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## Ham-Amun and Cush-Osiris as Guardians of the Ark: Ethiopia, Egypt, and Israel in the Ritual Work of Moses Dickson

In the hands of African-American fraternalists, the rhetoric and tropes of late nineteenth-century orientalism often became an alternative discourse of liberation. Rather than seeing the Egypt, Etiopia, and the Middle East as decadent or degraded cultures, African Americans in some cases embraced contemporary myths of the exoticism of Egypt and the Near East to fashion their own stories of racial uplift and liberation. Nowhere is this more evident than in the ritual work of Moses Dickson. Dickson's use of Biblical symbolism, particularly that of the Exodus and the stories of liberation in the Book of Judges, is hardly surprising given their place in African-American culture in the nineteenth century, but his use of Zoroastrian Media, Pharonic Egypt, and a conflated Ethiopia and Cush were novel in African-American fraternal ritual not simply for their settings, but for how Dickson makes them a backdrop for an early black nationalism in which Africans were the source of civilization and guardians of primordial wisdom.

Moses Dickson's work is remarkable for the relatively equal place he gave to women in his rituals. Certainly various utopian communities had offered radical views of gender at an earlier period, but scholarship of mainstream fraternalism has tended to view women's orders as "helpmates," acting out proper bourgeois Victorian roles. Bayliss Camp and Orit Kemp challenged this view as far as African-American women's orders were concerned, describing

their rituals as focusing on mutual pilgrimage and world transformation. Nowhere is this more clearly seen than in Dickson's ritual oeuvre, which had men and women working degree rituals together several years before the founding of more esoteric and elite orders such as the esoteric Golden Dawn and the masonic Griot Humain. **[SLIDE-MOSES & M.E.]**

Little can be said for certain of the Rev. Moses Dickson before he begins to appear in the press and public records of St. Louis in the years following the American Civil War as an African Methodist Episcopal Minister and Republican Party activist. According to the biography printed in the front of the *Manual of the International Order of Twelve* from the edition of 1891, he was born in Cincinnati, Ohio in 1824 to free parents recently arrived from Virginia, and, learning the barber's trade as a teenager, from the age of 16 worked on steamboats up and down the Mississippi where "he witnesses such scenes of monstrous cruelty as caused his African blood to boil with suppressed indignation at the sight of the outrageous suffering of his people."<sup>1</sup> Sam Livingston of Morehouse College has also suggested that the extreme racism and periodic pogroms of Cincinnati in Dickson's youth contributed to his development of a black nationalist outlook.<sup>2</sup> In 1848, in the river town of Galena, Illinois, he married Mary Elizabeth Peters, a widow six years his senior, who was the daughter of a German-immigrant father and African-American mother from Ste. Genivieve, Missouri. Mary Elizabeth would be his companion and collaborator for 42 years, until her death, in 1891, and from 1882 bore the title of Mother of all Knights and Daughters of Tabor, the order they would nurture together.<sup>3</sup> At least

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<sup>1</sup> Moses Dickson, *Manual of the International Order of the Twelve of Knights and Daughters of Tabor, Containing General Laws, Regulations, Ceremonies, Drill and a Taborian Lexicon* (St. Louis: A. R. Fleming and Co., 1891), 8.

<sup>2</sup> Griot article cite.

<sup>3</sup> Manual, 1891, p. 19-20.

one scholar has suggested that Moses and Elizabeth had a highly egalitarian relationship, but biographical information on the Dicksons is disappointingly scant.<sup>4</sup>

It is for the year 1846 that Dickson makes his most stupendous claim. His biography in the 1891 edition of the manual states that on Tuesday, August 11, 1846, Dickson and eleven others he had met in his travels across the South assembled in St. Louis, and founded the Knights of Liberty, vowing "I can die, but I cannot reveal the name of another member until the slaves are free."<sup>5</sup> In the 1891 account, the organization grew over the next decade to 47,240 knights across the South and Border States who stood ready to launch an armed insurrection "to break the bondage of the Israelites," but Dickson reports that he urged men to wait and later encouraged his Knights to join the Union Army when it became possible.<sup>6</sup> Contemporary analysis of Dickson's claims, for which no documentary evidence exists, have ranged from acceptance, to skepticism, to outright dismissal.<sup>7</sup>

