A Civil Society

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Appendix 1: Glossary of Masonic Terms

(Source: Smyth, Reference Book; and Saunier, ed., Encyclopédie.)

adoption: A French variation on masonry for women in lodges sponsored and generally directed by men, mostly in the second half of the eighteenth century. Interest in it revived briefly during the First and Second Empires (1804–14, 1852–70). It also appeared in other countries. In much modified form, adoption evolved into féminine masonry beginning in the early twentieth century. Its initiations are significantly different from those for men in the craft and for women in the appendant Order of the Eastern Star in the United States.

Antients: The name adopted by masons in lodges overseen by the Grand Lodge of England, first formed in 1731. The present-day United Grand Lodge of England (UGLE) was created by the Union of 1813, which brought together the Antients and the Moderns (the Grand Lodge established in 1717) into a single federation. One legacy of the Antients appears in the rites still called Ancient Free and Accepted (or in the case of the Scottish Rite, Ancient and Accepted) in France and elsewhere.

apprenti(e) (Fr.): An initiate into the first masonic degree, better known as an (entered) apprentice in English. The final “e” indicates a woman.

apron: A decorative, ceremonial lap apron worn by freemasons during their formal rituals, much like other symbolic garb, sashes and gloves, in keeping with the stonemason’s guild. A mason “without apron” (sans tablier) is shorthand for one in spirit, who is often well-networked in one or more lodges.

atelier (Fr.): Workshop, another name for a masonic lodge, especially one working the first three degrees.

blue lodges: Lodges working primarily the first three degrees—apprenti(e), compagnon(ne), and maître(sse)—as opposed to the “side” or “higher” degrees also worked by the Scottish and Egyptian Rites. This term is used most frequently in American freemasonry.

brother / brethren (pl): A male freemason who has been initiated into a lodge of a recognized masonic order. It is also a term used for well-disposed allies and friends of masons who understand and embrace freemasonry’s quest for personal and social improvement.
co-masonry: Masonry operated by mixed lodges of both men and women usually working the same initiatory rituals together. The Grande Loge Symbolique Écosaise (GLSE) II Mixte et Maintenue and the Droit Humain (DH) were originators of co-masonry in France, though this practice had been a much older form in minor orders or paramasonry, such as the Élus Coëns and the Illuminés d’Avignon, in the eighteenth century.

compagnon(ne) (Fr.): The second masonic degree, better known in English as a fellow craft or journeyman. The final “ne” indicates a woman.

convent: The French word signifying an annual congress of lodge representatives adhering to a certain obedience or order to discuss questions of concern to their fellow masons. This practice originated in France in 1854.

craft: Freemasonry. This term is most often used by Anglo American masons reflecting their historic roots in the guild of working stonemasons, in what is known as operative masonry, especially for the first three degrees that are most closely associated with masonic symbolism.

degree: The level of initiation a particular mason has achieved, beginning with the first, the appren ti(e), ending with the third, maître(sse), in blue lodges. In rites that also work “higher” or “side” degrees, the level reaches the 33rd in the Scottish Rite, all of them subject to special names and rituals. At one time, the Memphis Rite actually had 92.

Egyptian Rites: The rituals worked in France since the early Misraïm and Memphis orders in the nineteenth century. They are not based on the Egyptian Rite created by Comte de Cagliostro in the 1770s and ’80s, but they were meant to honor the same impressive architectural achievements of ancient Egypt and its civilization.

feminine masonry: Masonry for women in lodges operated exclusively by and for women using rituals created specifically for them. Inspired by eighteenth-century adoption lodges, this form of masonry was first sponsored by the Grande Loge de France (GLDF) in 1907. It continues under the auspices of the Grande Loge Féminine de France (GLFF).

