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The History of the Residential Dilemma in Universities: Of Greeks, Dorms, and Colleges

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American higher education is a big and growing enterprise, employing directly or indirectly more than 2.5 million people and generating somewhere between 200 and 300 billion dollars a year in revenue.¹ So it is not surprising that residential accommodation would seem to be one of its biggest problems in the next decade,² as the number of students increases dramatically.

There is certainly a mounting housing crisis connected with these burgeoning universities, often effecting the entire area around the campus because of the pressure that university growth places on accommodation for everyone in the vicinity, student or non-student.³ As rents and house prices are forced up, the community demands that universities pay more attention to the residential question. The growth in student numbers is described as a tidal wave and already some universities are dealing with space shortages by reducing fees for those who take summer courses and graduate early.⁴

In one San Francisco university in the autumn of 2000, 7,100 new students faced the bleak prospect of only about 500 available rooms.⁵ But at the same time that students are desperate for shelter, they have been refusing to live in dormitories described as Early Federal penitentiary, complaining about wiring from the 1940s and behemoth towers of concrete: "On-campus housing for male students at Auburn University suffers from many of the traditional design limitations characteristic of post-World-War II housing. Long and narrow corridors, communal baths, and small 10' X 12" double occupancy rooms have long been characteristic features of men's residence halls.⁶

The problem is widespread and similar from campus to campus: "When Libby Mulitz arrived at the University of Michigan in September to begin her freshman year, she found that in at least one way her world had grown smaller. Mulitz and two other women were assigned to a 224-square-foot room that was built for two in the South Quad dormitory. . . . Mulitz and her roommates, Andrea Patrello, 19, of Lake Orion and Vivian Babuts, 18, of Syracuse, N.Y., are among 1,500 U-M students — mostly freshmen —

shoehorned into rooms converted for triple occupancy. . . . Ed Salowitz, director of research and development in the U-M Housing office, said the tripling is necessary because the University occasionally has more students sign up for dormitory housing than it can handle in doubles."⁷

This ongoing crisis has focused attention on the somewhat unique ways in which many American colleges and universities solve the problems of providing residential education through fraternities and sororities. For those outside of the United States, the Greek system, as it is often called, is virtually incomprehensible. Moreover, college fraternities and sororities are the subject of much misinformation, the target of film fun as well as deserved criticism for low intellectual standards, panty raids, and brutal hazing. Evidently things have not changed much over the years, as *The Chronicle of Higher Education* recently reported on the ritual initiations of Kappa Sigma at Eastern universities, a fraternity which includes as members Robert Redford and Bob Dole. Student candidates were urinated on and covered with molasses.⁸

Fraternities and sororities are secret and ritualistic societies, of which the United States has always had a surprising number and many of which trace their origins to Freemasonry. The history of American cabalistic⁹ and highly ceremonial¹⁰ organizations has never received the attention that the subject deserves,¹¹ and they present research problems of some magnitude.¹² Secrecy and ritualism often go together, markedly so in the United States on the campus and throughout life.¹³ For college secret societies, ritual remains one of the major characteristics,¹⁴ making them a very different proposition than the routine dormitory.¹⁵ To understand why they present problems for college administrations and are so controversial, their history is important.

Fraternities and sororities are and have existed in the United States since the founding of the organization known as Phi Beta Kappa in the eighteenth century. They can be considered in two major groupings, the honor or recognition societies,¹⁶ and the so-called Greeks or social fraternities that are so characteristic of a portion of academia. This separation into honorary and social fraternities did not at first exist, and at the very start in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century the ritualistic element rather than the academic or social element loomed large: In their decision to expand the society, as well as in the development of their ritual, the Phi Beta Kappa leaders were acting at least partially under the influence of Masonry. A Masonic lodge had existed in Williamsburg as early as in the 1750s, and in 1773 it received a charter from the grand lodge in England. In 1778, as citizens of an independent commonwealth, the Masons of Virginia set up their own grand lodge, with authority to charter other lodges within the state.