Leaving aside the veracity of Dickson's claims about the Knights of Liberty, the model itself is not far-fetched for the place and period. The Independent Order of Good Templars, founded in 1850 to combat drinking and vice, would grow to become one of the country's largest fraternal organizations. [SLIDE] The Knights of Labor, the U.S.'s first important trade union, was founded as a secret society with a particularly elaborate ritual in 1870. Far closer to Dickson's own purposes, historians Michael Fitzgerald, Steven Hahn, and Eric Foner have

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<sup>4</sup> Jennifer Rebecca Harbour, "'Bury Me in a Free Land': African-American Political Culture and the Settlement Movement in the Antebellum and Wartime Midwest" (University of Iowa, 2008) 84-86.

<sup>5</sup> Manual, 1891, p. 8-10.

<sup>6</sup> Dickson, *Manual*, 1891, p. 16.

<sup>7</sup> The 1879 edition of the manual contains more modest claims about the founding of the Knights of the Knights of Liberty, though the name is not used. The presence of a long note of clarification from Dickson at the end of his biographical sketch in the 1891 Manual seems to indicate that his claims were problematic in his own day. Cite 1879, 1891, AF Am Places STL for acceptance, Griot for skepticism, and What a Mighty Power for dismissal.

described in detail the Reconstruction-era clashes between the reactionary of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and the freedmen of the Union League. Certainly by the time Dickson was publishing his rituals and manuals thirty years later, the model he proposes for the Knights of Liberty would not have struck his fellow Americans as particularly far-fetched and Southern white fears of and exaggerations about the militancy of the Union League would have added credibility to the claim. While it seems most likely that Dickson's story of the Knights of Liberty was primarily to legitimize his later endeavors, the story shows a keen understanding of which themes would resonate with his audience and the larger culture. Like many founders of secret societies and of more mundane institutions, Dickson understood the appeal of a link to a mythic and noble past.

Whatever the truth about Dickson's first venture into the world of secret societies, his subsequent ventures would meet with success as great as that claimed for the first. In 1865, he organized the Prince Hall Mason's Heriones of Jericho for the female relatives of Master Masons, an order that exists to the present day. [SLIDE] In 1872, he would organize the International Order of Twelve, encompassing the Knights of Tabor, the Daughters of the Tabernacle, the mixed-sex Palatium of the Royal House of Media, and the youth divisions of the Tents of Maids and Pages of Honor. By the end of Dickson's life, the International Order of Twelve claimed as many as 125,000 members organized in eighteen state grand temples.<sup>8</sup> The Order would suffer the same long decline faced by many other fraternal groups in the United States from World War I onward, but many of its members would serve as a living bridge

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<sup>8</sup> "Father Dickson Cemetery," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form (<http://dnr.mo.gov/shpo/docs/moachp/Father%20Dickson%20Cemetery.pdf>, accessed November 17, 2014), p. 8

between the hopeful days of Reconstruction and the classical phase of the American Civil Rights Movement in the mid twentieth century.

Dickson's documented involvement with fraternal orders begins with his membership in St. Louis's first Prince Hall Lodge, founded in 1856 by the Grand Lodge of Ohio. When Dickson was initiated or whether he was initiated in St. Louis or elsewhere is unknown, but by 1865, he was the first Grand Lecturer of the new Grand Lodge of Missouri and served as Grand Master in 1866.<sup>9</sup>

Dickson's first published foray into fraternal ritualism comes with the degree rituals he created for the Heroines of Jericho in 1872.<sup>10</sup> While at least one New York court of Heroines claims to have been founded in 1859, Dickson claimed that his St. Mary's Court, founded in St. Louis in 1865, was "the first and oldest regularly organized Court in the United States."<sup>11</sup> In an extant copy of the Heroine's landmarks from 1884, Dickson makes his case for the legitimacy of his Heroines, stating "these degrees were known and given when we had nothing but the good Ancient Craft Masonry, which is almost as old as creation" and that "[h]istory plainly tells us that as far back as A. D. 1283 the H. of J. was well known and practiced by Master Masons, and their wives and daughters."<sup>12</sup> [SLIDE] While Dickson gives no source for his claim, given that the Prince Hall Order of the Eastern Star would not be organized until 1874 and that the white

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<sup>9</sup> "Grand Lodge of Missouri History." Most Worshipful Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Missouri. Accessed February 26, 2015. <http://glmopha.org/missouri-masons/>.

