

## **Freemasonry and the Civil War**

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Freemasonry And The Civil War: A House Undivided Justin Lowe December 13, 1995

"My father had been a soldier in the Union Army. . .He was made a Mason in a military Lodge. . .Taken prisoner at Arkansas Post, he was carried up the Mississippi River to Rock Island, Illinois. . .My father became. . . desperately ill, and made himself known as a Mason to an officer of the camp. The officer took him to his own home and nursed him back to life.

When the war ended, he loaned Father money to pay his way back to his Texas home, and gave him a pearl-handled pistol to protect himself. . .This experience of my father, when I learned about it, had a very great influence upon my life. . .; the fact that such a fraternity of men could exist, mitigating the harshness of war, and remain unbroken when states and churches were torn in two, became a wonder; and it is not strange that I tried for years to repay my debt to it. - Joseph Fort Newton, D.D. in River of Years - [1]

The Civil War was the single most divisive event in our nation's long history. No other war, political event, or national crisis has ever approached the levels of animosity and hatred that the Civil War caused. Brother fought against brother. Fathers against sons. Families were forever split over the idealism of the War. They were not alone. Major national organizations, notably the Baptist Churches, also broke up over the issues of slavery and States' Rights. The War seemed to destroy the bonds of any organization it touched. All the organizations, that is, except one: Freemasonry. While the War raged around them, Freemasons held on to the ties and the idealism that brought them together in the first place. Thousands of Masons fought in the War, and many died. But the tenets of the Craft, those ideals and moral codes that we, as Freemasons,[2] strive to abide by,

were able to overcome the hatred and the animosity that the War generated.

There are a number of reasons why this organization, more than any other, was able to survive the tumult that was the Civil War. A major reason is the long and storied history of the Craft. The beliefs and tenets of the Lodge predate not only the Civil War, but the Constitution, the discovery of the New World, and, according to some, even the birth of Christ. When a tradition of that many years exists, it is difficult to ignore.

A second reason why Masonry held together is that membership in a Masonic Lodge is by choice only. No man has ever been recruited into joining a Lodge. Our rules in fact prohibit Masons from actively pursuing someone for initiation. Instead, a man interested in becoming a Mason must, "of his own free will and accord," [3] actively seek out a member of the Lodge which he wishes to join and ask him for a petition for membership.

The third reason is the structure of the Craft itself. There are a number of internal rules and customs that helped the Lodge as a whole avoid the turbulent politics and divisiveness of the War. This allowed the Lodge to continue to function as a place a man could go when he needed help, or a quiet haven from the storms that raged outside the Craft. It was then, and continues to be today, a place where true brotherhood exists.

Perhaps the best example of these ties of brotherhood occurred on the battlefield at Gettysburg. [4] This battle, the turning point of the War, saw 93,000 Federal troops doing battle with 71,000 Confederates. Of those numbers, more than 35,000 were killed or wounded in the three days of fighting from 1 July to 3 July, 1863. Of the men who fought, 17,930 were Freemasons, including the roughly 5,600 who became casualties. [5] One of the most famous events that occurred at Gettysburg was the huge Confederate infantry push known as Pickett's Charge. On 3 July, Pickett (a member of Dove Lodge #51, Richmond, Va) led nearly 12,000 men on a long rush across open fields towards the center of the Union line on Cemetery Ridge. It has been called the last and greatest infantry charge in military history.

