

*Jesse D. Chariton*

**“Some Ceremony Peculiar to Themselves”:  
The Continuation of a European Masonic Ceremony  
in Nineteenth-Century Wisconsin**

With organ music playing in the background, six young children followed a procession of lodge officers toward the symbolic East of the lodge room, where the Master of the lodge awaited them. When the children approached, accompanied by their parents, the Master asked questions of each child's father. Their answers adequate, the Master of the lodge dipped one hand of each child in a font of water, saying, “I wash thee with pure water. May God maintain thee in that innocence and purity of heart, of which this cleansing is a symbol.” He then held a gold triangle bearing Masonic emblems to the forehead of each child while reciting a blessing. The brethren of the lodge made a vow to protect the children throughout their lives. The Senior and Junior Wardens, two officers of the lodge, announced the end of the ceremony. After a speech by the Orator and a prayer by the Chaplain, the children, lodge officers, parents and others in attendance recessed from the room.

Albert Pike, one of the most influential American Freemasons of the nineteenth century, provided an account of the episode just described in an 1865 article in the *New York Times*.<sup>1</sup> In a way, Pike was promoting his own work. He was not only the presiding officer during the ceremony, but had written the ritual script. Though the event was hosted by a local Masonic body, Pike was the head of the Southern Jurisdiction of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, a Masonic organization whose jurisdiction covered most of the United States of America. Beginning in 1855, Pike had been serving on a committee of the Southern Jurisdiction to revise its rituals, and doing so claimed the next three decades of his life.<sup>2</sup> His revised rituals have since become the basis for the rituals of Scottish Rite jurisdictions around the

world, and are still in use in the United States today as the *Revised Standard Pike Ritual*.<sup>3</sup> Less familiar is Albert Pike's *Ceremonial of Masonic Baptism*, authorized by the Supreme Council of the Southern Jurisdiction in 1865.<sup>4</sup> While one Masonic historian maintains that the ceremony was "presumably rarely conducted," Scottish Rite lodges throughout the country conducted Masonic baptism ceremonies using Pike's ritual on more than a few occasions during the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>5</sup> When Pike referred to the ceremony he performed in 1865 as "one of the most interesting, and, at the same time, novel ceremonies connected with Free Masonry," he did not acknowledge its European origin.<sup>6</sup> Six years earlier, two Masonic lodges performed baptisms which were not based on Pike's ritual. In February 1859, *Le Foyer Maçonnique* Lodge No. 44, a French-language lodge in New Orleans, held a ceremony for the baptism of sixteen boys, and newspapers called it interesting and unusual.<sup>7</sup> Six months later, the members of Concordia Lodge No. 83, a German-language lodge in Madison, Wisconsin, held a baptism event. In both cases, the lodges drew condemnation from their respective grand lodges. When officers of the Grand Lodge of Wisconsin sanctioned Concordia Lodge, the members of Concordia claimed baptism was a regular practice in European lodges. After a brief look at the membership of Concordia Lodge, this article will take a glimpse into the European background of the Freemasonry with which they were familiar.

American Freemasonry, a fraternal organization with a set of rituals and ceremonies organized in a series of degrees, traces its tradition and heritage to the origins of Freemasonry in early eighteenth-century Britain.<sup>8</sup> Part of that heritage is an opposition to innovations. After the anti-Masonic period of the 1820s and 1830s, during which lodges and state-level grand lodges lost members, American Freemasons responded to a variety of cultural, social, and institutional changes.<sup>9</sup> One major issue in mid-nineteenth century American Freemasonry was the opposition of two different rites, or systems of rituals and degrees: the Scottish Rite and the York Rite.<sup>10</sup> The York Rite was a tradition carried from England to the American colonies in the 1730s. Within the York Rite there had been a schism in England which, though healed in 1813, left repercussions in America.<sup>11</sup> The Scottish Rite, though officially founded in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1801, had origins in mid-eighteenth-century France.<sup>12</sup> The two rites fought over jurisdiction of geography and of rituals and degrees. Meanwhile, other organizations and rites, some semi-legitimate, and some fabricated by degree peddlers, added to the confusion.<sup>13</sup> One of these was Adoptive Masonry, which allowed women to participate.<sup>14</sup> Another was the French Rite, organized by the Grand Orient (equivalent of a grand lodge) of France in 1786, which took hold in New Orleans in 1798 and became popular during Lafayette's visits in the 1820s.<sup>15</sup>

“Some Ceremony Peculiar to Themselves”

*Le Foyer Maçonique* and Concordia were both French Rite lodges. Though they caused disruptions in American Freemasonry, both Adoptive Masonry and the French Rite were the results of changes within Freemasonry on the European continent.

American Freemasons responded to Pike’s baptism ceremony with skepticism and criticism. Some disapproved of the ritual’s apparent religious nature. Editors of Masonic periodicals argued that “the performance borders on blasphemy” and called it “sacrilegious.”<sup>16</sup> Others agreed with Masonic authority Albert Gallatin Mackey, an officer in both the Scottish Rite and the York Rite, that “in fact, the Masonic baptism has no allusion whatsoever, either in form or design to the sacrament of the Church,” nor was it “intended to interfere . . . with any religious faith.”<sup>17</sup> Recognizing the possibility of misperception, some Masons, like Mackey, acknowledged that perhaps Masonic baptism should have another label, like “adoption.”<sup>18</sup> Those who claimed that Masonic baptism was at least “unmasonic” were generally opposed to any innovations in ritual and customary usage. For example, the author of a piece in the *Freemasons’ Monthly Magazine* urged the “fight against innovations and the introduction of foreign matter into our time-honored Order.”<sup>19</sup> Masonic baptisms became somewhat popular among Scottish Rite Masons in America, but Masons of the York Rite, including the Grand Lodge of Wisconsin, were uncomfortable with such innovation.<sup>20</sup>

The Grand Lodge of Wisconsin, founded in 1844, was fully prepared to accommodate German members, but not German members from a different Masonic tradition. During the 1850s the grand lodge issued charters to a number of German-language lodges formed by members of the growing immigrant population within its jurisdiction. This was part of a nationwide trend. Beginning the 1840s, American Freemasonry spread rapidly with westward expansion and in many cases immigrants to the United States established lodges to operate in their own languages, state-wide grand lodges encouraging them to do so.<sup>21</sup> San Francisco, Pittsburgh, Chicago, and New York hosted Italian, French, and German lodges. In New Orleans, lodges worked in German, Italian, French, and Spanish, and in the York, Scottish, and French Rites.<sup>22</sup> German-language lodges chartered in Wisconsin included Aurora Lodge No. 30 in Milwaukee (1850), Concordia Lodge No. 83 (1857), and Astrea Lodge No. 104 in Port Washington (1858).<sup>23</sup> A group of German-speaking Masons from Kentucky had formed another (though short-lived) German-speaking lodge in Superior, Wisconsin, in 1856.<sup>24</sup> The influence of the growing population of German immigrants in Wisconsin can also be seen in the 1860 vote of Sheboygan Lodge No. 11 (established in 1846 by Masons from New England) to conduct two meetings per month in German.<sup>25</sup> Since German immigrants to Wisconsin were the largest ethnic group to

migrate there, and were particularly heterogeneous, it is not surprising that they brought with them a variety of cultural traditions – including different versions of Freemasonry.