<sup>10</sup> "Heroines of Jericho," *Pacific Appeal* (San Francisco), December 20, 1873, p. 2.

<sup>11</sup> *Most Ancient Grand Court Heroines of Jericho State of New York Jurisdiction – Prince Hall Affiliation*. Most Worshipful Prince Hall Grand Lodge of New York, n.d. <http://princehallny.org/files/Download/HeroinesOfJericho.pdf>. Dickson, *Manual*, 1891, p. 20.

<sup>12</sup> Moses Dickson, *Landmarks and Ceremonies of Courts of Heroines of Jericho* (Cairo: IL, 1884) 5-8.

order only began to gain momentum after the Civil War, Dickson shows himself to be an early pioneer of women's fraternalism regardless of the provenance of his Heroine's degrees.<sup>13</sup>

Albery Mackey's 1879 *Encyclopædia of Freemasonry* describes the white Heroine's single ceremony as "brief and unimpressive" and "intended to instruct its female recipients in the claims they have upon the protection of their husbands' and fathers' companions."<sup>14</sup> In what would later become common in other African-American women's groups, but that may have been novel with the Heroines' ceremonies, Dickson took the one-degree white ritual and elaborated it into a three-degree system.<sup>15</sup> The Heroines, initiated members into the degrees of Master Mason's Daughter using the story of Jesus's entry into Jerusalem; True Kinsman in which the initiate is adopted as was the biblical heroine Ruth was; and Heroine of Jericho, based on the story of Rahab in the second chapter of Joshua. The court is built around a replica of the ark of the covenant, frequently carried in procession as the Book of Joshua says the biblical Ark was around the city of Jericho. Each heroine was invested not only with an apron and collar, in the manner of a mason, but also with a crown to remind her of "the queenly honors and dignity" she has been invested with.<sup>16</sup> [SLIDE] With its three degrees, regalia, and enlarged role for women's leadership, Dickson stretched the boundaries of women's fraternalism.

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<sup>13</sup> Mjagkij, Nina, ed., *Organizing Black America* (New York: Garland, 2001), 471. For the white Eastern Star see Alvin J. Schmidt, *Fraternal Organizations* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980) 97-98.

<sup>14</sup> Albert Gallatin Mackey, *An Encyclopædia of Freemasonry and Its Kindred Sciences* (Philadelphia: Moss & Company, 1879) 34, 336.

<sup>15</sup> As pointed out above, the black Order of the Eastern Star, which would also use a three degree system was not yet founded. The black Odd Fellow's auxiliary, the Household of Ruth, founded in 1857 had a three-degree system, but it is not clear whether this was always the case since early accounts seem to speak of only one degree; Charles H. Brooks, *The Official History and Manual of the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows in America: A Chronological Treatise* (Philadelphia: Odd Fellows' Journal Print, 1902), 80. In 1866, Albert Pike republished an eighteenth-century French Eastern Star ritual of three degrees (Apprentice, Companion, and Mistress), but it is unclear if this was known to any Eastern Star ritualists, white or black; Albert Clark Stevens, *The Cyclopædia of Fraternities* (New York: E.B. Treat and Co., 1907), 100-101.

<sup>16</sup> Moses Dickson, *Court of Heroines of Jericho* (Unknown: Unknown, copyright 1895; reprint: Richmond, VA: Macoy Publishing, n.d.), 15-57, quote 57.

