882. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

This book's striking marine blue cover with gold symbols conjures the look of ancient Egyptian decorative art, referring to the legendary origins of modern Freemasonry in ancient Egypt as well as to its first three or "blue" degrees. The text and its title belong to a development in British Freemasonry dating back to the 1740s when friction among Masons led to a schism between so-called Antient (an old spelling of Ancient) and Modern freemasons. Provoked in part by class, geographical, and cultural differences, the Ancients, many of them Irish, commoners, artisans, and not wealthy, took issue with the nominations of aristocrats as Grand Masters and with what they perceived to be superficial and misguided interpretations of masonic ritual and objectives.¹⁰⁵ The Ancients created their own lodges based on what they believed to be the old, authentic laws and responsibilities, derived from documents related to medieval and Renaissance stonemasons' guilds. They also formed their own Grand Lodge, separate from the Grand Lodge of England, and produced new texts to express their priorities. Laurence Dermott authored and published the first of the *Ahiman Rezon* in 1756. The title was supposedly Jewish and thought to mean "secrets of prepared brethren," but was often translated in subtitles as *A Help to a Brother*.¹⁰⁶ The principal emblem of Ancient freemasonry appears in Dermott's frontispiece: a lion, ox, male figure, and an eagle flanked by cherubim. These four forms and the two angels resonate with the four Evangelists, writers of foundational Christian texts, whose symbols were the lion, the ox, the eagle, and the angel.

In 1813, the Ancients Grand Lodge and the Grand Lodge of England resolved their differences and came together into one body, the United Grand Lodge of England, which exists today. They agreed to oversee all the blue lodges and deem which were "regular," which led to the purging of many lodges from their registers, including the previously colonial lodges in the

¹⁰⁵ For a discussion of this rupture, see Ric Berman, *Schism: The Battle that Forged Freemasonry* (Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2013).

¹⁰⁶ Research into the title of this book was conducted by Alejandra Gonzalez-Calvo, Master's candidate in Art History, in my special topics course of Fall 2021.

now independent United States of America. This meant that venerable lodges like Savannah's Solomon's Lodge No. 1 and Boston's African Lodge No. 459, founded by Prince Hall for free men of color, were both scratched off the list. After this unification, different versions of *Ahiman Rezon* were no longer only addressed to Ancient freemasons.

In 1854, the Grand Lodge of Georgia commissioned one of its leading brothers, William S. Rockwell (1804—1865), to write an *Ahiman Rezon*; its first edition appeared in 1859. It is notable that the first edition was published in Savannah, the first cradle of Freemasonry in Georgia, and by a national masonic publisher, R. Macoy, of New York. Rockwell's text was, like so many after Dermott's initial one, a compilation that drew on earlier masonic texts, such as Dermott's, Philips' *Pocket Preceptor*, Webb's *Monitor*, and Preston's *Illustrations of Masonry*. It provided recognized, mainstream texts on the Craft and introduced the symbols and rituals to those interested in joining the fraternity; it could be a reference for those already in the fraternity and a manual for those considering or in the process of initiation.

Around 1881, W.F. Dorsey undertook revising Rockwell's text, and it was published in 1882 by the Mason and printer, J.H. Estill (1840—1907), of Savannah.¹⁰⁷ Printing was then the principal means of widespread masonic communication and a common profession among its members.

¹⁰⁷ This person may have been the young William Francis Dorsey (1862—1930), a clerk, then furniture seller, and later Worshipful Master of Mount Vernon Lodge No. 22 in Athens, Georgia, and District Deputy for the Grand Lodge. But he would have had to be a lewis to have been privy to masonic ritual at such a young age. Biographical information on these two men comes from Ancestry.com, newspapers, and masonic records.

Design for the State Seal of Georgia. Letter dated May 21, 1799.
 Thomas Coram.
 Ink, laid paper. Watermark "1794".
 8 x 9 13/16 inches.

Thomas Coram, Letter to Daniel Sturges, Charleston, SC, May 21, 1799. Telamon Cuyler Collection, Series 1, Historical Manuscripts. Ms 1170, Box 61, Folder 1. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

In conjunction with the new state constitution of 1798, the Georgia legislature called for a new state seal. The following year, it organized an open competition for its design, publishing specific criteria for the recto and verso.¹⁰⁸ Almost everything was different about this composition from all previous colonial and state seals of Georgia, except for the word "Constitution," a word of deep masonic and political significance that appeared on the revolutionary seal of 1777. While various scholars have discussed the 1799 design, only two of them mention any masonic references or symbolism, and neither critically explores that significance in both masonic and historical contexts.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, an English freemason had already designed the seal of 1754 for the colony of Georgia.¹¹⁰

The history of the 1799 seal is quite complicated, and few of the competition materials are known. The Charleston engraver Thomas Coram authored this design that is quite close to the final one used on the state seal, but he did not participate in the competition. Rather, he was hired to design the actual seal, working from the winning design. Nevertheless, his version appears

¹⁰⁸ The instructions were "that the other side contain three pillars supporting an arch with the word constitution engraved within the same, emblematic of the constitution supported by the three departments of the government, viz: the legislative, judicial and executive- the first pillar to have engraven[sic] on its base wisdom, the second justice, and the third moderation; on the right of the last pillar a man standing with drawn sword representing the aid of the military in defense of the constitution- the motto state of Georgia 1799." "Artists of all Nations Attend: Premium for Genius" *Louisville Gazette*, February 26, 1799.

¹⁰⁹ The principal sources on the Georgia state seal are: Henry R. Goetchius, and Thomas Johnson, "The Great Seals of Georgia: Their Origin and History," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 1, no. 3 (September 1917): 253-62; Elizabeth Etheridge, and John W. Bonner, Jr., "Georgia's State Seals: Their Carolina Origin," *Georgia Review* 8, no. 3 (Fall 1954): 301-13; and, Ben Marsh, "The Meanings of Georgia's Eighteenth-Century Great Seals," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 96, no. 2 (Summer 2012): 195-232. Some masonic meaning is noted by Marsh and by Ric Berman, *Loyalists and Malcontents: Freemasonry and Revolution in South Carolina and Georgia* (Goring Heath, England: Old Stables Press, 2017), 155-6.

¹¹⁰ The English engraver and freemason, John Pine, was involved with the early promotion of the Georgia colony which benefited from monetary contributions by English lodges. Pine designed the annual list of lodges for the Grand Lodge of England, the frontispiece for Anderson's *Constitutions of the Freemasons* (1723), an illustration to the Trustees' prospectus for the Georgia colony, and the Deputed Great Seal of Georgia of 1754. Marsh, "The Meanings of Georgia's Eighteenth-Century Great Seals," 216-7.

quite different, more graceful and decorative, compared to the severely plain and Neoclassical design by Daniel Sturges (1765—1823), thought to be the winning design. Sturges’s drawing was reproduced in a 1954 article and sadly it seems to have disappeared.¹¹¹ Furthermore, Sturges’s drawing lacks several criteria required by the legislature: the words of the three virtues and Constitution, high bases for the columns, and a military man with sword. In his important study of Sturges’s career as Surveyor General of Georgia, Farris Cadle states that Sturges was a Mason and “used masonic symbols” in the seal design, but this logic is problematic, since Sturges was only following the legislature’s guidelines, and his drawing departs significantly from the final design.¹¹² Ric Berman follows Cadle in attributing the seal’s masonic symbolism to Sturges, then cites a masonic text instructing the first degree without explaining how its particular symbols relate to the seal’s design.¹¹³

In masonic rhetoric and imagery, Master Masons are called columns, an example of the “worked stone.” Three columns together embodied the masonic virtues of Strength, Wisdom, and Beauty. The Georgia legislators explained that these columns were to represent the three different but cooperative branches of government, all in support of the constitution (it should be noted that of the three, the legislature applied the virtue of Wisdom to itself). Like legislators, freemasons believed in the authority of law and justice of the courts, and they were required by their early constitutions, by James Anderson and published in London in 1723, to obey those of their land. It may have been a reason so many Masons were lawyers, judges, legislators, and other public officials. Many forms in the design competition requirements have masonic resonance: the arch supported by columns was a central symbol of the lodge and also of Royal Arch Masonry, additional degrees within the York Rite; and, the soldier with his upright sword next to the columns recalls the Tyler, a masonic officer who stands guard at the lodge entrance, allowing only Masons in good standing to enter.

In the letter in which this drawing appears, Coram (circa 1757 England—1811) explains that he had to change the design he was given as a model because he could not fit the words of the

¹¹¹ Etheridge and Bonner, “Georgia’s State Seals,” 313. The authors state that the Sturges and Coram drawings were both in the University of Georgia Library, without any further catalogue information, but only the Coram has been located, in a folder with other documents concerning the state seal and its design.

¹¹² Farris W. Cadle, *Georgia Land Surveying History and Law* (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1991), 181 n. 17. Sturges was a brother and Secretary of the important Benevolent Lodge No. 3 of Milledgeville, which still operates today.

¹¹³ Berman, *Loyalists and Malcontents*, 155-6.

virtues on the bases of the columns, as stipulated by the competition criteria.¹¹⁴ In fact, he had to add in bases, and these are relatively high bases, as preferred in masonic imagery. He also came up with the brilliant solution of the fluttering banner to carry the names of the virtues, since they did not fit on the bases; the banner also recalls the tassels and knots that are prevalent in masonic imagery and decoration. Coram also incorporated three steps leading up to the platform on which the columns stand, and three steps were a common masonic form, usually placed before an arch or the two columns of Jakin and Boaz, symbolizing the first three degrees of freemasonry (Entered Apprentice, Fellow Craft, Master Mason). Coram was already versed in masonic symbolism, as we can see in his design for a Royal Arch certificate of 1783.¹¹⁵

Nevertheless, it was the Georgia state legislature that set forth the iconography of the three columns on bases, arch, Constitution and three virtues, and soldier. It is therefore relevant to ask whether the governor and legislators of those years had fraternal affiliations that might have impacted the seal's design. The governor, James S. Jackson (1757—1820), was a prominent Mason in Solomon's Lodge No.1 of Savannah, and other freemasons served in the legislature.¹¹⁶ More significantly, masonic values and symbols were considered sufficiently shared among the population that they could and should represent the authority of the state's constitution.

One last piece of the story demands attention. A design submitted by 16-year-old Charles Fraser (1782—1860) of Charleston, South Carolina, was highly praised for its elegance, but had to be rejected for not following the competition's directions and combining all the elements for the recto and verso on one side.¹¹⁷ Unfortunately, it has never been found. It is notable because Fraser studied art with Coram before turning to law in 1798.¹¹⁸ Is it possible that Coram

¹¹⁴ This seal was to be considerably smaller than previous ones, under 3 inches in diameter.

¹¹⁵ See the online database for the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, no. 3540. Furthermore, Coram had a philanthropic nature that aligned with a principal aim of freemasonry. He left most of his estate to the Charleston orphanage. Whaley Batson, "Thomas Coram: Charleston Artist," *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts* 1, no. 2 (1975): 38-39.

¹¹⁶ Jackson's biography is similar to those of other early masonic leaders in Georgia. He emigrated from England to Savannah at age 15, and became the ward and protégé of lawyer John Werest, himself governor in 1779. As a lawyer and congressman, Jackson helped draw up the first state constitution and earned a reputation for honesty in prosecuting the Yazoo Fraud. He served in a number of Grand Lodge positions, including Grand Master in 1789. See William Omer Foster, Sr., *James Jackson: Duelist and Militant Statesman 1757—1806* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1960), 2-3, 35, and 183.

¹¹⁷ *Louisville Gazette*, May 7, 1799.

¹¹⁸ Their relationship seems to have been close, as Coram made Fraser the executor of his will, though, as a lawyer, Fraser was well qualified to do so.

preserved aspects of his former student Fraser's admired design in this post-competition drawing?¹¹⁹

With minor adjustments, the 1799 state seal design has remained in use until today, and has provided a template for many state institutions and offices, such as the University of Georgia, to use in creating a seal or logo. The one modification to the state seal during its more than two centuries of existence was changing the date to 1776 to signify the year in which the state of Georgia, along with twelve others, declared independence from Britain. However, this date does not have a direct connection to the constitution of Georgia, and thus skews the more harmonious iconography and associations drawn up by the state legislature.

¹¹⁹ Etheridge and Bonner, "Georgia's State Seals," 307-11. The appeal of Fraser's one-sided design persisted for another dozen years, for in 1811, the governor David Brydie Mitchell desired an Executive Seal to be based on it. Mitchell engaged Major Richard Dennis of Philadelphia as his intermediary to contract with a local engraver, John (Johann Mattaus) Reich, to produce the seal. Like many engravers and printers, Reich was a Mason and worked for the U.S. Mint. Norris S. Barratt and Julius F. Sachse, *Freemasonry in Pennsylvania 1727-1907*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia, 1909), 344.

Masonic and Fraternal Officers' Jewels. Early to mid-20th century.

Manufacture unknown.

Metal and paint.

Past Master, 3 1/8 x 2 inches; Secretary, 3 9/16 x 3 inches; Pythian Knight, 3 x 2 1/4 inches.

San Marino Lodge No. 34 Records, circa 1820-2000. MSS 1257, Box 7, Kodak pouch. Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University, Atlanta, GA.

Every masonic lodge must have at least 7 officers, and usually has several more. The key positions are: Worshipful Master, the head; Senior and Junior Wardens, his right-hand men; Secretary; Treasurer; Deacon (sometimes a Senior and Junior), who delivers sermons; and, Tyler, who guards entry to the lodge. Most lodges also have a Steward or two to arrange for refreshments at lodge meetings and to organize the semi-annual feast day celebrations, to which wives may be invited.

Here we see the “jewels” and decorative pins that are worn by masonic and Knights of Pythias officers. In freemasonry, jewels are the metal pendants that hang from collars, blue ribbons often made of silk, over the officers' jackets. At the far left is the jewel of the Past Master, meaning that the Mason served at least one term as the Worshipful Master, and this jewel honors his service. The Worshipful Master's jewel is the square. The Past Master's jewel has a square and compasses in the traditional configuration, with a shining sun in the center. Sometimes a sextant is added at the bottom, but not in this model.

In the middle is the jewel of the Secretary, two crossed quills set within the geometric form of the triangle. These traditional writing instruments are a reference to all the texts—minutes, correspondence, notifications—required of the Secretary, and the triangle is a geometric figure beloved by Masons. At the far right is a pin for a Knight of Pythias, a para-masonic organization with an initiation rite, secret meetings, and benevolent activities, discussed elsewhere in this exhibition. Here the medievalizing symbols of Pythian Knights are set within an inverted triangle: a shield; knight's suit of armor; crossing halberd and lance; and, the initials F, C, and B that stand for Friendship, Charity, and Benevolence.

The officers' jewels were worn in lodge and at public ceremonies. Officers, elected for one-year terms, pass them and the officer aprons to their successors; consequently, some may be quite old. They are both signs of the hierarchy within the lodge, each officer having specific duties in addition to his general obligations as a freemason, but also the equality of membership

that was so novel, as any Master Mason may be elected to any office in his lodge. The idea that an ordinary clerk could be elected Worshipful Master in a lodge with upper-class brethren was new and provocative in the socially stratified eighteenth century.

These decorations come from San Marino Lodge No. 34 of Greensboro, an early and long-lived lodge in Georgia, receiving its first charter in 1822 and a second one in 1844, after the competing Grand Lodges of Savannah and Milledgeville had made peace. Tradition has it that the lodge chose its name to evoke the pacifism of the small democratic republic of San Marino (in present-day Italy) which never went to war with any other people. Moreover, the micro-state was named after its founder Saint Marinus, a third-century Christian monk and stonemason, an identity that dovetails with the origin stories of freemasonry.

Masonic What-Not Shelves. Late 19th or early 20th century.

Manufacture unknown.

Wood (mahogany?).

Approximately 20 x 8 inches (4 in. deep unfolded), and 6 x 6 inches (3 in. deep unfolded)

Ms 4255. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Libraries, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens. Gift of David Mitchell from William Cauthen's estate, donated in honor of Mr. Frank Harold Boyd Coons.

These shelves were probably made after 1870, when large manufacturing companies emerged to cater to masonic lodges across the U.S., providing aprons, gloves, jewels, and furniture. They appear to have been made from a single piece of wood, perhaps following a stencil. The number 117 is incised into the underside of the small shelf. Might this be a commercial catalogue number?

In keeping with modern freemasonry's actual and legendary precedents, its major symbols are largely derived from the practices of architecture, stonemasonry, and sculpture. About ten forms are efficiently represented and composed to create a design on the larger shelf that resembles masonic illustrations known as Master's Carpets. The most prominent forms at the very top of the larger shelf are the compasses and square (or right angle), configured in this particular way, the international sign of freemasonry. The letter G in the center has been read as a reference to the divinity or to geometry. The placement of the compasses' apex cleverly allows for hanging on a nail in the wall. The columns known as Jakin and Boaz and said to have stood in front of Solomon's Temple are crowned by terrestrial and celestial globes, and form the vertical limits of the design. Within that frame one can identify a plumb (hanging from the corner of the square), a mallet and ruler, a winged hourglass, a ladder, and two poles framing an open book and a circle with a central point, a symbol for the lodge. The masonic symbols continue below the projecting shelf: a trowel (for spreading mortar) and a checkerboard design, referring to the floor of the lodge room. The small shelf features leaves of ivy above and acanthus below. Acanthus leaves decorate the capitals of Corinthian and Composite columns of ancient architecture that were highly esteemed by freemasons for their geometry and beauty. Ivy was not a specific masonic symbol, but its common associations with fidelity and immortality (and the way it clung to architecture) made it attractive to the brotherhood.

Masonic manuals and encyclopedias outline the moral and biblical associations with these forms. The square and compasses symbolize reason and faith, but also moral behavior and decorum.¹²⁰ The ladder refers to Jacob's ladder, and its three rungs to Faith, Hope, and Charity signal virtues among freemasons.¹²¹ The mallet "teaches to correct irregularities, and to reduce man to a proper level; so that...he may...learn to be content,"¹²² and the plumb conveys uprightness.¹²³ Nevertheless, these forms represent actual tools or products of architecture and stone carving, and sometimes they will not carry masonic meaning, too. One must discern the larger context in which the forms are presented in order to be confident of their masonic reading. For example, the fact that the smaller shelf came from the same household as the larger one and their similar materials and fabrication allow it to be related to a masonic purpose as was clearly the case for the larger shelf. In examples in which the square and compasses is absent, investigating the biography of the original owner or manufacturer of the object may provide support for a masonic interpretation.

The shelves probably held books or ritual objects of freemasonry. Many lodges had libraries or areas where members could sit, read, and converse. Like most furnishings in the lodge, these shelves are decorated with the central symbols of the Craft, as freemasonry is sometimes called. The fact that the horizontal surfaces of these shelves fold flat is intriguing. The metal hinges may have made them more stable in bearing weight, as opposed to having glued or nailed the horizontal shelf to the vertical part. Alternately, the hinges may signify that the shelves were temporary, taken down after lodge meetings and able to be stored flat, one on top of the other. Not all lodges could afford to own or rent spaces solely for their own assembly, and they may have had to remove some of their furniture and decoration between meetings. But this itinerancy was more typical of the first century of modern freemasonry, roughly from the 1710s to the 1840s.

¹²⁰ Aimee E. Newell, *The Badge of a Freemason: Masonic Aprons from the Scottish Rite Masonic Museum* (Lexington, MA: Scottish Rite Masonic Museum and Library, 2015), 54.

¹²¹ Newell, *Badge of a Freemason*, 156.

¹²² Jeremy L. Cross, *True Masonic Chart*, 2nd ed. (New Haven, CT, 1820), 52-53.

¹²³ Newell, *Badge of a Freemason*, 54.

Master Mason Apron. Circa 1834.
 Mrs. Robert Carver.
 Silk and linen with watercolor, embroidery, and metallic beads.
 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 15 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

Georgia Museum of Art, Athens, Acc. No. 2004.20.

This apron presents a typical arrangement of an all-seeing eye on the upper flap and an architectural emblem surrounded by masonic symbols on the body. The architectural ensemble features five vertical elements on a raised platform reached by three steps. The two columns on high bases appear closest, and are topped by globes, celestial on the left, terrestrial on the right, as were Jakin and Boaz. The other three are “lights” or candles mounted on tall bases, set in positions as they were in the lodge room, the tallest one set behind the Worshipful Master’s chair in the east. This emblem evoked the lodge, and Solomon’s Temple, appropriate to the third or Master’s degree. Above it from left to right is the sun, a capital G, and a crescent moon. The next band of symbols, again from left to right, includes: a ladder with C, H, and F between its rungs, standing for Charity, Hope, and Faith, three virtues common among masonic and fraternal groups; a sword pointing to a heart and another pointing toward a book of laws; and, two parallel lines framing an open book and a circle with a central point as the symbol of the lodge and the universe. Below those icons, reading left to right, one sees an ark, a spade, and a winged hourglass, the symbol of time. Further down appear an anchor, traditional symbol of Hope, and the geometrical configuration called the 47th Problem of Euclid, “that teaches Masons to be lovers of the arts and sciences.”¹²⁴ Just below those symbols on the left appears an urn with billowing smoke and on the right a beehive, the symbol of community and productivity. Strewn about the ground are a coffin and the Ark of the Covenant in black as well as various measuring and crafting tools, in pairs: a ruler and mallet; a hatchet and hammer; a square and perpendicular. All of these symbols were common to freemasonry and relevant if not specific to the Master Mason degree.

What is unusual is the apron’s coloring, both its variety and intensity. Mrs. Robert Carver created this exceptional colorism through a combination of watercolor, thread, and beading, all mediums that were considered at the time to be appropriate to women of the middle and upper

¹²⁴ Aimee C. Newell, *The Badge of a Freemason: Masonic Aprons from the Scottish Rite Masonic Museum* (Lexington, MA: Scottish Rite Masonic Museum and Library, 2015), 82.

classes. Though color was also considered feminine and related to the senses and emotion—as opposed to form (or line), which was seen as masculine and rational—, Mrs. Carver took a bold approach with it. Applying it naturalistically, she created a landscape with a ground line, rich green grass, and an array of colorful flowers and small trees that have little to do with the third degree or freemasonry. She even used color to suggest shadows and repeated them to bring some harmony into this variety. The one instance of symbolic color may be the blue iris of the all-seeing eye, as blue relates to the first three or blue degrees of freemasonry. Yet even there, she departed from the customary nimbus of clouds around or underneath the floating eye that indicates its divine nature; instead, she positioned them *above* the eye, as if they were a thick, bushy eyebrow. Her choice of orange, the complementary color to blue, rather than the more customary yellow for light rays, gives that section a greater visual punch.

Who was Mrs. Carver? It is through her husband that we must parse her identity, and to complicate matters, he wed three times. Robert B. Carver was born in New England in 1807 or 1808, according to various records.¹²⁵ If this apron were made in 1834 as documentation suggests, then it was likely his first wife, Mary Trice, whom he wed on October 11, 1833 in Upson County, Georgia, who decorated it. But she apparently died quite young sometime between 1834 and 1836 (divorce being rather unusual), because Carver remarried to Ann Elizabeth Hardaway in 1836 in Macon.¹²⁶ His initiation into the lodge, presumed to be 1834 based on an inscription on the apron, suggests that he was living by then in Macon or somewhere nearby.

The masonic certificate that accompanied the apron is dated to 1846, but, contrary to much presumption, the signing of a certificate wasn't necessarily tied to the moment of initiation.¹²⁷ Records show that Carver was a member of Macon Lodge No. 6 (it changed numbers a few times) by 1839.¹²⁸ Some references have been made to his residence in Marysville, a smaller town in the same county, though perhaps this was later, for Carver does not appear as a resident

¹²⁵ His birthplace varies among official records, from Providence, Rhode Island to Massachusetts, found on Ancestry.com

¹²⁶ Ann Elizabeth Hardaway died in 1851. Carver's third marriage to Mary N. Shinholster (b. 1820) took place in 1853, also in Macon.

¹²⁷ While acquiring a certificate was common in U.S. freemasonry, it certainly was not required to be a Mason. A certificate was useful to prove one's membership when traveling or when seeking to affiliate with a different lodge, for example, after having moved to a new place. Sometimes the need for a certificate came years after a Mason's initiation.

¹²⁸ *Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of the State of Georgia, 1839* (Milledgeville: Georgia Journal Office, 1839), 21 as R. Carver.

or a business in the earliest surviving Macon directories of the 1860s.¹²⁹ The reference to Carver as “Doctor” may derive from one of two sources, but both seem to have led to this incorrect assumption, for he is consistently described in newspapers as a merchant.¹³⁰ He was a member of the Macon Volunteers militia in 1836, the Floyd Rifles in 1840, an elder of the Presbyterian Church (circa 1843-51), and a founder of the Macon Lyceum and Library Society in 1835, along with prominent Macon citizens and Masons, such as Washington Poe, the guardian of future Mason Oliver Hillhouse Prince after the latter was orphaned, and Dr. Ambrose Baber, the latter two represented by masonic documents elsewhere in this exhibition. Carver lived up to the masonic ideals of benevolence and enlightenment by taking in an orphaned son of a white Mason whom he learned was working as a slave, and raising and educating him.¹³¹ Strangely, given the importance of burial and recognizing the passing of masonic brethren, no records of Carver’s death have been found. He appears to have been alive until about 1874, based on a remembrance in his ward Smith’s letter.

¹²⁹ I have found no trace of his residing in Marysville. I consulted Macon directories for 1860, 1866, and 1867 at the Washington Library’s Historical and Genealogical Room. My thanks to Rebekah Scarborough and Muriel Jackson for their valuable assistance.

¹³⁰ The inscription on the apron itself is, I believe, the abbreviation “Br” for “Brother,” not “Dr” for Doctor. Another source of this mischaracterization of his profession might be U.S. military records of 1828 which show that he enlisted but was discharged the same year by a “Surgeon’s certificate.” However, that probably meant that Carver had a medical condition that made him unsuitable for battle, not that he had acquired some medical proficiency. He is listed as a merchant in the 1860 census, and John Smith (see the following note) recalled that he ran a store.

¹³¹ This story is recounted by the adopted son himself in a moving letter of 1915 to Carver’s grandson in the curatorial file at the Georgia Museum of Art. It is also confirmed in George M. Cruikshank, *A History of Birmingham and Its Environs: A Narrative Account of Their Historical Progress, Their People, and Their Principal Interests* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing, 1920), vol. 2, 335-7. John G. Smith (1838—1919), a Captain in the Confederate Army, formed a successful general insurance and real estate company in Birmingham, Alabama. He was sent as a young teen to Macon County after both his parents died, and probably lived with Carver during the 1850s and possibly early 1860s. He was said to be one of the most prominent Masons of Alabama, and had Royal Arch and Knights Templar degrees. Cruikshank states that Carver was from Lowell, MA, and it is likely that Cruikshank was a Mason, as Lewis Publishing regularly printed masonic texts.

Master Mason Certificate, Macon Lodge No. 5. Dated February 9, 1850.
Vellum, ink, and silk.
15 5/8 x 13 3/8 inches.

Demit, Macon Lodge No. 5. Dated May 7, 1855.
Colored paper, ink.
12 9/16 x 7 15/16 inches.

Oliver Hillhouse Prince Family Papers, 1850-1859. Ms 141, Box 1, Folder 5. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

This large and impressive certificate of a Master Mason's status assured the freemasons to whom it was presented that the bearer was a man of good character in good standing with his lodge. It is in excellent condition, especially compared to a nearly identical certificate from Mount Vernon Lodge No. 22 in this exhibition. Even the silk ribbon has retained its blue color, whereas in the Mount Vernon example, it has faded to light green. Sometimes a certificate's good condition can be attributed to superior materials, other times it may reflect a lack of use or the better fortunes of its owners.

The recipient of this certificate, Oliver Hillhouse Prince, Jr. (1823—1875), was the son of Oliver Hillhouse Prince (1782—1837), state and U.S. senator, director of the Georgia Railroad Company, editor of the Milledgeville paper, *Georgia Journal*, and member of the Franklin College Board of Trustees, which meant that the Prince family was well connected. After retiring to Athens, Georgia, in the mid-1830s, Prince senior perished with his wife in a shipwreck off the North Carolina coast in 1837, leaving his son an orphan at age 14. Prince senior made his mark on Athens whose broad northwest corridor, Prince Avenue, is named after him.

Oliver junior was looked after by his uncle, Washington Poe, a lawyer and Mason of Macon. It is worth noting how many early Masons were orphans (fatherless and illegitimate sons were also numerous). One of the first charitable endeavors in the Georgia colony was the Bethesda Orphanage near Savannah whose first director was James Habersham, an English Mason and father of John, seen in a painted portrait in this exhibition. Prince junior was educated in Milledgeville and at Yale. Around 1845 he purchased the Democratic newspaper, *Macon Telegraph*, served in the Mexican-American War in 1847, then returned to practice law in

Georgia.¹³² Having inherited his father's estate, he oversaw several plantations in Bibb and Baker Counties where many enslaved people toiled. Yet, he also advocated for public education, women's property rights, and diversifying Georgia's agriculture from cotton. In 1852, he married Sarah Jackson from a prestigious family and partnered in law with Thomas Ragland in 1855.

Perhaps a growing workload or family led to Prince junior leaving his Macon lodge that year. This demit is much more formal than the one issued to William Mitchell exhibited here, and retains some of the format and symbolism of Master Mason certificates. Prince may have foreseen moving away from Macon; by the 1860s, his family was living in Kingston in northwest Georgia. During the Civil War, Prince junior served in the regiment of the freemason, General Howell Cobb, to protect the plantation economy and lifestyle he enjoyed. Though his father and mother are buried in the masonic-designed Rose Hill Cemetery of Macon, Prince junior elected to be buried in Oconee Hill Cemetery of Athens, probably also designed by a Mason.

¹³² Virginia King Nirenstein, *With Kindly Voices: A Nineteenth-Century Georgia Family* (Macon: Tullous, Books, 1984), 105.

Master Mason Certificate, Mount Vernon Lodge No. 22, Athens, GA. Dated August 14, 1855.
 Thick paper or vellum, ink, silk, colored paper.
 15 3/8 x 13 7/16 inches, sheet; extended ribbon increases the height by 11 ¼ inches.

Peninah W. Thomas Family Papers. Ms 1738, Folder OS 1A. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

This certificate was issued to John Jett Thomas (1833—1888) on August 14, 1855 and countersigned by the officers of Mount Vernon Lodge No. 22 of Athens and those of the Grand Lodge of Georgia. These certificates were made to look like impressive historical documents by their large scale, cursive printed and hand-written letters in Latin and English, and freemasonic symbols. In fact, they were mass produced but with blanks so that they could be personalized for individual Masons. These certificates functioned less like diplomas, given upon acquiring the third degree and hung in professional settings, than as proof of masonic membership to unfamiliar Masons and lodges, perhaps while its owner was traveling or had moved to a new town. The blue star appliqué and the light green silk ribbon—no doubt having faded from blue—referred to the first three or “blue” degrees of freemasonry, Master Mason being the third.¹³³

Mount Vernon Lodge No. 22 was chartered in 1819, when the town of Athens was fewer than 20 years old, and its number changed over its first two decades in relation to the changing roster of lodges within the state, according to the Grand Lodge of Georgia, the warranting authority. The lodge was considered sufficiently important that a bill was proposed in the state legislature to allow for raising funds to build a masonic hall in Athens.¹³⁴ Although the lodge ceased to be recognized by the Grand Lodge between 1828 and 1841, due to a conflict within Georgia freemasonry, it may have continued meeting. Unlike other lodges, it never changed its name or relocated, and has been continuously operating since 1841. As a sign of its standing, the lodge was invited to lay cornerstones of important state buildings, in particular those related to Franklin College (an early name for the University of Georgia), an honor typically reserved for the Grand Lodge of Georgia. As many of its students reached the age of 21 during or soon after

¹³³ The origin of the American phrase “giving someone the third degree” comes from masonic ritual when candidates were examined on key concepts and philosophical lessons of Masonry.

¹³⁴ “Georgia Legislature: Senate,” *Augusta Herald*, December 22, 1818, 2. This article noted “The bill to authorize the masters, wardens and members of Mount Vernon Lodge, at Athens, to raise by lottery, a certain sum of money to build a masonic hall. Reconsidered.”

graduation, the alumni were potential candidates for membership in the lodge. Thomas, a cotton merchant, followed his father Steven (d. 1838) into freemasonry, including Royal Arch degrees.

The certificate's design features many of the most common symbols of freemasonry: the all-seeing eye surrounding by radiant light; the three columns of Wisdom, Strength, and Beauty, two of them topped by terrestrial and celestial globes (that usually appear atop the pillars Jakin and Boaz), and the book of faith surmounts the third. The square and compasses appear on the open book, while another compasses, the ruler, and perpendicular or plumb adorn the columns' shafts. At the far left in between the ribbon weaving in and out of the paper are several architectural and sculpting tools, the chisel, mallet, square, plumb, compasses, and trowel. Three steps lead up to the platform on which the columns stand, a symbolic reference to the three blue degrees, three columns, and perhaps, the three stages of life.

Royal Arch Certificate, Athens Chapter No. 1. Dated 1854.
Paper, ink.
16 7/8 x 10 3/4 inches.

Demit, Athens Chapter No. 1. Dated 1855.
Paper, ink, red paper star.
9 13/16 x 7 3/4 inches.

Mitchell Family Papers. Ms 1366, Folder OS 1, and Box 1, Folder 6. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Both documents belonged to William Letcher Mitchell (1805–1882), an active freemason, lawyer, and educator in Athens. Born in Virginia, Mitchell moved with his family to Athens in 1808, but his father died that year; consequently, he went to live with his uncle Thomas in Athens.¹³⁵ Mitchell attended a prep school and matriculated into Franklin College, as the University of Georgia was then known. There he earned his bachelor's degree in 1825 and a master's in 1828.¹³⁶ In between degrees he moved to Louisville, Kentucky to study law and obtain his license in 1827. After various positions related and unrelated to law, he was appointed professor of law at the University of Georgia in 1867.¹³⁷ His devotion to his alma mater was lifelong. Beginning in 1842, he served on its Board of Trustees, including as treasurer and secretary, until his death.¹³⁸ As he remarked to his wife in 1850, "The longer I live the more I see the importance of education."¹³⁹ Beginning in the later 1850s, he advocated for reforming the university's curriculum so that it would better prepare students to become citizens and leaders.