Historians have tended to look at Freemasonry through a sociopolitical lens, with particular attention to its development during the Enlightenment era.<sup>26</sup> Some have analyzed Freemasonry within its broader cultural contexts, with particular emphases on religion and gender.<sup>27</sup> In general, though, as historian James Smith Allen puts it, scholars “have overlooked the non-political side to Masonic activities – the rituals, the legends, the mixed company, the eating and drinking, above all the pleasures of Masonic socializing.”<sup>28</sup> Moreover, if European scholars have mainly concerned themselves with earlier periods, American historians have largely ignored Freemasonry altogether, with the exception of a few books directly on the subject, but for a few passing mentions.<sup>29</sup> Most books on Freemasonry are written from an Anglo-American perspective, and scholarship about Freemasonry has neglected non-English Masonry, particularly the French Rite and others that developed in non-Anglophone countries.<sup>30</sup> Investigating the activities of German-speaking lodges in America, and their individual members, can provide insight into American civil society since, as one Masonic author observed, “Freemasonry is a reflection of the society to which its members belong.”<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, recognizing immigrants’ backgrounds, especially German Masonic sociability, can facilitate a better understanding of their experiences in America.<sup>32</sup>

The German-speaking members of Concordia Lodge came from a different tradition of Freemasonry than their American-born neighbors. They brought a version of Freemasonry as it was practiced in Germany, and their lodge membership connected this diverse group of individuals. Unlike other instances of Masonic baptisms in the nineteenth-century United States, that conducted by the members of Concordia Lodge in 1859 continued a practice that had been familiar in their home countries. This is a part of the larger German-American experience, and it fits within the larger context of German immigrants continuing their *Vereinsleben* in the United States.

### **Concordia Lodge No. 83 in Madison, Wisconsin**

The members of Concordia Lodge were well integrated into the broader community of Madison, Wisconsin, and in many ways helped build it. They also retained their ethnic identity and cultural values. German immigrants’ role in community development in the American Midwest cannot be overstated, and their relatively high percentage of the population in that region is well-known.<sup>33</sup> Midwest historian Paula M. Nelson demonstrates that voluntary associations were central to the development and maintenance of Midwestern

“Some Ceremony Peculiar to Themselves”

communities in the nineteenth century.<sup>34</sup> Kathleen Neils Conzen explains in *Immigrant Milwaukee, 1836-1860* that through their *Vereinsleben* immigrants could embrace their German culture while also participating in American life. For immigrants in the United States, *Vereine*, including ethnic churches, fire companies, shooting and singing societies, and other social and cultural associations, provided “a sense of community based on a mutual background and rituals, and . . . a similar value system.”<sup>35</sup> While immigrants’ participation in these groups was not merely a way to deal with their new situations in the United States, it was still an integral part of their assimilation process, allowing immigrants “not only to reestablish former ties, but also to maintain patterns of language and custom.”<sup>36</sup> Most importantly, the *Vereine* of German immigrants continued the organizational life that had been central to German society in Europe.<sup>37</sup> Just as voluntary organizations like the Masonic lodge or the *Turnverein* were central to building the broader community, they also “served as cultural and social centers of the [ethnic] community” itself.<sup>38</sup>

German-speaking immigrants who settled in Madison, Wisconsin in the early 1850s quickly established a close-knit community by establishing their businesses and actively participating in a variety of local social, political, and religious groups. Soon after John George Ott, a native of Switzerland, arrived in Madison in 1850, he built a house and set up a brick kiln.<sup>39</sup> Samuel Klauber, born in Bohemia, arrived in Madison the next year, after having spent time in New York, and opened a dry goods store.<sup>40</sup> Klauber and Ott were part of a neighborhood of German-speaking shopkeepers, merchants, and craftsmen located east of downtown and the capitol building in an area known as Third Lake Ridge. The “largest and most culturally significant immigrant group,” Madison’s German immigrants ran businesses and worked in ways that supported the city’s early economic development.<sup>41</sup> Within five years this German community established a *Männerchor* and a *Turnverein*, as well as Madison Fire Engine Company No. 2, a volunteer group to support the city’s fire department.<sup>42</sup> As in other cities like Milwaukee, these early ethnic organizations would be of great benefit for immigrants arriving in later decades.<sup>43</sup> But their community involvement was not restricted to German organizations.<sup>44</sup> As in the larger city of Milwaukee, while Madison’s German Americans formed and participated in traditionally German groups, they also actively participated in a variety of other local clubs and societies, like the Odd Fellows and the Freemasons. For example, John G. Ott and Samuel Klauber each served as officers of Madison Masonic Lodge No. 5.<sup>45</sup> German Americans were also involved in the 1854 founding of Hiram Lodge No. 50.<sup>46</sup> Most of Madison’s Germans were Democrats and actively participated in local Democratic clubs, though a few, including Samuel Klauber, were Republicans.<sup>47</sup> Some served in elected or appointed public office. The German-

American Freemasons in mid-nineteenth century Madison, Wisconsin, lived within a wide range of occupational and economic status, reflecting the situation in German Masonic lodges.<sup>48</sup>

German Masons were active in Madison's churches and religious organizations. Their example stands in opposition to those who have postulated that immigrants sought in the lodge a substitute for the religion they may have left behind.<sup>49</sup> It also blurs the lines between *Vereinsdeutsche* and *Kirchendeutsche*.<sup>50</sup> In March 1856, seventeen German families, including those of Marcus Kohner, Simon Sekles, and Samuel Klauber, formed a Jewish congregation in Madison.<sup>51</sup> After they incorporated as *Shaare Shomaim* (Gates of Heaven) Synagogue in 1859, they met in Klauber's home until they built a new building in 1862 (which was designed by August Kutzbock, a member of Hiram Lodge).<sup>52</sup> In 1857 German Catholics in Madison split from St. Raphael's parish to form Holy Redeemer parish.<sup>53</sup> Among the ardent supporters of Holy Redeemer was Hiram Lodge member Casper Mayer, a native of Baden who ran a restaurant in Madison.<sup>54</sup> While German-speaking Catholics and Jews could sometimes become isolated from other German-speaking immigrants, in Freemasonry they saw opportunities for broader association.

Because of the community involvement of its members, Concordia Lodge was not as isolated as some other ethnic lodges in the United States.<sup>55</sup> In the spring of 1857, Sekels, Kohner, Mayer, and Ott, with about a dozen other men, mostly members of Madison Lodge No. 5 and Hiram Lodge, No. 50, petitioned the Grand Lodge of Wisconsin for a charter.<sup>56</sup> Grand Master Henry S. Baird granted a dispensation in March for them to meet as Concordia Lodge and to use the German language for their meetings. When they received their charter as Concordia Lodge No. 83 in June 1857, they became one of about eighty five lodges under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Wisconsin.<sup>57</sup>

Concordia Lodge regularly cooperated with the other lodges in Madison and its officers attended grand lodge meetings.<sup>58</sup> Of course German-American Masons' linguistic and cultural separation from their grand lodge could allow for inconsistencies to creep in. For example, District Deputy Grand Master Orlando Foster expressed the difficulty he experienced during his 1856 visit to Aurora Lodge in Milwaukee: "This Lodge is composed wholly of Germans, doing their work in the German [language], with which I am unacquainted and could not judge as to the letter of their work." He "attempted to give them instruction," but "could not judge of their accuracy."<sup>59</sup> Wisconsin grand lodge officers attempted to prevent similar situations by requiring German-language lodges to keep records in English as well as in German.<sup>60</sup> They went a step further by creating a second grand lecturer position, one to

*“Some Ceremony Peculiar to Themselves”*

work specifically with German-language lodges. In American grand lodges, the grand lecturer was a grand lodge officer whose responsibilities included overseeing ritual matters, discipline, and jurisprudence within subordinate lodges. In 1858, a committee, which included Concordia member Marcus Kohner and Astrea Lodge member William A. Pors, recommended adding the position of German Lecturer, who “shall have the same rights and powers and shall have the same duties to perform as the . . . Grand Lecturer.”<sup>61</sup> In 1859 Dominick Hastreiter, the Worshipful Master of Concordia Lodge, served in that role.<sup>62</sup> Nevertheless, what happened later that year was not a matter of language, as in the case of Aurora, or of “variation in the work and Lectures,” like that which happened a few years earlier in Madison Lodge, “arising from the fact of having received instruction from a Brother not of our jurisdiction.”<sup>63</sup> Concordia produced something wholly unusual from the perspective of Wisconsin Freemasons.