At the same time he was publishing the Heroine's ritual, Dickson was founding the International Order of Twelve, which would be his life's work. [SLIDE] According to the 1879 manual, the order was first organized at Galena, Illinois in 1855 and worked actively in the underground railroad. By the 1891 edition of the manual, this story is backtracked to say that the 1855 organization was merely a group to commemorate the original twelve Knights of Liberty, and that it soon died out and took no active role against slavery. The 1891 manual clarifies that the current order dates from August 12, 1872 when three Daughters' tabernacles and two Knights' temples convened in Independence, Missouri to organize the Order of Twelve and to elect the first grand officers.<sup>17</sup>

From their founding in 1872 until at least 1879, both Knights and Daughters each had three degrees.<sup>18</sup> The Knights mythos was rooted in the story of Deborah and Barak's defeat of the much larger army of Sisera in the book of Judges, the plateau of Mount Tabor being where their forces gathered. [SLIDE] One can see the particular resonance of the story of the oppressed overthrowing their occupier for African Americans of the period. In the hopeful, early days of the order when Reconstruction was in full swing, it must have seemed that they were living out the story of Barak and his men. In later years, as the rights gained after the Civil War began to be taken away, the story must have given hope. The Daughters' three degrees focused around the Tabernacle at Sinai, with the Degree of Adoption focusing on Miriam's song of liberation at the Red Sea and the Advance Degree focusing on the construction of the Tabernacle. In the third degree of Sealed Daughter, the newly initiated finds herself in front of the

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<sup>17</sup> Dickson, *Manual*, 1879, p. 5-6; *Manual*, 1891, p. 14-15.

<sup>18</sup> Moses Dickson, *A Manual of the Knights of Tabor, and Daughters of the Tabernacle: Including the Ceremonies of the Order, Constitutions, Installations, Dedications, and Funerals, with Forms, and the Taborian Drill and Tactics* (Press of G. I. Jones, 1879), 86, 142.

Tabernacle's ark and learns the lessons of valor, honor, and truth, values one would normally associate with male rituals and a far stretch from the white Eastern Star values of truth, friendship, kindness, fervency and innocence.<sup>19</sup>

In all of these the candidate is blindfolded and tied and subjected to some of the mild hazing more characteristic of men's rituals than women's. Clearly the Daughters were not what sociologist Mary Ann Clawson described as a ritual for "helpmates." Again, the Daughters' ritual sets up role models such as Miriam and the Samaritan woman at the well rather than the Eastern Star's models of Esther and Martha.<sup>20</sup>

Sometime between 1879 and 1883--between the end of Reconstruction and the Supreme Court's 1883 gutting of the Civil Rights Act of 1875—both the Knights and Daughters added a fourth degree. In addition to the new degrees, an entirely new mixed-gender grouping was added, the Palatium of the House of Media, in which fourth-degree knights and daughters met in relative equality and worked three joint degrees, a surprising innovation for the time.<sup>21</sup> [SLIDE] It appears that the palatiums never took off in the same way that the temples and tabernacles did. At the very least, the temples and tabernacles remained the focus of action and make numerous appearances in newspapers up until World War I, while only about a quarter as many mentions

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<sup>19</sup> Robert Macoy, *Ritual of the Order of the Eastern Star : A Book of Instruction* (New York : R. Macoy, 1876), <http://archive.org/details/ritualoforderofe00maco>, (accessed February 9, 2015), 12-16.

<sup>20</sup> Robert Macoy, *Ritual of the Order of the Eastern Star : A Book of Instruction* (New York : R. Macoy, 1876), <http://archive.org/details/ritualoforderofe00maco>, (accessed February 9, 2015), 12-16; Dickson, *Consolidated Ritual of the Daughters of the Tabernacle*, 9-10.

