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Masonic networks, material culture and international trade : the participation of Dutch Freemasons in the commercial and cultural exchange with Southeast Asia (1735-1853)

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MASONIC NETWORKS, MATERIAL CULTURE & INTERNATIONAL TRADE

THE PARTICIPATION OF DUTCH FREEMASONS IN THE COMMERCIAL & CULTURAL EXCHANGE WITH SOUTHEAST ASIA (1735-1853)

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door Andréa Angela Kroon
geboren te Den Haag in 1968

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Fig. 1: Façade of Fluwelen Burgwal 22, The Hague. The building was in use as Freemasons' Hall from 1846 until 1993. Photograph: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Point of departure

Every book is the result of a journey, taken by foot, train, plane or clicks on a computer screen. This one started in a museum which is both world-famous and unknown at the same time. Contradictory as it may sound, that really is the case with the Cultural Masonic Centre 'Prins Frederik' in The Hague, CMC for short, which houses the historical archives, library and object collection of the *Orde van Vrijmetselaren onder het Grootoosten der Nederlanden* (Order of Freemasons under the Grand East of the Netherlands). While this exceptional heritage collection is studied, visited and cherished by a steadily growing number of international scholars, the Dutch public, most Dutch scholars and even a good deal of freemasons are still unfamiliar with its many treasures. So let's start this book by revealing one of the best kept 'secrets' of The Hague and see where the journey leads from there.

♦ *A well-kept secret: the CMC collection*

As will become clear in chapter 2, freemasonry is an initiation society that founded a first Dutch *loge* (= local branch or lodge[1]) in The Hague in 1734, followed by a *Grootloge* (= national board or Grand Lodge) in 1735. While there is little documentation on the first masonic (= freemasons') activities in the Netherlands, detailed records were kept from the reorganisation of the Grand Lodge in 1756 onwards. The CMC archive not only documents the development of freemasonry, Dutch lodges and their complex rituals; it has a much wider relevance to the social, religious, political and cultural history of the Netherlands and its international relationships. Not in the least because the leaders of the Order had ties with the government, the Royal family and the West and East India Companies, and had worldwide contacts through which ideas were disseminated and influence was extended. The surviving membership records now provide an insight into a significant slice of the population over a prolonged period of time, as some 70.000 members joined a lodge before 1900.[2] Amongst them were both ordinary and extraordinary men - as well as women who, contrary to popular misconception participated as early as the 1750s.[3] They came from different religious backgrounds and all walks of life: from merchants to politicians, from royalty to writers, from actors to artists. Within the lodges a colourful mix of people was introduced to masonic ideals, encompassing universal moral values such as tolerance and brotherhood-of-man, which were still a rarity in the early 18th century.[4]

Once familiarized with such concepts, individual members applied them to their daily life and work on both a conscious and a subconscious level. Their political and social decisions, as well as literary and artistic works, were often inspired by masonic ideals or symbolism. Friendships first cemented within the Order could form the foundation for a successful enterprise outside the lodge. Expressed through the lives and works of so many members, the intellectual heritage of freemasonry filtered down into society and influenced various aspects of modern western culture.[5] The minute books, personal correspondence, financial records and membership lists preserved in the CMC document this development. They also reveal the genealogical ties and social stratification of members, as well as their engagement with social debates on topics ranging from emancipation to slavery. As such the CMC is a relevant yet largely untapped source of information for various disciplines within the Humanities, including gender studies, art history, social anthropology and the history of western expansion to name but a few.

Although it contains much older titles, the CMC library was formed in the 19th century. One of two extraordinary men involved in freemasonry in that era was Prince Frederik of the Netherlands (1797-1881). He held the office of *Grootmeester* (national chairman or Grand Master) of the Order from 1816 until his death. The other was Jan Jacobus Frederik Noordziek (1811-1886), deputy librarian at the National Library in The Hague and also a member of the Order. The latter probably encouraged the prince to buy the *Bibliotheca Klossiana*, which Frederik did in 1854. This famous historical library encompasses 7.000 printed titles and 2.000 manuscripts on freemasonry worldwide collected by Georg Burkhard Kloss (1757-1854). The next 150 years, the Kloss library was expanded through legates and purchases into a much larger collection.[6]

Meanwhile, Frederik bought a house at Fluwelen Burgwal 22 in The Hague in 1846 (fig. 2).[7] He offered the use of this building to three local lodges in 1847, on the condition that they would merge with

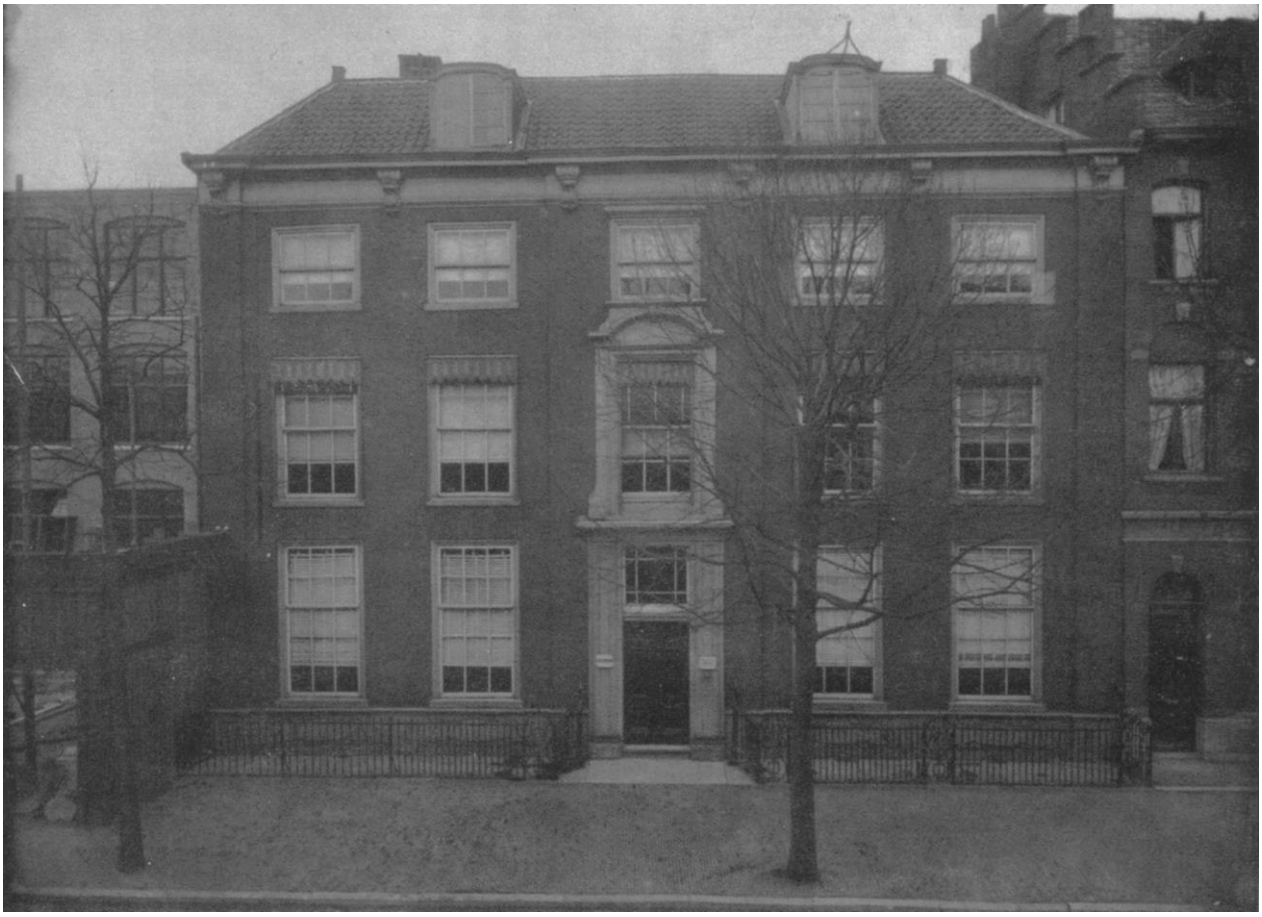


Fig. 2: Façade of Fluwelen Burgwal 22 in The Hague before 1910. Reproduced from: 'Het gebouw' 1911, p. 8.

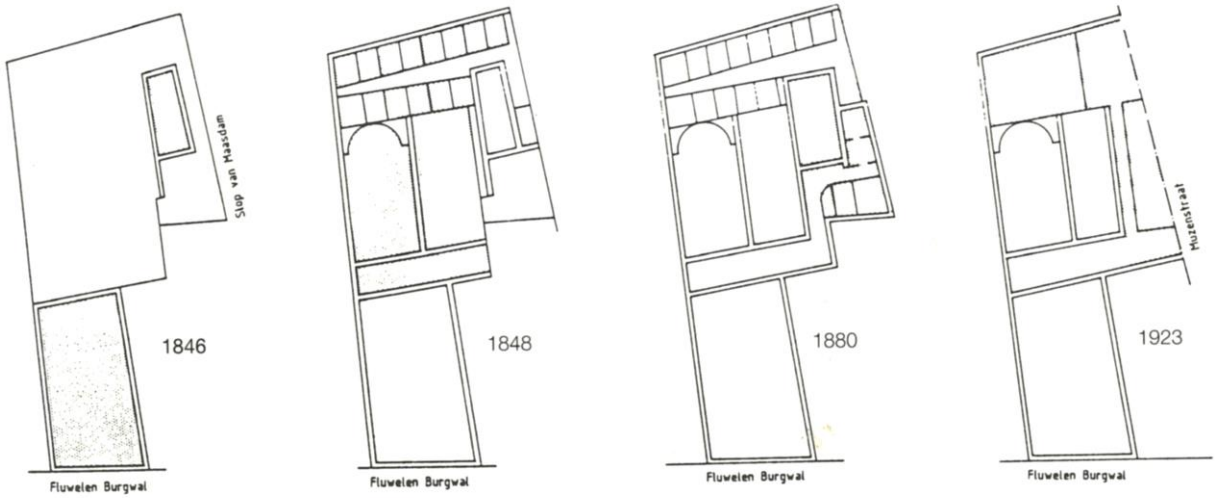


Fig. 3: Development of the floorplan of the Freemasons' Hall at Fluwelen Burgwal 22 in The Hague, 1846-1923. Reproduced from: Dielemans 1993, p. 31.

one another. The history of the Order, this building and the collection which kept expanding within it, would be inextricably linked for the next 150 years. A temple and banqueting hall were built in the former garden in 1848. Several small houses were also built on the plot, including one for a caretaker. Over time these were demolished again and the building was extended further to include more temples, meeting rooms and offices so it could accommodate all the local lodges and the Grand Lodge, as such becoming a proper, multifunctional Freemasons' Hall for the Netherlands (figs. 3-4). In 1856 the prince donated the building to 'his' Order at the occasion of its 100th jubilee, in 1866 followed by his donation of the Kloss collection and lastly by his own substantial masonic estate, including his regalia, which the Order received as a legate upon his death in 1881. So the Freemasons' Hall came to house both the historical archives and library, as well as a large collection of ritual and decorative objects, which were displayed on the premises from the middle of the 19th century. The first printed catalogues of exhibitions, which included both highlights from the collection and loans from lodges, were written by Noordziek and date back as far as 1859, but the display function may well go back further. This makes the CMC one of the oldest surviving (private) museums in The Hague, if not the Netherlands. For comparison, the oldest museum in The Hague is Museum Meermanno Westreenianum (1852) and the oldest on a national level is the Teylers Museum in Haarlem (1783).

In 1909-1910 the building was renovated by the architect and freemason Machiel Anthonie de Zwart, when a reading room for visitors of the collection and a permanent exhibition room were realised (figs. 5a-b). The façade was given a new neo-Louis XVI look (fig. 1). In 1926 a large temple in Art Deco style was realized by freemason Salomon Franko (1872-1931) (fig. 6). These decades of prosperity were unfortunately followed by devastation. During World War II the building, its furnishings and historical collections were confiscated by the Nazis, as were the possessions of individual lodges all over the country. Regalia and ritual objects were looted, sold, melted down or destroyed, depending on their value and the ease with which any masonic symbolism could be removed from them. Luckily, around 80% of the looted archives and 95% of the library were retrieved and returned by the Allied Forces after the war. However, around 90% of the object collection remains missing until this day.[8] From the 1950s onwards, the surviving collections were inventoried and expanded (and the object collection rebuilt) under guidance of curator Beitj Croiset van Uchelen (1925-1997) (fig. 10a). He also encouraged the study of the collection, for the first time allowing access to students and scholars who were non-members.[9] When the regime of Sukarno forced lodges in Indonesia into closure in 1960, several lodge archives were transferred to the Netherlands and added to the collection.

Unintentionally, what was once a private club archive expanded in both proportion and contents into a national heritage collection of international importance. Recognition as such came in the 1990s, when an effort was made to update conservation standards and study facilities under the next curator, drs. Evert Kwaadgras (1945-2014). Under the *Deltaplan voor Cultuurbehoud*, a national conservation scheme also inventorying the cultural value of Dutch collections, the CMC was awarded the highest possible status (A-status). It was the first time its value was formally recognized by non-members and the heritage sector. That makes what happened next especially painful. The Order sold its Freemasons' Hall in advance of plans for city renewal. Full demolition was avoided only because the façade at the Fluwelen Burgwal turned out to have a protected status as part of the historical inner city scape, but this did not protect the interior of the building. Without any notable protest from either freemasons or heritage organizations the unique masonic temples, the most representative examples of Dutch masonic heritage, were torn down. On their location now stands a modern high-rise tower which, ironically, houses the offices of the Dutch Inspection of Cultural Heritage.

From that moment on, the administrative headquarters of the Order, the temples and meeting rooms of the local lodges, and the collection would be housed on three different locations in The Hague. In 1993-1996 the Order moved to Prinsessegracht 27, the lodges to 2e Sweelinckstraat 131 and the collection to the newly named Cultural Masonic Centre 'Prins Frederik' in Jan Evertstraat 9. In order to fit into the smaller depots at this new location a part of the collection containing duplicates and non-masonic literature was auctioned. Besides such losses, there were also gains: a part of the archive, presumed lost in World War II, was returned from archive depots in Russia in 2002 following diplomatic negotiations. By 2007 the collection encompassed no less than 220 meters of archive materials, circa 40.000 book and manuscript titles, and circa 20.000 objects. By the time this book is published the collection will have

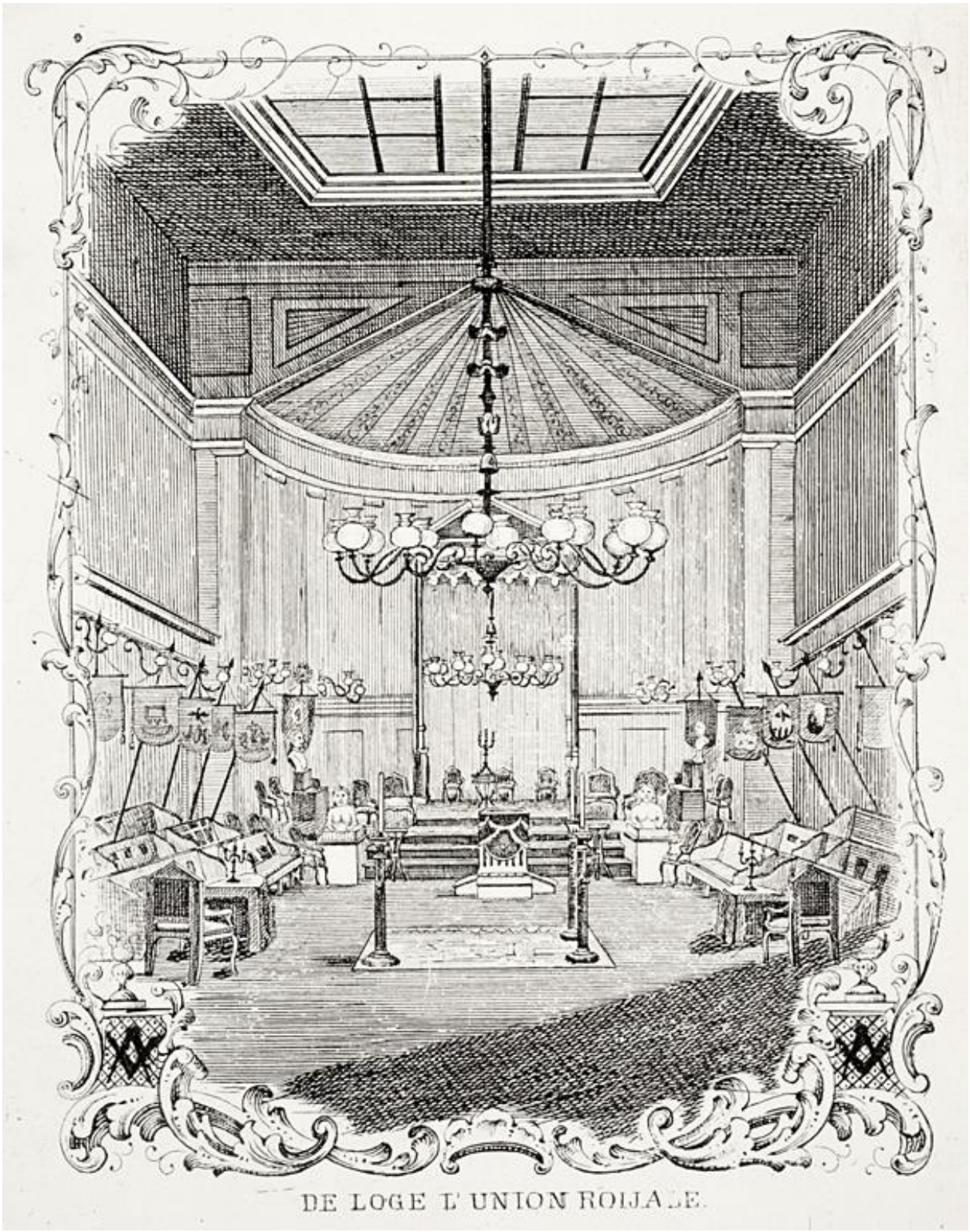


Fig. 4: Temple of lodge L'Union Royale in the Freemasons' Hall at the Fluwelen Burgwal in The Hague, as illustrated in Maçonnieke Schatkamer. Album voor Vrijmetselaren*, 1866. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.*

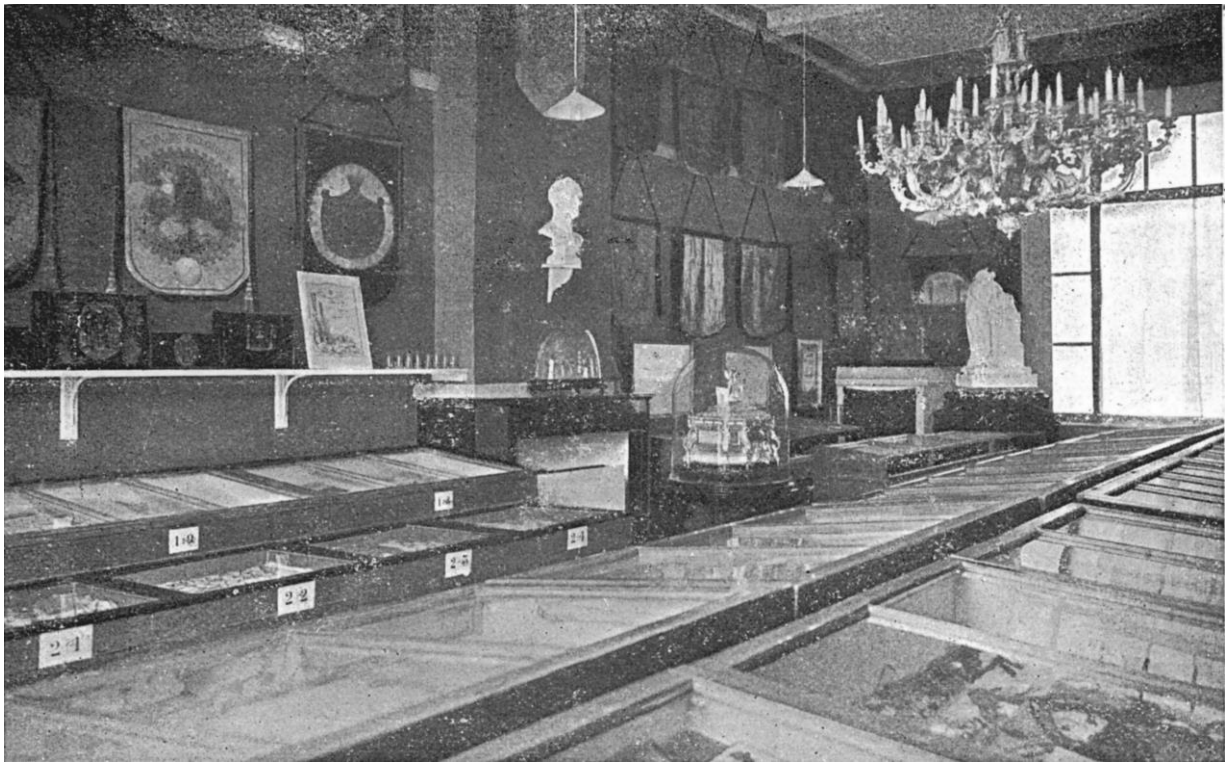




Fig. 5a-b: Exhibition room in the Freemasons' Hall at the Fluwelen Burgwal 22 in The Hague, ca. 1911. Reproduced from: 'Het gebouw' 1911, p. 20.

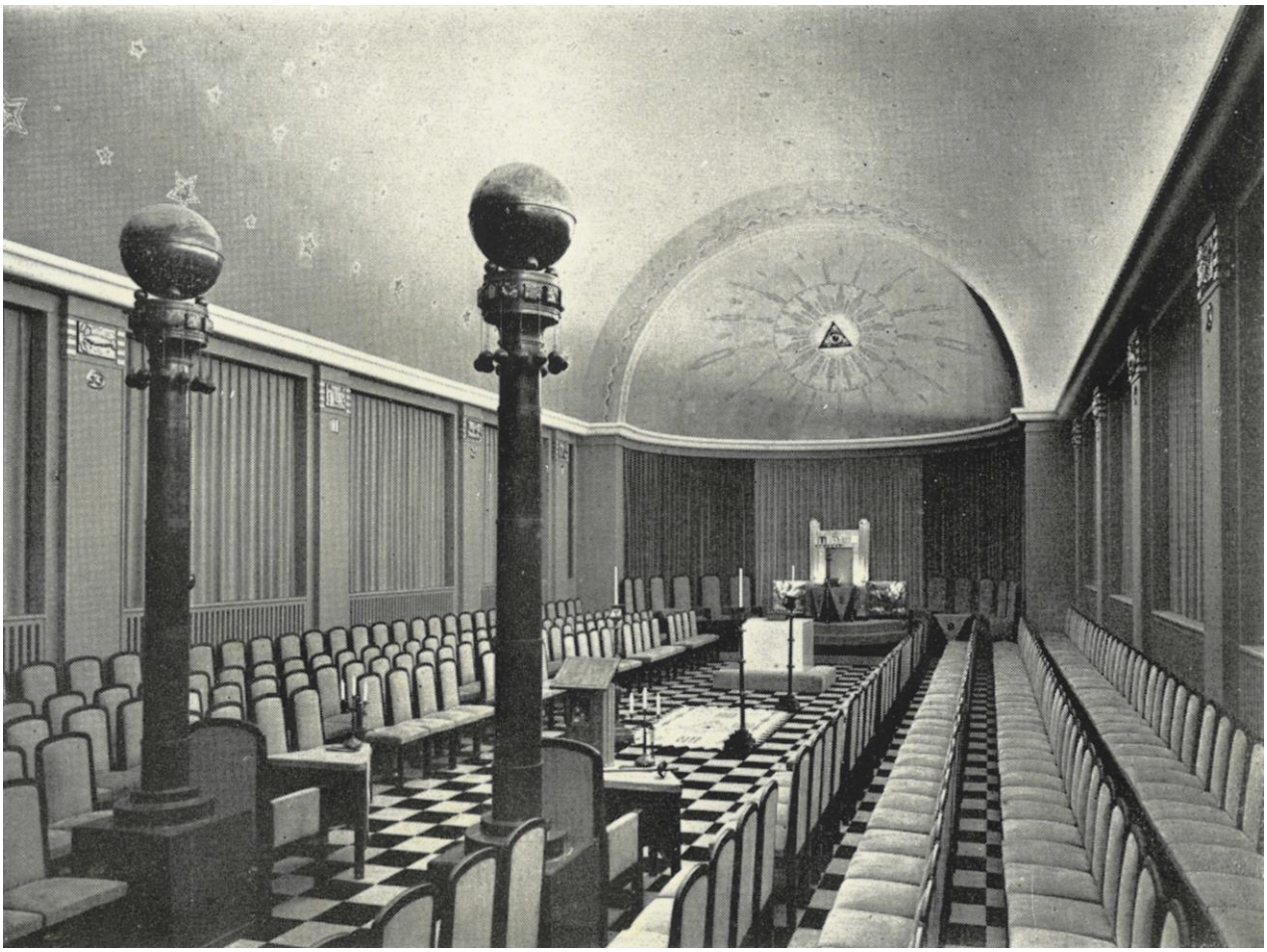


Fig. 6: Temple in the Freemasons' Hall at the Fluwelen Burgwal 22 in The Hague, before 1940. Collection: Het Nieuwe Instituut, Rotterdam. Reproduced from: Kroon/Wagtberg Hansen 2011, p. 28.

moved for the second time in 20 years, this time to Javastraat 2B in The Hague. Again, in order to fit into ever smaller depots, a part of the collection considered non-essential will have been *ontzameld* or de-collected. None the less, the CMC remains one of the most important Dutch heritage collections. It is not only historically, but also in a practical sense bound to the city of The Hague, where it is optimally imbedded in the academic infrastructure created by the proximity of the National Library, the National Archive, the Archive of the Royal Family, the Municipal Archive, Museum Meermanno and the Hague Historical Museum, which collections all closely tie into that of the CMC. Inclusion into recent digitalisation projects of the National Library and the national *Metamorfoze* scheme do not only underline its cultural importance, they also promise that parts of the collection will soon be publicly accessible online. This well-kept 'secret' museum may soon become a digital hot spot for professional researchers as well as a wider public interested in history.

◆ *Motivation for research*

The CMC was where the journey started, but what was my excursion into history about? When I was a student of art history in Leiden in 1993 gaining museum work experience seemed a good preparation for a later career. After the Order circulated a call for volunteers for its museum I became involved in the care for the object collection for the next three years. Curator Croiset van Uchelen had just retired, but was still a daily presence in the reading room. He had a gift of very gently hooking visitors' interest in the collection and got me fascinated too. My final paper explored the iconography of the masonic apron (1996). As this was some years before chairs for the history of western esotericism and freemasonry would be founded at

Dutch universities, colleagues and professors did not hide the fact that they considered freemasonry completely irrelevant to art history.[10] Others just assumed I was a member of a masonic organization (which to date is not the case) and that my research was somehow manipulated by the Order. Sadly, most scholars in the field of study have encountered such prejudice at some time or other.

After graduation, some of the objects I had seen in the CMC kept intriguing me, such as an oriental style embroidered apron (chapter 7, fig. 7.168a-b), Chinese porcelain bowls (figs. 7-9) and beautiful Japanese lacquer boxes (chapter 6, figs. 6.12-6.13, 6.15, 6,17, 6.20-6.21, 6,23, 6.25-6.26 and 6.32). The fact that these were all covered with masonic symbols, made me wonder if the Asian artists had understood their complex and 'secret' meaning. What extraordinary exchange between men of different cultures must have taken place to result in the production of such beautiful objects? How would a freemason acquire and use such a bowl or box? Were such objects common commercial goods or rarities in their time?

Asian export porcelain and lacquer made for the European market in the 18th and 19th centuries had already been well researched and frequently exhibited. Such beautiful objects represent both artistic skill and commercial commodities. We now associate this type of goods with wealthy families, eager to display such exotic luxury goods in their homes, to have a porcelain service adorned with their family crest or a lacquer box on display as a sign of status, intellect, taste and fashion. One learned all about that at university, but not that objects like those in the CMC were aimed at a less likely audience: freemasons. How come I had not heard about these objects during my studies, nor seen them in a public museum?

A search for similar items in Dutch public collections found none on display. Some museums did own one or two masonic items, but these were regarded as mere curiosities, not examples of a material culture which deserved to be included in their collection, research or display policies. The absence of an academic research tradition into the relationship between Dutch freemasonry and art, despite the abundance of sources, seemed incomprehensible to me. Such an oversight made the subject all the more challenging and this lead to the PhD-project of which this book is a result. As Dutch museums and art historical literature lacked information on the subject, I looked to collections abroad and encountered similar problems. I had to turn to a territory largely unknown to art historians: the various Grand Lodge collections in Europe and America. As expected it proved difficult to trace the provenance of the individual objects in the CMC to particular owners. However, this route of enquiry did provide many unexpected riches.

The research project uncovered a socio-economical network for travellers along the shipping routes to Southeast Asia. This early modern network contributed considerably to the cultural and commercial exchange between East and West in the 18th and 19th centuries. The project also highlighted a rich material culture resulting from this exchange, which stood out because of its ritual aspects and decorative symbolism. It became possible to place the production of the export wares from the CMC collection within an artistic and economical context, and explain their decoration and function. Indirectly, it also made a large amount of previously unpublished archive material on Dutch lodges in Asia accessible for the first time.

◆ *Acknowledgements*

It has been a mixed blessing to undertake the project as an independent PhD-student. Although it took more time than any university tenure would have, it also allowed me to simultaneously work on relevant heritage and museum projects, such as *Sporen van Smaragd*[11], which broadened my view. Another huge benefit was that as time progressed online research tools and newly digitalized collections became available, allowing me to eventually include information that was still inaccessible in the earlier stages of the project. Every effort has been made to seek permission for the use of photographs. Omissions are unintentional, and some owners could no longer be traced.

A large number of colleagues, curators, museum staff, private collectors and lodge members was kind enough to provide me with information, assistance and encouragement along the way. As the project lasted several years, it is impossible to list every single helpful encounter here, but please be assured none have been forgotten. I am especially grateful to Jac. Piepenbrock, Marijke de Vries and the staff members and volunteers of the Cultural Masonic Centre 'Prins Frederik' in The Hague for their help and patience. I would also like to thank the following people for kindly sharing their insights and knowledge: Jan Ariëns, dr. Marijo Ariëns-Volker, dr. Marty Bax, Olaf P. Berg, dr. Henrik Bogdan (University of Göteborg), Tom C. Bergroth (Turku Provincial Museum), Peter Bijleveld, prof. dr. Ulbe Bosma (IISG, Amsterdam), dr. Jan van



Fig. 7: Chinese export porcelain punch bowl, ca. 1790-1800, polychrome decoration with gilding and blue vine leaf border, diam. 29 cm, h. 11.5 cm. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 6318. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.



Fig. 8: Chinese export porcelain punch bowl, ca. 1790-1800, polychrome decoration with gilding and scroll border, diam. 35.9 cm, h. 14.7 cm. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 7411. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

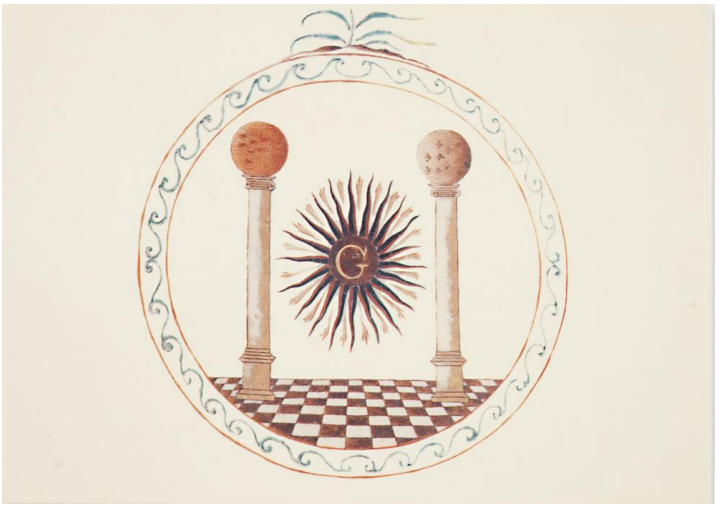


Fig. 9: Detail of the inside of one of the punch bowls above. Postcard published by the CMC 'Prince Frederik', The Hague (copy in collection of the author).

Campen (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), Martin Cherry (Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London), Diane Clements (Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London), Beitj Croiset van Uchelen (CMC, †), prof. dr. Malcolm Davies (Leiden University,†), drs. Catrien Deys, prof. dr. T.M. Eliëns (Leiden University), drs. Menno Fitski (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), Ronald W. Fuchs II (Winterthur Museum), François Geissmann (Musée de la Maison des Maçons/Grande Loge Nationale Française, Paris), prof. dr. Anne T. Gerritsen (Leiden University), Christopher Haffner, prof.dr. Wouter J. Hanegraaff (University of Amsterdam), prof.dr. André Hanou (University of Amsterdam,†), mrs. G.N. Houben-Barten (†), prof.dr. Christiaan J.A. Jörg (Leiden University), Roland Kaehr (Musée d'Ethnographie de Neuchatel), Diederik Kortlang (National Archive, The Hague), emerit. prof. dr. Lammert Leertouwer (Leiden University), Laura Libert, Ad van de Meent, Pierre Mollier (Musée du Grand Orient de France, Paris), Ed Mullan, drs. Elise Mutter (Monumentenzorg & Welstand, The Hague), Aimee Newell (National Heritage Museum, Lexington), dr. Andreas Önnerfors (University of Göteborg), prof. dr. Andrew Prescott (University of Glasgow), prof. dr. Cécile Révauger (Université Michel de Montaigne Bordeaux III), François Rognon (Musée-Archives-Bibliothèque de la Grande Loge de France, Paris), William R. Sargent, Matthew Scanlan MA (Leiden University), Harmen Snel (Stadsarchief Amsterdam), dr. Jan A.M. Snoek (Heidelberg University), Mark Tabbart (George Washington Masonic Memorial, Washington D.C.), Jan Treffers and Erik Westengaard (Det Nationalhistoriske Museum Frederiksborg Slot).

'We are all standing on the shoulders of giants' is a phrase often used to honour those, whose views one considers important to one's own achievements. During my studies I have been lucky enough to meet Jan, Christiaan and Wouter, who all deserve this title of 'giants'. Thank you for allowing me to see 'clearer and further'. I would like to thank my parents and my sister Audrey for their continued support, patience with every little crisis a PhD-student inevitably encounters and the tedious aspects of manuscript preparation. Lastly, I would like to dedicate this book to my grandmother, Margaretha van Oijen-Koerten, who has supported everything I have ever wanted to do with the same boundless enthusiasm and at 91 is still cheering me on.

1.2. Outline of the research project

◆ ***Freemasonry, trade and material culture***

The Netherlands commemorated the voyages of its East India Company in 2002 and celebrated 400 years of trade with Japan in 2009. The fruitful exchange between East and West has been extensively studied by scholars from various disciplines. Art historians have focused on the trade in furniture and decorative objects. As money could be made by catering to western tastes, all sorts of export wares were produced in Asia in the 18th and 19th centuries. In turn, western objects which reached eastern shores influenced the work of local artists, resulting in a beautiful material culture incorporating a mixture of styles, shapes and techniques. Exhibitions and publications such as *Wonen op de Kaap en in Batavia 1602-1798* (The Hague 2002), *Japanese Export Lacquer: 1580-1850* (2005), *Fine and Curious: Japanese Export Porcelain in Dutch Collections* (Groningen 2003), *Silver in Batavia* (2012) and *Asian Art and Dutch taste* (2014) have highlighted this internationally shared heritage.[12]

The memory of the Netherlands' participation in this process of cultural exchange and mediation through the *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC) is famed and remains part of the Dutch national pride, despite the obvious negative connotations attached to colonial exploitation. Previous studies by Theo H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, Christiaan Jörg, Jochem Kroes, Oliver Impey and many others have discussed how Chinese porcelain and Japanese lacquer were decorated with European subjects, including porcelain with family crests, mythological and biblical scenes. A relatively unknown category of objects was produced specifically for freemasons and decorated with lodge emblems and other symbols having a 'secret' meaning that only the initiated were meant to understand. The dozens of surviving examples of such objects in collections all over the world were until recently considered mere curiosities. Examples of masonic export porcelain and lacquer have also survived in the collection of the CMC in The Hague. They suggest that freemasons were active among the VOC and the overseas trade posts, and raise all sorts of questions not answered by previous research:

- Was there a connection between the activities of the VOC and the founding of masonic lodges in the Dutch overseas trade posts?
- What number of freemasons was active within the VOC or the trade posts? What was their background?
- What was the market of commissioners and buyers of masonic export objects? Through which channels were such objects acquired? Were they commercial commodities or rarities in their time?
- What are the characteristics of masonic export objects? What is the meaning of their symbolic decoration and which visual sources were used as examples?
- Who were the artists and craftsmen involved? Did local artists in Asia understand masonic symbolism? If so, were any of them initiated into a Dutch lodge?
- What other examples of material culture directly resulted from the involvement of freemasons in the Asian trade? Were there lodge buildings and temple interiors comparable to those in the Netherlands? If so, have examples of this heritage survived?
- What was the significance, if any, of the involvement of freemasons in the cultural and commercial exchange between East and West?

In order to answer these questions, it was necessary to first gain a basic understanding of the organization of Dutch freemasonry, its ritual and social practices. After all, the objects concerned were clearly part of an established decorative tradition based on symbols derived from the masonic ritual. In fact, the whole extraordinary material culture of freemasonry proved deeply rooted in its rituals. It then quickly became clear that the objects were the result of a complex exchange between Dutch freemasons and local communities in Southeast Asia, which deserved to be explored, as it could provide a valuable new insight into the nature and extent of the exchange between East and West. It touched upon shared heritage and material culture, as well as the practice of belief systems and the function of early social networks. However, this remains a primarily an art historical study, which means excursions into other relevant fields

of research have to be limited and will be made only to support conclusions about the objects central to this book. Below the parameters of the research project and the sources used are outlined.

◆ *Limitations and sources used*

For practical reasons the time frame of the research project was limited to little over a century: from 1735 (the foundation of the first Grand Lodge in the Netherlands) to 1853 (the year before Japan opened to the West). Geographically the limits were set to activities of freemasons along the shipping route to Southeast Asia, including Ceylon (Sri Lanka), India, Malacca (Malaysia), the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia), China and Japan. More specifically, the main focus was limited to developments between 1757 (the year the Grand Lodge commissioned the founding of a lodge overseas) and 1837 (the year the two main lodges in Batavia merged), after which the sheer bulk of available archive material vastly increases. Contacts between the Dutch, British, Swedish and French lodges in the region during this time frame also proved relevant.

On the history of the VOC, the lives of the Dutch in the Asian trade posts and the production of export wares for the Dutch market a large body of published research is already available. However, the lodge membership of VOC employees and relevant historical figures is usually only mentioned in passing, if at all. Frank Lequin's *Isaac Titsingh (1745-1812). Een Passie voor Japan. Leven en werk van de grondlegger van de Europese Japanologie* (2000) for instance, mentions Titsingh's membership of a lodge in Batavia and the contacts made there, but the author does not seem to have consulted the available lodge archives. Likewise, literature on the production of export wares like lacquer and porcelain does refer to objects with masonic decorations, but the information provided is usually limited to a caption under an illustration. The same goes for museum catalogues and databases, which provide little more that the objects' titles. The archives of the VOC in the National Archive in The Hague have also been extensively studied in the past. Published inventories and research results indicate these do not contain relevant information on the activities of freemasons within the Company or on masonic export goods, suggesting these were part of the private trade by its employees. This lack of documentation is in accordance with the custom among freemasons to keep correspondence on masonic matters wholly separate from those on non-masonic or *profane*[13] matters.

So instead, I focused almost exclusively on relatively unknown sources: 18th and 19th century masonic archives and literature, to see what these could add to the already available knowledge on the exchange with Asia. Below is a short overview of the main sources used.

▪ *Masonic archives*

Readers assuming that it was necessary to travel to Southeast Asia to consult relevant lodge archives, may be surprised to hear that most of them are kept in The Hague. The earliest such documents in the CMC date back to the commission to establish a Dutch lodge in Bengal in 1757. Of lodges in India, Ceylon and Malacca only fragmented 18th and 19th century material survived, but enough to get an impression of the activities and members of several lodges in the region.[14] Luckily, more complete archives survive of the lodges in the Dutch East Indies. Those of the two main lodges in Batavia are the most detailed, including minute books, correspondence and membership records, even furniture inventories and invoices. In Japan and China, no Dutch lodges were assumed to have been active.

The archive of the Grand Lodge itself provided important additional information, as all lodges under its jurisdiction were required to annually submit a list of members and a financial overview. Even though the correspondence with the lodges in Asia was infrequent - with wars, natural catastrophes, lost ships and other events hampering communication -, the few surviving letters received by the Grand Lodge provided valuable information, as did the registers of outgoing and incoming correspondence. News from abroad was also mentioned at the yearly meeting of the Grand Lodge, of which detailed minutes were kept. Additional information could be obtained from the fragmentary archive of the so-called Provincial Grand Lodge for the Dutch East Indies, the local representative body of the Grand Lodge (see chapter 3). Lastly, the CMC membership card register with the names of members up until 1900 also proved useful.[15]

▪ *Masonic literature*

Freemasons have always studied their own history, as is clear from numerous commemorative publications and jubilee books. Historical overviews also appeared in 18th and 19th century yearbooks, such as

Nederlandse Vrij-metzelaars Almanach and *Nederlandsch Jaarboekje voor Vrijmetselaren*, as well as in 19th and 20th century subscription magazines, such as *Algemeen Maçonniek Tijdschrift* and *Indisch Maçonniek Tijdschrift*. Due to their limited circulation the earliest relevant publications are often unavailable in public and academic libraries. Most of the masonic literature referenced in this book is present in the collection of the CMC.

An important source on freemasonry in the Dutch East Indies is the work of J. Hageman Cz. (1817-1871), a historian and Secretary/librarian of the lodge De Vriendschap in Soerabaya in 1854-1859, and again in 1863-1865.[16] He published several historical articles in *Nederlandsch Jaarboekje voor Vrijmetselaren* between 1857 and 1869. Hageman consulted the memory of the oldest local masons, and was able to study lodge and governmental archives when they were still quite complete. Later in the 19th and 20th centuries parts were lost in the transfer from one archivist to the next, from old lodge buildings to new, and in the 1960s in the hurried exodus from Indonesia to the Netherlands. Wherever original documents are now missing, Hageman's accounts provide the most reliable information. However, as a proud freemason he preferred to paint a rather positive picture of the actions of his 'brethren'. Although he never omitted any conflicts and minor scandals, to the frustration of the reader he never elaborated on the juicy details either.

After Hageman an uncritical method (*citeercultuur*) seems to have developed amongst later authors on the subject. Most notable historical overviews for a masonic audience were F.H. der Kinderen's 'Geschiedenis der V[rij] M[etselarij] te Batavia' (1864), H. Maarschalk's *Geschiedenis van de Orde der Vrijmetselaren in Nederland, onderhorige Koloniën en Landen* (1872), A. Pieren's 'Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der Loges "La Vertueuse" en "La Fidèle Sincérité" te Batavia […]' (1901/1902) and D. de Visser Smits' *Vrijmetselarij. Geschiedenis, maatschappelijke betekenis en doel* (1931). These authors relied on Hageman's findings and only added new information about the events in their own time, as did the writers of 20th century commemorative books - most notably *Gedenkboek van de Vrijmetselarij in Nederlandsch Oost-Indië 1767-1917* and *100 jaren Maç[onnieke] Arbeid in het Licht van de Ster in het Oosten, 1837-1937*.

Very little has been written about the history of Dutch lodges in India, Ceylon, Malaysia and Japan. Their archives were assumed lost and relevant documents scattered through the Grand Lodge archives remained unpublished until now. Hageman gathered some additional information from correspondence records of the lodges in Batavia. Also relevant is a series of articles from the 1950s by J.R. Dashwood on the history of British freemasonry in Ceylon in the masonic journal *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*. Dashwood briefly mentions the Dutch lodges on the island.

The activities of an international mix of freemasons in China and Japan were described in the 1970s-1980s by Christopher Haffner, a member of the British Quatuor Coronati Lodge of Research, with the help of Swedish colleague Harry Lindberg and his son Bengt.[17] Haffner first pointed to a connection between the Order and the European East India Companies. Olof P. Berg's 'Frimureriet bland ostindiefararna' (2000) further explored the involvement of Swedish freemasons in the China trade, which also proved relevant to the Dutch situation.

Pieter Hendrik Pott (1918-1989), director of the Museum voor Volkenkunde (Ethnographical Museum) and professor of museology at the Leiden University, as well as a notable scholar on freemasonry, also deserves to be mentioned (fig. 10b). Besides his many articles on masonic rituals in *Thoth*, he was also the first to study masonic lacquer ware and point to pictorial sources of its decorations.[18]

- *Academic literature*

In academic circles the history of Dutch freemasonry in Asia has been studied since the 1970s, but only on a very limited scale. P.W. van de Veur's *Freemasonry in Indonesia from Radermacher to Soekarno 1762-1961* (1976) and Th. Stevens' *Vrijmetselarij en samenleving in Nederlands-Indië en Indonesië, 1764-1962* (1994) are considered the standard works on the subject. However, both authors focus mainly on developments from the middle of the 19th century onwards. Although the title of Van der Veur's book suggests otherwise, he barely discusses the 18th and early 19th centuries. Stevens provided an overview of earlier literature on the subject, including Hageman, Maarschalk and various commemorative publications, and then focused on political developments in the second half of the 19th century.




Fig. 10a-b: Two 'giants' in the field of study who deserve to be remembered. Left: Beitj Croiset van Uchelen, curator of the collections of the Order of Freemasons under the Grand East of the Netherlands. Right: Piet Pott, director of the Museum voor Volkenkunde, professor of Museology at the Leiden University and a scholar of freemasonry. Reproduced from: Thoth *49 (1998) 1, p. 2 /* Thoth *40 (1989) 3, p. 71.*

Neither author seems to have extensively consulted the available early lodge archives in the CMC. Stevens' book was especially valuable as the first publication on the subject to reach a wider audience (outside masonic circles) and to be translated for Indonesian readers. However, its chapters on the early developments illustrate the mechanism of *citeercultuur*, or how successive authors allowed some inaccuracies to be requoted from each other. Where in the following chapters the statements of previous authors differ from the facts mentioned in lodge archives - as they frequently do - the contemporary source is considered most likely to be correct. It is important to note that the same event can be attributed to different dates by successive authors. Confusion about the masonic calendar, which differs by 4.000 years and 2 months from ours (but was not always used consistently and has its own variations), was probably responsible. Such contradictory findings are provided in footnotes.

An important and more accurate source of information on the early history of the Dutch lodges in Asia, is a series of articles by De Neve, Lutter and Christiaans in the genealogical journal *De Indische Navorscher* (1994). They provided a summary of the founding and development of each lodge, the genealogy, profane and masonic careers of each of the founding members, as well as their portraits. They also provided transcripts of some of the earliest documents of the lodges in Asia. I have tried to expand on their work in an appendix with membership details on India and Ceylon.

The relevance of freemasonry to western expansion is a growing field of interest to scholars, especially in France. Recent publications include *La franc-maçonnerie dans les ports* (2012) under edition of Cécile Révauger and Éric Saunier, *Le Monde Maçonnique des Lumières: Europe, Amériques, Colonies* (2013) under edition of Révauger and Charles Porset, as well as Jessica L. Harland-Jacobs' *Builders of Empire: Freemasons and British Imperialism, 1717-1927* (2013) and Simon Dechamps' *Franc-maçonnerie et Pouvoir colonial dans l'Inde Britannique 1730-1921* (2014).[19] While the historical importance of Dutch lodges is clearly acknowledged by most authors on the subject, the language barrier prevented most from exploring Dutch lodge archives in detail. That makes for a lop-sided historical picture, which underlines the need for translations of Dutch primary sources and joint international research initiatives. While analysis of the role

of Dutch freemasons within the wider international masonic, trade, power and political networks is urgently needed, this cannot be accurately done without first establishing more basic lodge histories, membership data etc. from archival sources. This study, while concentrating on material culture, will hopefully provide others with some of that necessary groundwork.

▪ *Collections*

So far, an overview of the development of the material culture of Dutch freemasonry and its iconography has been lacking. While the history of freemasonry is a growing research field, material culture is not yet a main subject within that field. Yet this material culture is especially helpful in understanding freemasonry's ritual developments, its use of space, influence on the living environment and application of masonic concepts outside the lodge, as well as the consumption pattern of lodges and their engagement with the art market, and numerous other aspects of the field of study. Curators of masonic collections are currently making great contributions to his developing area of research, and raising awareness of its importance among other researchers.

An attempt was made to locate objects comparable to those in the CMC in other collections, both private and public, in the Netherlands and abroad. Surprisingly, masonic export porcelain and lacquer were not found to be represented in major Dutch collections on Asian art, such as the Groninger Museum, the Princessehof in Leeuwarden, the Gemeentemuseum in The Hague or the Museum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden. The Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam owns only two relevant objects. Additionally, the British Museum and the Victoria & Albert Museum (London), the Nordiska Museet (Stockholm), the National Heritage Museum (Lexington) and the Winterthur Museum were among those found to include several relevant objects. (Many others, owning just one relevant item, are listed in the illustration credits and endnotes.) The back catalogues of auction houses Christies and Sotheby's, as well as several art dealers, also proved useful.

However, masonic collections abroad served as the main source of comparison. While the CMC itself boasts the largest collection of masonic export lacquer, the Library and Museum of Freemasonry in London (L&MF) keeps the largest collection of masonic export porcelain. Among others consulted were the Musée du Grand Orient de France, the Musée de la Grande Loge de France and the Musée de la Maison des Maçons (Grande Loge Nationale Française) (all three in Paris), the Deutschen Freimaurer Museum (Bayreuth), the Norske Frimurerordens Museum (Oslo), the Svenska Frimurare Ordens Museum (Stockholm) as well as the Masonic Library and Museum of Pennsylvania, the online Phoenixmasonry Masonic Museum and the George Washington Masonic Memorial. As it was not possible to personally visit all relevant collections outside the Netherlands to physically examine the objects, provenance records and helpful curators provided the necessary information.

◆ ***Method and presentation***

Working as a heritage professional in daily life, it was important to me that this project would not get stuck in theoretical analyses and mainly have a practical purpose: to accurately identify a group of objects in the CMC, to help others more easily recognize and interpret the complex material culture and iconography of freemasonry, and in order to do so make relevant Dutch archive sources more accessible to a wider international audience.

Traditionally, art historical studies tend to focus on the decorative, stylistic and technical production of visual and decorative art. Christiaan Jörg's dissertation *Porselein als handelswaar. De porseleinhandel als onderdeel van de China-handel van de V.O.C. 1729-1794* was a groundbreaking study in 1978, as one of the first to view art within the context of social and economic processes that drive commissioners, buyers and traders, and also influence the artist's creative process. This approach has since become generally accepted in the art historical curriculum, while the exchange between East and West serves as a particularly relevant area of research in this era of global networks. The material culture described in this book did not originate from creative, social and economic processes alone, but also from a distinct ritual context, which clearly demands a cross-disciplinary perspective.

Jan Snoek has done similar ground-breaking work on the subject of masonic and fraternal ritual studies since his dissertation *Initiations: a methodological approach to the application of classification and definition theory in the study of rituals* (1987). It needs to be emphasized here, that the study of masonic

rituals may seem a niche subject at first glance, but in fact provides insights which are very relevant to many other disciplines, including art history and social studies. Ritual, material culture and iconography are intricately interwoven. Experiencing a ritual together, formulating a new one or disagreeing on its contents strongly impacted the dynamic between people. It influenced both their personal and business relationships, stimulated rivalry between some groups and friendship between others. This quite unexpectedly makes ritual dynamics highly relevant to the functioning of masculine networks within the VOC, to the international trade in art objects and to cultural mediation.

The study of masonic rituals, publications and prints from the 18th and early 19th centuries made it possible to trace the visual sources for the decorations on the export objects in the CMC and related collections. This helped to explain their symbolic meaning and understand the function of these objects within the lodge and private ownership. Masonic prints and ritual texts have been used to date objects, which in some cases also contributes to more accurate dating of export porcelain and lacquer in general.

By consulting masonic archives, it became possible to reconstruct the earliest development of the lodges in Southeast Asia and correct a lot of previously published data. Furthermore, it proved possible to trace the building of freemasons' halls in the Dutch East Indies, take inventory of their decorations and furnishings, and to identify the artists and craftsmen employed. The archives provided an insight into the general consumption patterns of the lodges, their social function and interaction with the local population. Such findings were supplemented with data from previously published research on the exchange with Asia to provide context and identify the commissioners, buyers and traders in masonic export objects. It should be noted, that - as the main focus was on describing and identifying a little known material culture - the international politics and conflicts affecting the Dutch trade posts are mentioned only in passing. Other researchers are already focusing on the relevance of freemasonry to political and social history. Lodge members and visitor lists were compared to the VOC enlistment database of the National Archive.[20] This provided an insight into the number of Dutch freemasons active in Asia. Rather than discussing them as characteristic groups, an effort has been made to focus on personal histories and to individually name those who usually remain anonymous, such as the Javanese and Chinese employed by the lodges.

As I could not depend on any longstanding academic frame of reference for the material culture of Dutch freemasonry, this provided a great freedom as well as obstacles. Marty Bax's *Het Web der Schepping. Theosofie en kunst in Nederland van Lauweriks tot Mondriaan* (2004) and Marijo Ariëns-Volker's and *De wangen van de Macroprosophus*. *Een nieuwe interpretatie van het schilderij 'Les Demoiselles d'Avignon' van Pablo Picasso* (2004), both studies of the relationship between modern art and esoteric currents, were very useful points of reference in this respect. Even though both dealt with a much later era, they offered useful insights into the social dynamics of esoteric societies, the relevance of network and genealogical relationships (prosopography) in the art market, and the dissemination of esoteric thought as an influence on the production process, the buyers and traders market.[21]

How is the material culture of freemasonry presented from an art historical perspective in the following chapters? For readers still unfamiliar with the subject, as most fellow art historians will be, the first part of this book offers a (very compacted) introduction into the developments of freemasonry in the Netherlands. This is followed by an introduction into the rituals and their related iconography, as well as the material culture to which this iconography is applied in a decorative manner. The material culture of freemasonry is explored in various stages: from the descriptions in early texts and the earliest depictions of lodge interiors, to lodge inventories and designs, and finally, the earliest photographs and surviving buildings. This broad introduction is essential to the understanding of the second part of the book, which deals with the material culture of the lodges in Southeast Asia and the identification of surviving (export) objects.

This second part first explains the relevance of freemasonry to travellers, as well as the overlap between the VOC and the Dutch masonic network, strengthened by the family ties between both organisations. Separate chapters on India and Ceylon, the Dutch East Indies (Java) and Malaysia, China and Japan, first offer a brief history of the local lodges to provide the context in which a material culture could develop. When information on this material culture is available, correspondence, minutes, inventories and financial accounts are used to demonstrate which buildings were commissioned, how they were decorated and furnished, which artists were involved, and what the function of individual objects was to their users. Provided sufficient material is available, chapters also include an overview of the most important surviving

objects, of which the decorations and visual sources are explained. This approach allows one to asses both the presence of freemasonry within the trade posts, the development of its material culture, and the artistic value and ritual function of individual objects. The material presented can serve as a 'guide' for the future determination, dating and provenance of similar objects. In order to fully focus on this new area of research, some compromises had to be made: the VOC is mentioned to 'set the scene', but its history is not explored further. Even so, some findings will offer new perspectives on the Company. In the last chapter, the previous findings are summarized to support conclusions and explain which questions remain unanswered.

In order to make the material written in Dutch more widely accessible to scholars, English translations of (parts of) original documents are provided in this publication, rather than paraphrased or summarized. Although it has consequences for the length of some chapters, a choice was made to offer primary source material (like transcripts of inventories and membership lists) as inserts in the lay out, rather than to 'banish' these to traditional appendixes in the back of the book. Presenting material in this fashion allows readers to take in or ignore one or more layers of textual and visual information at their convenience. From an art historical perspective, the discussion of previously unpublished inventories and images are the quintessential data provided in this book, therefore deserving of a central place. The size of the chapters also reflects the amount of documentation available on lodges in a particular region in Southeast Asia - which for the Dutch East Indies remains, even after careful selection of highlights, almost overwhelming. In contrast there is relatively little material on Japan, which made the available data easier to handle.

Where Dutch archive documents and publications are quoted, translations were provided by the author.[22] For the benefit of the reader (masonic) abbreviations were translated in full and the original Dutch text is provided in the endnotes. Some readers may find Appendix I helpful, as it explains frequently used masonic terminology. Appendix II presents an overview of biographical data, including a list of over 324 Dutch freemasons active in India and Ceylon (1758-1838), which provides an insight into the social stratification, professional activities and masonic 'careers' (successive initiations and appointed offices within a lodge). This appendix may prove a useful basis for future research.

A PhD-thesis must conform to certain academic rules. Let's not forget that behind the data and objects presented here according to those rules, there are very personal stories to be discovered. Imagine a young, well to do man on his journey of becoming a freemason. How he nervously enters the lodge building for the first time on the night of his initiation, sweating a little under his wig. He will feel a mixture of thrill and fear during the ritual, which is cleverly designed to induce a powerful emotional experience using theatrical props, light and sound effects. After being welcomed into the brotherhood, it will take him several years to discover the deeper meaning behind each symbol used in the lodge, and to be initiated into a number of successive degrees. Perhaps he will even become a respectable Worshipful Master or chairman of a lodge one day. He might want to show his affiliation to masonic ideals and impress his fellows by displaying in his house a fine object decorated with the symbols of the Order. If he is wealthy enough, he can commission a precious porcelain bowl or a lacquer box from Asia, and provide a masonic image of his choice to be copied onto it.

Now imagine how another freemason, a bit more of a rogue, has to make the perilous journey to the East in service of the East India Company, hoping he will not go down with an unfortunate ship nor die of boredom during the many months at sea. Provided he does not succumb to some exotic disease after arrival in Batavia, Canton or Dejima, our hero will have to negotiate with Asian merchants in order to procure the desired goods for the Company as well as for the private orders he accepted. If he succeeds, he will pray those fragile objects among the cargo of the return ship will make it home in one piece. And what of the Asian artist, who must at least once have wondered about the meaning of the strange western images he so skilfully copied onto porcelain or lacquer on a daily basis? Or better yet, what of a Eurasian woman in Batavia, married to a lodge member and invited to the celebration of St. John's Day, where she will receive a small silver jewel in the shape of a trowel to remember the occasion? There is a basis for a historical novel in every masonic object - every punch bowl, every lacquer box.

1.2. The academic study of freemasonry

Apart from *post mortem* sightings of Elvis Presley, it is difficult to name a subject that has been the source of more preposterous theories than freemasonry. The history of misconceptions about the Order is as long as the history of the initiation society itself. It is important to realize how these misconceptions were first conceived and then perpetuated, as they influenced both public and academic attitudes towards the subject, and explain why art historians overlooked the material culture of freemasonry for so long.

◆ ***Separating fact and fiction***

As will be discussed later in chapter 2, the exact origins of freemasonry are subject to continuing discoveries and arguments between scholars. This is why some prefer to see the re-establishment of the first governing masonic body, the (Premier) Grand Lodge of England, in 1717 as a starting point of modern, metropolitan freemasonry. Ironically, one of this Grand Lodge's first publications contributed much to the later confusion about the Order's origins.

In 1723 James Anderson compiled *The Constitutions of the Free-masons. Containing the History, Charges, Regulations, &c. of that most Ancient and Right Worshipful Fraternity* for use by all the lodges under the rule of the Grand Lodge.[23] At the time it was not uncommon to add a sense of tradition and status to a new organization, by giving it an inspiring, legendary history (a process known as 'the invention of tradition'[24]). Such a fictional history was also incorporated in *The Constitutions,* naming a long list of important historical, biblical and mythical architects and builders as past members of the Order. In the following editions of the book, a summary of the recent activities of the Grand Lodge was added without marking the line between fictional and factual history.

Later 18th century publications on freemasonry borrowed generously from *The Constitutions*, again without distinguishing fact from fiction. This created the first misunderstandings about the Order's origins amongst readers both within and outside the Order. As will be discussed below, lodge members performed ritual initiations which refer to specific masonic myths. When these rituals were first ´exposed´ to the public in early 18th century pamphlets and later published in members' handbooks, these myths were added to the mix, fuelling ever more spectacular theories on the history of freemasonry. For example, the origins of the Order have been contributed to Adam, the builders of the Egyptian pyramids, the Christian crusaders as well as the medieval cathedral builders. No doubt some book somewhere also mentions an extra-terrestrial intervention.

Until the second half of the 20th century, most research on freemasonry was undertaken by scholars who themselves were members of a lodge. They provided a bounty of historical accounts and jubilee books of lodges, which make up a large part of the bibliography of this book. Such publications were usually distributed amongst members only and therefore failed to reach the academia.

In their enthusiasm, some authors on freemasonry fell victim to wishful thinking or *Hineininterpretierung*. Ancient depictions of building tools and other (universal) symbols - which *are* used in masonic iconography, but not exclusively - were interpreted as proof of the ancient roots of the Order. Hieroglyphs resembling masonic tools, medieval tombstones depicting a square and a pair of compasses, and allegorical figures carrying the symbols of architecture were often mistakenly interpreted as proof of ancient origins. The origins of these symbols in the iconographical tradition of many older, unrelated organizations and belief systems were overlooked.

Such inaccuracies in literature, combined with the strong anti-masonic sentiments that were expressed alternately by church and government under different regimes, have clouded general perceptions. In 1796 the French Jesuit priest Augustin de Barruel (1741-1820) formulated a conspiracy theory that the French Revolution was a masonic plot against Christendom, to which others added a Jewish component.[25] From then onwards, anti-semitic and anti-masonic sentiments have gone hand in hand, culminating in the publication of the *Protocols of the Elders of Sion in Russia in 1897-1898.* The intimate, 'secret' character that is inherent to masonic organizations did little to counterbalance the many rumours and misconceptions. The Nazi-regime, which reprinted the *Protocols,* also published a vast amount of other anti-masonic and -semitic propaganda during World War II.[26] This literature is (in the Netherlands) still

widely available in second hand book shops, and continues to contribute to prejudice and misunderstandings amongst the public to this day.

Through the more benign popular fiction of the second half of the 20th century many also came to believe that 'the Order' is an elitist brotherhood, a world-wide network, secretly trying to rule the world. To readers of that genre this book will be sadly disappointing. Contrary to persistent conspiracy theories, freemasonry is neither a religion, nor a sectarian movement, branch of the mafia or a capitalist conspiracy. As an initiation society freemasonry propagated a tolerant worldview combined with an exciting ritual element and social functions similar to other contemporary gentlemen's clubs.[27] That freemasonry's basic moral values and playful symbolism somehow remained valid for much later generations, can be concluded from the fact that so many different masculine, mixed and feminine masonic organizations are still active today. However, masonic orders were and are simply too diverse to ever operate as one global organization, as some fiction writers like to think, although international friendly contacts between Orders and lodges are common. What this book will show, is that freemasonry *did* once form a global network, but only in a positive sense, supporting international travellers.

The distinction between fact and fiction has always been obvious to serious scholars of the subject, including many members of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge of Research, who produced an invaluable body of work in their *Transactions*. However, it was the publication of *The Craft: a History of English Freemasonry* (1986) by John Hamill, curator of the collections of the United Grand Lodge of England, which marked an important turning point in general attitudes towards freemasonry. For over a hundred years, freemasonry was assumed to have organically evolved from an 'operative' (handwork) masonry in the medieval guild system to a 'speculative' (philosophical or symbolic) freemasonry by the introduction of 'gentlemen masons'. Probably the first masonic author to formulate this theory, was Robert Freke Gould (1836-1915), most notably in his *The History of Freemasonry (*1884-1887).[28] Hamill was one of the first authoritative figures from within the Order to prove this theory to be flawed. It marked a turning point in the approach to the subject.[29] Hamills book stimulated a fresh, critical and methodological approach and warmed non-members to the subject. The current view on the Order's origins is that things were much more complex. The crucial development did not take place between operative and speculative masons, but rather between stone masons (who were both operative and speculative) to gentlemen masons (who were speculative only). This is discussed further in paragraph 2.1. below.

◆ *Changing academic attitudes*

Andrew Prescott, whose memorable directorship of the Centre of Research into Freemasonry and Fraternalism at the University of Sheffield (2000-2007) stimulated a wave of new developments in the field of study, considered the need of a cross-disciplinary academic approach:

> One of the attractions of the study of Freemasonry is its inherently inter-disciplinary character - to study fully Freemasonry we need the skills of the historian, the literary specialist, the museum curator, the art historian, the sociologist and so on. However, if the study of Freemasonry does not have a home disciplinary base, it again runs the risk of becoming sterile. The subject field in which the study of Freemasonry sits most comfortably is that of the history of religion […].[30]

Within religious studies, freemasonry is currently viewed as part of the western esoteric tradition. While the term 'esoteric' is mainly associated with spirituality in popular culture, in the academic field the term 'western esoteric' is more narrowly defined. It covers a body of 'rejected knowledge': ideas and worldviews that have evolved from antiquity until the present day within a complex of currents, defined by mainstream (Christian) culture and religion as 'other'.[31] Since the Renaissance, some of the most influential of these currents were 17th century alchemy, 18th century freemasonry, 19th century theosophy and occultism, and 20th century anthroposophy.

In the past academic attitudes have been plainly dismissive of esoteric traditions, as Wouter Hanegraaff summarized at the conference *Masonic and Esoteric Heritage* in his lecture 'Western Esotericism and the Status of the Image' (2005):

> […] since the Enlightenment of the 18th century, the perspectives typical of Renaissance magic and hermeticism were increasingly outlawed as 'occult and irrational superstitions'. Rejection led to marginalization, and eventually resulted in a very serious lack of factual knowledge among academics about the history of esotericism and its importance and influence in western culture. That lack of information is only now beginning to be corrected.[32]

When freemasonry *was* studied seriously, it was often 'typecast' by historians and theologians as an intellectual or political by-product of the Enlightenment, or a whimsical pastime of an aristocratic elite. Dutch academic research into freemasonry, if any, tended to focus on subjects like the transfer of ideas during the Enlightenment, the views of the Catholic Church, or aspects of sociability in the 19th century. But perspectives have shifted significantly as a result of developments during the second half of the 20th century.

In the 1960s the *Chaire d'Histoire des courants ésotériques et mystiques dans l'Europe moderne et contemporaine* was founded at the *École Pratique des* Hauts *Études* (Sorbonne) in Paris. This paved the way for groundbreaking studies, including Francis Yates' *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (1964), Antoine Faivre's *Accès de l'ésotérisme occidental*, (1986), Wouter Hanegraaff's *New Age Religion and Western Culture: Esotericism in the Mirror of Secular Thought* (1996) and the *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism* (Leiden 2005). Hanegraaff's argument that western esoteric currents should not be viewed as alternatives or subculture currents against mainstream (Judeo-Christian) religions, philosophies or sciences, but as *part of* our multifaceted western culture, is now widely accepted.[33]

The new approach by religious scholars also sparked a wider interest in the subject within the humanities. Margaret Jacob's *The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons and Republicans* (1981)[34] paved the way for other academic studies focusing on freemasonry, such as Helmut Reinalter's *Freimaurer und Geheimbünde im 18. Jahrhundert in Mitteleuropa* (1983) and David Stevenson's *The Origins of Freemasonry. Scotland's Century 1590-1710* (1988). Academic chairs, research institutes and networks were founded, including the *Centro de Estudios Históricos de la Masoneria Española* (1983, University of Zaragoza, Spain), the two Pierre-Theodore Verhaegen Chairs for the study of Freethinking, Rationalism and Freemasonry (1983, Université Libre de Bruxelles and Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium), the *Wissenschaftliche Kommission zur Erforschung der Freimaurerei* (1992, University of Innsbrück, Austria) and the Centre for Research into Freemasonry and Fraternalism (2000, University of Sheffield, Great Britain). In the Netherlands this growing academic interest resulted in the founding of the Chair for the History of Hermetic Philosophy and related currents (University of Amsterdam, 1999) and the Chair for Freemasonry as an intellectual current and socio-cultural European Phenomenon (University of Leiden, 2000).[35]

Freemasonry is now viewed as not only an important intellectual current within the Enlightenment, but also as a society (specific group) that initiated, influenced and reflected general trends in western society: changes in social behaviour and status, race and gender issues, the distinction between private and public space, etc. The subject is studied from a cross-disciplinary viewpoint, incorporating methodology from religious, social, cultural, historical and gender studies. Researchers are only recently becoming aware of just how much of an impact this particular current has made on western society.

Recent publications of standard works such as *Le Monde Maçonnique de Lumières (Europe Amériques & Colonies). Dictionnaire prosopographique* (2013) under edition of Charles Porset and Cécile Révauger, and the *Handbook of Freemasonry* (2014) by editors Henrik Bogdan and Jan Snoek, also underline that the subject is now firmly on the academic map. However, because the study of freemasonry is still a relatively 'young' field, it lacks the longstanding tradition of academic research and publications that most other fields of study can rely on. Many of the basic questions about the origins and history of freemasonry are yet unanswered, while academic literature, statistics, basic research tools and reference frameworks are only now becoming available. A daunting and at the same time challenging overview of the *desiderata* provided by André Hanou in 'De loge parterre' (2002) is still relevant - more than ten years after its publication.[36] The amount of uninventoried and unresearched archival sources in masonic collections all over the world is vast. As Andrew Prescott already underlined, a new generation of researchers needs to 'get their hands dirty in those unopened boxes'.[37]

◆ *Art historical perspectives*

Of all western esoteric currents, freemasonry has probably produced the richest material culture. Despite the progressive developments listed above, scholarly attention towards freemasonry for a long time focused on its intellectual heritage: its influence on history, politics, society and prominent historical figures. From the 1980s onwards a number of major European exhibitions on the subject were organized with the cooperation of (Grand) lodges. Examples are: *Een eeuw vrijmetselarij in onze gewesten, 1740-1840* (Brussels 1983), *Fragments Impressionées. Tabliers Maçonniques des XVIIIème et XIXème Siècles* (Turin 1991), *Freimaurer. Solange die Welt besteht* (Vienna 1992), *De vrijmetselarij en Europa van de 18de eeuw tot heden* (Brussels 1993), *La Franc-Maçonnerie* (Bordeaux 1994), *Franc-Maçonnerie. Avenir d'un tradition* (Tours 1997), *The Freemason in his Raiment of Light* (Tours 2002), *Geheime Gesellschaft* (Weimar 2002); *Freemasons in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia* (Prague 2003), *Wijsheid met Vreugd gepaard* (Gent 2003) and *Splendeurs Maçonniques* (Toulouse 2003). Perhaps because these mainly included examples of applied art (ritual and domestic objects perceived as curiosa) rather than visual art, such events drew little attention from art historians.

Until recently, freemasonry remained a virtually absent theme in art criticism.[38] Western esoteric currents *were* discussed from time to time, though mainly in connection to Romantic, Symbolist and early Abstract art. Relevant art works which should have been recognized as part of a particular esoteric visual tradition were only discussed as expressions of more general religious and spiritual feelings. Examples of this approach are the exhibitions and catalogues *Kunstenaren der Idee. Symbolistische tendenzen in Nederland ca. 1880-1930* (The Hague 1978), *Zeichen des Glaubens. Geist der Avant-Garde: Religiöse Tendenzen in der Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart 1980), *The Spiritual in Art: Abstract Painting 1890-1985* (Los Angeles/Chicago/The Hague 1986-1987), *Okkultismus und Avantgarde. Von Munch bis Mondrian 1900-1915* (Frankfurt am Main 1995) and *Das Bauhaus und die Esoterik* (Hamm/Würzburg 2005). Such exhibitions failed to point out, for instance, how 'masonic art' is pictorially or structurally different from 'theosophical art'. These also tended to focus on two-dimensional (modern) art, whereas western esotericism has influenced both the applied and visual arts, and architecture. In many cases the artists involved were striving to create a true *Gesamtkunstwerk* wherein the whole living environment harmoniously expressed their esoteric ideals.

This omission was part of a larger oversight. Within art and heritage studies, there is a tradition of documenting, researching and restoring important examples of religious and social, domestic and public art and architecture. It is widely accepted that world religions such as Christianity, Islam, Judaism and Hinduism have profoundly influenced artists in their personal iconography and expression of artistic concepts. In the Netherlands however, the traditional approach to western art is firmly based on Christian mainstream iconography. The fact that many celebrated artists were influenced by currents such as freemasonry, occultism, theosophy and anthroposophy has until recently been insufficiently acknowledged. (It is curious that when studying Christian religious art, basic knowledge of the bible is considered essential, but when studying for instance theosophical art, such as the work of Piet Mondriaan, acquiring knowledge of Helena Blavatsky's body of work is not considered a worthwhile investment by most art historians.)

This oversight can - albeit only partially - be blamed on practical obstacles. While the study of western esotericism has developed from a niche within religious studies to a thriving international, cross-disciplinary field, most of its published results have yet to cross over into art historical studies. To date (2015) we lack an academic body of reference, such as a concise overview of esoteric iconography, material culture and terminology, which would allow the identification and systematic analysis of relevant elements in art and architecture - as well as the assessment of their cultural-historical value for conservation purposes. Another obstacle is that, while the Netherlands boasts a chair for the study of western esotericism at the University of Amsterdam and two relevant collections (CMC, BPH), scholarship still tends to focus on international historical developments. We simply do not know which esoteric currents were active in the Netherlands between circa 1750 and 1940, let alone in which town, for how long and who the founders were.[39] It is necessary to quantify the historical engagement of the Dutch with esoteric currents and demonstrate its relevance to today's society, in order to create a much wider *draagvlak* (support) for investment in education and research into the subject.

Fortunately, over the last two decades the (private) archives of esoteric organizations have quickly become more (digitally) accessible for research.[40] This has, amongst others, allowed much documentary

evidence to surface of the participation of artists in 18th-20th century esoteric societies, and of the dissemination of esoteric thought in artistic and buyers' circles. Cross-disciplinary conferences such as *Kunst en Westerse Esoterie* (Amsterdam 1999), *Freemasonry and the Visual Arts* (London 2001), *Freimaurerische Kunst und 'Theater'* (Bayreuth 2002), *Masonic and Esoteric Heritage. New Perspectives for Art and Heritage Policies* (The Hague 2005) and *Enchanted Modernities: Theosophy and the Arts in the Modern World* (Amsterdam 2013) advocated a review of existing interpretations of the body of work of artist-members of esoteric organizations. Publications such as Marty Bax' *Het Web der Schepping. Kunst & Theosofie rond 1900* (2006) and exhibitions like *L'Europe des esprits ou la fascination de l'occulte, 1750-1950* (Strassbourg 2011) *have also* marked an unmistakable change in attitudes towards the subject. As more and more students become equally familiar with esoteric symbolism as with classical iconography, the study of western esotericism will become an important new area of research within Dutch art history. A new generation of art historians is now focusing specifically on the rich visual symbolism and the artist-members of masonic lodges. Because of increasing digital accessibility of relevant collections, their choice of subject is also becoming less dependent on the traditional curriculum.

◆ *Neglected cultural heritage*

As a result of the oversight in art history described above, surviving examples of the material culture of esoteric currents (including masonic and other fraternal organisations) were neither acknowledged as valuable cultural heritage, nor protected accordingly. The material culture of Dutch freemasonry has already dealt with two rounds of devastation. Many lodge buildings and artefacts dating back to the 18th and 19th centuries were confiscated, sold or wilfully destroyed by the Nazis during World War II. Other lodge buildings were bombed or badly damaged by the Allied Forces who were housed in them shortly after the war. The war also may have contributed in an unexpected manner to a later 'blind spot' for masonic and esoteric heritage in general perceptions.

As esoteric currents were banned by the Nazi regime, some artists or their families in fear of prosecution destroyed 'incriminating' documents from their own archives in 1940-1945. Later art historians, unaware that anything was missing, overlooked such esoteric engagement.[41] The vast amount of anti-masonic propaganda produced by the Nazis may have done more unseen, lasting damage than has generally been assumed. Before 1940 Dutch newspapers reported regularly on the lodge membership of artists and other prominent figures as a matter-of-fact. After 1945 however, such mentions became rarer, as can be demonstrated by searches in the Dutch newspaper database of the National Library. While a search for the term *vrijmetselarij* (= freemasonry) for the years 1920-1940 results in over 6.000 hits; for 1945-1965 the result is a little over 600 hits (a decrease of 90%). This phenomenon, to which undoubtedly other factors have also contributed, deserves further research.

In the second half of the 20th century the association of all things esoteric with all things New Age, did not exactly warm art history and heritage professionals to the subject either. They seem to have shied away from naming western esotericism as an influence, as if the revered genius of a well-known artist or architect would be somehow tainted by association with a body of ideas perceived as 'soft' and 'hazy'.[42] As a result, by the end of the century little attention was paid to the need for conservation of lodge buildings. Many were demolished by city planners or unrecognizably altered by renovation architects, unfamiliar with the hidden symbolism in their original designs. The Netherlands' most significant masonic hall was demolished in the 1990s and other major examples, such as the former theosophist and co-masonic hall (1916) in the Museum of Communication in The Hague, do not have the status of protected monument.[43] As opposed to such categories as religious, mobile or 'young' (post-war) heritage, esoteric, masonic or fraternal buildings are not an acknowledged category of monuments in national stock taking, conservation or funding schemes.

Perhaps Hanegraaff's appropriately titled *Western Esotericism: a guide for the perplexed* (2013) could be recommended to art history and heritage students in order to ensure a more balanced approach of the subject in future? Presently, unfamiliarity with the subject as well as lingering prejudices continue to contribute to a 'blind spot' for esoteric heritage in heritage policies. Unfortunately this same blind spot affects collection policies. Jan Snoek asserted in 2008 that libraries and museums need a wake-up call:

> To these basic requirements I personally would add the necessity to provide the large well known collecting institutions with sufficient means to prevent important documents to be sold at auctions to private collectors in whose treasure chests they often become inaccessible for researchers, as happens now almost daily.[44]

Most Dutch university libraries and professional heritage organizations do not have a collection, research, conservation policy or budget aimed at esoteric, fraternal or masonic documents or objects.[45] In other words, this part of Dutch heritage remains at risk. Care for important buildings and objects is left to private owners, including lodges, who often lack the funds and knowledge to adhere to professional standards. Some are willing to offer their collections as permanent loans to heritage institutes in order to allow better access and care, but the obstacle there is that institutes will accept either their library, archive or objects, but not all three, intricately interwoven elements.

The call - already made at the conference *Masonic and Esoteric Heritage. New perspectives for Art and Heritage Policies* at the National Library in 2005 - for more cooperation between academics, heritage professionals and lodges, the building of cross disciplinary knowledge networks, streamlining collection policies and tackling conservation problems together, deserves to be repeated here.

2. Freemasonry in The Netherlands
History, Ritual practice, Material culture and Iconography

2.1. Historical development of the Dutch Order

◆ *Precursors and first developments in Great Britain*

As Snoek and Bogdan point out in the Handbook of Freemasonry: 'it is impossible to say when Freemasonry as we know it was founded'.[1] The earliest known use of the word 'freemason' is an indictment against Nicholas le Freemason for helping prisoners escape in 1325.[2] It is associated with the workers of the 'free stone', a special type of lime or sandstone ideal for sculpting, a costly material which required great skill to cut.[3] The earliest developments leading up to modern freemasonry have already been well summarized by Andrew Prescott:

> The origins of modern Freemasonry as a social movement lie in the religious fraternities which [...] existed primarily to pay for prayers for the souls of their members, but increasingly, particular fraternities were favoured by certain groups of craftsmen, and they began to assume responsibility for trade regulation. These emergent craft gilds began to be dominated by elite groups within individual trades, frequently creating class-based tension.[4]

In the 14th century this development could be seen within the craft of stonemasonry. The Black Death had diminished the population and as such caused a shortage of skilled craftsmen. The high demand made their wages rise, especially in the building trade. Prescott notes that stonemasons were forbidden from holding assemblies in order to press for higher wages in 1425:

> It is in this event that we can find the beginnings of the myths of Freemasonry. Groups of junior masons developed a legend that they had been given ancient charters allowing them to hold their assemblies. They also reacted against the increasing stratification of their trade by developing legends which sought to demonstrate that all masons were brethren of equal status.[5]

In order to fortify these claims 'ancient' manuscripts were produced, which tell of those legends (another example of the invention of tradition applied to freemasonry's history).[6] Among the earliest preserved versions is the so-called *Regius manuscript* from circa 1425 in the British Library.[7] In later years such documents gained in importance within the trade organizations and were elaborated on, every time when the wage issue arose again.

Prescott proposes a division of the history of (British) freemasonry into ten phases, based on important historical events.[8] The first phase, which some would call 'pre-masonic developments', can be counted from 1425 (the approximate date of the *Regius MS*) to 1583: the appointment of William Shaw (ca. 1550-1602) as 'master of works and general warden' of James IV, King of Scotland (1473-1513). The second phase runs from 1583 to 1717, when important events take place in London.

Parallel developments in both England and Scotland seem to have contributed to modern freemasonry. David Stevenson's *Origins of Freemasonry* (1988) first drew attention to a practice described in the new constitutions for the 'masons' lodges of Scotland in 1598, signed by Shaw as part of a reform of the stonemasons' organizations.[9] Once workmen had passed their test for the status of Master in the builders' organization, they were ritually admitted as 'Fellow of the Craft'. The candidate had to pay an entrance fee (used to pay for the festive dinner at this occasion) and he had to present the members with a pair of gloves.[10] In London, the ritual 'Acception' of masons was practiced within the 'Company of ffreemasons within the citie of London' (later 'Masons' Company of London').[11] Highly esteemed members were ritually qualified as 'Accepted Masons' in 1621-1650.[12]

Researcher Mattew Scanlan pointed out misconceptions about the complex transition of traditions from the building trade to modern freemasonry in his articles 'The Mystery of the Acception, 1630-1723: a Fatal Flaw' (2003) and 'Operative versus Speculative' (2004).[13] The so called 'freestone masons' who practiced such ritual 'Acceptions' were not among the common members of the building organizations, but





Fig. 2.1: Jan Meyssens, portrait of Henri (Hendrick) de Keyser (1565-1621), engraving in: Cornelis de Bie, Gulden Cabinet. Het gulden cabinet vande edel vry schilder-const *(1661). Collection: Library of the University of Gent.*
Fig. 2.2: Thomas Chambers, portrait of Nicholas Stone Sr and Nicholas Stone Jr, etching after an anonymous artist, 1762. Collection: Yale Center for British Art (Paul Mellon Collection), inv.no. B1977.14.12621. Reproduced from: brittanica.com.



Fig. 2.3: John Riley (1646-1691), portrait of Elias Ashmole (1617-1692), ca. 1681-1682, oil on canvas, 124 x 101 cm.
© Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, inv.no. WA 1898.36.

part of a cultural elite. They were the most highly qualified members allowed to work the 'freestone'. Some of these stone workers would eventually develop to 'Master Masons', the precursors of present day architects. Some, like Nicholas Stone (1586-1647) (fig. 2.2.), a student of the Dutch architect and sculptor Hendrick de Keyser (1565-1621) (fig. 2.1), were self-employed, educated men, who made grand tours through Europe, could read and write foreign languages, and collected art.[14] The most qualified Master would be appointed by the King and allowed the title of 'King's Master Mason' (the equivalent of Grand Master, a term later associated with the chairman of a masonic lodge or Order).

From the introduction of the Gothic style in architecture (12th century) onwards, the freestone masons engaged in mathematical and theoretical 'speculation' about their trade and skills.[15] In other words, they were both operative and speculative. In the 17th century so-called 'gentleman masons', who engaged in speculation only, were accepted as members alongside freestone masons. The most famous recorded case is that of Elias Ashmole (1617-1692) in 1646 in London (fig. 2.3).[16] This inclusion of outsiders may have been encouraged by workmen, in order to gain influential support for their claims of fair wages. At the beginning of the 18th century the number of members who actively worked the stone declined, while the number of gentlemen who did not, but only engaged in speculation, increased significantly and by 1740 had taken over.

It used to be generally accepted that the foundation of the first Grand Lodge had taken place in London in 1717, the year often quoted as the starting point of modern freemasonry. However, freemasonry cannot be traced back to one single event. It developed as a result of a complex set of social, organisational and ritual developments, and shifting from practical to intellectual lodge membership and activities. Scanlan points out that - as James Anderson (circa 1679-1739) accurately described in his *New Book of Constitutions of the Antient and Honourable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons* (ed. 1738) - what took place in London in 1716-1717 was a revival, rather than a foundation of the first Grand Lodge.[17] The King's Master Mason, Sir Christopher Wren (1632-1723), was responsible for much of the rebuilding of London after the great fire of 1666. There is evidence suggesting he was made a mason in 1691 and acting as Master or Grand Master of his London lodge between 1710 and 1716.[18] By that time most of London was rebuilt and workmen were moving elsewhere, the decrease in membership leaving the lodges struggling to continue. Anderson described how in 1716 'the few *Lodges* at *London* finding themselves neglected by Sir Christopher *Wren*' (by then 84 years old) and 'forthwith revived the Quarterly *Communication* [Meetings] of the *Officers* of Lodges (call'd the Grand Lodge)'.[19]

There was a clear need for reorganisation of the lodge system, if it was to survive. This reshuffle took place somewhere between 1718 and 1725. British and Scottish strands of freemasonry intermingled, changing the rituals. In 1723-1724 a Grand Lodge was founded in Ireland. A crucial role in the the transition process in England was to be played by John Theophilus Desaguliers (1683-1744) (fig.2.4.), a Huguenot preacher and physicist.[20] He would become the third Grand Master of the Order in 1719, after the 'gentleman' Anthony Sayer (ca. 1662-1741), appointed in 1717, and George Payne, appointed in 1718. Crucial to the survival of the lodges was to attract a new audience and change their ritual practice accordingly.[21] Desaguliers contributed to a change in the administrative organisation of the Grand Lodge as well as the rituals.[22] When an aristocrat, John Duke of Montague, was installed as Grand Master in 1721, the Order was ready to take on a more public and prestigious role in society. Desaguliers kept the influential position of Deputy Grand Master.

Prescott points out that this new organizational structure had an important influence on three levels:

> [...] connected with this administrative articulation was the development of an extended cultural and social agenda. This was at one level political, in its extravagant insistence of its support of the Hanoverian succession. At another level, it was scientific, with a stress on geometry and measurement which was explicitly connected to new developments in scientific thought. But an even more important thread was aesthetic. The early activities of the Grand Lodge were explicitly linked to aesthetic propaganda in support of Vitruvian architecture and opposed to Gothic traditions, seen as monkish and ignorant.[23]

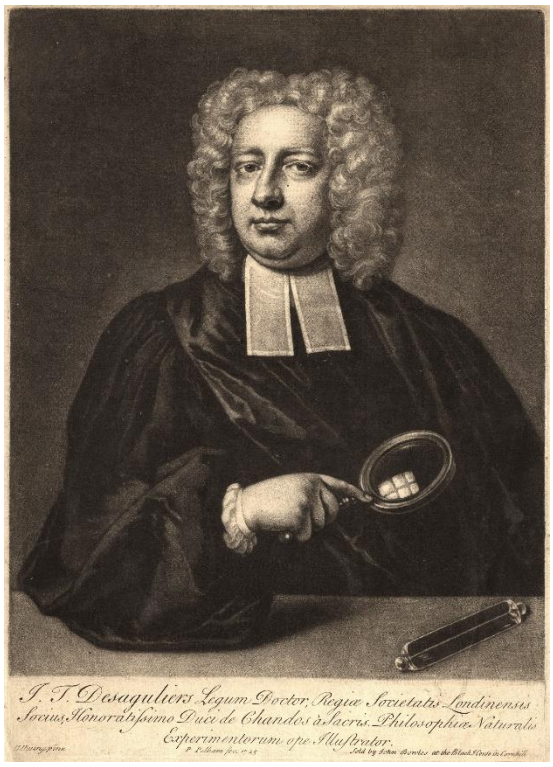


Fig. 2.4: Peter Pelham (1685-1751), portrait of John Theophilus Desaguliers (1683–1744) after a lost painting by Hans Hysing (1678-1752/53), engraving, 1725, 34.7 x 28.4 cm. © National Portrait Gallery, London, inv.no. NPG D10562. Reproduced from: npg.org.uk.

Prescott dates this third phase of development of modern (British) freemasonry between 1717 and 1737, the year of initiation of Frederick Lewis, Prince of Wales (1707-1751). By then the transition of freemasonry to Europe had already been made.

◆ *Expansion to Europe and its overseas territories*

The membership of a lodge was attractive to 'gentleman masons' at the beginning of the 18th century, as it became a rather fashionable habit for the upper classes and the cultural and intellectual elite. Freemasonry's rising popularity stimulated the formation of lodges on the European mainland at an early stage in the development of the Order. The first activities of freemasons in the Netherlands were already recorded in 1720-1721, when a British lodge worked in Rotterdam for a short time, to be discussed below.[24]

By 1726 the first European lodge was founded in Paris (France), where three more followed in 1729. A lodge was probably active in Mannheim (Germany) around 1727. Others were founded in Madrid (Spain) in 1728 and in Rome (Italy), Lisbon (Portugal) and Stockholm (Sweden) in 1735. The first lodges with Dutch members in the Netherlands were founded in 1734 and 1735 in The Hague and Amsterdam, discussed in more detail below.

Freemasonry combined ritual and intellectual elements, with an equally important social element. Local lodges provided a certain networking function, as did many other 18th- and 19th-century clubs and societies. Peter Clark's *British Clubs and Societies, 1580-1800. The Origins of an Associational World* (2000), discusses freemasonry within the wider context of learned, social, charitable and other British societies, noting that freemasonry was one of the most succesfull in gaining membership through its strong hierarchal organisation and effective marketing. The large amount of membership paraphernalia and printed works produced by the Order would today be considered 'branding' tools.

Members would meet kindred spirits within the lodges and make friends, as well as business contacts. The 'brotherhood' principle meant that every freemason could visit any lodge in any city or country with the knowledge that he would be warmly welcomed as a true 'brother'. If he needed assistance the lodge members would help him fit into his new surroundings or introduce him into local society, and if

he found himself in desperate circumstances, he could even apply for financial assistance, according to the laws of the Order:

> 6. Behaviour towards a strange *Brother.* [...] if you discover him to be a true and genuine *Brother*, you are to respect him accordingly; and if he is in want, you must relieve him if you can, or else direct him how he may be reliev'd: You must employ him for some Days, or else recommend him to be employ'd. But you are not charged to do beyond your Ability, only to prefer a poor *Brother*, that is a *good Man* and *true*, before any other poor People in the same Circumstances.[25]

Furthermore, masonic law prohibited discussions and disagreements on politics and religion within the lodge:

> I. Concerning God and Religion [...] to be *good Men* and *true*, or Men of Honour and Honesty, by whatever Denominations or persuasions they may be distinguish'd; whereby Masonry becomes the *Center of Union*, and the means of conciliating true Friendship among Persons that must have remain'd at perpetual distance [...].
> VI. Of Behaviour [...] Therefore no private Piques or Quarrels must be brought within the Door of the *Lodge*, far less any Quarrels about *Religion*, or *Nations*, or *State Policy*.[26]

This made it possible to maintain friendly and informal contacts with local as well as visiting freemasons of other nationalities within the lodge, even if these belonged to the competition, opposition or enemy in daily life.

The membership of the Order must therefore have had tremendous benefits for travelers and merchants. It is not surprising that minute books of lodges show that candidates would sometimes be hastily initiated on the eve before their departure on a journey.

◆ *The first lodges in the main Dutch cities*

Freemasonry crossed the Channel from Great Britain at an early stage in its development. The first masonic activities in the Netherlands were recorded from the 1720's onwards in the country's main cities. From Rotterdam, The Hague and Amsterdam the Order quickly spread its activities throughout the country. Although there are no records confirming his initiation beyond any doubt, it is thought likely that William III (1650-1702) was the first member of the House of Orange-Nassau to become a freemason, which would have contributed to the early expansion of freemasonry to elite circles in Holland.[27]

Unfortunately no complete archives of Dutch masonic lodges prior to 1754 have survived, only a handful of separate documents. But it is possible to reconstruct some of the earliest activities of freemasons in the Netherlands from documents of a later date, as well as by examining non-masonic sources. Most information on the earliest regularly meeting lodges are two manuscripts dating from 1756 and written by Louis Dagran, a draper from Lisbon (Portugal) and a member of the first Dutch Lodge.[28] His first manuscript, the so called *Annales*, possibly served as an *aide-memoire* for a speech on the history of the Dutch lodges. The second manuscript, *Extrait des Archives*, could be an extract of the minute book of the first Dutch Grand Lodge of 1735.[29] Both manuscripts were probably used by Dagran to strengthen his claim for the position of interim Grand Master in 1756, which met with much resistance. Historians doubt the reliability of some statements made by Dagran, coloured by his ambition, but others have been verified by contemporary newspaper reports.

The general development of the Dutch Order in the 18th and 19th century has already been described by masonic historians, such as H. Maarschalk, *Geschiedenis van de Orde der Vrijmetselaren in Nederland, onderhorige Koloniën en Landen* (1872), D. de Visser-Smits, *Vrijmetselarij. Geschiedenis, maatschappelijke betekenis en doel* (1931) and P.J. van Loo, *Geschiedenis van de Orde van Vrijmetselaren onder het Grootoosten der Nederlanden* (1967). Lodge histories were published in masonic almanacs' and membership magazines, as well as jubilee books. Numerous articles appeared in *Thoth*, a masonic journal aimed at the study of ritual and the history of the Order.[30] A more recent scholarly publication is Anton van de Sande's *Vrijmetselarij in de lage landen. Een mysterieuze broederschap zonder geheimen* (1995). Articles

by Van den Brand, Harel, Meijer and Van de Sande in *Vrijmetselaren: 250 jaar en meer* (2006), a compilation of masonic and scholarly texts, also deserve to be mentioned.[31]

Such literature has not disseminated into disciplines like art history for various reasons. Most histories of Dutch freemasonry were written by and for freemasons, limiting their audience, and almost all were written in Dutch, limiting their international accessibility. While scholarship on European freemasonry flourished, that on Dutch freemasonry lagged behind. So rather than just referencing these works, a summary of the earliest developments in the Netherlands is provided below. This will offer readers new to this subject an insight into the structure and organization of Dutch freemasonry, and also provide the necessary context for the later chapters of this book.

- *Rotterdam*

The *St. James Evening Post* first referred to the existence of a Rotterdam lodge on 4-11-1734: 'Besides the lodge of English Freemasons at Rotterdam, another is erected at The Hague'.[32] A letter dated 12-1-1736, written by the City of Rotterdam, confirms this event. It records that five Rotterdam freemasons, when questioned on their activities, declared:

> [...] that more than 14 years ago such a Society of eight persons, all of English and Scottish nationality, had been active here; but that they had ceased to meet almost 12 months ago, when it had already been seven years since their last meeting.[33]

From this can be deducted that a British lodge was active between 1720-1721 and 1726-1727, and met for one last time in 1734, possible to prepare the foundation of the first Dutch lodge.[34] Unfortunately none of the members' names are revealed in the reports, although some authors have guessed at the most likely candidates[35]: Adam Duncan (ca. 1680-1737, from Dundee, Scotland), active as a merchant since 1702, charterer and underwriter in Rotterdam, where he played a role of some importance in the large Scottish community in that city[36]; Robert Stirling, from Edinburgh, Scotland; Patrick Harper, from Wexford, Ireland; Alex[ander] Naughton, probably a ships' captain from Scotland; and Robert Story, from Rotterdam, but of Scottish descent. This list must be considered highly speculative.[37] Some members of the first Rotterdam lodge, consisting of 'visiting' English and Scottish freemasons, may have reunited in the so called Orange lodge, which worked under an English constitution in Rotterdam in 1748.

- *The Hague (The Hague)*

The activities of prominent freemasons in other countries started to attract attention in the Netherlands. In the *Amsterdamse Courant* of 4-9-1730, a first reference was made to a first exposure of a masonic ritual and the oath sworn by a candidate was reproduced. Initiations and meetings of prominent members were also published.

The first masonic activity in The Hague was that of a temporary British lodge meeting on 25-9-1731.[38] The former English Grand Master, John Theophilus Desaguliers, had travelled to the Netherlands to present a series of lectures on physics. At the residence of the English ambassador in Holland, Philip Dormer Stanhope Earl of Chesterfield (1694-1773), Desaguliers led the initiation of Francis I Stephan of Lotharingen (1708-1765, the later German Emperor) into freemasonry (fig. 2.5.). Anderson mentions the event in his *Constitutions* (ed. 1738):

> His *Royal Highness* Francis Duke of *Lorrain* (now *Grand Duke* of Tuscany) at the *Hague* was made an Enter'd Prentice and Fellow Craft, by virtue of a *Deputation* for a *Lodge* there, consisting of Rev[erend] Dr. Desaguliers *Master* [of the Lodge], {John Stanhope esq[uire]; Jn Holtzendorf, Esq[uire]} *Grand Wardens* and the other Brethren, *viz.* Philip Stanhope Earl of *Chesterfield* Lord Ambassador, – Strickland Esq[uire]; Nephew to the Bishop of *Namur*, Mr. Benjamin Hadley and an *Hollandish* Brother.[39]

The 'Hollandish Brother' was most likely Vincent La Chapelle (1703-1745). He emigrated from France to England, where he established his reputation as the author of an important book on cooking and the art of elegant dining.[40] He had been made a freemason in 1730 at the Rainbow Coffee House lodge in London and was now in The Hague in the service of the Earl of Chesterfield. The temporary lodge unintentionally or





Fig. 2.5: Martin van Meytens (1695-1770), portrait of Duke Francis I Stephan von Lotharingen (1708-1765), after 1745 oil on canvas, 150 x 117 cm. Collection: KHM-Museumsverband, Vienna, inv.no. GG_3440. Reproduced from: bilddatenbank.khm.at.
Fig. 2.6.: Jacques Enré Joseph Aved (1702-1766), portrait of Willem IV, prince of Orange-Nassau (1711-1751), 1751, oil on canvas, 113 x 87.5 cm. Collection: Mauritshuis, The Hague. Reproduced from: hetgeheugenvannederland.nl

intentionally contributed to the founding of the first Dutch lodge, of which La Chapelle - now *Chef d'Office* and *Chef de Cuisine* at the Court of the Frisian Stadholder Willem Karel Hendrik Friso of Orange (1711-1751, later Willem IV) - became Master of the Lodge.

This event took place in the days leading up to the wedding of the Stadholder with Princess Anna of Hannover (1709-1759), the daughter of George II (1683-1760). It is very likely that Willem IV, who was a protector of the Order, was a freemason himself, but his membership has not (yet) been established with certainty by historians (fig. 2.6.).[41] Snoek pointed out that William IV was said to have been initiated in Berlin according to a report by Adolph von Schweinitz in 1750, and was named a brother in various correspondence, including a letter by minister Falck in 1816.[42] The Grand Lodge addressed William IV as 'Notre Frère', a term normally reserved for members, and he was sent a copy of *L'Apologie des Francs-Massons* by his friend Onno Zwier van Haren. An item in the 'Inventory of clothing and precious objects of stadholder William IV' from 1750, overlooked by scholars until now, supports Snoek's opinion. It includes: 'No 359: one decoration of enamel on copper, made in Berlin, representing a freemasons' lodge'.[43] It was unusual for someone who wasn't a freemason to have a masonic object or image in his/her possession. This particular object could have been a gift, but a masonic object or image would generally not be handed to someone who wasn't a member, regardless of his status. The fact that the image was recorded as 'made in Berlin' and first appears in 1750, makes it likely that it was a souvenir of the attendance of, or participation in, an initiation.

Dagran's *Annales* report a (preliminary) meeting of the first Dutch lodge on 8-11-1734.[44] Its formal foundation a week later is confirmed by an article in a local newspaper, the *'s Gravenhaegse Maendagse Courant*, on 22-11-1734:

> On the 19th of this month at the home of A[ntoine] Maillet, located in the Hofstraat, where [the sign of] the Golden Lion [tavern] hangs, a Lodge was founded of the Brotherhood of Free Masons, famous of old; in

***Table 2.1**: Earliest members of the first lodge in The Hague (1734), best known under the name La Sincérité*

- *Tjaard van Aylva, friend of William IV, joined after January 1735,*
- *Jacques Bigot, squire and relation of William IV, later Grand Chamberlain, joined after January 1735,*
- *N. du Bois, joined after January 1735,*
- *Vincent La Chapelle (1703-1745), earlier a member of a the Rainbow Coffee House lodge in London, founding member,*
- *William Constant, joined before 1735,*
- *John Crawford, joined after January 1735,*
- *Louis Dagran, draper from Lisbon, Portugal,*
- *Guillaume Darnaud, a wine merchant, joined after January 1735,*
- *Jean Fache, founding member,*
- *Philippe Fluvet, founding member,*
- *Daniel Friard (1679-1770), a wigmaker from The Hague and earlier a member of the Rainbow Coffee House lodge in Londen, founding member,*
- *Douwe Sirtema van Grovestins, rittmaster and chief equerry of William IV, cousin to the Van Harens, joined after January 1735,*
- *Christoffel Hammersteijn, chief huntsman of William IV, joined after January 1735,*
- *Onno Zwier van Haren (1713-1779), friend of William IV, joined after January 1735,*
- *Willem van Haren (1710-1768), brother of Onno and friend of William IV, joined after January 1735,*
- *Francois Liégois, in the service of former Grand Master Charles, 2nd Duke of Richmond, founding member,*
- *Louis de Lille, joined after January 1735,*
- *Hermanus van Loon, baker and financial entrepreneur, joined after January 1735,*
- *Antoine Maillet, owner of the Golden Lion tavern in The Hague, joined before 1735,*
- *Balthasar Mandt, lawyer and editor, joined after January 1735,*
- *Jean Rousset de Missy (1686-1762, from Reims, France), journalist/editor/publisher, joined after January 1735,*
- *Nicolas Mulo, founding member,*
- *Salomon Nouch, founding member,*
- *Dominique Palairet, wine merchant, joined after January 1735,*
- *David Papillon, singing teacher, joined after January 1735,*
- *Johan Cornelis Radermacher (1700-1748), treasurer general to William IV, joined after January 1735.*
- *Pierre de Ruijter, Rotterdam merchant, joined after January 1735,*
- *Charles de Saumaise (1704-1770), a chamberlain to William IV, joined after January 1735,*
- *N. de St. Genevieve, joined before 1735,*
- *Etienne Verdety, taylor, joined after January 1735,*
- *Frederik Henderik van Wassenaar-Duivenvoorde (1701-1771), member of the* Hof van Holland*, joined after January 1735,*
- *Jacob William,joined after January 1735,*
- *Dirck Wolters, responsible for British military affairs in the Dutch Republic, joined after January 1735.*

> which society six new members have been introduced, which have all been accepted as Brothers; and one doubts not whether the Lodge will soon be numerous.[45]

The lodge was known as the *Loge Française*, also called *La Sincérité*. The founding members were recorded as[46]: Vincent La Chapelle, as Worshipful Master; Daniel Friard (1697-1770), a master wigmaker from The Hague, member of the lodge in the Rainbow Coffee House in London; Philippe Fluvet; Jean Fache; Francois Liégois, chamber valet to former Grand Master Charles, 2nd Duke of Richmond; Nicolas Mulo and Salomon Nouch.

Liégois travelled to London on 23-11-1734, where he secured the required Constitution for the lodge from the Grand Lodge of England, and returned with the document to the Netherlands in 1735. From January 1735 onwards, several men from the circle around the Stadholder Willem IV were accepted as additional members. In total circa 37 members were recorded (see table 2.1[47]). In March 1735 La Chapelle left for Leeuwarden as the Stadholder's *Chef de Cuisine* and Friard then became Master of the Lodge. The lodge named itself *Loge du Grand Maître des Provinces-Unies et du Ressort de la Généralité* in 1735, which reflects that French was the main language spoken by the members.[48]

The foundation of the first Dutch lodge was soon followed by the foundation of the first Dutch Grand Lodge in The Hague, of which Dagrans *Annales* reported:



Fig. 2.7: Anonymous, portrait of Johan Cornelis Radermacher (1700-1748), ca. 1725-1729, oil on canvas, 86 x 71 cm. Location unknown (auctioned at Van Stockum, The Hague, 1986-11-05, lot no. 17). Reproduced from: Rkd.nl.

> The 24th of the month of June 1735, the Day of St. John the Baptist, it was unanimously proclaimed and chosen by the members of the lodge, Regularly assembled, that the First Grand Master of Our Illustrious order - *dans les Provinces Unies et du Ressort de la Généralité* - would be the High Honorable, High Respectable and High Noble Brother Johan Cornelis Rachermacher [...].[49]

Now that a Grand Lodge had been established, all newly founded Dutch lodges that wished to be acknowledged as 'regular' would receive a formal letter of constitution and pay a yearly contribution to the Grand Lodge. Its first Grand Master, Johan Cornelis Radermacher (1700-1748), had been employed as a clerk to the Treasury in 1721 (fig. 2.7).[50] In 1732 he had been appointed the executor of the affairs concerning the legacy of King-Stadholder Willem III (1650-1702), which provided opportunity to become acquainted with the Prince of Orange, who subsequently appointed him as his Treasurer General. Radermacher's family's relations with the West and East India companies were relevant to the expansion of freemasonry to the Dutch overseas territories (see chapter 3).

The foundation of a second lodge in The Hague was also noted in the *Annales*:

> The 24th of the month October 1735, was formed and opened the Second Lodge of Free Masons under the Name of the Lodge Le Veritable Zele, Dutch - and French - in The Hague at [the house of] Brother Jean Minning - on the Nieuwe Doelen.

The event was reported in a newspaper, *Amsterdamse Saturdaegse Courant*, of 5-11-1735:

> On the 24th of last month a Dutch Lodge of the famous brotherhood of Free Masons was founded here at the Nieuwe Doelen, with all the necessary protocol, in the presence of the Grand Master sir J[ohan] Cornelis Radermacher, Treasurer General of his Highness, the Prince of Orange, and the Deputy Grand Master Johan Kuenen and other Officers and notable Members; also several new members were received in this Dutch lodge.[51]



Fig. 2.8.: Jacob Maas Dirkszoon, handwritten report of a visit to lodge La Véritable Zèle in The Hague, 5-12-1735. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Reproduced from: Thoth *(1995) 3, p. 89.*

Within the new lodge Le Véritable Zèle, also called De Opregte en Waare IJver, both French and Dutch were spoken.[52] Founding members were of notably lower standing than those of its precursor[53]: the aforementioned John Crawford and Louis Dagran, earlier a members of the first Dutch lodge; Cornelis Daemen; Jan van Houte; Huybert Huybertse; Jean Lambert, earlier a member of a British lodge; Pieter Maessen; Jan Minning, owner of the Nieuwe Doelen; Hermanus van Loon, earlier a member of the first Dutch lodge; and Johan Roerman.[54] Six of them were initiated at the occasion. No other members' names are known. Soon after its establishment the lodge opened its doors to the public, either voluntarily or forced by local authorities. One of the visitors, Jacob Maas Dirkszoon, made notes (fig. 2.8):

> On 1735 5 Xber Jacobus Maas Dirks Zoon, estate agent, and Jacob van Dalem, travelling messenger of the Haerlem boarding house, and someone else, were at the Doelen, in the room of the Society of free Masons, where one of the members showed and explained the furniture in this room.[55]

Maas' illustrated notes will be discussed further below in relation to freemasonry's material culture. This lodge received its constitution from the British Grand Lodge on 14-11-1735, which indicates that the Dutch branch of the Order did not yet have much authority.[56]

- *Amsterdam*

On 16-10-1735 a lodge with the name De La Paix was founded in Amsterdam.[57] Jacob Bicker Raye, a local, noted in his diary on 12-11-1735: '[…] the society met in De Eerste Liesvelse Bijbel [a boarding house] off the Vijgendam in the Warmoestraat and in the Stilsteeg in a distillery, from which it has now moved'.[58] The lodge requested and received a Scottish constitution.[59] Some of the early lodge members have been identified[60]: Jean Balguerie, a merchant from Bordeaux[61]; William Constant, earlier a member of the first lodge in The Hague, now Worshipful Master; [James de] la Mare, earlier a member of the lodge in the Rainbow Coffee House in London; [Louis or Philippe] Metayer, goldsmith from Rouan; Antoine Peruiset de Mondesert, merchant and burgher from Dijon; and [Pierre] du Rege, a merchant from Bordeaux[62]. Judging by their hometowns and professions, international trade seems to have been relevant to the membership of this lodge.

According to a much later rapport in the magazine *Het Ontroerd Holland* (1748), the lodge 'consisting mostly of Englishmen' held its founding meeting on 16-10-1735 in a building at the south side of the Stilsteeg, which sparked curiosity and rumours amongst the locals.[63] A crowd gathered, windows were smashed and the local authorities gave notice to the lodge to leave town, in order to avoid worse troubles. The furniture of the lodge was then displayed to the public while the move was prepared, perhaps in an attempt to show the locals that the lodge had nothing untoward to hide:

> [They] carried their Furniture outside the Utrechtse Poort onto the Zaagmolen Pad, where it could be seen by everyone who wanted to have a bottle of wine in the same house. The landlord put up a sign there with the name *L'Observatoir*.[64]

- *Leeuwarden*

There is some speculation that a lodge might have been active in Leeuwarden in the northern province of Friesland around the same time as the lodges in The Hague and Amsterdam. Its name is listed as Antiqua Virtute et Fide, active during Willem IV's presence in Friesland between 1734 and 1747.[65] Radermacher was supposedly the first Master of the Lodge, before he became Grand Master. What little information is available, seems unreliable.

A text by Jean Rousset de Missy, Master of the Lodge De La Paix from ca. 1736-1749 (fig. 2.9), recalled in 1756 that the letter of constitution of his lodge was received in 1735 from one 'Linslager', Master of the Lodge in Leeuwarden, who acted on Scottish orders. The Scottish Grand Lodge, however, was not founded until 30-9-1736. Linslager was identified by masonic historians as the well-known vice-admiral, navigator and cartographer Hendrik Lijnslager or Leynslager (1693-1768) (fig. 2.10), but he was travelling in the Mediterranean in November 1735, the date on the constitution. As Rousset de Missy's memory was starting to fail around the time of his writing, his notes on this subject are generally considered unreliable.

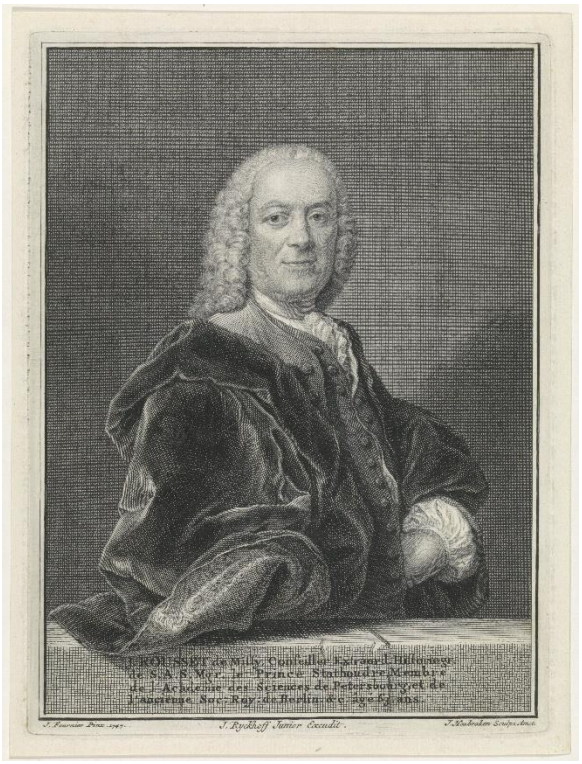




Fig. 2.9: Jacob Houbraken (1698-1780), portrait of Jean Rousset de Missy (1686-1762) after a painting by Jean Fournier (ca. 1703-1754), ca. 1747-1749, engraving, 22 x 16.3 cm. Collection: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Reproduced from: rijksmuseum.nl.
Fig. 2.10: Anonymous, portrait of Hendrik Lijnslager (1693-1768), Captain at sea of the Admiralty of Amsterdam, 1720, oil on canvas, 55 x 44 cm. Collection: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv.no. SK-C-526. Reproduced from: rijksmuseum.nl.

The Dutch lodge La Sincérité counted noblemen and Orangists from the province of Friesland amongst its members. In March 1735 La Chapelle left for Leeuwarden as *Chef de Cuisine* of Willem IV. It is possible that some lodge members from The Hague met each other in Leeuwarden, if only incidentally. Arno van den Brand, author on the history of several military lodges in the Netherlands, suggests that the activities of masons within a Swiss regiment stationed in Leeuwarden around 1746 may have contributed to the rumours about a local lodge.[66]

◆ *A ban on freemasonry*

Arno van den Brand emphasizes in his article 'De werkers van het eerste uur: 1734-1756' (2006) that the earliest reports of freemasonry in the Netherlands referred to the society's activities as talks of 'building' and 'mathematics'.[67] Many of the earliest members were interested or actively involved in natural science, as were those in Britain. Around 1735, the lodge's activities had taken on a different, ritual character. In 1735 Deputy Grand Master Johan Kuenen prepared *De Instellingen [...] van de zeer voortreffelijke broederschap der aengenomene vrye metselaers*, a Dutch translation of Anderson's *Constitutions* (1723), the first book of masonic laws and regulations, to be published in 1736. It followed *Het collegie der Vrye Metselaars ontleedt* (1735), the Dutch translation of Samuel Prichard's *Masonry Dissected* (1730), published as an 'exposure' of masonic rituals, but in practice a very useful guide for lodge members (discussed in more detail below).

The activities of the first Dutch lodges took place during the *Tweede Stadhouderloze Tijdperk* (Second Stadholderless Era, 1702-1747). Willem III didn't have an heir when he died and had appointed a cousin, Johan Willem Friso (1687-1711), as heir instead. This was accepted by the States of Friesland and Groningen, but the States of Holland were among those preferring to keep the power to themselves. When Johan Willem Friso died unexpectedly, leaving his unborn child (the later Willem IV) with a claim to the title of Stadholder. Louis Dagran had made sure that the foundation of Le Véritable Zèle was mentioned in the



PUBLICATIE.

IN 'GRAVENHAGE,
By *Paulus* en *Isaac Scheltus*, ordinaris Drukkers van de Edele Groot

Fig. 2.11: Publication against freemasonry in the Netherlands by the States of Holland, Zeeland and West-Friesland, 12-12-1735. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 17549. Reproduced form: vrijmetselarij.nl.

press in November 1735. This publicity, which mentioned the strong connection between the lodges and the House of Orange, must have alarmed the authorities in Holland who did not support the idea of a new Stadholder. The *Gecommiteerde Raden van Holland*, a government body, issued an inquiry on 7-11-1735. A commission questioned Dagran in his capacity of Master of the Lodge Le Véritable Zèle, as well as Grand Master Johan Cornelis Radermacher and Deputy Grand Master Johan Kuenen, and also inspected a copy of the *Constitutions*. Dagran's *Annales* record on 23-11-1735 that the lodges were then informed:

> [...] by the High Distinghuished Brothers whom had defended the Lodges – and the brotherhood – after which the two lodges printed a resolution to disband and cease the lodge activities [...].[68]

The lodges acted because they foresaw, or had been told, what would happen several days later. The commission suggested that freemasonry should be banned altogether on 30-11-1735, after which a formal notice of this ban was issued by the *Staten van Holland en West-Friesland*, another government body, on the same day. It was followed by the publication of a warning notice (*Waarschouwinge*) against the Order by the cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and the Court of Holland (fig. 2.11).[69] However, virtually nothing happened in other cities. Inquests were made in Delft, Haarlem, Gorinchem, Gouda, Leiden, Medemblik, Monnikendam and Schiedam, but no lodges or freemasons were identified, so no warnings followed.[70]

The possible political, social-economical and religious motives for the ban are discussed in detail by Van den Brand in *De Vrijmetselarij in de Republiek der Nederlanden tot 1737. Vestiging en verbod* (1993) and 'De werkers van het eerste uur: 1734-1756' (2006), by Machteld Bouman in *De Uitvaert van het Vrije*

Metselaersgilde. Een anti-maçonnieke klucht uit 1735 (1993) and by Jan Snoek in his review of Bouman's publication (1994).

Bouman differentiates the accusations made against the lodges as *factiën* (agitating political groups), *beroertens* (riots) and *debauches* (debauchery).[71] The Order was accused of *zedeloosheid* (immorality). The authorities and public may have been offended by the fact that the Amsterdam lodge was founded on a Sunday, when religious beliefs prohibited the intake of alcohol. The financial accounts of 18th century lodges show that they generally consumed copious amounts of alcohol during or after the table lodge, so drunken members leaving for home (as depicted in Hogarth's *Night*, fig. 2.59 below) may have been a recurring source of irritation.[72] Van den Brand argues that freemasons were also suspected of homosexual practices.[73] The network structure, secret words and signs of freemasons were perceived as similar to those of 'sodomites', who were actively prosecuted at the time.[74]An accusation of such criminal 'immorality' was a useful weapon against any political opposition of the government.

Apart from being depraved, freemasons were also accused of being anti-clerical, as men of all faiths were welcomed in the Order.[75] Furthermore, a candidate swore an oath with one hand on the Bible at his initiation as an Apprentice. It contained a curse, condemning him to horrible (but purely symbolic) punishments should he reveal the secrets of the Order. The Church opposed the swearing of this condemnation on the Bible, and the swearing of such oaths was prohibited by law.[76]

In fact, the Order seemed to ignore all authorities, as no-one bothered to seek formal permission to found any of the lodges or the Grand Lodge as a national governing administrative body[77] (which could be interpreted as a sign that the Order thought itself assured of Royal protection). The wording of the *Constitutions* could even be interpreted to support rebels against the State, as discussion of politics was prohibited within the lodges: '[...] if a Brother should rebel against the State [...] they cannot expel him from the Lodge, and his Relation to it remains indefeasable'.[78] This implied that the laws of the Order were above those of the State, which obviously was offensive to government officials, who were also worried that supporters of William IV within the lodges would strengthen his position and strive for a change in power.[79]

According to Snoek, both Bouman and Van den Brand overlooked another reason for the ban. In 18th century lodges one of the officers, the Sword Bearer, walked in front of the Grand Master or Master of the Lodge whilst carrying a sword, as a sign of the sovereignty of the Order. Snoek considers this claim of sovereignty to be the actual offence which prompted the ban on freemasonry, for which the other formally stated reasons were excuses.[80]

As Van den Brand concludes, the enquiry and ban were probably based on the first real conspiracy theory about freemasonry in the Netherlands. He argues further that a general intolerant attitude grew within society as a result of fears for an international political upheaval, the need for a scapegoat for economic crisis and other disasters.[81] The ban did not stop masonic activities for very long, but did have a big impact in the sense that it gave freemasonry an unnecessarily bad image, which outlasted the ban by decades if not centuries.

Van den Brand further argues that the lodges tried to inform the public openly about their activities both before and after the ban, by inviting visitors into the lodges in The Hague and Amsterdam, and by publishing translations of two important masonic books in Dutch, French and German. But it is not clear from the few accounts of these events, whether the display of lodge furniture was indeed voluntary, or forced by authorities. In any case, the sale of *Het Vrije Metselaarschap Ontleed* was banned by the mayors of Amsterdam on 29-11-1735, probably because it was regarded as an instruction book for the soon to be banned lodges.[82] The entire print run of *De Instellingen* was confiscated by authorities in The Hague on 6-6-1736.[83] Then news bulletins against the former *Leedikantbehanger* (bedstead decorator) Johan Kuenen appeared, which claimed he had been bankrupted - probably as a result of funding the translation *The Constitutions* without now being able to receive any sales revenues.[84]

The lodges' willingness to provide public access must have also contributed to the publication of the famous print *Les Free-Massons* by Louis Fabrice Dubourg (1693-1775), which appeared in 1736 in the fourth volume of *Céremonies et coutumes réligieuses de tous les peuples du monde, représentées par des figures dessinées de la main de Bernard Picart*. The scene in the foreground shows a group of men in a room with lodge furniture (fig. 2.12), which as will be discussed in more detail below, most likely belonged



Fig. 2.12: Louis Fabrice Dubourg (1693-1775), Les Free-Massons, as published in Céremonies et coutumes réligieuses de tous les peuples du monde, représentées par des figures dessinées de la main de Bernard Picart *(1736). Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 10550. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.*

to lodge La Paix in Amsterdam. As part of a respected series of publications, the image was either overlooked by authorities or too difficult to ban.

Contrary to the intention of the lodges, their openness neither succeeded in avoiding the ban, nor having it lifted, but it may have encouraged ridicule. A sign that the activities and rituals of the Order were well known with the public and that it was popular to mock them, is the publication of *De Uitvaert van het Vrije Metselaersgilde* in 1735.[85] This farce on the theme of 'The Funeral of Freemasonry' was written by Albertus Frese (1714-1788) and Christiaan Schaef (1707-1772), and was published by the art society *Ars Superat Fortunam*. The open attitude of the lodges must have contributed to the accuracy of the authors in describing some details on masonic customs and symbols. Bouman found references to sodomy in the text of the farce, which strengthens Van Den Brand's arguments about the accusations made against the Order.

◆ *Restoration of lodge activities*

The ban on lodge meetings in the Netherlands did not stop Dutchmen from being initiated in one of the many lodges in other countries, or stop freemasons of other nationalities visiting or passing through the Netherlands. As various European regiments were stationed here, so were their travelling lodges. Although the ban was never formally lifted, there are indications that masonic activities by Dutch freemasons have resumed shortly after 1735 and continued in secret. After some time, masonic meetings in other countries were again mentioned in newspapers, such as the appointment of a new British Grand Master in *Het Haarlemsch Dagblad* (1741), and advertisements for publications on freemasonry were published, for instance for *Samenspraaken tusschen den heer Graaf van Sinnendorff en eenen Vry Metzelaar* in *De Leydsche Courant* (1743). Despite of the Papal bull condemning freemasonry in 1738, lodge meetings were tolerated again by the authorities from 1744 onwards. But open days aimed at the general public were not organized any more.[86]

Table 2.2: Lodges, founded in the Netherlands between 1720 and 1756
Lodges are listed per (current) province, per city and in order of foundation

- **Drente**
  - No lodges recorded in this era
- **Friesland**
  - *Leeuwarden:* 1734 (temporary?) lodge, possibly named Antiqua Virtute et Fide
- **Gelderland**
  - *Nijmegen:* 1751 Sint Lodewijk
- **Groningen**
- **Limburg**
  - *Maastricht:* 1745 La Constance (military lodge, formerly named La Loge Militaire; inactive 1756, reformed 1761)
  - *Venlo:* 1756 La Concorde (not formally constituted until 1757)
- **Noord-Brabant**
  - No lodges recorded in this era
- **Noord-Holland**
  - *Amsterdam:* 1735 La Bien Aimée (formerly named De La Paix)
    1753 Vreede en Liefde (founded under an English constitution; transfer to a Dutch constitution rejected by the Dutch Grand Lodge in 1761)
    1755 La Fidélité (formerly named Het Heerenlogement)
    1755 Concordia Vincit Animos (founded under a Scottish constitution, transferred to a Dutch constitution in 1757)
    1755 La Charité (formerly named Lodge of Charity, founded under an English constitution, transferred to Dutch constitution in 1757)
    1755 La Paix (formerly named Lodge of Peace, founded under an English constitution, transferred to Dutch constitution in 1757)
    1755 Lodge of Perseverance (under an English constitution, removed from records in 1769)
- **Overijssel**
  - No lodges recorded in this era
- **Utrecht**
  - No lodges recorded in this era
- **Zeeland**
  - *Sluis:* 1749 L'Harmonie (founded under a French Constitution, transferred to a Dutch constitution in 1749)
- **Zuid-Holland**
  - *The Hague:* 1734 L'Union (formerly named La Sincérité/Loge du Grand Maître des Provinces-Unies et du Ressort de la Généralité)
    1735 Le Véritable Zèle
    1749 Les Coeurs Unis (not formally constituted until 1752)
    1752 Le Royale (founded under an English constitution, transferred into Dutch constitution in 1756; merged with L'Union into L'Union Royale 1757)
    1756 L'Indissoluble (not formally constituted until 1757)
  - *Leiden:* 1756 La Vertu
  - *Rotterdam:* 1720 N.N. (lodge under an English or Scottish constitution)
    1747 [D']Orange (founded under an English constitution and transferred to a Dutch constitution in 1749; this transfer recognized by the English Grand Lodge in 1769)

Unfortunately there are virtually no surviving documents illustrating the activities of Dutch freemasons between 1735 and 1744. Dagran's *Annales* describes the reopening of the lodges in The Hague on 22-3-1744:

> With Consent of the High Dignified, High Honourable and High Respectable Grand Master of our Illustrious Order, the Very noble Brother Jan Cornelis Radermacher, his Deputy Grand Master Louis Dagran took upon himself and risked by Pure and True Zeal to Reopen the two lodges at his home.[87]





Fig. 2.13: Gerhard Jan Palthe (attribution), portrait of a man, possibly Joost Gerrit van Wassenaar (1716-1753), 1730-1749, oil on canvas, 72.5 x 59.5 cm. Collection: Geldersch Landschap & Kasteelen, Kasteel Zypendaal, Arnhem, inv.no. 3617. Reproduced from: rkd.nl.
Fig. 2.14: Photograph of a portrait of Albrecht Nicolaas Baron van Aerssen Beyeren (1723-1790), after an original by Jean Fournier dated 1750. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

It is known that Jean Rousset de Missy became Master of the lodge De La Paix in 1736/1737 and kept this function until 1749, which indicates the lodge somehow remained active in the meantime. A letter written in 1755 by the lodge De La Paix to another Amsterdam lodge, La Charité, describes this period:

> [...] despite the repression and prosecution from time to time there was a ray of light for our Lodge 'de la Paix'; one met, one held lodge meetings, one worked, made victories, so that the largest part of Brethren Freemasons in this city and even in the country, received their initiation in this Lodge, which before 1747 already counted almost a hundred regular members, living in this city.[88]

It is unlikely that the lodge gained 100 members between 1744 and 1747, which again suggests that activities resumed in secret well before 1744.

The ritual practice of Dutch freemasonry now started to become more influenced by its French counterpart, as many members were of French origin. The number of lodges in The Hague and Amsterdam multiplied, and masonic activities spread to several other cities in the Netherlands (see table 2.2).[89] As the Grand Lodge was not a very visible authority during this time, there was little unity between them. Their sheer number makes it impractical to discuss their individual activities or members in the same detail as those of the first lodges, but some general trends and developments should be mentioned.

The first Grand Master, Radermacher, died in 1748. He was succeeded by Joost Gerrit (Juste Gérard) Baron van Wassenaer (1716-1753), a high ranked military officer, who was inaugurated as Grand Master in 1749 but laid down his function after only three years (fig. 2.13).[90] He was also involved in lodge De La Juste, founded in The Hague in 1751. After the example of French *loges d'Adoption* with male and female members, this was the first Dutch Adoption lodge. The brief but fascinating history of lodge De La Juste, which had ties with the Comédie Française and other artists' groups, has been described by Malcolm Davies.[91] Both the lodge and Van Wassenaer himself were associated with a financial scandal, which seems to have directly influenced not only Van Wassenaer's decision to resign as Grand Master, but also the decision of the Dutch Grand Lodge to start over, with a clean slate.

Louis Dagran now became Deputy Grand Master and Grand Master *ad interim*.[92] This led to an intense debate about the succession of Van Wassenaer. Dagran wanted the position, but was deemed unsuitable for it.[93] Kuenen's translation of *The Constitutions* declared that the Grand Master had to be: '[...] of noble birth, a man of distinguished descent, an Excellent Scholar, very accomplished Architect, or any other prominent Artist, born from Honest Parents'.[94] Dagran's humble background apparently did not live up to this description and his previous rash actions did nothing for his reputation. He probably wrote the *Annales* and the *Extrait* to strengthen his final claim to the office of Grand Master in November 1756, but to no avail.

The Grand Lodge was formally (re)established on 26-12-1756 under the title *Groote Loge der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden*, with Albrecht Nicolaas Baron van Aerssen Beyeren (1723-1790) (fig. 2.14) as its new Grand Master.[95] At the meeting of the (re)established Grand Lodge, an attempt was made to unite the different lodges in the Dutch Republic. The Grand Lodge formally recognized eleven lodges under its jurisdiction, of which representatives were present at the meeting. These so-called *loges fondatrices* were:

- l'Union (formerly named La Sincérité), Le Véritable Zèle, Les Coeurs Unis, L'Indissoluble, all located in The Hague;
- La Bien Aimée (formerly named De La Paix), La Fidélité, Concordia Vincit Animos, La Charité and La Paix, all located in Amsterdam;
- Sint Lodewijk in Nijmegen;
- La Concorde in Venlo.[96]

Members of these recognized or 'regular' lodges were warned about visiting unrecognized or 'irregular' lodges or admitting charlatans to their meetings. At least six other Dutch lodges had also been established, but these were not represented at the Grand Lodge meeting. Lodge La Vertu in Leiden for instance, had not been invited for the meeting and only received a formal letter of constitution in 1757.[97] Others had been founded under a foreign constitution and would be transferred to a Dutch constitution at a later date: Vreede en Liefde and Lodge of Perseverance in Amsterdam; La Constance in Maastricht, [D']Orange in Rotterdam and L'Harmonie in Sluis.[98]

Van den Brand observes that the military were heavily involved in the second stage of freemasonry's development. Several Grand Masters had a military function, circa 2/5 of the identified lodge members between 1736 and 1751 were involved in the army in some way, and no less than half of all the lodges founded in the Netherlands during that time were created after some military initiative.[99] This reflects the international conflicts into which the Republic was slowly drawn, such as the Austrian Succession War (1740-1748). It brought a large number of foreign troupes to the Netherlands, including many freemasons amongst the English, German and French officers. The contact between the Dutch and these foreign freemasons must have significantly stimulated the development of Dutch freemasonry. During the 18th and 19th centuries, it became regular practice for a (travelling) lodge to be attached to a regiment, or even to a camp of prisoners of war. As will become apparent in later chapters, freemasons were also amongst the military dispatched to overseas territories.