It is not known when Mitchell was initiated into freemasonry, but in 1842 he was elected Worshipful Master of Mt. Vernon Lodge No. 22, in Athens, chartered a second time in 1841.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁵ J. Patrick McCarthy, Jr., "Commercial Development and University Reform in Antebellum Athens: William Mitchell as Entrepreneur, Engineer, and Educator," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 83, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 3. To add to the difficulty of researching Mitchell's biography, his uncle who raised him also had a son named William Letcher Mitchell (1798–1860) who became a Mason in Athens! The older William L. Mitchell is discussed elsewhere in this exhibition; he was the builder and owner of Franklin House in Athens.

¹³⁶ William L. Mitchell, Biography and Correspondence. E. Merton Coulter Manuscript Collection II, Ms 2345, Box 24, Folders 8 and 50, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library. I thank Haley Higingbotham, an undergraduate student in my Special Topics course in Spring 2020, for her research into Mitchell's biography.

¹³⁷ For example, in the later 1830s, Mitchell was appointed Chief Engineer of the Western and Atlantic Railroad to oversee the building of a tunnel through mountains to connect the railroad from Dalton, Georgia to Chattanooga, Tennessee. "Tribute of the Bar of Clarke County: Memorial Services," *The Banner-Watchman* (Athens), December 5, 1882.

¹³⁸ Mitchell, Biography and Correspondence.

¹³⁹ Cited in McCarthy, "Commercial Development and University Reform," 1.

¹⁴⁰ Mitchell Family Papers, Ms 1366, Box 1.

By 1849, he had fulfilled a term as District Grand Master, indicating his high standing within Georgia freemasonry.¹⁴¹ Like Mitchell, many attorneys and judges joined freemasonry, whose commitment to the rule of law and justice were goals shared by legal and judicial professions. He also obtained degrees in Royal Arch Masonry and rose to leadership positions in it locally and state-wide.¹⁴²

In this certificate's design, the archway, a central motif of Royal Arch Masonry (sometimes called Capitular Masonry), is created by two vertical pillar-like forms with capitals surmounted by an arch. These architectural members are formed from the repeated small forms of lotus and acanthus leaves and heads of the radiant Christ and Virgin Mary. Under the crown of the arch is a vignette of standard masonic symbols: the checkerboard floor; the two pillars, Jakin and Boaz, topped by globes; sun and moon; mallet, ruler, square and compasses, plumb, book of prayer, G, all-seeing eye, and three steps inscribed with C, H, and F (Charity, Hope, and Faith). The motto underneath the vignette, "Holiness to the Lord," reflects the Christian emphasis of nineteenth-century Royal Arch practice in the United States, while the pseudo-Latin transcription of the English text conjures the legendary antiquity and erudition of freemasonry. These certificates were a diploma, given to all Masons who obtained a degree; rather, they had to be requested and purchased, and served to validate a Mason's identity to other brethren in unfamiliar places.

In 1855, Mitchell withdrew from both Mount Vernon Lodge No. 22 and Royal Arch Chapter No. 1. The demit (or dimit) is written authorization for a Mason in good standing to leave his lodge or chapter. Here, the star-shaped paper seal's red color is another symbol of Royal Arch Masonry. As often happened, the blue lodge and Royal Arch chapter in Athens shared several members and officers who signed such documents.

One wonders if the death of Mitchell's first wife, Sarah (née Neisler), in 1852 or his second marriage, to Lucretia Bass, in 1854, prompted a change in his lifestyle that affected his masonic activity. It may be that by 1855 Mitchell was increasingly drawn to the Scottish Rite which had a Lodge of Perfection in Augusta, but not Athens. To remain a member of all three bodies would have required considerable time and money from Mitchell. By 1870, he had obtained the

¹⁴¹ *Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Georgia, 1849* (Macon: S. Rose, 1849), 57.

¹⁴² In 1845, he was the Grand Secretary for the Grand Royal Arch Chapter of Georgia, and in 1847 was chosen High Priest of Athens' Royal Arch Chapter No. 1. *Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Georgia, 1842* (1842), 25, and *Proceedings of the Grand Royal Arch Chapter of the State of Georgia, May, 1847* (Augusta: James McCafferty, 1847), 1 and 10. I am grateful to the Scottish Rite Library, House of the Temple, Washington, D.C. for access to these publications.

ultimate 33rd degree in the Scottish Rite, and served as Grand Inspector General for the State of Georgia.¹⁴³

¹⁴³ McCarthy, "Commercial Development," 8. See also Albert Pike, Supreme Council Southern Jurisdiction, Letter to William L. Mitchell, Washington, D.C., June 20, 1882. Scottish Rite Library.

Royal Arch Mason Certificate, Washington Chapter No. 7, Marion, GA. Dated July 28, 1824.
Vellum or thick paper, ink, cardboard, linen.
12 5/8 x 9 5/8 inches.

Masonry in Macon, Baber-Blackshear Family Papers. Ms 11, Box 9, Folder 8. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

This certificate was delivered by the seventh chapter of Royal Arch Masonry to be chartered in Georgia. These were still early days in the administration of the York Rite in the state; the warranting authority, the Grand Chapter of Georgia, had only been established in 1822. Consequently, Royal Arch Masons either had to commission local artists to produce their regalia and documents or acquire them from other states and their artists, which is in evidence in this certificate. Perhaps for that reason its particular format did not become widespread in Georgia.

In practical terms, a Mason did not actually need a certificate for most masonic activities, especially those that took place in his own lodge or chapter, because he would be familiar to his brethren. Still, the production of these certificates became increasingly regular in Masonry in the United States for cultural reasons. First, American society was highly mobile, given that the country was still developing, adding new states and cities and taking in immigrants, and men were more likely to seek opportunities in new places within its borders. Masonic certificates were useful to Masons who traveled extensively, for example, in professions like the military or trade, so that they could visit other lodges or chapters and find welcome and fellowship while far from home. As Baber himself wrote in an address to freemasons, “[Freemasonry] orders us to live within compass, and always to act upon the square with the world and with one another...for a Mason amongst men of every nation, may find a friend, a home in every clime.”¹⁴⁴ In the increasingly vast distances of the United States, it was also more difficult to know much about relocating men, such as whether they were duly initiated Masons of good character. Such certificates, when presented, reassured lodges that the newcomer was qualified to join their chapter or lodge. Certificates could be issued at any point after the degree was received.¹⁴⁵

The design for this certificate was made and engraved by the Connecticut artist Amos Doolittle, who also created the Time and the Virgin motif seen in the Sheftall Family apron in

¹⁴⁴ Ambrose Baber, address to freemasons, undated. Baber-Blackshear Family Papers, Ms 11, Box 9, Folder 8.

¹⁴⁵ A Master Mason certificate was issued to Baber from Macon Lodge No. 5 in 1846, after his death, probably so that his family had documentation of his fraternal membership.

this section of the exhibition. The signature line at the lower right also announces that Amos was a Companion, the term for a Royal Arch Mason. At the top of the certificate is a heavenly emblem, an upside-down triangle with a radiant G, and three cherubs or angels at each point. It recalls the more standard York Rite symbol of two winged angles standing at either side of a shield. Clouds and an arching rainbow complete this sign of the “Canopy of Heaven.” Below the text that attests to the Companion’s degree, here given only in English, appears a large Royal Arch emblem: a row of arches on classical columns, each with a keystone in its center, surmounted by the phrase, “Holiness to the Lord,” atop a platform. The platform is reached by seven steps, symbolizing the number of Masons required to form a Royal Arch chapter as well as the seventh degree called the Royal Arch Mason. At the far end of the row of arches are two tablets with Roman numerals suggestive of the Ten Commandments, and under the arches is an open rectangular pit out of which a human figure rises, holding up an inverted triangle, with three tools, including a shovel and pickaxe. The grave-like opening signifies the crypt that is integral to the Royal Arch ritual, and the triangular object visualizes the special grail to be sought there in an enactment of a spiritual quest. To the left of the text is a linen ribbon woven through the paper or vellum, to which is attached a thick paper seal, now difficult to read but probably that of the Marion chapter. Unfortunately, both the linen and thick paper appear to have faded from what was probably a bright red, the color of Royal Arch Masonry. The seal appears to have common Royal Arch symbols of an open book and either a beehive, shield, or archway, perhaps atop a checkerboard floor or the ark of the Covenant.

The name of this chapter honors the first president of the United States, George Washington, who was made a Master Mason as a young man, but was not active in the fraternity nor known to have obtained a Royal Arch degree. Nonetheless, Masons everywhere in the United States and even beyond held him up as a paragon of masonic virtues. The brethren of Savannah provided him with a grand reception during his official tour there in 1791. Named after another Revolutionary War general, the town of Marion, southeast of Macon, incorporated in 1816 and had thriving trade until it rejected the incursion of the railroad in the 1860s, leading to its decline.

Edward Ambrose Baber (1792—1846), known as Ambrose, was a medical doctor, politician, and diplomat who was made a Master Mason and Royal Arch Mason in Marion. Like many Americans, Baber saw better opportunities in the newly-founded town of Macon, and demitted from the Marion lodge and chapter to help found Macon Lodge No. 6 and Constantine Chapter

No. 4 in his new hometown. Clearly Baber was already a community and masonic leader, and in 1825, he gave the welcome address to the French Mason and Revolutionary War supporter, the marquis de Lafayette, who was making a tour of southeastern cities.¹⁴⁶ Perhaps his face-to-face encounter with this foreign Mason who contributed so much to the Franco-American alliance induced Baber later in life to accept four diplomatic positions abroad, including chargé d'affaires to Sardinia in 1841, vice-consul in Turin, and ambassador to France from 1842-44.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁶ Drafts of the address and extracts from the *Georgia Messenger*, a Macon newspaper, of March 23 and 30, 1825, are found in the same folder as the Royal Arch certificate. I want to recognize Scottia Hutchings-Householder, an undergraduate student in my Special Topics course of Fall 2021, for her independent research on Baber's masonic life.

¹⁴⁷ Clipping, "Claudel's Visit to Macon recalls Service of Baber as Ambassador to France," 1928. Baber-Blackshear Family Papers, Ms 11, Box 9, Folder 8.

Architecture

Having derived its name from the term for highly skilled carving and building in limestone or sandstone (freestone masonry), freemasonry centered its rhetoric and symbolism on architecture and stone carving. Architecture was its central metaphor for building a Mason's moral character and providing shelter from life's difficulties. But many Masons appreciated the aesthetics of architecture and sought to erect buildings, either for themselves or for their communities. Thus, the metaphor was made a concrete reality, as seen in the Masons' generous funding and administration of schools, orphanages, libraries, and hospitals. African American entrepreneur and Mason, Pink Morton, erected a commercial building in Athens that provided space, a "home," for Black professionals and community.

The architectural styles adopted for these buildings could be as varied as the masonic orders and individual Masons themselves, and included Greek Revival, colonial Georgian, Palladian Revival, and neo-Egyptian. It remained rare for a local lodge to own or have designed its building, which was a heavy expense. Typically, they rented rooms, usually on an upper floor to avoid the prying eyes of passers-by, in a commercial building, sometimes owned or managed by a Mason.

Account of the Cornerstone Laying of New College.
“Athens, 4th July, 1822.” *Southern Recorder* (Milledgeville), July 9, 1822.

Scan from Georgia Historic Newspapers, <https://gahistoricnewspapers.galileo.usg.edu/>

The second academic building erected in 1822 on the University of Georgia campus in Athens was called New College. Instead of the Grand Lodge of Georgia, the members of the local Mount Vernon Lodge (it had a different number than the 22 it was reassigned in 1841) were given the honor of conducting the cornerstone laying on their semi-annual feast day, that of June 24, St. John the Baptist’s day. At noon, they processed from their Masonic Hall to the College Chapel, “where a numerous and respectable assemblage had convened.” After sacred music, a prayer, and a speech by the alumnus, judge, and Mason Augustin S. Clayton, the Masons walked over to the building site to commence the ceremony. A list of the items placed within the cornerstone were enumerated in this article and therefore hardly a secret; they included a small Bible, coins, and papers with the names of the current U.S. President, Georgia Governor, university President, and Worshipful Master of the Mount Vernon Lodge. And the article states the full inscription on the stone: “By the Liberality of the Legislature of 1821, this Edifice was erected. The Corner-stone was laid on June 24th, 1822, A.L. 5822, by Mount Vernon Lodge, at the request of the Trustees of the University of Georgia.”

Clayton’s address was quite moving while reinforcing certain masonic principles. For example, the fraternity’s reverence for the law and public service resonates in his gratitude to the state legislature for supporting the university and this building. He also enhances the masonic metaphor of the worked stone, the foundation of a harmonious society and its individuals’ moral conduct, particularly through the benefits of education that freemasonry never ceased to emphasize. The poignancy of Clayton’s address comes from his description of the ritual itself as “solemn and affecting. It is a convention between the living and the unborn, intended to unite the simple story of the present moment with the chronicle of future ages.”

The builder's jewel, or the youth's instructor, and workman's remembrance... London: R. Ware, printed at the *Bible and Sun*, 1741.

Batty and Thomas Langley.

5 11/16 x 4 ½ inches.

Rare Book NA2810.L36 1741 Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

The English garden designer Batty Langley (1696—1751) was the author of several books on architecture, like *The builder's jewel*, despite not having trained or worked in that field. His brother Thomas collaborated on *The builder's jewel* by engraving the plates. Although Batty Langley's name has not yet been found on the membership role of any masonic lodge, he appears to have claimed masonic affiliation with this and other books. In 1726 he dedicated *Practical Geometry*—a subject dear to freemasons—to Lord Paisley, installed as Grand Master in 1725, and his lengthy *Ancient Masonry* (1731-36) to Francis, Duke of Lorrain, installed as Grand Master in 1731.¹⁴⁸ Batty Langley even named his son Hiram, after the protagonist of a central narrative in freemasonic ritual. In his engraved signature on the frontispiece of *The builder's jewel*, Batty Langley claimed to have designed the composition and used the masonic year of 5741 rather than the actual one, 1741, to date it, suggesting that he identified as a Mason.

This book's title features another masonic term, "jewel," another kind of stone that is worked into geometric shapes. In masonic rhetoric, a jewel is the pendant, usually of a fine metal, worn on a silk ribbon around the neck that identified a lodge officer. The frontispiece of this book is a clear appropriation of masonic imagery and values. It somewhat freely represents three classicizing orders of architecture – the Ionic, Doric, and Corinthian – that are central symbols in freemasonry, and includes the first letter of their masonic moral value, W[isdom], S[trength], and B[eauty], along with Roman numerals of masonic significance, 7, 5, and 3. A sun and moon surmount two of the columns while a bust of the ancient philosopher Pythagoras tops the third. Numerous architectural and stone-carving tools that make sense for a book on architecture but are also central masonic symbols appear on the columns, such as a square, compasses, a schematic rendering of a lodge room with its checkerboard floor, a perpendicular (or plumb), and a ruler.

¹⁴⁸ Eileen Harris, "Batty Langley: A Tutor to Freemasons (1696—1741)," *Burlington Magazine* 119, no. 890 (May 1977): 329.

Camak House, façade, rear entrance, and entry hall, Athens, GA. Built 1834.
Color photographs by Downing M. Bethune, 1977-1979.
3 7/16 x 5 15/16 inches, each.

Downing Bethune Photographs. Ms 1623. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library,
University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Camak House was occupied by the builder's descendants until its sale in 1949 to the local Mount Vernon Lodge No. 22, after which it served as the Masonic Hall for nearly 30 years. The family's masonic associations probably facilitated the purchase by the lodge, and these photographs are valuable traces of its function as a masonic meeting place.

One of first fine houses constructed on the Prince Avenue corridor, it was built around 1834 by James A. Camak (1795—1847), an important early industrialist in Georgia who came to Athens in 1817 to teach mathematics at the University of Georgia.¹⁴⁹ Tradition places the organizational meeting of the Georgia Railroad Company, only the third railroad in the United States, at his house in 1834; he became a director of the company. The preceding year Camak played a major role in establishing the Princeton Factory in Athens, which made products from cotton, perhaps later prompting him to become editor of the agricultural review, *The Southern Cultivator*.¹⁵⁰ Though it is not known whether James A. was a freemason, a railroad station in Warren County on the Athens-Augusta line that he helped establish took his name, as did the masonic lodge that opened there in 1911, Camak Lodge No. 607.¹⁵¹

His son, Dr. James Camak (1822—1893) inherited the house. Son James graduated from Princeton in 1842, and received his medical degree in Augusta in 1844.¹⁵² He practiced medicine in Athens, and served as Medical Director for the state of Georgia. He was a Mason in Mount Vernon Lodge No. 22, as his note attached to the lodge's letter of condolence to Howell Cobb's family, seen elsewhere in this exhibition, attests. By mid-century it was recognized that establishing cemeteries outside city limits was good hygienic practice, so it is perhaps not

¹⁴⁹ At the time, the Camak property continued all the way to Prince Avenue, and helped to launch the development of this corridor where many fine residences over the next century.

¹⁵⁰ James K. Reap, *Athens: A Pictorial History 1801-2001*, 3rd ed. (Virginia Beach: Donning Company, 2001), 26-27. In 1979, the house was acquired by the Coca-Cola Company, whose bottling plant stood nearby (the present-day Bottleworks complex). In the 1990s, a law firm bought the house and renovated it with historical sensitivity.

¹⁵¹ William Henry Rosier and Fred Lamar Pearson, Jr., *The Grand Lodge of Georgia Free and Accepted Masons 1786-1980* (Macon: Educational and Historical Commission of the Grand Lodge of Georgia, F. & A.M., 1983), 302.

¹⁵² See Dr. Camak's obituary in the *Athens Banner* August 15 and 16, 1893.

surprising that Dr. Camak was involved in the design of Athens' new Oconee Hill Cemetery, opened in 1856. His participation also supports the argument of masonic scholar James Stevens Curl that cemetery design was a masonic vehicle for delivering their promise of dignified burials and showcasing their visual aesthetic.¹⁵³

The dignified two-story, four-over-four Camak home still stands at 279 Meigs Street at the corner of Finley Street. Two architectural features of the house would have appealed to a masonic lodge looking for a venue: the raised basement that offered increased privacy, even on the entry level, from passers-by; and, the closets that could function as the meditation chamber, a small, darkened room, required for degree ritual. In these photographs from the late 1970s, a light blue sign with masonic symbols hangs to the right of the rear entrance, probably used by Masons out of discretion, and the walls in the entry hall are painted a similar light blue. Another photograph of the front parlor room shows a very large picture of a seated man that Bethune identified on the reverse as a Mason, perhaps the Worshipful Master.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³ James Stevens Curl, *Freemasonry and the Enlightenment: Architecture, Symbols, and Influences* (London: Historical Publications, 2011), 195-7.

¹⁵⁴ Bethune calls that picture a photograph, though it looks to be nearly life-size. It appears to be framed, with a large square and compasses with a central G at the top of the picture.

Ceremonial Trowel. Circa 1968.
Stainless steel, wood handle.
7 ¼ x 1 13/16 inches.

Richard B. Russell, Jr. Collection, Related Materials, Artifacts. RBRL/001/RBR_E_V, Box 37, 52A. Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Studies, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

The trowel is a common instrument of the stone or brick mason's trade for laying on mortar or cement and to make sure the layer is consistent, even, and smooth. In freemasonry, the trowel symbolized the "cementing" or lasting bonds of fraternal friendship. Grand Masters had golden trowels—clearly ceremonial because its precious metal was not appropriate for laying mortar or cement—that they carried to cornerstone laying ceremonies. This trowel, while not gold, is obviously ceremonial by its small size and its printed inscription that identifies the "cornerstone ceremonies" for which it was produced.

This trowel belonged to Richard Brevard Russell, Jr. (1897—1971), formerly Governor and at that time U.S. Senator of Georgia, as well as a Royal Arch Mason and Shriner. In both his political and masonic roles and occasionally both, he was called to participate in cornerstone laying events for important public buildings. In this instance, Russell was invited for his crucial political efforts to bring a federally-sponsored research institution to Athens, Georgia, home of his alma mater, the University of Georgia. There was some expectation that the laboratory would be named after Russell; the initials on the trowel, SERRL, likely stand for Southeastern Russell Research Laboratory. But the lab's official name became the Southeastern Agricultural Research Laboratory.

Franklin House, Athens, GA.
 Photograph.
 5 x 7 3/16 inches.

National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, Athens Chapter. Ms 1482, Box 3 Folder 5. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Franklin House was built on a main thoroughfare, Broad Street, in Athens, in 1845, on property sold by the University of Georgia, which at the time was represented by Franklin College, perhaps prompting the name of this edifice. It was originally a commercial building with offices on the ground floor and a hotel on the upper floors. Some additions and modifications were made through 1860, and a cast-iron façade was added in 1886.¹⁵⁵

Franklin House served as one of the early and possibly long-term venues for the local masonic lodge, Mount Vernon Lodge No. 22. The announcement of the building's sale after its owner died in 1860 stated that its third floor held the masonic hall. Masonic lodges often rented rooms in commercial or public edifices and preferred upper floors in order to be far from prying eyes of non-Masons (the "profane"). It was also common for Masons to use an external staircase to access these lodge rooms, thereby avoiding front doors and communal lobbies, again for reasons of discretion. Research has shown that such a staircase existed on Franklin House's Thomas Street side but it seemed to have led to the second-floor balcony.

The building was constructed and operated by Major William L. Mitchell (1798—1860), himself a Mason, and, somewhat confusingly, the first cousin to a well-known Athens lawyer and Mason with the exact same name, William Letcher Mitchell (1805—1882). After the major's death, Franklin House was acquired by other Masons, the silversmith, Asaph K. Childs, and Reuben Nickerson, who established Athens Hardware Company there for nearly a century.¹⁵⁶ Franklin House is listed on the National Register of Historic Places, thoroughly renovated in the later twentieth century, and is active commercial space today.

¹⁵⁵ John Linley, *The Georgia Catalog: Historic American Buildings Survey: a guide to the architecture of the state* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1982), 266.

¹⁵⁶ Childs had his silversmith shop in Franklin House during Mitchell's ownership. See Frances Taliaferro Thomas, and Mary Levin Koch, *A Portrait of Historic Athens and Clarke County* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009), 43. Childs and Nickerson were members of Mount Vernon Lodge No. 22, and in 1862, Childs was elected Worshipful Master and Nickerson Treasurer, indicating that they were well respected Masons. *Grand Lodge of Georgia Proceedings, 1862* (Macon: S. Rose, 1862), 57.

Masonic Home of Georgia Brochure. Circa 1960s-1970s.
Paper, ink.
9 x 4 inches, folded; 9 x 12 inches, unfolded.

Masonic Home of Georgia. Georgia Ephemera Collection, Corporate. Ms 3496, Box 38, Folder 29. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

The Masonic Home of Georgia fulfilled multiple obligations of the fraternity. It offered a permanent home for orphans of Masons and non-Masons where they would receive housing, food, and clothing, medical care and a secular and religious education to prepare them for their future lives. As this brochure stated, the Home intended “to send our children back into their communities as assets and not liabilities.” One of the trades that older children learned there was printing at the Masonic Home Print Shop, which also produced many of the publications, circulars, and other announcements for the Grand Lodge and other masonic groups.

The Masonic Home of Georgia was founded in Macon, where the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Georgia has been located since the mid-nineteenth century, in 1905 on 650 acres.¹⁵⁷ It was fully funded by local lodges and other freemasons and governed by a Board of Trustees approved by the Grand Lodge. The Superintendent at the time of this brochure was John H. Williamson who received the Distinguished Service Award from the Grand Lodge of Georgia in 1976.¹⁵⁸

As the photograph of the entrance shows, the Home featured many elements of the Georgian and Palladian architectural styles, such as the elevated base, rounded portico with classicizing columns, classicizing balustrade, Palladian (also called Venetian) windows, second-floor balcony, door with a broken pediment ornament, and stucco and brickwork around the windows to mimic keystones.

¹⁵⁷ Information at <http://www.masonichomeofgeorgia.com/WhoWeAre/howeare.html>. Consulted 04/07/2021.

¹⁵⁸ Information at <https://www.glofga.com/glofga/index.php/distinguished-service-medal>. Consulted 04/07/2021.

Morton Building, Athens, GA. 1910.
 Black and white photograph.
 8 x 10 inches.

Athens-Clarke County Mayor's Office Collection. Ms 3410, Box 1, Folder 14. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

The Morton Building, now called the Morton Theatre, was built by its eponymous owner, the entrepreneur Monroe (“Pink”) Bowers Morton (1853—1919), who was of mixed race and lived as a man of color. His early jobs included hotel porter and mover before he turned to real estate. A local newspaper reported that he owned some 25 to 30 houses in Athens, including his own handsome residence on Prince Avenue. As a building contractor, he received commissions for important public structures such as the courthouse of Washington, Georgia, and government buildings in Anniston, Alabama.¹⁵⁹ Morton was also a freemason, serving as Worshipful Master of Lincoln Lodge No. 62 of Athens in 1896.¹⁶⁰

By creating a multi-story commercial building in downtown Athens, Morton realized a masonic desire to make a “home” for one’s “family.” His building, at the intersection of Washington and Hull Streets, helped make that area known as “Hot Corner” the heart of African-American businesses and services. The Morton welcomed various Black professionals, such as E.D. Harris’s pharmacy, dental and medical offices, a restaurant, and a barber shop. The *Athens Herald* proclaimed the Morton “the largest building of its kind owned exclusively by a colored man in the world.”¹⁶¹

Its theatre was important for showcasing a variety of Black performers. Few playbills or copies of Black-run newspapers from 1910 to the 1920s have survived to confirm which entertainers passed through the Morton. Some big names, such as Cab Calloway and Duke Ellington, have been mentioned, due to ticket stubs with their names found much later in the building, but they may not have come from the Morton. Nevertheless, those and other Black musicians joined freemasonry—sometimes abroad—for the welcome it offered as they traveled

¹⁵⁹ Clipping, *Athens Herald*, circa 1914. Vertical Files. Ms 3609, Box 73, Folder 29. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

¹⁶⁰ *Proceedings of the Most Worshipful Union Grand Lodge, A.F. & A. M. for the State of Georgia* (Savannah: Tribune Print, 1896), 78.

¹⁶¹ Clipping, *Athens Herald*.

to and performed in unfamiliar places.¹⁶² Might the building have also served as a lodge room or masonic hall for Black Masons? The interior walls were originally painted a light blue, the color of the blue degrees, and the black and white design on the awning and in the interior recalls the checkerboard floor of the lodge room.¹⁶³ The external iron staircase on the Hull Street side (if extended to ground level) would have provided discreet access to an upper floor, typical of many lodge rooms. The squared-off corner entrance with a central column (in cast-iron) was another common feature of commercial buildings with lodge rooms in Georgia, as seen in Eatonton and Greensboro (in a building across from the county courthouse which also had a lodge room).

By 1914 Morton was also the publisher and editor of a local newspaper, *The Progressive Era*, a powerful tool for communicating with the Black community and perhaps on lodge matters. After serving as a delegate to the Republican National Convention in 1896 that nominated William McKinley, Morton was the President's appointee to Postmaster of Athens for the next five years (1897-1902), the second African American to hold that post, the first being the formerly enslaved Madison Davis, one of the first Blacks elected to legislative office in Georgia. The position of Postmaster was sought after by a significant number of white and Black Masons in the U.S. Not only did it align with the masonic emphasis on public service, but perhaps it had other advantages to the fraternity, such as communicating with brethren or giving them stable employment.

¹⁶² Michelle Simone, "The Masons of Jazz," *California Freemason*, April 1, 2019. At <https://californiafreemason.org/2019/04/01/the-masons-of-jazz/>, consulted 06/01/2021.

¹⁶³ This detail of the wall colors is mentioned in the nomination form for the National Register of Historic Places Inventory, received September 11, 1979. Athens Clarke Heritage Foundation. Ms 3739, Box 33, Folder 56. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Prince Hall Masonic Temple, Atlanta, GA. 1937-1940, expanded in 1955.
 Photograph

Scan from the digital collections of the library of Georgia State University.
<http://digitalcollections.library.gsu.edu/edm/ref/collection/lane/id2241>

Building a temple for masonic meetings not only reenacted the symbolic building of Solomon's Temple, a key metaphor in the moral and spiritual enlightenment of masonic brethren, it also provided a secure meeting place for an organization that valued discretion and sometimes claimed persecution from the envious, powerful, and the curious. Perhaps no freemasons felt more in need of the protection and security of a Mason-owned space than the Prince Hall Masons. As Black men whose civilian rights were repeatedly threatened if not altogether suppressed in the United States, they saw the advantages of the fraternal bonds of freemasonry but remained anxious about discrimination and attacks by whites who feared Blacks in numbers and their appropriation of the same practices and status of white lodges.

After Prince Hall died in 1807, the African Grand Lodge was formed the following year, in order to warrant and regularize lodges for African Americans, since they were not welcome in white lodges. In 1847, its name was changed to Prince Hall Grand Lodge to honor the free Black man who was made a Master Mason in 1775 and obtained a charter from the Grand Lodge of England to open a lodge in Boston. Prince Hall Masonry expanded in the South after the Civil War, and its lodges and chapters demonstrated the brotherhood and charity expected of freemasons. In Georgia in 1888, to commemorate the centennial of the charter for Prince Hall's African Lodge in Boston, the cornerstone for the Old Colored Orphan Home in Americus was laid by Black Royal Arch Masons of the Grand Chapter.¹⁶⁴

As did white freemasonry, Prince Hall Masonry could claim outstanding scholars, thinkers, and public servants among its ranks, such as Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. DuBois, and Thurgood Marshall. Like other masonic groups, Prince Hall Masons also had their internal conflicts, especially in the later nineteenth century, with differing views about their authorizing bodies and national level of organization. More to the point, not all Black freemasons in the

¹⁶⁴ Smooth Ashlar Grand Lodge F.&A.A. York Masons of Georgia, *Centennial Anniversary 1865-1965* (Atlanta, 1965), 31. This word is also spelled "Ashler" within this publication.

United States belong to lodges or chapters that affiliate with Prince Hall Masonry, and therein lies much confusion, since the term Prince Hall is sometimes applied to every Black Mason.¹⁶⁵

In 1926, the National Grand Lodge of Prince Hall Masons held its triennial meeting (the twenty-sixth) in Atlanta, a great honor and indicative of the large numbers of Prince Hall freemasons in Georgia. Because they did not have a large temple that could accommodate the numbers of attendees, the meeting was held in Big Bethel AME Church on Auburn Avenue, where the Reverend Dr. A.D. Williams, grandfather of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., whose own father was a Mason, led the devotions.¹⁶⁶ As the Sweet Auburn neighborhood was one of the most important Black communities in Atlanta (and now a Historic District), it made sense to locate the new Prince Hall temple nearby at 330 Auburn Avenue NE at the corner of Hilliard Street. More importantly, the building's occupancy demonstrated how fraternal organizations like freemasonry supported and interacted with some of the leading political, religious, and commercial enterprises of the Black community.¹⁶⁷ The building housed, among others, Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference office on the ground floor, Madame C.J. Walker's Beauty School, and WERD, the first radio station that was Black-owned and -programmed, on the second floor.¹⁶⁸ As customary, the third floor was reserved for the Masons and still serves in that capacity today. Prince Hall Masons of Atlanta included former mayors Maynard Jackson and Andrew Young and congressman John Lewis.

The neo-Renaissance architecture reflects the masonic aesthetic of classicizing styles. The building's function as a lodge is indicated on the third story where square and compasses are set within squares turned on the diagonal. The fenestration on this floor is reduced to narrow clerestory windows, providing the discretion from prying eyes that Masons desired. On the ground floor, the large, arched windows with central keystones create a classicizing rhythm

¹⁶⁵ For critical studies of Black freemasonry in the United States, see Matthew Brock (PNGM Ohio), *History of the National Grand Lodge* (Columbus, OH, self-published, 1980); David L. Gray, *Inside Prince Hall*, ed. Tony Pope (Lancaster, VA: Anchor Communications, 2003), esp. 86-206; and, Alton G. Roundtree, and Paul M. Bessel, *Out of the Shadows: the emergence of Prince Hall Freemasonry in America* (Camp Springs, MD: KLR, 2006).

¹⁶⁶ unsigned, "United Council Meets," *Prince Hall Review* 1944, 8-9. This notice reported that 95 men were initiated into the 33rd degree of the Scottish Rite, including Rev. Martin Luther King.

¹⁶⁷ For an excellent study of these interactions, especially concerning the Civil Rights movement, see Theda Skocpol, Ariane Liazos, and Marshall Ganz, *What a Mighty Power We Can Be: African American Fraternal Groups and the Struggle for Racial Equality* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006).

¹⁶⁸ Maggie Lee, "Princely Grant for Historic Masonic Hall Renovation," February 18, 2021, available at <https://saportareport.com/reporters-notebook-princely-grant-for-historic-masonic-hall-renovation/sections/reports/maggie/>

while implementing central motifs of masonic symbolism. In a more unusual manner, the rustication that was traditionally used only on the lowest story is here continued throughout the floors, unifying the whole façade.

The building is attributed to Charles Hopson and Ron Howard, according to a Prince Hall website.¹⁶⁹ Charles Henry Hopson (1865—1941) was an English-born architect who emigrated to Canada and then the United States, eventually making Atlanta his home.¹⁷⁰ A white man, he was also a Mason and Shriner who understood what made a handsome and serviceable masonic temple. Because he died just after the original building was finished, his associate Ron Howard was probably responsible for the later expansion.

¹⁶⁹ <http://sweetauburn.us/princehall.htm>, consulted 04/27/2021.

¹⁷⁰ “C.H. Hopson, Architect, Dies; Services Today; English Native Came to America 50 Years Ago,” *Atlanta Constitution*, January 3, 1941, 18.

Program of Laying of Cornerstone, New City Hall, Athens, GA. June 11, 1903.
Paper, ink.
11 x 8 ½ inches.