Eventually Masons in other states did the same. John Heath himself [the fifteen-year old founder of Phi Beta Kappa] was not a Mason while a student at William and Mary, but Thomas Smith belonged to the Williamsburg lodge before joining Heath as one of the five Phi Beta Kappa founders. Smith served as the first clerk of the Phi Beta Kappa Society and became its president on May 3, 1777. Nine other members of the society joined the Masonic lodge during the next year. At least a dozen of the fifty men admitted to Phi Beta Kappa during these first four years were associated with both groups at one time or another.¹⁷

There is little to Phi Beta Kappa's activities today which suggest its ties with ritual or with purely social affairs. Outside of the United States many academics realize that this is a high honor for their American colleagues. Today the honorary fraternities in America devoted to scholarship, which have done so much to foster intellectual activity on campuses, stand in peculiar contrast to their cousins, the social fraternities. Arguably some of the social fraternities have done as much damage to intellectual life with their Lord of the Flies initiations as the honorary fraternities have done in the way of encouragement.¹⁸ So emotive is the subject, of secret societies in general and fraternities in particular that the literature is often little more than propaganda and sometimes deliberately misleading.¹⁹

The honorary fraternities today retain ritualistic features but it is not their focus. It is the social fraternities that often have kept elaborate ceremonies, many of which are suggestive of Masonry.²⁰ How did this division occur? The metamorphosis of some of the Greek societies into purely social organizations with residential facilities is sometimes blamed on their acquisition of property in the nineteenth century: "It is tempting to see the arrival of the fraternity chapter house as the closing of the fraternity's intellectual, moral, and cultural 'golden age'. When a fraternity got together only once a week or so for a chapter meeting, the occasion was extraordinary. Gathering in a rented hall or classroom, fraternity brothers could invest their time together with a sense of special purpose. Whether they met to discuss a passage from Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* or Erasmus's *Agagia* or the Missouri Compromise, they could engage each topic, serious, or not, with undistracted freedom."²¹

The rituals also allegedly changed: Spectacle and mystery, rather than humane learning and ancient wisdom, came to prevail. Primeval myths, powerful in austerity, were distorted into gorgeous but ludicrous pageants. What the Greeks of old may have inspired, latter day vulgarians did their damndest to obscure and confuse. Coffins and hooded robes, burning crosses and stakes, swords and armor, cauldrons and grails, lions and dragons, terrifying oaths and incantations, the regalia of crusaders, cavaliers, feudal knights, holy pilgrims and sainted martyrs, stage machinery and special effects — all these were elevated into the mythical means that transformed lowly pledges into bonded brothers. What light and truth may have failed to accomplish, sensation dared to attempt.²²

It is curious then that Phi Beta Kappa, the progenitor, was forced by public opinion to jettison rather than embellish its cryptic ritualistic traditions in the early 1800s at the same time that other Greek fraternities were being established with many of the same objectional features.²³

The society's members found themselves being lumped with the Freemasons and the Illuminati as evil-worshippers and infidels.²⁴ Some chapters reacted by closing down, but at Harvard the brethren coolly responded: Animated by a consciousness of right, the noble mind rises superior to opposition. Should it be our fate then to be traduced, let us as individuals boldly profess our attachment to our society: — let us declare to teeth of clamor, that it is not only harmless, but virtuous in its objects, & useful in its effects: — that the circumstances of its origin here [whatever the circumstances of its origin at William and Mary!] indicated, not a design to sow infidelity with sedition, but a benevolent wish to enlarge the heart & improve the mind; & that our initials are only

expressive of a submission to true wisdom from a love to true virtue. Should we meet the rude shock of persecution let us stand firm & undaunted, steady in our resolutions, & more energetic in our exertions.”²⁵

These historical origins are often overlooked, along with the fact that the residential fraternities and sororities often maintain temples or lodge rooms in their buildings and take their ceremonial life seriously, as do their alumni or graduates.

One indication of whether these organizations have retained more than a pro forma interest in ritualism is the offering to the already initiated of additional initiations or degrees. Many of the social fraternities in the United States confer additional honors or awards, often to alumni, while the honorary fraternities are content with their basic induction ceremonies. Phi Beta Kappa never acquired a complex honors system like that of Freemasonry, although such a suggestion was made on at least one occasion. A partisan of giving additional honors wrote, “Why do you suppose that there are 32nd degree Masons? Because the Masonic system is adapted to human nature. Then why not 64th degree Phi Beta Kappas? Why not a scheme of honors for intellectual attainments — so many points for a scholarly book, so many for a course of reading, a task of memory, the points to be awarded by democratically organized graduate chapters?”²⁶