◆ *The second half of the 18th century: national expansion and female power*

From 1749 until 1791 an *Almanach des Francs-Maçons* was published annually in The Hague. These books provide an important insight into the spirit of freemasonry at the time. The same holds for publications of masonic songs and verse in *Receuils de Chansons […]* (Amsterdam 1752) and *La Lire Maçonne […]* (The Hague 1763). During the second half of the 18th century the influence of French freemasonry increased, while that of British freemasonry decreased. In 1757 the English Grand Lodge recognized the Dutch Grand Master as an affiliated authority, but it still kept the right of granting constitutions to new Dutch lodges for itself.[100] In 1761 a new book of constitutions for the Dutch lodges was compiled by Grand Secretary Jean Pierre Isaaq Dubois (ca. 1723-1780, in office 1767-1775), a publisher in daily life: *De Pligten, Wetten, of Algemene Reglementen der Vrye Metzelaaren in een nieuwe order geschikt, en goedgekeurd bij de Groote Loge der Zeeven Verenigde Nederlanden* (fig. 2.15). It became generally known as the Dubois Constitutions



Fig. 2.15: Frontispiece of De Pligten, wetten of algemeene reglementen der Vrye metzelaaren *(1761), engraving by Pieter Tanjé [1706-1761) after a design by J.L. La Fargue (1726-1805). Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik'. The Hague, inv.no. 16334-001. Reproduced from: stichtingovn.nl.*

Two explanations of this plate exist. One was a French poem.[101] The Deputy Grand Master Sauer gave a further description of the image in his correspondence with Grand Secretary Ravens in 1761.[102] In short, the frontispiece shows Minerva as personification of Wisdom, seated on a throne between two pillars. Depicted behind her is an All-seeing Eye. The throne is crowned with a canopy bearing the seal of the Grand Lodge with an orange tree and the motto Silentio et Fide (Silence and Loyalty), which is personified in the adjoining putti. Other putti on the steps to the throne represent various (masonic) virtues (left to right): Friendship (with a stork and a deer); Diligence (with a bible and a burning lamp); Freedom (with a hat and a whip); Strength (with a bludgeon); Prudence (with a mirror and a snake) and Concord (with fruit from the horn of plenty). Gravestones on both sides of the throne refer to the myth of Hiram Abiff from the Master's degree. A globe is depicted on the right, referring to the worldwide brotherhood. In the sky above a sun and a moon are depicted. In the background, the Great Church (Grote Kerk) on Great Market Street (Grote Marktstraat) in The Hague are represented. In the foreground, the (Dutch) lion rests one paw on the book of constitutions and in the other it holds a letter of Constitution.[103]

('Wetboek Dubois').[104] It laid the foundation for the regulations that individual lodges would adopt in the following decades, and also marked a move towards further independence from the English Grand Lodge.

In 1758 Van Aerssen Beyeren was replaced as Grand Master by Christiaan Frederik Anthonie Willem Carel count Bentinck (1734-1768) (fig. 2.16). However, a diplomatic function abroad prevented him from fulfilling this task. Carel Baron van Boetzelaer (1727-1803), a high ranking military officer at the court of Stadholder Willem V, fulfilled the office between 1759 and 1798 (fig. 2.17).[105] Under his leadership the number of lodges on Dutch territory continued to multiply during the second half of the 18th century. Van



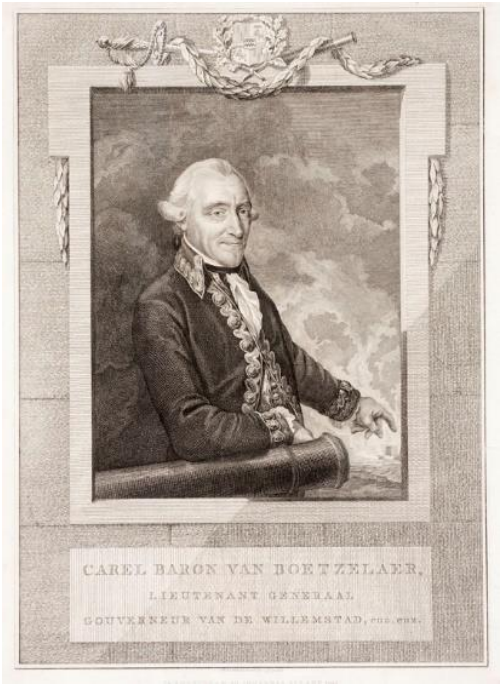


Fig. 2.16: Anonymous, portrait of Christiaan Frederik Anton Willem Carel count Bentinck (1734-1768), 1750-1768, oil on canvas, 75 x 59.5 cm. Collection: Middachten Castle, De Steeg (Rheden), inv.no 86. Reproduced from: rkd.nl.
Fig. 2.17: Reinier Vinkeles (1741-1816), portrait of Carel, Baron van Boetzeelaer, copper engraving, 1793, as reproduced on a new year's card, 13.5 x 9.5 cm. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik'. The Hague, inv.no. 15797-1. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl

de Sande discerns three waves of expansion: the founding of lodges in the cities in the West (1757-1762) and in the provincial and rural areas (1764-1776 and 1780-1790).[106] On 2-3-1770 the English Grand Lodge finally acknowledged the Dutch Grand Lodge as a sovereign body and a year later both organizations agreed not to found lodges on each other's territories. This marked the beginning of a more rapid expansion of Dutch freemasonry to its overseas colonies in the West and East Indies. A list of lodges presiding under the Grand Lodge was published yearly in the *Almanach der Vrije Metselaren* between 1780 and 1843 (see also table 2.3).

As Snoek has pointed out, 'Women have been structurally part of the masonic enterprise from at least the middle of the 18th century'.[107] After the French example, Adoption lodges were introduced in the Netherlands, the above mentioned lodge De La Juste in The Hague being one of the first in 1751. Within these lodges women were appointed to the same administrative and governing functions as their male counterparts - long before such equality became commonly accepted in society at large. As recent publications such as the conference proceedings *Women's Agency and Rituals in Mixed and Female Masonic Orders* (2008) and *Les femmes et la franc-maçonnerie. Des Lumières a nos jours* (2010), as well as Snoeks *Initiating Women in Freemasonry. The Adoption Rite* (2012) have acknowledged, this makes the archives of these lodges relevant to scholars of social and gender studies.[108] Unfortunately a concise overview of Adoption lodges in the Netherlands is still lacking, which means no quantitative data on women's membership are available here. We only know some basic facts from references to these lodges in literature about the masculine Order, and the best available overview dates back to 1908![109]

Adoption lodges seem to have especially flourished in the 1770's. One was active in Amsterdam in 1771 in relation to the lodges Concordia Vincit Animos and La Charité; another was founded under protection of a Princess of Orange Nassau in relation to lodge St. Lodewijk in Nijmegen in 1774, and a third conceived by the con-artist Cagliostro in relation to lodge L'Indissoluble in The Hague in 1778. The publication of rituals, such as *L'Adoption, ou la maçonnerie des femmes en trois grades* ([The Hague] 1774, 1783) and *De Vrijmetselarij der vrouwen* (1778)[110] also point to a peak of activities in this decade. Later Adoption lodges were associated with lodge Frédéric Royale in Rotterdam (1793), lodge De Friesche Trouw

Table 2.3: Lodges, founded in the Netherlands between 1757 and 1800
Lodges are listed per (current) province, per city and in order of foundation

Drenthe			
	○ No lodges recorded in this era		
Friesland			
	○ *Harlingen:*	1797	Deugd en IJver
	○ *Leeuwarden:*	1782	De Friesche Trouw
		1796	La Fraternité Martiale (military lodge, never formally installed)
Gelderland			
	○ *Arnhem:*	1786	De Geldersche Broederschap
	○ *Culemborg:*	1784	La Candeur
	○ *'s-Heerenberg:*	1793	Pax Inimica Males (continuation of the existing lodge Pax Inimica Males, founded in 1778 under a German constitution)
	○ *Nijmegen:*	1799	Semper Idem (continuation of the existing lodge L'Union Helvetique in Maastricht)
		1799	Temperides (clandestine military loge)
Groningen			
	○ *Groningen:*	1771	L'Union Provinciale
Limburg			
	○ *Maastricht:*	1760	(Bourgeoise) La Perseverance
		1788	L'Union Helvetique (travelling lodge)
	○ *Venlo:*	1759	Nassau Usingen (travelling lodge)
		1786	De Twee Getallen
Noord-Brabant			
	○ *Bergen op Zoom:*	1767	L'Inseparable
	○ *Breda:*	1789	De Opgaande Oranjezon (travelling lodge)
		1791	Het Vrij Geweeten
	○ *Den Bosch:*	1776	De Edelmoedigheid
	○ *Heusden*	1779	L'Imperceptible
		1788	Die Biedertreue (travelling lodge)
	○ *Steenbergen:*	1800	De Vereeniging
	○ *Tiel:*	1764	De Broederlijke Liefde
Noord-Holland			
	○ *Alkmaar:*	1800	De Nordstar
	○ *Amsterdam:*	1757	L'Espérance/De Hoop
		1757	De Resolutie
		1758	Concordia et Unitas (continuation of the existing Lodge of Regularity, founded in 1757 under an English constitution)
		17xx	Les Sept Frères Réunies (continuation of the existing lodge, founded in 1762 under an English constitution)
		1763	Virtutis et Artis Amici (continuation of the existing Singular Ancient Lodge, founded in 1762 under an English constitution
		1766	La Persévérance/Perseverance Lodge
		1788	Concordia Vera
	○ *Haarlem:*	1788	Vicit Vim Virtus
Overijssel			
	○ *Deventer:*	1784	Le Préjugé Vaincu
	○ *Kampen:*	1770	Le Profond Silence
		1777	L'Esprit du Corps (military lodge)
	○ *Zwolle:*	1764	L'Inébrandable
		1782	L'Union Militaire (military lodge)

in Leeuwarden (1800, 1803), and lodge De Nordstar in Alkmaar (1801-1802, 1806). Another one was also located in 't Loo, but its name and date are not specified in the available records. One of the last Dutch Adoption lodges was founded by lodge L'Union Royale in The Hague and was active there between 1807 and 1813. Its foundation sparked an intense discussion about mixed freemasonry within the masculine Order and marked the end of the Adoption lodges in the Netherlands.

Dutch freemasonry should by no means be seen as a national phenomenon: as will become clear in later chapters, both the Grand Lodge, the local lodges under its jurisdiction, the Adoption lodges and even

Utrecht			
	o *Amersfoort:*	1800	De Harten door Vriendschap Verenigd (military lodge)
	o *Utrecht:*	1760	L'Astrée
		1762	De Goede Trouwe
Zeeland			
	o *Hulst:*	1767	De Harmonie (continuation of lodge De Eendragt in Lillo, Belgium, founded in 1764)
		1787	De Phoenix
	o *Middelburg:*	1758	La Philantrope
		1770	La Compagnie Durable
	o *Schoondijke:*	1872	L'Amitié sans Fin (relocated from Sluis)
	o *Sluis:*	1784	L'Amitié sans Fin
		1785	St. Andreas (military lodge)
	o *Terneuzen:*	1875	L'Amitié sans Fin (relocated from Schoondijke)
	o *Tholen:*	1783	Le Temple de La Vertu (military lodge)
	o *Veere:*	1789	L'Enfant de la Vertu
	o *Vlissingen:*	1769	Le Soleil (founded under an English constitution)
		1792	L'Astre de l'Orient
Zuid-Holland			
	o *Brielle:*	1761	L'Aurore
		1783	L'Unanimité (ambulant military lodge)
	o *Den Haag:*	1757	L'Union Royale (merger of earlier lodges L'Union and La Royale)
		1757	L'Egalité / St. Albert
		1758	Amis de la Justice
		1762	Egalité des Freres
		1773	Temple de Bonheur (merged with L'Union Royale 1774)
		1781	L'Union Orange
		1795	Eendragt maakt Magt (continuation of 1789 lodge Les Vrais Bataves under a French constitution)
	o *Dordrecht*:	1789	La Parfaite Union
		1791	L'Union Fraternelle
		1797	L'Union Durable
	o *Gorinchem:*	1764	L'Union (ambulant military lodge of the Regiment no. 1 under a Scottish constitution)
		1783	L' Unanimite (ambulant military lodge of a marine regiment)
		1785	St. Andreas (ambulant military lodge of the Regiment Stuart)
	o *Leiden*:	1757	L'Age d'Or (continuation of a lodge under a French Constitution)
	o *Rotterdam:*	1759	Frédéric Royal (possibly a continuation of lodge d'Orange)
		1762	La Persévérance (split from Frédéric Royal)
		1767	British Union
		1768	Victory
		1781	De Eendragt (continuation of lodge Concordia/De Pruisische Eendragt under

the irregular lodges, had frequent international contacts. Dutch lodges were aware of and influenced by masonic practices in other countries.

One of the characteristics of freemasonry by the end of the 18th century, was that it counted many significant political and cultural decision makers *(cultuurdragers*) amongst its members, varying from influential scholars and politicians to artists, authors and musicians. They intentionally or unintentionally incorporated masonic ideals into their daily decision making and masonic symbols into their artistic body of work, which ensured masonic concepts to be transmitted into mainstream western culture. In most countries, the Order could count on protection from the royals amongst its members and Grand Masters. The Papal bulls condemning freemasonry, which were issued in 1751 by Benedictus IV (*Providas*) and in 1786 by Pius IV (a confirmation of the earlier condemnation in *In Eminenti* by Clemens II in 1738), had little direct effect on the daily practice of the lodges.[111] The Dutch situation reflected those international trends.

But the French Revolution marked a difficult time for freemasonry in The Netherlands. Due to the political upheaval, the Dutch Grand Lodge did not meet between 1793 and 1797. In general, the Order was associated with the aristocratic elite and at the end of the 18th century several anti-masonic publications suggested a conspiracy to undermine the authority of the Catholic Church and the State.



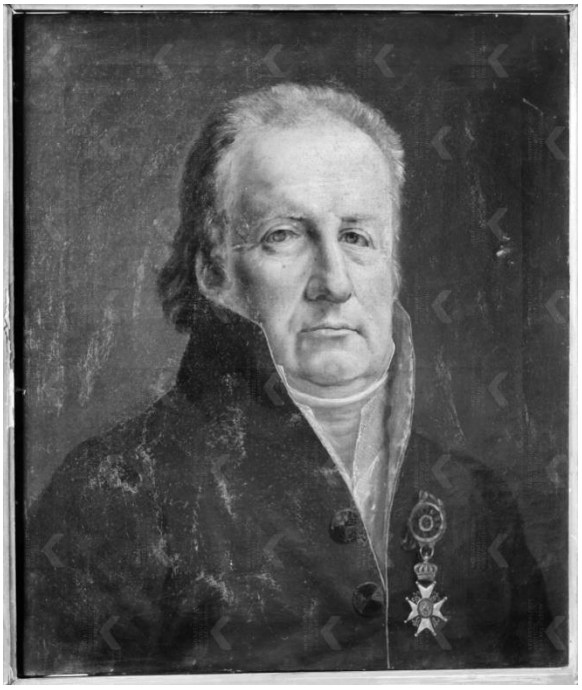


Fig. 2.18: Anonymous, portrait of Mr. Isaac van Teylingen (1736-1813), 1800-1813, pastel, 31 x 25.5 cm. Location unknown (auctioned A.W. Mensing, Amsterdam, 1939-11-29, lot no. 34). Reproduced from: rkd.nl.
Fig. 2.19: Anonymous, portret van Cornelis Gerrit Bijleveld (1765-1849), ca. 1800-1824, oil on canvas. Collection: Arnhem Municipal Museum, Arnhem, inv.no 11144. Reproduced from: rkd.nl.



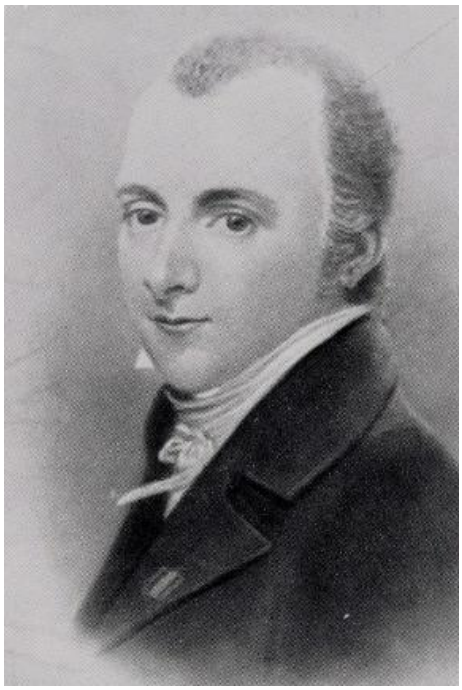


Fig. 2.20: J. van Rossum, portrait of W.Ph. Barnaart (1782-1851), 1848, pencil drawing. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 15801-1 (postcard). Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.
Fig. 2.21: Portrait of Izaak Bousquet (1774-1831), as reproduced on a New Year's card in 1965. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 15801-1. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl



Fig. 2.22: Bastiaan de Poorter (1813-1880), Portrait of Prince Frederik as Grand Master National*, 1870, oil on canvas. Collection: Lodge l'Union Royale. The Hague (currently on loan to CMC 'Prins Frederik'). Reproduced from: stichtingovn.nl.*

◆ *The first half of the 19th century: bourgeois civil society*

The Dutch Grand lodge changed its name several times as a result of the changing political status of the country. In 1798 it changed from Grand East of the Netherlands to *Grootoosten der Bataafse Republiek* (Grand East of the Batavian Republic). From that year until 1804, the function of Grand Master was fulfilled by Mr. Isaac van Teylingen (1736-1813), the Mayor of Rotterdam in 1793-1794 and 1808-1810, who was also a governor in the Chamber of Rotterdam of the East India Company between 1780 and 1798 (fig. 2.18). Having previously been a very active and involved Deputy Grand Master, his influence on the policies of the Order and activities of the lodges was significant.[112] While the French Revolution had marked a period of decline, the Order came to fruition again under Napoleon, while the influence of French masonic Rites increased.[113]

During the French occupation of the Netherlands between 1806 and 1814 the *Grand Orient de France* (founded in 1773) tried to draw all the local lodges under its jurisdiction, against which the Dutch Grand Lodge kept offering resistance. In an attempt to weaken its position, nine new lodges were founded under rule of the Grand Orient. In 1804 Van Teylingen was succeeded by the politician C.G. Bijleveld (1765-1849), Grand Master until 1810 (fig. 2.19). Under his rule, the ties between the Order and the government became closer, a trend which would continue during the rest of the 19th century.[114] In 1807 the Order's name was changed again, this time to *Grootoosten van de Vrijmetselaren in Holland en onderhorige landen* (Grand East of Freemasons in Holland and its Subordinate Nations).[115] Three Grand Masters followed each other in a short period of time: the State Advocate Izaak Bousquet (1774-1831) from 1810 to 1812[116] (fig. 2.21), the Mayor of Haarlem W.Ph. Barnaart (1782-1851) from 1812 to 1815 (fig. 2.20) and M.W. Reepmaker (1770-1838) from 1815 to 1816. In 1815 the French rule came to an end and in 1816 the Grand East of the Netherlands was (re)instated. The end of French rule was accompanied by a decline in membership: freemasonry had been presented as a French phenomenon for some years and was as such an unpopular reminder of the French rulers. It would take until circa 1830 for membership numbers to pick up again.

King Willem I (1772-1843) tried to create a united Grand Lodge for the Low Countries, with a Northern Grand East in The Hague and a Southern Grand East in Brussels. On 20-6-1816 Prince Frederik (1797-1881), second son of the King, was initiated as Apprentice in the Berlin lodge Zu den drei Weltkugeln (fig. 2.22). Within five days he was also initiated into the degrees of Fellow-Craft and Master, then to be appointed Grand Master on 13-10-1816. The idea behind this strategy was that a united Order would ease the way to a united Nation - such was the extent of the influence of the Order, through the many cultural decision makers amongst its members, on civil society.

The envisioned cooperation between North and South however, was not a success. In 1830 the Northern and Southern parts of the Netherlands were formally separated and further cooperation was no longer in the cards. Prince Frederik kept trying to give the Order a 'National' character for the rest of his time in office until his death in 1881.[117] The appearance of a fabricated medieval document, the *Charter van Keulen*, supported his reform of Dutch freemasonry and its Rites. During his leadership, the Order gained prestige and drew in members of the aristocracy and the military. Towards the second half of the 19th century, the bourgeoisie became an important part of the membership. The lodges were aware of social issues and engaged in the public debate, especially through subscription magazines for members such as *Maçonniek Weekblad* and other masonic publications. A list of lodges was now published in the *Nederlandsch Jaarboekje voor Vrijmetselaren,* which replaced the annual *Almanach* in 1843.

2.2. The Dutch ritual practice and its iconography

◆ *Terminology: Rites and rituals*

Freemasonry's material culture encompasses a wide range of artistic media: architecture, interior decoration, visual arts, applied arts (ritual, decorative and personal objects), theatre design, book binding and illustration, even garden architecture. Designs and decorations were always based on the symbolism of the various masonic rituals. As freemasonry is a 'secret' society, this symbolism was often hidden in designs and decorations, meant to be discovered by initiates only. People living in the 18th century were generally more accustomed to 'reading' symbols and other visuals clues in the iconography of art works, and as freemasonry was popular many joined in this erudite game of discovery.[118]

Understanding freemasonry starts with adapting the terminology and definitions of this phenomenon from religious studies and anthropology (ritual studies). Studies of the development and symbolism of masonic rituals by Knoop, Jones & Hamer, Carr and more recently Snoek have contributed much to our understanding of the subject. I would like to take Snoek's definition, 'Freemasonry is an initiation society with a practice (*praxis*), but no doctrine (*doxis*)', as a starting point.[119]

So freemasonry is not a religion or a cult, but an initiation organization characterized by a particular ritual practice. A candidate was/is initiated as a member of the Order through a ritual ceremony and (over a period of several years) initiated into a succession of *degrees* (Dutch: *graden*), levels of initiation. A *rite* (lowercase r) is a building block of a ritual. The term *Rite* (capital R) can be defined as the group of particular rituals, which one (masonic) organization practices. During the 18th and 19th centuries many different strands of freemasonry have developed, including both masculine, mixed and feminine Orders, which practiced a wide variety of Rites. The differences between these Rites vary from subtle to substantial, while some elements are specific to a particular period in time and others to a geographical region.

The term *ritual* (Dutch: *ritueel*) can be defined as all the ceremonial acts and words spoken during a particular meeting. At the end of the (Dutch) initiation ritual, a text was/is rehearsed: the so called masonic 'catechism', which has the structure of a series of questions and answers. A ritual manual (Dutch: *rituaal*) is the text in which one or more rituals are described.

In a medieval building site, designs had to drawn out and measured. This was done on a slightly elevated wooden floor, rather than the ground or a workbench.[120] The term *lodge* (Dutch: *loge*) was originally used in freemasonry to indicate this drawing or tracing board. It was subsequently also applied to indicate the group of men standing around the tracing board. *Lodge* then came to mean both a local society of freemasons and the room in which initiations took place.[121] This intimate, closed space was also called *tempel* (temple) or *werkplaats* (workplace) in the 18th and 19th centuries. As lodges acquired their own buildings, the term *lodge* was also applied to indicate the society's buildings. So when interpreting masonic texts, it is important to consider in which context the word is used.

◆ *The development of a tri-gradal system*

As discussed above, in the early stages of the development of freemasonry there were parallel developments in Scotland and in England, where new members were respectively initiated or 'accepted' into a group of stonemasons in different ways. Around 1700 both traditions mixed and a two-degree system developed, wherein the tradition practised in London became the first degree (Entered Apprentice) and that practised in Scotland became the second degree (Fellow Craft or Master Mason).[122] This two-degree system was practised both in Scotland and England.

In order to be able to appoint capable leadership for the many newly founded lodges Grand Master George Payne (1685-1757) in London decided that the Worshipful Master (chairman) of a lodge would have to be chosen from among the Fellow-Craft.[123] As this degree could only be provided to a candidate by the Grand Lodge itself, it meant the Grand Lodge (or rather Grand Master Payne) now had full control over the leadership of lodges. Anderson's *Constitutions* (1723) still mentions the use of the two degrees practiced at that time: Entered Apprentice and Masters and Fellow-Craft. But the lodges were of course unhappy to lose their free choice of chairman. So many new lodges were founded in a short space of time that the number of Masters and Fellow Craft to be appointed quickly became too large for the Grand Lodge to handle. These factors contributed to the formation of a new degree in 1725. It actually developed from a doubling of

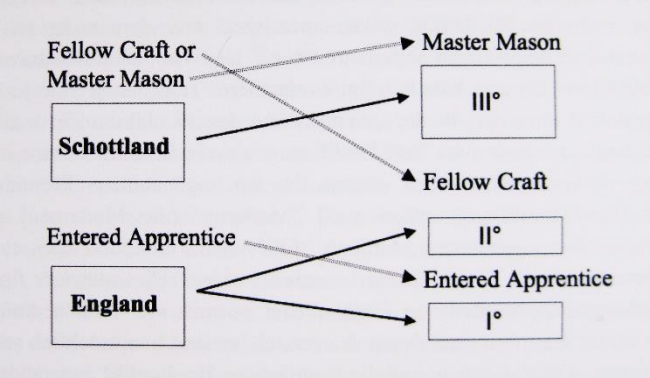


Fig. 2.23: Development of the tri-gradal system, as explained in Bettag/Snoek 2012, p. 124.

elements from the first degree of Entered Apprentice and was called Fellow-Craft (taking part of the name of the original second degree). The original second degree was moved up to third position and called Master (taking the other part of the name of the original second degree) (see fig. 2.23). This tri-gradal system of Apprentice, Fellow-Craft and Master was then published in Samuel Prichard's *Masonry Dissected* (1730)[124] and became the basis of modern masonic Rites.[125]

Together the 1st, 2nd and 3rd degrees are sometimes called the 'symbolic', 'blue' or 'Craft' degrees by freemasons. However, in the following discussion the neutral term 'basic' degrees will be used (as they feature in all masonic Rites) in order to distinguish them from the 'higher' degrees (which, as explained below, can vary per Rite).

◆ *Fixed patterns of ritual practice*

The initiation into successive degrees within one masonic Rite had the character of an 'expansion' of a member's knowledge of masonic symbolism. It was not a promotion or reward system, like you might find in the army or the workplace.[126] A member was initiated into a further degree in the understanding that his personal growth had been such that he was ready to gain new insights. That growth was implicit though, as most Apprentices would usually become Masters within the space of a year.

The initiations into various degrees were executed along a fixed pattern. The oldest form of holding a lodge was for all members to sit around a large table, at which a communal meal was served and where the *Catechism* was rehearsed. But the ceremonies were soon expanded. By the 18th century all initiations had the characteristics of a symbolical journey, in practice a tour of the candidate around the lodge room, which was especially equipped and decorated for this purpose. During this journey, the candidate was confronted with symbolic obstacles and questions. Over the next three centuries, some of the actions performed during rituals have disappeared, while others have been added, and some symbols have taken on a different shape or meaning.

Every degree had its own particular symbolism and combination of 'secret' words, signs and grips. In order to preserve the intended element of surprise a candidate should experience during the initiation, the rituals were kept secret in the sense that non-members of the Order were not supposed to be informed about them.[127] But secrecy also extended to lodge members themselves: members of lesser degrees were not supposed to have knowledge of the goings-on in higher degrees, being allowed to attend only meetings of the degrees they had already attained. A lodge meeting *in de 3de graad* (in the 3rd degree) for instance, was attended by Masters only. Members of higher degrees would also be welcomed, but Apprentices and Fellows of the Craft were excluded.

Dutch 18th century lodge archives show that on average members would meet once a month (depending on how far apart they lived from each other and what the travel conditions in the area were), usually in the evening. Successive degrees could be practised, one after the other. By the time lodges had their own buildigs, meetings became more frequent. Besides initiations, meetings would be dedicated to household and administrative matters, as freemasonry combined both a ritual element with the social and

Table 2.4: Lodge officers in the 18th and 19th centuries in the Netherlands		
Officer's title (Dutch)	**Description**	**Symbol**
Voorzittend Meester:	*[Worshipful] Master of the Lodge*, acting as Chairman.	Set square (sometimes crossed with a pair of compasses), or a radiant sun[128]
Gedeputeerd Voorzittend Meester:	*Deputy Master of the Lodge*, acting as Deputy Chairman.	Similar (simpler or smaller version) of the Worshipful Master's symbol
Secretaris:	*Secretary*, responsible for lodge correspondence, keeping minutes, membership administration and archives.	Crossed quills
Thesaurier:	*Treasurer*, responsible for keeping financial administration and collecting contributions.	Crossed keys
1ste Opziener:	*Senior Warden*, responsible for the instruction of the Fellows of the Craft amongst the lodge members.	Level
2de Opziener:	*Junior Warden*, responsible for the instruction of the Apprentices amongst the lodge members.	Plumb line
Ceremoniemeester:	*Director of Ceremonies*, responsible for making sure that the ritual is executed according to regulations.[129]	Crossed rods
Zwaarddrager:	*Sword Bearer*, responsible for carrying a ceremonial sword in front of the Worshipful Master in formal processions.	A sword
Terrible:	The Preparer, symbolizing death coming to collect the candidate, so he may be reborn as a freemason. Responsible for preparing the candidate for his initiation and leading him to door of the lodge. Often a double role of the Tyler.	Hour-glass or skull
Buitendekker:	*Tyler* responsible for guarding the outside entrance of the lodge (symbolically 'armed' with a sword) against undesirable outside influences. He checks if those who enter know the correct words and signs.	Crossed swords
Wachter or *dekker*:	*Inner Guard* responsible for guarding the inside entrance of the lodge (symbolically 'armed' with a sword).	Crossed swords
Orateur or *Redenaar*:	*Orator*, responsible for speeches and summarizing events, when appropriate, and acting as 'conscience' of the lodge, preventing conflict amongst the members. (Different from, yet overlapping with, the Chaplain in English lodges.)	Book or scroll
Kapelmeester or *Broeder van Talent:*	*Master of Music* or *Brother of Talent* responsible for music in the lodge.	Musical instrument, such as a harp
Hofmeester or *Oeconome*	*Steward*, responsible for overseeing the meals for the table lodge, which normally closes each ritual lodge meeting.	Cornucopia
Keldermeester:	*Steward*, responsible for overseeing the wine cellar and drinks for the table lodge. Sometimes combined with the responsibility for meals as *Hof- en Keldermeester*.	Bunch of grapes
Aalmoezenier:	*Almoner* or *Charity Steward*, responsible for collecting funds, from which charitable donations are made; visiting sick lodge members and providing assistance to those in need.	Purse or a collection box
Meubelmeester:	*Intendant, Inventory Officer* or *Master of Furniture,* responsible for all the furnishings and regalia in the lodge, making inventories and arranging necessary repairs.[130] Sometimes combined with the function of Architect as *Bouw- en Meubelmeester*.	Column
Architect:	*Architect,* responsible for the (design of) the lodge building and its maintenance.	The five building orders (Ionic, Doric, Corinthian, Tuscan, Composite)
Zegelbewaarder	*Keeper of the Seal*, responsible for the seal of the lodge and the authentication of certificates.	Seal
Servant:	*Servant*, not a lodge officer but staff member, who would serve dinner and drinks, run errands and carry out general maintenance of the lodge facilities (like a concierge). The Servant could also provide assistance during rituals if needed.	None

administrative elements of other gentlemen's clubs and societies. Every ritual meeting would normally end with a communal meal, the so called *tafelloge* (table lodge, discussed below). It is important to note that this meal was a fixed part of the ritual, not an afterthought, and that it had distinct ceremonial elements. After closing the formal parts of the meeting, an informal drinking session would often follow, comparable to that in any gentlemen's club or bar.

Freemasons addressed each other as 'Brother', emphasizing equality. An exception to the rule was the title of the chairman or Master of the Lodge, in Dutch usually addressed as *Achtbare Meester* (Worshipful Master). Members could hold different administrative and organizational functions or offices, comparable to those in the board of any local club or association, as well as particular ritual functions. Over the years, the names and tasks of these officers have changed somewhat, and there are differences between different countries. For the convenience of the reader, the most common functions in 18th and 19th century lodges in the Netherlands are provided in table 2.4. The national board of the Order, the *Grootloge* (Grand Lodge), has a similar structure, with a national chairman or *Grootmeester* (Grand Master) and additional Grand Officers. From the second half of the 18th century onwards, regional representatives of the Grand Lodge could be appointed to supervise lodges founded under Dutch jurisdiction in other parts of the world. These were called *Gedeputeerd* or *Provinciaal Grootmeester* (Deputy or Provincial Grand Master) and together with additional Provincial Grand Officers they formed a regional board.

Every summer and winter St. John's Day (Dutch: *St. Jan*) was celebrated on or around 24 June and 27 December. This celebration remembered the traditional name days of the patrons of the Order, John the Baptist and John the Evangelist. Other celebrations, such as lodge anniversaries or dedications of new lodge buildings were also common. Female relatives could be invited to participate in the closing banquets of such festivities.

All the traditional practices mentioned above are still continued in present-day freemasonry, and most of the lodge officers' functions have also been continued.

◆ *Symbolism and allusive method*

The term *masonic symbolism* can be understood as the system of (interrelated) symbols which is used in the ritual of masonic organizations.[131] This symbolism can be literary (symbols that are written and described in texts that are spoken during the ritual) or visual (symbols offered in a ritual or decorative context). Together they communicate moral and philosophical concepts, 'insights' to be discovered by the initiate.[132] The ritual itself can be seen as a symbolic mode of communication, the transfer of concepts which cannot be conveyed in an ordinary language or behaviour.[133]

Masonic initiation rituals refer to the (symbolic) *arbeid* or labor of freemasons, which traditionally is the 'building' of Solomon's Temple (1 Kings 5-9.9; 2 Chron. 2-7): a temple of perfect, human building stones, the temple of humanity (Ef. 2:19-22; 1 Petr. 2:1-10). Traditional building tools such as compasses[134] and square, hammer and chisel, are therefore given a symbolical function and meaning within this ritual practice and its related imagery. Next to building symbolism, light symbolism and centre symbolism[135] are also important. Much is derived from the Old and New Testament, which simply reflects the important position of the bible in Western society at the time in which modern freemasonry developed.

Although many traditional elements have been preserved in masonic ritual until the present day, the rituals and their symbolism were never static: they show influences of important changes in society. As expressed in its *Constitutions* from 1723 onwards, freemasonry at first welcomed members of all Christian belief systems (catholic, Anglican and protestant), which at the time was unusually tolerant. Jews were also recorded as freemasons in England early on, albeit a select few.[136] It was not until the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century that members of other religious backgrounds such as Judeism and Islam were welcomed into the Order in Europe and its overseas trading posts, as a result of underlying cultural processes, including international expansion.[137] It would take until well into the 19th century before the membership of Jews and Muslims was more common. By 1900 however, the religious background of members had become diverse. For instance, theosophy was closely related to Co-masonry around 1900. Over the centuries, new groups of members have introduced a rich variety of esoteric symbolism (such as alchemical and astrological symbolism) and symbolism derived from world religions (including Christian, Jewish and Hindu faiths). Together they make up a rich masonic iconography. James Stevens Curl's *The Art*

and Architecture of Freemasonry: an Introductory Study (1991) and *Freemasonry & The Enlightenment. Architecture, Symbols & Influence* (2011) illustrate this iconographical 'borrowing' from earlier building traditions very well.

Because freemasonry has never known a doctrine (*doxis*), the form and content of the masonic ritual offered each member room for individual interpretation, according to his or her own faith or philosophy of life. The effect of this element in freemasonry is described in the Masonic publication *De Beoefening van de Koninklijke Kunst in Nederland* (1971):

> (…) [the] use which is made of certain forms in order to strengthen the experience of unity within the group and find a personal stimulus of intellectual and religious experience [...].[138]

Considering the political and religious situation during the time in which modern freemasonry developed (17th -18th century Britain), such freedom of opinion and religion were rare and valuable. But that very same freedom of interpretation makes it difficult for present-day scholars to provide a uniform interpretation of masonic symbolism, which is complicated further by the incorporation of much older iconographic traditions into freemasonry. A single masonic symbol could be interpreted on many levels, both literary and visually, functionally and conceptually, in different ways by different members of the Order.[139]

The masonic ritual has a certain element of play. It can perhaps best be compared to a stage play, in which the participants are both spectator and actor at the same time. This element can be described as follows:

> [...] to act within the lodge, as a well-integrated group, according to a long tradition of alluding and referencing to the concept of Solomon's Temple as a symbolic concept [...]. The act in combination with the wording of the ritual, every time brings a certain aspect of that building concept to the attention of the participants, and particularly in such a way that they themselves internalize and process that concept.[140]

The masonic initiation distinguishes itself from other forms of initiation through its allusive method.[141] 'To allude' means to 'refer to' or 'hint at'. Masonic rituals are riddled with numerous references to the bible and other texts, which were widely known at the time and place where freemasonry developed. These different layers of meaning, which can be discovered in ritual, text and images, made for an erudite game. But even to those who were less familiar with biblical symbolism and intellectual literature, the basic layers of building and light symbolism were accessible enough to participate and discover meaningful insights.

◆ *Manuscript and printed rituals*

The development of masonic rituals can be studied through a number of early sources. At a particular moment during his initiation as Apprentice, an 18th century candidate would swear an oath, promising secrecy. From the wording of this oath in one of the oldest known catechisms relating to (pre)masonic developments, the *Edinburgh Register House MS* (1696), it is already clear that members of the Order were forbidden to put any information about the order on paper: '[...] you shall not reveal any pairt of what you shall hear or see at this time whither by word nor write nor put it in wryte at any time [...]'.[142] Yet the current knowledge of the earliest masonic rituals and lodge decorations is based on written sources. These can be divided into several groups[143]: manuscripts, pamphlets, exposures and ritual manuals.

The earliest known sources are two kinds of (British) manuscripts. The first kind consist of the 'manuscript constitutions': 15th-17th century regulations concerning the building trade (such as wages and the relationship between Apprentices and their superiors) and pre-masonic developments. These manuscripts later became known within freemasonry as the 'Old Charges'. They were collected by the English Grand Lodge and served as an inspiration for the publication of *The Constitutions* (1723). Although they supplied little of the actual text.[144] The second kind are early 'catechisms', which have the form of a series of memorized questions-and-answers between the Worshipful Master and the members. These manuscripts are personal notes of such dialogues by lodge members, written down in the beginning of the 18th century as *aide-memoires*, even though this was prohibited.[145] As will be discussed in more detail below, freemasonry developed from a catechism-based practise into a more ritual-based practise, with symbolism from the text developing into symbols in the interior of the lodge room.

The first quarter of the 18th century saw the publication of news and rumours about freemasonry in pamphlets or flyers, and local papers. The most common form was the publication of a masonic catechism accompanied by an (anonymous) letter, in which the writer claimed to have found the catechism in a legacy. It allowed readers to make up their own minds about the nature of the Order and provide members with a better accessible source for the text of such catechisms.[146]

From the second quarter of the 18th century several so-called 'exposures' were published in French, the *lingua franca* at the time, which helped to make freemasonry popular all over the continent, including The Netherlands.[147] The authors of such publications usually claimed to reveal or disclose the secrets of the Order, sometimes based on their own experiences as (former) members. As is clear from the financial accounts in Dutch lodge archives, some exposures were bought by lodges to serve as ritual manuals. This group of publications is therefore considered to provide accurate information about masonic practices. They were probably nothing more than *aide memoires* for the lodges, published under the guise of exposure (in order not to openly conflict with the laws prohibiting the writing down of secrets).[148] These publications do not only describe the initiation procedure of several degrees, but often also include prints of masonic symbols or illustrations of an initiation ritual. Popular titles were:

- *Masonry Dissected* (1730) by Samuel Prichard provided a tri-gradal system;
- *Le Secret des Francs-Maçons* (1744), by Abbé Gabriel-Louis Calabre Perau (1700-1767), partially based on the earlier *Ritual Herault*, 1737[149], provided the first two degrees according to the English 'Moderns'[150], to which *Catéchisme des Francs-Maçons* (1744) by Leonard Gabanon (pseudonym of Louis Travenol, 1698?-1783), added the third degree;
- *Le Sceau rompu ou la loge ouvert aux Profanes* (1745) provided some corrections on the previous titles, after which the previous publications were merged into Perau's *L'Ordre des Francs Maçons trahi et le Secret des Mopses revelé* (1745). This established the masonic practice, that would spread throughout Europe[151];
- Gabanon (=Travenol) published *La Désolation des Entrepreneurs Modernes du Temple de Jerusalem ou Nouveau Catechisme des Francs-Macons* (1747), a reworking of the 1744 title, as well as *Le nouveau Catéchisme des Francs-Maçons* (1749);
- The last in this series of exposures was *Le Maçon Démasqué ou le vrai secret des Francs Macons Mis au jour dans toutes ses parties avec sincérité & sans dèguisement* (1751) by T[homas] W[olson].

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Two of the most influential titles were published in the Netherlands: *L'Ordre des Francs Maçons trahi* in Amsterdam and *Le Franc-Maçon Démasqué* in Arnhem. Together with their Dutch translations, they were essential in determining the Dutch ritual practice.[152]

By the third quarter of the 18th century there were so many different degrees in use amongst different masonic organizations, that ritual manuals were written down in manuscripts form and/or published in print to help freemasons follow the correct procedures. These manuals were probably also used by lodge officers to check the credentials of visitors from unfamiliar lodges, as imposters were not unheard of, and by travelling freemasons who visited lodges where customs might differ from those at home. The manuals will be discussed further below in relation to the development of the ritual and the lodge building.

◆ *The myths and iconography of the three basic degrees*

To discuss the historical development of individual degrees in great detail would easily double the size of this book. As many publications on the subject are already available[153], this paragraph is limited to a summary of the main stages and characteristics of the initiations into the Apprentice, Fellow-Craft and Master's degrees, reflecting the most common ritual practice in the Netherlands and its overseas territories during the 18th century.[154]

■ *The plan of the lodge*

All rituals took place in the lodge room, which was furnished and decorated for the occasion. The placement of lodge furniture and the participants was first illustrated by a series of copper engravings,

known as *Assemblée des Francs-Maçons*. The prints show different stages of the initiations of an Apprentice and a Master, explained by short captions. The series was first published anonymously in Paris circa 1744[155], and followed by an identical version in Leipzig in 1745: *Les Coutumes des Francs Maçons dans leurs Assemblées Principalement pour la Réception des Apprentifs et des Maîtres, tout nouvellement et sincerement découvertes*. This second version was signed by the well-known printmaker Johann Martin Bernigeroth (1713-1767). Many illustrations in later exposures and other publications on freemasonry were based on this second set.[156]

The first print of the *Assemblée des Francs-Maçons* shows a blindfolded candidate entering the lodge (fig. 2.24). The initiation takes place in a contemporary room, which does not yet show the elaborate masonic decorations that would become popular later. This reflects the fact that early lodges gathered in rented rooms in taverns or members' houses, and had to build up the lodge setting for each meeting and remove it afterwards. However, it does show some of the furniture, which had become part of the fixed lay out of the lodge. The Worshipful Master is placed in the (symbolic) East, where he would usually be seated on an ornate chair or throne with canopy, as is illustrated in the other prints in the same series relating to the Master's degree. In front of the Worshipful Master is a table upon which a bible is placed (later a separate altar would develop, on which the bible was placed). The scene takes place around the tracing board (Dutch: *tableau*): a symbolic depiction of the Temple, tools and other symbols of a particular masonic degree. Originally the tracing board would be drawn on the floor in the centre of the lodge for each meeting and erased afterwards, but for convenience painted boards or embroidered carpets would soon be used.[157] The one depicted in *Assemblée des Francs-Maçons* was clearly copied after an illustration in Perau's *Le Secrets des Francs-Maçons* (1744), also included in the Dutch translation (1745) (fig. 2.26). Three candlesticks with candles are placed around the tracing board. These so-called 'Three Lights' (Dutch: *Drie Lichten*) would be associated with Wisdom, Strength and Beauty (Dutch: *Wijsheid, Kracht en Schoonheid*).

■ *Apprentice degree*

As preparation to his initiation as Apprentice, a candidate would be stripped of his 'metals' (jewellery and financial means), as he could not take these with him on the 'journey' that awaited him.[158] He would then be left to himself in a darkened room, where he was confronted with symbols of mortality, such as a skull. These preparations indicate, that the initiation as Apprentice should be interpreted as a symbolical journey through death to resurrection.

Having had some time for reflection, the candidate was then blindfolded and escorted to the lodge room. After being allowed to enter, he would undertake several symbolical 'journeys' in the form of 'tours' through the lodge room, during which he meets several obstacles and questions, and is made familiar with several masonic concepts and symbols. Having travelled these journeys, the candidate was asked to swear an oath (membership pledge) on the bible, placed on the table of the Worshipful Master (later on a separate altar).

This swearing of the oath is illustrated in the second print of *Assemblée des Francs-Maçons* (fig. 2.25). His blindfold would then be removed, so he would literally and symbolically 'see the Light'. This part of the initiation has the character of a confrontation with the divine, which is a common element of initiation rituals worldwide.

After his initiation the new Apprentice received white gloves and a white leather apron. He would then be familiarized with the secret words, signs and grips of his degree, as well as the symbols depicted on the tracing board. The symbolic 'labour' of the Apprentice consisted of working on the rough stone, with hammer and chisel, until it forms a perfect cube that can be used in the building of the Temple. It symbolizes the need to cultivate oneself into a useful member of society.

After the initiation the Catechism of the Apprentice degree is rehearsed in the form of a dialogue with questions and answers. The most important symbols associated with the Apprentice degree, often found in masonic iconography, are: the rough stone, the cubical stone, hammer and chisel.

■ *Fellow-Craft degree*

The initiation as Fellow of the Craft was complementary to that of the Apprentice. The candidate would knock on the door of the lodge. Once inside, this initiation also consisted of several journeys, meant to



Fig. 2.24: Assemblée des Francs-Maçons pour la Reception des Apprentifs*, Paris 1744. Reproduced in: cat. exhib. Vienna 1993, p. 122. The caption reads: 'Entry of the Candidate in the lodge. Dedicated to the very gallant en very truthful profane Brother Leonard Gabanon, author of Catéchisme des Francs-Maçons'.[159] The numbers indicate the place of various lodge officers: '1. Grand [= Worshipful] Master], 2. Senior Warden, 3. Junior Warden, 4. Candidate, 5. Orator, 6. Secretary, 7. Treasurer'.*

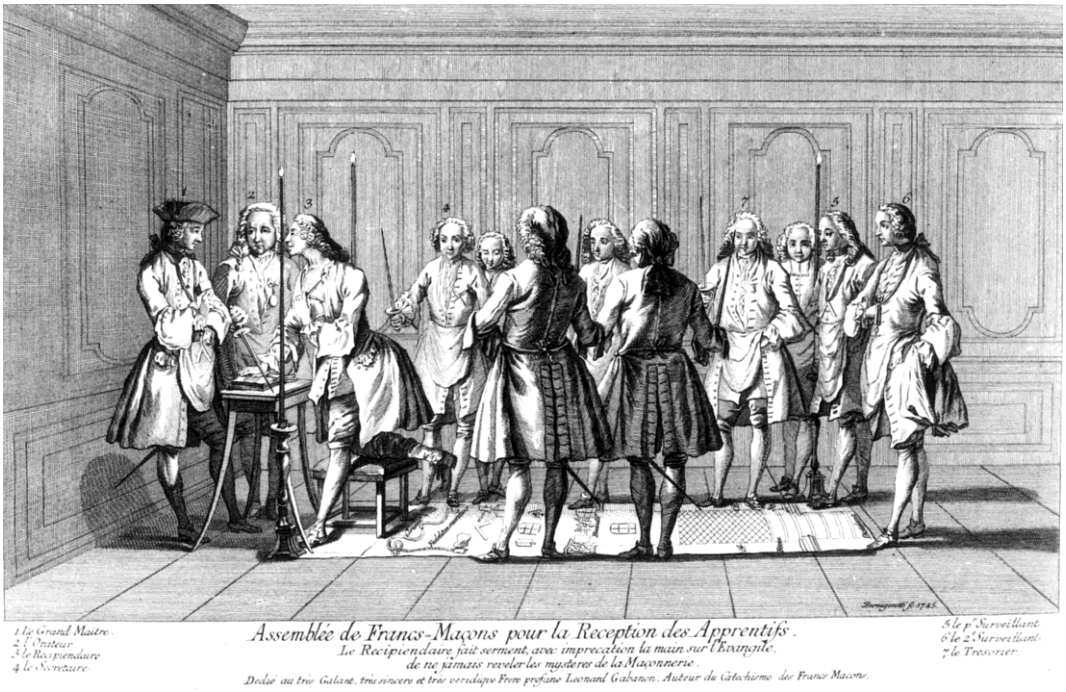


Fig. 2.25: Johann Martin Bernigeroth (1713-1767), Assemblée des Francs-Maçons pour la Reception des Apprentifs *from the series Les coutumes des francs-maçons, Leipzig 1745. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 10512. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl. The caption reads: 'The candidate swears never to reveal the mysteries of Masonry, while placing his hand on the Bible'.[160]*

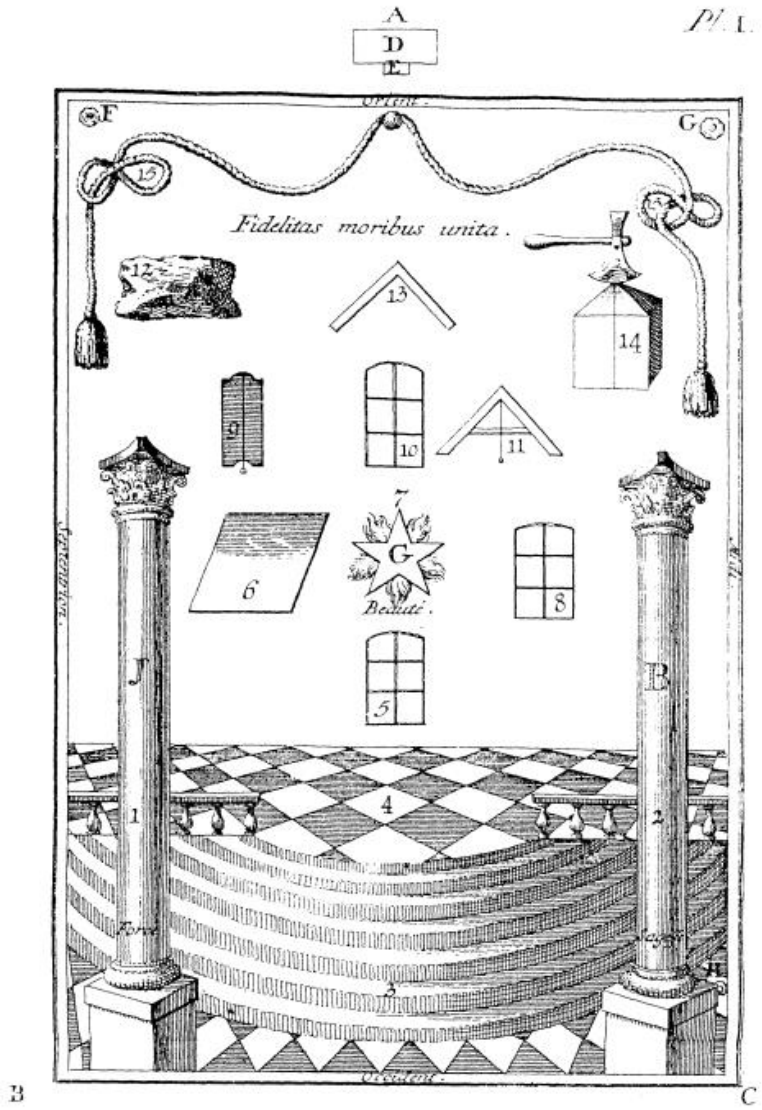


Fig. 2.26: Tracing board for the degrees of Apprentice and Fellow-Craft, frontispiece of Louis Calabre Perau, De geheimen der vrijemetselaars en der Mopsen geopenbaart*, Amsterdam 1745. Reproduced from facsimile edition:* Thoth *21 (1970) II-III.*
The index to the image reads: 1. The Pillar named Jaquin. 2. The Pillar named Boaz. 3. The 7 steps leading to the Temple. 4. The Mosaic Pavement. 5. West Window. 6. Tracing Board for the Masters. 7. Blazing Star. 8. South Window. 9. Plumb-line. 10. East Window. 11. Level. 12. Rough Stone. 13. Square. 14. Pointed Cubed Stone. 15. Indented Tuft. A. The Grand Master's place. B. The First Warden's place. C. The Second Warden's place. D. Altar. E. Footstool. F. G. H. The 3 Lights.

familiarize the candidate with the symbolic meaning of several tools. He was already familiar with hammer and chisel, but would now be introduced to the compass, ruler, crowbar and square, which are used for the Fellow-Craft's symbolical labour: measuring the qualities of the cubical stone for perfection.

After his initiation, the newly made Fellow of the Craft was familiarized with the secret words, signs and grip of his degree.[161] He would be introduced to the Blazing Star with the letter 'G', which according to the text of the ritual is likened to 'the Light of the column of fire, which lead the children of Israel through the desert' (Ex. 13:21-22, Jes. 4:5-6, Op. 21:22-23).[162] The five-pointed star refers to the image of man in the pentagon, the ideal man as macro- and microcosm.[163] The letter 'G' stands for the 'Glory' of the *Grote Geometer* (Grand Geometrician) or *Opperbouwmeester des Heelals* (Grand Architect of the Universe). A freemason would interpret this term according to his own preference or religious background, as a reference to God, or another divine, spiritual or creative power. The flames of the star, which alludes to the Star of Bethlehem, may for instance be interpreted as symbolising love. Another important symbol of this

degree is the ear of corn, which can be seen as representing life force (Richteren 12:6), the seed of life in every grain, as well as the strength of the (masonic) community.

After the initiation, the Catechism of the Fellow-Craft degree would be rehearsed as a dialogue with questions and answers. The symbols most commonly associated with the Fellow-Craft degree, are: the blazing star with the letter G, the compass and square, and an ear of corn.

■ *Master's degree*

The symbolism of the initiation to Master mason is different from that of the first two degrees. Snoek suggests that the development of this ritual can be divided into three main stages: the pre-Hiramic stage (before 1720), the (original) Hiramic stage (circa 1725-1800), and the revised Hiramic stage (after 1816).[164] In the pre-Hiramic stage, the initiation as Master had a kabbalistic-mystic character, focussing on the destruction of the Temple of Solomon and the lost pronounciation of the name of God.[165] However, the original Hiramic version, which became widespread through Prichard's *Masonry dissected*, is most relevant here.

The preparations for the Master's ritual are depicted in one of the prints of *Assemblée des Francs-Maçons* (1744) (fig. 2.27). The candidate's entry is depicted in the next print of the series (fig. 2.28). Once inside, he made one journey during which the Orator would tell the myth of Hiram Abiff, Master of the building Works of Solomon's Temple. This myth is central to modern freemasonry and based on the biblical figure Hiram Abiff (or Adonhyram), a copper worker who was employed by his namesake, King Hiram of Tyre, to assist Solomon with the building of his Temple (1 Kon. 7 : 13-45; 2 Kron. 4:11).[166] The masonic myth tells how Hiram Abiff was murdered in the temple by three 'evil' Fellows of the Craft in an attempt to force him to divulge the Master's Word. Knowledge of (how to pronounce) this word would allow the Fellows to receive the higher wages of a Master. The Fellows buried Hiram's body outside the Temple and marked his grave with a sprig of acacia. Of course Hiram's absence was noticed and a crime was suspected. Solomon sent three, then five and eventually nine Masters to search for Hiram. The nine Masters found the mount with the acacia sprig and discovered Hiram's body. With his death, the (pronunciation of) the old Master's Word had been lost. Therefore Solomon decided a new Word would be used. He ordered the old Word, consisting of the Hebrew letters 'JHVH', representing the name of God, to be engraved in a golden triangle, which was placed on the tomb of Hiram, who was reburied in the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, the Holy of Holies, inside the Temple.[167]

During the ritual, the candidate first played the part of spectator to the events, and then took on the role of Hiram Abiff. The Worshipful Master would strike him down symbolically and he was laid down on the tracing board. This is depicted in another print of *Assemblée des Francs-Maçons* (fig. 2.29). The discovery of the grave was re-enacted and the candidate was then 'raised' as Master, which is shown in the next print (fig. 2.30). Like many initiation ceremonies across the world, this ritual of the Master's degree is in fact a symbolic death and resurrection.

After his initiation, the new Master would again be familiarized with the secret words, signs and grip of this degree. The symbolic labour of the Master is to draw the building plan for the Temple on a tracing board. The Catechism for the Master's degree would again be rehearsed as a dialogue of questions and answers. The most commonly depicted symbols associated with this degree remind the lodge members of death, mourning and mortality, such as: a coffin or tombstone, a skull with cross-bones (referring to death and rebirth)[168], tears, an acacia sprig, a tracing board, the letters M and B (referring to the secret Master Word).

The original Hiramic stage of the Master ritual had a deeply religious component in which a *Unio Mystica*, the identification of the candidate with Hiram (representing God), was achieved and in which the Temple of Solomon had the function of an *Imago Mundi*, a model of the world.[169] However, after 1816 a revised Hiramic version of the ritual was used, which emphasized the moralistic element of the myth: Hiram's refusal to reveal the Master Word in the face of death. The reburial in the *Sanctum Sanctorum* and as such the *Unio Mystica* were omitted.[170]



Fig. 2.27: Assemblée des Francs-Maçons pour la Reception des Maîtres, *Paris 1744. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv. no. 10513. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl. The caption reads: 'The Second Warden makes the Master sign and goes to fetch the Candidate, who is for that time outside the lodge with the Tyler'.*[171]

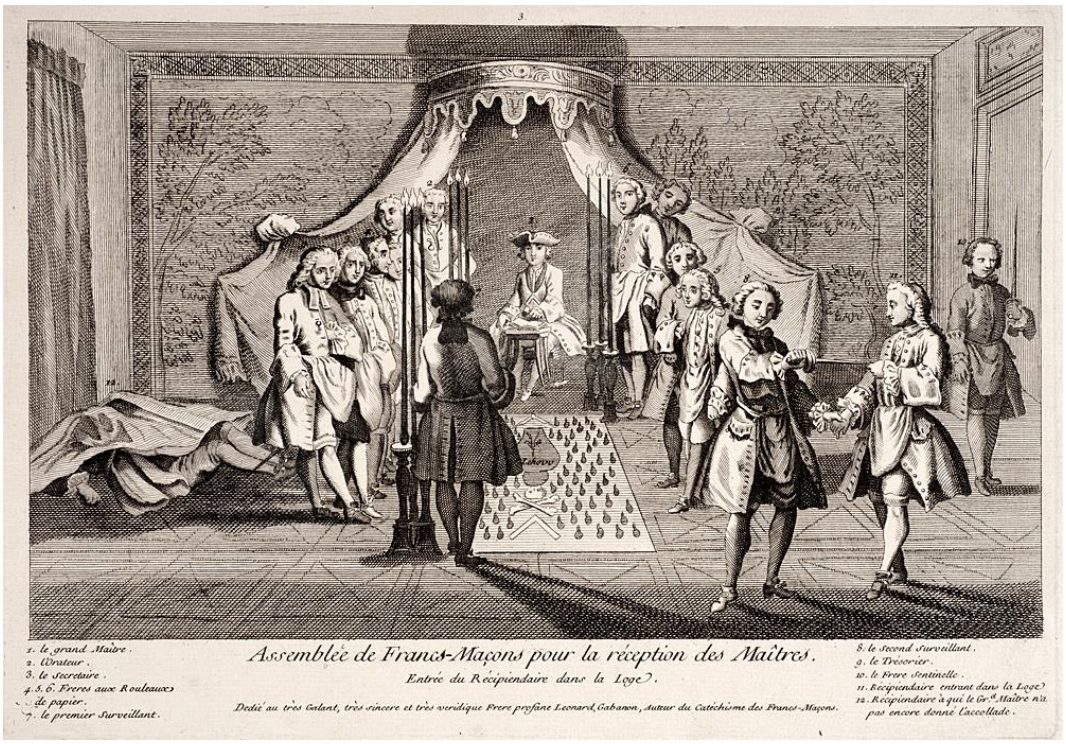


Fig. 2.28: Assemblée des Francs-Maçons pour la Reception des Maîtres, *Paris 1744. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv. no. 16008-004. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl. The caption reads: 'The candidate enters the lodge'.*[172] *To the right the candidate is led by the Junior Warden. The presence of other candidates, depicted to the left as lying down and covered with a cloth, suggests that more candidates would be initiated at the same meeting.*



Fig. 2.29: Assemblée des Francs-Maçons pour la Reception des Maîtres, *Paris 1744. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no.16088-006. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl. The caption reads: 'The candidate lies down in the lodge on the painted coffin, his face covered with a cloth in the colour of blood. All the participants have drawn their swords and point with them at the body'.*[173]



Fig.2.30: Assemblée des Francs-Maçons pour la Reception des Maîtres, *Paris 1744. Reproduced in: cat. exhib. Vienna 1993, p. 123. The caption reads: 'The Grand Master [= Worshipful Master] raises the Candidate and gives him the grip, embrace and Master word'.*[174]

Although the three basic degrees had been in practice for a long time, it was not until 1820 that the first official ritual for these degrees was established by the Dutch Grand Lodge. It became known as the *Rituaal 1820*. The Dutch rituals have gone through several changes since then, although their basic make up remained the same. As local lodges operated quite independently under the rule of the Grand Lodge, subtle differences existed between the practices of lodges in different locations, and between those in the Netherlands and its overseas trading posts.

■ *Symbolism in regalia and distinguishing badges*

For each ritual meeting, freemasons would dress in their regalia, consisting of an apron, gloves, and badges or attributes related to their administrative or ritual function within the lodge (such as a sword for the Tyler, symbolically guarding the lodge). In the earliest stages of freemasonry the apron was made of white undecorated leather, but in the course of the 18th century, aprons would be decorated more and more often. Around 1800 it was fashionable to wear silk aprons, which were richly printed, embroidered or painted with symbols relating to the level of initiation of the owner or his function in the lodge. It was not uncommon for these to represent a tracing board, reduced to its most important symbols, or an idealistic representation of the *Temple de la Sagesse et de la Vertu*, which will be discussed below.[175] Artistic liberty meant the decoration would resemble a building in a garden, with such symbols as the acacia sprigs shaped more like decorative trees (see for examples figs. 2.31-2.34).

From the beginning of the 18th century onwards, lodge and Grand Lodge officers would be distinguished from other members by the badges they wore, usually in the form of a jewel or a decoration on their aprons. The officer's jewels were often made of silver, gold and precious stones, and worn on a ribbon around the neck (see for examples figs. 2.35-2.36, and compare table 2.4 above). Their production techniques and styles reflected contemporary fashions, as did the aprons. The Grand Lodge Officers would wear the same symbols as lodge officers, but executed more richly, while the apron of the Grand Master would be distinguished by a radiant sun.

◆ ***The development of the higher degrees***

A proliferation of masonic degrees took place in the course of the 18th and 19th centuries beside the basic degrees of Apprentice, Fellow-Craft and Master. Their rituals and symbolism offered a deepening insight into or elaboration on the myth of the Master's degree, and they were commonly called 'higher' degrees. Their central myths usually focussed on events after the death of Hiram Abiff, or a later stage in the history of the Temple of Solomon. When working in a higher degree, the lodge decoration and furniture, as well as the members' regalia, would be changed accordingly.

Some of these degrees became very popular, others quickly died out again. The forming of so many different and often exotic degrees is usually contributed to the playful spirit of the 18th century and the need for the aristocratic elite to create a 'superior' level of lodge activity, apart from the steadily growing number of non-aristocratic members. It is true that members of higher degrees were usually 'veteran' and more wealthy lodge members, as it could be a costly affair to pay the initiation fee for a succession of higher degrees as well as the costs of the necessary regalia.

The first degree to develop after the three basic degrees, was that of *Écossois* or 'Scots' Master. This was not, as previously thought, a 'succession' to the Master's degree, but a variation of the Master degree which became separated from the tri-gradal system. Originally, a complex version of the Master's degree was practised in Scotland and later became known in England. Prichard's *Masonry Dissected* (1730) published a version of the Master's degree including the Hiramic myth for the first time, in which Hiram was identified with the Grand Architect of the Universe. However, the existing ritual dating from 1720-1725 included the discovery of Hiram's hidden body (1st grave) and reburial in the *Sanctum Sanctorum* in the Temple (2nd grave). Both these elements (identification and 2nd grave) were not included in Prichard's version, which was perceived as incomplete by some lodges (not all belonging to the English Grand Lodge), who continued to practise the old style. Between 1733 and 1740 several 'Scots Masons' lodges were active in London, Batha and Bristol.[176] It seems likely that these lodges did not have members of Scottish descent, but worked with the (older) full Scottish variation of the Master ritual. This variation was introduced in Continental Europe in Berlin (1742) and developed further in France as the degree of *Maître Écossois*,





Fig. 2.31: Apron for the Master's degree, worn in lodge l'Astre de l'Orient in Vlissingen, the Netherlands, ca. 1825-1850, silk, embroidered with silk and metal threads, 34 x 31.5 cm. The decoration is a 'miniature' tracing board: an image of the temple on raised stairs between the columns J and B on a chequered floor. The trees next to the temple are probably representations of acacia sprigs, which together with the letters 'MB' (referring to the Master word) indicate that this is a Master's apron. A square and compass are depicted above the temple, the flap carries a blazing star with the letter G, and is flanked by the moon and sun. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 1034. Reproduced from: Kroon 2001, p. 212.

Fig. 2.32: Apron for the Master's degree, worn in lodge Willem Frederik in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, dated ca. 1817, silk, embroidered with silk and metal threads, 32.5 x 29.5 cm. In the decoration of this apron, the temple is omitted and indicated by a coffin (referring to the second burial of Hiram Abiff in the Holy of Holies) between the columns, indicating that this is a Master's apron. Here too, acacia sprigs, the square and compass, and the blazing star are depicted. Collection CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 896. Reproduced from: Kroon 2001, p. 215.





Fig. 2.33: Apron for the Master's degree, depicting the Temple between acacia sprigs, flanked by two columns; a blazing star with the letter 'G' on the flap. Embroidered silk, ca. 1800-1825, 27 x 30 cm. Collection: Musée de la Maison des Maçons, Paris, i nv.no. T2-023. Reproduced from: glnf-musee.fr.

Fig. 2.34: Apron for the (French) Royal Arch degree, decorated with a coffin underneath an arch, flanked by ribbons carrying masonic tools; the scene is embraced by acacia sprigs and topped with the sun and the moon, and a beehive. Printed silk, ca. 1800-1825, 28 x 30 cm. CollectionL Musée de la Maison des Maçons, Paris, inv.no. T2-013. Reproduced from: glnf-musee.fr.

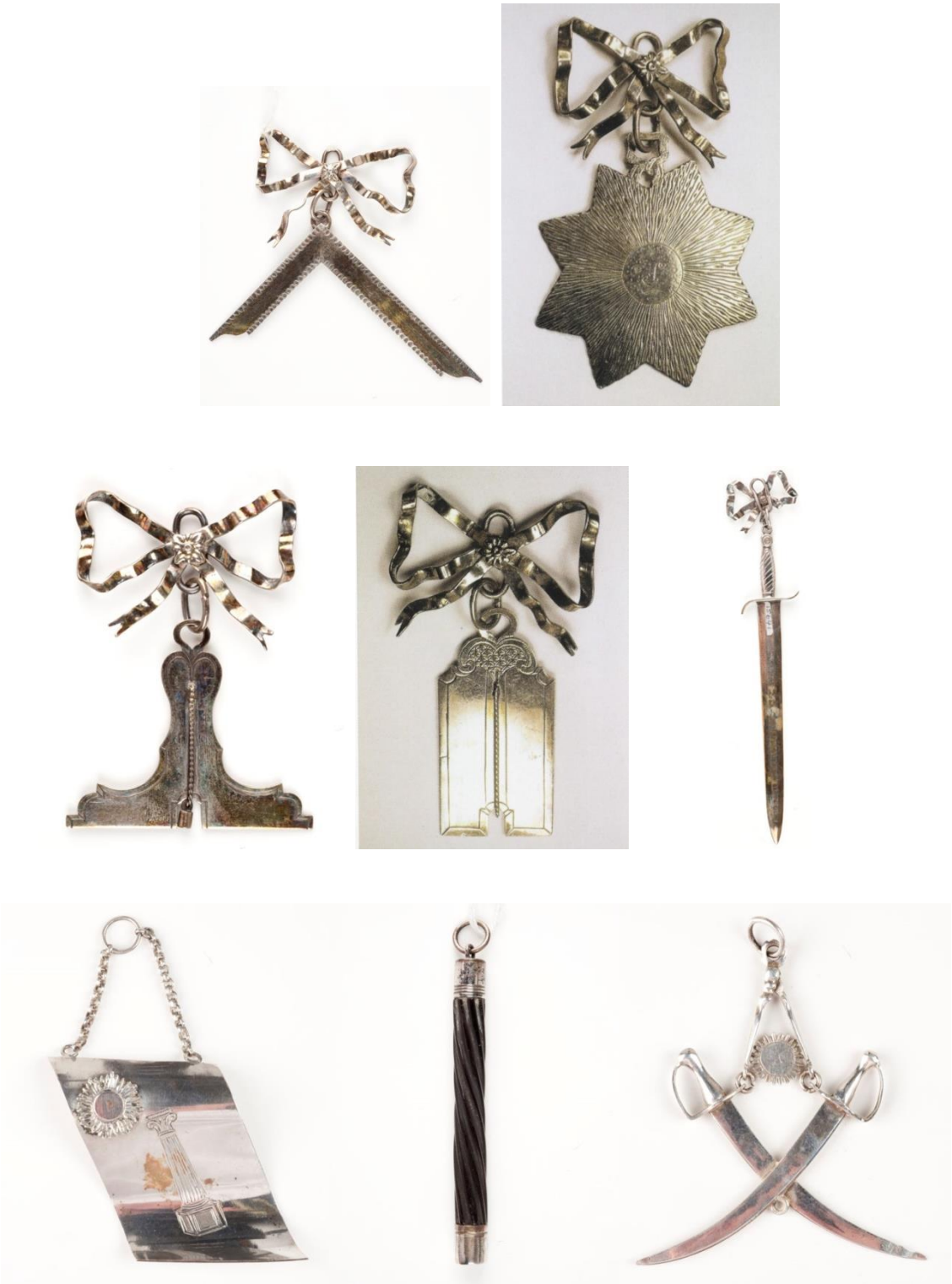


Fig. 2.35a-h: Silver jewels of the Worshipful Master, Orator, Senior and Junior Warden (level and plumb line), Sword Bearer (sword), Architect (plate engraved with column and sun), Master of Ceremonies (ebony staff) and Tyler (crossed swords), 18t^{h}-19th centuries. Collection CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, including inv.nos. 3345, 3347, 3429, 3431 and 15639. Reproduced from: De Graaf 1996, p. 59 / vrijmetselarij.nl.

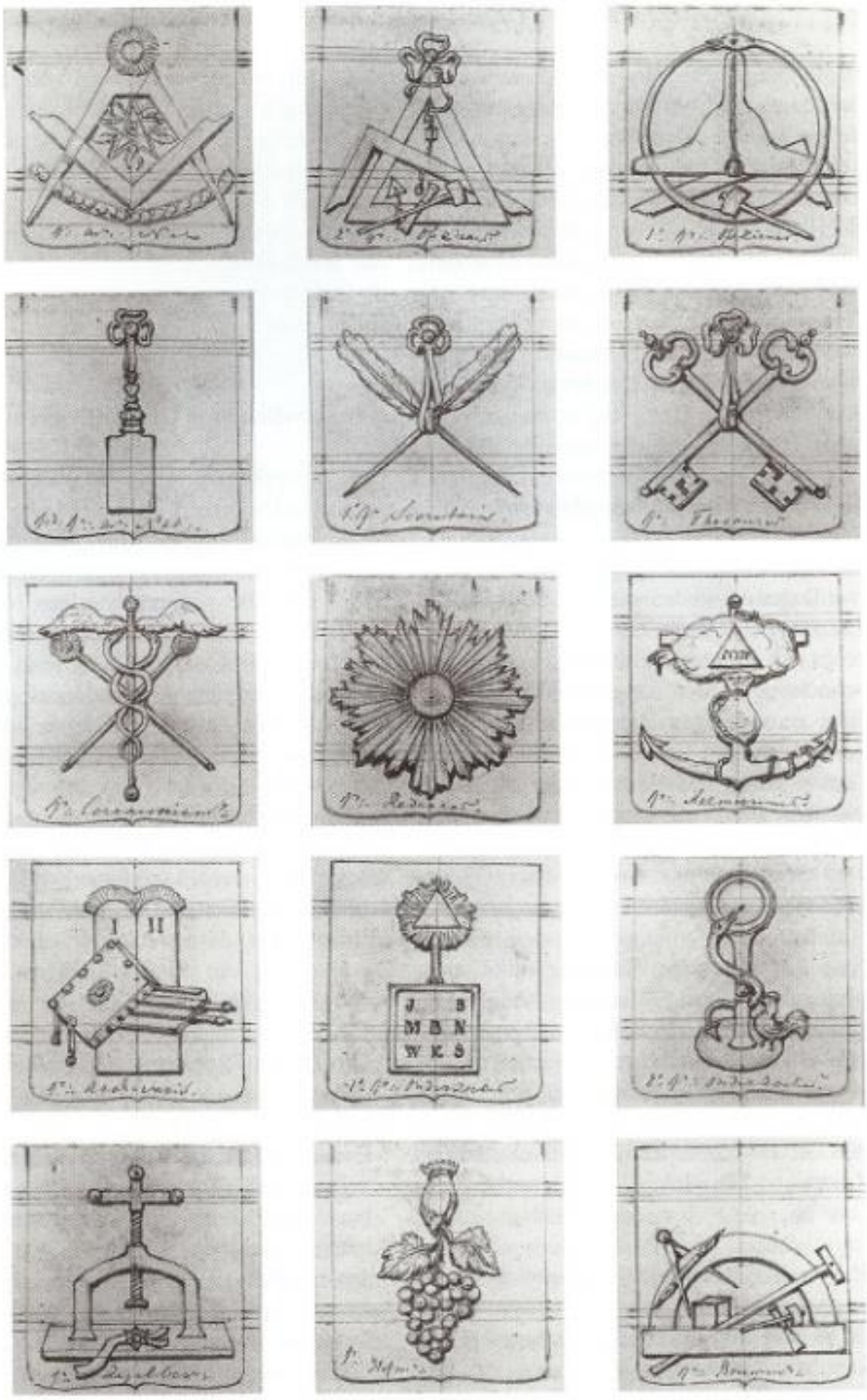


Fig. 2.36: Series of designs for Grand Lodge officers' jewels, ca. 1825. Collection CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Reproduced from: Kroon 2001, p. 208.

which would eventually be reintroduced to England.[177] As such it formed the first follow up or 'higher' degree to that of Master.

The evolvement of the tri-gradal system and the *Maître Écossois* degree were typical for the formation of many new degrees. Elements would get separated from their original ritual, or some practical problem would arise and a degree would be created to solve it. Once the problem was solved, both degrees would continue to exist. The rituals would alter and after a while the connection between the two would be lost to memory.[178] Several higher degrees were developed as a follow up or *perfection* of the Master's degree. For a long time these existed beside each other. It was not until later in the 18th century that they took on a hierarchical order, established in fixed Rites.[179]

◆ *The establishment of fixed Rites*

Several of the newly developed higher degrees became so popular, that they were incorporated - together with the three basic degrees - into one or more Rites: fixed systems for initiations into a particular number of degrees in a strict hierarchical order. A rich variety of masonic (and pseudo-masonic!) Rites developed over the 18th to 20th centuries. Because of this multifaceted development, freemasonry should never be considered as one body or one Order: there were (and still are) many varieties existing side by side, practised simultaneously by different lodges.

As all these different masonic organizations of course wanted to attract more members and expand further, their history shows rivalry and conflict amongst some, and friendly cooperation amongst others. The first British Grand Lodge kept to its traditional regulations and established a policy of 'recognition' of other 'regular' masonic bodies, who adhered to the same regulations, such as restricting the membership to men only. It established friendly contacts and allowed members of regular Orders to visit each other's lodges, but denied such contacts with Orders considered 'irregular', such as the many mixed masonic organizations founded from the end of the 19th century onwards, usually described as Co-masonry.

By the middle of the 18th century, most European countries practised their own variations of masonic Rites.[180] The Royal Order of Scotland may be the earliest higher degree system, possibly going back as far as 1732. In Germany the *Strikte Observanz* (Strict Observance), a system of six degrees, was formally established in 1764. Etiènne Morin created the *Ordre du Secret Royal* (Order of the Royal Secret) in 1763 and brought together the most popular higher degrees of his time into a system of 25 degrees, later published in the *Francken Manuscripts*. (Sometimes mistakenly called the *Rite de Perfection*[181], as many higher degrees offered a 'perfection' of the Master degree). The degrees of the *Ordre du Secret Royal* would later be incorporated into other Rites.

The *Rite Écossais Rectifié* (Rectified Scottish Rite), a system of eight degrees, was established first in France in 1779 and then in Germany in 1782. The Swedish Rite, as system of at first nine, later ten degrees, was formally established in Sweden in 1759, revised in 1801, and introduced in the other Scandinavian countries. In France the revision of the multitude of higher degrees under supervision of Alexandre Louis Roëttiers de Montaleau (1748-1808) resulted in the establishement of the *Rite Moderne* (Modern Rite), a system of seven degrees, in 1786.[182] Another Rite was also practiced in France after 1803: the *Rite Écossais Ancien et Accepté* or *R.E.A.A.* (Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite or A.A.S.R.), a system of 33 degrees which was imported from America.[183]

Because it became increasingly difficult to memorize the growing number of degrees and various Rites, by the second half of the 18th century freemasons relied on ritual manuals in either manuscript or printed form. In 1763-1766 a series of thirteen pamphlets was published by Erasme Pincemaille in Metz, France, providing the catechisms for the same number of masonic degrees: *Conversations Allegoriques*. The entire print run was ordered to be burned by the Grand Lodge, suggesting it contained accurate descriptions of early versions of higher degrees.[184] Some of these degrees were also included in one of the earliest ritual manuals for the higher degres to reach a wider audience: *Les plus secrets mystères des hauts grades de la maçonnerie dévoilés, ou le vrai rose-croix [...] suivi du Noachite* (Jerusalem [= Paris], 1766). Snoek has pointed out that the central myths of this early Rite are all based on biblical building processes.[185] The Apprentice and Fellow-Craft, not covered by this publication, involve the building of the Antediluvian columns. The building of the Tower of Babel features in the degree of *Noachite ou Chevalier Pruissien* (Noachite or Prussian Knight).[186] The building of the Temple of Solomon is central to the Master's

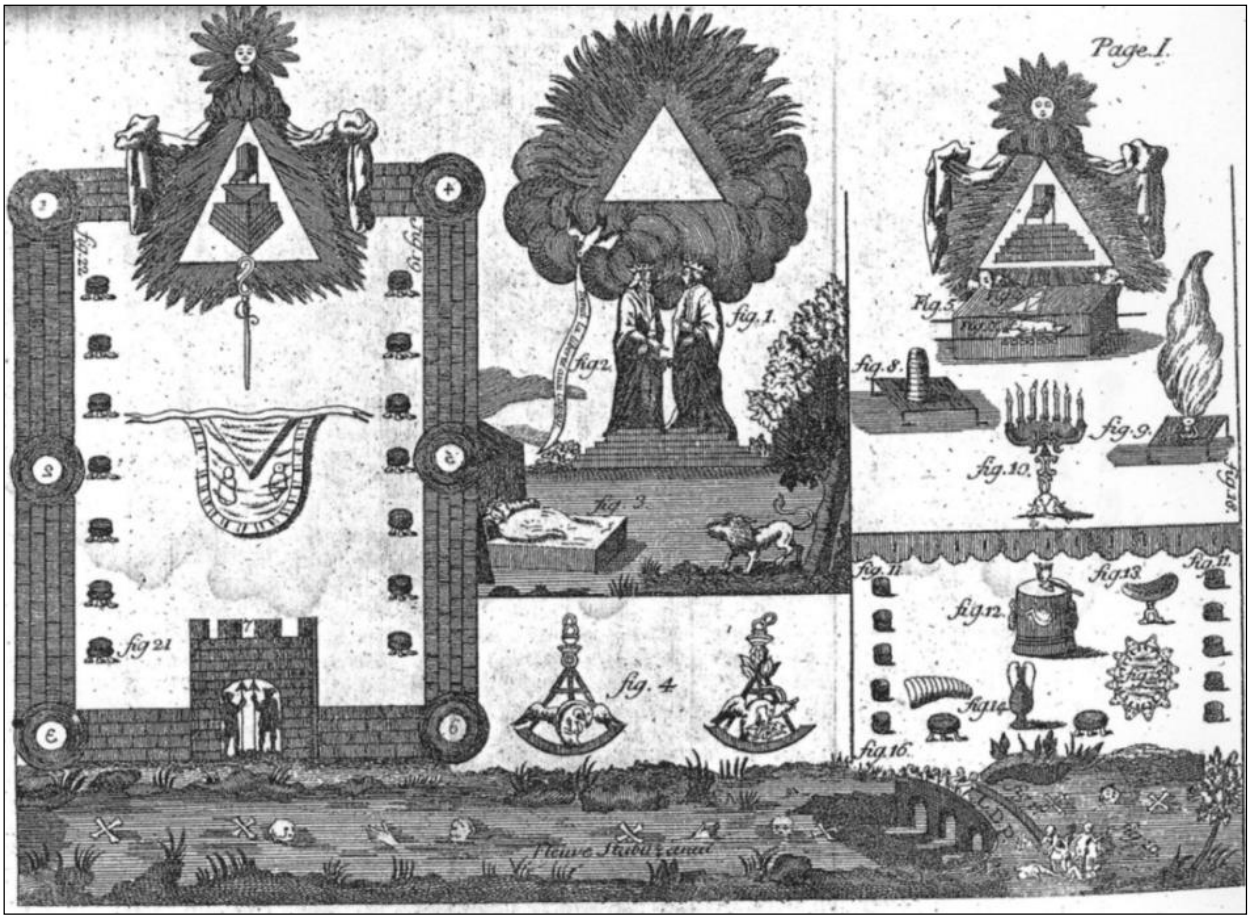


Fig. 2.37: Illustration in Les plus secrets mystères des hauts grades de la maçonnerie dévoilés, ou le vrai rose-croix [...] suivi du noachite *(Parijs 1766; Dutch ed. 1786). Reproduced from: Kroon 2001, p. 235.*

degree (not covered by the publication either) and those of *Petit* and *Grand Architecte*, as well as the *Parfait Maçon Élu, Élu de P[erignan], Élu des Quinze* (Chosen Master's degrees). The building of the Temple of Zerubbabel is featured in the degree of *Chevalier de l'Epée et de Rose Croix* (Knight of the Sword).[187] The book contained an illustration which influenced much of the later iconography of the higher degrees (fig. 2.37). A Dutch translation, *De allerverborgenste geheimen van de hoofdgraden der Metzelary, ontdekt. Of het waare roozenkruis [...] Gevolgd van de historie der Noachieten,* did not appear until 1786, when the most popular degrees had already found their way into various established Rites.

There are several important ritual manuscripts in the Kloss-library in the CMC. *Maçonnerie des Hommes* (ca. 1782-1792) for instance, provides a richly illustrated description of many (obscure) higher degrees.[188] The manuscript *Rite de Perfection*: *Collection de 84 Tableaux, Habits, Cordons et Bijoux de differens Grades de perfection Français* (1784) was supposedly illustrated by a freemason named Löwen, who remains to be identified further.[189] It provides information on many popular higher degees, also described in the *Francken Manuscripts*.[190] The *Rite Écossais Ancien et Accepté. Décorations et Costumes* (ca. 1804-1815) is also richly illustrated with watercolours of lodge interiors and regalia.[191] The *Recueil Maçonnique contenant l'explication du soixante et dix figures appartenantes aux sept grades de la franche Maçonnerie, ou l'Arch Royal* (s.a.) mainly discusses a large number of individual symbols[192]; while the *Receuil de Maçonnerie Contenant Les 33 Grades du Rit Écossois Ancien et Acceptés Et Les 7 Grades du Rite Moderne dit aussi La Maçonnerie Bleue* (1817) covers both French Rites. The latter manuscript was a gift to Prince Frederik, presented when he was invited to take on the function of Sovereign Grand Commander (*Soeverein Groot-Commandeur*), the position of Grand Master for the Rite Écossais Ancien et Accepté in the

Southern Low Countries (Belgium). He refused the honour but kept the manuscript, which became known as the 'Book of Prince Frederik'.[193]

Various published manuals, describing one or more Rites, also deserve to be mentioned here, such as the *Receuil precieux de la franc-maconnerie Adonhiramite* (1781), describing several higher degrees and adoption rituals. The first published manual for the higher degrees of the *Rite Moderne* was the *Regulateur des Chevaliers Maçons, ou les Quatre Ordres Supérieurs, suivant le Régime du Grand-Orient* (Paris 1801).[194] The first quarter of the 19th century saw the production of (French) *tuileurs.* The *Tuileur* (Tyler) was a lodge officer, who stood outside the lodge door at each meeting. His job was to check if visitors knew the appropriate secret words and signs, and wore the right regalia for the occasion.[195] The *tuileurs* provided descriptions of such characteristics of each degree of one or more Rites, containing sometimes also the initiation procedures, as well as illustrations of the lodge decorations, tracing boards and regalia. Examples are *L'Unique et parfait Tuileur pour les trente-trois grades de la Maçonnerie Écossaise* (Paris 1812); *Tuileur portatif des trente-trois degrés de l'Ecossisme du Rit Ancien et Accepté, suivi du Tuileur des Trois Grades Symboliques Écossais, tels qu'ils sont pratiqués dans la Grande Loge d'Ecosse, à Edimbourg* (Paris 1819)[196]; *Thuileur des trente-trois degrés de l'Ecossisme du Rit Ancien et Accepté* (1813, contrary to the title incorporating both the *R.E.A.A.* and the *Rite Moderne*[197]*)*; *Manuel maçonnique ou Tuileur des Divers Rites de Maçonnerie pratiqués en France* (1820, covering both French Rites, the 90 degrees of the *Rite de Misraim* and the Adoption Rites[198]; and lastly the *Le Tuileur Expert des sept grades du Rite Français ou Rite Moderne, trente-trois degrés du R.E.A.A., grades symboliques de la Grande Loge d'Ecosse, Maître Écossais du Regime Rectifié de Dresden, Grand Inspecteur General Anglais Primitif* (1828).

Although not all degrees described in such manuscript and printed overviews were practised in the Netherlands, they are an essential source for the development of masonic iconography, as well as the dating and identification of masonic objects and decorations as described in later chapters of this book.

♦ *The Dutch Rite*

In 1759, Dutch Grand Master Van Boetzelaer and several other Grand Lodge officers became members of the Strict Observance, the German Masonic Rite mentioned above. They assumed the title *Chevalier* according to their degree of initiation.[199] In an attempt to create some order in the chaos of higher degrees which were practiced in the Netherlands at the time, Van Boetzelaer created a first *Kapittel* (Chapter) or lodge for the higher (Scots) degrees named Pallas in 1774. In order to unite all the lodges for higher degrees in the Netherlands in one Grand Chapter, authorization of a governing body from another country was sought and obtained from René III, count de la Tour-Dupin (1715-1778), Grand Master of the French *Ordre Sublime des Chevaliers Élus* (Order of the Sublime Chosen Knights), the mother organization of the Strict Observance. Former Grand Master Van Aerssen Beijeren was now given the elaborate title of *Grand Maître perpétuel de l'Ordre Sublime des Grands Chevaliers Élus, ensemble des Grades intermédiaires de la Maçonnerie Écossaise du Petit Élu, de l'Illustre, du Chevalier de l'Étoile, et des Deux Aigles etc. dans la République des Sept Provinces Unies, ressort de la Généralité et Colonies dépendantes etc.*'. On 20-5-1776, the first Grand Scots Chapter (*Grande Loge Écossaise*) was erected in the Netherlands.

The contacts between the Dutch Order and the Strict Observance increased, and steps were taken to form an alliance, creating a Provincial Chapter of the Strict Observance for the Netherlands in 1780. If the Dutch lodges had not defended their wish to remain independent of foreign bodies, a formal alliance would have been accepted by Van Boetzelaer. In 1776 a total of 22 Chapters had been placed under jurisdiction of the Grand Loge Écossaise, but in the following years that number declined rapidly as the Strict Observance proved unpopular. A serious conflict arose when Dutch members of the (French) *Rose Croix* degrees wanted to be acknowledged as *Chevaliers Templiers* of the Strict Observance, but were denied to do so by Van Boetzelaer. By 1786, only three lodges attended the yearly meeting of the Grand Chapter, which spelled the end for this organization. The Dutch lodges preferred to stay independent and were more interested in the practice of French higher degrees, than those of the Strict Observance.

Until 1803 Dutch masonic practice was heavily influenced by French ritual practise. Besides the three basic degrees, the most commonly practised higher degrees in the Netherlands as well as its overseas territories were the *Élu* (Chosen Masters' degrees), *Maître Écossois* (Scots Master's degrees), *Chevalier d'Orient/d'Epée* (Knight of the East and/or the Sword degrees) and the *Souverain Prince Rose-Croix* (Rose

Cross degrees). Some lodges in the Netherlands joined the Grand Orient de France (founded in 1773) during the French occupation between 1795 and 1814 and therefore came to practice the *Rite Moderne*. (Those resistant to French influences were sometimes unaware of the fact that they had already been practising French rituals before the occupation.)

Between 1803 and 1854, a distinctive Dutch Rite of seven degrees was practised in the Netherlands. In 1803 a new governing body, the Order of the Higher Degrees (*Orde der Hoge Graden*) was formed alongside the Dutch Grand Lodge, which latter one now only supervised lodges of the three basic degrees. The Dutch Rite practised by this new body was similar to, but also different from the French *Rite Moderne*.[200] Sepers discussed the differences and similarities in *Het Rozekruis* (1993).[201] Its rituals are described in Van Loo: *De ritualen van de historische graden* (s.a., 2nd ed. 1967) and *Inleiding tot de geschiedenis van het rituaal van den graad van Souverein Prins van het Rozekruis* (1948).[202]

♦ *The myths and iconography of the higher degrees*

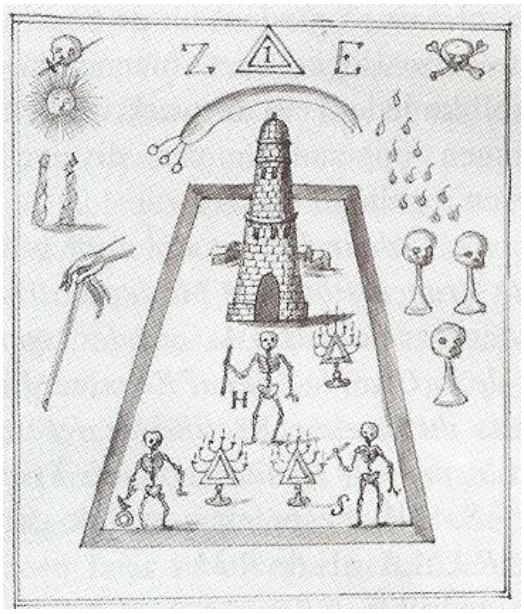
The overview below discusses the four (groups of) French degrees, which were the most commonly practised in the Netherlands and its overseas territories. Their symbolism is particularly relevant to the masonic iconography applied to the 18th and 19th century objects and decorations discussed later in this book. As individual elements can often be traced back to illustrations in the French manuals and *tuileurs* listed above, the place of each degree in various Rites prior to their incorporation into the Dutch Rite is also provided.

■ Élu *or Chosen Master's degrees*

Snoek has suggested that the degrees of *Élu* or Chosen Masters probably developed around 1730 as a necessary qualification for a freemason to be allowed to have the function of Worshipful Master within a lodge.[203] *Les plus secrets mystères […]* discusses three relevant degrees. The *Parfait Maçon Élu* (Perfect Chosen Master) covers the events after the death of Hiram, the Master of the building works at the Temple of Solomon.[204] A 'council of nine' meets to discuss his murder, and King Hiram of Tyre demands that King Solomon revenges this evil deed.[205] The Chosen Masters undertake a search. During the initiation, the candidate plays the role of a Chosen Master who is led to a cave under a burning bush near a well, guided by an 'unknown' (sometimes in the shape of a dog). There he discovers one of the murderers hiding in the cave, which is guarded by three animals: a lion, a tiger and a bear. In his anger the Chosen Master kills the murderer with a *ponjaard* (poiniard or dagger) by cutting off his head. King Solomon pardons him for this rash act.

The description of the *Élu de P[erignan]* (Chosen Master of Perignan) is very brief. This ritual covers the naming of the unknown, who led the Chosen Master to the first murderer: Perignan.[206] The *Élu des Quinze* (Chosen Master of Fifteen) covers the revenge on the two remaining murderers, who are said to have escaped to the land of Geth.[207] Maaca, the King of Geth, is asked to turn them in. Fifteen Chosen Masters take an army to Geth to force the exchange. The murderers were then punished by cutting their bodies open, exposing them to the sun and eventually beheading them. Their bodies were thrown outside the city walls of Jerusalem for the wild animals, while their staked heads were displayed near the gates of the city.

The degrees of *Élu* or Chosen Masters have probably developed more variations than any of the other higher degrees, and are all based on the myth of the murderers of Hiram Abiff. They were incorporated in the *Ordre du Secret Royale* (degrees 9-11) as *Maître Élu des Neuf* (Chosen Master of Nine), covering the punishment of the first murderer, and *Illustre Élu des Quinze* (Illustrious Chosen Master of Fifteen) covering the punishment of the other two.[208] The *Sublime Chevalier Élu* (Sublime Chosen Knight), covers the reward for the Chosen Masters. They were also incorporated into the *R.E.A.A.* (degrees 9-11) as *Maître Élu de Neuf*, *Maître Élu des Quinze* and *Sublime Chevalier Élu*. The *Rite Moderne* fused them all into one as the 4th degree (or order), simply named *Élu*.[209] The punishment of the murderers (the cutting of their bodies) was no longer explicitly mentioned. The Dutch Rite only covered the punishment of the third murderer in the 4th degree, *Élu*, which was practiced until 1854.[210]



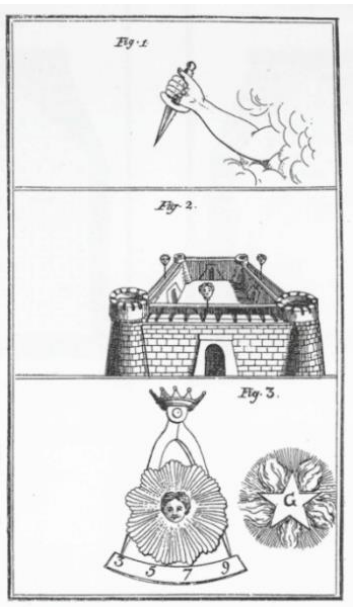


Fig. 2.38: Tracing board for the degree of Élu des neuf *(Chosen Master of Nine), as illustrated in* Collection de 84 tableaus *(1784). Collection CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Reproduced from: Kroon 2001, p. 240.*
Fig. 2.39: Symbols and jewel for the Élu *degrees of the* R.E.A.A.*, as illustrated in* Manuel maçonnique *(1820),* Planche V. *Reproduced from: Kroon 2001, p. 241.*





Fig. 2.40: Apron for the Élu degrees, printed silk, ca. 1800, 29.5 x 29.5 cm. Collection: Musée de la Maison des Maçons, Paris, inv.no T2-1143. Reproduced from: glnf-musee.fr.
Fig. 2.41: Apron for the Élu degrees in the R.E.A.A., depicting a dagger and a skull with cross-bones both surrounded by tears, ca. 1800-1825, silk, embroidered with silk and gold threads. Postcard in the collection of CMC 'Prins Frederik' in The Hague, inv.no. 21509-01. See also: Kroon 2001, p. 243.

The main symbols for *Élu* degrees were not yet illustrated in *Les plus secrets mystères* (1766). But a tracing board for the *Élu de Neuf* matching the description of the *Parfait Maçon Élu* was included in the manuscript *Collection de 84 Tableaux* (1784), along with ten other relevant illustrations (fig. 2.38). Similar symbols for *Elu* degrees of the *R.E.A.A*. are depicted in the *Manuel maçonnique* (1820) (fig. 2.39). The decoration of some surviving aprons closely follows the descriptions in the various manuals, as illustrated in fig 2.40-2.41. Symbols of mourning and revenge are typical of their iconography, including: a tower with the letters

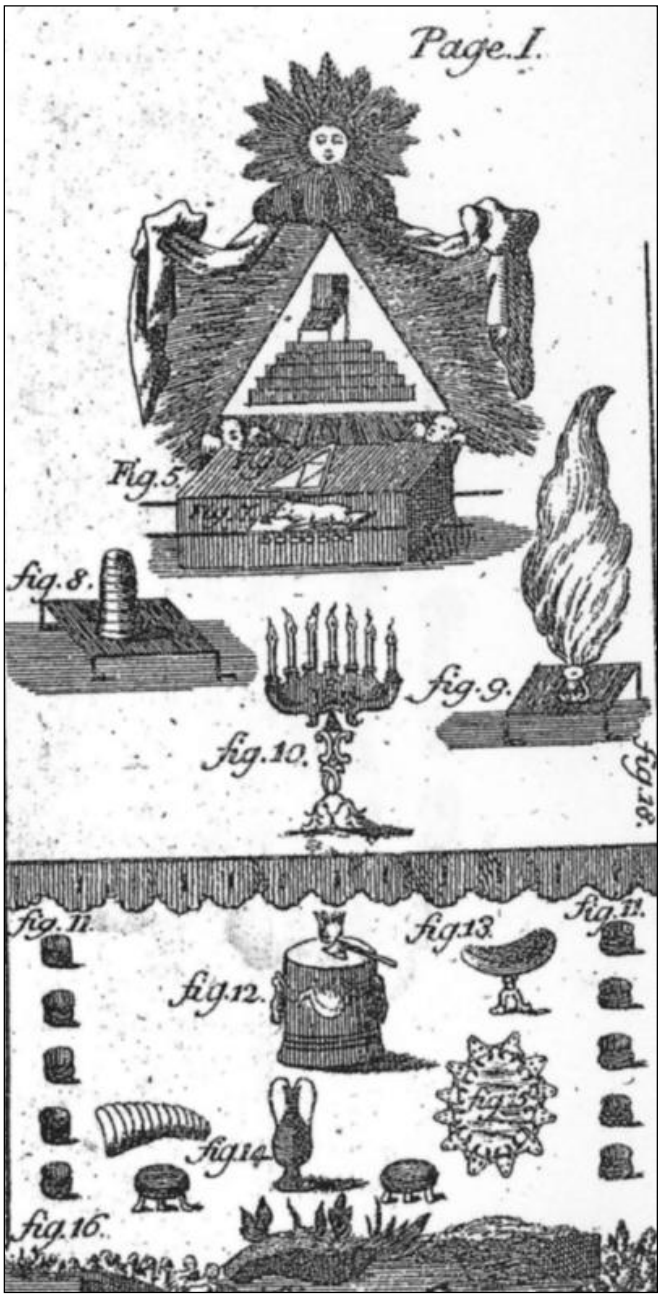


Fig. 2.42: Detail from the illustration in Les plus secrets mystères *(Paris 1766/Dutch ed. 1786), showing the lodge lay out and various symbols for the Scots degrees. Reproduced from: Kroon 2001, p. 235.*

'H.S.O.'(the initials of Hirams murderers according to *Les plus secrets mystères*); a skull with a bone crossed with a dagger; a dagger surrounded by tears or flames (*R.E.A.A.* in *Manuel maçonnique,* 1820). Narrative scenes also appear, such as a depiction of the discovery of the first murderer in the cave. Other symbols refer to the punishment of the murderers: skulls, decapitated heads or skeletons; a body spread on an X-shaped cross (Andreas cross), and the motto: *vaincre ou mourir* (conquer or die).

■ Écossais *or Scots degrees*

The 4th degree *Petit Architecte* (Little Architect) in *Les plus secrets mystères […]* (1766) covers the reburial of the body of Hiram Abiff in the *Sactum Sanctorum* within the Temple.[211] With his death, the old Master Word had been lost, which King Solomon had engraved in a golden triangle, also placed within the *Sactum Sanctorum*. An important symbol for this degree therefore is a golden triangle with the *tetragrammaton*,





Fig. 2.43: Apron for the Ecossias de trois J *(*Ordre du Secret Royale*), depicting a nine-pointed star made of three interlaced triangles, the letter J (surrounded by a crown of thorns?) and acacia sprigs, ca. 1825, silk, embroidered with silk and gold threads. Collection CMC 'Prins Frederik' in The Hague, inv.no. 46. Reproduced from: Kroon 2001, p. 243.*
Fig. 2.44: Apron for the degree of Schots Meester of Ridder van St. Andries *(Dutch Rite 1803-1854), depicting a triangle with the tetragrammaton in four concentric circles within a square, resting on four halves of columns, with a blazing star and the motto* POST TENEBRAS LUX *(light after darkness), ca. 1800-1825, silk, painted leather, 30.5 x 25.5 cm. Collection CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 13. Reproduced from: Kroon 2001, p. 243.*



Fig. 2.45: Illustration after the Francken Manuscript, 1790. Reproduced from: Kroon 2001, p. 245.

the Hebrew letters JHWH, which form the unspeakable name of God: Yahweh or Jehova. Another symbol mentioned is that of a small triangle, pointed downwards, inside a bigger triangle, pointed upwards, both held in a circle.

The 5th degree, *Grand Architecte* (Grand Architect), centres on the building of the tabernacle and the Temple of Solomon, and finding a successor for Hiram Abiff to oversee the building works.[212] Elements related to the lodge lay out for this degree are again illustrated in the print in the manual (fig. 2.42), most of which are based on biblical iconography: a double triangle; the Arc of the Covenant (1 Kings 3:15); the lamb on the book with seven seals (Book of the Apocalypse; Rev. 5:1); the copper sea (a washing bin,

supported by twelve oxen; 1 Kings 7:23-26, 2 Chron. 4:2); an altar for burnt offerings and a table with the showbreads (1 Kings 7:48). The ritual for this degree prescribes the use of two lodge rooms, one decorated in black and one in red.

The degrees of *Petit* and *Grand Architecte* are variations of the later *Écossois* (also: *Écossais*) or Scots Master's degrees, which have been incorporated into various Rites.[213] A recurring theme in the related myths is the 'finding the unspeakable name' and the discovery of the golden triangle with the tetragrammaton in the (ruin of the) Temple.[214] In the *Ordre du Secret Royale* variations are the *Volmaakt Meester* (Perfect Master, 5th degree) and *Schots Meester van drie Jods* (Scots Master of the three Jods, 8th degree).[215] The *Rite Moderne* only practised the 5th degree (order) of *Écossais*. The Dutch Rite incorporated a 5th degree, split up in *Schots Leerling, Schots Gezel* and *Groot Schots Meester of Ridder van St. Andries* (Scots Apprentice, Scots Fellow and Grand Scots Master or Knight of St. Andreas).[216]

From the tracing boards and regalia of the *Écossois* degrees described and depicted in the various manuals, it is possible to name the most common symbols of these degrees. Geometrical shapes, such as concentric circles, interlaced triangles and combinations of circle/triangle/square frequently occur, making it difficult to pinpoint a particular degree or rite. Interlaced triangles with the letter 'J' point to the *Ordre du Secret Royale* (according to the *Francken Manuscript*, 1790, fig. 2.45); three interlaced triangles to the *Rite Moderne* (according to *Regulateur des Chevaliers Maçons,* 1801); two triangles in a circle and an Andreas-cross, or a square with three concentric circles, triangle and four halves of columns, also depicted on aprons in the CMC (figs. 2.43-2.44).

A crowned compass on a quadrant with a radiant sun is mentioned in the *Rite Moderne* (according to the *Thuileur de trente-trois degrees*, 1813) and often depicted on aprons within a star formed of interlaced triangles. Curiously, the symbol matches the illustration of a jewel for the degree *Sublime Chevalier Élu* of the *R.E.A.A.* (as illustrated in *Manuel maçonnique,* 1820, fig. 2.39). This is a good example of the transmission of symbols from one degree or Rite to another, and underlines the fact that masonic iconography was by no means fixed around 1800.

■ *Degrees of Knight of the East and/or the Sword*

The degree of Knight of the East and/or the Sword was probably developed as suitable for Worshipful Masters, and partially formed the basis for the installation ceremony of Worshipful Masters in the *Rite Moderne*.[217] Variations of this degree feature as the 6th degree in *Les plus secrets mystères* (1766): *Chevalier de l'Epée et de Rose Croix*. Its myth is based on the biblical story of the return of the Jewish people after the Babylonian exile and the destruction of the Temple (1 Chron. 3:19; 2 Chron. 36; Ezra 1-6; Neh. 1-7, 12:1,47; Hag. 1:1,12-14, 3:5, 22-24; Zach. 4:6-10).[218] However, it does not yet cover the central myth of the later *Rose Croix* degrees (discussed below), as the name of this degree might suggest.

The illustration in the manual depicts a wall with seven towers, representing the city of Babel (fig. 2.46a), as well as the dream of Cyrus, King of Babylon, which convinced him to free the Jewish people (fig. 2.46b). It shows the sleeping Cyrus, a lion, the ancestors of Cyrus (Nebukadnezar and Balthasar, shackled by a chain of triangular links), a blazing triangle and an eagle carrying a banner with the motto *Rendre la Liberté aux Captifs* (Give the prisoners their freedom).

Following the dream, Cyrus freed the Jews and granted permission to Zerubbabel, the Jewish Prince, to rebuild the Temple. This rebuilding was very difficult, the builders had to work 'with a sword in one hand and a trowel in the other' to keep assailants from the temple. The text explains that these 'Knights of the Sword' were also called 'Knights of the East, because of where these events took place.[219] A battle against the (unnamed) 'enemies' took place on the bridge over the River Starburzanai, which is also depicted in the illustration (fig. 2.46c).[220] It shows the letters L.D.P. (*Liberté de passer*: Freedom of passage) on the bridge over the river. Skulls and cross-bones are drifting in the water. Lastly, the successfully rebuilt Temple is described (fig. 2.46d).

Part of the illustration in the manual doubles as a lodge lay out for this degree (fig. 2.46a). The text notes that this ritual too requires the use of two differently decorated lodge rooms.

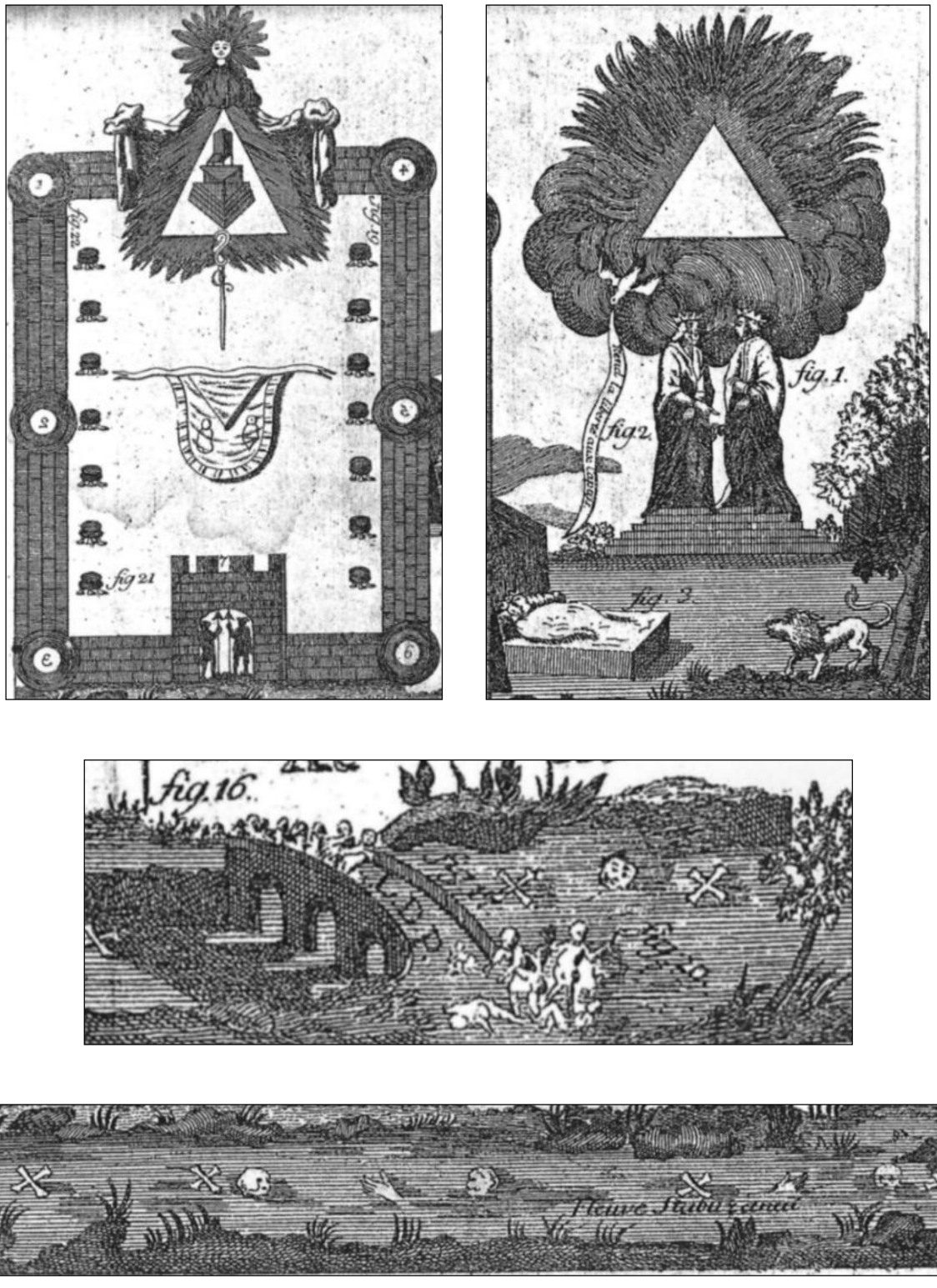


Fig. 2.46a-d: Details from the illustration in Les plus secrets mystères *(Paris 1766/Dutch ed. 1786), relating to the degrees of Knight of the East and/or the Sword. Top left: The lodge for the degree of* Chevalier de l'Epée et de Rose Croix*. Top right: The dream of King Cyrus. Middle: The battle on the bridge over the river Starburzanai. Below: Skulls and cross-bones floating in the river Starburzanai. Reproduced from: Kroon 2001, p. 235.*



Fig. 2.47: Apron for a Chevalier d'Orient/d'Epée *(*Rite Moderne*), depicting the bridge over the river Starburzanai, carrying flags with the letters L.D.P.; above it are three interlaced triangles; the scene is surrounded by a cord with knots and five-pointed stars; sun and moon are depicted on both sides of the flap, ca. 1810, printed silk, 38 x 32 cm. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 882. Reproduced from: Kroon 2001, p. 250.*

Fig. 2.48: Apron for a Chevalier d'Orient/d'Epée *(*Rite Moderne*), depicting the bridge over the river with the letters L.D.P. and S.T.A.[R].B.[URZAN]A[I], flanked by acacia sprigs, carrying two crossed flags; on the flap are three interlaced triangles with swords, flanked by a sun and a moon, ca. 1825, silk, embroidered with silk and gold threads, 38,5 x 35,5 cm. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 16. Reproduced from: Kroon 2001, p. 250.*



Fig. 2.49: Apron for the Chevalier Rose-Croix *(*R.E.E.A.*), ca. 1825, printed silk, 36 x 31.5 cm. Collection CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 892. Reproduced from: Kroon 2001, p. 256.*

Fig. 2.50: Apron for the Chevalier Rose-Croix *(*R.E.E.A.*), ca. 1800-1850, embroidered silk with silk and gold threads, 36 x 38 cm. Collection CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 120. Reproduced from: Kroon 2001, p. 254.*

The central myth of the degree of *Chevalier de l'Epée* (Knight of the Sword) was incorporated into both the *Ordre du Secret Royale* and the *R.E.A.A* (15th-16th degrees) as *Chevalier d'Orient* (Knight of the East) and *Prince de Jerusalem* (Prince of Jeruzalem). It features as *Chevalier de l'Epée et de l'Orient* (Knight of the Sword and the East) in the *Rite Moderne* and the Dutch Rite (6th degree or order).

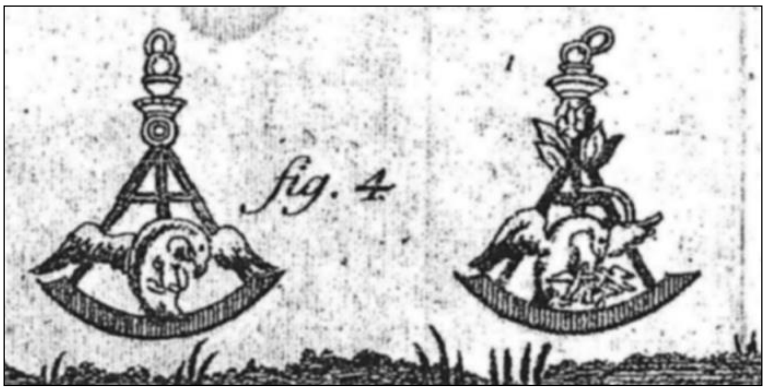


Fig. 2.51: Detail from the illustration in Les plus secrets mystères *(Parijs 1766/Dutch ed. 1786), showing the jewel of the* Grand Maître*. Reproduced from: Kroon 2001, p. 235.*

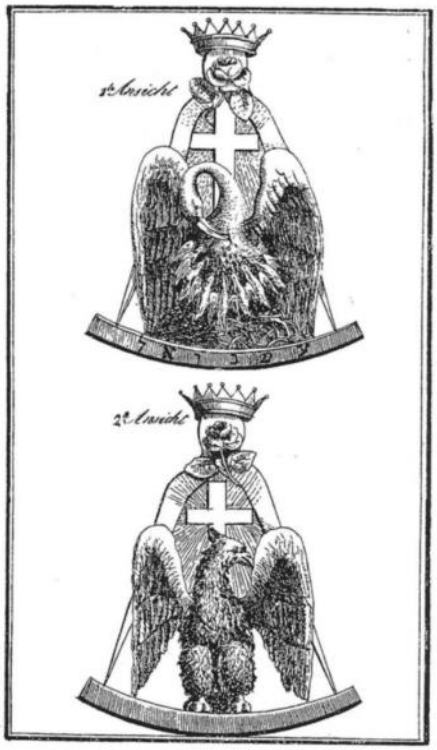


Fig. 2.52: Jewel for the Souverain Prince Rose Croix*, as illustrated in the* Manuel Maçonnique *(1820),* Planche XII*. Reproduced from: Kroon 2001, p. 255.*

The iconography of the various degrees of Knights of the Sword and/or the East is again clearly based on the print from 1766. The most commonly used symbols on aprons and decorations related to this degree are: a bridge resting on three arches and/or a river with floating skulls, the letters L.D.P. and the motto *Rends la liberté aux captifs* (figs. 2.47-2.48). Narrative scenes of Cyrus' dream or the battle and the rebuilding of the temple also appear, mostly on printed aprons.

■ *The* Rose Croix *degrees*

The symbolism of the *Rose Croix* (Rose Cross) degrees, which are not yet featured in *Les plus secrets mystères* (1766), was derived from the New Testament.[221] A blackened room was used as background for the part of the ritual related to the suffering and death of Christ, in which the candidate was identified with Christ and descended into Hell. A room furnished in red was used for the next part of the ritual, where the

candidate symbolically underwent the Ascension. He was made familiar with particular words and symbols, such as the word I.N.R.I. (*Iesus Nazarenus Rex Iudaeorum*) and the rose, blooming at the cross, as symbol of a love that conquers all. A first description is found in the *Strassburg Ritual* (1760) for the degree of *Chevalier de l'Aigle du Pélican de Rose-Croix de Saint André, ou le Parfait Maçon*.[222]

The jewel for this degree was also described in the *Strassburg Ritual*: it consists of a compass on a quadrant, which holds a cross with the rose, and a pelican with seven young birds.[223] This is an accurate description of the jewel for the *Grand Maître* (here: Worshipful Master) illustrated in *Les plus secrets mystères* (fig. 2.50). The print shows the back and front of the jewel, both sides shaped as a compass on a quadrant, capturing a Latin cross with a bird. The hinge joint has the shape of a crowned rose. One side shows a pelican with three young birds (feeding the young from blood of its chest, a Christian symbol of selfless love). The unidentified bird (perhaps an eagle?) depicted on the other side would in most of the later *Rose Croix* jewels be replaced by a phoenix. A similar jewel is illustrated in the *Manuel maçonnique* (1820) (fig. 2.51). Large numbers of them can be found in masonic collections all over the world. Some of the most beautiful and precious are illustrated by Robert Vanloo in *Les Bijoux Rose Croix, 1760-1890* (2003).

The *Rose Croix* degree was incorporated as the 18th degree in the *Ordre du Secret Royale* as *Chevalier d'Aigle blanc ou Pélican* (Knight of the White Eagle or Pelican) and in the *R.E.A.A.* as *Chevalier Rose-Croix (de Kilwinning)* (Knight of the Rose Cross/of Kilwinning, 18th degree). It became the 7th degree or order in the *Rite Moderne* as *Souverain Prince de Rose-Croix* (Sovereign Prince of the Rose Cross) and in the Dutch Rite as *Souverein Prins van het Rozekruis* (Sovereign Prince of the Rose Cross).

The related iconography of these degrees includes: a Latin cross with a single rose or rose bush; a pelican on a nest with three, five or seven young birds (fig. 2.50); and a phoenix (in flames). A recurring combination of symbols on aprons, usually flanking the flab, are an Ouroboros (a snake which bites itself in the tail, forming a circle) around a chalice, and a crown of thorns (fig. 2.49). The Ouroboros is a symbol of eternity, the chalice a reference to the Last supper, the blood of Christ, selfless love and communality (drinking from the same cup). Together they refer to an eternal bond. The snake and the chalice are often combined with the motto *Pax vobis* (Peace be with you), often written in a masonic cipher known from amongst others the manuscript *Cahyer du Chevalier d'Aigle Rose Croix* (1781).[224] On printed aprons, more elaborate scenes are not uncommon, such as representations of Faith, Hope and Charity (as female personifications or symbolized by cross or book; anchor; heart, pelican or rose), or an allegorical scene with a Christian theme (such as the *Lumen Christi*, an opened grave, a globe with a snake and a broken column).

♦ *The table lodge*

As the second part of this book deals, amongst others, with masonic export porcelain, the table lodge deserves to be discussed in some more detail here. A communal meal was held after every initiation, which obviously provided an opportunity for the brethren to bond by sharing food and drink. However, that this meal was part of the ritual meant that there was some order to the proceedings. The act of drinking itself was ritualized and made use of specific military terminology, explained in ritual handbooks. As Margaret Jacob pointed out in *Living the Enlightenment: Freemasonry and Politics in Eighteenth Century Europe* (1991):

> So the masonic publicists emphasize the ritualistic and fraternal aspects of food, drink, and song, seeking to make them into symbolic expressions of masonic unity, harmony, and moderation.[225]

Monique Engelberts' *Glazen en drinkgewoonten bij de vrijmetselarij. Een voorlopige inventarisatie van maçonniek glaswerk in Nederland vanaf ca. 1750* (1986), provides a detailed overview of the development of the Dutch table lodge, before commenting on the type of glasses used.

The relationship between freemasonry and drinking is most evident from masonic songs. *The Free Mason's Health* was published in 1722 under an engraving by George Bickham jr (1706-1771).[226] It depicts five freemasons around a table, on which are set three candles, a flask of wine in a basket and a number of glasses (fig. 2.53). The men hold glasses which seem to consist of a conical cup, without a stem, directly attached to the foot. A variation on the engraving (with the glasses less visible) would be published in



Fig. 2.53: George Bickham jr (1706-1771), illustration to The Free Mason's Health*, 1722, copper engraving. Reproduced from: Lindner 1976, p. 209.*



Fig. 2.54: K. Koberg, illustration to On Masonry*, as published in* Calliope of English Harmony […]*, 1739, copper engraving. Reproduced from: Lindner 1976, p. 206.*



Fig. 2.55: Depiction of a table Lodge, ca. 1745 (attributed to, or copied after, Johan Martin Bernigeroth, 1713-1767). Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 16085. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

Calliope of English Harmony […] in 1739 (fig. 2.54). Anderson's *Constitutions* (1723) included a variation on the text, *The Enter'd 'Prentices Song*, and since then a good deal of masonic songs, if not most, have referred to wine, spirits, toasting and drinking.

An early description of the table lodge was provided in the *'s-Gravenhaegsche Maandagsche Courant* of 20-1-1738, a translation of the *Ritual Hérault* (1737):

> All have a bottle standing in front of them, and when one wishes to drink, it is said: load the Powder, which means to pour; on which the Grand Master says, charge; and the glass being brought to the mouth three times, one drinks thus to the health of the Brother; though before bringing the glass back to the table again, one brings it to the left nipple, then to the right, then again to the chest, all in three movements, and in three other the glass is put straight on the table; after which all clap the hands three times, calling Vivat. Also care is taken, that three wax candles stand in a triangle on the table; [227]

In *De geheimen der vry metzelaars en der mopsen geopenbaard* (1745) this is elaborated on as follows:

> The table is always served in three, five, seven or nine courses. When one has taken his place, each can put a bottle of wine in front of him. All the expressions which one uses during drinking, have been taken from the Artillery.
>
> The bottle is named Keg, there are those who say Vat, which makes no difference.
>
> One gives to the wine the name of Powder, or Gunpowder, as well as to the water; with this difference that the one is red, the other white powder.
>
> The exercise, which one makes while drinking, does not allow one to use glasses; not one of those would remain whole, after one had drunk from it. One uses nothing but beakers, which one names Canons: when one drinks ceremoniously, one says: Give powder. All stand up, and the Worshipful [Master] says: Load. Then one pours wine into one's beaker. Next one says: Take the hand to your gun… Aim… Fire, heavy fire. See herein the three tempos, which one is obliged to respect during drinking. On the first Command one takes the hand to the beaker; on the second, one brings it before oneself, as if to present the gun; and on the last, one drinks all at once. During drinking one keeps an eye on the Worshipful [Master], in order to all do the same Exercise at the same time. Taking the cup from the mouth, one lowers it a little in front of oneself, next one brings it to the left breast, and from there to the right; this happens up to three times: one then sets the beaker in three tempos back on the table, one claps the hands three times, and all at the table shout three times, Vivat.
>
> […] The sound which one hears in the putting down of the beakers on the table, is quite strong, but not messy; it is just one and the same blow, heavy enough to break drinking vessels, that are not made of strong stuff.[228]

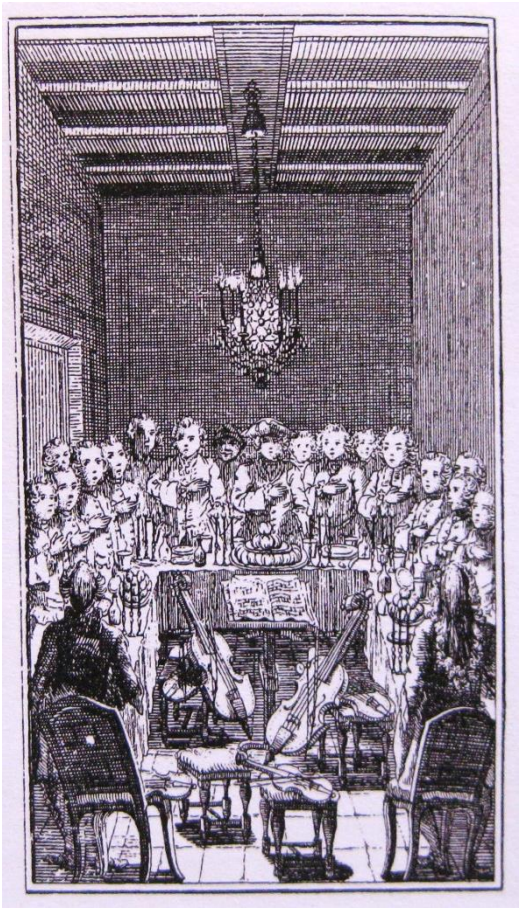
The author went on to explain that a series of formal toasts would be made, first to the King, then to the Worshipful Master, to the Wardens, to the Candidate if one was initiated, then to the Brethren of the lodge, to women, etc. Engelberts suggests this cannonade, particularly the sound made by the slamming glasses, could be an 'echo' of the festive gun- or canon-salutes that were common on festive (royal) occasions.[229]

This description matches an image attributed to, or copied after, Bernigeroth from circa 1745. This shows a larger group of freemasons standing at a table (fig. 2.55). They hold their glasses (their shape not clearly visible) bending the right arm over the chest, and their napkin resting on the other. A Tyler guards the door. On the table are not only food and drink, but - in accordance to the accompanying text - also three candles (in front of the Worshipful Master) and, unusually, a drum and drumstick (to the right of the candles) and a small column with a statue representing Equality and Liberty (in the middle, with another drum). Considering the military fashion applied to the drinking, perhaps the drums here replaced the officer's gavels? The image was first published in *Nieuwe Volledige en Nuttige Altoosdurende Sociëteits Almanak voor den Jaare MDCCLXI,* a publication by four Amsterdam lodges, and was repeated in the Dutch masonic almanac of 1782.[230]

A print included in *Nouveau Catéchisme des Francs-Maçons* (1749) again depicts freemasons at the table lodge, but here the placement of musicians can be seen (fig. 2.56). The U-shaped table setting depicted in this print, allowed for the officers and members to take positions similar to those in the lodge, with the Master in the East and the Wardens in the West.[231] It would therefore become a customary table setting. Another notable difference with the English and Dutch pictures shown so far, is the shape of the glasses, which here are tumblers. The image was also published as *Le Repas des Franc-Maçons* (1770) (fig. 2.57).

De metselaar ontmomd (1753) illustrated the table wares (detail of fig. 2.84, discussed below) and explained:

> But the most beloved jewels are the *Canons* and the *Powder-kegs*. In the first Fig. 12. which is called the red powder Keg, one pours the wine. The other in which one pours the water, and [which] is not used unless one is doing penance, [is called] the white powder Keg. Fig. 14. The Canon. Fig.15, is a common drinking glass, but thick on the bottom so it can be slammed hard upon the table when the Canons have been emptied. When it happens that they are all put down at the same time, so that they seem to give but one blow, his Worshipful will not neglect to call, *good, Brethren, this is going well*.[232]



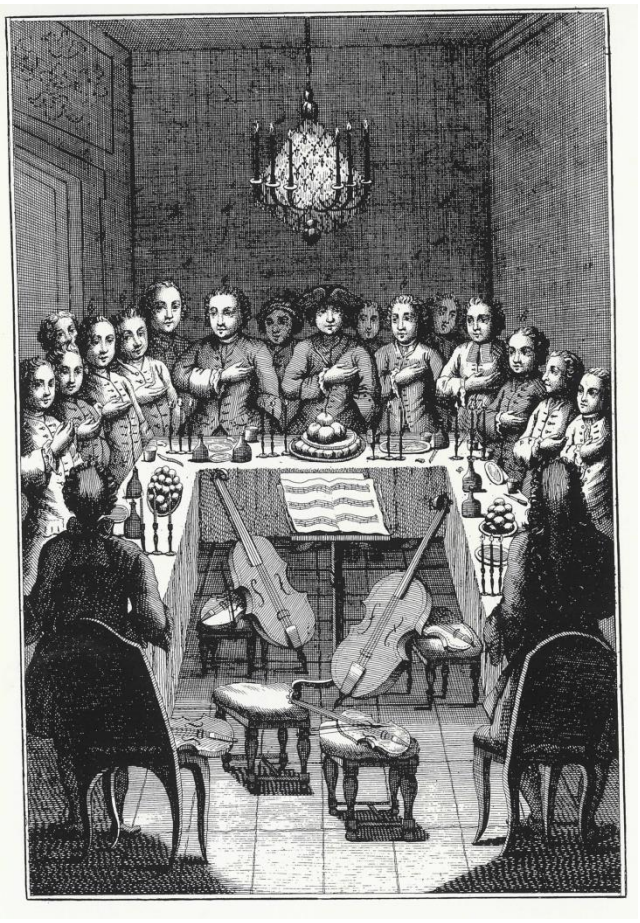
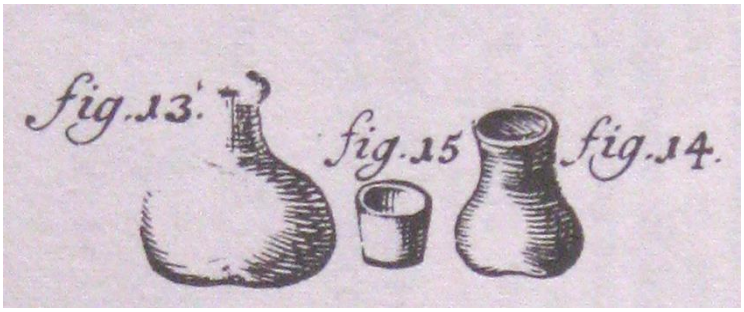


Fig. 2.56: Table lodge as illustrated in Nouveau Catéchisme des Francs-Maçons*, 1749, copper engraving. Reproduced from: Lindner 1976, p. 79.*
Fig. 2.57: Repas des Francs-Maçons*, copper engraving, ca. 1770, 34.8 x 23.5 cm. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Reproduced in: cat. exhib. Zwolle 2002, p. 50.*



Detail of fig. 2.84 below.

The glass illustrated here was similar to the tumblers depicted earlier in *Nouveau Catéchisme*. As described in the text of this Dutch translation from *Le Maçon démasqué* (1751), in the Dutch masonic practise a glass was called a *kanon* (canon), which was filled or loaded with *kruit* (gunpowder), in order to drink or fire, etc. Because normal glasses would break when slammed on the table, special freemasons' glasses were developed. The Dutch did not use tumblers, but special glasses called (*vrij)metselaartjes* or, after the use at the table lodge, *kanons*. These had no stem but a conical cup attached to a sturdy foot (see fig. 2.53 above), often with an air bubble enclosed in the transition point between the two. The foot could withstand the blow on the table as well as a tumbler or the English firing glass, which does have a stem. These canons



Fig. 2.58: A freemason's glass on a firm base, or so called 'canon'. The motto of the Dutch Order 'Silentio et Fide'' is engraved under the rim. The symbolic decoration is similar to that in fig. 5.80. Fired glass, engraved, early 19th century, h. 10.5 cm, diam. 6.8 cm. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 07478. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

were popular all over Europe and were also used outside freemasonry. The earliest pieces with Dutch masonic engravings date from the third quarter of the 18th century (fig. 2.58; see also fig. 5.80). However, Engelberts notes there was little glass fabrication in the Netherlands at that time and concludes they must have been imported.[233]

The author of *De metselaar ontmomd* also gave the reader a few tips on how to behave like a freemason at the table, to subtly identify yourself to others:

> Make, when one is sitting at the table, a set square with the knife and fork, a Mason who notices will consider that you have seen the light [= have been initiated].
> When drinking, keep the glass half a foot from the Chest, bring it to it again in a straight line, draw another from the point where it ends which makes a right angle with the first.
>
> When using a knife, keep it upright, the end of the hilt leaning upon the table, and the finger outstretched lying on the point of the blade.
>
> When one offers you snuff, or extends you the snuffbox, give three knocks on the box; and extending the hand, keep the fingers outstretched, and make sure the thumb make a set square with the front finger.
> When bringing the Tobacco to the nose, sniff it in three separate tours, but in a soft manner.