Broadsides. BRO1903L3undersized. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Important new public buildings often received the special cornerstone laying ceremony conducted by the masonic Grand Lodge of the state in which they were located, and the new City Hall in Athens qualified as such. The ceremony recalled stonemasonry practice which began construction at a corner where the head stonemason might leave his “mark.” In the United States, the model of such events was the cornerstone laying for the U.S. Capitol, presided over by the President (and Mason), George Washington, in 1793. Although the first Capitol’s foundation stone was laid at the southeast corner, the typical and symbolic place was the northeast corner, “half way between the North, place of darkness, and East, source of Light.”¹⁷¹ Within the lodge ritual, the Apprentice Mason stands at the northeast corner “because he is a cornerstone of the future Craft.”

A public procession of government officials, freemasons, and others to the building site preceded the ceremony, which involved lowering the cornerstone into place and then consecrating it with corn, wine, and oil, symbols from biblical texts that, in the masonic context, together allude to moral and spiritual prosperity, the desired outcome for their community. As much as Masons treasured tradition, they also looked ahead, perhaps a consequence of their Enlightenment inception. Increasingly, cornerstone ceremonies involved a time capsule filled with newspapers and currency of the day, names of government officials and freemasons, and other items fitted into the cornerstone, as was reported for the original New College building on the University of Georgia campus in 1822 and for the Confederate memorial of 1871 in downtown Athens.¹⁷² As the Georgia Mason and jurist Augustin S. Clayton pronounced at the cornerstone laying for New College on June 24, 1822,

¹⁷¹ Grand Lodge of Georgia, F. and A.M., *The Lodge System of Masonic Education* (Macon: Masonic Print Shop, 1937), 41, for this and the following quotations.

¹⁷² Chris Dowd, “Masonic time capsule discovered beneath Confederate monument,” *Athens Politics Nerd*, September 9, 2020. Available at <https://athenspoliticsnerd.com/time-capsule-discovered/>. Consulted 05/10/2021.

The ceremony usual on such occasions, is solemn and affecting.—It is a convention between the living and the unborn...There is no class of our feelings more pleasingly interesting than those which are awakened by retrospection: and when an object, endeared to a former period by some conspicuous associations, is presented to our contemplation, we seem to have arrived at the spot where the *past* and the *future* meet to hold a silent intercourse, to interchange the embraces of long absent affection, to enjoy the softness of melancholy without its anguish, & the serenity of memory without its reproaches...Here we are about to plant one of those remembrances—the building, which will be erected over it, will collect the bloom of every passing age, and they will shed around this monumental tale, the rich perfume of gratitude due to the generous deed.¹⁷³

At the top of the program appears a large engraved drawing of the Beaux-Arts architecture of City Hall, followed by the time and place and order of pronouncements. The Reverend (and printer) Ellison D. Stone (1835-1905), himself a Mason—with a most interesting grave marker in Oconee Hill Cemetery—opened the ceremony with a prayer, the mayor then made his remarks, and the lawyer and OddFellow, Thomas Sumner Mell (1859—1948), a future mayor, gave the main address.¹⁷⁴ Below the program are the complete verses of “My Country ‘Tis of Thee,” another manifestation of the patriotic sentiment inserted into masonic processions and ceremonies. Records of such events in text and image evoke the deep patriotism and civic pride that prompted the generosity and community service among freemasons.

¹⁷³ *Southern Recorder* (Milledgeville), July 9, 1822.

¹⁷⁴ An alumnus of UGA’s Law Department in 1880, Mell had been a classmate of Richard B. Russell, Sr. whom he emulated in serving as Grand Master of the fraternal order of OddFellows of Georgia in 1901. Thomas H. Martin, *Atlanta and Its Builders*, v. 2 (Altenmünster, Germany: Jazzybee Verlag Jürgen Beck, 2020), n.p.

Pulaski Monument, Savannah. 1854-1855.

Silver gelatin photograph from the negative by Albertype Company, circa 1920-1940.

8 1/8 x 6 1/4 inches.

Savannah, Pulaski Monument, neg. no. 161. Albertype Company Photographs. Ms 1299, Box 5, Folder 104. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

The Polish nobleman Casimir (Kazimierz) Pulaski (1745—1779) was one of several foreign officers who served with the colonial rebels in the American Revolution. An experienced cavalry officer, he was killed in the siege of Savannah in 1779, and several decades later the U.S. Congress ordered that a monument be raised to honor his heroic sacrifice. His remains had been buried on a plantation, but they were disinterred and brought to the site of this monument in the city he defended.

Although no document has been found proving that Pulaski was a freemason, oral history among Masons has long considered him a brother as well as a war hero, and masonic lodges and public places have been named after him. One of his fellow foreign officers and friend, the marquis de Lafayette, who was a French Mason, returned to the United States in 1824-1825 to complete a farewell tour that he had started after the war in 1784. Citizens were eager to see their “adopted son” who had fought so valiantly and obtained French support during the revolutionary war.¹⁷⁵ When Lafayette came to Savannah, he was the guest of honor at the cornerstone laying of a monument to two Brigadier Generals and war heroes, Pulaski and Nathanael Greene. That monument would become Greene’s alone, and about twenty years a separate monument to Pulaski was erected in a different city square. Unlike Pulaski, Greene did not die in battle but several years later at home.

At the time of the transfer of Pulaski’s remains in 1854, there was some doubt as to whether they were his. In 2019, to resolve this question, forensic examination of the skeleton and DNA analysis of the remains done led the scientists to conclude that Pulaski was intersex, biologically female but presenting some masculine traits, and had been raised and lived as male.¹⁷⁶ That

¹⁷⁵ For information and imagery related to Lafayette’s tour, see Queens Museum, *Lafayette, Hero of Two Worlds: The Art and Pageantry of His Farewell Tour of America, 1824-25* (Hanover and London: University Press of New Hampshire, 1989).

¹⁷⁶ Nara Schoenberg, “It’s a woman. It’s not Pulaski,” *The Chicago Tribune*, April 3, 2019. <https://www.chicagotribune.com/lifestyles/ct-life-casimir-pulaski-intersex-040319-story.html>

gender fluidity would have transgressed the male-only membership of most masonic lodges and military units at the time, though French freemasonry had welcomed women in lodges of adoption in the eighteenth century, and recently allowed a lodge to retain one of its brothers who transitioned to female.¹⁷⁷

The monument was designed by Robert Launitz and does not have standard masonic symbols, though the single square column could conjure its central metaphor of a Mason as a column. The column is mostly plain, in keeping with the masonic love of simplicity, except for rhythmic bands of small five-pointed stars, a possible masonic reference, and floral swags. On the base, the date of Pulaski's death, October 9, 1779, is inscribed above a relief sculpture depicting a wounded soldier about to fall from his rearing horse. Between that relief and the column appears another sculpted relief of an eagle with wings spread, resembling that of U.S. coinage and the para-masonic Society of the Cincinnati, to which Pulaski would have belonged had he survived the war. The eagle's claws clutch two shields bearing the crests of Poland and Georgia. Atop the column stands a classicizing female figure representing Liberty, holding a military helmet and the national flag in her left hand and a laurel wreath in her right, and looking slightly downward to suggest mourning. Standing 55 feet tall, it was considered one of the most beautiful monuments in the nation.

¹⁷⁷ For the historical participation of women in masonic rites, see *Women's Agency and Rituals in Mixed and Female Masonic Orders* (Aries Book Series v. 8), ed. Alexandra Heidle and J.A.M. Snoek (London: Brill, 2008), and Janet C. Burke, and Margaret C. Jacob, "French Freemasonry, Women, and Feminist Scholarship," *Journal of Modern History* 68, no. 3 (1996): 513-49. An incisive and moving narrative was framed in its historical and theoretical contexts by the aforementioned freemason who transitioned at the World Conference on Fraternalism, Freemasonry and History held in Paris in 2017. Olivia Chaumont, "The G[rand] O[rient] d[e] F[rance] and Gender Issues at the Turn of the Twenty-First Century."

Scottish Rite Temple, Savannah. 1913-1923.
 Silver gelatin print from a negative by Albertype Company, circa 1920-1940.
 5 7/8 x 4 inches.

Albertype Co. Photographs. Ms 1299, Box 5, Folder 65. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Savannah was the cradle and continued to be a major center of Georgia freemasonry. By the 1890s, the city's white Masons desired a suitable home for the various lodges and rites, and set about acquiring a parcel of land at 341 Bull Street, at the corner of Charlton Street. The Masonic Association had raised funds to buy the land in 1895, and to hire an architect. They gave the contract in 1912 to a Savannah architect and Mason, Hyman Wallace Witcover (1871—1936). After many delays due to insufficient funding, the building was finished and the Scottish Rite took title to it, but the Temple served other masonic bodies and rites. The importance of this building to the fraternity was signaled by the laying of the cornerstone in 1913 by the Grand Master of Georgia, which is still visible today.

Witcover was a Jewish Mason whose affiliation with the local synagogue and the Young Men's Hebrew Association were public knowledge in the newspapers.¹⁷⁸ It suggests that Georgia Masons were continuing the religious tolerance of their earliest days, when Jewish colonists like the Sheftalls and Nunes were initiated and elected officers in the first lodge, Solomon's Lodge No. 1 of Savannah. After receiving the blue degrees, Witcover acquired higher degrees in the Scottish Rite, and held the prominent state-wide position as Sovereign Grand Inspector General in 1911.¹⁷⁹ Thus, he was an excellent choice as architect for the new Scottish Rite Temple in Savannah, not only for his masonic knowledge but also his fluency in masonic aesthetics, favoring classicizing architecture, whether Georgian, Neoclassical, or Egyptianizing. Indeed, Witcover designed many public buildings such as courthouses, synagogues, and several masonic temples and fraternal spaces in Savannah and throughout the South, probably aided to some extent by the pervasive fraternal network. When the Scottish Temple was underway, Witcover was also chosen to design the new Carnegie Library in Savannah in 1914, and perhaps the fact

¹⁷⁸ Ronald M. Thompson, "Hyman Wallace Witcover: An Inconclusive Biography," undergraduate paper, 1982, 2 and 4. Savannah Biographies v. 10, Special Collections, Lane Library, Armstrong Atlantic State University, Savannah.

¹⁷⁹ Earl Douglas Harris, compiler, *Outstanding Georgia Freemasons* (Macon: Educational and Historical Commission, Grand Lodge of Georgia, F.&A.M., 2005), 270-1.

that Carnegie was a Mason weighed in his favor. But Witcover had earned a national reputation as a member of the American Institute of Architects.

This five-story building might be best described as neo-Renaissance or a toned-down Beaux-Arts style, and provides two widespread features of masonic halls: a base that separates and elevates the meeting spaces well above street level; and, classicizing forms. The ground and first floor have rustication that was characteristically applied only to the ground floor of historic European palaces. But these two stories are more clearly differentiated from the next section with the third and fourth floors that have colossal attached columns connecting the two floors and framing the arched and rectangular windows. In keeping with the masonic love of simplicity, the rest of the walls' surfaces is left fairly plain. The temple provided the latest convenience, air conditioning, which made attending lodge, chapter, and council meetings in regalia more bearable during the warmest months.

When the building was open for occupancy, one of its first commercial entities on the ground floor was Solomon's Drug Store, run by a Jewish pharmacist. Regardless of whether he was a Mason, his name, inscribed in the black and white floor tiles (like the floor pattern of a masonic lodge) at the corner entryway resonated with that of the venerable Solomon's Lodge No. 1 and that of the biblical king of the Jews, creating a copacetic welcome for sectors of Savannah's diverse population.

Yaarab Temple, (now the Fox Theatre), Atlanta, GA. 1928-1929.
P. Thornton Marye, Richard W. Alger and Olivier J. Vinour, original architects.

Exterior detail with minarets.
Postcard (color photograph) by Thomas Warren Eng., Inc., 1978.
6 x 4½ inches.

Interior detail of auditorium.
Postcard by Peachtree Publishers, LTD, color photograph by Kevin Rose, 1995.
6½ x 4¾ inches.

Michael Ehrman postcards, Georgia. Ms 4328, Box 1, Folder 13. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Shrine Minstrels of 1922 (Atlanta: Yaarab Temple). Circa 1921.
Grey paper, colored inks.
10¾ x 7¾ inches.

Yaarab Temple of the Ancient Arabic Order of the Nobles of the Mystic Shrine (Atlanta, GA), Georgia Ephemera. Ms 3496, Box 54, Folder 12. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Initiates to the Ancient Arabic Order of Nobles of the Mystic Shrine, Yaarab Temple, Atlanta, with Richard B. Russell, Jr. and others. December 1964.
Silver gelatin photographic print.
8 x 10 inches.

Yaarab Temple Initiation, 1965. Richard B. Russell, Jr. Collection, Related Materials, Photographs. RBRL/001/RBRE1, Box 6, item RBR-PF-465. Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Studies, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Perhaps no single building better exemplifies the spirit, imagery, and success of the Shriners, the nickname for the Ancient Arabic Order of Nobles of the Mystic Shrine, than the Yaarab Temple in Atlanta, Georgia. Chartered in 1889, Yaarab Temple was one of the earliest Shrine groups in the state.¹⁸⁰ Planned for years, as evidenced by the program for a fundraiser, *Shrine Minstrels*, in 1922, their fabulous temple was erected between 1928-1929 in fanciful pseudo-Arabic architecture with Moorish horseshoe arches, Turkish and Indian minarets, and Egyptianizing interior decoration.

¹⁸⁰ William B. Melish, *The History of the Imperial Council, Ancient Arabic Order of Nobles of the Mystic Shrine for North American, 1872-1921*, 2nd ed. (Cincinnati: Abingdon Press, 1921), 99.

The Shriners reflected a longer fascination with the so-called Orient in the United States. After the devastations of the Civil War, some citizens sought healing through religion and travel, including to the Holy Land. In 1867, Mark Twain accompanied one such pilgrimage to which he applied his mordant wit in his 1869 travelogue, *Innocents Abroad*. From the 1870s onward one notes increasing examples of exotic inflections in American architecture and especially in interior decoration, and the Shriners contributed to that trend.

Furnished with a large auditorium spectacularly ornamented by a night-time sky as well as variously sized meeting rooms, Yaarab Temple welcomed not only the Shriners' meetings and morality plays but assemblies of other masonic and fraternal groups which would bring in additional revenue, sorely needed for a center city property of its scale. Soon after construction began, the Shriners realized that their funds were insufficient, and they negotiated with a wealthy impresario of movie theatres, William Fox, to show films in the auditorium. It is an example of general masonic openness to much new technology, but the appeal to public entertainment seemed to dovetail with the more theatrical and light-hearted character of the Shriner order. Unfortunately, the Great Depression of 1929 soon quashed the plans of both the Masons and Fox, and the venue struggled to remain profitable. Sometime after the second World War, the Shriners attempted to regain control of the building, and continued to hold their meetings and ceremonies there, as evidenced by the photograph of initiates in the mid-1960s that included the U.S. senator from Georgia, Richard B. Russell, Jr.¹⁸¹ Eventually, during the 1970s, the temple's very existence was in danger, an ironic turn since the lead architect, P. Thornton Marye (1872—1935), was actively involved in historic preservation.¹⁸² Fortunately, grass-roots efforts to preserve the building began in earnest, and the Fox was transformed into a nationally known music venue and still operates as such today.

The Shriners' exotic regalia and fun activities (today they are known for their group outings on scooters) are reflected in the fanciful, decorative architecture and interior design in this building. Unlike the Oriental Order of the Palm and Shell, represented in this exhibition by a large diploma, the Shriners were not concerned about historical and accurate representations of

¹⁸¹ Although the date of 1965 seems to have come from Russell's own archival system, his Shrine certificate is dated December 26, 1964. Yaarab Temple certificate. Richard B. Russell, Jr. Collection, Related Materials, Artifacts, Formerly Framed Objects. RBRL/001/RBR_E_V, Box 1, Item RBR-F-256. Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Studies.

¹⁸² <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/arts-culture/p-thornton-marye-1872-1935/>.

these distant cultures. Shriner attire features a red fez, decorative vests, and short jackets and loose pantaloons that were associated with various Arabic or Muslim peoples from North Africa to Turkey. The Shrine emblem consists of the curving sword called a simitar linked to those “oriental” cultures, a sphinx head (Egypt), and masonic symbols of the five-pointed star and keystone. The costumes depicted on the cover of the 1922 fundraising program are also an imagined mixture of Turkish, Indian, and Western culture flapper aesthetics.

Tradition and Innovation

Freemasons have several origin stories dating their practices back to ancient Egyptian mystery cults, medieval stonemasonry, or medieval Christian military orders, and their narratives and regalia demonstrate their love of tradition. Nevertheless, the new organization and its expanding rites and appendant orders had to invent many things, from by-laws and ritual to lodge rooms and regalia over the following centuries. As Kentuckian Henry Coleman pronounced in his book on the new Oriental Order of the Palm and Shell, “To those who carp upon the impropriety of forming a new Order in Masonry, we have but to say that all Masonry, save that of the Blue Lodge, is *recent in origin*. There is no antiquity in any of the systems or degrees styled CAPITULAR, CRYPTIC, CHIVALRIC, the SCOTCH RITE, the RITE OF MEMPHIS.”¹⁸³ Even before the appendant Order of the Eastern Star was authorized in the U.S. during the 1870s, women were involved in freemasonry, having their own lodges in France, and sewing and decorating regalia for male relatives. A century later, the Georgia native and fashion designer, Frankie Welch, created a scarf to celebrate two Eastern Star officers and the U.S. bicentennial.

¹⁸³ Henry R. Coleman, *The Pilgrim Knight: A Guide to the Ceremonies and Lectures of the Oriental Order of the Palm and Shell* (Louisville, KY, London, and Edinburgh, 1888), 7. This booklet is in the exhibition.

Eastern Star Scarf Square. Circa 1976.
 Frankie Welch.
 Silk.
 8 ¼ x 8 inches.

Frankie Welch Papers. Ms 2003, Box 3, Folder 3. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Frankie Welch, born Mary Frances Barnett (1923—2021), was a textile designer originally from Rome, Georgia who moved with her family to Washington, D.C., in 1953. She was a fashion consultant and began designing scarves around 1966. She received numerous commissions for designs from government agencies, universities, foundations, and corporations, but especially for her scarves. She often made eight-inch squares of her design, and these could be repeated four to eight times to create rectangular scarves.¹⁸⁴

This particular scarf design commemorates two officers of the Grand Chapter of Virginia's Order of the Eastern Star. The Worshipful Grand Matron, Marion N. Sheffield (1922—2008, née Nuckols, remarried to Layman), and Worshipful Grand Patron, Clifford C. Grotz, Jr. (1929—2020), held these annual positions from 1976-1977, and their names and dates appear in cursive script in the white border.¹⁸⁵ The choice of the national colors of red, white, and blue evoke patriotism but especially the bicentennial of the colonial revolution, celebrated nationwide in 1976. Freemasons have always been proud of the leading role so many brethren played in the war and founding of the nation (though some Masons were royalists and supported British rule).

In blue Masonry, special jewels are worn by Worshipful Masters in lodge, but these silk scarves may have been worn outside of the chapter, as its patriotic palette would have made others instantly think of the bicentennial or even the national flag, while the references to Eastern Star appear discreetly. For example, the seven stars may represent the seven members required for a quorum for Eastern Star chapter meetings (which is equally true for blue lodges). A white dove was a traditional symbol of peace and harmony, qualities sought after within and outside the chapter and lodge, but it was also associated with women. A white dove within a star was the

¹⁸⁴ Ashley Callahan, "Frankie Welch: American Fashion Specialist," *Ornament* 35, no. 1 (2011): 26.

¹⁸⁵ For this information, see the following webpages: <http://easternstar-virginia.org/past-grand-matrons-and-patrons/>; <https://www.legacy.com/obituaries/name/marion-layman-obituary?pid=120367870>; and, www.legacy.com/obituaries/progress-indez/obituary-aspx?n=clifford-c-grotz&pid=196171824. Consulted 11/14/2020.

symbol of the Warder, the Eastern Star officer who verified that only those who qualified were allowed to enter the chapter room.

Fez Pin. Circa 1965.
Metal, paint.
½ x ½ inch.

Richard B. Russell, Jr. Collection, Related Materials, Artifacts. RBRL/001/RBR_E_V, Box 17, item WIND208. Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Studies, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Sometime in the later nineteenth century, masonic pins began to be made and worn by brethren, as seen in the portrait photograph of George T. Murrell. Although Murrell's pin features the standard emblem of the Ancient Arabic Order of Nobles of the Mystic Shrine, which combines a scimitar, crescent, keystone, sphinx's head, and five-pointed star, the one on display here, dating over half a century later, has the shape and colors of the Shriner fez along with the emblem. Small but recognizable, this pin may indicate a shift in the order's public-facing image away from the associations with violence and mystery to something more benign like a colorful, impractical hat. Two of these pins belonged to Richard B. Russell, Jr., Georgia statesman, Mason, and Shriner.

Masonic Ring. 20th century.
Gold (14K) and colored resin.
1 x 13/16 inches.

The descendants of Ralph Waldo Morang, Athens, GA.

Masonic rings seem to have become a purely optional accoutrement during the twentieth century. Not all Masons have rings. Some rings have a reversible “stone,” meaning that it can be rotated to display a non-masonic face; this ring does not. One puzzling aspect of this ring is that the universal symbol of the square and compasses is set against a red resin background, not a blue one that is commonly associated with the first three degrees. It may be that this color choice was the owner’s personal choice, or it may have signified that he was a Past Master of his lodge or something related to Royal Arch Masonry whose symbolic color is red.

The ring’s owner was born in Maine around 1914, and his Christian names pay homage to the illustrious American philosopher, writer, and abolitionist, Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803—1882).

Master Mason Certificate, 1847.
 Harrison Lodge No. 17, Harrison, IN.
 Rice paper, ink.
 13 15/16 x 17 7/8 inches.

George Horace Lorimer Family Papers. Ms 2944, Box 131. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

This Master Mason certificate displays various emblems that are learned and applied through the first three rituals of the blue degrees: Entered Apprentice; Fellow Craft; and, Master Mason. An array of symbols such as this is also called a Masonic Chart or Master's Carpet, which alludes to the early practice of laying down a canvas or other cloth with the appropriate masonic imagery drawn or painted upon it to serve for a specific ritual. This temporary decoration was needed in the early years when masonic lodges met in taverns or inns and had to bring and remove their paraphernalia for safety and discretion. This certificate is further proof that U.S. freemasonry had incorporated the relatively new motif of Time and the Virgin, seen at the lower right, into standard masonic iconography for the third degree before mid-century. The history of this emblem is discussed in connection with the Master Mason apron from the Sheftall family in this section.

The recipient of this certificate, Daniel Baldrige, was raised to the third degree by Harrison Lodge No. 17 of Harrison, Indiana, in 1847. He was said to be a minister who practiced in Indiana and Ohio.¹⁸⁶ His daughter Almarinda married a lawyer, Alfred Ennis, who became a 33rd degree Mason in the Scottish Rite as well as a Royal Arch Mason and Knight Templar (his 32nd degree certificate and his photographic portrait in Templar regalia are seen elsewhere in this exhibition). Ennis was the father-in-law of George Horace Lorimer, which explains how these masonic certificates from different Masons came into Lorimer's possession.

¹⁸⁶ "Ennis, Alfred," in *The United States Biographical Dictionary and Portrait Gallery: Kansas Volume* (Chicago and Kansas City: S. Lewis, 1879), 155. Other biographical information comes from the Baldrige Family and Alfred Ennis Family files in the George Horace Lorimer Family Papers. Ms 2944, Box 1, Folders 7 and 15.

Order of the Eastern Star Dues Cards.
 Athenian Chapter No. 159, Athens, TN. Signed December 31, 1944.
 Paper, ink.
 2 5/8 x 4 1/4 inches.

Redwine Chapter No. 297, Gainesville, GA. Signed December 31, 1951.
 Paper, ink.
 2 3/8 x 3 13/16 inches.

Betsy Ross Chapter No. 272, Chattanooga, TN. Signed May 20, 1975.
 Paper, ink.
 2 7/16 x 3 3/4 inches.

Jane Richardson Papers. Ms 4042, Series 3, Box 9, Folder 1. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Like masonic lodges, Eastern Star chapters collected dues from their members, and returned a fraction of them to their state authority, the Grand Chapter. Dues were often collected at the end of a year for the following year, as the December 31 dates on these cards show, so that the chapter had operating funds for its meetings and charitable contributions. In the case of a new member joining mid-year, dues pro-rated for the remaining months would be paid at that time. These dues may seem minimal amounts to us today, but their buying power at the time was much greater and still represented an expense, especially for women outside of the workforce.

Dues cards contain valuable historical information, such as the name of the Secretary, an important officer who set the meeting agenda, kept minutes, and corresponded with members and the Grand Chapter. The embossed or printed stamps of the local chapter and Grand Chapter on the cards provide their founding dates and often their particular symbols. Since Eastern Star members could be male or female, these cards provided options for clarifying the gender of the member, but not whether a female Star's family name was hers or her husband's. While the order provided women with outlets for their leadership, charitable work, and creativity, it remained a conservative institution. And they are never referred to as freemasons, least of all by their blue lodge associates.

The owner of these dues cards, Edna DuPree (1902—1995, née Neil), moved from Athens, Tennessee sometime after 1944 to Gainesville, Georgia by 1950, and then to Chattanooga, Tennessee before May of 1975. Her membership in Eastern Star was important to her, no doubt a way to establish ties and friendships within new communities, especially after her husband

Crawford died in 1966.¹⁸⁷ The person who donated these materials, Jane DuPree Richardson (b. 1930) appears to have been a relative. For a woman of her generation, Richardson had an unusual career, serving in the United States Naval Reserve and working with the Office of Naval Intelligence and NATO.¹⁸⁸ She then published several books on women diarists.

¹⁸⁷ Biographical information on Edna and Crawford gleaned from Ancestry.com.

¹⁸⁸ Information from Smith College Libraries Finding Aids. Accessible at <https://findingaids.smith.edu/repositories/2/resources/1060>. Consulted 09/10/2022.

Order of the Eastern Star Member Booklet. 1967-1968.
Athenian Chapter No. 159, Athens, TN.
Blue paper, ink.
5 ½ x 4 ¼ inches.

Jane Richardson Papers. Ms 4042, Series 3, Box 9, Folder 1. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Such booklets were printed annually for the members of the chapter. They included the names of officers and members, regular meeting times and places, former officers, committee members, events such as member deaths and marriages (particularly important for women who usually changed their family name to take their husband's), and prayers and passages from the Bible. Curiously, the name of Mrs. Edna DuPree (sometimes spelled Dupree), which appears on the dues cards for this chapter donated along with the booklet, is nowhere to be found. Perhaps she joined later, and was given this booklet as the most recent one.

The cover of the booklet reminds us of the masonic symbolism on which the Order of the Eastern Star drew. The blue color recalls the fact that every OES chapter was affiliated with a blue lodge, usually in the same town, and had at least two Master Masons as members, one of whom was elected Worthy Patron, the co-leader of the chapter with the Worthy Matron. Sometimes these co-leaders were a married couple, as was the case for Athenian Chapter No. 159. The universal symbol of the Eastern Star is the five-pointed star, a common masonic symbol which refers to the five points of friendship (a greeting embrace for Master Masons), the five architectural orders represented by columns, and the five senses. The Eastern Star version is segmented into five points, each with a symbol and, in other instances, a different color, and relates to the narratives of five biblical heroines and virtues. These symbols are: a sword and veil (Adah, obedience to duty); a sheaf of barley (Ruth, religious principles); a crown and sceptre (Esther, loyalty); a broken column (Martha, endurance during hardship); and, a chalice (Electa, endurance during persecution). In the center of this star is an open holy book on an altar, and while this is a common masonic symbol, the Order of the Eastern Star has a strongly Christian orientation. The chapter's emblem of praying hands, identified as such in the booklet, appears as a large design on the first page.

Oriental Order of the Palm and Shell Diploma. Dated January 19, 1888.
Paper, colored inks.
24 x 19 inches.

Murrell Family Papers. Ms 2355, Folder OS 1B. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Freemasonry continued to add new orders throughout the nineteenth century while couching them in the language and legend of antiquity and tradition. Sometimes the fraternity did so to extend its instruction to previously excluded people, like women, other times to pursue more specific studies or to serve new concerns. The freemason, poet, and educator, Rob Morris (1818—1888), wrote a ritual for a new order, the Order of the Eastern Star, in 1850, which became the official women's affiliated order to the blue lodges in 1873 [see the Eastern Star materials, such as the photograph of the Salonia Chapter No. 227, of Athens, Georgia, in this exhibition]. Morris was not a marginal thinker within the fraternity; he rose to become the Grand Master of his home state of Kentucky.

Around 1863 Morris led the creation of an informal group (not a degree or order) of Masons called The Holy League (sometimes also the Masonic Holy Land Mission). For religious and archaeological interests, these freemasons wanted to visit and learn about masonic practice in the Middle East, partly to confirm the supposedly ancient origins of Masonry as well as its Christian ones. Morris himself made a trip to the Middle East in 1868. The Holy League was open only to Master Masons who shared an interest in studying "Eastern" masonic rites, and was said to number 20,000 adherents by 1881.¹⁸⁹ It prepared the way for the creation of a new, seemingly short-lived international order with the fanciful name, the Oriental Order of the Palm and Shell.

A masonic friend and fellow Kentuckian, the Reverend Henry R. Coleman (1833—1926), devised a ritual for this new order and called its members Pilgrim Knights, thereby evoking religion, pilgrimage, and warfare, as did the Knights Templar. Coleman's book, *The Pilgrim Knight*, appeared in 1879, and the following year, he made a pilgrimage to the Middle East which he recounted in another book, *Light from the East*, which appears in this exhibition. On his way abroad, he stopped in New York City, where he inducted a number of important Masons,

¹⁸⁹ Rev. Henry R. Coleman, *Light from the East: Travels and Researches in Bible Lands in Pursuit of More light in Masonry* (copyright, 1881; Chicago: Knight and Leonard, 1888), 666.

such as Robert Macoy, Henry C. Banks, and Daniel Sickles, into the new order.¹⁹⁰ Coleman also mentions inducting several foreign Masons into the Order while abroad, including the lawyer Ferdinand Francis Oddi and the ex-patriate American Rolla Floyd, whose signatures appear on this certificate as authorities of the order in distant lands.¹⁹¹

While the Palm and Shell document is called a “diploma” a term strongly associated with education and serious study, it fulfilled a similar function to that of masonic certificates that attested to the degree and good standing of their brethren and requested that they be given fraternal welcome and assistance in unfamiliar places. The large, decorated certificate is meant to impress. The order’s freemasonic ideals of an international and interfaith brotherhood are represented in the English, Hebrew, Arabic, Latin, and Greek texts as well as the signatures of its authorities, Morris and Coleman in the United States, and others from England, Scotland, Israel (Joppa or Jaffa), Egypt, and Greece (Smyrna later became part of Turkey). The order’s primary symbols of the palm tree and shell occupy salient positions in the upper register; they refer to the warm climates and seas of the Middle East along with their Christian associations, as the palm branch was the tribute of martyrdom,¹⁹² and the scallop shell the symbol of pilgrims. The red and black inks used on the diploma may have been inspired by colors associated with historical chivalric orders such as the Knights of Malta, sometimes spuriously claimed to be Masons.¹⁹³ The paper bears the watermark of Crane Company, the established stationers near Boston who also made special paper for U.S. currency, a topic of special interest to freemasons.

The diploma’s recipient, George Thomas Murrell (1848—1909), lived in Winterville, Georgia. Interestingly, the date on which it was awarded, January 19, 1888, was also his birthday. This chronology may play into the astrological associations that were often entertained by higher-degree freemasonry, especially as the date is preceded by the words “Const. Libra,” a reference to an astrological sign, but not that of January. Pins and ribbons within the Murrell Family Papers, some dating to Murrell’s adulthood, indicate that he was a brother in Mount Vernon Lodge No. 22, of Athens, Georgia, and two fraternal insurance organizations, Woodmen of the World (White Oak Camp No. 41, Winterville) and the Farmer’s Alliance Exchange of

¹⁹⁰ Coleman, *Light from the East*, 10-11.

¹⁹¹ Coleman, *Light from the East*, 40 and 53.

¹⁹² Coleman, *Light from the East*, 38, also describes the palm tree as “an upright man and a Mason,” a kind of natural column.

¹⁹³ Coleman, *Light of the East*, 26, calls Malta “the seat of Masonic knighthood.”

Georgia (a pamphlet of protocol appears elsewhere in this exhibition).¹⁹⁴ He was also a Shriner as the pin in his photographic portrait attests. His gravestone in the Winterville City Cemetery bears the square and compasses of the Masons, the seal of the Woodmen of the World, and shell-like forms at the upper corners which, while not unusual for funerary decoration, may refer to his membership in the Oriental Order of the Palm and Shell.¹⁹⁵

Murrell was a teenager when he enlisted in the Confederate army and was held prisoner in Maryland. Unfortunately, he retained white supremacist views throughout his life, as the masonic ideals of brotherhood and equality among men were not always accepted and implemented by brethren.¹⁹⁶ Murrell also contributed articles on the farming industry and the Farmers' Alliance to the *Athens Banner Herald*, and served on the Board of Education of Clarke County in 1894.

¹⁹⁴ Masonic items can be found in Murrell Family Papers, Ms 2355, Box 19, and papers related to other fraternal associations in Box 4, Folders 9, 10, and 11. Originally conceived as Modern Woodmen of America in 1883 by Joseph Cullen Root in Iowa, this organization had severe disagreements within its group. Root was thrown out, moved to Omaha, Nebraska, and established another organization called Woodmen of the World. This fraternal organization guaranteed its members a proper burial and an emblematic grave marker: a stone or cement tree stump, a relative to the broken column that signified a deceased Mason. Several of these can be seen at Oconee-Hill Cemetery, including in the Children of Israel section, in Athens, Georgia.

¹⁹⁵ He married Leila Wade Morton (1854—1935), who attended Wesleyan Female College in Macon, which had one of the earliest secret literary societies for women on a college campus.

¹⁹⁶ For example, Murrell considered the failure of Black people to become successful after the Civil War as a result of racial inferiority. Murrell Family Papers, Ms 2326, Box 19, Folder 280.

The Pilgrim Knight: A Guide to the Ceremonies and Lectures of the Oriental Order of the Palm and Shell. Copyright, 1879; Lexington, KY, London, and Edinburgh: printed for the Society, 1888.