One of the men leading that charge was Brigadier General Lewis Addison Armistead, CSA. He was a member of Alexandria-Washington Masonic Lodge #22 in Alexandria. Originally from North Carolina, he had attended West Point, and fought with the US Army for a number of years before resigning his commission to fight for the Confederacy. During that time, he had occasion to serve with now Major General Winfield Scott Hancock, USA (Charity Lodge #190, Norristown, Pa.) while both men were in the west. The two had become good friends. However, with Armistead's resignation, it had been nearly two and a half years since the two men had had any contact. Until Gettysburg, that is. It was Hancock who had taken command of the fragmented Union troops on Cemetery Ridge on 1 July, and organized them into a strong front that had withstood three days of pounding from the Confederate guns. And it was his position, in the center of the Union line, that was the focus of Pickett's Charge. During the action, both men were wounded. Armistead was shot from his horse, mortally wounded. Hancock's saddle took a hit, driving nails and pieces of wood into his thigh. As the battle waned, it became clear that Armistead's injuries were fatal. Knowing that his old friend was somewhere behind the Union lines, Armistead exhibited the Masonic sign of distress. [6] This was seen by Captain Henry Harrison Bingham, the Judge-Advocate of Hancock's Second Corps (Chartiers Lodge #297, Canonsburg, Pa.). He came to the fallen Armistead, and declared that he was a fellow Mason. The two men spoke for a time, and when Armistead realized that Bingham had direct access to Hancock, he entrusted some of his personal effects to him. Among them were his Masonic watch, the Bible upon which he had taken his obligations, [7] and a number of other items. Bingham said his farewells, and then returned to the Union camp to deliver the items. Armistead died two days later. The fact that Armistead chose to use the Masonic sign of distress signified that his war was over, and that there was another, more pressing matter on his mind, even on the field at Gettysburg. What could lead one of the highest ranking and most intelligent officers in the Confederacy to lay aside all of the ideology of the war and call for a brother of the Craft from the other side? It is this question which I will now address.

During the war, and in the years just prior to it, the questions of secession, slavery, and

states' rights were as much on the minds of Masons in this country as anyone. There was almost no way of escaping the thoughts of imminent warfare between the states. The following is taken from a letter, drafted in June of 1861, from the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, sent in response to a communication received from the Grand Lodge of Tennessee decrying the situation that the country was in. "As to the present deplorable state of this country, Masons cannot fail to have opinions as to the cause that produced it. It is to be feared that some of our brethren are in arms against the union of the States; others are in the ranks of its defenders. Taught by the history of the Order. . .they have carried these principles into the formation of opinions on the present crisis in our national history. But while Masons, as individuals, have been thus influenced and are acting in harmony with such views, Freemasonry is a silent, unimpassioned, abstracted observer of events. . ."Brethren -- We, with you, deplore the present unnatural and deeply distressing condition of our national affairs. But if this whirlwind threatens to overwhelm us, yet in this last extremity, the still small voice of Masonic faith will be uttered and heard, saying, Brethren, there is help at hand in this time of need. . ."Surely your God is our God; your faith our faith; your landmarks our landmarks; your joy our joy; your prosperity our satisfaction.' Then let us unitedly work together for the preservation and perpetuity of a common inheritance. . .[W]e will aid in maintaining unity, peace and concord, among the brethren and citizens of united sovereign States in our glorious Union. If all bonds should be broken, all ties rent asunder; if discord, dissension, and disruption, shall mark the decline and fall of the most wise and wonderful of the governments of mankind, let the Masonic temple, in all States, kingdoms, lands, peoples or confederacies, be common refuge of an indestructible Masonic fraternity." [8] These sentiments were echoed by virtually all of the other Grand Lodges at one point or another during this time period. Nobody wanted war. Negotiation was the overwhelmingly favored option. However, if war occurred, everyone hoped and believed that the Fraternity would be able to survive the conflict. But why? What was so special about Masonry that set it apart from other organizations similar to it? The first reason is history of the Order. No other organization has the amount and the type of history that Freemasonry does. To truly understand the organization that exists today, it is imperative to examine and understand the history of the Craft. There is no clear answer as to where the historical roots of Freemasonry lay.

The first school of thought traces the Craft from the building of King Solomon's Temple in roughly the 10th century, B.C. At this point, before the advent of metal working tools, the construction of stone buildings required the work and planning of master architects. They had only stone and mortar to work with, and yet their plans were so well-designed as to stand for centuries. There were relatively few masters, and the secrets of the trade were among the best-kept in the world. Masters knew that the demand for their expertise was overwhelming, and they guarded their knowledge well. Only a select few were elevated to the rank of master, and the process was a long and arduous one. A young man was first apprenticed to an established master, often for a period of several years. The apprentice learned the trade from that master, then set out on his own to practice his trade. Eventually, a few of these craftsmen were elevated to the rank of master, but only after years of labor. This pattern is repeated through many different eras in history, no matter what the craft being learned.