On a Sunday afternoon in 1859, the members of Concordia Lodge held a special meeting with their wives and children present. The lodge officers opened what they called a Sisters’ Lodge and, “after a ceremony peculiar to themselves, proceeded to baptize the male children present.” Grand Master Luther Tracy, shocked after hearing of the event “from three brethren in high position in the Fraternity,” sent M. L. Youngs, the Grand Lecturer, to investigate. Tracy and other grand lodge officers considered the event “irregular” because it had taken place on a Sunday, included women, and had the trappings of a religious ceremony. Youngs found that, not only did the incident take place, but the officers of Concordia Lodge claimed that baptism was a normal practice among Masonic lodges in Germany. Tracy, figuring “that the continuance of the practice in this jurisdiction would . . . lay us open to the criticism of the world,” suspended the charter of Concordia Lodge and ordered them to explain themselves at the next annual meeting of the grand lodge.<sup>64</sup>

However, in December, the officers of Concordia petitioned to be reinstated, “promising in that event to conform to the requirements of the constitution.” But they held their position that “as Masonry was universal [*sic*] the same in all countries, they had the right to practice it in this jurisdiction.” In February 1860, Tracy sent Deputy Grand Master Amasa Cobb to act on his behalf. Cobb conducted interviews with the members of Concordia “and other Masons in Madison, who had some knowledge of the circumstances,” likely German-speaking Masons in other Madison lodges. With the interviews and Youngs’ report, Cobb realized the ideological and cultural differences at play, writing that he considered Concordia’s actions to be “errors of the head, and not of the heart.”<sup>65</sup>

At a meeting the next month, Cobb instructed the officers and other

members of Concordia that “such things as *Masonic Baptism* and *Sisters Lodges* are unknown to Free Masonry, as recognized and practiced in and under the authority of the Grand Lodges of the United States of America, most certainly not attempted and practiced by the Grand Lodge of Wisconsin.”<sup>66</sup> He also lectured “them upon the principles of Free Masonry as recognized by the Grand Lodges of the United States of America.”<sup>67</sup> The officers and members of Concordia Lodge then agreed “to yield a ready and willing obedience to the Grand Lodge, and its Grand Officers in all things appertaining to Free Masonry, and more particularly in this: that no Lodge, as such, can appear in public, or perform any Masonic ceremony in the presence of persons not Masons.”<sup>68</sup> Cobb then reinstated their charter. Rather than cause a scandal, when threatened with a revocation of their charter and a permanent closure by the grand lodge, the members of Concordia decided to conform to the standards of Wisconsin Freemasonry and to confer no more baptisms. Trying to navigate the complicated nineteenth-century American Masonic landscape, and trying to keep their subordinate lodges in order, the officers of the Grand Lodge of Wisconsin acted in accordance with Masonic tradition as they understood it.

### **European Background**

The Grand Lodge of Wisconsin’s German Lecturer was to “fully understand the work of Ancient York Masonry [i.e., the York Rite] in the German Language.”<sup>69</sup> But Concordia Lodge worked in the French Rite.<sup>70</sup> Astrea Lodge in Port Washington, like some other German-language lodges in the U.S., used a York Rite ritual.<sup>71</sup> Aurora Lodge in Milwaukee used a modified version of the French Rite, and this was likely the case with Concordia, since the proceedings of the grand lodge at the time of Concordia’s founding refer to “necessary alterations in the bylaws” having been completed before the lodge received its charter.<sup>72</sup> In the mid-nineteenth century, the Scottish Rite was spreading in the U.S., but the French Rite was generally unknown to American Freemasons. As District Deputy Foster wrote regarding his visit to Aurora Lodge in 1856, “it seemed to me that their form of work bears little resemblance to ancient York Masonry.”<sup>73</sup> Though not necessarily a part of the French Rite, Masonic baptism, a practice alien to English-speaking Masons, would, like the French Rite, nonetheless have been familiar to Masons in or from Continental Europe.<sup>74</sup>

The origins of every grand lodge in the United States can be traced to the Grand Lodge of England, founded in 1717, and American Masonic discourse has perpetuated the prestige of the Grand Lodge of England.<sup>75</sup> With the publication of James Anderson’s *Constitutions* in 1723, the Grand



“Some Ceremony Peculiar to Themselves”

Lodge of England secured a hegemonic position in Freemasonry.<sup>76</sup> Masonic networks have been important in knowledge transfer across the globe, creating “a supranational communicative space . . . in which ideas and practices of the English and Scottish Enlightenment’s political culture were discussed and implemented.”<sup>77</sup> The Grand Lodge of England came to dominate Freemasonry around the world as it chartered lodges throughout the British Empire.<sup>78</sup>

Masonic Lodges spread “distinctly British forms of governance,” cultural norms, and social ideals, and those included the traditional governing principles of Freemasonry as written in what Anderson referred to in the *Constitutions* as the Old Charges and the Ancient Landmarks.<sup>79</sup> These documents provided governing guidelines for the organization, and also included a moral code for its members.<sup>80</sup> The Landmarks are, according to one Masonic historian, “so essential that they cannot be modified or amended without changing the character of the Fraternity.”<sup>81</sup> Successive Wisconsin grand masters emphasized in their annual addresses to the grand lodge the importance of adhering to the Landmarks and traditions of Freemasonry. From the founding of the Grand Lodge of Wisconsin in 1843, Wisconsin Freemasonry “built up a body of law and procedure based on the Ancient Landmarks,” and “a certain amount of tradition and practice.”<sup>82</sup> That tradition and practice included the adoption of the English (York Rite) ritual, like most other grand lodges in the United States.<sup>83</sup> Particularly important in the case of Concordia Lodge is the concept of *regularity*. If a lodge or grand lodge acted out of the ordinary, by admitting women, for example, other lodges would consider it *irregular*.<sup>84</sup> This occasionally became an issue throughout the United States, including at Wisconsin Grand Lodge annual meetings.<sup>85</sup>

Freemasons on the European continent, however, did not express as much concern with regularity. Historian of religion Mircea Eliade referred to Freemasonry as the “only secret movement that exhibits a certain ideological consistency, that already has a history, and that enjoys social and political prestige.”<sup>86</sup> Freemasonry’s ideological consistency faded when it spread out of Great Britain. By the 1730s, a decade after the founding of the Grand Lodge of England, Masonic lodges sprang up on the continent.<sup>87</sup> During the following centuries many innovations were made to Freemasonry as Continental, or Latin, Freemasonry challenged Anglo-American Freemasonry in various ways. As one American past grand master wrote: “We have rarely found an essay on Masonry in any of the Latin languages [i.e., by French or other Continental Freemasons], but what has contained the direct assertion or an inference that Masonry is progressive; and there seems to be an incessant undercurrent in favor of innovations.”<sup>88</sup> From its inception British Freemasonry allowed only male members claiming a belief in a supreme being, and proscribed discussions of politics and religion during lodge meetings – requirements

based on the Ancient Landmarks and reinforced in Anderson's *Constitutions*. The contrary positions (the admission of women, acceptance of atheists, and allowance of discussions of politics and religion) exhibit resistance to the British model by more liberal lodges of the Continental system, eventually led by the Grand Orient of France.<sup>89</sup>