Henry R. Coleman.

9 1/8 x 6 inches.

E. Merton Coulter Pamphlet Collection. Ms 2334, Box 20, Folder 1. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Light from the East: Travels and Researches in Bible Lands in Pursuit of More light in Masonry. Copyright, 1881; Chicago: Knight and Leonard, 1888.

Henry R. Coleman.

9 1/8 x 6 1/2 inches.

HS427.C64 1888. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

In 1879, the Reverend Henry R. Coleman (1833—1926), a Mason of Louisville, Kentucky, created a new masonic ritual, that of the Oriental Order of the Palm and Shell, and published it as *The Pilgrim Knight*, the name of its new degree.¹⁹⁷ In concert with his good friend and Grand Master of Kentucky, Rob Morris, himself the author of a new ritual for women (Order of the Eastern Star), they capitalized on an interest among Master Masons in the United States in freemasonry's connections to the Middle East, primarily Israel and Egypt. The Holy Land League, founded by these two Masons, invited their brethren to study "Eastern" masonic rites, and was said to have 20,000 members by 1881.¹⁹⁸ Morris made his first trip to the Middle East in 1868, supposedly opening a lodge of Masons in Jerusalem, and a few years later published an account of his seven-month sojourn, *Freemasonry in the Holy Land*.¹⁹⁹ Like Morris, Coleman made an extensive trip to the Middle East in 1880, visiting many of the same sites and freemasons described in Morris's earlier book. *Light from the East* is Coleman's account of his travels there.

These freemasons took advantage of a propitious period to journey to the Middle East, as travel restrictions to certain countries had eased and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 facilitated certain itineraries. For U.S. citizens, disillusioned after their bitter civil war, traveling

¹⁹⁷ It only had one degree, while most orders had more than one.

¹⁹⁸ Henry R. Coleman, *Light from the East: Travels and Researches in Bible Lands in Pursuit of More light in Masonry* (copyright, 1881; Chicago: Knight and Leonard, 1888), 666.

¹⁹⁹ Rob Morris, *Freemasonry in the Holy Land, or Handmarks of Hiram's Builders* (New York: Masonic Publishing, 1872), 595.

abroad, mostly to Europe and the Middle East, was a means of escape from their scarred land and rapidly industrializing economy in search of peace, faith, tradition, or comparison with other cultures. American visitors often felt a sense of cultural superiority, judging others by their own standards and customs.²⁰⁰ Morris admitted to having “keenly experienced the Crusader’s impulse,” perhaps implying his desire to protect Christianity from the multiple faiths practiced in these lands.²⁰¹ He and Coleman pitched the new order as a means of scholarly study of the intersection of freemasonry, antiquity, and Christianity. In *Pilgrim Knight*, Coleman enthused over the excavations of antiquity by the German archaeologist, Heinrich Schliemann, and hinted that he and the Pilgrim Knights could similarly unearth the historical remains of freemasonry.²⁰² It is not clear how George T. Murrell, whose diploma is on display in this exhibition, joined the Palm and Shell, though he possessed the main criteria: he was a Master Mason of strong religious faith. He had probably read Coleman’s pamphlet and book.

The Pilgrim Knight follows the format of most masonic texts that detail the ritual and rhetoric of masonic practice. It recommends similar values to masonic ones—secrecy, charity, hospitality, fidelity, piety, and brotherhood—and borrows many rhetorical and visual symbols from other masonic degrees. The title of Coleman’s book refers to the disposition of masonic lodge rooms, the East being the seat of the Worshipful Master and the source of light, another term for knowledge and spirituality. Of course, this spatial orientation toward the East belongs to a much longer tradition in Judeo-Christian-Muslim places of worship, in which the altar or most sacred space occupies the easternmost position.

Coleman claimed to have returned with “more than twenty tons” of materials, from coins to pieces of ancient architecture and sculpture, many with forms and symbols that he read as masonic.²⁰³ He evidently planned to share these items with fellow Pilgrim Knights and perhaps other Masons.

²⁰⁰ For example, Morris praised the Syrian leader Abd-el-Kader for having only one wife, despite his people’s practice of polygamy, and compared him favorably to George Washington for having refused gifts and additional powers. Morris, *Freemasonry in the Holy Land*, 573-4.

²⁰¹ Morris, *Freemasonry in the Holy Land*, 12.

²⁰² “The success that has rendered Dr. Schliemann famous in kindred labors may suggest [the possibilities].” Henry R. Coleman, *The Pilgrim Knight* (copyright, 1879; Lexington, KY, London, and Edinburgh: printed for the Society, 1888), 7.

²⁰³ Coleman, *Light from the East*, 6.

Portrait of George Thomas Murrell. Circa 1900.
 Unknown photographer.
 Silver albumen photographic print, with hand coloring.
 3 x 2 ¼ inches, oval image; 6 ½ x 4 3/16 inches, paper jacket.

Murrell Family Papers. Ms 2326, Box 18, Folder 274. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

This bust-length photographic portrait of George T. Murrell (1848—1909) of Winterville, Georgia, was probably made during the last decade of his life, unless his hair had turned white prematurely. In it he wears the pin of the masonic order familiarly called the Shriners, but officially known as the Ancient Arabic Order of the Nobles of the Mystic Shrine. This order was a modern creation in New York City in 1872 when its first meeting was held at the Masonic Hall. It then spread rapidly throughout the United States, and in the early twentieth century, internationally, to Canada, Mexico, and Panama. Until recently, the order required candidates to have obtained the highest degrees of the York Rite or the Scottish Rite. While we don't have evidence of one of those higher degrees for Murrell, perhaps his membership in the Oriental Order of the Palm and Shell (see his diploma exhibited here) qualified him to become a Shriner. Like the Order of the Palm and Shell, the Shrine demonstrated American fascination with the Orient, a place of greater faith, sensuality, and violence created in the Western imagination.²⁰⁴ In that spirit, the Shriners wear elaborate exotic costumes, notable for the red fez, decorative vests, and loose pantaloons that were indiscriminately pulled from various Muslim or Arab peoples from North Africa to Turkey and mixed together into a confabulated regalia.

Unlike other masonic orders, the Mystic Shrine emphasized fun in the pursuit of their charitable endeavors. To that end, they put on theatrical and musical performances within their temples as well as at public celebrations, as seen in the amateur film excerpts on display in this exhibition. The Shriners are perhaps best known for sponsoring hospitals that concentrate on providing free care to children.

Their emblem, as seen on Murrell's pin, consists of an upward-curving sword called a scimitar, which is mirrored by a downward-curving crescent that has a keystone and sphinx's head in its middle, and a five-pointed star dangles underneath. Symbols of a crescent and star

²⁰⁴ See Holly Edwards, ed., *Noble Dreams, Wicked Pleasures: Orientalism in America 1870-1930* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

appear in ancient Near Eastern art and were reprised for the 1844 flag of the Ottoman Empire. The scimitar was associated with Arab cultures, as the sphinx was with ancient Egypt. All five forms – crescent, keystone, star, sphinx, and sword, albeit of a different shape – appear in traditional masonic iconography, where they refer to ignorance (moon), stability (keystone), fellowship (five points), mystery (sphinx), and righteousness (straight sword). Later the Shriners cultivated their own meanings from these similar forms. According to their official website, the scimitar is a metaphor for their members as the “backbone of the fraternity”; the crescent is described as two tiger claws and said to signify fraternity and philanthropy; the sphinx symbolizes their governing body; and, the star refers to the thousands of children assisted through their philanthropy.²⁰⁵

²⁰⁵ Available at <https://www.shrinersinternational.org/Shriners/History/Emblem>. Consulted 09/28/2020. This reading of the star may date after the mid-twentieth century by which time such large numbers of children were helped.

Salonia Chapter, No. 227, Order of the Eastern Star, Athens, GA. 1930.
 Gates Photography Studio, Athens, GA.
 Gelatin silver photographic print.
 8 x 10 inches.

Georgia Photographs. Ms 3705, Box 4, Folder 158. Hargrett Rare Books and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

The Order of the Eastern Star was founded in the United States by a male freemason to allow women who were close relatives of Masons to receive similar moral and spiritual instruction and fellowship. Its chapters were not exclusively female, for they were required to have two Master Masons as presiding officers, and could have any number of them as members. Often, the Masons who joined were related by birth or marriage to a chapter sister. While teaching at a masonic school in Richland, Mississippi, in 1850, the Mason Rob Morris (1818—1888) wrote a ritual parallel to that of freemasonry, with moral principles and visual symbols, for women.²⁰⁶ His 1855 book, *The Mosaic Book of the American Adoptive Rite*, defined Eastern Star as a rite; as such, it struggled to establish itself. In 1873, after Morris gained the support of leading freemasons in the United States, Eastern Star was accepted as an order of “lodges of adoption,” a term created in France which had established women’s lodges since the eighteenth century. Eastern Star lodges must be associated with a blue lodge and usually share its meeting space which was both convenient and economical. Once officially recognized, Eastern Star spread quickly, as did the blue lodges during their golden age from 1870 to 1930. Eastern Star was not an isolated phenomenon; other sororal societies appeared throughout the later nineteenth century. The Daughters of Rebekah, an appendant order to the Independent Order of OddFellows, a fraternal society quite similar to that of freemasonry, was founded in 1851. Its ritual was composed by the OddFellow, Schuyler Colfax, who was Ulysses S. Grant’s first Vice-President.

In this photograph, we see the members of an Eastern Star chapter of Athens, Georgia, in its meeting space in 1930. Named after an ancient Roman slave, Salonia, who became a free woman and married Cato the Elder, the chapter continued to work into the 1960s, perhaps longer. The photograph indicates its membership then included women of various ages—women could be initiated at 18 years of age, younger than most men could be into freemasonry—, and most of

²⁰⁶ Much of the following information came from two official Order of Eastern Star websites: <http://oesmo.org/our-founder-brother-rob-morris/>; and, <https://www.easternstar.org/our-history/>. Consulted 11/14/2020.

them are wearing ribbons or pins. The men are fewer in number and older, perhaps to avoid any appearance of the chapter serving as a meeting place for romance.

The order's fundamental symbol is a five-pointed star with different colored points, each alluding to a woman from the bible and their virtues. Toward the center, two men, certainly the two officers, Worthy Patron and Associate Patron, appear. The one at the right, Tom Elder, stands next to his wife on his left; much later, he annotated the photograph by identifying nearly every figure. They all stand in front of the altar where the Worthy Matron presided, and the large G above indicates that the local freemasons' lodge, Mount Vernon Lodge No. 22, met there, too. Elder was probably a member of Mount Vernon Lodge, as it was the only white masonic lodge in Athens at the time. He had a clothing store at 100 College Avenue. Today, Mount Vernon Lodge No. 22 shares a space with Athens Chapter No. 268 O.E.S., founded in June of 1928.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁷ In 1954, both of these Eastern Star chapters met at the same masonic hall, as did Mt. Vernon Lodge No.22 and a few other masonic bodies (Royal Arch, Knights Templar, De Molay). See Nelson's Baldwin, *Athens Georgia City Directory* (Charleston, SC: 1954), 602. According to my research, this would have been Camak House (see the catalogue entry on the photographs of the house in this exhibition).

Sheftall Family Master Mason Apron. Circa 1849.

Unknown maker.

Silk and linen, watercolor.

14 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches x 13 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Sheftall Family Memorabilia. Ms 1057, Box VB. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

The combination of tradition and innovation can be seen clearly in this Master Mason apron. The all-seeing eye on the flap is one of the oldest symbols in freemasonry, while the emblem on the body of the apron was invented in 1819. As in military uniforms, masonic apron decoration is not only for aesthetic pleasure; it functions to convey the wearer's rank within the institution.

Over the centuries, freemasonry appropriated many visual forms and styles from the fine and decorative arts of different cultures and eras, but it often modified their traditional meanings to suit masonic priorities. A good case of such shifting of meaning is seen in the all-seeing eye, a disembodied eye surrounded by radiating light, as on the flap of this apron. Though long equated with the virtues of self-restraint and circumspection, which the Masons revered, the fraternity made this symbol speak of divinity in the most abstract sense in the fraternity's progressive attempt at religious tolerance. Furthermore, as most masonic symbolism operates also through metaphor, an individual's apron may be read on various levels, including its personal significance to its owner's experience.

The masonic respect for various faiths attracted men from the German Jewish Sheftall family which had preserved this apron. Their patriarch Benjamin Sheftall (1692—1765) immigrated to colonial Savannah on the second ship of Europeans that arrived in 1733; he and his son Mordecai became freemasons in the first lodge in Georgia and one of the earliest in the North American colonies. In fact, the Trustees of the colony excluded Jews (and Catholics), and ordered their colleague, James Oglethorpe, who traveled there to help establish the colony, to remove them. But Oglethorpe did not do so, and in opposition to the way Jews had been treated in Europe, denied citizenship, barred from owning land, impeded from marrying outside their faith, and excluded from many professions, he gave them land grants like other colonists, and even included Mordecai Sheftall in his militia.²⁰⁸ It should be recalled that some of the Trustees were

²⁰⁸ B.H. Levy, *Mordecai Sheftall: Jewish Revolutionary Patriot* (Savannah: Georgia Historical Society, 1999), 18-20.

freemasons and that masonic lodges were called on to donate funds to the Georgia colony project. In the foundational masonic text by the Reverend James Anderson, *Constitutions of the Free-Masons*, of 1723, was the bold claim that freemasonry was “that religion in which all men can agree.”

As freemasonry evolved and spread, new imagery and symbols were created, like the emblem depicted on this apron. While none of the individual forms were new, their particular combination, which came to be known as Time and the Virgin (also, The Weeping Virgin, and the Beautiful Virgin of the Third Degree), was. It can be traced to an illustration in a widely read masonic handbook, Jeremy L. Cross’s *The True Masonic Chart*, first published in 1819.²⁰⁹ The illustration, by the engraver and Mason Amos Doolittle, appeared in the section devoted to the third degree, but Cross did not explain it, leaving its meaning open to interpretation. The third-degree ritual centers on a re-enactment of the betrayal, murder, and burial of Hiram Abiff, the legendary stonemason overseeing the building of Solomon’s Temple. In his well-known *Masonic Ritual* of 1866, the American author Duncan interpreted this emblem as a monument to Hiram Abiff, which, he stated, was mentioned in earlier masonic texts, though none have been identified.²¹⁰ In masonic rhetoric, a broken column symbolizes the death of a Mason; in traditional allegory of the fine arts, Time, an old man with a scythe and hourglass, cuts short human life; both are present here. The virgin provides an emotional figure that mourns Hiram, and the sprig of green acacia that she holds is a traditional Jewish symbol of death and immortality. Duncan also read therein a lesson that “time, patience, and perseverance accomplish all things,” a not specifically masonic maxim.²¹¹ A few years later, the renowned Scottish Rite freemason, Albert Pike, rebuked his brethren for not knowing the esoteric origins and meanings of the Weeping Virgin, which he claimed were rooted in the ancient Egyptian Mysteries of Isis.²¹² Nevertheless, in 1879, a masonic historian maintained that Cross had invented this emblem; hence, it was not an ancient or worthy symbol.²¹³ Such disagreements between

²⁰⁹ For further discussion of the Sheftall apron and the origin of the Time and the Virgin emblem, see my essay, Alisa Luxenberg, “Double Meaning, Trouble Meaning: Masonic Symbolism in the Decorative Arts,” in *Georgia Matters: Two Decades of New Scholarship*, ed. Dale Couch (Athens: Georgia Museum of Art, 2022), 35-61.

²¹⁰ *Duncan’s Masonic Ritual and Monitor*, 3rd ed. (New York: Dick and Fitzgerald, 1866), 125.

²¹¹ *Duncan’s Masonic Ritual and Monitor*, 125.

²¹² Albert Pike, *Morals and Dogma: Scottish Rite in Freemasonry* (1871; repr., Richmond, VA: L.H. Jenkins, 1947), 379.

²¹³ Brother Robert B. Folger, *The Masonic Newspaper* (New York City), May 10, 1879. I suspect the most likely visual source for Cross and Doolittle’s emblem was the allegory of History in Ripa’s *Iconologia*, translated by Isaac

freemasons indicate that their masonic education and interests were not uniform, and expose a rift between those who sought clear, accessible images and moral instruction and those who embraced more esoteric meanings and intellectual challenges. The Time and the Virgin emblem exemplifies the potential syncretism of masonic imagery that conflated ancient and modern, sacred and secular, Western and Eastern, tradition and innovation.

Knowing the history of its iconography allows us to refine an understanding of this apron's manufacture, date, and ownership. Benjamin Sheftall's sons, Mordecai and Levi, participated in the American revolution at great sacrifice, and were leaders in the Jewish community of Savannah. Family lore maintained that the apron belonged to Levi (1739—1809) and thus dated it to the eighteenth century, which would make it quite rare.²¹⁴ But given that the Time and the Virgin motif only appeared in 1819, we must rule out Levi's ownership. The apron's design is painted freehand, which suggests a local artist or family member executed it, before 1870, when U.S. companies manufactured standardized masonic regalia on a national scale.²¹⁵ The most likely owner within the family is Edward Tattall Sheftall (1826—1863), a grandson of Levi. He was a lawyer and a freemason in Laurens Lodge No. 75, of Dublin, Georgia, from 1849 to 1861, if not up until his death.²¹⁶ The iconography and execution of the apron make sense with his masonic initiation around 1849.

Although it is not certain that Edward was a practicing Jew, his own father and grandfather were, and his grandfather Levi's bible was preserved among the family papers.²¹⁷ Edward probably knew that several of his ancestors had been freemasons, welcomed as Jews into this fraternity that professed tolerance. He married Annie Gaillard Cooper whose family name has been identified as of Jewish origin.²¹⁸ But if these Sheftalls had wanted to observe Judaism, there

Fuller as *Iconologia or Moral Emblems* (London: Benj. Motte, 1709), 38 fig. 151, in which a winged female figure is represented writing on a book or tablet that rests on the shoulders of Time, kneeling with his scythe.

²¹⁴ The apron and other items were acquired from Tattall Carlisle Sheftall (1904—1982) of Mineola, Texas, in 1976. Email communication from Hargrett librarian, Anne Meyers DeVine, November 22, 2019. A clipping, "Revolution Relics Shown by Local Man: Tattall C. Sheftall Has Mementos of Colonial Days," *Beaumont Journal*, March 3, 1942, links the apron with some paper money and documents dating to the 1770s in the family's donated materials.

²¹⁵ See William D. Moore, *Masonic Temples: Freemasonry, Ritual Architectural, and Masculine Archetypes* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2006), 15-39, 154-60.

²¹⁶ George Currell, *Laurens Lodge Number 75, F.&A.M. Dublin, Georgia 1848-1948* (Dublin: Thomas Printing, 1948), 9.

²¹⁷ Levi Sheftall's Tanakh and Prayer Book. Ms 2574, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

²¹⁸ Georgia, Marriage Records from Select Counties, 1828-1978. Accessible at ancestrylibrary.com. For the Cooper name, see Elizabeth Caldwell Hirschman and Donald N. Yates, *Jews and Muslims in British Colonial America: A Genealogical History* (Jefferson, NC, and London: McFarland, 2012), 147-8, 161-2. These authors are working

was no synagogue in Dublin, and by the early 1860s, anti-Semitism in the South was on the rise, as incidents in Thomasville—Annie’s hometown—bear out.²¹⁹ Donning a masonic apron might have had special significance for a Jewish man. Before the late nineteenth century, Jews were not yet classified as a race or stigmatized for their facial features, but another physical difference could identify male Jews: circumcision. Savannah’s early Jewish congregation did not have a rabbi, but Benjamin Sheftall had the necessary instruments to perform the operation.²²⁰ The apron, ostensibly covering the genitals, might have reminded a Jewish Mason of the shelter that freemasonry offered in the face of religious persecution.

outside their principal field or profession, and their research methods have been called into question. See J.A. Reuscher’s review in *Choice* 50, no. 1 (September 2012): 58.

²¹⁹ See Anton Heike, “The Transregional Mobility of Jews from Macon, GA, 1860-80,” *American Jewish History* 97, no. 1 (January 2013): 30-31.

²²⁰ *Sheftall Diaries (1733-1808): Georgia’s First Jewish Colonists*, ed. Carolyn Wildes Cunningham (Lulu.com, 2011), 112.

Shriner Cufflinks and Tie Clip. Circa 1964.

Unknown manufacture.

Metal, paint.

Cufflinks, 13/16 x 11/16 inch; tie clip, 1 3/8 x 5/8 inches. Box, 1 x 2 1/2 x 3 5/16 inches.

Richard B. Russell, Jr. Collection, Related Materials, Artifacts from Winder.

RBRL/001/RBR_E_V, Box 37, item WIND 225. Richard B. Russell Library of Political Research and Studies, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Men's attire developed various opportunities for personal adornment that could also advertise a masonic affiliation, as do these cufflinks and tie clip. While cufflinks had been worn for centuries, tie clips only came about with the new fashion of narrow, straight ties in the 1920s. These items were often decorated similarly to wear together for a harmonious look. The Shriner emblem is here made more discreet by a reductive rendering in which only the scimitar and crescent appear, intersecting rather than mirroring each other as they do in the traditional way, and by foregoing its bright yellow, white, and red colors for the more neutral black and gold, the better to complement the generally dark-colored suits men wore at the time.

The jewelry box in which these items were offered bears the name of the leading officer of the Shrine, called the Potentate, of Yaarab Temple of Atlanta. This man, Robinson Weller Schilling (1910—1974), lived in Atlanta and was the Potentate in December of 1964 when Russell was initiated. This jewelry was probably a gift from Schilling to Russell to commemorate the latter's entry into the order. And Russell was not just any member, but a prestigious one, a long-time U.S. Senator from Georgia. It was also beneficial for Russell to have such contact with the many successful members of the Shrine in the capital of the state he represented in Washington, D.C. According to city directories, Schilling had once been Vice-President of the Bank of Georgia.²²¹

²²¹ From Ancestry.com. Consulted 06/28/2022.

Secret and Public

Freemasonry is defined as a secret society, but much of its composition and activities are not secret. True, its members take an oath of secrecy, and learn passwords, signs, and handshakes, called grips, that they cannot share outside the fraternity. But a Mason is free to identify himself, his lodge and degree. Masonic ritual centers on secrecy and persecution, like the murder of the stonemason Hiram Abiff for his password, but the narrative is a metaphor for teaching brotherhood and obedience, not a literal prescription for secret and violent behavior. Because secrecy has long been deemed suspicious or evil, freemasons were surveilled by autocratic regimes and the Catholic Church, which sought a monopoly on secrecy through confession. For some freemasons, especially Catholics, Jews, and Blacks who feared persecution for that or other reasons, masonic secrecy was also a form of protection. The power of secrecy comes from the fact that it usually *is* shared with a select few, creating special bonds between those persons.

But excepting the most punitive Catholic lands, freemasons did not deny their existence, hide their affiliation, disguise their masonic halls, or refrain from public ceremonies. Masonic feast-day processions (June 24 and December 27), cornerstone laying ceremonies, and funeral rites brought them into the public eye. They announced meeting times in newspapers and published manuals, lectures, periodicals, and annual proceedings, making information about the Craft available even to those outside the fraternity. And their philanthropic endeavors often benefit the broader community, who see these schools, orphanages, hospitals, and cemeteries as evidence of masonic goodwill.

Black Men in Ox Cart with Knights of Pythias, Savannah. 1880s.

William Ernest Wilson.

Modern gold-toned printing-out paper, printed from original dry-plate glass negatives. Number 233 on negative; on reverse, inscribed "Neg # 2742" in modern handwriting.

5 x 8 1/8 inches.

William Ernest Wilson Photographs. Ms 993, Box 2, Folder 4. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

This photograph is an example of the public awareness and spectacle of secret societies like the para-masonic organization, the Knights of Pythias. At the left of the image appear three Knights of Pythias in full regalia standing in a street on a public square, but in the center of the frame are two young Black men seated in a cart pulled by an ox. Other figures gather towards the square's center. Given that the Telfair Academy of Savannah stands in the background at the right, the scene took place near Barnard and York Streets. So-called secret societies made public appearances, though in this photograph the reason for it is not clear; it could have been a civic holiday or a lodge function. The typically warm weather of Savannah would have made wearing such heavy, buttoned up uniforms, plumed helmets, and boots uncomfortable for long periods, and especially during the summer months. Wilson might have made this view out of amusement at the disparity between the pseudo-military attire of the Pythians and the plain, practical clothes of the Black men sitting in the ox-drawn cart. The fact that Wilson made the Black men and their vehicle the center of the picture and of the Pythians' gazes, shunting the latter off to the left, suggests where the photographer's interest lay.

William E. Wilson (1853—1905) was an English-born photographer who lived and worked in Savannah for many years. Later he moved to Mobile, Alabama in 1894.²²² Though portraiture was the typical genre practiced by commercial photographers, he made pictures of ordinary life and agricultural work in the south, especially of African Americans along the Georgia coast. Although white, Wilson may have held different attitudes toward people of color than did his clients in the southern United States, or his empathy may have been solicited by the plight of people of color during the retrenchment that followed Emancipation and Reconstruction.

²²² Birth year confirmed by a gravesite photograph, available at <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/52002794/william-e-wilson>. An obituary in *The Mobile Register*, October 24, 1905, states that his father James N. Wilson, an artist and photographer, brought the family to Charleston, South Carolina, when Wilson was two years old, to New York City, and later, to Mobile. Cited in Dennis O'Kain, *William E. Wilson, "deep south photographer"* (Athens: University of Georgia Department of Art, 1981), n.p.

Catalogue of the Faculty, Pupils, and Patrons of the Greenville Masonic Female Institute, Greenville, Georgia, for the scholastic year 1856. Atlanta: C.R. Hanleiter, 1856.

Green paper, ink.

8 5/8 x 5 1/2 inches.

Rare Book LD7251 .G81 1856. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

This catalogue served as both a guide to current students and an advertisement to potential ones. It boasted a healthy number of students, a small faculty, and the abbreviated scope of each class. The Greenville Masonic Female Institute was formed with the support of and overseen by freemasons in Georgia, and provided young women with what was deemed an appropriate, somewhat more progressive education, including Latin, philosophy, and mathematics, though without abandoning needlework and other traditional female domestic activities. Like the similar school in Covington, Georgia, established around the same time, it provided education for orphaned or fatherless daughters of Masons, frequently at a reduced rate, but it also accepted students from non-Mason families who paid full price. Thus, this institution reflected the masonic reverence for education and the duty of caring for one's brethren and their families.

Nevertheless, it was not a feminist institution. Even the way its name is printed with "female" as the third term and only one to begin with a lower-case letter, suggests the modest role for women envisioned by its founders. By this time, efforts in the United States to create a masonic-inspired rite for women who had a Mason in their family were already underway (see the materials from the Order of the Eastern Star in this exhibition). In this way, the fraternity was forming a generation of women who would be favorable to the fraternity, especially if their own husband or son wished to join.

The acknowledgment of donors in such a publication was quite unusual but showcased the masonic value of charity, and it may have been effective in encouraging others to make a contribution, as their names would be included in future versions of the catalogue. Many of the students lived in Meriwether County, and may have benefited from the generosity of a local blue lodge, Erin Lodge No. 70, whose minute book appears in this exhibition (Government and Laws).

Constitution of the Cherokee Masonic Aid Association of Rome, GA. Rome: printed at the “Courier Job Office,” 1869.

Pink paper, ink.

4 ¾ x 3 inches.

Rare Book HS537 .G43 C43 1869. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

The title of this tiny pamphlet resonates with masonic values. Constitutions had been a seminal concept for the fraternity since the earliest texts of modern freemasonry, starting with Reverend James Anderson’s *Constitutions of the Free-Masons* of 1723. His text and its revised version of 1734 were published in London, where commentaries on them suggest that they were far from secret. The term “constitutions” means laws and regulations that structure a society or government and help keep order, implying powers with which even the ruler or leader had to comply. The implication in Anderson’s texts that such men were capable of governing themselves through voting for their officers, obeying laws, and providing justice was a novel, even radical ideal, perhaps disturbing to those who prospered under the British monarchy that claimed to rule by divine right.

This association was first organized in July of 1868 as the Masonic Life Insurance Company, with the aim of insuring the lives of its member Masons at a reasonable cost, for insurance premiums—a nineteenth-century invention—were often expensive. Any Master Mason under age 65 in good health who had a recommendation from his lodge or a director on the association’s board could apply for membership. As in masonic lodges, the officers and Board of Directors were elected each year at an annual meeting on June 24, the feast day of St. John the Baptist, when local and Grand lodges also held biannual banquets. The enterprise changed its name from Company to Association and modified some of its operations, probably to comply with commercial laws, which occasioned a new constitution, which we see here, in 1869. The project appears to have had the support of the Grand Lodge of Georgia, as the Grand Master at the time, Samuel Lawrence, was an officer in the association.

The Cherokee Masonic Aid Association of Rome had nothing to do with the Native Americans of that tribal name that had once thrived in that area of northwest Georgia. On the back cover, *The Rome Courier*, a local newspaper and the printer of this pamphlet, advertised itself as “The Oldest Paper in Upper Georgia” and promised that “all matters interesting to the

Masonic Aid Association will be published in its columns,” punning on the editorial and masonic meanings of “column.” It also reveals that agents who sold subscriptions to the newspaper were also authorized to sign up members to the masonic aid insurance association which suggests that the paper had a vested interest in the association’s success. It is likely that the publisher or editor was a Mason.

Flyer for the Third Grand International Conference of Knights Templars and Imperial Council of Nobles of the Mystic Shrine. Washington, DC: O.D. Morris, 1912.

Paper, ink.

12 5/16 x 8 ¼ inches.

Black Print Culture. MSS 921, Box 33, Folder 51. Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University, Atlanta, GA.

This flyer announced the week-long convention for both Black Knights Templar and Shriners in Washington, D.C., in August of 1912. Central emblems of both orders are on display at the upper corners of the page: crown and Christian cross of the Knights Templar at the left; and, the upward-curving scimitar and downward facing crescent of the Shriners at the right. Masons applying to join these two orders were required at the time to have the highest degrees of the York Rite (for Templary) and Scottish Rite (for the Shrine). In other ways, it appears to be a curious combination of Masons, as the Knights Templar ritual focused strongly on the values of Christianity and chivalry, while the Shriners offered exotic costumes and theatrical entertainments. However, both were civic-minded and charitable groups. Although within freemasonry the term “international” was used in a metaphorical sense in the United States to mean nation-wide, since there were so many Grand Lodges, this conference could be deemed international in the literal sense because Black masonic authorities historically welcomed cities in non-U.S. nations, such as Canada and Liberia, to ask them for warrants to open lodges, chapters, and commanderies.

This announcement provides some sense of the program for the week’s festivities. Little mention is made of work or meetings; the emphasis is on entertainment. The flyer promised a “grand and brilliant...reception” at Convention Hall and an excursion to hear a musical concert at Washington Park. The large photograph in the flyer features the Shriner group, Medina Temple No. 19 of New York City, which was known for its performance of a special drill called the Battle of the Pyramids, an example of the orientalist imagery invented for the Shrine as well as an actual Napoleonic battle of his Egyptian campaign. That orientalism is evident in the Shriner regalia seen here: the boxy red fez (named after the Moroccan town of that name), colorful and wide silk waistbands, and upright white collars and gaiters of the Nobles, and the turbans and voluminous caftans of the officers like the Potentate and Chief Rabbin, likely the central seated figure and the standing figure at the right. But for Black freemasons, such

references to African culture and locations held different meaning than it did among white brethren.

Performances like the Battle of the Pyramids might have been an important inspiration for Black drill and step groups at high schools and colleges in the United States. This particular show was scheduled for the Howard Theatre, a newly opened venue (1910) for Black artists and performances that is close to the campus of Howard University, one of the most prestigious of the historically Black universities.

“General Lafayette, the Nation’s Guest.” *Georgia Messenger*. March 23, 1825.
Typescript.
13 1/8 x 8 1/2 inches.

Masonry in Macon, Baber-Blackshear Family Papers. Ms 11, Box 9, Folder 8. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Dr. Ambrose Baber (1792—1846) was a dynamic masonic leader in Macon, having helped to establish the first lodge there in 1824.²²³ He was soon given the prestigious honor of delivering an address on the lodge’s behalf to welcome a most important Mason and visitor to their city. In 1825, the French marquis de Lafayette (1757—1834) returned to the United States for the first time since the American war of independence, to which he made significant contributions on the battlefield and through diplomatic channels. At a time when Lafayette’s republican politics were not welcome by the French government, he accepted an invitation from President Monroe to tour the country and receive a hero’s tributes that the grateful citizenry were eager to lavish upon him. Lafayette visited all of the states, including those that joined the nation since the war, and had so many stops on his itinerary that he often stayed just one or two hours in each town, as he did in Macon.

As elsewhere in Georgia and other states, the local masonic lodge was very much in the public eye during these celebrations of Lafayette. Masons must have hoped that Lafayette’s shining example would be associated with freemasonry by the broader public. To that end, Baber made clear the ties between the illustrious Frenchmen and the Macon freemasons by addressing Lafayette as “Brother” and the Macon lodge as “brothers of the mystic union.” He commended Lafayette for his masonic friendships and virtues. The Frenchman had been “companion and associate of our immortal Washington,” he helped to overthrow tyranny and establish a “nation in the full enjoyment of freedom,” and he resisted the “glittering offerings of princes” and “appalling frowns of royalty” and led “a life of benevolent usefulness.” Baber urged Lafayette to accept his due, “the gratitude of ten millions of freemen, the applause and admiration of every nation.” Baber ended his speech by linking Lafayette to a bright future for the fraternity: “with Lafayette for her support the science of Masonry will continue to illumine and harmonise

²²³ Drafts of the address and extracts from the *Georgia Messenger* of March 23 and 30, 1825, exist in this same folder. Scottia Hutchings-Householder, an undergraduate in my Special Topics course of Fall 2021, identified these materials from her research into Baber’s freemasonry.

mankind to endless ages.” In his response, Lafayette expressed his deep gratitude for the celebrations and his best wishes for the continued prosperity of Macon and freemasonry. No one could have foreseen that the following year, the Morgan Affair would shake the foundations of Masonry in the United States.