The master architect involved in the construction of King Solomon's Temple was a man named Hiram Abif. He was murdered by a trio of men who aspired to be made masters of the craft. The story of his murder forms the basis for the Master Mason degree in modern Freemasonry. Abif would not relinquish the secrets of the master, and sacrificed his life to protect the sanctity of that honor. These and other ideals are explained in the Master Mason degree, impressing upon the new Brother the extent to which others have gone to uphold the fraternity. [9]

The second line of thought traces the Craft's development from the guilds of the middle ages. This follows closely the ideals of the other school. Guilds of stonecutters were formed to protect the secrets of the actual profession of stonecutting. This was known as "operative Masonry." The first documented instance of a Masonic Lodge in England occurs in 926 A.D. These guildsmen could actually lay stone and build buildings. A person who was engaged in this profession was virtually forced to become a member of the guilds in order to secure work. It closely parallels the development of the "closed shop" labor unions in this country. Those who were not members could not find work. As time went on, these guilds gained considerable power and influence. They began to

develop allegorical meanings for the tools and terminology of the profession. They also developed secret signs, words, and modes of recognition so that one Mason could recognize another, no matter where they went. These insured that only those who were eligible could sit in on the meetings of the guilds. This allowed the mason to travel to other parts of the world, and still be recognized as a master stonecutter. This led to the coining of the term "Free & Accepted Mason," shortened to "Freemason." The mason, as a member of one of the guilds, was free to travel where he wanted and continue to earn a living as a stonecutter.

In the 17th century, when cathedral building was on the decline, some of the individual Lodges began to admit members who were not actual masons. These included civil and religious leaders, government officials, and other dignitaries. These dignitaries realized the power and influence of the Lodges, and gained membership to have a say in that power. Hence, a new type of organization developed. No longer were these guilds of operative masons. Here we see the development of what is know today as "speculative Masonry." Speculative Masonry kept the allegories and the secrets that the operative Masonic guilds used, but merely expanded the rolls of membership to include those who were not employed in the profession.

With a history as long and storied as this, it is little wonder that the ties that bond a man to all of his Masonic brethren are not taken lightly. They are solemn vows, taken in the presence of God and the members of his Lodge. This set of traditions, stretching back over many centuries, is not easily disregarded in favor of such fickle and transient notions as politics. Tradition, however, was not the only reason that the Craft remained together. A second important reason why Masonry stood apart from other organizations is the way in which a man becomes a Mason. Freemasonry is unique in that we do not recruit new members. In order to gain admittance to a Lodge, a man must come to either the Lodge as a whole, or to an individual member of the Lodge, and request of them a petition for membership. The process itself is controlled by the Lodge after that point, but the important thing to remember is that the prospective member must make the initial query.

This tradition has drawn some criticism in the last few years, as membership has started to decline. Up until roughly the 1960's, membership in virtually all fraternal organizations was incredibly high. This included Freemasonry and all of its appendant bodies, Greek fraternities and sororities on college campuses, and other organizations such as the VFW, the Elks, Moose, Eagles, etc. After the 1960's, however, membership in all of these began to decline, and did so for nearly a generation. It has only recently began to level off, and in some cases, began to rise again. Many of the Grand Lodges, which are the governing bodies in Masonry, have relaxed regulations about discussing membership with prospective members. The rule has remained in place, however. This is an important distinction for several reasons. First of all, there is a major difference between a group that you choose to join and one that you are coerced into joining. Often, in the other organizations, men were almost forced into becoming members. Perhaps they had a relative, a father or uncle, who was a member, and the younger man was naturally expected to join.

Certainly, this happens in Masonry to some extent, but there is still the element of choice. Throughout the ceremonies of initiation to the various degrees of the Masonic Lodge, the new Brother is repeatedly asked if this choice, to become a Mason, is "of his own free will and accord." This same question is asked no fewer than three times in each degree. [10] There is ample opportunity for a man to voice his objection if he feels he is being forced or coerced into joining. Another difference is the one between a group a person chooses to join and one that he or she is born into. This is perhaps the most important difference in this context. When a person is born into a society, or a group, or a religion, he or she does not have this element of choice involved. This is one of the reasons that many of these other organizations did not hold together when the war came. A number of the people in the organization decided that they did not want to be in the organization anymore, and as they had never asked to be there, they felt that they were entitled to leave.

The best example of this is the political division between North and South. One of the reasons that some of the secessionists gave for wanting to leave the Union was that they did not have the same loyalty to the Union and the Constitution that the original founding fathers did. Those individuals made the choice to form this new national government, and to abide by the rules and the regulations thereof.