Perhaps fortunately, that proposal came to naught, and there are no 64th degree Phi Betas Kappas. However, honor societies encouraging scholastic excellence patterned on Phi Beta Kappa multiplied.²⁷ Tau Beta Pi for engineering started in 1885, and Sigma Xi for scientists began in 1886. Depending on whether one counts professional societies which admit students on the basis of interest rather magna grades along with the more academic honor societies, there were at least 100 by the time the tenth edition of Baird’s *Manual of Greek College Fraternities* appeared in 1923.²⁸

The social Greeks began to build their elaborate residential facilities in the nineteenth century and a gulf developed between the honorary Greeks and the social Greeks that has remained and even deepened. There has been no successful repetition of the early nineteenth century fraternity with intellectual and social aspiration, although in the face of criticism of being lowbrow, some modern fraternities have tried to reclaim their intellectual past.

Sororities came later than fraternities as the numbers of women students on campuses increased. One of the first woman members of Phi Beta Kappa was Emily Francis Fairchild of the Oberlin Class of 1844, but she was only elected into the Oberlin chapter in 1907! The University of Vermont chapter elected Ellen Hamilton and Lida Mason in 1875, evidently the first women anywhere to be selected. Wesleyan admitted women in 1876 and Cornell in 1882, although a Cornell male member complained that “It seems to me in the first place absurd to admit women to a Fraternity, and, secondly, that the whole tradition and character of the concern make it exclusively a male affair.” Vassar was the first women’s college to have its own Phi Beta Kappa chapter, in 1899. The National Panhellenic Conference for the heads of sororities was founded in 1902, seven years before the male National Inter fraternity Conference. The notorious problems associated with fraternities, such as hazing and substance abuse, have generally been less with sororities.

One might think that university administrators would welcome fraternity and sorority housing as a partial answer to their acute problems in finding space for students.

That is not the case. When Williams College in Massachusetts eliminated fraternities in 1968 that was the start of what has been a long battle. Eventually Amherst and Colby, two other prestigious New England institutions, also closed down the frats. This was highly unpopular with the alumni. Indeed, whenever a college tries to deal with the fraternities, they face a barrage of press releases and mailings to donors. The flag is waved of freedom of association, and fraternity enthusiasts ask why their organizations should be singled out for attack.²⁹

An observer might wonder why American universities got themselves into a situation in the first place of having numerous independent organizations in control of their residential facilities? One explanation is simply cost. When Duke University was on a massive building program in the 1930s, the expectation was that it would eventually have residential colleges resembling those at Oxford and Cambridge:

We have groups of [men's] dormitories that could be, and I predict will sooner or later be used, very much along the lines of the dormitories that Mr. Hartness of New York, is building at Harvard and Yale. And thus operated, each would become a sort of living unit, somewhat comparable in certain ways to the colleges at Oxford. ...Its several dining rooms, some for students and some for teachers and visitors, are all served from a common kitchen. A good many college dormitories have separate dining rooms for each, but it is very expensive and we are trying this other arrangement with the hope that it will work. If it does not, adjustments can be made later and very handily over here..." These reflections would prove prophetic: the lack of sufficient resources to provide such interior infrastructures to support common life amenities as smaller dining rooms, study and social spaces, and faculty quarters would mean that Duke's dormitories could not become full residential colleges...³⁰

There are a number of reasons why fraternities and sororities are usually on the defensive despite their role in housing a good percentage of American students, and not all revolve around initiation hazing, excessive drinking and use of narcotics. One unspoken fear of the colleges is that commitment to one's fraternity is often stronger than to the college itself, and thus, put bluntly, hurts fund raising. Moreover, student opposition to an anti-fraternity policy is not entirely based on loss of the fraternity and sorority social life:

You people are fantastic! A veritable three ring circus! Now that you have completely demolished the fraternity system with that fine representative reporting, cleverly ignoring all the fine points . . . you now direct your Mencken-like perspicuity on hoary old EAST QUAD! Gentlemen, I grant you that the quads are terrible, having lived in one for two years, . . . but this leads to one problem — if quads are lousy and fraternities are no good, WHERE IN HELL IS EVERYONE GOING TO LIVE³¹

The fraternity and sorority housing system is largely confined to the United States and why it has not spread extensively overseas should receive research attention.³² It could of course, in terms of initiation and ritual, be compared with dueling societies at German universities or to undergraduate Masonic lodges at Oxford and Cambridge. In any event, the largely unsuccessful international missionary attempts of these groups are even more neglected as a matter of study than their American domestic effects.³³