Beginning in the 1730s France became the origin of a number of new Masonic rites.<sup>90</sup> French Masons were partly influenced by a public oration by Andrew Michael Ramsay, an officer of the Grand Lodge of France, who proposed a chivalric origin for Freemasonry; central to his theory was an assumed connection to monastic military orders such as the Knights Templar.<sup>91</sup> French Masons developed over a thousand new degrees, organized in rites such as the Knights of the East, the Rite of Perfection, and the Chapter of the Rose Croix.<sup>92</sup> Because Germany "became the battleground for the conflict between the two Masonic systems [the Anglo-American and the Continental]," it exhibited "the most luxuriant growth of deviations and offshoots of the masonic order."<sup>93</sup> German Masons built onto French foundations to develop the Chapter of Clermont, the Order of Strict Observance, and the Rectified Scottish Rite, as well as the Illuminati and revised versions of Rosicrucians.<sup>94</sup> The epicenter of Freemasonry in central Europe began in the Protestant north, but grew with the increased number of rites, and the situation in the late eighteenth century was one of "complete confusion."<sup>95</sup> Reform-minded Masons in Germany, such as Ignaz Aurelius Feßler and Friedrich Ludwig Schröder attempted to revise rituals and simplify the number of degrees authorized by their respective grand lodges.<sup>96</sup> In response to the growing number of Masonic degrees and rites the Grand Orient of France created the *Rite Moderne* or French Rite in 1786 as a way to simplify Freemasonry within its jurisdiction.<sup>97</sup> By the nineteenth century, multiple rites and rituals were in use among German lodges, and some near the southwest border with France used the French Rite.<sup>98</sup>

Because of ongoing antagonism with the Roman Catholic Church, after the Revolution Masons in France developed rituals and ceremonies to replace those of the Church. Chrétien-Guillaume Riebesthal's *Rituel Maçonnique pour tous les Rites* [Masonic Ritual for All Rites], published in Strasbourg in 1826, includes rituals for Masonic baptism and confirmation for Masons' sons.<sup>99</sup> Masonic baptism had an analogue in republican sponsorships, in which two adults would sponsor a child's entrance into the life of the republic.<sup>100</sup> Similarly, when members of a Masonic lodge sponsored a child, the lodge offered the child instruction in the principles of Freemasonry and the protection and support of the lodge. If the child were male, he would essentially be pre-qualified for membership in the lodge upon reaching the appropriate age.<sup>101</sup> Masonic sources vary on specific details (e.g., ages or

required gender of children), but the concept of Masons’ sons receiving special status predates the founding of the Grand Lodge of England.<sup>102</sup> Masons also disagree on the extent to which the ceremony is, or should be, religious in nature, but their descriptions generally include the use of a ritual, a meal, and the adoption of children by the entire lodge or its officers.<sup>103</sup>

While Masonic adoption/baptism had origins in Britain, Adoptive Masonry, which allowed women to participate and was thus irregular according to English Freemasonry, was a Continental development. Originating in the 1740s among the French aristocracy as a way for women to become actively involved with their husbands’ lodges, eventually Adoptive Masonry included not only Masons’ wives but their sisters and daughters as well.<sup>104</sup> Female participation in Freemasonry ran contrary to Anglo-American Masonic tradition, and was explicitly forbidden in Anderson’s *Constitutions*.<sup>105</sup> The addition of women changed the organization, making it “much more of a salon . . . than a civic organization in the Anglo-American sense.”<sup>106</sup> Banquets and toasts apparently became just as important as were the symbolic rituals.<sup>107</sup> By the 1770s, the Grand Orient of France officially recognized lodges of adoption, and, with the help of Louis Guillemain de Saint-Victor’s 1781 publication of *La Vraie Maçonnerie d’Adoption* [The True Masonry of Adoption], by the end of the century Adoptive Masonry spread across the continent.<sup>108</sup>

German Masonic practices of the early nineteenth century, “particularly varied in form, included adoption rituals similar to those mentioned above. Of course this depended on the certain lodge involved, and the grand lodge under whose jurisdiction it operated. But Hoffmann shows that in Germany, where Masonic lodges “were involved in all domains of their members’ lives,” they also “functioned as a form of all-embracing sociability.”<sup>109</sup> The sons of Freemasons, called *Lufstons*, could petition for membership five years earlier than other men. Quite often, a son would join his father’s lodge.<sup>110</sup> Although German lodges did not practice the Adoptive Masonry popular in France, they did celebrate feminine kinship through an annual social event for wives and daughters of Masons like that held by Concordia Lodge in 1859. During the sister celebration, lodge members granted their wives access to the lodge building, even providing a tour and a meal.<sup>111</sup> The sister celebrations furthered the members’ own goals of sociability and alleviated the women’s concerns about what went on during lodge functions. Not all German Masons appreciated this festivity, however, and in the 1850s one German grand lodge issued a statement forbidding it, “for wise and easily comprehensible reasons,” in language similar to that of the Grand Lodge of Wisconsin.<sup>112</sup> Interestingly, Albert G. Mackey compares the banquets of Adoptive Masonry with those of the French Rite.<sup>113</sup> However, without determining the exact origin of home

lodge of the members of Concordia (not all were Masons before they arrived in Wisconsin), it is impossible to conclude whether their baptism ceremony was related to their use of the French Rite rituals or simply their German Masonic sociability.

## **Conclusion**

The members of Concordia lodge had a different history, and were familiar with a different discourse about that history, than their Anglo-American counterparts. And, while the baptism event may have been an isolated incident, they were certainly not an isolated group. They surrendered their charter in 1882, and, according to one report, the Grand Lodge of Wisconsin intended to end the use of the French Rite by 1886.<sup>114</sup> Past Grand Master Robert O. Jaspersen, writing in 1944, stressed that the early grand masters of Wisconsin's grand lodge "urged repeatedly that Masons become familiar with the Landmarks and rules of the Fraternity. They warned against innovations and insisted upon standards which were of the highest."<sup>115</sup> Those Landmarks and rules followed the norms and traditions inherited from the Anglo-American system. The perceived, albeit brief, conflict between Concordia Lodge and the Grand Lodge of Wisconsin was a case of cultural difference and provides a unique example of the transfer of a little-known tradition of an understudied organization to the United States.

*Iowa State University  
Ames, Iowa*

## **Acknowledgements**

The research for this essay was supported by a Roswell and Elizabeth Garst Foundation Fellowship awarded by the Iowa State University Department of History and was presented in part at the 2021 meeting of the American Academy of Religion, Midwest Region. I would like to thank professors Kathy Hilliard and Nell Gabiam for letting me test out this topic in their classes and Dr. Jeremy Best, Dr. Bill Roba, Max Harrison, and Mickey Belding for their helpful comments. Allan Iding and Dr. Garry Davis provided useful answers to lingering questions. I received helpful assistance from Bill Krueger, who has since retired from the Iowa Masonic Library and Museum in Cedar Rapids. Michael Heitke, who has since retired from the Robert Monteith Masonic Library and Museum in Madison, Wisconsin, was the first to attempt an answer to my questions about this topic over a decade ago.

## “Some Ceremony Peculiar to Themselves”

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Albert Pike, “Interesting Masonic Ceremony: Baptism of Six Children,” *New York Times*, October 1, 1865, reprinted in *Ritual, Secrecy, and Civil Society* 1, no. 1 (Spring 2013): 52-53.

<sup>2</sup> Arturo de Hoyos, *The Scottish Rite Ritual Monitor and Guide*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Washington, D.C.: Supreme Council, 33<sup>o</sup>, Southern Jurisdiction, 2010), 116-20; de Hoyos, *Masonic Formulas and Rituals Transcribed by Albert Pike in 1854 and 1855* (Washington, D.C.: The Scottish Rite Research Society, 2010), 43; William L. Fox, *Lodge of the Double-Headed Eagle: Two Centuries of Scottish Rite Freemasonry in America’s Southern Jurisdiction* (Fayetteville, Arkansas: University of Arkansas Press, 1997), 63.

<sup>3</sup> de Hoyos, *The Scottish Rite Ritual Monitor and Guide*, 122-23.

<sup>4</sup> Albert Pike, *Ceremonial of Masonic Baptism in the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry* (New York: Edmund Jones & Co., 1865), listed in Ray Baker Harris, ed., *Bibliography of the Writings of Albert Pike*, centennial ed. (Washington, D.C.: Supreme Council, 33<sup>o</sup>, Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, Southern Jurisdiction, 1957), 87; Albert Pike, *Offices of Masonic Baptism, Reception of a Louveteau, and Adoption* (Washington, D.C.: Supreme Council, 33<sup>o</sup>, for the Southern Jurisdiction of the United States, 1871). See Harris for Pike’s earlier manuscript editions.