Fig. 2.59: William Hogarth, Night / The Four Times of the Day*, 1738-1750, Mezzotint, 35.6 x 25.5 cm. Collection: British Museum, London, inv.no. 1880.1113.2804. Reproduced from: britishmuseum.org.*

This scene is set against the celebrations of Restoration Day, the anniversary of the restoration of Charles II on 29 May 1660. His statue by Le Soeur is visible in the background. The tavern has been identified as The Rummer & Grapes in Channel Row, Westminster (London), the meeting place of Lodge No. 4 in 1717-1723. The barber is performing his skills as a surgeon, and a coach has overturned on a bonfire. The principal figure, wearing a collar with a square, has been identified as Sir Thomas de Veil (1684-1745), a magistrate and General of Imports and Exports, as well as a member of Hogarth's first lodge, which met at the Vine tavern in 1729. He was responsible for upholding legislation banning the trade in gin, but was also a reputed drunkard. The figure wearing a Tyler's regalia (with sword, key and lamp), has been identified by as Andrew Montgomerie, the Grand Tyler at the time. The figure on the right holding a mop may refer to the practice of drawing a tracing board on the floor of the lodge at each meeting and washing it off afterwards.[234]

> If you have to blow your nose; extend the arm, let the handkerchief fall as if to unfold it, make a good set square.[235]

It was the task of the *Hof*- and/or *Keldermeester* (Stewards) to see to such table wares, and the food and drink, and to make sure it was prepared at the right time. He was also responsible for the wine-cellar and

the contact with the cook(s) or caterer, and overseeing the Servants, who served at the table. In some cases, the dinner services were the responsibility of the Master of Ceremonies, for instance if a lodge had too few members eligible to serve as officers. Davies explains in *The Masonic Muse. Songs, music and musicians associated with Dutch Freemasonry, 1730-1806* (2006*)*, how important music was for the table lodge.[236] For instance, visitors would be admitted accompanied by a March, and music or singing could be part of the initiation ceremony. Musicians could be lodge members or hired artists, who were sometimes initiated 'by communication' in order to be allowed to play at the table lodge. Strict rules applied and improper behaviour (drunkenness, cursing, improper jokes) at the table would be fined. As illustrated in fig. 2.56, musicians would sit at the ends of, or between the tables, but could also be seated at their own table, away from that of the lodge. Requests for songs and toasts were passed to the Worshipful Master, who decided what was appropriate. The last song to be sung was usually *Chanson des Apprentifs: Frères et Compagnons* (= *The Enter'd Apprentice Song* by Matthew Birkhead, 1722), during which the members would form the *broederketen* or chain of union.[237] Davies discusses the various themes which recur frequently in masonic songs, such as masonic virtues and women, but did not include the theme of dining or drinking. So many masonic songs are drinking songs, or refer to toasting, liquor, glasses or imbibing in at least one line, that it would probably be more interesting to distinguish those which do not refer to this theme.

♦ *Punch bowls at the table lodge*

As the table lodge became a more important part of the social function of freemasonry, it became customary to use table wares (cutlery, glasses, dinner services etc.) decorated with masonic symbols. As will become clear in chapter 7, among the surviving examples of such tableware is a large number of punch bowls. Such bowls were already in use in the Netherlands in the early 1600s and became popular throughout Europe, especially England, after the 1660s.[238] By the 18th century it was very fashionable to drink punch, filling your glass from a large bowl with a ladle or, on more rowdy occasions, by dunking the glass in the liquid. Punch was served at home, in taverns and inns, and at public celebrations. Many pubs, including some that served as meeting places for lodges, were named after a punch-bowl.[239] No wonder that masonic songs and contemporary prints illustrate that such bowls were also popular at the table lodge.

The well-known English artist William Hogarth (1697-1764) was initiated as a freemasons before November 1725, when he was listed as present at a lodge meeting in the Hand and Apple Tree in Little Queen Street, Holborn (London).[240] He held the Office of Grand Steward in 1734-1735, meaning he was involved in the organisation of the celebration of St. Johns Day and the accompagnying table lodges for the Grand Lodge twice a year. In this function he was a member of the Grand Stewards Lodge. Being intimately familiar with the daily routine in the lodges did not stop him from mercilessly making fun of his fellow freemasons. The best known work with a masonic theme is Hogarth's *Night*, in which a Worshipful Master and a Tyler stumble home after a heavy drinking session (fig. 2.59). *A Modern Midnight Conversation* can probably also be considered a reference to the table lodge. The print shows a group of men, in various stages of inebriation, around a table on which stands a Chinese punch bowl (fig. 2.60). On a tobacco wrapper on the table is written 'Freemans Best'. There are three table candles depicted in this scene, the correct number for a table lodge. One of them is in the hand of the only man in this company clearly bearing a sword, as would a Tyler. A newspaper sticking out of his pocket reads 'The Craftsman'. One of the inebriated men is thought to be a caricature of the Reverend John Henley (1692-1756), who had the function of Grand Chaplain in 1733.[241] It would not be suprising if the others present can also be identified as freemasons.[242] Next to such satirical references, Hogarth also made formal portraits of some of his friends and patrons in masonic circles.

The satirical print *The Freemason's Surpriz'd, or the Secret Discover'd: a true tale from a lodge in Canterbury* was published by Robert Sayer (1725-1794) in Fleet Street, London, circa 1754.[243] The print illustrates a verse about a chambermaid who - in an attempt to listen in on the lodge in the room below - fell halfway through the floor, exposing her bare rear and legs to the astonishment and amusement of the lodge members below (fig. 2.61). The print and the accompanying text were a warning to those who wished to expose freemasonry and risked instead exposing themselves. Visible on the table in the foreground is a



Fig. 2.60: William Hogarth, A Midnight modern conversation*, 1733, engraving, 34.1 x 46.8 cm. Collection: British Museum, London, inv.no. 1880,0414.171. Reproduced from: britishmuseum.org.*



Fig. 2.61: The Freemason's Surprizd, or the Secret Discover'd…*, published by T. Wilkins, Rupert Street, London, 1754. Reproduced from: MacNulty 1991, p. 82.*

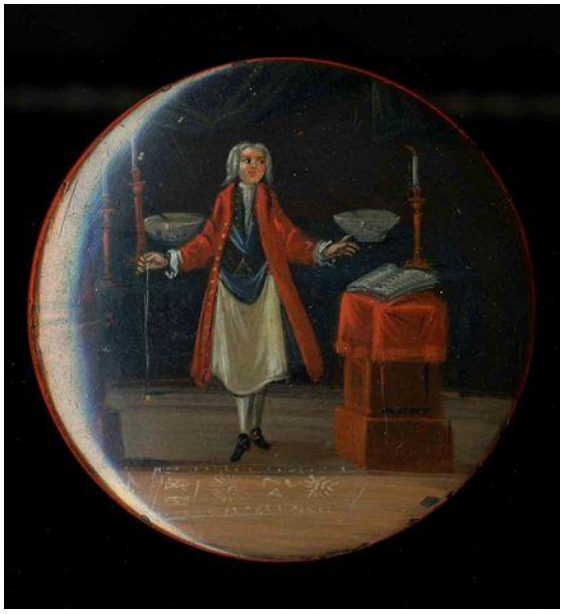


Fig. 2.62: Circular box with a masonic decoration, ca. 1750-1775, lacquer or papier maché technique, height 2.4 cm, diam. 7.3 cm. Collection and photograph: Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, inv.no. M1969/280.

punch bowl and filled glasses, a reference to the generous imbibing associated with lodge life. The punch bowl depicted here does not have a specific masonic decoration either.

In the collection of the Library and Museum of Freemasonry in London is a box with a masonic decoration on the lid, estimated to date from around 1750-1775 (fig. 2.62). The painted decoration depicts a freemason, standing in front of a table with outstretched arms. To the right is a masonic altar, to the left a column, while a tracing board is at his feet. On the table are placed three burning candles and two large punch bowls, again suggesting a link between freemasonry, the table lodge and drinking. In the exposure *The Three distinct Knocks* (1760) it was even explained to the reader 'How to discover a Mason by drinking with him in Company'. The book explains the ritualised drinking and toasting at the table lodge, and explicitly mentions the punch bowl:

> Thus they will many Times continue exercising till Morning, though their family want them at home. Come, they will say, let us have another Fire [= round], then we will go! Says another, we can't, for our Bowl is out! Then says another, let's have it fill'd again! This has been the Ruin of masonry, which was far from the first Design of it; but Liquor makes Men forget they are Men, and makes all good Things corrupted and bad.
> *Cura fugit multo diluiturque mero*
> *Tunc Dolor & Curae rugaque Fontis abest*
> Full Bowls, or chase or else dissolve our Cares,
> Then far away are banis'd Griefs and Fears,
> Nor thoughtful Wrinkle in the Face appears.[244]

The drinking of not just wine, but also punch is mentioned in the exposure *Hiram, or the Master-Key* (1764). After the initiation of a candidate, the participants are seated at the table 'being plentifully stored with Wine, Punch, Tobacco, Pipes &c'.[245] Likewise, after the catechism: 'As soon as the […] Lecture is finished, they begin to regale themselves with Wine and Punch, and some Health is proposed'.[246] Such references in exposures to the heavy imbibing of freemasons were common. A satirical print by James Gillray (1756-1815) depicts a visit of the notorious Count Allessandro Cagliostro (pseud. Guiseppe Balsamo, 1743-1795) to the Lodge of Antiquity in London on 1-11-1786, where he was unmasked as a fraud (fig. 2.63).[247] Here too, the maker of the print chose to emphasize the freemasons' love of liquor. On the table is a punch bowl, again lacking any masonic decoration. To the right is a Steward carrying a second full bowl.



Fig. 2.63: James Gillray (1756-1815), A Masonic Anecdote*, published by H. Humprey of New Bond Street, London, 1786, hand-coloured etching, 50.4 x 44.8 cm. © National Portrait Gallery, London, inv.no. NPG D13056.*

Drinking games are associated with clubs and societies, as well as hazing rituals. Lodge Anchor & Hope no. 37, founded in 1732 in Bolton (Lancashire), 'has a traditional eighteenth century recipe for punch, which is mixed, spiced and heated for the Initiate's Toast, then passed round the table in a three-handle loving cup, to the chorus of a 1723 song "Here's to him to the brim", etc. The initiate is supposed to drain the loving-cup, often an impossible task on account of the amount left'.[248] Unanimity Lodge no. 89 in

Dunkinfield (Cheshire) owned a punch bowl holding 16 gallons. The lodge minutes of 1809 recorded: 'only two members attended and, after drinking one bowl of punch, returned home'.[249]

There is little information on the use of punch bowls in Dutch lodges, as Dutch masonic table wares and table customs have - with the exception of Engelberts, who focused on glasses - not yet been the subject of study. Such bowls do not occur in any of the inventories discussed above, but that is not conclusive as they only represent a small sample of the available archives. The subject deserves to be investigated further as part of a wider study of Dutch lodge inventories. Punch bowls are mentioned, albeit infrequently, in the inventories of lodges in the Dutch East Indies, and will be discussed in chapter 5.

Over the years, lodge buildings developed a bar area where socializing and drinking could continue after the meal, or after non-ritual meetings. By the 19th century, one could play games, smoke, make conversation, have a drink and a snack, like one would in other gentlemen's clubs.[250]

2.3. Material culture of freemasonry in the Netherlands

♦ *The development of the lodge interior*

In the previous paragraphs the lodge plan, furniture and ritual objects were introduced in relation to the masonic ritual practice and its symbolism. The development of the Dutch lodge interior now deserves a closer look from a decorative perspective, in order to have a basis for comparison with developments in Asia discussed in the second part of this book.

Clark's discussion of *British Clubs and Societies (2000)* places freemasonry's development within the context of shifting boundaries between public and private space. As will become clear below, lodges changed from gatherings in coffeehouses to owners of multifunctional Freemasons' Halls, often doubling as community centres during the daytime. Comprehensive art historical overviews of the development of lodge buildings and their contents, however, are few. James Stevens Curl's, 'Legends of the Craft. The Architecture of Masonic Halls' in *Country Life* (1986) probaby first drew the attention of art historians to the subject[251], while Curl's *The Art and Architecture of Freemasonry* (1991) remains an important standard work, especially regarding the visual sources which freemasonry borrowed from.[252] Problematic is that much of the available literature on lodge buildings deals with either an individual building or with the 19th-20th century, of which more examples survive.[253]

The Order of Freemasons under the Grand East of the Netherlands founded over 300 lodges before 1945, which at some point in their existence either furnished a lodge room or an entire building.[254] Yet Dutch art historians have overlooked this ritual type of interior almost entirely. Most of the available information therefore comes from ritual studies, which discuss the development of furnishings when these influenced the Dutch ritual practice, not necessarily in relation to fashion or decorative arts. Akkermans was one of the few masonic historians to present an overview of the development of Freemasons' Halls, but he did not provide a clear timeframe for each successive development in his *Orde, loges en gebouwen* (1991), which is partially based on earlier articles by Pott. Pilot studies into Dutch lodge inventories and freemasons' halls were funded by the *Stichting Postuniversitair Kunsthistorisch Onderzoek* (1997) and the OVN Foundation (2005), but did not (yet) result in publications.[255] The overview below offers a basic timeline and combines both ritual and art historical perspectives, drawing information from descriptions and illustrations in ritual manuals, sample inventories of lodges in main cities (Amsterdam, Utrecht and Rotterdam) and early photographs.

■ *From rented rooms to lodge buildings*

It is clear from 18th century lodge archives and rituals, that the earliest lodges had an ambulatory character. Meetings took place in rented accommodations, such as rooms in taverns and societies. This is explained in *Le Secret des Francs-Macons* (1744):

> The Free-Masons thought it advisable also to admit into their order most of the Restaurateurs & their best Waiters; because as they generally choose their houses [*restaurants*] for their meetings, they are thereby more secure; the proprietors & their Waiters make a point of keeping the Profanes at distance.[256]

The space in a private room in an otherwise public tavern was limited, as is reflected in the oldest form of holding a lodge: all members sat around a large table, at which a communal meal was served and where the *Catechism* was rehearsed. When a new Candidate arrived, the members would stand up while he was moved to the 'West' side of the table and was made to kneel in front of the Master of the Lodge. The Master would be holding a Bible, on which the Candidate would swear the membership oath. Then all would be seated again, the new member placed at the right side of the Master of the Lodge in the 'East'. This tradition was later illustrated in *Hiram: or the Grand Master-Key* (2nd ed. 1766, fig. 2.64).[257]

As freemasonry's rituals developed into more elaborate ceremonies, more props were used. The necessary furniture was taken out of (rented) storage space and assembled for every meeting, only to be put back in storage afterwards. The tracing board was simply drawn on the floor and wiped out after the ceremony. Surviving texts show that the layout of the lodge room soon followed a fixed pattern. Furniture and various objects got allocated to specific places in the room and gained a particular meaning or function during the ritual.



Fig. 2.64: The Ceremony of Making a FREE-MASON*, engraving in* Hiram: or the Grand Master-Key *(2nd ed. 1766). Reproduced from: loge-driehoek.nl.*

Perau, the author of *Le Secret des Francs-Macons,* still stated in 1744: 'the Table is the focal point at which all freemasons are united'.[258] But as the ceremonies grew more elaborate during the 18th century, the communal meal was moved to the end of the meetings. The growing number of props must have (almost literally) pushed the table aside and eventually out of the room, into a separate dining space, where the *Tafelloge* or Table Lodge would be held.[259] Perhaps stimulated by the choice of venue, usually a rented space in a pub, the toasting and drinking during this communal meal also became highly ritualized acts.[260]

As freemasonry became more popular, the number of lodge members increased, as did the variety of Rites they could choose from and the number of initiation fees to be paid. Towards the end of the 18th century many Dutch lodges had enough income from contributions to be able to rent, buy or even build their own housing. The change to more permanent accommodation provided opportunities to use fixed and more elaborate furnishings and decorations. Masonic symbolism was applied to all visible surfaces in the lodge building: architectural designs and sculpture, wall and ceiling decorations, and all the furniture and objects used during the ritual. The once sparse and mobile lodge furniture quickly developed into a rich material culture.

Akkermans argued that the negative attitude of authorities and the press towards freemasonry in the beginning of the 18th century must have contributed to a wish to obtain private buildings.[261] As discussed above, in 1734 the first Dutch lodges, despite their meetings being private, were as an organisation quite visible to the public until the ban on freemasonry in 1735. When lodges first reconvened in circa 1744, they obviously wanted to avoid attracting further negative publicity. Acquiring their own premises instead of renting rooms in public spaces made the lodge activities less visible to the community. The commercial relationship with pub landlords was replaced by hiring *Servanten*, staff members with catering and/or janitor tasks, who were initiated into the Apprentice degree (to ensure their secrecy), but rarely acquired degrees above Fellow-Craft.

Another argument put forward by Akkermans, is that the costs of real estate were relatively low in the 18th century and as such an attractive investment, while the wealth of individual lodge members increased as industry developed and colonial exploitation increased. With more groups in society being able to afford the membership fees than just the aristocracy, the number of members and subsequently the lodge income increased, providing the means for large investments. Pott and Akkermans both point out that renting a building for sporadic meetings only would not have been cost effective.[262] So the number of meetings became higher, from once a month to once a week. More meetings allowed for the stricter separation of ritual and non-ritual matters, leading to the organization of so-called *comparities*. Unlike *open loges* or ritual meetings, these were meetings during which *bouwstukken* or themed presentations were delivered by members, allowing for more intellectual discussion. The discussion of household matters was moved from the ritual meetings to the *comparities*. This development also presented more opportunities to have a drink and socialize after a meeting. The number of evenings on which the lodge functioned like any other *sociëteit* or social club started to increase.

There may have been some hesitation to let non-ritual meetings take place in the lodge room (which by now had permanent furnishings and a symbolic decoration, meant for the eyes of initiates only), so a need for rooms with other functions and a different type of furniture evolved. According to Akkermans, this first led to the development of the present *Voorhof* or Forecourt. The number of requirements for the lodge building kept increasing during the 18th century, resulting in a more elaborate floor plan: a *Donkere Kamer* or Chamber of Reflection, a room for ritual meetings (lodge room, workplace or Temple), a room for non-ritual meetings and the table lodge (Forecourt), a bar area for the social meetings afterwards, a kitchen to prepare the meals for the table lodge, living quarters for the Servant acting as concierge, etc. During the 19th century the expansion continued and a board room, library, wardrobe, modern sanitary facilities and storage spaces were some of the most common spaces to be added. No wonder that in the larger towns, local lodges would invest in an early form of office sharing: together they bought multi-storey lodge buildings for communal use. This also allowed for investments in multiple temples within one building, so each lodge or each degree could work in its own space and decorate it accordingly.

Such multipurpose buildings were called masonic halls or Freemasons' halls. During the 19th century, the non-ritual spaces in the masonic hall would often be exploited commercially. They were rented out to local organizations, commercial companies, charities and religious groups for meetings and parties, thus increasing the lodge's income, but more importantly transforming the masonic hall into a local 'hot spot'. These buildings became important centres of local community life, where groups of different religious, cultural and political backgrounds met, held public events and lectures, and exchanged information. It was partially through the function of masonic halls as community centres in each town, that the (inter)national network structure of freemasonry so successfully contributed to the global transfer of ideas.[263]

It is important to note that early lodges were able to have their ritual meetings anywhere - with a table, some candles and some chalk to draw on the floor. This ambulatory and spontaneous character, so very fundamental to the early stages of the masonic practice, was lost as soon as permanent accommodation came into use.[264] The moment of opening and closing the lodge - which was crucial in the ambulatory stage - became a less important part of the ritual. The ceremonies expanded in length. No longer being forced to break down the lodge setting completely after each meeting, most lodges started using more - and less mobile - furniture.

With the loss of the ambulatory elements, the initial simplicity and sober character of the masonic ritual was also lost. During the 18th and 19th centuries, the wealth of the lodge members would be made permanently visible in fashionable regalia and richly decorated buildings with ornate furnishings. The illustrations in ritual manuscripts even suggest that lavish grottoes and other exotic scenery, rivalling the sets of local theatres, could be created for initiations into the higher degrees. It is clear that the energy and means invested in decorating the lodge rooms would lead to substantial changes in the masonic practice. As non-ritual meetings increased in frequency and social importance, not only the character of the rituals, but also their place within freemasonry itself changed significantly over time.

The development of the Dutch lodge interior can be divided into five main phases:

- Circa 1735-1744: the Dutch started by copying British masonic traditions and furniture. Symbols from the ritual (texts) and the tracing board 'materialized' into physical elements within the lodge room, leading to an increase in furniture and decorations before the middle of the 18th century.
- Circa 1744-1770: the French rituals and their opulent decoration style became a main influence;
- Circa 1770: the type of furniture and decorations used developed into fixed patterns, for which the Grand Lodge provided basic guidelines. Lodges started renting or buying buildings rather than single rooms before the end of the 18th century;
- Circa 1825: most lodges owned a building and lodges in larger towns started sharing buildings. The Royal Art was celebrated in the rich furnishings and decorations of especially designed Freemasons' Halls up until the end of the 19th century;
- From circa 1900 onwards: the design of lodge interiors and regalia became more sober, as Dutch freemasonry was influenced by theosophy and co-masonry was introduced around 1900. Lodges were influenced by the *Nieuwe Kunst* (a Dutch variety of Art Nouveau), until de *Vereeniging Tempelbouw* (founded in 1931, later named *Ritus en Tempelbouw*) started to advocate the stark, streamlined lines of modern design. Although appearing more sober, there was a complex 'sacred geometry' behind the designs. This last phase falls outside the scope of this book and will not be discussed in detail.

Of course the transition of each phase to the next did not proceed in a neat and orderly fashion. By the end of the 18th century some lodges were still meeting in rented rooms with ambulant furniture, while others were already decorating their own buildings. The number and wealth of members which determined lodge budgets also varied widely across the country.

A common trend was that artists among the lodge members would often be involved in the design and execution of new decoration schemes. Commissioned by their own lodge, they would often provide their services for free, against a reduced fee or for compensation *in natura*, by the initiation into a (higher) degree and/or by not having to pay for certain regalia. Artists who were not yet members could be initiated in order to be commissioned.

♦ *The 18th century: modesty*

■ *The materialization of symbols into objects before ca. 1750*

By the beginning of the 18th century prototypes of freemasonry were beginning to crystallize into their modern form in Britain. All the physical elements of the modern lodge interior originated from literary or visual symbols in the early masonic ritual. Pollard's *An analysis of the Emergence of Early Masonic Symbolism* (s.a.) is a helpful introduction to this subject. Masonic iconography can be traced back to 17th century manuscripts, the so-called 'early catechisms', which have a question-and-answer structure. These illustrate how freemasonry made use of very common (biblical) symbols, which were placed in a new (ritual) context and as such given a specific, new meaning. Remarkable is that many of these symbols have undergone what can only be described as a 'materialization' process during which drawn elements from the tracing board would take shape and become physical elements of the lodge furniture and fixtures. Like unfolding scenes in a pop-up book, the columns and other symbols originally depicted two-dimensionally took on three dimensional form and a vertical position.

According to various surviving texts, a candidate would be asked 'where were you made a mason', to which he usually answered 'in a [perfect] lodge'. The *Edinburgh Register House MS* (1696) shows that the candidate was asked where the 'first lodge' was located, to which he answered: 'In the porch of Solomon's temple'.[265] A similar answer was provided in other early catechisms. Pollard points out:

> The fact that almost every aspect of the lodge is included in the catechisms emphasises the symbolic importance of the lodge and its content in the ritual. Many of the questions evoke metaphoric rather than literal answers indicating that the subject is often not the physical lodge but the 'original' or mythical lodge located in the porch of Solomon's Temple. The nature of the responses suggest that the Masonic lodge is a symbol of the temple of God that must be found within oneself. This idea is also found in the Bible, which

Table 2.5: The development of lodge furniture in early catechisms and exposures				
	***A dialogue between Simon & Philip* (ca. 1725)**	**Prichard, *Masonry Dissected* (1730)**	**Prichard, *Het collegie der Vrye Metselaars ontleedt* (Utrecht 1735)**	**Perau, *Le Secret des Francs maçons* (1744)**
Tracing board	'commonly made, with white tape nail'd to the Floor round as you see the letters E for East and S for south &c. are made of thin Silver or Tin very thin, And likewise the letter G at the top in the now constituted Lodge's is a Quadrant, a Square, a pair of Compasses and Plum line placed at the top of the Lodge'	'Have you any furniture in your Lodge? *Mosaick* Pavement, the Ground Floor of the Lodge, [with a] Blazing Star the Centre, and Indented Tarsel the Border round about it'	'Mosiac work, inlaid with Stone, metal, glas, shells, etc, laid out as Bows and Flowers, so skilfully that everything seems to belong to one piece. A Tail-Star and cloth, embroidered in gold. What is it for? The Floor of the room is paved with mosaic work, the Tail-star is the centre, and the wall around it is with cloth. embroidered in gold'	'in the centre of the Lodge room is a large space on which are drawn two columns, relics of the Temple of Solomon; on either side of this space are drawn a capital J and a capital B' 'What did you see there […] the Mosaic Palace, the star-spangled Canopy, the indented Tuft, the perpendicular line & the tracing stone'
Pillars J & B	'And he set up the right Pillar and called the name thereof Jachin and he set up the left Pillar and called the name thereof Boaz'	'When you came through the Porch, what did you see? Two Great Pillars. What were they called? J.B. i.e. Jachin and Boaz. (…) What were they adorned with? Two Chapiters. (…) What were they [the Chapiters] aderned with? Net-work and pomegranates'		'the two pillars, that on the right *Jakhin*, & that on the left, *Boaz*'
Worshipful Master's Chair	'East (...) to wait the rising of the Sun to set the Men to their Work'	'the Worshipful Master who is at the upper end on a dais, behind an armchair'		'the Worshipful Master who is at the upper end on a dais, behind an armchair'
Altar	'a pedestal with the Bible'	'an armchair (fauteuil) on which is exposed the Gospel according to St. John' 'a stool which stands in front of the armchair. On the stool are displayed a Square and Compass'		'an armchair on which is exposed the Gospel according to St. John' 'a stool which stands in front of the armchair. On the stool are displayed a Square and Compass'
'Three Grand Lights' of the Lodge	'The Sun, The Moon and the Master Is three large candles in large wooden Candlesticks carv'd in all the Orders and placed in a triangular form upon the Lodge.' 'How many Pillars had your lodge? Three. What did you call them? Beauty Strength and Wisdom'	'Sun, Moon and Master-Mason. These Lights are three large Candles placed on high Candlesticks' 'What supports a lodge? Three Great Pillars. What are they called? Wisdom, Strength and Beauty'	'Do you have any lights in your room? (These Lights are three big Candles, placed on high Candle sticks) A. Yes, three. What do they represent? A. The Sun, the Moon and the Master.'	'In the centre of the space & between the columns [on the tracing board] are three lighted candles, arranged in the form of a triangle' 'What did you see there […] I have seen three great lights'

	A dialogue between Simon & Philip (ca. 1725)	Prichard, *Masonry Dissected* (1730)	Prichard, *Het collegie der Vrye Metselaars ontleedt* (Utrecht 1735)	Perau, *Le Secret des Francs maçons* (1744)
'Jewels' of the Lodge		'What is the other Furniture of a Lodge? A. Bible, Compass and Square. Who do they properly belong to? A Bible to God, a Compass to the Master and a Square to the Fellow Craft'	'What is the other Jewel of a Lodge room? A. The Bible, the Compass and a Square. Who do they properly belong to? The Bible to God, The Compass to the Master of the Lodge and the Square to the working man'	
Movable Jewels		'What are the Moveable Jewels? Square, Level and Plumb Rule'	'What are the Moveable Jewels? A Square, a Level and a Plumb Rule'	
Immovable Jewels		'What are the Immoveable Jewels? Trasel Board, Rough Ashler, and Broach'd Thurnel'	'What are the Immoveable Jewels? A Board, a Rough hardstone, and a pointy Trowel'	'What did you see there […] the perpendicular line [= plumb?]'
Canopy	'How high is the lodge? As high as the Heavens and as low as the Earth (m)' '(m) As low as the Earth and as high as the Heavens because all Lodges were kept formerly in the open fields.'	'How high is the lodge? 'Inches, feet and yards innumerable, as high as the Heavens' 'What covering have you of the lodge? A clouded canopy of divers Colours (or the Clouds)'	'How high [is the lodge? 'Unimaginable thumbs, Feet and Ells, as high as the Heavens' 'What covers the same? 'A clouded canopy of divers Colours (or the Clouds)'	'What did you see there […] the star-spangled Canopy'

states 'Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?' (I Cor. 3: 16).[266]

The tracing board developed as a symbolic depiction of that Temple, which represents 'The Lodge' itself. During the ritual, the tracing board (the centre of the lodge room and all the ritual action) simply *is* The Lodge. Early catechisms describe the lodge's size as immeasurable, a clear indication that it is not part of the normal, physical realm. This should be considered from an anthropological perspective, as the setting of the ritual in another dimension (such as a primordial, ancestral or divine realm), which is a common element in rituals. The (drawing of) the tracing board plays a vital role in transcending the participants of the ritual to a place (The Lodge) beyond normal time and space.[267]

The symbols featuring in the early catechisms slightly predate their incorporation into the standard design of tracing boards and their subsequent 'materialization' into physical elements in the lodge interior. The printing and translation of rituals were an important stimulus to the materialization process: a symbolic description or illustration was sometimes taken (too) literally, while a mistake in the translation of a ritual text from one language to another could also lead to a new symbol or decoration being introduced (see table 2.5). Akkermans argues that the transfer from drawn symbols into physical objects is in fact a negation of the most important masonic concept: that the tracing board actually *is* The Lodge during the ritual.[268] Freemasonry had barely developed into a modern organisation by the early 18th century, but it was already losing some of its fundamental characteristics, including ambulatory, sober, spontaneous and transcendental aspects.

◦ *The tracing board*

The tracing board was usually drawn on the floor with chalk, charcoal or ashes. *A dialogue between Simon & Philip*, an early masonic catechism published circa 1725, describes the making of the lodge (= drawing

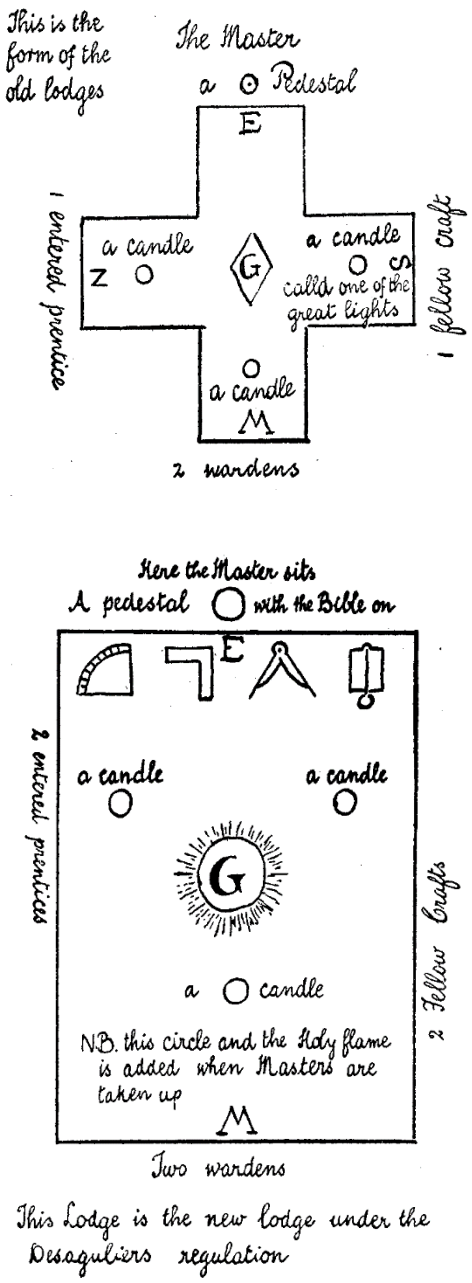


Fig. 2.65: 'Old' and 'new' Lodge plans as depicted in A dialogue between Simon & Philip *(ca. 1725). Reproduced from: Knoop/Jones/Hamer 1943, pp. 180-181.*

of the tracing board) in a different manner:

> (i) (...) The Lodge as Contra is commonly made, with white tape nail'd to the Floor round as you see the letters E for East and S for south &c. are made of thin Silver or Tin very thin, And likewise the letter G at the top in the now constituted Lodge's is a Quadrant, a Square, a pair of Compasses and Plum line placed at the top of the Lodge (...).[269]

According to this particular account the tracing board was executed in a pattern of white tape, fixed with little nails hammered into the floor boards (which could easily be covered up with a carpet and a table afterwards, as to not arouse suspicion). The accompanying drawings showed an 'old' tracing board and a



Fig. 2.66: The instruction of the tracing board (after Perau), as illustrated in Der Verklärte Freymaurer […] *(Vienna 1791). Reproduced from: Lindner 1976, p. 76.*

new version 'under the Desaguliers Regulations', a reference to the Deputy Grand Master (fig. 2.65). Audrey Carpenter's biography of Desaguliers (2011) even suggests his possible involvement in the Hiram myth of the emerging Master degree.[270] Desaguliers and Anderson were a driving force behind reforms within the Grand Lodge and the loges under its jurisdiction in 1716-1725.[271] Desaguliers is known to have frequently visited lodges, probablt to inspect their practises.[272] In the middle of the new version is a radiant circle with the letter 'G', with the explanation 'NB. This circle and Holy Flame are added when the Masters are taken up [= initiated]'. The catechism explained the meaning of the letter 'G' as 'Geomitry'.

The printed exposures of the first half of the 18th century would contain more detailed descriptions of the lodge room, as well as illustrations of tracing boards and scenes of initiations in which the furniture is depicted. These usually repeated, or elaborated on, the elements already mentioned in the early catechisms, but also introduced several new ones. By the time Prichard's *Masonry Dissected* (1730) was published, the catechism of the Apprentice included the question:

> Q. Have you any furniture in your Lodge?
> A. Yes [...] *Mosaick* Pavement, the Ground Floor of the Lodge, [with a] Blazing Star the Centre, and Indented Tarsel the Border round about it.[273]

The 'Indented tarsel' possibly refers to the word 'perpendashlar': a block of stone which extends through a wall from one room to another.[274] It was later, on the continent interpreted, however, as an 'indented' border and as such visualised as black-and-white triangles marking the outline of the tracing board. This was first illustrated in *Le Maçon démasqué* (1751) (fig. 2.82 below).

Translations of the English text into French and Dutch versions would add to the confusion and influence the use of lodge furniture and decoration. The 'mosaic pavement' was translated as 'mosaic

palace' and depicted as a chequered floor in the *Tracing board for the degrees of Apprentice and Fellow-Craft* in Perau's *Catéchisme des Franc-Maçons* (1744) (fig. 2.26). The chequered floor would then materialize as a black-and-white marble floor, still present today in most lodge buildings. Prichard's 'indented tarsel' became a *houpe dentelé* or 'indented tuft' in Perau's translation and was depicted as a cord with 'love knots' and a tassel at each end. The symbol was then copied in later prints, as the print in Perau was used as a template for the illustrations in later exposures, to be discussed below.[275] In the British tradition members were instructed on the symbolism of the tracing board while sitting around a table, as illustrated in a print from the end of the 18th century, by that time this practise had on the Continent already been replaced by an explanation of the tracing board on the floor (fig. 2.66).

Perau further stated that the stone with which the drawing of the tracing board was executed 'remains upon the floor of the lodge room'. This 'tracing stone' probably served as the 'rough stone', a symbol for the Apprentice degree.[276]

◦ *The columns J and B*

A Mason's examination, an early catechism published 1723, further specified the location of The Lodge as: 'In Solomon's porch; the two pillars were called Jachin and Boaz'. These pillars are a biblical reference to those of the Temple of Solomon (1 Kon. 7:21). Again, by the time Prichard's *Masonry Dissected* (1730) was published, other elements had been added to their description for the Fellow-Crafts degree:

> Q. When you came through the Porch, what did you see? A. Two Great Pillars [...] J.B. *i.e. Jachim and Boaz* [...].
> Q. What were they adorned with? A. Two Chapiters [...].
> Q. What were they adorned with? A. Net-work and Pomegranates [...].[277]

In the so-called *Ritual Herault* (1737) the tracing board is described, including the columns:

> [...] a certain drawing, which has been sketched on the floor, and rests on two pillars of the ruin of Solomon's Temple, on both sides of which are 2 Capital Letters, written as I and B, which are not explained [to the candidate] until after the ceremony [...].[278]

The columns Jachin and Boaz, signifying the Masonic concepts of Strength and to establish Wisdom[279], were also incorporated into the standard design of tracing boards (see fig. 2.26). And again these elements would later materialize: they were made out of wood or marble and placed near the entrance to the lodge room. Often the description in the catechism was followed to the letter when decorating the lodge, or the engraving only meant to be instructive was copied (too) literally. So the letters J and B would be painted on or fixed to the columns, and they were adorned with sculpted and/or painted pomegranates and/or a golden net on top, after their description in the bible.

◦ *The seats of the lodge officers and members*

When the communal meal was moved to the end of the ceremony, the (dining) table lost its use as ritual furniture. The 'new' tracing board depicted in *Simon & Philip* (circa 1725), therefore shows that the Master of the Lodge sits in the (symbolical) East, with 'a pedestal with the Bible' in front of him.[280] He is placed there 'to wait the rising of the Sun to set the Men to their Work'. The Wardens, according to the text, sit in the 'West [...] to wait the setting of the Sun and discharge the Men from Their Labour'. The members with the degree of Fellow Craft sit in the 'South [...] to receive and instruct all strange Brothers' and the Apprentices sit in the 'North [...] to Heal and Conceal and Wait for the Master'.[281] The Masters were free to choose their place in one of these Columns. The seat of the Senior Warden stood at the beginning of the South-Column, near the Column 'B', while the Junior Warden was seated at the beginning of the North-Column, near the Column 'J'.

The stool or table at the foot of the Master's chair, was used as an altar where the candidate would swear his membership oath. The *Ritual Herault* (1737) explains how the candidate is questioned:

> [...] in the centre of said drawing, standing in front of the Grand Master, who is at the upper end behind an Armchair, on which the Gospel of St. John has been placed. [...] the Candidate is asked to advance in three times to a Stool, which is at the foot of the armchair [....] and made to kneel on the Stool.[282]

As Masonic rituals developed further, it became practical on the Continent for the Wardens and other officers to have the text of the various rituals in front of them and read them out when necessary. They were provided with little tables, which at first were rectangular, as illustrated in *L'Ordre des Francs Macons trahi* (1745) (see figs. 2.79a-2.83 below). In the second half of the 18th century, the tables of the Wardens, Secretary and Orator were given the symbolic shape of a triangle, as will also become clear from visual sources discussed below. As with most masonic practices, this was depicted in ritual manuals sometime after the practice had become common use.

◦ *The 'Three Lights'*

In various early catechisms, some of the contents of the lodge are referred to as 'lights', 'keys' or 'jewels'. According to *Simon & Philip (*circa 1725), there are 'Three grand Lights' in the Lodge, which represent 'The Sun, The Moon and the Master'. A footnote explains:

> (i) The Sun, The Moon and the Master Is three large candles in large wooden Candlesticks carv'd in all the Orders and placed in a triangular form upon the Lodge. [...].[283]

In other words, three candles in the shape of (columns of) the building orders (Ionic, Doric and Corinthian) were placed on the tracing board, as can be seen on the accompanying illustration of the lodge layout (fig. 2.66). Prichard's *Masonry Dissected* (1730) provides the same explanation for the Apprentice degree:

> Q. Have you any Lights in your Lodge? A. Yes, Three [...]. N.B. *These Lights are three large Candles placed on high Candlesticks* [...].[284]

Simon & Philip further mentions a masonic trias, that would come to dominate the decoration scheme of most lodges:

> Sim. How many Pillars had your lodge? Phil. Three
> Sim. What did you call them? Phil. Beauty (n) Strength and Wisdom
> Sim. What do they represent? Phil. Beauty to adorn, Strength to Support, And Wisdom to Contrive.
> (n) Beauty Strength and Wisdom. These three things are necessary to all great Buildings.[285]

In *Masonry Dissected*, their order is changed to 'Wisdom, Strength and Beauty', which would become commonplace. As will become clear below, these three masonic concepts would often be depicted as allegories or personifications in the decoration of lodge buildings. In masonic iconography, they were sometimes interchanged with, or mixed up, with the Christian trias of Faith, Hope and Charity (see chapter 7).

◦ *The tools*

As stated above, some of the contents of the lodge were often referred to as 'jewels'. These then became divided into so called 'moveable' and 'immovable' jewels. Although variations occurred in various early catechisms, the 'immovable jewels' developed into:

- the rough stone, not yet suitable for building, as a symbol for the Apprentice;
- the cubical (stone), a perfect building block for the Temple, as a symbol for the Fellow-Craft;
- the tracing board, on which the building plan for the Temple could be drawn, as a symbol for the Master.

As discussed earlier, the work of the Apprentice was working the rough stone into a perfect stone for the building of the temple. In British freemasonry this stone was represented by a perfect ashlar - not a cubic

stone, as the latter would not form joints. However, on the Continent, especially in France, the symbolism of the building block was interpreted as the (cubic) cornerstone, which is Christ (Eph. 2:20). So there the perfect ashlar developed into the cubic stone, which was also mentioned in Dutch rituals.[286]

Meanwhile the 'movable jewels' in Prichard's *Masonry dissected* (1730) were explained in the catechism for the Apprentice degree:

> Q. What is the other Furniture of a Lodge?
> A. Bible, Compass and Square.
> Q. Who do they properly belong to?
> A. Bible to God, Compass to the Master and Square to the Fellow Craft.[287]

These three objects were laid out on the table of the Master of the Lodge, on which the oath was sworn by the candidate. The compass and square, the most important tools in the building process, became associated with the principal officers of the lodge and the 'logo' of the Order itself. Together with the bible they would develop into the 'Three Grand Lights'. The movable jewels were replaced by the set square, level and plumb line, represented in the officers' jewels.

The *Rituaal Herault* (1737) stated:

> [...] The aforementioned three tours [through the lodge room] having been completed, the candidate is questioned on the middle of the aforementioned drawing [= tracing board], standing opposite to the Grand [= Worshipful] Master, who is situated at the high end behind a pedestal, on which is laying the Gospel of John [the Baptist] […] [after which] the candidate is made to turn three times to the bench at the feet of the pedestal [...].[288]

By the beginning of the 18th century, the initiation was described as a (symbolic) journey through the lodge room, during which the candidate met with several symbols and (symbolic) obstacles. By using music, sound effects and theatrical props, both the emotional and the physical experience of the (blindfolded) candidate were enhanced. After the ceremony, he would be given an additional explanation of the symbols and from then onwards he would regularly rehearse the catechism at lodge meetings.

◦ *Canopy*

Simon & Philip names the size of the lodge as 'As low as the Earth and as high as the Heavens', and explains 'because all Lodges were kept formerly in the open fields', a reference to the once ambulatory character of freemasonry.[289] The catechism in Prichard's *Masonry Dissected* (1730) included the question: 'What covering have you of the lodge?', answered as 'A clouded canopy of divers Colours (or the Clouds)'.[290] Perau's *Le Secret des Francs-Maçons* (1744) mentioned a 'star spangled canopy'.[291] In *Le maçon démasque* (1751) this is described as 'an celestial azure coloured canopy, & spangled with Golden stars', in other words the stars shone in daytime: an inversion of night and day.[292] This was meant symbolically, emphasizing that the lodge was not in this, but another realm. Such references may have been taken literally and probably stimulated the decoration of the canopy of the Throne. Eventually, most masonic halls would have the ceiling of the temple painted as a light (azure) blue sky with gilded stars.

■ *Early illustrations of Dutch lodge interiors, 1735-1736*

It is clear from early written and printed sources, that lodges used relatively little furniture until the middle or even third quarter of the 18th century. Although opulent rococo decoration styles were popular until circa 1760 in the interiors and furniture used, the decoration of the lodge was relatively modest. One made use of some loose, contemporary pieces of furniture including a table, chairs and candlesticks, which (with the exception of the tracing board) did not have to be especially decorated for the occasion. The clothing of lodge members reflected the same modesty: they wore mostly unadorned, white leather aprons and some ribbons with tool-shaped emblems to indicate Officer's functions. The plan of the lodge soon developed into a fixed setting, where every piece of furniture had its own place and function.

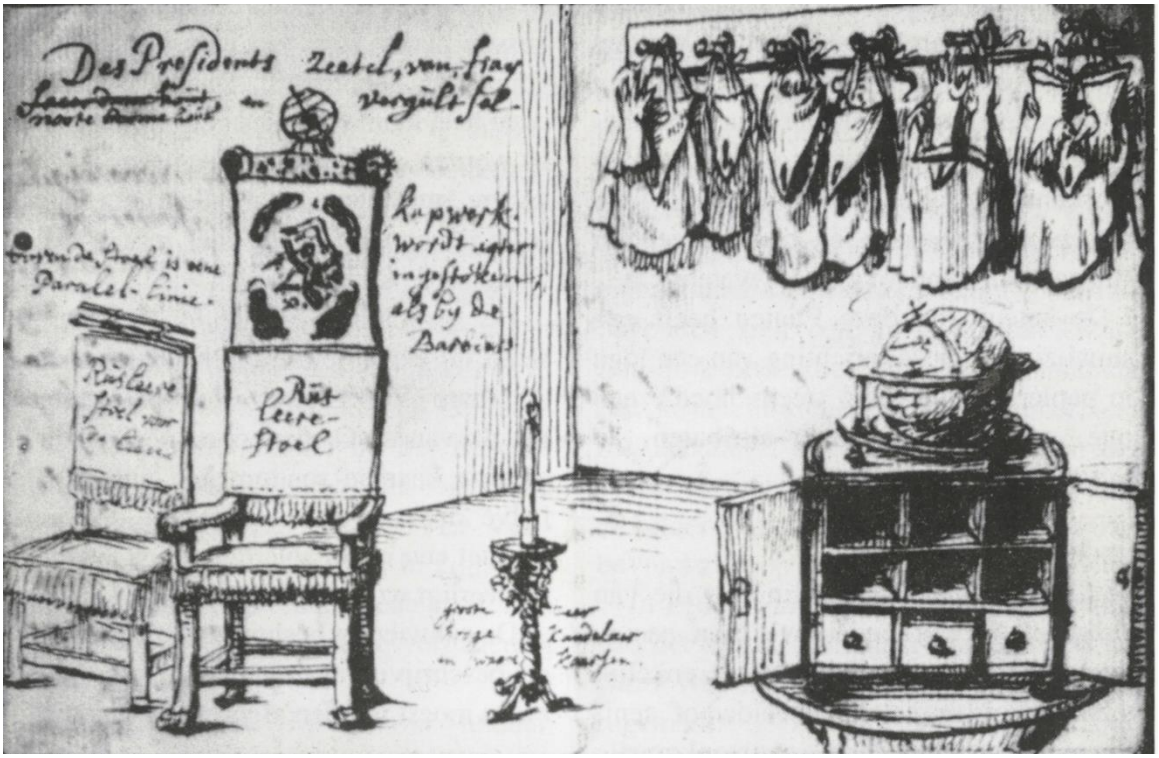


Fig. 2.67 (detail of fig. 2.8): Jacob Maas Dirks Zoon, Notes and drawing of the interior of lodge Le Véritable Zèle in The Hague, 1735. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Reproduced from: Thoth *(1995) 3, p. 89.*

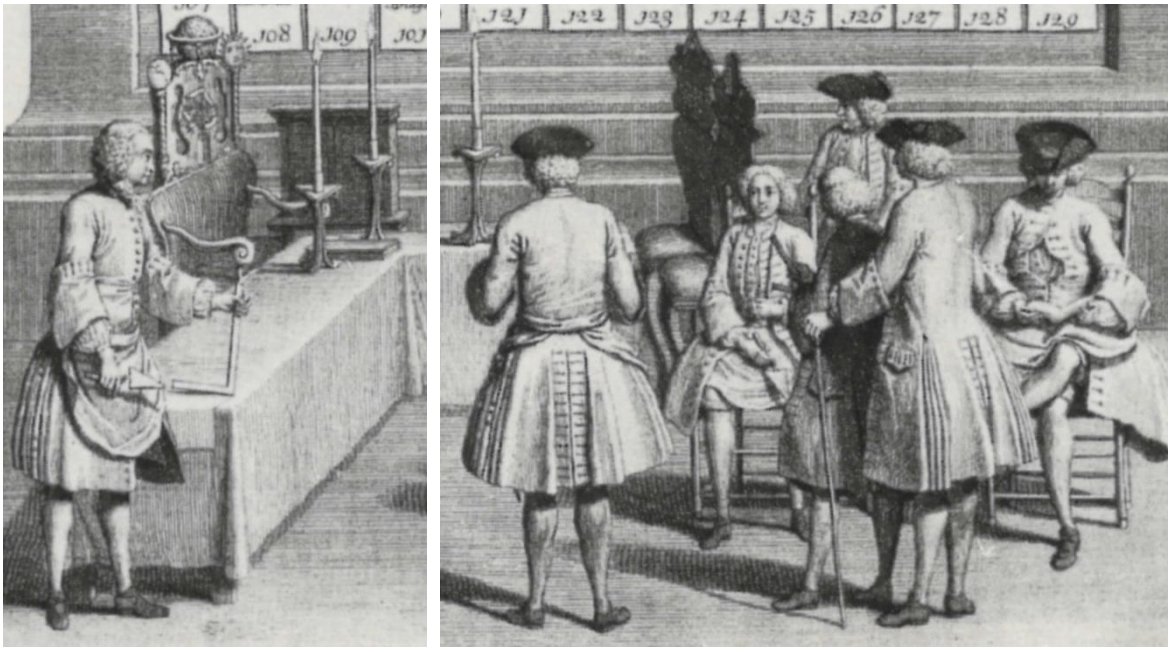
The earliest illustration of a Dutch lodge interior is thought to be the aforementioned drawing made by Maas Dirkszoon after his visit to the lodge Le Véritable Zèle in The Hague in 1735 (fig. 2.8 and detail fig. 2.67). He described the interior of the room as follows:

> It was not large, but on estimation 14 to 16 feet wide. 10 to 12 aprons hung on coat hooks on one of the walls, neatly tied up with goat's leather gloves. And the aprons hung with their flaps down, with a hole in the flap to tie it upward.
> In the corner of the room was a footrest, on it a chest with sliding drawers or insertable boxes, which held papers, correspondence and other writings, etc. On top of the chest a Globe. Furthermore chairs, etc.[293]

The drawing does not show the lodge lay out for ritual meetings, but a rather static assembly, perhaps the furniture as it stood in a storage room. Several captions explain more about the furniture:

> Above the [small] chair is a ruler
> Leather chair for the members
> The [large] President's seat, of fine walnut and gilding
> The head piece is stuck in the back, as with the Barber's
> Leather chair
> Very high candlestick and heavy candles[294]

The type of chair depicted resembles that of so called 'Spanish chairs', popular in the 17th century.[295] According to the description, the chair of the Worshipful Master has a detachable part, which is illustrated as decorated or carved with various working tools, a sun, moon and globe. Surviving examples of such chairs in British and American collections show that this type of decoration was common, probably because it refers to the moment the blindfolded candidate is placed in front of the Master of the Lodge. When the blindfold is removed, he sees the sun, moon and the Master, in reference to the text of the ritual: 'Have



Figs. 2.68a-b (details of fig. 2.12) Details of Louis Fabrice Dubourg (1693-1775), Les Free-Massons *(1736). The (most likely detachable) head pieces with masonic decorations are clearly visible on the officer's chairs. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 10550. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.*

you any Lights in your Lodge? Yes, Three. What do they represent? Sun, Moon and Master-Mason'.[296] In other words, he sees both the physical and symbolical light.

A year after Maas' drawing, the aforementioned print *Les Free-Massons* by Dubourg appeared in Picart's *Céremonies et coutumes réligieuses de tous les peuples du monde* (Volume 4, 1736) (fig. 2.12 and details figs. 2.68a-b).[297] Dubourg copied prints for Picart, a French engraver who had been forced to settle in Amsterdam because of his interest in radical philosophical and religious ideas.[298] When Picart died in 1733, Dubourg continued the series.

Les Free Massons shows a group of masons in a room with lodge furniture, against a (fictitious) background, made up of lodge emblems. The print is attributed to John Pine (1690-1756).[299] The placement of lodge members suggests a somewhat informal gathering. The lodge furniture consists of an L-shaped table covered with a table cloth, three chairs with elaborately decorated head pieces, two unremarkable chairs, three candlesticks, a book (presumably a bible) and a chest. These are not placed in any ritual setting. The Master of the Lodge can be identified by the compass in his hand and the three masonic tools on the cord around his neck. Dubourg must have had intimate knowledge of lodge furniture in order to be able to depict some elements as accurately as he did, but as membership data from this period is rare, it is impossible to say if he was a freemason himself. There are several theories how he may have seen lodge furniture, even if he wasn't.

It has been suggested that the lodge interior may have been modelled after that of the lodge Le Véritable Zèle in The Hague, seen earlier by Maas. The number of aprons depicted in Maas' print matches the number of participants in *Les Free-Massons*, there is a similarity in the decoration of the chair, and both show a chest and candles, but these do differ in style. This suggests that Dubourg was familiar with (British style) masonic furniture, but does not prove that he intimately knew the lodge in The Hague. A more likely explanation was suggested by P.H. Pott.[300] The book in which *Les Free-Massons* appeared in 1736, was published in Amsterdam, where the lodge De La Paix was located. As discussed above in relation to the ban on freemasonry, the furniture of this lodge had been shown to the general public in the tavern *L'Observatoir* in 1735, which could have offered Dubourg the opportunity to see it for himself. This would explain his accurate depiction of the symbols on the Master's chair, as well as the non-ritual lay out: he



Fig. 2.69: Jeremias Wachsmuth (1711-1771), miniature theatre, representing a lodge, engraving with watercolours, ca. 1750. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 10043. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl



Fig. 2.70: Jeremias Wachsmuth (1711-1771), set piece of a miniature theatre, engraving with watercolours, ca. 1750. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague (postcard). Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

knew the furniture but not their positions in a lodge. A description of the furniture of De La Paix was published at a much later date (1748):

> The *Furniture* consisted of three *Chairs* which had been made exquisitely of *Cherry tree wood*: the *Chair* of the *Grand Master* was like a Throne, the hood from top to bottom was twelve foot high: one saw represented there[upon] a *Sun* on one side, on the other a *Moon*, and in the middle an *Astronomical Sphere* [= globe of the heavens], all poshly gilded: in the top of the hood were all the tools which *Carpenters* and *Masons* use in *Architecture*: Next to it were two *Pedestals* for *Wax candles*, which had to be as thick as a man's arm, and were made by the *Brothers Free Masons*.[301]

The author further noted that the furniture was moved to Rotterdam and back to England, from where it came, which seems accurate as there can't have been many suppliers of masonic goods in the Netherlands yet so soon after the end of the ban on freemasonry.[302] So the assumption made by Pott seems likely, but cannot be verified.

Van den Brand also concluded that *Les Free-Massons* depicts the interior of the loge De La Paix in Amsterdam, but for different reasons. He suggested that Dubourg was in contact with the brothers Philippe (1697-1763) and Louis Metayer (died 1774), gold- and silversmiths from French origin who had settled in Amsterdam. Dubourg made some drawings for decorations on silver to be executed by Philippe Metayer.[303] The surname Metayer appears on a document, which is thought to be an early list of members of De La Paix.[304] This suggests that one of the brothers could have personally informed Dubourg about the lodge furniture or even shown him Pine's list of lodges, which clearly inspired the design for the background in *Les Free-Massons*.[305] That he moved in masonic circles is clear from the fact that he bought a house from Anthonie Grill in 1742, whose whole family played an important role in freemasonry at an international level (see chapter 7).[306]

The print *Les Free-Massons* was in turn copied by Jeremias Wachsmuht (1711-1771) as a set of hand-coloured perspective drawings for a miniature theatre: *Franc-Maçons / Freimaurer Loge* (1735-1756) (fig. 2.69).[307] It was published as part of a series of similar perspective theatres, depicting various religious customs, clearly derived from Picart's popular publication.[308] They were sold by Martin Engelbrecht (1684-1756), a printmaker in Augsburg, Germany.

An example of the masonic theatre, built up of 8 set designs, survives in the CMC collection.[309] The first unnumbered set piece provides a frame to the scene, consisting of an arch between two columns, surrounded by leaf wreaths and decorated with *rocaille* motifs. Another provides a similar frame to the scenery, including a portrait and two heraldic shields (fig. 2.70).

Set piece No. 102 shows two groups of freemasons in conversation, with a globe of the heavens in the foreground (fig. 2.71). The left group is copied after *Les Free Massons*, the right is possibly an invention of the artist. This and other scenes are set against a neutral architecture, including an arch depicting a medallion with the title *Franc-Macons/Freimaurer Loge.* No. 103 shows two lodge members with tools standing near a globe, with to the left two and on the right four seated persons (fig. 2.72). Their chairs are seen from the back and appear to be officers' chairs, similar to those depicted in *Les Free Massons*. Again the scene is set against a neutral architectural backdrop decorated with *rocailles*. No. 104 depicts two groups of freemasons in conversation around two tables to the left and right of the room (fig. 2.73). Working tools can be seen lying on the tables. No. 105 shows lodge members seated at a U-shaped table, with the Master of the Lodge on an elaborate chair in the middle, again copied after *Les Free Massons*, as is the chest to the right (fig. 2.74). Working tools, including trowels, are lying on the table. In front of the Master of the Lodge is a book stand with skull and bones, flanked by two candles. The table is placed between two square columns, decorated with statues of Wisdom and Hermes. In the middle, above the table, an ornament is depicted including a globe, several tools and ribbons. No. 106 depicts a Group of freemasons standing around a monument, made up of a pyramid of cubic stones with a gate and a statue of Hercules. Behind him is another statue (fig. 2.75). On the right is a pile of rough stones, on which a freemason is oddly balanced. The background shows a gallery with two floors. A last scene, also numbered 106, shows a vault with a blazing furnace.

The different set elements could be show in various orders and were probably to be accompanied by an explanation on the customs and ideals of freemasonry. Apart from elements derived from *Les Free-*



Fig. 2.71: Jeremias Wachsmuth (1711-1771), set piece of a miniature theatre (no. 102), showing freemasons in conversation, engraving with watercolours, ca. 1750. Collection: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Estampes, Rf Mat.-1a Bte pet. fol. Reproduced from: expositions.bnf.fr.



Fig. 2.72: Jeremias Wachsmuth (1711-1771), set piece of a miniature theatre (no. 103), showing freemasons in conversation, engraving with watercolours, ca. 1750. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague (postcard). Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl



Fig. 2.73: Jeremias Wachsmuth (1711-1771), set piece of a miniature theatre (no. 104), showing freemasons in conversation, engraving with watercolours, ca. 1750. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 10043.04. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.



Fig. 2.74: Jeremias Wachsmuth (1711-1771), set piece of a miniature theatre (no. 105), showing freemasons in conversation, engraving with watercolours, ca. 1750. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague (postcard). Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

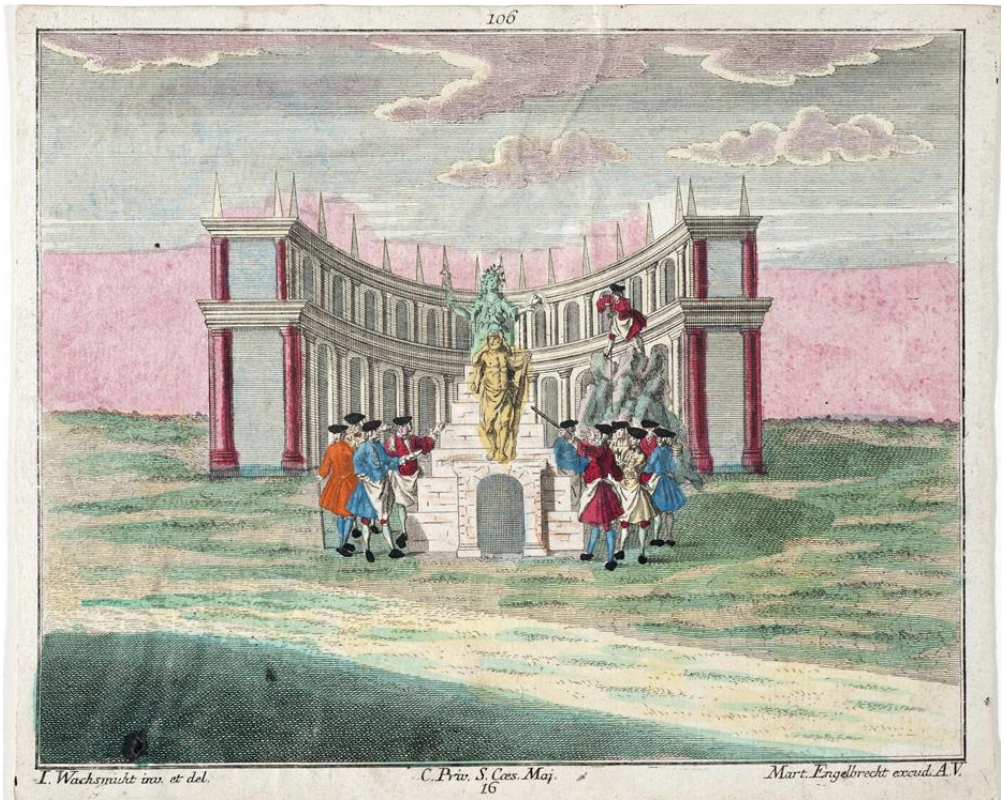


Fig. 2.75: Jeremias Wachsmuth (1711-1771), set piece of a miniature theatre (no. 106), showing freemasons in conversation, engraving with watercolours, ca. 1750. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 10043.06. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

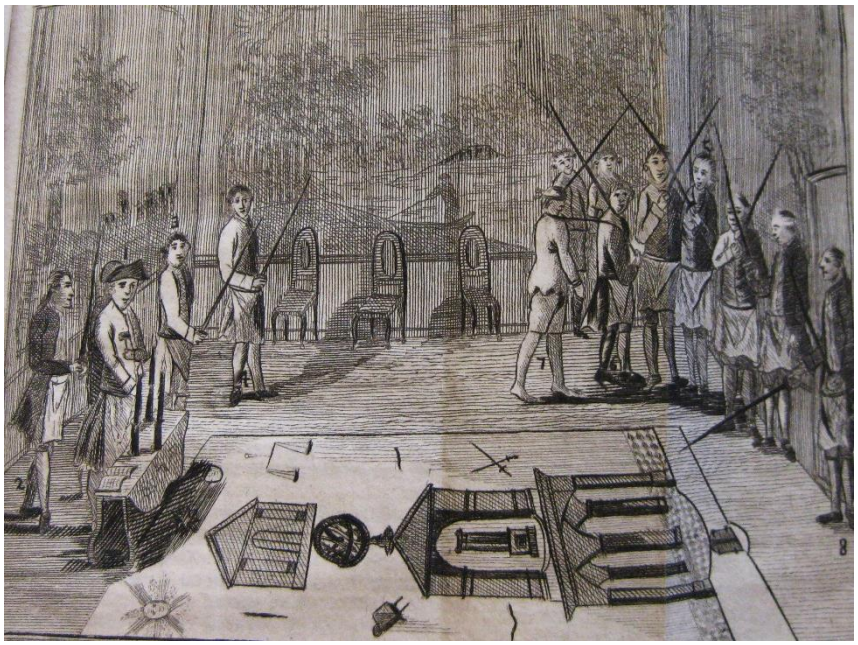


Fig. 2.76: Illustration in the Almanach der Vrye Metzelaren, *1782, p. 21. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 4F33-4F43. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.*

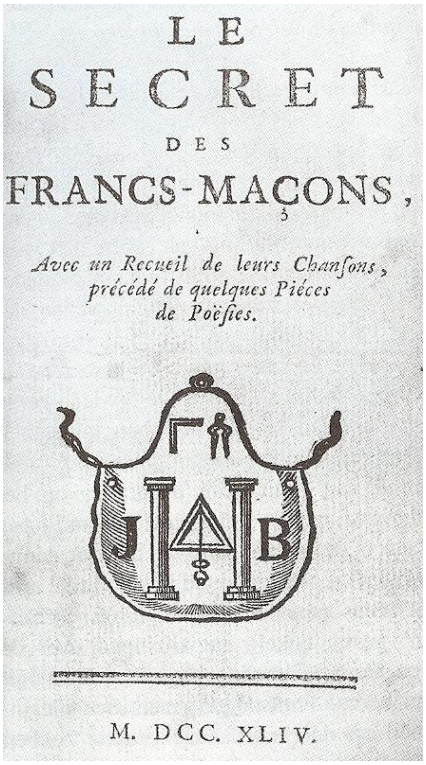




Fig. 2.77: Title page of Le Secret des Francs-Maçons *(1744). Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 209A36. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.*
Fig. 2.78: Simon Fokke (1712-1784), title page of De Geheimen der Vrye-Metzelaars en der Mopsen geopenbaart *(1745). Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 15748-001. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.*

Massons, there are no specific masonic elements added to this theatre, and the setting is just as static. The various tools and statues are familiar from a non-masonic context.

To conclude, we can note that the only clearly masonic furniture in all these early pictures of lodge interiors, are the officers' chairs, decorated with tools as officers' symbols. The most important element, the tracing board, is missing even though it is clear from early Masonic texts that it was already in use by 1735. This suggests that the image makers were not freemasons, or freemasons careful not to reveal too much about their rituals.

An image, possible inspired by the *Assemblée des Francs maçons*, was included in the Dutch masonic almanac of 1782 (fig. 2.76). It shows the initiation of a candidate in a lodge. This scene too, shows it took place in a 'normal' room with unexceptional furniture. The Worshipful Master is seen on the left, standing behind a table on which the bible and three lights are placed. The scene illustrates well how, in the first half of the 18th century, the tracing board still was the centre of the lodge and how the candidate's 'journey' took place around it and around the back of the Worshipful Master. As will become clear below, this changed in the second half of the 18th century, so this image is depicting the earlier mode of working. Both the clothing of the men present and the tracing board however, have been adapted somewhat to the later date of the almanac.[310]

■ *The influence of (Dutch) exposures, 1735-1753*

Translations of the English and French exposures were distributed in print in the Netherlands from 1735 onwards. It should be noted that three French exposures simultaneously appeared with, or were followed quickly by, a Dutch translation. This suggests the Dutch played a considerable role in the distribution of masonic rituals in the 1740s and early 1750s. Most popular and therefore influential were the translations





Figs. 2.79a-b: Simon Fokke (1712-1784), Initiations of an Apprentice and a Master, as illustrated in De Geheimen der Vrye-Metzelaars en der Mopsen geopenbaart *(1745). Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 15748. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.*

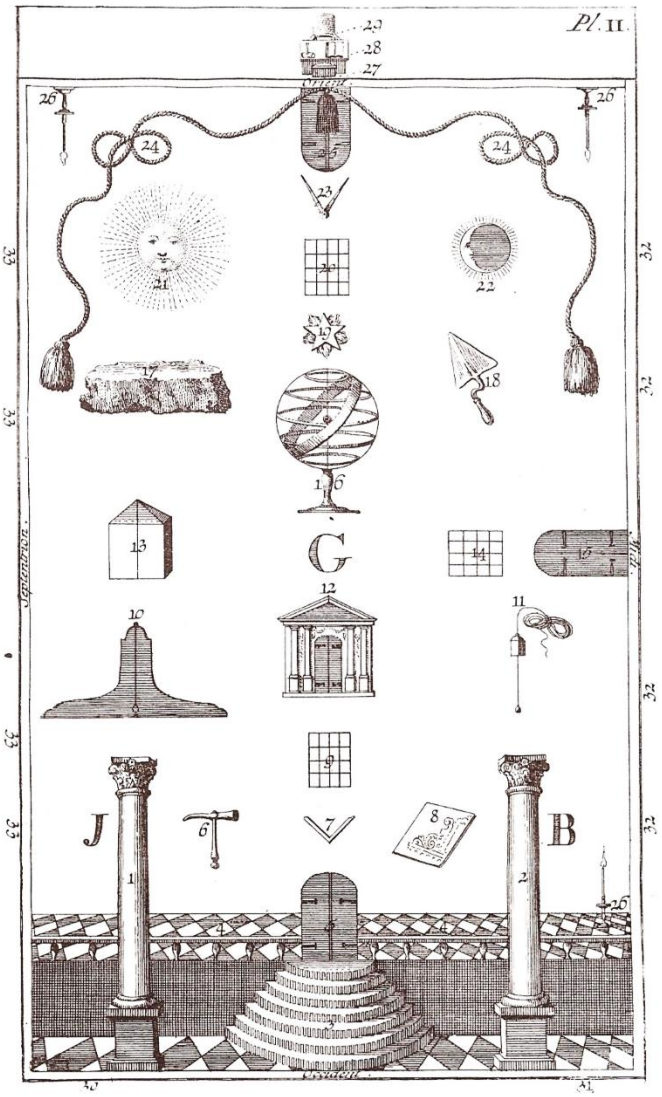
of Prichard, the *Trahi* and Wolson: *Het collegie der Vrye Metselaars ontleedt* (1735), *De Geheimen der Vrye-Metzelaars en der Mopsen geopenbaart* (1745) and *De Metselaar ontmomd of het recht geheim der Vrij Metselaaren ontdekt* (1753).[311] When compared to the French versions, these contain some subtle changes in the description of symbols and objects, so further discussion will be limited to the Dutch versions.

The description of the lodge furniture in *Het collegie der Vrye Metselaars ontleedt* (1735), is slightly different from the original (1730):

> Quest. Have you in the same [= the Lodge room] any jewellery.
> Answ. Yes.
> Quest. What are they.
> Answ.: Mosiac work (Inlaid with Stone, metal, glas, shells, etc, laid out as Bows and Flowers, so skilfully that everything seems to belong to one piece). A Tail-Star and cloth embroidered with gold.
> Quest.: What is it for.
> Answ.: The Floor of the room is paved with mosaic work, the Tail-star is the centre, and the wall around it is covered in cloth, embroidered in gold.[312]

Such symbolical explanations were implemented almost literally in the furnishing of the lodge room, so lodges would hang their walls with coloured drapes, embroidered with masonic symbols in gold. The immovable jewels were here described as '[Tracing] Board, a Rough hardstone, and a pointy Trowel'.[313]

The ban on freemasonry prohibited official lodge activity between 1735 and circa 1744, after which *De Geheimen der Vrye-Metzelaars* was published in 1745.[314] It was possibly published by Jean Rousset de Missy (1686-1762), a well-known publicist and the first Worshipful Master of lodge La Paix in Amsterdam.[315] The book included several illustrations by Simon Fokke (1712-1784), a well-known engraver who also made several other masonic prints. Fokke copied the title page of Perau's *Le Secret des Francs*

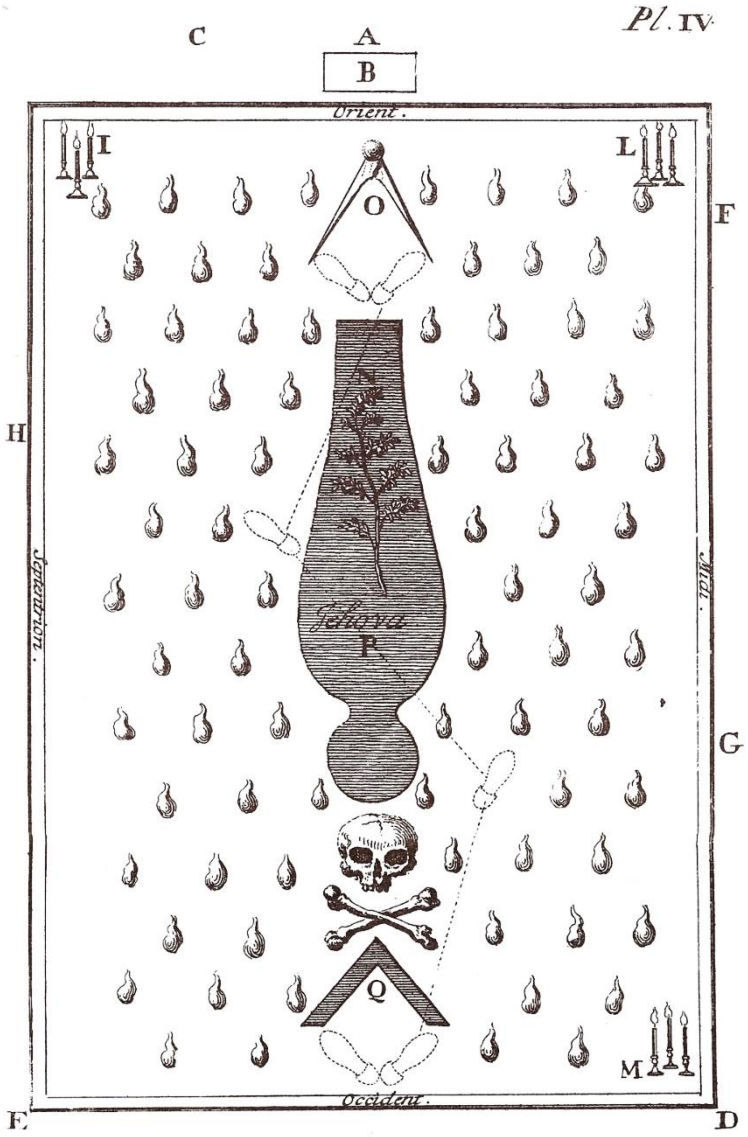


WAARE AFBEELDING VAN DE LOGE

TOT AANNEEMING VAN EEN VRY-METSE-LAARS LEERLING-GEZEL.

1. De Kolom Jakin.
2. De Kolom Boaz.
3. De 7 treeden om naar den Tempel op te klimmen.
4. De Moſaiſche Vloer.
5. Weſter-Poort.
6. De Hamer.
7. De Winkelhaak.
8. Plank om op te tekenen.
9. Weſter-Venſter.
10. Waterpas.
11. Pasloodt.
12. Portaal van de Binne-Kamer.
13. Vierkante Steen, van boven ſpits.
14. Zuider-Venſter.
15. Zuider-Poort.
16. De Spheer.
17. De Ruuwe Steen.
18. De Troffel.
19. De vlammende Sterre.
20. Ooſter-Venſter.
21. De Zon.
22. De Maan.
23. De Paſſer.
24. De Kwaſt.
25. Ooſter-Poort.
26. 26. 26. De drie Lichten.
27. Tabouret.
28. Tafel.
29. Armſtoel van den Groot-Meeſter.
30. Plaats van den eerſten Opzigter.
31. Plaats van den tweeden Opzigter.
32. 32. 32. Plaats van de Meeſters.
33. 33. 33. Plaats der Leerling - Gezellen, uitgezondert den laatſt-aangenomenen.

Fig. 2.80: Simon Fokke (1712-1784), Tracing Board for the degrees of Apprentice and Fellow-Craft, as illustrated in De Geheimen der Vrije Metzelaars en der Mopsen geopenbaard *(1745). Reproduced from: facsimile in* Thoth *21 (1970) II-III, n. pag.*



AFBEELDING VAN DE LOGE

TOT AANNEEMING VAN EEN VRY-METSELAARS MEESTER,

Zo als die te Parys is uitgegeeven, maar gebrekkelyk.

A. Plaats van den Groot-Meester.
B. Autaar.
C. Plaats van den Orateur.
D. Plaats van den eerſten Opzigter.
E. Plaats van den tweeden Opzigter.
F. G. H. Plaatſen van de drie Broeders met de papiere rol.
I. Ooſter-Lichten.
L. Zuider-Lichten.
M. Weſter-Lichten.
N. Tak van Acacia.
O. Paſſer.
P. Oud Meeſters-woord.
Q. Winkelhaak.

Fig. 2.81: Simon Fokke (1712-1784), Tracing Board for the degree of Master, as illustrated in De Geheimen der Vrije Metzelaars en der Mopsen geopenbaard *(1745). Reproduced from: facsimile in* Thoth *21 (1970) II-III, n. pag.*

Maçons (1742) and simply added a medallion around the depicted apron (figs. 2.77-2.78). Fokke further copied the tracing board for the combined degrees of Apprentice and Fellow-Craft, as well as the tracing board for the degree of Master Mason from the *Catéchisme des Francs-Maçons* (1744). To these the author added two variations and stated that he was showing their 'true' versions (figs. 2.80 and 2.83), as opposed to earlier ones 'published in Paris, but with faults' (figs. 2.26 and 2.81).[316]

The first part of the text was based on *Le Secret* and added no new information. The passages describing the initiation of the Apprentice followed the earlier versions[317], but a new addition was the illustration of a scène from this initiation (fig. 2.79a). It shows the moment the blindfold is removed and the candidate literally 'sees the light'. The print is probably based on the *Assemblée des Francs-Maçons*, with some details adapted according to the text of *Le Secret*.[318] Here too, the action takes place in a 'normal' room, in which only the tracing board and the candles are recognizable as masonic furniture. The walls are covered in landscape paintings or wallpaper, while the ceiling shows a decoration of putti in clouds. Details in the stucco around the paintings and doorway in the background, all show ornamentation which was fashionable at the time. There is nothing special about the furniture used: the image shows the seat of the Worshipful Master, a table with an open bible and two candles resting upon it, and a stool (*tabouret*) for the candidate to kneel on. The candidate is shown standing on the tracing board, part of which is clearly visible and corresponds with the illustration of the tracing board by Fokke (fig. 2.80). A third candle is standing on the ground. A drapery, which covers the upper part of the scene, could be a purely decorative element, a symbolical element (a drawn veil quite literally revealing a secret) and/or an early example of the canopy that would often be placed above the seat of the Master of the Lodge later in the 18th century.

The second of the text part was based on the *Catéchisme*, but was so freely translated that it did introduce some new elements. In the initiation of the Fellow of the Craft, a description of a separate tracing board for this degree is mentioned for the first time:

> [...] instead of the rough shapeless Stone which is drawn at the time of Acceptance of an Apprentice […] so one sketches for the acception of a Fellow of the Craft, a stone which is suitable to sharpen the tools [...].[319]

And for the initiation into the Master's degree, a much more detailed description was given for the first time:

> When one will then accept a Master, the Room of Acception is decorated identical to that for the Acception of Apprentices and Fellows of the Craft, but there are more figures in the described court. Apart from the triangularly placed Candlesticks and the two famed Columns, [...] one paints there [...] something that looks like a building, which they call a *Mosaic Palace*.
>
> One also makes two other figures here; the one is called an *indented Tassel*, the other a *Canopy strewn with stars*. There is also a tool of Masonry, which the workmen usually call the *Plumb* or the *Plumbline*. The Stone which was used to sketch these figures, remains on the floor of the Room of Acception. One sees here a certain image, which depicts Hiram's grave.[320]
>
> In the room where this ceremony takes places, one draws upon the wooden floore of the Master's Lodge, the shape of a Coffin surrounded by tears (a). On one end of the Coffin one draws a Skull; on the other two crossed Bones; and one writes *Jehova*, the old Master-word, in the middle. Before the Coffin one draws an open Compass; at the other end, a Square; and to the right hand a Mount, on the top of which an Acacia is placed; and one draws, similar to the Lodge of the Apprentice-Fellow-Craft, the four essential Points. One illuminates this drawing in ash with nine wax lights, that is three to the East, three to the South, and three to the West […] after which the Grand Master […] takes his place, and places before him a certain kind of small Altar that is to the East, on which one places the Gospel, and a small wooden Hammer.
>
> (a) See the *True Illustration of a Master's Lodge*.[321]

Here too, Fokke added an illustration, again based on the *Assemblée des Francs-Maçons* and the text of *Le Secret*, showing the initiation of a Master on the moment just before his 'elevation' (fig. 2.79b). The

candidate is lying on the tracing board, again corresponding with the one illustrated by Fokke (fig. 2.83), which has three groups of candles around it. At the end of his account, the author states:

> VII. That which one actually calls the Lodge, that is to say, the figures drawn on the wooden flooring on the days of Acception, should be drawn in chalk, and not painted on cloth, like some deliberately keep for such days in some lodges: such is against the rule.
>
> But speaking of these figures, I will remark here, that some put a Globe or Terrestrial globe instead of the Sphere or Celestial globe, which I have had illustrated in the *true Plan for the Lodge of Apprentices* [= fig. 2.80].[322]

The author then explained that local customs may have allowed for subtle differences, but that he had the drawings made according to 'the old custom'.[323]

Pott and Boerenbeker argued that, originally, lodges used just one basic tracing board.[324] The joint symbolism pointed to the shared 'labour' of the Apprentices, Fellows of the Craft and Masters. While making the basic drawing, small details would be changed for each degree, such as changing the rough Stone of the Apprentice into a cubic stone for the Fellow-Craft. So one tracing board was used, while it was customary to separate the explanation of the symbols into three different stages, so that a candidate would gain a deeper insight into masonic symbolism at each successive initiation.[325] In the 19th century, separate (and fixed) tracing boards would be used for each of the three degrees as a result of the mistaken assumption that 'the Tracing Board was supposed to encompass the essential characteristics of a certain degree, instead of the very basis of the Royal Art, of the masonic working in three degrees as a whole.'[326] The separate tracing board for the Master's degree was just 'a temporary and for reasons of ritual practice necessary enlargement of the centre of the tracing board, which during a certain moment in the Elevation of a Master is used, only to be replaced again by the actual tracing board as it was used in the 1st and 2nd degrees'.[327]

Le maçon démasqué was supposedly published in London in 1751 and written by a 'T[homas] W[olson]', most likely a pseudonym of Georg Smith (circa 1728-circa 1785). He was both an intellectual and a bit of a con-man, but ended up as a respectable figure within British freemasonry. He was born in Britain, but as an adult moved to the province of Utrecht in the Netherlands, where he wrote the book. It was most likely produced by Nyhoff Publishers in Arnhem, where its Dutch translation, *De Metselaar ontmomd*, also appeared in 1753. Snoek, who has traced Smith's exploits and his publications of rituals, describes the ritual as of German origins.[328]

This time, the newly introduced element was the mention of a *duistere kamer* or darkened room (the later *Donkere Kamer* or Chamber of Reflection) in which the candidate was prepared for his initiation.[329] The author then described the lodge room as follows:

> Solomon's Temple represents the Majesty of the Lodge, where the Brethren labour.
> The two copper Columns provide an unmovable support which carries the building.
> The Blazing Star, the light which leads them on their path.
> The Canopy strewn with stars, the free exchange they have with heaven, distancing themselves from the *profanum Vulgus*, or the *Uninitiated*, as they themselves express it, and the vices.[330]

He went on to recount his initiation as Apprentice:

> I saw [...] the Worshipful [Master] with the Hammer held up, a table before him, a Book thereupon, three candles, two swords lying crossed over each other.
> [...] I faced downwards, and saw the glorious Temple of Solomon drawn in chalk on the floor.[331]

Even though the author warned the reader that everything was intended *zinnebeeldig* or symbolical, as masonic historian Pott pointed out, the illustration of a tracing board in this 1753 edition (fig. 2.82) would remain the main model for the Dutch ritual practice up until 1945.[332] This tracing board also formed the basis for the decoration of many later masonic objects. The author provided an elaborate description of its symbolism in the form of a speech to the candidate after his initiation as Fellow of the Craft, which explains

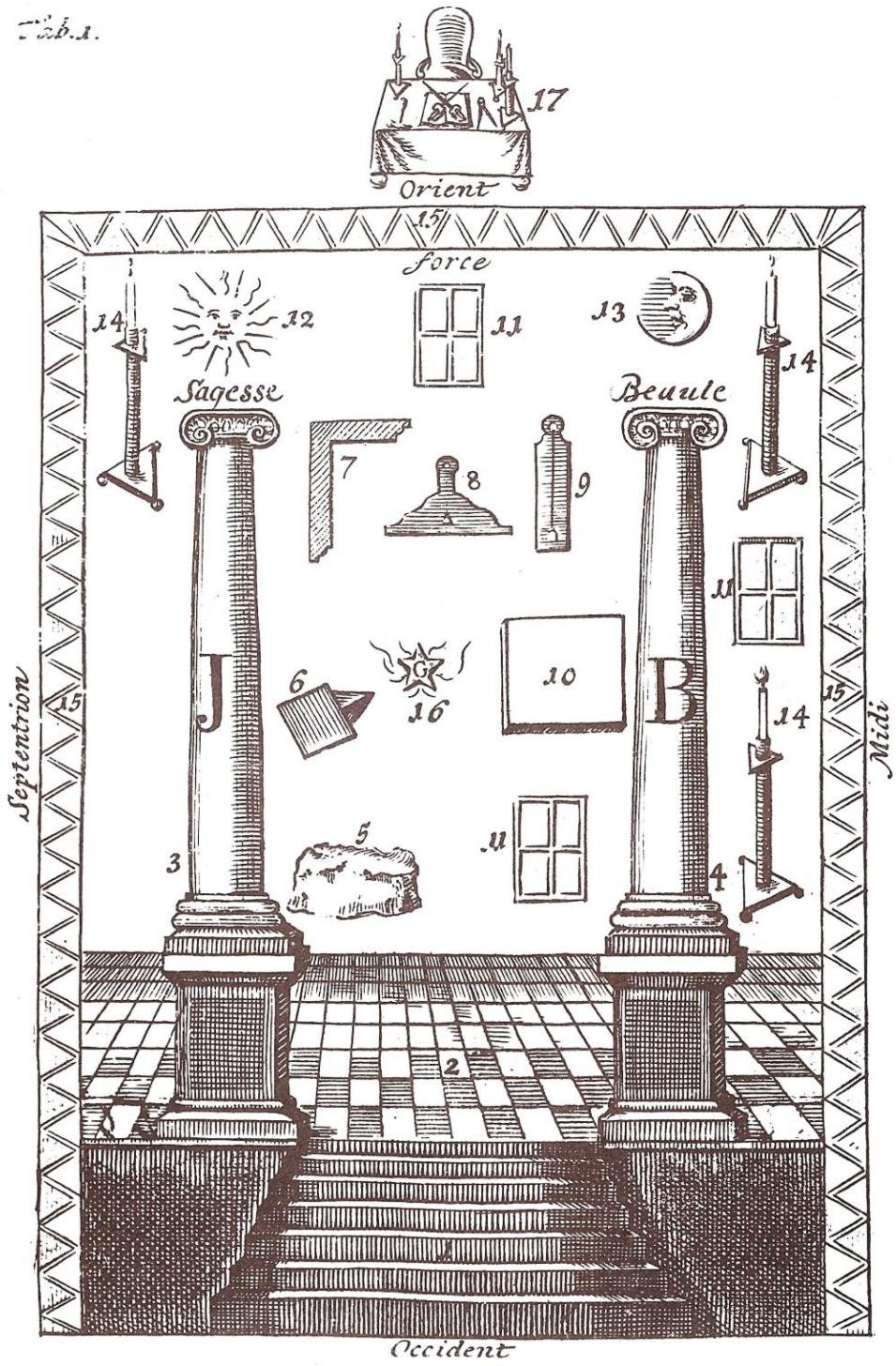


Fig. 2.82: Tracing board for the joint and Fellow-Craft degrees as illustrated in De Metselaar ontmomd of het recht geheim der Vrij Metselaaren ontdekt *(1753). Reproduced from:* Thoth *23 (1972) Mr II-III, n. pag.*

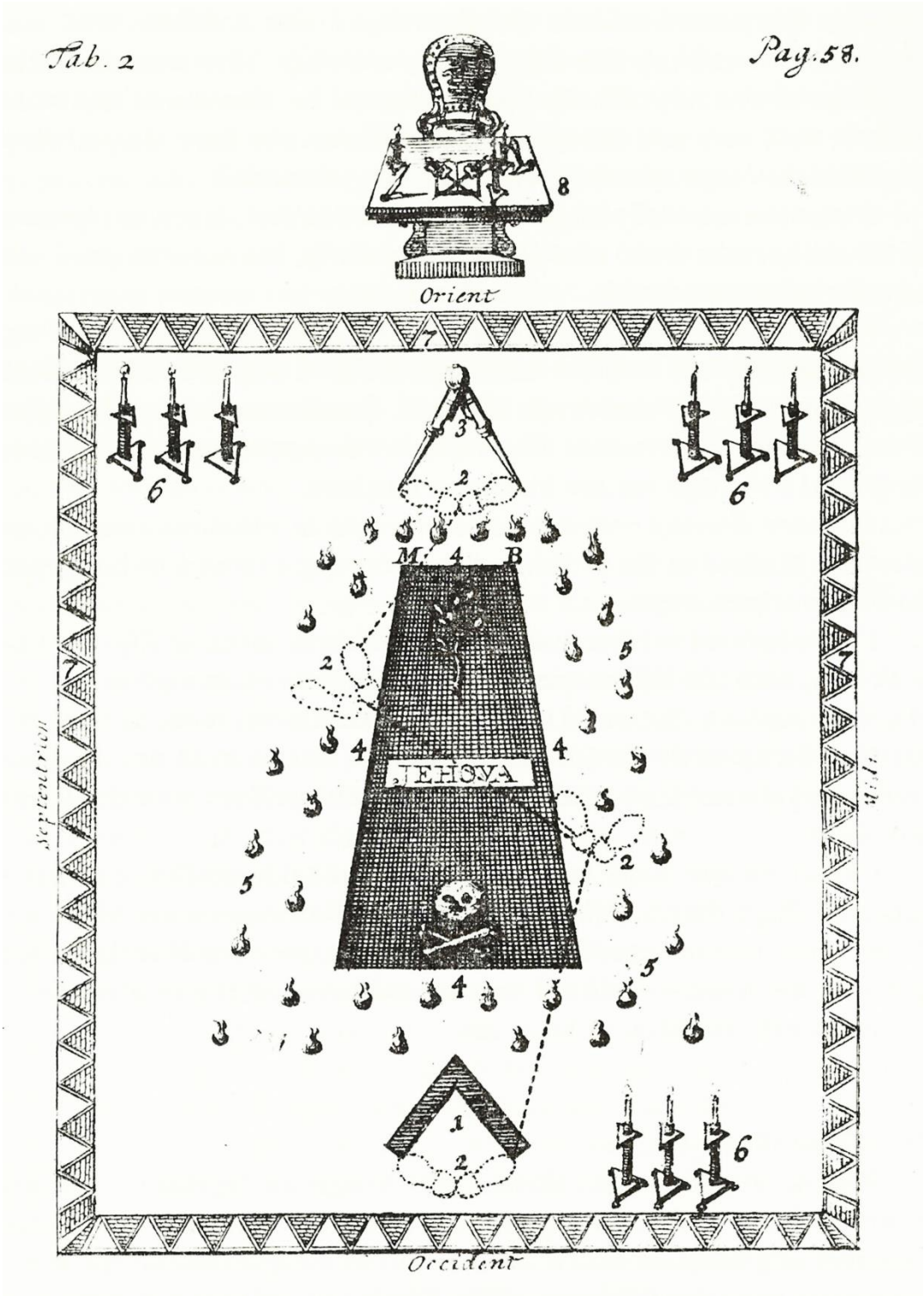


Fig. 2.83: Tracing Board for the Master's degree, as illustrated in De Metselaar ontmomd of het recht geheim der Vrij Metselaaren ontdekt *(1753). Reproduced from:* Thoth *23 (1972) Mr. II-III, n. pag.*

the meaning of each symbol, the essence of which was repeated in an index. The explanation clearly doubles as an instruction on how to furnish a lodge:

> You are here in a worthy *Lodge,* or rather in the Temple of Solomon itself. Cast your eyes on this Scene [= tracing board], (Plate 1) [= fig.2.81] and follow me in the explanation of these marvels. This staircase, made winding, is that which leads to the Temple. One climbs it in a circular manner by 3, 5, and 7. You have mounted the same before you were presented to his Worshipful by three steps.
>
> These small drawn lozenges, which should be set off [against each other] in different colours, form the mosaic pavement. Both these columns, placed at the entrance of the Temple, are those at the foot of which the Fellows of the Craft and the Apprentices meet in the evening to receive their wages. Because they were in such large numbers, one had to give them a different word to know one from the other. The Apprentices gathered at the columns JACHIN in the North; […] The Fellows in the South […]. See the columns J and B, with which the names JACHIN and BOAS start, [and] which are engraved on these columns. The height of these Pillars was 18 ell, its diameter 12, and its width four fingers.
>
> On the Capital of these pillar and on the Eastside are written the words WISDOM, STRENGTH, BEAUTY. […] When your eyes were opened by taking away the cloth which blinded you, you saw three great lights; the first is the Sun, the second the Moon, and the third our Worshipful Master, whom you see sitting on this venerable chair to enlighten the *Lodge*. Apart from these two torches of night and day, you see in the middle a third casting flames, and which we call the Blazing star. […] It encloses in its middle the letter G, the first letter of the name of the Architect of the Universe.
>
> We also give other meanings to it, which we express in the words Glory, Grandeur, and Geometry. The Glory[333] is for God, the Grandeur for the Master of the Lodge, and the Geometry, which we consider the fifth of the sciences, is for all Brethren.
>
> We have but three windows in the Temple, one in the East, the other in the West, the third in the South, we place none in the North, because the Sun can't beam its rays therein.
>
> You see here various jewels, we have six, namely three movable. The first are the Square, which the Worshipful [Master] wears; the Level which you see hanging around the neck of the first Warden, and the Plumb line which the second carries around his neck.
>
> The three other Jewels with us are the board on which one draws, which is for the Masters; the *cubical* Stone with a point, on which the Fellows of the Craft sharpen their tools, and the rough stone, which is for the Apprentices.
>
> See likewise around the Scene the triangular figures, which you see alternately full and empty; these represent to you the indented border which surrounded the extremities of the Temple; add to this the mosaic floor, and the Blazing Star, and then you will have the three jewels which we use in our *Lodges*.[334]

No significant new elements were added to the existing tradition, but a fixed pattern and interpretation was established, which would be widely copied in the Netherlands. Curiously, although the book also included an illustration of the tracing board for the Master's degree, this was not explained in the text, only provided with an index (fig. 2.83). These included:

> 1 Square on which the Candidate places his foot.
> 2 Path of the Candidate.
> 3 Compasses on which the Candidate kneels.
> 4 Adonhiram's Grave with the Old Master Word [= JHVH in Hebrew letters or, like here, Jehova], the Skull[-and-bones], and the Sloe Branch [= acacia[335] sprig, marking Hiram's first grave].
> 5 Tears [= symbols of mourning] drawn around the grave.
> 6 Candles of the Lodge.
> 7 Indented border.
> 8 Altar of his Worshipful.[336]

The drawing shows the steps made across the grave. At the end of his exposure, the author explained which regalia, tools and what cipher were used by freemasons, referring to the index of the third and last illustration included in the book.

> The Writing of the Lodges is totally different from that of the Profane. […]; one sees its shape in the 3rd Plate [= fig. 2.84]

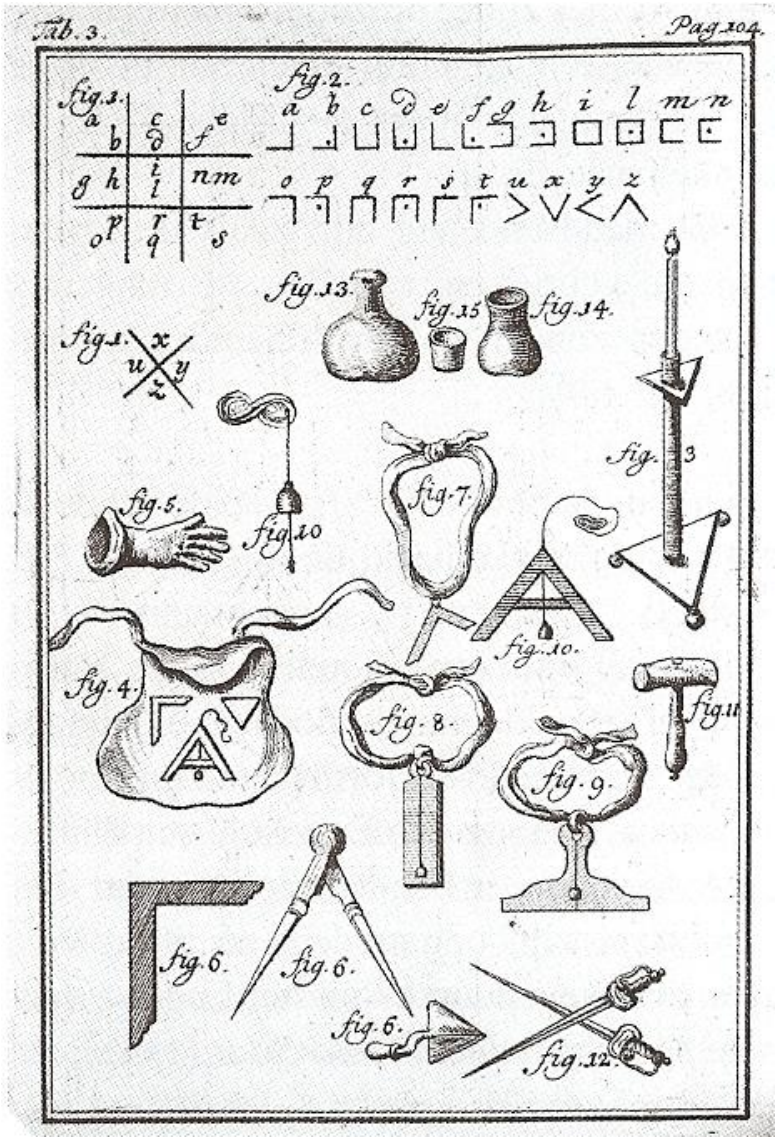


Fig. 2.84: The furniture of a lodge ('huisraad der loge'*), as illustrated in* De Metselaar ontmomd of het recht geheim der Vrij Metselaaren ontdekt *(1753). Reproduced from:* Thoth *23 (1972) Mr. II-III, n. pag.*

[…] In the Loge one does not use round Candle sticks, they must all be triangular. Fig. 3.

The Apron is a white skin lined with silk, and edged with a ribbon; one is allowed to attach some emblems of the Order on it, such as a triangle and a square. Fig 4.

The Gloves are of the same shape, as those the Profane use. A Brother may not work without having them in his hand.

The Trowel is a tool that is not used at all in the Lodge; one contents to say that it should serve to stop [= cover] the faults of his Brethren. Next to it one sees the Compasses and the Square. Fig. 6

Fig. 7 Shows the collar of his Worshipful. Fig. 8 that of the senior Warden. Fig. 9 that of the junior. They have to lay down these signs of Honour when one closes the Lodge; one puts them in a chest of which his Worshipful has one key and the Secretary the other.

Fig. 10 is a Level and a Plumb rule, which one alternatively draws on the Scene [=tracing board] instead of the ones that are [depicted] on it [here].

Fig. 11 The Gavel of his Worshipful and his two Wardens.

Fig 12 Swords which one lays crossed over the Bible when the Candidate takes his oath.[337]

The sources discussed above provide information about the development of the lodge interior in the first half of the 18th century, from which almost no archives of individual Dutch lodges have survived. From the

middle of the 18th century onwards, however, such archives are available. Sample inventories and other documents from the lodges in main cities such as Amsterdam, Utrecht and Rotterdam illustrate what the most common decorative features were in Dutch lodges at the time, and how regalia and props for the ritual were ordered from local craftsmen and artists.

■ *The earliest Dutch lodge inventories (1758-1760)*

In 1735 the aforementioned Jean Rousset de Missy founded a lodge, named De la Paix, which is thought to have worked under a Scottish Constitution.[338] Its activities were hindered by the ban on freemasonry, but the lodge existed until 1749, when it stopped meeting. Former members reconvened in 1754, after which the name of the lodge was changed into La Bien Aimée. In 1756 the lodge transferred to the jurisdiction of the Dutch Grand Lodge and received a new Constitution dated 14-12-1756.[339] Amsterdam was one of the main Dutch cities boasting a VOC administrative Chamber. In the 18th century, some 13 lodges were active in Amsterdam, of which La Bien Aimée was one of the most influential - and also one with extensive international connections, as will become clear in chapter 7. In 1755 one of the lodge members, the artist George Remi Robart (1726-1786)[340], was commissioned to make a painting 'representing the motto of our Lodge', described as:

> A woman, who is grey of old age,
> Hung and covered with a white veil,
> Stretching the right arm in front of her, a little bent,
> And the right hand covered in another white cloth,
> While her left hand in a graceful manner,
> Holds a rose,
> The image standing on a ground [= pedestal],
> Adorned with compasses, level, plumb line
> and other tools of the building art,
> While a decorative flowing ribbon, above her,
> Carries the motto La Bien Aimée.[341]

A letter by De Missy further explained the symbolism used:

> 'Grey with old age' means the anciennity of our loyal friendship in the noble Order of Freemasonry. 'Hung and covered with a white veil', to thereby indicate the sincerity of mind, that a companion of loyalty should be in friendship. 'The right arm stretched', meaning the raising of the right hand, the promise and loyalty. 'The right hand covered with a white cloth', means that loyalty should be secret. 'A rose', means the pleasantness between best friends and comrades. 'The decoration on the ground', needs no explication.[342]

Although the painting was lost, we do know what it must have looked like. An engraving made after Robarts design by Simon Fokke was used as frontispiece for the *Almanach des Francs-Maçons* in 1772 (fig. 2.85). The painting also formed the basis for the lodge's seal as used on masonic certificates (fig. 2.87), and inspired the decoration of Saxony porcelain snuffboxes. There are several similar copies of these boxes, executed by different hands.[343] The inside of the lid is always decorated with the personification of La Bien Aimée as described above (fig. 2.86, see also chapter 7, fig. 7.12) The sides are decorated with scenes referring to biblical stories, such as Adam and Eve, Noah's Arc, the Tower of Babel, Jacob's ladder, which are all associated with the iconography of Adoption lodges. They are similar to the tracing boards published in *Le Parfait Maçon ou les Véritables Secrets des quatre Grades d'Apprentis Compagnons, Maîtres ordinaires Et Écossais de la Franche Maçonnerie* (1744) (fig. 2.88a-b). Curious is the depiction of a vision of Hell on one of the sides, which is not associated with the Adoption Rites. The lid of the box has a 'miniature tracing board' type decoration with the columns and steps leading to the temple, a rough and a pointed stone, various masonic tools, a cord with loveknots and the sun and the moon. In the border decoration a masonic virtue is named in each corner: 'sagesse', 'force', 'beauté' and 'vertu'.

Documents in the lodge archive suggest Robart's painting was meant for the new *portique* or *portico*, which in architecture can mean a row or hall of columns, as well as a (covered) door opening between two columns at the entrance of a building. In other words, the painting was meant for the throne with its





Fig. 2.85: Simon Fokke, engraving of La Bien Aimée *after a design by Georg Remi Robart, frontispiece of the* Almanach des Francs-Maçons *(1772). Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. F9. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.*
Fig. 2.86: Porcelain snuff box, decorated with enamel painting and a gilded messing rim, mid-18th century. Collection: Musée-Archives-Bibliotheque de la Grande Loge de France, Paris. Reproduced from: Van de Sande 1995, p. 96.



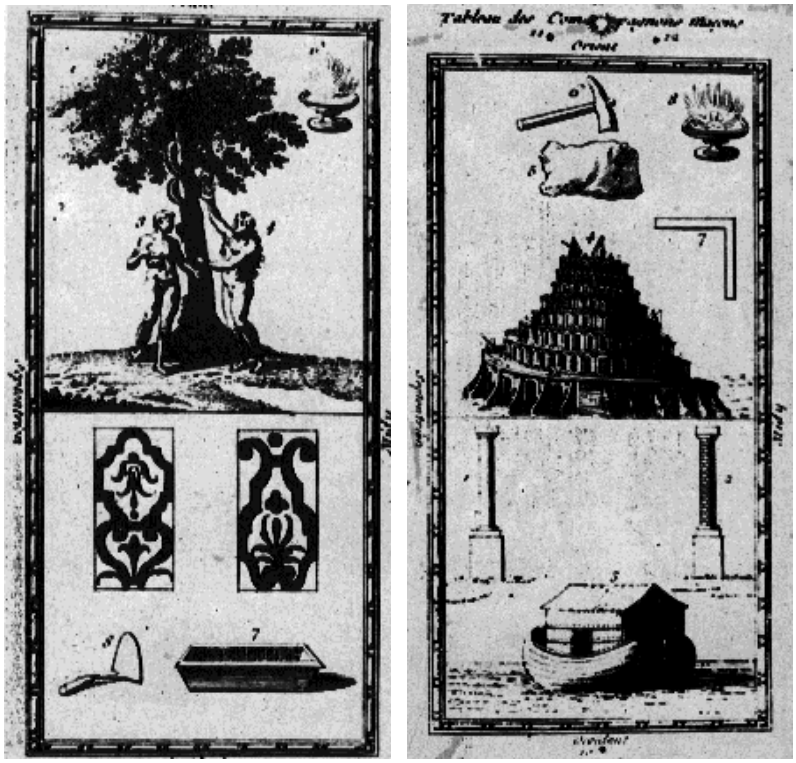


Fig. 2.87: Seal of the La Bien Aimée, 1755. Reproduced from: Robbemond 1985, p. 28.
Fig. 2.88a-b: Tracing boards published in Le Parfait Maçon ou les Véritables Secrets des quatre Grades d'Apprentis, Compagnons, Maîtres ordinaires Et Écossais de la Franche Maçonnerie*, 1744. Reproduced from: Snoek 2012, pp. 94-95.*

elevation and canopy[344]; the most logical place for the painting then being behind the Worshipful Master's chair, on the wall underneath the canopy. On 10-6-1757 the minutes recorded that the *portique* 'in the chest was well delivered and covered with rough flemish linen'.[345] The minute books recorded the celebration of St. John's Day of 27-12-1756:

> Brother Master of Ceremonies being absent, the Brother Robart functioned [as replacement]: All the Member appeared in Gala [dress]: Each with his Sign according to the Special degrees on New Ribbons, the Worshipful
> Master and the other officers had New very finely made Ornaments, the Portique was erected for the First time, Three New Chrystal crowns [= chandeliers] with Wax candles lit the room, which being enlarged and expanded was now in order […].[346]

The invoice for the making of the new *portique* was presented in the lodge on 4-2-1757, and lists the following costs:

> The carpenter Ebbenhorst, whereby is included the delivered wood and the making of an Architect's chest in the Lodge room f 333:15:12:
> Our Brother Robart for the Fine Paintwork of the Portico and Some other delivered Work to the Lodge 169:15: 8
> To Anth: Aardewijn for the draft paintwork of the Portico and Some other work in service of the Lodge 125: 7:--
> Jan de Beer for Sculptor's work 47:10:--[347]

Anthonij Aardewijn (1698-1771) was a painter, now known for his contribution to the Burgerweeshuis, an orphanage in Amsterdam. After presenting the bills, the purchase of 'Jewels', which were commissioned 'without order and knowledge of the Lodge', was discussed:

> […] presented was an invoice by the Silversmith Dan[iel] Houzel for Eleven delivered fine officers ornaments, An individual Silver Set Square, An individual Silver Pair of Compasses and Three Silver Candle holders amounting this bill to f 294: 7:--
> Further from the brother Brouwer for 5 Glass Lusters at f16:- 30:--:--
> And from Christ: Freijsler for 3 Cristal crowns [= chandeliers] 101:10:--[348]

Daniel Housel was one of two generations of silversmiths in Amsterdam, whose work is represented in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. The silver square and compasses were probably those resting on the bible during the ritual, the candle holders those for the officers' tables. Besides parts of the interior, regalia were also discussed in the lodge minutes. The Dutch Grand Lodge had just decided on 26-12-1756 to allow

Table 2.A: Inventory of lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam, 27-7-1757

The following belong in the furniture cash box
The ornament of the Worshipful [Master]
Two for the Sr & Jr Warden
for the Secretary
for the Treasurer
for the Master of Ceremonies
for the Terrible
for the Orator
for the Architect
for the Steward
for the Past Master
for the Fiscal
for the Master of Furniture
A large silver set square
A loose Pair of Compasses
Three Gavels
three Aprons
Two hangings of Mirror glass S.E.B.
A Gold Medal

These belong in the Furniture closet
Some pairs of white gloves
The Large Wax candle sticks
the Wax candles
three backs of chairs
the decoration La Bien Aimée

In the Architect's closet belong
three Large Chairs
the Table for the Worshipful [Master]
the cash boxof the Bien Aimée
the tin belonging thereto
three candles with silver Candle holders
the Lectern of the Secretary

Still on the ceiling
2 Cristal crowns each with 6 branches
1 ditto Cristal crown with 8 branches
5 Lustres with copper Branches
[Noted in the sideline:]
NB: these stayed behind in [the pub] 't schild van Vrankrijk

lodges to choose their own distinguishing colour, which was registered in the Constitution.[349] The members of the Order were obliged to wear an apron with a border in that chosen colour, but a blue border was now only allowed for Grand Lodge officers. This posed a problem for La Bien Aimée which was already using a blue border and, in order to prevent the costs of having to buy new regalia, initially wanted to keep it. However, on 25-3-1757 the lodge decided that the colour had to change after all and that it would pay for the swap of ribbons and borders.[350] The new lodge colour was to be pink or rose (*couleur de rose*).

The next relevant document is one of the oldest Dutch lodge inventories, if not the oldest, dating from 27-7-1757 (see table 2.A).[351] It includes three officer's gavels and thirteen ornaments, their decoration unspecified, as well as the above mentioned symbolical tools. The aprons and gloves mentioned might belong to the main officers, but were more likely a supply for new candidates. The lodge furniture is included: Robarts depiction of La Bien Aimée, the large candles for the tracing board and the table of the Worshipful Master. Interesting is the mention of not just three large chairs, but also three backs of chairs, suggesting detachable headpieces, probably decorated with masonic symbols and similar to those depicted by Maas and Dubourg (see figs. 2.67-2.68a-b). The orator had his own lectern. The aforementioned light fixtures are listed, accompanied by a note in the margin 'these were left behind in the Shield of France', which refers to the pub on the Zeedijk where the lodge used to meet. Remarkable is the mention of hangings of mirror glass 'S.E.B.', probably used to enhance the overall illumination by reflecting the candle light. The lodge owned a cash box, used to store contributions and charity collections, as well as documents, and probably the gold medal that the lodge had received as a gift from a befriended Swedish lodge (see chapter 7).

A second lodge from which such early records have survived is lodge L'Astrée in Utrecht, founded on 2-8-1760 and constituted on 1 September of the same year. The lodge minutes noted how the new Worshipful Master Pierre Antoine Trancrède comte d'Hauteville gave a commission on 15-12-1760 to Isaak Lodewijk De la Fargue van Nieuwland (1726-1805) 'to construct a Throne & Temple representative of that of Solomon'.[352] The former was a French priest, who after becoming embroiled in a scandal and arrest had fled to England. He got into trouble again and fled to Belgium and eventually settled in the Netherlands. The latter was a member of a whole family of artists, a brother to the better known Paul Constantijn de la Fargue (1729-1782), who also accepted commissions from lodges.[353] De la Fargue was himself a freemason, at the time of this commission by lodge L'Astrée having obtained the degree of Fellow-Craft, and co-founder of the Rotterdam lodge Frédéric Royal. As thanks for his work he was now initiated as Master in L'Astrée.

Between the documents received by the Grand Lodge in The Hague is a list of debts of lodge l'Astrée, which includes an overview of purchases. This provides an insight into the costs of regalia:

> 1761 […]
> 17 8br […] For three large tables to Verhey 9:18:-
> 30 8br To Schrieder for a Plan [= tracing board] 10:10-
> [...] for Four ladies Goats leather Gloves at 62 27:-:-
> Two Aprons for Brothers Bierboom & Leenpoel 12:-:-
> one ditto for Brother Carnabé 1:-:-
> to Brodier, for three Swords 15:-:-
> 17 9br three Aprons for the Brethren de Koning,
> Brand and Bucoi 18:-:-[354]

Among these documents is also another early inventory, dated 1762 (see table 2.B).[355] By that time the lodge probably met in the coffeehouse of N. van Rhyn next to the tower of the Dom. The list includes much of the same furniture as that of La Bien Aimée (chairs, candlesticks, chandeliers, etc.), but there are more of them and this overview provides a more complete insight into the costs of such necessities. The members apparently sat on simple wicker chairs. There are seven officers' jewels and six gavels listed (some inlaid and others made of ivory), as well as the attire for the Terrible. The seals for the authentication of membership certificates are mentioned, as are notebooks for the keeping of minutes and other records.

Table 2.B: Inventory of lodge L'Astrée (Astrea) in Utrecht, 1762

Record of the Jewels, Furniture of the Lodge Astrea according to purchase

The plan of the Lodge	*f 13-*	*14-*
One ditto	*10-*	*10*
A Ballot box	*:-*	*18-*
Compasses and Square	*:-*	*14-*
Iron Plate [for sound effect of thunder]	*13-*	*:-*
Grand and Small Seal	*26-*	*10-*
the Constitution from The Hague	*52-*	*10-*
To Brodier in The Hague for five Jewels	*34:-*	*:-*
10 Cm. Blue Ribbon	*6:-*	*:-*
11 ditto red Ribbon	*9:-*	*16-*
A Seal	*5:-*	*5-*
A Buffet	*5:-*	*5-*
To the Book binder	*16:-*	*8-*
A Leeman f 5 ¾ and the painting f 2:- = 7:-	*15-*	
Two Jewels for the Intend[ant] & Architect	*20:-*	*:-*
five Ell red Ribbon at 14 SLS	*3:-*	*10-*
Nine Candles	*63:-*	*:-*
Nine Screws	*:-*	*18-*
Four notebooks	*2:-*	*10-*
Table Cloth	*4:-*	*:-*
The Throne according to invoices	*348:-*	*8-*
To improve the Jewel of the [Worshipful] Master	*8:-*	*10-*
Seal of the Secretary	*7:-*	*10-*
Three inlaid Gavels	*15-*	*15-*
Three candle holder branches Sun, Moon & Stars	*18-*	*:-*
24 Wicker chairs at 20 SLS	*24-*	*:-*
12 Copper Candlesticks at 18 SLS	*10-*	*16-*
A crown with branches as candle holders	*11-*	*:-*
Lantern in the Front house	*2:-*	*10-*
A Small Cushion	*1:-*	*5-*
Six warming stoves	*:-*	*18-*
A Silk Cloth	*1-*	*5-*
Three Large Tables	*36:-*	*10-*
2 ditto	*12:-*	*10-*
Twenty-seven Ell Green Caizant printed as Curtains		
four Ell ditto as 2 small Curtains		
four ell red printed Caizant for the buffet together 35 Ell at 12 stuivers	*21-*	*:-*
12 Spittoons	*2-*	*14-*
48 Canons & 6 Beer Goblets	*9-*	*4-*
A Candelabra with seven branches	*26-*	*5-*
A Small table	*15-*	*15-*
Three Windows	*9-*	*9-*
ditto Candle holders	*2-*	*10-*
A Plan and three painted Blinds	*15-*	*15-*
Three Ell Liver Linen	*2-*	*8-*
for the varnishing and gilding of the Table top and Candlestick	*18:-*	*:-*
another Plan for the Master [degree]	*10:-*	*10-*
A Ladder to climb the frontispiece of the Throne	*3:-*	*10-*
Together	*f 932:-*	*:-*
An Iron hearth with copper knobs		
Thong & ash shovel		
2 Tin Tobacco boxes		
2 tobacco warmer Stands		
4 Candle snuffs		
3 Ivory Gavels presented by the Brother van Wellem		
the Cloak, and Hat of the Terrible presented by Brother Schutt		
A Red Velvet Cushion presented by Brother Schuler		

This lodge owned three 'plans of the lodge' or tracing boards, as well as 'three painted chasinettes' or blinds. The latter were probably used as window or wall covers and decorated with appropriate symbols.

From the specified costs it is clear that lodge l'Astrée had invested most in its throne, costing almost 350 guilders. The 'ladder' needed to climb the 'frontispiece', suggests the use of a fronton or canopy above the Worshipful Master's chair. Interesting is the mention of candle holders with branches, representing sun, moon and stars. What stands out is the amount of cloth listed here: linen, silk, as well as green and red printed *caizant* for curtains or drapes, suggesting a brightly coloured interior as well as having a luxurious effect (perhaps *karsaai* was meant here, a type of twilled woollen cloth). The minutes of a lodge meeting on 16-11-1762 illustrate that the lodge used to make use of 'chains for the iron arch, and shelves with steps for the fake stairs', which formed some sort of obstacle course during the candidate's journey.[356] The Grand Lodge discouraged the use of such pranks during the ritual, which was supposed to be a solemn matter.

The inclusion in the inventory of a buffet, tables, spittoons, glasses, *rechauds* (warmer stands) tobacco boxes and even a small stove suggests the lodge was just as well equipped for the table lodge and socializing afterwards.

■ *Regulations of the Dutch Grand Lodge*

When lodges resumed their activities after the ban from circa 1744 onwards, their customs varied widely. So when the Dutch Grand Lodge reorganised and re-established itself in 1756, attempts were made to regulate ritual practice on a national level. One of the first acts was to remind lodges of the (English) rules, to which they were still bound:

> One will no longer be allowed to use painted Lodges [= tracing boards], but each Brother will take it upon himself to be able to trace it appropriately.[357]

Permanent tracing boards were already mentioned in the lodge inventories discussed above and must have been widely used, or else there would have been no need to discourage it.[358] Despite the prohibition, these would only continue to gain in popularity and replace the drawing by hand altogether.

In 1761 the aforementioned *Wetboek Dubois* appeared. This book provided the Dutch lodges with their own regulations, replacing the English rules laid out in Anderson's *Constitutions*. Amongst Grand Secretary Dubois' surviving documents is an undated instruction for the decoration of the lodge, dated by masonic historian Pott around 1770[359]:

> Decoration of the lodge
>
> The Lodge, both that of Apprentice and that of Fellow-Craft, is not bound to any particular wall hangings, It can only be decorated with allegories or any other Paintings, according to the first two degrees.
>
> The arm chair and the altar of the Worshipful Master are placed in the East of a foot stool [= elevation] of 3. steps and under a Dais or canopy.
>
> The altar, the arm chair and the Dais are of sky-blue silk, embroidered with gold bullion or fringe.
>
> The steps and the canopy can be, if one so chooses, fastened to the wall, but the altar and the arm chair need to stand at some distance from it, so the Candidate can complete his journey behind the Venerable Master.
>
> On the wall, to the East, just above the Dais, on a blue cloth or silk, one will paint an equilateral triangle, without any letters or name inside, only the 3 corners will be surrounded by a radiant glory, with this inscription:
>
> Et Tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt [= Joh. 1:5: And the darkness comprehended it not].
>
> Before the Altar will be placed a Painting, representing the only allegory of the degree, which for an Apprentice is a Rough Stone and these letters for the motto - - - -.[360]
>
> On the base of the altar, on the highest step of the foot stool, will be a pillow covered in blue cloth, and a set square embroidered in gold thereon, as the Candidate will need to kneel, when he makes his masonic commitment.
>
> On the altar of the Worshipful Master will be placed, a candle with 3. branches, the Bible opened on the 1st Chapter of the Evangelist John, the compasses and the square placed in each other, - the trowel - the hammer and the Ritual of the degree, and if there is a Reception, one will also place the apron and the men's and women's gloves for the Candidate upon it.
>
> In the West will be two very small tables for the 2. Wardens, on each of which one will place a wax candle, a sword, the Ritual of the degree, and the order [= function jewel] of the Warden, hanging from a blue ribbon.
>
> Between the altar of the East and the two small tables of the West, a carpet or Tracing Board will be placed, representing a long square. Round the tracing board will be placed the 3, masonic lights, on their tall candlesticks. One, at the corner of the Southeast, the other at the corner of the Southwest, and the third at the corner of the Northwest.
>
> The lodge of the labour [= workplace, lodge room] will be as a whole only lit by 9 lights, namely by 3. of the candelabra with the 3 branches standing on the altar 2. those placed on the tables of the Wardens, 1. that standing on the table of the Secretary of the Lodge, and finally by the 3. distinguished Great lights, which are standing around the tracing board.
>
> (N.B.: The table of the Secretary also serves, on occasion, as that of the treasurer, and of the orator.) Except those aforementioned 9. lights, the room in which the Lodge is present, will be lit with a reasonable amount of wax candles, according to the size of the room.
>
> The form of the Apprentice Tracing Board is an elongated square, surrounded by a broad indented border. The inner section, which makes up a third of the length, represents the forecourt of the Temple. On the lower half on the right side of the East [= North], the rough Stone should be placed, to the left side [= South], the cubic stone, and in the middle, but a little higher, the drawing board [= *teekenplank*]. Those three things together make somewhat of a triangle. In the upper half, a square, representing the innermost of the temple, one sees the blazing star with five points, and the letter G in gold in the middle. To the right side of the Tracing Board [= North] is the Sun, on the left side [= South] the moon, and above it an indented cord, as the tassels should reach below the elongated square.

> The representation of the forecourt, no the innermost of the Temple, on the lower half of the square, is represented by a door or gate which is closed, having on the right side [= North], the Column J, and on the left side [= South] the Column B, which letter B: should be placed but in the reception of the Fellow of the Craft.
>
> One climbs up until this Door, with a Stairs of 7. Steps, in a half Circle, which is part of the forecourt. On the 3rd step, starting at the bottom, which should be a little wider, one sets the number 3. On the fifth step 5. and on the top step 7., furthermore the mosaic floor as is customary.[361]

This description still closely resembles the tracing board in *De geheimen der vry metzelaars en der mopsen geopenbaard* (1745) (fig. 2.80). We may assume that the lodges associated with the Grand Lodge followed these rules for their meetings in the basic degrees.

■ *The porch of the temple*

The early inventories and Dubois' regulations illustrate, how special attention was paid to the seat of the Worshipful Master, which underlined his authority. What was once a simple arm chair with a small writing table, developed into an elevation with a royal-style throne, covered by a canopy. The candidate's journey went round the back of the Master's chair, which is precisely why Dubois prescribed above that enough space had to be left to do so. Masonic historian Pott explained that the transformation of the chair into an ever more elaborate throne had consequences for the ritual.[362] He suggested that the decoration of masonic thrones kept their purely ornamental character until circa 1775. Around that time, the throne changed into a more symbolic element, representing the Middle Chamber, located in the East of the Temple. This development is well illustrated by the archives of lodge La Vertu in Leiden, of which Pott himself was a member.

On 3-8-1757 a number of freemasons requested a Constitution for lodge La Vertu, which was granted on 19-8-1757. The lodge is still active today. An inventory dating from 1769 first describes the officers' jewels in detail (table 2.C).[363] These were exceptionally made by the silversmith Christiaan Ehrenfried Burckhardt (1742-1821), who was initiated on 21-1-1769 'on the condition, that said Mister Borckhardt would make a fine jewel for the Lodge, according to [an] invoice for a sum of 80 guilders, as payment for his reception'.[364] Burckhardt was involved with the lodge for most of his life and would execute many more commissioned jewels. His life and work, as well as the rich symbolism of the jewel designs, have been described in detail in publications by Jan Snoek. Burckhardt's wife, Weynanda, was responsible for the aprons and other (textile) regalia used by the lodge.[365] The lodge archive, which also includes financial records, provides a unique and unusually complete insight into these commissions, which cannot be discussed in detail here.[366]

The inventory further describes the furniture of the lodge room, 'kept by Van Staden in the Doelen', the coffeehouse where the lodge used to meet. Included are three armchairs for the officers, the table for the Worshipful Master, the tracing board and its three candles, and some smaller candles for the officers. A wooden shelf with holes was probably one of the symbolical obstacles for the candidate, varieties of which are found in most inventories of that time. A throne was mentioned and this is one of the rare cases in which its design also survived. The drawing shows an elevation of three steps under a canopy, resting on two columns (fig. 2.89). There is no table, but something more befitting the word *'altar'*, which was now coming into use. Following contemporary fashions, the columns and the altar are decorated with bows, shields and *rocailles*. According to the inventory, the furnishings were executed in green and gold. Other items listed are the gavels and ink wells for the officers, a charity box for collections and chalices for the table lodge. There is also mention of an imported piece of storage furniture: a white 'East Indian' chest with its locks and keys.

The first inventory can be compared to a second, dating from 28-11-1770.[367] This includes the same items, but elaborates on some, such as the ink stands 'with sand bowls and pen stands, triangular, A separate candle stand to place on one of them instead of the pen stand'.[368] Following the descriptions and illustrations in exposures and (manuscript) ritual manuals, triangular shapes were often used as a basis for officers' tables, candle sticks and candle holders, as well as charity boxes and other objects to reflect geometrical symbolism. Unique to this lodge is the mention of 'Two Servants hats with [embroidered] the trowel and LA VERTU'.[369] An hourglass, presumably for the Chamber of Reflection, was one of the few other additions.

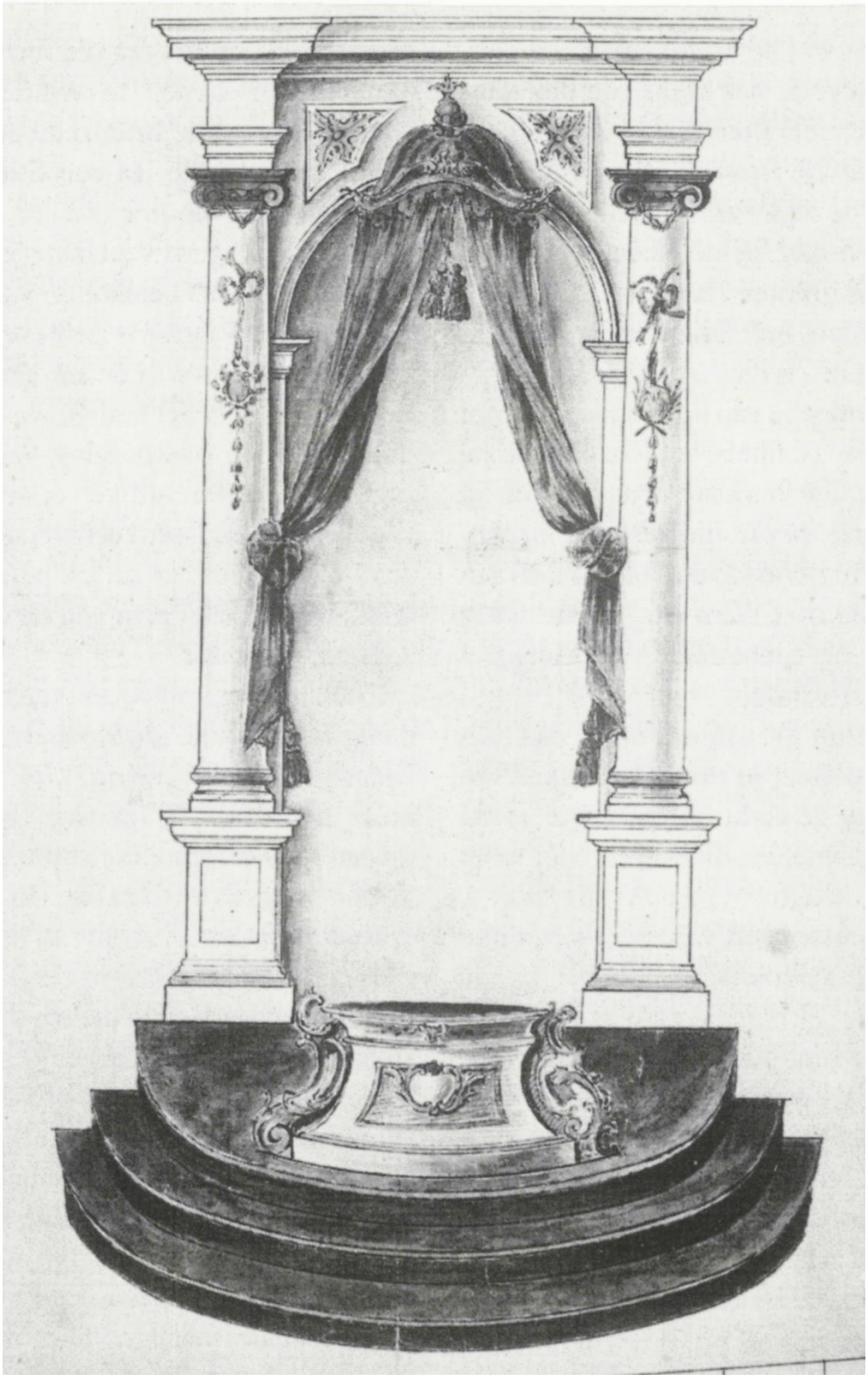


Fig. 2.89: Design for a throne for lodge La Vertu in Leiden, ca. 1769, pencil drawing. Archive of lodge La Vertu, Leiden. Reproduced from: Pott 1957, p. 143.