During the time of the Civil War, however, there was a serious question of what bound the new generation of Americans to the federal Constitution. There was a good deal more significance paid to the individual state identities. People would identify themselves as a Virginian first, and then as an American. This question of dual citizenship would plague this country until the question was settled through the bloodshed of civil war.

This concept was what allowed secessionists to declare that they had a more compelling allegiance to the state than to the nation. While this idea may seem strange to modern Americans, to our mid-19th century forefathers, it was perhaps foremost in their minds. For all the talk of slavery being the major cause of the war, the fact remains that the actual debate started over the question of states' rights. Overly simplified, the South was not fighting to preserve slavery, but rather to enforce states' rights. By the same token, the North did not go to war to end slavery, but to preserve the political and economic union. The secessionists did not feel the same degree of loyalty to the Union, because they had not made a conscious decision to join that group. They felt powerless and on the outside of the political process. This led to a great deal of resentment towards the national government from the Southerners. They were inside a political system that they could not change, and when they tried to escape, a war was waged to keep them in. On the other hand, the process for becoming a Mason was much different. With this element of choice being so heavily prevalent, each man in the organization was able to feel that he really belonged, that Freemasonry was a place in which he had some say over the government of the organization.

The government of Freemasonry and the way the organization is set up is the third reason that it was able to hold together. Every member in good standing had an equal vote in the



affairs of the Lodge. [11] The whole process is very egalitarian. When a Lodge meets, it meets "on the level," meaning that no member is any higher than any other. The newest Brother has the same voice and the same voting power that the oldest does. The Master of the Lodge, who presides over the affairs of the body, is not a supreme dictator. Rather, he rules only by the consent of the members. In elections and other affairs requiring votes, his counts no more than any other. Another advantage built into the structure of Masonry are the taboos that exist within the Lodge. While it is true that the Lodge is designed to be an open forum for members to express their opinions and to debate matters of importance, there are certain subjects which, as a rule, are not discussed.

By tradition, the only two taboo subjects are Religion and Politics. Our Masonic forefathers deemed them too divisive and the discussion of them as too temperamental and banned them from the Lodge. One of the purposes of the Lodge is to provide a safe haven for rational and intellectual debate. It also tries to encourage a state of harmony within the Lodge itself. To ensure this harmony, these two issues were banned. Our forefathers were well aware that there had never been a conflict that could not be traced to one of these two forces. So by not discussing them, they hoped to provide for this harmonious state that existed within the Lodge.

This stipulation helped to keep peace within the organization. The firebrands and masters of rhetoric that so infected governments and towns found no refuge within the Masonic fraternity. Level headedness and reason more often than not were able to prevail upon the leadership of the fraternity. That is what could lead the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania to declare that "Freemasonry is a silent, unimpassioned, abstracted observer of events." [12]

The very structure of the Grand Lodge system lends itself to the preservation of the Craft through national crises. The Grand Lodge is the governing body of Masons in any particular jurisdiction. It is made up of representatives from the various Lodges within that jurisdiction. However, the point to remember is that the Grand Lodge of one jurisdiction owes no allegiance to that of any other. Neither does it subject itself to the rule or authority of any superior body. Each Grand Lodge holds absolute sovereignty

within its jurisdiction.

The first of the Grand Lodges was the United Grand Lodge of England. In 1724, four Lodges met in London and formed the first governing body. They understood even then that the relation to the national government was an important issue:

"A Mason is a peaceable subject to the Civil Powers, wherever he resides or works, and is never to be concerned in plots and conspiracies against the peace and welfare of the nation, nor to behave himself undutifully to inferior magistrates; for as Masonry hath been always injured by war, bloodshed, and confusion, so ancient Kings and Princes have been much disposed to encourage the Craftsmen, because of their peaceableness and loyalty, whereby they practically answered the calls of their adversaries, and promoted the honour of the Fraternity, who ever flourished in times of peace. So that if a Brother should be a rebel against the State, he is not to be countenanced in his rebellion, however he may be pitied as an unhappy man; and, if convicted of no other crime, though the loyal Brotherhood must and ought to disown his rebellion, and give no umbrage or ground of political jealousy to the government for the time being; they cannot expel him from the Lodge, and his relation to it remains indefeatible. [13]