<sup>5</sup> Fox, *Lodge of the Double-Headed Eagle*, 433n41. Perhaps Fox meant rarely conducted in public as some contemporary sources claimed. E.g., “Masonic Baptism,” *Natchez Bulletin* (Natchez, MS), February 5, 1868; “Very Young Masons,” *The Sun* (New York), June 11, 1884; “Baptized into Masonry,” *New York Times*, June 11, 1884.

The full public ritual is printed in Charles T. McClenachan, *The Book of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry: Containing Instructions in all the Degrees . . .* (New York: Masonic Publishing and Manufacturing Co., 1868), 555-76.

Examples of lodges performing the baptism include Quitman Lodge (New Orleans), *Times-Picayune* (New Orleans), Jan. 31, 1868; Mithras Lodge of Perfection (Washington, D.C.), *Evening Star* (Washington, D.C.), Apr. 30, 1872; *La Sincérité* Lodge (New York), *New York Times*, June 11, 1884; Palmoni Lodge of Perfection (Buffalo, NY), *Proceedings*, Council of Deliberation, Scottish Rite of the State of New York (1913), 99-100; San Jose Scottish Rite bodies, *Santa Cruz Sentinel* (Santa Cruz, CA), Apr. 7, 1935.

<sup>6</sup> Pike revised Scottish Rite rituals that he had received from Albert Gallatin Mackey, Grand Secretary of the Scottish Rite Supreme Council, many of them in their original French manuscript form. Fox, *Lodge of the Double-Headed Eagle*, 52; de Hoyos, *Masonic Formulas and Rituals*, 42.

<sup>7</sup> *Times-Picayune* (New Orleans), Feb. 6, 1859; “Grand Celebration of Masonic Baptism, by Foyer Maconnique No. 44,” *Times-Picayune* (New Orleans), Feb. 10, 1859; “The Masonic Baptism,” *New Orleans Crescent* (New Orleans), Feb. 12, 1859; “Interesting Masonic Ceremony,” *Times-Picayune* (New Orleans), Feb. 13, 1859.

*Le Foyer Maçonniqúe’s* 1859 performance was considered to be the earliest Masonic baptism conferred in the United States. E.g., Albert G. Mackey, *An Encyclopædia of Freemasonry and its Kindred Sciences Comprising the Whole Range of Arts, Sciences and Literature as Connected with the Institution*, ed. Edward L. Hawkins (New York: The Masonic History Company, 1914), 1:24. However, the same lodge held at least one baptism in 1851. “Masonic Celebration,” *Times-Picayune* (New Orleans), October 21, 1851; “Masonic Baptism,” *New Orleans Weekly Delta*, October 27, 1851.

<sup>8</sup> Actually, Freemasonry predates the founding of the Grand Lodge of England in 1717, but that history is outside the scope of this article.

<sup>9</sup> William Preston Vaughn, *The Antimasonic Party in the United States, 1826-1843* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1983); Paul Goodman, *Towards a Christian Republic: Antimasonry and the Great Transition in new England, 1826-1836* (New York: Oxford

University Press, 1988); Steven C. Bullock, *Revolutionary Brotherhood: Freemasonry and the Transformation of the American Social Order, 1730-1840* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 280-319.

<sup>10</sup> The term "rite" can denote either a single ritual or ceremony for a degree, or a system of rituals. Fox, *Lodge of the Double-Headed Eagle*, 14.

<sup>11</sup> Mark A. Tabbert, *American Freemasons: Three Centuries of Building Communities* (New York: New York University Press, 2005), 44-45.

<sup>12</sup> This, however, is as disputed as it is complicated. See an interesting discussion in Alain Bernheim, "Did Early 'High' or *Écossais* Degrees Originate in France?" *Heredom* 5 (1996): 87-113.

<sup>13</sup> See David G. Hackett's discussion of ritual development in America in *That Religion in which All Men Agree: Freemasonry in American Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 85-90.

<sup>14</sup> See Hackett, *That Religion in Which All Men Agree*, 132-137, and Tabbert, *American Freemasons*, 78-81, for information about the Order of the Eastern Star, an American manifestation of Adoptive Masonry. Clawson provides more context in her chapter "The Rise of the Women's Auxiliary." Mary Ann Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood: Class, Gender, and Fraternalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 178-210.

<sup>15</sup> Jean-Pierre Lassalle, "From the Constitutions and Regulations of 1762 to the Grand Constitutions of 1786," *Heredom* 2 (1993): 75; Kent Walgren, "An Historical Sketch of Pre-1851 Louisiana Scottish Rite Masonry," *Heredom* 4 (1995): 189-206;

<sup>16</sup> "The Masonic Baptism," *Salisbury Evening Post* (Salisbury, NC), Apr. 18, 1914; "Rite of Masonic Baptism," *Brotherhood* [monthly organ of the Scottish Rite Bodies of New York City] 2, no. 8 (February 1914): 4.

<sup>17</sup> Mackey, *Encyclopædia*, 1:97; "Eight Young Masons: Ceremony Attending the Adoption of Children by a Masonic Lodge," *Milwaukee Journal*, June 14, 1884.

<sup>18</sup> Mackey suggested "Lustration." *Encyclopædia*, 1:97.

<sup>19</sup> "Woman-Masonry," *The Freemason's Monthly Magazine* 19, no. 1 (November 1859): 313-314.

<sup>20</sup> "Whilst there is much in the ritual . . . that is worthy of admiration, there is no possibility that the Freemasons of England will ever approve of its introduction into this country." John T. Thorp, "Masonic Baptism," *Transactions*, Lodge of Research, No. 2429 Leicester [England] (1915): 60.

<sup>21</sup> Tabbert, *American Freemasons*, 58-65, 78; Hackett, *That Religion in Which all Men Agree*, 127. See also Rebok, "Ja, Er war unser! Alexander von Humboldt and the Freemasons," *YGAS* 53 (2018): 7.

<sup>22</sup> Lynn Dumenil, *Freemasonry and American Culture, 1880-1930* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984) 10; Poll, "Albert Pike's Address," *Heredom* 10 (2002): 228.

<sup>23</sup> Allan E. Iding, ed., *Forward Freemasonry: A History of Freemasonry in Wisconsin* (Dousman, Wisconsin: Grand Lodge Free and Accepted Masons of Wisconsin) 1:91-92, 117; Robert O. Jasperson, *Centennial of the Grand Lodge Free and Accepted Masons of Wisconsin, 1844-1944: A History of Freemasonry in Wisconsin* (Milwaukee: n.p., 1944), 33.

<sup>24</sup> The charter process for Nemadji Lodge was never completed because, according to one source, the members were "Southern sympathizers." *Proceedings of the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, of the State of Wisconsin* (1860), 9; Iding, *Forward Freemasonry*, 305; Jasperson, *Centennial*, 33.

<sup>25</sup> Iding, *Forward Freemasonry*, 1:169-70.

<sup>26</sup> For Enlightenment examples, see Margaret C. Jacob, *Living the Enlightenment: Freemasonry and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); R. William Weisberger, *Speculative Freemasonry and the Enlightenment: A Study of the Craft in London, Paris, Prague, and Vienna* (Boulder, Colorado: East European Monographs,

“Some Ceremony Peculiar to Themselves”

1993); Kenneth Loïselle, *Brotherly Love: Freemasonry and Male Friendship in Enlightenment France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014).

<sup>27</sup> E.g., Jacob Katz, *Jews and Freemasons in Europe, 1723-1939*, trans. Leonard Oschry (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970).