freemasonry: An international fraternal organization, based on the symbols and rituals attributed to practicing stonemasons. Originating in Britain, it was established in France by 1725. The “free” in freemasonry refers to the highest quality freestone worked in the building trades; it also pertains to freemen, a condition required of all prospective initiates. Until 2010, it was predominantly a male prerogative, hence the unusual nature of French masonry for and by women historically. Because many different groups adopted (and modified) masonic practices—as evident in the long list of related orders, obedience, and rites—freemasonry is difficult to define and is best rendered with a lower-case “f” in a more inclusive social history of this fraternity.

frère (Fr.): See brother / brethren.

grande maîtresse (Fr.): The obedience’s official responsible for overseeing the adoption rite in keeping with the governing order’s rules and regulations. This position (for women) is the counterpart to the grand maître (for both men and women) in obediences.
with oversight of mixed masonry and (for men) in obediences with oversight of all-male masonry. The term was also used for the lodge’s presiding sister in eighteenth-century adoption rituals.

**Great Architect of the Universe / GAOTU** (abbrv.): A supreme being of any faith tradition. This deistic principle became controversial in France when arch republicans sought to enforce strict secularity in masonic doctrine, thereby allowing atheists to be initiated. This move by the Grand Orient de France (GODF) in 1877 put it at odds with the Scottish Rite (REAA) and various other obediences, including the Droit Humain (DH) somewhat later, that still honor the religious belief of their adherents.

**higher / side degree:** One of the additional degrees worked by obediences like the Scottish and Egyptian Rites, beyond the first three also worked by the blue lodges. One must first be a maître(sse) before becoming eligible for such an additional degree.

**Illuminati**: A term, meaning the illuminated or enlightened ones, primarily for Adam Weishaupt’s radical secret society originating in eighteenth-century Bavaria. Practiced mostly but not exclusively in the German states, ca. 1750-1782 (when the order was disbanded), it required of its adherents unquestioning obedience to unknown superiors and was widely accused of fomenting the French Revolution of 1789. In popular parlance, however, the Illuminati also referred to Dom Pernety’s mystical Illuminés d’Avignon and other groups, even mainstream freemasons, however different their ideals and rituals.

**initiation**: The formal ceremony used to inform freemasons of their life in the lodge and beyond. It represents a self-conscious state of being, marking a sharp break with one’s prior existence as a nonmason, or profane, subject to the rites and mysteries of a new masonic condition. Each initiation takes the mason to a higher level of consciousness of his or her responsibilities to the lodge and to the ideals of the craft.

**louveteau / louveton** (Fr.): A child initiate, most often the offspring of a freemason, recognized in a public ceremony stripped of its masonic mysteries. Although this ritual practice reflected the familial nature of the craft almost exclusively in the nineteenth century, its symbolism is derived from the small wolf seen on ancient Egyptian artifacts.

**maçon(nne)** (Fr.): A mason. The ending “nne” indicates a woman.

**maître(sse)** (Fr.): Generally, the third and last of the craft or blue degrees. It generally marks the completion of initiation into freemasonry. The ending “sse” indicates a woman.

**minor order**: An order or obedience of lodges not recognized by the largest masonic authorities, such as the United Grand Lodge of England (UGLE) or the Grand Orient de France (GODF). The term is used to designate a federation of lodges, such as the Egyptian Rite and the Élus Coëns in the eighteenth century, whose ritual symbolism deviated significantly from that of those honored by the UGLE and the GODF. Minor orders also tended to be very small.

**mixed masonry**: See co-masonry.

**Moderns**: The name adopted by masons in lodges overseen by the first English federation, the Grand Lodge, beginning in 1717, which merged with the Grand Lodge of England in 1813. Their early initiation rituals became the basis for the French (Modern)
Rite widely worked in France before the term was first coined by the Grand Orient de France (GODF) in 1783. It has since undergone a number of revisions, most notably by the GODF, the Grande Loge Féminine de France (GLFF), and the Grande Loge Mixte Universelle. Their rites are often still designated Free and Accepted in contrast with those derived from the *Antients* in eighteenth-century Britain.

**mysteries:** The initiation rituals leading to personal illumination experienced by freemasons. The mysteries also refer to masonry’s secret signs of recognition in public.