<sup>21</sup> The years can be narrowed down a bit by some probable guesswork: Martin Delany published his *Principia of Ethnology* in 1879, setting the earliest possible date for the degree and Dickson copyrighted the Daughters' Consolidated Ritual in 1883. Whether "consolidated" indicates the first edition of the ritual with the degree of Saba Meroe added to the original three degrees cannot be determined with certainty, but seems likely. Emory University's Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library's copy of the Consolidated Daughters' ritual dates from no earlier than 1901, since it mentions Dickson's death, but the texts do not match those of the Daughters' 1923 ritual, indicating that there may have been as many as four revisions.

are made of palatiums.<sup>22</sup> The Palatium may well have been an ill-fated attempt to combat gains being made by the Colored Knights of Phthias, organized in 1880 and the affiliated women's Order of Calanthe, organized in 1883. From what can be gathered from the rules for palatiums and lexicon entries in the 1891 manual, their ritual, like that of the Pythians, was based on the myth of the self-sacrificing friendship Damon and Pythias and the beautiful Calanthe, but with the setting moved to Media and a liberal sprinkling of Zoroastrian references.<sup>23</sup>

The Knights new fourth degree initiation, known as the Degree of Uniform Rank, is of only passing interest. The blindfolded and bound third-degree Knight returns once again to the plateau of Tabor, where, after the usual sorts of stational stops and oaths, he is given a previously lost "mysterious word," "the key to the ineffable name of Elohim." This obvious bit of Masonic borrowing is kept within the Knight's framework of the story of Barak and Deborah by making it the word that made the "stars stand still in their courses," at the battle with Sisera, a word which "seemed to have been lost when Malachi closed the Book of Prophecies." The initiate is told that this is the same word given to Moses at Sinai, the word used by Joshua to make the sun stand still, and the word used by Elijah when he called down fire from heaven." The chief mentor then reveals to the new Knight of Uniform Rank that the word is, not surprisingly, the Tetragrammaton (spelled in the rite as "Yahveh"). This promising buildup is allowed to fall flat as the initiate is seated and given eleven tokens in succession, ranging from a wooden key to a

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<sup>22</sup> The author has made extensive use of Gale's Nineteenth-Century Newspapers database and the Library of Congress' Chronicling America database in the production of this paper. The assertion about the palatiums is based on that research.

<sup>23</sup> Nina Mjagkij, *Organizing Black America* (New York: Greenwood, 2001), 167-169. For information on the palatiums, see Dickson, *Manual*, 1891, 181-197, 328-332, 334-335, 346.

glass all-seeing eye and a Bible, all of which seem to have little relationship to what has gone before.<sup>24</sup>

One other interesting passage does occur in the middle of the degree ritual. Bayliss Camp and Orit Kemp in their brief analysis of the fourth degree ritual note the text's assertion, in relation to the Biblical judge Deborah, that "the higher duties of leading the people to the plains of honor and success are often given to a woman." They took this as an indication of "a slightly different attitude toward women . . . than one might typically find," The Daughters' new fourth degree ritual bears this out.<sup>25</sup>

The Daughters fourth degree is of a radical departure from all of the other degrees and represents a much higher order in its symbolism and creativity. [SLIDE] Here Dickson makes a radical departure from the Biblical script. As the Knights' Uniform Degree gave the lost word, the Daughters now received the lost history of people of African descent in an example of Afro-centrism predating the better-known work of the Noble Drew Ali and Marcus Garvey by twenty-five years.

In a lengthy prologue to the degree, the reader is told that that the scene of the action for this "Philosophic Degree of Saba Meroe" has moved to the most ancient tabernacle in the Ethiopian city of Meroe on the banks of the river Saba. The initiate learned that the Jewish tabernacle was but a copy of a more ancient tabernacle of the Ethiopians that was known to Moses. She learned that after the flood, Ham settled in Africa, but unlike contemporary arguments linking him to African inferiority, the Daughter was told that Ham had ruled under the

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<sup>24</sup> Moses Dickson, *Ritual of Taborian Knighthood, Including: The Uniform Rank* (St. Louis, MO: A. R. Fleming & Co., printers, 1889), 62-68.

<sup>25</sup>Dickson, *Manual*, 1879, 187-188; Camp and Kent, 109.

name of Ramses I and, at his death, was deified as Jupiter Ammon. Likewise, his sons Mizram and Cush were respectively Rameses II, deified as Sestoris, and Ramses III, deified as Osiris.<sup>26</sup>

In the milieu of the Saba Meroe, women are religious and political equals of men. They are priestesses who ministered in the temples of all lands and were only excluded from their full roles from the time of Moses. [SLIDE] In this synthesis, women were encouraged to be faithful Christians, but made privy to a greater reality in which prohibitions on female leadership were merely cultural and conventional rather than ontological. Rather than contradicting Christian orthodoxy, the Saba Meroe ritual gives the church a secret prehistory in which society's increasingly limited role for black women was contested and Daughters of the Tabernacle could meet Knights of Tabor on near equal footing.