For examples focused on gender, see Mary Ann Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood: Class, Gender, and Fraternalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989); Mark C. Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1989); Ami Pflugrad-Jackisch, *Brothers of a Vow: Secret Fraternal Orders and the Transformation of White Male Culture in Antebellum Virginia* (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 2010); and Máire Fedelma Cross, ed. *Gender and Fraternal Orders in Europe, 1300-2000* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

<sup>28</sup> James Smith Allen, “The Politics of Sociability? French Masonic Culture before the Revolution,” in Cross, ed. *Gender and Fraternal Orders in Europe*, 184.

<sup>29</sup> American histories include Lynn Dumenil, *Freemasonry and American Culture, 1880-1930* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984); Steven C. Bullock, *Revolutionary Brotherhood: Freemasonry and the Transformation of the American Social Order, 1730-1840* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996); David G. Hackett, *That Religion in Which All Men Agree: Freemasonry in American Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014).

<sup>30</sup> “The English writers on Masonry have been at no pains to give us any very accurate or extended account of Masonry anywhere, unless it was what they boastingly call English Masonry.” J.W.S. Mitchell, *The History of Freemasonry* (Philadelphia: American Publishing House, 1860), 1:323. This has been slowly changing.

<sup>31</sup> Iding, *Forward Freemasonry*, 1:1. Referring specifically to the situation in New Orleans, Michael Poll writes, “Like the many New Orleans neighborhoods, Masonic lodges often reflected the culture of the members of the lodge.” Poll, “Albert Pike’s Address,” 228.

<sup>32</sup> Timothy G. Anderson, “On the Pre-Migration Social and Economic Experience of Nineteenth-Century German Immigrants,” *YGAS* 36 (2001): 93; Timothy Bawden, “A Geographical Perspective on Nineteenth-Century German Immigration to Wisconsin,” in *Wisconsin German Land and Life*, edited by Heike Bungert, Cora Lee Kluge, and Robert O. Ostergren (Madison, Wisconsin: Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, 2006), 91. As Conzen wrote, “few treatments of Germans pay much attention to the cultural milieu which produced them.” Kathleen Neils Conzen, “The Paradox of German-American Assimilation,” *YGAS* 16 (1981): 158.

Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann argues that “with the exception of the United States, there was hardly another society in the nineteenth century that was as ‘sociable’ as Germany.” Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann, *The Politics of Sociability: Freemasonry and German Civil Society, 1840-1918*, trans. Tom Lampert (Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 2007), 3.

<sup>33</sup> Thomas J. Archdeacon, *Becoming American: An Ethnic History* (New York: The Free Press, 1983), 103-4; Richard H. Zeitlin, *Germans in Wisconsin*, rev. ed. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 2000), 5; Robert C. Ostergren and Heike Bungert, “Introduction,” in *Wisconsin German Land and Life*, xv.

<sup>34</sup> Paula M. Nelson, “Civic Life in a Midwestern Community,” in *Finding a New Midwestern History*, edited by Jon K. Lauck, Gleaves Whitney, and Joseph Hogan (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2018), 97.

<sup>35</sup> Cathleen Neils Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee, 1836-1860: Accommodation and Community in a Frontier City* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1976); Annette R. Hofmann, *The American Turner Movement: A History from its Beginnings to 2000*, trans. Ernestine Dillon, Philip Reid, Rosemary Overstreet, and Eberhard Reichmann (Indianapolis: IUPUI Max Kade German-American Center, 2010), 46.

<sup>36</sup> Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee*, 154-155; Zeitlin, *Germans in Wisconsin*, 19; Jon Gjerde, *The Minds of the West: Ethnocultural Evolution in the Rural Middle West, 1830-1917* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 108.

<sup>37</sup> Hofmann, *The American Turner Movement*, 47; Conzen, "The Paradox of German-American Assimilation," 155; Richard L. Hummel and Rudi Prusok, "German-American Target-Shooting Societies in Nineteenth-Century Illinois," *YGAS* 37 (2002): 116. "When [middle class] Germans came to America, they brought their *Vereinswesen* with them." Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee*, 155.

<sup>38</sup> Gjerde, *Minds of the West*, 108.

<sup>39</sup> Consul Willshire Butterfield, ed., *History of Dane County, Wisconsin . . .* (Chicago: Western Historical Company, 1880), 1018.

<sup>40</sup> Peter N. Laugesen, "The Immigrants of Madison, Wisconsin, 1860-1890," MA thesis (University of Wisconsin, 1966), 29; Lyman C. Draper, compiler, *Madison, the Capital of Wisconsin* (Madison, Wisconsin: Calkins and Proudfit, 1857), 44; Butterfield, *History of Dane County*, 1007.

<sup>41</sup> Stuart D. Levitan, *Madison: The Illustrated Sesquicentennial History, Volume 1, 1856-1931*, (Madison, The University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), 78.

<sup>42</sup> Butterfield, *History of Dane County*, 753, 763, 803; Laugesen, "Immigrants of Madison," 14, 17-18; *Madison Past and Present* (Madison, Wisconsin: Wisconsin State Journal, 1902), 68-69; Robert Wild, "Chapters in the History of the Turners," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 9, no. 2 (December 1925): 128; Draper, *Madison*, 48.

<sup>43</sup> Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee*, 167-168; Laugesen, "The Immigrants of Madison, Wisconsin," 14.

<sup>44</sup> Their participation in ethnic-type groups was "based not on enmity but merely on a desire to associate with those who possessed a common language and background." Laugesen, "Immigrants of Madison," 19.

<sup>45</sup> *Proceedings* (1855), 93; *Proceedings* (1857), 63.

<sup>46</sup> *One Hundred Years of Progress by Hiram Lodge No. 50 Free and Accepted Masons, Madison, Wisconsin: The Record of the Years in the service of the Grand Architect of the Universe* (Madison: Hiram Lodge No. 50, 1954), 13; *Proceedings* (1854), 85-86; *Madison Past and Present*, 100.

<sup>47</sup> Butterfield, ed., *History of Dane County*, 1007.

<sup>48</sup> Hoffmann, *Sociability*, 46-50; Christopher Clark, *Iron Kingdom: The Rise and Downfall of Prussia, 1600-1947* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap/Harvard, 2006), 248.

For example, the early membership rolls of Concordia Lodge include restaurant owners, liquor and cigar salesmen, merchant tailors, dry goods merchants, a silversmith and a gunsmith, an architect, and the editor of the *Madison Demokrat* newspaper.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee*, 168-69.

Freemasons encouraged one another to transcend religious biases, though Catholics and Jews both occasionally experienced discrimination by German Masonic Lodges. For an overview, see Hackett's chapter "Jews and Catholics, 1723-1920," in *That Religion in Which All Men Agree: Freemasonry in American Culture*, 192-218. See also Katz, *Jews and Freemasons in Europe*.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Regina Donlon, *German and Irish Immigrants in the Midwestern United States, 1850-1900* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 122.

<sup>51</sup> Draper, *Madison*, 40-41; Butterfield, *History of Dane County*, 791.

Shari Rabin explains how joining American Masonic lodges helped Jews adapt to American culture in *Jews on the Frontier: Religion and Mobility in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: New York University Press, 2017), 31-54.

<sup>52</sup> Levitan, *Madison*, 57; Draper, *Madison*, 41; *Proceedings* (1857), 96.

<sup>53</sup> *Madison: Past and Present*, 80; "Dedication of Church of Redeemer," *Wisconsin State Journal*, June 14, 1869; Butterfield, *History of Dane County*, 786.



“Some Ceremony Peculiar to Themselves”

Creating German-speaking congregations parallel to English counterparts was typical for the time, particularly in southern Wisconsin because of built-up ethnic tension between Irish and German Catholics. In the previous decade, Milwaukee’s German Catholics had separated to form St. Mary’s congregation. Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee*, 161, 191.

<sup>54</sup> *Biographical Review of Dane County, Wisconsin* (Chicago: Biographical Review Publishing Company, 1893), 497; *Proceedings* (1857), 96.