**obedience:** A masonic federation of lodges under the jurisdiction of a central authority regulating membership, ritual, and other matters of keen interest to the adhering masons. French examples include the Grand Orient de France (GODF), the Grande Loge de France (GLDF), and the Droit Humain (DH). The term is often used interchangeably with *order* and *rite*.

**operative masonry:** The trade of masonry as practiced historically by guilds dedicated to the building of stone structures. Freemasons regard operative masonry as their symbolic origin.

**order:** Used in masonry much as religious orders in Catholicism. See *obedience* and *rite*.

**orient:** An area or region, a term used mostly in masonic rituals and regional federations or authorities, such as the Grand Orient de France (GODF). It is derived in large part by the architectural orientation of the medieval cathedrals, all of which were aligned with the East, i.e., the Judeo-Christian Holy Lands of the Middle East.

**paramasonry:** A distinct variation on freemasonry. See *minor orders*.

**pendant:** A distinctive piece of jewelry symbolizing the masonic allegiance and function of its wearer. It hangs from the *sautoir* or gold chain worn during masonic ceremonies.

**profane:** A nonmason, i.e., someone who has not experienced the masonic mysteries during initiation and all they entail in the freemason’s symbolic odyssey.

**regularity:** A lodge’s adherence to a recognized masonic federation, which regulates matters of significance to its membership. The term also refers to the claim of some obediences, such as the United Grand Lodge of England (UGLE) and the Grand Orient de France (GODF), to primacy in such oversight, to the exclusion of competing obediences in national and international settings.

**rite:** An *obedience* or *order* associated with certain degrees and their rituals worked by authorized lodges. The Scottish Rite is perhaps the best known. Rite also refers to a suite of particular rituals worked by lodges in the same obedience or order, such as the adoption rite which was overseen in the eighteenth century by the Grand Orient de France (GODF).

**ritual:** A formal ceremony, usually for masonic initiation. See *rite*.

**royal art:** Freemasonry, a term in keeping with Reverend James Anderson’s first use of it in his landmark *Constitutions* (1723).

**sash / sautoir:** The distinctive, decorative sash for members worn in the lodge during initiation ceremonies whose symbols indicate the type of masonry appropriate to the
lodge and its order. The ceremonial sautoir or gold chain, with pendant, is worn by masonic officials.

**Scottish Rite / REAA** (Fr. abrv.): The international obedience overseeing the working of “higher” or “side” degrees beyond the first three also worked by the blue lodges. Altogether there are thirty-three degrees regulated in France by the Suprême Conseil de France (Supreme Council of France, SCF). It is also known as the Rite Écossais Ancien et Accepté, i.e., the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, its official designation since 1806. In fact, the rite was authorized even earlier in Charleston, South Carolina, with its own Supreme Council which now coordinates the oversight of the rite’s governing bodies worldwide. Cf. **Strict Observance**.

**secrets**: The closely guarded ritualistic features of freemasonry which all masons take an oath to guard at all costs from nonmasons (otherwise known as profanes).

**sister**: A woman initiated into a form of masonry exclusively for women or by a recognized ritual in a mixed lodge. It is also a term used by male masons for a close female relative, who is active in the social festivities sponsored by an all-male lodge.

**soeur** (Fr.): See sister.

**Strict Observance / Rectified Masonry**: A Scottish Rite, based loosely on myths of the medieval Knights Templar, founded by Karl Gottthelf von Hund in 1751. It purported to purify freemasonry of occult influences and to subject its members to strict discipline by unknown superiors. After complications arising from its organization and leadership, the Strict Observance was reconstituted as the Rectified Scottish Rite in 1782, which was championed by Jean-Baptiste Willermoz in Lyon. No women were involved.