Actually a great deal of material is available even if these groups are secret. Most of the established fraternities and sororities have long runs of journals and at least one lengthy if boring history.³⁴ Depending on the pack rat mentality of individual branches, there can be treasure troves of menus, sheet music, visiting cards, membership applications, and minutes by the ton.³⁵

Despite many years of fraternities being part of American college life, a large percentage of American university administrators have concluded that, "Hazing, alcohol abuse and interference with productive academic achievement are chronic and occasionally destructive problems that negatively affect the current Greek community." This has been confirmed by the fact that "Two recent studies done by researchers at Columbia (1994) and Harvard (1995) indicate that Greek students report higher levels of alcohol consumption than the general student population and have a higher incidence of binge drinking..." The conclusion of many academics has been that, "A simple equation has evolved: if Greek organizations on balance exert a negative influence on the University community, they simply should not continue to exist." ³⁶ The consequence of this hardening of attitude towards fraternities and sororities has been that when: ...administrators began cracking down on Greek life at various colleges, for example, stagnation and loss of membership were the first results. The national membership averages in fraternities and sororities decreased between 1991 and 1997, as compared to the explosion in membership during the 1980s. According to the National Panhellenic Conference (NPC), an umbrella organization for 26 international women's fraternities and sororities, membership in these organizations, which had been estimated at 163,000 in 1991, declined to 157,000 by 1997 — a decrease of nearly 4 percent. (Just a decade earlier, by way of comparison, sorority membership had been 110,000 in 1981 and jumped to 147,000 by 1987 — an increase of more than 30 percent.) Likewise, fraternities mirror the membership decline. Surveys conducted by the Center for the Study of the College Fraternity at Indiana University found that the 292 institutions reporting in 1992 had 162,820 members; in 1997, while more schools reported (346), the membership number was lower, 133,210. The Chronicle of Higher Education recently noted that overall fraternity membership is down as much 30 percent. At particular universities, the numbers are even more startling. Michigan State University, for example, has suffered a 50 percent decline in Greek membership over the period.³⁷

Fraternities have declined on campuses before, and then made a comeback, but it may be that the deaths of freshmen undergoing initiation, the bad publicity about drinking binges, and a distrust of their secretive ritualistic activities have finally combined to bring them down. Universities such as Dartmouth have abolished them outright and others like Pennsylvania and Emory are now devoting considerable resources to developing alternatives.³⁸

The alternatives are not cheap, either in money or in faculty time. For example, at Yale:

Each college has a master and a dean who reside in the college. The master is a senior member of the faculty, appointed by the president of the University, and reporting to him. As head of the residential college, the master provides intellectual leadership and sets the college's tone by scheduling programmatic events that bring notable intellectuals, public officials, artists, and national leaders to speak in the college and visit with its students.

The master supervises special initiatives, such as the redesign of the facilities, to accommodate the changing interests and talents of the students. In addition, the master oversees the buildings' structural integrity, and ensures the comfort and security of all the residents of the college. A Council of Masters—along with the dean of Yale College, the dean of student affairs, the dean of academic affairs, and an associate provost—meets each month to discuss issues concerning student life and services, and frequently invites other members of the administration to discuss matters of current concern. The council makes recommendations to the president and the provost on policies relevant to the interests of the twelve colleges. 39

The fraternity situation on American campuses is probably getting more attention now than it has had at any previous time in its existence. If the end result of the debate is a phasing out of this somewhat strange phenomenon, it will not be without a strong defense by its large and loyal constituency.

NOTES

1. Anne Matthews, *Bright College Years: Inside the American Campus Today*, The University of Chicago Press, 1997, 28. For a comment on such statistics, see *ibid.*

2 Tanya Schevitz, "In a Jam: Housing Crunch Means S.F.State Cannot Put Up All Freshmen", *San Francisco Chronicle*, 18 July 2000, A15.

3 Lisa Trei, "Students Propose Startup to Tackle Housing Crisis", *Stanford Report*, 12 July 2000, 1.

4Tanya Schevitz, "Call Offers Cash to Clear Space for New Students", *San Francisco Chronicle*, 12 July 2000, 1.

5 *ibid.*

6 Charles C. Schroeder, "New Strategies for Structuring Residential Environments," *Journal of College Student Personnel*, September, 1976, 387.

7 *Detroit Free Press*, November 12, 1990, 1B.

8. "Fraternity leaders...", *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 15 November 1996, A49.