Near the end of the article the reporter rather abruptly notes coincidences in the lives of Lafayette and Simón Bolívar (1783—1830) as two men who fought for the political independence of colonies in the New World. What is left unsaid in that comparison is that both men were freemasons, but knowledgeable brethren would have understood the implication.²²⁴

²²⁴ F.W. Seal-Coon, “Simón Bolívar, Freemason,” *Transactions of Quatuor Coronati Lodge 90* (1997): 231-48.

The Masonic Journal (Augusta), 1, no. 1 (October 1841).
Green paper, ink.
9 5/8 x 6 1/8 inches.

Georgia Room HS351 .M399 vol. 1 no. 1. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library,
University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

This is the first issue of a masonic periodical from Augusta, Georgia, in October of 1841. It was at this very time that most of the handful of lodges that had refused to recognize the Grand Lodge of Georgia in Macon during the late 1820s and 1830s were reinstated, receiving new charters and numbers, as was the case with the blue lodge of Athens, Mount Vernon Lodge No. 22 and the venerable Solomon's Lodge No. 1 (which was allowed to retain its signal number, as the first lodge in the colony and state). It was also coincident with the re-emergence of freemasonry after a decade of shame and suspicion due to the Morgan Affair of 1826 (see the section on Anti-Masonry in this exhibition).

This journal did not survive long, apparently disappearing before the end of 1842. Its owner(s) may have been too optimistic about its potential readership and their willingness or means to subscribe. The publishers of the journal identify themselves on the cover as Davis and Thompson, the printers as Browne and McCafferty. The journal's title was so common that others of the same name appear later in the century in other Georgia towns, such as Marietta, but there is no indication that these publications were continuations of each other.

The journal's pages included news of new lodges receiving charters, public masonic ceremonies, charitable projects or events, state and national meetings, masonic obituaries, and advertisements for masonic regalia or masonic-owned businesses. It also featured essays and sermons, and this issue contains one, "The Benefits of Freemasonry," quoted elsewhere in this exhibition. The paper covers changed color with each issue, such as green, tan, and blue, the last being associated with freemasonry and its first three degrees. The cover also includes a standard masonic motif alluding to the lodge room, prototype for the Temple of Solomon: checkerboard floor; two columns (Jakin and Boaz); an open book; measuring tools such as the square and compasses; and, above, the sun, moon, and all-seeing eye.

The Masonic Temple Times (Atlanta), 1, no. 1. February 28, 1955.
Glossy paper, ink.
Bound, 12 ¼ x 9 ½ inches.

Georgia Room HS537 .G4 M37. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Masonic periodicals were a principal means of communicating with the brethren about local, national, and international topics. Unsurprisingly, the publishers, editors, and printers were almost always freemasons. Nevertheless, a masonic periodical must have been a challenging enterprise to run, for one sees them constantly appearing and disappearing, especially in Georgia, from the 1840s on, when the black stain of the Morgan Affair had faded and freemasonry was on the rise again.

This masonic publication out of the capital of Georgia had a specific purpose, as its motto claims, “It’s Time for the Temple.” Having lost their masonic temple on Peachtree Street (at the intersection with Cain) to fire in 1950, the masonic community of Atlanta initiated a fund-raising campaign to erect a new temple of seven stories on Carnegie Way. This location or the name of its street was no doubt chosen to honor the wealthy philanthropist and Mason from Pennsylvania, Andrew Carnegie, who is mentioned elsewhere in this exhibition.

The drawing of the new building reproduced in this first issue shows an “ultra-modern” cubic form. The inset columns of the entrance recall ancient Egyptian structures, a style of great appeal to U.S. Masons, especially those of the Scottish Rite, in the twentieth century. The new building was estimated to cost 1.5 million dollars, a huge sum at the time, and the amounts pledged or obtained were diligently reported and praised in the magazine to spur other Masons to give as generously. The lower edge of the page is emblazoned with another motto: Anything Worth BELONGING TO is Worth WORKING FOR. It underscores the masonic values of community (fraternity) and work (improvement, enlightenment) in its various manifestations, especially charity.

Monitor of Free-Masonry (first published 1860). Philadelphia, circa 1890.
 Jabez Richardson.
 6¾ x 4 3/8 inches.

HS459 .R52 1800z. University of Georgia Library, Athens.

While not much is known about the author of this masonic manual, he indicates in the preface that he was once a Mason and “no enemy of Masonry.” He published his book after several others, like Jeremy Cross’s *True Masonic Chart* had had great success, and contemporary with Malcolm Duncan’s *Masonic Ritual and Monitor*. In fact, some of its illustrations are similar to those in Duncan’s book. What distinguishes Richardson’s manual from most of the others is the attention paid to numerous higher degrees and different rites.

Here the book is displayed open to pages concerning the Master Mason degree with illustrations of the ritual, such as the secret distress sign and “grip” and the ritual re-enactment of the murder of Hiram Abiff. Prior to the group re-enactment and the sharing of “secrets,” the initiate was made to spend time alone in a darkened space, called the Chamber of Reflection, to reflect on his life to date, then led out blindfolded and walked around the lodge room over obstacles. Throughout the ritual, the initiate did not know what to expect. He heard stories that taught lessons of moral and masonic virtues (or the lack of them) and was accompanied by a brother as he stumbled around, by which he came to trust the brethren, to swear his loyalty to them and masonic principles, bonding with them through a sometimes scary and serious experience that he understood they had all passed through. The ritual rehearsed narratives that were analogous to difficult life circumstances or ethical decisions and reinforced the benefits of the mutual aid and guidance available through the masonic brotherhood.

In the rhetoric of the ritual, the symbolism of various visual forms is often repeated. Richardson reminds the candidate to read religious texts, “that great light in Masonry, will guide you to all truth; it will direct your path to the temple of happiness, and point out to you the whole duty of man.” Even in the higher Royal Arch degree called Past Master, he recalls the fundamental symbols of the first three degrees:

The Square teaches to regulate our actions by rule and line, and to harmonize our conduct by the principals of morality and virtue.

The Compass teaches to limit our desires in every station; thus rising to eminence by merit, we may live respected, and die regretted.

The Rule directs that we should punctually observe our duty; press forward in the path of virtue, and, neither inclining to the right nor to the left, in all our actions have eternity in view.

The Line teaches the criterion of moral rectitude; to avoid dissimulation in conversation and action, and to direct our steps to the path that leads to immortality.(p. 56)

Books like these that provided inside information on the fraternity had two potential audiences: those who were interested in and favorable to freemasonry; and, those who disliked or were suspicious of freemasonry and wished to expose its defects. Richardson states that his book was written for both types of readers. In his preface he begins by referring to the Morgan Affair, a seminal event of 1826 in the history of U.S. freemasonry, which created a scandal from which the fraternity took years to recover, after thousands of Masons left and dozens of lodges closed. Morgan was apparently thrown out of a masonic lodge and wrote a book revealing the secrets of the Craft. He was kidnapped from jail by some Masons and never heard from again. The body was never found, but public opinion attributed his apparent murder to freemasons, a literal interpretation of the punishment for revealing secrets mentioned during the ritual. Richardson seems to have wanted to exploit such suspicion and curiosity, at the same time he corrected it with evidence and reflection on whether the actions of “simply ruffians” should be taken as “representatives of the main body of the Masonic fraternity.” In his defense, Richardson wrote that he was disappointed by all the “unworthy men” who were allowed to join the otherwise honorable institution, and led him to publishing the so-called secret information that was meant “to protect the weak against the strong,” but that had become a mere relic. The increase of masonic membership right through to the middle of the twentieth century shows that Richardson’s pessimistic outlook on the fraternity’s appeal was far off the mark.

Proceedings of the Grand Commandery of Knights Templar for the State of Georgia, at Their First Grand Conclave. Macon: S. Rose, 1861.

Paper, ink.

Bound, 8 5/8 x 6 inches.

Confederate Imprints PW8605. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Like other masonic bodies, the Knights Templar published their proceedings or accounts of their annual state-wide meeting, signified by the addition of “Grand” to the commandery titles and offices. Whereas the Grand Lodge oversaw the blue lodges, meaning those that granted the first three degrees of freemasonry, in the state, the Grand Commandery oversaw the local commanderies or preceptories that bestowed this higher degree in the York Rite. Knights Templary required that candidates profess the Christian faith, unlike blue Masonry that in the United States and Britain asks only that its members profess a faith, not a specific one. These proceedings are a mixture of record-keeping (names of officers, numbers and locations of commanderies, accounting of dues and the central treasury), Templary news within and beyond the state, and sometimes a lecture, sermon, or obituary. Nothing in these publications was a “secret,” but few copies fell into non-masonic hands.

This 1861 report is important because it marks the first state conference or “conclave,” a word that would later be appropriated (and misspelled) by the Ku Klux Klan. While Knights Templary was certainly practiced earlier in Georgia, the state did not have an authorizing body, a Grand Commandery, that warranted new commanderies until then. In previous years, Knights Templar in Georgia probably received their degree elsewhere, and sought charters for commanderies from Grand Commanderies in other states. The conference took place on April 25, 1860, the feast day of St. Mark, one of the four Evangelists, whereas blue Masonry’s Grand Lodge met on June 24 and December 27, the feast days of St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist. The first meeting of the Grand Commandery of Georgia was held at the Masonic Hall in Augusta, which was also the home of the Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masonry (until 1873, when it moved to Macon).

Although the conclave was held in Augusta, the proceedings were printed in Macon, home of the Grand Lodge of Georgia as well as a leading Mason and printer, Simri Rose, whose company

printed this publication as well as several others in this exhibition. No doubt Rose was chosen for his experience and his masonic clientele.

Proceedings of the Most Worshipful Union Grand Lodge, A.F. & A. M. for the State of Georgia.
Savannah: Tribune Print, 1896.

Paper, ink.

8 5/8 x 5 13/16 inches.

Rare Book DER 1896 U5. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Another regular publication of masonic orders was the proceedings of a Grand Lodge, the authority that oversees the local lodges in a state. These proceedings were often sent to Grand Lodges of other states, and elected representatives from Grand Lodges traveled to attend the annual convocations in other states where they shared their news and discussed broader issues of relevance to the fraternity, all of which was reported on in these publications.

This Grand Lodge was for men of color, because they were generally not welcome in the white lodges. It took a slightly different name, Most Worshipful Union Grand Lodge, to signal its difference from the white Grand Lodge, and perhaps to avoid the lawsuits that were brought by white Grand Lodges against Black freemasons for having adopted their rites, practices, and terminology without authorization, which, of course, they were not prepared to grant. In 1870, a Grand Lodge for African Americans was established in Georgia by the National Grand Lodge, a national authority (but not the only one) for Black freemasons. However, four years later, an independent Grand Lodge was founded in the state, revealing divisions within Black freemasonry itself. In 1890, the Most Worshipful Union Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons was incorporated, but was not obedient to the National Grand Lodge.²²⁵ These divisions are perhaps not surprising, for all the fraternity's aim to create a harmonious society. Similar frictions between granting authorities also arose in the first decades of British freemasonry, such as the schism around 1750 between the Ancients and Moderns, the former refusing to recognize the Grand Lodge of England until a compromise was reached in 1813.

These proceedings reported that there were 158 existing lodges of Black Masons in the state, of which 138 had paid their dues, and it provided the names of their officers. Most Worshipful Union Grand Lodge was located in Savannah, the cradle of freemasonry in Georgia and the center of Black freemasonry, boasting 9 lodges among the first 30 formed in the state. By 1896, Atlanta, having mostly recovered from the devastation of the Civil War, was second with 4

²²⁵ See www.mwphlga.org. Consulted 03/09/2021.

Black lodges. Most large cities in Georgia had at least one Black lodge, but so did many small towns. It suggests that the moral objectives and bonding relationships of freemasonry were important to Black citizens as well as white ones, and offered them a means of mutual support and sociability as they managed the difficult circumstances after the Civil War.

Athens' first Black lodge, Lincoln Lodge No. 62, which still exists, was led at the time by their Worshipful Master, Monroe Bowers Morton, known as "Pink" Morton. He is discussed elsewhere in this exhibition as the successful businessman who built and owned the Morton Building, a centerpiece of the Black community.²²⁶ In 1912 the relatively small Clarke County, which is dominated by Athens, boasted 29 African-American fraternal or mutual benefit societies, including several masonic and affiliated orders. According to Michael L. Thurmond, the estimated membership in these various societies was 2500 people or about three-quarters of the adult Black population of Athens.²²⁷

²²⁶ Michael L. Thurmond, *A Story Untold: Black Men and Women in Athens History*, ed. Connolly Hester, 3rd ed. (Athens, GA: Green Berry Press, 2001), 202, claims that the Morton Theatre "was surrounded by multistory lodge halls that have since been razed."

²²⁷ Thurmond, *A Story Untold*, 53.

Shriners in a public parade and related activities in Athens, Georgia, around 1947, and the cornerstone laying ceremony for the Yaarab Shrine in Atlanta on June 14, 1928. [displayed on the video monitor]

Joel Weir's film of Athens ca. 1947, Amateur Films of Athens, 1946-47, tf-ath_0001. Walter J. Brown Media Archives and Peabody Awards Collection, The University of Georgia Libraries, Athens. Frames 7:17-7:25, 7:30-43, 8:06-8:53, 9:19-9:30.

and

Historic films.com NR-96B. Frames 1:38:42:10-1:40:43:00.

In these two historic 16mm films, the public-facing activities of freemasons are apparent. In the amateur film presumed to be by Athens resident Joel Weir around 1947, the Shriners in their exotic regalia are seen marching and interacting in a civic parade, perhaps for a national holiday like July 4th, given the red-white-and-blue bunting hung on buildings. The Shriners were known for their fun-loving attitude and their musical and drill performances. They are seen playing music for a casual gathering of citizens in front of the former Chamber of Commerce. In this film, the footage of the parade is preceded by views of various civic groups, many modeled in part on the Masons, such as the Lions Clubs International, the Benevolent and Protective Order of the Elks (BPOE), and Pilot International (a women's group).

The Grand Lodge of Georgia typically laid cornerstones for the most important public buildings, such as post offices, courthouses, and schools. In the second film, Grand Lodge officers wearing aprons and jewels preside over the laying of the cornerstone of the fabulously ornamental Yaarab Temple with its grand auditorium, lavish meeting halls, and spaces for a restaurant and shops. It was to serve as the meeting hall for the Atlanta Shrine, a body within the Ancient Arabic Order of the Nobles of the Mystic Shrine and at that time some 5000 members strong. The elaborate Moorish, Spanish, and Egyptianizing elements of the building alluded to the origin stories of the Shriners, set in the ancient Middle East, even though the order actually arose in the United States in the 1870s. The Atlanta Shrine was warranted in 1889. The Shriner regalia on display in these films—the red fez hat, colorful vests, billowing pants, and white gaiters—reflects Western confabulations of North African and Middle Eastern cultures as exotic and sensuous. Like many Masons, the Shriners embraced new technologies within their temples and practices, such as motor cars, stage mechanisms, and later, scooters.

After several years of planning and fundraising, the cornerstone was laid on June 14, 1928, and the new building opened in December of 1929. This was just a couple of months after the

devastating financial collapse that sparked the Great Depression in the United States. The project was already in financial trouble before the building opened, as the Shriners failed to raise sufficient funds to complete it, and they contracted with the movie theatre mogul William Fox to share its occupancy and costs, cinema having become a mass entertainment technology. Unfortunately, Fox's fortunes were also decimated by the Great Depression, and the theatre closed within a few years. An apparent strategy for paying the mortgage and operating expenses of such a fabulous building was to rent the commercial spaces as well as the various meeting halls, perhaps to other masonic groups and civic associations. However, those groups were in no better economic shape to do so.

In this film we see how the cornerstone is raised by a pulley system and swung into place. The hook inserted into the block is called a "lewis," a term for the son of a Mason. Then the masonic officials inscribe the cornerstone with their institutional name and masonic date, and spread mortar or cement, a physical and rhetorical gesture symbolizing their fraternal bonds, the "cement of brotherhood." A metal box, later called a time capsule, was inserted into the cornerstone for future generations to discover should the building be destroyed or the cornerstone need to be removed. Such boxes were usually filled with a local newspaper, a list of members of the Grand Lodge or local lodge and sometimes another of U.S. presidents, some currency of the time, and other items.²²⁸ Although Masons tend to revere tradition, they also seemed to have a strong desire to communicate to posterity.

²²⁸ Newspaper articles describing the contents provided by freemasons in Georgia are: "Cornerstones Duly Laid," *Athens Daily Banner*, June 15, 1901, 1; "Laying of the Cornerstone," *Athens Weekly Banner*, June 16, 1901, 41; and, "A List of the Articles Places in Cornerstone," *Athens Daily Banner*, June 19, 1903, 3.

Summons to Attend a Meeting of Knights Templar, Richmond, VA. June 25, 1861.
Paper, ink.
8 ¼ x 6 11/16 inches.

Confederate Imprints PW8657. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Masonic bodies regularly communicated with their brethren to attend regular and special meetings on the local, state, and regional or national levels. This printed summons would have been delivered by hand or by post. The advantages of such forms were that they could be printed in large numbers, used over many years, and did not require specific members' names on them. When a commandery had 30 to 50 Knights, these benefits meant savings of time and money. Eventually, lodges, chapters, and commanderies ran announcements of their regular masonic meetings in the local newspaper(s), an even greater time-saver for the Secretary or his homologue.

This summons is decorated with the crossed swords that were part of the larger emblem of Knights Templary. Like other masonic bodies such as the Royal Arch or Order of the Eastern Star, Knights Templar frequently met at the same masonic hall as the local lodge did, thus sharing the costs of maintenance or rent between them. Like other masonic groups, the Knights Templar had their own dating system, but rather than adding 4000 to the current year as did the blue lodges, they subtracted 1119, which was believed to be the year of the founding of the medieval order of the Knights Templar (also known as the Order of Solomon's Temple).

The Masons admired the medieval Knights Templar for their spiritual and moral ambitions of securing Jerusalem for European Christians, but also for their legendary protection of travelers, pilgrims, and vulnerable people. These historical and fraternal precedents must have resonated with those white Southerners who adopted a conservative, defensive stance, as protectors of Christianity (although solely Protestant), white supremacy, and nativism. The legends of the Knights Templar always emphasized their persecution at the hands of the early fourteenth-century French king Philip the Fair who accused the order, by then quite powerful and rich, of heresy, and seized its properties, arrested its members, and had many tortured or killed. The order was disbanded by the Pope in 1312. A similar sense of persecution was expressed in freemasonic texts and may have struck a chord with southern men who chafed under increasing pressure to end the practice of slavery.

This meeting was to take place at the very start of the Civil War, an upsetting time for U.S. Masons who sought above all a harmonious society. Just a month earlier, Virginia had seceded, and Richmond, the most industrialized city in the south, became the capital of the Confederacy. Many masonic groups broke off communication with their counterparts to north or south, each region claiming patriotism, representative government, and the moral high ground for doing so. In Richmond, the movement of troops and goods through the city led to increasing instability and crime which must have troubled local law-and-order groups like the Knights Templar.

Two Men in Masonic Regalia. Circa 1842.

Edmund White, New York City.

Daguerreotype. Inscribed "E. White Maker N.Y. Finest Quality A No. 1" at the top of the plate.²²⁹

3 3/8 x 2 7/8 inches, including framing.

Cased Image Collection. Ms 3529, Box 25, Folder 107. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Some Masons had their portraits painted or photographed while wearing their masonic regalia. According to custom, they were only permitted to wear their regalia within the lodge room and during public masonic ceremonies such as the funeral of a Mason or the laying of a cornerstone. Consequently, such portraits were generally private images, kept in one's home or, if the Mason were an important officer, perhaps in the lodge or masonic hall. A daguerreotype is a fairly small, unique photograph on metal that cannot be made in multiples as other photographic processes allow, and would have been kept in the Mason's home or perhaps on his person. In the United States, daguerreotypes were typically set into leather or hard rubber cases with a hinged top, making them objects to be handled rather than pictures exhibited on a wall.

The man seated on the right wears a darker-toned apron with a heavy lighter-toned fringe. On the upper flap appears the square and compasses, but it is difficult to read any forms on the apron body. A sash, slung over the left shoulder (a daguerreotype is a mirror image, reversing left and right), is also darker in tone and bears a badge or rosette at the shoulder. In contrast, his companion wears a light-toned apron and sash, which crosses over his right shoulder where it has a badge or rosette. His apron also has fringe around the flap and body. On the flap appears an all-seeing eye with radiating light, signifying the Grand Architect of the Universe. The apron body has several symbols in a metaphor for the masonic lodge: three steps leading up to a platform; a black and white checkerboard floor; an archway; and, the two pillars of Jakin and Boaz. The differences between their regalia may indicate that they had degrees in different rites (all the symbols and the color of the apron, which photography could not convey at that time, would help ascertain this) but they might have retained affiliation with the same blue lodge. The placement of one's hand on top of the other's resting forearm may conjure their friendship and fraternal

²²⁹ According to Floyd and Marion Rinhart, specialists on American daguerreotypes whose opinions on this and other daguerreotypes were noted down. Index binder, Cased Image Collection. Ms 3529, Box 33.

bonds, but it also may have been done to keep them from moving during the long exposure times—sometimes as long as a few minutes—of this new photographic process, announced to the world in 1839.

The two Masons appear youthful. That makes the suggestion that the man on the right was Peter Wyche Walton (1792—1847) of Madison, Georgia, unlikely as he was 50 years old in 1842.²³⁰ And his son, also named Peter Wyche Walton, was not born until 1840. By 1842, U.S. freemasonry was reopening lodges and expanding membership after the difficult period caused by the Morgan Affair of 1826 during which many brethren left and lodges closed.

²³⁰ Ibid. This daguerreotype came from the Butler Family Collection, Ms 1639, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library. A Butler daughter married Walton senior.

III. Wisdom

“The lodge is a school indeed...and in its teachings it comprehends the whole...Science of human life.”

Samuel Lawrence, *The Moral Design of Freemasonry, Deduced From the Old Charges of a Freemason* (Atlanta: Signet and Journal Office, and New York: Macoy, Sickels, 1860), 75-76.

Freemasonry always championed education, government institutions, and the rule of law as the basis for a free and harmonious society. The University of Georgia was conceived and realized by freemasons like the legislator Abraham Baldwin, governor Samuel Elbert, and first Board of Trustees member John Habersham. Schools and especially colleges were critical to producing informed citizens who would vote and fill government positions. Given its respectability and longevity, freemasonry became the model for campus organizations. Greek life fraternities and sororities adopted the bonding, secret initiations, and grips from Masonry, while other associations—Phi Beta Kappa, Sphinx Club, Square and Compass Club—with some secret aspects, centered on the philosophical, aspirational, or networking aspects of the masonic model. Despite its admired example, freemasonry could not control who appropriated their model and for what purposes. For example, the Ku Klux Klan borrowed masonic rhetoric and Knights Templar imagery, but applied them to racist, anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic, and nativist views.

Following their historic constitutions and local by-laws, masonic lodges, chapters, and consistories operated according to those regulations: to keep records with transparency, to hold elections, to hear and rule on complaints. At a time when most people could not vote, Master Masons elected their members and officers, and conducted hearings on unmasonic conduct within the lodge, which became a training ground for representative government and justice.

Enlightening Minds

“All mankind appear to be rousing up to the transcendant[sic] importance of education—for the amelioration of man,—the attainment and preservation of liberty,—the promotion of virtue,—the universal spread of vital religion...I would...urge Masons, everywhere, to interest themselves in the cause of education. It is the cause of human improvement and happiness, and no Mason ought to be indifferent to its success.”

“Essay on Education,” *Masonic Journal* (Augusta), 1, no. 4 (January 1842): 99 and 105.

Georgia Masons helped to establish and administer public schools like the University of Georgia in Athens, Greenville Masonic Female Institute, and Southern Masonic Female College in Covington. In turn, masonic values, symbols, and rituals were represented or emulated on these and other campuses in the cornerstones of new buildings laid by lodges, the architectural style of those buildings, and the structure and practices of student literary societies, Greek-letter organizations, and other student clubs. Even the seal and logo of the University of Georgia, while very similar to the State Seal, emphasizes its masonic aspects of the three pillars, arch, and virtues, which were later materialized in the iron entrance to North Campus.

Freemasons cultivate education and enlightenment among themselves, and many have turned to study the history, symbolism, and accomplishments of their different rites and orders. Some Grand Lodges have magnificent libraries, where brethren find support and evidence for their research and publications on the Craft.

Early and Historic Freemasonry of Georgia, 1733/4-1800. Savannah: Solomon's Lodge No. 1, 1924. Printers Braid and Hutton, Savannah.

William Bordley Clarke.

9 5/16 x 6 1/4 inches.

HS537.G4 C6 1924 University of Georgia Library, Athens.

William Bordley Clarke was a member and Past Master of the eminent lodge, Solomon's Lodge No. 1, the first and longest continually operating lodge in Georgia. He was also a 32nd degree Scottish Rite Mason. He was charged with writing an accurate history of freemasonry in Georgia from its colonial beginnings to the establishment of the United States of America. As he wrote near the beginning, "the time has come to put a stop to the gossip which has clouded the facts in Georgia for more than a hundred years... To give to the people of Georgia the magnificent public record of the early Freemasons of the State is but to portray in the lives of these men the exemplification of the Masonic teaching of brotherly love as revealed in one of its forms—self-sacrifice in the public cause."

Education, another of freemasonry's central causes, is implicated in Clarke's clear-eyed scholarship as well as the handwritten inscription in this copy: "Presented to the Library of the State Normal School by Solomon's Lodge #1, F.&A.M." It was signed and dated the year following its publication by the Secretary and Worshipful Master of Solomon's Lodge No. 1, James R. Cain and William Gilbert, Jr., respectively, as a gift to the Normal School in Athens. Another copy was given and similarly inscribed to the main library of the University of Georgia, while a third copy seems to have been held in the university's Moore College (that building was designed by a Mason).²³¹ The blue cover of the book was another allusion to freemasonry.

The State Normal School was founded in 1891 to train teachers for the growing number of schools in the state. In 1932 it dissolved to merge its curriculum and faculty into the University of Georgia. For a few decades, a U.S. Navy Supply School occupied the campus until the early 2000s, when the university acquired the property for its new Health Sciences Campus.

²³¹ The Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library holds the second and third copies, Ga Room HS537.G4 C6 1924 c. 2 and Ga Room HS537.G4 C6 1924, which is annotated in pencil "Moor Coll./ Dup. call/Nov 30 '39".

Some buildings on the Normal School campus received masonic cornerstone laying ceremonies. Winnie Davis Memorial Hall was honored with one by the Grand Lodge of Georgia in 1902, while Pound Hall had its cornerstone laid by Mount Vernon Lodge No. 22 in 1917.²³²

²³² The ceremony for Winnie Davis Memorial Hall is mentioned in William Henry Rosier and Fred Lamar Pearson, Jr., *The Grand Lodge of Georgia Free and Accepted Masons, 1786-1980* (Macon: Masonic Home Print Shop, 1983), 228. The cornerstone at the northeast corner of Pound Hall is still visible.

Franklin College Commencement Exercises Program. 1839.
Paper, ink.
13 ¼ x 16 inches.

Stokes Family Papers. Ms 355. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Among the student speakers at the 1839 commencement ceremony of Franklin College, the only unit of the University of Georgia at the time, was a native Athenian, William Hope Hull (1820—1877), son of judge Asbury Hull. William followed his father's footsteps in entering the legal profession, and later served as Trustee of his alma mater.²³³ William also became a stalwart Mason in the local blue lodge and Royal Arch chapter, Mount Vernon Lodge No. 22 and Athens Chapter No. 1, after the negative consequences of the Morgan Affair (1826-34) and the internal disagreement over where the Grand Lodge of Georgia should be located. His family lineage, his profession, and his masonic instruction inculcated in him a deep appreciation and even reverence for the legal system of the United States. He was a co-founder of the Law School at the University of Georgia in 1859, named after Joseph Lumpkin, one of the first State Supreme Court Justices and his co-founder.²³⁴

The printed program features a broad arch, reminiscent of the ones seen on masonic Royal Arch certificates and aprons. The three-part bases and capitals resonate with the architectural motifs and three steps and other threesomes of freemasonry. Even the small decorative foliage and other forms that make up this two-dimensional architecture recall those used on similar framing devices in masonic certificates. Another link to freemasonry is the fact that all of the student speakers were members of one of the two secret literary societies on campus, Phi Kappa and Desmothenian, which were modeled in many ways on the masonic fraternity.

The program was likely brought to the Stokes family home in Madison, Georgia, by William Charles Young Stokes (1821—1853), who attended the university that year. His father, William

²³³ For biographical information on Hull, see Charles Weygant, *The Hull Family in America*, (Sun Printing Company, 1913), 32 no. 2608. For records of Hull's masonic membership, see *Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Georgia, 1842* (Macon, 1842), 25; and, *Proceedings of the Grand Royal Arch Chapter of the State of Georgia, 1848* (Augusta: James McCafferty, 1848), 4, where he is listed as High Priest, the leading officer of the chapter.

²³⁴ In 1868 Hull moved to Augusta; in 1877 he died unexpectedly in New York City.

Sanders Stokes (1798—1870), was a Mason.²³⁵ The program indicates that it was printed at the office of *The Southern Whig*, an Athens newspaper that was acquired earlier that year by Benjamin Perley Poore, a young freemason and future journalist discussed elsewhere in this exhibition.²³⁶

²³⁵ I am grateful to Chase Dean, an undergraduate intern at the Georgia Museum of Art, for sharing photographs of a Master Mason apron with the initials W.S. and an apron that looks to be Royal Arch that he acquired from the former Stokes House estate sale in 2019.

²³⁶ John E. Talmadge, “Ben: Perley Poore’s Stay in Athens,” *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 41, no. 3 (September 1957): 247-54.

“New Carnegie Library for State Normal School.” *The Weekly Banner* (Athens, GA). July 30, 1909, p. 5.

Scan from Historic Georgia Newspapers

<https://gahistoricnewspapers.galileo.usg.edu/lccn/sn88054112/1909-07-30/ed-1/seq-5/>

The gesture by Solomon’s Lodge No. 1 of Savannah of gifting a copy of Clarke’s book on historic freemasonry in Georgia to the library of the State Normal School in Athens resonates with the historical ties between the two masonic communities, despite the distance between them. Like Solomon’s No. 1, Mount Vernon Lodge No. 22 of Athens was one of a handful of lodges that wanted Savannah, the cradle of freemasonry in Georgia, to be the location of the Grand Lodge, not Macon, and in their dissent they stopped paying dues during the 1820s and 1830s. For that these two lodges were struck from the official list, and were only recognized again as operating lodges in the early 1840s.

The Carnegie Library in Athens was built between 1909-10 and made possible, like so many others throughout the country, with funding from Andrew Carnegie, a tycoon and Mason in New York who pursued large philanthropic projects.²³⁷ His financing of libraries was meant to promote and assist the education of the citizenry. This Carnegie Library is a small but impressive example of the bold, austere classicism that was shared by masonic halls of the first half of the twentieth century, characterized by its plain Doric columns, an undecorated pediment and frieze, and anthemion on the cornice.²³⁸

²³⁷ “Carnegie Library at State Normal School Rapidly Approaching Completion,” *The Athens Banner*, December 11, 1909, 1.

²³⁸ For a discussion of this architectural trend within masonic and broader American culture, see William D. Moore, *Masonic Temples: Freemasonry, Ritual Architecture, and Masculine Archetypes* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2006), and, Moore, “Solomon’s Temple in America: Masonic Architecture, Biblical Imagery, and Popular Culture, 1865-1930,” in *Freemasonry and the Visual Arts from the Eighteenth Century Forward: Historical and Global Perspectives*, ed. Reva Wolf and Alisa Luxenberg (London: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2020), 181-201.

Sciopticon Magic Lantern. Circa 1890s.
 Pettibone Brothers Manufacturing, Cincinnati, OH.
 Brass, nickel, and sheet metal; oak base.
 Lantern, 12 inches high, 22 ¼ inches long, 10 ½ inches wide; base, 1 x 21 x 11 7/8 inches.

Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Along with their love of tradition and craft, freemasons often embraced technology when it served the brotherhood and society at large. With its central rhetoric of architecture, geometry, and labor, freemasonry also had special attraction for architects, engineers, scientists, and captains of industry, who increasingly developed or depended on new technologies from the nineteenth century forward. In the seventeenth century, the magic lantern used candlelight and an optical lens to project an image painted on glass many times its original size onto a wall in a darkened room. The images appeared magical, even otherworldly, hence the name for the device, magic lantern. During the nineteenth century, the magic lantern was further enhanced by powerful lenses, condensers, more brilliant light sources (from oil and paraffin lamps to oxy-hydrogen limelight), and better slides that together produced higher quality projections.

Patented in 1888 by Pettibone Brothers Manufacturing of Cincinnati, a national masonic regalia company, this Sciopticon improved on existing models by offering a rotating metal disk (unfortunately, missing from this example) with ten round glass slides, so that the images could be changed smoothly without interruption.²³⁹ When electricity became more widely available after 1900, magic lanterns began to be outfitted with bulbs and current. Because it is not electric, this Sciopticon probably dates to the 1890s.

Like Franklin College, which acquired a magic lantern within its first decades of holding classes, masonic bodies recognized the utility of the device in educating their brethren.²⁴⁰ Visual

²³⁹ Nancy A. Bergh, "Can You Tell Me? Questions and Answers About Magic Lanterns," *The Magic Lantern Bulletin* 1, no. 4 (1980): 5. The term Sciopticon had already been used in the 1872 design by L.J. Marcy of Philadelphia. It set a new standard for magic lanterns with its double condenser and double combination objective lens. Dennis Crompton, Richard Franklin, and Stephen Herbert, eds., *Servants of Light: The Book of the Lantern* (Ripon, England: The Magic Lantern Society, 1997), 20.