Drawing largely from Martin Robison Delany's *Principia of Ethnology* and Josephus's *Antiquities*, the ritual argues that all civilization has its roots in Ethiopia and that royals, priests and priestesses were monotheists. In this alternate world, women were ruling queens and high priestesses of the primordial tabernacle, paying external tribute to the gods now thought of as Egyptian, but keeping alive the knowledge of the one god.<sup>27</sup>

Martin Robison Delany's 1878 *Principia of Ethnology: The Origin of Races and Color, with an Archeological Compendium of Ethiopian and Egyptian Civilization, from Years of Careful Examination and Enquiry* was one of the earlier works ascribing the origins of Western

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<sup>26</sup> Moses Dickinson, *Consolidated Ritual of the Daughters of the Tabernacle*. Copyright 1883, printer and edition unknown, 61-62.

<sup>27</sup> Delany, Martin Robison. *Principia of Ethnology: The Origin of Races and Color, with an Archeological Compendium of Ethiopian and Egyptian Civilization, from Years of Careful Examination and Enquiry* (Philadelphia: Harper & brother, 1880); Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, book 2, chapter 10; Dickson, *Consolidated Ritual*, 76-89.

Civilization to Africa.<sup>28</sup> In this 112-page work dedicated to evolutionary and race theory enthusiast, the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, Delany rejects theories of multiple racial origins popular at the time arguing in favor of older ideas of all humans being descended from Noah, and argues instead that the sons of Moses differed only in their pigment, not in their capacities.<sup>29</sup> Delany holds with those who believed Shem to be the father of Asians, Japheth, the father of Europeans, and Ham the father of Africans.<sup>30</sup>

It is Delany who associates Ham, Mizram, and Cush with the three Ramseses and the three dieties. In this triple conflation of Biblical characters, Egyptian deities, and historical figures, Delany creates a mythology acceptable to the avowedly "Evangelical" members of the International Order of Twelve.<sup>31</sup> He argues that Amun, Sestoris, and Osiris, whom he portrays as a triple god, showed that Ethiopians were the first to comprehend the holy trinity long before the advent of Christianity. Delany goes further, asserting that priestesses had equal religious power in Ethiopia, with the implication that they could exercise greater roles of leadership in Christianity and Christian Society as well. [SLIDE] In his 1854 *Origin and Objects of Ancient Freemasonry*, Delany had gone so far as to assert that the Queen of Sheba could enter Solomon's temple because she was a high priestess in her own land.<sup>32</sup> This may well have influenced Dickson's assertion in the Saba Meroe that the highest official of the Ethiopian tabernacle was

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<sup>28</sup> Delany, Martin Robison. *Principia of Ethnology: The Origin of Races and Color, with an Archeological Compendium of Ethiopian and Egyptian Civilization, from Years of Careful Examination and Enquiry* (Philadelphia: Harper & brother, 1880).

<sup>29</sup> Tommie Shelby, "Two Conceptions of Black Nationalism: Martin Delany on the Meaning of Black Political Solidarity." *Political Theory* 31, no. 5 (October 1, 2003): 664–92. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3595691>, p. 673-677.

<sup>30</sup> Delany, *Principia*, 43.

<sup>31</sup> Dickson, *Manual*, 1891, p. 5.

<sup>32</sup> Martin Robison Delany, *The Origin and Objects of Ancient Freemasonry, Its Introduction Into the United States, and Legitimacy Among Colored Men: A Treatise Delivered Before St. Cyprian Lodge, No. 13, June 24th, A.D. 1853* (Pittsburgh: W.S. Haven, 1853) 14n.

the Queen regnant and that, in times when there was a king, the king's oldest daughter filled the role of high priestess.<sup>33</sup>

Delany's work is at least in part a response to the ascendant American School of Ethnology and particularly to George Robins Gliddon's *Ancient Egypt*.<sup>34</sup> Much remains unknown about what Delany drew from various sources and what came from his own fertile mind.