Table 2.C: Inventory of lodge La Vertu in Leiden, 1769

Furniture [and] Tools belonging to the venerable Lodge la Vertu as these were found to be in the Year 1769

A deal box
A browned oak chest
A ditto smaller in which
The jewel of the Worshipful [Master] being a diamond Star, in the middle of a pair of compasses, resting on a ruler, a set square & three swords, under the star is a skull and two bones & above the compasses is an emperors crown
A jewel, being a level for the senior warden
A ditto, a plumb line, for the junior warden
A ditto, two keys making a cross, on which a pair of compasses, rests with both points, underneath is written LA VERTU, in the middle one sees Sun, moon & a star with the letter G, between the two keys below is a set square & a gavel for the Treasurer
A jewel, two swords in cross shape, on which in the middle a skull for the Terrible
A jewel an open pair of compasses resting on the Sun
A ditto a transport ruler, & in the middle an open pair of compasses
A ditto an open pair of compasses, resting on the 25 measure half circle for the Master of Ceremonies
A ditto a small walnut staff studded on both ends with silver, into which cut some tools and the word La Vertu for the Master of Ceremonies
A common copper pair of compasses with blunted points
three wooden gavels or hammers
A triangular charity box of metal
Al the jewels are hanging from a broad green silk ribbon edged with a gold lace

Furthermore at van Staden in the Doelen
The Throne with its belongings covered with green and gold
2 tracing boards one old, one new
the table to the throne
three arm chairs with three velvet seats
21 chalices
3 wooden gilded candlesticks
3 ditto smaller
3 ditto with branches not gilded
3 ditto without branches
1 large east indian white chest, with two locks & keys
One square wooden plank with 27 holes
Three tin ink stands

Table 2.D: Inventory of lodge La Vertu in Leiden, 28-11-1770

Furniture with which the venerable lodge L'Age d'Or at its merger or union has honoured us in the Year 1770

The throne with its belongings
The table of the throne behind a chest with two doors with Lock & key, with a rose red silk cloth with fringe, and in the same four drawers
The kneeling bench with ditto silk covered & fringe
[in the side line:] we have presented this, I think, to a lodge in Middelburg

Three wooden solid gilded candle sticks with gilded copper pipes
three ditto larger
Three wooden candlesticks with gilded wooden candle holders
A gilded crown with 8 branches
three triangular planks with nine gilded candle holders
Three iron candlesticks standing on three legs
Three wooden candlesticks with copper candle holders on top
An armchair with rose red seat & back
Two ditto with wicker backs
Sun, Moon & the Star with the G to put on the armchairs, gilded
3 wooden gavels
A metal Thing to make a loud & terrible noise
A green wooden chest with Lock & Keys
A white sheet & two towels
A double green wooden stairs with four steps
A painted cloth, being a Mosaic floor

The second inventory also listed furniture acquired from another Leiden lodge, L'Age d'Or, which merged with La Vertu in 1770 (table 2.D).[370] Most items doubled those of La Vertu, although a prop to make noise was added, probably a sheet of metal which could be shaken to produce the effect of thunder. The last items on the inventory were a set of copper jewels on red ribbons from L'Age d'Or, of which was noted: 'These jewels were honoured [= gifted] to a Lodge in zeeland or to [lodge] le profond Silence in Campen'.[371]

The lodge minutes of 18-10-1774 recorded: 'Then the Members were shown, and read a design or plan for subscription, to in the best possible way find the funds for a new Throne, without thereby burdening the Cash box of this Lodge'.[372] An estimate for the costs by lodge member J.A. van Hoogeveen Langerak reads:

> For the making of the Wall hanging and the covering of the Hood. the Wall hanging of Green Velvet or Silk with Gold Fringe and Bullion. the necessary Canvas the stretching of the same and that which also belongs to it Will cost Circum Circa hundred and five Guilders.[373]

The new throne was taken into use on 19-5-1775 and would eventually cost over fl. 700,-. The surviving design shows a construction, reminiscent of a temple facade (fig. 2.89), while an inventory from 1774

Table 2.E: Inventory of lodge La Vertu in Leiden, 1774

The throne with its belongings consisting of
2 Columns topped with their Capitals in cornices,
2 Pilasters pedestals and basements
The hood of linden stretched over wood the inside sky blue with gold stars
The pedestal being a silver shield on which La Vertu and two green lacquered branches
The curtains of green Armozijn *with gold fringe and bullion*
The steps and covers marbled
The Altar coppered, with gilt festoons
An armozijn *pillow on a shelf with a gold lace*
An arm chair with green plain velvet seat and back nailed with lace, the top with gilt and lacquered carvings.
2 ditto Arm chairs somewhat smaller with plain green velvet seats and thatched backs, with covers of coarse linen
3 ditto Arm chairs with green velvet flowered seats and backs
6 Larger carved wooden candlesticks green and gilt
6 ditto smaller
3 large wooden candlesticks, not gilded, whereby three copper candle stands and 3 triple iron branches, with 9 gilt candleholders
3 small Black candles with metal candle holders
3 ditto with gilt candle holders
1 gilt carved wooden crown with eight branches and candle holders
2 copper crowns with 4 branches
2 copper candle holders to hang upon the wall
1 large chest with 1 Lock and Key painted blue
1 ditto smaller unpainted with Lock and Key
1 ditto with Lock and Key
1 ditto in the cellar with a middle separation and Lock and Key
1 square shelf with 9 holes
4 Tin ink stands, with sand bowls and triangular pen holders, a separate candle holder to put on one of the same, instead of a pen holder
1 browned Oak box, with a copper hinge for the treasurer, with a Key
1 ditto larger for the Secretary with one Key
1 ditto smaller for the Master of Furniture with 2 Keys
1 triangular copper charity box, with a copper Lock and Key
2 Servants' hats, on which a trowel and La Vertu
The Sun, Moon and Star with the G silver-plated and gilt
3 wooden Gavels
One metal instrument, to produce a loud and terrible noise
1 bloody Napkin
1 double green wooden stairs with four steps
Some pieces of painted canvas
1 wooden ruler or row 32 Ell long
1 Red ribbon 3 ell long
1 bloody head
1 earthenware lamp
1 Skull
1 metal mug
27 metal candle holders
The hood and curtains of the old throne, being green zaai [= silk/carzaai?], edged with gold bullion, as well as three tassels
2 Tracing boards one old and one new with a stick to roll them up

A jewel being a crystal Star, in the middle a pair of compasses, which rest on a transport ruler, a set square and 3 swords, beneath the Star is a skull and two bones, and above the compasses is a crown.
A set square
A level
A plumb
Two pens, and on top in between the same a set square
Two keys crossed, on which a pair of compasses rests with both pints, beneath it is written La Vertu, in the middle one sees the Sun, Moon and Star with the letter G, between the Two keys on the bottom is a set square and a hammer
A flaming sword on which VIRTUTI SERVIO
Two swords crossed on which in the middle a skull
A pair of compasses resting on a Sun
A transport ruler and in the middle an open pair of compasses
A bag with a Locket, and on the same Various building tools [and the words] tout se renferme en moi
A cornucopia around which a snake, and a plantain leaf and above one reads Virtutis Genis S.
An open pair of compasses resting of a five thumbs moet *[= measure?] half Circle*
[in the side line:] All these jewels are hanging from a wide green silk ribbon with a gold lace
A small rosewood Stick, on both Ends studded with silver, on which some tools have been cut and <u>*La Vertu*</u>
A copper gilded crown lined with blue cloth, on which pearls and Mirror Stones
A ditto crown without pearls or Stones
A gilt Sceptre with blue Stripes and a shiny triangle op top
One large poker with its Scabbard
Two pairs of Black gloves with silver fringe and turndowns
3 pair of bloody gloves
2 copper Seals with wooden knobs
1 copper pair of compasses
[added in smaller writing]
2 copper candle holders on the chimney in the large room
A machine to make it rain
A cup with a lid and chest
A rough linen bag with beans and a bowl
~~*1 Code macon in green maroquin*~~ *this on the list of archives.*
a Black cloth, on the table and the small throne
A Chamber of Reflection
A chest with 2 locks
Two metals to make thunder
five windows covered with paper

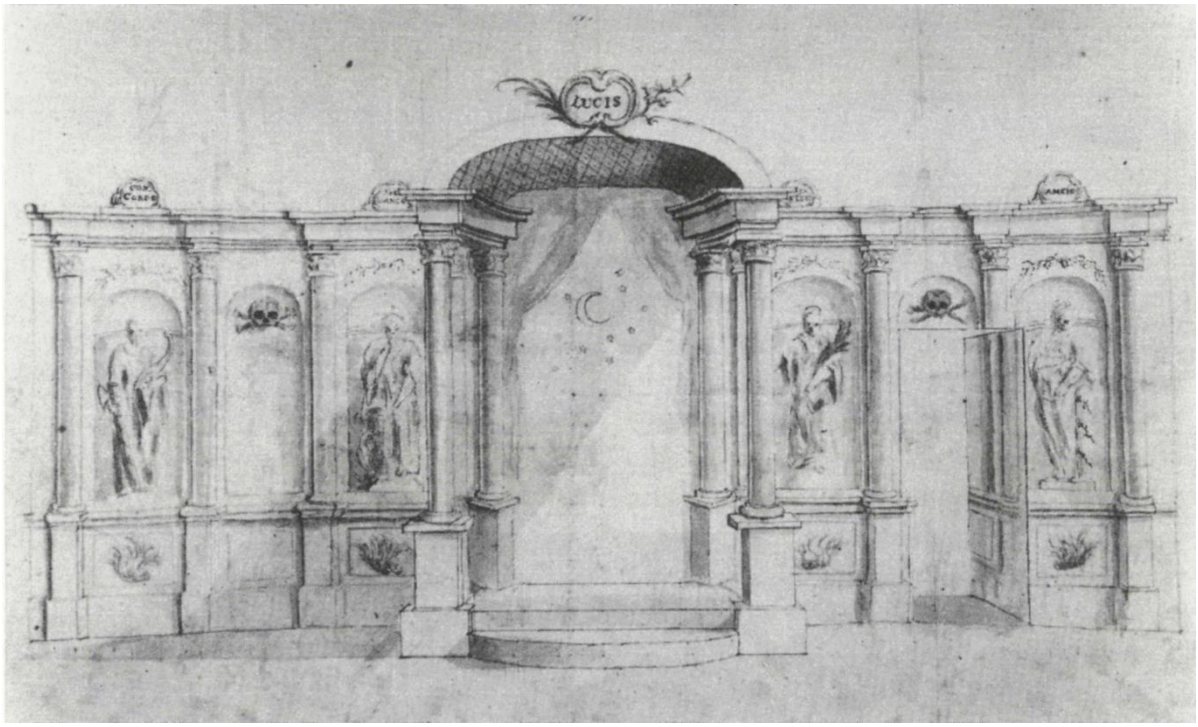


Fig. 2.90: Design for a throne of lodge La Vertu in Leiden, ca. 1775, pencil drawing. Archive of lodge La Vertu, on loan to the Leiden City Archive. Reproduced from: Pott 1961 B, p. 153.

a large bible
A white sheet with a Triangle drawn [on it] and green silk in which la vertu
A tea pot & 1 ditto with salt
10 wooden cut gilded lusters with copper candle holders
2 small tables with Drawers for the Secretary and treasurer
1 Ladder of 11 Steps
1 Green cloth to keep [= cover] the throne
1 red laetband [= fascia]
3 gilded branches on the throne
1 skeleton of cardboard in the Chamber of Reflection
[added in a different handwriting:]
Black and white festoons for the Master Lodge

described each element of its construction and the colours used (table 2.E).[374] The steps and pillars were marbled [= painted to resemble marble] and personifications of masonic virtues were placed in niches along the walls of this facade: Unity, Silence, Wisdom and Friendship. In the middle was a gate, above which the word *lucis* (light) was depicted in a shield. Behind a painted veil, a sky-blue background was painted with a moon and golden stars. To the right a secret door could be opened in order to light or extinguish a lamp, which lit up the moon and stars during a specific moment in the ritual. This was one of the many theatrical effects used to enhance the experience for the participants. Considering this was still an ambulant lodge interior, it must have taken some trouble to erect and dismantle these pieces for each meeting. A carpenter was paid to do so.

The same 1774 inventory described the lodge furniture, repeating the furniture and regalia discussed above, but also illustrating some changes to the ritual practice. For instance, a *Chambre Obscure* or Chamber of Reflection was now mentioned, suggesting a separate space in which an image of a skeleton was placed as *memento mori*. The addition of jewels shows that the number of lodge officers and functions had expanded. The lodge was still using green and gold drapes, and furniture was covered in green *armozijn* or *trijp*. *Armozijn*, named after the city of Ormuzd, was a thin type of silk- or satinlike cloth, used to line clothing.[375] *Trijp* was a type of velvet. An altar and bible were specified, while the paper windows mentioned here were probably those also drawn on the tracing board (see fig. 2.82).

While four years earlier only items for the basic degrees were specified, now props and regalia for at least one higher degree were also specified. The 'poker' mentioned refers to the revenge for Hiram's murder which as discussed earlier is played out in the *Élu* degrees. A poniard or dirk, a small dagger-like sword, is used both as a jewel and a ritual prop in those degrees (compare figs. 2.39-2.41). The use of a



Fig. 2.91: Le Temple de la Sagesse et de La Vertu, ca. 1770, copper engraving. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Reproduced from: Pott 1957, p. 180.

bloodied (severed) head, most likely made of *papier maché* or wood also points to the *Élu* degrees, referring to the punishment of Hiram's murderers by beheading (compare fig. 2.38). In the ritual of those degrees, lodge officers took on the 'role' of king Solomon and other biblical figures. The two crowns and sceptre were part of their regalia or 'costumes'. Other items had a more practical use, such as various chests for storage and a bag with (black and white) beans for balloting new members.

` Pott concluded from this new design of the throne that the focus of masonic symbolism had now shifted from the tracing board on the floor to the space of the temple.[376] The throne was no longer part of the furniture emphasizing the status of the Worshipful Master, but had gained a deeper meaning: it was now symbolizing a symbolical gate in the East, the entrance to the Middle Chamber or the porch of the *Temple de la Sagesse et de la Vertu* (the Temple of Wisdom and Virtue). Pott described prints representing

this concept as influential in European freemasonry at the time. An example is a print from an anonymous artist (fig. 2.91), depicting:

> […] a square temple [on seven steps] […], which according to the inscription on the tympanum of the roof, being the old master word [= the tetragrammaton], should be considered equal to the Middle Chamber. It is surrounded by four figures, of which almost always three are visible, representing Wisdom, Strength and Beauty, whereby Wisdom and Strength are flanking the gate, closed with a drapery, through which the blazing star [with the letter 'G'] is visible. Diagonally behind the temple one finds the 'mount, of which the earth showed signs of having recently been formed', while on the other side a usually pyramid-like and [with tools] finely decorated grave monument marked the place where the body of Hiram Abiff was interred.[377]

It can be added, that on each side of the temple the sun and the moon are depicted, surrounded by clouds. On both sides below them, small trees are growing, the one on the right probably representing an acacia as a reference to the murder of Hiram Abiff and marking his (first) grave.

The entrance of the temple is flanked by the columns 'J' and 'B'. Above the entrance of the temple is a portrait in a medallion, surrounded by a barely readable text, probably 'L.G. Pr. de Hess. Darm.' This probably refers to Ludwig Georg Carl, Prince of Hesse Darmstadt (1749-1823), who was a freemason since 1768 and in 1773 briefly was Grand Master of the *Große Landesloge von Deutschland*, which practised the Swedish Rite.[378] This suggests the print is German and may be related to his time in office. At the foot of the stairs, on the chequered floor, is a Master freemason dressed with a hat, an apron and a jewel in the shape of a set square. He is holding a gavel, probably identifying him as a Worshipful Master. Next to him is a man who appears to look for the entrance, meaning a candidate. On the left at the foot of the stairs is a statue of a sphinx, the keeper of secrets and answers to impossible riddles. Its female side represents Beauty, its lion side represents Force, and its Wisdom completes the masonic trias.[379] (That is not to say every sphinx is a masonic one, only that in a masonic context the symbolism of the sphinx gains another layer of interpretation.) To the right at the foot of the stairs is a phoenix, symbol of rebirth and eternal life. On the mount next to the temple stands a coffin, decorated with various tools, representing the location where Hiram's murderers buried his body. Pott continued:

> Curious now, is the fact that this image has gotten the name of 'temple de la Sagesse et de la Vertu', whereby one strongly gets the impression that the words Sagesse and Vertu represent the same values as our concepts of Wisdom and Strength, which unite to Beauty. From this would follow that the word Vertu in this time and these circles was mainly conceived as a restrained Force, while the combination of Wisdom-Strength was seen as a twofoldness, which were placed as it were on one end of the temple, while Beauty is placed on the other.[380]

The design of late 18th and early 19th century aprons often shows the depiction of a temple, as a simplified version of this concept of the *Temple de la Sagesse et de la Vertu* (compare figs. 2.31-2.34).

The transformation of the throne had consequences for the ritual.[381] Once the Master was situated at the gate in the East, the columns became the place of the Wardens, with actual columns materializing in that place. Akkermans noted how there would have been no room to continue the candidate's journey behind the throne, as the elevation and canopy became more elaborate. Instead, the candidate now travelled before the work table of the Worshipful Master. This meant that the tracing board, lying against this table, had to be placed more to the middle of the room to make space for a path. And that in turn meant there was too much space between the three great lights (bible, compass and square) on the table of the Worshipful Master, also called altar, and the tracing board. To solve this a pedestal was placed in between that table and the tracing board, on which the three great lights were placed. The pedestal carrying the most important symbols received the name 'altar' and developed an appropriate shape.[382] Originally the tracing board, the centre of the lodge room around which the candidate made his journey on his way to the Light, pointed toward the East. When the throne became a symbolical gate, the initiation became oriented towards that instead. Pott emphasizes that not only did the materializing of symbols from the tracing board into physical objects result in an odd doubling effect, the focus on the tracing board as the centre of the lodge was also lost.[383]



Fig. 2.92: Lodge for the degree of Écossais Apprentif *as illustrated in* Maçonnerie des Hommes*, ca. 1782-1792, watercolour. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 10500. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.*

■ *Illustrations in ritual manuscripts*

As various higher degrees developed in France in the course of the 18th century, manuscript (and later printed) ritual manuals were produced as reminder of the correct procedure for each degree. These describe not only the rituals, but also the lodge interiors and regalia for each degree in detail, often illustrated with drawings and watercolours. As visual sources of Dutch lodge interiors before 1800 remain rare, the illustrations in the aforementioned *Maçonnerie des Hommes* (circa 1782-1792) and *Rite Écossais Ancien et Accepté. Décorations et Costumes* (circa 1804-1815), both manuscripts from the Kloss collection in the CMC (see chapter 1), provide useful reference points. Although most illustrations refer to higher degrees (some of them obscure), there are common denominators that confirm what is also apparent from the information provided by inventories of the basic degrees concerning the type of furniture, textiles and props used. The illustrations underline how little means were used for maximum effect, as one would in a theatre or stage setting. In general, the following characteristics are repeatedly seen (compare figs. 2.92-2.96):

- the use of bold monocoloured textiles - blue, green, red, purple or black - to both reflect the colour symbolism of a particular degree, enhance the desired mood, give any change from light to dark a more spectacular effect, and also to bring unity to the interior as a whole;
- the use of gold, in the form of gilding, varnish, bullion etc., as a main contrast to these colours, while silver was used as the main contrast to black. This was not just for a luxurious effect, but also because of the reflection of light in these metals, even when dimmed, and also for their symbolical meaning;
- the use of coloured drapes as wall hangings, sometimes painted or embroidered with a repeating pattern of symbols relevant to the specific degree, like tears or stars, but never overpowering the main colour;

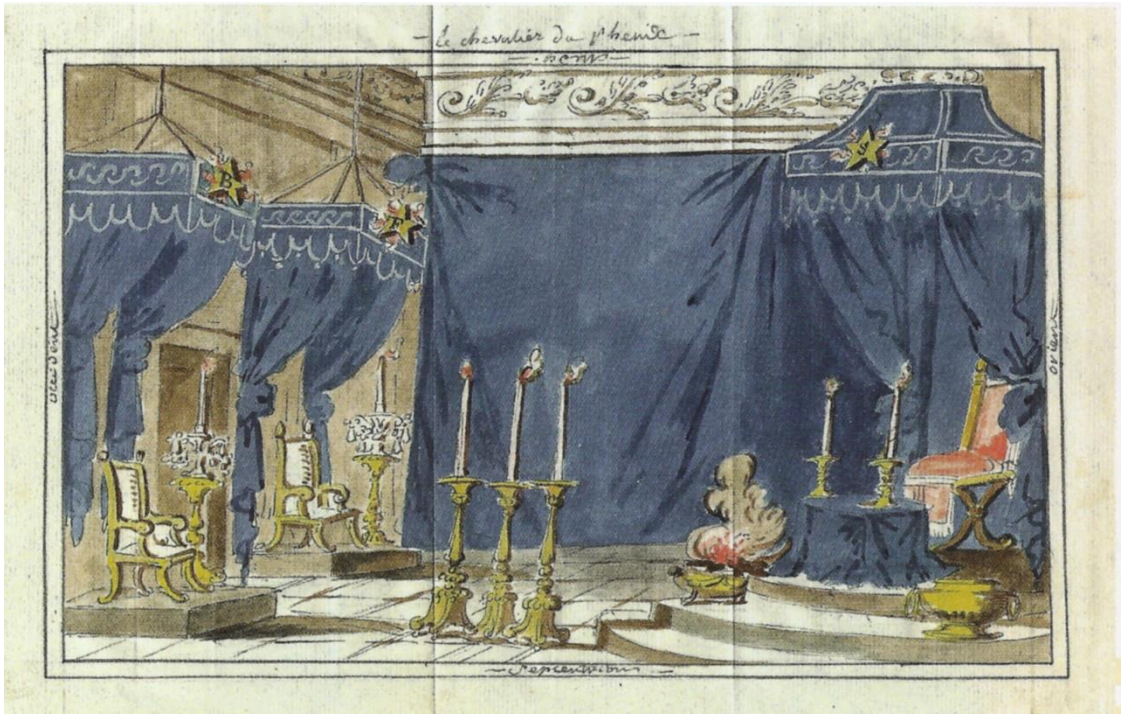


Fig. 2.93: Lodge for the degree of Chevalier du Phenix as illustrated in Maçonnerie des Hommes*, ca. 1782-1792, watercolour. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 10500. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.*

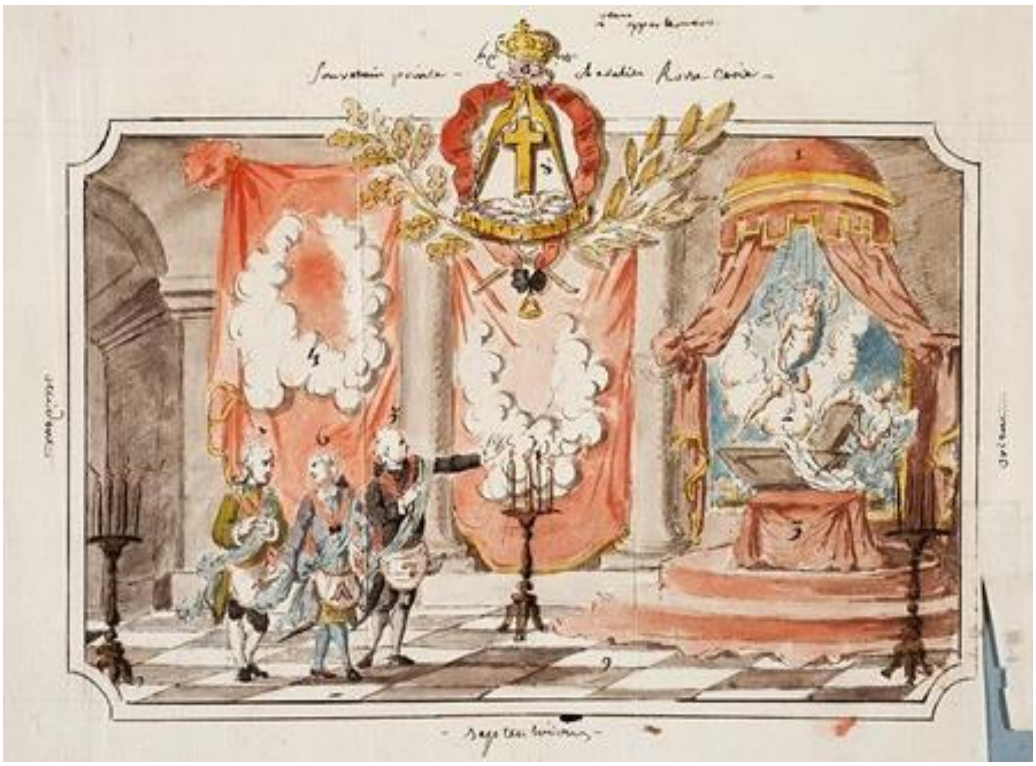
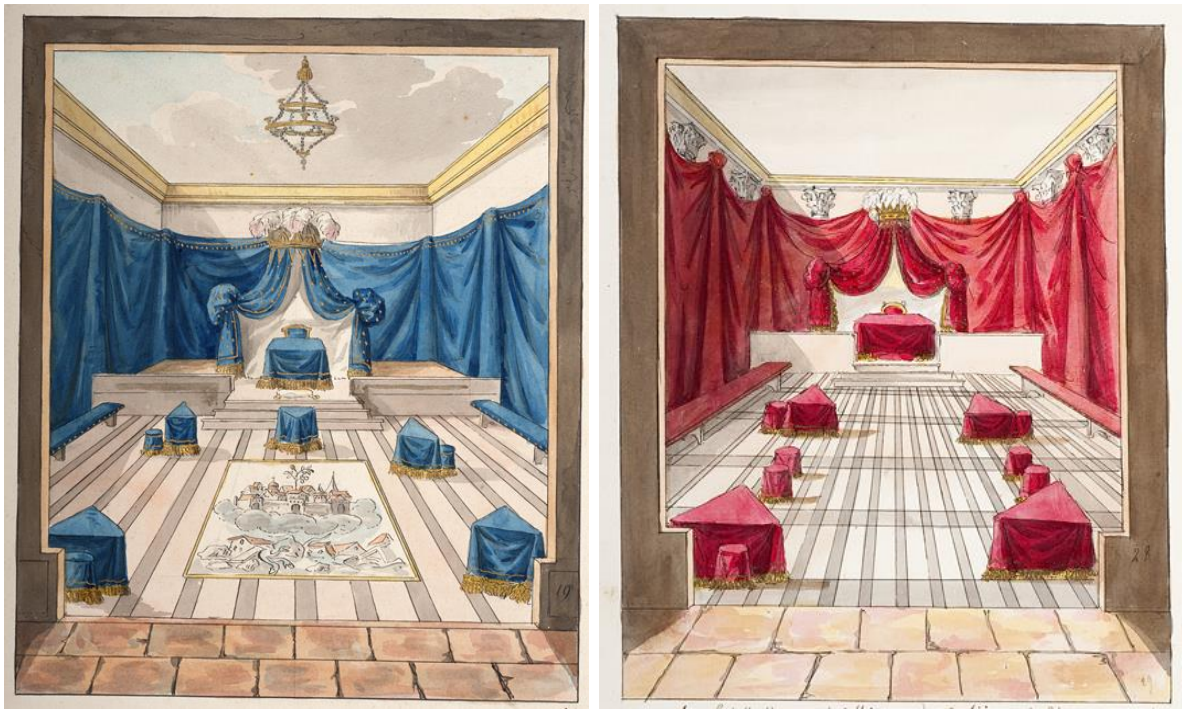
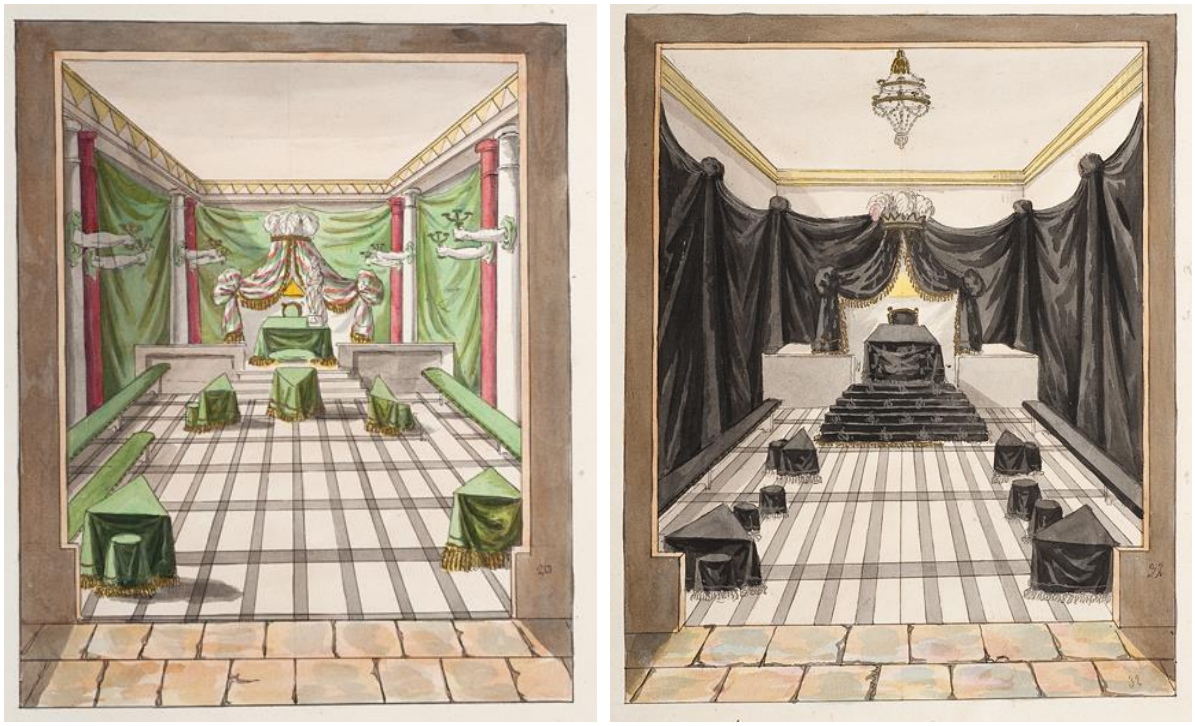


Fig. 2.94: Lodge for the degree of Souverain Prince Chevalier Rose Croix *as illustrated in* Maçonnerie des Hommes*, ca. 1782-1792, watercolour. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 10500. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.*



Figs. 2.95a-b: Lodges for the Grand Pontif ou Sublime Écossais *and* Grand Écossais de St. André Écosse ou Patriarch des Croisades *(19th and 29th degrees), as illustrated in the manuscript* Rite Écossais Ancien et Accepté, Décorations et Costumes*, ca. 1804-1815. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 16107. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.*



Figs. 2.96a-b: Lodges for the Prince de Mercy ou Écossais Trinitaire *and* Sublime Prince du Royal Secret *(20th and 32nd degrees), as illustrated in the manuscript* Rite Écossais Ancien et Accepté, Décorations et Costumes*, ca. 1804-1815. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 16107. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.*



Fig. 2.97: Chambre des musiciens de la fête ou marche des maçons *(Chamber of musicians for the feast or procession of masons), as illustrated in* Maçonnerie des Hommes*. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 10500. Reproduced from: Davies 2005, n. pag.*

- the presence of one or more royal-style thrones: the Worshipful Master's seat placed on an elevation with a canopy and curtains, sometimes accompanied by smaller versions for other officers;
- the placement of symbolical decorations on top of the canopies, such as a sun, blazing star, radiant triangle or other symbol relevant to the particular degree;
- the placement of triangular furniture, including side tables, (gilt or silver coloured) candle sticks and larger *torchières*;
- the use of wall candles with branches shaped like a man's arm[384];
- the use of props including incense vats or burners to create flames and smoke;
- the use of theatrical set pieces to simulate either architecture (temple facades, interiors or vaults) or landscapes, relating to the myth of a particular degree.

Both manuscripts most likely reflected existing customs in lodge decoration, which were already established five or ten years before. There are similar illustrated manuscripts in other European masonic

Table 2.F: Ceremony for the replacement of furniture in lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam, 27-12-1776

Bringing out the Old Jewels

2 brothers Servants with the swords out
the Master of Ceremonies
the chair of the Sr Warden carried by two Fellows
the Sr Warden with the Light
A Fellow who has handed over the Light
4 Masters 2 by 2
Treasurer and Secretary with Law book & purse
the chair of the [Worshipful] Master carried by 2 Fellows
2 Masters with swords drawn
The [Worshipful] Master carrying a Light with a Fellow on both sides
A Fellow carrying the triangular footstool
the Terrible & Orator
4 Masters 2 by 2
the Assistant of the Master of Ceremonies
the Chair of the Jr Warden
the Jr Warden carrying a Light
4 Masters 2 by 2
Master of Furniture & Steward
2 Brothers Servants with the sword [of the Lodge]

the Fiscal places himself for the time being behind the Table before the Seat of Light [= Throne]
One makes 3 Times the Tour of the Lodge, after which one escorts the old furniture out
During this journey the music plays a leaving march

during the leading in of the Furniture the master of ceremonies will observe that the music plays the usual accourez tous *[=* Marche des Francs-Maçons*] which the Brethren accompany*

and the third Tour the 3 lights are put in their place by 3 Fellows likewise the 3 Chairs and the Footstool

Table 2.G: Budget for the relocation of lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam, ca. 1785

Plan of calculation for the move of the Lodge La Bien Aimée in a thereto offered house for rent, in which one could have

A Room for the Blue Lodge
long 66 foot wide 30 feet high 20 feet
A ditto the Masters' Lodge
62 29 15
A ditto A Dining room & also for a College Room
62 29 15
Where one could, apart from the Lodge evening, have a winter night College for the Members of said Lodge, being Masters', for the making of which will be absolutely necessary

For carpentry & Painting of the blue Lodge		*f2500:-*
for improving the Masters' Lodge		*250:-*
a Throne in the Ecossois *Lodge &c*		*300:-*
a Throne in the Dining room		*300:-*
the making of the Chamber of Reflection & further repairs of the present decorations		*500:-*
100 Chairs in the Dining room	*f5*	*500:-*
4 Crowns in the ditto	*f50*	*200:-*
1 Mirror or Clock for the Chimney ditto		*150:-*
A Table Service of yellow English earthenware		*500:-*
8 dozen Silver Spoons & Forks at f14 the pair		*1344:-*
8 ditto Plated	*2:-*	*192:-*

NB the Silver can be bought as replacement at Sale [= Auction] the [gold] Plate[d] is for St. John

200 Napkins at 7/4 at	*350|*	
10 table cloths at a 2b	*120|*	
4 ditto	*20 80|- 625 a table wares at 162*	*500:-*
50 towels at 6/4 b	*75|*	

2 cooling vessels, 12 serving trays, 12 warmer stands, 12 spittoons, 2 dozen decanters, 8 dozen chalices
4 dozen beer glasses &c *100:-*

collections, which also present a similar pattern of interior decoration influenced by the French Rite around 1800.

■ *The expansion of the floor plan*

By the third quarter of the 18th century, most lodges could no longer make due with just one lodge room. They rented or built accommodation, with spaces for various functions. The records of the aforementioned lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam illustrate this development as well. The lodge asked its members to make a donation 'because of the decay of some of the Furniture […] in order to improve the same' on 11-9-1776.[385] The following St. John's Day, celebrated on 26-12-1776, some of the old furniture was indeed replaced by new, for which a special procession was held (table 2.F).[386]

The lodge minutes of 13-11-1783 recorded that another sacrifice would be asked of the members, 'because some furniture of the lodge was in such a state, that it required significant repairs or renewal and at this occasion something could be added as embellishment of the lodge'.[387] The renovated lodge room was taken into use on 26-12-1783, when the Orator took his place behind the 'Elegant new Lectern'. Lodge member Jan Gerard Waldorp (1740-1808) was thanked for making his artistic talent available and received a 'distinguished apron with the function of honorary Architect'.[388] Waldorp was a painter, who would later be involved in the *Nationale Kunst-Galerij*, the predecessor of the *Rijksmuseum* in Amsterdam. Other members, merchant Pieter Brouwer (died 1811), hat maker Jan Hendrik Valkenburg (1740-1817), merchant

Jan Reynhard de Famars and J.C. Hartsinck were honoured with a gold medal for 'conceiving the decorations of the lodge'.[389] In turn they thanked the Worshipful Master with a 'Precious Luxury [Lire] Maçonne in large Quarto bound in red velvet with gold and silver emblems embroidered'.[390]

Also dating around 1785 is the budget for renovation of a house, which was offered to the lodge to rent. It provides an insight into how the lodge planned to make use of different rooms (table 2.G).[391] Firstly, this included a Chamber of Reflection, as well as two lodge rooms for ritual purposes. Described is a 'blue' lodge, which would have been used for the 1st and 2nd degrees. The Throne of the Worshipful Master is described as the 'Seat of Light', as the Worshipful Master was considered the third 'Great Light' of the lodge. This blue interior could easily be altered with red drapes and covers to suit the *Écossais* degree, for which a separate throne is mentioned. The second lodge room, the master's lodge, was presumably furnished black, so it could be used for both the 3rd and the *Élu* degrees. The first part of the degree of *Chevalier d'Orient* could then take place in the red lodge, the second in the black lodge room, while the Rose Croix degree could also take place in the red lodge room.

Besides these ritual spaces, a dining room seating no less than a hundred members and guests was planned for the table lodge. The fact that here too, a throne was planned, emphasises that the meal was considered part of the ritual. A new addition was a 'College room' where the members 'could have a winter evening apart from the [ritual] lodge evenings', in other words: a social area. This first budget was followed by more calculations of rent, dinner and personnel costs and which contributions would be necessary to be able to finance a move. A plan for the relocation then described several money saving measures:

> […] the Cook could provide the silver and table wares at our meals. One could do with few chairs, because one could eat in the Dining room [sitting] on benches the same as presently, and 30 chairs would then suffice for the College [= Members] and the Visitors.
> One only needed three large rooms because the Dining room could also serve as Visitors room, for the College room and the Dining room.
> A Chamber of reflection, speaking and reception rooms could be found anywhere.[392]

However, it seems these plans did not come to fruition, as La Bien Aimée was listed as meeting in De Nieuwe Doelen between 1760 and 1802.[393] In other Dutch lodges however, such expansions did take place, resulting in multi-purpose lodge buildings, combining spaces for ritual, social and administrative functions.

As described by Malcolm Davies in *The Masonic Muse* (2005), musicians played an important role in the lodge and often had a particular place allocated to them in the temple or at the table lodge. In order to maintain secrecy, musicians were often members of the Order, or hired and quickly initiated 'by communication' only. Their presence was illustrated in the manuscript *Maçonnerie des Hommes* (circa 1782-1792), discussed above, where musicians are seated on a small tribune (fig. 2.97). They could also be placed behind a screen or on a gallery, less in view and/or unable to see the proceedings.

Around 1800 the presence of musicians is mentioned in the archive of a Rotterdam lodge. It was founded in 1764 under the name of Concordia (Concord) on a German Constitution.[394] The lodge went dormant in 1766, only to be reopened in 1769 under the new name De Pruissiche Eendragt (The Prussian Concord). This lodge then transferred to Dutch jurisdiction in 1782, when the name was abbreviated to De Eendragt. Its distinguishing colours were blue and orange.

By 1798, lodge the Eendragt expected a visit from Deputy Grand Master Van Teylingen.[395] The members decided on 6-2-1798 that some changes needed to be made to the lodge room in order to be able to properly receive this honoured guest:

> 1. that a proper orchestra, consisting of different instruments under direction of the Brother Raap would be employed at the expense of the Lodge, which would be seated in the therefore appropriate place above the Throne [...]
> 2. That on the Right side of the Throne an elevated seat will be placed for the deputy grand Master, with a decent table for the same.
> 3. That the stairs of the Throne, as well as part of the floor for the same will be covered with a carpet, the Brother J. Faber having had the kindness to offer some of his girandoles for use on this evening to enhance the splendor of the Lodge.

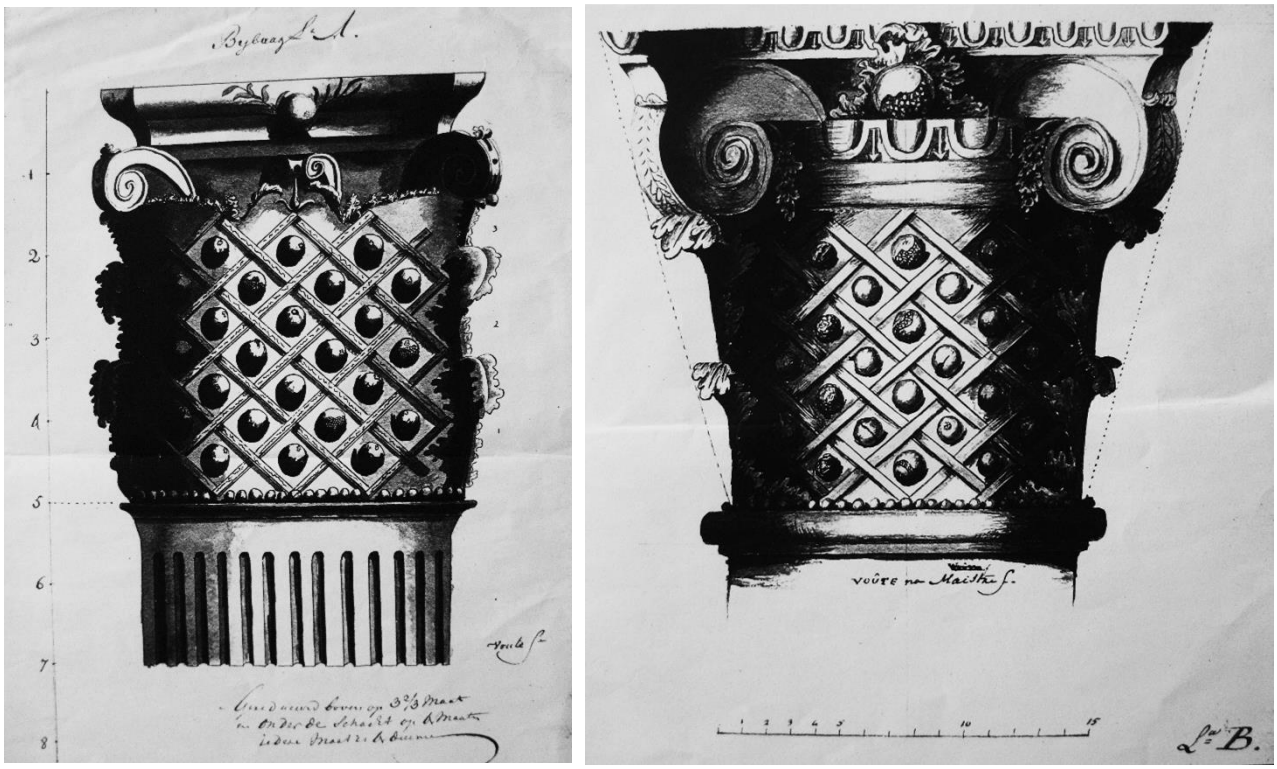


Fig. 2.98a-b: Designs for the capitals of the columns J and B for the temple of lodge De Eendragt in Rotterdam, 1798. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. I.23. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

> […] 8. That to further dignity of the Master receptions, some necessities will be bought, the execution of which was demanded from the Brother L.S. Davids […].[396]

An inventory of the lodge, made up on 30-11-1798 (table 2.H) gives a clue as to which music the musicians, apparently seated on a balcony above the throne, may have played at Van Teylingen's visit. The overview mentions among the many lodge possessions 'the quartets of the Zauberflöte', which freemason Mozart had premiered in 1791.[397]

The inventory, as well as a list of expenses dated 30-1-1799 give further information on the changes made by the lodge and also identifies some of the artists and craftsmen involved (table 2.I).[398] A Chamber of Reflection, executed in black, is mentioned, as well as the furniture for the temple and the table lodge. Apparently the lodge owned sixteen unspecified officers' jewels, as well as swords for the Tyler and other officers, staffs for the Master of Ceremonies (including one ivory inlaid with silver), and a charity box (collection box) for the Almoner. The listing of a blue 'toga' as dress for the Worshipful Master is somewhat unusual. The presence of 'two small rapiers or swords' suggests that the lodge worked with the ritual as described in Wolson's *De Metselaar ontmomd* (1753), where these swords are placed on top of the bible in a crossed position. The mention of a skull with hair and a poniard shows that the revenge-themed *Élu* degrees were also practised.

An important change decided by the lodge members, was to have new columns made. These had developed into a fixed part of the lodge interior by the end of the 18th century and their design was considered no small matter. On 4-8-1798 it was proposed to form a committee consisting of members Nicolaas Schrank, Nicolaas Montauban Van Swijndregt, Ch[arles] R[ichard] Hake, publisher of the masonic almanac, and Jan Jacob Voûte J. Enz. (circa 1775-1850) to oversee 'the inspection and enhancement of the Throne, the making of 2 Columns for the Brethren Wardens & the purchase of a Lamp, to light the Blazing star above the Throne'.[399] The suggestion to 'use wax instead of greaselight for the Throne & Columns' was

Table 2.H: Inventory of lodge De Eendragt in Rotterdam, 30-9-1798

1. The Throne, consisting of
- *a The Hood*
- *b Three Columns with their Pedestals*
- *c Thirteen pieces of footstools & baseboards to support the elevation*
- *d The woodwork of the Blinds, consisting of three pieces, with four globes with Lily work*
- *e Seven transparent painted blinds*
- *f The Blazing Star with the letter of glass lying in a small chest*
- *g Two curtains, with four valances of blue satin, defect & old, with bullion & fringes of old, but real gold*
- *hi A curtain with valance blue Satin with bullion & fringe fake gold, made new*
- *j A blue velvet cloth, with small cushion for the altar, with fake gold bullion & fringe & the blue velvet knee cushion*
- *k A blue silk Toga with real gold for the Worshipful Master*
- *l The Square & the Compasses of copper*
- *m two small rapiers or swords*
- *n An Ivory gavel, inlaid with silver with a Satin Apron.*
- *o An armchair, with red seat*
- *p The table for the throne*

2. The Two Columns, consisting of
- *a The Capitals, with pomegranates copper plated*
- *b The Columns, also copper plated*
- *c The Pedestals*
- *d Eight copper chains for the Capitals*
- *e Some key, screws, handles, to erect the same, in a bag*
- *f Two ivory gavels with silver inlaid for the wardens*
- *g two arm chairs with red seats*
- *h two red boards for the Capitals*

3. The small Throne, consisting of
- *a the throne itself, as well as footstools, the table & the 2 wardens tables, all square*
- *b a red silk damask cloth*
- *c Three ditto curtains & a valance with yellow silk fringe*
- *d two red* meré [= moiree?] *cloths with yellow bullion for the wardens*
- *e three green wooden candle sticks*

This being out of use & also very defective & old, not worth repairing, we would advise to get rid of

4. That of which the Committee to look after and improve the throne has reported, one hopes to give over to the Scottish Lodge consists of
- *a a red velvet cloth, & cushions with gild fringe*
- *b a red velvet kneeler*
- *c two Silk cloths*
- *Two triangular tables for the wardens*
- *Two footstools*
- *d Three gavels*

5. The Lighting of the Lodge
- *a An English Patent lamp*
- *b Three large wooden candlesticks*
- *c Three Tin candelabras with 3 branches one gilded, for the throne & the 2 others blue for the wardens*
- *d twelve Tin candlesticks*
- *e two metal candle holders for a reading lectern*
- *f The Candle holders & lath-work for behind the Blinds*

6. For the receptions in the 1st & 2nd degrees
- *a A wooden wheel, with its belongings*
- *b Two statues, Prudence & Silence*
- *c A metal Can with Peas*
- *d A blindfold*
- *e Two boards with Nails, one fake*
- *f Some gold foil*
- *g A can, teapot & funnels*
- *h A scene [= tracing board]*
- *i A Tin caller*
- *k A full wagon with loose sticks*
- *l A swing*

7. For the receptions in the 3rddegree
- *a Seven black plastered Pots or Urns*
- *b The coffin & stands of lath-work*
- *c A black cloth for the same*
- *d A black Table Cloth with skulls*
- *23 black Silk curtains with White Ribbon for the Throne*
- *e a small Bench for the skull*
- *f a scene [= tracing board] for this degree*
- *g The wooden skull and bones for the coffin*
- *h Twenty Black* Soubissen [= braids] *& a ditto Cloak*

8. the Chamber of reflection, consisting of
- *a A Black table & Stool*
- *b two double and Four single windows covered with Black*
- *c a Black Board for the Lantern*
- *d the Lantern itself*
- *e a wooden triangle with two eyelets*
- *f a natural skull covered with Black Hair*
- *g a Poniard*
- *h an eye [= ring] of metal with a glass Sphere*
- *i two iron Chains*
- *j a Black Cloth*

9. For use in the Lodge
- *a two triangular Tin Ink stands & 1 ditto with a handle for the preparations*
- *b Fifteen ell blue silk for the orchestra*
- *c The Standard consisting of the Stick, bar with copper Ring; the banner on double satin, the Copper triangle with the eye & 3 orange Tassels with silver*
- *d the Constitution with the ratification on four snakewood sticks*
- *e Two blue Silk Cloths with yellow fringe*
- *For the tables of the Secretary & the Treasurer*

f Two blue curtains with the Valances next to the Blinds
g some Blue & White Cord
h the old standard [= banner]
j An English Bible
k a charity Box
l A small chest in which 16 different jewels on their ribbons
m A mahogany staff for the Master of Ceremonies
n The large Sword with the Scabbard
o 5 different rapiers and Swords
p An ivory staff for the Master of Ceremonies with Silver bands
q A ditto Palm wood, with Metal bands
r The quartets of the Zauberflöte
s Some ell golden fringe

10. For use at the Table Lodge
a 61 Wine Glasses & a Goblet
b Two Small Columns

11. Chests & Cloths to store the goods
a A large Canvas to cover the Throne
b A basket
c A long square wooden Chest for the Blinds
d a chest with drawers both with locks
e a Large Chest with Lock
f the Keys to the same

12. Some other goods for different uses
a A Blue paper with Stars glued on cloth
b a large wooden Lyre
c Some different Boards & rails
d a Stick with peacock Feathers wound with white paper
e A Pair of Compasses, Set Square, Level & Drawing Board, of wood

13. Some Goods out of use, which we would advise to all get rid of
a A Footstool with red cover
b a very old Master Apron white with blue silk front
c Two old charity boxes broken
d An old ballot box without key to work
e Another 4 different hammers apart from those one wants to give over to the Scots Lodge
f Five different Scabbards of rapiers & Swords defective
g Some Small woodwork broken
h Some pieces of Copper chains
j A round Metal Can, with bumps
k Three large old & antique arm chairs very defective
l Four pieces for a footstool for the Past Master
m Three Triangular Tables, belonging to nothing & never used
n An iron for Four lampions [= paper Lanterns] & a dish underneath

Table 2.I: Overview of expenses for the interior of lodge De Eendragt in Rotterdam, 3-1-1799

1. An invoice by N. Rievier for the two Columns & Pedestals amounting to f 225. 6.8
Another invoice by the same amounting to 92.10.-
though on this last Invoice starting with January 1798 he has counted his wages of the last Season [...] 2. An invoice by Sculptor J. Keerbergen
for delivered wood and cutwork together amounting to 243. 4.-
[...] [with the added remark that only a sum of f 37.15.- had been agreed]
3. An invoice by Jan Broekman Painter for the Columns 70.15.-
for the Throne etc. 192.10.8
(...) 4. An invoice by A. v.d. Veer Coppersmith for the Lamp and further copper work amounting to 56. 7.-
(...) 5. An invoice by W. Waalbronk for delivered Velvet, Silk, Etc. at a cost of 79.17.-
6. An invoice by the Widow Van Otter for delivered Bullion, fringe, etc. amounting to 70.17.-
7. An invoice by Joh. Kats for delivered Silk, Taffeta, etc. costing 56.15.-
of which [...] 2 7/8 El white glace taffeta [...] served for the banner [...]
8. An invoice by Jan Kobell amounting to 42.--.-
of which f 33.10.- (for the painting of the banner with the model) [...]
9. An invoice by R. Pietersen Woodworker for 3 Gavels inlaid with silver [...] 36.2.-
10. An invoice by Hogewal Meyer for delivered fringe, cord, tassels amounting to 14.16.-
[...] 11. An invoice by C.R. Haek for silk of the Apron for the Worshipfil Master at the Tome [illegible] together 4.--.-
12. An invoice by G. Palis for delivered ribbon tassels etc. together 7. 9.-
of which [...] orange tassels & cord for the banner
13. An invoice by Denemie for the new Star 15.15.
Amounting all these invoices together to f1207. 5.-
of which the Worshipful Master alone carried [...] in total f. 52.-.-
as well as both our wardens [...] together f 15.4.-
and [...] by the Scots Lodge should be paid to this Lodge for the three table cloths, the kneeler on the altar, three gavels and the two wardens' tables and foot stools a sum of at least f. 70.-.-

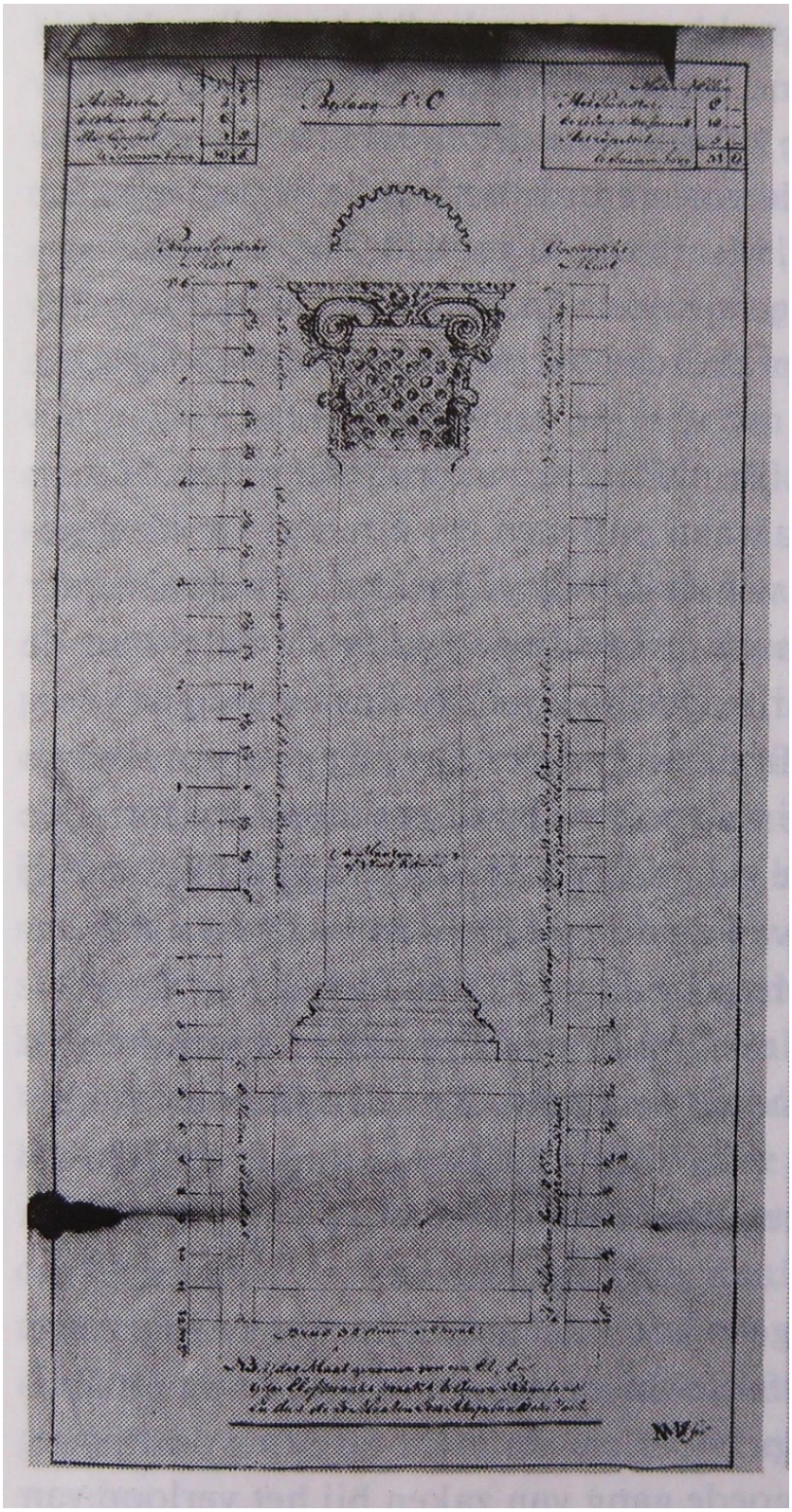


Fig. 2.99: Design for the columns J and B for the temple of lodge De Eendragt in Rotterdam, 1798. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. I.23. Reproduced from: Thoth *35 (184) III, p. 69.*

also approved on 28-11-1798.[400] The committee was very thorough and first consulted the bible and other literature before it agreed on any design for the columns J and B. After much deliberations they considered:

> The Corinthian Order has been chosen in many Lodges as the Most Similar, though your Committee has rejected this as Very unjust - because following that order - it was not possible to place the net with the pomegranates according to the description thereof in the Holy Scriptures because the leaf work and volutes or scrolls sprouting from the Lily leaves could not extend out of it.
>
> Another reason to reject the Corinthian Building order, was that it was Completely impossible, that the Capitals of both Columns were decorated as was the case [if] that Jewel was produced when Callimac[h]us [= librarian at the Library of Alexandria], at the occasion of seeing a wild and large leafy plant and took it for a pott or half a vase and got the idea to decorate the Capital of the Corinthian Columns this way.
>
> Brother Voûte however tested if it was possible to use this order according to the enclosed drawing sub La A […] Where the chains [= net-work] were placed has not been found, only that the Capitals were decorated therewith and your Committee has therein acted according to its judgement […][401]

Eventually the Roman order was chosen and a net-work with pomegranates was placed on top of the capital of each column (figs. 2.98-2.99). The size of the columns was established (using the Rijnland Thumb = 2.61 cm) as 6 feet high, 16 thumbs wide, 4 feet in circumference, with the capitals adding another 20 thumbs in height, the pedestals 7 feet 8 thumbs, as 'This is the purest size which can be found of it and hereon most uninitiated authors and interpreters agree with the Holy Scriptures'.[402] No information was found on the pedestals, so again the committee gave its own interpretation, considering:

> […] the burden they had to make the same [pedestals] as tables of our venerable Brethren Wardens and had to make a whole other arrangement […] also the colours on the same [columns] according to description, consist only of copper and marble.[403]

The rather painstaking decision making illustrates the commitment of the lodge to having its interior faithfully resemble the biblical Temple of Solomon. Once these decisions were made, the copper columns were constructed by N. Rievier, while painter Jan Broekman probably painted the base and capitals.

The decoration of the Throne and 'the other woodwork' was left to Broekman, 'the usual painter of the lodge'. The committee agreed that:

> […] no matter how splendid the Pillars that support the Canopy are, these however do not agree with the colour which we in Blue masonry [= the basic degrees] need to observe. [...] The colours decided for the individual elements of the Throne And the Background in which the [painted] Blinds are placed, are to be put on a reasonable height [= tone, brightness] and such colours are to be approved, that the same are better expressed [= more visible] on the throne.[404]

In other words, the lodge had to stick to its distinguishing lodge colours and basic blue (avoiding the colour scheme of the higher degrees), and the committee wanted a more vivid use of those colours on the throne. According to the 1798 inventory it consisted of a hood, carried by three columns, from which hung blue and gold drapes. The subjects of the seven painted blinds, separated by pillars carrying globes, are unfortunately not listed. Next to Broekman, former lodge member and sculptor Johannes [de] Keerbergen (circa 1742-1800), who had worked on several of the Rotterdam city gates[405], was also involved in the making of the elaborate construction.

Lodge member Simon Faber, a broker, pointed the committee to the 'three Holy letters J, B & G' that he had seen at the workshop of Johan Caesar Demmenie, a well known glassmaker and -painter at the time.[406] Demmenie was a chemist-physicist who regularly displayed his knowledge of glass at fairs and markets, which got him mentioned in international newspapers. Amongst others, he worked on the windows of the St. John's church in Gouda.[407] The committee reported thereafter:

> […] having to take the opportunity to have the Blazing Star above the throne made in a totally new fashion, though at the same time made sure it would not be damaged, as it had to be taken out every time, and can be

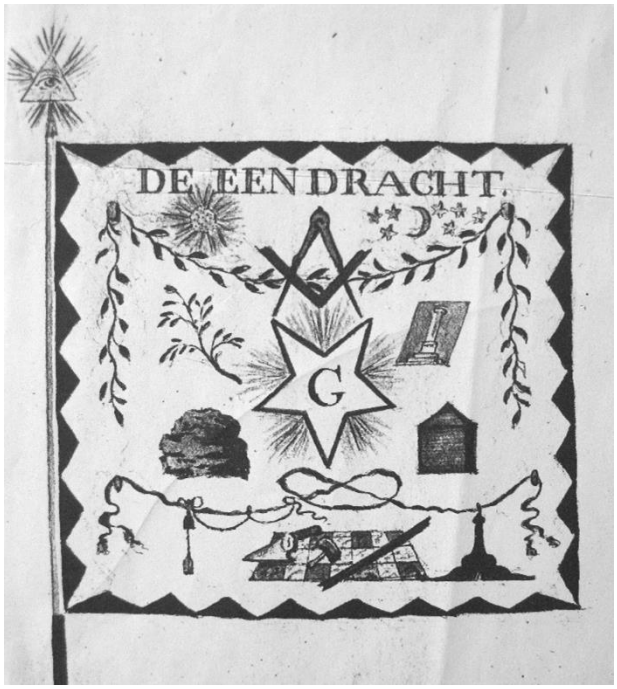


Fig. 2.100a: Design for the banner of lodge De Eendragt in Rotterdam, 1798.
Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. I.23. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

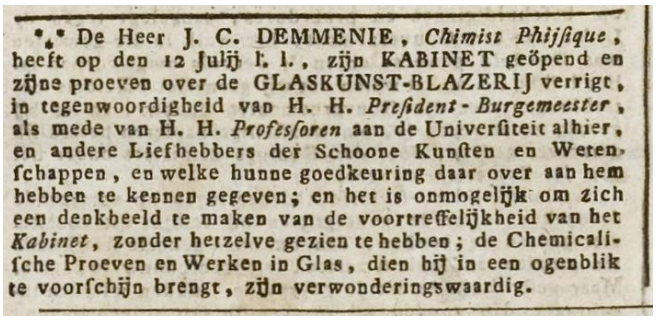

De Heer J. C. DEMMENIE, *Chimist Phijſique*, heeft op den 12 Julij l. l., zijn KABINET geöpend en zijne proeven over de GLASKUNST-BLAZERIJ verrigt, in tegenwoordigheid van H. H. *Preſident-Burgemeester*, als mede van H. H. *Profeſſoren* aan de Univerſiteit alhier, en andere Liefhebbers der Schoone Kunſten en Wetenſchappen, en welke hunne goedkeuring daar over aan hem hebben te kennen gegeven; en het is onmogelijk om zich een denkbeeld te maken van de voortreffelijkheid van het *Kabinet*, zonder hetzelve gezien te hebben; de Chemicaliſche Proeven en Werken in Glas, dien hij in een ogenblik te voorſchijn brengt, zijn verwonderingswaardig.

Fig. 2.100b: Announcement of the work of J.C. Demmenie, chemist and glass artist, in the Leydse Courant, 21-7-1820.
Collection: Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, Leiden. Reproduced from: leiden.courant.nu.

> kept from harm in a Therefore made chest. And also by purchasing [the lodge's] Own Lamp to enlighten the Rooms, She [= the committee] has fulfilled the Burden You placed upon her.[408]

According to the 1798 inventory and invoices, coppersmith A. van de[r] Veer was responsible for the new English patent lamp (probably an oil lamp) of the lodge. He may have also contributed to details of the columns J and B mentioned above. The committee continued:

> The changes that she felt were necessary to be made to the hood of the Throne, amongs others taking down the hanging curves of wood depicting a Curtain, has caused [the committee] to replace it with a more fitting ornament namely a curtain of the same cloth, colour and ornament, as the curtains, which have earlier been used on both sides of the throne. The Committee is of the opinion that this will give more Splendour to the Throne, and will strengthen the goodwill of the other Lodges towards us.[409]

It was further decided to replace the cover of the 'so called Altar of the Worshipful Master', made of red velvet, and give the old one to the *Écossais* lodge. The new cloth was to be blue. As there were not yet any covers for the tables of the Treasurer and Secretary, matching ones were now ordered. The committee further proposed:

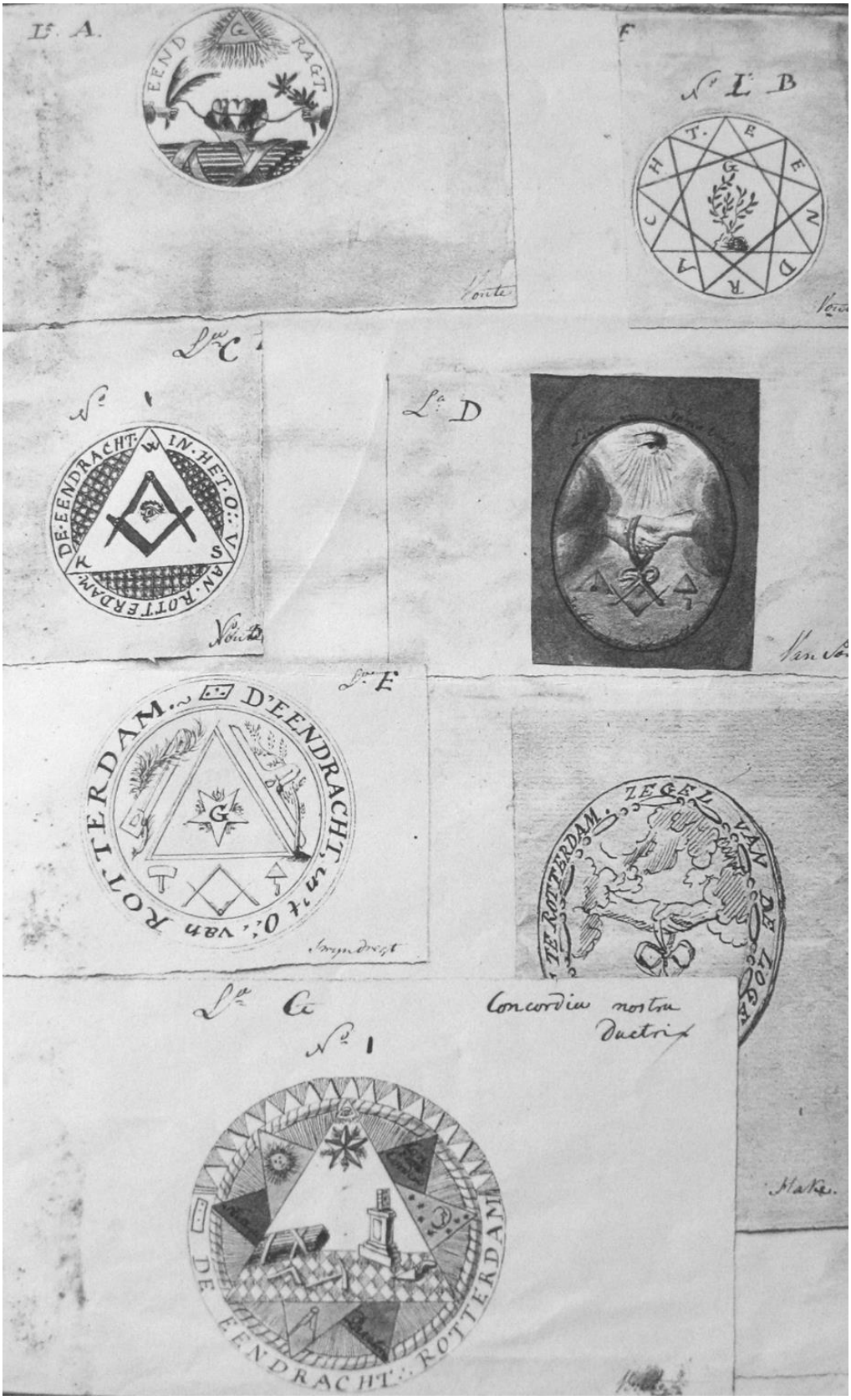


Fig. 2.101: Designs for the seal of lodge De Eendragt in Rotterdam, 1798. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. I.23. Photograph: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

> […] the *Maillet* or Gavel of the Worshipful Master as well as his Apron have been objectionable for a long time, therefore the Committee has thought to also change these signs of high authority, and had actually had new ones made.[410]

This apron was made by C.R. Hoek, and the gavel inlaid with silver by R. Pieterse.[411] Two more were made for the Wardens, Willem Hendrik Dreux (circa 1753-circa 1827), *Ontvanger Generaal voor Zuid-Holland* (a government finance position), and Cornelis Dijkshoorn (1769-1839), a notary, who decided to present theirs to the lodge.[412] The report further noted, how lodge member Du Neufville Sr at a former lodge jubilee had lent a 'blue armchair' for the occasion and was now willing to donate it to serve as 'Splendour for our Lodge'.

The committee then decided the lodge banner was up for renewal and presented a new design for the same (fig. 2.100a).[413] The Worshipful Master decided to take the expenses on his account and ordered this new banner from the local painter and engraver Jan Kobell (1755-1833) as a gift to the lodge.[414] The design consisted of a reduced or miniature tracing board, its most important symbols combined with the lodge name.

The 1798 inventory provides further information on the initiation ceremonies, as various props are listed explicitly for use in the 1st and 2nd degrees. The blindfold for the candidate was included, as well as wooden versions of the most important tools, and other items not so easily identified. 'A metal can with peas' may have been used to simulate the sound of rain and no doubt the 'metal caller' also was used for sound effects, or for blowing wind or air to the candidates's face. The 'boards with nails' were meant to be a test of the candidate's trust. He would be asked to jump on them, but would not hurt himself as the nails would disappear. The use of a 'wooden wheel', 'swing' and a 'wagon with loose sticks', however, are less clear. The statues of virtues may have been ornamental. For the 3rd degree, black mourning cloth and mourning symbols, including urns, were used. A coffin and skull-and-bones were representative of the grave of Hiram, and a separate tracing board was used for this degree. The regalia of the Masters included black cloaks. According to the invoices, the lodge obtained such regalia and textile furnishings from W. Waalbronk and lodge member Johannes Kats, and bullion from a mister Hogewal Meyer, G. Palis and the widow van Otter.

Lastly, another committee was formed which reported on the formation of a new seal on 26-4-1799:

> firstly, [that it] had in mind to: as a Grand Seal cannot be used in all circumstances: make a Small Seal and use therefore our seal as it is now actually being used provided the words La Concorde are hammered out and the words De Eendracht are engraved upon it which can be done easily & with little costs.
> Secondly, To have a Grand Seal made & cut in yellow copper being this surely the least expensive, with the goal to propose to You to have the prints thereof made in wax.
> Making a concept was more difficult than they had expected at first, because it should not just be arbitrary, but in a masonic composition without being either a perfect Picture or an Artistic Painting and [it should] also [be] an allusion to the Concord […].[415]

The total costs were estimated at circa 8 Ducats. The grand seal was used for authenticating diplomas, the responsibility of the Seal Bearer. Lacquer seals were either applied directly onto the paper, or set in a metal box, attached to documents with a ribbon in the lodge colour. The small seal was used by the Secretary for closing letters. The various designs have survived (fig. 2.101). The concept of Concord is expressed in several of them by emblems of joined hands or hearts, bound by a knot. Two include a fasces, normally a symbol of Strength, here perhaps interepreted as Concord. Others incorporated tools and other symbols of the tracing board.

Negotiations were held with the innkeeper about renting a storage space for the furniture 'in order to prevent damage'. This emphasizes that all the decorations for the lodge room listed above still had to be assembled and dismantled before and after each ritual meeting. A suitable space was found 'on the gallery', for which the rent would be fl. 100,- per year.

Table 2.J: Inventory of lodge L'Inebrandable in Zwolle, 1803

The Throne, hood and silver-plated Sphere,
4 basements for the Throne,
the curtains and valances with tassels,
the altar,
2 columns with their pedestals and steps,
2 vases to put on top of the same
the [Worshipful] Master's chair,
the Secretary's chair,
the Treasurer's chair,
the chair for the Deputy Grand [= Worshipful] Master
2 chairs with steps for the Wardens,
14 chair covers,
3 tables for the Master, Secretary and Treasurer,
2 ditto for the Wardens,
1 lectern [for the Orator],
1 bible,
5 gavels,
2 large candle sticks with seven lights,
3 ditto,
12 smaller candle sticks,
10 hanging candle holders with three pipes,
1 box for fines,
1 hourglass,
1 pair of compasses,
8 paintings for the Master Lodge,
2 large ditto painted with Skeletons,
1 stairs for the Receptions,
11 silver Jewels
18 wine glasses

Lodges in smaller towns had less means, but owned similar sets of furniture. An example is lodge L'Inebrandable in Zwolle (1764-1788). The archive of the lodge was lost, but an inventory of its furniture was made when goods were acquired by another lodge in Zwolle, named Fides Mutua (table 2.J).[416]

The overview includes the throne with a canopy and curtains, the two columns adorned with 'vases', the altar with the bible, square and compasses, and the chairs for the officers. Interesting is that here the Wardens too, were placed on a slight elevation, a custom illustrated earlier in *Maçonnerie des Hommes* (compare fig. 2.93). Eight symbolic paintings were available for the Master's lodge, of which no further description was given. These may have been wall hangings and/or tracing boards. A further two depicted a skeleton, one which may have been used in the Chamber of Reflection as *memento mori* along with the hourglass also listed, and the other as a mourning symbol and reference to Hiram's death in the 3rd degree. The lodge owned eleven silver officers' jewels, and judging by the small number of wine glasses, only 18, it had barely more members. While a charity or collection box was usually mentioned, here a box for fines was listed, to which members contributed who swore, were absent without leave or broke other usual rules of the lodge.

♦ *The 19th century: exuberance*

By the end of the 18th century, many lodges had enough sustainable income from membership fees to invest in real estate. Freemasonry had become fashionable amongst the intellectual and social elite, who were used to expressing their status and knowledge through their personal appearance, their homes and gardens. The architecture and decoration of the lodge building did not stay behind, these too became an expression of the status, aspirations and ideals of the members.

Dutch freemasonry remained heavily influenced by French rituals and fashions until the end of Napoleon's rule. The urge to decorate and embellish with gilding in the royal French style peaked around 1800. The publication of *Description de l'Égypte* (1809), a decorative overview of the 1798-1801 expedition of Napoleon's army into Egypt, caused an *Egyptomania* in Europe which also influenced the styling of lodge buildings.[417] In the beginning of the 19th century more bourgeois fashions, such as *Biedermeier*, and by the middle of the century, Historism and Neo-styles took over. Every surface in the lodge building was thoughtfully covered with artistic expressions, inspired by the myths and symbolism of the masonic ritual. The Royal Art was very much 'celebrated' in material form in masonic halls, and artistic freedom meant that the meaning of the ritual and individual symbols was sometimes interpreted very losely.

▪ *Wall and ceiling decorations*

As lodges acquired their own buildings, the use of drapes declined as wall paintings with masonic allegories became more common. For instance, in 1802 the Amsterdam lodge La Charité (founded 1755) commissioned a new decoration for its lodge building on the Nieuwendijk, where the lodges La Paix, La Bien Aimée and Concordia Vincit Animons also regularly met.[418] A lodge member, the artist Jacques Kuijper (1761-1808), was commissioned to make designs for six wall panels and a throne, which were to be

executed by another lodge member, the painter Jan Kamphuijsen (1760-1841). The invoice for the design, amounting to fl. 2.000,-, described the design as follows in 1803:

> […] A whole new Lodge according to the ordinance and drawings of the Brother Architect J. Kuiper, representing a temple of Solomon, supported by 28 Columns of Lapis Lazuli, decorated with golden bases and capitals; and allegorical designs of Wisdom, Strength and Beauty, the four points of the compass: South, West and North, with the throne in the East, and an Angel or Cherub on each side; the other four sections decorated with palm trees.[419]

The design for the throne, *Het Oosten* (East) shows a niche in which the chair of the Worshipful Master is placed under a canopy (fig. 2.101). It is flanked by four columns and reached by a series of three steps. Behind the chair is a radiant sun, presumably to be painted on the wall. The invoice mentions an 'Angel', probably depicted to the left of the throne. The decorations of the panels, which are visible around the chair and between the pedestals carrying vases, are described in detail in notes made by Kuijper on the designs themselves:

> The poppy-heads allude to the sleep in which the darkness is, the trowel of [lodge] La Charité attempts to correct unevenness, and the brotherly affection tries with its light to kindle his soul's lamp, to that end it uses the gavel of authority [and] the chisel of strength, to shape him who is in darkeness [= the uninitiated] into a Nobler form, like fire hammered from a stone. The pomegranate is the housekeeping of the brethren. The wreath of flowers signifies, the pleasantness of the brotherhood and provides the opportunity to encourage him who is in darkenes, like [it provides] the diligent bee [with the opportunity to] track honey in it. The Hammer on the Rough Clump [= rough stone] beating between the Poppy-heads, thorns and thistles, awakens the soul of him who is in darkness, he joins in and the brotherhood rejoices in being enlarged with a worthy member.[420]

This is a loose interpretation by the artist of the symbolism of light and darkness, and the work on the rough stone as the labour of the Apprentices. On the same sheet is a drawing of two panels, showing tools and oil lamps hanging from rosettes, with the side notes 'Darkness, thorns and thistles in state of ignorance and approaching light' and 'Revelation, Light, Flowers and fruits of enlightenment'.[421] Below it are two hands reaching out to each other, with the note 'the brotherly hand[s], more than Wisdom and Peace are fruitful and elegant'.[422]

The design for *'t Westen* (the West) consists of a tree with oranges, surrounded by grapes, white lilies and corn, underneath a cloud with stars forming the constellation of Leo (fig. 2.103). The design for the *'t Noorden* (the North) consists of a pine tree and a juniper shrub with the herbs *Centaury* and *Echium* (fig. 2.104). Above it is another cloud with stars forming the *Grote Beer* (= Big Bear, the Dutch name for the Big Dipper), from which hail or snowflakes are falling. Underneath the design was a remark directed at Kamphuijsen: 'Requesting to pay attention, that the mass of the bear is proportionate to that of the Bird of Paradise in size and height'.[423] This is the only clue that the design for *'t Zuiden* (the South), of which the decoration within the cloud was not finished, meant to depict the constellation of Apus or Bird of Paradise (fig. 2.105).[424] The plants of the South were chosen as pineapple, aloe, sassafras and sugar cane.

The designs for the masonic trias of Wisdom, Strength and Beauty were executed in more detail. *Wijsheid* (Wisdom) was represented as a sphinx on an altar (fig. 2.106). The various parts of the design were numbered an explained as follows:

> 1 Sphinx hiddenness of wisdom.
> 2 compasses, Square and Plumb, the eye of the Soul, and 2 Flames, lighting the same. - further
> 3 the Ruler.
> 4 Rolls and scriptures of practised Wisdom.
> 5 Candelabra with a Flame always spreading Light, is the torch of Reason[,] the Snake, carefulness.
> 6 Beehive, activity.
> 7 Bees feeding on different flowers.
> 8 Antique Dish, in which the checking of passions under the Symbolism of the bridle 9. has been brought in Balance with the Force or Reason.
> 10 A Sieve, representing Cleansing.



Fig. 2.102: Jan Kuijper (1761-1808), design for a throne for lodge La Charité in Amsterdam, pencil drawing ca. 1802-1803. Collection CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 16110. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

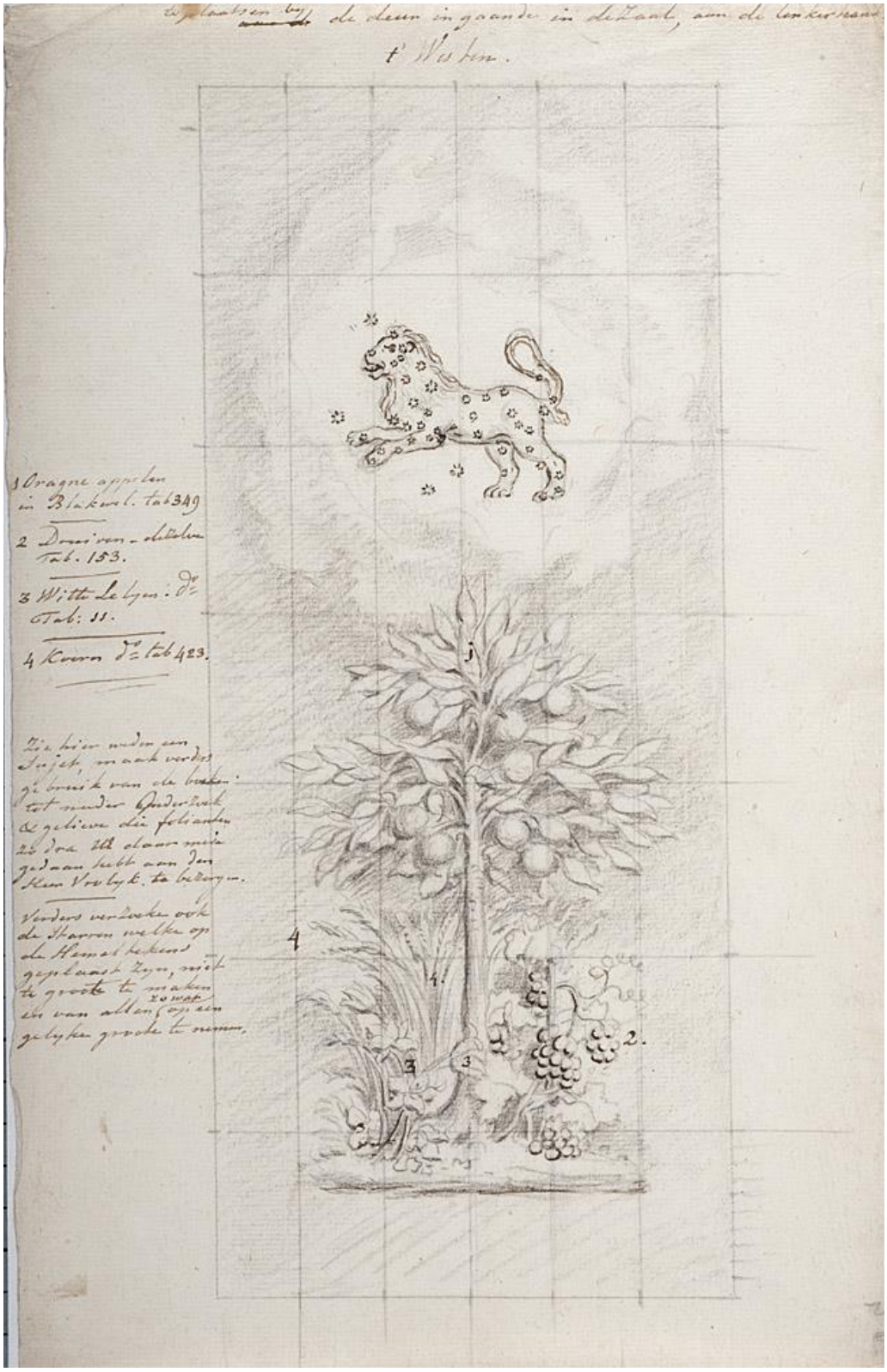


Fig. 2.103: Jan Kuijper (1761-1808), Design for a panel representing the West for lodge La Charité in Amsterdam, pencil drawing, ca. 1802-1803. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 16110. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

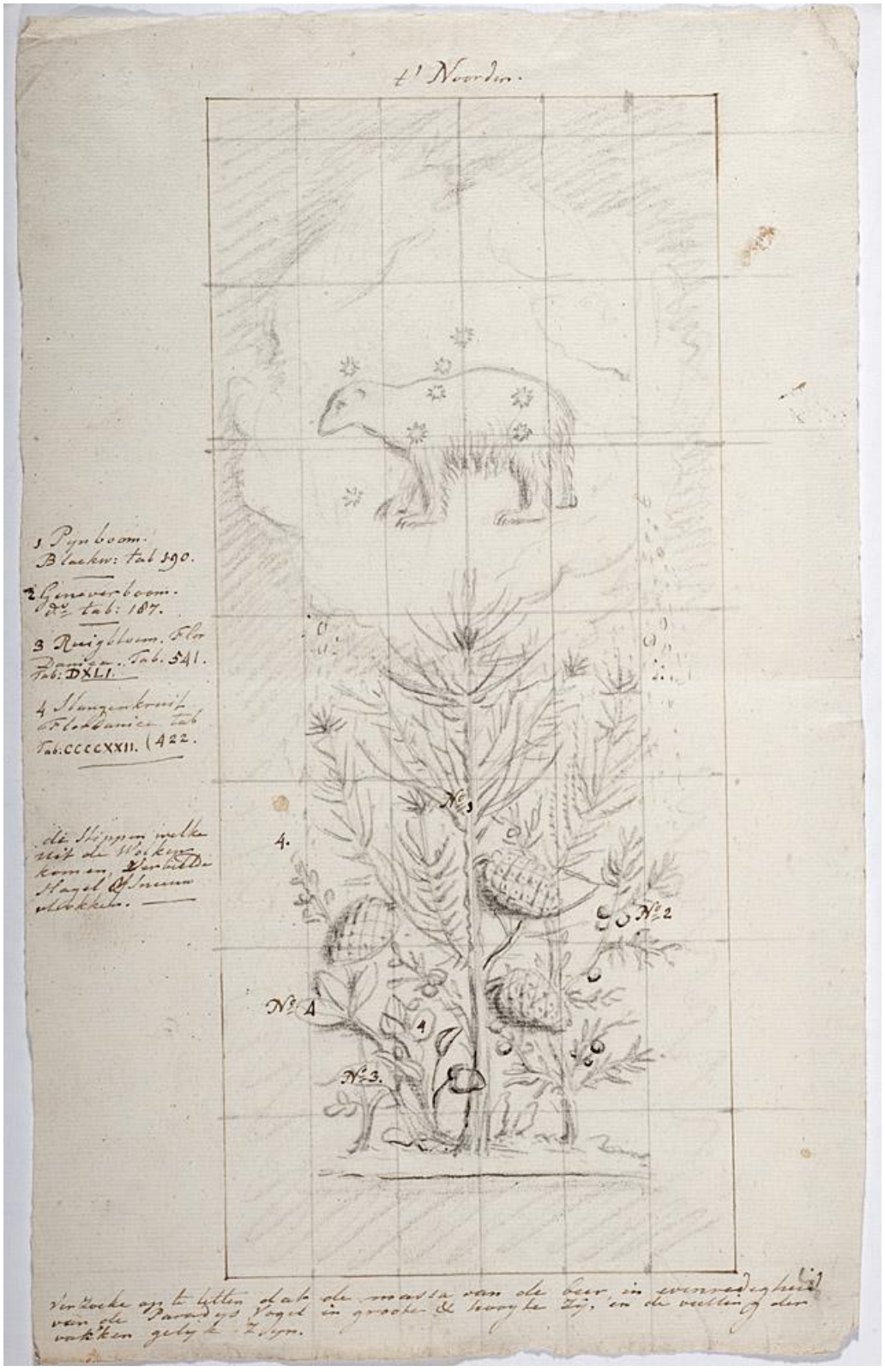


Fig. 2.104: Jan Kuijper (1761-1808), Design for a panel representing the North for lodge La Charité in Amsterdam, pencil drawing, ca. 1802-1803. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 16110. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

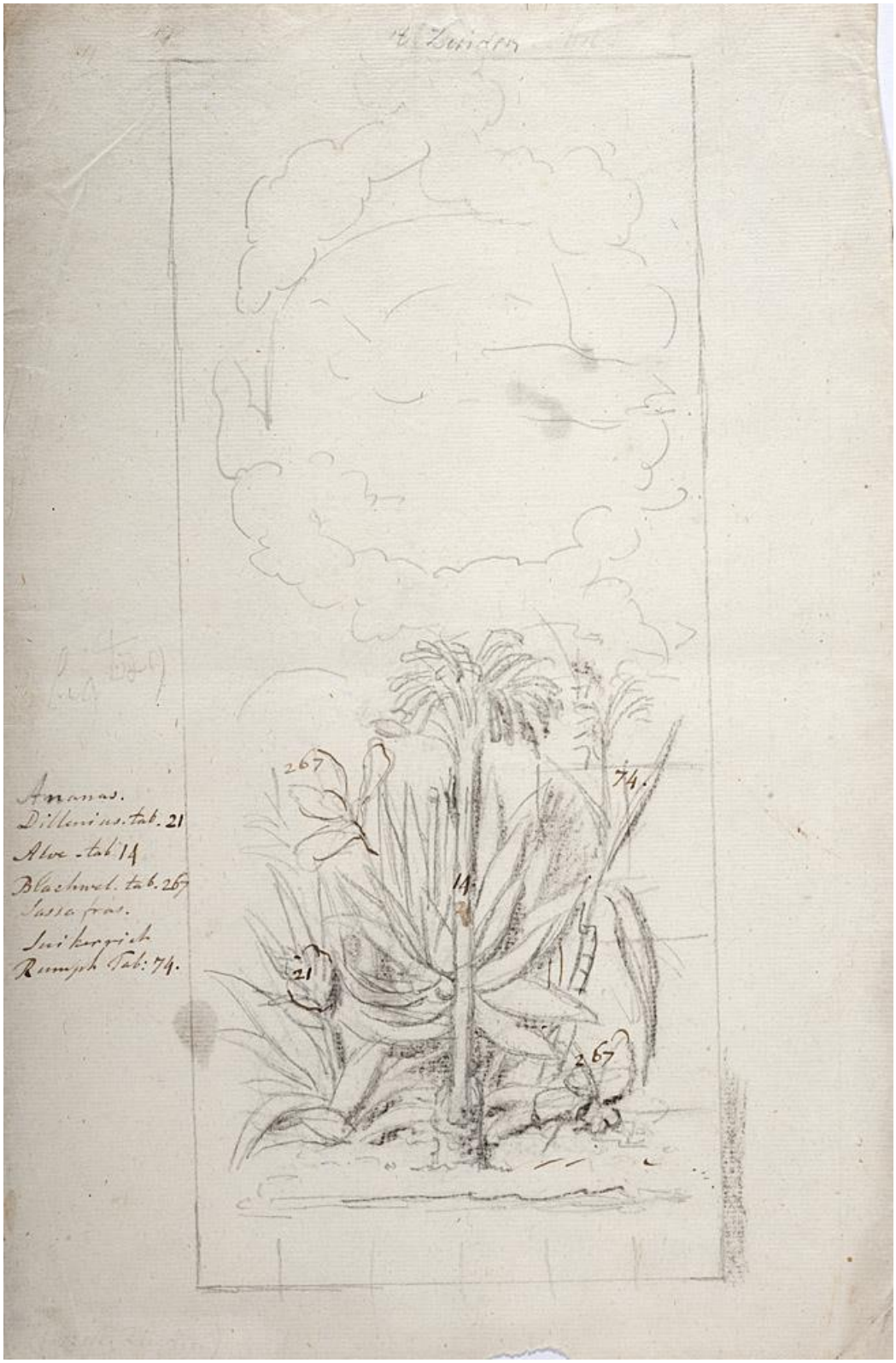


Fig. 2.105: Jan Kuijper (1761-1808), Design for a panel representing the South for lodge La Charité in Amsterdam, pencil drawing, ca. 1802-1803. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 16110. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

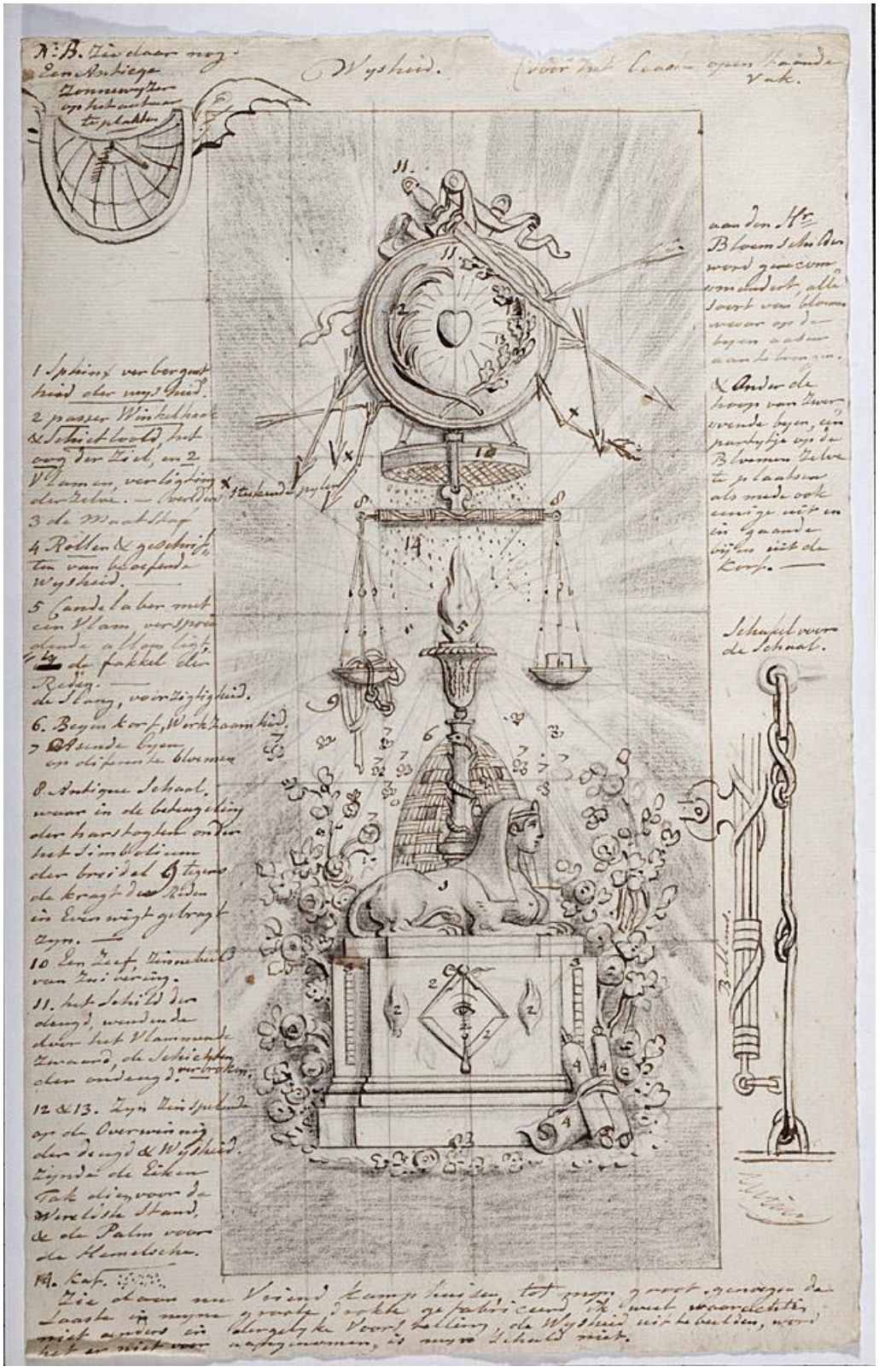


Fig. 2.106: Jan Kuijper (1761-1808), Design for a panel representing Wisdom for lodge La Charité in Amsterdam, pencil drawing, ca. 1802-1803. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 16110. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

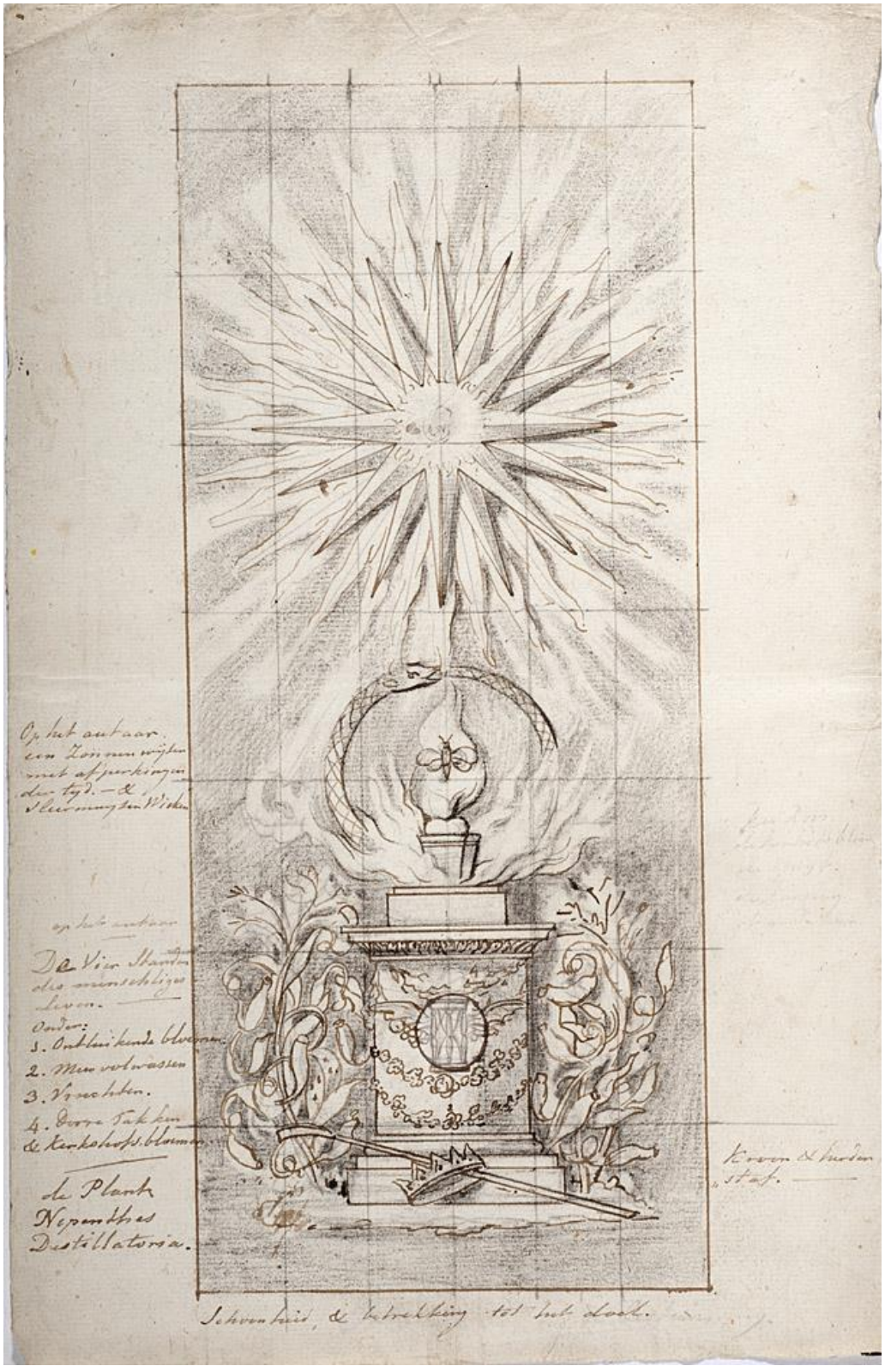


Fig. 2.107: Jan Kuijper (1761-1808), Design for a panel representing Beauty for lodge La Charité in Amsterdam, pencil drawing, ca. 1802-1803. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 16110. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.



Fig. 2.108: Jan Kuijper (1761-1808), Design for a panel representing Strength for lodge La Charité in Amsterdam, pencil drawing, ca. 1802-1803. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 16110. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

> 11 The Shield of virtue, turning by the Blazing Sword, the Darts of vice broken.
> 12 & 13 are alluding to the Victory of virtue and Wisdom. Being the Oak Branch which Stands for the Worldly Class and the Palm for the Heavenly.
> 14 The Chaff (separated by the sieve from the corn).[425]

Sterkte (Strength or Force), is symbolised by an oak tree on a rock in a rough sea, with on the background a volcano spitting fire and rocks, lightning and hail falling from the sky (fig. 2.107). The *Schoonheid & betrekking tot het doel*, or Beauty & relation to the purpose, represents an altar, hung with garlands and carrying a winged hourglass (fig. 2.108). The altar is flanked by branches of the East India flesh-eating plant *Nepanthes Destillatoria*. Before the altar lie a crown and the staff of a shephard. On top of it are flames, from which a heart rises and a butterfly escapes. Behind them is an Ouroboros, the snake which - as a sign of eternity and infinity - bites itself in the tail. Above it all is a radiant sun, shaped as a compass card.

A remark was added to Beauty: 'On the altar a Sun dial with demarcations for time, and bat Wings'.[426] In the sketch is indeed an hourglass with bat wings, while a compass card is seen above, not on, the altar. To Wisdom a similar note was added: 'See here another an Antique Sundial, to glue to the altar'.[427] This probably refers to the altar in the lodge room itself, not that in the design. A sundial indoors would not be of much use, but it would probably symbolise midday as a reference to the text of the catechism: 'Quest. 'What time is it? Answ. High Noon'.[428] A second invoice dating from 1804 shows that this altar was decorated with painted panels, for which Kamphuijsen delivered '4 Transparencies'.[429] The notes added to the design for Beauty seem to describe those:

> On the altar: The four phases of human life […] 1 Flowers opening, 2 More mature, 3 Fruits, 4 Dry branches and cemetery flowers.[430]

Such paintings were not just decorative, they could be used to instruct new members in masonic symbolism. Ever present in the lodge, they served the brethren as a constant reminder of freemasonry's ideals and the goal of their 'labour'. The designs also illustrate, that although freemasonry had its common myths and symbols, each member could and would interpret these according to his individual views and experience. As an artist and a freemason, Kuijper was quite free to use artistic licence, as long as masonic ideals were expressed.

■ *Descriptions in 19th century rituals*

After 1800, several ritual manuscripts illustrate the development of the Dutch ritual. The so-called *Ritual 1812* described the lodge for the Apprentice degree[431], which includes the contents of the Chamber of Reflection:

> The name of *Chambre Obscure* among freemasons means a small space, which is painted or covered in black on all sides. In the same is a Footstool and a Table. On the latter stands a burning Lamp, and furthermore there lies a Skull and some Bones, an ink well and pens, a Salt cellar and similar Symbols. On the wall hangings or walls are various mottos, which should stimulate the Candidate to alertness and seriousness, for instance the image of a Rooster and the word *Vigilance*, above an Hourglass and the word *Perseverance*; (…)' [432]

Next, the interior of the lodge room is described:

> The Lodge itself should be a long square room, of which the door is in the West. At the end or the Eastside stands a Throne, upon which an Armchair and in front of which a triangular Altar, hung with drapes, on which lies a bible, opened on the 1st Chapter of the Gospel of John. On this Bible rest a Pair of Compasses and a Set Square and a large Sword
>
> On both sides of the Throne stand two covered tables for the secretary and the Treasurer. On the North and South side of the Lodge are chairs or benches, placed along the walls for the Brethren. In the West are two armchairs and before each of them a triangular Altar like near the Throne, though on the same no more than

three Lights; besides each of the latter Altars stands a Column or pillar of a bronze colour; on that, which is standing in the North West, for the Apprentice degree is attached a [letter] I.

The room is furthermore lit as bright as possible, and decorated according to the taste or the opportunity, that the Lodge has to do so.

On the floor is a long square Tracing Board with various masonic Symbols, on each of the corners, which point to the North East, the South East and the South West, stands a Great Light.
In the North East is an illuminated Sun and in the North West* an illuminated Moon, surrounded by nine stars placed against the ceiling.
Furthermore it should be remarked that under the name of *Chambre des pas perdus* should be understood the space in which one receives the Candidate, before he is lead to the Chamber of Reflection, as well as the hall or Portal which leads to the door of the Lodge.

* (Corrected in the manuscript into North East, while South East is meant - Eds.) [433]

For the Fellow-Craft degree, some small changes were recommended:

The Lodge is fully furnished as for the apprentice degree. Above the throne however is an illuminated five-pointed Star, in the middle of which a capital Latin [letter] G is places, to the Column in the South a [letter] B is attached.[434]

The description of the Master's degree then suggests changes to the tracing board:

The Lodge is wholly hung with black, including the Throne, the Altar, the Tables of the Wardens and of the Secretary and of the Treasurer are covered in black. In the middle of the Lodge lies the Fellow-Craft [degree] Tracing Board, on which some cushions, over which a cloth or sheet is spread as if someone is lying underneath it. On it lies a green Branch. On the corners of the Tracing Board stand three Candles, each provided with three Lights, which however are not lit. A Light above the Throne and on the Tables of each of the Wardens a small Lantern, of which the light can be slid away, forms all the lighting of the Lodge. In the East, the North and the South a table or other pedestal is placed, on which rests a skull.[435]

Although it is not possible to discuss all of them here, there are of course more manuscripts, such as the *Ritual St. Napoleon* (ca. 1810-1813[436]) and the *Ritual Ultrajectina* (ca. 1803-1817), which provide an insight into the rituals used in individual lodges in the Netherlands after 1800. It was not until 1820, that an official version would be issued by the Grand Lodge. The *Ritual 1820*, also called *Ritual Van Vreedenburg* after the involvement of Grand Secretary Johan Willem van Vredenburch (1782-1849), was an attempt to streamline the text and symbolism used in Dutch ritual practise, which up until that point varied widely.[437] The ritual mainly deals with the ceremonial elements and spoken words, providing less new information on the execution of the lodge furnishings. However, the amount of surviving visual documentation also increases from this point onwards, as will become clear below. The *Ritual 1820* would be the most commonly used in the Netherlands until 1865.

■ *Masonic halls in Rotterdam*

In the Rotterdam City Archive is a series of drawings and watercolours of lodge buildings and interiors, which pose a bit of a puzzle. Fig. 2.109 shows the design for a throne for the aforementioned lodge De Eendragt, according to the provenance record dated 1820, suggesting it was for the building at the Delftsevaart (F219 in the cadastre), where the lodge resided between 1813-1838. The design shows what by now is familiar from the descriptions in archives: an ornamental armchair standing on a set of three triangular steps between two columns underneath a canopy with drapes. The base of the left column is decorated with masonic tools, the base of the right with festoons. The back of the chair is decorated with square and compasses, and carries a skull-and-bones representing Hiram Abiff on the headpiece. On top of the canopy is an all-seeing eye embraced by branches, also representing the Hiram myth. Above the right column is another skull, now with a gavel, and above the left is what seems to be an urn.[438] To the left is a

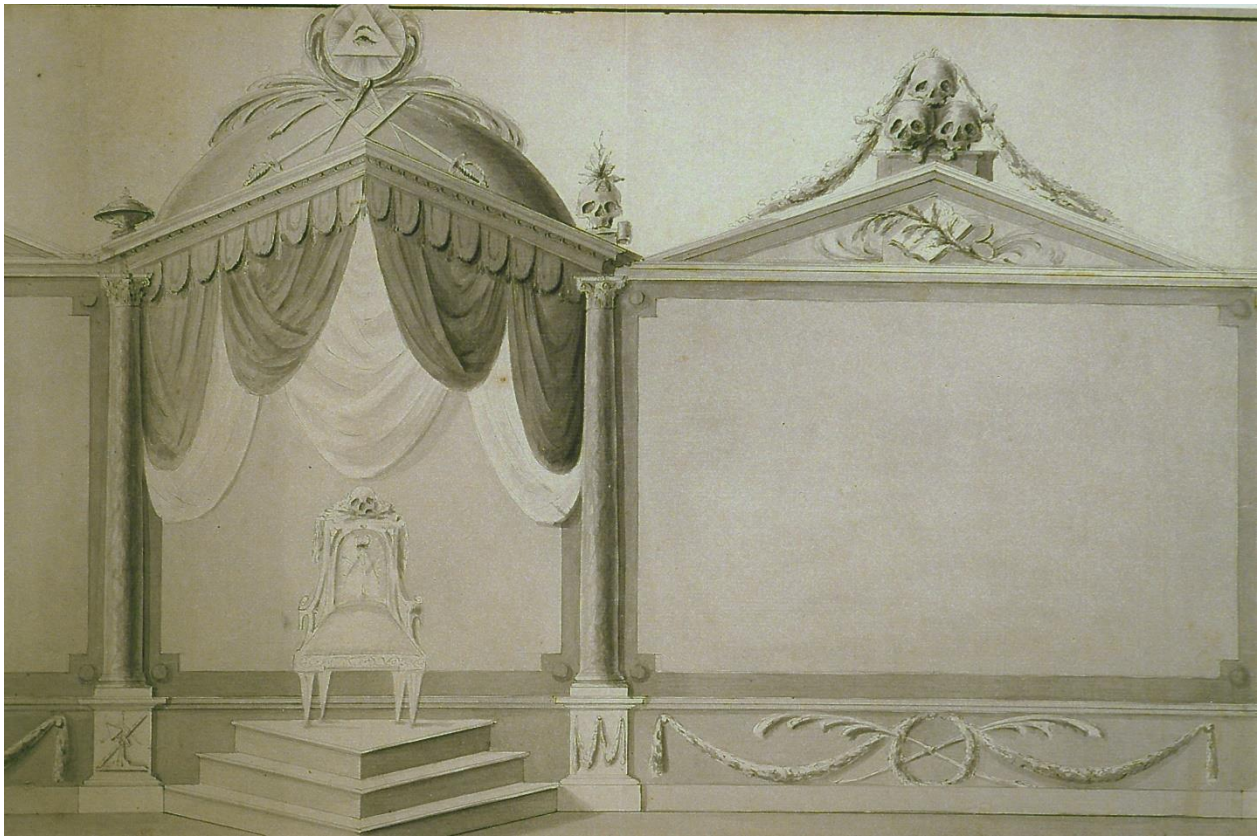


Fig. 2.109: Design for a throne, attributed to lodge Frédéric Royale in Rotterdam, ca. 1813-1838, watercolour. Collection: Stadsarchief Rotterdam, inv.no. XVIII 420.00.02.01. Reproduced from: collecties.stadsarchief.rotterdam.nl.

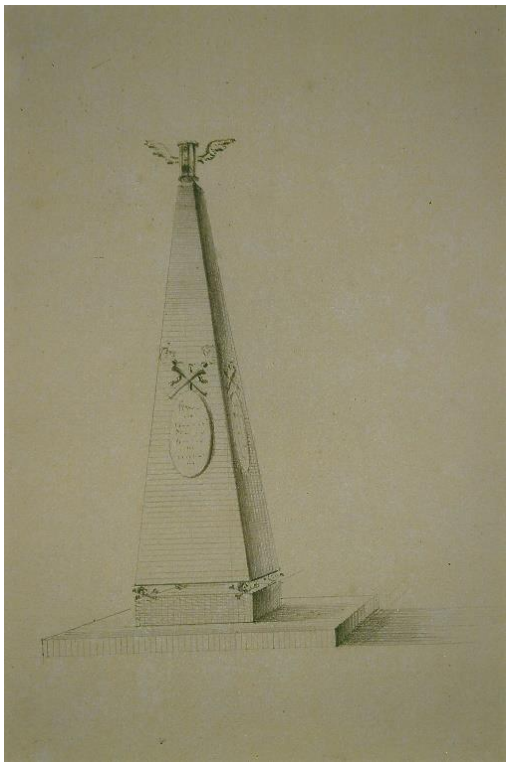


Fig. 2.110: Design for a grave monument, attributed to lodge De Eendragt in Rotterdam, ca. 1813-1838, watercolour. Collection: Stadsarchief Rotterdam, inv.no. XVIII 420.00.02.01. Reproduced from: collecties.stadsarchief.rotterdam.nl.

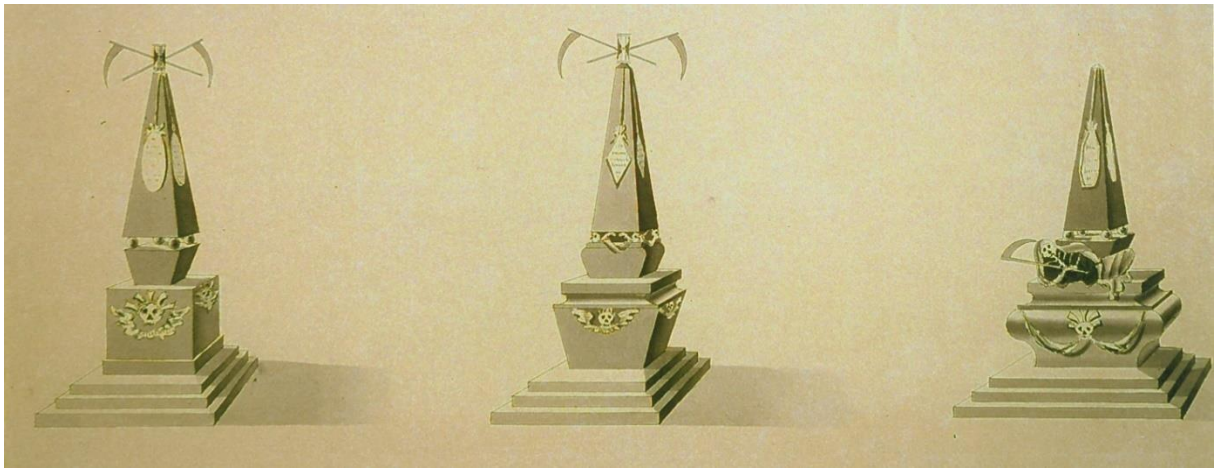


Fig. 2.111: Designs for grave monuments, attributed to lodge De Eendragt in Rotterdam, ca. 1813-1838, watercolour. Collection: Stadsarchief Rotterdam, inv.no. XVIII 420.00.02.01. Reproduced from: collecties.stadsarchief.rotterdam.nl.

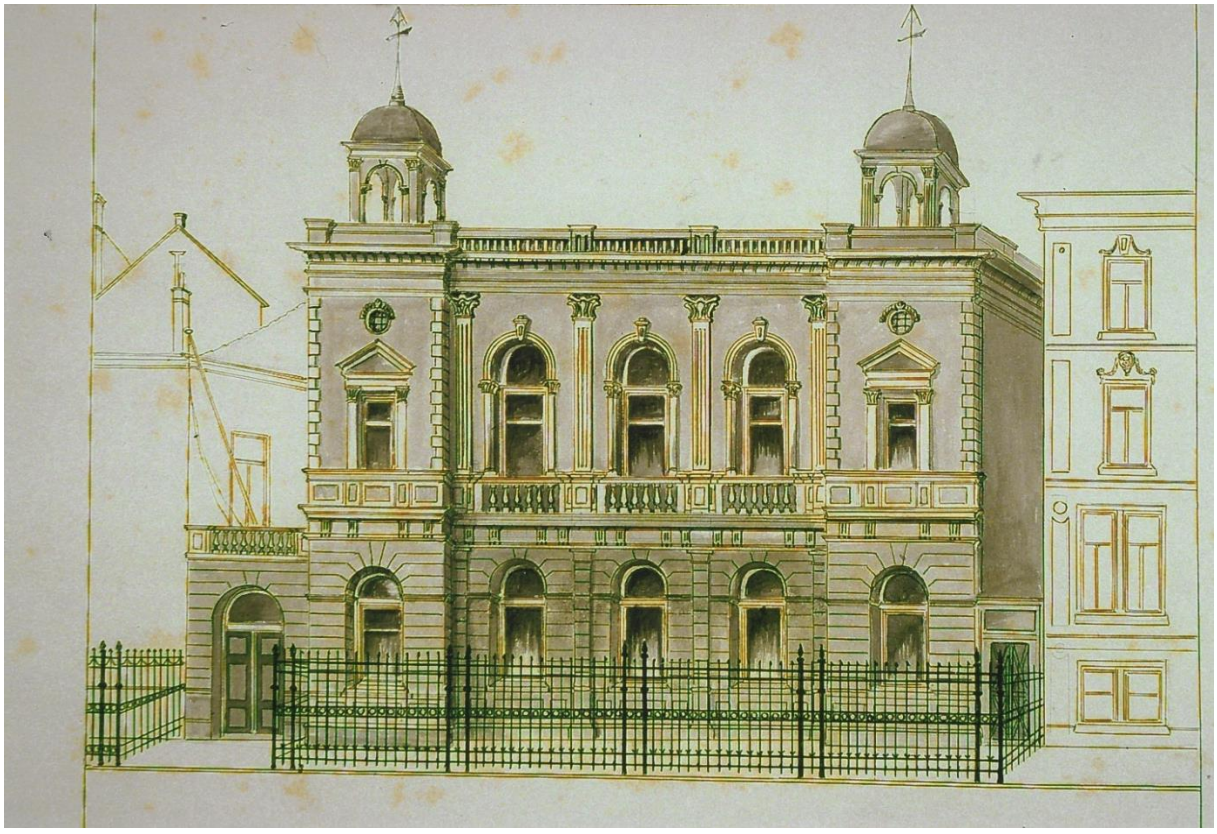
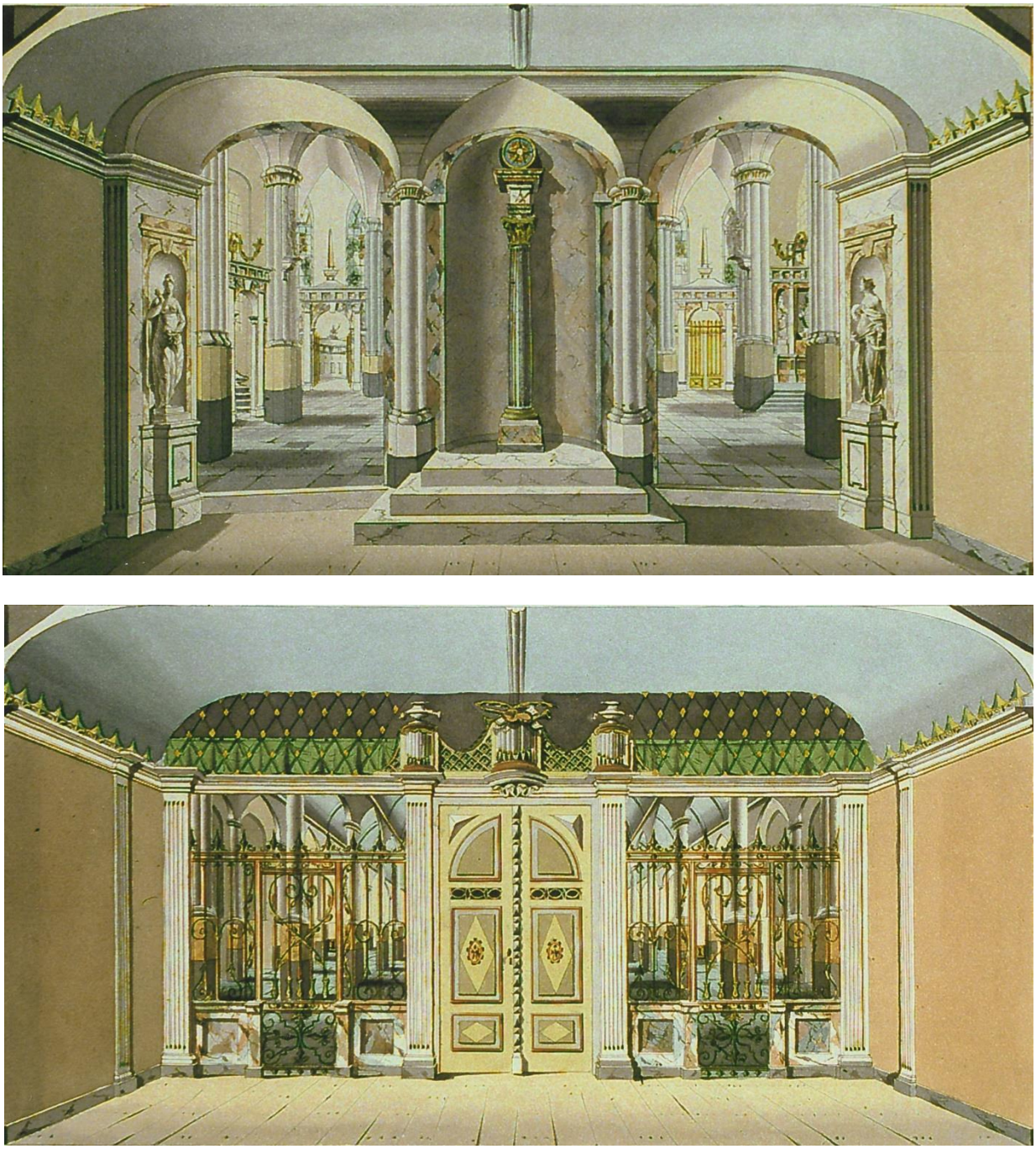


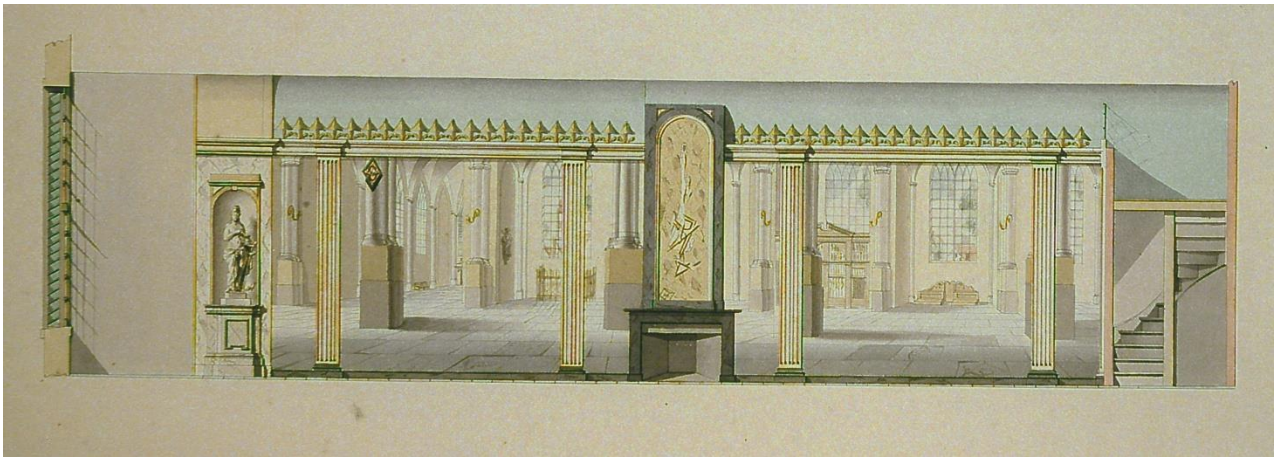
Fig. 2.112: Facade of lodge Frédéric Royale in the Eendrachtsstraat in Rotterdam, undated (ca. 1900), watercolour. Collection: Stadsarchief Rotterdam, inv.no. XVIII 420.00.02.01. Reproduced from: collecties.stadsarchief.rotterdam.nl.

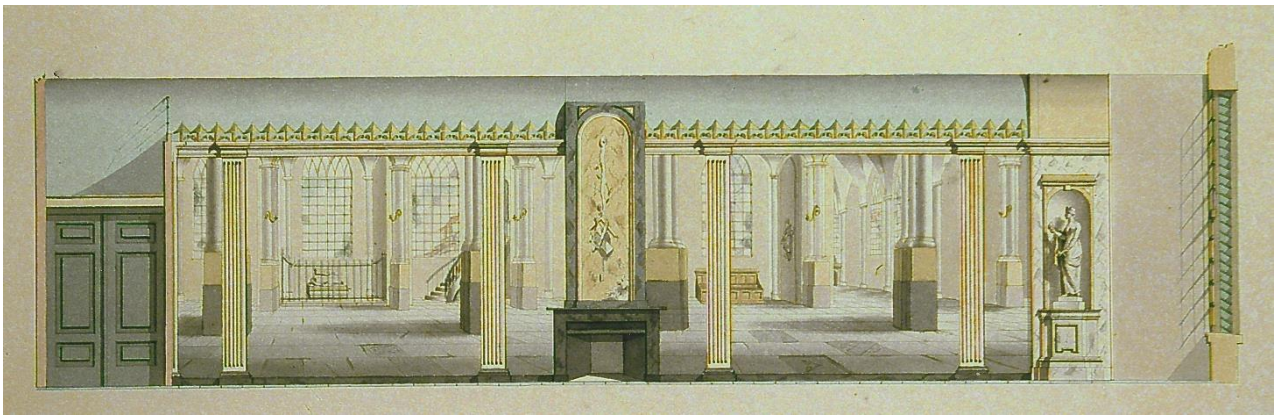
section of a wall, suggesting the wall was to be divided by pillars carrying a tympanum. This one is decorated with a either a book (bible) or tablets (10 commandments) and a branch, and topped by three more skulls with bones, probably representing the 'evil' Fellows responsible for Hirma's death. Another design shows a grave monument, in the shape of an obelisk topped with a winged hourglass (fig. 2.110). It is decorated with a medallion carrying an illegible inscription, above which two crossed torches are depicted. According to the provenance record, the latter would have been destined for the lodge building at the Delftsevaart, which would not date it 1803-1807 as the record suggests, but 1813-1838. A third design shows three different grave monuments, all set on a series of three steps (fig. 2.211). The left design



Figs. 2.113a-b: Designs for trompe l'oeuil *paintings, attributed to lodge De Eendragt in Rotterdam, ca. 1820, watercolour. Collection: Stadsarchief Rotterdam, inv.no. XVIII 420.00.02.01. Reproduced from: collecties.stadsarchief.rotterdam.nl.*

is topped by an hourglass, behind which two scythes are crossed. The base is decorated with what seems a winged skull. The middle design shows the same hourglass, and a smaller winged skull, while the hourglass is omitted on the third. This last version incorporates a full skeleton with a scythe. As these monuments represent the grave of Hiram, the throne and monument designs must all have been intended for the temple for the Master's degree. Only one of the monument designs would have been picked for execution, while the throne was probably also suitable for use in the *Élu* or other higher degrees. As the *Élu* degree was abandoned in the Netherlandse by the middle of the 19th century, the date of the designs could be correct.





Figs. 2.114a-b: Designs for trompe l'oeuil paintings, attributed to lodge De Eendragt in Rotterdam, ca. 1820, watercolour. Collection: Stadsarchief Rotterdam, inv.no. XVIII 420.00.02.01. Reproduced from: collecties.stadsarchief.rotterdam.nl.

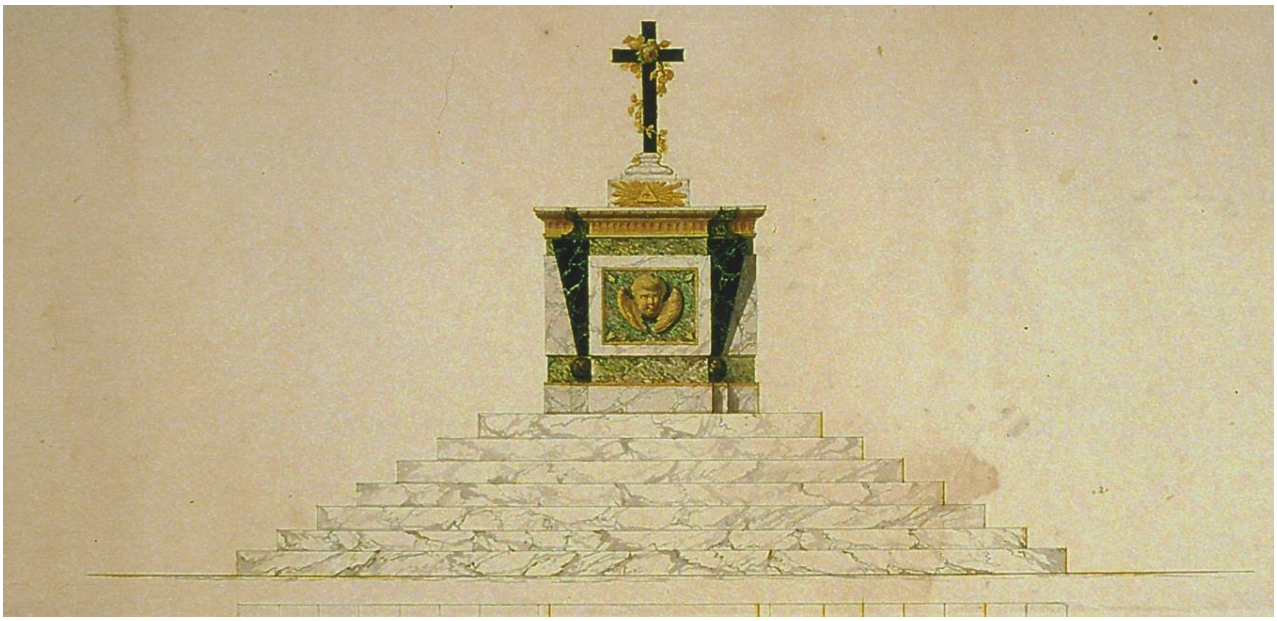


Fig. 2.115 (detail): Design for an altar of the Rose Croix degree, attributed to lodge De Eendragt in Rotterdam, ca. 1820, watercolour. Collection: Stadsarchief Rotterdam, inv.no. XVIII 420.00.02.01. Reproduced from: collecties.stadsarchief.rotterdam.nl.



Fig. 2.116: Facade of lodge De Drie Kolommen in Rotterdam, undated (ca. 1900), watercolour. Collection: Stadsarchief Rotterdam, inv.no. XVIII 420.02. Reproduced from: collecties.stadsarchief.rotterdam.nl.

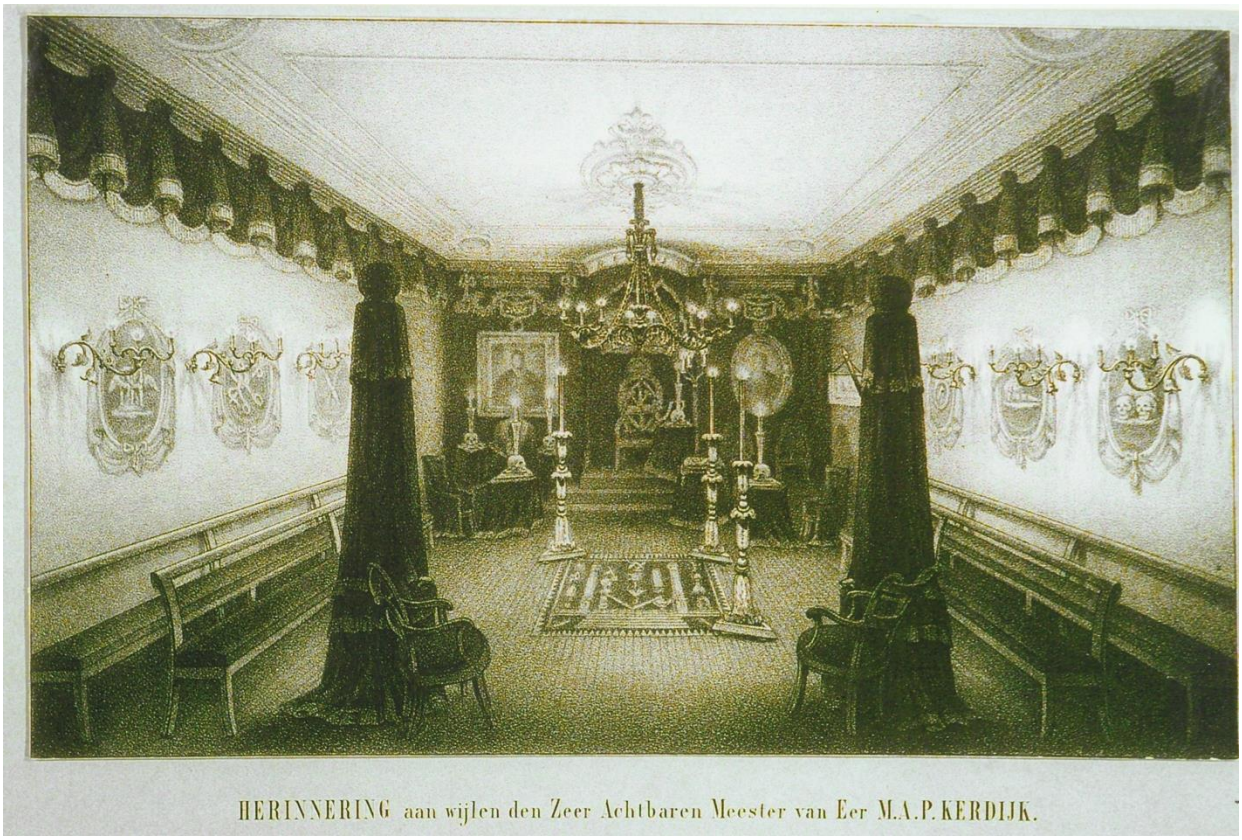


Fig. 2.117: Souvenir of the late Worshipful Master of Honour M.A.P. Kerdijk of lodge De Drie Kolommen in Rotterdam, 1862. Collection: Stadsarchief Rotterdam, inv.no. XXXIII 74.01. Reproduced from: collecties.stadsarchief.rotterdam.nl.