"The foregoing is a copy of Section II of the Constitution of Masonry as written by James Anderson for the Grand Lodge of England, and adopted by that grand lodge and printed on "this 17th Day of January, 1724." It was the article most frequently quoted in Masonic circles throughout the Civil War." [14]. These men who authored this Grand Lodge certainly understood the importance of loyalty to both the state and to the Fraternity. But the most important contribution that they made to the preservation of the Craft was the invention of the Grand Lodge system. There is debate as to when the first Masonic Lodge was formed here in America. Some estimates trace it back to the 1650's or before. [15]

Certainly, however, there were Lodges in place by the early 18th century. The first Grand Lodge in the Americas, in Massachusetts, was chartered in 1733. Importantly, it was totally sovereign from the Grand Lodge of England. By the time of the Civil War, 38

independent Grand Lodges existed in the United States. [16]

Each of these Grand Lodges was independent from all of the others, and absolutely sovereign within its own jurisdictional boundaries. This lack of a national leadership is a major reason why Freemasonry as a whole did not fracture along geographical boundaries, as did many of the other organizations. In those cases, groups like the Baptist Churches, the Presbyterian Churches, and others, all had some sort of national leadership council, comprised of representatives of all of the various regions throughout the country. And as the war fractured the country along a definitive line, so too did it divide the national committees of these various groups. It is not logical to assume that any organization, no matter how deeply held their convictions are, no matter how dedicated to their ideals the membership might be, could survive intact. In such a situation, where the leadership of the group is so deeply and obviously split, is it any wonder that the individual group members themselves broke away?

This element was missing from Freemasonry, however. There was no "Grand Lodge of America" to oversee the ones in the states. There was no national committee of leadership to look to for guidance. The individual Grand Lodges were on their own. The rules and regulations that they laid down were only valid within their jurisdiction. Therefore, a Mason in Georgia did not have to be concerned with the views of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts on the issues of slavery and states' rights. He only had to be concerned with those of the Georgia body. Such a man would have a definite and palpable interest in the affairs of his state's Masonic body, and, importantly, he would have an avenue to make his thoughts and feelings on the various subjects heard. It could be easily said that he had a more direct link to the business and affairs of the Grand Lodge of his state than to the government of the United States.

This brings me to my final reason. The Masonic brotherhood is founded on three basic principles that we use to provide a moral guideline for our lives. Those three tenets are Brotherly Love, Relief, and Truth. The concepts themselves seem simple enough. The first teaches us that we should love and respect all of our brethren of the earth, regardless

of whether they are members of the Craft or not. The second teaches that we should do all that we can to help those who need our assistance. The third teaches us that we should ever seek the light of knowledge, for only in knowledge can men be truly free.

During the Civil War, Masons on both sides of the line had opportunities to display those virtues. The story of Armistead, Bingham, and Hancock is only one of hundreds of anecdotes that can be related about Masonic brotherhood overcoming the hatred and animosity of the Civil War.

There are a number of documented stories of warfare being put aside for the purposes of Masonic funerals. In Galveston, a Confederate Major named Tucker performed Masonic funeral services for a Union Captain named Wainwright who had died in Tucker's prison. "A public procession consisting of 'both friends and foe wearing the insignia of the Order, and accompanied with a proper military escort' accompanied the body to the Episcopal cemetery." [17] In another case, a Masonic Union Naval commander named Hart was killed on board his vessel during a long bombardment. A small craft sailed into that Louisiana port under a truce flag, and asked for a Mason. W.W. Leake, the man who responded, immediately opened his Lodge and afforded Hart full Masonic rites.

Some Masons took to wearing the signs and symbols of the Craft on their uniforms, in the hopes that a Mason on the other side, upon recognizing him as a Brother, would spare him harm.

Masons were also very active in the hospitals and the care units at the sites of major battles. Often, the hospitals were located on the farms or in the buildings owned by Masons. The Masonic Temple in Vicksburg was used as a hospital first by the Confederates, and then by the Federals after the fall of Vicksburg on 4 July, 1863. [18]

There are many reasons why Freemasonry was able to survive the divisiveness of the Civil War. The sense of tradition that extends back over many centuries lends it an air of dignity and reverence that is very difficult to ignore. No other organization or

government has so long and storied a tradition.