²⁴⁰ "Mr. Camak presented a petition from Mr. Gattenburger, asking to exchange, certain Books in his possession, for the Magic Lantern, and Phantasmagoria belonging to [the] College." Senatus Academicus, Minutes, August 5, 1833, Athens. UA0148, 1817-1835, 275. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Accessible at <https://www.libs.uga.edu/hargrett/archives/trustees/trustees%201817-1835.pdf>. The educational role of the magic lantern is explored in two recent volumes: Sarah Dellmann, and Frank Kessler, eds., *A Million Pictures: Magic Lantern Slides in the History of Learning* (Herts, England: John Libbey Publishing, 2020); and, Martyn Jolly, and Elisa deCourcy, eds., *The Magic Lantern at Work: Witnessing, Persuading, Experiencing and Connecting* (New York and London: Routledge, 2020).

images were considered a most effective means to masonic instruction, and their ritual and manuals emphasized the different senses in absorbing ideas and experiences.²⁴¹ Furthermore, light was a principal symbol in masonic ritual, rhetoric, and design; initiates to the first degrees were blindfolded and described as “in search of light.” The name Sciopticon implies knowledge through sight, by combining the Latin words for “I know” (*scio*) and vision (*optic*). The central function of light in operating the Sciopticon made it an eminently masonic device. While we cannot say with certainty that this magic lantern was used in a masonic lodge, the company’s nameplate on the back acknowledges its likely consumers of “Military and Society Goods,” and it advertised in masonic journals.²⁴²

Masons could have read masonic significance into the design and materials of this Sciopticon. The boxy lamp section framed by two extended brass arms recalls the masonic motif for the Ark of the Covenant while its X-shaped perforations on its sides recall the crossbones that decorate coffins in masonic imagery. The brass arms have acorn finials at both ends, oak leaves adorn the curving “legs” supporting the arms and objective tube, and the base is made of oak, suggesting the origin, growth, and harvest of an oak tree. Several years later, in a masonic periodical of Cincinnati, brother Oliver A. Roberts compared the growth of freemasonry to that of an oak tree, “the acorn [of Freemasonry] has become a great forest, overspreading the earth.”²⁴³ Natural forms and materials were also a means of making new technology appear less strange or more appealing. And non-Masons would find nothing unusual or objectionable in its design.

²⁴¹ George Oliver, *The Historical Landmarks and Other Evidences of Freemasonry, Explained; in a Series of Practical lectures, with Copious Notes, Etc.* (London: Richard Spencer, 1845), 348.

²⁴² Pettibone offered the “Masonic Outfit,” 37 slides of different masonic symbols, in its catalogue. *The Pettibone Manufacturing Co.’s Illustrated Catalogue of Masonic Blue Lodge Supplies*, no. 75 (Cincinnati: Pettibone Manufacturing Co., 1889), microfilm 25338, no. 14, University of Michigan, Hatcher Graduate Serials and Microforms.

²⁴³ Oliver A. Roberts, “Freemasonry a Blessing to Humanity,” *Masonic Voice-Review* 8 (1906): 311. Many thanks to Lacy Hamilton, an undergraduate student in my Special Topics course in Spring 2020, for this reference and her research on this object.

Southern Masonic Female College (Covington) Circular. 1869.
Blue paper, ink.
8 5/16 x 5 1/8 inches.

Georgia Ephemera Collection. Ms 3496, Box 46, Folder 21. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Catalogue of the Southern Masonic Female College, Covington. 1853.
Paper, ink.
9 x 5 inches; bound, 10 1/2 x 7 1/2 inches.

Scan, p. [3] Board of Trustees of the Southern Masonic Female College.

Rare Book LD7251 .C87, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

View of the Southern Masonic Female College, Covington, GA. Circa 1859-70.
Hyde, Atlanta.
Print, probably from an engraving.
3 1/2 x 5 5/16 inches.

Georgia Photograph File. Ms 3705, Box 9, Folder 39. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

The Southern Masonic Female College in Covington, Georgia, is a clear example of masonic support for and involvement in public education. In 1853, the Grand Lodge of Georgia was given administration of the Southern Female College and its property, and changed its name and curriculum.²⁴⁴ This brochure promoting the college is printed on blue paper, a visual reference to the blue degrees of freemasonry. Enjoying “the patronage of the Grand Lodge” to fulfill the masonic duty of caring for the families of deceased or suffering brethren, this institution provided free tuition to “the children of indigent Masons.” In a nod to masonic practice, the college’s spring semester ended on or just before June 24, the feast day of St. John the Baptist, which was celebrated by Masons everywhere with sermons, meetings, and banquets.

Yet, the school’s very name was an oxymoron, given that Anglo-American freemasonry did not permit women to become freemasons. Around 1850, the American teacher and freemason, Rob Morris, devised a ritual for a new women’s auxiliary association, the Order of the Eastern

²⁴⁴ Founded in 1851, the Southern Female College was also known as the Covington Female Seminary before adding “Masonic” to its name. “A Bit of School History,” February 3, 1899, available at <http://www.genrecords.net/emailregistry/vols/00011.html#0002524>

Star, that was eventually recognized as an appendant body to the Ancient and Accepted Freemasons in 1873. Eastern Star members were the wives, daughters, and sisters of Masons, but the term “freemason” was never used for them.

The course offerings of the Southern Masonic Female College were ambitious for the time, and indicate a near equivalent to university curricula available to men, with some substitutions. Courses in Geography, Arithmetic, Natural Philosophy, Rhetoric, Astronomy, Chemistry, Religion, and Political Economy, taught by male and female instructors, challenged the traditional notion that women lacked intellectual capacity and rigor, and prepared the students to be more informed and engaged citizens. In the print by Hyde, the scene of upright young ladies arranged in rhythmic spacing against the medievalizing architecture of the school building suggests the orderliness and morality championed by masonic texts. Some of the Southern Masonic Female College’s hundreds of graduates went on to become educators themselves. In 1882, the Grand Lodge relinquished its oversight of the school, which then joined the North Georgia Conference and was renamed the Georgia Methodist Female College.

Notable Georgians and Georgia freemasons, such as the Grand Master himself, William C. Dawson (1798—1856), William S. Rockwell, and Howell Cobb (the latter two discussed elsewhere in this exhibition) served on the school’s Board of Trustees. The cover of this copy is inscribed in pencil “From you know who,” perhaps one of these Masons who preferred not to state his identity. Augustus Baldwin Longstreet, president of Emory College at the time, apparently shared resources from his institution with the women’s school.²⁴⁵ Southern Masonic Female College was well known throughout the state; an 1858 address given there was published by the *Southern Banner*, an Athens newspaper.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁵ See Kevin Quarmby, “The Secret History,” *Emory Magazine*, 2014, available at https://www.emory.edu/EMORY_MAGAZINE/issues/2015/winter/features/secret-history/index.html

²⁴⁶ The connection between the school and the paper may have been the college’s French teacher, Miss Sledge, who had the same surname as the publisher of *The Southern Banner*.

Square and Compass Club Application Form. Circa 1927-29.
Paper, ink.
11 1/16 x 8 1/2 inches.

Square and Compass Club Cash and Minute Book. 1927-29.
14 1/4 x 8 3/4 inches.

Square and Compass Club. University Archives, UA19-017. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Established at the University of Georgia in 1927, the Georgia Square was a chapter of a national masonic organization called the Square and Compass Club. These clubs were founded on university and college campuses for faculty, staff, and students: “all eligible Master Masons in the university could be a member of the Georgia Square.”²⁴⁷ From information gleaned from short announcements by various colleges and universities, the Square and Compass Club probably launched around 1923-24, and may have been related to the first academic masonic lodge in the country, the Harvard Masonic Lodge, warranted in 1922. By 1924, one reads of Square and Compass Clubs at the Universities of Michigan and Minnesota, and in 1925, Nebraska. Today, George Mason University hosts the Patriot Square and Compass Club, which is open to anyone, not just Masons.

The Square and Compass Clubs were not lodges, and no lodge work was performed there. Rather, it provided a way for some students, faculty, and staff to socialize—itsself unusual—and in a relaxed manner. Sometimes they discussed masonic ideals and concepts, but other times they planned to celebrate a member’s imminent wedding. No doubt its presence encouraged some of the men on campus, many of whom were soon to reach the age of 21, when they could be initiated, to consider joining the fraternity. Although the University of Georgia’s yearbook, *Pandora*, described the club as “composed of undergraduates who are members of the Masonic order,” it also had honorary members among the faculty and administrators who were freemasons.²⁴⁸ One can imagine that students who were not Masons suspected that this social club led to special treatment for its student members by its honorary ones.

The Georgia Square used the square and compasses as its symbol, and reported receiving masonic lectures and books. Sometimes the club met at the local lodge room used by Mt. Vernon

²⁴⁷ Cash and Minute Book, November 17, 1927. UA 19-017, 12.

²⁴⁸ *Pandora* v. 41 (1928), 246.

Lodge No. 22, but more often they assembled on campus in a classroom, office of a member, or Peabody Hall.²⁴⁹ On March 14, 1928, the minute book recorded that “Bro[ther] Feltzer then gave an interesting talk on High Lights of Masonry.”²⁵⁰

²⁴⁹ Cash and Minute Book, May 16, 1928. UA 19-017, 18. The lodge’s location was not specified; it may have been in the former YMCA building (today the Georgia Theatre) or the new one built in 1919.

²⁵⁰ Cash and Minute Book, UA 19-017, 16.

University of Georgia Diploma. Dated June 19, 1901.
Vellum?, ink, wax.
15 7/8 x 19 3/4 inches.

John L. Tison Papers, 1891-1934. Ms 1685, OS 1A Diplomas UGA. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

This diploma bears two seals, one of the State of Georgia (the version with the 1799 date, which was later changed in 1914 to 1776), and one of the University of Georgia, which clearly derived from the former. The state seal's masonic inspiration is discussed in relation to Thomas Coram's drawing in this exhibition, but there is one difference with the version on this diploma, and that is the usual round frame has been substituted with a more dynamically curving silhouette. The motifs and values in the state seal and beloved by freemasons are sustained in the university's seal: the three steps leading to a platform with three columns symbolizing the virtues of Wisdom, Justice, and Moderation, topped by an arch with the word "Constitution" written within it. An earlier incorporation of the state seal or the university seal on a University of Georgia diploma has not been found; this may be the first year either one was used.²⁵¹ Red was a typical color for sealing wax and may not reflect the eventual adoption of red and black as the school's colors.

The recipient of this diploma, John Laurens Tison (1876—1956), earned two degrees from the University of Georgia; this diploma documents his Bachelor's degree in law in 1901. He worked as a lawyer and became an Episcopal lay minister.

²⁵¹ The creation of the university's seal does not appear to have yet been studied and published.

Government and Laws

“Every lodge is a democracy.”

Grand Lodge of Austria, 1780s, cited in Jacob, *Living the Enlightenment* (1991), 156.

When modern freemasonry emerged in the early eighteenth century, the administrative, legislative, and judicial functions of the lodge introduced many men who did not otherwise have access to the actions and processes of voting, making rules, and passing judgment. What else could that have felt like but thrilling empowerment? To be able to bring charges against brethren and for those men to be able to defend themselves, on matters that were typically moral and ethical (and beyond the purview of the legal system, if one existed), was not to settle scores. Faults, whether in one’s own or another’s behavior, were not to be ignored by brethren. Rather, it was their duty to address it, because that allowed one to learn, correct, and improve their conduct, the ultimate goals of “the perfect ashlar.”

U.S. freemasons respected all three branches of government--executive, legislative, and judiciary—and it is no wonder that so many became public administrators, legislators, attorneys, and judges. One should recall that lawyers were not always respected or welcomed; the original charter of the colony of Georgia prohibited them! Usefulness in the form of public service became another masonic virtue, exemplified by their revered brother, George Washington. In 1941, a New York masonic periodical remarked that in 14 states, including Georgia, both U.S. Senators were Masons. If masonic constitutions forbade discussing political matters in the lodge, it clearly did not discourage brethren from seeking public office. The extent to which freemasonry formed or reflected individual brothers’ ambitions for public service and community leadership is difficult to parse, but masonic values aligned with those of the new republic, however imperfectly they might have been upheld.

By-Laws, Eureka Lodge No. 95, Starkville, GA. Macon: Simri Rose, 1850.
 Blue paper cover, ink.
 7 11/16 x 4 5/8 inches.

Eureka Lodge No. 95 by-laws. Ms 3555. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Government and the law were held in high esteem by the masonic fraternity. Masonic lodges governed themselves according to their by-laws, a set of rules and expectations for their behavior, ritual, and activities within and beyond the lodge. Many of these were derived from those in the historic *Constitutions of the Free-Masons*, first published in 1723 by Reverend James Anderson in London and revised in 1738, or any number of later versions in the United States. Local lodges were chartered under the authority of the Grand Lodge of their state, but given a certain amount of autonomy as long as they adhered to core masonic principles. The fact that these by-laws were published by Simri Rose, an eminent Mason and printer in Macon, suggests that Eureka Lodge's by-laws would have met with official approval. Just a few years earlier in 1846 the Grand Lodge of Georgia moved from Milledgeville to Macon, a more central location in the state and some twenty miles from Starkville.²⁵²

Starkville was a small town founded in 1832, but the fact that it fostered a masonic lodge within a generation indicates the importance of the masonic fraternity to forming community. Such lodges sometimes had to reprimand their brethren for their behavior or actions. To that end, a trial process was enacted, borrowing from that of the U.S. legal system. As page 11 of these by-laws states, the charge must be made known to the brother, in decorous language, and he must have the opportunity to defend himself against it, and be judged by his (masonic) peers. It is not surprising then that a good portion of freemasons were lawyers and judges, and good judgment was highly valued as a moral and masonic virtue.

²⁵² William Henry Rosier and Fred Lamar Pearson, Jr., *The Grand Lodge of Georgia Free and Accepted Masons, 1786-1980* (Macon: Masonic Home Print Shop, 1983), 74.

Constitution of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons for the State of Georgia, Organized at Savannah, June 24, 1870. Savannah, printed at E.J. Purse's, 1879.

Scan of paper and ink cover.

Scan.

Black Print Culture Collection. MSS 921, Box 10, Folder 19. Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University, Atlanta, GA.

This pamphlet follows the traditional practices, rhetoric, and symbolism in the founding of a Grand Lodge. However, this Grand Lodge was for Black men in the United States after the Civil War. Its first pages recount the history of the first warrant for a lodge of “colored men in the United States” and assert their legitimacy as the authorization came from the Grand Lodge of England, the mother lodge of modern freemasonry, in 1784, from the acting Grand Master, a white aristocrat, Thomas Howard, Earl of Effingham. That moment was particularly turbulent for freemasons in the former British colonies who had to decide whether their political independence from Britain meant that they should exert masonic independence by creating their own Grand Lodge(s) in their new nation. Eventually, white Masons did so in each state, but they generally refused to admit Black men or men of color and sometimes persecuted them when they created their own lodges and Grand Lodges.

In 1870, Black Masons in Georgia, many having experienced the bonds of slavery, organized their own Grand Lodge in Savannah, the birthplace of freemasonry in the colony and still a center of its thriving numbers. To do so, they had to gather at least three lodges of Black men in the state, which had received their charters from Grand Lodges in more tolerant masonic communities of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. This publication characterized the new Grand Lodge as “highest legitimate source of colored Masonic authority...within the State of Georgia,” one that would warrant and provide charters for additional lodges within the state. The descriptions of rules, structure, and regalia found here are perfectly in keeping with masonic traditions and show these Masons’ deep knowledge of those customs. The initial officers elected for this Prince Hall Grand Lodge were: James M. Simms, Grand Master (addressed in a letter by his Massachusetts homologue, Lewis Hayden, published in 1874, seen in this exhibition); L.B. Toomer, Deputy Grand Master; and, Charles L. De La Motta, Grand Treasurer.

Eventually, this new Grand Lodge would call itself the Most Worshipful Union Grand Lodge to distinguish it from the Grand Lodge of Georgia, constituted largely of white freemasons.

White masonic authorities sued masonic bodies formed by Black men, seeking injunctions to forbid them from using the terms, structure, and practices of freemasonry and, in effect, closing them down. The U.S. courts rarely found in favor of the white Masons' suits, more for reasons of monopoly than for copyright or racism. Even later, it would become known as a Prince Hall Grand Lodge, meaning that it traced its origins to the free Black Mason, Prince Hall, of the Massachusetts colony and new state, who obtained the 1784 warrant from the Grand Lodge of England. Prince Hall and Prince Hall Affiliated Grand Lodges were the dominant authorities when Black freemasonry was most numerous during the twentieth century.

The history of Black freemasonry in Georgia is complex. Various Grand Lodges were created from the later nineteenth century onward.²⁵³ Lodges that affiliated with the National Grand Lodge, also referred to as the National Compact, which attempted to regularize Black lodges throughout the U.S., called themselves Prince Hall Origin (PHO). Other Black Masons who refused to follow the National Grand Lodge but still traced their roots to Prince Hall attached the term Prince Hall Affiliation (PHA) to their lodges. For many years, the indefatigable John Wesley Dobbs (1882—1961) was the Grand Master of the MWU Grand Lodge, headquartered in the Sweet Auburn neighborhood of Atlanta. Prince Hall Grand Lodges also existed in Monrovia, Liberia, and Ontario, Canada.²⁵⁴

²⁵³ On the history of Black Grand Lodges, see Matthew Brock, *A History of the National Grand Lodge* (Columbus, OH, self-published, 1980); and, Joe Snow, "The National Grand Compact in the State of Georgia," *Phylaxis* 26 (2001). Brock is a Past National Grand Master. There may still be independent Black Grand Lodges in Georgia.

²⁵⁴ Grand Masters Conference, Prince Hall of America, Atlanta, GA, May 17-19, 1949, Black Print Culture Collection. MSS 921, Box 39, Folder 5. Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University, Atlanta, GA.

Greene County Courthouse, Greensboro, GA. 1848-50.
 Built by Atharates Atkinson and David Demarest.
 Photograph.

Scan from the *New Georgia Encyclopedia*. <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/file/25101>

This fine example of antebellum classicizing architecture was entrusted to two men living in nearby counties: Atharates Atkinson and David Demarest.²⁵⁵ The red brick structure and white columns are reminiscent of the Georgian style, but here made grand and simple in a colossal temple front. The soaring ceilings of the ground level would have made a sobering impression on all who entered this court of justice. Shortly after the commission was granted, the local Masons of San Marino Lodge No. 34, asked Demarest alone to add a second floor to the courthouse for their lodge room. This floor does not have a high ceiling, but its windows bring in good light and their distance from the ground provided the privacy that the Masons desired.

David Demarest (1817—1889) was born in New Jersey, where his surname was common. He moved to Georgia by the early 1840s, initially living in or around Madison, where he met Atkinson, perhaps through the masonic lodge there. In July 1842, a local newspaper records Demarest (sometimes spelled Demerest or Demerist) at the Madison lodge's semi-annual celebration, indicating that he was already a Mason.²⁵⁶ Demarest is called a carpenter in tax and census records, but he also made a name for himself as a builder in the region. He designed and built the Chapel on the original campus of Mercer Institute (now Mercer University) in Penfield, Georgia, from 1845 to 1846.²⁵⁷ His masonic associations seem to have played a role in at least some of his building commissions like the Greensboro Courthouse and masonic lodge room. By 1847 Demarest moved to Athens along with his brother Jacob where they were property and

²⁵⁵ T.B. Rice, "A Brief History of San Marino Lodge, F&AM," ca. 1950, typescript, 2. San Marino Lodge No. 34 Records, circa 1820-200. MSS 1257, Box 8. Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University, Atlanta, GA.

²⁵⁶ "Masonic Celebration," *Southern Miscellany* (Madison, GA), July 2, 1842. Demarest's toast refers to the Madison lodge as a baby, perhaps newly opened after the scandal of the Morgan Affair had died down, and wishes for it to grow "like Daniel Lambert," the fattest man on earth. Martin Hannan, "250 Years On: Britain's 'Biggest' Celebrity Daniel Lambert," *The National*, March 13, 2020. Annual masonic records confirm that both Demarest and Atkinson were members of Madison Lodge No. 29. *Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of the State of Georgia* (Macon: S. Rose, 1844), 31.

²⁵⁷ Information from the Georgia Baptist Convention Minutes, generously provided by Kathryn Blackburn Wright, Archivist, Jack Tarver Library, Mercer University. Mercer was moved to Macon in 1871, and the Chapel was given to Penfield Baptist Church.

slave owners.²⁵⁸ In Athens Demarest joined the Royal Arch Chapter No. 1 in 1847 and affiliated with Mount Vernon Lodge No. 22 by 1849; he remained active in both until at least 1859.²⁵⁹ The Atlanta Lodge of Research No. 104 was given his apron by a descendant in 1969, but it was then transferred to the San Marino Lodge on permanent loan, suggesting that he remained on very good terms with those Masons.²⁶⁰

Across a side street shared by the courthouse, a commercial building on the corner has an outside staircase and masonic sign that must have given access to a lodge room, perhaps one used by San Marino Lodge at some time or by another masonic group.²⁶¹

²⁵⁸ *Clarke County Georgia Tax Digests 1847-1850*, transcribed by Mary Hoit Abbe (Athens: Clarke-Oconee Genealogical Society, 2004), 58.

²⁵⁹ *Proceedings of the Grand Royal Arch Chapter of the State of Georgia, May, 1847* (Augusta: James McCafferty, 1847), 10; *Proceedings of the Grand Royal Arch Chapter of the State of Georgia, May, 1859* (Augusta, 1859), n.p. (spelled Demerist). *Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of the State of Georgia, 1849* (Macon: S. Rose, 1849), 76.

²⁶⁰ Anna Wadsworth, *Missing Pieces: Georgia Folk Art 1770-1976* (Georgia Council for the Arts and Humanities, 1976), 85 cat. no. 68. I have not been able to locate this apron. The San Marino Lodge may have closed, as it donated its records up to 2008 to Emory University's Rose Library.

²⁶¹ San Marino Lodge No. 34 was chartered in 1821. The lodge may have moved out of the courthouse when another courtroom space was needed; one now occupies the second floor.

Letter Concerning Unmasonic Conduct. March 23, 1908.
 Hollonville Lodge No. 70, Hollonville, GA.
 Paper, ink.
 12 ½ x 8 inches.

Minute Book, Erin Lodge No. 70, Erin, GA. 1848-54.
 Paper, ink.
 15 ¾ x 6 ½ inches.

Hollonville Lodge No. 70 Minute Book 1888-1912, and Erin Lodge No. 70, Minute Book, 1848-56. Leeman Anderson Collection of Masonic Lodge Records. RBRL/141/LA, Series II, Box 1, Folder 1, and Series I, OS1, Folder 1, respectively. Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Studies, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Freemasons learned the art of self-government through their Constitutions, vetting and voting for their members and officers, and they became familiar, if they were not already, with the legal system by holding their own courts of judgment for brethren who had not kept their oaths, not paid their dues, or behaved in a morally repugnant or criminal way. Like the U.S. legal system, every brother had the right to hear the charges brought against him, to know who his accuser was, and to defend himself. After hearing the evidence and rebuttals, the other brethren made a judgment of acquittal or indictment. Punishment could be some form of redress (paying dues, apologizing to the injured party) or, in extreme events, ejection from the lodge. Sometimes the accused brother did not show up to participate in the trial; these brethren were often shunned or banned from the lodge.

The minute book from Erin Lodge No. 70 outlines the activities of each lodge assembly, the work that was performed and identifying brothers who received a degree, new business, and refreshment. Two entries from February of 1854 record that Masons (and probably relatives) William and Mathew Anderson were brought to trial for unmasonic conduct and acquitted. Unmasonic conduct could be anything from using coarse language to drinking to having an affair with a fellow Mason's wife. It is not yet known whether these accused Masons were related to Leeman Anderson (1899—1969), the donor of these masonic records to the Russell Library, but it seems very likely as he was born in Hollonville.

The letter from Hollonville Lodge No. 70 addressed to a brother named W.S. Franklin revealed that the lodge had already held the trial for charges of unmasonic conduct against him, but that the Grand Lodge of Georgia had ordered the lodge to hold a second one. Apparently,

Franklin had already left the state, as a note on the letter says that it was sent to his last known address in Montgomery, Alabama. Lodges and Grand Lodges often warned masonic bodies in neighboring states of imposters trying to access masonic lodges or brothers who had been expelled for unmasonic conduct. Perhaps Franklin was successful in arguing for a second trial, having not been able to attend the first one.

Two embossed seals on this letter are those of Hollonville Farmers' Alliance No. 757 and Hollonville Grange 42, two fraternal organizations that drew its members largely from farmers and agricultural businessmen in the state. Such associations took inspiration from freemasonry in their mutual support and initiation ritual, but diverged in their local purview and commercial objectives.

The fact that the masonic records of Erin Lodge No. 70 (Meriwether County) and Hollonville Lodge No. 70 (Pike County) remained together and that they shared the same lodge number suggest that the former lodge closed and was reconstituted in a new place by some of the same brethren. It may well be that a continuing Mason (and likely an officer) in the two lodges was one of the aforementioned Anderson men, and that is how these materials were passed down to the donor. Leeman Anderson worked for many years for the politician and Mason, Richard B. Russell, Jr., who could have told him how rare such masonic records were and that they belonged in a public library or archive in Georgia.

Past Grand Master Certificate, International Order of OddFellows. August 21, 1890.
Engraving by W.H. Dougal.
Paper, ink.
24 x 18 inches.

Richard B. Russell, Sr. Papers, Personal. RBRL/002/RBRSR, Box OS1. Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Studies, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Freemasons often served as an officer, sometimes for every office, in their local lodge or chapter and possibly as one in their Grand Lodge or Grand Chapter. Being elected to office was often a sign of their brethren's respect and thus an honor, but it could also demand a lot of their time and attention within and beyond the lodge. While some officers received a small stipend, the local and state leaders, the Worshipful Master and the Grand Master, were given a special jewel at the completion of their term. This acknowledgment of unpaid service was important for encouraging other brethren to fill these roles which changed every year, and it may have also inculcated a sense of duty in serving others and an experience of leadership that led so many Masons to seek public office.

While the Hargrett Library does not have a masonic Past Master jewel, it does have something comparable from the second-most dominant secret fraternal society of the nineteenth century, the Independent Order of OddFellows. The OddFellows also structures its organization around lodges and Grand Lodges, and its members take oaths of secrecy and initiation rituals, wear regalia of aprons, collars, and jewelry, and profess similar interests in fraternity, moral conduct, and charitable endeavors. Around the 1830s or 1840s, the OddFellows, who did not suffer the steep drop in membership that the Masons did after the Morgan Affair, appeared to have impacted Georgia freemasonry. One reads Masons complaining of their brethren wearing elaborate and personalized regalia in public ceremonies, rather than more egalitarian plain white aprons and gloves, and attributing this showiness to the OddFellows' example.

For having served in the highest state office of Grand Master within the OddFellows' Grand Lodge of Georgia in 1889, Richard Brevard Russell, Senior (1861–1938) was honored with this large certificate in 1890. Though badly damaged, its size alone is impressive, meant to reflect the high office he held. On it are many symbols and associated virtues that the OddFellows and freemasons shared, because they derive from the same emblem books and socio-cultural environments in which they were formed. At the top is the all-seeing eye, three columns, and

beehive, and in the lowest register of the design, the ark of the covenant framed by two angels and skull and crossbones. But some were specific to the OddFellows, such as the three links and the raised palm with heart at the bottom, symbols of friendship and charity, and the three virtues inscribed and initialed at the upper center: Friendship, Love, and Truth. This British secret society migrated to the United States in 1819, and its Grand Lodge of Georgia was established in 1834 in Savannah. In 1851 the OddFellows diverged sharply from the all-male Anglo-American Masons when their lodges began offering a degree to women called the Daughter of Rebekah.

Richard B. Russell, Sr. was a Georgia attorney, legislator, and Justice of the Supreme Court of Georgia, and father of the future governor and U.S. senator after whom the Richard B. Russell Library of Political Research and Studies is named. Russell senior was elected Grand Master at the unusually young age of 28, which meant that he already commanded the respect of his fraternal peers and was considered a leader by them.

Portrait of John Habersham. Circa 1772.
 Jeremiah Theus [also, Theüs].
 Scan of oil painting on canvas, 30 x 25 inches (76.2 x 63.5 cm.)

Georgia Museum of Art, Athens. Acc. No. 2012.202.

This portrait was commissioned along with a number of portraits of the Habersham family from the Charleston-based artist, Jeremiah Theus (1716—1774), around 1772. A letter of that year from the family’s patriarch and Mason, James Habersham, Sr., to Theus mentions seven canvases, including a portrait of himself.²⁶² John (1754—1799) was the youngest of Habersham’s three sons, all of whom were freemasons. One privilege of being the son of a Mason, called a “lewis,” meant that he could be made a Mason at 18, rather than the customary age of 21.²⁶³

According to the Grand Lodge of England records, John and Joseph Habersham were members of Grenadier’s Lodge No. 481, of Savannah, by February 1775, when that lodge was officially constituted, though it may well have been opened and working before then.²⁶⁴ By the time that Theus finished his portrait, John may have reached his 18th birthday, qualifying for initiation. Grenadier’s Lodge may not have operated for long; it is not mentioned in most masonic histories after the Revolutionary War.²⁶⁵ It is not surprising, then, that after the war, John affiliated with another lodge, the venerable Solomon’s Lodge No. 1, as the early scholar of Georgia freemasonry, William Bordley Clarke, claimed occurred in 1786, but other evidence

²⁶² James Habersham, Sr., Letter to Jeremiah Theüs, Savannah, July 31, 1772. James Habersham Papers, Georgia Historical Society, Collection 337, folder 8. Courtesy of the Georgia Historical Society, Savannah. Theus’s portrait of Habersham is in Savannah’s Telfair Museum of Art.

²⁶³ A lewis was a stonemason’s term for the metal device plunged into a heavy carved stone block that facilitated its lifting into place on a building. In this metaphor, the human lewis was supposed to relieve the burdens of life from his elderly father (or other male masonic relative).

²⁶⁴ By-laws of Grenadier Lodge No. 481, February 21, 1775. GBR 1991 HC 28/G/16, Museum of Freemasonry, London. I am grateful to Susan Snell, Archives and Records Manager, for checking the museum library’s reference for me. Ric Berman, *Loyalists and Malcontents: Freemasonry and Revolution in South Carolina and Georgia* (Goring Heath, U.K.: Old Stables Press, 2017), 252, cites the same document but an unfortunate typo gives the date as 1771. William Bordley Clarke, *Early and Historic Freemasonry of Georgia, 1733/4-1800* (Savannah: Solomon’s Lodge No. 1, 1924), 77, states that Grenadier’s Lodge was not constituted by the Grand Lodge of England until 1775.

²⁶⁵ *Lane’s Masonic Records Online* concurs that Grenadiers’ Lodge No. 481 was constituted in 1775, but also gives further dates (and different numbers, which was not uncommon): 1770, 1780, 1781, and 1792. <https://www.dhi.ac.uk/lane/record.php?ID=1178>, consulted 02/22/2022. I thank Susan Snell for suggesting this resource. The slightly different spelling and punctuation should not call into question that this is the same lodge.

shows that John joined as early as February 17, 1785.²⁶⁶ The ten-year gap between John's first degree, obtained at Grenadiers', and his second degree at Solomon's may be credibly explained by his participation in the revolutionary war in which he saw repeated action, rose to Major, and was taken prisoner, held as far away as Belfast, Ireland, and exchanged twice.

After graduating from Princeton, as many sons of the Southern elite did, John entered the revolutionary army.²⁶⁷ His father James was a loyalist who held important positions in the British administration of the Georgia colony, a member of the first Savannah lodge, and a leading citizen. James's death in 1775 spared the family the extreme conflicts that would have arisen between him and his three sons who favored independence from Britain. After independence, John served on the executive council for the government of the new state of Georgia and the federal Continental Congress in Philadelphia in 1785 and 1786. He was named to the first Board of Trustees for the new University of Georgia in 1785, and officer of the Georgia chapter of the Society of the Cincinnati, discussed elsewhere in this exhibition.²⁶⁸ For the last ten years of his life, he was the Collector of the Port of Savannah, the top customs official for a major U.S. port. His municipal, state, and federal service was typical of ambitious freemasons who considered public service as part of their masonic responsibilities to be useful and improve their community.

This half-length portrait depicts John with his elbow resting on a marble plinth, a common visual device for creating a stable, confident pose. A few elements strike those who are attuned to possible masonic references. The first is the medium-blue color of Habersham's suit, a color associated with the first three or "blue" degrees of freemasonry. The second is the jacket's silver buttons, conspicuously varied and tilted to show off Theus's command of perspective. The buttons sport the curving lines of a similar pattern that is used for the terrestrial globe that sits

²⁶⁶ "Clarke Unearths Date of Grand Lodge of Georgia," *Savannah Morning News*, July 3, 1924, 14. General Lodge, February 17, 1785. Ms 0940, Solomon's Lodge No. 1 A.&F.M. Papers, microfilm. Georgia Historical Society, Savannah. John Habersham was passed on March 5, 1785, and raised to the third degree of Master Mason on December 19, 1785. By this time, Solomon's had reconstituted itself as an Ancients lodge, which caused some of its brethren like Oliver Bowen and Daniel and Moses Nunes to ask to be re-initiated as Ancient York Masons. At the semi-annual feast day on December 27, 1785, Habersham is noted as the Treasurer, a position of confidence among Masons.

²⁶⁷ Clarke, *Early and Historic Freemasonry of Georgia*, 127-8.

²⁶⁸ Albert Sidney Britt, Jr. states that Habersham was Assistant Treasurer. Britt, "The Society of the Cincinnati in the State of Georgia," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 54, no. 4 (Winter 1970): 557. However, in a 1789 document, Habersham signed as Secretary. Receipt for 1665 dollars, May 20, 1789. Society of the Cincinnati in the State of Georgia 1784-1791, Ms 1195. Georgia Historical Society, Savannah.

atop Boaz that is, with Jakin, the two pillars or columns before the Temple of Solomon, and a central masonic symbol.

Savannah was smaller and less prosperous than its Carolina homologue, Charleston; consequently, it was not uncommon for a wealthy Georgian like Habersham to seek an established artist there to paint his family's portraits. Theus came highly recommended, as he had painted many portraits of Charleston's ruling class.²⁶⁹ He was Swiss-born, and like James Habersham, Sr., immigrated as a young man to the British colonies, arriving within a few years of each other.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁹ At least one portrait of a Charleston freemason, that of Edward Wyman, circa 1760-65, is attributed to Theus. It belongs to The Fellowship Society, the benevolent organization that Wyman helped found in 1762 in Charleston.