In the same collection is also a design thought to show the facade of the masonic hall used by lodge Frédéric Royale at the Eendrachtsstraat in Rotterdam, which would date the design circa 1877-1907, or as the provenance record suggests 1903-1907 (fig. 2.112). However, it is executed in the same hand and colours as a series of *trompe l'oeuil* designs, again attributed to lodge De Eendragt and according to the provenance record dated 1820. Figs. 2.113-2.114 are cleverly designed to transform a small room in a lodge building into an enormous hall, which seems to be part of a huge temple or cathedral.

It seems likely to assume that these *trompe l'oeil* designs were destined for the building depicted. However, also executed in the same hand and colours is a design of the facade of the masonic hall on the Oppert in Rotterdam of lodge De Drie Kolommen, its estimated date being 1903-1907 (fig. 2.116). As this depicts the façade known to have been designed by architect and member D. Verheul in 1882 (fig. 2.118).

Last in the series is a design for an altar of the *Rose Croix* degree, executed in various marbles and gilding (fig. 2.115). The altar is standing on a set of seven steps and is decorated with a winged angel. It carries a black cross, around which a golden rose has wound itself. The *Rose Croix degree* was not practised in the Netherlands before 1820, which would date the design in the second quarter of the 19th century.

It is not clear if any of these designs were actually executed, and the case deserves to be studied further. But the *trompe l'oeil* series does illustrate how wall paintings could function in lodges, not only as a reminder of masonic labour and virtues like the ones in Amsterdam, but also as a means of transporting the participants of a ritual to another realm.

The archive of lodge De Drie Kolommen in Rotterdam documents developments in the second half of the 19th century very well. This lodge was founded as The Three Pillars in 1767 under an English Constitution, but transferred to Dutch jurisdiction in 1783.[439] After brief dormant periods in 1791 and 1814 the lodge blossomed in the 19th century. De Drie Kolommen signed a purchase contract for a house on the Oppert in

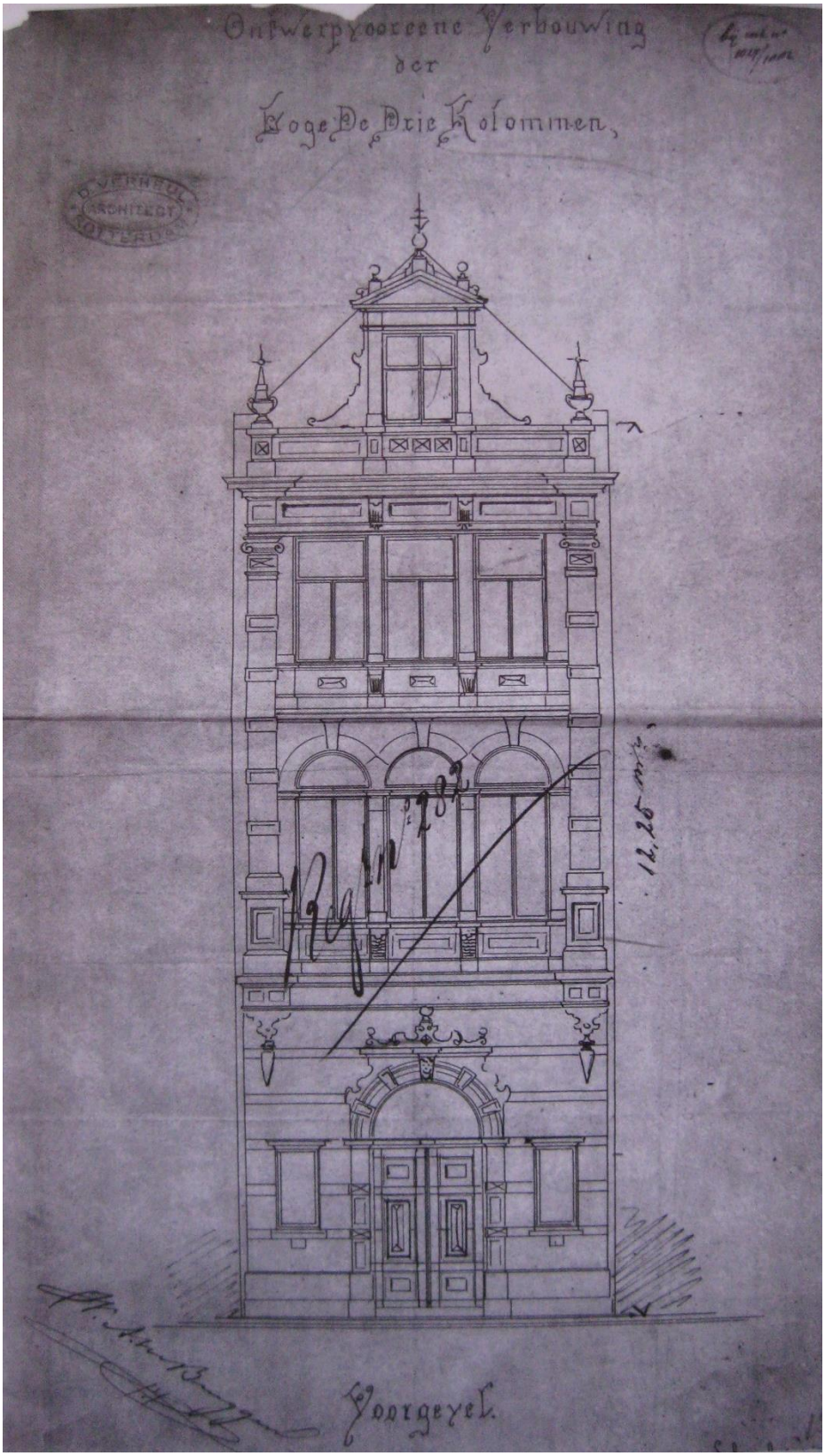


Fig. 2.118: D. Verheul, Facade design for the renovation of Oppert 72 in Rotterdam as lodge building, 1882. Collection: Stadsarchief Rotterdam.

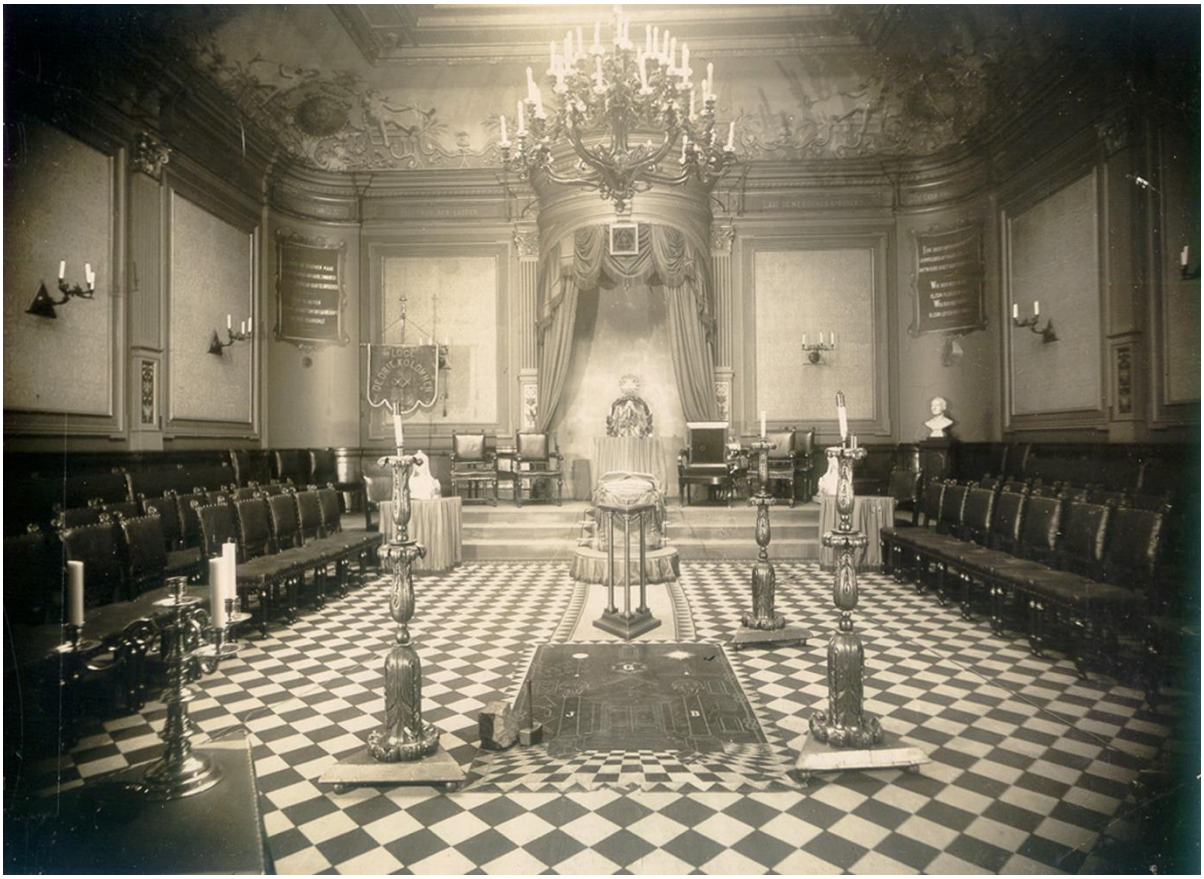


Fig. 2.119: Interior of the masonic hall at Oppert 72 in Rotterdam, around 1900. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 17107. Reproduced from: De drie Kolommen *1992, p. 4.*



Detail of fig. 2.119: ceiling decoration.



Detail of fig. 2.119: throne and tracing board.

Rotterdam on 2-5-1856 (house no. 42, later no. 72).[440] The temple, consecrated on 29-11-1856 is documented on a memorial card for Worshipful Master Marcus Andries Polak Kerdijk (1790-1863) (fig. 2.117). It shows the temple set up for a mourning ritual for Kerdijk in 1862. The masonic yearbook of 1863 noted this temporary furnishing was the work of the decorators' firm F. van der Wiel and Sons, whose director was a freemason.[441] The card depicts a throne on a set of steps under a canopy, the chair of the Venerable Master decorated with masonic tools on the back and a headpiece in the shape of a radiant sun. The chairs and tables of the officers and the pillars are all covered in black mourning *laken* (a type of woollen cloth) of which a valance is also depicted along the wall, edging the ceiling. Painted medallions with *memento mori* were hung on the walls. These include a winged hourglass to the left and a set of skulls to the right, the other images are less clear. The lighting is reminiscent of descriptions in earlier lodge inventories, with a large chandelier hanging from the ceiling and various light fixtures with decorative branches attached to the walls.

Although later developments fall outside the scope of this book for practical reasons, it can't harm to take a sneak peek at later developments here, if only to stimulate other researchers to pick up the subject. In the second half of the 19th century, the Dutch Grand East was characterized by a conservative attitude, which was reflected in its lodge buildings. These formal, dark, *pluche* (= velvet, plush) interiors of the bourgeoisie celebrating a mishmash of neo-styles have been given the loving nickname *De lelijke tijd* (= The ugly time) by some Dutch art historians.[442]

The temple of De Drie Kolommen was expanded in 1867, but in 1882 it was torn down and replaced with a masonic hall in Dutch neo-Renaissance style after a design by architect and freemason D. Verheul (fig. 2.118).[443] This building would also come to house the other lodges in Rotterdam: Frédéric Royal (founded 1759), Acacia (founded 1872), Concord (founded 1929) and De Eensgezindheid (founded 1932), all of which still exist. The new temple, exemplary for developments in the Netherlands at the time, was consecrated on 17-1-1883 and its interior was described in detail:

> From the street one enters the reception area, which on the right gives access to two waiting rooms for candidates, to the left an office; the entrance is decorated with an English parquetry floor in which in the middle compasses and square and around the whole the indented border have been incorporated. Through a glass draft door one enters the hall in which the main stairs are located which lead to the grand reception room on the first floor, furthermore it provides access to the meeting room and the house of the Brother Servant, whose latter living area has if necessary a separate entrance on the street side and there are the basements, also intended as storage place.
>
> The conversation room measures 12 Meters in length and 6 Meters in width with a height of 4 ½ Meter and receives its light from the gedempte Binnenrotte [= street side] – furthermore in the hall are the privates and urinals. - Taking the Main stairs one comes to the first floor in a spacious hall which gives access to the reception room, the waiting room and a staircase to the 2nd floor; the hall itself already offers much beauty; in the wall is a commemorative stone [marking the laying of the first stone] surrounded by a frame of splendid Masonic symbols […]. On the window glass which serves to light the hall attention is drawn to the All-seeing Eye painted thereon by the Brother K. Hasper.
>
> The hall leads on to the main reception room, which has a length of 13 Meters and a width of 16 Meters with a height of 7 Meters and has been executed in the style of the French Renaissance. It is lit by a skylight and provides room to 160 to 180 people.
>
> The hall further gives access to the room used for public and committee meetings; it has a size of 5 x 5 Meters. Furthermore urinal and buffet room.
>
> The stairs to the second floor lead to the room where the Lodge archive is kept; furthermore the chamber of reflection, to which an entrance has been made here also to if necessary access the canopy of the throne and make use of the space present there as storage, and further [the stairs] lead to the attic.
>
> […] But also the decoration and furniture deserves our attention, especially the décor of the Temple.
>
> Opposite the entrance is the throne decorated in blue; behind the throne shines the letter G surrounded by rays, on which hangs the silver trowel used at the laying of the first stone. The seat is a neat chair wholly sculpted in Masonic symbols, on both sides of the throne lie two sphinxes executed in French Renaissance style. Besides the throne stands a new banner, a gift of the layer of the first stone. Along the sides of the room are the benches and chairs, executed wholly in the style of the Temple building all this added to what is further used for Lodge work, such as columns, altar, a crown lit by 87 gas candles etc. So this

> room can be called majestic. Praise also to the Brother. A. Snoeij Kiewit to whom the decoration had been assigned, the Brother W.L. Thieme Jr, who with so much care sculpted the sphinxes by his own hand, the Brother K. Hasselt who had been trusted with the temporary paint work and the firm W.L. Thieme to whom the execution of the furniture had been commissioned.[444]

A photograph of the interior around 1900, one of the earliest documenting a Dutch Freemasons' Hall, shows the 'large reception room' or temple (fig. 2.119). Some of the furniture depicted on the 1863 mourning card can be identified as still present, including the large, ornate candlesticks with scrolled leafs and the Worshipful Master's chair. The elaborate chandelier stands out, as does the triangular lectern standing in front of the altar. The wall lights shaped as leafy branches seem to be the same as in 1863, now adapted to gas light. The lodge banner is visible on the left of the throne. However, this is a much larger and taller temple space than in the earlier image, the tracing board is different and the floor is now chequered. The wall sections are divided by pilasters, above which a section below the ceiling is decoratively painted with in each corner two putti heralding what is probably the glory of freemasonry. Barely legible on the image, are the texts in a banner along the wall, which include moral advice to the members like *Bespreek geen laster* (do not gossip).

Unfortunately, this masonic hall was one of the many lost in the Second World War.[445] There are many other 19th century lodge buildings that deserve a closer look, but can only be mentioned in passing here, including those at the Fluwelen Burgwal in The Hague (briefly discussed in the introduction), the Vondelstraat in Amsterdam and the spectacular Egyptian style building in Nijmegen.

♦ *The oldest surviving lodge building*

A pilot study conducted by the OVN Foundation (2005) calculated that circa 344 lodges have been founded in the Netherlands between 1735 and 1940. As some must have furnished one or more successive lodge rooms or masonic halls, while others shared a building, that amounts to several hundred relevant locations. The Second World War accounts for the destruction of a substantial number of these historical buildings and interiors. A second 'demolition wave' occurred in the second half of the 20th century when the rising costs of maintenance made lodges move to cheaper, modern accommodations. As art historians have neglected the subject, it is unclear how many former lodge buildings form 1735-1945 have been preserved on a local or national level, or in what condition they are now. The pilot study revealed that by 2005 as little as 20 lodge buildings built before 1940 have retained their original function as masonic halls. However, none of those date back before the 1830s.

The oldest Dutch lodge interior still in use as such, is that of lodge La Flamboyante in the Muntgang in Dordrecht dating from 1837. The lodge was founded in 1811 by local freemasons, who obtained their Constitution from the *Grand Orient de France*, as the Netherlands were under French rule at the time. After 1813 the lodge transferred to jurisdiction of the Grand East of the Netherlands. From before 1826 dates a design for the table of the Worshipful Master, attributed to artist Abraham van der Strij (1753-1826). It shows two winged cherubs supporting a shield with a blazing star, surrounded by nine smaller stars, the emblem of the lodge and a reference to its name (fig. 2.120). On the freeze below them are a pair of compasses crossed with a set square and two acacia sprigs.

In 1828, a member of La Flamboyante, M.G. van den Bank, a wine merchant, bought the 14th century building complex of the local Mint for fl. 15.730,- (figs. 2.121-2.122). He rented part of the complex to his lodge in 1834 for fl. 250,- per year, which was then renovated for fl. 2.500,- by La Flamboyante to suit its needs. The complex changed hands in 1837 when it was acquired by another member, Jan Schouten (1786-1853).[446] He was co-founder and Master of the lodge (in function 1812-1852), and a local shipyard owner. We will come back to him in chapter 6, because some of the ships from his yard were used in the trade with Southeast Asia.

Schouten bought the former Mint workplaces, the living quarters of the janitor, the stables, the smiths' shop, the garden and packing rooms, and the Mint master's garden. The houses of the Mint master and other officials were not part of the sale. Schouten had the complex renovated into a proper masonic hall with a temple in a neoclassical style, and it is thought he himself was mainly responsible for the design. Where most other lodge buildings resemble a temple by the division of the wall space by (flat) pillars, here

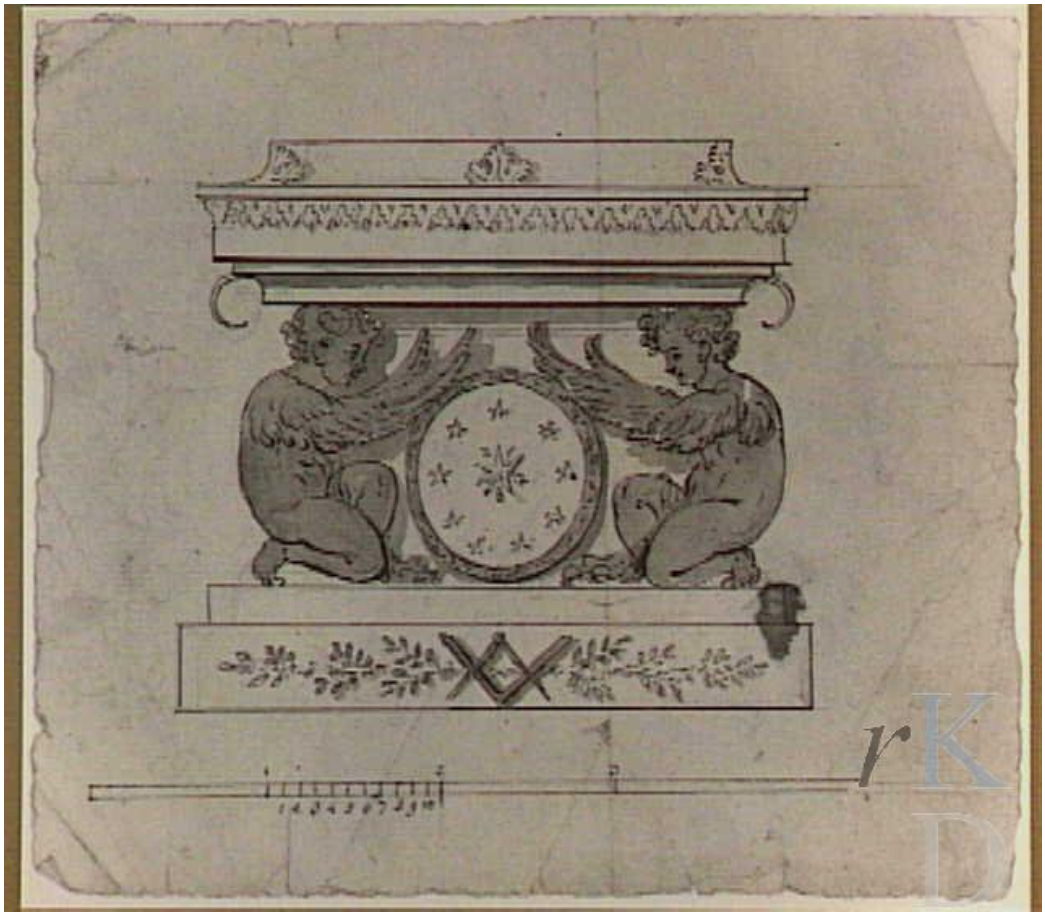


Fig. 2.120: Abraham van der Strij (1753-1826) (attributed), design for lodge La Flamboyante in Dordrecht, ca. 1811-1826. Private collection. Reproduced from: rkd.nl.



Fig. 2.121: Mint passage in Dordrecht, with the entrance to lodge La Flamboyante, 20th century. Reproduced from: flamboyante.nl.

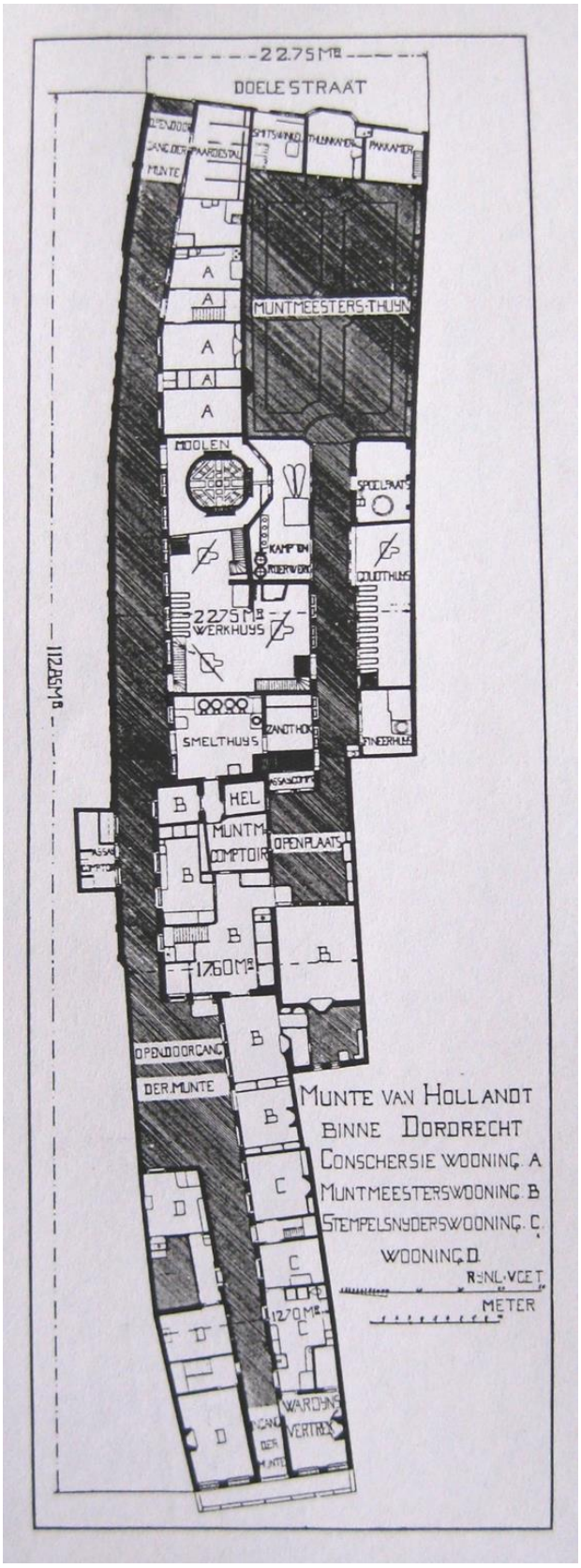
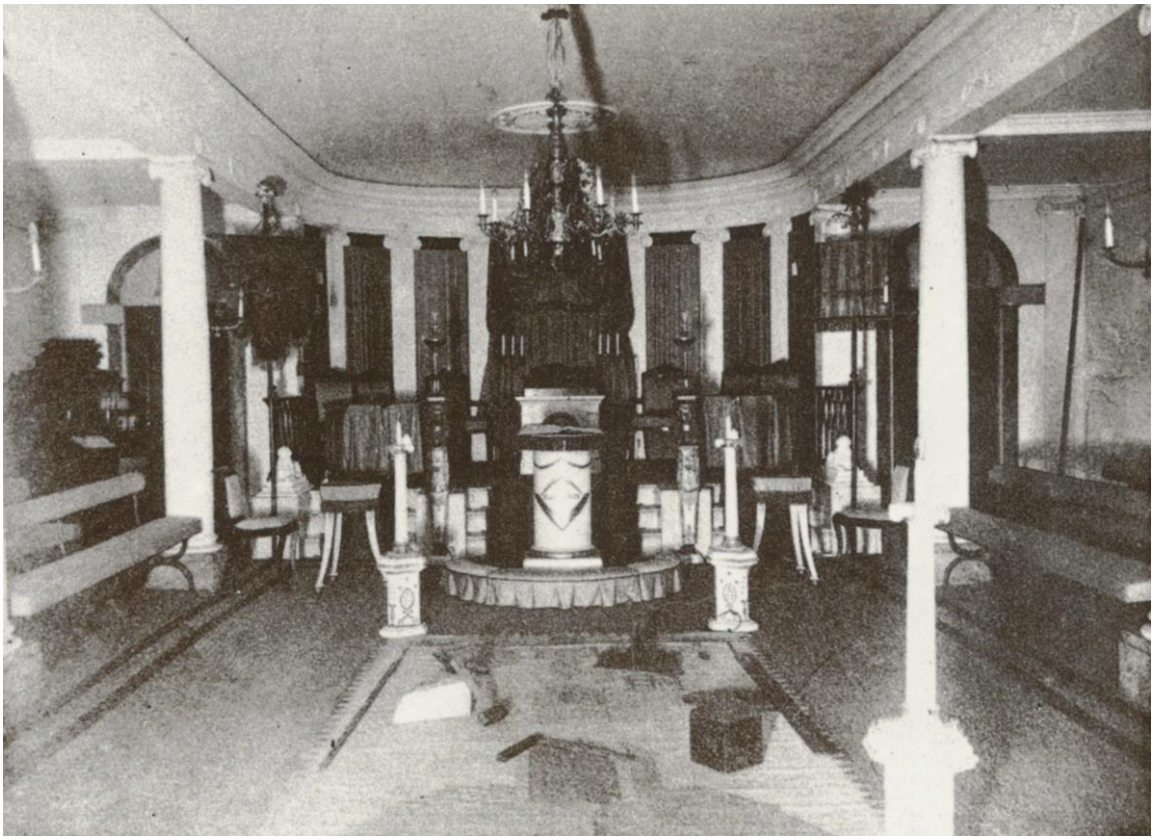


Fig. 2.122: Floorplan of the Mint in Dordrecht around 1814. Reproduced from De Veer [1962], opposite p. 52.



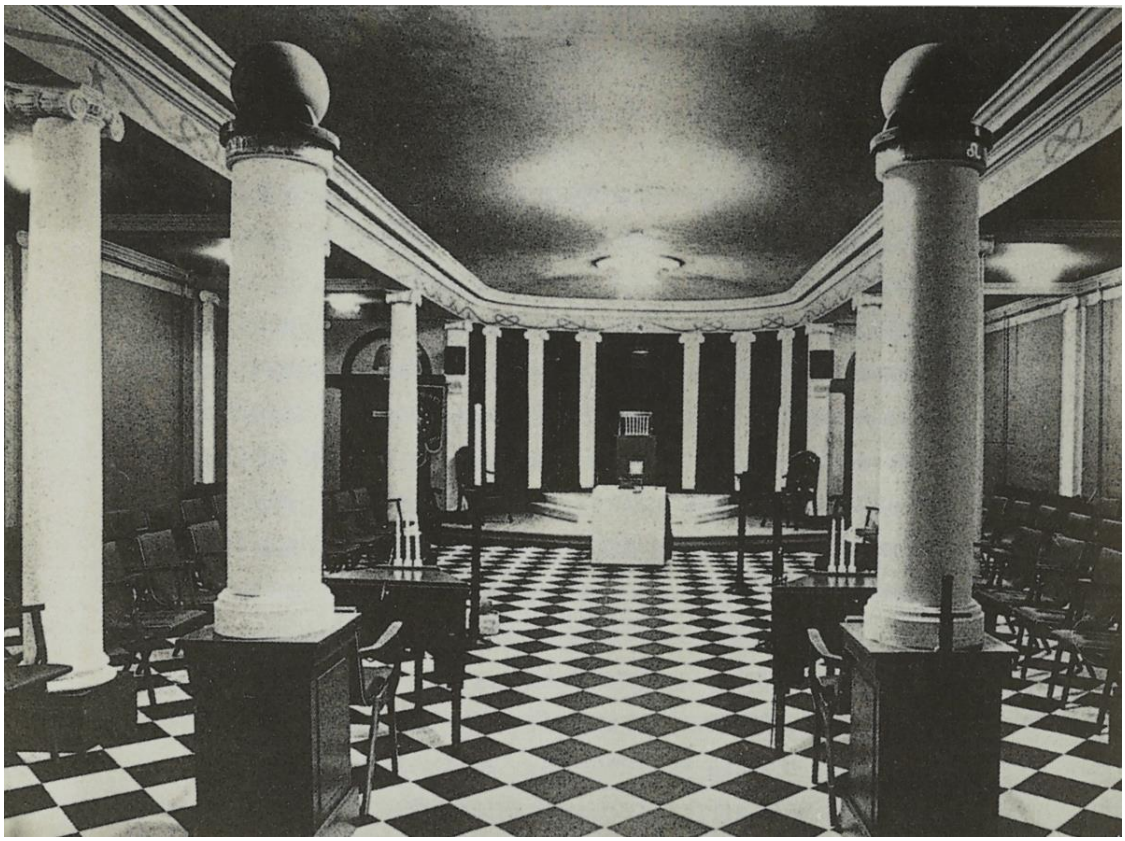


Fig. 2.123a-b: Interior of lodge La Flamboyante in Dordrecht before 1940 (top) and in 1962 (bottom). Reproduced from: De Veer [1962], opposite pp. 47 and 53.





Fig. 2.124a-b: The temple of lodge La Flamboyante in Dordrecht, 20th century. Photograph: Alex in 't Veld. Reproduced from intveldphoto.blogspot.nl (top) / Reproduced from: flamboyante.nl (bottom).



Fig. 2.124c: Blazing star in the temple of lodge La Flamboyante in Dordrecht, 20th century. Reproduced from: flamboyante.nl.



Fig. 2.125: The Chamber of Reflection of lodge La Flamboyante in Dordrecht, 20th century. Photo: Alex in 't Veld. Reproduced from: intveldphoto.blogspot.nl.





Figs. 2.126-2.127: The hall or porch of the temple in lodge La Flamboyante in Dordrecht, 1962 (top) and 20th century (bottom). In the back, to the left, are the doors to the temple.Reproduced from: De Veer [1962], opposite p. 62 (top) / *Photograph: Alex in 't Veld. Reproduced from: intveldphoto.blogspot.nl (bottom).*



Fig. 1.228: The 'billiard room' of lodge La Flamboyante in Dordrecht, 20th century. The open doors lead to the porch of the temple. Reproduced from: flamboyante.nl.

these were combined with three-dimensional columns supporting the ceiling. The temple was taken into use on 7-10-1837 and described as follows:

> Lovely was to them the look of the porch; there they were surrounded by [painted] trees, displaying gilded fruits and blossoms as well and by festoons of brilliant flowers. […] The Temple gate of bronze, the seats of honour, so in the East as in the West, made of noble wood, covered with rich textiles; those between the rows of pillars tasteful and elegant. The worktables of the Master and the Wardens, the floor with a carpet in the colour of the workplace […]. The eye met allegorical pictures on all sides and Flora's were not absent from all this.[447]

After Schouten's death, the building was bought from his son Arnold Jan by La Flamboyante in 1879 for fl. 18.000,-.[448] The former smith's shop, the garden and packing room, as well as the domed room at the Doelstraat (formerly used for social gatherings) were altered into the new janitor's living quarters. The porch of the temple was renovated and the old janitor's rooms were joined into a society and bar area. The interior of the temple has since changed little, making it unique in the Netherlands (figs. 2.123a-b and 2.126). During the war the building was stripped of its contents, so most of the furniture is now no longer original.

In 1976 part of the unused space in the building complex was bought by the municipality of Dordrecht and in the 1980s the masonic part was restored by the bureau of architect J. de Vries (figs. 2.124a-c, 2.125, 2.127-2.128). The restored lodge building was described in 1987 as follows:

> Parallel to the hall and just as long, is a somewhat narrower room, with a baroque *stucco* [plasterwork] ceiling. At the time a long meeting table stood here surrounded by old-fashioned chairs, covered in red velvet. This room is traditionally called the Master chamber. […] The especially after 1945 progressing democratisation of the human relations has made the use of that Master chamber diminish and the Master's meetings now take place in the hall, before the *comparitie* [= non-ritual lodge meeting]. The Master chamber is since somewhat desolated.

Between the stairway and the hall above the garden room, is the so called billiard room. This room is executed in a style matching that of the hall. Here too the original chimney with space for a mantelpiece was uncovered. Both windows on the south side overlook the garden, those on the north side were bricked up. In the time after the renovation of 1879 a large billiard was acquired, which explains the name to those who are unfamiliar with this 'monstrosity', because it was given away after […]. A large table with solid chairs around it meets the needs of current use, as meeting space for smaller companies. The separation wall between the hall and the billiard room is executed as a folding door, so that both can in an instance be joined into a 21 meters long and 6 meter wide room for special occasions […].

The massive oak of the fine stairway was uncovered quite recently, when during a clean-up it was decided to remove the layers of paint, which had been applied in a distant past, because a local tax law was instated for plain oak. Through the landing, above the stairs, one comes to the 'chamber of reflection' on the right […]. At the end of a short hallway, to the left of which are the bathrooms, is the aforementioned [bed]room, furnished by Arnoldus Jan Schouten. It has been furnished to receive guests, with the wardrobe in the former bedstead. Adjacent, above the Mint passage, the kitchen was made where the meals could be prepared for those cases, in which a banquet was held in the hall […].

Downstairs, on the lower floor, next to the garden room and the stairway is a storage space - in the former kitchen of the janitor - which around 1900, when the velocipede was introduced, served as bike storage. Lastly there were the former [workplaces of the Mint], for which there was no actual use, likewise for the stables with the space above those. The first spaces were rented, while the other was improvised as a house, which was also rented. In the whole building the ventilation was improved, the gas lighting replaced by electric light around 1912 and the heating by fireplaces and 'Godin'-stoves by gas radiators.[449]

While the surrounding Mint complex has a formal protected status as a monument, the lodge building and its unique temple do not.

♦ *Later developments*

During the fin-de-siècle, new and more progressive strands of freemasonry developed under the influence of emancipation movements and such modern esoteric currents as theosophy. The co-masonic order Le Droit Humain founded a first lodge in the Netherlands in 1904. Theosophy and co-masonry proved important influences on new generations of architects and artists, especially the avant-garde involved in what can best be described as Dutch variations of *Art Nouveau* and *Art Deco*, such as *Nieuwe Kunst*, *Amsterdamse School*, and the later *Nieuwe Zakelijkheid*.[450] The designs of architects Willem Kromhout (1864-1940) for the Freemasons' Hall in the Vondelstraat in Amsterdam (1906) and Karel de Bazel (1869-1923) for the theosophists and co-masonic lodges in the De Ruyterstraat 67-67a in The Hague (1916), now the Museum of Communication, were important examples. The surge of interest in esoteric and masonic concepts by artists, designers and architects led to a cross-over of masonic symbolism into modern architecture in the first half of the 20th century.

In 1931 the *Vereeniging Tempelbouw* (Association for Temple Building) was formed by members of the Order of Freemasons under the Grand East of the Netherlands. This association merged in 1946 with another, more directed at the study of rituals, into the *Stichting Ritus en Tempelbouw* (Foundation for Rites and Temple Building). This masonic organization propagated the use of 'pure' form and clean lines in the design and decoration of lodges. Amongst the board members were the well-known architects Jan Wils (1891-1972), H.A.J. Baanders (1876-1953) and A.H. Wegerif (1888-1963), whose ideas had a profound influence on the renovation and design of lodge buildings in the Netherlands.[451] Masonic symbolism would now become 'hidden' in a floor plan, to be discovered in the geometrical shapes and proportions of the lodge room itself. Examples of this subtle symbolism are the designs for the buildings of the lodge Silentium in Delft by Wils (1930) and lodge Concordia Res Parvae Crescunt in Sneek by Baanders (1938).[452] Such designs were all based on the *Sectio Divina* (Golden Section) and the masonic symbolism of a five-pointed star in a circle, reminiscent of Da Vinci's depiction of man in the cosmos. The lodge furniture was carefully positioned, so that lines drawn between each piece revealed masonic tools or other symbols.

All these developments deserve to be discussed in a publication of their own soon, not in the least because there is a need for information on this subject in the heritage sector as more (former) lodge buildings are being renovated and repurposed. The OVN pilot study (2005) revealed that only 14 masonic halls built in the second half of the 19th century are still in use as such, and just 5 from the first half of the

20th century.[453] This study also pointed out that some of the most important examples, including the temple in the Freemason's Hall in Dordrecht and that of De Bazel in the Museum for Communication in The Hague, do not (yet) have any protected heritage status. As the conference *Masonic and Esoteric Heritage. A new perspective for art and heritage policies* (2005) brought to attention, several factors have led to masonic halls being overlooked in heritage studies, restoration or funding schemes in the past. There is, however, no excuse to keep on doing so. Heritage professionals, scholars of western esotericism and lodges need to work together in order to ensure the most important examples of this exceptional heritage will be preserved for future generations.

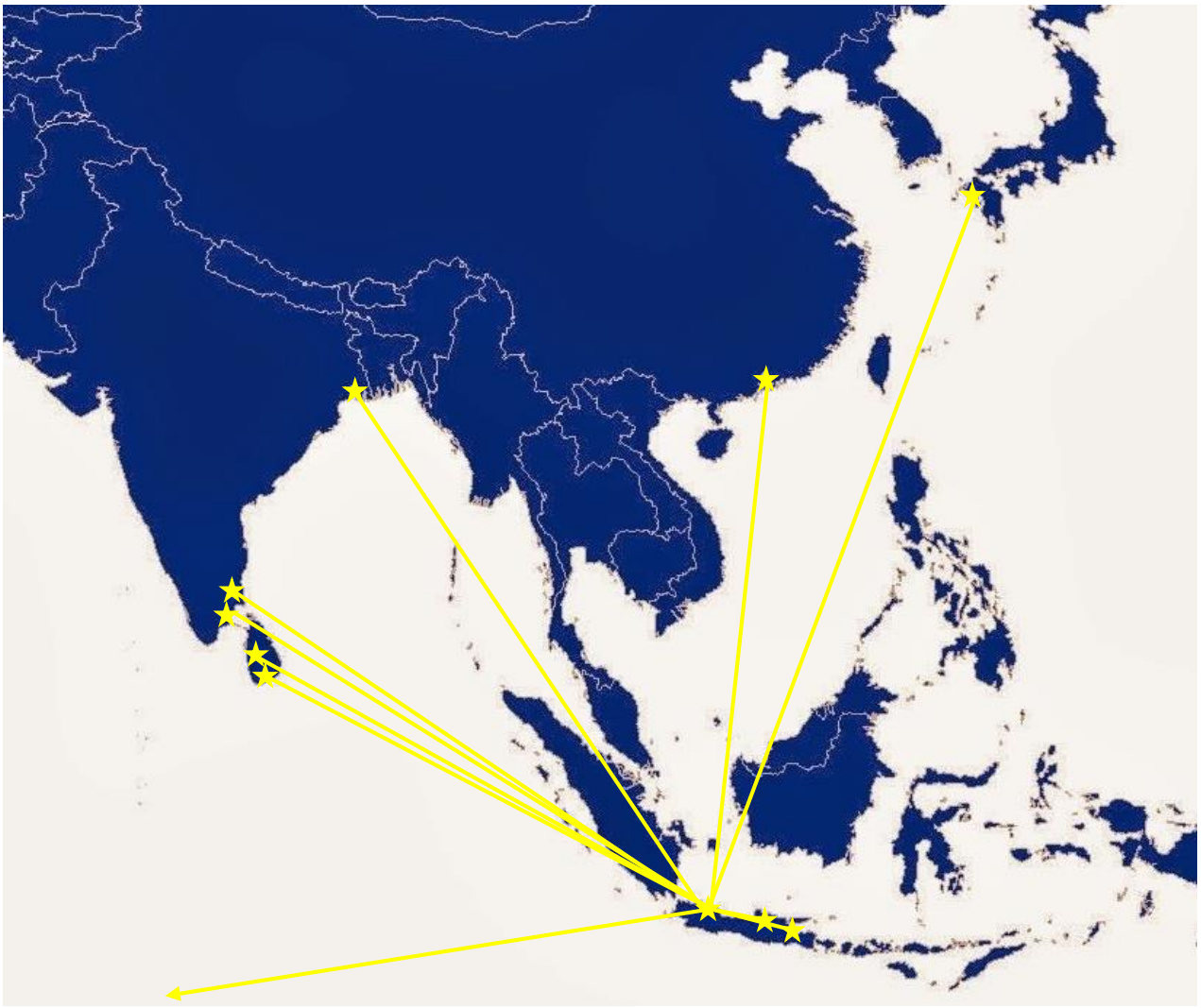


Fig. 3.1.: Traffic between Dutch lodges in Southeast Asia in the 18th and early 19th centuries.

3.1. Freemasonry and European expansion

In recent years, the study of freemasonry has focussed on (global) network relationships and western expansion. Jessica Harland-Jacobs provides an introduction into this field in the article 'Hands across the Empire' (1999), explaining the interest in 'new human geographies'.[1] Such networks are characterized by a transoceanic reach, in which 'patterned interactions' take place, and 'transformation of socio-spatial interactions over time' can be studied.[2] Examples of relevant studies are Harland-Jacobs' *Builders of Empire. Freemasonry and British Imperialism* (2007), Joachim Berger's 'European Freemasonries, 1850-1935: Networks and Transnational Movements' (2010), and Simon Deschamps' thesis *Franc-maçonnerie et pouvoir colonial dans l'Inde britannique, 1730-1921* (2014), all of which focus more heavily on the 19th than the 18th century, as that is when transnational rather than national identities were formed.

As Berger put it, there were 'certain groups of masonic actors whose activity regularly spanned national boundaries and who created regulatory mechanisms for their cross-border cooperation.[3] Berger also identified the actors and mediators in this process as (for the 19th century) European aristocrats and emigrants, while (for the 18th century) those involved in trade and the military should be added. Between them, these groups overlap. Both Harland-Jacobs and Deschamps point to the contradiction between

freemasonry's inclusive ideals and the racial politics of the establishment, to which most members belonged. Deschamps also points to freemasonry as part of the highly symbolical and performative show of British colonial power in the 19th century.

The academic wide view taken in such studies places freemasonry firmly within the context of imperial history, supra-nationalism and (male) cosmopolitanism. They reflect recent changes in the methodological approach to the history of western expansion. In his article 'A New Dutch Imperial History? Perambulations in a Prospective Field' (2013) Remco Raben discusses this 'New Imperial History' movement, especially popular among scholars in Britain and France. The movement is characterized by a focus on cultural perspectives, spatial dimensions and the 'webbed' character of empires. Raben very convincingly demonstrates that the Dutch situation requires a different approach, only partially due to the modest scale and different spatial layout of its overseas territories. More importantly, 'The Netherlands themselves were never perceived as an empire and Dutch colonialism retained a strong business-orientated and technocratic bend'.[4] This lack of 'imperial' mind-set influenced both Dutch and colonial identities. The level of ambition, aggression and cultural interference may have been similar, but 'Dutch colonialism was less about "empire" than about "opportunity"'.[5] Furthermore, the impact of colonial culture on Dutch society and (material) culture has not yet been studied in a systematic manner, and Dutch scholarship has focussed so heavily on VOC connections, that many alternative networks have been overlooked (such as slaves, convicts, women, religious groups, philanthropic organisations, etc.).[6] While Raben pleads for applying some New Imperial History approaches, such as network research, to the Dutch situation, he also warns that 'empire' could be 'made to do too much, at the risk of neglecting alternative dynamics'.[7]

Recent scholarship has concentrated less on identifying the founders, membership body and individual lodge developments within the colonial context. For drawing conclusions about the impact of freemasonry on western expansion, doing such 'groundwork' remains invaluable: extracting statistical data from lodge archives on the number of members and their social stratification, without which many conclusions about masonic networks must be considered preliminary. In 1969, John M. Roberts suggested there were possibly 100.000 freemasons in 1789 and it is telling that, even in the digital age, this is still one of the best sources to quote on such information.[8] We lack overviews of precisely how many freemasons were active where and when. While we know global networks were extensively travelled, we cannot demonstrate, for instance, how the members of one particular colonial lodge moved across its imperial web over time, which would help to better understand spatial dynamics on both an individual and a group level.

In the 1950s and 60s, Dashwood lovingly detailed the developments in British India and Ceylon.[9] His lodge histories are among those that deserve to be updated. As will be demonstrated in chapters 4 and 5, with so many genealogical sources on the colonies now available online, simply reviewing a well-known membership list can already provide new insights and help reconstruct developments about which lodge archives are fragmentary. Prescott has already suggested how new digital tools can help spatial analysis of masonic networks, but there too statistical information remains among the *desiderata*.[10]

Freemasonry was an 'exportable model of sociability'[11] and, as far as the Dutch are concerned, certainly qualifies as one of Raben's overlooked webs or networks. The Order's clear hierarchical structure and international contacts make it an almost ideal subject for prosopography studies. The membership of the Order combined ritual and intellectual aspects with a socio-economic function. Drinking and camaraderie were part of lodge life. Once accepted, men would meet kindred spirits in the lodge and make friends. These personal contacts would sometimes lead to business or political relationships. No doubt some new candidates were not only attracted by masonic ideals, but also by the network opportunities that lodge membership would open up. Many other societies and gentlemen's clubs also functioned as networks in the 18th century[12], so what was special about freemasonry?

◆ *Masonic networks and passports*

At conferences, scholars trying to explain to a wider audience how freemasonry's network operated in the 18th century, sometimes compare it to the way online network relationships are formed today. A comparison between the function of masonic 'passports' within the 18th century network and LinkedIn for

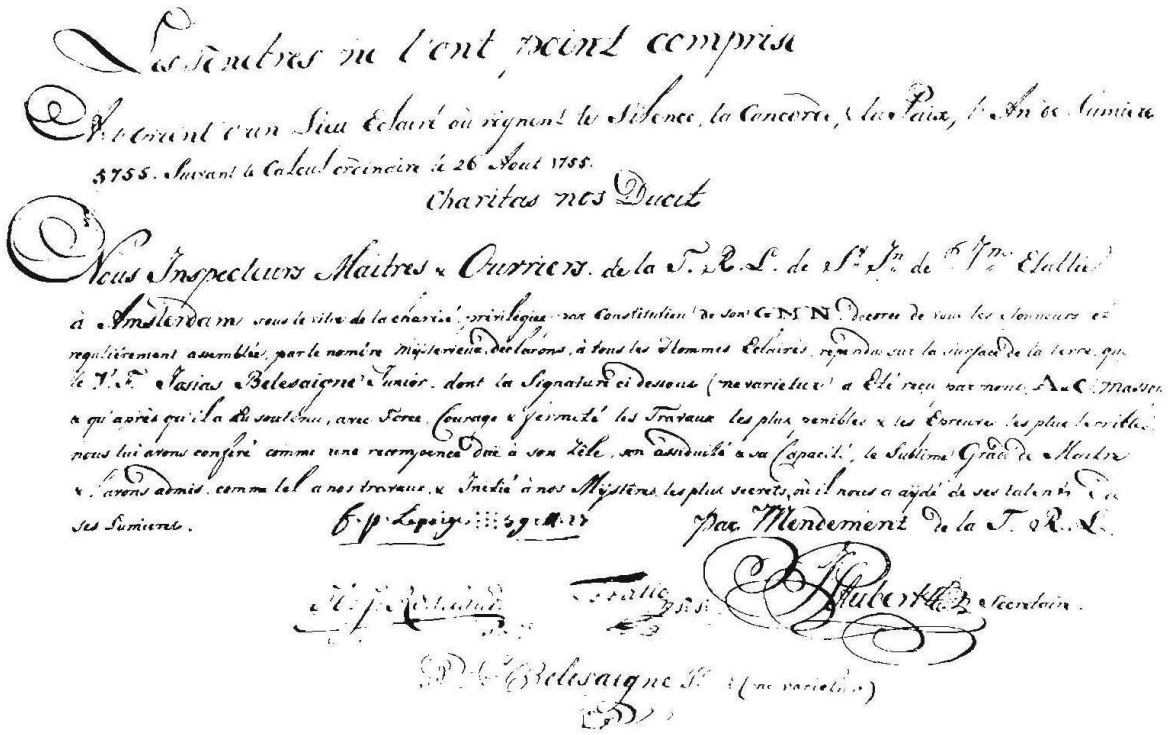


Fig. 3.2: Patent or lodge certificate, issued by lodge La Charité in Amsterdam on 26-8-1755 to Josias Belesoigne Jr. Reproduced from: Croiset van Uchelen 1965 B, p. 20.

instance, with its possibility to introduce or endorse a colleague to (a group of) peers previously unknown to them, certainly helps to grasp the concept. The brotherhood-principle meant that any freemason would be welcomed as one of their own in a (regular) lodge in any city or county, provided he could 'make himself known' as a mason. That meant being able to show knowledge of the right signs and words before entering the lodge. The Grand Lodge of Ireland is thought to have been the first to introduce the use of certificates as proof of membership.[13] This was soon copied by other Grand Lodges.

A lodge member could not just decide to leave at any moment, because membership implied certain duties, particularly for the officers. If a member was about to travel, he could ask for 'resignation and patent'.[14] He would then receive a certificate (also called *patent* or *acte* in Dutch), declaring the holder a freemason from a regular lodge. It was usually hand written and signed by the lodge officers. The oldest Dutch certificate dates from 26-8-1755 and was issued by lodge La Charité in Amsterdam, at the time working under a English (Moderns) Constitution, to brother Josias Belesoigne Jr (fig. 3.2.). The records of Old Dundee Lodge (1755) in London also provide an example of this internationally widespread practice:

> 1755, Jan 23. Resolved 'That the Members of this Lodge that Use the Sea should pay 1s[hilling] each Night they come [to the Lodge], and that they have a Certificate [if desired] on their going away and that a Seal be provided for their Certificates, and that the Master, Wardens, Past Master and Treasurer do Provide a Seal accordingly'.[15]

Such papers were at first only provided to members who were about to permanently leave the lodge, such as move to another town or travel abroad.[16] As freemasonry spread throughout Europe, different rites and degrees were developed and used by different masonic bodies, while Grand Lodges warned against involvement with illegitimate lodges and conmen posing as freemasons. As a result, getting access to a lodge where one was not yet registered as member or visitor became much more difficult, not just overseas, but also close to home. The book of law of the Dutch Grand Lodge noted that measures were taken accordingly in 1761:

> A visitor, however educated in Masonry he might be, will not be received in any Lodge, unless he is personally known there, proposed by a known Brother, or lastly on a good reference by his Lodge.
>
> Therefore the Grand Lodge in these Lands has allowed, that every special Lodge, will give to its Members a Note, signed by one of the Attending Officers, including the Name of the Lodge, that of the Brother, and the Steps, into which he has been lifted, marked by Numbers 1, 2 or 3, to be shown by the Brother Visitor at his questioning.[17]

These 'notes' developed into more elaborate certificates or diplomas, showing the particular degree of initiation of the holder. The difference between patents and diplomas blurred, and such certificates were enhanced with elaborate calligraphy and seals as a mark of authenticity. From 1763 onwards the Dutch Grand Lodge allowed its lodges to produce formal membership certificates, and gradually handwritten versions were replaced by printed ones with elaborate engravings. Lodges had to send these certificates to the Grand Secretary, who would sign and proof them with the Grand Seal in order to ensure authenticity.[18] All this at a cost, of course. In 1798 a uniform text was agreed upon by the Grand Lodge, but under French rule this was abandoned again. In 1840 a standard certificate was commissioned by the Grand Lodge, which would remain unchanged for the next 125 years.

As other European Grand Lodges followed a similar practice in the 18th century, the membership certificate gained the character of a masonic 'passport', which opened doors on an international level.[19] A travelling freemason would be able to count on the assistance of local brethren in finding his way around town and being introduced into local society. When stranded, injured or bankrupted on a foreign shore, he could apply for help to the local lodge and should he perish, his widow or children could try the same. The many surviving letters pleading for such financial assistance form a rich source for research, and illustrate how masonic networks offered an early form of social security to members.

The advantages of the brotherhood principle for travellers and merchants were obvious, and it is not surprising that lodge records note the rather hasty initiations of candidates who are about to depart on a journey overseas. The By-Laws of Old Dundee Lodge (1760) again provide an example:

> Going on a Voyage or Journey. 16th. "But if any Person or Brother be Proposed to be made a Mason in or Admitted a Member of this Lodge, cannot [tro' Reason of his going on a Voyage or Journey] stay till he is Proposed and Balloted for as above, he may be Proposed, Balloted for and [if Approved of] may be Made or Admitted on the '*Same Night*'. This Law shall not Include any Person '*Residing on Shore*" […].[20]

Various sea captains, including those of 'East India Man' were indeed recorded as initiated in this lodge on a brief stopover, including one of Swedish and several of Dutch nationality.[21] It was not uncommon to receive more than one degree on the same night, or even to receive some of the higher degrees this way. If there was not enough time, travellers could be given a degree 'by communication', without undergoing the actual initiation ceremony.

International relationships between masonic bodies would become formalised on the basis of reciprocal recognition between Grand Lodges, which allowed the establishment of official diplomatic relationships, and formal declarations of friendship between lodges (see for instance the bond between Dutch and Swedish lodges, discussed in chapter 7).[22] Masonic law stated that discussion of politics and religion were not allowed within the lodge. This made it possible to build and sustain friendly relationships with local and visiting lodge members of different nationalities, even if they were considered competitors, members of the opposition, or even the enemy in daily life. These two masonic principles, brotherhood and (religious/political) tolerance, allowed lodges to function as a worldwide network, facilitating the dissemination of new ideas across borders, and supporting international trade relations as well as private enterprise. This is why prosopography in relation to freemasonry's role in western expansion, globalization and cosmopolitanism are more recent focus points of researchers in the field of study.[23] The relationship between freemasonry, western expansion, international trade ports and globe-crossing seafarers has been recently explored under edition of Cécile Révauger and Eric Saunier in *La Franc-Maçonnerie dans les ports* (2012). It underlines the growing scholarly interest in the subject, but also that much basic data and tools are still lacking, such as comprehensive overviews of lodges, particularly in the trade posts, and their membership to cross-reference with navy and trade company records.

◆ *Permanent and ambulant lodges*

As Jessica Harland Jacobs pointed out: 'Freemasonry, that declares that its members meet on terms of equality, found its way into the world through that most unequal of policies, empire'.[24] Freemasonry spread quickly from England throughout Europe in the first half of the 18th century, and from there to the East and West Indies. Once a group of masons were on a ship together or in a foreign city and recognized each other, they would be keen to meet and - provided a sufficient number of them was present - would often decide to establish a lodge of their own. In the colonies, men were not only far away from home and loved ones, but often at risk from tropical disease, shipwreck, unlucky investments and international violence. A lodge meeting offered a welcome opportunity to feel at home. The repetition of familiar customs, words and rituals must have offered a sense of stability, tightened bonds and killed time. Once a lodge had been established in a sea port or trade post, it would be frequented by employees of the East India Companies stationed here and other European settlers, who would mix with both frequent and incidental visitors to their port, including sea-captains, military and naval officers, merchants and diplomats.[25] These travellers were pleased to return to lodges as familiar beacons along the way, where they could pick up news from home or hear about absent friends. As Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire remarked:

> […] there was a universal Republic of Trade […]. In order to find associates, clients, legal and financial guarantees, the traders did not hesitate to use the lodge networks. One of their first steps once debarked in a foreign harbour was to go to the trade lodge as a brother visitor. The Captains of the ship followed in their footsteps.[26]

Lodge records suggest that the membership of the Order could be beneficial to careers made in the Far East. Whether one was promoted after becoming a member, or became a member after reaching a certain point in one's career, remains somewhat of a chicken-or-egg question. Both were common and, as discussed below, family relationships may have played an equally important part in such appointments.

Not only the European entrepreneurial spirit, but international conflicts also contributed much to the spread of freemasonry. During the 18th and 19th centuries European military regiments were deployed in the Mediterranean, Africa, Asia and America. The Grand Lodge of Ireland is also credited with having established 'travelling warrants' or Constitutions for ambulant lodges. [27] It was not uncommon for a lodge, consisting mainly of officers, to accompany a regiment or company during peace or wartime missions. There were in fact two types of ambulant lodges: independent ones that worked on their own Constitution, and those that worked temporarily as a 'daughter' of an existing lodge without gaining an independent Constitution. In the latter case, it was like a split section or subdivision, which would separate itself off the lodge to travel and would be dissolved into the lodge on its return home. Examples of ambulant lodges also include those at sea, consisting of the crew and/or travellers on a ship during a long journey. As the following chapter will show, once an ambulant lodge arrived at a destination where it would stay for an extended period of time, it was not uncommon for it to temporarily merge with or use the facilities of a local lodge (see for instance De Militaire Broederschap in chapter 5).[28]

◆ *The first European lodges along the trade routes*

The Cape was an important stop on the way from Europe to Asia and it seems logical that the first lodges along this trade route would have been founded there. There are however no surviving records suggesting this was the case. The first activities were recorded in India after a British initiative in 1728-1730, well before the Dutch Grand Lodge was founded.[29] Of course the Dutch couldn't help being somewhat late to the game, because they first had to deal with the ban on freemasonry (1735-1744) and the subsequent reorganisation of the Grand Lodge (1756). However, by the time the Dutch were able to found their first lodge in Bengal in 1757, there was already a handful of English lodges active in India, not counting any Scottish and Irish Constitutions.[30]

From the founding of the Antients Grand Lodge in 1751-1753 onwards, it provided about twice as many warrants for travelling lodges in the area as that of the Moderns (lodges belonging to both Grand Lodges are listed in Table 3.A).[31] Masonic historians such as Gould and later scholars such as Harland-Jacobs have already demonstrated the heavy involvement of the British East India Company employees in the earliest lodges overseas. Deschamps is one of the first to actually focus on the relationship between the

***Table 3.A: English lodges in India founded before 1800 as listed in* Lane's Masonic Records**

NB: some lodges have changed number or warrant more than once, and double names occur

- *Nameless lodge [East India Arms], no. 40, 1730, Calcutta, Bengal*
- *Lodge Star in the East, no. 67, 1740, Calcutta, Bengal*
- *Nameless lodge, no. 102, 1752, Madras (Chingleput), Madras*
- *Nameless lodge, no. 101, 1752, Chandernagore (French settlement) Bengal*
- *Nameless lodge, no. 139, 1758, Bombay, Bombay*
- *Lodge Industry and Perseverance, no. 109, 1761, Calcutta, Bengal*
- *Lodge No. 8 Calcutta, no. 286, 1762, Calcutta, Bengal*
- *Lodge No. 1, no. 233, 1765, Madras*
- *Lodge No. 2, no. 234, 1765, Madras*
- *Lodge No. 3, no. 235, 1765, Madras*
- *Nameless lodge, no. 146, 1767, Calcutta, Bengal*
- *Nameless lodge [Fort George], no. 255, 1767, Madras, (Chingleput) Madras*
- *Lodge No. 1 Provincial, no. 152, 1768, Madras (Chingleput), Madras*
- *3rd Lodge of India, no. 273, 1768, Bengal*
- *4th Lodge of Bengal, no. 280, 1768, Bengal*
- *5th Lodge of Bengal [A], no. 349, 1771, Dacca, Bengal*
- *5th Lodge of Bengal [B], no. 373, 1773, Calcutta, Bengal*
- *7th Lodge of Bengal, no. 351, 1772, Bengal*
- *8th Lodge of Bengal, no. 352, 1772, Bengal*
- *9th Lodge of Bengal, no. 353, 1772, Bengal*
- *Lodge True Friendship, no. 316, 1773, Calcutta, Bengal*
- *10th Lodge of Bengal, no. 292, 1773, Muxadavad, Bengal*
- *Provincial Grand Lodge, no. 218, 1781, Madras (Chingleput), Madras*
- *No. 2, Coast of Coromandel, no. 398, 1786, Arcot (North Arcot), Madras*
- *Lodge Perfect Unanimity, no. 150, 1786, Chennai*
- *Nameless lodge, no. 399, 1786, Futty Ghur [Futegurh], Allahabad N.W. Provinces*
- *Lodge of Perfect Harmony, no. 419, 1786, Coast of Coromandel, Chingleput, Madras*
- *The Stewards' Lodge, no. 94, 1786, Madras (Chingleput), Madras*
- *Lodge of Social Friendship, no. 420, 1787, Coast of Coromandel, Chingleput, Madras*
- *Lodge No. 4, Coast of Coromandel, no. 326, 1787, Coast of Coromandel, Chingleput, Madras*
- *No. 5, Coast of Coromandel, no. 421, 1787, Coast of Coromandel, Chingleput, Madras*
- *7th Lodge of Bengal, 1793, no. 464, 1789, Fredericksnagore, Bengal*
- *Lodge Solid Friendship, no. 481, 1789, Trichinopoly, Madras*
- *Lodge of Sincere Friendship, no. 381, 1792, Chunar, Mirzapur*
- *9th Lodge of Bengal, no. 529, 1793, Cawnpore, Allahabad*
- *4th Lodge of Bengal, no. 371, 1793,Calcutta, Bengal*
- *Lodge of Unanimity, no. 365, 1793, Calcutta, Bengal*
- *17th Regiment Light Dragoons, no. 361, 1794, Bombay, Bombay*
- *33rd Regiment of Foot, 1798, Calcutta, Bengal*
- *Lodge of Philanthropists, no. 569, 1798, Surat (Guzerat), Bombay*
- *Lodge Humility with Fortitude, no. 229, 1798, Calcutta, Bengal*
- *Lodge of Unity, Peace, and Concord, no. 574, 1798, Chingleput, Madras*
- *Nameless lodge, no. 404, 1799, Calcutta, Bengal*
- *St. Andrew's Union Lodge, no. 601, 1799, Madras, (Chingleput) Madras*

Order and the British East India Company in the 18th century, but his conclusions concentrate on 19th century expansion politics.[32] Curiously, a comprehensive study of freemasonry's role within the various European East India Companies is still lacking. Yet that is precisely what could demonstrate the global interconnectedness of lodges and the intertwining of trade, social and knowledge networks.

The VOC may have already been in decline by the second half of the 18th century, but this did little to stop the Dutch Order from flourishing and expanding. Its lodges would prosper on the island of Java after 1763. As discussed by Ed Mullan in his *History of Freemasonry in Sumatra and Penang* (2003), there were at least five British lodges active nearby:

- Bencoolen Lodge Number 1 (Moderns), No. 356, active in Fort Marlborough (now Bengkulu City) on Sumatra in 1765-1797[33];
- Marlborough Lodge No. 424 (Moderns), later called Rising Sun Lodge, active in Fort Marlborough in 1772-1832[34];
- Unanimity and Industry Lodge No. 2 (Moderns), No. 559, also active in Fort Marlborough in 1796-1813[35];
- Neptune Lodge No. 344 (Antients), active in Georgetown on the island Penang (Pulau Pinang) near the Malay peninsula, in 1809-1819, and 1825-1846[36];

- Humanity with Courage Lodge No. 826, also active in Georgetown 1822-1826, then fused with Lodge Neptune No. 344.[37]

More British lodges followed along the route in Gibraltar, the Canary Islands, the island St. Helen, the Gold Coast and the island Mauritius in the second half of the 18th century.[38]

Other countries soon joined in. A Danish lodge, named De l'Amour Fraternelle (Broderkærlighed), was recorded in Tranquebar (Negapatnam, India) in 1748.[39] Other lodges were active on ships of the Swedish East India Company and in Canton from 1759 onwards (see chapter7). Such links between Scandinavian freemasons were first explored by Olof P. Berg in *Firimureri I Göteborg under 1700-Talet* (1998) and more recently brought to light in the membership lists of the Swedish Order under edition of Andreas Önnerfors: *Mystiskt brodraskap - matigt natverk. Studier i det svenska 1700-tals frimuriretiet* (2006). A first attempt to identify French seafaring freemasons was made in the *Dictionnaire des Marins Francs-Maçons* (2005) by research lodge The Link No. 2. The French had early lodges-at-sea on the frigates Cybèle from Lorient (Bretange) in 1744 and Vestale from Le Havre (Normandy) in 1756.[40] Lodges were also founded in the Île de France, which between 1715 and 1810 was the name for Mauritius and other islands near the east coast of Africa, which were under French rule (later English rule)[41]:

- St. Jean de la Philadelphie, travelling on a ship of the French *Compagnie des Indes* in 1765, active in Île de France and later Pondicherry (India)[42];
- La Parfaite Harmonie, founded in 1774-1775 in St. Denis on the Île de Bourbon (= Réunion) and active until 1828[43];
- L'Heureuse Réunion, founded on Île de St. Paul in 1777[44];
- La Triple Espérance, founded in 1778 in Port Louis, Mauritius, and the oldest lodge in the region still active today[45];
- L'Heureuse Traverse, founded in Port Louis, Mauritius, in 1778[46];
- Grande Loge Provinciale pour Île de Bourbon (= Réunion), established by the Grand Orient de France in 1781[47];
- La Triple Union, founded in Saint Benoit, Île de Bourbon (= Réunion), in 1784[48];
- La Paix, founded in Pondicherry (India) in 1790, but also active in Port Louis, Mauritius[49];
- Les Quinze Artistes, active in Port Louis between 1791 and 1838[50];
- Les Vingt-Un, ambulant lodge, active in Île de France between 1786 and 1799.[51]

Several of these lodges, especially La Triple Espérance, Les Quinze Artistes and Les Vingt-Un, kept regular contact with the Dutch lodges on Java by the end of the 18th century (see chapter 5).[52] When the Île de France went over into British rule, several more lodges were founded: the French lodge Amitié (1816)[53], the English (Moderns) lodge Faith and Loyalty in Port Louis (1816-1828)[54], and the French lodge Les Amis Réunis in Port Louis (1825).[55] Other lodges under the jurisdiction of the Grand Orient de France operated in Pondicherry, India: Les Amis Réunis (1792), La Fraternité Cosmopolite (1785-1823) and its Chapter (1787), Les Navigateurs Réunis (1789-1811) and the military ambulant lodge La Sincère Amitié (1787).[56] An unnamed French lodge was active in Chandernagore[57], while an ambulant French Loge Provisoire, was active among the Dutch on Java in 1799 (see chapter 5).[58]

It wasn't long before every conceivable port on the route to Asia boasted a European lodge. A freemason could travel from Gibraltar via the Canary Islands, the island of St. Helen and the West coast of Africa to Cape Town; from there via the islands Mauritius and Réunion onward to Ceylon (= Sri Lanka), Java and Sumatra, Malacca (= Malaysia); along the Coromandel Coast, to the Indian provinces Bengal, Negapatnam (= Negapattinam) and Surat; even to China, Manila, Singapore and Japan, in the knowledge he would always find a lodge welcoming him. From 1772 onwards the Dutch masonic almanac included a list of lodges worldwide as a guide for travellers. The role of Dutch lodges within the wider international masonic, power and commercial networks, sketched by Harland-Jacobs and others, urgently needs to be assessed. But in order to do so, scholars will first need better access to the many lodge histories and membership data buried in Dutch archival sources. Visitor books illustrate particularly well how individual members moved between lodges of different nationalities along the trade route, and systematically tracking such movements could reveal the spatial structure of the masonic 'web'.[59] Exploring the

production of masonic material culture along the trade route in the next chapters, will help identify such individuals among the trade community.

◆ *Provincial Grand Masters*

Following procedure was not very practical because of the slow transport of mail by ship in the 18th century. Even though most lodge communications were sent in duplicate or even triplicate via separate ships, in case one would be lost, it could take a year before question and answer had been received. By that time the original senders would often have moved on. The Grand Lodge of England took measures to ease this process, indicating it valued the expanse of freemasonry across the globe. From 1726 onwards, local representatives of the Grand Lodge of England were appointed in the form of Deputy Grand Masters, because:

> […] the extraordinary Increase of Craftsmen, and their travelling into distant Parts and convening themselves in Lodges, required an immediate Head, to whom they might apply where it was not possible to wait the decision or Opinion of the Grand Lodge.[60]

These Deputy Grand Masters had the power to found lodges and collect contributions. Accordingly, on 27-12-1728 the Grand Lodge of England decided:

> […] to Empower and authorize our Well-beloved Brother George Pomfret […] That he do, in our place and stead, Constitute a regular Lodge, in due form, at Fort William [Calcutta] in Bengal in the East Indies.[61]

This lodge, later no. 72, was probably known by the name of the pub in which it met: The East India Company's Arms.[62] It was suspended in 1756. In 1729 Ralph [Far] Winter was appointed Provincial Grand Master 'for East India in Bengal' and James Dawson 'for East India'.[63] Winter's name was often spelled 'Farwinter' in masonic literature, which may explain why he was not identified more closely. He was the son of Nehemiah Winter, a captain, stakeholder and director of the EIC. The whole Winter family was involved in the Asia trade. Ralph [Far] Winter succeeded an uncle as captain of the ship The Eyles in 1728.[64]

Out of sight of the Grand lodge, such regional representatives functioned almost autonomously. They had the rank of Deputy Grand Master until 1767, and were from then on addressed as Provincial Grand Masters. These men presided over a Provincial Grand Lodge in a particular (overseas) district and were assisted by various Provincial Grand Officers.[65] The Dutch Grand Lodge would later follow this British example.

When a group of men aboard a ship or on a foreign shore decided to found a lodge, they had to obey masonic laws. The Dutch regulations specified that they had to apply to the Grand Lodge in The Hague for permission:

> […] where there is already a local lodge, no Constitution will be granted, than to ten Brethren, among which the Worshipful Master and the Wardens have to be Master Masons, and for which they will pay *Twenty Ducats*; but that, where there is no local lodge, seven Brethren, among which the Worshipful Master and the two Wardens, also being Master Masons, can obtain a Constitution for *Ten Ducats*.[66]

Silver Ducats had the same value as *Rijksdaalders* (2 ½ Dutch Guilders), so the fee of 20 Ducats came down to 50 Guilders, the equivalent of a little over € 500,- today.[67] And although the title of Provincial Grand Master was a privilege, the man appointed to this function also had to pay a fee to the Dutch Grand Lodge for a certificate, formally acknowledging his power over a region.

3.2. Dutch lodges along the trade route (1758-1837)

Table 3.B: Dutch lodges in the West-Indies, 1754-1853
EC = English Constitution

Netherlands Antilles	**Active years**
St. Eustatius	
St. Jan de Dooper	1747-1760 EC, 1760-1773
La Parfait Union	1754
St. Pieter	1757-1760
Les Parfaites Maçons	1758
Unity Lodge	1772-1791 EC, 1791-1813
Deugd beloond/Virtue rewarded/La Vertu recompense	1773
Willemstad	1793
Concordia	1793-1823
(The) Reunion	1800-1809
De Eendracht	1819
Curaçao	
Vriendschap	1757-ca. 1776
L'Union/De Eendracht	1774-before 1781, 1782/83-1800
De Vergenoeging	1784-1796, 1804-1840, 1854-present
De Eensgezindheid	1832-1840
St. Maarten	
St. Maarten Unie 3	1794-1815
Charity	1800-1809
Suriname	
Paramaribo	
Concordia	1761-present (merged with La Zelée)
De Vereenigde deugd	1766-1777 EC, 1777-ca. 1803
La Zelée	1767-1803 (merged with Concordia)
L'Union	1773-1788
La Solitaire	1774-1788
Cura et Vigilantia	1776-1788 (ambulant lodge)
De Standvastigheid	1778-1850
Guyana	
Demerary	
St. Jean de la Réunion	1771-before 1779, 1779-1812
Berbice	
Coelum Non Mutat Genius	1799-1811
Brazil	
Rio de Janeiro	
La Constante Amitié	1815

◆ *Dutch freemasonry and the VOC*

The foundation of the *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC) in 1602 followed years of trade with Asia by earlier temporary and occasional trade companies, many of which had ties to the States of Holland. The Dutch wanted to compete with the Spanish and Portuguese for the trade in pepper from Asia and founded a company to do so, in which some of the former trade companies as well as the government of the Dutch Republic were involved. At first, the VOC was given a trade permit for 21 years, and its organisational structure in several Chambers (*Kamers*) or boards main cities, each led by a team of Directors (*Bewindhebbers*), was established. Their representatives made decisions in regular meetings, best described as a G17 (*Heren Zeventien*, or: Gentlemen Seventeen). They determined which ships, with how many men, would sail to the East with which goods and how much capital for purchases. As will be

discussed in the following chapters. In the first half of the 17th century, the Dutch Company set up trade posts doubling as local government centres in the Cape, the Dutch East Indies, India and Ceylon. In China the Dutch established a trade office in Canton alongside those of competing European East India Companies, while in contrast in Japan the Dutch had a monopoly on trade through their isolated settlement on Dejima. After the Cape, Batavia was the most important stop on the trade route, connecting to the whole of Asia. In the following chapters, the VOC presence in each region will be briefly introduced.

The VOC had substantial power in that it could establish trade monopolies, build forts, impose laws, draw up contracts and even deploy military. At home, all this activity required the founding of shipyards and the building of warehouses. The trade itself centred on goods perceived as exotic and precious, such as spices, textiles, porcelain and lacquer wares, but the VOC was also involved in the trade in metals, opium and even humans (slaves). Such commodities were traded not only between the Netherlands, the Cape and Southeast Asia, but also locally in Asia itself. At first the Dutch presence was relatively modest: small settlements were conquered along coastal areas or tolerated by local rulers. Many of the VOC employees were of other than Dutch nationalities, and during the 17th and 18th centuries their presence amounted to a few thousand per region, enough to dominate but not enough to colonize whole areas. Until circa 1720 the trade was so lucrative that the Company's history is strongly associated with the Dutch 'Golden Age' (*Gouden Eeuw*), but by the middle of the 18th century, completion and conflicts with other European countries sent the VOC further and further into decline. A series of death blows was delivered by the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War with the British in 1780 and the French occupation of the Netherlands in 1795. The Company was eventually suspended in 1799, leaving the State to take on its enormous debt. The history of the VOC is one characterised by commerce, violence, slavery and greed as much as innovation, knowledge, objects and cultural exchange. Especially colonial and post-colonial developments in the Dutch East Indies have impacted Dutch society and culture, and remain a sensitive subject in today's Dutch politics.

For most readers the VOC will be a familiar stage, on which freemasons are a relatively unknown group of actors. The discussion below will therefore focus on those actors and their unfamiliar props. Instead of providing a detailed overview of the company's history here - for which can be referred to standard works such as M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofsz' *De VOC in Azië* (*1*976) and Charles R. Boxer's *Jan Compagnie in war and peace, 1602-1799. A short history of the Dutch East India Company* (1979), or Femme S. Gaastra's *De geschiedenis van de VOC* (2002) and Els Jacob's *Merchant in Asia: The Trade of the Dutch East India Company during the Eighteenth Century* (2010), the bibliographies included therein or in Raben's aforementioned article - it seems more relevant to point readers to recent scholarship of the overlooked networks, of which freemasonry is but one, such as Kerry Ward's *Networks of Empire: forced migration in the Dutch East India Company* (2009); to Remco Raben and Ulbe Bosma's important study of colonial identities *Being "Dutch" in the Indies: A History of Creolisation and Empire, 1500-1920* (2008), or to Michel Ketelaars' study of women in the Company: C*ompagniesdochters: vrouwen en de VOC (1602-1795)* (2014).

Genealogical studies also offer valuable perspectives both on the VOC and on freemasonry. Roel de Neve and Yvonne Prins for instance, have described in 'Indische familienetwerken in de VOC tijd' (2002) how family networks played an important role within the organisational structure of the Company. A particular group of families provided company employees for a number of successive generations. These 'VOC-families' often settled in the East, where they formed large, interrelated networks that reserved a large portion of the highest functions for themselves.[68] While it has a negative connotation today, nepotism was considered a positive quality in the 18th century. In fact, much of the organisational structure of the Dutch government and the VOC relied on it:

> For obtaining a public civil function someone's personal traits were not the most important. […] The most important criteria however were and remained that one belonged to the right family. It is therefore not surprising that the family-feeling among regents was much stronger developed than is the case in our current society. The realisation of being parented to each other, reached much further than the closest relatives only. Close contacts were sometimes also kept with persons to whom one was much more distantly related. One viewed it as an expensive duty towards the family to help relatives move upwards. Moreover the regents would do anything to keep the social capital (governmental power, material wealth, relationships, education) of the family stable or enlarge it.[69]



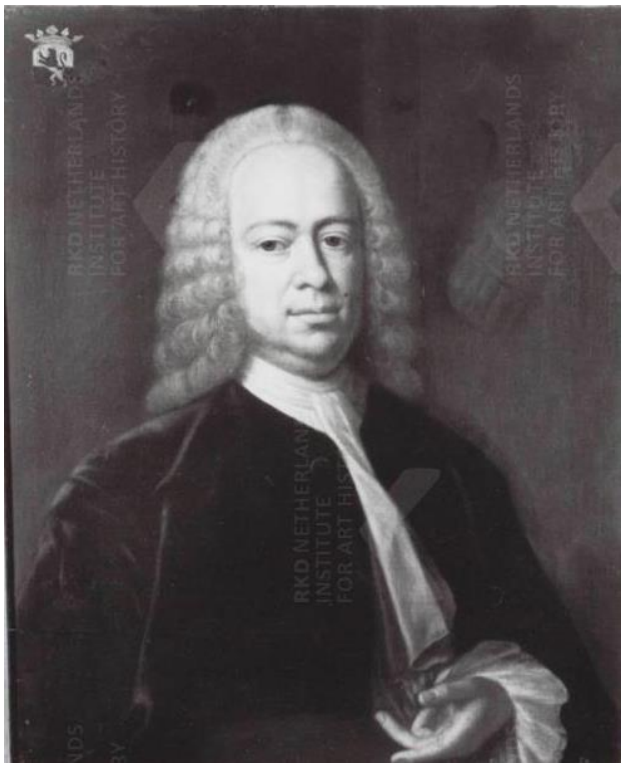
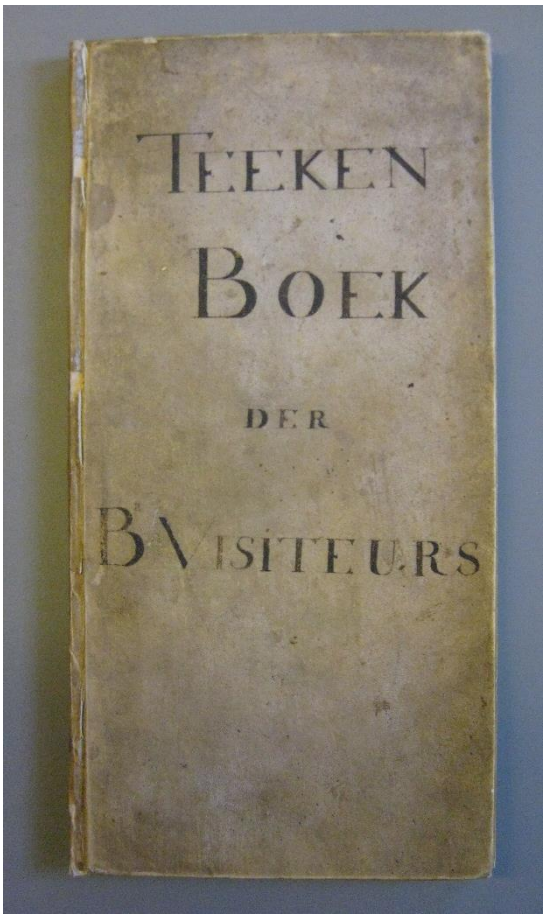


Fig. 3.3: Philip van Dijk (1683-1753, attributed), portrait of Samuel Beeckman (1621-1689), director of the WIC and grandfather of Maria Beeckman, ca. 1750-1761. Pencil drawing, 15.3 x 13 cm. *Private collection. Reproduced from: rkd.nl.*
Fig. 3.4: Philip van Dijk (1683-1753, attributed), portrait of Samuel Radermacher (1693-1761), governor of the VOC and brother of the first Dutch Grand Master, ca. 1750-1761. Oil on canvas, 80 x 65.5 cm. Private collection. Reproduced from: rkd.nl.

Becoming a director of the VOC was one of the most coveted positions, not in the least because it came with the power to decide who else might go East - to make a fortune and perhaps one day become governor general. The speed of one's career in the East Indies again largely depended on one's connections. Those who achieved their aims would be able to return to the Netherlands, where they and their families would live of their acquired wealth and no doubt take seats in some local board, while those who did not succeed had no other option than to ask for renewal of their contracts and hope they'd survive a prolonged stay in the East Indies.[70]

The prosperous development of Dutch freemasonry coincided with the slow decline of the VOC, which saw its revenues become less and its trade hampered by international conflicts. None the less there were many ties between the two organisations, as its wealthy board members moved in the same social circles and shared family connections. Take for instance the family and in-laws of the first Dutch Grand Master, Johan Cornelis Radermacher (1700-1748, see chapter 2). He was the grandson of Johan Radermacher (1633-1704), a bailiff in the city of Middelburg and a governor of the WIC since 1674.[71] The Grand Master's wife was a member of the Van der Schinne family, involved in Company matters since Isaac van der Schinne (1640-1686) had been Chief of the Japanese factory. His brother, Samuel Radermacher (1693-1761), was a governor of the VOC in 1730-1761 (fig. 3.4).[72] Two of the Grand Master's three sons, Jacob Cornelis Mattheus (1741-1783) and Samuel (1748-1816), were involved in both the international trade and the founding of lodges in Asia, discussed in the following chapters.[73] The Grand Master's mother was Maria Beeckman (1661-1719), granddaughter of Samuel Beeckman (1621-1689) a director of the WIC in Middelburg (fig. 3.3), and wife of Daniel Radermacher (1664-1708).[74]

In Asia, the relationships in larger Dutch family networks were built on the connections between fathers and sons-in-law[75], in which the lodges may have also played a part. Among the brethren the bonds between fathers and potential sons-in-law became tight-knit, and adoption lodges provided occasions to meet eligible young women (see chapter 5). Some genealogical connections between lodge members who



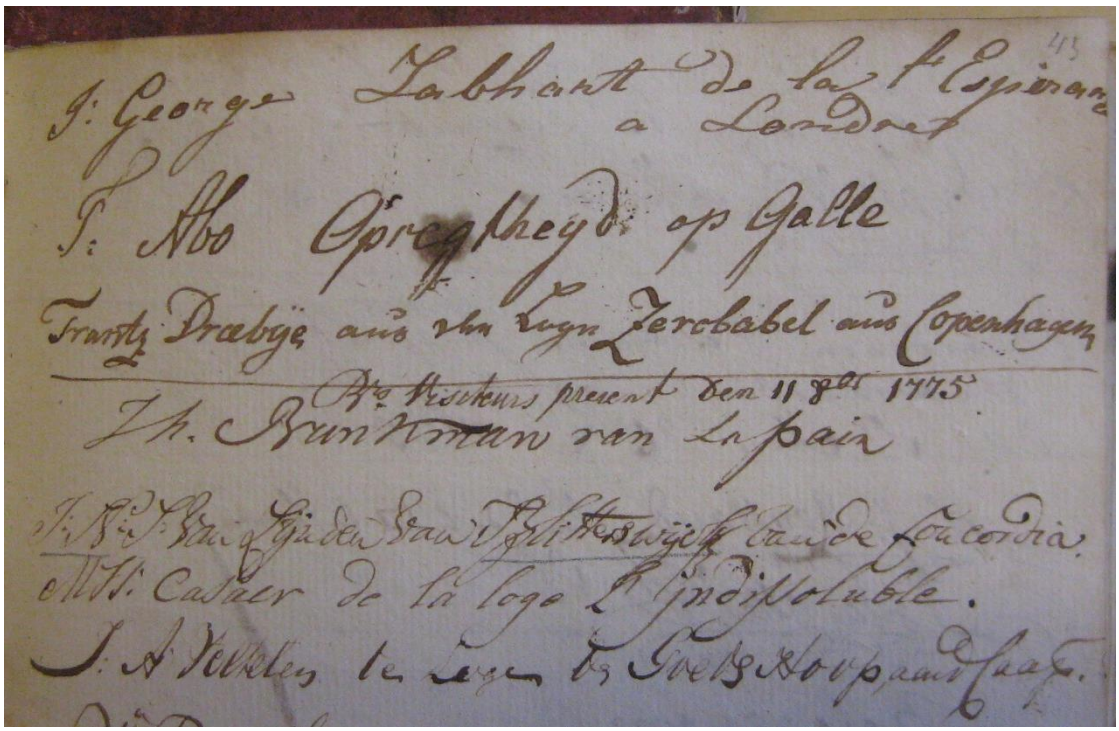


Fig. 3.5: Page from the visitor book of lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam, December 1775, including signatures from visitors from England, Denmark, Ceylon and the Cape in the same month. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 4354. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

Table 3.C: Lodges in Dutch cities connected to the VOC, 1735-1800
EC= English Constitution; FC= French Constitution; GC = German Constitution; SC= Scottish Constitution

Amsterdam	
De la Paix	1735-1749 (continued as La Bien Aimée)
La Bien Aimée	1754-present (continuation of De la Paix)
La Fidélité	1749-1756 EC, 1757-1773
La Paix (De Vreede)	1749-1756 EC, 1757-present
Vreede en Liefde	1753-1761
Concordia Vincit Animos	1755-1756 SC, 1757-1804, 1815-present
La Charité	1755-1756 EC, 1757-present
Lodge of Perseverance	1756
L'Espérance	1757-1767
Lodge of Regularity/Concordia et Unitas	1757-1769 EC
De Resolutie	1757-1774
Les Sept Frères Réunis	1762- 1769 EC
Virtutis et Artis Amici	1762 EC, 1763-1778
La Persévérance/Perseverance Lodge	1766-1769 EC
Concordia Vera	1788-1790
Rotterdam	
D'Orange/Orange Lodge	1748 EC, 1749-1756
Frédéric Royal	1759-1762, 1762-1786 EC, 1786-present
La Persévérance	1762-1788 (split from Frédéric Royal)
Concordia/De (Pruisische) Eendragt	1764-1766 GC, 1769-1875
De Drie Kolommen	1767-1782 EC, 1783-present
British Union	1767-1813 EC
Victory	1768-1813 EC
Salus Patriae	1785-1807 (merged with Frédéric Royal)
Middelburg	
La Philantrope	1758-1850
La Compagnie Durable	1770-present
The Hague	
Loge du Grand Maître des Provinces Unies (Grand Loge des Provinces Unies) et le resort de la Generalité	1734-1749 (continued as La Sincérité/L'Union)
Le Véritable Zèle	1735, 1744-1752, 1756-1798
La Sincérité/L'Union	1749-1757 (merged with La Royale into L'Union Royale)
La Royale	1752-1755 EC, 1756-1757 (merged with La Royale into L'Union Royale)
Les Coeurs Unies	1749-1755 EC, 1756-1802
L'Indissoluble	1756-before 1800
L'Union Royale	1757-present (merger of Royale and L'Union)
L'Égalité/St. Albert	1757-1758
Les Amis de la Justice	1758-1764
L'Égalité des Frères	1762-1769
Le Temple de Bonheur	1773-1774 (merged with L'Union Royale)
L'Union Orange	1781-1798
Les Vrais Bataves/Eendragt maakt magt	1789-1794 FC, 1795- 1847 (merged with L'Union Royale)

were VOC-employees have already been pointed out by Jean Gelman Taylor in *The Social World of Batavia, European and Eurasian in Dutch Batavia* (1983), but this remains an area deserving more research.

The VOC was organized in six Chambers, each responsible for a part of the financial and administrative matters involved in the trade route around the Cape to Asia. It is interesting to note when lodges were founded in the cities, where these Chambers were housed (see Table 3.C[76]). In Amsterdam a first lodge was founded in 1735, and 13 lodges would become active before 1800. The first lodge in Rotterdam was founded in 1748, and 8 lodges would become active there before 1800. Middelburg got its first lodge in 1758, and in total only 2 were active there before 1800. In Delft and Hoorn no lodges were founded until the 19th century (after the demise of the VOC), while in Enkhuizen there are no known lodge activities. Although the city of The Hague did not boast a VOC Chamber, it was home to the 'Haagse Besogne', an

important advisory board to the VOC. It dealt with papers from Batavia and prepared letters for the 'Heren XVII', the board of the VOC. Representatives of the various Chambers took part in the Besogne. Before 1800 another 14 lodges were active in The Hague. That brings the total in cities connected to the VOC to 37 lodges.

From the founding of the first lodge in The Hague in 1734 many freemasons travelled East in service of the Company. As the membership records of the Order are about to be digitalized in the near future, comparison to the *monsterrollen* (enrolment papers) of the VOC will soon be able to reveal the exact numbers. The traffic from Asia back to the Netherlands was equally frequent and is illustrated by the visitor books of Dutch lodges, of which that of lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam is but one small example (fig. 3.5). In this book visitors were registered from all over Europe, the Cape as well as the West and East Indies, including signatures from members of lodges La Vertueuse and La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia, De Standvastigheid in Bengal and De Opregtheid in Ceylon, to which we will come back later.

Now that the impact of the VOC on social and economic history have been well studied, in recent years the focus has shifted towards the impact of its global trade network on material culture and cultural exchange. The first extensive study of this phenomenon to also tackle methodological issues, is the publication *Mediating Netherlandish Art and Material Culture in Asia* (2014). The authors argue that the term 'cultural mediation' best represents the nature of the transfer of goods between Europe and Asia, and its influence on material culture.[77] Objects would not just exchange hands. Contributing author Astrid Erll in particular, explains that this mediation process can be further distinguished into phases of production, transmission (to other temporal and local settings), reception, transcultural remediation (the making of new material culture based on earlier mediations), and afterlife (duration of these repeated processes).[78] In this process Company employees acted as agents or mediators, while the international VOC network provided the transfer channels. As Erll points out, 'studying cultural transmission means reconstructing the networks involved in moving art objects (and with them less tangible phenomena, such as tastes and styles) from one socio-cultural context to the other'.[79] Dutch freemasons formed precisely such a transfer network along the trade route, intricately woven within both the VOC trade network and its wider family relationships. These men acted as mediators of a unique commodity: masonic ideals and iconography expressed in ritual, functional and decorative objects. Their role in the social, political, religious and aesthetic framework facilitating cultural mediation between East and West is only just becoming clear.

◆ *First Grand Lodge representatives overseas*

It has generally been accepted that the first Dutch lodge in an overseas trade post was founded in the West Indies in 1754 and the first in the East Indies in 1759. The reason the Dutch were relatively late to the game in comparison to the British and French, was the fact that the government ordered masonic activities to be suspended in 1735 (see chapter 2). Although some activities resumed after 1744, it would take another ten years before the founding of the first lodges in the colonies. After the reorganisation of the Dutch Grand Lodge in 1756, the Order still copied the customs of the British, also what its organisational structure overseas was concerned. From the list of 'Acts and Commissions for Foreign Deputy and Provincial Grand Masters' it is clear the Dutch appointed such officers from 1757 onwards.[80] In January of that year a Deputy Grand Master was sent to Amsterdam as a representative of The Hague, and in February a Deputy Grand Secretary was sent as a correspondent to 'France and Braband'. By December the first Provincial Grand Master for the West Indies was appointed: captain Henrik Rietveld (later *Schout bij Nacht* and commander of the warship Nassau), got the proxy to found lodges in Curaçao and St. Thomas. Before the year was over, a similar appointment was made for the East Indies. On 18-12-1757 the meeting of the Grand Lodge discussed 'the Commission of Brother Abraham de Labat, to erect a regular lodge in Bengal'.[81] This short note in the minute books marks the formal beginning of the Dutch masonic adventure in Asia.

Abraham de Labat (1736-1770) had earlier that year been accepted as a member of lodge Concordia Vincit Animos in Amsterdam. He came to the lodge for the first time as a visitor, on 9-1-1757. The lodge minutes show that De Labat had been initiated earlier into an irregular lodge, and he was now being proposed as a candidate of Concordia Vincit Animos. This meant he had to retake the oath and pay two Ducats for a copy of the lodge rules. The minutes also show that he was regularly present at meetings and actively proposed new members. On 3-7-1757 De Labat was appointed Treasurer, but on 4-12-1757 he asked for a membership patent, probably in preparation for his journey abroad, where he'd expect to need

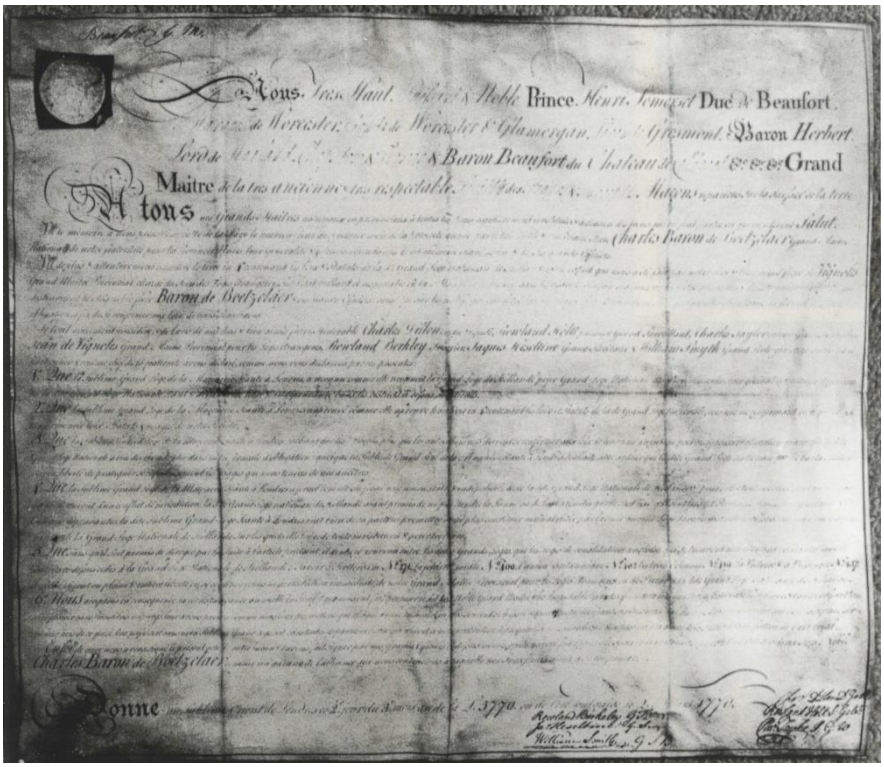


Fig. 3.6: Treaty signed by the Grand Lodge of England, recognizing the independence of the Dutch Grand Lodge in 1770. Collection: Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, in: Hamill/Gilbert 1991, p. 55.

to show it. De Labat then left on 30-12-1757 in the function of junior merchant in service of the VOC on the ship Osdorp for Bengal.[82] His commission to found a lodge was not mentioned in the minutes of his mother lodge, but they did note that another freemason about to embark for India received a similar commission a year later:

> A message of the Grand Lodge dated 23 December 1758 shows, that B[rother] Jacobus Larwood van Scheevikhaven was provided with an act of Provincial Gr[and] M[aster] over the Dutch East-Indies.[83]

This commission gave Van Scheevikhaven (1728-1762, also spelled Schevichaven or Scheevichhaven) the right to found lodges in the East Indian Archipelago. Although he had left the Netherlands for Bengal in 1750[84], it is thought he was appointed in 1758 by lodge La Paix in Amsterdam as a representative of the Order in India.[85] Another freemason visiting India, François Leonard Pierre August Tissot [de] Grenus (1732-1810), had also obtained the power 'to erect a Regular Lodge of Free and Accepted masons in Batavia as well as here [= India]'.[86] Tissot Grenus travelled as a sergeant on the ship Vrouwe Elisabeth to Batavia, where he arrived in 26-10-1757 and then went on to Bengal in July 1758.

It is not clear if these commissions were prompted by requests from Dutch freemasons stationed in Asia, or whether this was a conscious move by the Grand Lodge to actively expand masonic activities to the overseas territories. As the following chapter will show, lodges were indeed erected in Hoogly in Bengal (1758) and in Batavia on Java (1763). George Steendekker (died 1773) would also play a part in the foundation of Dutch lodges in Asia. He was a first mate on the ship Jerusalem in 1766 and on his way to Bengal carried Grand Lodge correspondence for the lodges in Batavia and Bengal.[87] Steendekker had just been promoted to captain of the ship Lychocton of the Chamber of Amsterdam, when he was commissioned as 'foreign Deputy Grand Master by the Grand Lodge on 13-5-1769.[88] He was to travel to Batavia, and while on stopover at the Cape founded a lodge there 'in order to favour the correspondence and all incoming Brethren, who have to keep rest Day there, as would then also have the facilities, to visit each other in a lawful manner'.[89] His letter of instruction of April of the same year stated that the Grand

Lodge had until then not found the right brother to give this commission to, suggesting the wish to found a lodge at the Cape already existed for some time.[90]

Other lodges followed, but a real peak in the number of Dutch lodge foundations occurred after 1770, the year in which the Grand Lodge in The Hague was recognized as an independent masonic body by the Grand Lodge of England. Things went so well, that on 26-8-1776 Jean Joseph de Vignoles (1721-1780), the British Grand Master for Foreign Lodges, wrote to James Heseltine, the Grand Secretary (in office 1769-1783) of the Moderns Grand Lodge), expressing concern about the speed with which many lodges were founded by Dutch traders in Curaçao, Bengal, Suriname, Batavia, Ceylon, the Cape, Negapatnam and the Coromandel Coast.[91]

As the number of lodges grew, the Grand Lodge needed to ensure the safe transfer of correspondence and money, if she truly wanted to expand her power and income from contributions paid. Ship's captains and other VOC employees who were affiliated to the Order were used as go-betweens, in order to deliver letters and *wissels* (international money orders). In the side bar of letters was carefully noted which captain and which ship carried the original letter and which the duplicate (in case a ship went down). As visitor records of lodges in Asia are incomplete, these side bar notes are an important supplement of relevant names. Hageman noted three phases in the early development of freemasonry in Asia:

- 1759-1776: expansion throughout the region, overseen by three successive Provincial Grand Masters whose governing style was both cramped and short-sighted;
- 1776-1781: activities in secret, quietly and without much expansion;
- 1781-1799: activities in public, especially in the Dutch East Indies, but disruption by conflicts and a decline of activities in the rest of Asia.[92]

Between 1754 and 1853 at least 50 lodges were founded under a Dutch Constitution along the shipping routes to the East and West Indies (Tables 3.B-C, 4.A, 5.A).[93] The history of these lodges is still largely unexplored and the system of formal recognition of lodges caused some early developments to be overlooked. Masonic bodies attached great importance to the formal Constitution date of a lodge. Those were the dates published in yearly overviews of affiliated lodges or commemorated in publications, while lodges themselves usually kept records from the formal Constitution date onwards. The preceding events (which sometimes spanned several years), as well as the activities of lodges which never succeeded in obtaining formal recognition, were not considered part of official masonic history. As a result later scholars automatically concentrated on the official, published history.

Previous authors such as Stevens and Harland-Jacobs have focused on the history of freemasonry in Asia in relation to political developments and western expansion, therefore these aspects will not be revisited here. Members considered themselves equal, regardless of their career and status, and tried to leave politics out of their activities. Although they were not always successful in achieving such ideals, brethren from among occupying forces and prisoners-of-war were welcomed in the Dutch lodges (see chapter 5). The focus here lies more on internal aspects such as the daily grind of lodge life and quite literally the interior of the lodge building. These were men far away from home, trying to weather sea and tropical climates long enough to make profits and fortunes. They formed a strong social network that crossed borders and developed a specific material culture. This network both existed within and interacted with the East India Companies and later international trade networks, providing economic opportunities and resulting in new categories of export objects.

◆ *Dutch lodges at Cape the Good Hope*

The Cape was an important stopover for VOC ships, where fresh supplies were bought and goods were traded, before continuing the journey to Asia. While the Dutch masonic almanac of 1766 recorded 'The Continent of Africa is inhabited by people too enslaved, too ignorant, & too barbaric, to be capable of receiving and welcoming our Royal Art', only three years later it noted: 'There is a good small number of Lodges, in the cities where there are some European establishments, & and they are usually under the protection of the Consuls'.[94] Because activities in India and Java were recorded much earlier, it seems strange that the first Dutch lodge was not founded at the Cape before 1772. It is of course possible that

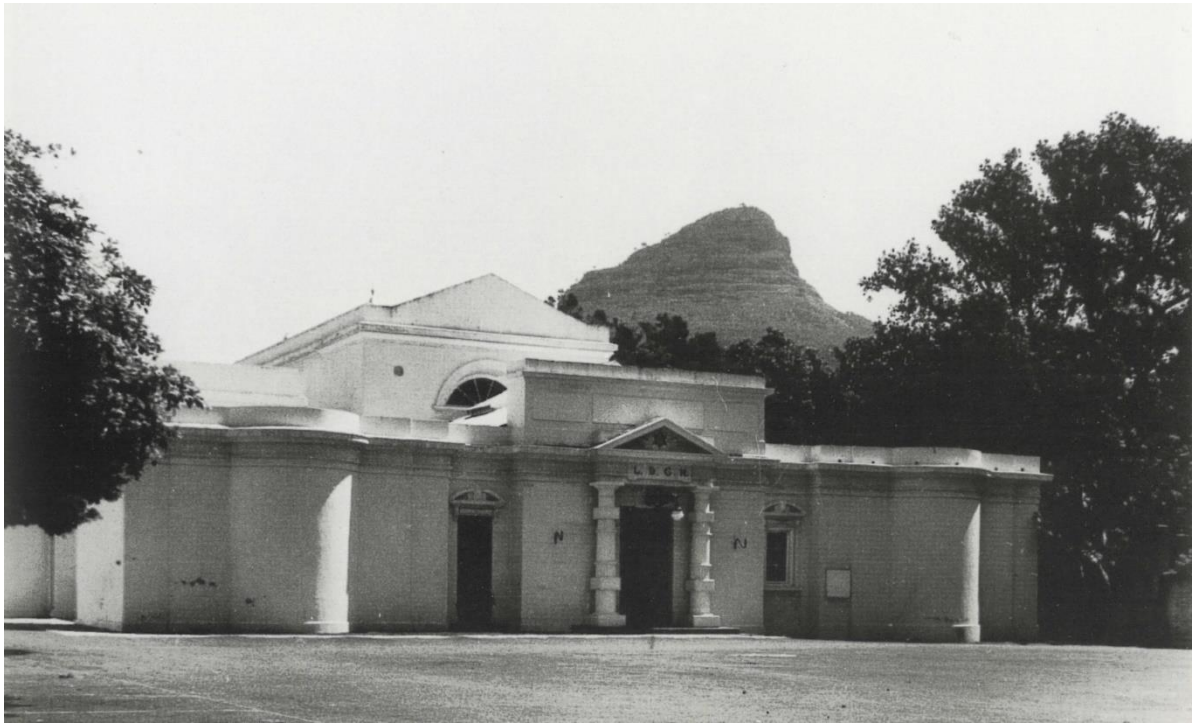


Fig. 3.7: Freemasons' Hall of lodge De Goede Hoop in Cape Town, dating back to 1803. Reproduced from: Van de Sande 1995, p. 77.

masonic activities in the region did start earlier, but that word simply did not reach the Grand Lodge, as one unlucky ship could easily cause a year's delay in communication. It is also possible the Dutch previously visited lodges belonging to another jurisdiction or worked under a foreign Constitution, but again there seems to be no evidence for either option. While Hageman listed several British lodges as active in Cape Town from 1781 onwards, Lane's overview of English lodges suggests none were formally constituted in South Africa before 1800.[95] In any case, the administration of the Dutch Grand Lodge and the masonic almanacs would record four lodges founded in South Africa before 1850 (Table 3.D).[96]

Table 3.D: Dutch lodges in South Africa founded before 1850

Cape Town	
L'Incorruptible	before 1772-1797
De Goede Hoop	1772-1785, 1803-1873, 1884-1886, 1893-1961 (continued under the Grand Lodge of South Africa)
De Goede Trouw	1800-1961 (continued under the Grand Lodge of South-Africa)
Graaff Reinet	
De Vereeniging	1834-1844, 1865-1889, 1906-1961 (continued under the Grand Lodge of South Africa)

The aforementioned Steendekker was probably involved in the founding of lodge L'Incorruptible, about which little else than its name is known, and Van der Weijde in that of lodge De Goede Hoop (1772), which is still active today. Visitor books of lodges in the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies show that there was a heavy traffic from and to lodge De Goede Hoop in the next decade. On 21-8- 1784 lieutenant colonel Cornelis Jacob van de Graaff (1734-1812), the newly appointed governor of the Dutch fort at the Cape, was also appointed Provincial Grand Master for South Africa.[97] An overview of events in the years 1785-1804 was published in a report by Commissary General and Deputy Grand Master Jacob Abraham Uitenhage de Mist (1749-1823) in the masonic almanac of 1806.[98] Later historical overviews are few, and include J. Boudewijnse's *Gedachtenisviering van het honderdjarig bestaan der Loge 'De Goede Hoop' te Kaapstad* (1874), Osborne Hambrook Bate's *The early history of the Lodge 'De Goede Hoop' 1772-1781* (1908, revised 1972), A.T. Penman's 'Freemasonry in South Africa' (1967) and A.A. Cooper's *The Freemasons of South Africa* (1986). Cape Town still boasts one of the oldest surviving Dutch lodge buildings, dating back to 1803 and built under supervision of De Mist (fig. 3.7).

For practical reasons the developments in South Africa will not be discussed further here, but freemasonry in such an import region deserves to have a full, contemporary study devoted to it soon.[99]

The following four chapters will each focus on a different region of Southeast Asia, examining different aspects of the role of Dutch freemasons in cultural and economic exchange. The chapter on India and Ceylon (and its Appendix II) deals with the organisation of the Order regarding its overseas lodges, their hierarchy and power struggles, communication channels and challenges, as well as the make-up of the membership body. In the chapter on the Dutch East Indies the focus lies on the development of lodge buildings and interiors, the commissioning of craftsmen and artists, and the consumption pattern of the lodges. The chapter on China illustrates how the international network between Dutch, Scandinavian and American freemasons facilitated the production and private trade of masonic export porcelain. Lastly, the chapter on Japan has a similar focus on the masonic export lacquer, in which the Dutch dominated the market. As a whole, these chapters illustrate the development of a unique material culture and decorative iconography, and the contribution of masonic networks to cultural mediation.



Fig. 4.1.: Map of India and Ceylon, indicating the location of lodges. Reproduced from: Gaastra 2002, p. 49; altered by the author.

4.1. India (1757-1796)

From 1605 onwards, the Dutch funded factories on the Coromandel Coast with permission of local rulers, who welcomed the trade.[1] Fort Gelria in Paliacatte became the seat of the VOC in 1610, and from 1616 another trade post was established in Suratte. Most important between 1635 and 1795 would become the third VOC foothold in India, located at the Hoogly River in Chinsurah, in Bengal (see figs. 4.1, 4.6-4.7). By the first half of the 18th century this was, together with Batavia and Ceylon, one of the three main ports with a direct trade route to the Netherlands. Between 1690 and 1781 the Dutch also had an substantial settlements in Negapatnam on the Southern Coromandel Coast, where the military were stationed which made up a large section of the circa 500-800 Company employees present.[2] Seamen were deployed on

small boats to transfer between the various settlements and collect goods, which were kept in the larger offices to be transported onwards to Batavia.

From Fort Gustavus in Hoogly the Dutch traded in spices and opium amongst other goods, but the main trade was in textiles. While coarse Indian textiles were used in the slave trade and as exchange goods, fine Indian textiles were popular with the European elite, used to furnish homes. By the end of the 17th century, coloured and patterned Indian cotton was used in clothing. Competitors were nearby: the British in Madras, the French in Pondicherry, the Portuguese in San Thomé and the Danish in Tranquebar.

In 1755, Adriaan Bisdom (1710-1771) was installed as governor of Bengal. Under his rule the first lodge activities would take place in the region. Shortly after, Bisdom was replaced by Louis Taillefert (died 1766, in function 1760-1763). The *Almanach des Francs-Macons* (1766) commented on the swift expansion of freemasonry to India at the time:

> Elsewhere England, France, Holland and the nations of Northern Europe who have some considerable trade in the East Indies have established several lodges. Of this number there are those that are in Bombay, in the Kingdom of Visapour; in Madras on the Coromandel Coast, in Chandernagore in the kingdom of Bengal; the three Lodges of Calcutta in the Malabar lands and several others.[3]

Ten lodges in the region were listed in the yearly overviews of Dutch lodges, published in masonic almanacs in the second half of the 18th century. It was assumed by later scholars that these were short-lived. The war with the English severely impacted the Dutch ships and the overseas trade, so the Dutch had to hire French ships to sail to Batavia. The English were strong enough to take over many Dutch assets in Asia in 1780, including Bengal. The Treaty of Amiens in 1784 meant that the Dutch regained control, but had to hand over Negapatnam to the British and allow them to trade freely in the East Indies. The next conflict ended even worse for the Dutch: the English gained permanent control over India in 1796. It has therefore been assumed that all Dutch lodges in the area must have disbanded around this time. Only a handful of articles was published on the subject by masonic historians John Rawdon Dashwood (1948, 1950) and Schultink (1987). While the British Dashwood did not have access to the fragmentary but relevant lodge archives in the collection of the CMC, the Dutch Robert Schultink must have been aware of them, but did not explore them in any depth. A very insightful genealogical study by Lutter/Christiaans (1994) concentrated on the founding members only, and little else appeared for the next 20 years.

While most of the archives of the lodges in the Indian region (1758-1825) were lost, correspondence received by the Grand Lodge in The Hague fills in some of the gaps and allows us a glimpse into the rise and fall of these lodges, even if we do not learn the whole story. These previously unpublished letters were written by Company employees and others, and give information on both business and personal matters, ranging from money transfers to much lamented shipwrecks. The surviving letters, most of which are published here for the first time, are comparable to 18th century letters made accessible by the recent *Sailing Letters* project of the joint National Archives in The Hague and London.[4] They provide a new insight into the founding and closing dates of the lodges, and evidence that at least two Dutch lodges in the Indian region remained active well into the beginning of the 19th century. One even continues to this day, although it no longer resides under the Dutch Grand Lodge (see Table 4.A).

This chapter aims to demonstrate how the organisational structure of the Dutch Grand Lodge functioned overseas: how lodges were founded and regional representatives appointed (usually followed by a struggle for power), how communications were established and how the membership body was built up. A short overview is provided of the founding and activities of each lodge in the region, focusing on the correspondence with the Grand Lodge. By showing the overlap with Company employees, as well as the intense traffic between lodges in the Netherlands, India and other parts of Asia, it becomes clear how masonic networks were interwoven with international trade channels. On first sight, membership of a lodge may seem like just another pastime for the colonial elite, but there are recurring themes in the letters - ranging from masonic ideals to less enlightened topics such as jealousy and greed - which help us understand how much more the lodge membership meant to the individual travellers.

It was possible to reconstruct a membership list of more than 324 names between 1758 and 1825, which - considering the fragmentary sources - suggests the actual volume of members within the small

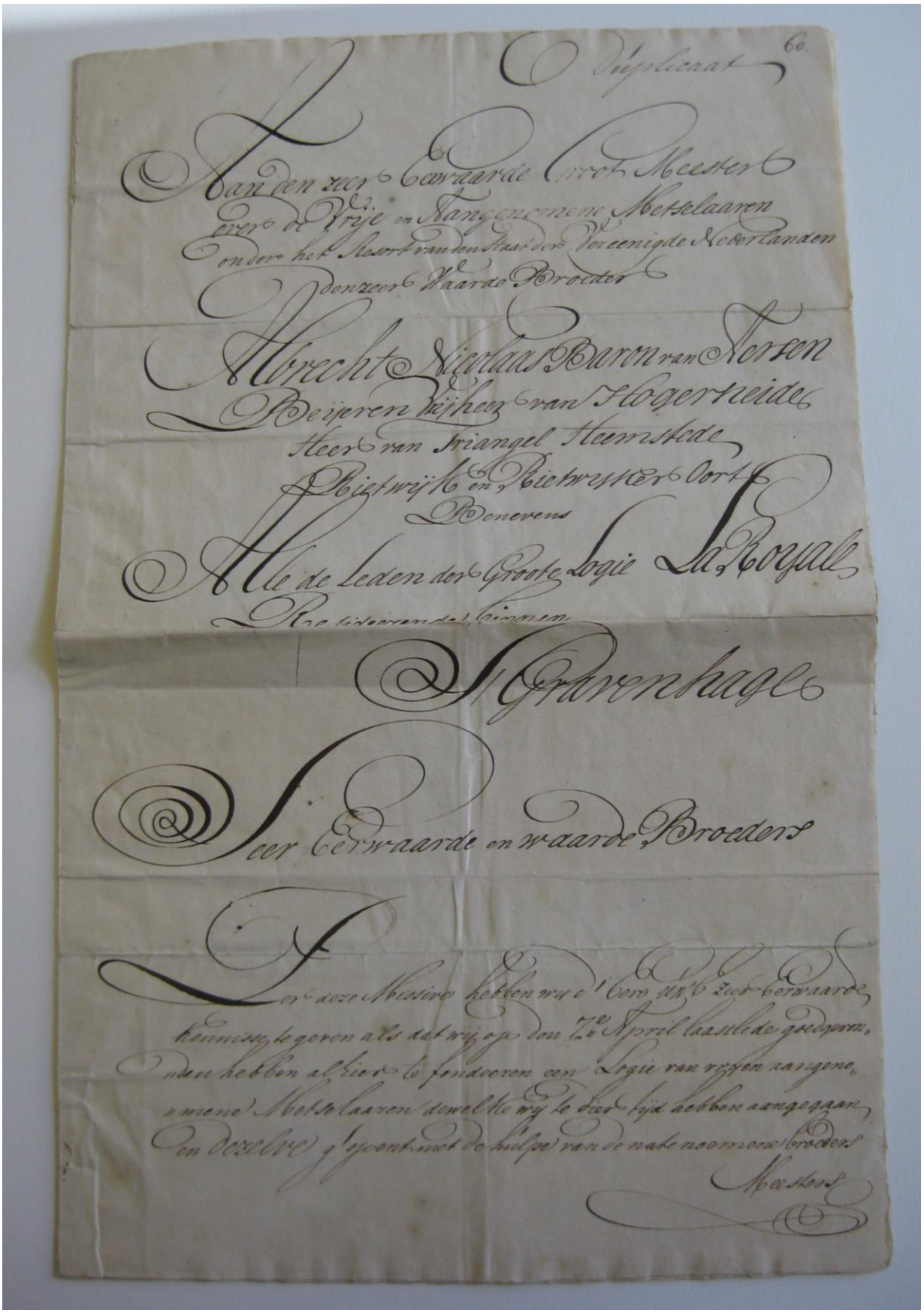


Fig. 4.2: Request for the Constitution of lodge Salomon in Hoogly by Jacobus Larwood van Scheevikhaven, 8-1-1759. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

Table 4.A: Dutch lodges in India and Ceylon, founded before 1800
EC = English Constitution; FC = French Constitution

India	Active years
Bengal	
Hoogly/Taldanga (Chinsurah)	
Provincial Grand Lodge Salomon	1758-after 1783
Chapter Concordia	ca. 1766-after 1775
Lodge De Standvastigheid	1770 -after 1774
Coromandel Coast	
Negapatnam (Negapattinam)	
Lodge De Langgewenschte	1772-after 1778
Pullicat (Palliacatte)	
Lodge Voorzegtigheid	1794-1796
Surat	
Lodge St. Jean [de] la Concorde	Before 1774-after 1777
Ceylon (Sri Lanka)	
Colombo	
Lodge De Getrouwigheid	1768-after 1775
Lodge De Vereeniging	1792-1825 (continued as L'Union 1825-1838 FC, and as St. John's Lodge 1838-present EC; relocated to Kandy in 1858)
Lodge La Réunion Neuchatelloise	1790-after 1796 (ambulant military lodge)
Galle	
Lodge De Opregtheid	1771-after 1804

Dutch communities in the region was rather impressive. Below only the key players are discussed, while the full list of names is provided in Appendix II. Hopefully it will prove a useful basis for future research.

♦ *Provincial Grand Lodge Salomon in Bengal*

As discussed above, Abraham de Labat was given a commission by the Grand Lodge in The Hague to found a lodge in Bengal in 1757[5], while Jacobus Larwood van Scheevichhaven was given the same commission as Provincial Grand Master in 1758.[6] It remains unclear whether this was the result of a request received from Bengal, or an initiative of the Grand Lodge itself. According to Hageman, Bengal counted about 200 employees of the VOC around 1770. Traffic centred on Chinsurah, an important trade post at the river Hoogly (a side river of the Ganges), where textiles, saltpetre, indigo and opium were traded. Competition from the French, Danes, British and Belgians made the position of the Dutch difficult. Hageman assumed that Van Scheevikhaven was a ship's captain, part of a military expedition of around 700 Europeans sent from Batavia to Bengal in 1759 to defend the VOC positions against skirmishes between the British and local rulers. The expedition intended to land on the coast of Coromandel, but ended up in the Ganges.[7] The British succeeded in installing their Bengal ally, Mir Jafar, as the new *Nawab* or regional ruler. In 1759 they beat an attempt by the Dutch to break their power, making the Dutch both economically and politically dependent on the British in the region.

Hageman was wrong. In fact, Van Scheevikhaven had first arrived in Bengal in 1751, held the position of Fiscal in Hoogly by 1759 and as such co-signed an agreement with the British after their victory.[8] But before all that, on 7-9-1758 he wrote to the Grand Lodge in The Hague: 'Having had the advantage of raising a lodge here, which the Patents handed from you to me by brother Tissoot Prenus made right, regular & perfect, I did not want to fail in having this communicated to you immediately'.[9] Van Scheevikhaven must have meant the aforementioned Tissot [de] Grenus, who had arrived in Bengal in July 1758 and carried papers from the Grand Lodge.

Apparently the Grand Lodge did not send a Constitution in response, because Van Scheevikhaven made a (second) request for a Constitution on 8-1-1759 together with Jacques Rivière (died 1763), bookkeeper and *afpakker in de Kledenzaal* (a function in the textile warehouse), and Jan Carel Kist (died 1766) Second in the *Kledenzaa*l (fig. 4.2.).[10] This time he mentioned explicitly that a lodge under the name Salomon had been founded in Hoogly on 7-4-1758.[11] As founders Van Scheevikhaven listed himself and Rivière, as well as lieutenant Dominicus van Staden (died 1790), and several men of whom only the surnames were provided: Jambon, Creuset, d'Urville and Florin.[12] Their names sound French so they could have well belonged to the nearby French settlement in Chandernagore (see fig. 4.6). On the day the lodge was founded, several members were accepted and initiated, including the aforementioned Kist and the following men: Arent Jacob de Wilde (1723-1761), a merchant; Cornelis Rietveld (1732-1768), a bookkeeper of wages; Lucas Cramer (died 1780), a chief surgeon; Jan Schwendler (died 1763), another bookkeeper; and Emanuel Hendrik Kantzou[w], a provisional assistant.[13]

According to Van Scheevikhaven, by January 1759 of these founders only himself, Rivière, Kist, Rietveld, Schwendler, Kantzouw, Cramer and Von Staden remained. Most of the newcomers were also in service of the VOC: assistant Albert Tobias (died 1773), flagbearer and engineer of artillery Claude Ogerdias, sent to inspect Fort Gustavus and prospect a site for a new fort at Banquibazar; as well as the junior merchants Jean Eli de Mourin [Meaurin] [van Yperen] (1745-1766) and Jean Jacques Babtista Trembley (died 1760).[14] Both Tissot Grenus, having arrived in July 1758, and De Labat, having arrived in September of the same year, had also joined the lodge. According to Van Scheevikhaven they had:

> […] shown the power that Your Most Honourable have given them to both in batavia and here be able to found a Regular Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, though these brethren having found our lodge already properly founded, have therefore not used their Patents [= temporary Constitution?] but handed these to us in to be kept carefully in our archives and have then at their request been accepted as members of this lodge.[15]

Van Scheevikhaven further elaborated that lodge Salomon convened every two weeks at 18.00 o clock 'on Tandalga', an area at the Hoogly River below Chinsurah, near the French settlement in Chandernagore. He requested not only a definite Constitution for lodge Salomon, but also the title of 'Grand Master over the whole of Dutch-India' for himself.[16] (He already possessed this title for the Dutch East Indies.) As a fee, Van Scheevikhaven then transferred 100 Ducats to the Grand Lodge in 1759 (circa € 2.600,- today), to be delivered via captain Jeronimus Jongenberg (died 1765) of the ship Jerusalem, which sailed to the Netherlands on 15-1-1759.[17] In the accompanying letter Van Scheevikhaven informed what the yearly contribution would be and requested a masonic law book for lodge Salomon.[18]

Jongenberg arrived in the Netherlands on 4-8-1759[19], but the Grand Lodge did not grant the requested title and Constitution until 1-12 and 3-12-1759.[20] Grand Secretary François Willem Ravens (in function 1760-1763)[21], replied on 11-6-1761 to Van Scheevikhaven, alerting him to the new law book which had just been commissioned by the Order:

> From which necessity it seemed to the Grand Lodge, that it would not be unpleasant for the Brethren in the East to participate in the distribution of these Laws. Therefore sending hereby 100 Copies of the same Bound at 22 Stuivers per piece; (being the Price of the preregistration, such as all Lodges have paid, of which the absent Brethren are profiting, as the same are by now available for no less than 33 Stuivers) with the request to send and distribute these, locally where there are Lodges and Brethren to be found.
>
> […] Going also hereby some separate Frontispieces, serving as Ornament or Jewel for the Lodges, as the meetings are held, with a Copy of the Explanation of the same, such as a Lover of Poetry, in haste, expresses himself by the French Language. (As well as some separate Processions, which are only for the Masters of the Lodges) enabling the Brethren to have the aforementioned Plate framed as they can see fit. The copies with [a border of] glued Chintz Paper should be reserved for the Masters only; as on Page 40 the Procession can be found therein.[22]

The wording of the letter implies that the Grand Secretary assumed there were Dutch lodges (plural!) in the region in need of a law book. Sending a hundred copies to a lodge of just fourteen members also gives that impression, as it is more than the number of members any first lodge in any area would expect to attract.[23]

The book in question was *De Pligten, wetten of algemeene reglementen der Vrye metzelaaren* (1761)

by Grand Secretary J.P.J. Dubois (see chapter 2, fig. 2.15). On page XL of the book, there is indeed a reference to the processions held in the lodge when a new Grand Master was elected. Lodge Salomon may have been unpleasantly surprised, as it only requested one book and received a hundred, along with an unexpected bill. Raven's letter continued on financial matters, such as the costs that the Grand Lodge had to make to maintain international contacts, the state of its finances and the level of yearly contributions:

> Above and beyond these relevant matters and urgent reasons of interest, the Grand Lodge cannot fail to bring to Your Honourable's attention, how painfully and sensitive the loss has been, of the Hundred Ducats, which Your Honourable has sent to us, and with which the captain, to whom the sum was trusted, went off; just in a time that this would have come in so useful, and which was already so eagerly awaited, to be put to a good use. Because barely had the aforementioned Captain announced himself with this for us most pleasant tiding, or one was busy with the execution of matters which supported the weakness. But very surprised one was, as one flattered oneself with a transmitted Receipt, to receive the payment of that feigned promise, one instead of cash received a very bad message in answer, that this Knight of Industry, had eclipsed with the Northern Sun, without one having been able to become aware to this day, where this pretended honest Man has taken up domicile with it.
>
> [...] the Grand Lodge after more consideration having agreed, to put this before the good Brethren, belonging to the Lodges in the East Indies and give them into consideration if it would not be reasonable, that they, who were inspired with such Noble Sentiment, and so generous as resolute, consistent signs of their sincere Diligence and affection, by sending the Lost Hundred Ducats, now again in this matter would act Brotherly, to repair the loss, and by a Liberal Gift, help to repair the weak? To Honour and Glory of the Society.[24]

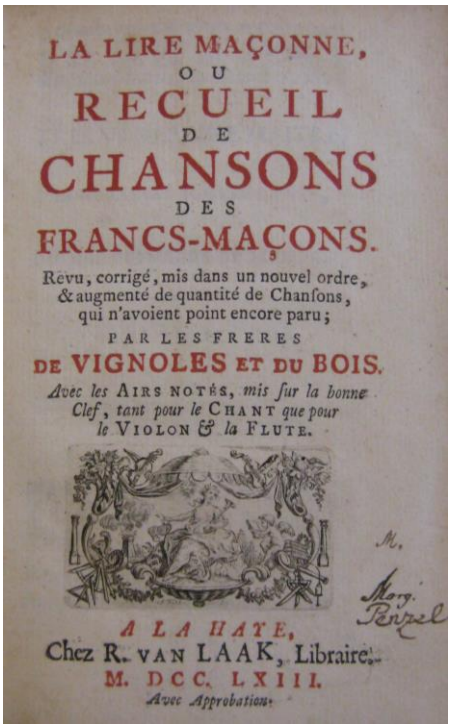
In other words, captain Jongenberg, the courier of the *Don Gratuit*, had committed fraud and lodge Salomon was kindly asked to cough up the loss. Raven even suggested a buyout deal ('Uitkoop te doen'): he asked the lodge to consider advancing the contribution for the next ten years in one payment. He also asked to send regular updates to the Grand Lodge and make sure to keep an administration of the members' names to 'give them a memorial to the Progeny'. These membership records over the years 1764-1775 have indeed been preserved.

On 20-10-1762 the Grand Lodge sent a second letter dealing with the disappearance of the *Don Gratuit*:

> [...] hoping that one and the other would be sent to Your Honourable Lodge, with the ship Voorland, at the time destined for Batavia. But to our great surprise, we have become aware only Fifteen months later, that the Package with the Letter, was still in Amsterdam, with the Brother [Jean] Durege, who had neglected such. So that We for the present refer ourselves yet to the aforementioned Letter, of which the original is included.
>
> By ourselves We have determined these days, a closer clarification in the matter [...] We having discovered, that he [= Jongenberg] still had some Money kept at the Company, have had this impounded. Although we have been much prepared for it, he had frivolous excuses, by which he managed, with only fl. 250 to pay on credit; under the pretence, that he had the least knowledge, nor could deduce from his books, having received money for us. And we having well been forced, to give the Receipt thereof, before he was willing to pay out such, so that he by remainder of fl. 275 stayed indebted. Leaving us not the least hope ever to regain it; after which later was reported, that he, after having presented himself several times, to be employed again even Three degrees less as he has sailed before, having been rejected every time, is now penniless.
>
> We hereby send with the ship Jerusalem a Hundred Copies of the aforementioned Law books. [...] As our Admitted Bookseller, Brother R. van Laak has now had printed a very neat and complete Collection of all the Free Masons Songs, he will add this number for Your Honourable Lodge hereby.'[25]

The man referred to here is probably Jean Durège, Worshipful Master of lodge La Paix in Amsterdam. The songbook is probably the first edition of the *Lire Maçonne*, which would prove so popular that many subsequent editions and translations were printed (fig. 4.3-4.4).[26] Rutgerus van Laak (1723-1788) was a publisher and merchant, specializing in commissions for the Grand Lodge in The Hague.[27]

The communication with and payment to the Grand Lodge would prove a problem for the lodges in Asia during the next century, not just because so much time passed between question and answer, or between order and delivery. As most masonic matters were considered secret, some things could not be trusted to paper and had to be conveyed orally. Because of the high death rate of travelling members and



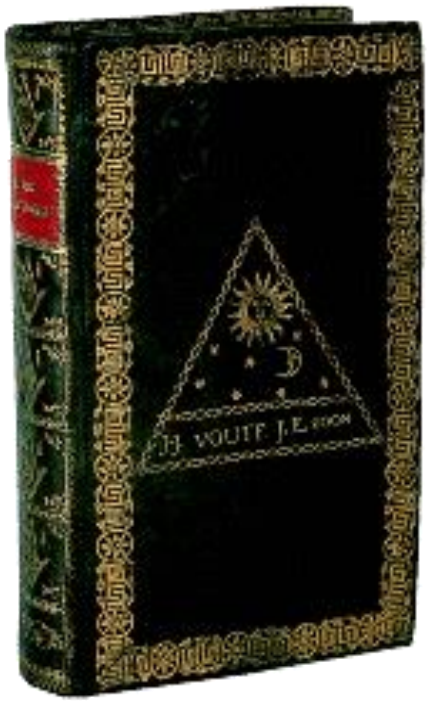


Fig. 4.3: Frontispiece of La Lire Maçonne *(The Hague 1763) with an engraving by Simon Fokke. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 212 B 76. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.*
Fig. 4.4: Cover of La Lire Maçonne *(The Hague 1763), copy belonging to J.J. Voute in a leather binding with masonic symbols embossed in gold. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.*



Fig. 4.5: Otto Willem Falck (1738-1814), member and Worshipful Master of lodge Salomon, ca. 1810-1814, oil on canvas, 39 x 30.5 cm. *Private collection. Reproduced from: rkd.nl.*

frequent shipwrecks, the chance that such an oral message actually reached the Grand Lodge, was less than good.