<sup>55</sup> Historian Lynn Dumenil notes that “conducting ritual and business in their own language, [ethnic] lodges self-consciously retained their native culture, a factor that served to separate them from mainstream Masonry.” Dumenil, *Freemasonry and American Culture*, 10.

<sup>56</sup> *One Hundred Years of Progress by Hiram Lodge No. 50*, 13; Draper, *Madison*, 41, 48; *Proceedings* (1857), 12.

<sup>57</sup> *Proceedings* (1857), 12, 42.

*Concordia*, Latin for harmony, was evidently a popular name for German lodges. For example, Hoffmann mentions a German-speaking Concordia Lodge in Paris in 1870. Hoffmann, *Sociability*, 257. Others include Concordia Lodge No. 345 (Cleveland, OH), Concordia Lodge No. 67 (Jenkintown, PA; originally intended to be a German-language lodge), and Lodge Concordia No. 226 (Adelaide, Australia; uses the *Schröder* ritual).

<sup>58</sup> For example, members of Concordia Lodge co-hosted a Masonic festival with other Masons. *Wisconsin State Journal*, Jan. 24, 1859. In 1861 Concordia held a joint meeting with Madison Lodge No. 5 to arrange for a members’ funeral. *Wisconsin State Journal*, November 20, 1861.

<sup>59</sup> *Proceedings* (1856), 53.

<sup>60</sup> “. . . thus enabling the Grand Lecturer, upon examination, to judge of the correctness of their work.” *Proceedings* (1858), 19.

<sup>61</sup> *Proceedings* (1858), 20-21; 32-33.

<sup>62</sup> *Proceedings* (1857), 20; *One Hundred Years of Progress by Hiram Lodge No. 50*, 13; *Proceedings* (1858), 125.

<sup>63</sup> *Proceedings*, (1853), 28.

<sup>64</sup> *Proceedings* (1860), 9-10.

Masonic lodges have traditionally avoided meeting on Sundays in order to avoid obligations of any members to Christian worship. Concordia’s normal meeting time was on Wednesdays. *Proceedings* (1859), 91; *Madison City Directory and Business Monitor* (Milwaukee: Smith, Du Moulin & Co., 1858), 131.

<sup>65</sup> *Proceedings* (1860), 10, 27.

<sup>66</sup> *Proceedings* (1860), 27-28, italics in original.

<sup>67</sup> *Proceedings* (1860), 28.

<sup>68</sup> “. . . with the single exception of the Burial Service, without a dispensation from the Grand Master.” *Proceedings* (1860), 28.

<sup>69</sup> *Constitution of the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons of Wisconsin* (1858), Art. VIII Sec. 19-21; *Proceedings* (1858), 33.

<sup>70</sup> Jasperson, *Centennial*, 33; Iding, *Forward Freemasonry*, 1:117. Henry Noll, “Sunday Thoughts,” *Wisconsin State Journal*, Dec. 31, 1944.

<sup>71</sup> Iding, *Forward Freemasonry*, 1:92. Michael R. Poll, writing about Germania Lodge No. 46 in New Orleans, chartered as a York Rite lodge in 1844, reminds us that lodges could work with rituals combined from multiple rites. Michael R. Poll, “Albert Pike’s Address before the Grand Consistory of Louisiana,” *Heredom* 10 (2002): 228.

<sup>72</sup> Jasperson, *Centennial*, 33; *Proceedings* (1857), 20.

<sup>73</sup> *Proceedings* (1856), 53.

<sup>74</sup> Pierre Mollier, “Commentary on Albert Pike’s ‘Interesting Masonic Ceremony,’” *Ritual, Secrecy, and Civil Society* 1, no. 1 (Spring 2013): 51.

Incidentally, some American Freemasons, including Albert Gallatin Mackey and Charles T. McClenachan, were aware of Masonic baptism/adoption, and that it was “practiced, with peculiar ceremonies, in some of the French and German Lodges.” Mackey, *Encyclopædia*, 1:23. McClenachan, *The Book of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry*, 555. Mackey and McClenachan were both associates of Albert Pike.

<sup>75</sup> Some American grand lodges can be traced to the grand lodges of Ireland or Scotland, but that history is outside the scope of this article, and, since those two were somewhat modelled on that of England, the point remains the same. See Fox, *Lodge of the Double-Headed Eagle*, 8-13.

<sup>76</sup> James Anderson, *The Constitutions of the Free-Masons containing the History, Charges, Regulations, &c. of that most Ancient and Right Worshipful Fraternity*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Benjamin Franklin, 1734; repr., Lincoln: University of Nebraska-Lincoln Libraries, 2008). The *Constitutions* included criteria for chartering new lodges (charters were to come from the Grand Lodge of England).

<sup>77</sup> Hoffmann, *Sociability*, 19. As an example of the usefulness of these networks, Sandra Rebok’s recent article argues that Masonic networks in the United States helped to spread and popularize the ideas (and the ideal) of Alexander von Humboldt. Sandra Rebok, “‘Ja, Er war unser!’: Alexander von Humboldt and the Freemasons,” *YGAS* 53 (2018): 1-18.

<sup>78</sup> See Jessica L. Harland-Jacobs, *Builders of Empire: Freemasons and British Imperialism, 1717-1927* (Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 2007). Even among British Freemasons, however, some issues remained unsettled. See, e.g., Marsha Keith Schuchard, “Jacobite vs. Hanoverian Claims for Masonic ‘Antiquity’ and ‘Authenticity,’” *Heredom* 18 (2010): 121-86.

<sup>79</sup> Those British forms of governance included “constitutions, voting by individual, and sometimes by secret ballot, majority rule, elected officers, ‘taxes’ in the form of dues, public oratory, even courts for settling personal disputes.” Margaret C. Jacob, *The Origins of Freemasonry: Facts & Fictions* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 47; Allen, “The Politics of Sociability?” 183.

The Old Charges are the manuscript constitutions of the operative stonemasons, some of which were already centuries old by the time Anderson compiled them in his own *Constitutions* in 1723. Though scholars and Masons themselves disagree on the number and definition of the Landmarks, “The prevailing idea . . . is that they are those time-honored and universal customs of Freemasonry which have been the fundamental law of the Fraternity from a period so remote that their origin cannot be traced.” Silas H. Shepherd, *The Landmarks of Freemasonry, being a Compilation of the Lists Made by Masonic Scholars or Adopted by Grand Lodges Together with Material Planned to Assist Comparative Study* (Dousman, Wisconsin: Wisconsin Grand Lodge Committee on Masonic Research, 1924), preface.

<sup>80</sup> For example, a Mason is expected to avoid “all Wrangling and Quarrelling, all Slander and Backbiting . . .” Anderson, *Constitutions*, 55.

<sup>81</sup> Shepherd, *Landmarks*, preface.

<sup>82</sup> Jaspersen, *Centennial*, 63. The Grand Lodge of Wisconsin was formed by three lodges originally chartered by the grand lodges of Missouri and Illinois. Iding, *Forward Freemasonry*, 1:46-57.

<sup>83</sup> The Grand Lodge of Wisconsin adopted the ritual agreed upon by the Baltimore Convention, a sort of Masonic congress with delegates from over a dozen states who met in 1843 to agree on matters of Masonic jurisprudence and a unified ritual system. Iding, *Forward Freemasonry*, 1:57; *Proceedings* (1857), 7-8. This, then, was an English ritual with slight modifications for American usage. Silas H. Shepherd, *Notes on the Ritual* (Dousman, Wisconsin: Wisconsin Grand Lodge Committee on Masonic Research, [1916?]), n.p.

<sup>84</sup> While recognition (i.e., of the legitimacy of one lodge or grand lodge by another) is determined by a vote of the members of a given lodge, regularity is considered to be a more objective concept suggesting compliance with the Old Charges and Ancient Landmarks.