Associations of Ham with Amun and his sons with various other gods had been common in the exegetical literature for well over a century, as had theories of Egyptian monotheism.<sup>35</sup> What is novel is Delany's conflating of these theories with the theory of the Ethiopian/Cushite origins of civilization to upend the racial tropes of the period. Delany's *Principia* has been seen as a work of frustration written by a man whose personal disappointments paralleled the larger reversals faced by African-Americans in the 1870s. It seems that, whatever his personal motivations, Delany's work hit a larger cord. The Saba Meroe ritual would be written within two years of the publication of the *Principia*'s more widely distributed second edition. Its popularity and meaningfulness can be seen in the changes it brought to the terminology of the order. In the 1879 manual, the chief officer of a tabernacle is the chief preceptress. In the 1891 edition, she is either the chief preceptress or high priestess. In the 1895 edition, references to the chief preceptress disappear from the constitution entirely in favor of the term high priestess. The ritual

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<sup>33</sup> Moses Dickinson, *Consolidated Ritual of the Daughters of the Tabernacle*. Copyright 1883, printer and edition unknown.

<sup>34</sup>Mario H. Beatty, "Martin Delany and Egyptology," *Ankh: Revue d'Égyptologie et Des Civilisations Africaines* 14/15 (2006): 78–99. <http://www.ankhonline.com>, accessed March 1, 2015.

<sup>35</sup>For associations of Ham with Amun in scholarship of the period, see Augustin Calmet and Charles Taylor. *Calmet's Dictionary of the Holy Bible: With the Biblical Fragments*, fifth ed. (London: Holdsworth and Ball, 1830) vol. 1, p. 605 and "The Origin of Idolatry," *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine, and Religious Intelligencer*, June, 1814, vol. 7, p. 230. For a seventeenth-century example in the work of Isaac Newton, see J. E. Force, and R. H. Popkin. *Newton and Religion: Context, Nature, and Influence* (Springer Science & Business Media, 1999), 253-254. For a smattering of eighteenth and nineteenth century works on Egyptian monotheism, see E. A. Wallis Budge, *Tutankhamen, Amenism, Atenism and Egyptian Monotheism, with Hieroglyphic Texts of Hymns to Amen and Aten* (London: M. Hopkinson, 1923), 140-142.

would be worked through the advent of Jim Crow, into the period of the Great Migration, with a new edition appearing in 1923, and would continued to be worked up to the advent of the classical era of the U.S. civil rights movement.

[SLIDE] Dickson's creative use of Delany, as well as his own additions from Heroditus and Josephus show an organization far different than a mere "mutual benefit" society providing burial insurance and headstones. Skocpol and her colleagues have shown how African American fraternal organizations were key contributors to the infrastructure of the classical phase of the civil rights movement in largely unrecognized ways. Further examination of Dickson's work and the legacy of the International Order of Twelve provides an institutional bridge between Reconstruction and Selma, providing one more argument in favor of a historiography of a Long Civil Rights Movement. In this St. Louis minister's work and the lives of the I.O.O.T.'s members concentrated along the Mississippi, we find radical ideas about African origins and gender equality as well as esoteric work of a high order, all far from the coastal and urban enclaves of the Theosophical Society and other elite, white organizations.

Until the recent work of Lana Finley, Paschal Beverly Randolph (1825-1875), the African-American Rosicrucian has been a sign of contradiction— a racial one-off and shooting star who made a name in what has almost by the construction of its definition been a white world. The work of his exact contemporary, Moses Dickson shows us that there may yet be entire constellations awaiting discovery.<sup>36</sup> [SLIDE]

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<sup>36</sup> Lana Finley, "Paschal Beverly Randolph in the African American Community." In *Esotericism in African American Religious Experience: "There Is a Mystery,"* edited by Stephen Finley, Margarita Guillory, and Hugh Page Jr, 37–51. Boston: Brill Academic Pub, 2014.