On the further fate of lodge Salomon and its members, little is known. Apart from a handful of membership lists, only the formal correspondence to the Grand Lodge survived, which mainly dealt with (late) payments. Incidental mention of lodge Salomon in the correspondence of the lodges in Batavia shows that it was active in Bengal until the 1780s. So what can we reconstruct?

In February 1764 lodge Salomon wrote to the Grand Lodge that it had finally received its letters dated 12-1-1761 and 20-10-1762. By the negligence of a lodge member [= Durège] they had arrived two ships later than planned. The law- and songbooks had arrived, but the promised plates were missing. Salomon enclosed a membership list and explained that there had been a change of lodge Officers:

> Since the transmission of our solemn [letter] in January 1759 the then functioning [Worshipful] master Jacobs Larwood van Schevichaven, being called to Batavia by a higher hand, in his place on the 2 December 1760, having been elected by us as [Worshipful] Master the enlightened Brother Pieter Brueijs, who has therefore ruled the lodge with much praise, until the 12 September 1760, as when his Honourable in our meeting, communicated his appointment as Second of Kassembazaar and also asked for his resignation [from the lodge] [...] has on a certain day been chosen as his successor the Brother Otto Willem Falk, who therefore was installed on the 15th thereafter with the usual ceremony.[28]

Pieter Brueijs (1730-1783) was junior merchant in Bengal, before his posting to Cassimbazar.[29] Otto Wilhelm Falck (1738-1814, a cousin to the governor of Ceylon, Imam Willem Falck, and to the Director of Bengal, Adriaan Bisdom), was at the time working as secretary of justice and police (fig. 4.5).[30]

Salomon continued the letter with complaints about the state of its finances, as not once but twice payments to the Grand Lodge had been lost. This had affected the housing of the lodge 'so that our meetings, which used to be held on a steady location, are now circulating and taken in turn by the brethren, who this suits best'.[31] On 12-9-1763 the lodge decided to send another fl. 275,- to the Grand Lodge as compensation, and agreed to advance its contributions for the next 10 years. This amounted to 20 Ducats per year and fl. 10,- for each Master raised, assuming there would be one initiation per year, as 'in the last three years, only two [members] were raised as masters'.[32] No doubt this generosity was also a strategy to get a specific request approved. Salomon asked:

> [...] to see titled this our lodge here, as a Provincial, or even, if it is possible, as the grand Dutch lodge of the East Indies, under which all the other Dutch lodges in these lands /: by all those that in future, may be erected somewhere, have to resort [...] to by this gain glorifications, and all the more respect, in the eye of the brethren of strange Nations seated here.'[33]

A total sum of fl. 707,10 (covering late and advanced contributions, as well as payment for the books received) was sent as 'assignation' provided by lodge member George Louis Vernet (1711-1775), Director of Bengal between 1763 and 1769, to the gentlemen Evert Schaasberg (a relative of Vernet) and Benjamin Gibert in the Netherlands.[34] The sum says much about the wealth and status of the lodge. According to the list sent to the Grand Lodge in 1764, Salomon counted 12 members at the time. Besides the aforementioned Tissot Grenus, Kist, Falck, Vernet, Cramer and Ogerdias, these included Paul Gibou Castel (died 1773), an enseign; Jan Pieter Humbert (1725-1785), the warehouse master at Cassimbazar; Frans Lamij (1732-1786), an assistant; Johannes Matthias Ross (1730-circa 1788) trade bookkeeper and 1st warehouse master in Hoogly, as well as Jan Hendrik Zinner (died 1775), a military captain-commander.[35] The list noted that Breuijs and Humbert were in Cassimbazar and Tissot Grenus had travelled to Patna as commander of the fleet.[36]

In January 1765, the new Grand Secretary, Radermacher (to whom we will come back in the next chapter), sent a letter to lodge Salomon. He asked for a report of its activities, as its 'state' was unknown in the Netherlands at that time.[37] On 30-9-1765 Radermacher wrote again, letting it be known that he had finally received two letters[38], written by George Steendekker (died 1773) on behalf of the lodge, to which he now replied:

> [...] which made us, not without reason, decide, that the Bottom [= ship], on which that letter was located, must have shipwrecked; and though one is used to sending with a Duplicate Letter, also a Duplicate Money Transfer, We can lightly suppose, that such in the case of Your Honourable Assignation of f 707,10 on the Gentlemen Evert Schaas Berg and Benjamin Gibert, will have been left out by some mistake or forgetfulness.
>
> So we see ourselves, for the Second Time, partially robbed of the highest needed support [...] We shall also very gladly [...] send the longed Constitution or Provincial Charter; as that Charter of Provincial Grand Master, already provided on the 1st December 1759 to the honourable Brother Van Scheevikhaven, due to the unforeseen summons of that Brother to Batavia, there since ceased, and was therefore put out of effect.
>
> Though we have founded, this year, in the aforementioned Capital of the Dutch East Indies, a new Lodge, under the Name of La Choisie, whose members would also desire a similar privilege [...] are of the opinion it would in such a case be more useful [...] to be brought under Batavia, the Easterly, and under Bengal the Westerly Quarters, als being very wide and far from each; so that the Honourable Lodge Salomon, apart from the Mogol and Persian Kingdoms over the Coasts of Coromandel, and Malabar, as well as the Island Ceylon; likewise the Honourable Lodge La Choisie, over Java, Sumatra, Malacca, Makassar, Ternate, Ambonia, Banda &c would have the rule, each independently, with this dignity annex to the body of the Lodge and no longer to the Person, of the actual Master of the same [...].[39]

The history of Provincial Lodge La Choisie is discussed in chapter 5. For lodge Salomon the foundation of this rival may have been an unpleasant surprise, as it clearly did not expect to have to share the rule over the region. About Steendekker little is known. He became a member of lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam in 1760 and came to Batavia in 1762 as a mate on the ship Voorland.[40] He would make it to skipper and play an important role in the earliest years of the lodges in Asia, before he went missing when his ship was lost in 1773.[41]

Radermacher promised to send several copies of the new, second part of the *Lire Maçonne*, to complete the first.[42] In a second letter dated 1-1-1765, he added that Salomon would have to pay the Grand Lodge for the Constitution of a new lodge: 20 Ducats for a first lodge in a town, and 10 Ducats for any further lodge in the same town. Lodge Salomon was allowed to collect yearly contributions of these new lodges, as well as fees for initiations (of Masters) as it saw fit. On 23-10-1765 lodge Salomon was officially named 'Provincial Grand Lodge for Bengal, Indoustan, Persia, the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, as well as the island Ceylon'.[43]

On 27-5-1766 Radermacher sent another letter for lodge Salomon to his brother Samuel via Steendekker, who was travelling as first mate on the ship Jerusalem to Batavia and Bengal.[44] This time he warned to follow the English customs to 'prevent many frauds' and admit only freemasons in possession of a membership certificate with the seal of the Grand Lodge. For each certificate a sum of 12 Stuijvers had to be paid to the Grand Lodge for the seal, and another 12 Stuijvers in material costs to the Grand Lodge bookseller, Van Laak. (An indication many imposters were indeed at large or another reason for the Grand Lodge to charge a fee and keep a tight grip on its membership?) When handing a certificate to a member, the seal of lodge Salomon and the signatures of all the board members had to be added. Radermacher also pleaded to send yearly overviews of members.

In a letter dated 10-1-1768 lodge Secretary Ross wrote a belated 'thank you' to the Grand Lodge for the title of Provincial Grand Lodge. He mentioned that Falck, because of his leave for Patna, had been replaced as Provincial Grand Master by Tissot Grenus, and that the lodge had transferred a sum of fl. 937,10 to cover its dues, transferred by money order from Vernet to Cornelis Erkelens and Albert Nack, merchants in Amsterdam.[45] He continued:

> For different reasons our lodge has been very small in number, during five years, but that will change. [...] It has been several years since we have formed a Scots Lodge under the name of Concordia, which we have also given our Building, we have forgotten to give you notice thereof, please pardon this mistake, which has surely been made without intention.[46]

If the founding of an *Écossois* or Scots lodge took place 'several' (meaning more than one) years ago, that suggests a founding date in or before January 1766. The name of this lodge, Concordia, was in later 18th and 19th century lodge overviews mistaken for a lodge of the basic degrees and listed separately from Salomon.[47]

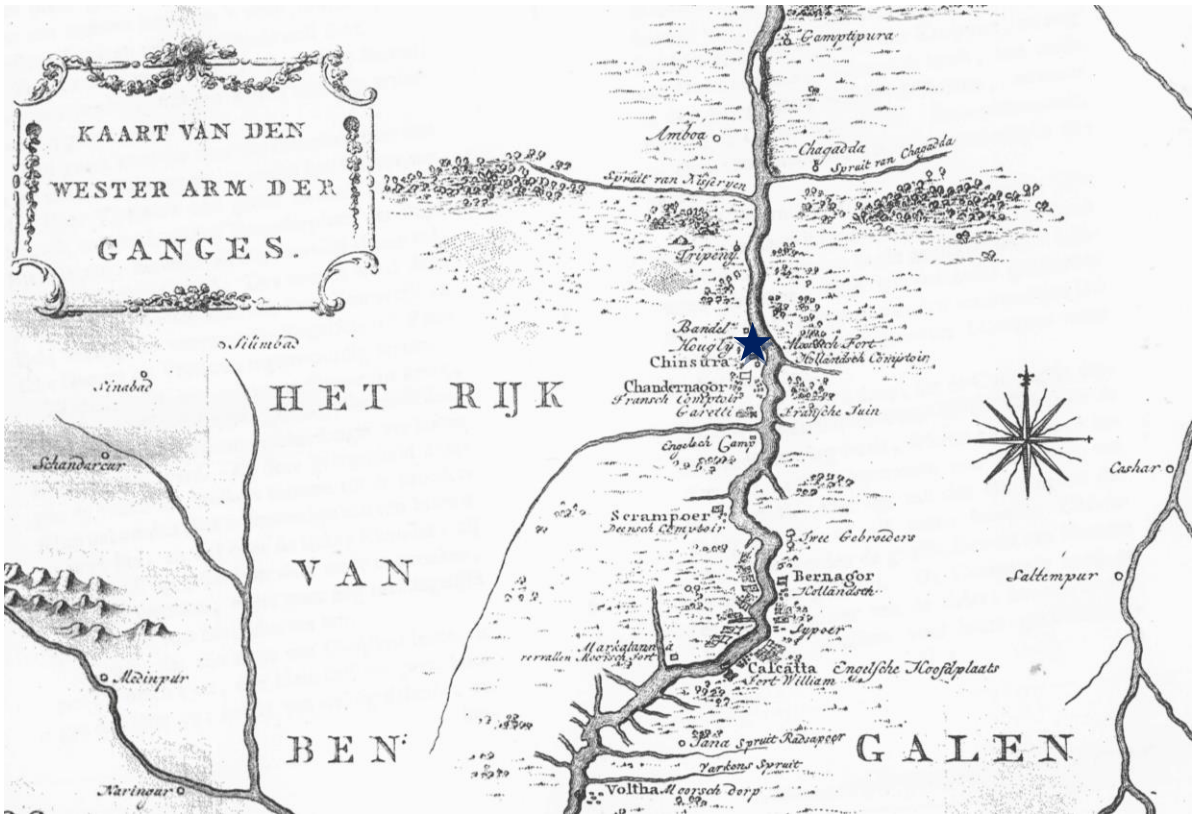


*Fig. 4.6 (detail): Map of the West arm of the Ganges (*Den Wester Arm der Ganges*), as published in Johan Splinter Stavorinus,* Reize van Zeeland over de Kaap de Goede Hoop, naar Batavia, Bantam, Bengalen, enz.*, Leiden 1793, dl. II. Collection: National Library, The Hague. Blue star added by the author to mark the location of the lodge.*



Fig. 4.7: Johannes Rach (1720-1783), Gezigt van 't Revier van Bengaalen *(*View on the river of Bengal*), 1772-1775. Pen and ink drawing, 35.5 x 52 cm. Collection: National Library of Indonesia, inv.no. BW 79. Reproduced from: atlasmutualheritage.nl.*

Ross noted that Tissot Grenus, Breijs, Vernet, Ross, Cramer and Humbert already possessed the degree of *Maître Écossois* or Scots Master. They had all been initiated into the *Élu* degree within a month, for which occasion the ceremony was led by Steendekker, a brother Dalencon (= d'Alençon?), not mentioned in earlier documents, 'and another brother'.[48] According to Ross, the degree of *Écossois d'Europe* ranked below that of *Élu*, while some French brethren were claiming the opposite. He asked the Grand Lodge to judge on the issue. Steendekker, who was about to repatriate, was to personally deliver the letter.[49]

On 8-11-1768 lodge Salomon wrote to the Grand Lodge, trusting that its letter dated 10-1-1768 with a money transfer of fl. 1000,- had by now been delivered by Steendekker. The lodge noted:

> However much we apply ourselves, to keep house in the most Frugal manner, we can only just make due with the earnings; which is therefore the reason, that we find ourselves unable, this year to transfer any remittance, to Your Very Noble, of which the cause is, the costs, which we necessarily have to make to finish the Garden Concordia [= the Lodge building].[50]

The letter continues with the news that Tissot Grenus gave up his position as Provincial Grand Master on 5-10-1768 because of his nearing departure for the Netherlands. He had been released from service in 1766 and would now repatriate as a private citizen.[51] Deputy Grand Master Vernet had been chosen as his successor and was installed on 4-11-1768. The letter was handed to Tissot Grenus for delivery in The Hague.

Meanwhile on 30-3-1768 the Grand Lodge sent an *Elucidatie* or 'Enlightenment' on the subject of the higher degrees. It referred to its formal decision dating back to 18-12-1757 concerning the degrees of *Élus*, *Écossais*, *Irlandois* and *Chevaliers de l'Aigle*, to:

> [...] keep these separate, and not mix them with the ancient free Masonry [...] So are those, who would want to appear with the Ornaments and distinctions at the National Grand Lodge [meeting] of this Land, not admissable there.[52]

Furthermore the Grand Lodge acknowledged the receipt of the money transfer 'charged to the Gentlemen Cornelis Erkelens and Albert Nack in Amsterdam', finally erasing the debt. The expected arrival of Tissot Grenus was also confirmed.

In 1769 the well known travel diary of the Dutch captain Johan Splinter Stavorinus (1739-1788) includes a description of the lodge building Concordia:

> A long quarter of an hour from Chinsura on the side of Chandernagor, under the rule of the Gentleman Vernet was built a large and splendid house, as a Lodge or Meeting place of Free masons, which during my stay there was finished and consecrated. In the evening this ceremony was concluded with a beautiful Firework and Ball, at which the Genteel English and French Gentlemen and Ladies were present.
>
> This house, that was named Concordia, had cost thirty thousand Rupees, which was paid by the Members of the Hoogly Lodge from their purse. At occasions the women, whose men belonged to the brotherhood, wore the sign of the order on a blue or red ribbon, and such over the left shoulder: they are strongly prone to flaunt it, and other women, whose men are not yet drafted, fiercely encourage this.[53]

Stavorinus probably became a freemason himself a few years later.[54] From his description is clear that the inauguration of the building was not secretly, but publicly celebrated, with fireworks visible to all, and that the lodge had international contacts. As Stavorinus' map of the area shows, the English camp and the 'French Garden', were close to Chinsurah.

Steendekker, who as a courier of correspondence had gained the confidence of the Grand Lodge, was appointed 'foreign Deputy Grand Master' on 13-5-1769.[55] At the time, he was captain of the company ship Lycochton (also spelled Lychoston) and heading to Batavia for the Chamber of Amsterdam. Between 1769-1773 he would be involved in the founding of lodges in Asia. In 1773 he repatriated via Bengal with on the ship Vrouwe Margaretha, but his ship perished.

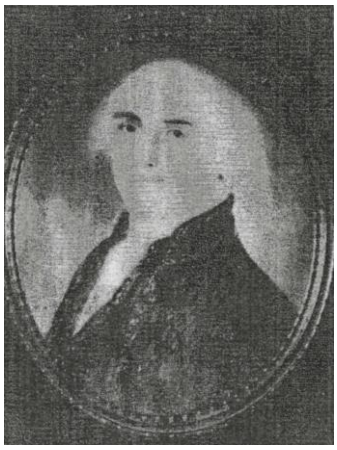


Fig. 4.8: Jacob Eilbracht (1738-1804), member of lodge Salomon in Bengal. Collection: RKD, The Hague. Reproduced from: Lutter/Christiaans 1994, p. 106.

According to the membership list of 1770, the number of members of lodge Salomon had reached 23. The lodge met each first and third Wednesday of the month at 17.00 hours.[56] Tissot Grenus, Vernet, Kist, Cramer, Oger Dias and Lamij were no longer members, but Falck, Ross, (Gibou) Castel, Zinner, Breuijs and Humbert remained. Newcomers Anthony Hardy (1739-1810), a fiscal and village master, and Jacob Eilbracht (1738-1804), who acted as secretary of police, cashier and junior merchant (fig. 4.8), would both become important figures within the Order in Bengal. They were joined by a large number of civil servants and tradesmen, including Anthony Bogaardt (1740-1788), a merchant and trade bookkeeper; Isaac Huybregt Gerrein [= Guerin] (1745-1785), a sworn clerk; Pieter Hoff, (died 1788), a provisional assistant and First Clerk; Leonardus Verspeijk (1734-1819), a bookkeeper of wages; and Fredrik Thott, another bookkeeper and clerk who was to be fired from Company service in 1771. Interesting is the name of Swedish junior merchant Johan Fredrik Lindstedt, which in 1764 already appeared in the visitor books of lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam. Frederik Briks [Brix] was a laywer or solicitor, while Thierry Reijnard (1733-1778) had the position of Secunde at the *Kledenzaal* (textile warehouse), where Gerardus Roghe (1747-1788), a bookkeeper, also worked as Second *afpakker*. The background of new member I.L. Vix [Fix] has not been identified. Lasty the chief surgeon Johan Christiaan Hoen and his junior surgeon Johan Christoffel Willekes (died 1780) were added.[57] Other new members were stationed outside Hoogly, such as Gregorius Herklots (1739-1787), First at the Mint in Cassimbar, and Johan Willem Salomon von Haugwitz (1744-1796), Secunde in Patna).

According to the correspondence register of the Grand Lodge, a letter was received on 26-1-1770:

> A Letter containing a notice to several Brethren Free Masons who were inclined to erect a lodge there [Bengal] [stating] that they had acted wrongly and against all reasonableness to address themselves to the Grand Lodge in holland, While this Lodge [Salomon] as a provincial Lodge was given the power, to give Constitutions to lesser Lodges who wanted to Establish themselves in this region &c.[58]

The letter itself was lost. Lodge Salomon wrote on 12-1-1771 that she trusted its letter dated 8-7-1768 had by now been handed in by Tissot Grenus. It promised to send fl. 600,- to the Grand Lodge via member Abraham van der Weijde (died 1773), who had come from Batavia to Bengal in 1769 as captain of the ship Ritthem[59]:

> Said Brother has told in one of our meetings, having heard that the Brother Steendekker with a letter by Your Very Honourable had been represented to us, though that said Brother Steendekker had encountered our former and departed Grand Master Louis Vernet, on Batavia, who after having held [a] Scots Lodge, opened [the] Letter; that Brother van der Weijde with the Brother Mesterton thereafter went to the Brother Vernet, by the latter Brother having been told, to provide Brother van der Weijde with a letter to our Lodge before

> his leave hereto, which did not come to pass, so we have therefore not been able, if any Letters were sent to us by Your Honourable, to answer these.
>
> [...] Our very worshipful Grand Master George Louis Vernet, because of his leave to Batavia, naming as his successor, the Worshipful Deputy Grand-Master Johannes Matthias Ross, [...] while the latter his Worshipful, because of continuous indisposition combined with many activities, came to ask his resignation, [...] in his place had proposed, our worthy Brother, the Deputy Grand-Master Jan Pieter Humbert, who as such was favourably pleased to accept that dignity, and to his Deputy has appointed, the worthy Brother Jan Hendrik Zinner [...]
>
> And meanwhile we have gained Experience, that on the Island Ceylon a Lodge of Free Masons was founded.[60]

The aforementioned Mesterton is probably the Swedish Archibald Mesterton, member of lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam and working for the firm H. and A. Mesterton in the same city before his leave for the East Indies in 1767 (see also chapter 5).[61] He arrived with the ship Bartha Petronella later that year. The new Provincial Grand Master, Humbert, had made a career in the VOC and was now a merchant and First in the *Kledenzaal.*[62] The founding of a new lodge, named De Getrouwigheid, in Ceylon and the unrest this created in lodge Salomon, will be discussed below.

On 11-1-1771 the Grand Lodge indeed received a money transfer of fl. 600,- (400 Rupees) in Humbert's name through Van der Weijde. The cheque was made out to Van Laak, the bookseller of the Order.[63] Du Bois, by now appointed Grand Secretary, wrote a letter of thanks to Salomon:

> We have ordered Brother Bookseller R. Van Laak, to deliver to Your Honorable all the requested Books, Parchments and Ornaments, according the contents of Your Worshipful Letter, and see with joy that Your Worshipful are always diligent, to observe the good order in every way.[64]

This suggests that, besides books and certificates, officers' jewels were in those early days also shipped from the Netherlands. Apparently Steendekker had experienced a lack of faith in his authority when he visited the lodges. The Grand Secretary assured him that he had the backing of the Grand Lodge, and sent him a 'Second and further Commission for the foreign Deputy Grand Master […] to Constitute Lodges in the Eastern Quarters of the Indies', dated 20-9-1771.[65] Steendekker also received '25 pieces of sealed Parchments for Certificates', costing fl. 30,-.[66] To Steendekker's mention of irregularities, the Grand Secretary replied:

> That there are in the East and elsewhere, as well as in the Home Country, Clandestine Receptions being executed, does not seem strange to us. We can not avoid this other than to exclude the like, and request all lawfully accepted Brethren to have no contact with them.[67]

Steendekker had to spend time in Malacca and Batavia on Company business. From Batavia, he wrote to the Grand Lodge on 20-5-1771 and 13-4-1772:

> My last [letter] to Your High Enlightened was by ship Duyvenbrug A[nno] P[assato] in which I noted, the sad accident of mine on the 9th May being Ascension Day [caused] by the heavy thunderstorm [resulting in] the burning of my ship and a considerable capital in goods of mine, was lost and burned. [...]
>
> I long with much grief after those papers and documents and therefore I requested of Your High Enlightened, for which I during my stay to the Gentleman Cornelis Jacobus van der Lijn transferred the Two hundred Gold ducats to the Treasury of the National Lodge, which requested Constitution and Papers of Your High Enlightened were, However, until now [not] received by me nor anyone else, about which I am much embarrassed, [as] before my leave from the Indies [I] will be forced, to reimburse these funds to their Honourables [= to the lodge], if those Papers requested from Your High enlightened do not arrive.[68]

The Constitution was probably meant for a new lodge in Malacca, as discussed in chapter 5. Grand Secretary Dubois replied on 1-10-1772:

> We have, with regret heard, that the Ship, run by Your Honourable, was burned and that Your Honourable suffered great damages, which we hope Your Honourable will soon recover from.



Fig. 4.9: Anonymous, portrait of Samuel Radermacher (1748-1816), ca. 1770-1790. Oil on canvas, 76 x 64 cm. Whereabouts unknown. Reproduced from: rkd.nl. (Also reproduced in: Lutter/Christiaans 1994, p. 115.)

> From the same we also make out that Your Honourable wishes to know, whether the sent Two hundred Ducats were remitted to us [...] of which We can now acknowledge that the same [...] has been paid to us.
>
> [...] Brother Van der Weijde, running the ship De Paauw, destined via Batavia to China; with whom, if Your Honour should meet him, Your Honour can in all safety communicate, as he is qualified by us, to visit the Indian Lodges in Your Honourable's absence and judge affairs; likewise he has succeeded, with the Constitution of a Lodge, on Cape of Good Hope [...].
>
> So we have on that point made progress, that this case wherefore Your Honourable's Commission was partially arranged, has now been fully implemented [...].[69]

Steendekker may not have been comforted by the news, that someone else had succeeded in his task and that he was now effectively being replaced. But the Grand Lodge did not withdraw his title in favour of Van der Weijden. Instead, a 'Qualification as courier of Books, Letters and Documents, for the Lodges' was given to Van der Weijden on 20-9-1771.[70] This document requested all lodges under jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge in The Hague to treat him with all courtesy and arrange their affairs with him as replacement for the Provincial Grand Master.

On 27-10-1771 lodge Salomon notified the Grand Lodge that on 15-10-1771 the theologian Johan Temmink had preached in a local church. He had spoken 'against a society that, amongst others, sought to make the people, in society, equal and admitted all sects'.[71] A transcript of that part of the sermon was copied in the letter. The lodge members assumed it was directed against freemasonry, and the Treasurer, Jacob Eilbracht, wrote a detailed *Apology.*[72] In September 1772 the Grand Secretary replied 'concerning their Apology against a certain Sermon, and their request to make this public by print' that the plan was ill advised, because Temmink had only directed himself to the 'Hernhutters and Moravian Brethren', not freemasonry.[73]

On 11-1-1772 lodge Salomon had to admit to the Grand Lodge, that it could not meet its obligations and pay contribution:

> Furthermore we have the Honour of informing Your Honourable, that we are currently holding our meetings within Chinsurat, and have left the garden Concordia, both because of its remoteness, as the heavy costs.[74]

It is not clear whose house the lodge now used for meetings. According to its membership list of 1772, Salomon met 'within the village Chinsurat' every first and third Thursday of the month and now counted 28 members.[75] Among the newcomers was the aforementioned Samuel Radermacher, Second warehouse master and son of the first Grand Master, as well as brother to La Choisie's Worshipful Master, Radermacher. (fig. 4.9). He was joined by Casparus Leonardus Eilbracht (1740-1807), bookkeeper and translator, and brother to the aforementioned Jacob Eilbracht.[76] Hans Carel [baron] von Arnim (died 1773), the overseer of buildings; Adrianus Dingshoff (1743-1783), a bookkeeper; Diederik Marquard, whose background remains unidentified, Jan Mijndt Rudolf (died 1793), a gunner, and David de la Roche (died 1775), bookkeeper and Second *Resident* (colonial administrator) in Abaath, also joined the lodge.[77]

Abraham van der Weijde had left from Delft on 31-12-1771 with the ship Pauw, and arrived in Batavia on 12-7-1772, traveling on to Bengal.[78] He brought supplies for Salomon, for which Samuel Radermacher thanked the Grand Lodge:

> [...] the twelve orders in silver with their ribbons sent to us and the chest with books and certificates have become us very well and are completely to our taste [...] We are much obliged to Your Honour for the Jewels sent to us as mentioned above but would have liked to have seen each of them numbered to know to which Officers they belong, and request therefore to send us the same again in drawing and number each separately so we cannot make a mistake when handing them out.[79]

One can wonder how many lodge members had any previous masonic experience, if they were so unfamiliar with the regalia. On the other hand, the Grand Lodge did send 12 jewels while most small lodges had no more than about eight Officers (Worshipful Master, two Wardens, Secretary, Treasurer, Terrible, Orator and Master of Furniture).

Despite their high ideals, conflicts often erupted amongst lodge members, between members of different degrees or between whole lodges. As will become clear below, a dispute between Masters (3rd degree) and Scots Masters (*Écossois*) would hamper the functioning of the lodge for almost a decade. The lodge was divided into two camps, with Verspijck, Roghe, the Eilbracht brothers, Reijnard, Hoff, Bogaardt, Guerin and Dingshoff representing the basic degrees. Hardy, Lindstedt, Fix, Ross (by now chief of Cassimbar[80]), Radermacher, Von Arnim, Marquard, and two new members, C.F. Schumann and Wilhelm Freiherr von Dankelmann (1741-1782, merchant and warehouse master), represented the higher degrees.[81]

In a letter dated 5-7-1772 the new Provincial Grand Master, Anthony Hardy, reported to the Grand Lodge on events within Salomon, that had taken place on 24-6-1772: '[...] to the regret of all of us occured disturbance, caused by nine Brethren, who [acted] from an unheard envy of some of our most prominent members, who have reached a higher Degree in our Royal order as that of Master'.[82] These nine members supposedly withdrew themselves and despite a prohibition to do so, met as a lodge of the basic degrees and chose a board. Hardy promised to send a more detailed report and asked the Grand Lodge - in case it would be approached by the rebel brethren - to reserve its judgement until that report had arrived. Hardy's letter was co-signed by the other members of the higher degrees.

As Hardy expected, the Grand Lodge indeed received a second letter, dated 4-9-1772 and written by Verspeijk on behalf of the nine, explaining the view of the other party on the situation. He spoke of 'an occurrence, both unheard of and unpleasant, [which] took place on the last day of St. John Baptist, and caused by the brethren that call themselves Scots [...]'.[83] Verspeijck named the members of the higher degrees (particularly Hardy, Humbert, Linstedt, Radermacher and Von Dankelman) as the guilty party. The cause for their conflict seems trivial: in autumn 1770 Worshipful Master Humbert proposed a set of bylaws, which included the instruction that members of the Master's degree would wear a blue bandolier to meetings. Soon after Humbert considered this a mistake and instructed the members that this was only allowed in the *Écossois* degree. On 16-6-1772 a discussion evolved about which regalia were suitable for the members of which degrees: 'This went so far that they requested our Grand Master on the 19th of June to call a meeting'.[84] The intention was to have the matter cleared up before the planned St. John's Day

celebrations on 24-6-1771, so everyone would know what to wear. But it went wrong, 'the result being, that the intended ball was fully cancelled'.[85]

Worshipful Master Humbert requested his resignation from the lodge. Some members wanted to attend further meetings in their (red coloured) *Écossois* regalia, but Provincial Grand Master Hardy decided only 'the Colour Granted to us' (= blue) was to be worn. In other words: it was not allowed to wear regalia of the higher degrees to meetings of the basic degrees. He ordered Humbert to send a message to all the members and also included the new rule on the convocation letter for the next meeting. However, this was followed by a second convocation letter, signed by Humbert, now in his new function of Grand Master of the *Écossois* degree (= lodge Concordia), notifying the *Maîtres Écossois* to wear their (red) regalia to the next meeting. The *Écossois* were of the opinion that they outranked the members of the basic degrees and as such the decision about which regalia was appropriate, was up to them.

At the next meeting, the objection of the members of the basic degrees was voiced by one of the Wardens, who was promptly relieved of his function by Hardy. Radermacher and Dankelman were installed as new Wardens, and it was made clear that anyone who protested would be asked to leave. The nine who disagreed did so, as did Van Arnim and Marquard, but the latter two later changed their minds. The nine then took the lodge archive and in their own words kept 'representing' lodge Salomon, even though Hardy still had the Constitution in his possession. After having let it run its course for a month, the nine then decided to inform the Grand Lodge, because 'they [= *Écossois* lodge] started to treat us [= basic degree lodge] more and more insolent, and even stretched their animosity to private matters'.[86] The nine also decided to choose a new board. In their complaint to the Grand Lodge, they referred to its earlier letters dated 10-1-1768 and 30-3-1769 with instructions for the higher degrees. They also noted that a last attempt at a compromise had been rejected by the members of the higher degrees.[87]

Because of the distance and protocol, the Grand Lodge did not formulate an answer until August 1773. It consented to wait for Hardy's report, before coming to any conclusions, but strongly disapproved of a conflict on such futile matters:

> We will show not to digress from what we have acknowledged before about the so called Scottish and other distinguished brethren [...] that is in the First Three Degrees of the Order is the kernel and core of Free Masonry, and the other Degrees have mainly been thought out, because of the extra costs, that one is forced to make to obtain them, be able to distance themselves from wicked Brethren, whose education is proportional to their birth, and whose conduct does little honour to our Order.
>
> On the other hand however, Dear Brethren, it matters little, whether one wears Red or Blue Sashes and Free Masonry does not consist of Ornaments, but of deeds.[88]

The nine separated members would eventually form the new lodge De Standvastigheid. Salomon remained active as Provincial Grand Lodge in an administrative sense. In practise, its members met as a lodge for the higher degrees under the name of Concordia, while De Standvastigheid limited itself to the basic degrees. (Over time Salomon would accept new members again and go back to practising the basic degrees alongside De Standvastigheid). That the disagreements within a lodge could get so out of hand because of trivial matters like dress and colour, seems very petty at first. However, that the membership of the Order and the following of its traditions called up such strong emotions, also shows how important the lodge membership was to these men. Apart from the pleasant aspect of social gatherings, the membership was taken very seriously. The close bonds that were created within the group by the rituals, the social function of the lodges within the small colonial settlements and the safe haven they offered on a dangerous journey eastward, no doubt contributed to the emotional investment of the members in their Order.

Hardy wrote to the Grand Lodge on 10-1-1773:

> We can with as much Joy, as our Hearts at the time were squeezed with pain, let Your Honourable know that this difference, to the internal satisfaction and Honour of the Bengal [lodges], and so we are Assured in our Hearts, of the whole Brotherhood, is amended, from one Lodge, by multiplication of members, a second was founded, and by us was given By the power invested in us, to a perfect number of Brethren, a lawful Constitution for the founding of a working Lodge, under the name of de Standvastigheid.[89]

At the same time lodge member Reynard wrote to bookseller Van Laak, to thank him for his letter of 31-9-1771 accompanied by 'Ornaments, books and parchments' as well as a bill for fl. 290,-.[90] Reynard indicated with 'painful sorrow' that the lodge had decided to send fl. 600,- as payment and contribution to the Grand Lodge, but that it had failed to secure a money transfer or courier for that sum, which meant they would not be able to pay until the next year:

> We assure you of our commitment for the presentation received for the delivery of Aprons of the grand officers; and request thereunder, to have us sent six pieces as the First Grand Officers wear the same with also 20 others without gold and silver.[91]

Reynard wrote a second letter to Van Laak the same day, promising to gather funds, and complaining:

> […] this separation [between the old and new lodge] did not make much difference, as we did not visit the other at all, but especially the bad times we are now experiencing, Yes so bad with everything going more backwards than forwards, and this is an expensive place in every respect.
>
> [...] regarding the p.n. the cloth is commissioned but not yet finished. Because when it is finished, the weavers are not masters from the English, who are strong in Decca, and have everything under their control, arresting [them], and saying or ordering to deliver to no one but them or heavy punishment [follows but next Year [I] hopefully will be able to deliver [it,] but concerning the Green monkeys [= members of the *Écossais* degrees] the conditions are not as such here[;] about disputes, & installing the new lodge our honourable brother Joosten who is courier of letters can inform you[. I can] convene Your Honourable [that] this Noble [Joosten] is a very worthy brother, if Your Honourable can please him, that will be dear to me.[92]

The meaning of 'p.n' is unclear, but the reference 'green monkeys' confirms that the degree practised was *Maître Écossais Vert*, which regalia were red and green. This specific degree, transferred to Europe from England in 1742, had a history of priviliges being awarded and therefore causing trouble.[93]

On 7-9-1772 lodge Salomon put to the Grand Lodge 'a request [...] to have priority above the Lodge La Fidelle Sincerite in Batavia regarding the appointment of a Provincial Lodge &c'.[94] Apparently Salomon was afraid to lose its position as a result of the ongoing attempt of lodges in Batavia to gain the title of Provincial Grand Lodge, as will be discussed in chapter 5. Salomon must have gotten more worried when in December 1772 word came from the Grand Lodge, that a second lodge had been installed in Ceylon, named De Opregtheid, for which the Constitution had been arranged without involving Salomon. Then came the news that, again without involving it, another had been established in the Dutch fort at Negapatnam. Correspondence of 1773 shows that lodge Salomon, much to the annoyance of the Grand Lodge, took some irregular steps in order to obtain a Constitution for De Standvastigheid. We will come back to all these lodges later.

About 1773 Grand Secretary Du Bois informed Salomon that the aforementioned Abraham van der Weijde had died at the Cape.[95] According to the membership list of that year, nineteen men remained: Hardy, Lindstedt, Thott, Radermacher, Van Dankelman, Reijnard, Marquard, Schuman, Brueijs, Falck, Ross, Humbert, J. Eilbracht, Zinner, Verspijk, Roghe, Fix, Herklotz and Van Arnim. Meetings were held 'day and time unspecified' in the 'Garden Concordia'.[96] As these were mainly members of the higher degrees who had taken up residence in Concordia again, they chose the same name for their *Écossois* lodge.

The lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia (see chapter 5) wrote on 12-7-1773 to lodge Salomon in order to congratulate it with the founding of De Standvastigheid. This letter, delivered by [Willem?] Kerkman, merchant and member of De Standvastigheid[97], shows that the lodge(s) in the Dutch East Indies did consider Salomon as a regional authority, with whom it was important to establish friendly relations. The formal reply, dated 31-1-1774, was written by Guerin as Provincial Grand Secretary. He wrote that Falck, Hardy and Roghe had left from India to 'yonder', meaning Batavia. Roghe would carry the letter for delivery to La Fidèle Sincérité.[98]

In 1774 the Grand Lodge received a money transfer from lodge member Lindstedt for fl. 324,5. An accompanying note from Provincial Grand Secretary Guerin to bookseller Van Laak, shows it to be a payment for 'fine poems', as well as a new order of law books, song books and speeches for lodge Salomon. Guerin wrote that the finances of the lodge were still in bad shape and that 'everything here is equally in decay'.[99]

Lodge member Reynard wrote a private letter to a friend, presumably Van Laak, on 10-1-1775. He thanked him for the goods the lodge had received along with this friend's correspondence of 19-11-1773.[100] Reynard gave his message to freemasons Pieter Balans from Delft, repatriating with the ship Lam, and its captain Olke [van] Andringa (1741-1812) (see fig. 4.11). Reynard wrote that Balans had just received the 1st and 2nd degrees in Bengal, and asked his friend to allow him the 3rd degree. Reynard had read in the newspapers that 'a French booklet had been published, writing about the Order of the Ecosse, Elu, Chevalier d'Epee &c', of which he would like to receive a copy.[101] The only title on the subject available at the time, was *Les plus secrets mystères* (1st ed. 1766) (see chapter 2). Because of an 'indisposition' he had resigned as Warden and member of Salomon in October 1774. The lodge continued to use the building 'In the Outside Court, Concordia'.[102]

On 27-12-1774 a delegation of Salomon, consisting of Verspijk, Guerin, Schuman, von Danckelman and Brueijs, attended the St. John's Day meeting of a British lodge in Calcutta. This was celebrated with a public festival, including 'as usual' a play on the 29th of December, followed by a ball. For the closing banquet no less than 300 guests attended. Special guests were 'Mohammed Raza Cawn [or Khan], the black Zamindar [= local ruler] of Calcutta, his two sons and the sons of Meeran'.[103] Invitations had also been sent to the 'gentlemen in Calcutta, and to the Officers in the Army, especially those who are Masons' and of course 'the Ladies of Calcutta' including those who were 'Sisters'.[104] In other words, non-freemasons were present for (public parts of) the festivities. The question is, whether the term 'sisters' was used here strictly to indicate members of adoption lodges or, in more general sense, the wives of 'masons' as opposed to the 'ladies' of uninitiated 'gentlemen'.

Celebrations began on the 29th at 20.15 hours with the opening of the lodge meeting in the local Masonic Hall, after which a silent procession of members and visitors in their full regalia walked from the lodge to a nearby church. The Dutch delegation closed the procession. In the church a religious service was held, attended by the public, followed by a sermon. The members went back to the lodge to close the meeting in masonic fashion. The planned play had to be cancelled for unclear reasons. On the 30th December a second procession was held, this time accompanied by music and directed to the Courthouse, where a banquet was held. The participants danced minuets before they dined. Circa 60 women were present, mostly 'sisters of the Honourable Order', who wore blue ribbons.[105] The fact that these sisters so clearly distinghuished themselves from the other ladies present at an important social gathering, raises all sort of questions on the social connotations, status and desirability of this distinction for women in colonial society.

The membership list for 1775 was down to 17 men.[106] The old guard, consisting of the brothers Eilbracht, Lindstedt, Humbert, Verspijk, Zinner, Marquardt, Hoff, Thott, Radermacher, Reijnard, Guerin, Dingshoff and Schuman, had been joined by two former members of De Standvastigheid: Adrianus Gerardus Kraijenhoff and the aforementioned captain Andringa. On 11-1-1775 Salomon wrote another letter to the Grand Lodge, replying to correspondence of August and November 1773. A detailed report of recent events began with the announcement that Provincial Grand Master Lindstedt had been replaced by Jacob Eilbracht.[107] In 1774 'differences had arisen' with De Standvastigheid about the election of the new Deputy Provincial Grand Master, but in fact it was the resurgence of the earlier conflict. We will come back to that later.

Because the lodge was threatened 'by decay' measures were proposed on 13-6-1774 in order to tie members closer to the lodge. It was decided that candidates had to become a member of the lodge after their initiation, instead of joining a lodge elsewhere. Resignation would only be possible with permission and only after a 'lawful reason', to be judged by the lodge, and would not be possible at all if one was not yet a Master Mason. The Grand Lodge was asked for permission. It was also decided to have the Provincial Grand Master 'continued in that quality during his stay in Bengal, following the English [custom]', in order to limit the growing number of Past Provincial Grand Masters.[108] In other words, he was appointed for life, while before he had been chosen by members at the (yearly) board elections, as was the case with Worshipful Masters. It was stipulated that he could only resign with permission of the Grand Lodge. A new charter for the new style Provincial Grand Master was requested in the Netherlands on behalf of Jacob Eilbracht. It would be interesting to know how many of these new ideas came from Eilbracht himself, as it would give him a stronger position than his predecessors.

Under Eilbracht's lead Salomon continued to overplay its hand. The Grand Lodge in The Hague had earlier decided that members of all lodges in Bengal would be represented, but only Master Masons had the right to vote. Salomon now proposed that the lodges would be free to raise their contribution fees:

> [...] [if one] would want to build a reserve from it. Why else would a Reception in the Indies cost up to 100 Rupees, which in the Homeland is done for 8, 10 or 12 Ducats. It is the same with the Yearly Don Gratuits [= contributions to the Grand Lodge].[109]

This shows the costs of initiations in Asia were higher than in the Netherlands, and that the lodge membership was therefore probably only accessible to the (VOC) elite. Also mentioned were 'Complaints about those [lodges] of Nagapatnam [= De Langgewenschte] and Ceylon [= De Getrouwigheid and/or De Opregtheid], that these do not recognize the Provincial Grand Master, and request to be maintained [in their independence]'.[110]

The Grand Lodge wrote its reply to a letter by Salomon dated 4-1-1774 (enclosing a money order of fl. 675,15) more than a year later, on 19-4-1775.[111] It emphasized that Salomon had the wrong perception of its power: it was only allowed to give out temporary Constitutions, which still had to be ratified by the Grand Lodge, while new lodges remained free to address requests for Constitutions directly to the Grand Lodge:

> Yet now we will confess, that the Ceylon Brethren did not act kindly, when they first requested Your Honourable for a Constitution, and did not reply to the received admission, without notifying us thereof in their Request. But it also surprises us, that Your Honourable did not inform us at the time; to give the necessary Ratification to the granted Constitution; so We had considered these Ceylon Brothers as wholly ignorant, of the Provincial status of Bengal; And which surprises us more, is their silence without transferring Contributions, (meaning those in Colombo [= De Getrouwigheid]) which We will at this occasion discuss with them.[112]

Furthermore, the Grand Lodge wrote about the annual contributions, an unpaid bill by Van Laak and the planned election of a National Grand Master, 'as chief of all other Orders as Élus, Écossais, &c'. In addition, it asked Salomon to send a list of members of the higher degrees 'in order to register these also'.

Andringa, former lodge Secretary of Salomon and captain of the ship Lam, carried the correspondence of Salomon dated 11-1-1775 to the Netherlands. In December 1775 the Grand Lodge wrote in response:

> By the Brother Olke Andringa was handed to us Your Honourable's Letter dated 11th of January this year, with the Addenda and Money transfer, amounting to f 873,5- from which to Brother R. Van Laak will be paid f 400 - for deliveries made [...]
>
> Besides the objections in the aforementioned Letter raised and requested explanation thereof, We will answer these Articles, and immediately begin to show what a National or Provincial Grand Lodge is, and how the appointment of its Officers should be treated [...].[113]

The Grand Lodge specified that, when Salomon wanted to call an [annual] Grand Lodge meeting, it would have to convene the Masters and Wardens of the lodges in the region, in accordance with Article 4, p. 30, of the Laws of the Order:

> [...] and then it is legal, but in no way like a particular Lodge, under the name of Provincial, would want to rule over itself and others, which contradicts the nature of things themselves.
>
> It is true that people in the past were of other understanding, and that We accordingly raised Your Honourable to a Provincial Grand Lodge; though having further considered the matter, We are in complete agreement with the Grand Lodge of England, that this is a mistake, like Your Honourable itself will have to confess, or have already done at the intended Election of a Provincial Grand Master sent to us for approval [...] for a Charter now vested on the person of Jacob Eilbracht until apparent cancellation, Twenty Ducats are to be paid. - Provided that this granted Power is given to the person, as a representative of the High Noble Grand Master, and not given to any Lodge [...].[114]

This meant Salomon had lost its dominant position in Asia, also because the letter stated that the function of Provincial Grand Master could not coincide with that of Worshipful Master or Officer of a lodge. Until then, the Provincial Grand Master had always been the Worshipful Master of Salomon. At his resignation any successor would first have to be approved and confirmed by the Grand Lodge. The Provincial Grand Master could appoint the Grand Officers himself, with the exception of the Grand Wardens and Grand Treasurer, which had to be chosen by the meeting of lodges. That too severely limited his power. Furthermore it was stipulated that a Grand Warden could not be Worshipful Master of a lodge at the same time, but that he could take the place of the Provincial Grand Master or his Deputy if a vacancy occurred. The letter continued:

> Regarding the Ceylon Brethren, namely those of Colombo [= lodge De Getrouwigheid], We will very gladly acknowledge, that they are acting very irregularly, towards both us and Yourself.
>
> About which We have, in a serious manner made our sensitivity known to them, that it surprises us very much, after Five years since they have been constituted by us, having received no sign or token of their existence, much less the annual Contributions. Which is why We have reprimanded them to take note of the 3rd and 4th Article of the 4th Chapter, Page 66, As We would otherwise have to execute the Law, and declare the same [lodge] erased [...].
>
> Regarding the binding of Members to the Lodges, not [allowed] to leave them unless with consent, and to sustain, that no Master Mason can resign, only after having been Warden or Worshipful Master, is such an overly harsh Bylaw, that even with the 1st Article Chapter 7 Page 84 of the Constitution cannot exist; And if the reasons for such a request for dismissal are fair, it may not be denied; because Free Masonry should indeed be Free, and not make tyranny.
>
> Likewise it is with granting the 3rd Degree, about which the same Resolution cannot always be kept, especially when some People cannot remain long in one place, one is sometimes compelled to confer the Three Steps on one Day. For which reason one in this Country yearly grants a Dispensation to the respective Lodges, according to the 1st Article of the 5th Chapter Page 70 how much should be taken as possible precautions in this respect. [...] Remains us no more than to recommend Your Honourable to maintain a good relationship, and to acknowledge the authority of the high Noble Grand Master and preserve in the person of Brother Jacob Eilbracht as his Representative and Authorisation, with the necessary honours investing in him in that Quality.[115]

The letter suggests that lodge Salomon insisted on unusual practices, which strengthened its position. This display of ambition combined with the failure to bind new lodges in Ceylon and Negapatnam to the Provincial Grand Lodge, probably prompted the Grand Lodge to appoint a (travelling) representative, in order to maintain full control itself.

At the same time, the Grand Lodge wrote instructions for Jacob Eilbracht in his new function as Provincial Grand Master. He was instructed to organize a 'Grand Lodge' (a meeting of all regional lodges) twice a year, and to collect contributions to be forwarded to The Hague.[116] The certificate of Provincial Grand Master in Eilbracht's name dates from 20-12-1775.[117]

On 8-5-1776 the English Provincial Grand Lodge in Calcutta received a letter from lodge Salomon, noting its displeasure about the activities of a John Richards, a Frenchman, 'making masons unduly' (= practising irregular initiations).[118] The English replied that it had cautioned its members to only accept men who could proof a regular membership, for instance by a lodge certificate. John Richards was dismissed from membership of the English Order, together with Joseph Littard and a mister Busch, who had all confessed they did not have the right papers.

The Dutch trade in Bengal had declined. According to the governor Johannes Bacheracht (in function 1771-1776) by 1776 there was no trade worth mentioning anymore. His successor was the aforementioned Johannes Matthias Ross (in function 1776-1781), a member of lodge Salomon. He did not resist the involvement of the British and kept friendly relations with them, but did not manage to improve the situation.[119] Of course this affected the lodge activities. On 15-11-1777 Salomon wrote to the Grand Lodge:

> The suspension of our lodge, which at the most recent St. John's Day was feared to be final, the declaration made by the Grand Master Jacob Eilbracht in our meeting at the First of this [month], of which the execution is

> soon to take place [...]. For now only noting, that the Last two Years no Receptions or other income, for which we should give an Account, have taken place.[120]

The letter indicated that by now the lodge had run up a debt of 10.000 Rupees, which kept rising with interest, and that an expected contribution by the members of the *Écossois* degrees would not make much difference. A copy from the lodge minutes of 24-6-1777 was enclosed:

> […] much was said about the current condition of Masonry in Bengal, and especially that of this Lodge, with the little cordiality that many Brethren seemed to feel for it, and that by the small number of Members of this Lodge one had to fear that soon it would no longer be able, to continue its regular activities [...] for which reason his High Worshipful proposed to the Brethren, whether it would not be better to wholly close the Lodge and to return the Constitution to Europe, to the National Lodge in The Hague.[121]

Although all members already had agreed, lodge member Hoff proposed to first wait for a reply from home. It was decided to postpone a final decision until the winter St. John's Day. Meanwhile, the financial position was bad:

> Lastly the High Worshipful Grand Master decided, to keep the money, which this Lodge is about to receive from the Scots Brethren, for its share in the sold house Concordia, as an obligation for himself and let an interest of six percent benefit the lodge.[122]

The letter included a membership list, from which it is clear that besides Eilbracht and his brother Caspar, Guerin, Dingshoff and Hoff remained members. Andringa was listed as a visitor, and four former members of De Standvastigheid had joined Salomon: Van Midlum, Regel, Wieman and Heyning.[123]

On 30-12-1777 Eilbracht himself wrote to the Grand Lodge that he had received its instructions, but not his certificate of Provincial Grand Master. Problems had again arisen between members of the Master and Scots Master's degrees. The *Écossois* kept away from lodge meetings and this lack of attendance now threatened the existence of lodge Salomon. Eilbracht blamed the problem on the fact, that the Provincial Grand Master (= himself) had not been initiated further than the Master's degree: the members of the higher degrees did not recognize his authority. He wanted to obtain the higher degrees, but could not afford the initiation fees involved. The Grand Lodge had given him the rule over the basic degrees by letter, but a copy of this letter had not been addressed to the *Écossois*, allowing for confusion on the issue.

Eilbracht proposed a solution to the Past Provincial Grand Master and now director of the trade post, Ross, but things did not develop as he expected:

> Brother Ross assured me, following that his wish extended to this, that the Brotherhood in bengal would flourish as before, and that his Honourable could agree with my proposition; but that the feelings of others [= the *Écossois*] were not so easily turned. The event of 1772 was still too deeply embedded in the memory, and the little satisfaction one had given the Scots masters and rather important had been the expectation, with the feeling that I should be the man, who had for the nine Brethren of Salomon's Temple, at the time, stood up the most strongly, all this made the animosity against me lasting, whenever there was any discussion about this case; at last came in the last days of October the decision down to this, that one [= the *Écossois*] would join the lodge [= Salomon], provided that I lay down my Grand Mastership, and that it was passed to the aforementioned Brother Ross, who was elected as Provincial Grand Master.[124]

Eilbracht at first felt offended and refused to let go of his position, but after 'much deliberation with himself', decided to do so anyway, because he did not want to be responsible for the decline of the lodges in Bengal. The members of Salomon were shocked when in a meeting on 1-11-1777 he announced to step down. At the same meeting, his brother Caspar, Hoff, Dingshoff and Regel for various reasons also asked to be dismissed. It was decided 'to have made for the new Grand Master an apron and jewel, after the model that his High Honourable currently uses'.[125] This implies that Eilbracht was allowed to keep his regalia and wear them as Past Provincial Grand Master. A list of members of the higher degrees was enclosed with Eilbracht's correspondence. Humbert had acted as Grand Master of the *Écossois* and *Élu* degrees, but he too would relinquish his position to Ross. Other members of the higher degrees were Brueijs, Guerin,

Reynard and Radermacher, as well as Johan Carel Lodewijk Blume (1727/28-1797) a free burgher in Bengal.[126]

Eilbracht wrote to the Grand Lodge that time would tell if Ross would keep the peace between the newly united members, also because he was forced by company business to leave lodge affairs to his Deputy. Ross was formally installed on St. John's Day, 27-12-1777, and he let it be known that he would only be available for a year. Eilbracht's farewell speech, calling for obedience to the Order's laws and for unity, has survived.[127] In 1778 Eilbracht left lodge Salomon, but remained a member of De Standvastigheid. In 1781 he was appointed to the general secretariat of the governor general in Batavia. He visited the local lodges and the farewell speech he gave on 1-2-1783 in La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia before he headed back to India also is in the CMC collection.[128]

After 1777 the Grand Lodge no longer received communications from Salomon, according to its correspondence register. According to Maarschalk's history of the Order, lodge Salomon was erased in circa 1782, like other lodges in the region, as a result of the capture of Dutch assets by the British in 1780-1784.[129] The Dutch masonic almanac did not note any loss of communication until 1808.[130] The most recent overview of Dutch lodges states that communications ceased in 1783.[131]

From circa 1783 indeed dates a last letter by Olke Andringa, written on behalf of the Provincial Grand Lodge (= Salomon) to lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia as a farewell before his leave for Europe.[132] The fact that he still used the formal title of Provincial Grand Lodge, suggests Salomon probably kept using the abolished title to maintain its authority in the region. The personal letter does not refer to the closure of the lodge in any way, as one might expect if that was the case. From 1784 onwards, the next four Dutch governors were freemasons:

- the aforementioned lodge member Herklots (in function 1784-1785);
- Isaac Titsingh (in function 1785-1792), a Past Master of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, discussed below, initiated into the *Élu* and *Écossois* degrees[133];
- Cornelis van Citters Aernoutszoon (in function 1793-1795), a member of lodge St. Jean de la Concorde in Surat, also discussed below;
- the aforementioned lodge member Von Haugwitz (in function 1795).

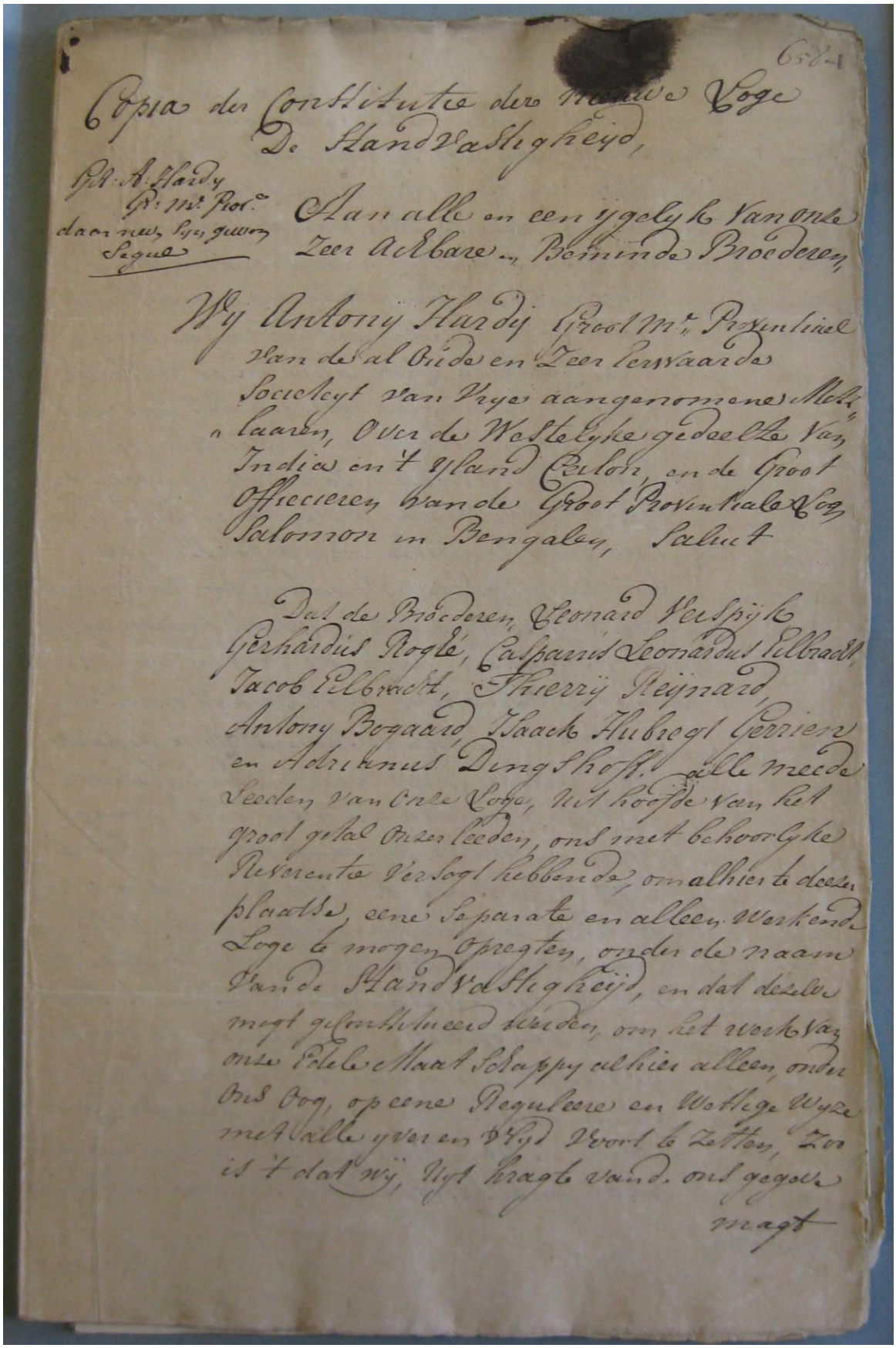
This would have provided a favourable 'climate' to renew the lodge's activities. The correspondence of lodge Salomon suggested a good relationship with the English Provincial Grand Lodge. Masonic historian Robert Freke Gould claimed:

> The Provincial Grand Lodge of England seems to have worked in perfect harmony with a similar body under Holland, 'The Grand Lodge of Solomon at Chinsura' (Dutch settlement) and the officers and members of the two Societies exchanged visits and walked together in processions.[134]

More recently Jessica Harland-Jacobs also emphasised that the Provincial Grand Lodge of England regularly organized dinners and celebrations in Calcutta in the 1780s, to which Dutch freemasons were invited.[135] As the following chapter will show, political events did not prevent lodges in the Dutch East Indies from continuing their activities. It therefore seems probable that Dutch freemasons in Bengal would have transferred to a British lodge after the takeover, or that an ailing Dutch lodge would have fused with a British one. In 1804 the accounts of Grand Treasurer Johannes Adrianus Bichon van IJsselmonde (whose family was involved in the WIC and VOC), still listed the contribution status of Salomon as late since 1776, indicating that the Grand Lodge did not yet consider it permanently erased.[136]

♦ *Lodge De Standvastigheid in Bengal*

As mentioned above, the founding of lodge De Standvastigheid in Hoogly was the direct result of a conflict between members of the basic and higher degrees of lodge Salomon in 1770.[137] It must have been some time before Salomon was ready to acknowledge this new lodge and its members. None the less, on 27-12-1772 Provincial Grand Master Hardy signed a Constitution, in which the aforementioned Verspijk, Roghe, the brothers Eilbracht, Reynard, Bogaard, Gerrien [= Guerin] and Dingshoff are listed as founders (fig.


656-1

Copia der Constitutie der nieuwe Loge
De Standvastigheyd,

Pt: A. Hardy
Gr: Mr. Prot.
daar new, Syn, guwen
Segue

Aan alle en een yegelyk van onze
Zeer Achtbare, Beminde Broederen,

Wy Antony Hardy Groot Mr. Provincial
van de al Prude en Zeer Eerwaarde
Societeyt van Vrye aangenomene Metz
laaren, Over de Westelyke gedeelte van
Indien en 't yland Ceylon, en de Groot
Officieren van de Groot Provinciale Loge
Salomon in Bengalen, Salut

Dat de Broederen Leonard Veeslyk
Gerhardus Rogle, Caspar Leonardus Pelbrandt,
Jacob Pelbrecht, Thierry Reynard,
Antony Bogaard, Isaack Hubregt Geerien
en Adrianus Dingshoff, alle meede
Leeden van onze Loge, uit hoofde van het
groot getal onzer Leeden, ons met behoorlyke
Reverentie te Zogt hebbende, om alhier te deezer
plaatse, eene Separate en alleen werkende
Loge te mogen Oprechten, onder de naam
van de Standvastigheyd, en dat dezelve
mogt gefortuneerd werden, om het werk van
onze Edele Maat Schappy alhier alleen, onder
ons oog, op eene Regulaire en Wettige Wyze
met alle yver en Vlyt Voort te Zetten, Zoo
is 't dat wy, Uyt kragte van. ons gegeve
magt

Fig. 4.10: Copy of the Constitution of lodge De Standvastigheid in Hoogly, Bengal, 27-12-1772.
Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 656-1.Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

4.10).[138] Jacob Eilbracht was appointed Worshipful Master.[139] The reason for the foundation was given as 'the large number of our [= Salomon's] members'. One of the stipulations in the Constitution, not normally mentioned in those of the Dutch Grand Lodge, was:

> Furthermore, until cancellation, for Contribution money to be Handed to us five-eighth parts of the Reception of Masters, and fines, and a quarter of those of Apprentice and Fellow-Craft.[140]

Salomon had instated this measure, because by the founding of the other lodge it would miss out on a number of new members and therefore on income.[141] In the Grand Lodge archive are some 'Remarks on the contents of the Bengal letters and especially, about their manner of Constituting [a lodge]', which reveals the annoyance felt by the Grand Officers. Notes added to the memo in a sideline by a second reader are given in Italics below:

> The Constitution provided for the founding of a Lodge under the name of de Standvastigheid, although they themselves stipulate only to be allowed to work within the District and their [= Salomon's] supervision, seems to have been given with an excluding power, without Ratification by the National Grand Master; which is not at all according to the intention.
>
> *to reject the manner, in which de standvastigheid was constituted, especially also the agreements*
>
> How will one now here give the Ratification with the stipulation of a yearly Don Gratuit [to the Grand Lodge], if it is already fixed in the Constitution, that this Lodge [De Standvastigheid] will have to pay to Lodge Salomon 5/8 of Master Receptions and Fines [and] 1/4 of those of Apprentice and Fellow-Craft. Besides this novelty (or Prussian way of counting) one is overstepping the terms of the Law, which clearly prescribes that a Constitution for a place where there is a Lodge already, should cost 20 Ducats.
>
> *This absolutely has to be annulled*
>
> [...] By this despotic power that of the National Grand master lapses, which has been made so powerless, that it receives the Laws instead of providing them.
>
> It seems as if the Bengal Brethren have thought out this expedient, to constitute this new lodge, to heal the wound of the tear, which was caused by the Scottish Order, about which they are very enthusiastic (as a [Scots] Master Reception costs 100 Rupees), and because of which they had partially separated. And having thus made a shift who would belong to the Scots and who would not, that new Lodge was probably founded to exist of such Members who can have received the 3 Ordinary Degrees.
>
> And as those Brethren, belonging to the Scots Order, hold a separate Cash register, the incomes of which are very substantial, as a [Scots] Master Reception costs a Hundred *Daalders* [= 150 Guilders] then a Don Gratuit to the National Lodge of f 600,- should not harm them much.
>
> The obstacle to Reimburse, is easily cleared, because even if no-one can be found who will take care of it [= inning/transfer], the money can be put into the Company's Cash register. Provided that what is registered there is also paid, without being subject to a delay of a Year or more.[142]

In September 1773 the Grand Lodge wrote on the matter to Salomon:

> After We had already formulated our answer [...] We were most pleased, by the contents of Your Honourable's latest Message, dated 10 January 1773, whereby We have learned that the conflict has come to an end, and calm rules among You again.
>
> [...]. By this same Letter We have become aware that Your Honourable saw fit to grant a Constitution, for the founding of a Lodge, under the name of De Standvastigheid, and thereby stipulated 5/8 part of Master Receptions and Fines; as well as 1/4 of the Apprentice and Fellow-Craft Receptions, for the benefit of your Account; and moreover to allow those Brethren, that they may distinguish themselves by the Light Blue Colour.
>
> Truly Brethren, a manner absolutely conflicting with our Laws, and in no way in accord with the contents of your [own] Constitution, dated 23 October 1765.
>
> Had Your Honourable realised this, you would not have erred yourself so; to act contrary to the intention of the high Worshipful Grand Master. So We cannot but reject the manner, in which that Lodge was Constituted; with request to withdraw that diploma given, and to supply the enclosed, as our Ratification, of the acts by Your Honourable, to these Brethren.

> [...] And concerning the Light or Sky Blue Colour the same belongs to the Grand Officers of the National Grand Lodge alone; with this change however, for the Provincial Grand Masters, who are distinguished by a White Star.[143]

So Salomon overstepped its limits, concerning not only the contributions but also the colour symbolism. The reply of the Grand Lodge shows it followed the example of the English Grand Lodge in that Provincial Grand Masters were Grand Lodge Officers and as such wore the sky blue colour. Not until much later, in 1775, would Salomon respond to this letter and transfer half of its revenue to the Grand Lodge - with the assurance that this had always been the intention.[144]

The definitive Constitution sent to De Standvastigheid by the Grand Lodge in August 1773, mentioned besides the founders also several other members that had joined in the meantime[145]: Johan Willem Salomon von Haugwitz, a former member of lodge Salomon,[146] Hermanus Jotz [Jeths] (1743-1779), surgeon,[147] and C. Wilke, not identified further.[148] The earliest known membership list of the lodge dating from 1772 further mentions David de La Roche, a former member of Salomon.[149] The 1773 version however, shows that by then as few as eight members were left: of the old guard Verspijck, Roghe and Jeths were still present. Among the newly admitted members was the aforementioned captain Andringa (fig 4.11). He was joined by Joan Werner van der Velden (born 1744), a 2nd warehouse master; the (British?) David Kinlock, an assistant; Adrianus Gerhardus Kraijenhoff (1745-1827), a junior merchant and *ordinair gecommiteerde* (ordinary commissionary), as well as Frans Re[e]gel (1746-1781, a bookkeeper and 2nd *afpakker in the Kledenzaal*, and Willem Jan van Midlum (1748-1791), another ordinary commissioner.[150] According to the membership lists the lodge met until at least 1775 'in the garden Concordia', outside Chinsurah, where the lodge for the higher degrees of the same name also gathered.[151]

As mentioned above, lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia wrote to Provincial Grand Lodge Salomon on 7-12-1773 requesting friendly correspondence with De Standvastigheid. Besides the formal answer by Provincial Grand Secretary Guerin on 31-1-1774, La Fidèle Sincérité also received a letter from De Standvastigheid, signed by board members Verspijck, Roghe, Bogaardt, Jotz and Van den Velden, again noting that Salomon tried to rule with an unnessacerily tight grip:

> [...] the lodge which constituted us here locally and is therefore superior [= Salomon], does not allow us, or its subordinates, correspondence with other lodges, as with special permission.[152]

There is very little other information on De Standvastigheid. On 17-4-1774 its foundation was announced at the annual Grand Lodge meeting in The Hague.[153] In April 1774 the Grand Lodge received a money transfer, registered as: 'Debited the Provincial [Lodge] Salomon in Bengal; for A Constitution on parchment for the [lodge] De Standvastigheid in Hoogly f 105'.[154] But from that moment on, there were hardly any lodge activities, as is shown by a memo of the Grand Lodge, which had to take 'Measures to counteract the heavy decay of the Two Lodges in Bengal following the Resolution of 13 July 1774'.[155] The last known membership list dating from 1774 includes one of the founders, Caspar Eilbracht, as well as the aforementioned members Kraijenhoff, Van Midlum, Andringa, Reegel, Kinlock and Jeths. New were two former members of Salomon, the aforementioned Thott and Brix, as well as captains Thomas Alex[ander] de Witt (1745-1776) and Simon Both (died 1776), and chief enseign Mattheus Bosman (1745-1789), the latter possibly related to the governor of Suratte, discussed below. Other newcomers were assistant Johannes Cornelis Heyning (1754-1810); bookkeeper Jan van der Linden (died 1788); the former First *factoor* (local manager) of Dhecca, Willem Kerkman (died 1774); junior merchant Gozewijn Willem Hendrik de Vriese (1752-1812) (fig. 4.12); as well as book keeper and sworn clerk at the Council of Justice Frederik Wieman (1750-1791).[156] The visitor book of lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam includes the name of first mate Arent de Zeeuw (died 1777), who signed in on 9-11-1774 as being a visitor from lodge 'De Standvastigheid in Bengal'.[157] It illustrates that the surviving membership lists, on which he is not included, only provide a part of the picture.

A conflict arose with lodge Salomon about the manner in which officers were elected.[158] Provincial Grand Master Jacob Eilbracht wanted to stop the Worshipful Master of De Standvastigheid 'having rank and seat immediately after the Provincial Deputy Grand Master and therefore above the Provincial Grand Wardens'.[159] On 24-6-1774 during the yearly Grand Lodge meeting, at which representatives of both Bengal





Fig. 4.11: Anonymous, silhouet portrait of Olke Andringa (1741-1812), member of the lodges Salomon and De Standvastigheid, ca. 1775-1791. Whereabouts unknown. Reproduced from: rkd.nl. (Also reproduced in: Lutter/Christiaans 1994, p. 100.)
Fig. 4.12: Portrait of Gozewijn Willem Hendrik de Vriese (1752-1812), member of De Standvastigheid. Collection unknown. Reproduced from: Lutter/Christiaans 1994, p. 121.

lodges were present, it was proposed that the Worshipful Master of De Standvastigheid should be chosen from the Grand Wardens one year and from the Wardens of either lodge every other year. An objection was made by three officers of De Standvastigheid - Worshipful Master Verspijck and Wardens Jeths and Boogaard - because they thought that their members should be free to elect a Worshipful Master from their own midst. However, the proposal was approved by a majority vote. Verspeijck accepted the position of Deputy Provincial Grand Master and proposed Boogaardt as his successor as Worshipful Master, but Jacob Eilbracht insisted the new rule would be applied immediately. This meant one of the Grand Provincial Wardens, either Thierry Reynard or Caspar Eilbracht, had to be elected for this position. Reynard declined his candidacy due to 'indisposition', from which automatically followed that the Provincial Grand Master's brother was now Worshipful Master of De Standvastigheid.[160] A happy coincidence to say the least.

Boogaard complained about the procedure and resigned as Warden. He demanded an explanation and threatened to contact the Grand Lodge himself. On 7-9-1774 his complaint was heard in a meeting of De Standvastigheid. On the question why he was not considered fit as Deputy, he was assured there would have been no objection. It was then discussed that Warden Jeths had to resign as he was about to leave for Kassimbazaar, proposing Van der Velden as replacement. He wanted to decline the offer in favour of Boogaard, which everyone accepted. The case would have been resolved quietly, were it not that lodge Salomon disapproved the decision on 24-10-1774 on the grounds that Boogaard 'instead of submitting himself, wanted to submit the whole Lodge'.[161] In turn Van der Velde objected to this decision after which the discussion got so out of hand that the Provincial Grand Master requested that he would take off his jewel. Van der Velde then stormed out of the meeting.

The minutes of these meetings were sent to the Grand Lodge on 11-1-1775. The (somewhat coloured) accompanying letter of Salomon announced that Boogaard had been 'finally disapproved' or expelled on 24-10-1774, while Van der Velden 'had misbehaved in the most offensive manner in a full Lodge'.[162] Salomon wrote about him:

> [..] who would not have hesitated, despite [being a] Past Warden, to mock in public the measures taken, and with uninitiated to glorify himself as a deported Freemason.

> On which irregularities the Resolution of Seclusion taken on 24-10-1774 had been communicated to the English Provincial Lodge in Bengal, with request to report it to all lodges under its rule; requesting this Sentence be confirmed in the National Grand Lodge, and to deny the aforementioned Brother J.W. van den Velde access everywhere.[163]

In December 1775 the Grand Lodge replied:

> Considering the misconduct of the Brother Johan Warner van den Velde, We assume, that Your Honourable has ruled well and just, following the 4th Article of the 7th Chapter, Page 86. Compared to the 2nd and 6th Article of Duties, Page 16 and 20, and take such for Notification. [...]
>
> Furthermore noting the serious procedures concerning this Brother, to even go outside our limits, and then to request the English Provincial Grand Master in Bengal to write to all Lodges, in his District, in order to refuse the aforementioned Brother Van Den Velde and keep him from access, does make it known to us that Your Honourable lives in a good understanding with that authority, which so far We can approve, but cannot unfeign to convey to Your Honourable our regret, on the support which you seek from strangers, as the power of confirmation and even the research of the grievances, according to the 4th Article of the 1st Chapter Page 30 belongs only to us.[164]

Probably Van der Velden was vocal about his feelings more often than was good for him. On 28-7-1778 the VOC also had him 'suspended from his function, to be sent to Batavia at the opportunity'.[165]

Lodge De Standvastigheid was not formally installed by Salomon until 2-11-1774.[166] This gave cause for another conflict, this time about the representation of lodges in the annual Provincial Grand Lodge meeting, suggesting that the members of Salomon still bore a grudge over past events. Salomon asked the advice of the Grand Lodge, which decided the lodges in Bengal were represented at the annual meeting 'Ergo, those of De Standvastigheid as well'.[167]

The lack of documents relating to De Standvastigheid after 1774, raises questions. Would Eilbracht, by installing his brother as Worshipful Master, have succeeded in merging De Standvastigheid back into lodge Salomon again? After all, it was not uncommon for lodges to merge to keep up sufficient membership numbers in difficult times. Remarkable is that the correspondence between Salomon and the Grand Lodge dating after 1774, does not mention De Standvastigheid or its demise.

On the precise moment the lodge was erased, masonic historians have not yet agreed, putting the date between 1782 and 1815.[168] The Grand Lodge correspondence registers were detailed and survived, so the lack of registered correspondence after 1774 does suggest the lodge ceased its activities in or shortly after 1774. This would also explain why lodge members Kraijenhoff, Andringa, Van Midlum, Wieman, Regel and Heining transferred to lodge Salomon, where they are mentioned as members in or after 1775. Considering the files of the Grand Treasurer still listed the contribution of De Standvastigheid as overdue since 1777 in 1804 that suggests money was still received in 1776.[169] However, he did note 'No overview whatsoever of how much behind'.[170]

♦ *Other freemasons in Bengal*

Archives of several lodges refer to lodge members departing for India. Schill's *Gedenkboek* (1843) mentioned a meeting of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia in 1769 'at the occasion of a farewell meal for the Brother Faure at his leave for Bengal'.[171] This was most likely Boudewijn Versewel Faure (1734-1770), appointed as director of Bengal in 1769 (fig. 4.13).[172] He may have visited or intended to visit lodge Salomon, but died shortly after his arrival in India.

A number of Dutch freemasons were active in Bengal way after the closing of the lodges Salomon and De Standvastigheid. On 24-11-1786 the English Provincial Grand Lodge in India called for the members 'of all foreign lodges and the sisters of the Foreign Settlements' to attend the celebration of St. John's Day.[173] As discussed above, the term 'sisters' is open to interpretation. Between 1785 and 1792 the Past Master of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, Isaac Titsingh, was in Bengal as director of the Dutch trade post in Chinsurah.[174] His life and work, and his role in cultural mediation between East and West, have been well described by Frank Lequin.[175] As a freemason travelling between Batavia, Bengal, China and Japan, Titsingh was in a unique position to facilitate contact between the lodges in the area and arrange the commission of special objects. As there was no Dutch lodge available during his time in Bengal, Titsingh may have



Fig. 4.13: Mourning plate for Boudewijn Versewel Faure at the Dutch Church in Chinsurah, after 1770. Painted wooden panel, 100.5 x 100 cm. Collection: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv.no. NG-113. Reproduced from: Stevens 1998, p. 91.

frequented those of the British. The fact that his presence was well known to British freemasons, is clear from an invitation to join the St. John's Day celebrations of the Provincial Grand Lodge in the Harmonic Tavern in Calcutta on 8-1-1787, which he politely declined.[176] On 17-12-1788 Titsingh and 'other Masons of that Colony [= Chinsurah]' were invited again.[177] He did attend the St. John's Day gala in the Court House on 14-1-1789, organized by the lodge East Indian Arms that had been active in Bengal since 1730[178]:

> [invitations were sent to] Bro. Titsingh, Governor of Chinsurah and other Masons of that Colony, to Bro. De Bretel and the other masons of Chandernagore; also to the masons of Serampore (Danish settlement) and to the Sisters of these Colonies; according to what had been customary on such occasions formerly.[179]

The Past Provincial Grand Master, Jacob Eilbracht, remained in Bengal until 1790. When he left, Titsingh said about his 'brother':

> […] the merchant Eilbracht has been appointed by the Government as Authority on the [Coromandel] Coast, the whole colony is thanking God to be rid of such a pest of society. Only his brother [Caspar Eilbracht] remains, who it is also necessary to remove from here, if peace and harmony are to be restored again.[180]

As discussed below, Eilbracht would be involved in the founding of another lodge in Paliacatta. Titsingh kept in contact with his mother lodge in Batavia during his stay in Bengal. The minutes of La Vertueuse recorded on 21-6-1792 that a payment of 400 Spanish piasters (a reimbursement of money lent to French prisoners of war to be able to return home to Mauritius, see chapter 5), would be transferred via captain Jan Craaij of the ship Schaagen. He was about to leave for Mauritius and after collecting this sum was to deliver it to Bengal, to the aforementioned freemason Cornelis van Citters Aertnoutszoon 'to find out the costs of ordering some Table wares from there, for which the Brother Titsingh will supply an estimate of the necessities to said Brother van Citters'.[181] Van Citters had several years earlier become a member of a lodge in Surat, discussed below. In 1784 he was appointed Chief of Cassimbar and Patna (Bengal). By 1787 Van Citters was given the title of senior merchant, and in March 1792 he succeeded Titsingh as director of the factory in Bengal.[182] Titsingh left for Batavia in 1792. Van Citters continued his business for the Company under difficult circumstances, until the trade post in Bengal was eventually taken over by the British in 1795. On 17-3-1795 the minutes of La Vertueuse recorded the news that Craaij had indeed collected the money 'and so handed it over to van Citters, who had Table wares made for it, and so received the remainder'.[183] Today we can barely imagine it was common to have to wait patiently for three years for basic goods like new table cloths.



Fig. 4.14 (and details): Master certificate of Lodewijk Carel von Ranzow, issued by lodge Star in the East No. 70 in Calcutta on 6-5-1814 and decorated with a pre-printed engraving. On the back are signatures of officers of four lodges on Java (two reproduced here), which indicate the document was shown to be allowed entry as a visitor. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

Such contacts must have given the members of La Verteusue a better insight into the situation of the lodges in Bengal than the Grand Lodge. Indeed the lodge wrote to The Hague on 3-2-1797:

> […] the Venerable Lodge Salomon that was in Chinsura in Bengal favored with this title [= Provincial Grand Lodge], despite attempts made recently to restore it again under the name of Salomon, and there is no realistic outlook anymore, that this place will be of any importance to our homeland ever again.[184]

The minutes of the lodge then recorded on 10-10-1802:

> […] the Worshipful Master exhibited a letter written by the so called Brother Imbert in Bengal which after being read one felt that the necessary verification of it was lacking, to recognize said Imbert as Brother, it was agreed for now not to pay any attention to it until the Worshipful Master has corresponded with the Brother Bruer in private.[185]

On 11-12-1813 the governor general of British India, Francis Edward Rawdon-Hastings, Earl of Moira (1754-1826), past Acting Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England, was welcomed in the lodges in Calcutta. He was to fulfil the position of Provincial Grand Master for the British lodges. At the occasion of his leave for India he had been presented with a jewel made by Johan Christiaan Burckhardt (1772-1848), son of the aforementioned silversmith of lodge La Vertu in Leiden (see chapter 2).[186] A membership list of the newly erected Moira Lodge [Freedom & Fidelity] of that year included a Dutch name: J[acob] A[ndries] van Braam (1771-1820), earlier a member of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia.[187] In the archive of La Verteuse is also a letter by the English C[harles] Assey, dating from circa 1814, requesting a masonic certificate on the evening of his leave for India, to be able to show it as proof of membership on his arrival. Assey asked the lodge if any commissions were needed, such as carrying correspondence, payments or goods. This shows that, although the Dutch lodges and the VOC were no longer active, the same network of relationships remained in place, even in times of war and occupation. A second letter by Assey dated September 1814 noted that he had conveyed formal greetings to the Earl of Moira on behalf of the Dutch lodges. Assey also noted that part of the correspondence carried by him was written in Dutch and therefore sent to Chinsurah for translation.[188] That implies Dutch freemasons were still present there, for it was not allowed to show a non-initiate masonic correspondence. On 9-5-1816 it was proposed to make sir William Grant Keir (1772-1852), Past Master of Moira Lodge, an honorary member of La Vertueuse in Batavia.[189]

In the CMC collection is a lodge certificate belonging to Lodewijk Carel von Ranzow (later *Resident* of Riouw), issued by lodge Star in the East No. 70 in Calcutta on 6-5-1814 (fig. 4.14).[190] The certificate was signed on the reverse by officers of the lodges Von Ranzow visisted during his stay on Java: De Vriendschap in Soerabaya on 4-8-1814 and 19-7-1819, as well as De Ster in het Oosten in Batavia on 19-6-1837. This again llustrates how a masonic certificate functioned somewhat like an international passport.

On 17-9-1814 lodge La Constante et Fidèle in Semarang wrote to lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, regarding a letter received by a brother G. Gaudin in Chandanagore (the French settlement post near Chinsurah), addressed to the lodges in Batavia, Soerabaya and Semarang. La Constante et Fidèle requested to forward the letter to lodges De Vriendschap and La Fidèle Sincérité.[191] The letter itself was lost, but this example again illustrates how lodges communicated along the trade network.

Archives of (former) British lodges in India and Ceylon are preserved in the Library and Museum of Freemasonry in London. Future research of these documents could bring more information to light on such international relationships, and perhaps even about such 'key players' as Titsingh.

♦ *Lodge De Langgewenschte in Negapatnam*

Reynier van Vlissingen (1734-1783), former senior merchant and Worshipful Master of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, was appointed in 1771 as director and governor of the Coromandel Coast. His office was located in the Dutch fort at Negapatnam (= Negapattinam).[192] His appointment probably helped to create the right circumstances for the founding of a lodge, which would be called De Langgewenschte (sometimes also called Le Longtemps Desirée, meaning: the since long desired). Adam Gotlieb Hen[c]k (1737-1780), enseign and surveyor, sent a request for a Constitution to the Grand Lodge on 10-9-1772[193]:

> The Great Architect of this whole area, in his great well-kindness has finally pleased, to shine upon us with the glowing Light, and allow us to found a capable Lodge, which we have started under favorable permission of the Highness of these lands […].[194]

This wording as well as the lodge name, suggests that there must have been a desire to do so earlier, but the number of required freemasons (seven Masters) may not have been reached before. A concept-Constitution was dated 9-11-1773 by the Grand Lodge (fig. 4.15).[195] The founding members included, apart from Van Vlissingen and Henk, the following men: Hendrik Ambrosius Johnson (died 1781), a merchant; Johan Hendrik Strouck (died 1773), a bookkeeper at the *negotiehuis* (trade house); Broerius Brouwer (1745-1791), a provisional wages bookkeeper and secretary of the *Weeskamer* (an administrative body dealing with the legates of deceased VOC eployees); Jan Apingh (died 1779), a dispenser; Pieter Willem Gee[c]ke (died 1789), a junior merchant, and Johan Frederik Samuel Neitge, a provisional assistant.[196]

In the financial administration of the Grand Lodge, listing all international money orders received, the costs of the foundation were recorded. In September 1772, a sum of fl. 480,- was transferred via member Jan van Eijsden, to be delivered in 1773:

For A Constitution on Parchment			f 105	
Sealing and Signing of 25 Certificates			f 35	
				f 120 [sic] Grand Lodge
	|18 paperback	at 50 Stuivers	45	
24 Lire Maconne	-|6 french binding	at 65 Stuivers	19,20	
24 Code Macon	8 paperback	at 40 Stuivers	48	
25 Sheets Parchment		at 12 Stuivers	15	
For the Chest			2,10	
				f 130 Van Laak
Remainder considered as Don Gratuit				f 230
			Thus	f 480.[197]

The new lodge had apparently ordered copies of song and law books, *La Lire maçonne* and *Le code maçon*, as well as certificates to provide to new members. The colours of the lodge were white and green, as stated in a letter informing Provincial Grand Lodge Salomon of the formalities on 19-11-1773.[198] (This did not please Salomon, which on 11-1-1775 complained to the Grand Lodge that De Langgewenschte had not formally corresponded and 'Only in an indifferent manner recommended some Brethren recipiated by them'.[199]) On the same day the Grand Lodge sent the Constitution to Negapatnam, informing De Langgewenschte that things had not gone according to plan:

> Although We could have postponed the expedition of this Diploma, until Your Worshipful's original Letter, with the sent f 480 had been handed to us, we think; that if the Brother Jan Van Eijsden does not show, And those Payments, which Your Worshipful has trusted to him, to remit to Us, will not come to the right destination, Your Worshipful in such unexpected case will be willing to replace that amount, having been informed, that said Jan Van Eijsden was kept laying sick at the Cape, without one knowing if he is alive or dead. Meanwhile We have hereby, wanted to well enable Your Worshipful, to continue the Masonic work.[200]

On 30-3-1774 the Grand Lodge sent an 'Instruction to the Brother Johan Snijders, Captain of the ship De Paauw, for the Chamber of Delft destined to Batavia':

> Arriving at the Cape of Good Hope, to inform where the Brother Jan Van Eijsden, who was to repatriate on the ship Alkemade, has gone? If the same, having been ill there has died, or transferred to another ship, that is missing!
>
> Also if there is no-one, who has any knowledge, or could explain, where the Payments […] entrusted to him [...] have gone? Whether that supply, at his passing at The Cape of Good Hope, has been given into custody […]; or that such has to be sought from the estate of his Family or other confidants.[201]

Snijders left Delft on 11-5-1774 and arrived in Batavia on 25 October of the same year.[202] Meanwhile, lodge De Langgewenschte wrote to the Grand Lodge on 18-9-1774, that it had received the correspondence of 29-7-1773 via the ship Bovenkerker Polder.[203] The lodge was grateful to have been constituted and promised to reimburse the money if Van Eijsden 'against hope and expectation' would be confirmed deceased:

> [...] though we have from Cape of Good Hope received correspondence from said Brother van Eijsden, that [he] was fit again [and] about to leave from there with the ship Duijnenburg, which keel according to news has arrived safely.
>
> We will at the first opportunity make ourselves known to the Lodge in Bengal [= Salomon] which would have happened immediately, were it not that our letters were returned.[204]

The lodge also promised to send a *Don Gratuit* of fl. 120,-. The earliest known membership list of De Langgewenschte dates from 1774 and still includes all the founders, except Strouck. Newly added were the

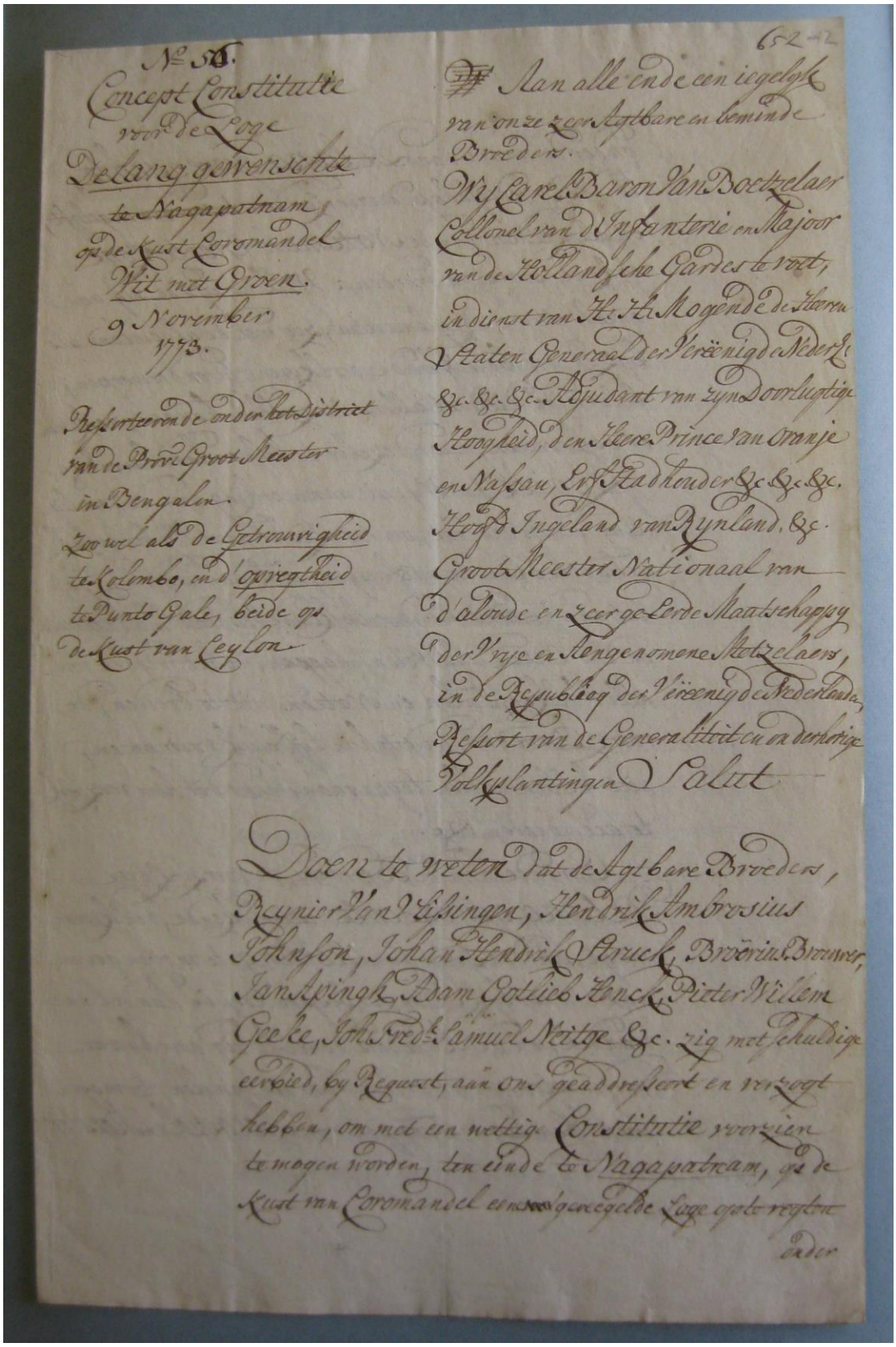


Fig. 4.15: Concept Constitution of lodge De Langgewenschte in Negapatnam, 9-11-1773.
Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik',The Hague, inv.no. 652-2. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.



Fig. 4.16: Master certificate of Willem Verhaage, issued by lodge Social Friendship no. 4 E.C. in Madras on 23-8-1803. The calligraphy was done by hand and the border design was drawn in pencil. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

names of Johannes Abraham Bronsveld, the First sworn clerk of Police; Willem Luyken, a commissionary at the Mint and Gerradus van Haeften, probably a member of the Justice Department. They were joined by two men who can probably be identified as soldiers: Christoffel Hoffman and Johan Hendrik Trip (died 1775).[205] According to this document, the lodge met each Thursday at 18.30 hours 'in its Own House at the beach in Nagapatnam'.[206] Bronsveld, who had taken the position of Secretary, wrote to The Hague on 11-1-1775 and transferred the *Don Gratuit*.[207] Meanwhile the Grand Lodge conveyed the unfortunate news that Van Eijsden 'had perished' on 19-4-1775.[208] It asked to resend the earlier payment, as well as the contributions the lodge owed since. As a special Grand Master was to be elected in the Netherlands to preside over the higher degrees of *Élu* and *Écossois*, the Grand Lodge also demanded a list of members who had obtained those degrees.

The lodge dutifully transferred another fl. 120,- on 11-1-1776 by means of money order made out by Van Vlissingen to Jacobus Swarth and Hans Nicolaas Lunge, merchants in Amsterdam.[209] The membership list of 1776 mentions founding members Van Vlissingen, Henck, Geeke, Neitge, Bronsveld, Brouwer, Appingh, Van Haeften and Luijken. This time seven new names were added. Bronsveld probably proposed his colleague Marthinus Stoffenberg (died 1779), Secretary of Police and cashier, while Luyken probably did

the same for Jacob van Tessel, commissioner and pupil at the Mint. The others were bookkeeper Jacob Beijster; three military men: enseign Emanuel Gregoor, captain Gijsbertus Zeegelaar and corporal Johan Fredrik Schols; as well as the Secunde of Palicol Jacques Theodore Vaucquet de Tan.[210]

Bronsveld wrote to the Grand Lodge a last time on 15-10-1777, enquiring if the payments and letters of 15-10-1776 had arrived safely.[211] He mentioned a new money transfer of fl. 120,-, and noted that no initations or changes in the officer's functions had taken place in the past year. The next surviving document is the last membership list, dating from 1778.[212] This again includes founders Van Vlissingen, Henck, Geeke, Bronsveld, Brouwer, Appingh, van Haeften and Luijken, as well as later members Stoffenberg, Gregoor and Van Tessel. The only new name was that of Joost Lammerts, who was initiated and appointed Servant. The lodge was still using a house at the beach.

It is not clear if, and if so how long, the lodge was still active after 1778. In 1781 the fort in Negapatnam was taken over by the British under general Munro. It was definitively transferred to English rule in 1784 according to the Treaty of Paris.[213] Masonic historians have assumed that this and other lodges in the area stopped their activities, but put the closing date between 1782 and 1788.[214] The administration of the Grand Treasurer still listed De Langgewenschte in 1804 among other lodges whose contributions were overdue, again indicating the Grand Lodge was not one to give up soon, and it was not until 1809, that the Dutch masonic almanac listed the lodge as 'out of communication'.[215] Here too, Dutch freemasons probably had to turn to British lodges after the decline of their own. For instace, Willem Verhaage received the three basic degrees in lodge Social Friendship No. 4 E.C. in Madras, as proof of which he received a masonic certificate on 23-8-1803 (fig. 4.16).[216] The document, kept in the collection of the CMC, is calligraphed by hand and decorated with drawings of masonic symbols. Verhaage then travelled to Batavia, where he became a member of lodge La Fidèle Sincérité.[217] He also visited lodge De Vriendschap in Soerabaya in 1810, as indicated on the back of his certificate.

♦ *Lodge St. Jean de la Concorde in Surat*

Between 1768 and 1777 Martinus Joan Bosman held the position of director in the Dutch factory in Surat, at a time when few Europeans were present there. Hageman suggested that a lodge was probably founded with the help of French freemasons, which was therefore named St. Jean de la Concorde (also listed as Sint Jan Concorde).[218] It is unclear when exactly the lodge started its activities, but this must have been before 1-12-1773. That is the date on which a certificate was issued by the lodge for the higher degree of *Maître Élu des Neuf* to Cornelis van Citters Aernoutzoon (1749/50-1798) (fig. 4.17).[219] Van Citters travelled at the age of 18 to Batavia on the ship Willem de Vijfde in 1768. He was sent on to Surat, where he held the office of Secretary of Police in the years 1768-1770. He was then appointed merchant and Chief of the factory in Brootchia (1770-1773), followed by the function of warehouse master (1773-1780).[220] Van Citters' certificate was signed by what must have been the five main officers of the lodge. Acting as Secretary was Nicolaas Kyronius (1742-1818), also using the surname Holmberg, a provisional merchant (fig. 4.20). The Senior Warden was Willem Lodewijk Sontag (1749-1780), a junior merchant and cashier. Jacob Goverts Tirion, First clerk of Police and Secretary of Justice, did not state his function in the lodge. Neither did the last two men who remain to be identified further, with the surnames De Cary and Blain des Cormiers. The latter was probably a captain or officer of a French ship from Ile de France.[221] They both added 'GE' to their signatures to indicate they possessed the degree of *Grand Élu*.[222]

In 1774 Holmberg wrote to lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, asking for assistance in obtaining a Constitution.[223] Remarkably, this was another lodge that did not contact Provincial Grand Lodge Salomon on the matter. Perhaps Holmberg was unaware of its existence or had other reasons not to do so. La Vertueuse then wrote to the Grand Lodge, as can be deduced from a draft in a copybook of correspondence, which contains some dotted lines and is only partially readable:

> In answer to… [your] letter though again postponed [by] the leaving of the return ships in January, we let this [letter] serve as an accompaniment to [that] of the brother Nicolaas Holmberg, who during his time in office has given us the strongest proof of diligence for our Noble science, & will apply himself much to… from [you] obtain & diploma for the erected Lodge in Surat named St. Jean la Concorde of which he is a brother & worthy member.
>
> The task which… [they] give themselves is the expansion of our royal art, though we do not doubt the wish for the so honoured Constitution for these brothers, we add our request to their not [?], about which we

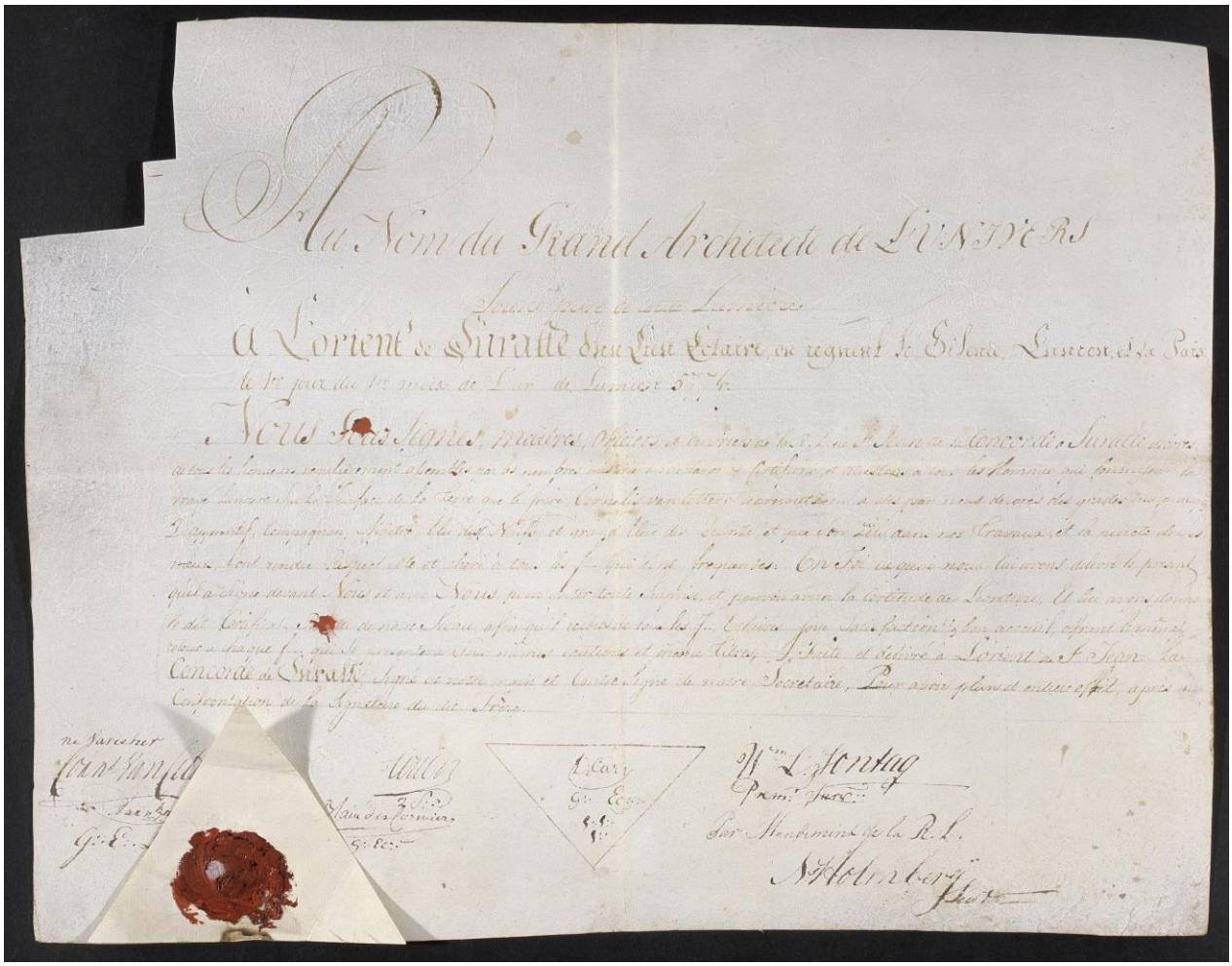


Fig. 4.17: Lodge certificate of Cornelis van Citters Aernoutzoon (1749/50-1798), issued by lodge St. Jean de la Concorde, 1-1-1774. Collection and photo: Stadsarchief Rotterdam, inv.no. 98-1 121.

> hope [?] your worshipful will your… lacking a direct opportunity to send Thither, to already please us to bestow the preliminary of those papers.[224]

Of course La Vertueuse was not permitted to grant Constitutions and simply forwarded the request to the Grand Lodge, adding that it would be happy to assist. Holmberg repatriated on 29-7-1774 with the ship Mars, probably couriering the request and La Vertueuse's recommendation himself.[225] A request for a Constitution dated 11-9-1775 was signed by him in The Hague (fig. 4.18), and was submitted on behalf of Van Citters and the aforementioned lodge officers, as well as captain and equipment master Abraham van der Heggen and sailor Matthias Monté. They were joined by two men who remain to be identified further, but again have French sounding surnames: Moncrif de la Grange and Le Chevalier de Grenier. It would be interesting if the latter could be identified as Jacques Raymond Vicomte de Grenier (1736-1800), a famous French navigator, born on the isle of Martinique. The last signature was of a mister Thomassen, may belong to (a relative of) Joh[an] Martinus Thomasse[n], a third mate who would later become captain and join lodges in Trinconomalee and Rotterdam.[226]

The concept Constitution dated 1-11-1775 includes the same names.[227] It was sent by the Grand Lodge with an accompanying letter:

> On the instant request by the Brother Nicolaas Holmberg, who signed the Request in Your name; and the favourable recommendation by the Brethren of the Venerable Lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia [...] We are inclined to give a favourable permission therefore; and to provide Your Worshipful the requested Diploma, which is enclosed hereby.[228]

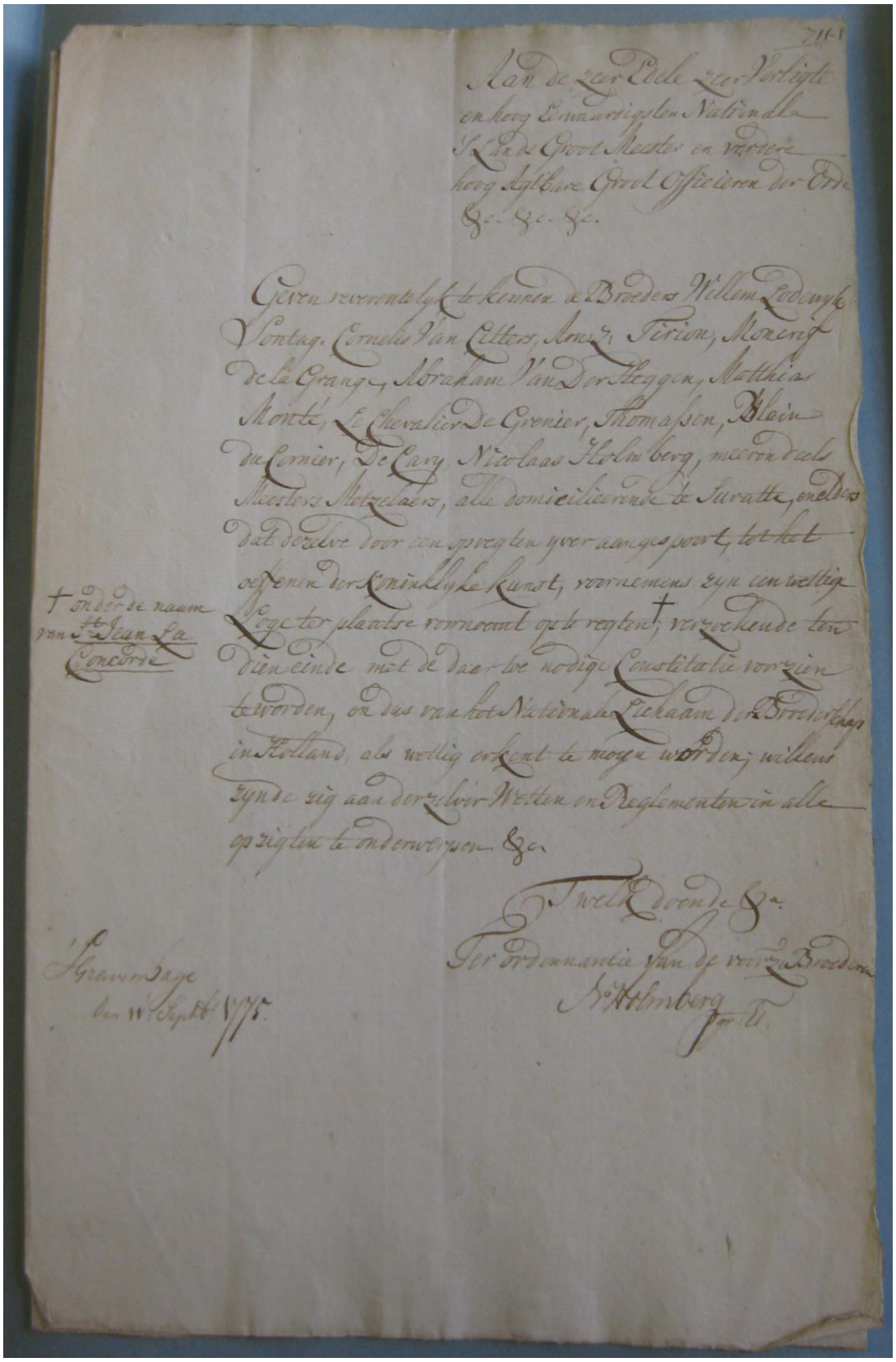


Fig. 4.18: Request for a Constitution by the founders of lodge St. Jean de la Concorde in Surat, 11-9-1775. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 711-1. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

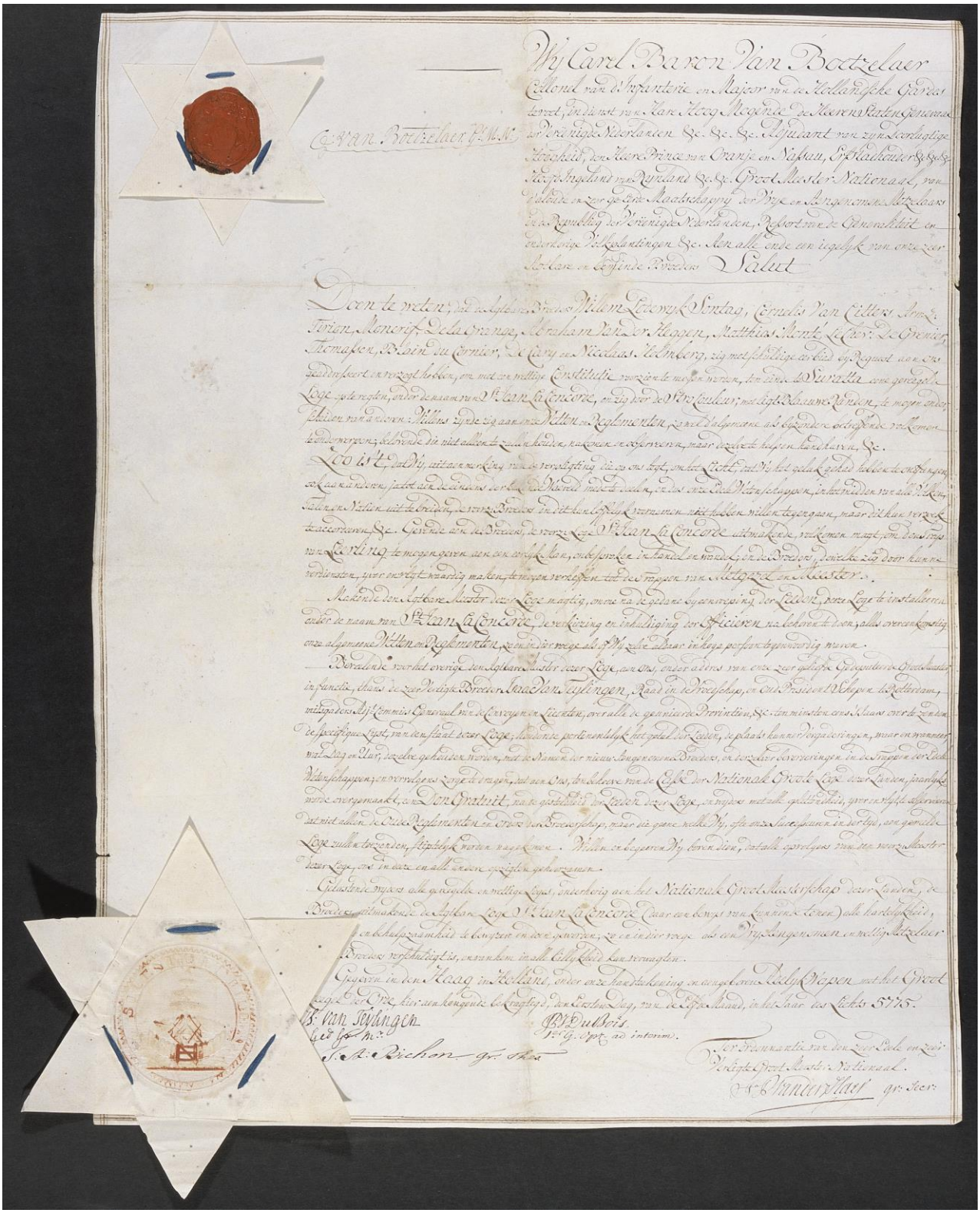


Fig. 4.19: Constitution of St. Jean de la Concorde. Collection and photo: Stadsarchief Rotterdam, inv.no. 981 120.



Fig. 4.20: Anonymous, Portrait of Nicolaas Kyronius Holmberg de Beckfelt (1742-1818), member of lodge St. Jean de la Concorde in Suratte, ca. 1775-1800. Pastel, 16 x 13 cm. Private collection. Reproduced from: rkd.nl.



Figs. 4.21: Series of silk aprons, probably for the Écossois degrees, belonging to the Holmberg de Beckfeldt family in the East Indies, early 19th century. The right apron is missing rosette in the lower left corner. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.nos. 5529, 5532 and 5530. Photos: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

So strictly speaking, the lodge worked before 1775 without a valid authorisation, making its activities illegal and Van Citters' *Élu* certificate invalid.

The lodge wrote a thank you letter for the mediation efforts of La Vertueuse on 7-4-1777, acknowledging the receipt of the formal document (fig. 4.19), but it is not clear how long it remained active.[229] Activities may have been hindered by the English takeover of the Dutch and French posts in the region in 1781-1784, until the Dutch regained their rule over the area, which would last until 1795.[230] In 1804 the administration of the Grand Treasurer noted St. Jean de la Concorde as behind with contributions since 1778[231], and the Dutch masonic almanac of 1808 noted it was 'out of communication'.[232] However, a memorial publication of 1843 recorded that 'Both before and after the war in 1796 La Vertueuse regularly corresponded with several lodges in [India], such as [...] St. Jean La Concorde'.[233] The surviving correspondence of La Vertueuse does not confirm this statement. According to Hageman, the lodge was dissolved in 1783.[234] The most recent overview of lodges under Dutch rule considers St. Jean de la Concorde as 'out of communication' since 1788.[235]

Lodge member Nicolas [Kyronius] Holmberg was raised into Swedish nobility in 1789, adopting the surname De Beckfelt. There are several aprons and other regalia in the CMC collection, which belonged to him and his descendants in the Dutch East Indies (fig. 4.21a-c).

■ *Lodge De Voorzegtigheid in Palliacatte*

After the takeover of Negapatnam by the British in 1781 the Dutch trade post was transferred to the fort in Palliacatte (Pulicat) on the Coromandel Coast. Hageman wondered if lodge De Langgewenschte may have also relocated there.[236] In 1785 the area came back under Dutch control, after which the number of local freemasons must have increased again and supported a wish for an active lodge. Half a century later, the *Madras Freemasons Herald* of June 1848 recalled:

> [...] a Lodge of Freemasons was formed and opened in the Fort Pulicat under the guidance of the Governor Jacob Eilbracht and others. It was named 'Voorzegtigheid' and its opening was celebrated by a grand ball and supper given on St. John the Baptist's day, 24th June, 1794. It is added that on the surrender of the Fort in 1795 the Lodge was moved to Coopum, where it flourished for about a year and was closed in 1796, the members being scattered as the Dutch power declined.[237]

The chosen lodge name literally meant carefulness and referred to the cardinal virtue Prudence. Indeed Past Provincial Grand Master Jacob Eilbracht held the function of senior merchant and provisional governor of Coromandel between 1790 and 1795. A drawing published with the article shows the remnants of a gate found in Coopum (a village in Pulicat), decorated with a pair of compasses and a set square underneath an arch. These are symbols associated with freemasonry and its Royal Arch degree (fig. 4.22). A letter by Caspar Eilbracht to the Grand Lodge, dated 10-10-1798, also indicates masonic activities were still ongoing in the area:

> The Worshipful Provincial Grand Master over all Lodges around the West of India and the Island Ceylon, my Very much loved Brother Jacob Eilbracht, intending to return to the homeland, and, in saying farewell, having installed me interim in the aforementioned dignities [= Provincial Grand Mastership] [...] so I take the honourable freedom to solicit from Your High Enlightened and Worshipful to confirm the same, and to be allowed to receive therefore a diploma in forma, ad vitam; thereby stipulating according to the Higher degrees that I possess, to be able to keep and practice the same dignities in all orders of the Indies, found lodges everywhere, both in ancient and modern Masonry, and to be able to provide all the degrees known to the Brotherhood, until Knight of the Red Cross in the modern, and until the Royal Arch Chapter and Knight of Jerusalem or Knight Templar in the ancient Constitution;
>
> [...] PS requesting also to include with The diplomas to send the necessary jewels of the various higher degrees, and the bandoliers and Aprons therefore.[238]

The phrase 'ancient and modern Masonry' is a reference to developments in British freemasonry, where Grand Lodges of the Ancients and the Moderns were competing with each other from circa 1751 until their unification in 1813. The higher degrees mentioned here, such as the Royal Arch and the Knights Templar, are also associated with British freemasonry. Eilbracht was requesting the Dutch Grand Lodge to grant him powers over degrees that were not commonly practised in the Netherlands at the time and that only the English masonic bodies could bestow. It may be an indication that lodge Voorzegtigheid had members of both nationalities and worked with English style rituals, causing the lines to be blurred for Eilbracht, who was clearly unaware how things worked back home. As far as the Grand Lodge was concerned, it had received no word from Bengal or Coromandel for years, and it must have seemed odd that Jacob Eilbracht had acted as if he still had any official masonic capacity, let alone installing his own brother as his replacement. Not surprisingly Caspar Eilbracht's request was denied. Around the same time a new Provincial Grand Master was appointed for both the basic and the higher degrees in the Dutch East Indies (see chapter 5). The repatriation of Jacob Eilbracht would be postponed, and both brothers would eventually pass away in Pullicat.[239]

Little else is known about the activities of this lodge and its members. However, the visitor book of lodge La Charité in Amsterdam recorded on 15-1-1800 'G.E. Hoffman, de Voorzigtigheid', and on 17-7-1800: 'F.E. van Lawick van Pabst, Lodge de Voorzegtigheid'.[240] The fort in Pullicat was demolished in 1804 by the

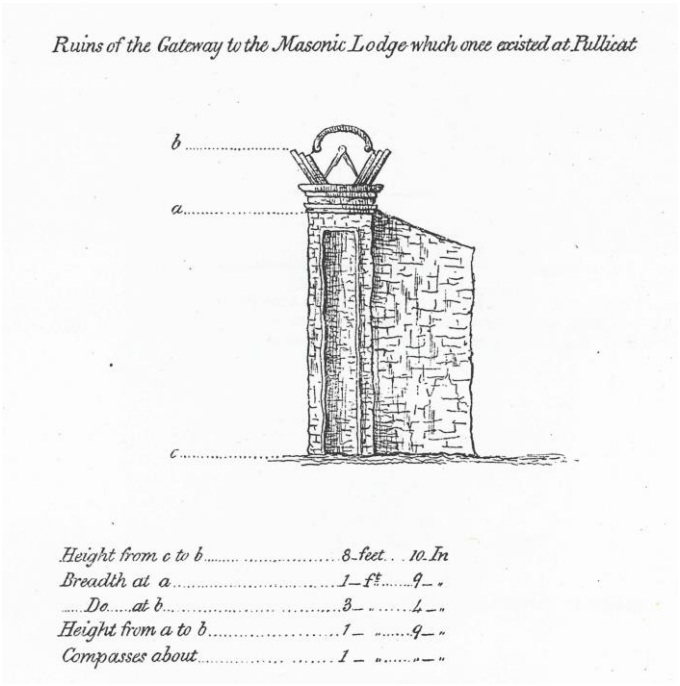


Fig: 4.22: Ruin of a gate in Coopum, as depicted in The Madras Freemasons Herald *(1848). Reproduced from: Bradley 1921, p. 179.*

English, and the area did not come back into Dutch rule until 1818-1825. In the archive of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia is a letter dated 25-4-1808, written by what from the signature seems a mister G.L. Dosreijn in Pullicat. He identified himself as a 'Master in the Ancient and Modern Lodges', again indicating association with English freemasonry. Dosreijn requested support for his family:

> I offer Your Worshipful my apologies in advance, if the names of the Lodges today have changed [...] during Thirteen years as prisoner of war with a small or insufficient monthly sustenance in a place where high prices of provisions prevail created by the internal war of Various inland Rulers of this Coast.
>
> Having to see with good eyes [my] family and Household struggle with a glaring hunger until almost perished [...].[241]

This impoverished brother asked La Vertueuse for a gift from its charity fund, to be transferred via the company of J. Obdam and Son, and/or the Brethren Jan Hendrik Meijer and Adolph Strengen. Many similar requests for asssistance can be found in the archives of the lodges in Asia, illustrating that the charitable function of freemasonry was widely known and often called upon. The author of this particular letter, based his plea on information received 13 years earlier, in 1795, when lodge De Voorzegtigheid was still active.

4.2. Ceylon (1768-1825)

In 1638 the Dutch became allies of the King of Kandy against the Portuguese, and gained a presence in Ceylon from which they could trade cinnamon (fig. 4.23).[242] From 1640 the Dutch gained control over the port of Galle, followed in 1656 by Colombo, but did not hand them back to Kandy. Yearly diplomatic missions to the court were strained and resulted in war, until a new treaty in 1766 gave the Dutch control over the coastline of the island. In the 18th century, the competition from the English East India Company became fiercer. The first lodges were founded in the Dutch forts on Ceylon under Governor Willem Imam Falck (1736-1785, in function 1765-1785), but meanwhile the British became a greater political threat. Assistance from the French military was needed to keep the port of Trinconomale in 1782. In 1785 Falck was succeeded by Willem Jacob van de Graaff (1736/37-1834).

In 1795 the Netherlands came under French rule and Prince William V fled to England. Governor Johan Gerard Van Angelbeek (1727-1799), who had only just been appointed in 1794, received conflicting instructions from the Netherlands and England. As a result the rule over the coast of Ceylon was handed over to the British without resistance in 1796. The inland remained independent under the King of Kandy. Dutch citizens had a choice to leave for Batavia or stay behind. Many kept their positions, in particular people of mixed parentage. Until 1802 only prisoners of war were sent away. As a result of the Treaty of Amiens in 1802 the whole island came under British rule, and a slow exodus of Dutch residents started, which lasted until circa 1807.[243] Dashwood noted that between 1800 and 1867, nine military lodges were active on Ceylon under Irish, English and Scottish Constitutions.[244] Any remaining Dutchmen may have visited these.

♦ *Lodge De Getrouwigheid in Colombo*

From correspondence received by the Grand Lodge in 1772, it is clear that a lodge was founded in Colombo several years earlier:

> In the year 1768 by the arrival of our brethren Frederick Dankwaard, Johan Leonard Remmers, Frans Lodewijk Bergman and Johan Godlob Prenzel having been able to found an orderly Lodge on this Island, we did not want to waste any time to get to work and properly open our [lodge], we have also been so lucky as to accept new Brethren at our first meeting, and when we have met for the second time of the same year the youngest newly accepted Brethren were received as fellows, two fellows as masters, and again two Apprentices, thus our Lodge was already in a reasonably prospering state and we remained strong enough to continue our work even after the leave of our aforementioned [four] Brethren [...].[245]

The lodge first notified the Grand Lodge of its founding and name, De Getrouwigheid (sometimes translated as La Fidelité), meaning faithfulness or Fidelity, on 16-10-1768.[246] The letter was signed by the four aforementioned men, who all had relatively recently joined lodges in Amsterdam.

Bergman had become a member there of lodge De Resolutie in 1765 and left for Bengal as 2nd master on the ship Ganzenhoef in 1766, while Johan[nes] Remmers was a member of the same lodge since 1762. The more experienced Dankwaard had been travelling to Ceylon for the VOC since 1748, but was only registered as a member of the Amsterdam lodge De La Paix in 1766.[247] Prenzel's name is probably a misspelling of Johann Gotlieb Prentzler, who had become a member of lodge l'Espérance in 1763 and travelled to the East Indies for the first time in the same year. Their request may not have reached the Grand Lodge. Later correspondence suggests that a brother Durege (probably the aforementioned Jean Durege) from lodge La Paix and a captain Freine were involved in bringing a repeated request for a Constitution to the attention of the Grand Lodge in 1769.[248]

There is also a significant resemblance between the seal of lodge La Paix and that of De Getrouwigheid (compare figs. 2.24-2.25).[249] Both show a round design, enclosed by an indented border. The central image consists of masonic tools (compasses, square, plumb line and level) grouped around a blazing star. Above the pair of compasses is a dove holding an olive branch, accompanied by the sun and moon. It is topped by a banner with the lodge name. On either side of the design are cornucopias, from which not

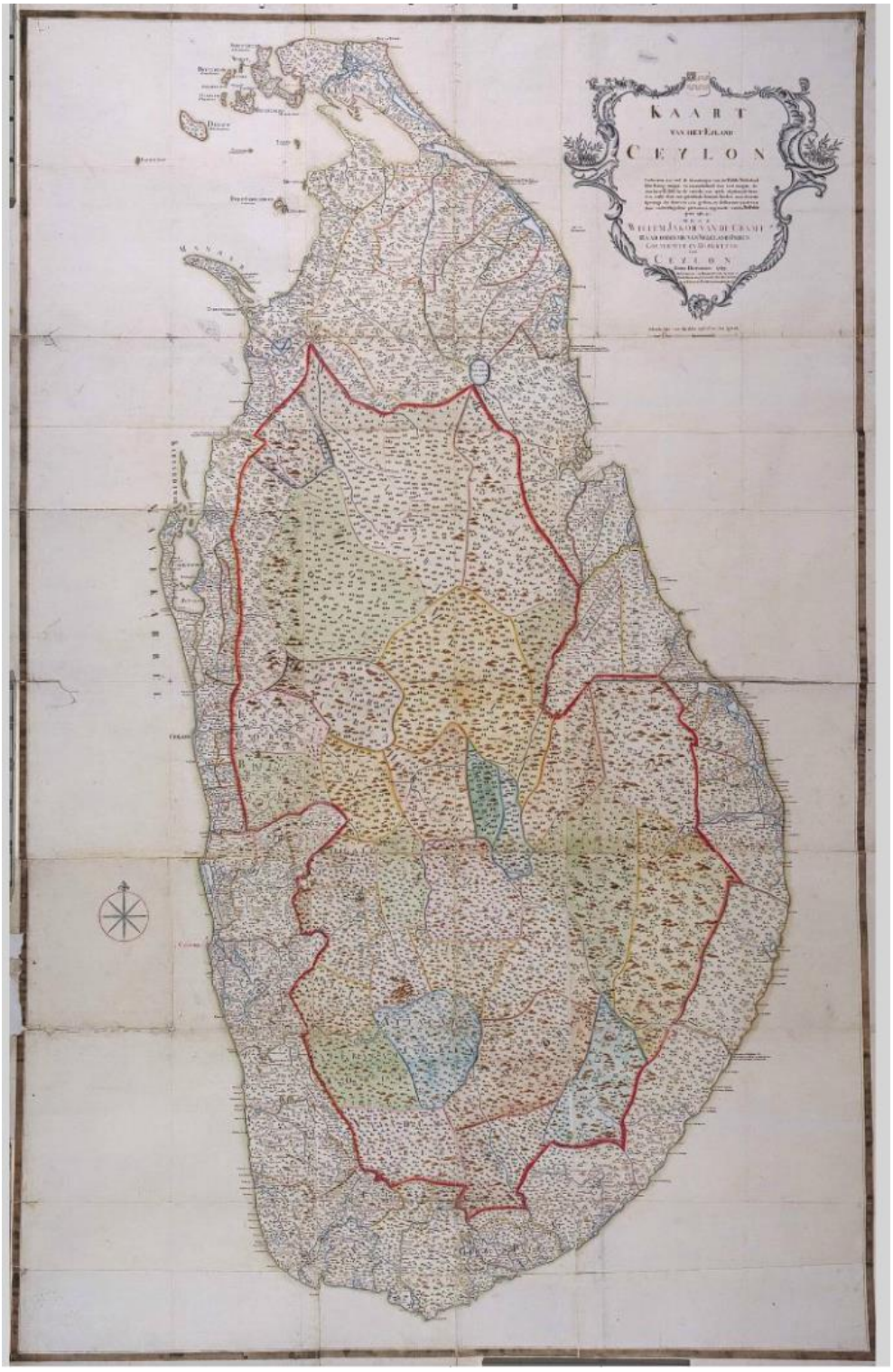


Fig. 4.23: Jean du Perron, Map of the Island Ceylon ('Kaart van het Eyland Ceylon, verbeetert zoo veel de bezittingen van de Edele Nederlandsche Komp. aangaat, en inzonderheid zoo veel aangaat, de aan de Edele by de vreede van 1766 afgestaande stranden ende daar aan grensende binnen landen, naar de nieuste meetings die daar van zyn gedaan, in differente teyden en door ondergescheydene perzoonen opgemaakt vanden WelEdele groot agtb. Heer Willem Jakob van de Graaff, Raad ordinair van Nederlands Indien Gouverneur en direkteur van Ceylon'), *1789. Coloured drawing, 232 x 154 cm. Collection: National Archive, The Hague, inv.no. VEL0927. Reproduced from: atlasmutualheritage.nl.*





Fig. 4.24: Print of the seal of lodge La Paix in Amsterdam. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Reproduced from: Treffers 2014, p. 1.
Fig. 4.25: Seal of the lodge De Getrouwigheid in Colombo. Reproduced from: Treffers 2014, p. 5.

bounty but hands are extended (in a gesture of friendship). These are flanked by an olive branch and an acacia sprig. In fact the only difference between them is a letter signifying the location of the lodge: 'A' for Amsterdam in the original and 'C' for Colombo or Ceylon in that of De Getrouwigheid. In both designs a hammer can be seen on the left side of the letter. All this suggests that De Getrouwigheid was a daughter lodge of La Paix.