²⁷⁰ Theus arrived in Charleston in 1735; Habersham came to Savannah with the Methodist minister George Whitefield (sometimes spelled Whitfield) in 1738.

Receipt of Dues, Macon Lodge No. 5. April 27, 1855.
Grey paper, ink.
2 5/8 x 6 3/4 inches.

Oliver Hillhouse Prince Family Papers, 1850-1859. Ms 141, Box 1, Folder 5. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Masonic lodges and chapters required members to pay annual dues, a portion of which was sent to the Grand Lodge. Failure to pay one's dues, especially without a reasonable excuse such as a major illness or loss of employment led to warnings to make up the deficit. Continued arrears might eventually result in being ejected from the lodge or chapter, although often the benevolence of the lodge would overlook a temporary pause in payments. But being behind in one's dues usually meant that a Mason had no chance at getting a demit, meaning that he would not be able to affiliate with a different lodge or chapter, should he wish to do so (and have renewed means of paying dues). In this same folder, Oliver Hillhouse Prince, Jr. did receive a demit from Macon Lodge No. 5 later that same year, meaning that he had paid all of his dues and was in good standing when he decided to leave the lodge. It is not yet clear why he left.

These dues helped the lodge or chapter cover their regular expenses of rent and overhead for the maintenance of their lodge room, communicating with members, and refreshments. These dues would also cover the small annual sums paid to certain officers for their service. And brethren also had to pay for their degrees, aprons, gloves, and certificates. Consequently, masonic membership was an expense beyond the reach of the poor and of menial laborers. Moreover, Masons were expected to be charitable and donate to various causes sponsored by the fraternity.

Royal Arch Gold Medal. 1969.
 General Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons.
 24 kt. gold, ribbon. Inscribed: Richard Brevard Russell.
 1 ¾ inch diameter.

Memento Case. Richard B. Russell, Jr. Collection, Related Materials, Artifacts, Gifts.
 RBRL/001/RBR_E_V_D, Box 62, item 20A. Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research
 and Studies, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Richard B. Russell, Jr. (1897—1971), governor (1931-33) and U.S. senator of Georgia (1933-71), was a devoted freemason for much of his life.²⁷¹ He earned a bachelor's and law degree at the University of Georgia and was a member of its Phi Kappa Literary Society, a secret society founded in 1820 that emulated certain masonic practices of secrecy, elections, and initiation.

After obtaining the first three degrees in Winder Lodge No. 333 in his hometown of Winder, Georgia, Russell was eligible to become a Royal Arch Mason, a higher degree in the York Rite that called for further study and self-examination.²⁷² Royal Arch freemasons meet in chapters, and have different titles for officers and somewhat different symbols on their regalia than do Master Masons in the so-called “blue” lodges. The date of 1797 on this medal refers to the establishment of the General Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons, the national and international authority for what is also called Capitular (related to “chapter”) Masonry. The state-wide authority for Royal Arch Masons, the Grand Chapter of Georgia, was established in 1822. However, there is evidence that chapters existed in Georgia prior to that, even during colonial times; these chapters may have been granted charters from Grand Chapters elsewhere.²⁷³ Several Masons from Athens, Georgia, held high offices in the Grand Chapter of Georgia, such as William L. Mitchell, Robert M. Smith, and Max Joseph.²⁷⁴

²⁷¹ The Winder lodge first opened in Jackson, Georgia, in 1891 as Jug Tavern Lodge No. 333, then moved to Winder in 1894, changing its name but keeping its number. William Henry Rosier and Fred Lamar Pearson, Jr., *The Grand Lodge of Georgia Free and Accepted Masons 1786-1980* (Macon: Educational and Historical Commission of the Grand Lodge of Georgia, F. & A.M., 1983), 296.

²⁷² Earl Douglas Harris, compiler, *Outstanding Georgia Freemasons* (Macon: Educational and Historical Commission of the Grand Lodge of Georgia, F. & A.M., 2005), 215.

²⁷³ *Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons of Georgia* (Macon, 1922), 13. William Bordley Clarke, “The Royal Arch in Georgia in Colonial Days,” *Masonic Messenger* (circa 1932?): 8-10.

²⁷⁴ *Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary*, 78-81.

In the mid-eighteenth century, British but primarily Irish freemasons chaffed under the authority and practices of the Grand Lodge of England, which they saw as beholden to aristocrats and not upholding the fraternity's oldest and "purest" traditions. Calling themselves the Ancients (or Antients, for good measure), these Masons claimed to know and practice an older, more authentic form of freemasonry, derived from medieval rites in York (hence the term Ancient York Rite). Eventually, this division in British freemasonry migrated to the North American colonies. Some lodges, like St. John's Lodge in Boston, split into separate Modern and Ancient lodges. In Savannah, members of the first lodge in that colony reformed into an Ancient lodge, renamed it Solomon's Lodge No. 1, and, most unusually, some of its Master Masons retook their blue degree(s), probably to show their commitment to the distinctions of Ancient freemasonry. In 1813, this schism in Britain was mostly resolved by the two sides forming a single new authority, the United Grand Lodge of England. In the United States, Royal Arch Masonry seems to have evolved to emphasize Christian values, whereas blue Masonry maintained, at least in principle, a non-denominational position.

The central symbols of Royal Art Masonry are seen here. The triple tau, three t-shaped Greek letters, are framed in an equilateral triangle surrounded by a circle, furnishing those geometric forms favored in freemasonry for their symmetry and simplicity, evoking equality, harmony, and reason. On the medal's recto appear three triangles with Hebrew letters, another tau, and an arch. Royal Arch symbolism includes a number of Jewish forms, like the menorah and the Ark of the Covenant, conjuring the "antiquity" of Royal Arch practice.

Three years after awarding Senator Russell this medal in 1969 for his exemplary service to the fraternity, the General Grand Council of Royal Arch Masons held a posthumous service in Las Vegas to commemorate Russell's life and freemasonry.²⁷⁵ It appears that Masons were well represented in the U.S. Senate. A masonic periodical of 1941 called attention to the fact that in 14 states, 8 of them in the south and southwest, including Georgia (Walter F. George and Russell), both senators belonged to the fraternity.²⁷⁶ Although Senator Russell had opposed the civil rights agenda during President Johnson's term, other segregationist politicians in Georgia who were also Masons, like Herman Talmadge (1913—2002), met with Black freemasons in

²⁷⁵ General Grand Chapter Royal Arch Masons, *Program, Triennial Worship Service*, Sahara Space Center, Las Vegas, NV, September 24, 1972. Richard B. Russell Collection, Related Materials, Artifacts. RBRL/001/RBR_E_V, Box 39, Folder 21.2A. Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Studies.

²⁷⁶ "Each has Two Masons as Senators," *New York Masonic Outlook*, January 1941, 99.

their Grand Lodge.²⁷⁷ While this white politician was canvassing those Black Masons for their votes, is it possible that he was recognizing them as brethren, despite the Grand Lodge of Georgia not doing so at the time?

²⁷⁷ Herman E. Talmadge, Letter to Grand Master J.W. Lemon, November 30, 1977, accepting the invitation to be the banquet speaker at the Smooth Ashlar Grand Lodge, Ancient York Rite, Prince Hall Masons, Atlanta, GA. Herman E. Talmadge Collection, Senatorial, Press Office, 1978, Speeches (May 31-November 9, 1978). RBRL/102/HET_II_C_7, Box 66, Folder 12. Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Studies.

Shrine Certificate, Yaarab Temple, Atlanta, GA. January 17, 1951.
 Stock paper, ink, glossy sticker.
 14 x 17 inches.

Abit Nix Papers, Memorabilia, Yaarab Temple Certificate. RBRL/105/HAN_IV, Box 2. Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Studies, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

This large Shrine certificate varies considerably from the more orientaling designs of other examples. The fundamental symbol, the combined scimitar, crescent with keystone and sphinx's head, and star, is printed on a large scale in the center of the paper, but so lightly that it is less noticeable and easy to overlook. Even its yellow color, a traditional one for the usually multi-colored emblem, has been toned down or only lightly inked. What is striking about this certificate and clearly a local modification is the vignette at the top center.

The vignette, in grayscale, appears to represent a sculptural relief of Confederate soldiers on horseback moving to the left. Though Confederate war imagery was common in southern states like Georgia, especially during the 1950s, it was rarely featured on masonic documents. Even masonic imagery tended to show unifying national forms like the flag and eagle rather than the divisive Confederate ones. Furthermore, the forms and style of the vignette recall those of the monumental relief carved on Stone Mountain outside of Atlanta. That commission was awarded to Gutzon Borglum in 1914 but he did not finish sculpting his ambitious five-figure composition before he was fired. After various attempts and interruptions, a three-figure design was finished by other artists in 1972. A regrettable association with Stone Mountain is that it served as the site for the revival of the Ku Klux Klan in 1915, and Borglum himself joined the racist organization. He later would be given the commission to carve Mount Rushmore.

The certificate identifies Abit Nix (1888—1959) as a Noble of the Ancient Arabic Order of the Nobles of the Mystic Shrine, or Shriners, and a life member of Yaarab Temple of Atlanta. Nix was an Athens resident, but as there was no Shrine temple in that small university town, Atlanta was the closest one. Candidates to the Mystic Shrine had to have the first three blue degrees as well as many higher degrees in the Scottish Rite. Nix was a Georgia attorney who believed in public service. He ran for governor twice, in 1932 and 1940, losing both times to the controversial Eugene Talmadge, but Nix maintained his reputation as a man of principle, ethical behavior, and rational argument. That reputation was a major reason why he was elected Grand Master, the state leader of Georgia freemasonry, in 1936. The signing officers on his certificate

were Hugh Howell, Illustrious Potentate, and Frank A. Cundell, Recorder, the homologues to the Worshipful Master and Secretary of a blue lodge.

Supreme Court of Georgia License. January 28, 1850.
Paper, ink,
9 ¾ x 7 5/8 inches.

Oliver Hillhouse Prince Family Papers, 1850-1859. Ms 141, Box 1, Folder 5. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

The masonic devotion to laws, good governance, and justice meant that those who served and practiced within these professions were held in high esteem within the fraternity. It is worth remembering that lawyers especially were not admired during the eighteenth century, and when the colony of Georgia was created, the Trustees banned lawyers from emigrating there. Moral behavior and good judgment were deemed essential virtues for Masons who saw those traits as prerequisites for effective lawyers and judges who often decided the fates of others.

Thus it was a great honor for a lawyer and a Mason to be authorized to litigate before the highest court in the state, the Supreme Court of Georgia, as this license allowed its holder to do. The Georgia Supreme Court was fairly new, having been officially established in 1845 with a seal that copied the state seal, discussed elsewhere in this exhibition for its masonic symbolism, except for its date and inscription around the perimeter.²⁷⁸ It is also intriguing that in the very same year of 1850, the recipient of this license became a Master Mason in his local lodge, Macon Lodge No. 5.

That man was Oliver Hillhouse Prince, Jr., (1823—1875), a Macon resident who had been educated in Milledgeville and at Princeton and for a time editor of the Democratic newspaper *The Georgia Telegraph*. He was the son of the well-to-do and well-connected Oliver Hillhouse Prince (1782—1837), a state and U.S. senator, director of the Georgia Railroad Company, editor of the Milledgeville paper, *The Georgia Journal*, and member of the Franklin College Board of Trustees. After his parents perished in a shipwreck off the North Carolina coast in 1837, the 14-year-old Prince junior was looked after by his uncle and Mason, Washington Poe. Many eighteenth-century Masons were orphans, perhaps because they found paternal relationships within the lodge. And one of the first charitable endeavors of the earliest Georgia freemasons was the Bethesda Orphanage in Savannah. Its first director was James Habersham, an English-born Mason and father of three Masons, including John, seen in a portrait in this exhibition.

²⁷⁸ Date from the government website, <https://www.gasupreme.us/court-information/history/>. Consulted 10/10/2022.

Prince junior inherited his father's estate and oversaw several plantations in Bibb and Baker Counties. In 1852, he married Sarah Jackson from the prestigious Jackson family; her uncle was James Jackson, a Mason and governor of Georgia from 1798-1801 when a new state seal was designed, discussed elsewhere in this exhibition. By 1855 Prince junior became partners in a law office with Thomas Ragland, but he also left his lodge in Macon that year. By the 1860s, he and his family were living in Kingston (Cass County), and he served in Cobb's Confederate regiment during the Civil War.

Appropriating Masonry

Freemasonry provided a powerful model for all manner of secret, fraternal, and mutual-aid societies in the United States, from insurance groups to charitable societies to college fraternities. Greek-life fraternities also vote for their members and officers, take a pledge, go through initiation, and adopt nicknames. On UGA's campus, the Sphinx Club and Gridiron Club were founded as honorary bodies with a secret initiation ritual. Some organizations borrowed masonic language, ritual, or symbols but engaged in behavior antithetical to masonic principles and even the law. Such was the case with the Ku Klux Klan, which first appeared following Emancipation, and was revived in 1914 and again during the 1950s and 1960s, in reaction to the Civil Rights movement. As one of the Klan's targets, Black people in towns like Athens, Georgia, nevertheless created safe havens and found emotional and financial support in "a vast network of lodges ...[that] combine a secret ritualistic feature with a mutual insurance company...[and] have both a social and business side."²⁷⁹

²⁷⁹ T.J. Woofter, "The Negroes of Athens, Georgia," *Bulletin of the University of Georgia* 14, no. 4 (December 1913): 35.

Alpha Tau Omega Fraternity Symbol. 1887.
Pandora v. 2 (1887), opposite page 53.
 Paper, ink.
 8 ½ x 5 3/8 inches (bound volume, 8 ¾ x 5 ¾ inches).

Reference LXF5 .P189 1887, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

College fraternities in the United States emulated the older model of another fraternity, freemasonry.²⁸⁰ From its all-male, mostly unrelated members to its secret initiation rituals and other bonding practices, nicknames, secret handshake, and, at least in more recent times, charitable endeavors, the collegiate fraternity followed the example of the Masons. And why not? Except for the years of the Morgan Affair and Anti-Masonic Party (roughly, 1826-34), freemasons were generally respected for their high-minded objectives of moral behavior, fraternal assistance, and charity. One difference between freemasonry and college fraternities is that the latter took Greek letters for their names, no doubt to imply tradition and learning which related to their studies, even though their campus groups were nineteenth-century inventions. Initially, these Greek letter fraternities were not welcome on campuses; their exclusivity and secrecy aroused envy and curiosity among other students. The University of Georgia banned them before the Civil War, even though it had approved two secret literary societies much earlier.²⁸¹

The college fraternity Alpha Tau Omega was founded in 1865 at the Virginia Military Institute and opened its second chapter at Washington and Lee University, also in Virginia. From there it spread to other, primarily southeastern college campuses. In 1878, the Alpha-Beta Chapter opened at the University of Georgia, and occupied pages in the student yearbook, called *Pandora*. From its origins in a military institute and on the heels of the Confederate defeat, the fraternity designed a symbol, a kind of coat of arms, that borrows heavily from imagery of the masonic Knights Templar. Masonic Templar regalia featured the triangle, which was the ritual arrangement in their chapter room and their apron form, and their emblem had the Templar cross

²⁸⁰ Craig L. Torbenson, "The Origin and Evolution of College Fraternities and Sororities," 37-66 in *African American Fraternities and Sororities: The Legacy and the Vision*, ed. Tamara L. Brown, Gregory S. Parks, and Clarenda M. Philips (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2005), 37-66.

²⁸¹ *A Code of Laws for the Government of Franklin College, University of Georgia, made, enacted and ordained by the Senatus Academicus, at their Session in Milledgeville, in November, 1853* (Athens: Franklin Job Office Print, 1854), 5 no. 6. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Rare Book LD1970.5 .F720 1854.

and two crossed halberds. In the fraternity's insignia, a large banner is given a triangular shape with the Templar cross inscribed within it, a medieval halberdier or his suit of armor rises above it, and two crossed swords peek out behind it. All these weapons were associated with medieval warfare and the historical Knights Templar. Other forms in Alpha Tau Omega's symbol are found in masonic and other fraternal order's imagery, such as the tassels and shaking hands, a symbol of friendship. Five small scenes are set within the four arms and the center of the Templar cross, and some have an angel or saint floating in the sky, probably to conjure Christian narratives. The scene on the left-hand arm recalls the masonic legend of Hiram Abiff, master stonemason of Solomon's Temple who was killed, for it depicts an Egyptian pyramid and a man's prone body as though dead. The center's scene may also have masonic resonance; it represents two European men meeting in a distant land, signaled by the palm tree.

Charter for the Chas. B. McDaniel Klan No. 11, Bowdon, GA. December 4, 1918.[not on display]

Paper, colored inks.

18 x 18 inches.

Ku Klux Klan Charter for Bowdon Chapter. Ms 3690, Folder 1A. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

This charter authorized the opening of a chapter of the Ku Klux Klan in Bowdon, Georgia, the eleventh one in the state since the secret society was revived in 1915 at Stone Mountain. The revived Klan had a new regularity and greater dissemination than the initial version that emerged after the Civil War. On the square-shaped document, the gold seal attests to that earlier founding date of 1866. One also sees the unofficial name of the Klan, the “Invisible Empire,” which was the title of a book about the Klan by Albion Winegar Tourgée from 1880. The Klan’s principal symbol of a mounted, hooded horseman, the term “knight” for its members, and other allusions to chivalry and armed protection conjure the medieval and masonic Knights Templar. Other symbols used by the Klan, such as the cross, coffin, skull and crossbones, may have been appropriated from freemasonry. On this charter, the checkerboard pattern in the margin recalls the black and white checkerboard floor of the masonic lodge, and its blue and white colors are also shared by the first three masonic degrees. The rosette within a circle within a square resonates with the masonic love of geometry.

The statewide authority, called the Imperial Palace, in Atlanta issued this charter, and its leader, the Imperial Wizard, signed it. William Joseph Simmons (1880—1945) led the revival of the Klan in Georgia in its early years, but he was accused of treason and thrown out of his office in 1923, causing a rift within the organization. Nevertheless, the twentieth-century Klan achieved unprecedented growth on a national scale through recruitment, perhaps having seen the success with it of other secret fraternal orders.

The Bowdon chapter was named after Charles A. McDaniel (1830—1862), the founder and president of Bowdon College, the fifth chartered institution of higher education and the first coeducational one in the state. A native Georgian, Colonel McDaniel died from wounds received in the battle of Perryville, Kentucky. He was initially buried in a masonic section of the cemetery near the battle, suggesting he was a Mason. Ten years later, his brother had his remains removed

and reinterred in Bowdon.²⁸² The Klan's error in his middle initial may have been intentional, to refer to the unit he led, Company B of the 41st Regiment. His death in the South's defense made him a hero in the eyes of the Georgia Klan.

²⁸² Stuart W. Sanders, "Georgia Professor Falls in the Battle of Perryville," at <https://emergingcivilwar.com/2014/04/29/georgia-professor-falls-in-the-battle-of-perryville/>. Consulted 03/25/2021.

Demosthenian Literary Society, University of Georgia, Athens.

Spring Banquet Announcement. 1978.

Card stock, colored ink.

8 ½ x 5 ½ inches.

UGA Literary Societies, Demosthenian Society Administration. UA 97-106, Box 25, Folder Spring Banquet 1978-1979. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia.

Speaker Score Sheet.

Paper, ink.

11 x 8 ½ inches.

UA 97-106, Box 19, Folder Miscellany 1932-1983. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

Demosthenian Literary Society Poster, circa 1990s-early 2000s.

Blue paper.

11 x 8 ½ inches.

UA 97-106, Box 25. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

Freemasonry provided a powerful model for all manner of secret, fraternal, and mutual-aid societies in the United States, and nowhere more so than on university campuses. Secret literary societies like UGA's Demosthenian and Phi Kappa Societies were considered important vehicles of education and leadership for the exclusively male student bodies. They followed the masonic example of taking an oath of secrecy, holding dramatic initiations for new members, and voting for and regulating their own members and officers. Such literary societies were a precedent for the later Greek-life fraternities and sororities that continued to emulate those same practices derived from freemasonry, adding charitable activities later in the 20th century.²⁸³

The Demosthenian Literary Society was founded in 1803, the same year that the first classes were taught on the brand-new campus in Athens. Clearly, a literary society was considered a critical component for the first institution of higher learning in the state. It took its name from Demosthenes, considered the greatest of ancient Greek orators. Nevertheless, to obtain that reputation he had had to overcome a stutter and develop a commanding voice, improving himself

²⁸³ For an enlightening discussion of the earliest literary societies in England and the United States and their relationship to college fraternities, see Craig L. Torbenson, "The Origin and Evolution of College Fraternities and Sororities," 37-66 in *African American Fraternities and Sororities: The Legacy and the Vision*, ed. Tamara L. Brown, Gregory S. Parks, and Clarenda M. Philips (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2005), 37-66.

or, as freemasons would say, “perfecting the stone.” The society held debates on intellectual, political, and moral issues that were judged by fellow members; in this way Demosthenians learned the arts of rhetoric, performance, and persuasive speaking that might serve them in professions, such as government and law. These debates were accompanied by refreshments and socializing, and annual banquets with invited speakers were opportunities to listen to different examples of rhetorical arguments.

In 1824 the society moved into its new and present home, Demosthenian Hall, which we see sketched on the 1978 banquet invitation.²⁸⁴ Its Federal style of architecture, with its Palladian window over the entrance, was a mode favored in the United States and especially by freemasons at the time. The score sheet form was filled out by Demosthenians upon hearing a fellow member’s argument in a debate, and judged the speaker on voice and diction, posture and physical gestures as well as the content, organization, and persuasiveness of their points. It seems to align with the way in which freemasons were instructed on how to move, hold, and conduct themselves in the lodge room and participate in respectful discussions on moral and intellectual matters. The poster’s catchy and slightly humorous text reflects a change that occurred in the later 20th century, when literary societies, in competition with other student clubs and leisure activities, saw their membership rolls dwindle and found it necessary to recruit more aggressively. Just as universities were admitting more women, minority, and underrepresented applicants, these once-exclusive literary societies gradually became more diverse.

²⁸⁴ Beckett Smith, "Demosthenian Hall," Clio: Your Guide to History, April 27, 2018. Available at <https://theclio.com/entry/59268>

Farmer's Alliance Ritual. Late 19th century.
Paper, ink.
5 5/16 x 3 3/8 inches.

Murrell Family Papers. Ms 2326, Box 20, Folder 295. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

The Farmer's Alliance (also called Farmer's Alliance Exchange and Georgia Farmer's Alliance) was founded in 1887 to offer life insurance at reasonable rates to those in the farming industry. It had local representatives who recruited members, though not always one in every town. The freemason of Winterville, George T. Murrell (1848—1909), became very active in its organization and promotion, and wrote articles about it and relevant issues like laws and taxation for the *Athens Banner Herald*. His family papers contain correspondence with others working on behalf of the Alliance as well as clippings of his newspaper articles.

The Farmer's Alliance emulated freemasonry in many aspects. It was secret and required an oath of secrecy, and promoted mutual support and good moral conduct among its members. It also stipulated that members must worship a faith, but unlike freemasonry, it opened its meetings with a Christian-type prayer. The Alliance also held installation ceremonies of its officers, one of whom stood at the door, like the masonic Tyler, to make sure that only members entered their meetings. At some point The Alliance ran into financial difficulties. A manuscript among Murrell's papers reveals plans for it to open a members-only store for farming supplies where they hoped to negotiate lower prices for those goods based on a large customer base. If successful, it could bring in revenues to the Alliance while saving money on regular business purchases for its members, and possibly attract more members.

The Alliance's emblem was a leather belt with a buckle formed into a circle, referring to the practical clothing worn by those in farming as well as alluding to the traditional and masonic symbol of the *oroborous*, a snake biting its tail that forms a circle, a visual metaphor for immortality. The Alliance's motto was "In things essential unity, in all things charity," appropriating the masonic ideals of harmony within the lodge and society and charitable endeavors. The Farmer's Alliance brought masonic ideals into the agricultural industry, but more than focusing on the moral improvement of its members, it advocated strongly for the farming industry. This ritual pamphlet was printed in blue ink, perhaps another borrowing from freemasonry.

Gridiron Club Initiations. Early 1950s.
 Photographer unknown.
 Modern photographic prints made from 4 x 5-inch gelatin negatives.
 5 1/8 x 4 inches.

University of Georgia Photographs and Negatives. Ms 2525, Box 11, Folders 157 and 163.
 Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

The Gridiron Club at the University of Georgia was originally a secret honorary society, founded sometime before March 1910.²⁸⁵ According to the *Pandora* yearbook of 1928, it was “rated next to the Sphinx as one of the highest honors for an undergraduate” and “As with the Sphinx, nothing is known of the nature of the Gridiron.”²⁸⁶ Like the Sphinx Club, it also had student and honorary members that included faculty, alumni, and others, among them the well-known figures of William Tate, S.V. Sanford, and H.J. Stegeman, as well as Masons like Sylvanus Morris, John Dixon Bolton (university comptroller), Claude Chance (a member of the Square and Compass), and H. Abit Nix, Past Grand Master of Georgia (1936).

As a secret society, the Gridiron Club had an initiation ceremony that employed blindfolds, requiring the initiate to trust his chosen brothers in what they were asking him to do, and imposed a certain discomfort and embarrassment, here shown as making the blindfolded candidate sit in an iron tub and have water poured over him. In contrast to the always hidden ritual, usually in the evenings, of masonic initiations, the Gridiron members took their blindfolded pledges into public spaces—what looks to be downtown Athens—during daylight hours. In the photograph from 1951, the setting with its tile floor and large columns is probably the Georgian Hotel in Athens. Many of the photographs in this broad-ranging archival collection were produced by the University of Georgia’s student-run newspaper, *The Red and Black*, its yearbook, *Pandora*, or the photographic services of the Georgia Center for Continuing Education which is located on campus.

A gridiron was originally a Christian symbol of the martyrdom of Saint Lawrence, who was strapped to a blazing grid of wooden posts and set afire. In masonic legend, the figure of Hiram

²⁸⁵ The first notice of the club in local newspapers may be the unsigned, “Gridiron Club Met at The Georgian,” *Athens Banner*, March 8, 1910, 4. An October 1910 article mentions Gridiron sessions taking place “last year,” but is probably referring to these same meetings in spring 1910 as in the previous academic, rather than calendar, year. “Gridiron Club Met Yesterday,” *Athens Banner*, October 13, 1910, 1.

²⁸⁶ *Pandora* v. 41 (1928), 240.

Abiff, the master stonemason of Solomon's Temple who was killed for his "secrets," or special architectural knowledge, is enacted in the Master Mason degree ritual. From these associations with martyrdom, the members of exclusive clubs derive a sense of persecution, an us-against-them perspective—however mistaken that might appear to others—, that strengthens the bond they feel to each other and the duty to protect their brethren from outside threats.

By the nineteenth century, the gridiron was associated with a metal grid form that was heated to high temperature to serve as a cooking surface or as a branding iron for livestock. During this time arose a sensational rumor that freemasons used such an instrument on their future members during initiation. While no evidence of this practice has ever been published, we find traces of the suspicion in the mid-century *Masonic Journal* published in Marietta, Georgia. A contributor wrote that "there are many stories afloat among the people, and there ever have been, that the novice is introduced to a seat on a *red hot Gridiron!* – that in making a man a free and accepted Brother, he must undergo a great many interesting ceremonies, besides being shown the grips and signals of the Order."²⁸⁷ In the twentieth century, members of the African American college fraternity, Omega Psi Phi, had themselves "branded" with the Greek letter omega. This scarification of the skin may have represented a desire for closer identification with their fraternity, a sign that they pledged to be brothers for life, as the consequences were irreversible. It also resonated with certain African cultures' traditions of scarring and North American slaveholder practices like whippings that left permanent marks on enslaved bodies.²⁸⁸

A different kind of Gridiron Club was established earlier in Washington, D.C., and it had intriguing masonic and Athens connections. It was founded in 1885 as a social organization for journalists and politicians that introduced the practice of "roasting" or making fun of, even embarrassing well-known politicians and public figures by speeches and skits. The term "roasting" no doubt derived from the club's name meaning an extremely hot surface. Its founder and first president, Ben Perley Poore (1820—1887) was a prominent journalist based in the

²⁸⁷ "Scared by a Red Hot Gridiron," *Masonic Journal* (Marietta), 4, no. 12 (December 1852): 543, original italics. The mention of "a free and accepted Brother" clearly refers to freemasonry.

²⁸⁸ Sandra Mizumoto Posey, "The Body Art of Brotherhood," in *African American Fraternities and Sororities: The Legacy and the Vision* ed. Tamara L. Brown, Gregory S. Parks, and Clarendia M. Phillips (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2005), 277-81. The basketball star Michael Jordan, a member of the University of North Carolina chapter of Omega Psi Phi, posed shirtless for the cover of his 1999 biography, showing his omega-shaped scar.

capital and a 33rd degree Mason. In his youth he directed the Athens newspaper, *The Southern Whig*, from 1839 to 1841.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁹ John E. Talmadge, "Ben: Perley Poore's Stay in Athens," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 41, no. 3 (September 1957): 247-54; and, Hugh Y. Bernard, "Wheelbarrow and Gridiron: The Colorful Life of Ben Perley Poore," *Heredom* 3 (1994): 7-18.

The Klansman 1, no. 2. August 1, 1948.[not on display]
Paper, ink.
13 x 8 inches.

Ku Klux Klan Ephemera Collection. Ms 2955, Folder 1B. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Like other secret societies, the Ku Klux Klan used printed matter and periodicals to reach its membership and express its ideology. Perhaps because it knew that splinter groups also called themselves the Klan, the men behind this new periodical, the *Klansman*, insisted that it represented “the Original Southern Klan.”²⁹⁰ In fact, the original Klan, created in Tennessee in 1866, was outlawed by federal acts of the early 1870s. The Klan was revived in 1915 at Stone Mountain, Georgia, but the Imperial Palace soon moved to Atlanta. This 1948 paper claimed that the Klan’s national headquarters were located in Columbus, Georgia, where this paper was published, but to call itself “original” was a stretch.

The Klan’s manner of spelling the terms it adopted for its bodies, offices, and practices, like Klan, Kligrapp, and Konclave, that traditionally begin with “c” in the English language, reflects the original founders’ wish to imbue their group with ancient and intellectual credentials, for which the K served to allude to the Greek language and its high-culture associations. Ironically, this misspelling of words by using “k” instead of “c” and “kw” instead of “qu” has spread more widely and seems to embody anti-elitist attitudes rather than high-minded intellectual ones.

If the original Klan reacted with hostility to the emancipation of formerly enslaved peoples and the defeat of the Confederacy, the twentieth-century Klan additionally played on fears about immigration and Communism, characterizing both as un-American and criminal. After World War I, the Klan appealed to freemasons who sought a more activist, militant fraternity, while other Masons rejected it for its political agenda and aggressive tactics.²⁹¹ As Nancy Maclean makes clear, the revived Klan was a form of populism hostile to established elites, immigration, and secularism, and reflecting fears of social and economic progress like trade unions, welfare, and women’s rights.²⁹² By presenting themselves as good, middle-class citizens protecting their

²⁹⁰ *Searchlight* was the title of the Klan’s newspaper of the 1920s.

²⁹¹ Miguel Hernandez, *The Ku Klux Klan and Freemasonry in 1920s America: Fighting Fraternities* (London and New York: Routledge, 2019), 42-43, 46-55, 124-32, and 161-73.

²⁹² Nancy Maclean, *Behind the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), xii-xiii.

religion, women, and homeland, Klansmen seem to be echoing the rhetoric of the masonic Knights Templar whose leader described its members as “waging war against the enemies of innocent maidens, destitute widows, helpless orphans and the Christian religion.”²⁹³ When Masons queried their masonic leaders about whether it was appropriate to join the Ku Klux Klan, they sometimes received neutral answers that insisted that the Klan was a separate association and that Masonic bodies did not “have a right to tell anyone they shall or shall not join any other organization.”²⁹⁴

This issue makes plain the Klan’s nativist, racist, and anti-Semitic values; its topics and texts are replete with stereotypes of Jews as greedy and of Black men as sexual predators of white women. The newspaper’s masthead bears two fundamental symbols of the Klan, the Christian cross and the white-robed and hooded horseman carrying a banner. The figure and religious symbol recall certain masonic regalia, in particular that of the Knights Templar officers and the Scottish Rite’s 18th degree, the Knight of the Rose Croix.

On the last page of this issue is an application for membership. Since the mid-1920s, the Klan had been losing members due to a number of internal scandals and then the economic devastation of the Great Depression.²⁹⁵ To compensate for its falling male membership numbers, the Klan developed a women’s auxiliary, the Women of the Ku Klux Klan, another for foreign-born white Protestants, the American Crusaders, and clubs for boys and girls, the Junior Ku Klux Klan and the Tri-K Club.²⁹⁶ In 1944, the Klan was forced to declare bankruptcy for unpaid back taxes, but it re-emerged in the 1950s to react in violent ways to the Civil Rights movement. Other versions of the *Klansman* have appeared, for example, in 1975, out of Denham Springs, Alabama.

²⁹³ Grand Commander, annual conclave, Savannah, May 1918, cited by Josiah T. Clarke, *Knight Templary in Georgia* (Augusta, 1943, printed by the Masonic Home Print Shop, Macon), 137.

²⁹⁴ Grand Commander John H. Cowles, letter to Reverend Orville Paul Manker, November 6, 1923, cited in William L. Fox, *Lodge of the Double-Headed Eagle: Two Centuries of Scottish Rite Freemasonry in America’s Southern Jurisdiction* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1997), 208. Manker’s letter states that he understood the Supreme Council to be hostile to the Klan. Fox, *Lodge of the Double-Headed Eagle*, 207.

²⁹⁵ One scholar has argued that members’ disillusionment with the Klan had less to do with their distaste for its racial, ethnic, and religious prejudices than with its exploitative financial practices. Charles C. Alexander, “Kleagles and Cash: The Ku Klux Klan as a Business Operation,” *Business History Review* 39, no. 3 (Autumn 1965): 348-67.

²⁹⁶ Hernandez, *The Ku Klux Klan and Freemasonry in 1920s America*, 10-11.