9. Sometimes members of what appear to be secret societies, including those in Masonic organizations, assert that there is really nothing secret. After all, the buildings are self-evident and exposes are regularly published. "There are no secrets in Freemasonry. There never have been. Soon after the formation of a Grand Lodge in England exposes appeared in newspapers, tracts, books, and by other means of disseminating information." Allen E. Roberts, *Freemasonry in American History*, Macoy Publishing, Richmond (Virginia), 1985, 1. "Freemasons habitually compose their own definitions for their own use, expecting the world at large to accept them without question. We have self-defined 'secret society' to exclude the Craft, but we must realize double-talk does not change reality, anymore than you can repeal the Law of Gravity..secret societies have six common elements. (1) SECRECY, particularly as to forms and ceremonies. (2) EXCLUSIVENESS, with strict admission requirements. (3) HIERARCHICAL, requiring a progressive status system. (4) ORDEAL, calling for an Initiation trial of greater or less rigorousness. (5) MYTHIC ORIGIN, sometimes semi-factual, sometimes outright imaginary. (6) SELF-CONTAINED, by separating themselves from the common world." "Secrecy", *Royal Arch Mason*, Vol.18 No.4, Winter 1994, 118.

10 . "The trend of Masonic thought at any given period is probably better reflected in the rituals in use at that time than anywhere else, and this phase of Masonic study and research has been sadly neglected, probably due to the many difficulties confronting the one undertaking it." Wm. L. Cummings, "Rites and Ritual", *Royal Arch Mason*, Vol.18 No.4, Winter 1994 (originally published in the June 1944 issue, 179-183), 107.

11 . See S. Brent Morris, *Why Thirty-Three?*, Scottish Rite Research Society, Dallas (Texas), 1991. (Originally a paper presented at the second meeting of the SRRS, 21 October 1991. Also, "Why another Research Organization?", *The Scottish Rite Research Society Newsletter*, Vol.1 No.1, October 1991, 1. Norman D. Peterson, "Scottish Rite Research: Conjectures, Ambitious Proposals, and The Third Millennium", *The Plumline*, Scottish Rite Research Society, Vol.2 No.4, December 1993, 1-4.

12. "The subject of men's fraternal organizations was, until recently, not one to elicit much scholarly attention. Generally white, and middle-class, the Masons, Rotarians, et. Al., arguably belonged neither to the 'great thinkers' nor to the 'struggling masses' — hence their limited appeal to intellectual and Marxist historians alike. Fortunately, new interest in popular culture, and in gender-related issues is making fraternalism seem less the plaything of Mencken's 'booboisie,' and more a significant register of cultural change, a fit subject for academic inquiry." Clifford Putney, "Service Over Secrecy: How Lodge-Style Fraternalism Yielded Popularity to Men's Service Clubs", *Journal of Popular Culture*, Vol. 27 No.1, Summer 1993, 179. Putney argues that "The 'anti-progressive' character of Victorian fraternalism becomes even clearer once one accepts that, rather than charity, it was ritualism upon which lodge members concentrated, ritualism which provided their main source of activity." *Ibid.*, 182.

13 . In April 1971, Elihu, one of Yale's secret societies, sent a letter to the *Yale Daily News*: "In the present era, we find ritual, mystery, chauvinism, and self-serving elitism to

be anachronisms at best.” Anyone interested in membership was told to call 865-9881. A. Bartlett Giamatti, *History of Scroll and Key, 1942-1972*, Published by The Society, New Haven, 1978, 39.

14. “Dedicated as the Hall [Scroll and Key building] is to the ideals of truth and beauty and troubadour, conscious as it is of the force of ritual, those ceremonies that contain and continue the best of the past into the new day, it is not finally in ideals or ritual that the life of the Hall goes on. The life goes on as the ideals are embodied in ritual, and the rituals shape the behavior, and are animated by the zest and passion, of human beings.” Giamatti, 49-50.

15 . Sometimes it is hard to demarcate between a ritualistic and issue-oriented movement. While the Grange, for example, is certainly an agricultural lobby, it has always had a strong ritualistic side. Rotary or the Lions would seem to be more on the service side, but some Rotarians seem to be as enraptured by the Rotary wheel as anyone ever was by the Masonic square and compass.