**symbolic / speculative masonry**: As practiced by nonstonemasons in the forms that are familiarly known today as freemasonry. It is a term used to distinguish this ritualistic practice from the actual trade of stonemasons (operative masonry) whose guilds inspired the distinctive symbols (such as squares, compasses, hammers) and practices (such as oaths, titles, signs of recognition) used in initiations since the seventeenth century.

**tenue** (Fr.): A ceremonial meeting, usually reserved for an initiation. A tenue blanche is open to the public and thus entails no masonic mysteries or secrets.

**vénérable maître(se)** (Fr.): The worshipful master of the all-male and mixed lodges (and mistress of the all-female lodges), elected by their maître(sse)s for a defined period of time to oversee the lodge’s proper operations.

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Appendix 2: Mixed and Adoption Lodges in France (c. 1745–1790)

(Source: Hivert-Messeca and Hivert-Messeca, *Comment la franc-maçonnerie*, 63–65; and Burke and Jacob, “Freemasonry,” 546–49. Additional lodges discussed in chapter 1.)

**Abbeville**: L’Étoile Écossaise  
La Parfaite Écossaise

**Annonay**: La Vraie Vertu

**Arras**: L’Amitié
Bar-le-Duc: Les Frères de la Bienfaisance
Barjac-en-Languedoc: L’Inaltérable Amitié
Beaucaire: La Concorde
Beauvais: (lodge name not known)
Bédarrides: Illuminés d’Avignon (lodge name not known)
Besançon: La Sincérité
Bordeaux: L’Anglaise
La Française Élue Écossaise
L’Amitié
Haute Maçonnerie Égyptienne (lodge name not known)
Brest: L’Heureuse Rencontre
Caen: Saint-Louis
Calais: Saint-Louis des Amis Réunis
Castelnaudary: La Parfaite Harmonie
Castres: L’Amitié
Château-Thierry: La Vraie Espérance
Chinon: Les Bons Amis
Confolens: La Parfaite Union
Dieppe: La Félicité
Dijon: La Concorde
Doullens: Les Coeurs Choisis
Dunkerque: La Parfaite Union
Eu: La Parfaite Union
Fontaine-Française: Henri IV
Hesdin: La Parfaite Union
La Félicité
Libourne: La Fidélité
Loches: La Ferveur Éclairée
Lorient: L’Heureuse Alliance
Lyon: Saint-Jean du Patriotisme
La Sagesse Triomphante
Ordre des Chevaliers Maçons Élus Coëns de l’Univers
Mézières: Les Maîtresses Maçonnnes
Morlaix: La Noble Amitié
Nancy: Saint-Louis
Les Bons Amis
Narbonne: Les Philadelphes
Neufchâteau: Le Roi Stanislas
Nevers: La Colombe
Orléans: L’Union Parfaite
Paris: La Modération
Saint-Antoine
Saint-Jean de la Candeur
La Fidélité
Saint-Lazare/Saint-Jean d’Écosse du Contrat Social
Les Neuf Soeurs
Isis
Rennes: L’Union Parfaite
Rochefort: L’Aimable Concorde
Saintes: (lodge name not known)
Salins: L’Union Parfaite
Saumur: L’Union de la Famille
Strasbourg: Haute Maçonnerie Égyptienne (lodge name not known)
Toul: Les Neuf Soeurs
Toulouse: La Parfaite Amitié
Touraine (town name not known): La Ferveur Éclairée
Valognes: L’Union Militaire
Versailles: Le Patriotisme

Appendix 3: Madame Helvétius’s Masonic Network (1771–1800)

(Source: Helvétius, Correspondance générale, ed. Dainard et al., vols. 3 and 4
[excluding close family members and merchants]; Le Bihan, Francs-maçons parisiens;
and BNF FM Fichier Bossu. +indicates masons without apron.)