Knights of Pythias Grand Lodge Annual Session Ribbon. 1916.
 Manufacture unknown.
 Colored silk, cotton thread.
 7 3/8 x 2 1/2 inches (with fringe).

Athens Memorabilia. Ms 1059. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Like freemasonry, the Knights of Pythias is a secret fraternal organization that holds annual meetings organized by their Grand Lodge, the state authority, exemplifying the shifting positions between the secret and the public that these organizations occupied. To be selected as the site of the annual state-wide meeting was an honor and usually meant that local participation in the organization was high. Athens hosted the forty-seventh such state-wide assembly from May 17-18, 1916. The event was reported on in the local papers and gives us a sense of the extent to which the local population participated in the more public activities planned by the Knights of Pythias. According to the *Athens Banner*, a parade in downtown Athens featured the University of Georgia's band and cadets and the Pythian Sisters. Over 500 people attended a reception at a local Pythian officer's home, and two public dances were scheduled on successive days.²⁹⁷ The members-only meeting was held at the Colonial Opera House, but the assembly was addressed by the mayor and chancellor of the university.

The ribbon was accompanied by a printed text explaining that it was a souvenir to remind brethren of the fellowship they shared during the festive occasion. The ribbon features several symbols borrowed from or inspired by freemasonry, such as the state seal of Georgia. The main symbol of the Knights of Pythias has military and medieval associations: a coat of arms with the letters F, C, and B, for Friendship, Charity, and Benevolence, a knight's armor and crossed halberds, and a skull and crossbones. The Pythian shield sports the three primary colors of blue, yellow, and red. According to the affiliated women's organization, the Sisters of Pythias, Red symbolizes Love, Yellow, Equality, and Blue, Fidelity.

The ribbon was given by Miss Corie (or Carrie) Whitner. It is perhaps her handwriting on the reverse of the printed text that noted "Frank's." Another hand inscribed "see Henry P. Farrow Papers."²⁹⁸ Henry Farrow's daughter married John A. Whitner, who had brothers with first

²⁹⁷ "The New Pythian Grand Lodge Officers to Be Elected Today," *The Athens Banner*, May 18, 1916, 1 and 5.

²⁹⁸ Henry Patillo Farrow Papers. Ms 94. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

names Henry F. and Charles Frank. Perhaps one of them was the person and Pythian Knight who had worn this ribbon.

Knights of Pythias Supreme Lodge Diploma. April 27, 1931.
 Paper, ink, blue seal.
 11 x 13 15/16 inches.

Thomas W. Reed Personal Papers, Certificates. Ms 2321, OS 1. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

The Order of the Knights of Pythias is a secret, fraternal, and international order modeled after freemasonry that was founded in 1864 in Washington, D.C.²⁹⁹ Its name refers to the ancient Greek legend of close friendship between Damon and Pythias, followers of Pythagoras, a philosopher and mathematician revered in freemasonry. The order's broad objectives were similar to those of Masonry: the betterment of mankind through one's own good conduct and public service, charity, and kindness. Except for a lower minimum age of 18, Pythian Knights share with blue Masons the following requirements: election by a vote of the members, swearing an oath of secrecy and brotherhood, belief in a Supreme Being, pledge not to overthrow their government, and morally upright conduct. During the 1870s, the Knights of Pythias offered insurance to its members as a practice of brotherhood and benevolence, but that arm of the organization eventually split off and in 1930 became the American Life Insurance Company. On the other hand, African Americans had to form a parallel order of Knights of Pythias after they were refused charters by the white organization in 1869.

The name of the Knights of Pythias has a combination of ancient and medieval references that also pervade freemasonry. Initially, the Knights of Pythias called their bodies and assemblies "castles," but eventually that term was replaced by "lodge." The elaborate border of this certificate abounds in the order's medievalizing and chivalric symbols. At the upper corners is its fundamental symbol of a shield-shaped coat of arms with the letters F, C, and B that stand for Friendship, Charity, and Benevolence, virtues held in high esteem within freemasonry. At the top center is depicted an open Holy Book with a sword laid over it, bracketed by flying banners, all of which are redolent of the medieval Crusades and their intertwined Christian faith and its military enforcement. Along the border's vertical sides appear a suit of armor whose helmet is topped by a falcon, a symbol of vigilance, and branches of myrtle leaves, a symbol of love. At

²⁹⁹ For the order's history and values, see Hugh Goold Webb, *A History of the Knights of Pythias and Its Branches and Auxiliary* (Anaheim, CA: Uniform Rank Co-operative Association, 1910); and, Ezra Asher Cook, *Revised Knights of Pythias Illustrated Ritual for Subordinate Lodges* (Chicago, 1923).

the lower corners is the symbol of the Supreme Lodge, the national authority, which consists of pentagons framing a banner shape surmounted by the word “Friendship” and the letters F, C, and B. At the lower left, a royal blue seal of the Athens lodge bears the Pythian coat of arms.

This diploma was awarded on behalf of the Supreme Lodge, formed in 1868, through the local St. Elmo Lodge No. 40, of Athens, Georgia, which was founded in 1890.³⁰⁰ Among its members were prosperous businessmen like G.T. and R.P. Hodgson, several of whom were Jewish (P. Stern, M.G. and S. Michael, S.H. Myers, and Max Joseph), and leading Masons (James W. Camak, W.F. Dorsey and William P. Von Der Au or Vonderau). The lodge wished to honor Thomas Walter Reed (1870—1950) as a “veteran,” meaning he had been a member for 25 years. As we see in another certificate in this exhibition, Reed was a member of the Sphinx Club, for his service at and devotion to the University of Georgia, as well as a Mason. Reed’s multiple memberships in fraternal, benevolent, and secret orders was not unusual at the time. In 1899, St. Elmo Lodge No. 40 was reported to have a reserve fund of half a million dollars, an enormous sum in those days.

³⁰⁰ “St. Elmo Lodge Knights of Pythias,” *Athens Daily and Weekly Banner*, November 24, 1899, 13?

Ku Klux Klan Badge. 20th century.[not on display]
Cotton, colored embroidery thread.
4 ½ - 4 3/8 inch diameter.

Ku Klux Klan, Athens Klan No. 5 Records. Ms 712, Box 5. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Badges such as this one were worn on the white robes of members, or Knights, of the twentieth-century Ku Klux Klan. In its Greek cross form (four arms of equal length) and red, black, and white colors, it recalls the attire of the medieval Knights Templar who were believed to wear either black or white robes with red or white crosses. The masonic Knights Templar had similar equal-arm crosses, but of a shape closer to that of a Maltese cross, perhaps a reference to the Knights of Malta (also known as the Knights Hospitalers, for their founding of hospitals), another chivalric, medieval order. Masonic Knights Templar regalia was generally purple or violet and black. The red droplet in the center of the Klan cross symbolizes blood, hence it is called the Blood Drop Cross. In masonic imagery, the symbol for tears looks quite similar to these blood drops; perhaps the Klan misunderstood what they were but were inspired by them nonetheless. This cross form is uniquely associated with the Klan and its violence in the service of its racist, anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic, and anti-immigrant ideology.

Ku Klux Klan Collar. Twentieth century.[not on display]
Manufacture unknown.
Linen, metal appliqué, beads.
Approximately 20 ½ x 9 ½ inches.

Ku Klux Klan Papers, Athens Klan No. 5 Records. Ms 2214, Box 2, Folder 11, as “Sash.”
Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

This piece of regalia was worn around the neck, and was known among freemasons and OddFellows as a collar. While there is no medal or ornament, called a jewel, hanging from its lowest point to signify the wearer as an officer of the society, its beaded fringe is similar to that on many fraternal aprons. The five-pointed stars created in small metal appliqué may also have derived from the masonic five-pointed star. The mostly white and silvery materials were also in keeping with the mostly white robes and hoods worn by Klansmen. The white might not only have signaled purity but also their race and their sense of racial superiority. Wearing white may also have been effective and practical during their nighttime assemblies and attacks, to see and distinguish fellow Klansmen and perhaps appear phantom-like to their unfortunate victims.

Ku Klux Klan Hood. 20th century. [not on display]
Cotton, padding.
25 x 10 ½ inches.

Ku Klux Klan, Athens Klan No. 5. Ms 712, Box 5. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Hoods and robes were worn by Klan members to their Klaverns and Konvokations, but especially for their initiations, the so-called naturalization ceremonies. Using U.S. government terminology, the Klan described membership in its organization as “citizenship” and called non-members “aliens,” a legal term used for non-citizens. In the Klan’s logic, to make new members, the candidates had to undergo a naturalization process, often conducted outdoors at night in group ceremonies in which the drama of torchlight could evoke the “mystic bonds” that the Invisible Empire promised to its adherents. The nighttime was also useful in obscuring their identities, especially in an open-air setting that might be accessible to prying eyes.

The hood, which obscures almost all of the face except for two eye holes, were also useful in hiding the member’s identity from everyone: the authorities; the people they threatened and harmed; and even their fellow members. It is an interesting difference from the blindfolding that so many other secret societies enacted on their candidates, but only in the degree rituals. The Klan allowed their “citizens” to see but not to be seen or, at least, identified. The hoods are also slightly conical which, together with the loose robes, recall the shaming attire (*capiroto* in Spanish) of the tall conical hat forced on those persecuted by the Holy Office (familiarily called the Inquisition) or those worn by penitents during Holy Week processions in certain European Catholic countries. Might the Klan have adopted an attire that subliminally reflected feelings of failure, sin, or persecution? One important difference between the Catholic and Klan attire was that penitential caps and robes are usually black, a tone associated with sin, while the Klan’s were white, linked to innocence and virtue and perhaps their race. The Klan was in no way sympathetic to Catholicism; on the contrary, it publicly expressed strongly anti-Catholic prejudice, incited in part by (presumably Catholic) Irish and Italian immigrants in the United States. The Holy Office had always banned secret societies and especially freemasonry among the Catholic faithful, and that position was reinforced by another papal bull issued in 1884.

Ku Klux Klan Notice of Meeting, Vega Klan New?, Coosa Creek, GA. Circa 1866.
Paper, ink.
13 x 8 inches.

Ku Klux Klan Collection. Ms 582. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

The original organization known as the Ku Klux Klan was formed in response to the emancipation and rights accorded to formerly enslaved people in the United States in 1863 and after the defeat of the Confederacy. Southerners resented their recent political and military defeat as well as their loss of what they considered “property,” and this bitterness lurked behind the creation of the Klan in Tennessee in 1866 and the tolerance of its spread to other southeastern states. While the part of its name Ku Klux was said to derive from a Greek term, perhaps inspired by its founders’ experiences in Greek letter college fraternities, the Klan distorted the spelling of or invented words for its bodies (Klan, from clan) and officers, such as Exalted Cyclopps (head of a local Klan), Klaliff, and Kligraff (secretary), its practices (Klavern is a local meeting, Konvokation is a state-wide one) and materials (Kloran, similar to Koran, is its manual of rituals). This early Klan document also refers to a medieval Christian order, the Hospitalers, so-named for the hospitals they founded, similar to the masonic appropriations from the medieval Knights Templar.

The initial Klan’s white, male, Protestant Southern constituency saw their way of life under attack from the Civil War defeat and the new freedom and rights of African Americans. In Georgia around this time, African Americans often had equivalent or larger numbers within local populations than whites did, and theoretically could outvote them. The Klan intimidated African Americans in myriad ways, physical and verbal, at the polls and at their homes, before acts of Congress outlawed the organization in 1871. This notice is accompanied by a typed note that it was found around 1865 at a home near Coosa Creek, Georgia, by a lieutenant in the Union Army, but that would predate the Klan’s founding. It is more likely that it was found after the Civil War, between 1866 to 1871, when Union soldiers remained in Georgia to keep the peace. The site of Coosa Creek is plausible, as it is not far from Dahlonega.

Freemasonry had spread widely in the South and in Georgia during the two decades before the Civil War, and military lodges were formed during the conflict for soldier-Masons who were far from home. It is not surprising that the Klan appropriated some symbols from the premier

secret society in the country; on this notice, one sees the coffin, skull and crossbones, sword and heart, crescent moon, and tear drop shapes. Other forms on this Klan notice that were not specifically masonic symbols are the cannon barrels, musket and sword, bugle, snake, and dog, which are mostly signs of military and other means of defense, perhaps rooted in the Lost Cause ideology. The notice's language is quite florid, violent, and disjointed, but it calls its members of Vega Klan New to a meeting or "Cabula (perhaps an intentional misspelling of "cabal") in Dahlonga, Georgia to continue its mission, "by the patriotic soul," to "Save our Race and Land."

The seeds of the twentieth-century Klan are present in this early notice's rhetoric. It presumes that all Klansmen are patriotic, Christian, and righteous, and able to identify and persecute those who are un-American, of the wrong beliefs or pagans, and therefore evil.

Ku Klux Klan Robe Requisitions. Circa 1924.[not on display]
 McDorman Klan No. 5, Athens, GA.
 Paper, ink.
 10 15/16 x 8 ½ inches.

Ku Klux Klan, Athens Klan No. 5. Ms 712, Box 2, Folder 20. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

This letterhead conveys some of the Klan's rhetoric and symbolism, as well as the Athens Klan's meeting place (Klavern) at 459½ West Clayton Street, at least around 1924. Later in the 1920s, the Klan met at 133½ West Clayton Street on the third floor above Luther Epps's garage.³⁰¹ That building, known as the Jester Building, also served as the Castle or meeting hall for the Knights of Pythias in Athens, St. Elmo Lodge No. 40, showing some overlap between these para-masonic fraternal organizations.³⁰²

The Klan's official and figurative titles, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and the Invisible Empire, appear in bold letters, some vaguely Gothic. Another symbol, the Blood Drop Cross, appears more than once; these crosses are set on the diagonal, with the dates of the original founding and later revival, 1866 and 1915, inscribed within the droplet forms meant to evoke blood. Additionally, the circles in which the crosses are set create the impression of a pair of eyes, not unlike those peering out beneath Klan hoods. These "eyes" are set atop an open book, reminiscent of the masonic Holy Book, but for the Klan there was only one acceptable faith, Protestant Christianity. This document gives the names of the Klansmen who ordered robes, perhaps they were new "citizens." An undated alphabetical membership roster in the same manuscript collection lists about 150 names.

The Athens Klan formed on March 21, 1917, facilitated by the visit of the Imperial Wizard, William J. Simmons, from Atlanta.³⁰³ Its chapter number indicates that Athens was the fifth town in Georgia to establish a Klavern, and perhaps for that adherence, it was chosen to head one of only six Klan "provinces" in the state.³⁰⁴ Its original name was Rutherford Klan No. 5, after

³⁰¹ As reported by J.V. Haralson, Kligrapp. Ku Klux Klan, Athens Chapter No. 5. Ms 712, Box 1, Folder 16.

³⁰² A lease taken by the Ku Klux Klan in 1928 names the Jester Building. Rental Contracts, 1923-1940, Allen and Maude Talmage Papers. Ms 3733, Box 1, Folder 2. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Announcements in local newspapers indicate that the Knights of Pythias met in the Jester from at least 1914 to 1921. *Athens Daily Banner*, August 14, 1914, 4, and August 18, 1921, 6.

³⁰³ "Ku Klux Klan Was Formed in Athens," *Athens Daily Herald*, March 21, 1917, 1.

³⁰⁴ Ku Klux Klan, Athens Chapter No. 5. Ms 712, Box 1, Folder 17.

Mildred Rutherford, a staunch member of the Athens chapter of the Daughters of the Confederacy and an admirer of the Klan. At some point before 1924, the name was changed to McDorman, and it may have occurred in 1923 when Simmons was thrown out of the Klan, causing a rift within the organization and the Athens Klan.³⁰⁵

The renaming most likely honored the long-time fire chief of Athens, George W. McDorman (1863—1947).³⁰⁶ McDorman was something of a local hero, for in 1921, in fighting the large fire that destroyed the Max Joseph and Michael Brothers buildings, McDorman fell from a ladder and broke both of his wrists. The Max Joseph building had served as Athens' Masonic Hall at least since 1893 (or as early as 1890), and now several masonic and fraternal societies had to find a new meeting place. If the fire chief were so honored, it would have continued the interconnections between fire departments, local militias, and the original Klan that existed in another southern city, New Orleans.³⁰⁷ One other possible honoree was C.O. McDorman, a founding member of the Klan and a Mason (an example of the overlapping memberships between those two societies), who died very young and unexpectedly in 1917.³⁰⁸ Still, it seems somewhat less likely that he would only be remembered in this way seven years after his death. And this did not mark the end of the Athens Klan's nomenclature, for in 1925, a different scandal rocked Athens' Klan, and it was renamed for the third time, as Athens Klan No. 5.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁵ It is not clear if disgruntled Athens Klansmen continued to meet in a separate Klavern, perhaps as an underground group.

³⁰⁶ George W. McDorman was made the first fire chief of the newly formed municipal fire department in 1891. "Athens Fire Department," *Athens Weekly Banner*, December 10, 1897, 5.

³⁰⁷ Edward Bell, *Life of a Klansman: A family history in white supremacy* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2020), 193-4.

³⁰⁸ "Masonic Notice," *Athens Daily Herald*, October 13, 1917, 1; "Masons Elect," *Athens Daily Herald*, December 15, 1916, 1; and, "In Memory of Comrade," *Athens Banner*, October 24, 1917, 4.

³⁰⁹ Athens' newspapers ran dozens of articles on the controversy over Klansmen's presence on grand juries and the Atlanta Imperial Palace's proposed "moral investigation" of Athens. In a one issue the front page contained three lead articles: "Klan Sued for \$100,000 By Athens Woman;" "Miller and State Klan Officers at Grips;" and, "Kligrapp Resigns Denouncing Organization." *Athens Banner Herald*, January 21, 1925, 1.

Ku Klux Klan Warning. Circa 1915-35.[not on display]
Paper, ink.
8 x 5 inches.

Ku Klux Klan Papers. Ms 2214, Box 1, Folder 8. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Documents in the Hargrett Library's manuscript collections reveal that the Ku Klux Klan was solicited to intervene in private citizens' affairs for various reasons, not always those of racism, anti-Semitism, and nativism. Some of these requests for the Klan's intervention complained about daily behavior of townspeople, such as not raising their children correctly. In this handwritten message, Robert Mobley is warned that he and his wife must behave better, show respect for each other, and that she must stay off the streets and he must stop drinking. Temperance had been an important social concern in the southeastern United States going back to antebellum days, and gave rise to fraternal orders like the Good Templars who advocated for abstaining completely from imbibing alcohol. But such groups continued their work into the twentieth century, and were rewarded with the 18th Amendment, a federal ban on the production, transportation, and sale of alcohol, called Prohibition (1920-33).

Wording in this document suggest that the warning was directed at a white man. African Americans were usually warned if not attacked by Klansmen with in-person and often physical means, like a rock flying through a window or a cross burned in front of their home, not in a written note. Perhaps the Klansmen did not know whether their victims were literate, given that laws in the south prohibited teaching enslaved persons to read and write, and how little was done to provide them education after Emancipation, which meant separate schools and Black teachers. Furthermore, Mobley is addressed as "Sir" and acknowledged to be "a hard-working man," according him a certain standing that would not likely have been given by white supremacists to an African American.

The anonymity assured to the Klan by their hoods and nighttime activities is reinforced here in the warning's handwriting. Instead of cursive script, which is believed to reveal an individual through the idiosyncrasies of their penmanship, this author printed his text in large, blocky letters, clearly not a typical way of writing. Furthermore, he used many capitals, an aggressive gesture, and some of them look vaguely medievalizing, distantly recalling the large illustrated letters of illuminated manuscripts. Perhaps the letter style was meant to allude to the devout and

chivalrous Crusader knights with which the Klan identified, or to evoke the fear, darkness, and violence with which Gothic and medieval culture were associated since the mid-eighteenth century.

Letter Concerning the History of the Society of the Cincinnati. February 24, 1910.
 George Francis Tennille, to William Harden, Savannah, GA.
 Letterhead paper, ink.
 10 9/16 x 8 1/16 inches.

List of Charter Members.
 Paper, ink.
 10 9/16 x 8 1/16 inches.

William Harden Family Papers, Society of the Cincinnati. Ms 878, Box 3, Folder 17. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

In this letter, George Tennille, the Secretary of the Georgia chapter of the Society of the Cincinnati, provides information to William Harden on the history of this fraternal, hereditary, and patriotic association which derived some of its practices and symbols from freemasonry. The Society of the Cincinnati was formed in May of 1783 in New York by commissioned officers of the Continental army and navy who wanted to honor their commander, George Washington, protect their hard-won liberty from British rule and supposedly contribute their own pay to compensate the soldiers who had not yet received theirs. A sizeable portion of generals and other officers in the U.S. army and navy were freemasons, and therefore already favorable to secret societies. The military, with its itinerant life, often in foreign places, was a prominent conduit of freemasonry worldwide for the brotherhood and mutual support it offered, especially far from home. The society's Latin nomenclature means "the sons of Cincinnatus," specifically Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus, an ancient hero of the Roman Republic who led his army to victory and was even more admired for not seeking to parlay his military fame into political power afterwards. For similarly returning to civilian life after leading the revolutionary army and for refusing to rule as an autocrat, George Washington was called "the modern Cincinnatus." Moreover, as a freemason if not a practicing one, Washington was especially revered by masonic brethren. Washington was asked and agreed to serve as the Society's first president. Soon, chapters formed in each of the original thirteen states with an additional chapter for French officers like the engineer Pierre L'Enfant (1754—1825), designer of the city plan of Washington, D.C., and the marquis de Lafayette.

But if the Society of the Cincinnati borrowed some of its structure and symbols from freemasonry, its primary criterion of eligibility diverged sharply from that of the Craft. Its

membership is hereditary and therefore does not ascribe to either the diversity or high moral character of masonic initiates. Only the eldest surviving male who can trace his lineage back to an original member of the Cincinnati can petition to be made a member. His younger brother, for example, cannot do so, unless his older sibling dies or chooses not to seek membership. This hereditary qualification was virulently attacked in the United States and abroad as smacking of aristocracy and inherited privilege which it was believed the new nation had overthrown.³¹⁰ Nevertheless, within the first decade, 2,400 men joined, out of some 3,500 who were eligible for the distinction.³¹¹ By the second half of the nineteenth century, however, as the charter members passed away, many chapters disappeared for lack of new members. With the centenary of the Society in 1883, efforts were begun to revive the original chapters, eventually succeeding by 1902.³¹² The restoration of the Georgia chapter commenced around 1898, perhaps ignited by the patriotism aroused by the Spanish-American War. The Society still functions today, and its national headquarters are located in a grand house donated by one of its members in central Washington, D.C.

Embossed at the upper left of the letter appears the main symbol of the Society redolent of its patriotic character and borrowed from U.S. currency: a bald eagle with its wings spread open, head turned in profile, feet clutching a laurel branch. In an oval frame overlapping the bird's breast is a scene of Cincinnatus on his farm being presented with a sword and asked to lead his countrymen into battle. The Latin inscription around the frame, *Omnia Relinquit Servare Republicam*, alludes to his sacrifice: "he who gives up everything to serve the republic." The colors of the Society are blue and white, echoing those of the uniforms of the U.S. and French armies at that time, or perhaps an alliance with freemasonry. Pierre L'Enfant designed this emblem and took it to Paris to have the President's jewel, a term from freemasonry, made there.³¹³ Not two decades later, a double-headed eagle with outspread wings became the symbol of the newly constituted Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, which originated in Charleston, South Carolina in 1804 and was transplanted to France and other parts of Europe.

³¹⁰ Albert Sidney Britt, Jr., "The Society of the Cincinnati in the State of Georgia," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 54, no. 4 (Winter 1970): 555.

³¹¹ Britt, 554.

³¹² Britt, 556. The French Society of the Cincinnati was not revived until 1925.

³¹³ Britt, 554.

Tennille attached to his letter this list of the charter members of the Georgia chapter which includes a significant number of Masons and ones who played important roles in Georgia politics and culture, such as John Berrien, Abraham Baldwin, Samuel Elbert, Joseph and John Habersham, James Houstoun, John Martin, Nathaniel Pendleton, and James Jackson. Born and educated in New York City, Tennille (1873-1927) worked as the head chemist at the Southern Cotton Oil Company of Savannah and became a civic leader. A few years after receiving this letter, the historian William Harden (1844-1930) published a book on Savannah history that included a laudatory biography of Tennille.³¹⁴

³¹⁴ William Harden, *A History of Savannah and South Georgia*, v. 1 (Chicago and New York: Lewis Publishing, 1913), 700-1. Lewis Publishing specialized in masonic texts.

Phi Kappa Literary Society, University of Georgia, Athens.

Membership Pin. Circa 2002.
 Manufactured by Atlas, Inc., Athens, GA.
 Metal, paint.
 1 x 7/8 inches.

UGA Literary Societies, Membership Pins. UA 97-106, Box 54. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia.

Debate at Phi Kappa Hall. 1994.
 Color photograph.
 4 x 6 inches.

Phi Kappa Photographs, c. 1992-1997. UA 97-106, Box 36, Folder 51. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

Moral Greatness: The Glory of the Hero and the Statesman. Athens: Office of the *Southern Whig*, 1846.

Rev. Wm. Bacon Stevens.
 Paper, ink.
 8 5/16 x 5 1/2 inches.

UA 97-106, Box 25. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

The Phi Kappa Society at the University of Georgia was founded by Joseph Henry Lumpkin in 1820 when a disgruntled faction of the Demosthenian Society, including him, sought to create their own debating forum.³¹⁵ In 1836 Phi Kappa managed to raise the funds to build their own hall, Phi Kappa Hall, which still stands today directly across the North Campus quad from Demosthenian Hall. The two societies debated each other in vigorous rivalry, sometimes leading to fisticuffs, but they shared a devotion to the university and certain moral and intellectual ideals. They invited political and cultural leaders, often UGA alumni and members of their society who appear elsewhere in this exhibition (e.g. William L. Mitchell, Augustin S. Clayton, Richard B. Russell, Jr.), to give an address at their annual banquets or other occasions. When Phi Kappa celebrated the inauguration of Phi Kappa Hall, Mitchell spoke on the necessity of open debate

³¹⁵ E. Merton Coulter, *College Life in the Old South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1928), 103-8. Phi Kappa was dormant between 1973 and 1991, but still operates today.

and disagreement in a democracy.³¹⁶ A sermon on moral greatness was delivered specifically to the two literary societies in 1846 by William Bacon Stevens (1815-1887) and, like masonic addresses, printed shortly after, as seen in the copy on display here. Trained as a medical doctor and then an Episcopal minister, Stevens was at that time professor of oratory at UGA.³¹⁷

Like so many secret societies, these literary societies had their own regalia, like the membership pin. The symbols on Phi Kappa's pin are familiar from masonic and fraternal secret societies, but configured in a unique way. The masonic love of geometry is on display in its hexagonal outline, overlaid by a six-pointed star (known as the Star of David in Judaism), and a circle inscribed in the star's center. Within the circle are depicted two hands shaking, a universal symbol of brotherhood perhaps first used by the OddFellows, and three Greek letters, the initials of the Phi Kappa Society. At the spring banquet, gavels, speaker's keys, and senior certificates were distributed, also reminiscent of similar articles in masonic ritual and regalia.

The color photograph is stamp dated and inscribed on its reverse, identifying all but one of the figures.³¹⁸ Each person's name is preceded by Brother or Sister, again reminiscent of masonic practice in their lodges and chapters. The image represents the theater of their debates, a speaker presenting an argument before a kind of tribunal (with other members seated behind the speaker, out of this picture frame), and the growing diversity of its membership.

³¹⁶ "The ferment of a free, is preferable to the torpor of a despotic, Government." William L. Mitchell, "Oration, dedication of new Phi Kappa Hall," *The Southern Banner* (Athens), July 23, 1836.

³¹⁷ Stevens taught in that capacity from 1844 to 1848, after which he moved to Philadelphia. For Stevens's biography, see <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/william-bacon-stevens-1815-1887/>. Consulted 12/12/2022.

³¹⁸ The 1994 date on the reverse, while only indicative of the making of the print, suggests that the exposure was likely made around that time, too.

Sphinx Club Certificate. Circa 1927-28.
Card stock, inks.
8 ½ x 11 inches.

Thomas W. Reed Papers. Ms 2321, OS 1 Diplomas and certificates, 1885-1931. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Sphinx Club Skit. Circa 1930s?
Photographer unknown.
Silver gelatin photographic print.
10 x 8 inches.

Sphinx Club Blindfolds.
Black cotton, doubled.
44 ½ x 3 ¼ inches.

Sphinx Club Pin. Circa 2003.
10 karat gold.
7/16 x 3/4 inches.

Sphinx Club records, 1912-2015, Photographs, media and artifacts. UA0076, Box 2, Folders 26, 28, 25, respectively. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

Like other selective college campus associations such as fraternities and sororities, the Sphinx Club was established in 1897 at the University of Georgia as an exclusive society that repurposed aspects of the ritual and ideals of freemasonry. Its founder was Professor Andrew H. Patterson, Chair of Physics and Astronomy (he succeeded the freemason L.H. Charbonnier whose portrait appears in this exhibition) and its second member was Dr. William D. Hooper, Chair of the Latin Department. Calling itself an honor society, the Sphinx Club nominates current students as well as alumni, faculty, and staff who meet their broad criterion: to have made significant contributions to the university, the state of Georgia, or the nation. Members have often been high-achieving students, student-athletes, or students who went on to hold state or national office, but it remained exclusively male well past the admission of women to the university. It began admitting women and persons of color by the late 1980s. It is still operating and now calls itself the Sphinx Society.

Like freemasonry, the Sphinx Club is a secret society in that its ritual, voting on new members, and initiations are not open to public scrutiny. Also like the masonic fraternity, it announces its reunions and new members and participates in benevolent activities, such as

proposing and financing the Sphinx Honor Plaza at the Tate Center, inaugurated in 2009. William Tate, Dean of Men at the university from 1946 until 1971 and member of the Sphinx, penned an article on the club in which he stated that “The elaborate ritual and initiation ceremonies are based on midnight vigils alone in the woods, with incantations to Egyptian gods and beliefs.”³¹⁹ The club’s archives include these black cotton blindfolds, no doubt used during its initiation rituals. Photographic evidence shows that members in the 1920s wore tuxedos with a large white S (for Sphinx) on the back, and in later years members performed satires at football games, as the photograph here illustrates. Like many secret societies on the UGA campus, including the earliest ones that still survive today, the Demosthenian and the Phi Kappa literary societies, the Sphinx Club has a special pin that members wear only in their own company.

Its central symbol is the sphinx, an ancient, mythical figure associated with quests and questioning, as related in the Homeric narrative of Oedipus whose odyssey towards self-knowledge is a template for various initiations and coming-of-age rituals, both actual and literary. In Western art and literature, the sphinx is inextricably linked to ancient Egypt and the pyramids, and the blocky, angular forms used here for the sphinx and the letters of the club’s name reflect the aesthetics that twentieth-century Americans associated with that distant time and place. The gold and silver coloring evokes those precious metals found in the richly decorative art of ancient Egypt. By the early twentieth century, newly-created Black fraternities on college campuses also embraced Egyptian imagery, the sphinx in particular, but for a different reason: to honor their ancestral roots in Africa.

The recipient of this certificate, Thomas Walter Reed (1870—1950) made important contributions to his alma mater, and was elected an honorary Sphinx in April of 1928.³²⁰ After earning bachelor’s and master’s degrees at UGA, he worked as a journalist for the *Atlanta Constitution* and the *Athens Banner*. In 1909, he was simultaneously named secretary of the university’s Board of Trustees, university registrar—a position he held until 1945—, and treasurer, a sign of the respect he commanded and his devoted service to UGA. After his death, the new men’s dormitory was named in his honor. He was also a member of secret fraternal

³¹⁹ William Tate, “Sphinx,” *The Athens Observer*, November 17, 1977, 6. Sphinx Club records, Subject Files. UA0076, Box 2, Folder 19, clipping. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

³²⁰ Sphinx Club records, Minutes and membership records. UA0076, Box 1a, Folder 2. Hargrett.

societies, including the Masons, Knights of Pythias (St. Elmo Lodge No. 4, Athens), and OddFellows.

Young Man with a Phi Beta Kappa Key. Circa 1855-1860.
 Photographer unknown.
 Ambrotype, damaged.
 One-sixth plate, 2 ¹/₃₄ x 3 ¹/₄ inches.

Cased Image Collection. Ms 3529, Box 29, Folder 131-1. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

This damaged portrait still manages to convey the importance of showing the sitter to be a member of the exclusive Phi Beta Kappa fraternity. Though the supporting glass plate has been broken and caused losses in the photographic image, the gold overpainting brings the viewer's attention directly to the small decorative "key" apparently attached to his dark coat jacket. Scholars believe that Phi Beta Kappa was first secret society on a college campus in the United States, and clearly modeled after masonic lodges. The first chapter appeared in 1776—a not insignificant year for the North American British colonies—at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia. Several of its founders had been recently initiated in a local lodge. Its by-laws required initiates to take an oath of secrecy, and it supposedly used a password and handshake with which to recognize true brothers.³²¹ Its members elected their brethren and were to welcome those from different cultures and backgrounds. Their initial activities emulated those of literary debating societies, often on current topics beyond the scope of their college curricula. Called an honor society, Phi Beta Kappa did not specifically recruit for academic excellence until later in the nineteenth century. The William and Mary group had the idea of authorizing chapters of Phi Beta Kappa to other college campuses, not unlike freemasonry spread its lodges throughout the world.

The embossed decoration on the leather case, which was meant to protect the fragile photograph made on glass, has a six-pointed star shape, sometimes referred to as the star of David, other times the Seal of Solomon, made up of two interlocking equilateral triangles. This star has masonic significance and aesthetics, given the role of King Solomon in freemasonic legend and ritual and the fraternity's love of geometry. One of the ways to distinguish between

³²¹ Avery Allyn, *A Ritual of Freemasonry, ...to Which Is Added a Key to the Phi Beta Kappa, the Orange, and Odd Fellows Societies* (New York: William Gowans, 1853). While the author clearly exaggerates and extemporizes in parts, the text is still considered to provide some credible information on the society.

the two types of stars is whether the triangles are interwoven or overlap, but this is difficult to make out on this worn case with its fruit and leaf forms that obscure the triangles' intersections.

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