16 . An instance of a secret university society which is neither honorary nor social in the normal sense is Scroll and Key at Yale. The Yale secret societies have a distinct culture of their own, but Scroll and Key too owed something to Phi Beta Kappa. Maynard Mack, *A History of Scroll and Key, 1841-1942*, Scroll and Key, New Haven, 1978, 4-5. “Though endowed from the beginning with a winning doctrine, the society’s real strength has flourished from its ritual, in which it has generally been happy.” *Ibid.*, 42.

17 .Richard Nelson Current, *Phi Beta Kappa in American Life: The First Two Hundred Years*, Oxford University Press, New York and Oxford, 1999, 10.

18 .See Hank Nuwer, *Broken Pledges: The Deadly Rite of Hazing*, Longstreet Press, Atlanta (Georgia), 1990, *passim*.

19 . E.g. “The real test of Masonic acceptance of the Ancient Mystery theories of Mackey and Pike is to study the writings of serious Masonic historians from the authentic school, not those from the romantic period. The publications of Quatuor Coronati Lodge No.2076, the American Lodge of Research, the Texas Lodge of Research, the Ohio Chapter of Research, and others show that these absurd theories have been politely ignored. They have died the quiet death they deserved. The pathetic irony is that only one group today believes the tall tales of Mackey and Pike — not the Grand Lodges, not the Scottish Rite, but the antimasons. Our enemies are so anxious to believe the worst about us, they rush to embrace hypotheses long since abandoned, if ever widely accepted. Whether they are incompetent as historians or simply facile liars is for other to decide.” S.Brent Morris, “The Letter ‘G’”, *The Plumline*, Scottish Rite Research Society, Vol. 1 No.3, September 1992, 2.

20 . “Phi Beta Kappa might continue to call itself a fraternity, but undergraduates would have to look elsewhere on campus for a real sense of brotherhood. For comradeship, students could look to new Greek-letter fraternities and other campus clubs that spring up in great profusion from 1825 on. These featured the characteristics that Phi Beta Kappa

was losing. They kept secrets...Phi Beta Kappa students themselves started the new fraternity movement, their object being to keep what they liked and to gain what they lacked as brothers in the existing 'fraternity'. Nine seniors at Union College met in 1825, in a room that two of them shared, to organize under the name of Kappa Alpha. Seven of the nine were or became members of Phi Beta Kappa." Current, 61.

21 . Kent Christopher Owen, "Reflections on the College Fraternity and Its Changing Nature", Jack L. Anson and Robert F. Marchesani Jr. eds., Baird's Manual of American College Fraternities, Baird's Manual Foundation, Indianapolis (Indiana), 1991, I-2. Cf. Christopher Shea, "Hamilton College to Bar Students From Living in Fraternities", The Chronicle of Higher Education, 17 March 1995, A32.

22. Owen, I-3.

23 . "Phi Beta Kappa. The members of this institution have recently removed the injunction of secrecy imposed by its obligations, and have left the world to form a just notion of its moral and social principles. This event has doubtless been hastened by the development of its mysteries published in the first edition of this Ritual. This act of the Phibetian society shows the good sense of its members; and also that its purposes were not political. Had politics, as in Masonry, been its main object, it would have held on with tenacity to its principles, as to the threads of life, and, disregarding its departure from sound morals, or patriotism, would still have contended, with the infatuation of a Mormonite, for the enjoyment, in secret, of that which in the eye of the public would overwhelm its members in confusions." "A Traveller in the United States", A Ritual and Illustrations of Free-Masonry and the Orange and Odd Fellows' Societies, Accompanied by Numerous Engravings, and a Key to the Phi Beta Kappa, S.Thorne, Devon (Shebbear, near Hatherleigh, England), 1835, 251.

24. "Of all the zealots, none aroused hotter indignation among Federalists than did the president of Yale College, Timothy Dwight. In his baccalaureate address of September 9, 1797...Dwight thought the peril imminent. He could cite as an incontrovertible authority the just-published book by the University of Edinburgh's Professor John Robison, Proofs of a Conspiracy against All the Religions and Governments of Europe, Carried on in the Secret Meetings of Free Masons, illuminati, and Reading Societies....Good Federalists among the Phi Beta Kappa members, listening to Dwight's harangues or reading them in pamphlet form, could hardly avoid twinges of concern and even of guilt. Plainly a secret society could be a devilish thing, and they belonged to a secret society, which had originated in Virginia at the College of William and Mary — the state and the college of the Jacobinical Jefferson himself. And the society's very name stood for 'philosophy the guide of life,' which was precisely the satanic error that Dwight warned against. Perhaps God-fearing, right-thinking members of the thing ought to terminate it before it developed its potential for mischief." Current, 32-33.