Alembert, Jean Le Rond d’
Cabanis, Pierre Jean Georges
Chamfort, Sébastien Roch Nicolas, dit
Condorcet, Marie Jean Antoine Nicolas de Caritat, Marquis de
+Condorcet, Sophie Grouchy, Marquise de
Diderot, Denis
Franklin, Benjamin
Franklin, William Temple
Gallois, Jean Antoine Gauvin de
Ginguené, Pierre Louis
Marmontel, Jean François
Mirabeau, Honoré Gabriel Riqueti, Comte de
Morellet, André, Abbé
Neufchâteau, Nicolas François
Roederer, Pierre Louis
Roucher, Jean Antoine
Thomas, Antoine Léonard
Turgot, Anne Robert Jacques
Volney, Constantin François Boisgirais de Chasseboeuf, Comte de
Voltaire, François Marie Arouet, dit
Appendix 4: Genealogy of the Saint-Simonian Family

(Source: Société des Études Saint-Simoniennes, BNF. *indicates a freemason, per BNF FM Fichier Bossu. +indicates a mason without apron, per chapter 2.)

Henri Saint-Simon (1760-1825)*

*businessman, philosopher, publicist*

Augustin Thierry (1795-1856)*

*historian*

Auguste Comte (1798-1857)

*sociologist, mathematician, philosopher*

Olinde Rodrigues (1795-1851)*

*mathematician, financier*

Course on Positive Philosophy

(opened by Comte in 1826)

Positivist Church for the “Religion of Humanity”

(founded by Comte and still active)

Émile Littré (1801-1881)*

*positivist, materialist, agnostic, etymologist*

School for Producers (1825-1826)


Philippe Buchez (1796-1876)*

*physician, historian, republican politician*

“Saint-Simonists”

Jules Bastide (1800-1879)

Auguste Boulland

Claude Corbon (1808-1891)

Pierre-Célestin Roux-Lavergne (1802-1874)

According to Philippe Régnier, the men and women leaving evidence of their participation in the Saint-Simonian movement number between 500 and 600, and the known sympathizers and members of affiliated workers’ families tally between 2,500 and 3,000. A more detailed representation of all Saint-Simonians and their connections over time is thus too difficult to create, hence the present summary chart.
Appendix 5: George Sand’s Masonic Network (1840–1850)
(Source: Sand, Correspondance, ed. Lubin, vol. 4-9 [excluding close family members and merchants]; and BNF FM Fichier Bossu. +indicates mason without apron.)

Arago, Emmanuel
Arago, Étienne
Barrot, Odilon
Blanc, Louis
Bonaparte, Louis-Napoléon, Prince
Borie, Victor
Cavaignac, Eugène
Charton, Édouard
Crémieux, Adolphe
Degeorge, Frédéric
François, Ferdinand
Guépin, Ange
Heine, Henri
Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre
Leroux, Pierre
Mazzini, Giuseppe
Michel, Louis, dit Michel de Bourges
Pagnerre, Antoine
Pelletan, Eugène
Perdiguier, Agricol
Quinet, Édgar
Reynaud, Jean
Roland, Pauline+
Scheffer, Arnold
Sue, Eugène

(Source: DH, “Implantations.”)

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Appendices

Portuguese
Scandinavian
South African
Spanish
Swiss
West African

Appendix 7: Louise Michel’s Masonic Network (1850–1904)

(Source: Michel, “Je vous écris de ma nuit” [excluding close family members and merchants]; and BNF FM Fichier Bossu. + indicates masons without apron.)

Allemanc, Jean  Malon, Benoît
Assi, Adolphe  Meurice, Mme.
Bakounine, Mikhail  Mink, Paule
Bonnet-Duverdier, Édouard Guillaume  Nadar, Félix (Tournachon)
Camélinat, Zéphirien  Pain, Olivier
Eudes, Émile  Passedouet, Auguste-Jules
Fayet, Georges  Pelletier, Madeleine
France, Hector  Place, Henri (Henry Verlet)
Gautier, Émile  Richer, Léon
Girault/Giraud, Ernest  Rochefort, Victor Henri, Marquis de
Grousset, Paschal  Rochefort-Luçay
+Léo, André (Léonide Champseix)  Tennevin, Alexandre
Malato, Charles