“Some Ceremony Peculiar to Themselves”

<sup>85</sup> Robert O. Jasperson, head of the Wisconsin Grand Lodge Foreign Correspondence Committee for a number of years in the twentieth century, wrote that reports of correspondence with other jurisdictions “serve to safeguard the essentials that bind the lodges into one great family, not by punitive action, but by pointing out wherein certain actions may be contrary to the spirit as well as the ancient law of the Fraternity.” Jasperson, *Centennial*, 60.

Another important concept, unique to the United States, is the so-called Doctrine of Exclusive Territorial Jurisdiction, which states that only one grand lodge may exist in each state or territory of the United States. This arrangement was agreed upon by grand lodges in the USA since the early 1800s. See the in-depth discussion in Grayson W. Mayfield, “The Doctrine of Exclusive Territorial Jurisdiction.” *Heredom* 17 (2009): 137-58; see also Jasperson, *Centennial*, 59-60.

<sup>86</sup> Mircea Eliade, *Rites and Symbols of Initiation: The Mysteries of Birth and Rebirth*, trans. Williard R. Trask (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 133.

<sup>87</sup> Hoffmann, *Sociability*, 19; Weisberger, *Speculative Freemasonry*, 1.

<sup>88</sup> G. W. Baird, quoted in “Report on Foreign Correspondence,” *Proceedings* (1905), 34.

<sup>89</sup> Mitchell, *History of Freemasonry*, 1:325. “Only in Germany did these two camps coexist in close proximity.” Hoffmann, *Sociability*, 110.

<sup>90</sup> Hoffmann, *Sociability*, 24-26. See Goodrick-Clarke’s discussion in his chapter “High-Grade Freemasonry and Illuminism in the Eighteenth Century,” in *The Western Esoteric Traditions: A Historical Introduction* (New York: Oxford, 2008), 131-54. See also “Derivation and Degeneration: The Sects of the Later Eighteenth Century,” in J.M. Roberts, *The Mythology of the Secret Societies* (London; Secker and Warburg, 1972; London: Watkins, 2008), 105-32.

<sup>91</sup> Lisa Kahler, “Andrew Michael Ramsay and His Masonic Oration,” MA thesis (University of Texas at Dallas, 1992); Eugen Lennhoff, *The Freemasons: The History, Nature, Development and Secret of the Royal Art*, trans. Einar Frame (London: A Lewis, 1978; originally published as *Die Freimaurer*, 1934), 69-72; Fox, *Lodge of the Double-Headed Eagle*, 8.

<sup>92</sup> Fox, *Lodge of the Double-Headed Eagle*, 13-14; Henrik Bogdan, “High or Additional Degrees of Freemasonry,” chapter 5 in *Western Esotericism and Rituals of Initiation* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2007).

<sup>93</sup> Edward M. Batley, “Lessing’s Templars and the Reform of German Freemasonry,” *German Life and Letters* 52, no. 3 (July 1999): 306; Roberts, *Mythology of the Secret Societies*, 61; Lennhoff, *The Freemasons*, 89ff.

<sup>94</sup> Hoffmann, *Sociability*, 25-27; Clarke, *The Western Esoteric Traditions*, 134-37; Lennhoff, *The Freemasons*, 89-109.

<sup>95</sup> Lennhoff, *The Freemasons*, 110.

<sup>96</sup> Hoffmann, *Sociability*, 26, 341n16

<sup>97</sup> Emmanuel Rebold, *A General History of Free-Masonry in Europe . . .*, trans. and compiled by J. Fletcher Brennan (Cincinnati: American Masonic Publishing Association, 1868), 223, 228; Joannes A.M. Snoek, “The Evolution of the Hiram Legend in England and France,” *Heredom* 11 (2003): 17; Pierre Chevallier, *Histoire de la Franc-Maçonnerie française*, vol. 1, *La Maçonnerie: Ecole de l’Égalité, 1725-1799* (Paris: Fayard, 1974), 189-90; Lassalle, “The Grand Constitutions,” 75.

<sup>98</sup> Hoffmann, *Sociability*, 26, 258; Lennhoff, *The Freemasons*, 89ff.

<sup>99</sup> Pierre Mollier, “Chrétien-Guillaume Riebesthal: From the Religions of the Revolution to Paramasonic Ceremonies,” *Ritual, Secrecy, and Civil Society* 1, no. 1 (Spring 2013): 46-50. Mollier suggests that this is likely the source Albert Pike used for his baptism ritual.

<sup>100</sup> Mollier, “Commentary,” 46-50; Kenneth Loiselle, *Brotherly Love: Freemasonry and Male Friendship in Enlightenment France* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 214), 209.

<sup>101</sup> To the extent that Freemasonry derived from operative stonemasons’ guilds, a comparison with baptism among the French *Compagnonnage* provides interesting parallels.

See Cynthia Maria Truant, *The Rites of Labor: Brotherhoods of Compagnonnage in Old and New Regime France* (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1994), e.g., 85, 152-53, 294-95.

<sup>102</sup> The term for Mason's son is Lewis or *louveton*, as in Pike's *Reception of a Louveteau*, a sort of confirmation for older male children.

<sup>103</sup> Note that baptism, according to anthropologist Françoise Zonabend, "is characterized . . . by rituals," a celebratory meal, and the inclusion of 'godparents' for the children baptized. Françoise Zonabend, "Baptismal Kinship at Minot (Côte d'Or)," in *Ritual, Religion, and the Sacred: Selections from the Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, vol. 7, ed. Robert Forster and Orest Ranum, trans. Elborg Forster and Patricia M. Ranum (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), 58.

<sup>104</sup> Allen, "The Politics of Sociability?" 183, 188, 192. See an extensive treatment in Jacob, *Living the Enlightenment*, 120-142. In some cases, women formed their own lodges. Jacob, *Origins of Freemasonry*, 19; Lennhoff, *The Freemasons*, 339-340.

<sup>105</sup> Harland-Jacobs, *Builders of Empire*, 89-93; Anderson, *Constitutions*, 49; Allen, "The Politics of Sociability?" 191. "So irregular, in fact, was the admission of women into English lodges that discussing it became a way to discredit rival factions." Harland-Jacobs, *Builders of Empire*, 90.

<sup>106</sup> Allen, "The Politics of Sociability?" 190. See Loisele's third chapter, "Confronting the Specter of Sodomy," for more about changes this brought on. Loisele, *Brotherly Love*, 81-109.

<sup>107</sup> Allen, "The Politics of Sociability?" 190. Mackey, *Encyclopædia*, 1:25. Joannes A.M. Snoek describes two early nineteenth-century French adoption rituals after which the members present held a Table Lodge (a meal) and a toast in *Initiating Women in Freemasonry: The Adoption Rite*, Aries Book Series: Text and Studies in Western Esotericism, vol. 13 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 188.

<sup>108</sup> Jacob, *Origins of Freemasonry*, 97. *La Vraie Maçonnerie d'Adoption* was included in de Saint-Victor's *Recueil Précieux de la Maçonnerie Adonhiramite* [Precious Collection of Adonhiramite Masonry] (Paris: 1781), which was among the documents Albert Pike consulted. de Hoyos, *Masonic Formulas and Rituals*, 44. Pike's *The Masonry of Adoption* (1866), is listed in Harris, ed., *Bibliography of the Writings of Albert Pike*, 96.

<sup>109</sup> Hoffmann, *Sociability*, 19, 48.

<sup>110</sup> Hoffmann, *Sociability*, 46, 48, 197.

<sup>111</sup> Allen, "The Politics of Sociability?" 186.

<sup>112</sup> Quoted in Hoffmann, *Sociability*, 205.

<sup>113</sup> Mackey, *Encyclopædia*, 1:27.

<sup>114</sup> Jasperson, *Centennial*, 73; Iding, *Forward Freemasonry*, 1:118; *Neenah Daily Times* (Neenah, WI), Nov. 11, 1886. Apparently, this was not the end of the French Rite in Wisconsin. Aurora Lodge in Milwaukee still uses a French Rite ritual.

<sup>115</sup> Jasperson, *Centennial*, 63.