25 . Catalogue of the Harvard Chapter of Phi Beta Kappa: Alpha of Massachusetts. With the Constitution, the Charter, Extracts from the Records, Historical Documents, and Notes, Cambridge, 1912, 112-13, qtd.Current, 34.

26. Edwin J. Akutowicz to “Gentlemen”, 30 April 1994, American Scholar records, qtd. Current, 199.

27 . The “higher doctorates” would seem an excellent example of how what appears to be a terminal distinction such as the Ph.D. can be trumped. Americans are unfamiliar with these degrees, given in countries with a British heritage. They are awarded some years after the Ph.D., following submission of books or other accomplishments. In the United States, an LL.D. Is generally an honorary degree — but at the University of Western Australia, where Rich gained his Ph.D., it is one of the higher doctorates, a sort of academic equivalent of the Masonic 33rd degree.

28 . American honorary fraternities were slow to expand overseas. In 1907 Americans at Oxford petitioned for a Phi Beta Kappa chapter, but the Senate and Council of Phi Beta Kappa never authorized one. Current, 109.

29 David K. Easlick, Jr., and Thomas Short , "On The Campus: Frat Boys at Bay", <http://www.sit.wisc.edu/~phitau/fratbay.html>

30 Janet Smith Dickerson, " 'Some Better Way': The Shaping of a Residential Learning Community at Duke University", Prepared for presentation at the Oxford Roundtable on Residential Colleges , 20 July 20, 1999.

31 Letter to the Editors, Name withheld, The Michigan Daily, March 21, 1961.

32 . “Young Protestant middle-class men sought their rituals not only in the fraternal and beneficiary lodges, but also in scores of voluntary associations with primarily religious, reform, political, or economic objectives. College fraternities are an obvious example...Historians of each of these subjects have commented on the peculiar role of initiation, which they generally have attributed to shield members from blacklisting, and fraternal life insurance firms used ritual to remind members to pay premiums. What is less appreciated is the extent to which founders and members regarded ritual as important in and of itself.” Mark C. Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1989, 6. “Fraternal orders are vehicles for exploring the experiences and values of specific groups. Moreover, as institutions flourishing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, they enhance our understanding of the changes accompanying America’s industrialization, urbanization, and modernization.” Lynn Dumenil, *Freemasonry and American Culture, 1880-1930*, Princeton University Press, Princeton (New Jersey), 1984, 221.

33 . The differences between countries can be extraordinary. For example, the Odd Fellows, which in the United States and England have always been a lower middle class movement, are elitist in Scandinavia. The Orange Order, such a disturbing political influence in modern day Ireland, was primarily social in the United States.

34 . British Masons were less inclined to appear in public in Masonic costume than were American Masons, but the willingness in the 1870s of the then prince of Wales (later King Edward VII) to be photographed in Masonic regalia has been considered “to have

opened the floodgates for members of the Craft to be photographed in masonic regalia, for although brethren had for some time been photographed while displaying appropriate masonic gestures, very few had been photographed in masonic regalia. It thus seems that the portrait of the Prince gave the Royal seal of approval to similar photographs; certainly it was very popular as copies of the portrait can be seen to this day in many Masonic Temples throughout the Provinces.” David Peabody, “The Portraits of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge No.2076”, privately circulated copy of a lecture to Quatuor Coronati Lodge No.2076, London, 8 September 1994, 6. Much of American college fraternity regalia is patterned on Masonic regalia.

35 . Moreover, the role of ritualism in international relations is still little researched. See Michael Antolik (Department of Government, Manhattan College, New York), “Informality: The New Ritual of Conference Diplomacy” paper prepared for the 36th annual convention of the International Studies Association, Chicago, 24 February 1995.

36 "Greek Life: A Foundation for the Future", Office of the Vice President for Student Affairs, at <http://www.naspa.org/Virtual-Library/MARYLAND.WEB.html>

37 Maureen Sirhal, "Fraternities on the Rocks", Policy Review, February & March 2000, No. 99.

38 Nancy Seideman, "Emory's Phoenix Plan for Greek Life has become a model for other institutions", Emory Report, 6 October 1997, Volume 50, No. 7.

39 Found at "Yale Reaccreditation Site", <http://www.yale.edu/accred/standards/s6.html>