On 1-9-1769 Grand Secretary Dubois wrote in answer to the founders' request, that the Grand Lodge required a sum of 20 Ducats for the Constitution. He also gave the lodge the usual instructions regarding yearly correspondence and contributions.[250] The 1772 letter summarizes the events that followed:

> [...] in the year 1769 we were not less fortunate, as our brother de Freine had proposed his first and second mate so forcefully that we could not neglect to condescend this request and accept and admit both those people as Brethren. Shortly thereafter actually when we met for the second time in the year 1769, again after having obtained good references we admitted into our brotherhood one first mate, [and] one second mate and Extra ordinary fire worker, so that our Lodge started to grow from day to day. Also the year 1770 was in our favour as we found under the ships' crews some friends that had shown a particular interest for the order, and who also, after we had enquired meticulously after their behaviour and had found them to be worthy to participate in our happiness, were incorporated into the order. But the year 1771 was not favourable to us at all, as not only one in the [previous] year 1770 accepted brother changed the temporary for the Eternal, but also for the reason that after evil talk of the Profane we had to stop our meetings until we Finally had the ultimate joy to receive Letters of Constitution, whereby the Brethren who were already starting to doubt and waver, again found new courage, and joined us. [...] we have the Honour to inform [you], that we do not yet have a fixed location, and day, although the time of 6 o'clock in the evening has been agreed [...].[251]

This report underlines, how lodges in the region were mostly made up of the crew of Company ships. The earliest surviving membership list from 1770 no longer lists the founding members, but no less than 17 others.[252] Two had just 'arrived from the homeland': N. Nagttrap and Salomon van Keulen. The others were civil servants or military men, stationed locally, including François Albertus Prins (died 1774), a major; Jacobus de Bordes (1743-after 1780), a merchant, trade bookkeeper and First warehouse master; Mattheus [de Riveaux] de Boissemoin, a lieutenant of Fusilliers; W. Hendrik van Bergheim (died 1789), the secretary of the *Landraad* (local judicial court); Frederik Bernard Giffenig (died 1779), a corporal and deacon of the Dutch Reformed Church in Colombo; as well as Carel Godlieb Haartz and N. Quiaart, who remain to be identified further. Eight other members resided outside Colombo at the time. Most notable was the aforementioned Samuel Radermacher, listed as 'in Bengal'. Adrianus van den Berg (died 1783), a customs

officer, was recorded as 'in Galle' and Jan Jacobus Schellus as 'in Jaffanopatnam'. Others were simply listed as 'travelling': first mate Lourens Buijs (died 1779), Pauolo St. Martins, S. Roose, Jacob Leeuwer and Jan de Vos.[253]

When Provincial Grand Lodge Salomon learned of the lodge's founding, it wrote on 26-10-1770 to De Getrouwigheid demanding it should cease its activities, until it had received a Constitution from either the Grand Lodge or Salomon itself. On the same date Salomon made a formal complaint to the Grand Lodge that 'they [= De Getrouwigheid] had acted wrongly and against all reason' by addressing the Grand Lodge directly instead of their provincial authority.[254] De Getrouwigheid faithfully obeyed Salomon's order, explaining to the Grand Lodge:

> [...] this was indirectly the principal cause why since that time [the receipt of Salomon's warning in January 1771] no meetings were held, so we hope that we will not be held accountable for this omission, all the more as we in the last year [1771] did not receive any European officers, and are awaiting at the first opportunity a Constitution from Bengal, though as we are finding ourselves honoured by that of Your Worshipful we hope that we are not in any way submitted to another than Your Worshipful's [Grand] Lodge, but will well be recognized as the Main Lodge of this Island and therefore empowered to grant [Constitutions] to all the Brethren who wish to found a new Lodge [...].[255]

In other words, the lodge immediately made its own bid for the title of Provincial Grand Lodge, this time for Ceylon. On 29-11-1770 Grand Secretary Du Bois sent a copy of his earlier letter to De Getrouwigheid, acknowledging the receipt of the membership list:

> […] we were pleased, with the request of Captein Siereveld, courier of this [letter], and by Your Worshipful ordered, besides Captain De Frein, to renew with us the request, made by Brother Durege in the year 1769, in order to obtain the requested Diploma, to found Your Worshipful Lodge [...] and now having understood, that Your Worshipful by the perishing of the Ship, with which our First provisional Rescription was sent, have also been deprived of our Resolution on the subject [...].[256]

Jan van Siereveld was first mate of the ship Borsele and a member of lodge La Compagnie Durable in his home town of Middelburg.[257] He advanced the founding fee for the lodge and carried the Constitution, as well as 50 blank certificates with the Grand Lodge's seal.[258] The high number shows the expectation of the lodge for an increase in membership. Meanwhile lodge Salomon continued its complaints on 12-1-1771, but the original letter was lost.[259] The Grand Secretary tried to calm the mood, when he wrote on 20-9-1771:

> We hope not that Your Worshipful will give a misunderstanding or ill placed interpretation of our good intentions and correct thinking, in Constituting a Lodge in Ceylon. [...] We do not believe, that their request made to us, will have been done out of contempt for Your Worshipful Lodge, but far more out of ignorance.[260]

The Grand Lodge passed the letter to the aforementioned captain Van der Weijde of the ship Pauw. It again reassured De Getrouwigheid that its request had been fulfilled earlier and also informed about the function of lodge Salomon.[261] Then on 11-1-1772 came word from Salomon, that it too had sent a (concept) Constitution on 9-12-1771 to De Getrouwigheid.[262] Later that same month, Salomon once again repeated its warning to the brethren in Ceylon on 27-1-1772:

> However pleasant it is to us, when we are allowed to hear of the diligence of Brothers Free Masons, in propagating our royal art, so unpleasant it was to us however, to hear that Your Honourables had proceeded to found a lodge, and execute such actions, as [are] only permitted to lawfully constituted Lodges, all the more displeased because we imagined that Your Honourables could not well be unaware of that to the here in Bengal constituted Grand Lodge Salomon alone, was granted the privilege, of allowing lesser Lodges, located in all the possessions of the Dutch Company, around the West of India &c and so it was evident that Your Honourables should have asked permission from the same first, before proceeding with their work.
>
> We had therefore already intended, following our Duty, to Reproach your Honourables about this when opportunity presented itself, when recently we to our joy were informed, by the Brother Christiaan Wist, that Your Honourables' mistake in this, stemmed not from intent but from ignorance, and as proof thereof that Your Honourables had instructed him on his leave of your location, to request in Batavia from the Provincial

> Lodge [= La Choisie?] a Constitution also informing us, of his unsuccessful attempt there, and his fiery desire to obtain such a diploma for Your Honourables from us.
>
> We would, as we have the power to do so regarding Your Honourables' Island, taken this into consideration, had we meanwhile not been informed through another channel, that Your Honourables had addressed yourself already in Europe Anno 1768, but since we have reason to doubt your success in this attempt, we have well wanted to open the way for Your Honourables to obtain the same, by instructing Your Honourables hereby, of the power which resides with us to fulfil Your Honourables' desire, and so to be able to continue the procreation of our royal order.
>
> While we on the other hand cannot neglect to interdict Your Honourables all such acts that are not allowed for an unconstituted Lodge, until the time Your Honourables will be allowed to do so by either the Grand Lodge in Holland or by us.[263]

Finally, after four years of failed attempts, letters signed by Prins, De Bordes, De Boissemoin and Van Bergheim dated 26 and 27-1-1772 confirmed that the Constitution and other correspondence by the Grand Lodge had reached Colombo[264]:

> We now wholly doubt the Delivery of our letters, all the more while we did not receive Your Honourable's original rescription to ours dated 16 October 1768, and the duplicate thereof only in the month September Last, but this triplicate was delivered to us by our much Beloved Brother Siereveld, while also a duplicate of A letter by our Honourable Brother R [van] Laak which was also dated 1 September 1769, arrived only in the Last month of September on the Ship Schollenberg [now] perished under the Mallabar coast, which was travelling to this place from
> Batavia, and which was commanded by the skipper N.N. Ide, who is a Brother and the first mate Lourens Buis who is a Real child [= member] of our regular lodge [...].[265]

The lodge promised to transfer the contributions owed via Van Siereveld, now skipper of the ship Oud Haarlem, and that it would not hesitate to convince (travelling) freemasons that its lodge, 'however small and feeble' was now under the protection of the Grand Lodge. De Getrouwigheid also noted recent news:

> Furthermore we may not omit to inform Your worshipful that in Gale some Brethren have gathered and formed a Lodge [= De Opregtheid], without having addressed us so far, although they are well aware that our lodge was constituted by Your Worshipful in good order, [so] we request to instruct us as well as the Brethren in Gale on how we should act towards them and how they should act towards our Lodge, namely whether we will communicate with them and if they are submitted to the getrouwigheid or not, for the Latter article of which we must most insist, that from now on all Brethren who wish to form a Lodge on this island should address themselves First to us and report to us of their actions and the progress of the Lodge, the state of Brethren Etca, so and in the same manner as our commitment to Your Honourable implies.[266]

The lodge further requested 18 *Lire Maçons*, 18 books of law and 'all other documents and Books'. A membership list was enclosed with the correspondence, no different from that of 1770, with one exception: new member N. Ohlkers, who was noted as 'travelling' and has not been identified further.[267] The Grand secretary replied in September 1772:

> The letter of Provincial Grand Lodge Salomon […] is amicable and Brotherly written [...]. We order You to consider said Lodge Salomon as our Provincial [Grand] Lodge, consult the same in urgent matters, however without being dependant on the same. Being a Provincial [Grand] Lodge nothing else but the First Lodge in Rank, to whom it is permitted, to grant Constitutions on behalf of the High Worshipful Grand Master [...].
>
> What the Brethren in Gale is concerned, which according to Your suggestion are meeting clandestine [...] serves as answer, that it were better, as they belong to our jurisdiction, if those Brethren addressed themselves in a fitting manner to Us, in order to obtain a Diploma; and [...] We have no objection, to qualify You as the oldest of that Island (unprejudiced however of the right of Provincial [Grand] Lodge Salomon in Bengal) to [help] Brethren find the way and provisionally accredit them, to be able to work in a regular manner [...].[268]

This implies that De Getrouwigheid had the same rights for Ceylon as Salomon had for India, in effect creating a third Provincial Grand Lodge (La Choisie in Batavia being the second). In December followed

another letter, in which the Grand Lodge confirmed the Constitution of lodge De Opregtheid, discussed below. Meanwhile Salomon was still trying to vent its displeasure to the Grand Lodge. It wrote on 10-1-1773:

> Regarding the Constitution of the Brethren on Ceylon we are well of one opinion [= agree] with Your Worshipful that the same have the power thereto, when they address themselves to Your Worshipful, however we cannot forbear, to submit our sustenance, that such direct provision of a Constitution to those Brethren seemingly can cause a breach of the Privilege of our Provincial [Grand] Lodge Salomon, granted to Constitute Lodges around all of the West of India (we only call this a sustenance) in which we have, however, all the more been acknowledged by the behaviour of these Brethren, in the last year, because although we have at their written request, firstly granted a Constitution, as well as sent them the necessary Law books and song books, they have nevertheless neglected to confirm to us their receipt, and also to inform us about the Constitution granted them by Your Worshipful, which we however consider to have been their duty, and of which we are so much more confirmed by the favourable Expression of Your Worshipful, that you will instruct them that they regardless of said diploma directly granted to them, resort under our Provincial [Grand] Lodge, and should address themselves to us regarding the delivery of such as they have to send to Your Worshipful, [and] we request [...] that these Brethren who perhaps may come to another idea of independence, be instructed of their Duty, to at least keep a proper correspondence with us [...].[269]

On 11-1-1775 Salomon complained again that it had since 1772 experienced problems with the lodge(s) on Ceylon, and wanted satisfaction.[270]

As money transfers and further correspondence of De Getrouwigheid never reached the Grand Lodge, it contacted the lodge again on 19-4-1775 and informed it that Van Eijsden had perished, in case he had been carrying letters from De Getrouwigheid (as well as lodge De Langgewenschte). The Grand Secretary enquired if De Getrouwigheid had perhaps sent its contributions to Salomon for transfer to the Netherlands. He also requested an overview of members with higher degrees, regarding the planned election of a Grand Master for the *Élu* and *Écossois* in the Netherlands. In its correspondence with Salomon of the same date, the Grand Secretary also expressed 'what surprises us even more, is their silence without transfer of Contributions, (that is to say those of Colombo) about which We will remonstrate them at this opportunity'.[271] His next letter to De Getrouwigheid of 24-11-1775 had a less friendly tone:

> Not without wonder and with the utmost surprise We regard Your Worshipful's behaviour towards us, and how irregular the works and control of household matters are conducted in the Lodge, without taking into consideration that which the Law dictates; and without offering us an insight into the state of your affairs. [...] For Five Years, since the Diploma was granted, to give no word nor sign of their thoughts and actions![272]

The Grand Secretary threatened to dissolve the lodge in accordance with the laws of the Order[273], and continued:

> With regret we have also received the Complaints of the Provincial Grand Master in Bengal; that Your Worshipful does not dignify himself to acknowledge the same [...]. Much less to communicate to Us, that Your request therefore made in Bengal, had not been refused, but some remarks on the same had been made.[274]

Although clearly irritated, the tone of the letter does not suggest the Grand Secretary suspected the lodge had ceased its activities. After this date however, no documents relating to the lodge have survived.[275] According to Hageman the lodge dissolved in 1790.[276] The financial registration of the Grand Treasurer of 1804 lists the lodge among those behind in contribution without 'Any indication whatsoever how much behind', rather than erased.[277] Likewise the lodge was listed among those 'out of communication' in the Dutch masonic almanac of 1808[278], while the more recent overview of Dutch lodges considers the lodge as such since 1788.[279] A possible explanation was offered by Dashwood, who pointed out that the lodge may have declined in 1790. Another lodge, De Vereeniging (discussed below), was founded in Colombo soon after and the Dutch community on the island may simply have been too small to sustain two lodges at the same time.[280] The name of that lodge translates as 'The Union', which could suggest it was the result of a merger, for instance between De Getrouwigheid and members of another (not necessarily Dutch) lodge.

♦ *Lodge De Opregtheid in Galle*

Hageman suggests that a second lodge was founded in (Point de) Galle in Ceylon in 1770,[281] under the rule of Arnoldus de Lij (1755-1784), who was commander of the trade post between 1768 and 1783.[282] In any case the Grand Lodge received a request for a Constitution in 1772, explaining:

> As for a long time there had been several Brethren Free Masons here, who tried every time, to found a lodge where it was possible, but there were not enough [= less than seven Masters] to do so there, they were fortunate, that in the last year [= 1771] some Brethren were on the ships and were therefore able to hold a Lodge to receive the Candidates that had applied, which took place on the 12 February 1771.[283]

The lodge was named De Opregtheid (sometimes also called La Candeur, Sincérité or Sincerity). The request mentioned the following men as founders and Officers: Johannes Hermanus Francken, a military captain 'who for 21 or 22 years in the great lodges in The Hague had been initiated and next had climbed to the step of master in Antwerp'[284]; Jan Jacob Coquart (died 1786), a major who in 1767 had been present at the audience of ambassador Falck with the king in Kandy (fig. 4.26); Pieter Kalff (1735-1776), listed as 'unemployed', and Adrianus van de Berg[h] [Jr] (died 1783), a junior merchant.[285] The military men who were initiated at this occasion were also named: Pierre le Blanc[q], captain lieutenant, Jan Lodewijk Sche[e]de[n], a lieutenant, Estienne Guinot, a French enseign in VOC service, and Eijlert Bus[s]ing (?-1784), *soldijoverdrager* (civil servant at the wages office).[286] The letter continued:

> The 21 June we were fortunate to recipiate our much loved and chief the most Honourable Venerable Lord Commander Arnoldus de Lij as apprentice and fellow [and] on the day of our protector St. John [= circa 24 June] as master, as well as the above mentioned Brethren le Blanq, Scheede, Guinnot, and Bussing. [...] and his Venerable the Lord Commander chosen as our Protector and also by his Venerable accepted. Since then several worthy candidates have been received, to many too name all of them here [...].[287]

However, the letter did reveal three other names of members: Paulus Marci, the chief surgeon in the Dutch hospital, Gerrit Joan de Moor (1732-1784), a junior merchant, and Pieter Sluysken (1740-1813), a merchant.[288]

The lodge requested a Constitution 'with all the Books and documents belonging thereby' through a letter carried by the aforementioned Siereveld on the ship Borsele to The Hague. The Grand Lodge was able to answer in December 1772:

> After we already had been informed by the Brethren belonging to the Worshipful Lodge De Getrouwigheid, in Colombo, of the diligence with which Your Worshipful has since a long time, been working at the propagation of our Noble Sciences, albeit without a legal Constitution, and as they have asked us how to consider You, we have made no objection, to qualify those Brethren to provide you with a provisional Charter […] and since that rescription having received Your Worshipful's Letter of the First of February of this Year, delivered by the Brother Captain Sierevelt, we have been advised, to honour Your request with a favourable answer.[289]

The reply and the Constitution itself were taken back to Ceylon by Sierevelt on the ship Oud Haarlem. The Constitution was dated 29-11-1772 and listed all the aforementioned members as founders.[290] The formal installation of De Opregtheid took place the following St. John's Day in June 1773.[291] The financial administration of the Grand Lodge recorded the receipt of funds in 1774: 'sent by Captain Jan Sierevelt a *Don Gratuit* for the Cash of the National Grand Lodge and to settle the sent Constitution of this Lodge f 250'.[292]

De Opregtheid wrote a thank you letter for the documents received on 30-1-1774.[293] Of 'a few candidates' initiated, the lodge only mentioned two by name: Jan Hendrik Heygel, a military captain, and Albertus Hornoet, merchant and administrator. The lodge remarked 'The few other Recipiants that we since the aforementioned date [31-1-1772] have had, were *passanten* [= passers-by] and Ship's crew'.[294] As passers-by were quickly initiated and then left without becoming actual lodge members, no fee was owned to the Grand Lodge for them and they were not included in the overviews. The earliest surviving membership list also dates from 1774 and names 18 men, including all the founders except Coquart. Next to Haigel and Hornoet, the other newcomers were Cezar Boucher, a French jeweller; Johannes Hermanus



Fig. 4.26: Jan Brandes (1743-1808), Reception of the envoys of the King of Kandy in November 1785, 1785. Jan Jacob Coquart is in the row on the left, second from the top down. Watercolour over coloured pencil drawing, 32.5 x 41.6 cm. Collection: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv.no. NG-1985-7-3-127. Reproduced from: rijksmuseum.nl.

Francken jr, the son of one of the founders of the lodge; Jan Christoffel Dijkvoet and Casparus Runsdorff, not identified further; as well as two soldiers, Jean Baptiste de La Maison (died 1779), and Petrus Andriessen (died 1784).[295]

The membership list further reveals that the lodge met on every first Thursday of the month at 18.30 hours in the 'country house' of De Lij.[296] From around this time survives a document, providing the 'Rules whereby the Grand Master, first and second Warden, Brother Terrible, Brother Speaker, Secretary, and all other Brethren have to abide, so with the opening of the Lodge as well as the acception of a new brother, in Lodge de Opregtheid in Galle'.[297] It contains rituals and catechisms for the Apprentice and Fellow-Craft degrees.

While correspondence is missing, that De Opregtheid remained active can be deduced from membership certificates and a handful of other miscellaneous documents. From 24-11-1774 dates a letter of recommendation, issued to third mate Justus Hendrik Pfeill (also spelled Pfijll), as proof of membership (fig. 4.27).[298] The document was signed by Francken as Grand [= Worshipful] Master, Francken Jr as Secretary, De Moor as Junior and Hornoet as Senior Wardens. A summary of messages by lodge Salomon in Bengal to the Grand Lodge dating from 1775, recorded 'Complaints about the [lodges] of Nagapatnam and Ceylon, that these do not recognize the Provincial Grand Master'.[299] Lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam received a visitor on 13-9-1775, the Danish ship's mate Töger Abo from 'd'Opregtheid in Ceylon'.[300] The next year Laurens de Sille, a third mate, frequented the same lodge, signing the book several times between 9-10-1776 and 14-1-1778 on behalf of De Opregtheid.[301] Data for the next few years are missing, but the old, handwritten registration of the CMC collection describes a document dated 6-4-1782:

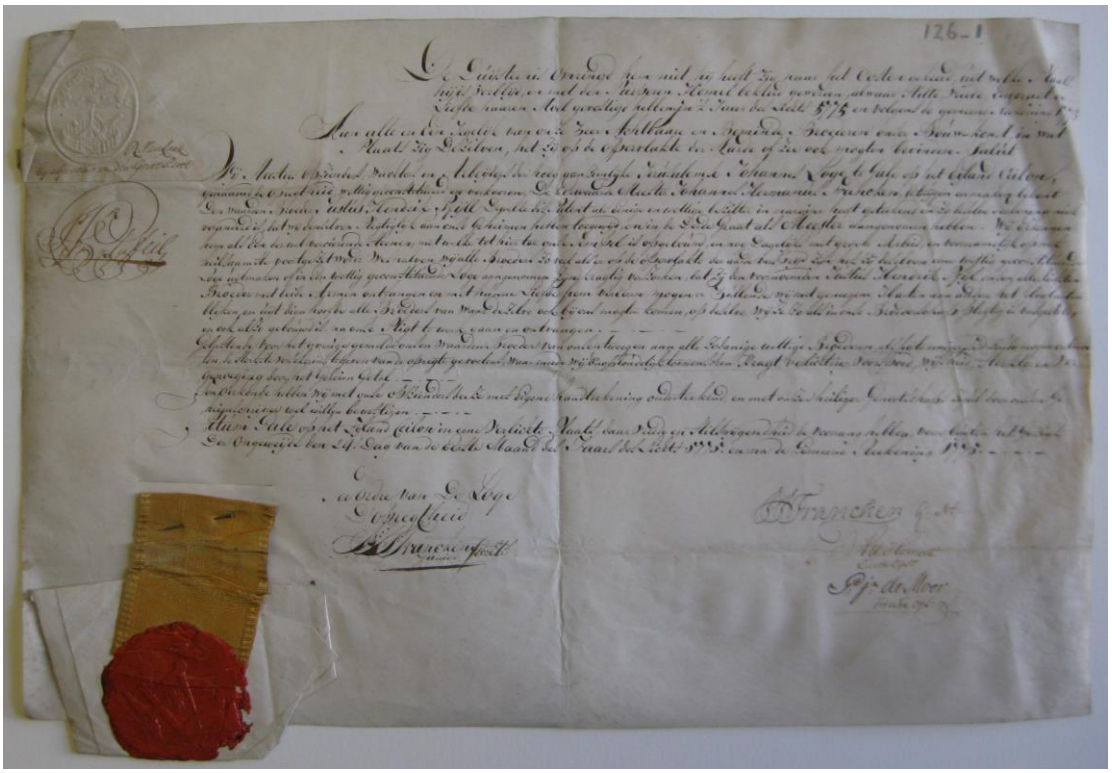


Fig. 4.27: Certificate issued by lodge De Opregtheid in Galle to Justus Hendrik Pfijll on 24-11-1774. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 126-1. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

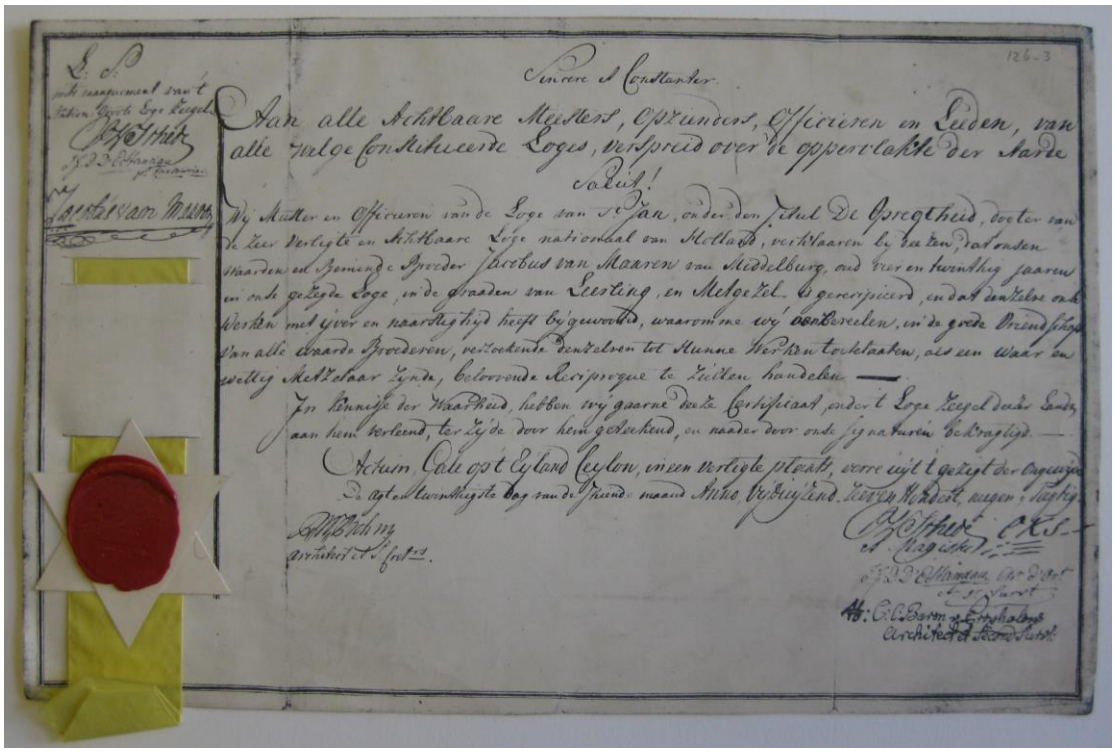


Fig. 4.28: Certificate, issued by lodge De Opregtheid in Galle to Jacobus van Maaren on 28-8-1789 (replica/restoration). Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 126-2. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

> Announcement concerning a temporary empowerment by [Grand Secretary] J.P. van der Haer on behalf of the Grand Scots Lodge issued to the members of Lodge La Sincérité (and L'Heureuse Rencontre [in Brest?]) to work in the Élu degrees dated 2-1-1779.[302]

The document itself went missing in the 1970s, but *La Sincérité* or *La Candeur* are French translations of the lodge name, also used in early Dutch masonic almanacs, which were published in French.[303] A (concept) Constitution for a higher degree lodge for the *Élu* and *Écossois* degrees was issued to De Opregtheid by the Grand Chapter of the Netherlands on 1-9-1783, naming as founders the aforementioned lodge members Scheede, De Moor, Busing, Runsdorff, Francken and De Sille.[304] At some point these higher degrees were also given to a corporal Pieter Hoyer.[305]

By 1788 De Opregtheid had attracted no less than 28 members, none of which are included in earlier membership lists. However, 15 of them resided elsewhere and two of the listed men were deceased by the time the list was submitted. The active members, stationed locally, were mostly military: Hieronimus Casemirus Carolus Baron van Prophalow, a captain; Pieter Wilhelm Behm, an enseign, Ernst Wilhelm Fuchs (born circa 1752), a soldier and Jean Francois Paul Rachard, an extraordinary lieutenant of Artillery; as well as two medical officers*, verbandmeester* Jan Hendrik Loudovici and assistant *oppermeester* Bernhard Johan von Bergheim. Three other men could be identified as members of the Regiment De Meuron, to which we will come back later: captains Pierre Hardy and Samuel Jequier (died 1789), and captain lieutenant François Montandon (died 1797).[306] Johan Hendrik Siemon and Franciscus Kolfenbag on the other hand, were listed as civilians, while Bernhard Hendrik von Bergheim (died 1778, probably a relative of the aforementioned Bernhard Johan) was a bookkeeper and Carl Ludwig Baron van Albedyhl (1756-1804) was a junior merchant and secretary. Most of the remaining names on the list were men residing elsewhere in the region. Three had travelled on to Colombo: Jan Kloprogge, city doctor[307], Petrus Jacous Roosemalcoq, secretary of the *Landraad*, and Frans Diersen, extraordinary lieutenant of Artillery. Hendrik Anthony Stoete, sea captain, had gone 'to Bengal', while David Blume, military lieutenant, had gone 'to Trinkonemale' and Anthony Louis Migot de La Combe, captain in the Regiment Luxembourg, had left 'to the Malabar Coast'. Seven other members, mostly navy officers, were listed as staying 'in Batavia': the luitenants Pieter Guding (died 1789), Petrus Franciscus Gerbrands and Paulus Maagen Baerendszoon (died 1791); the captain luitenants Joost Masson and Jacobus van Maaren (born circa 1765); and the *oppermeester* (a medical officer) Dirk Hoytink and Second *oppermeester* Jacob van der Linde, the latter possibly a relative of the aforementioned Van der Linden in lodge De Standvastigheid. Two other naval officers and lodge members were listed as having left for Europe: Hermanus Driesman (died 1790), a captain, and Andries Andresje Spin, a lieutenant.

By 1789 only fourteen 'active' members remained, while former member Scheede had returned to Colombo and rejoined the lodge. Recorded newcomers were: Jan Jacob David d'Estandau (died 1815), a fiscal and cashier, Samuel Pieter Joenander, a *bosschieter* (ship's crew responsible for artillery), [Frans] Guillard [= Gaillard], fusilier, and Theodorus van Tijlingen, chief of the cinnamon department.[308] This membership list noted that the lodge had 'no regular location' anymore, meaning it probably met in members' houses, while day and time were also 'undecided'.[309] On 28-8-1789 De Opregtheid issued a certificate to the aforementioned Jacobus van Maaren as Apprentice and Fellow-Craft (fig. 4.28).[310] It was signed by Scheede (as *Chevalier Kadosh* and *Magister* or Worshipful Master), d'Estandan (as *Chevalier d'Occident* and Senior Warden), Behm (as [*Petit* or *Grand*] *Architecte* and Secretary) and Prophalon (as [*Petit* or *Grand*] *Architecte* and Junior Warden). A handwritten note on the back of the lodge certificate, dated 8-10-1790, was signed by Behm and recorded Van Maaren was raised a Master. Interesting is that these officers possessed higher degrees which would not be incorporated into the Scottish Rite until 1803. These degrees were described in 1783 in the *MS Francken*, which grouped various degrees together into the *Ordre du Royal Secret*. The manuscript was written by Henry Andrew (Hendrik Andreas) Francken (1720-1795), and it would be interesting to know if there was a family connection with the aformentioned Johannes Hermanus Francken of lodge De Opregtheid, to see if that could explain the transfer of these degrees to Asia around this time.[311]

Some masonic historians believe the lodge paused its activities between 1790 and 1794.[312] Hageman however, suggested the lodge did not become active again until 1804.[313] It seems unlikely the lodge would have issued a certificate on 28-9-1790 for the degree of Apprentice and Fellow-Craft to the aforementioned lodge member Fuchs, if it was inactive.[314] This certificate was signed by the same officers

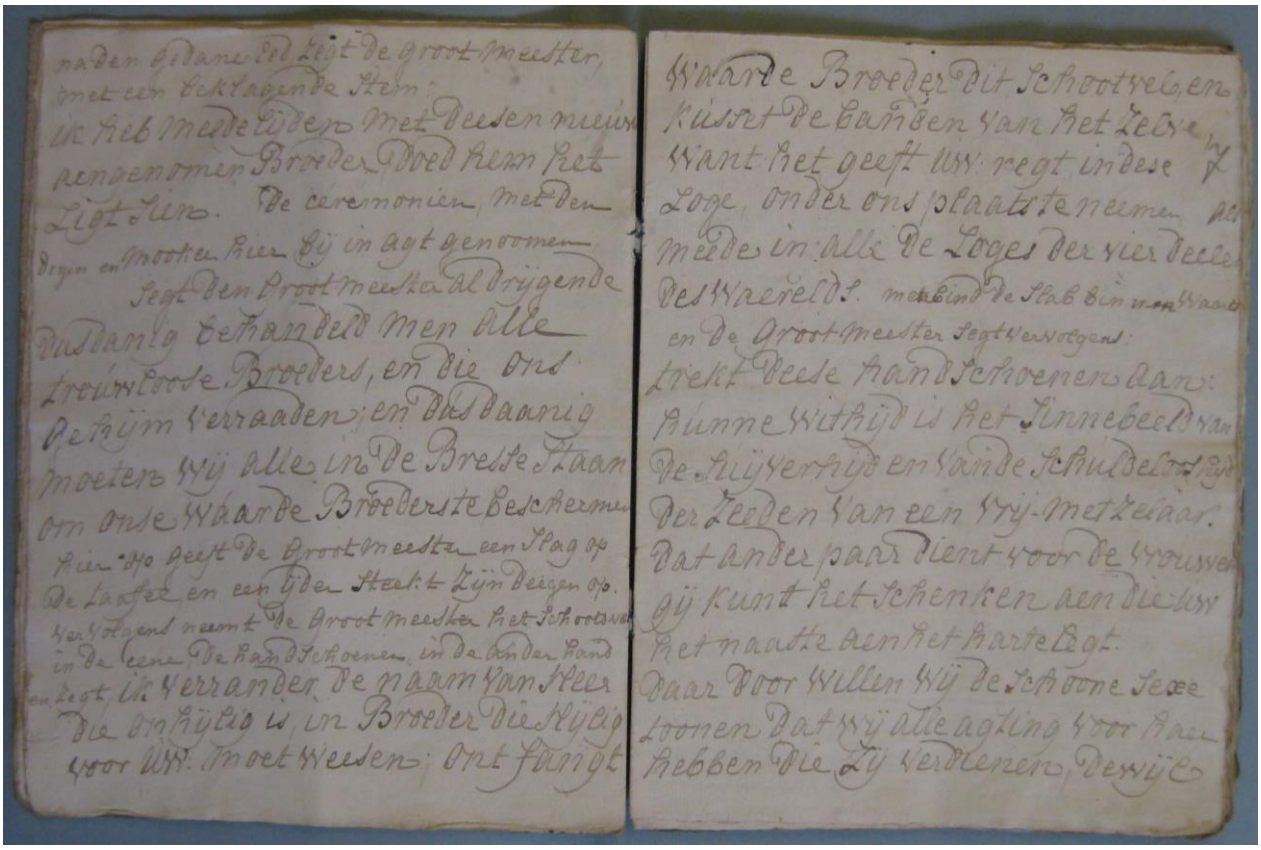


Fig. 4.29: Ritual for the initiation of an Apprentice, in the 'Rules whereby the Grand Master, first and second Warden, Brother Terrible, Brother Speaker, Secretary, and all other Brethren have to abide […] in Lodge de Opregtheid te Galle'*, undated (ca. 1774). Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 9128. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.*

as before (fig. 4.30). Notes on the back reveal it was shown by Fuchs in lodge La Paix in Amsterdam on 23-8-1793, lodge De Eendragt in Rotterdam on 4-1-1809 and lodge De Drie Kolommen, also in Rotterdam, on 1-6-1809. This again illustrates the contact between the lodges in the Netherlands and those in Asia. The document also reveals the seal of De Opregtheid. It consists of a simple composition of a pair of compasses, a set square and a level, with a star in the middle. The tools are flanked by the sun and moon, and are topped by a dove holding a laurel wreath or crown.

Further evidence the lodge remained active, is a letter sent to La Vertueuse in Batavia, noting:

> […] not only the number of Members is increasing daily [...]. In order not to be forced to move our meeting every time, we have bought a house and its premises inside this City of Gale; meanwhile we don't know what to do to get a title of ownership thereof which will be ensured we are not Sinning against the laws of the Sovereign and do not have to undergo any *Chikane* because of it.[315]

The lodge asked La Vertueuse advice on the purchase of a building, as that lodge had some experience in the matter. The minutes recorded that the lodge would see to it at their earliest convenience.[316] A later memorial publication (1843) claimed that La Vertueuse remained in contact with De Opregtheid 'both before and after the war in 1796'.[317] Lodge La Fidèle Sincérité must have also kept in contact. The archive of that lodge includes an undated 'instruction for officers' (actually a ritual and catechism) from the Opregtheid (circa 1774), on the back of which is noted it was later also used in La Fidèle Sincérité (fig. 4.29).[318]

De Opregtheid issued another certificate for Apprentice and Fellow-Craft on 18-8-1798, this time to Christianus Cornelius Uhlenbeck (1780-1845).[319] The document was signed by the aforementioned Roosemalecoq and several new lodge members: Carel [Friedrich] Hallwachs, a lieutenant, W.K. Schede, possibly a relative of the aforementioned Jan Lodewijk, as well as Johannes Wahlberg, a corporal.





Fig. 4.30 (and detail): Certificate, issued by lodge De Opregtheid in Galle to Ernst Wilhelm Fuchs on 28-9-1790. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 126-2. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

Uhlenbeck showed the certificate a month later to lodge De Vereeniging in Colombo, discussed below. It was signed on 23-9-1798 by the Secretary. The short timespan shows that Uhlenbeck obtained the certificate shortly before his leave, anticipating visits to other lodges.

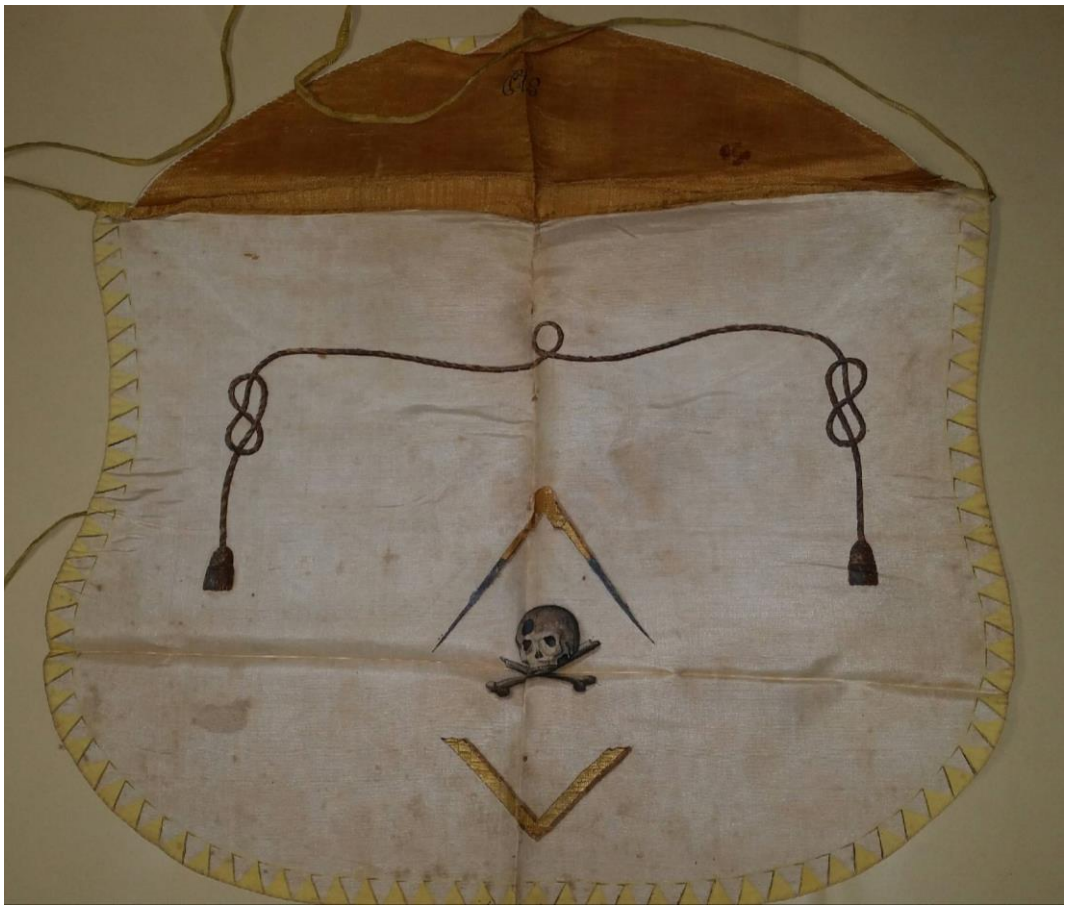


Fig 4.31: Master apron belonging to Chr. C. Uhlenbeck, member of lodge De Opregtheid in Galle, Ceylon, ca. 1800. Painted silk, size not listed. Collection: National Archive, The Hague inv.no 303 Uhlenbeck archive, A.2.a.2.11. Photograph by Ron Guleij.

Uhlenbeck would receive a second certificate of the Master's degree on 15-4-1800, again signed by Hallwachs as Secretary of De Opregtheid. This is one of the few instances in which the apron of a lodge member was preserved in a family archive, now in the National Archive in The Hague (fig. 4.31). It is painted with various symbols: a skull-and-bones between a pair of compasses and a set square, which is an iconographical 'shorthand' reference to the body of Hiram Abiff. Above it is a cord with knots and tassels (a reference to brotherhood). On the flap is an acacia sprig, representing Hiram's grave, flanked by the sun and the moon.

Lodges La Charité and La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam both received a visitor from De Opregtheid between 19 February and 12 November 1800, who signed as A. van Hall Jnz.[320] The visitor books further show that two more members of the same lodge were received in La Charité: J. van der Plas, who remains to be identified, on 23-1-1801, and the aforementioned Stoete on 15-7-1801.[321] Another lodge certificate was issued in 1802, now to Frederik Wilhelmus Smith, who also remains to be identified further.[322] A last letter by De Opregtheid was sent to the Grand Lodge on 11-8-1804, enclosing an overview of members accepted between 1800 and 1804 (replacing earlier lists that had not reached their destination) and the new list for 1804.[323] It was again noted that the lodge had no steady location or meeting times. Besides the aforementioned Smith, the following men had been initiated before or in 1804: Friderich Axen, who came to Ceylon as a junior sailor, John George Bruckner, a soldier; Willem Hendrik Andree (1764-1822), a magistrate at Gangebadde and Talpe Patto; as well as Cornelis Arnoldus Prins and John Fredrik Lorenz, who both have not been identified further.[324] The list also included three new lodge members, who by 1804 had left Galle again. Jens Koefoed (1775-1833) was noted having left for Tranquebar, where he had been appointed governor of the Danish settlement. It is one of the few signs that the masonic network in the region may have also connected the Dutch and the Danes. Bookkeeper Lambertus van der Linden was 'in

Colombo' and Caspar Hendrik Leembruggen resided 'in Matura'. In 1804 two men were initiated to act as Servants to the lodge: Johannes Mayer and Bartholomeus Herwieus.[325]

De Opregtheid seems to have been connected to a German regiment, formed by Duke Charles Eugen of Württemberg (1728-1793) in 1786 in order to serve the Dutch and protect its assets overseas. The regiment first travelled to the Cape, where it arrived in 1787. Parts of the regiment were then dispatched to Ceylon in 1789. The regiment fought the British at Trinconomalee in 1795 and was in Colombo until the handover to the British in 1796. The regiment then changed sides and came into British service. Before 1804 two of the fusiliers, Johannes Huber (died 1804) and Johan Adam Gauder, had joined the Dutch lodge. They were followed in 1804 by more men from the same Regiment: Theobald von Hügel, commander colonel, John Godlieb Beutenmüller, a corporal, and Josephus van den Berg, a soldier. The aforementioned Hallwachs was most likely also a member of the Regiment Württemberg.[326] Parts of the regiment travelled to the Dutch East Indies and joined a lodge there, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

It is unclear how long the lodge remained active after 1804, and again the various sources are contradictory.[327] Hageman suggests De Opregtheid was dissolved in 1790 and reopened in 1794, after which it was finally disbanded in 1806.[328] Other masonic historians suggest the lodge became inactive in 1806.[329] The Dutch masonic almanac of 1808 considered the lodge 'out of communication' in 1808, while the more recent overview of Dutch lodges dates the loss of communication after 1814.[330]

A list of visitors to lodge La Constante et Fidèle in Semarang, names the aforementioned Diersen as a member of 'Cencerite in Galle' in 1808.[331] In 1817 the aforementioned Smith was on his deathbed, when he gave his lodge certificate (issued in 1802) to his son, P.J. Smith, who was not a freemason.[332] He did this so his son, in need of support, could apply to any lodge for charity and may have expected his own lodge was still active in the region. Dashwood noted: 'The Dutch lodges, though now [= 1887] extinct, evinced great tenacity of existence. The two named above [Sincerity and Union] survived until within recent memory'.[333] He later claimed: 'We have strong grounds to believe that Lodge "Sincerity" at Galle continued well into the 19th Century'.[334] No sources were provided for either statement, but it is of course possible that the lodges continued under the Constitution of another Grand Lodge.

♦ *Lodge La Réunion Neuchatelloise in Colombo*

The Swiss Charles Daniel de Meuron (1738-1806) made a military career in French service.[335] He was probably already a member of a lodge in the 1760s.[336] In 1781 he received a commission from the VOC to form and command a new regiment for the Chamber of Zeeland, which had to protect Dutch assets in South Africa and Asia. De Meuron recruited men in his place of birth, Neuchatel in Switzerland. The regiment, named after him, consisted of circa 1.120 men (divided over 10 companies of 112 men).

Before their leave for the Cape, De Meuron and three other officers of his regiment applied for a Constitution to the Grand Orient de France on 25-11-1781 for an ambulant military lodge under the name Le Choix Helvétique.[337] The founders explained:

> The ardent and sincere zeal that we have always manifested in the easts [= lodges] of which we have been members, as can be seen from the certificates of our labour in the Art of Freemasonry, and the desire we have to carry to the remotest regions the Royal - the Royal Art in fact - made us send you this letter to ask the favour, [from you] as the most enlightened east, to authorise us to constitute a particular lodge for our Regiment and at the same time the power to establish others in the places where we are going, in order to spread Freemasonry in the Townships where we will live. This is the case:
>
> The Swiss Regiment de Meuron serving the Noble East India Company of Holland - until then in the service of France, it was stationed in Saint-Pierre [Isle] of Oléron -, of which we are officers, is about to depart for the Isle of Ceylon; we would like to have the ability to establish a lodge according to our desire and legally formed. Would you, our dear and worshipful brothers, give us an answer on this matter and your instructions on such an important subject?[338]

The request must have been ignored, because the founders wrote again on 19-8-1782:

> The lodge du Choix Helvétique, desiring to be related particularly to the Grand Orient of France, longs to obtain the letters of constitution that she requested in February; it wants to take with them the protection that the King of France grants to Holland, to fraternize with the most worthy masons of Europe, and I have been

> ordered to place into your hands the interest of a truly zealous lodge that has interest into combining masonic activities with a heartfelt dedication to the Fatherland... It is in Ceylon, the Coromandel Coast in Asia, that we hope to build a masonic Temple, under the auspices of the Revered Grand Orient of France. There, very dear brother, we will never forget the favours that you will grant us and the memory of your actions will be recalled among us every day.[339]

It is unclear if the lodge received a reply from the Grand Orient before it left for Ceylon.[340] A Constitution was granted on 17-10-1782, when the regiment had already left for the Cape, so De Meuron may have been unaware of his success.[341] The regiment arrived there on 7-2-1783.[342] While 33 men stayed behind, the rest travelled on to Ceylon in 1786. Because De Meuron was called back to Europe that same year, in order to solve problems with the payment of soldiers by the Chamber of Zeeland, the regiment in Ceylon came under command of his younger brother, commander colonel Pierre Frédéric Comte de Meuron (1746-1813).[343] Charles Daniel De Meuron collected flora, fauna, art and curiosities from Asia during these years, and corresponded with his brother Pierre and various Dutch officials on new purchases for his collection and their transport home. Many of these contacts were members of lodges at the Cape or in Asia. The collection of De Meuron would form the basis for the current Musée d'Ethnographie in Neuchâtel.[344]

As mentioned above, by 1788 the membership list of lodge De Opregtheid in Galle included three men from the Regiment De Meuron: captains Pierre Hardy and Samuel Jequier, and captain lieutenant François Montandon.[345] Shortly thereafter a second attempt was made at creating a military lodge for the regiment. Charles Daniel de Meuron was in the Netherlands between January and June 1790. On 16-5-1790 he submitted a request for the Constitution of the ambulant lodge La Réunion Neuchatelloise in Ceylon to the Grand Lodge in The Hague.[346] He signed it on behalf of his brother Pierre and Jequier, as well as lieutenant colonel Chevalier Jean-Pierre de Meuron-Bulot (1744-1803); captains Pierre Renaud, Henry-David de Meuron [de] Motiers (1753-1804), Jean Gotlieb Stein (died 1793) and Samuel Gigaud (died 1795); Charles Frederic de Meuron de la Tour (1763-1797); lieutenant Louis Rene des Bordes de Jouy, '& others, all officers of this Regiment'.[347] The founders all claimed to be 'Brothers Master Freemason [...] all having the Aforementioned degree, acquired in a Lodge well and legitimately constituted'.[348] According to a handwritten note on the request dated 13-2-1792, the Constitution was 'not provided, for reason that the costs had not been paid, though afterwards resolved to have one drawn up, as was done on the 13th day of the 12th month 1791'.[349] Charles Daniel de Meuron wrote to his brother Pierre from the Netherlands on 9-3-1792:

> I am sending you the attached certificate of Constitution for a Dutch lodge in the Regiment. I asked for it two years ago, the Request was misplaced. Mister G[ui]l[aume] Baron Bonstetten has just brought it to me. I want you to get it and make use of it, for the benefit & the appeal of the Regiment.[350]

The regiment travelled around Ceylon and the surrounding region, and Hageman noted that a garrison was in Colombo in 1794.[351] On 26-8-1795 two companies were taken prisoner by the British at Trinconomalee.[352] On 13-10-1795 the regiment was handed over to the British when the Dutch capitulated their assets.[353] Pierre Frédéric de Meuron was appointed military governor of Ceylon in the years 1797-1798. Two battalions of five companies' infantry were then formed in 1798 under British rule and were subsequently moved to Madras.[354] In 1799 the regiment was under command of Arthur Wellesey (1769-1852), later Duke of Wellington, and involved in the third Mysore War. Between 1806 and 1813 the regiment travelled the Mediterranean, and then left for Canada. It would be disbanded in 1816.[355]

It is unclear how long La Réunion Neuchatelloise accompanied the regiment, and whether a transfer to British rule also meant a new British Constitution. For this lodge too, sources are contradictory. Hageman claims it was disbanded as early as 1796.[356] The Dutch Grand Treasurer recorded it among the lodges late with contribution 'without any indication whatsoever how far behind' in 1804.[357] The Dutch masonic almanac of 1808 listed the locations of every lodge and for La Réunion Neuchatelloise still noted: 'Currently in the [East] Indies'.[358]

It seems likely any lodge members remaining in Ceylon would be able to count on the protection of Pierre de Meuron as long as he remained governor, but there may not have been enough of them to



Fig. 4.32: Anonymous, Portrait of a man, probably Johan Gerard van Angelbeek (1727-1799), ca. 1775-1799. Private collection. Reproduced from: rkd.nl.

maintain a lodge. As the British may have considered any Dutch Constitution void as a result of the takeover, perhaps they visited a British lodge instead.

■ *Lodge De Vereeniging in Colombo*

The longest surviving Dutch lodge that was once active in Ceylon, chose as its name De Vereeniging (The Union). In a letter to lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia dated 30-4-1794, the lodge recalled its founding and early years as follows:

> Having met since the 3rd day of the 6th month of the Year of the [True] Light 5792 and having, with the proper formalities founded a regular lodge, with agreement and approval of the in the East of Punto Gale well constituted Lodge de Opregtheid, daughter of the Grand National Lodge of the Seven United Provinces, awaiting the constitution requested from the worshipful grand master National, we cannot let this happy opportunity pass by to take up correspondence with you.[359]

Johan Gerard van Angelbeek (1727-1799) was appointed governor of Ceylon in 1794 (fig. 4.32). That same year he applied for a Constitution, which was granted on 7 April according to a later notice given on 8 June.[360] The motto of the lodge was *Virtus Nostra Doctrix* (= Virtue is our Teacher) which was sometimes mistaken for its alternative name.[361] In 1796 Van Angelbeek handed control of Ceylon over to the British. He stayed on as a civilian, while many Dutch left the island. That the lodge remained active during this difficult time, is illustrated by a handful of documents and references. Although no membership lists survive, the signatures in letters do offer some insight into who joined the lodge. For instance, the aforementioned letter to Batavia was signed by A[ssuerus] Issendorp, a member of lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam in 1779; Petrus Henricus van Cuijlenburg (born 1752)[362]; J.B. Hoyer, probably a relative of the aforementioned Pieter Hoyer of lodge De Opregtheid; F. von Winkelman, most likely a member of the aforementioned Regiment Württembergll; P. Adriaan Louman, who remains to be identified further, as well as two names which are barely legible P.P. Jehtten and military captain Charles E[tienne] Vaugine.[363] Von Winkelman may have been the lodge Orator, as a speech held by him at the celebration of St. John's Day on

24-7-1795 survived.[364] Between the correspondences received by lodge La Vertueuse is another letter from De Vereeniging, dated 14-4-1798:

> Once again since the sending of our letters of 1 November 1792 and 8 January 1793 to the Worshipful and very enlightened National Grand Lodge in the free united Netherlands, whereby we have respectfully requested our constitution, having until now received no answer, and we are unsure, what may have caused it, so the worthy and beloved brother Pieter Mutz is hereby requested by us and from our midst deputed as speaker [on behalf] of our Lodge assigned, in order to show upon his arrival in Europe, all his well-known diligence and skill, so that we at the first opportunity, may receive both our constitutions, giving therefore all the power to the same, to make proposals and settlements, as a Representative can and may be given.[365]

This case again underlines the difficulty lodges experienced when communicating with The Hague. The fact that 'both' or two Constitutions are mentioned, suggests the lodge also applied for recognition of a Chapter. The letter was signed by five of the aforementioned men (Jehtten, Von Winckelman, Issendorp, Hoyer, Van Cuijlenburg), as well as others who had joined and/or been initiated in the meantime: Johannes Wilhelmus Uhlenbeck (1774-1810), a former military officer; Friedrich Wilhelm von Driberg (1764-1807), the captain commander of the 1st Batallion of Malayians; Jan Hendrik Reckerman (circa 1768-1831), the Fiscal of Colombo; L.J. Broberg, about whom little is known and another name which is difficult to make out, possibly A.G. Usler.

The lodge received Christianus Cornelius Uhlenbeck, aforementioned member of De Opregtheid in Galle and no doubt a relative of Johannes Wilhelmus Uhlenbeck, as a visitor on 23-9-1798.[366] The former's lodge certificate was signed by Reckerman as Secretary at this occasion. The next surviving document is a speech written for St. John's Day, celebrated in De Vereeniging on 24-7-1800.[367] What happened next is unclear. An advert in the *Ceylon Gouvernment Gazette* recorded the sale of the lodge building 'by public outcry on the premises', meaning by public auction, on 23-10-1802.[368] Dashwood quotes a contemporary account for a description of the building on Slave Island: 'there is also an excellent house built by the Dutch, which they employed as a Mason's lodge, with a very pretty garden attached to it'.[369] Cordiner's *History of Ceylon* (1807) mentions two villas on Slave Island:

> One of these is built on a spot of land projecting at right angles from the body of the peninsula, and fronting the fort. It is a neat house of two storeys, which was erected by the Dutch as a Freemasons Lodge, but has now become the property of a private person. [...] The situations of both [villas] are eligible and retired; and their distance from Colombo does not exceed an English mile: but there is no road by which a carriage can drive to either, without making a circuit of several miles. The common way of going to the first-mentioned villa [= the lodge building] is through the sally-port, either on foot, on horseback or in a palanquin [= sedan chair], along the causeway, or across the lake in a boat.[370]

Several masonic historians, as well as the most recent overview of Dutch lodges, assumed the lodge was erased between 1794 and 1806.[371] That was not the case. Dashwood already suggested that the lodge passed onto French jurisdiction in circa 1810, when various Dutch lodges were incorporated by the Grand Orient de France, and was able to verify his assumption by 1962. He referred to a temporary French Constitution dated 21-3-1822 and a permanent Constitution provided by the Grand Orient de France on 21-11-1827 to a lodge under the name L'Union in Colombo.[372] In 1838 the same lodge obtained a third Constitution, this time by the Grand Lodge of England under the name St. John's Lodge of Colombo.[373] Dashwood was however unfamiliar with several documents, which prove that the lodge continued working under its own, Dutch name, until circa 1825. The Constitution from the Grand Orient probably related to the Chapter associated to the lodge. The documents also show, how the membership body reflected the changing political situation in the region.

Firstly, the minutes of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia of 7-7-1807 noted the receipt of a letter from its Provincial Grand Master at the time, Nicolaus Engelhard (see chapter 5). He wrote on 27-4-1807 from Semarang and forwarded a letter he had received from 'the [Worshipful] Master and the Members of the [Lodge] de vereeniging in Colombo, there dated the 20+ of 10* of the year 5806 [= 20-8-1806], recommending the [following] Brethren': soldier Andries Wilhelmus Mottan, corporal Pieter Hoijer,

member of the High Council of Justice of the Dutch East Indies Benjamin Pieter Cornelis de Haart (1752-1808), A.L. Fransz and finally C.A.E. Boone 'who had gone thither [= Java]'.[374]

Secondly, lodge La Fidèle Sincérité also received a letter from De Vereeniging, dated 5-12-1816, this time recommending its member Theodorus Cornelis Rudolph, possibly a relation to Jan Mijndt Rudolf of lodge Salomon.[375] The letter was signed by the aforementioned Cuijlenburg and Hoyer, as well as new members, mostly men who were now in service of the British: Gualterus Schneider (1772-1841), civil engineer and surveyor general; his colleage Lambertus van der Linde (circa 1763-1822), overseer ay the civil engineers department; a number of clerks, including Johannes Camp (born 1779), assistant at the *Pen* (writing office), Hendrik de Haan, (died 1832), working for the deputy assistant commissioner, Johannes Bartholomeusz, a translator and First clerk at the registrars office; as well as J.H. Douwe, a civil servant at the supreme court registry. Others were not yet identified: W. Hillebrand, Jn. Johan Landsberger, R. Morgan, J.[J.?] Schumacher and C.A. Spaar.[376]

The visitor list of La Vertueuse of 24-4-1822 was signed by a member of De Vereeniging, whose hand is difficult to read but probably was the aforementioned A.L. Fransz.[377] The same list for the years 1821-1824 includes a signature by a Brother Williams from lodge 'L'Union' in Colombo, which confirms the lodge had transferred to a French Constitution around that time and started to translate its name into French.[378]

Dashwood already drew attention to the masonic certificates of Rasmus Christiaan Rask (1787-1832), a famous Danish philologist, who travelled through Asia to study the local languages.[379] He arrived in Jaffna on 11-11-1821 and then travelled to Colombo, where he arrived on 30-11-1821.[380] Rask was a freemason and member of lodge Zorobabel og Frederik til Det Kronede Haab in Copenhagen (see chapter 7).[381] In Ceylon he had contact with the aforementioned Schneider from 6-12-1821 onwards, who also introduced him to Charles Frederick Baron van Conrady (1775-1833) and baron L[ambertus] W. van der Linden, mentioned earlier as member of De Opregtheid.[382] These three probably introduced him to De Vereeniging and its Chapter, because during his stay in Ceylon Rask obtained four certificates for higher degrees.

On 15-1-1822 a certificate for the 1st-8th degrees of the French *Rite Écossais Ancien et Accepté* was issued to Rask (fig. 4.33). There may have been another certificate for the 9th-13th degrees, now missing, because the next certificate, dated 11-3-1822, was for the 14th-18th degrees (fig. 4.34). On 23-3-1822 Rask received a certificate for the 19th degree of *Grand Pontiff et Sublime Écossois de la Jerusalem Céleste*. The last certificate was dated 1-3-1823 and was issued for the British side degree of Super Excellent Royal Arch (fig. 4.35). On this date Rask noted in his diary the words 'in the evening' followed by two lines in code, probably recalling his initiation.[383] Probably before receiving the Royal Arch degree, Rask was initiated into the Mark Master's degree and received a coin (the symbolical payment for his masonic labour), the front of which depicts a mitre, also depicted on the fourth certificate (compare figs. 4.35-4.36). Around it are the letters 'H*T*W*S*J*T*K*S*', an abbreviation of 'Hiram the widow's son journeyed to King Solomon' (more usual was the letter 'S' for 'sent' instead of the 'J'). The other side shows a miniature tracing board: a chequered floor with columns, an open bible between them, above which is a triangle topped by a crown and cherubs with the Arc of the Convenant. From the top on the left are depicted: a hand holding a plumb line, a level and a gavel. On the right are an ox' head (referring to the sacrifice at the consecration of Solomon's Temple), a pyramid-shaped monument (marking Hiram's grave) and a Jacob's ladder (with three steps representing Faith, Hope and Charity). Around it is the inscription 'E.C. Rask TemPle M[ar]k M[ason]n Union Colombo'. The odd depiction of various shapes may be due to the fact that the medal was made by a local (non-European) silversmith.

All four certificates were printed, providing the text in both French and English, anticipating international usage. The last two certificates were signed by Schneider in the margin, where he added 'Etabli par Les [lettres de] Const[itution] de la R[oyale] L[oge] du Phenix Seant a L'or[ient] de Paris' and 'Etabli par le G[rand] O[rient] de France'.[384] Dashwood assumed that the French Constitution was a sign the whole lodge had transferred to French jurisdiction[385], but it is possible only the Chapter was French while the lodge for the basic degrees remained Dutch. A similar case in the Dutch East Indies will be discussed in the next chapter.

Rask left Ceylon on 30-3-1822 with the ship De Colombo, sailing to Tranquebar, but in early April the ship hit a rock near Galle and was towed back to the harbour. He returned back to Colombo and left a second time on 19-8-1822. Rask had no funds to his disposal and is thought to have been helped by British friends, and possibly lodge members, to pay for the journey to Denmark.[386] His certificates provide

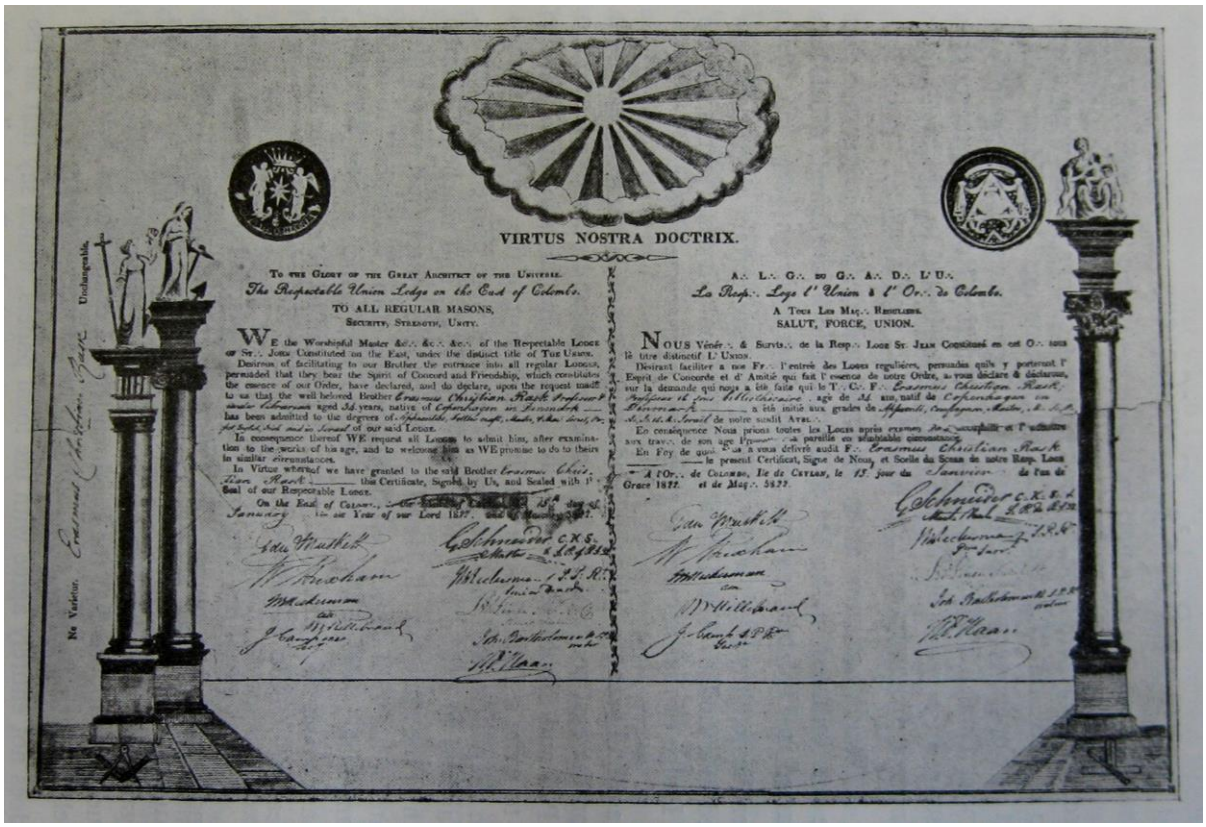




Fig.4.33: Certificate for the 1st-8th degrees of the Scottish Rite, issued by Chapter L'Union in Colombo to R.C. Rask on 15-1-1822. Collection: Nationalhistorisk Museum Frederiksborg. Reproduced from: Dashwood 1962, p. 14.
Fig. 4.34: Certificate for the 14th-18th degrees of the Scottish Rite, issued by Chapter L'Union in Colombo to R.C. Rask on 11-3-1822. Collection: Nationalhistorisk Museum Frederiksborg. Reproduced from: Dashwood 1962, p. 18.



Fig. 4.35: (and detail, below left): Certificate for the Super Excellent Royal Arch degree, issued to R.C. Rask by the Chapter L'Union of Colombo on 1-3-1823. Collection: Nationalhistorisk Museum Frederiksborg. Reproduced from: Dashwood 1962, p. 16.



Fig. 4.36: (middle and right): Front and reverse of the medal issued by the Chapter L'Union in Colombo to R.C. Rask on 1-3-1823 for the degree of Mark Master. Collection: Den Dankse Frimurerodens Museet, Copenhagen. Reproduced from: Dashwood 1962, p. 20.

information on the lodge members at that time. They were signed by Schneider, who added abbreviations of various higher degrees, including the 32nd. The signatures of Reckerman, Van der Linden, Bartholomeusz, de Haan and Camp can also be recognized. Newcomers were the Englishmen Edward Muskett (died 1827), merchant of the firm Muskette & Young, and W. Huxham, merchant of the firm Beaufort & Huxham, importers of wine; as well as Charles Liard and Edouard Jean Silvat.
Lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia received a letter dated 18-1-1825 from the aforementioned Johannes Camp, identifying himself as the son of a religious teacher, born in Colombo in 1770, and since 1793 working as a clerk for various offices. By now he was too old to work, and therefore applied to the lodge for assistance, explaining:

> [...] the Worshipful Grand Master of the Free Masons Lodge De Vereeniging has for philantrophic reasons provided me with a small house pro deo, all the more because I am an old freemason, and for diligence and zeal honoured with the Sublime Degree of Sovereign Prince Rose Croix [...] And because the Freemasons of the Lodge of Ceylon are indigent, I take my refuge with Your Enlightened and Worshipful.[387]

Below Camp's letter was written a recommendation:

> We undersigned, Grand Master, Warden and Secretary of the Lodge De VerEeniging in the East of Colombo, on the Island Ceylon, herewith ratify that the contents of this Letter regarding our Brother Johannes Camp, contain the truth, and that He deserves the compassion and the support of all worthy Brethren Freemasons.[388]

It was signed by Schneider, Reckerman and Bartholomeusz. A fourth signature, difficult to read, may be that of an Abr[aham] Mour. A last document, also from the archive of La Vertueuse, is another request for support. It was written by J. Welk Doendeyora on behalf of Mrs. C.M. Muller, widow of lodge member Johan Frederik von Meybrink. The letter explains how Von Meybrink passed away that August and asks to help his widow 'taking into account and under consideration that her Husband was such a noble Regent of the illustrious order of Free-Masons and Grand [= Worshipful] Master of the Venerable Lodge de Vereeniging in the East of Colombo'.[389] Underneath this plea was again added a recommendation, dated 3-8-1836 and signed by Schneider, Reckerman and Camp, as well as three new members: Chr. Ed. Juffer, Pieter Jacob Leopold Gratiaen (1795-1853), an assistant accountant general, and W.A. Kriekenbeek. However they did not sign as lodge officers like before, but privately, as Dutch freemasons in the same town. From this it can be concluded that the lodge no longer functioned in its original form. This corresponds with Dashwood's findings that the lodge transferred to another jurisdiction in 1835-1838. La Vertueuse replied on 5-7-1837, promising to send the widow Von Meybrink 100 Madras Rupees via a money transfer at the expense of the Messrs Mailame Watson & Camp to the benefit of J.J. van der Spar in Galle.[390]

The first time the lodge was mentioned explicitly as St. John's Lodge, was in a report in the *Freemasons Quarterly Review*. It described the ceremony for the laying of the first stone of the Rifle Regiment's Mess on 24-8-1835 in de Marandan Cinnamon Gardens, at which the lodge was present. Schneider was mentioned as Worshipful Master.[391] Also present was the lodge Secretary, captain William Gregory (also a member of St. John's Lodge No. 211 in Halifax). Another newspaper, the *Colombo Observer* of 28-8-1835, gave the following report:

> The Worshipful Master and Members of the Union Lodge of Free-masons, having assembled in the Fort […] were joined by several other Brethren, when Captain Gregory Royal Engineers was deputed by the Worshipful Master to perform the Masonic Ceremonies usual on such occasions.
>
> The Whole of the Brethren in their Masonic Clothing then proceeded in carriages to the immediate vicinity of the Major General's residence where they aligned, formed procession and moved towards Kew House preceded by the Band of the Ceylon Rifle Regiment playing 'The Masons' March'.
>
> On arrival of the Brethren at Kew House they were introduced to the Major General - a Procession marshalled as follows then proceeded to the Building with the Band in front again playing 'The Masons' March', the road being lined by the Ceylon Rifle Regiment.[392]

Masonic processions were not common in the Netherlands, but held in England up until the 1930s.[393] The procession consisted of two parts: first the officers of the regiment, followed by lieutenant colonel Vavassour with the building plans, then the lodge members according to a set pattern, carrying masonic tools and symbols (fig. 4.37). Between the last two members walked the major general, after which the procession was closed by four sergeants of the regiment. Having arrived at the building, everyone was seated and the bible, compasses and square were put in front of the Worshipful Master. After a prayer by the Reverend Bailey, Gregory requested the lodge members to check the cement, after which the major general was handed the trowel and other tools. A few coins were inserted into the wall and covered with a commemorative plaque by 'captain Vassal, Dr. Young, messrs Stewart and Black each holding a corner'.[394]

The meaning of the masonic symbols was explained to the audience by Gregory, after which he and Schneider laid corn, wine and oil on the upper stone and gave 'masonic honours'. The tools were handed by

Tyler ***Tyler***

The Worshipful Master

Junior Warden ***Secretary*** ***Senior Warden***

Junior Deacon ***Treasurer*** ***Senior Deacon***

Brethren two by two

Brother J. Young carrying a Trowel and Corn

Brother Vassal carrying a Mallet ***Brother Steward carrying a Square***

Brother W.H. Young carrying a Plumb ***Brother Black carrying a Level***

Brother Gregory carrying a Bible, Square and Compass

on a Crimson Cushion

Brother Gunn with a wand and carrying Wine ***Brother Lambert with a wand and carrying Oil***

Fig. 4.37: Procession formation of the members of Union Lodge in Colombo at the occasion of the laying of the first stone of the Rifle Regiment's Mess, 4-8-1835. The order should be read from the top down. Copied after Dashwood 1962, p. 11.

lodge member Lambert to the major general with formal words, and by him passed on to Gregory and Steward. The Worshipful Master spoke the closing words to the major general, followed by a prayer led by Bailey. The ceremony was ended with a speech from the general to colonel Fletcher, commander of the Ceylon Rifles.

The participation of the lodge at the opening of the mess and the masonic ceremony, imply that the lodge intended to hold meetings there. Lodges met more often in societies and restaurants, and no doubt the regiment's officers were among the members. Participation of the lodge in the festivities underlines how visible freemasons were in local society and how involved in community events. As will be discussed in chapter 5, that was also the case in the Dutch East Indies.

The description of events provides an insight into the membership list of the lodge, which included seven officers apart from Schneider and Gregory: John Ebenezer Young, merchant, J. Young, an assistant surgeon and W.H. Young, surgeon, probably relatives; lieutenants James Stewart and J.R. Lambert, and captain R.J.P. Vassal. Men with the surnames Black and Gunn could not be identified and at least seven officers remained unnamed. On 21-2-1838 former Secretary Gregory was one of the applicants for a new Constitution for the lodge from the Grand Lodge of England:

> We, the undersigned, being regular registered Masons of the Lodges mentioned against our respective names, having the prosperity of the Craft at heart, are anxious to exert our best endeavours to promote and diffuse the genuine Principles of the Art; and from the convenience of our respective dwellings and other good reasons, we are desirous to forming a new lodge, to be named St. John's Lodge of Colombo [...] The Letters of Patent under which the existing Union Lodge is at present working, are dated Grand Orient of France 21st November 1827, no. 8413.[395]

A further request was made to be allowed to practice the British Royal Arch degree. Most petitioners were described as former members of Union lodge, others were freemasons that had been initiated elsewhere. Among them were a number of men with Dutch names: Pieter Gratiaen, who had in 1836 signed the widow Muller's charity request, Abraham Cornelius van Cuylenburg (born 1790), probably a relative of the aforementioned Petrus Henricus Cuylenburg); Stephen Vertue jr., a merchant and member of lodge De Eendragt in Rotterdam[396]; Francis Albert Prins, a school master and former member of lodge De Getrouwigheid, Henry Carmichael Prins, a proctor, and John Theodore Prins, a goal doctor, probably all three related; as well as John Godfried Hillebrand (1778-1847), a proctor of the High Council and probably related to the aforementioned W. Hillebrand.

Most of the other petitioners were British, including the aforementioned Gregory, J. Young, Steward, as well as John Armitage (1807-1868), author of *The History of Brazil* (1836) and a member of Lodge Escudo Brasilense in Rio de Janeiro, by then a merchant at Armitage, Scott & Co who would come to play an important part in the financial sector; Colin George Lynd Campbell and Henry Edward Augustus Glasgow,

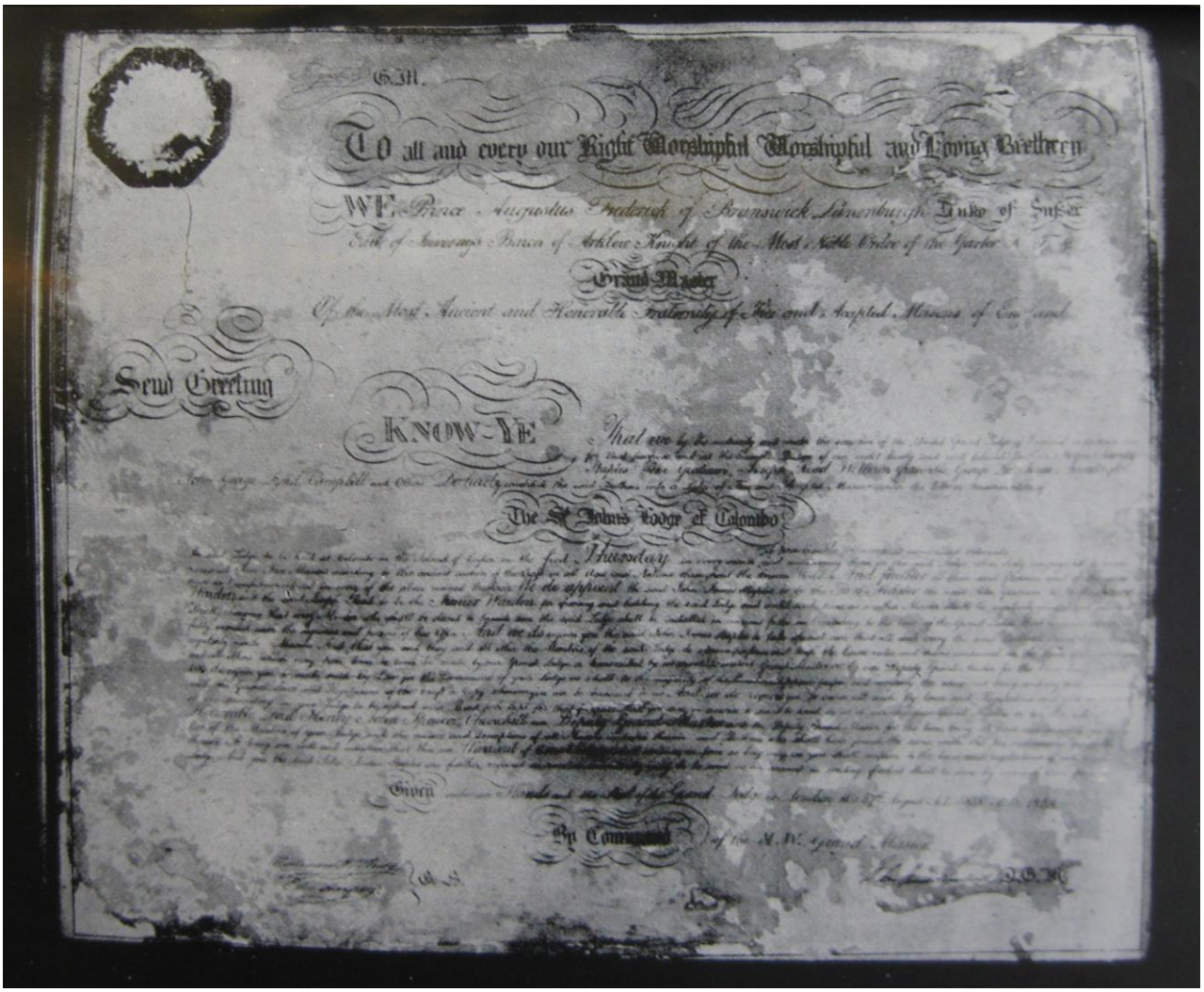


Fig. 3.38: Constitution for St. John's Lodge of Colombo, issued by the Grand Lodge of England on 27-8-1838. Collection: Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London. Reproduced from: Dashwood 1962, p. 25.

both working as clerk; William Granville (1767-1864), Colonial Treasurer; John Pierre Jumeaux, a fiscal; Joseph Read, a merchant and member of St. Andrew's Lodge in Perth, so probably of Scottish descent; John James Staples, a proctor, and Henry Joseph Staples, no doubt related; Cecil Arnold Morgan, probably related to the aforementioned R. Morgan; and George Lee, not yet identified.[397] The English Grand lodge granted their request and the Constitution was received on 7-8-1838 (fig. 4.38).[398]

The above confirms the continuity of the lodge from the Dutch to the English Constitution.[399] Later membership lists continued to include Dutch names for a long time. In 1841 the lodge was involved in the consecration ceremony of the Scottish St. Andrew's Church in Colombo, where again a procession and masonic ceremony were held, similar to the one described above.[400] By then governor J.A. Stewart Mackenzie (1784-1843) had become a member of the lodge. He was offered a silver trowel with an inscription as memento of the occasion.[401] The lodge met in a building at the Grand Pass in 1843.[402] It moved to Kandy in 1858 and remains active to this day. So the oldest, working lodge in Sri Lanka has Dutch roots. The minute books of the lodge have been preserved from 1865 onwards and are now kept in the Library and Museum of Freemasonry in London.[403]

♦ *Other freemasons on Ceylon*

Documents in various lodge archives mention freemasons in Ceylon, without making clear to which particular lodge they belonged. The aforementioned Johan Martinus Thomasse for instance, became a

member of lodge De Eendracht in Rotterdam in 1791. He was registered as previously 'accepted in Trinconomale on Ceylon', which suggests an initiation into a French lodge.[404] He may be the same man registered in lodge St. Jean de la Concorde in Surat as 'Thomasse' in 1776, or a relative.

The minutes of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia of 25-6-1795 recorded how a brother Mulls, was 'confronted with the fact that he acted incorrectly by having himself initiated on Ceylon after he had been proposed here'.[405] This man had been proposed (and perhaps even balloted and approved) in La Vertueuse, but was then initiated in Ceylon, whereby La Vertueuse missed out on his initiation fee, but did have to admit him as a member.

The membership records of lodge l'Astre de l'Orient in Vlissingen (Provence of Zeeland) in the Netherlands of 19-12-1801 include 'G[eorge] A[uguste dossit] d'Alban Apprentice Fellow-Craft Master on Ceylon', a lieutenant on the ship Zeeland, who registered as a new member.[406]

After 1800, several English, Scottish and Irish, mostly military lodges were active on Ceylon. Lodge No. 62 of the 8th Regiment of Foot worked under an Irish Constitution until circa 1834. Among the members were several Dutch sounding names, such as Nicolas Bergmans, state printer between 1815-1830, Joshua Christoffelsz Weinman (died 1824), assistant shopkeeper in the Colonial Shop Department, and John William de Waas (died 1828), clerk of the Head of the Secretary.[407]

4.3. Organisation and membership body

Considering the development of lodges in India and Ceylon as described above, there seem to be some recurring patterns. The first Dutch lodges in the region were founded by men, both associated with the VOC and the lodges in Amsterdam. In almost all cases members of the government or the governor himself were involved in the founding activities, ensuring both protection and a desirable status for the lodge. Most of the regular lodge members were both seafaring men (ships' captains and crew or merchants), military officers and civil servants stationed locally. Contact with the Grand Lodge in the Netherlands, the Provincial Grand Lodge in Bengal and between the Dutch lodges themselves was maintained through letters, carried by freemasons who were either ships' captains or in the service of the VOC, travelling from the Netherlands to the Cape and throughout Southeast Asia.

The Grand Lodge stimulated the founding of lodges, motivated not only by masonic ideals, but also by the potential source of income from founding fees, yearly contributions and authenticated membership certificates. The Grand Lodge correspondence with lodges in the trade ports deals predominantly with (late) contributions and other financial matters, and less with ritual or other masonic issues. The Grand Lodge rarely refused a requested Constitution. When no payment had been received, it waited before acting or granted a temporary document, but as soon as the *don gratuit* and founding fee was transferred, it formally recognized a lodge. If refusals occurred, the relating documents have not survived.

Lodges seem ambitious. Every lodge that was the first to be founded in a specific area, tried to obtain the title of Provincial Grand Lodge. Of course this was considered an honour, but again masonic ideals seem to have gone hand in hand with a desire for a higher status and financial opportunities. If all is well, there is little need for correspondence or minute keeping, so inevitably surviving documents tend to relate to problems or conflicts. The bickering amongst lodge members about higher degrees or even the colour of regalia may come across as petty, but it does emphasize how seriously the masonic 'game' was played and how much status was attached to higher degrees.

Communication was difficult and even letters sent in duplicate or triplicate often failed to reach their destination. Because of the large turnaround in both Provincial Grand Masters, lodge officers and even lodge members, the Grand Lodge had much less direct influence on the activities of the lodges in the trade posts than those in the Netherlands. The laws of the Order were interpreted as members saw fit, and in some cases interpreted very loosely.

During most of the 18th century, the total of Europeans in VOC service in the whole of Asia was circa 20.000.[408] In the small Dutch settlements, such as those in India and Ceylon around the time that the first lodges were founded there, that amounted to just a few hundred men and several dozen women. In 1760 for instance, there were 518 Company servants in the port of Galle on Ceylon.[409] The research for this chapter has resulted in a list of 324 names of men, who were members or visitors of lodges in India and/or Ceylon before 1757-1838 (see Appendix II). As the archives of lodges in the region are incomplete and the membership records of lodges in the Netherlands have not yet been systematically checked for visitors or members initiated in Asia, many names may still be added in the future.

What can we conclude from the present overview? Frank Lequin published a list of the members of the 'Directorium' of the VOC factory in Bengal.[410] This board consisted of the Director of Bengal and a Council of mainly civil servants (administration, trade, justice).[411] For the years 1759-1795 this list contains 39 names, of which 24 can be traced in the lodge archives. The percentage of Directorium members which belonged to a masonic network during this time frame amounts to 61 %. Here too we should take the fragmentary nature of lodge archives into account, as well as the fact that membership lists of lodges in the Netherlands were not consulted.[412] Of all 324 men, at least 105 (32 %) of these can be traced in the *monsterrollen* (enlistment papers) database of the VOC up to 1794.[413]

Among those whose place of birth or hometown was listed, at least 16 (9%) were born in Asia, while 88 (47%) came from the Netherlands, with Amsterdam and The Hague cited most often. Almost just as many men, 82 men (44%), came from other countries: most from Europe (Britain, Germany, France or Scandinavia), and a small percentage came from Algiers or South Africa. This again illustrates the 'Dutch' lodges were more of an international meeting place.

It is difficult to give precise numbers of their social backgrounds, because some men started out in VOC or military service and later became merchents or civilians. Of 324 men, at least 14 ships captains (4%) were counted, as well as at least 62 merchants (19%) and 76 in military service (23%). A small, but very influential number, were the governors and directors among them: 10 (3%). These are only preliminary findings that deserve to be expanded on and have thes network relationships visualised into interactive digital tools.[414]

The surviving documents illustrate the scope of the network at the disposal of freemasons in Asia and its social and economic potential for travelling Dutchmen. Considering their number, freemasons were an important group within the VOC directors and employees, in daily life closely involved in the government of the trade posts and the trade itself. The numbers have many implications for social, political and economic history. Was the involvement in a lodge beneficial or a prerequisite for the appointment to a particular office? Did masonic ideals influence the personal decisions of those in charge? Was the forming of strategic alliances, the outcome of trade negotiations or even the result of political conflicts influenced by the fact that some parties around the table were members of the Order?

Such questions may be answered by future researchers, who may want to focus on the archives of the lodges in the cities where the VOC had its 'Chambers': Amsterdam, Middelburg and Rotterdam (and the Besoigne in The Hague). Some of the key players listed in Appendix II have left either VOC archives, family archives or ego documents in such Dutch collections as the National Archive. Particularly the latter two categories may contain subtle references to lodge activities, which may have been previously overlooked by researchers, as they require knowledge of the typical expressions and signs used in masonic communication.

A recent international archive project (Tanap), especially aimed at identifying and preserving Dutch documents in former overseas trade posts, did not reveal significant masonic archives in collections in India and Sri Lanka.[415] Considering that Dutch positions in Asia were taken over by the British by the end of the 18th century, that the British and Dutch freemasons entertained friendly contacts and that at least one lodge transferred to British jurisdiction, the archives of lodges from India in the Museum and Library of Freemasonry in London might contain documents relating to the Dutch. The same goes for the archives of the Grand Orient de France in Paris, with which most Dutch scholars of colonial history may still be unfamiliar.

As there are only fragments left of the Dutch lodge archives from India and Ceylon, it is difficult to draw conclusions about their role in cultural mediation or the material culture they may have produced. Some lodge buildings and objects are mentioned in correspondence, but there are no inventories, no financial records and barely any objects left. That makes the apron of C.C. Uhlenbeck (fig.4.31) all the rarer. The few remaining documents, including orders of books and regalia, indicate that the lodges operated in much the same fashion as those in Batavia, from which such documentation *is* available. It is therefore logical to conclude that the lodges in India and Ceylon (temporarily) furnished lodge rooms in the houses of their Worshipful Masters and other prominent members, following traditions back in the Netherlands. What these could have looked like, will become clear from the next chapter.

What the above does illustrate very well, is how lodge membership and communication were interwoven with the VOC network. Becoming a freemason opened up worldwide travel and communication channels, which must have had tremendous social and economic potential. These channels have been used for the private trade in masonic export goods, as will also be discussed in the following chapters.



Fig. 5.1a: Map of the Dutch East Indies, indicating the location of lodges in the 18th and early 19th centuries. Reproduced from: Gaasta 2002, p. 42 (altered by the author).

5.1. Parallel histories

♦ *Freemasonry and the VOC in the Dutch East Indies*

In the late 16th century, when the Dutch started to explore the trade with the East Indian Archipelago, expeditions landed at Bantam, Northwest Java, where the Portuguese had not yet settled. From there, other islands were explored. The VOC aimed to acquire a strategic position where it could have its own jurisdiction and warehouses, but for several years this could not be realised. Jan Pietersz Coen (1587-1629), director general of Bantam since 1613, successfully defended Jakatra (old spelling, later Jakarta), a nearby smaller settlement, against attacks by the English and local rulers in 1618. [1] This woud now become the long desired stronghold of the Dutch in the Archipelago, and its name was changed into Batavia. It marked the start of a slow expansion of power through negociations and conflicts throughout the island group, constantly trying to ward off competition. Batavia became the hub of all VOC activities, where ships from Europe arrived and left; where trade goods were unloaded, exchanged and stored; and where the *Kasteel* or fort was built, housing the new governing powers representing the Republic. It would develop into the largest settlement of Europeans in the region.

As Ulbe Bosma and Remco Raben point out in *Being 'Dutch' in the Indies: a history of creolisation and empire, 1500-1920* (2008), 'Hybridity was part and parcel of Asian society, particularly in the many towns and cities of the coastal regions'.[2] When the Dutch arrived on the isle of Java in 1615-1619 they found a society shaped by previous waves of migration, resulting in a population of varied backgrounds and religions. Cities along the northern coast of Java were populated by Javanese and Indian Hindus, Buddhist and Confusian Chinese, as well as Arab and Indian Muslims, mainly as a result of trade relationships.[3] The lines between such groups were relatively flexible, until colonial politics defined more distinct ethnic separations. The VOC had a strict administrative structure which demanded defining specific groups, in order to be able to give them specific laws and duties - such as tax paying. It also propagated a Christian morality through Protestant ministers and later the Dutch Reformed Church in Batavia.

Although most of this chapter only concerns developments on Java, the VOC also had settlements on nearby islands Banda, Ambonia (= Ambon), Ternate, Tidore, Halmahera (= Moluccan Islands), and southern

Celebes (= Sulawesi). Around 1700, some 3.400 European and Eurasian people were living in Batavia, with an additional 3.000 soldiers and other military stationed there.[4] This was the majority of the circa 20.000 employees of the VOC that would be stationed throughout Asia in the 18th century. Towards the end of the century, as VOC trade started to dwindle, so the steady influx of people from the Netherlands also died down. It would not restore to its former level during the 19th century.

Most Dutchmen came to the East Indies in service of the VOC, and their status in society directly dependend on their Company rank. If they did not acquire a fortune from salaries, permits and bribes in a Company position, the other means to do so were by landownership or investing in international shipping. Bosma and Raben point out that although there was a European community to which one was assumed to belong if one's last name sounded 'right', there were important subgroups: the elite, the military and the urban poor. Within the strict hierarchies and formalities that the VOC had brought to life in the trade posts, people of mixed ethnic backgrounds and descendents of freed slaves had a tough time navigating through society.

In 1843 Johan Schill, Past Master of Lodge De Ster in het Oosten in Batavia and author of the first historical overview of Dutch freemasonry on Java, opened his *Gedenk-Boek voor de Javasche Broederschap der Orde van de Vrij Metselaren* with the words:

> The history of the lodges in the East of Batavia, from their foundation onwards, can in a way be considered as partially a history of the [East] Indies itself. After all, one discovers largely from it the circumstances and spirit of the time, and one learns from it mostly the prosperity and adversity which was experienced, and the means, used to keep the holy fire and the Temple of the Order from extinguishing.[5]

Luckily, the archives of the lodges in the Dutch East Indies survived more intact than those from other parts of Asia and now cover more than 5 meters of archive material in the CMC collection (not counting the in- en outgoing correspondence in the archive of the Grand Lodge itself) (see table 5.A). These indeed provide a valuable insight in the events in the region and the daily life of Europeans in the trade posts. For practical reasons, this chapter will explore these in the years between 1763, the founding of the first lodge in the Dutch East Indies, and 1837, when two major lodges in Batavia merged. Not only does the bulk of surviving archive material significantly increase after 1837, previous authors like Stevens and Van de Veur have already focussed on developments in the second half the 19th century.[6] Instead, the early years and relevant primary sources will be explored below.[7] Original documents are frequently quoted, to allow add nuance and contemporary tone of voice to events already touched upon by other authors. The overview below summarizes the founding, founding members and closing of each lodge. Their daily routine, some remarkable events and members are also touched upon briefly. This provides a necessary context to the unique material culture acquired by these lodges.

Dutch colonial interiors and applied arts have been highlighted recently in exhibition catalogues such as Titus Eliëns' *Silver in Batavia* (2012) and Jack Veenendaal's *Asian Art and Dutch taste* (2014).[8] Despite the wide interest of scholars, collectors and museum visitors in the subject, the interiors of Freemasons' Halls in the Dutch East Indies have never before been considered as an integral part of that same colonial material culture. The main purpose of the following chapter therefore is to provide an introduction into these interiors and make unpublished sources on the subject accessible. Below, the acquisition of lodge buildings is discussed as part of the lodge histories and, where possible, the surviving inventories of those buildings are reproduced. The second half of this chapter explores the inventories thematically and in more detail. It will become clear both the exterior and interior of these buildings, as well as the furniture and objects used within, all projected certain ideals to the visitor through symbolism in their decorations and/or shapes, meanwhile following contemporary fashions. Although the lodges on Java tried to follow masonic traditions from in the Netherlands (at the time strongly influenced by French developments), they often made use of local craftsmen, artists and materials. This allowed for a subtle mixing of European and Asian influences, also seen in 'profane' Dutch colonial interiors of the 18th and 19th centuries.

Although there are some gaps, especially in the 18th century material, inventories of the two main lodges in Batavia, La Fidèle Sincérité and La Vertueuse, have survived from the years 1775-1837, as did their financial records from 1777-1837. Cross referencing these sources illustrates the development of a

unique material culture with both a practical, decorative and ritual function. They also provide an insight into the wealth of the lodges, the commissions given to artists and craftsmen, the contact between the lodges and the local community, the lodges' role in the local economy and their overall consumption patterns. Yet art historical research seems to have overlooked the fascinating variety of masonic objects that developed within this socio-economical context.

Too many documents have survived to reproduce them all here. Instead, a selection of inventories from successive lodge buildings is provided. These illustrate how - besides ambulant props for the ritual and table lodge - rich furnishings and fixtures were acquired for a variety of non-ritual functions. To get a grip on the material, the discussion in the second half of this chapter will explore the lodge buildings from the exterior to the interior. Firstly, the acquisition of various properties, the investments and people involved, and the general division of spaces will be discussed. As information on the exterior is limited, the interior will be the main focus: wall and ceiling decorations, furniture and ritual objects, as well as the regalia stored in the lodge. The overview will end with the necessities for the table lodge and post-ritual gatherings. Not every single candlestick, which would also appear in normal residencies in Batavia, deserves a mention. For practical reasons, the focus will have to be limited to the most remarkable categories of ritual and precious objects, their purchase and makers. When payments are noted, where available their original currencies are given: Dutch guilders (noted as: fl), Ducats (gold: 5 guilders, silver: 2½ guilders), *Rijksdaalders* (2½ guilders, noted as: Rds) or Stuivers (1/20th guilder or 5 cents, noted as: St), Spanish dollars (Spd[9]), Portuguese real or *Indisch geld* (East Indies' money). (NB: the Dutch use a decimal comma rather than a point, so fl. 1.000,- = one thousand guilders.)



Fig. 5.1b: Map of Java, indicating the location of lodges in the 18th century.
Reproduced from: Gaasta 2002, p. 63 (altered by the author).

5.2. Lodges and their masonic halls: Java, Sumatra and Malacca (1763-1837)

♦ *Provincial Grand Lodge La Choisie in Batavia (1763-1769)*

As Batavia was an important stopover on the route to India, Japan and China, it was a likely spot for travelling freemasons to meet up informally. As Grand Lodge representatives Van Schevichaven, De Labat and Tissot Grenus were involved in the foundation of a first Dutch lodge in nearby India around 1758 (see chapter 4, we may assume Dutch freemasons started to come across one another in Batavia around the same time.[10] Hageman attributed the foundation of the first Dutch lodge in this port to the large presence of British freemasons, using Batavia as a stopover on their way to other parts of Asia in 1762-1763.[11] British freemasons had already experienced the convenience for travellers of having lodges in India since 1730, and - combined with ambitions of the Grand Lodge in The Hague to expand - this may have well inspired their Dutch counterparts to follow suit. Van Scheevikhaven stopped over in Batavia on his way to Bengal in 1762 and may have been involved in some preparations.[12] However, the initiative to found the first Dutch lodge on Java is usually attributed to Jacob Cornelis Mattheus Radermacher (1741-1784, fig. 5.3), son of the Dutch Grand Master, who was in Batavia in service of the VOC. Radermacher is thought to have instigated the founding of a lodge around 1762, subsequently established under the name of La Choisie (= The Chosen One) in 1763.[13] That same year Radermacher travelled back to The Hague, where he was appointed Grand Secretary. This gave him the opportunity to request a Constitution for his own lodge, which was formally approved during the yearly meeting of Dutch lodges in 1764. The concept-constitution for La Choisie survived and is dated 23-12-1764 (fig. 5.4.).[14]

Grand Secretary Radermacher sent the definitive constitution to Batavia in January 1765, together with a letter full of instructions:

> As the Book of Law states, that Brethren [...] below 25 Years are allowed to be received, without having obtained a special freedom, of which all regular lodges supply themselves yearly, We have thought in necessary to include one here, and whereby this and no other Dispensation is provided.[15]

It was stipulated that the lodge had to pay the Grand Lodge 1 Ducat for every Master made, a further 10 Ducats for the letter of Constitution, as well as a *don gratuit* (gift or donation) for the founding of the lodge. Towards the latter, Radermacher subtly hinted 'which everyone does according to the state of his Lodge; and of which the Brothers of Bengal have exceeded both nobly and liberally with One Hundred Ducats'.[16] Radermacher further used his time in The Hague to elevate La Choisie from just another lodge to the status of Provincial Grand Lodge for the Dutch East Indies. On 30-9-1765 he wrote a letter to lodge Salomon in Bengal, which had previously held the title of Provincial Grand Lodge for the whole of the Dutch overseas territories in Asia:

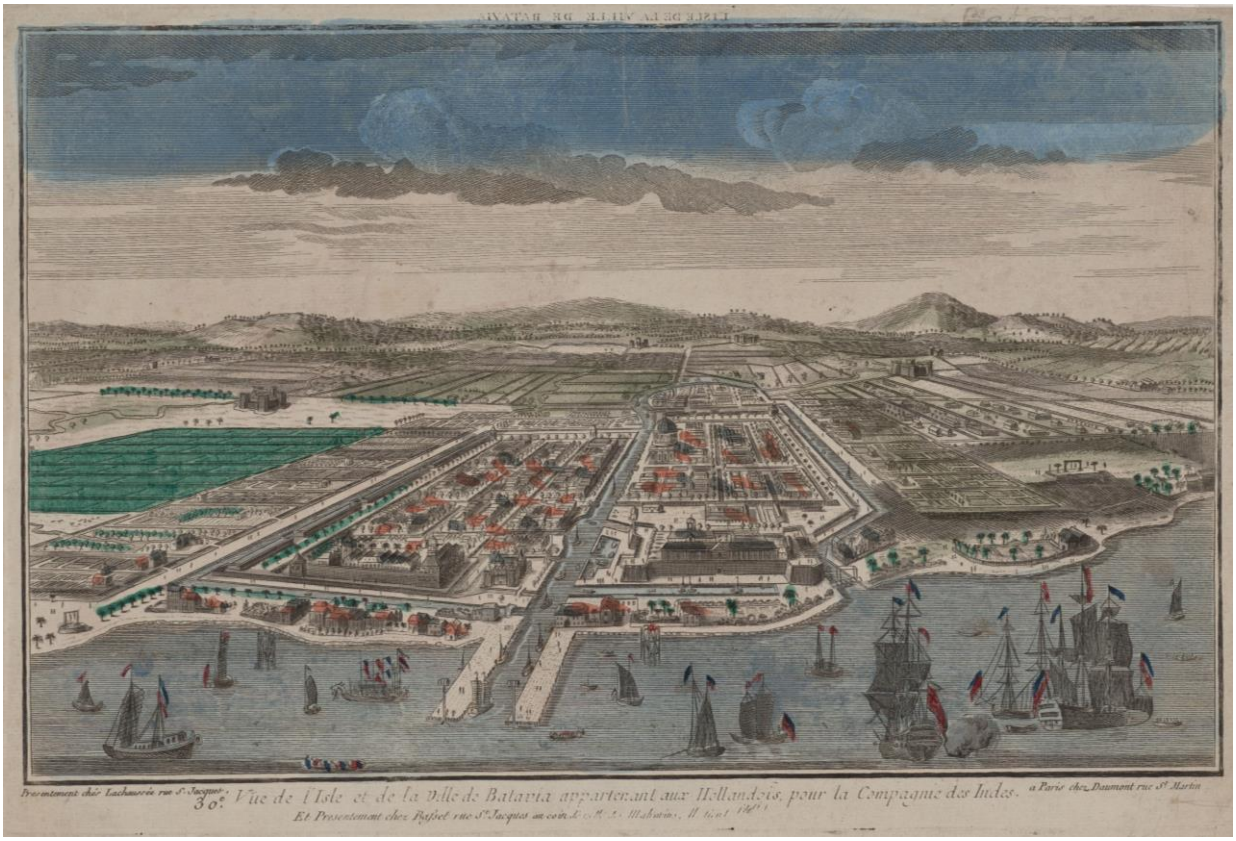


Fig. 5.2: I. van Ryne, mirrored print of The city of Batavia in the island of Java and Capital of the Dutch factories & settlements in the East Indies [...] *(London 1754). Collection: KITLV, Leiden, inv.no. 51C7. Reproduced from: media-kitlv.nl.*



Fig. 5.3: Portrait of Jacob Cornelis Radermacher (1741- I784). Reproduced from: Indische Letteren *6 (1991) 4, p. 16.*

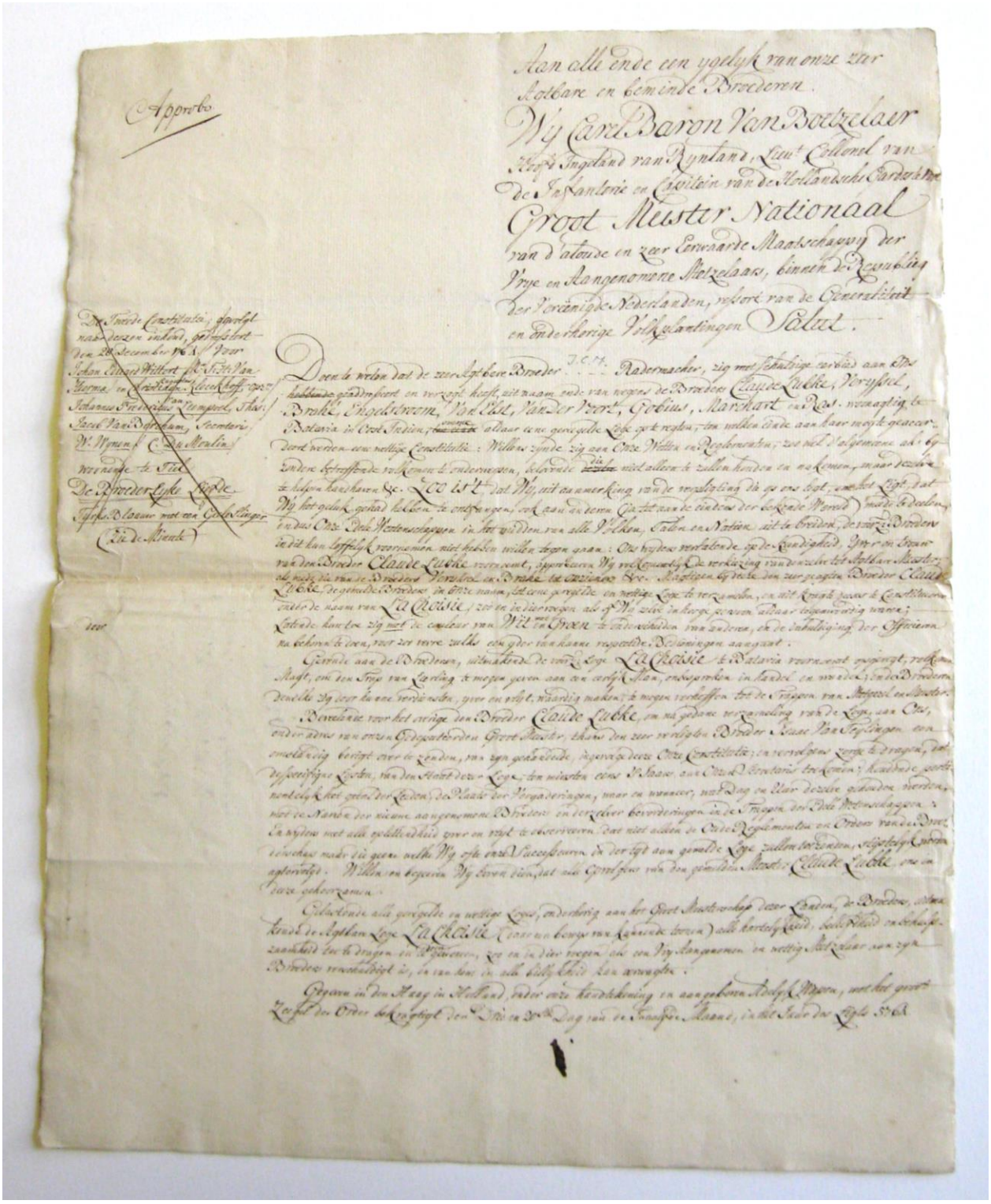


Fig. 5.4: Constitution of lodge La Choisie in Batavia, dated 20-12-1764. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 2402. Photograph: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

Table 5.A: Lodges in the Dutch East Indies, founded before 1853

Java		
Batavia		
Provincial Grand Lodge La Choisie	1763-1769	
La Fidèle Sincérité	1767-1837	(merged with La Vertueuse into De Ster in het Oosten)
La Vertueuse	1768-1837	(merged with La Fidèle Sincérité into De Ster in het Oosten)
De Militaire Broederschap	1814-1823	(ambulant military lodge, merged with La Vertueuse)
Flora Lodge	1814-1815	(illegal British lodge)
De Ster in het Oosten	1837-1959	(moved to Bilthoven, the Netherlands, 1960-present)
Surabaya		
Loge Provisoire	1799	(French military lodge from Mauritius/Isle de France)
De Vriendschap	1809-1959	(moved to The Hague, the Netherlands, 1960-present)
Semarang		
De Goede Hoop	1798	(ambulant lodge)
La Constante et Fidèle	1801-1960	
Buitenzorg		
Virtutis et Artis Amici	1813-1815	
Sumatra		
Padang		
N.N.	1772-1774	
Malacca		
La Constance	ca. 1770-after 1776	

> Though as we, this year, in the aforementioned Capital of the Dutch Indies, having founded a new Lodge, under the Name of La Choisie, which members could also want a similar privilege […] are of the opinion it would be more useful in such a case […] if would be brought under Batavia, the Easterly, and under Bengal, the Westerly Quarters, as being very wide and faraway of each other; so that the Worshipful Lodge Solomon, apart from the Mongol and Persian Empires, across the Coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, as well as the island Ceylon; similarly the Worshipful lodge La Choisie, over Java, Sumatra, Malacca, Makassar, Ternate, Ambonia, Banda &c would each independently have to chief rule, with this dignity annex to the body of the Lodge and no longer to the Person, of the current Master himself'.[17]

In other words, he replaced the Provincial Grand Master with a Provincial Grand Lodge, and halved the area of its jurisdiction for the benefit of La Choisie. It is possible he anticipated a push for expansion by the Grand Lodge in both regions, or that he simply wanted to do his Brothers this great favour.

The constitution listed as the other founding members: Claude A[nthony] van [der] Leupken (died 1767), major in the artillery and later *Heemraad* (Dike Board), and in the absence of Radermacher appointed Worshipful Master of the new lodge; Johannes Cornelis Verijssel (1743-1765), 2nd *Confrontist* of the Administrative books in Batavia; Wolphert Abraham Brahe (1715-1770), 1st Carga of the Masquet trade; Frederik Andries Christiaan Engelstroom (died 1772), captain lieutenant of artillery; Robbert van Elst (circa 1728-1766), bookkeeper of ships wages; Pieter Godofridus van der Voort (1734-1780), second Secretary to the High Government; mr. Jacobus Gobius (1721-1765), Secretary of *boedelmeesters* (office dealing with legates); Jan Marchart (1715-1778), sergeant of the Eastside *Burgerij* (civil military or reserve) and lastly Mr. Pieter Ras (1736-1781), the Resident of Grisée.[18]

What little is left of the correspondence between La Choisie and the Grand Lodge gives us some idea how the members faired. Van der Voort confirmed the receipt of the constitution to the Grand Lodge on 10-1-1766, in a letter which also noted a first sign of trouble:

> […] the earlier and still prevalent disease of the gentleman major Van Leupken [= the Worshipful Master], as well as the monsoon rains and other hindrances, are the reason that until now not only no arrangements have been made how to best organize to erect [the lodge] […] as well as to remit the charged costs.[19]

So the lodge was not yet active and had therefore not yet collected or paid any contributions. Van der Voort indicated that the members had made arrangements to do so soon, as they were charged by The Grand Lodge for activities from the date of the constitution onwards, even if they did would be unable to convene until much later.[20] On 17-5-1766 a 'consultation lodge' took place, probably a household meeting, in which Leubken resigned as Worshipful Master due to his ill health.[21]

A letter by Grand Secretary Radermacher dated 27-5-1766 was delivered to La Choisie by George Steendekker, first mate of the ship Jerusalem, on his way to Bengal with other Grand Lodge correspondence.[22] Radermacher reminded the lodge of the outstanding debt and repeated the warning he had also given lodge Salomon in Bengal: to only admit freemasons in possession of a membership certificate. On 4-9-1766 La Choisie informed the Grand Lodge informing that Leonard van Heijs, former captain of the *Burgerij* and barman of Het Heerenlogement, had been made a member.[23] Hageman explained that as Van Heijs position was a statutory appointment by the Dutch government, he was under its auspices. As such he had a monopoly on providing lodgings for travelling Europeans stopping at Batavia. By involving him in the lodge activities, the members were ensured of secrecy and a suitable premises for their meetings.[24] The letter was signed by the aforementioned Van der Voort, Leubken, Van der Elst and two new members: Alexander Cornabe (circa 1737-after 1797), a merchant and later governor of Ternate, and Hendrik August Rossel (died 1785), also a merchant at the *logievisitiekantoor* (visitor registration office).[25]

The foundation of La Choisie was viewed as a brave move by later masonic historians. Der Kinderen wrote in 1864 that it was:

> Not just a beautiful, but a courageous work; for in those times those who held the governance of this area in their hands, no less than the governors of the motherland, were very hostile towards Freemasonry, and especially the clergy was always busy to use its so powerful influence, to paint those who called themselves the children of Light, as dangerous beings, who were threatening State and Church with the largest of dangers.[26]

Hageman emphasized that in 18th century Batavia there were no public European societies or meetings, other than church services. Even the theatre in Batavia was closed in 1768, so lodge meetings provided a welcome divertissement. Muslim, Hindi and Chinese religions were allowed and regulated by laws, while Christian religion was limited to meetings of the Calvinist and Lutheran churches, and Catholic services were prohibited.[27] As the lodge was active under the rule of the reformed governor-general Petrus Albertus van der Parra (1761-1775), a protector of the Church, meetings were held in secret.[28] Even so, Hageman stated that despite the large number of religious 'teachers' in the area between 1764 and 1799, he never found any evidence of conflict between supporters if the church and members of the order until well into the 19th century.[29] The fact that no public protests were made, was according to Hageman easily explained by the number of influential government figures among the lodge members.[30]

La Choisie had a short existence. Masonic historians agreed that the lodge must have stopped its activities around 1767, while the reason for its demise remained a matter of speculation.[31] They may have overlooked correspondence between La Choisie and the Grand Lodge, explaining the circumstances. The Grand Lodge received a letter by 'Some Brethren in Batavia', dated 18-11-1767, who requested permission to form a new lodge under the name La Fidèle Sincérité:

> As they understand that the Lodge [La Choisie] which is present there [Batavia], can be considered erased as it has not convened for a Year and a Day, and therefore its Constitution is annulled, according to the laws of the Gr[and] Lodge Chapter 4, Article 4, page 66.[32]

This implies La Choisie had been inactive since October 1766, a month after initiating Van Heijs. The Grand Lodge completely ignored the request, even though its letters to La Choisie dated January 1765 and 27-5-1766 had remained unanswered, and no contributions had been received.[33] Radermacher. returned to Batavia in August 1768, but apparently took his time in informing the Grand Lodge about the status of La Choisie. He did not write to The Hague until 10-1-1769, revealing that another illness, this time of the new

Worshipful Master Van der Voort, had again prohibited the transfer of contributions. Radermacher covered the debt out of his own pocket, sending a money order for 100 Ducats.[34]

His letter must have crossed that of Grand Secretary Du Bois, who sent a reminder to La Choisie on 30-3-1769:

> We had well expected that the Brother Radermacher aforementioned our former Grand Secretary, on his return to Batavia would have informed us of the one and other, but probably this brother has been hindered in doing so by private occupations, or is staying somewhere other than Batavia. [...] And although we have heard of that side, that the Brother Claude Lubke has died, and therefore the chair [of the Worshipful Master] became vacant, were are confident that this place will be filled again by a knowledgeable Brother.[35]

The aforementioned Steendekker had in the meanwhile been promoted to captain of the ship Lycochton and had also been appointed 'foreign Deputy Grand Master' by the Grand Lodge.[36] Still unaware of Radermacher's letter in transit, Steendekker was commissioned by the Grand Lodge on 13-5-1769 to found a lodge at the Cape and then move on to Batavia, where he was to deliver a new constitution to La Choisie, now appointed Provincial Grand Lodge.[37] Of course he also had to collect its debts.

When eventually Radermacher's letter reached The Hague, the Grand Lodge replied on 15-8-1769:

> We had already flattered ourselves that this would be the case, all the more because we hoped, that Your Honour's presence, as Member in the Lodge La Choisie and having been a Grand Officer, among us, would have had a better effect, and that we mainly would have been informed of the State of it [the lodge]; although we have until now not seen a List of members, yes even often have become doubtful whether this [lodge] substantiated or not, and it seems us that even more cause thereto, gave the receipt of Two subsequent Messages, from some Brethren on Batavia, aforementioned [intended] to found under the name La Fidele Sincerite, however, those Letter having come to hand very late, through an unusual channel, we have, awaiting for Your Worshipful tidings, not granted that request but would much rather see that those Brethren would apply as members to La Choise.
>
> However, we were not well able to refuse, to another part of gathered Brethren (of which some are members of lodges in The Hague) on the same Request and Remittance, to grant a Constitution to the founding of a Lodge in Batavia aforementioned, under the name of La Vertueuse, of which we promise ourselves much good, for its zeal to work and good directorship.
>
> We wish that this Lodge will congregate with La Choisie, and that the same, in good understanding, will visit amongst each other; and hope still, that this will not mean a fading amongst the Brethren of the latter, but that these will become all the more zealous, and will annualy please us with its Letters, Lists and Don Gratuits, as supporters of the good Order.[38]

As will become clear below, the new lodge La Fidèle Sincérité proceeded with its activities anyway. In September 1770 the Grand Lodge wrote to Radermacher for the last time, thanking him for the money transfer and erasing the debt:

> With us in time placed in hand very well, Your Honour's very pleasant Message of 15th October 1769 with the enclosed Money Order, on account of the Gentlemen F. De Wilde and Groen, in Amsterdam, […] but how much We on the one hand are glad, in that Remise, we are on the other hand saddened to here, from the aforementioned Message, that the Honourable Lodge Loge La Choisie, by weakening of members, would be erased, and that We would lose that sister. We hope and wish that this well before long, by the expansion of a good number of capable People, may restore itself and once again come to a State, of which we are confident, by Your Honour, by then, we will receive communications.[39]

Masonic historians have assumed, that a conflict within La Choisie led to its demise and the founding of two other lodges in Batavia, La Fidèle Sincérité en La Vertueuse.[40] From what little documents remain, it seems La Choisie mostly existed on paper and only because of Radermacher's personal involvement. He was in the position to deal with both the formalities and the high costs, but the successive Worshipful Masters were too ill to perform their duties and Radermacher may not have been the only lodge member to be called away in Company service. By 1769 others in Batavia were taken similar initiatives and Radermacher must have concluded that it was useless to keep advancing costs for a lodge that would have to be reorganized



Fig. 5.5: The harbour canal in Batavia with the City Inn on the right, ca. 1867. Photo by Woodbury & Page, Batavia, 19 x 24 cm. Collection: KITLV, Leiden, inv.no. 87396. Reproduced from: media-kitlv.nl.

from scratch while he lacked the time to do so. The surviving correspondence does not suggest a conflict; that mainly came from (later) letters of La Vertueuse to the Grand lodge, strategically written to discredit La Fidèle Sincérité and support its own bid for the title of Provincial Grand Lodge, discussed below.

Even so, La Choisie was not formally erased until 18-4-1773, when it was clear to the Grand Lodge that it would never be resurrected.[41] According to the *Gedenkboek* (1917), a memorial publication, the archive remained 'in profane hands' after the demise of the lodge. It was retrieved but 'lost again and now for good'.[42] Those cryptic words mark the end of the first, short-lived Dutch lodge in Batavia.

Just as in the Netherlands, freemasons in the Dutch East Indies started out with renting rooms in local inns and other communal spaces, while the lodge furniture had an ambulant character. Lodge La Choisie mentioned the Heerenlogement in a letter to the Grand Lodge in The Hague on 4-9-1766 as an inn 'where meanwhile a suitable [meeting] place has been allocated […] as such has since [the foundation] taken place and will be continued'.[43] Governor-general Jacob Mossel (1704-1761) had instated this Heerenlogement in 1754. He obliged VOC employees as well as strangers to stay here, as a means of controlling the comings and goings in the main port of the colony.[44] From 1757 onwards this inn, located at the Moorsegracht, also functioned as a theatre.[45] By the time its successor, the Stadsherberg, was built at the harbour canal in 1849 (fig. 5.5), the three earliest lodges in Batavia had ceased to exist. Even so, later authors mistakenly named the Stadsherberg as their earliest meeting place.[46] La Choisie was too short-lived to ever acquire its own building. The other lodges on Java, however, would eventually build and decorate genuine Freemasons' Halls.

♦ *Lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia (1767-1837)*

In Radermacher's absence, other freemasons in Batavia had taken the initiative to form a lodge, named La Fidèle Sincérité. Its exact foundation date and circumstances remain unclear. According to Hageman, the founding took place at a meeting in July 1767 and the lodge formally convened for the first time with 13 members in Het Heerenlogement in Batavia in September of the same year.[47] Indeed 'A book of Resolutions, bound in red leather, starting Anno 1767' (now lost) was mentioned in later records by the lodge's archivist.[48] Five former members of La Choisie were supposedly among the founding members of La Fidèle Sincérité, but only Cornabe, Van Heijs and Marchand could be identified as such.[49] It does however explain how the constitution of La Choisie came to be in possession of La Fidèle Sincérité, according to its archive inventories, and suggests the new lodge was most likely a 'reboot' of La Choisie under a new name.[50] Other sources place the founding of La Fidèle Sincérité in November 1767 (possibly due to the masonic calendar) and also list different men as founders: Johan Ulrich Schneider, a captain-lieutenant; Paulus Rohrborn, also a capitain-lieutenant; J[oh]an Martin [Marten] Re[e]mer, captain of the Eastside *Burgerij*; Jacob van der Wijck (1726-1790), Extraordinary Council of Justice; Arnoldus Musquetier (1743-1815), assistant; Jean George Daniel Hasselaer (1745-1774), Second administrator at the Grain Warehouse, and Hendrik van Stockum (1739-1793), merchant.[51] Schneider acted as Worshipful Master, followed by Remer in 1768.[52] Hageman identified most of the later lodge members as seamen, (travelling) military, civilians and 'strangers', including the men on the French ship Boudeuse of captain Louis-Antoine de Bougainville (in Batavia between 28-9 and 16-1-1768) en that of Jean-Marie Francois de Surville (in Batavia in 1769).[53]

The coming few years would be marked by a bitter rivalry between La Fidèle Sincérité and the third lodge to be founded in Batavia, La Vertueuse. The animosity between them was largely fuelled by the Grand Lodge in The Hague, who denied La Fidèle Sincérité a constitution for a long time and favorited La Vertueuse.[54] La Vertueuse had more means to its disposal and did not only unjustly get to boast seniority, it also attracted more members (and therefore even more means) while La Fidèle Sincérité unsuccessfully struggled for recognition. Previously unpublished letters provide some insight into the motivation of the Grand Lodge.

The petition for a constitution by La Fidèle Sincérité was first noted in the Register of letters received by the Grand Lodge on 18-11-1767.[55] The fact that the Grand Lodge chose to ignore the request, while it was trying to expand its powers overseas, was unusual. An explanation for this decision was not provided until 15-8-1769 in a letter to co-founder of La Fidèle Sincérité Van der Wijck, by then acting as its Worshipful Master:

> It was last June [1769] that We, through an unknown delay, very late; and in a singular manner and by a third hand, became aware, that Letters to the Grand Master and other Grand Officers, had been sent by Your Honour to the Count Obdam, under Con[venant] of the gentleman Houtman; these Letters, however old their date, however only came to hand, after We had already granted a new Constitution, to the founding of a Lodge, under the name of La Vertueuse.
>
> Whatever the reason may be, that the aforementioned Letters, dated 27 November 1767 and 10 January 1768 were thus addressed to this Gentlemen, who was never a Grand Master, we will not investigate now; but only remark that Your Honour and the Brethren agreeing with Your Honour to apply for a Constitution, for the founding of a Lodge, under the name of La Fidele Sincerite, were not well informed of the National Organisation.
>
> On the other hand it seemed questionable to us, that the Brethren were not included to join La Choisie, which has already been active in Batavia for over five years, and of which We have recently received Letters that it is working, knowing full well that this Lodge was active over there.
>
> And how should We, Dear Brothers, comply with this request? As the Law dictates us, Page 64 of the 1ste Art. of the 4th Chapter 'That no Constitution can be given, if there is already a Lodge present locally, than to those who already have a number of Ten applicants'. So contrary to the fundamental Law Your Honour's Letters were signed by but a few Brethren.
>
> Moreover We see, with amazement, that the request extends to a Provincial [Grand] Lodge [...] We flatter ourselves, that the Brethren will agree with us, that if a Provincial Act were necessary, and was required on good grounds, that the Eldest, or first constituted Lodge, would sooner have the right to it.

> And We think the Brethren too judicious, to require from us, that We [...] would make an infraction upon the same. So We are unable to meet with this request. We hope, that the Brethren who We deem worthy Members, will be willing to be incorporated with La Choisie, or La Vertueuse, as there is much there and will possibly soon be able to join in the running of things; [...]
>
> Furthermore it seems to us, that Three Lodges in Batavia would be too much, so We advise the Brethren of La Fidele Sincerite, to join one of the aforementioned lodges; if they were unable to do so, for good reasons, and would rather address us once more, when We can validate those reasons, and would be assured of the state and number of the Members, as well as the yearly Contributions of Brethren, [We] will agree the requested Constitution.[56]

That wording was strategic and seems to contradict the receipt of correspondence as noted in the Gran Lodge's own correspondence register.[57] While assuring Van Wijck that La Choisie was active, the Grand Lodge actually wrote to Radermacher. on the same day, expressing doubts whether La Choisie had ever materialised. In a third letter written on the same date, this time to Provincial Grand Master Steendekker, the Grand Lodge revealed more details:

> Then We received a request and Remittance from some gathering Brethren in Batavia, including some, who are past Members of Lodge in The Hague, for a Constitution, to found a Lodge under the name of La Vertueuse; of which Brother Van Der Vorm is [Worshipful] Master; to that Request we gave a positive fiat, and supplied those Brethren with the necessary Patent as they did not only make up a good number, of which the most part is known to us, but apart from sending the payment for the Constitution in advance, [they] have also promised to yearly transfer a Don Gratuit, of the same amount, if not more.[58]

Table 5.B: Worshipful Masters of lodge La Fidèle Sincérité before 1837

1767-1768 Johan Ulrich Schneider
1768 Johan Martin Remer
1769-1770 Jacob van der Wijck
1770 Johannes Jaggie
1771 Johannes Gabriel van Gehren
1773 Johan Martin Remer
1774 Johannes Christian Balthasar Remer
1775 Jan Willem van Blijdenberg
1776 Christiaan Hendrik von Erath
1780-1782 Nicolaas Maas
1784 Pieter Aneas de Win
1785-1786 Nicolaas Maas
1786-1787 Jan Greeve
1787-1788 Nicolaas Maas
1788 Pieter Aneas de Win
1788-1790 Jan Daniel Beijnon
1790 Mr. P. Enger[t/s]
17921793 Carel Kuvel
1793-1797 Nicolaas Maas
1797-1800 Carel August Remer
1800 A.M. von Schenck
1801 Jan Stave
1802 Nicolaas Maas
1802-1803 Jan Stave
1803-1806 Nicolaas Maas
1806 Pieter Simon Maurisse
1808 Wijnand Lucas Baggers
1808-1809 Nicolaas Maas
1809 Wijnand Lucas Baggers
1810 F.E. Turr
1816 Oltman George van der Keer
1817 S.I. Turr
1818 Willem Lamberger
1820 Wijnand Lucas Baggers
1821 J. Schill
1823 Pieter Simon Maurisse
1825 J. Schill
1833 Willem Adriaan Keuchenius
1834 Diederik Popkens
1835 A.A. Vinju
1836 J. Schill
1837 A.A. Vinju (acting Worshipfil Master during the merger of the lodges)

So the strict interpretation of masonic law may in this case have been helped by the fact that the applicants of the third lodge were well known and wealthy enough to advance all costs and make promises in advance. By coincidence the original letters from La Fidèle Sincérité went 'missing', as noted in the side-line of correspondence register of the Grand Lodge, making it impossible for anyone to check the number of original applicants as basis for an objection.

The members of La Fidèle Sincérité persisted. Provincial Grand Master Steendekker sent a 'report on the State of the Lodges in Batavia', received by the Grand Lodge on 22-5-1770.[59] It must have been accompanied by a new request by La Fidèle Sincérité for a Constitution as a Provincial Grand Lodge, as such was registered on the same date.[60] The lodge was now granted a constitution on 9-6-1770, but only in the form of a temporary document - as the required payment had not yet been received - and not for a provincial Grand Lodge. A little wry was that the lodge, by then ruled by Worshipful Master Johannes

Jaggie, a doctor, had to cough up even more money than the handful of members had expected. According to masonic law, the first (officially recognized) lodge in any town could be constituted by seven brothers, who each had to pay ten Ducats, while the second lodge in any town could only be constituted by ten brethren, who each had to pay 20 Ducats.[61]

None the less, a money order by Steendekker for a 100 Ducats was received in in August 1771.[62] The Grand Lodge was apparently now satisfied enough that more would follow to finally send a permanent constitution, dated 20-9-1771.[63] In the accompanying letter Grand Secretary Dubois again refused a request for 'anciennity' or any Provincial status. La Fidèle Sincérité had informed him how the dispute had caused an estrangement between the members of both lodges involved, but he dismissed this as 'unmasonic' behaviour and advised the lodge to simply submit to La Vertueuse:

> Are you not all children of the same Mother? Are you not all Members of the same Society? Does the Rank give you a greater, more right? Does the Mother Lodge make a difference between the eldest or the youngest? What then can spur You on to claim this Rank? Nothing but wrong thoughts. [...] If Your Honour's Letter had come on time, You would without dispute have been sitting above La Vertueuse in our National Meeting. Coincidentally that Letter is missing, and therefore La Vertueuse became a Constitution predating Yours, and which privilege has the same begotten through that? Indeed nothing substantial.[64]

The only consolation was that the request for the Provincial status was refused to La Vertueuse as well, as Steendekker's function meant there was no need: 'And maybe it is better to never grant such a Diploma to one particular Lodge, as the same often causes to much envy'.[65] Dubois wrote to Provincial Grand Master Steendekker on the same day:

> We have very well received, Your Honour's very pleasant Letters of November 1770 and January 1771, from which We, with joy have gathered, the progression which Your Honour has made in the Eastern parts of the Dutch Indies, and thank Your Honour for all the applied vigilance; agreeing Your Honours actions towards both la Vertueuse and la Fidele Sincerite; to the latter We sent the Constitution in *amplissima forma* at this occasion, through Abraham Van Der Weijde.
>
> But concerning the Provincial [Grand Lodge], We cannot yet go there, and we have consented to grant it to neither of them. We would much like to see and hear, that there would be more unity and true Brotherly Love between those two Lodges, although we do not doubt Your Honour's good preparation and intervention.[66]

On 20-7-1771 the Grand Lodge also informed La Vertueuse on the constitution of La Fidèle Sincérité. Both lodges kept filing requests for a Provincial status for years to come, and eventually the Grand Lodge would consent to let them chose a Provincial Grand Master from their midst.[67]

As usual, the Constitution listed the first members of La Fidèle Sincérité as the aforementioned Jaggie and Remer, as well as Johannes Christian Balthazar Re[e]mer, civilian officer and probably a relative of the Johan Martin. Several others were military men: Arnold Boone (died 1772), a sergeant; Charles Louis Colmond, a colonel and Hermanus Laurens Discher (1717-1771), a lieutenant (see fig. 5.6[68]). The law was represented by Johannes Gabriel Van Gehren, (died 1784), a lawyer and Ordinary Council of the Indies; Jacob Samuel De Raaf, the later Secretary of Police in Padang; and Johannes Nicolaas Bestbier, a notary. Jan van Eysden (died 1773) was a ship's captain, Bernhardus Daniel ter Herbrugge (died 1771), a (former) sailor and Ysbrand van Stamhorst remains to be identified further.[69] Hageman noted that 'Although the lodge barely counted enough members, in order to appoint the various dignitaries, his lodge too was characterised by […] the utmost caution in accepting and admitting new members.'[70] Indeed the earliest membership list included only 6 Masters among the 17 members, but by 1772 there were already 12 among 23.[71]

The minute books of the lodge up until 1796 are missing, so events in the earliest years have to be constructed from remaining correspondence and other sources. Flooding prevented the planned celebration of St. John on 27-12-1771. The feast was postponed until 2-1-1772 at which occasion the well-known artist Johannes Rach (1720-1783) and the captain Cornelis Jacob van der Lijn, a member of lodge La Bien Aimee in Amsterdam, were proposed. Rach was born in Copenhagen and had come to Asia in a military function. He was accepted as an Apprentice on 13-4-1772 and later held the function of lodge



Fig. 5.6: Commemorative plate with a family crest, commissioned by Harmannus Laurens Discher, long before he became a member of lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia. The crest depicts a pelican feeding its young with its own blood. This was an existing Christian symbol of self-sacrifice which in the 18th century within freemasonry also became part of the iconography of the Rose Croix *degrees. Around the crest is the tekst: TER GEDAGTENIS VAN HARMANNUS LAURENTS DISCHER HOOFT VAN COMMISSARISSEN EN PRAUW VOERDERS OP BATAVIA A: 1749 (In memory of Harmannus Laurents Discher, Head of Commissioners and Praauw Captains in Batavia, anno 1749). Chinese export porcelain, polychrome colours and gilt, diam. 22.9 cm. Collection: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv.no. NG-1979-158. Reproduced from: rijksmuseum.nl.*

Architect, and is mentioned in lodge records until 1778.[72] As an artist Rach is known for his many views of Java, made by him and his assistants during those years, to which we will come back later. After the meeting followed a procession. The evening was closed with the usual table lodge, at which Worshipful Master Van Gehren drank too much, causing an incident. It was decided he was to be replaced by Past Worshipful Master J.M. Remer, who would repatriate the following year and be succeeded by his relative J.C.B. Remer.

The aforementioned Van der Weijde, who functioned as courier of correspondence for the Grand Lodge, replaced Steendekker as Provincial Grand Master (for the Dutch East Indies) during the latter's stay in Bengal.[73] In 1772 Van der Weijde delivered the Constitution to La Fidèle Sincérité, as well as some parchments and books ordered from the Grand Lodge.[74] On 24-6-1772 Van der Weijde was received in La Fidèle Sincérité, probably to formally install the lodge, as the Constitution was read out at this occasion.[75]

In February 1773 the Grand Lodge received a (second) money transfer of 100 Ducats via Van der Lijn.[76] In September 1773 Grand Secretay Dubois informed the lodge that Van der Weijde had died on the Cape and, although a letter and the contributions had reached their destination, the oral messages meant to be conveyed through him had not reached the home front. Referring to the Van Gehren incident, Dubois warned the lodge 'not to be uncaring' in their choice of officers and members, and 'not to let the needs of the till go above honour in Society'. Dubois again refused to provide the requested title of Provincial Grand Master, referring to his earlier decision on 20-9-1771, emphasising that the function could not coincide with the Officers function of a lodge.[77] A *don gratuit* of 20 Ducats and a letter dated 16-10-1774 were personally delivered to the Grand Lodge by J.M. Reemer, who had repatriated. The Grand Secretary replied on 28-11-1775, thanking the lodge for the fees paid and again refusing the repeated request for the Provincial status.[78]

The lodge established a set of domestic laws in 1775, of which a copy survived.[79] Men of low birth, slaves, and those with a bad reputation were barred from becoming members. Initiation fees for the 1st, 2nd and 3rd degree were set at 50, 20 and 30 Rds, further limiting the membership to a certain level of income. An Apprentice would have to wait three months before he was eligible to become a Fellow, and then had to wait another year before he could become Master - without exception for seafaring members. Visitors who called on the lodge more than once, would be invited as members. Other rules managed the proceedings during the ritual and regalia. No one was allowed to talk to a candidate during his ritual 'journey', etc. A substantial part of the rules dealt with the behaviour of the members. If any rule was broken, such as being absent or going on a journey without prior notice, not attending or being late at a celebration like St. John, a fine of up to 3 Ducats or Rds would have to be paid. As fines made up a substantial part of the lodges income, the list of prohibitions was long, including: addressing the Worshipful Master without permission or interrupting him, cursing or using improper language, having a disagreement with another member or causing a disturbance, etc. If a conflict did arise and the brethren were not able to solve it between them, the Worshipful Master would have to be informed of the problem and his judgement in the matter followed up.