A man must choose to be a Mason. He cannot be born or forced into it. In an organization that a person chooses to join, there is a more developed sense of loyalty to that group. Those in which there is no choice, such as governments and religions, have less of such a loyal following. Finally, the structure of the Craft itself lends itself to an advanced sense of coherency. Politics and religion, two of the most divisive elements in human history, did not enter the Lodge room. Every Mason was able to have an equal voice in the running of the Lodge. Each of the Grand Lodges was independent of the others. While there were well-developed lines of communication, no state had to surrender sovereignty to any other. Neither did they submit themselves to the rule of a supreme council. Lastly, the three tenets of the Craft, Brotherly Love, Relief and Truth, required Masons to act differently than non-Masons.

With all of these factors working in their favor, it becomes more evident why Freemasons were able to hold together as an organization more readily than many of their contemporaries. All of the traditions and history established Masonry as a legitimate organization. The attractive elements of Freemasonry itself made membership something that men were eager to embrace. And once these tenets of the Craft had been embraced, disobedience of them was unthinkable. So men, as Masons, were able to overcome all of the political strife and ideological turmoil, simply by holding true to a set of principles that were established long before there was a Union to fight over. A noble accomplishment, to say the least.

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### Footnotes

[1] From Allen E. Roberts Masonic Trivia and Facts Highland Springs, Va, Anchor Communications, 1994. 87.

[2] I am a Master Mason of American Union Lodge #1, Free & Accepted Masons, in Marietta Ohio. I have been involved with Masonry (as a member of the Order of DeMolay) since I was 14 years old. I have always had a favorable opinion of the Craft, but I will attempt to view this subject from as objective a point of view as possible.

[3] This quote appears numerous times in the ceremonies of initiation for the Masonic degrees.

[4] Gordon Cook, personal interview. Columbus, Ohio, 4 November 1995; and Munn 6-19. Cook is a member of the Masonic Lodge of Civil War Research.

[5] Sheldon A. Munn, Freemasons at Gettysburg (Gettysburg, PA: Thomas Publications, 1993) 5.

[6] The sign of distress is a secret sign that is taught to a new Brother at the time of his raising to the degree of Master Mason. It is not a sign that is to be used lightly, but only in times of dire need.

[7] By tradition, a new Brother takes all of his obligations on the same Bible. He is then presented with this book at the time of his raising, as a reminder of all that he has passed through.

[8] Allen E. Roberts House Undivided: The Story of Freemasonry and the Civil War (Fulton, Mo; The Ovid Bell Press, Inc, 1961) 33-35.

[9] The general text and message of the Masonic degrees have not changed since long before the time of the Civil War. Therefore, the stories I heard and the events I witnessed in 1995 are little different than the ones that Civil War-era Masons experienced.

[10] The three degrees in the Symbolic Lodge, or Blue Lodge, which is the foundation of the Grand Lodge system, are Entered Apprentice, FellowCraft, and Master Mason. Any further degrees are attained through other bodies appendant to the Blue Lodge. Once a man is made a Master Mason, he is free to choose not to join any other organizations. Or he may continue on through either the York Rite or Scottish Rite bodies. See the

attached sheet for a tracing of the various degrees in each organization.

[11] The elections and business of the Lodge are conducted on the Master Mason degree. By rule, only Master Masons are present. "In good standing" refers to the payment of dues. Therefore, Master Masons who are not delinquent in the payment of his dues are eligible to vote and to hold office in the Lodge.

[12] Roberts House, 35

[13] Roberts House, 2

[14] Roberts House, 2

[15] Arthur Edward Waite A New Encyclopedia of Freemasonry Combined edition, (New York, Weathervane Books, 1970) 461-463.

[16] Massachusetts, 1733; North Carolina, 1771; Virginia, 1777; New York, 1781; Georgia, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, 1786; Maryland, South Carolina, 1787; Connecticut, New Hampshire, 1789; Rhode Island, 1791; Vermont, 1794; Kentucky, 1800; Delaware, 1806; Ohio, 1808; District of Columbia, 1810; Louisiana, 1812; Tennessee, 1813; Indiana, Mississippi, 1818; Maine, 1820; Missouri, Alabama, 1821; Florida, 1830; Arkansas, 1832; Texas, 1837; Illinois, 1840; Wisconsin, 1843; Iowa, Michigan, 1844; Kansas, California, 1850; Oregon, 1851; Minnesota, 1853; Nebraska, 1857; Washington, 1858; and Colorado, 1861 (from Waite 462)

[17] Roberts Trivia, 96

[18] Roberts Trivia, 97