Between 1775 and 1777 Jeremias van Riemsdijk (1712-1777) was governor-general of Batavia. He has not been identified as a freemason, but he did not oppose the lodges either and, as will become clear below, his son would eventually help solve a housing problem.

▪ *Rented gardens (1767-1775)*

According to Hageman, La Fidèle Sincérité convened in Het Heerenlogement between 1767 and 1770.[80] He also noted that the lodge first celebrated St. John's Day in this inn on 9-4-1770.[81] However, this celebration accompanied by music and fireworks was the 'cause and occasion' to move the lodge to a different location.[82] Perhaps the central location had attracted too much attention or criticism? From that moment, the lodge met in the 'garden' of one of the members, usually the Worshipful Master. The word 'garden' should not be taken literally here, it was used at the time for a plot of land including the stately houses built upon it.[83] As in the Netherlands, lodges often met in the house of a well-to-do member, who possessed a property large enough to temporarily furnish a room as a lodge and had enough means and staff to host a table lodge. It helped if he also had a prominent status which would uplift and protect the image of the lodge in local society. The appointment of a Worshipful Master was probably influenced by his capability to provide for the lodge. Although rent was usually paid for the use of a garden and such costs were covered by contributions, the lodge archives suggest that it was common for the Worshipful Master (and the main officers) to cover any remaining deficit from their own pockets.

From October 1770 onwards, La Fidèle Sincérité rented 'the garden of Brother De Lopez', later identified as a house in the western outskirts of the city.[84] This may have belonged to Gerrit de Lopes, listed as a Fellow on the membership list of that year, or J[ohannes Esiaias] de Lopez, listed as *Maître d'Hotel* (best translated as Steward) on the 1772 membership list.[85] The minutes of 24-6-1772 recorded:

> Furthermore the Worshipful Master[86] proposed the necessity of finding another location for our [lodge], as the Owner of this place had cancelled the rent[,] also the worshipful master proposed to buy a certain garden across the street for a sum of 2500 rds and offered therefore to give 2000 of that [sum himself] and if the Brethren agreed to supplement the remaining 500[,] in that case the Worshipful Master would oblige to rent

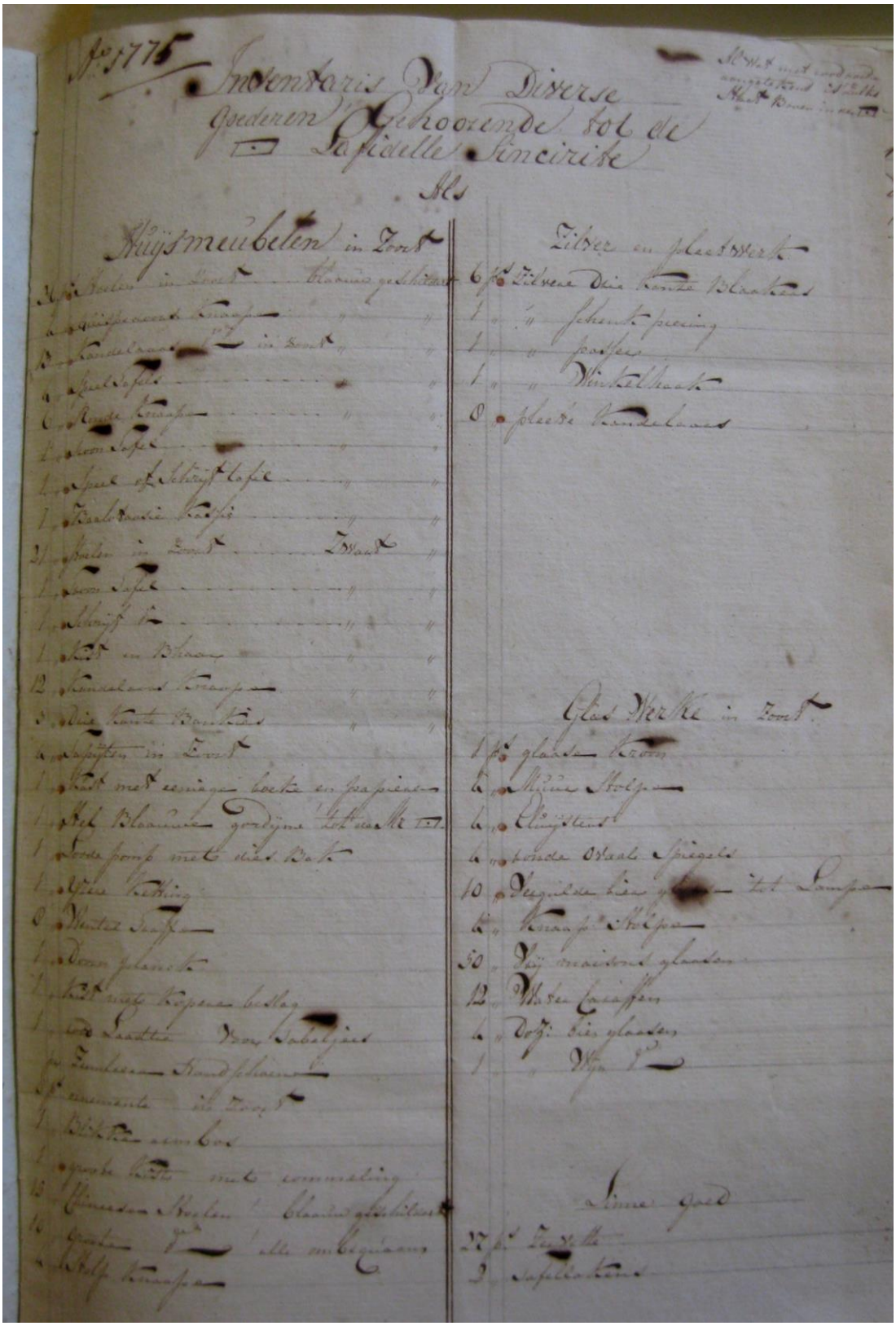


Fig. 5.7: Oldest inventory of lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia, 1775. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

Table 5.C: Inventory lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia, 1775.

** All that is indicated in red Such stands above in the Lodge […]*

House furniture in Sort
*36 pieces * Chairs in Sort painted blue*
*4 * Spittoon stands " "*
*13 * Candle sticks in Sort " "*
*4 * Playing tables " "*
*6 * Round Stands " "*
*1 * Throne Table " "*
*1 * Play or Writing table " "*
*1 * Ballot Box " "*
*21 * Chairs in Sort " black*
*1 * Throne Table " "*
*1 * Writing ditto " "*
*1 * Coffin and Bier " "*
*12 * Candle Stands " "*
*3 * Three sided Benches " "*
*4 * Carpets in Sort*
*1 * Chest with some books and papers*
*1 * Set of Blue Curtains to the Master Lodge*
*1 * Led pump and its bucket*
*1 * Iron Chain*
*8 * Winding Stairs*
*1 * Plank with Thorns*
1 Chest with copper fittings
1 red Drawer for Aprons
ps Leather Gloves
8 ps ornaments in Sort
1 Metal almoner box
*1 * great Chest with clutter*
15 Chinese Chairs painted blue
10 Large ditto all unfit
4 Bell glass stands

Silver and Plate work
*6 ps. * Silver Three sided candle holders*
1 " Trays
1 " compasses
1 " Square
*8 * plated Candles*

Glass Works in Sort
*1 ps * glass Crown*
*4 * Glass wall shades*
*4 *Hanging lamps*
*4 * round Oval Mirrors*
*10 * Gilded beer glasses as lamps*
4 Shade stands
50 Free masons' glasses
12 Water Carafes
4 Dozen beer glasses
1 " wine ditto

Linen wares
27 ps Napkins
2 Table covers

Copper Goods
27 Three Sided Sconces

Various goods kept in the [Lodge] La Fidelle Sincerite belonging to The Well Honourable Gentleman Nicolaas Maas
7 ps glass wall shades
3 large copper hanging lanterns
1 Set Dinner table in 5 pieces
picked up on 13 Nov.

Various goods kept in the [Loge] La Fidelle Sincerite belonging to the Free Citizen Boudewijn Van Duyveland
30 ps Chairs in 2 Sorts
2 Playing tables covered in green Cloth
3 ditto ordinary
1 large Mirror
12 paintings in Sort
1 glass corner closet
6 copper hanging lanterns in Sort
12 lamp glasses
1 Set Dinner tables in 12 pieces
1 Serving "
2 Round "
2 Provision "
2 Kitchen "
1 Lacquered drinks cellar
1 Glass Crown
1 Japanese Water pot [=Martavaan]
1 Bantam ditto
4 Lacquered serving trays
1 Carrying vessel
1 Lamp Ladder

> the same to us for the time of three years and for nothing in rent[,] besides kept up by his people and furthermore let keep him [= them] in our service in the same way as such present[,] this according to survey and previous deliberations was agreed upon.[87]

This particular plot must have belonged to J.M. Re[e]mer, Worshipful Master around that time.[88] By 26-10-1774 La Fidèle Sincérité had apparently moved to 'the House of the Brother Jan Gijsbertij Hodenpijl being a garden just outside the Rotterdamse Poort'.[89] According to the membership list of that year rent was paid to Steward Hodenpijl. Meetings continued there until December 1775.[90]

The earliest surviving lodge inventory from La Fidèle Sincérité dates from the same year (table 5.C and fig. 5.7).[91] The list of objects shows that, as the lodge still had a semi-ambulant character, its rooms were modestly decorated, but well equipped for both ritual and social functions. A room on the second floor probably served as a temple, as important props for the ritual were stored there. Much of the furniture was either coloured or geometrically shaped according to masonic symbolism. All of these items

will be discussed in more detail below. The number of napkins and glasses indicates that there was room for about 25 members at the table lodge, while the number of ornaments suggests there were eight officers. The playing tables and bar equipment indicate that a room functioned as a gentlemen's club after formal meetings had finished. Imported goods, such as Chinese furniture, as well as Japanese lacquer and porcelain were used, but not yet in large quantities. As larger furniture, such as dining tables and paintings, were loaned from lodge members, the high contributions to the Grand Lodge probably left no room for major purchases in those early years. We will come back to La Fidèle Sincérité later, but first explore the founding of other lodges in the region.

♦ *Lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia (1768-1837)*

As already briefly indicated, a third lodge was founded in Batavia. The circumstances of its foundation are unclear, but Hageman suggests a split within La Fidèle Sincérité was the cause:

> […] in this first meeting of the second lodge the seed was already planted for the third. The Brethren Musquetier, Hasselaer en Van Stockum separated [from La Fidèle Sincérité], and formed, together with thirteen others, an association of their own in the year 5768, under the name '*La Vertueuse*'.[92]

Since the publication of Hageman's lodge histories in the 19th century, later authors have automatically assumed that conflict was at the root, considering rivalry immediately broke out between La Fidèle Sincérité and La Vertueuse. However, that rivalry was fuelled by actions of the Grand Lodge. It is possible that, like in Bengal (see chapter 4), different insights on degrees or regalia, personal ambition or perceived difference in status could have been a reason to found a third lodge. But it is equally possible that the lodge room was simply too small to accommodate all (potential) members or that the travel distance was considered too long by some. We simply don't know.

Schill's *Gedenkboek* (1843) claimed a request for a constitution was made as early as 1767-1768, but the documents were lost with an unfortunate ship.[93] The founding in 1768 can now be confirmed, as a later inventory of the lodge archive clearly lists 'A bunch of Resolutions [= minutes] and attachments belonging to the Lodge La Vertueuse from 1768 until 24 June 1770' (now lost).[94] The earliest surviving request for a constitution however, was dated 12-1-1769. It was signed by the the aforementioned Hasselaer, Musquetier and Van Stokkum, as well as Adriaan Boesses (1742-1808), a shopkeeper; junior merchants Anthony van Helsdingen (1740-1774), J.G. Visscher van Gaesbeek (1751-1781)[95] and Floris Foeyt (the latter also a Sworn Clerk at the General Secretary); George Christoffel Hartz (died 1775), a ship's captain; Lieve Nicolaas Meybaum (1735-1783), an alderman; J.C. van der Veen (1728-1770), an infantry captain; Pieter Cornelis Cras (1745-1769), lawyer; and Petrus van der Vorm (born 1731), Extraordinary Council of the Indies.[96]

The request was carried to the Netherlands by Meybaum and another freemason, Arnoldus Adrianus van Tets (1738-1792), *Gecommiteerde over den inlander* (Commissioner on the Natives).[97] The surviving Constitution provided by the Grand Lodge is dated 1-8-1769 and lists the same men as founders.[98] The document was sent to Batavia on 15-8-1769, again carried by a ship's captain.[99] The correspondence register also lists a second letter, sent to La Vertueuse on 30-9-1769, requesting 'a reply and remittance' (= money).[100] Apart from the founders, Schill's *Gedenkboek* (1843) names several other men as earliest members: the aforementioned Brahé of La Choisie, Carel Jan Boers, a junior merchant; Joan Werner van der Velden, *dagregisterhouder* (keeper of the daily records) at the General Secretary in Batavia and a member of lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam; Arend Willem Feith (1745-1782), the later opperhoofd at Dejima in Japan (see chapter 6); as well as two men identified by surname only: Carpenter and Van Randwijk.[101] Only Boers and Feith would also be included in the earliest surviving membership list of 1770.[102] Hageman noted that Radermacher, who remained in Batavia until 1783, did not play an active part in either of the two new lodges.[103] His name is not included in membership lists until 1774, and in 1782-1783 he would become Worshipful Master of La Vertueuse shortly before he repatriated.

Meanwhile, Deputy Grand Master Steendekker arrived in Batavia in 1770. He learned of the requested constitution and - not knowing it was already on its way from the Netherlands - provided one to La Vertueuse on his own accord, even though he technically had not been commissioned to do so, and also formally installed the lodge on 24-2-1770. In a meeting at the house of lodge member Reynier van

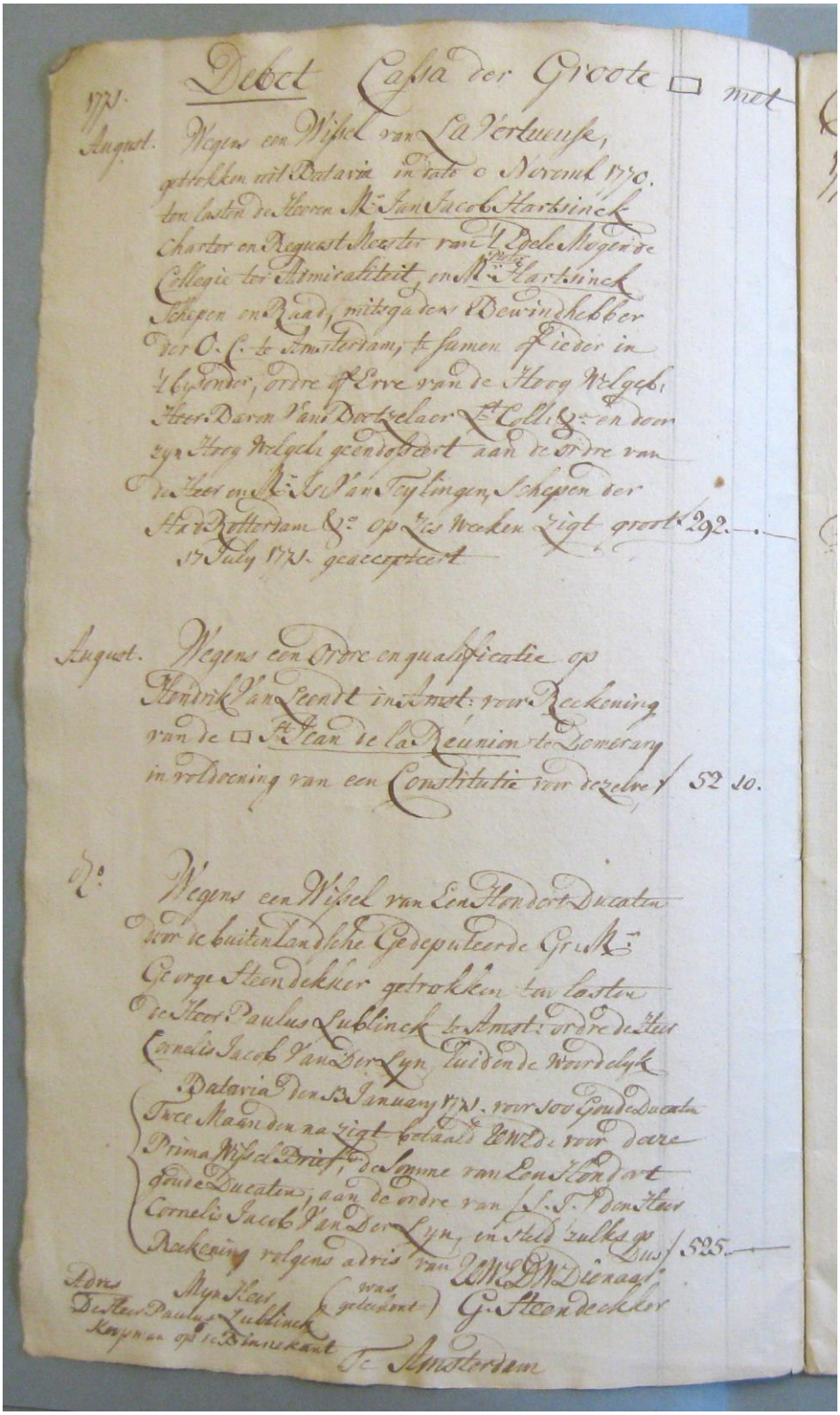


Fig. 5.8: Page from the 'Cash Register of foreign Money Orders and Pretenses on behalf of the Cash box of the National Grand Lodge'. Money orders by lodges in Batavia were made out to, amongst others, directors of the VOC in Amsterdam in the 1770s. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 256-1. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

Vlissingen on 24-5-1770 it was then revealed that the document sent by the Grand Lodge had finally arrived.[104] The Secretary of La Vertueuse wrote a quick thank you note to the Grand lodge on 22-5-1770.[105] He promised a more detailed report and contribution transfers.

Because their correspondence kept crossing each other, the Grand Secretary, who had just received La Vertueuse's letter of 12-1-1770, sent a duplicate and a triplicate constitution to Batavia on 30-9-1770.[106] The Grand Secretary expressed his hope that Brother van der Wijck (and the members of the by then still unrecognized lodge La Fidèle Sincérité) had by now joined La Vertueuse as new members. The Grand Lodge received letters from La Vertueuse on 24-10 and 4-11-1770.[107] The latter contained a request by La Vertuese 'to be commissioned with the power to demand the obligation to pay Contributions from the lodge to be newly founded, under the name La Fidèle Sincérité &ca'.[108] The following year a money transfer was also received by the Grand Lodge.[109]

As Dutch lodges were allowed to choose a lodge colour for their regalia, La Vertueuse opted for 'lemon yellow'. A later commemorative publication remarked that this decision was based on the fact that yellow was associated with the elite in Java, and that it therefore had a local character:

> This dress, which the brethren had in common with the canaries, existed, perhaps because of that, not for long.[110]

It was later decided the interior of the lodge would also be decorated in this color.[111]

Table 5.D: Worshipful Masters of lodge La Verteuse in Batavia before 1837

1767-1769 Jean George Daniel Hasselaer
1769-1770 Petrus van der Vorm
1770-1771 Reynier van Vlissingen
1771 Petrus van der Vorm
1771 J.G.W. Massau
1771-1774 Jean George Daniel Hasselaar
1774 Hendrik van Stockum
1775-1781 Isaac Titsingh
1779 H.A. Rossel (acting Worshipful Master in Titsings absence)
1781-1783 Gerhardus van Groll
1782-1783 Jacob Cornelis Mattheus Radermacher
1783-1790 Pieter Gerardus van Overstraten
1790-1791 Jan Reynier Coortsen
1791 V. van de Weerth
1795 Gotfried Christiaan Fetmenger (acting Worshipful Master)
1796-1801 Nicolaus Engelhard
1801 Johan Hendrik Holle
1801 Wijnand van Stoesen
1810 Andries Hartsinck
1811 Willem Jacob Cransen
1815 Nicolaus Engelhard
1815 Jan Michael van Beusechem
1816 Willem Jacob Cransen
1819 Jan Michael van Beusichem
1821-1825 Hendrik Merkus de Kock
1825-1830 Jan Michael van Beusichem (acting Worshipful Master during De Kock's absence)
1831-1834 Jan Michael van Beusichem
1834-1836 J. Penning Nieuwland
1836 Jan Isaac van Sevenhoven
1837 J. Penning Nieuwland

The next few years, La Verteuse would keep repeating its request to the Grand Lodge for the title of Provincial Grand Lodge. Afraid this coveted title might instead go to La Fidèle Sincérité, which at the time was still waiting for a constitution, La Vertueuse did everything in its power to describe the other lodge as unfit. For instance, in 1770 the secretary of La Vertueuse wrote to the Grand Lodge to announce that Reynier van Vlissingen, Second chief merchant at the Castle, was now its Worshipful Master. Past Master Van der Vorm no longer visited the lodge, 'for unknown reasons'. With regards to the requested title, he described lodge La Fidèle Sincérité as 'in our minds being here unqualified and consisting from a mixed Sort of people'.[112] In a letter of 18-1-1771, this unfavourable description was not only repeated, but extended:

> [La Fidèle Sincerite] Erred itself by […] accept[ing] all kinds of Scabrous people and in their behaviour being of not undisputed doings, no doubt to make it appear as a Seemingly well sported Lodge for Your High enlightened and Grand Worshipful, or also to show, how they are industrious in the propagation of our royal art, in recruiting people, whom we would at the most deem unworthy of being in our presence, and who also beforehand know they would be rejected by us, and so we insist again, to if Your Worshipful is none the less inclined to grant a Constitution to the same [La Fidèle Sincérité] to yet grant us the favour of being considered a provincial Lodge and to ratify, and to mark those persons as a subordinate Lodge, in order to not only have the reigns to some extent, but also to prevent that the general esteem of our Noble science here [in Batavia], would not be wholly shattered.[113]

A similar request was made in October of the same year.[114] Deputy Grand Master Steendekker elucidated on the departure of Van der Vorm in his own letter to the Grand Lodge on 16-1-1771:

> [Van der Vorm] quit the Lodge and resigned, by conflicts, which have taken place among the brethren there. In the Lodge [La Vertueuse] are Persons who have money and sometimes think to have a glory, to sit on a golden Throne, and do not exercise the truth of freemasonry, I have tried my best to bring those brothers in a good harmony according to the laws of masonry, but it was impossible for me, while there are persons among them who are not Mason but Profane or even Worse.[115]

Steendekker argued that he had been given insufficient authority by the Grand Lodge to be able to provide a temporary constitution to La Fidèle Sincérité, who he'd rather be of service than La Vertueuse because 'these People better adhere to the laws than the latter'.[116] Steendekker advised the Grand Lodge that to grant La Vertueuse the title of Provincial Grand Lodge would be unwise:

> [..] this would repress the other Lodge while those two at first will not accept each other, but will over time if they remain Equal, but if one becomes bigger than the other there will never be unity. La Vertueuse has not held lodge in three months therefore members have left as you will see in your List.[117]

Steendekker asked the Grand Lodge to bestow him with more power, so he could bring things to a harmonious end. He announced a *don gratuit* of 100 Ducats as founding fee for La Vertueuse had been transferred to the [Grand?] orator Cornelis Jacobus van der Lijn in Amsterdam, and promised more would follow.

The Grand Secretary wrote to La Vertueuse on 20-9-1771, acknowledgeing the receipt of letters dated 4-11-1770 and 18-1-1771, as well as a money transfer of fl. 292,-. He added, almost apologetic:

> We have also well received the repeated request, from the Brethren, belonging to the Lodge La Findele Sicerite as well as the necessary elucidation of our worthy foreign Deputy Grand Master, Brother Steendecker, in order to grant that long desired Constitution; and as there were no sufficient grounds against it, We were unable to refuse it.[118]

The Grand Secretary reprimanded La Vertueuse to build a good relationship with the other lodge, because discord between freemasons would bring shame to the Order. The coveted Provincial title was once again denied. Unaware, the lodge repeated its request and informed the Grand Lodge on 1-9-1771 that the aforementioned Hasselaer, earlier a member of La Fidèle Sincérité, had now been chosen as Worshipful Master of La Verteusue, as Van Vlissingen had been appointed governor of the Coromandel Coast[119] Another letter to the Grand Lodge followed in 1772, the tone much like before:

> Furthermore we cannot omit to reply that we have not so much distanced ourselves from the Lodge La Fidele Sincerite as for certain Members of the same, with whom one in this country cannot but to ones disadvantage, have common dealings, because one is used to accepting such [persons] there, who have no other credit than the counting of the Sum paid for the reception there, while their behaviour is not at all after the example of Persons of good birth and proper education, who by virtuous behaviour and other qualities from the First of the Country [= governor-general] aim to make [themselves] liked and pleasant.[120]

Further correspondence was registered in the Grand Lodge accounts, but the originals lost.[121] Steendekker asked La Vertueuse for a copy of all Grand Lodge correspondence and an overview of receptions and members on 8-1-1772.[122]

Grand Secretary Du Bois thanked La Vertueuse in September 1773 for letters and contributions sent, and explained - probably as a means of deterring further pleas - that if anyone had a right to the Provincial title, it would be La Fidèle Sincérité whose earlier request was received with delay. In order not to disandvantage anyone, both lodges had been refused the honor, but the Grand Lodge was now willing to name appoint an independend Provincial Grand Master.[123] On 19-1-1775 La Vertueuse replied:

> We are not completely elucidated, while some among us who when the Lodge La Choisie was run down, set themselves to the foundation of La Vertueuse, know that after us, la Fidele Sincerite was founded, and that this separation of La Choisie originated from conflicts between the members, caused by different persons from which that society existed. And while we have directly after this incident addressed ourselves to Your Worshipful for a Constitution, it seems strange, that the aforementioned brothers would have beaten us to it unless they also made a spelling mistake in the date.[124]

It is possible that the founders of La Fidèle Sincérité in 1767 simply decided to keep its request for a constitution to the Grand Lodge a secret, until it they would have all the necessary papers in hand and no one could intervene. If the founders of La Vertueuse had a disagreement with (former) members of La Choisie in 1768 and were prompted to do the same, it would explain why the latter was so convinced it had applied first. Fact remains that a difference in social status was a factor here, and that La Vertueuse tried to discredit La Fidèle Sincérité, while the other lodge did not stoop to the same level.

The following letters by the Grand Lodge mainly dealt with administrative matters. On 19-4-1775 Dubois wrote that he suspected Steendekker had been shipwrecked on his way to Bengal.[125] The Grand Lodge made clear on 28-11-1775 how the appointment of a Provincial Grand Master was to work: the joint Brethren in Batavia have to form an election, after which the chosen candidate was to be approved by The Hague.[126] The candidate had to live in Batavia, had to be independent and could therefore not hold an Officer's position in any lodge. For the formal certificate granting the Provincial Grand Master his powers, he would have to pay a fee of 20 Ducats. The Grand Lodge pointed out that, following a change in the rules of the British Grand Lodge, the Dutch would follow suit and 'revoke and destroy all accidentally granted Patents as Provincial Grand Lodges'.[127] Correspondence was then taken over by the next Grand Secretary, Jan Pieter van der Haer, government Secretary of The Hague.[128]

Now La Vertueuse got cold feet, as is clear from a letter from 2-11-1776. Suddenly the lodge did not want to rule over others (or be overruled), and argued a Provintial Grand Master would not be able to stay in one location for any amount of time. There were now two lodges existing without conflict between them and they would abide the Dutch laws, so this measure was not necessary.[129]

▪ *Rented gardens (1769-1778)*

Masonic commemorative publications emphasize that the first meetings of lodge La Vertueuse were held in members' homes, in order to maintain secrecy.[130] The manuscript for Schill's *Gedenkboek* (1843) noted:

> The 1st celebration in the Lodge, was made ready on the 24 June 1769 [= St. John's Day] in the garden of the Gentleman David du feau de la Longue […] this garden must have been located near the Pising estate, whereby Brother Arendtz was initiated.[131]

Du Fau de la Longue was former *weesmeester* (civil servant dealing with legates) and Elder of the Reformed Church of Batavia. Hageman noted a meeting in August 1769 in the garden of Worshipful Master Petrus van der Vorm, Extraordinary Member of the Council of the East Indies.[132] A second meeting took place in Van der Vorm's house in October of the same year.[133] Other meetings are thought to have taken place in 1769 in the Heerenlogement, although this proved difficult to verify.[134] As with La Fidèle Sincérité, meeting places were formally recorded in the membership lists sent to the Grand Lodge, which have survived from 1770 onwards. So what is certain, is that from 1770-1771 meetings took place 'at the House of the Brother van Vlissingen in the adjacent'.[135] Reynier van Vlissingen was the Worshipful Master at the time, as were the men whose houses were used in subsequent years. That of Jan Georg Daniel Hasselaer, administrator of the grain warehouse, in 1772[136], and that of Hendrick van Stockum, a member of the Council of the East Indies, from 1774 onwards.[137] All these hosts did receive some reimbursement for their expenses, in the form of (real or symbolic) rent. The latter property was depicted around that time by the aforementioned artist and freemason Johannes Rach (fig. 5.9) and, as we will see later, it would not be the only lodge building depicted by him. The network relationships he made within the lodge may have played a part in his artistic activities in Batavia, which deserve to be explored further.



Fig. 5.9: Johannes Rach, View of the Garden of the Noble Gentleman Hendrik van Stocken [sic] seen coming from the Post Jackatra just outside Batavia*, 1760-1780, drawing in pen and pencil, 35.5 x 52 cm. Collection: National Library of Indonesia, Jakarta. Reproduced from: atlasofmutual heritage.nl.*

The financial records around 1771 give a first impression of the lodge's means and expenses. Amongst the payments listed were the wages of the Servant, amounting to 20 Rds. Also on the payroll was the mandur at 7 ½ Rds per month and '2 slave boys' for the same rate. A table lodge would cost circa 30 Rds per person, while the supply of drinks, candles, pipes and tobacco amounted to 40 Rds per person. The lodge spent about 150 Rds on repairs, and paid a yearly contribution to the Grand Lodge of 330 Rds. Likewise, the contributions of the members amounted to a total of 330 Rds per month, on top of which the initiation as Apprentice cost 30 Rds, as Master 45, and as *Maître Écossais* (Scots Master) or *Élu* (Chosen Master) 150 each.[138] The high costs obviously limited the number of members who were eligible for the latter degree. Regular reimbursements to Van Stockum for 'expenses made for holding Lodge' were recorded up until 1777.

◦ *Kormandelswijk (1778-1783)*

There is a gap in the lodge archive for about a decade, so developments in the years 1775-1785 are less clear.[139] Between 1777 and 1780 Reinier de Klerk (1710-1780) was governor-general of the Dutch East Indies. He has not been identified as a freemason, but his daughter was married to Radermacher.[140]It seems the La Vertueuse first made use of a house not occupied by the original owner, and therefore wholly decorated as a lodge building, around this time.

An invoice for 162-1778 mentions the costs which Steward Hartsingh advanced the month before:

[…] for a sloping overhang around the outer gallery, and for the galley	35,- [Rds]
to Mrs. Meijer for Servants to clean the house and whitewash it	27,-
for demolishing two walls, and appropriate the Lodge	15,-
[…] to the overseer of the 16th Jan. Grand Lodge extra	10,-
[…] the 27th small meeting to the overseer	5,-

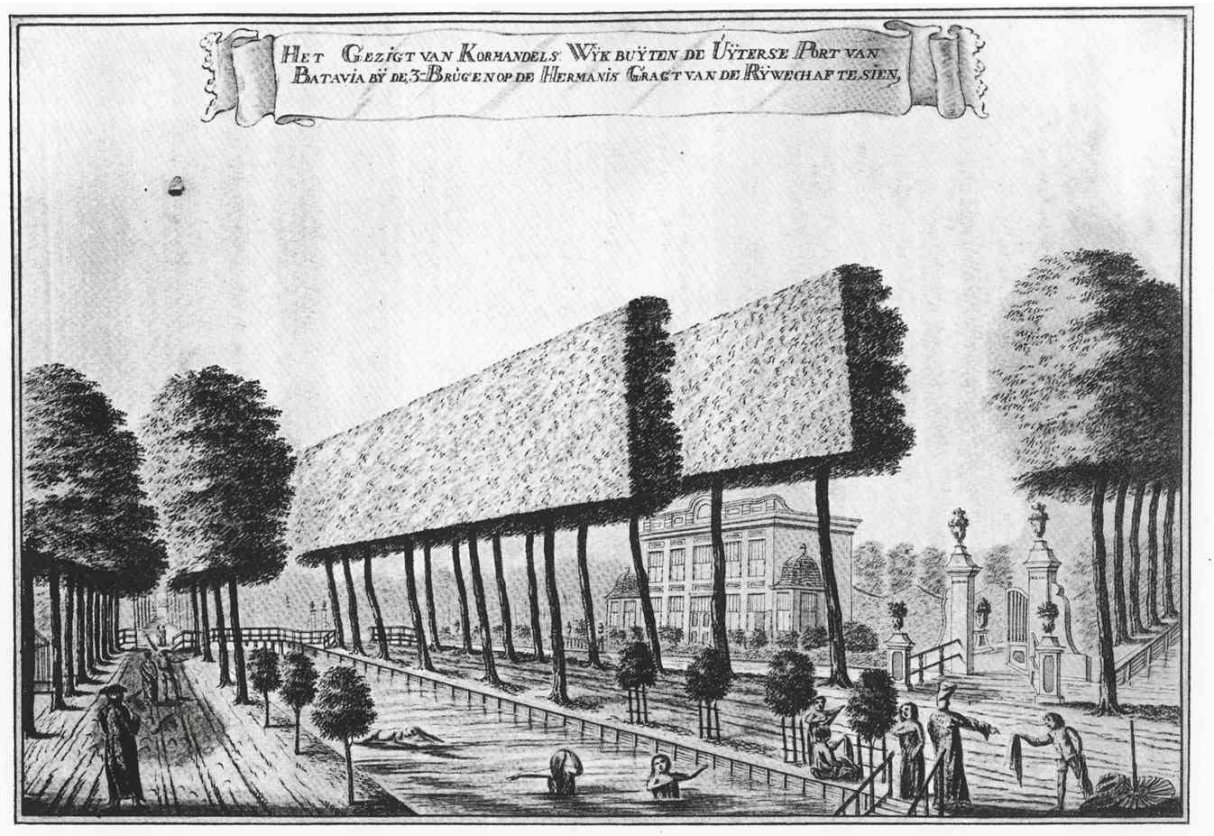


Fig. 5.10: Johannes Rach, View of Kormandels Wyk outside the Uyterse Port of Batavia, at the 3-Bridge on the Hermanis Gragt seen from the Roadside*, 1760-1780, drawing in pen and pencil, 35.5 x 52 cm. Collection: National Library of Indonesia, Jakarta. Reproduced from: atlasofmutual heritage.nl.*

For the rent of a cook for the month	6,24
For a month's rent of the garden of the brethren	25,- […][141]

It is not clear if the new building was again property of a lodge member or a third party. In the same month another 13 Rds were spent on 'making three door locks, and keys for the security of the lodge; as well as the renewal of the privy of the brethren'.[142] The financial records list the purchase on 30-11-1778 of '10 pots of chalk and requirements for the whitewashing of the new hotel of the brethren' worth 6,12 Rds, and 5 Rds for the boat fees to deliver it all.[143] In December payments were made to 'the carpenters, and masons Chinese, for the taking care of leakages, repairs to the house, and making galley shelving, and tables according to receipt 42,-'.[144]

Such investments all point to the permanent use of a building, or at least an intent to settle there. A receipt from December 1778 then reveals the location of the new lodge building: 'Six months' rent for the land named Cormandelswijk', but it remains unclear to whom rent was paid.[145] The document is signed 'this is the work of the Captain Fota Amat'. This may refer to the house Kormandelswijk, located in the middle of the south side of the 'Hermanisgracht' [= Amanusgracht], also depicted by Johannes Rach (fig. 5.10).

Among the expenses of the lodge in June 1778 were the wages of musicians: 'the playing boys of the Gentlemen Verklocke 11,-'.[146] On behalf of the lodge Worshipful Master Isaac Titsing (see chapter 4) paid the dowager Meijer for the use of her 'slave boys' to carry goods and do other jobs in October 1778 at a rate of 12 Stuivers each per day.[147] The lodge also regularly noted 'the hiring of the garden boys of the gentleman Huijtinga'.[148]

The lodge minutes recorded how in 1779 an invoice for Rds 765,- was sent to Steward Hartsingh by merchant Johannes Heim, for:

> […] some furniture, and more other goods, which said Brother steward without any commission or qualification bought from Heim in the name of the Lodge, and after which by similar unqualified and repeatedly committed devious practices of the Brother steward, this Lodge came to have a bad name in batavia's society, and to instigate talk among the enlightened and profane as that the same [brother] made more expenses, than could be paid.[149]

The lodge, not the Steward, would be liable if claims were made. La Vertueuse decided to take on the debts provided Hartsingh would hand the goods over to the lodge. He was then relieved of his function.

Worshipful Master Titsingh offered to advance fl. 100,- and other lodge members made similar gestures. The goods in question were listed in the oldest surviving inventory of La Vertueuse, dated 4-2-1779 (table 5.E).[150] The document was signed for approval by Titsingh. It is similar to the first of La Fidèle Sincérité, but does not include any ritual objects or regalia, as Hartsingh simply didn't purchase any. The number of chairs and towels indicates there was room for 40-50 members and visitors, but it is not clear how many of those goods were actually necessary, or rather superfluous. Most items are suitable for use in the table lodge and the social gathering afterwards. Other items are purely meant for decoration, including paintings, and comfort, including cushions. Notes on the use of the building, made on 11-4-1782, reveal it consisted of two stories and rooms with different functions:

Table 5.E: Inventory of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, 4-2-1779.

Note of such goods as were ceded by the Gentleman Hartingh against the adjacent prices into the possession of Lodge La Vertueuse, remaining under His Worship

42 Javanese Chairs of 2 1/3 Rds each		*105:-*
4 benches with their long and small [candle] stands		
4 playing tables, 2 with red velvet, 2 covered with green cloth, with 4 playing stands		*48:-*
2 drawer tables		*30:-*
6 tea stands, and 1 large stand		*18:-*
1 corner chest for glasses		*25:-*
1 long double Pouring table varnished		*10:-*
2 corner tables varnished		*10:-*
1 round table varnished		*7:-*
2 stone tables		*20:-*
1 tea chest varnished		*10:-*
1 large dinner table	|	
2 ditto somewhat smaller	|- *to be made one*	*50:-*
2 ditto	|	
Wall decorations		
6 black art [= mezzo tint] nudes		*30:-*
6 crayoned portraits [= chalk drawings]		*30:-*
6 oval red art with gold frames		*24:-*
4 round ditto ditto		*16:-*
2 ditto with green frames		*8:-*
4 mirrors from one [sheet of] glass with modern frames		*200:-*
3 Smooth [glass] Bells		*35:-*
2 Rough [glass bells] in two rooms		*20:-*
3 Bells hanging on copper chains		*30:-*
4 copper lanterns		*24:-*
2 lanterns for the pantry and galley		*8:-*
10 copper spittoons		*40:-*
10 Candle sticks		*40:-*
Linen wares		
3 blue Chintz couch matrasses with their pillows	|	
ditto chair cushions	|	
10 Large table cloths	|- *together*	*80:-*
100 Napkins	|	
50 towels	|	
	Sum	*976:-*

> The lower house, will only serve as a society room, the upper room and the dark chamber having to remain closed […] and to cut off all, that may resemble an inn or Drinking house, so all expenses that will be made at these meetings, have to be paid to the Lodge cashbox; though in order to keep this class in place […] every member of the Lodge will have his monthly contribution raised by only half a rd. per Month, in order to find therefrom the necessary Lamp oil and further salary for the overseer of the Lodge, the so called mandur, whose service, no matter how much every Brother can rely on his accompanying slave, is however at these meetings burdened with the lighting of the lamps, preparing coffee or tea, likewise delivering the milk, and which raise I put at rds. 10 - per month being for rds. 2,24 milk, for rds. 2,24 lamp oil and rds 5. his extra effort.[151]

The brief mention of slaves here raises all sorts of questions, to which we will come back later. From the records of La Fidèle Sincérité it is clear slaves were used as labourers, but apparently the members could also be accompanied to a lodge meeting by a slave, presumably to wait on them during the table lodge and/or the social gathering afterwards.[152] That implies they too were, by sheer proximity, aware of the nature of such meetings.

Every lodge member had to pay 40 Stuivers upon entry, each time he visited 'the society'. This was registered by the mandur, who handed the money to the Treasurer on the first of each month.

> […] wine, beer, candles, strong liquor, pipes, coffee and tea, which is required during these meetings, will be taken, from the General Pantry of the lodge, […] while one expects the lovers of a tobacco pipe, to bring their own Tobacco.
> […] some Brethren, who do not hold a table [= have a household = bachelors], [wonder] whereto, they themselves seemly and discretely can go, as late as the hour of half past Nine, to have the evening meal? […] I think that one needs to leave it to the married and other Brethren, who hold a table [= have a household], to for this purpose invite at Home some of the Brethren, or the company with whom they came to the society, to their own will and choice, - while the ones, who are not so inclined, can have a small evening meal of some oysters, or a cold ham, salad and baked fish, or a sandwich etc prepared by the servants who make the Lodge Table, provided they are separately satisfied [= paid] for it; - the kitchen and table ware of the Lodge, which are under their supervision, can be used to such ends.'[153]

In other words, the costs of the table lodge were covered by monthly contributions; that of the bar service by an admittance fee. The lodge now having the use of a kitchen and servants, would provide small meals on the lodge premises to (unmarried) members, provided these were paid for separately, and allow (married) members to request private catering at home for larger parties.

On 6-9-1781 payments made include temporary decorations such as 'rent of black cloth to decorate the Lodge at master Ritual' and 'idem the dark chamber at several reception of Apprentices 60:-:-'.[154] Yet the financial overview for December 1782 noted more permanent work being done:

> For some changes made in the Lodge [rds] 40,-,
> to the chinese painter for painting and gilding the Lodge [rds] 160 '.[155]

Despite the investments mentioned above, the lodge had to leave Kormandelswijk. Around 1783 the property of Worshipful Master Gerhardus van Groll was used.[156] La Vertueuse then gathered in a house in the 'garden' of lodge Architect Daniel Kreysman, a captain and chief of the island Onrust, at Molenvliet from 1784 to 1785.[157] Rent was paid at 10 Rds a month.[158] Schill's *Gedenkboek* (1843) noted the next move back to 'the Armanusgragt in a rented garden of the Civilian [A.J.] van Steenbergen'.[159] This is thought to have been the same location occupied by La Fidèle Sincérité (see Kormandelswijk above), but that is difficult to verify.[160] A receipt dated 24-10-1785 for a payment to the 'Chinese carpenter' Tan Jaijko, lists work to the lodge building, including 'laying marble outside the door in the Garden on Jacatra [= the old name of Batavia] […] rds 60,-', 'the chopping of the walls in said Garden', 'bringing black sand in the Garden' and coolie salaries for 4 to 12 men per month.[161] We will return to La Vertueuse and its other buildings later.

♦ *Lodge La Constance in Malacca (1770 –1776)*

In a letter dated 5-10-1770, and again on 16-1-1771, Provincial Grand Master Steendekker wrote to the Grand Lodge (fig. 5.17):

> My last [letter] to Your High Enlightened was in the month November A[nn]o passato sent from Malacca to the Provincial Lodge Salomon in Bengalen, with the request to send this to Your High Enlightened, on the First leaving ships to the Netherlands hoping under Jehovas precious Blessing under Oversight of the Architect of the Universe […] having mentioned that I had the Honour and luck during my stay in Malacca to have drafted the Honourable Gentlemen Mr. Thomas Schippers Governor and Director of the aforementioned City and Fortress into our High Enlightened order to the 3rd degree, and request for this brother a Constitution, to there or elsewhere found a Lodge under the name of La Constance be it in Malacca or wherever Else it may be; Sending to the High enlightened brother [Grand] Orator Cornelis Jacobus van der Lijn[162] a don gratuit of 100 gold ducats […] His Honour will not fail, to do another honourable Present to the grand [Loge] that amounts to more than a hundred Ducats; provided his Honour will be favorited by Your High Enlightened as is his request, with a Constitution and a Patent of the 3rd [degree] as Master, as well as a honourable position pr. Honaer: to the grand [Lodge] the Constitution with which your High enlightened pleases to favour him should read[:] his Honour our Brother Mr Thomas Schippers as Grand Master of the [Lodge] […].[163]

Thomas Schippers (1720-1780) was governor of Malacca (Melaka, Westcoast of Malaysia) between 1764 and 1771, after which he left for Batavia.[164] The fact that the lodge names La Constance in Malacca and De

Standvastigheid in Bengal refer to the same virtue and were active around the same time (Constance), may indicate there was a relationship between the two.[165]

Having received Steendekkers second letter, Grand Secretary Dubois wrote to Schippers on 20-9-1771, acknowledgeing his request and pointing out:

> The law is clear and states, that to the founding of a Lodge, there need to be 7 Brothers locally, including 3 Master Masons, as applicants for a Constitution […] So that Your Honour might understand, these formalities need to be followed […]. However We have approved […] to provisionally grant Your Honour the power and the quality to function, as Worshipful Master, of that Lodge yet to be founded.[166]

This is a very different attitude than the one displayed by the Grand Lodge towards the request made by La Fidèle Sincérité, again indicating that an advance of costs was a persuasive argument. Enclosed with the letter was a request for donors of a new charitable fund, and a 'provisional constitution'. At the same time, the Grand Secretary sent a letter to Steendekker, emphasising the temporary character of the document.

The most recent overview of lodges under Dutch jurisdiction, claims it is not clear if La Constance ever received a permanent constitution.[167] But in the register of money transfers of the Grand Lodge, the receipt of the sum of 100 Ducats was registered on 13-1-1771. It was made out by Steendekker and entrusted to Cornelis Jacob van der Lijn, to be drawn on Paulus Lublinck, merchant on the Binnekant in Amsterdam for the sum of fl. 525,-: 'As coming from the Gentleman Johannes Schippers Governor of Malacca, for a constitution'.[168] Not only is the payment recorded, a letter by Dubois [to Steendekker?] dated 30-9-1772 clearly states: 'We hope that […] the requested Diploma's, for Batavia as for Malacca have reached their destination in good order'.[169] The Grand Lodge normally sent certificates to constituted lodge only, which is another sign she had already formally recognized the lodge in Malacca by that time.

The register of letters of the Grand Lodge contains a last reference to the lodge on 23-2-1776: 'Reply to the members of Lodge La Constance to the former with abolition of the title Provincial Lodge'.[170] Such a r reply or *rescription* indicates the lodge must have written to the Grand Lodge about half a year earlier. The question is whether the Grand Lodge informed La Constance of the removal of the title of Provincial Grand Lodge from lodge Salomon in Bengal, or whether this indicates that La Constance (like Salomon and La Choisie) ever applied or received that title for the whole of Malacca?

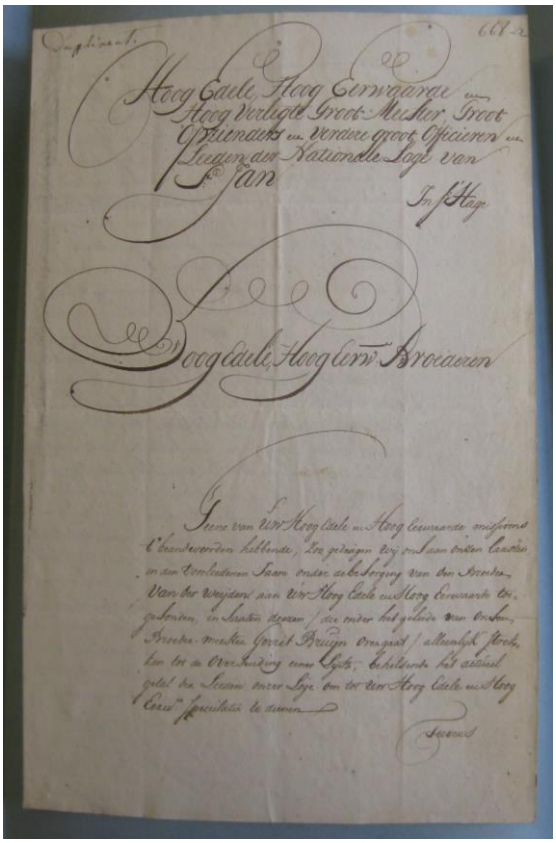
Documents dated after 1776 relating to this lodge were not found. Dutch masonic almanacs usually listed the founding and erasing of lodges, but La Constance was never included.[171]

♦ *A nameless lodge in Padang (1772-1774)*

Very little is known about the activities of Dutch freemasons in Padang on Western Sumatra. A few unpublished letters are all that confirms a lodge, which remained nameless, was once active there. La Fidèle Sincérité received a request to help found a new lodge on 28-8-1772.[172] Ten freemasons, the required number to found a lodge, had assembled in Padang. La Fidèle Sincérité did not have the authority to do so, so instead it appealed to the Grand Lodge on 26-10-1773 (fig. 5.11):

> We also have the advantage of letting Your Honour know, that we received this Year a letter from the Gentlemen Jacob Samuel de Raaf, and Frans van Kerchem, in Padang on Sumatra's West coast, where by the same informed us of their intention to want to found there aa Lodge of our Royal Order, having gathered already 10 Members. Requesting us to that End, to presently grant a proper Constitution, in order te be able to continue their work in a lawful and seemly manner, and offering us to remit the costs thereof at our instigation, but to our regret we had to send them a declining answer, while we are not qualified for such a permit, and that the Deputy Grand-Master Steendekker who was here at the time, and to whom we have communicated said Request, was not able to agree to comply, for resons that the sum for the costs had not been sent over at the same time: However we have let their Honours know that we would present their desire to Your Honour […] as we can assure Your Honour concerning the applicants, that they are Veritable Masons and as such for long accepted by us […].[173]

Three of the applicants were identified. Van Kerchem and De Raaf were members of La Fidèle Sincérité. The original request had also been signed by Anthonij Johannes Leuftink, an accountant in Padang. The



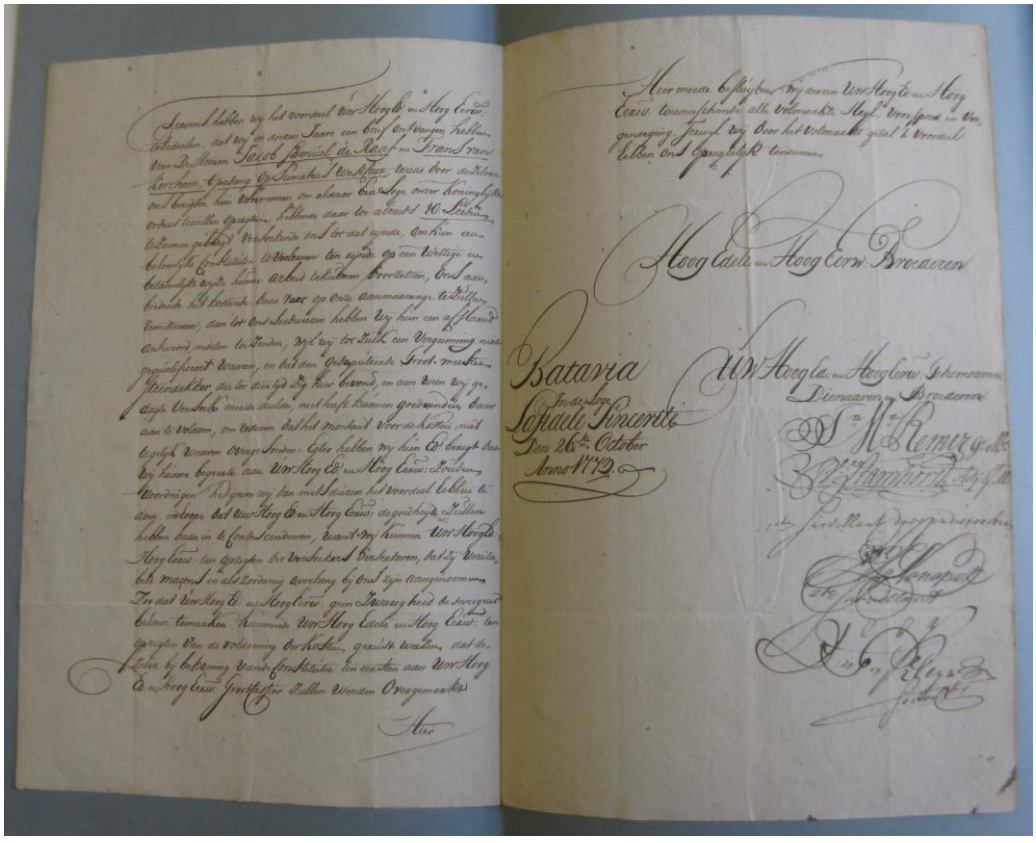


Fig. 5.11:a-b Letter by lodge La Fidèle Sincérité to the Grand Lodge in The Hague, concerning the foundation of a lodge in Padang, 26-10-1773. Collecton: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

question remains who the other seven could have been.[174] Grand Secretaries Du Bois and J.J. van der Haer sent a reply to La Fidèle Sincérité on 19-4-1775:

> In answer to Your Honour's latest letter, [received] through Brother Capt[ain] Gerrit Bruijn […] we have nothing against the constitution; under this provision, that Your Honour will instruct these Newcomers and stimulate the to transfer a Don Gratuit for that Diploma.
>
> Regaring this We will not make a stipulation, when they remember what was remitted by the Brother Steendekker, on account of Your Honour and others, this taxation will be generous. Next to that these Brethren need to be instructed, of their obligation, to send us yearly a Don Gratuit, after the condition of their members, as well as a list of the State of their Lodge.
>
> […] So we have reached the understanding, to send for speedy expedition a readymade Constitution, in order to allow Your Honour to fill in the blanks spaces with the Names of the Applicants (*), as well as the Name of the Lodge, with the Colour, of which We ask Your Honour to return a Copy in order to properly include in our register, and to incorporate those Brethren, thus belonging to a regular lodge into the body of the National Brotherhood, and make known to the respective Lodges under our resort […]
>
> (*) at least seven in number to comply with the Art[icle] of the Law.[175]

Enclosed with the letter was a 'blank Diploma', that La Fidèle Sincérité was to have delivered in Padang.[176] Van Laak, the Order's bookseller, wasted no time and sent an offer to La Fidèle Sincérité on the same day as the Grand Lodge: 'I suppose that the new Brethren in Padang, which have been constituted at Your Honour's request, will need books and parchments'.[177] Brother Pieter Dekker, who had come to Java in 1775 as an office rand captain[178], was supposed to have transferred the sum of 100 Ducats to The Hague and deliver the constitution.[179] In a second letter to La Fidèle Sincérité, dated 28-11-1775, the Grand Secretary emphasized his hope that 'the constitution sent to the Brethren in Padang' had arrived safely.[180]

There are however no other documents relating to the Padang lodge. According to Hageman Van Kerchem left before 1775 (in fact he died) and Leuftink before 1776. It is possible that the departure of two of the founders before the arrival of the constitution meant that the lodge never (formally) functioned. In 1780-1784 political conflict must have prevented any further attempts, but it is thought that a last, unsuccesfull initiative to found a lodge in Padang was taken in 1794.[181] Masonic historian Van der Linden thought that the need for a lodge in this region contributed to another initiative: 'thus ripened the idea among members of 'La Vertueuse' to undertake a conversion tour. An excellent opportunity presented itself in the form of a trip by Nederburgh'.[182] This led to the founding of lodge De Goede Hoop, which will be discussed below.

♦ *Lodge buildings in Batavia (I)*

While attempts to found lodges in other parts of Java continued, La Fidèle Sincérité and La Vertueuse remained the strongest masonic presence in the area for several decades. By 1780 governor-general De Klerk was succeded by Willem Arnold Alting (1724-1800), who held the office until 1796. Athough he himself was not a member of the Order, his son-in-law Johannes Siberg (fig. 5.16) and his 1st Secretary Pieter Gerardus van Overstraten (1755-1801, fig. 5.14) were both freemasons. This may have contributed to the public visibility of the lodges, their acquirement of buildings in prominent places in the city, as well as the government presence at the opening of the new temple of lodge La Vertueuse in 1786.[183]

◦ *La Fidèle Sincérité at the Amanusgracht (1775-1801)*

From circa 1775 onwards, La Fidèle Sincérité is thought to have met in a building at the A[r]manusgracht.[184] This property belonged to lodge member Nicolaas Maas, who was elected Worshipful Master in 1780, 1785 and 1787.[185] By now, the lodge had its Servant on the payroll. He received 30 Rds salary per six months.[186] The financial files also record payments for services of third parties, such as the *speeljongens* or musicians, who received 25 Rds for their performance on 24-12-1778 (St. John's Day).[187] Like in Europe, they probably played behind a screen of some sort, unable to watch the ritual proceedings and also out of view of the lodge members.

Rent was regularly paid to Maas until circa 1787, later rent payments do not specify the recipient. Receipts from 1792-1793 signed by Maas show instalments were paid by lodge member Carel Kuvel for the

sale of a 'certain garden' for a total sum of 5.000,- Rds. So the lodge building probably changed hands. Its location is described as 'located outside this city's Utrechtse Poort or in the west field of the 7th part of bloc P, north of the housing road along the Amanus gragt, South with the buffalos Curved east of the E. Samuel Noortman [?] & west with Mrs. Meijer'.[188]

A second inventory, made up on 10-1-1781, lists the lodge's possessions at the Amanusgracht (table 5.F).[189] Again these include furniture and lightening fixtures, ritual props and regalia, to be discussed in more detail below. A separate inventory was made of the lodge archive, including:

> […] The Minute & Members book
> An incoming letters book
> An [outgoing] letters book
> Ten Sheets of Parchment for Certificates
> Four various Certificates handed over to the lodge
> Some printed Lodge notes […].[190]

A later version would also include a chest with cash, a metal box containing the constitution, and a metal box with drawers containing membership lists, financial records, masonic books and the lodge seal.[191]

According to Hageman La Fidèle Sincérité and La Vertueuse worked in the same building at the Amanusgracht for some time, but this is difficult to verify.[192] He also noted that around 1784 both lodges became aware that this location away from the city centre was undesirable if they wanted to attract new members. While La Vertueuse decided to move nearer to the city, 'the metals' (= financial power) of La Fidèle Sincérité were not strong enough to allow such a move, nor were members who themselves lived outside the city walls concerned enough to do something about it.[193] Instead, the lodge invested in the existing building. By 1786 the furniture inventory was still largely unchanged[194], but the ritual ceremonies were adapted and the Chamber of Reflection was refurbished:

> […] so that henceforth at this ceremony, the eye would be fixed on the Ceremonial and Stately, instead of, as it has until now occured, that [with] which to fill the feeling of an uninitiated with dread and fear, without such being able to work out anything else than the Honourable, to which the Work of the Brotherhood is so dear, to see it ridiculed and offer to the blinded subject the strangest ideas. […] The Dark Chamber, as it now is, will be undone and cleared of all its horrible decorations and frights.[195]

The financial overview of 1786-1787 shows which other investments were made at the Amanusgracht, such as work on a new throne, discussed below.[196] As any man could theoretically one day become a freemason, he should not see the inside of a temple beforehand. So it was preferable to have maintenance done either by men who were already members (but they would have considered such work beneath their status) or by men who were considered ineligible, as the native population still was at the time. A monthly salary of 8,5 Rds was paid to 'the mandur in the garden', a Javanese man functioning as a kind of caretaker or concierge

Table 5.F: Inventory lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia, 10-1-1781.

Inventory of the Following Goods, which are present on This date in the Lodge La fidelle Sincerite in the Garden of the Worshipful Grand Master N. Maas, located on the Amanus Gragt, and in our presence, have been inventoried:

As 6 pieces Silver Candle holders on stands, belonging to the Worshipful Grand Master N. Maas
6 Masons Chandeliers
3 Grand Chairs as for the Grand Master & 2 for the 1st & 2nd Warden Presented to the lodge by the brother de Win
36 Javanese small armchairs presented to the lodge by brother de Win
1 lectern for the Orator " by brother de Win
4 Tracing Boards in Sorts, also " "
1 Iron money chest with two hanging locks given to the lodge by brother Arnold

So also the following Goods belonging to the Lodge
As: 1 Silver Pair of Compasses
1 ditto Set Square
6 Glass candle stands with arms
2 ditto Crowns [= Chandeliers]
8 white, and blue decorated Angels
4 Mirrors
1 Bible in folio
1 Latch closet, with books & papers
8 large Chairs
16 round "
15 long "
2 benches
4 Playing Tables
5 Tables for the Table Lodge
4 Arm chairs
23 Stands
1 Ballot Box
3 Ornaments, As, 1 for the Greater [= Grand Master] and, 2 for the 1st & 2nd Wardens in their own possession
1 ornament for the Treasurer of Zouwas
1 ditto " Orator The same gilt [silver]
1 ditto " Secretary ditto ditto
1 ditto " Architect ditto ditto
1 ditto " Fiscal ditto ditto
1 ditto " Master of Ceremonies Ebony with Silver fittings

Table 5.G: Inventory lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia, May 1798.

Inventory of such lose Goods belonging to the Lodge La Fidele Sincerite as by us, the undersigned, at the listing on the May 1798 have been found in true being, consisting of one and other as follows:

Two large copper Lanterns
Two " copper Lanterns
One " copper Lantern
Two small copper Lanterns
Four " copper Lanterns of which one Broken
Four glass Shades with their Stands
Eight glass wall Shades of which one Broken
Four small Lustres with blue frames
A glass Crown [= chandelier]
Two oval Mirrors with Gilded Frames
Four Paintings with Gilded Frames
Two wall Shades with copper branches
Four wall Shades with copper branches
An oval Mirror with Gilded Frames
A large glass crown [= chandelier]
Three hanging shades
Two glass hanging shades
Four English patent Lamps with two branches
A large chest with copper fittings
A chest with four drawers with copper fittings
One Settee
One ditto
One large round stand
Fourteen round blue chairs
Eighteen " brown chairs
Six playing tables in Sorts
Twelve round brown chairs
A cooling table
A round table
Six round small stands
Two spittoon stands
A corner closet
An old mirror and six paintings
A bible with copper fittings
A large chair painted blue
Thirty-five blue painted chairs
A large Silver Star
Three large stands with Silver candle holders triangular
Three small stands with Silver candle holders triangular
Four stands with copper candle holders triangular
One Orator's lectern
A square table covered with white satin
A white satin drapery with gold fringe ditto
A blue "
A large alcatij[f] [= silk carpet]
A Black Varnished and Silver plated Master's Throne and A Chair covered in Black Satin with silver fringe ditto
Twenty-four Black Varnished and Silver plated chairs
Five large ditto
A lot of curtains and iron rods
A floor cloth
A chest containing some images and figures
A Tracing Board
A Ditto
A Ditto
A Ditto
A Ditto
Fifteen Long Chairs Some stands and clutter
A coffin and cover
One ditto
Thirteen copper and Some Lead candle holders triangular
Two Small tables
A triangular Lantern and two hourglasses
Six triangular stands
A small chest containing Some printed books
Fifteen Lamp glasses in Sorts
Eighty-four wine glasses
Four chalices
Twenty-four beer glasses
Fifteen water carafes
Three liquor bottles
Four lacquered trays
Twenty-four bottle coasters
Three copper tobacco chafing dishes
Twelve large copper spittoons
A large copper coffee pot
A copper ham kettle
A copper water kettle and An iron pot
Four pans a la minute and five iron taatjes *[= tatjoes]*
A copper ewer with dish
Two " broeder *and a* poffertjes *pan*
A stone water pot
One ditto
Three soup tureens
Sixty dishes
A hundred twenty flat plates
Four sauce boats ⎫
Four Salt cellars and ⎪
Four Pepper pots ⎬ *- white porcelain*
Four butter pots ⎪
Forty-three rice dishes ⎭
Twenty eight hollow plates ⎫
Sixty flat plates ⎪
Two Salt cellars ⎪
Two Sauce boats ⎬ *- Blue porcelain*
Two Salad dishes ⎪
Twenty-four dishes is Sorts ⎪
Three butter pots ⎪
Thirty-four large rice dishes ⎭
Thirty-six rice dishes
Fourteen cup and saucers
Twenty-four ditto
Two Water basins and bowls
One Teapot with milk jug
One plated oil and vinegar service
Thirty-six Silver spoons and Thirty-four ditto forks
Two Silver Soup ladles
Thirty-four knives with black hilts
Three dozen forks with brown hilts
Five hollow Chirandoles [= candelabras]
Nine " Candlesticks
Three snuffers iron and ditto copper
A Silver cup
Two small swords with silver hilts
A small Silver sheet in which the building orders are engraved
A Silver Compass
One " Rule gilded

Two " Quills
A black ornament with silver fittings gilded
A Silver rod gilded
A " book "
One " Skull "
One " Square
Three " triangular ornaments
Three Elu aprons
One Master apron
Three Scots aprons white
Six apprentice ditto
Three pairs of goat's leather man's gloves
Six " ditto female ditto
Five Scots aprons blue
Eleven light blue ribbons and rosettes
Two heads
A role of Chinese paper
Ten table cloths as Seven small and three large
One hundred Napkins
Twelf Song books
Four Patjoes [= Javanese ploughs]
Three grass knives
A Rake
Two dung forks

for the building.[197] Later records show that the upkeep of the building and much of the decoration work was trusted to craftsmen from the Chinese community on Java. For instance, in 1794-1796 payments were made to 'the Chinese carpenter' and the *schilderchinees* (= Chinese painter), while more specifically 92.24 Rds was paid in 1796 to 'the Chinese carpenter for the Chamber of Reflection'.[198] Through their frequent employment, such local workmen must have acquired intimate knowledge of the lodge building and its ritual spaces, even if they were not informed of their precise purpose.

An inventory from May 1798 shows the lodge had now invested in furnishings (table 5.G).[199] Although the list does not clearly distinguish between ritual and domestic objects, we can make out the different furniture for the temple, the table lodge, as well as a bar- and playroom. There are seats for 35 members of the basic degrees in the temple. The furniture and regalia were further specified for use in basic and higher degrees. An increase of triangular objects was noted, as more and more effort was made to have the interior as a whole harmoniously reflect masonic symbolism. The lodge archive slowly expanded, now including ritual and song books. Compared to previous inventories, many additions concerned goods for the table lodge. The mention of assorted pans and kettles indicates that the meals for the table lodge now came from the lodge's own kitchen. The inclusion of a rake and dung forks in the inventory further illustrate that the lodge had the surrounding plot to upkeep, while the lodge minutes from these years mention a stable for the horses and carts of the members.

On 5-7-1800 a further overview was drawn up of the dinner and tea services used by the Stewards J.S. Weestenberg and J. Aron[d]s in order to inventory broken objects to be repaired or replaced.[200] In 1801, a series of improvements to the building was proposed, including repainting the lodge, adding lights to the outside gallery and blinds to the back gallery, renovating the kitchen, repairing the Chamber of Reflection and making some smaller repairs to furniture.[201] The full inventory of that year still differed little from the previous one and is therefore not reproduced.[202]

After 1801 there was a substantial gap in the inventories until 1819, so we will leave La Fidèle Sincérité for a while to explore what happened to its rival.

■ *Building a masonic hall for La Vertueuse (1778-1786)*

In the Dutch masonic almanac of 1780 a speech was published, given some years earlier by the Worshipful Master of lodge La Vertueuse, Isaac Titsingh.[203] On 28-12- 1778 (St. John's Day) he modestly declared after his re-election:

> How much I had wanted to be relieved of this considerable burden, not so much because of the weignt of the labour attached to it, but because of my own realisation of not having the necessary capacities to fulfil it accordingly, I will however not withdraw myself from the choice of my Brethren.[204]

In his speech, Titsingh referred to the ideals of the Order and founding of the *Bataviaasch Genoodschap der Konsten en Wetenschappen* (the Batavian Academy for Arts and Sciences), of which a further report in the same almanac report noted:

> Now we can attest to the reader, that from the 28 members of the Venerable Lodge La Vertueuse, according to the last Lists of the year 1778 sent there [to the Grand Lodge], no less that 22 can be counted as the

> praiseworthy Founders of the Bataviaasch Genoodschap der Konsten and Wetenschappen &c, founded here, on 24th April of the same year, under the Motto For the Greater Good.[205]

Indeed the relationship between the Order and the Academy has already been explored by authors Van der Veur, Gelman Taylor and more recently by Hans Groot, who view lodges as part of the popular public sociability of the 18th century and as a means of maintaining a distinct European identity within a colonial society.[206]

La Vertueuse wrote to the Grand Lodge once again concerning the Provincial title on 16-12-1785, emphasizing a Grand Lodge was to be preferred over de Grand Master, because it would allow the founding of lodge in *Buitencomptoiren* or outposts of which there was little knowledge, and the constitutions sent from the Netherlands would only go missing.[207] The lodge claimed its location was 'the most splendid and also the oldest'.[208]

Masonic historian Hageman described the circumstances of La Vertueuse as follows:

> Already by 1784 one had conceived to bring the workplace - the temple - nearer to the more populated areas of the town, to accommodate the upcoming labourers [= future members]. […] the Members of La Vertueuse, whose houses or country villas were usually outside the city walls, in the southern and southeast suburbs, and the surrounding areas, and whose metals [= financial situation] was usually better [than that of La Fidèle Sincérité], - felt more need, necessity and opportunity, to bring the workplace to that side also, to benefit the turnout and participation to normal work.[209]

Especially Worshipful Master Van Overstraten lobbied for the purchase of a lodge building of their own.[210] This was eventually financed by the members by means of a *tontine*, a joint purchase of shares in the building. A first call for subscribers dated from 31-1-1786.[211] By giving out 48 shares of 250 Rds against a 6% interest, a capital of 12.000 Rds was raised. The list of subscribers[212] and the conditions for participation also survived.[213]

According to the purchase contract dated 11-1-1786, a piece of land was acquired from the VOC without payment but for a 'donation' of 1330 Rds. The deal was signed by Anthony Boodts on behalf of the Auctioneers and Fredrik August Heilman, 'overseer of the stonemasons and -sculptors in the company's Craft Quarter', on behalf of the lodge.[214] The contract specifies the location of the lodge as: 'garden land on which presently the moorish[215] Hospital with its stone buildings […] stands and its located a half hour going outside this city, in the eastern field the 22nd [part] of the block L sub no. 13 marked 1.a A en B'.[216]

The plot was defined on the southeast side by the 'Chinese graves', meaning the Chinese cemetery. From the purchase papers it is clear that not the whole lodge, but only Nicolaus Engelhard (fig. 5.15, to whom we'll come back later), Pieter Gerardus van Overstraten, Gerlach Cornelis Johannes van Massau, Daniel Kreysman, Willem Adriaan Willems, Philippus de Elwijk, Samuel van Hoesen and Johan Hendrik Holle, together with Dirk van Hoogendorp and Frans Hakker (the latter by then deceased) were registered as formal owners of the plot.[217] As buyers they were bound to keep any roads and bridges on the grounds in a good condition and pay for the upkeep. The old hospital was torn down, in order to build a Freemasons' Hall.[218] The building work was overseen by Heilman, who was to be rewarded for his services with the Apprentice degree.[219] Unfortunately the building plans did not survive in the lodge archive and the exact location of the building was never properly identified. Hageman tried to find out what was preserved of this and other lodge locations in 1861-1865, but did not succeed in locating it.

The contract between Heilman and La Vertueuse, dated 8-2-1786, describes the building in detail.[220] The first inventory of the new Freemasons' Hall, dated 27-12-1786, is very detailed, as it includes both a valuation of the work done to the building as well as the normal overview of goods owned by La Vertueuse (table 5.H).[221] Visitors approached the lodge via a bridge over the quay, and passed through a gate in the fence surrounding the plot. The way to the entrance was lit in the evenings by 21 lanterns on poles. The building itself measured 106 x 25 feet, was 36 feet high and had a tiled roof of an additional 13 feet. It covered two stories, and both the back and the front entrance were raised on a set of seven steps. The walls of the building were to include 34 sliding windows, those on the lower floor with shutters and those on the top floor with 'English hanging blinds'. The facade of the building would be decorated with 'Channeled pilasters or *Leseenen*' and that of the window above the door with 'two modern *oitas* in the

Fig. 5.H: Inventory of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, 27-12-1787.

General State and Inventory of the Lodge La vertueuse such as the same was recorded and made in order by the undersigned, following decision of the 6 October Last, on This day The 27' December anno 1787, being:

A newly erected beautiful Building, standing on the road next to the post Jacatra, with all its belongings, so for Convenience outside, as Jewel inside, is valued the following, being:

Purchase of the Plot, on which the same is founded 1300:-
For assignment Land measurers knowledge 107:6:-
The building of the Building alone, is done as agreed 7500
32 roeden *[= length measure] Quay walls with a Breastwork at rds 48. per* roede *1536:-:-*
70 ditto Fences, at rds 10. 700
for the Fence with its Gate 300
" Making the Bridge 300
" the Polishing, and plastering of the front 400
" the Kitchen, pantry and two back rooms 800
" Making the Dark Chamber, and all its Belongings 250
ditto of a portal, and 2 Columns 80
ditto " Two vases on the Portal 20
ditto " Two corner cabinets, and various Small changes costing 87
" the painting of ex- and interior 225
" varnishing the Throne and the Portal, and the delivered gold-varnish 286
Coolie-pay, for the felling of Trees, and the necessary Sand for Levelling 285
21 Poles as Lanterns 44
7 ordinary and 4 large Lanterns to the same 150
For the making of the Throne
Woodworks 300
For decorating the same […]

Thus appears the building with all its belongings in total costing 16040:14 rd.
Though only valuating the such as 12500 rd

Silver works and Ornaments for daily use, without valuing these, being:
22 Silver Spoons
21 ditto forks
22 Knives with Silver Hilts
2 silver plated oil, and vinegar-sets
3 " candle sticks

Various Ornaments for the Grand Master
A diamond Cross
A gold Sun
A ditto Pair of Compasses with a Star within
for the Senior Warden
A Silver Set Square
for the Junior Warden
A Silver gilt Plumb Line
for the Secretary
Two Silver gilt Quills
for the Treasurer
Two Silver gilt Keys
for the Orator
A Silver gilt paper Scroll
for the Architect
A Silver gilt plate
for the Master of Ceremonies
An Ebony ornament with Silver-gilt fixtures

Various
A gold and Silver Saint Andrew on the Cross,
Two Sawasa Triangles, with the Letter G within, for the Brothers Scots
Three Silver Pokers with Ebony Hilts, for the Brothers Elú

Furniture
A large Cristal crown |
Two smaller ditto ditto |- costing rd 180:-
Two even smaller ditto ditto ditto 90:-
A Glass Crown |
Fourteen Hanging-Bell shades |- ditto 182:-
Ten Wall Bell shades
Seven large Lanterns
Four large, and |
Six Small Glass Lustres |- ditto 75:-
Eight Mirrors
Eight Lustres 160:-
Four wooden wall candle holders with Copper arms
Four Copper wall candle holders
A grand master's Chair
Two Chairs for the wardens
An Orator's lectern
48 round man's chairs
46 Long ditto ditto
A square Table on the Throne
Two Triangular Tables
all three with their covers of white armozijn
A Pedestal with ditto Cover, and A pillow of yellow Velvet
12 square Dinner Tables
2 Head-Pieces
2 Ambon Wooden playing tables Costing 25:-
2 Ceylon's ditto ditto ditto 22:-
2 Playing Tables of ordinary Java wood
2 Corner cabinets
2 Drawer-tables
10 Long, and
4 Short Stands
26 porcelain spittoons
16 lacquered Candle sticks Costing 95:-
14 Copper ditto

To which furniture, with, and without Costs being known, valued at 2500

Various Goods, being:
An Letter of Constitution by the grand Lodge National in The Hague Issued on the First Day of the Eight month of the Year of Light 5769, to erect this Lodge under the name of La Vertueuse.
A Law Book
20 Song Books

2 Ivory, and
3 Wooden Hammers
32 Pillows of yellow Silk
The dress of The brother Terrible
9 Scots Master Aprons
One grand master Apron
7 Different Aprons
15 Rolls Narrow, and |
5 ditto broad |- yellow Ribbon
Some Pieces, and rolls Ribbon-paper &
2 Curtains of the old Throne

Various Table-Kitchen-Goods, Glass works, Porcelain, Drinks Etc.
Three Table cloths
100 Napkins
12 Towels
A Roasting spit with its belongings
2 iron Grills
A Copper Rice Kettle
A Ham Kettle
4 Kastrolls
10 Iron Tatjos *[= pans]*
One Roasting-pan
A Copper milk jug
A Japanese Coffee Kettle
A Chocolate Pot
2 Japanese Tea Kettles with their Stove
2 ditto ditto ditto without ditto
3 Cooks Tables
4 Water vats

Glass works
14 Beer glasses with gilt rims
60 " not gilt
30 Wine and Water Glasses
140 Wine Glasses
32 Decanters

Porcelain
A damaged Table service, consisting of
3 Soup Tureens
14 Long Dishes in Sort
19 Round ditto deep
14 ditto ditto flat
96 flat Plates
24 deep ditto
32 Rice dishes
2 Fish-Dishes with their covers
4 Sauce Boats
6 Salt cellars
2 Mustard pots, and
5 Butter pots A Ewer with its bowl
A Sambal Bowl
A punch Bowl
2 Tea pots
A Milk Jug
14 Chocolate, and
9 Coffee Cups
24 Saucers

[…] All these Table, and Kitchen Goods, Glass works, Porcelains, Drinks and more Small Trifles, belonging with, and to the House, which are not especially mentioned here, Valued Together at 800

Transporting 15800 rd. total […].

back façade as rustic work'. Above the facade would be a balustrade beneath the fronton, carrying a wooden statue.

Inside, the entrance would lead to a reception hall, looking out onto *portes brisées* [= double doors] leading to four separate rooms, two to the left and two to the right. Above the *portes brisées* were windows, decorated with 'stars or flowers', probably meaning the glass was covered with woodwork screens with cut out patterns. Later inventories suggest that two of the downstairs rooms were used as a lounge or bar area and a dining room. From the hall, also described as the 'inner portal', stairs led to the upper floor, while a pantry and storage space were located beneath the stairs, near the room used as a kitchen. The inventories also mention an 'outer portal' where a *gemak stelletje* or privy was located.[222] On the top floor, the stairs gave access to a long corridor, decorated with 'two vases' and leading to (at least) two rooms. One was a Chamber of Reflection and the other, accessed through a *porte brisée* (this time without windows), was the Forecourt to the temple. From this Forecourt, in which the columns J and B were placed, a last *porte brisée* led to the temple, the major space in the building. A storage space was located in the temple behind the throne of the Worshipful Master. On this floor was also a larger dining room, used for the table lodges.

The agreed price for the work done by Heilman was 7.500 Rds, of which he received a third in advance. Another third would follow when the building was 'under a roof' and the last instalment after its completion.[223] The laying of the first stone took place on 18-3-1786 (fig. 5.12). The stone was:

> […] firstly covered with a sheet of clean paper, than a cloth of yellow armozijn [= silk], in a solid box of hammered red copper the size of 10 thumbs long, and 6 thumbs wide, which box as then after having been wrapped another time in a cloth of yellow armozijn, sized a good Ell [= measure] square, was solemnly deposited in the thereto especially made and deeply cut Memorial stone, high circa 1 ¼ long 2 and wide 1 ¼



Fig. 5.12: Founding stone of the Freemasons' Hall of lodge La Vertueuse, 1786. Reproduced from: 100 jaren *1937, opposite p. 72.*

> feet, with the year 1786 written therein in the middle, which was immediately put into a therefore appropriated and neatly fitting marble stone.[224]

A membership list and a document commemorating the event were enclosed with the stone. It was laid 'just under the threshold of the entrance of the lodge, deeply buried in the Foundation'.[225] The ceremony was carried out by the aforementioned lodge members Kreysman and Hakker, as well as Jacob Hacker (partially due to the absence of Van Hogendorp, Holle en De Elwijk).[226] All lodge members were dressed in their finest regalia for the occasion:

> Kreysman […] from private funds distributed 25 rds for the Chinese to hold a wayang play on that evening, 12 ½ rijksdaalders for the Coolies or Javanese for the slaughter of an Ox and four Ducats as a Douceur for the Master's servant.[227]

Wayang kulit is a type of shadow puppet theatre, typical for the Dutch East Indies and often performed to mark festivities.[228] If work started as soon as Heilman was contracted on 8-2-1786, the building was finished within six months. During that time, the lodge is thought to have met in the house of Engelhard, then holding the office of Orator, 'on Molenvliet'.[229] On 16-8-1786 the inauguration ceremony was publicly celebrated, in the presence of governor-general Willem Arnold Alting and other government representatives, as well as their wives.[230] The lodge was now firmly embedded in local society. Several members and former members sent gifts to the lodge to mark the occasion, including:

> […] from the Brother Past Master Isaak Titsingh in Bengal received a precious carpet
> […] as likewise the tracing board being Satin embellished with gold is a gift of Brother Romberg in Japan
> […] chests for the storage of the Ornaments
> From Welgevaren promptly a fine silver collection box
> Hartsingh masonic tools in silver
> Van Braam from China mother of pearl seal[231]

These gifts are discussed in more detail in further paragraphs. The first full lodge inventory dates from 27-12-1787 and shows the costs of the building work, the decorations and furniture, the whole valued after completion at 12.500 Rds (almost € 280.000,- today).[232] This inventory, also discussed in more detail below, makes clear how the financial position of La Vertueuse differed from that of La Fidèle Sincérité: crystal, silver, gold and even diamonds are mentioned (table 5.H).[233] The inventory was accompanied by a report from lodge members Van Son and Pieter van de Weert (died 1795), which recommends certain purchases. They conclude:

> Lastly [...] whether it would not be necessary, also to prevent the inconveniences that may occur at the death of Brethren Officers, that all which belongs to the Lodge, and the Ornaments listed in the Inventory, as well as all Books, and Papers, in this building, would be kept in therefore constructed Safes and no Ornaments or Papers would be allowed to stay at the House of Brethren.[234]

Indeed on 7-2-1788 Heijlman was commissioned to:

> […] make two cabinets according to the tidiness and cleanliness of our lodge La vertueuse to be placed within and provided with a safe in the middle, this to store all the Papers and other belongings of the lodge, which otherwise would be kept with the secretary or another brother, in a Cash box, that upon a death would be in danger of falling in the wrong hands to [cause] substantial prejudice of our royal art.[235]

These were probably the two 'yellow painted corner cabinets' placed in the main hall, which appear on later inventories.

◦ *La Vertueuse at the Moorish Hospital Grounds (1788-1800)*

The building on the Moorish Hospital grounds would be used by La Vertueuse until 1829 and is well documented. The 1788 inventory recorded little changes.[236] Among the regular expenses were the hiring of musicians from the local gentlemen Calewander (also spelled Calbander or Kalomandro).[237] A payment of 15 Rds provides an insight into the means of communication within the lodges: 'to the wagon hire Wolferium, for the rent of Eight wagons, for the bringing round of the [convocation] notes to the Brethren by the Servant Crauts, counted outside two for a whole and the rest for half a day'.[238]

The financial records of La Vertueuse show similar investments in upkeep, repairs and extensions of the Freemasons' Hall, as those of La Fidèle Sincérité. This lodge also drew its labourers and service providers from the Chinese community in Batavia. While there isn't enough space to do so here, it is possible to name almost every workman involved, the materials he used, the costs of his supplies, the time he took to finish the job and the reimbursement for his labour. These records illustrate how the lodge contributed to local economy, because La Vertueuse was able to spend and did so.

The lodge had barely taken up use of the building, or the first renovations started.[239] For instance, on 12-7-1789 two lodge members were reimbursed:

> Brother Wilgevaar In restitution of the by him advanced building of the New Kitchen, the Making of iron grills, placing the fence & according to receipt 530:-:-
> Brother Pilon For the making and repairing of the Roof of The Lodge after reducing the provision of the purchased Lead, according to receipt 202:-:
> Brother Pilon For 18 pieces wooden Window Blinds 145:-:-[240]

J.B. Pilon was a military engineer and the lodge Architect. A receipt dated 17-12-1789 for 580 Rds was given to 'the chinese Lileeng for making a New Kitchen, with an iron Grill, moving the back fence, and making in order two apartments as pantries, as well as other repairs'.[241] A back gallery, which rested on 17 turned wooden columns[242], was added to the building. The costs were apparently advanced by lodge members Hendrik Isaac Guitard and Pieter van de Weert.[243] The stairs had to be painted because 'as it now is, they cannot be kept clean'.[244]

Several inventories were drawn up in 1789 by Van der Weert and others, and although little changes were recorded these documents now gave an overview of furniture per room, making it easier to identify individual objects.[245] The same year some superfluous kitchenware was sold[246] and by 1790 the earlier renovations were valued as follows:

> In the year 1789 was spent on this [Lodge] for A new Kitchen [and] making the old in order as a storage for
> Drinks and Provisions, moving the back fence 580
> changing the roof, after subtracting what the Lead fetched 202
> 18 Blinds 145
> Painting repairs of the less important & valuing such until now at only 200
> o the Building and its rooms are now worth 17167:14 [247]

It was not all serious and symbolic labour in the lodges. One of the British lodges in Calcutta organized a lottery, for which the members of La Vertueuse apparently regularly bought tickets. On 24-6-1791 the news came that war had prevented the lottery from taking place, but on 13-3-1792 it was announced the lottery was reinstated.[248] On 1-5-1792 it was decided to buy 45 tickets at 40 Rds.[249] At another meeting on 28-8-1792 the Orator made 'an Elegant speech' to Titsingh, who would soon be leaving on a diplomatic mission to China, was then handed 'the lottery plan with subscriptions' for delivery in Bengal.[250]

Almost all inventories between 1790 and 1797 survived, with too little variation between them to fully reproduce them here.[251] The 1790 version even included the window blinds, as well as 'glass curtains' (presumably bead curtains to keep out insects), one in the outer portal and twelve each in the temple.[252] Most interesting is the 1793 version, which provided a valuation of each individual item (table 5.I).[253] There is also an indication that some changes had been recently made to the division of rooms in the building. Apart from the temple, the contents of a separate room for the 'Master Lodge' was added, and a (storage) space behind the throne was also mentioned.

Financial records also give an impression of changes made on the lodge plot. A receipt dated 10-5-1793 was given to a Chinese workman 'for the building of a new Wagon House, for the parking of 12 coaches'.[254] The total costs amounted to 649,42, but lodge member Carel van Naerssen coldly noted 'The Chinese can be pleased with the payment of rds Six Hundred'.[255] A further invoice recorded 'to the Chinese carpenter for extending the Kitchen rd 86'.[256] The floor of the downstairs rooms could be finished thanks to a contribution by Hartsink.[257] The lodge minutes further noted that the new wagon house had been blown down by a storm and had to be rebuilt.[258] In 1796 a new Chamber of Reflection was installed under supervision of lodge Architect Cornelis Josi,[259] and work was done on the throne.

Several receipts from 1797 mention the use of 'coral stones' in work done for the lodge.[260] Perhaps these were used to decorate a sand footpath or a mosaic? In the same year, glass windows and a glass door were installed.[261] The 'inner courtyard', doors and windows were painted green.[262] The 1797 inventory is the last in a series to provide an insight into the lodge's possessions, before a gap in the overviews occurs until 1807. There are several versions, reproduced here is the one with handwritten notes in the side-lines (table 5.J).[263] Between ca 1796 and 1807 musicians were hired from 'Master Juliani'.[264] A report by Josi dated 18-3-1799 reveals the monthly wages of other men employed by the lodge:

> 2 Mandurs and 4 Coolies Being:
> Jadjong of Manga Bazaar
> Aliman " ditto
> Tarima " Manga Doea
> Darapa " ditto
> Which 4 Coolies monthly enjoy Six Rupees Silver money or together Rds 15,-
> The Mandurs have […] since the death of the Mandur Bidien Charged Monthly for themselves and the aforementioned 4 Coolies Rds 36,-. [….] [of which] 30 Stuivers were for moving a Praauw, to bring good for = the Table [lodge] from the City.
> Said deceased mandur in the beginning had […] no more than 8 rds, because of his many Years of good service in this temple, he was granted a raise of 4 rds. I have on approbation of Your Honour and You my honourable Brethren, made the following Arrangement,
> to the 2 Mandurs, (if two are considered necessary)
>
each	rds	6
and to each of the four Coolies	Rds	3,36
as well as monthly for a *Praauw [= boat]*		-:30
Making Together per Month	Rds	27:30
2 Coolies more on Lodge day		-:24
the 2 Mandurs and 4 Coolies each for the purchase of 3 *ganting* [= measure] rice at 30 stuivers		3:36
then Together monthly	Rijksdaalders	31:42[265]

We will leave La Vertueuse here again for now, as there were other developments elsewhere on Java.

Table 5.I: Inventory of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, February 1793.

Report on the valuation of the Lodge La Vertueuse with its separate goods […]

The Plot with its building, outbuildings and other structures &c, which in the Inventory of the 27 Xber 1790 was valued at Rds 12000,- now on Rds 10000,-

Furniture,

In the upper:

Some Decorations belonging to the Throne	*50:-*
Three Cristal Crowns,	*250:-*
Two glass ditto,	*25:-*
2 Air Lamps	*75:-*
Fourteen Wall bell shades,	*70:-*
Two Lustres,	*2:-*
One grand Master's Chair, ⅂	*30:-*
Two chairs for the Wardens, ~~(damaged)~~ ⅃	
24 chairs for the brethren,	*24:-*
9 long candle stands,	*3:-*
3 tables as 1 square on the Throne and two triangular below the same as well as a wooden altar and a bench with covers and pillows	*25:-*
1 Extra fine bengal Carpet,	*100:-*
1 floor Tracing Board, embroidered in Japan,	*50:-*
1 Painting ditto lacquered,	*50:-*
9 canvas covers for the gliding windows,	*5:-*

<u>In the Apartment behind the Throne</u>

2 hanging Bell shades	*20:-*
1 Wall Lantern	*10:-*
1 chest with mourning wares	*1:-*
1 Piece Black floor cloth	*5:-*
4 different tracing boards	*5:-*
27 pieces triangular metal candle holders	*10:-*
1 wooden Air pipe	*1:-*
1 board with some spikes	*1:-*

In the front Portal

8 pieces wooden candle holders, each with 1 branch	*2:-*
2 Locquet *cabinets*	*15:-*

In the Portal near the stairs

1 glass crown with 6 branches	*10:-*
1 ditto Bell shade	*15:-*
1 wooden ladder and some steps	*5:-*
1 ballot box with its beans	*1:-*
2 Drawer tables	*10:-*

In the Dining Room

1 large Crown	*50:-*
2 small ditto	*50:-*
12 glass wall lanterns with garlands	*100:-*
1 large Mirror	*5:-*
24 Chairs	*24:-*
1 Stone table	*5:-*
8 Dining tables	*8:-*
2 Corner cabinets	*16:-*

In the Master's Lodge

1 large triangular candle stand	*1:-*
*6 small " " *	*2:-*
3 wooden candle holders, each with 3 branches	*1:-*
1 master tracing board	*5:-*

In the downstairs Room

1 glass crown	*20:-*
10 hanging Bell shades	*200:-*
12 wall ditto	*60:-*
4 large Mirror with gilt frames	*20:-*
8 small ditto " 2 branches	*80:-*
45 Chairs	*45:-*
6 Long candle stands	*4:-*
16 small ditto	*6:-*
12 Playing tables in Sort	*50:-*
24 pieces Porcelain spittoons	*20:-*

In the back Gallery

3 glass Crown	*50:-*
2 " Bell shades	*25:-*
4 Wall Lanterns	*60:-*
20 Chairs	*20:-*
1 Pouring table	*15:*

<u>Jewels, Gold and Silver wares</u>

1 ornament with brilliants for the Grand Master	*300:-*
1 gold ornament for the Architect weighing 2 ½ real	*25:-*
2 small gold ornaments, weighing ¼ real	*5:-*
1 Silver Pair of Compasses, weighing 2 ¼ real	*3:-*
1 ditto triangle Weighing 2 5/8 real	*3:-*
1 ditto Set Square Weighing 2 ¾ real	*3:-*
1 ditto Trowel, with its wooden handle Weighing 12 real	*10:-*
1 ditto gilt ornament for the Architect weighing 2 ¼ real	*3:-*
1 ditto ditto for the Orator weighing 1 ¼ real	*2:-*
1 ditto ditto " " d[it]o " 1 ¼ "	*2:-*
1 Silver gilt ornament for the Grand Master weighing ¾ real	*1:-*
1 ditto St. Andrews Cross weighing 3/8 real	*1:-*
22 " Spoons, weighing 51 real	*60:-*
21 " Forks, " 46 ½ ditto	*55:-*
2 " Soup Ladles weighing 14 real	*20:-*
6 Jam Spoons & 6 ditto forks weighing 7 ¼ real	*10:-*
1 Silver tray, weighing 5 ½ real	*10:-*
2 " Commemorative plates " 57 real	*65:-*
1 ornament on a blue stone for the Almoner	*10:-*
1 ditto on a blue stone, Being a Pair of Compasses	*10:-*
1 ditto on a blue stone, for the Secretary	*10:-*
1 ditto on a blue stone, for the Senior Warden, Being a Level	*10:-*
1 d[it]o on a blue stone, for the Junior Warden, Being a Set Square	*10:-*
1 ditto on a blue stone, Being a Plumb Line	*10:-*
1 Silver Collection Box weighing 30 real	*45:-*
1 ornament on a blue stone for the Almoner	*10:-*

<u>Porcelain and Glass wares</u>

1 blue table Service	*25:-*
*1 red " " *	*25:-*
2 Tea Services	*15:-*
4 Porcelain bowls in wooden bowls, for washing hands	*2:-*
10 beer glasses, with gilt rims	*2:-*

35 ditto Without 3:-
35 masons wine glasses, with " " 6:-
87 wine glasses 8:-
21 large Carafes 15:-
5 Small ditto 2:-
1 Soopjes *[= Liquor] Cellar with 12 Bottles 5:-*
3 Soopjes [= *Liquor] bottles 1:-*
30 Lamp glasses 15:-

Various Goods
2 Plated Oil and Vinegar Sets 12:-
1 ditto Coffee Pot 5:-
3 " Candle sticks 2:-
47 table knives with ivory hilts 7:-
24 dessert ditto 3:-
In a Drawer Table in the front Portal to the stairs
18 pieces Hats 20:-
18 " cloaks 50:-
6 Pieces broad Black Ribbon 20:-
2 ditto " red ditto 5:-
4 ditto " yellow ditto 7:-
In another Drawer Table Are
26 pieces bands for various degrees 15:-
29 various Aprons 5:-
63 pairs women's gloves 10:-
2 " men's ditto |- 1:-
Some red ribbon |
100 new Napkins 25:-
32 old ditto 10:-
3 new Table cloths 25:-
1 old ditto 3:-
1 Black cover cloth 10:-
Some muse maçonne |
1 law book |- 2:-
1 Bible |
36 Decks of cards (fine) 2:-
20 decks of cards (2nd sort) 1:-
2 ivory and |
9 wooden |- hammers 3:-
42 pieces new Lire Maçonnes [= song books] *10:-*
16 old ditto 2:-

In the Chamber of Reflection
1 chest in which a Skeleton 40:-

In the Pantry
16 lacquered and |- candle sticks 15:-
14 Copper |
5 Lacquered Commemorative plates 2:-
5 wooden ditto in sorts 1:-
3 Tables 3:-
1 Chest with spermaceti candles 4:-
6 Bunches wax candles 15:-

Kitchen Wares
2 large Japanese martavans 10:-
1 Roasting Spit with Its belongings 5:-
1 large and |
Small |- iron grill 2:-
2 Water kettles 3;-
2 Skillets 2:-
4 Copper kastrols 5:-
7 Tjatjoes *[= pans] 3:-*
2 roasting pans 2:-

***Table 5.J: Inventory of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, 11-9-1797* [with notes, here in blue].**

Report of the 'Committee on taking inventory of all Such Furniture and other goods […]

in the Lodge Upstairs
Some Throne Decorations
1 grand Master's Chair, painted yellow and Gilt
1 Table with its white silk cover Embroidered with gold and ditto fringe
1 Canvas cover
3 pairs glass Crowns
1 wooden Altar with a Bench and two pillows with their white silk embroidered covers laid with gold fringe
2 copper patent Lamps, each with 2 branches and their belongings
2 Japanese Lacquered Tracing Boards
1 print and Gilt Frame in glass, representing the portrait of the Worshipful Grand Master National van Boetzelaar
2 triangular Tables with their White Silk Covers, laid with gold fringe
2 triangular Tin Ink stands
1 large Bengal floor Carpet, and a leftover piece ditto
1 Canvas Floor cloth used for the Fellows
1 Japanese silk embroidered floor Tracing board in a chest
1 New |
1 Old |- canvas painted floor Tracing board
2 wardens Chairs, yellow painted and gilt
9 candle stands, ditto ditto ditto
12 large Emblems or Allegorical Paintings nailed to the Wall
1 Metal Orator's Lectern
2 copper Lustres on the Columns of the Temple door
28 48 yellow painted Chairs, Gilt
48 chair pillows of yellow silk, NB worn
16 pieces glass wall Bell shades
9 Canvas Covers, For the Windows

In the apartment behind the Throne
1 Hanging bell shade
1 wooden Air Pipe
A board or thorny path
Two ditto or Seesaw bridges
an iron pan and belongings
an earthenware pot with its Stove
a Lamp post with a copper plate behind the Blazing star
a Wooden Stairs with 2 Steps
a Lamp Stairs
ditto Bible

in the Forecourt
1 Hanging bell shade
1 Long Wooden Ladder
4 yellow painted Stairs
2 yellow painted Chest of which 1 with papers and documents under care of the Brother Secretary and 1 in which the following goods, being
12 25 New lire maçons
16 old ditto ditto 34 High german
1 Law Book
1 Bible
1 Jar with Quicksilver

1 bottle " ditto ditto
1 iron Seal
1 velvet eye cover
1 Metal Tray
1 ditto Funnel
Some books containing the duties of Free Masons
N 2 ½ 11 dozen Playing Cards
1 iron Shackle with its copper cuffs
2 copper Hand cuffs with Chains
1 old painted Sun
2 ivory Hammers
9 Wooden Hammers of which 3 Gilt
3 large and 2 Small Linen Table cloths
13 Towels
100 St: 71 oud 60 Napkins
1 leftover Piece yellow Trijp, Long 1,5 @
1 Japanese embroidered and 1 ditto painted small Tracing board
1 Lacquered chest in which the following Ornaments:
1 Silver Trowel
1 ditto Pair of Compasses
1 ditto Set Square
1 ditto Triangle
1 gold and 1 Silver Gilt plate with the 5 Building Orders engraved
2 turned wooden ornaments with Silver Gilt fixtures
1 ditto Rod with sawassa fixtures
1 enamelled cross covered with small stones
2 Silver gilt ornaments for the Brethren Architects
1 pair of compasses with a quarter Circle on blue Stone surrounded with small Stones
1 Set square on blue stone surrounded with small Stones
1 Plumb Line " ditto ditto " ditto
2 Quills " ditto ditto " ditto
1 Key " ditto ditto " ditto
1 Level " ditto ditto " ditto
1 Collection box " ditto ditto " ditto
1 velvet Bag with ballot Beans
is not there 1 Master ornament covered with small Stones
1 ditto silver ornament
1 Silver Gilt Plumb Line
1 Small Silver Trowel gilt
1 Master ornament partially gilt
3 pairs White Goats Leather Women's Gloves
+ 32 9 ditto " Men's ditto
not - 1 bunch Black painted Wax Candles
is not there1 triangular Copper Lustre
3 plated Small Candle sticks
2 ditto large Candle snuffs
1 metal pipe to convey the Light
1 Writing drawer with different Masonic Papers
An old Ballot box
A wooden Playing Table

in the portal near the stairs
1 Glass Crown 2 chests for the Elu

under the Stairs
1 Pouring Table with Lead
1 Chair with iron hooks
1 Square Table
1 Smaller ditto

in the Downstairs Room
1 glass crown
10 hanging Bell shades
14 Wall bell shades with belongings, of which 1 damaged
4 Mirrors with Gilt frames
8 ditto Lustres with ditto and branches
9 Playing Tables in sort
39 brown Varnished Chairs, of which some damaged
6 ditto ditto Gueridons [= stands or side tables]
15 ditto ditto Short Candle stands

in the Chamber of Reflection
1 Chest with a Skeleton
1 long metal Caller
1 wooden Seesaw bridge
1 Lectern and some Trifles
missing ~~1~~ glass bell shade

in the back Gallery
1 broken 2 3 glass Crowns
3 2 ditto hanging bell shades
8 ditto Wall Lanterns
upstairs ~~1~~ large Dinner Table with 2 tops and 6 Supports

in the back Room
19 Round Men's chairs
1 large Square Table
is not there ~~1~~ old Playing ditto
4 porcelain gorgelets 1 damaged

in the back Room beneath the Masters' Lodge
1 old Playing Table
14 wooden Tables in Sorts 1 upstairs 2 back 2 outside
1 ditto Lamp Stairs
1 Old Orator's Lectern
21 porcelain spittoons 1 damaged

Pantry
16 Lacquered Candle sticks
13 copper ditto
Some incomplete Table porcelains, red with white
A ditto ditto service, white with blue borders
A ditto ditto ditto, blue with white
Some ditto different Tea porcelains, totally damaged
6 Beer glasses with Gilt Rims
62 ditto plain
51 Wine glasses with Gilt Rims
77 ditto ditto plain
20 cut glass Lamps
55 glass Carafes in sort
3 Small hanging bell shades belonging above the Throne
20 Lamp glasses
8 ~~12~~ Wine and Water glasses
81 ribbed Wine glasses
7 pieces 6 wooden triangular lustres
1 red 1 blue Robe for the Elu
2 Drawer tables, containing
16 18 Black Silk Cloaks
1 ditto ditto garment for the Brother Terrible
11 Master breastplates
1 old 26 pieces ~~2~~ new Aprons of this Lodge
7 pieces Master ditto
2 4 rolls broad Black Ribbon 1 roll red Colour
3 ditto and ~~a Leftover yellow ditto~~ 1 leftover

old 3 ditto covered with Black crape
not ~~28~~ pairs Women's Goats Leather Gloves
18- 22 Silk bands of the order of different Colours
7- 8 " old Black Aprons in Sort
are not there ~~2~~ rolls yellow Small ribbon
some Silk Cords
A Copper Trowel 20 Fellows Aprons
A Small plate 6 C:O:O
2 yellow painted corner Cabinets in the Dining room
1 in which 7 ps Fellow bands
14 pieces triangular Lamps 6 Pokers for ditto
1 in which the following goods, being
43 large Table knives with ivory hilts and Silver fixtures In the Dining Room
23 Small ditto with ditto ditto 1 large Mirror
19 21 Silver Spoons 12 Lanterns with barlok
18 21 ditto Forks 7 Black Tables
2 ditto large Soup Ladles 2 New or writing
4 5 ditto Jam Spoons 2 Old " ditto
6 ditto forks
1 ditto cooling tray
2 ditto Commemorative plates
2 plated Oil and Vinegar Sets, each with 5 bottles
1 ditto large Coffee pot
A table with a Marble stone top and Gilt Foot

in the Masters' Lodge
1 grand Master's chair, Black painted and Silver plated
2 Warden's Chairs, ditto dito " ditto
1 Black painted wooden altar
2 ditto ditto Triangular Tables
12 ditto large and 4 Small Triangular Candle stands
15 ditto Candle sticks
4 Emblems or Allegorical Paintings
1 wooden Lustres with 3 Copper Branches
2 metal boxes with various Clutter
1 Black Satin Cloth embroidered with Silver
1 ditto ditto Table cloth and ditto Pillow, with Silver
1 ditto painted and embroidered with Silver Table cloth
1 Black Table cloth

3 ditto New Pillow Covers
15 18 pieces Round Hats

Behind the Masters' Lodge
2 Lustres with their glass Branches
1 Metal Bell
1 Wooden Stairs
1 Canvas painted Master Tracing board
1 Table with a wooden tray
1 Cellar with 12 Bottles of which 1 broken
4 wooden Varnished Tea Bowls
5 Lacquered Metal ditto
2 wooden large ditto
5 iron pans and three broken
3 Copper Kastrolls with lids
2 ditto Skillets
1 ditto roasting pan
2 ditto Braising pans
1 ditto Water Kettle
2 wooden bowls for Lamps
1 ditto vat with Copper hoops
3 ditto with iron hoops damaged
1 Japanese chamber pot
1 ditto adjar tray NB the wooden coaster Broken

in the Kitchen
2 Large Iron Grills
1 Roasting spit with 2 Stands
2 Kitchen Tables
1 carrying Vat

For the back Rooms
2 Japanese Martavaans

in the Room of the Mandur
1 large chest with Candles
1 pair of pistols
2 Snaphanen [= guns] [...]

♦ *Ambulant lodge De Goede Hoop (1798)*

During the 18th century, Semarang became the second most important port for business intended for the lands on central Java behind it, or across the water to Sumatra and Malacca. As discussed in chapter 4, the German Regiment Württemberg was in service of the VOC and stationed at the Cape in the end of the 18th century. In 1790 the Regiment was divided up and a large section was sent to the East Indies, where troops were stationed in Semarang, Surabaya and Ambonia until 1808.[266] Inevitably, some freemasons were among the ranks.

In 1798 lodge member Nicolaus Engelhard (1761-1831), 'always thinking & working to expand the knowledge of the order'[267], became aware that a group of government officials would undertake a business trip to Semarang, led by commissioner general mr. Sebastiaan Cornelis Nederburgh (1762-1811, fig. 5.13). At a meeting of the *Rose Croix* Chapter (= lodge for the higher degrees) of La Vertueuse on 5-2-1798, over which Engelhard presided, he asked the members to consider that their Brother Willem Jacob Cranssen (1762-1821), a senior merchant, would be joining this official company:

> […] moved by a brotherly feeling of remembrance, friendship and loyalty on behalf of several Brethren workers and members of this [lodge] who are loving in Semarang […] So proposed [...] Engelhard, that the Sovereign Chapter could please and approve to bestow upon said R[uling?] Brother Cranssen the satisfactory power and authority, so that his Honour may elevate all to the degree of Chevalier d'orient the Brother Scots



Fig. 5.13: Cornelis de Cock, portrait of Sebastiaan Cornelis Nederburgh (1762-1811), 1862. Oil on cardboard, 80.5 x 65 cm. Collection: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv.no. SK-A-3786. Reproduced from: rijksmuseum.nl.

> Master van Rheede tot de Parkeler and to Elu the Brethren Masters and members of our [lodge] that are living in Semarang and who could request for it […].
> Furthermore that to said commission would be granted permission to take the name of the Travelling [lodge] and Sovereign Chapter De Goede Hoop in the East of Semarang and under that name to be allowed to receive and chose the Brethren living in Semarang'.[268]

The proposal was approved within the Chapter on 6-2-1798 and then put to the La Vertueuse on 10-2-1798[269]: 'for this occasion the High Enlightened Worshipful Brother Cranssen Rose Croix accompanied by the High Enlightened Bretren [C.J.] Prediger and [A.] van Boekholtz Élus des Neuf would undertake a journey thereto'.[270] And so the lodge De Goede Hoop was founded under auspices of La Vertueuse, with Cranssen acting as Worshipful Master, and Mr. Christianus Prediger (1768-1801; a laywer and later Extrordinary Council of the East Indies) and François van Boekholtz (died ca 1802; former commander at Banda) acting as Junior and Senior Wardens.[271] The lodge travelled aboard the ship De Hertog van Brunswijk, carrying a group of government officials under Nederburgh's command on a business trip to Semarang. The ship left on 12-4-1798 from Batavia to the North-East Coast of Java, passing Cheribon, Semarang, Japara, Grissee, Surabaya, Passuruan and Madura.[272] Because the minutes of the lodge survived, we can get a clear view of its short-lived activities.[273] Several meetings were held on the journey to Semarang. On 16-4-1798 members J. Welters and Filtz were balloted and initiated. The next day, members Van Boekholtz, Prediger and Johan Willem Bartholomeus Wardenaar (1784-1869; an ensign and draughtsman) were initiated as *Élu seconde* and *Élu de Quinze*. On 18-4-1798, commissioner general Nederburgh was initiated as Apprentice and, immediately afterwards, also as Fellow.[274]

Having arrived in Semarang, the minutes note on 5-5-1798 that lodge member Waterloo was prepared to furnish a lodge room. Johan Frederik baron van R[h]eede tot de Parkeler (1757-1802), Council Extraordinair of the East Indies and governor-director of Java's North East Coast, made his residence available for this purpose and offered to host a table lodge. All this would take some ten days to arrange. That morning the ballot and initiation of a mister Boers and the new Servant J.G. Hamilton took place at

Table 5.K: Accounts of lodge De Goede Hoop

General Account for bringing in order the travelling lodge De Goede Hoop, now shining East of Batavia […]

For delivered Woodwork both in the Apprentice as in the Masters Lodge used	*rds*	*53:10:-*	
5 Pieces white linen, of which the throne was covered, all tables were covered and the Tracing Board in the Master Lodge was made &c a rds 10 each	*rd*		*50: -:-*
2 ditto yellow armozijn used for the throne Tables &c at rds 11 each			*22: -:-*
9 ditto ordinary yellow painted Javanese linen at rd 1 ½ each Piece			*11:12:-*
4 ½ ditto Black garZay [= karsaai] long each Piece 32 Ell at 30 rds per Ell			*90: -:-*
From this were made 6 Pieces Black cloaks, &c cover for the tables and the Masters Lodge, also for the Tabello, and further necessities, in the chamber of reflection			
For the painting of the Apprentice Tracing Board, and other work, both in the Apprentice and the Masters Lodge			*30: -:-*
For wages to the Carpenters			*37:24:-*
Ditto " " " Smiths			*10: -:-*
For the delivery of 3 large Chairs			*1:42:-*
14 days 20 Javanese who cleaned and whitewashed the rooms &c each 7 ½ Stuivers per day			*45:40:-*
For chalk, blueing, and other of that kind of necessities			*7:24:-*
16 days 1 mandur who has seen the work and people			*10: -:-*
For covering of the throne &c on wages			*15: -:-*
" the tools on the Master's table			*3:36:-*
For bringing in order the chamber of reflection			*12:24:-*
	Rds		*400:28*
3 Pieces of Apprentice aprons, for embroidering and manufacture wages to the tailor each rds 5	*Rds*		*15: -:-*
4 ditto Master aprons, for embroidering and manufacture wages to the tailor each rds 3			*12: -:-*
2 ditto Elu aprons, for painting and manufacture wages to the taylor each rds 3			*8: -:-*
9 Ell black, white and yellow silk at 2 rd per Ell			*18: -:-*
For black and yellow silk ribbons			*1:24:-*
5 ditto white lining linen			*2:24:-*
3 Pieces silver Master ornaments with Bands each at rds 1:32		*5: -:-*	
10 pairs of white men's gloves at rds 1:32 the pair			*16:32*
10 ditto women's ditto " " 1:32 the pair			*16:32:-*
For rent of 3 cloaks that were lacking when holding the Master's Reception Lodge at each 1 rds			*3: -:-*
	Rds		*96:16:-*

09.00 hours. A second meeting was held at 11.00 hours, when Christiaan Gotlieb Fisscher, a senior merchant and head administrator, Abraham van Luchtenburgh a junior merchant and bookkeeper of wages, Jacobus Albertus van Middelkoop (1771-1822), a sworn clerck of police, and Johannes Knops (1761-1814), junior merchant and secretary of police, were proposed as new members.

Another two meetings took place on 8-5-1798. At 18.00 hours it was discussed that Van Reede tot de Parkeler possessed the degree of *Écossois*, and as such had the highest masonic authority in the area. He was about to be initiated into the even higher degree of *Chevalier d'Orient*. Because of this seniority and the fact that he had made his residence and table available to the lodge, it was decided to thank him by granting him the title *Passé Maître*, normally reserved for Past Worshipful Masters. The lodge then continued with the initiation of Fisscher, as well as the initiation 'by communication' of Luchtenburgh, Middelkoop and Knops. Proposed were Johan [Henrich] Wilhelm Ludwig, a former lieutenant and commander at Salatiga; Johannes Rubenkoning, a fiscal; and Karl Freiherr von Wolzogen (1764-1808), a captain who came to Java as a member of the Regiment Württemberg. They received the degree of Fellow at a second meeting at 22.00 that evening.[275]

The coming few days passed in the same manner. On 12-5-1798 Wolzogen, Rubenkoning and Ludwig were raised as Masters. On 19-5-1798 the ballot and initiation of *equipagemeester* (equipment master) Joseph Bossotiel, sollicitor Johannes Weijdig, clerk Johan Frederik George Heyser, F.G. Akkerman and H.

Buys took place. Only Bassotiel underwent the actual ceremony, the rest was only initiated by communication. Filz and Welters were proposed as Fellows.[276]

Some confusion arose on 21-5-1798. It became apparent that Van Reede tot de Parkeler had accidently received the degree of *Écossois*, without having first passed through the required *Élu*-degrees. So it was decided to initiate him into those degrees, before the promised initiation as *Chevalier d'Orient*. (The fact that the honorary title of *Passé Maître* had been based on his wrongly assumed seniority, was 'covered with the trowel of love'.)

Commisioner general Nederburgh requested to be raised as Master on 22-6-1798, which was not actually allowed without Engelhard's prior permission, but the lodge proceeded with the initiation anyway. The next day, the ballot of sworn clerk Johannes Jacobus Nederburgh (1767-1801), brother of the commissioner general, and administrator Willem Beekman as Apprentices took place at 10.00 hours. The title of *Passé Maitre* was now also bestowed on S.C. Nederburgh. The members then continued with the ballot of Welters, Filz, Knops, J.J. Nederburgh en Beekman as Fellows. At 18.00 hours it was announced that the lodge would soon leave for the return journey to Batavia. The initiation of the balloted members took place on 25-6-1798.

There is a gap in the minutes until a month later, possibly because the members had to conduct VOC-business and/or could not find a suitable place to meet. On 20-7-1798 the initiation of Fisscher, Bossotiel, Weydig, Middelkoop and Heijser as Fellows was recorded. Accordig to Hageman a total of 29 men were initiated in De Goede Hoop.[277] The lodge was then formally closed on 31-7-1798 by Van Reede tot de Parkeler, who was 'proposed' at this occasion, presumably as Worshipful Master for a new lodge. On 9-2-1799 he sent a rapport on the activities De Goede Hoop to La Vertueuse, accompanied by a membership list.[278]

The short existence of lodge De Goede Hoop is well documented, as are its finances. Van Reede tot de Parkeler himself covered costs of the decoration of a complete lodge, which worked in both basic and higher degrees. From the financial administration, it becomes clear that Van Reede tot de Parkeler had several rooms cleared and whitewashed by servants (table 5.K).[279] These were then furnished in white and yellow, the distinguishing colour of its motherlodge La Vertueuse. The props for the Master's lodge were black. The accounts are interesting, because they show that a throne, officer's chairs and tracing boards were still all that was needed to be able to hold a basic lodge. The second half of this chapter will discuss similar items in more detail. The costs amounted to 400:28 Rds, the equivalent of circa € 8.750,- today.[280] Not included was another 96:16 Rds (circa € 850,-) for regalia (aprons, gloves and ornaments), paid for by candidates themselves. Van Reede tot de Parkeler himself had covered costs up to 460 Rds.[281]

It was decided to make a gift of half of the collected contributions paid to the poor.[282] The total sum which would benefit La Vertueuse amounted to Rds 2.869.22, making the activities of De Goede Hoop a lucrative exercise.[283] As a result of this trip, there was now a sufficient number of freemasons present in Semarang to found a lodge of their own, which would be named *La Constante et Fidèle* (discussed below).[284]

♦ *French lodge Provisoire (1799)*

In 1798 admiral Pierre César Charles de Sercey (1753-1836), previously engaged in fighting the British near Mauritius and in the Indian Ocean, travelled to the Dutch East Indies with his remaining two ships to patrol the Chinese seas in cooperation with the Spanish. In April 1799 the French corvette Brûle Gueule and the frigate Le Preneuse were harboured at Surabaya.[285] Jean François Bruneau le Souchais, captain of the Brûle Gueule, was a member of lodge Le Royale Esperance in Isle de France. He had the *Rose Croix* degree and possessed a proxy from the *Grand Orient de France*, dated 5-7-1785, which gave him the power to found a lodge overseas. This 'Loge Provisoire' (Provisional Lodge) worked in Surabaya and is thought to have made seven initiations between 11 and 13 February 1799.[286] According to Hageman, the work of the lodge greatly contributed to the popularity of the higher degrees in the East Indies.[287]

The French were received in the Dutch lodges with a special ceremony, at which occasion the French explicitly thanked the Dutch for the help and support the Dutch lodges had in the past shown to the French prisoners of war (see the discussion of the La Pérouse expedition below).[288] The members of the Loge Provisoire later applied for membership of La Vertueuse:

> And after examination of the received documents & on considerations gathered & the advice of the thereto committed Brenthren Hartsinck, Roger & Engelhard […] it was decided to utterly approve the work of Brother Bruneau in Surabaya and to recognize the Brothers Freemasons received there provided the stipulated reception fees are met according to the limitations set by this lodge with the inning of which were troubled the Brother Beukman Resident of Paccalonging as well as to take care of such means have been gathered in Sourabaya for the needy by the aforementioned temporary lodge.[289]

Apart from the captain, who acted as Worshipful Master, and the aforementioned visitors to La Vertueuse, the membership list names 19 other men, including a few Dutch civilians (table 5.L). (Upon their return to Mauritius, the members of this lodge would arrange a constitution for a Chapter for La Vertueuse from the *Grand Chapitre General* in Paris, discussed in more detail below.) The history of this lodge is closely linked to that of the fleet of admiral Sercey and the captains Bruneau le Souchais and L'Hermite, which was adventurous to say the least. This story deserves to be further explored by cross-referencing documents in French masonic collections, as it is also exemplary of military lodges travelling internationally at the time.

Table 5.L: Members of the French lodge Provisoire, 1799

- *Willem Beekman, administrator in Surabaya, a member of lodge De Goede Hoop;*
- *N.N. Blaix, member of lodge Le Royale Esperance, Isle de France, E.0, Orateur ;*
- *N.N. Boulonnière (geb. ca 1773), Ens[eign?];*
- *Jean Francois Bruneau le Souchais, captain of the Brûle Gueule, member of lodge Le Royale Esperance, Isle de France, now Venerable Master;*
- *N.N. Castaings (geb. ca. 1773), Ens[eign?];*
- *Pierre Guillaume Joseph Bernard de Chasteauvieux, capitain commander of the Militia in East Java;*
- *Carl von Franquemont (ca 1770-?), captain of the Württemberg Cape Regiment in Surabaya;*
- *N.N. Graffie, officer, initiated as* Chevalier d'Orient *elsewhere;*
- *Jean-Marthe-Adrien L'Hermite (1766-1826), capitain of the fregat Le Preneuse, initiated as Elu elsewhere, member of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia 1796;*
- *N.N. Du Houlber, member and Elu of lodge La Paix, Isle de France;*
- *N.N. La Marchand, member of lodge La Paix, Isle de France; now chosen as Junior Warden ;*
- *N.N. Morin, member and Elu in lodge Vingt-un, Isle de France; now Master of Cermonies ;*
- *N.N. Petit, French Marine officer, member of lodge La Paix, Isle de France; now Senior Warden ;*
- *N.N. La Poussiqain (ca 1770- ?), Enseign ;*
- *N.N. Riviére, member of lodge La Triple Esperance, Mauritius; now Tyler;*
- *N.N. Rose (1760-?), merchant;*
- *N.N. Schild, member and Chevalier d'Orient of Le Royale Esperance, Isle de France; now Secretary;*
- *G.M.P Trelaut of Trelo (?-ca 1766), ships Lieutenant;*
- *N.N. La Vionnais, a member of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia;*
- *N.N. Virro[g/y], ships Lieutenant.*

♦ *Provincial Grand Master Engelhard (1798-1809)*

In 1796, Past Master of La Vertueuse Van Overstraten was chosen as Alting's successor as governor-general. He held the position until his death in 1801 (fig. 5.14). On 3-2-1797 lodge La Vertueuse wrote to the Grand Lodge, that it had been out of contact since 1794 as a result of the war. The lodge noted the passing of several members and the election of Gotfried Christiaan Fetmenger as Worshipful Master, and dared to request to be recognized as Provincial Grand Lodge as lodge Salomon in Bengal was no longer active as such (see chapter 4).[290]

The Grand Lodge must have gotten tired of the endless nagging. On 1-10-1798 it informed La Vertueuse of its decision to install a Provincial Grand Master.[291] As years earlier the lodges had passed the opportunity to do so themselves, the Grand Lodge now picked its own candidate. The choice fell on the aforementioned Nicolaus Engelhard, the Venerable Master of La Vertueuse, who received the title 'Deputy Grand Master for the Eastern and Western parts of Batavian India'.[292] However, Engelhards appointment as Provincial Grand Master may have also had something to do with the increasing popularity of higher degrees in the Dutch East Indies. A draft letter in the lodge archive suggests that as a result of war, the lodges were visited by French freemasons in the 1790s, who possessed higher degrees and 'not only desired large priviliges, but as a result thereof tried to introduce some novelties among us this way'.[293] La Vertueuse sought advice from the Grand Lodge, who responded with appointing Engelhard to preside not only over the lodges of the basic but also those of the higher degrees.[294]



Fig. 5.14: Adriaan de Lelie (1755-1820) (attributed), portrait of Pieter Gerardus van Overstraten (1755-1801), governor-general and member of lodge La Vertueuse, 1800-1820. Oil on copper, 106.5 × 91.5 cm. Collection: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv.no. SK-A-3787. Reproduced from: rijksmuseum.nl.



Fig. 5.15: Portrait of Nicolaus Engelhard, painted miniature. Reproduced from: Lequin 2002, p. 151.

Engelhard had arrived in the East Indies in service of the VOC in 1776[295], had strong family relations within the Company and had made a speedy career. He was a member of La Vertueuse since circa 1783 and acting as Worshipful Master since 1796. In daily life he was appointed Council of Indie in 1798 and soon after he would become governor of Java's East Coast (in office 1801-1808). The Grand Lodge may have lived to regret its choice. Engelhard's style of governing the lodges was both negligent and inflexible. He constantly got into conflicts with the local lodges, but seems to have favoured his own, La Vertueuse. He brought La Fidèle Sincérité to the brink of financial ruin, and much annoyed the Grand Lodge by failing to submit promised reports and payments.[296]



*Fig. 5.16: Anonymous, **p**ortrait of Johannes Siberg (1740-1817), governor-general and member of lodge La Vertueuse. Oil on copper, 107 x 90 cm. Collection: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv.no. SK-A-3788. Reproduced from: rijksmuseum.nl.*

Engelhard's inaugural address did not take place until 27-12-1800.[297] In his speech, Engelhard declared:

> During this, both persistant, and disastrous war […] our Temples have uninterruptedly been visited by Brethren, from Strange Places, [who practised] among them such elevated degrees, that although [thee degrees were] unknown according to our Constitution, it none the less forced us to take note of them and to to show such enlightend Persons, according to their wishes, the honour and respect which their elevated dignity and progress made in our Order, deserved, according to instructions received - meanwhile by following this duty, we were repeatedly pulled away from regular practice, and the cases were prevalent in your Temples, that the Throne was climbed by strange Brethren.[298]

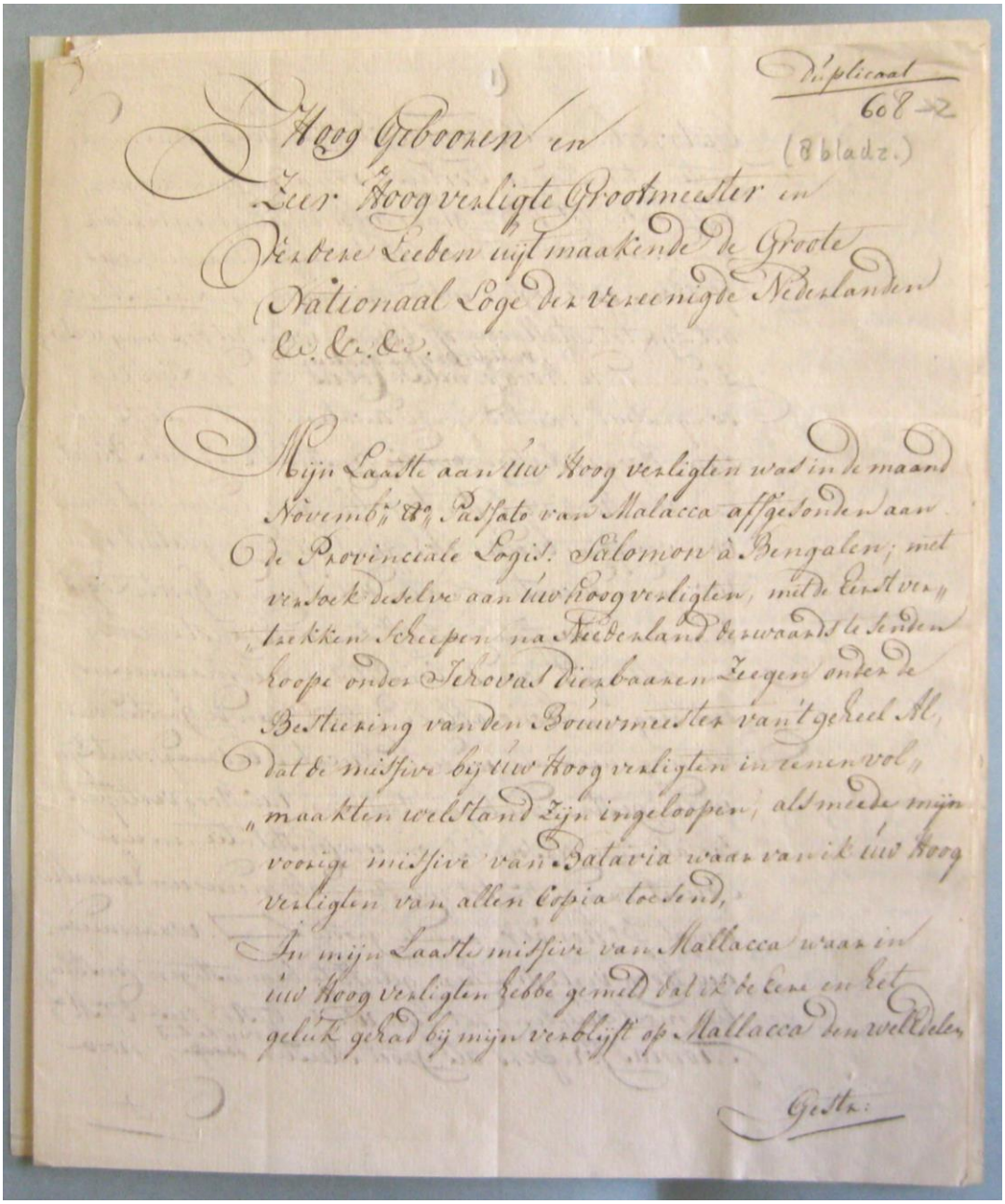
Engelhard himself was initiated into the (French) higher degrees also practised in Europe, so this particular remark may well refer to the (British) higher and side degrees. It is unclear if a particular 'strange' Worshipful Master was referenced here.

By the time Engelhard came to power, the demise of the East India Company was already a fact. In 1795 the Batavia Republic was founded, which meant that VOC-assets and debts were nationalized. It would take until 1800 to formally dissolve the company and make new administrative arrangements. The *Raad van Aziatische Bezittingen en Etablissementen* (Council of Asian Possessions and Establishments) took over trade in the region. Van Overstraten, who had to deal with this transition, died in 1801 and was succeeded by another freemason, Johannes Siberg (1740-1817), a member of La Vertueuse since 1771 and Past Master by the time of his appointment.

Engelhard's particular style of ruling over the lodges can be illustrated by his dealings with the new lodge that sprung from his own initiative, the travelling lodge De Goede Hoop.

♦ *Lodge La Constante et Fidèle (1798-1960)*

According to masonic historians, by 1765 several Dutch freemasons were already living and working in Semarang.[299] They must have been too few in total or transferring on VOC business too frequently to be



Duplicaat
608-2
(8 bladz.)

Hoog Geboren en
Zeer Hoog verligte Grootmeester en
Verdere Leeden uijt maakende de Groote
Nationaal Loge der verenigte Nederlanden
&c. &c. &c.

Mijn Laatste aan Uw Hoog verligten was dat in de maand
Novemb.r 1769 Passato van Malacca afgesonden waare
de Provinciale Logist Salomon à Bengalen; met
verzoek dezelve aan Uw Hoog verligten, mede door Over-
trekken Schrepen na Nederland te verwaarts te senden
koope onder Verovad Vierbaaren Zeegen onder de
Bestiering van den Bouwmeester van't geheel Al,
dat de missive bij Uw Hoog verligten in eenen vol-
maakten welstand Zijn ingeloopen; als mede mijn
voorige missive van Batavia waar van ik Uw Hoog
verligten van allen Copia toesend,
In mijn Laatste missive van Mallacca waar in
Uw Hoog verligten hebbe gemeld dat ik de eere en het
geluk gehad bij mijn verblijft op Mallacca den welken

Geste:

Fig. 5.17: Letter by George Steendekker to the Grand Lodge in The Hague, concerning the foundation of lodge La Constance in Malacca, 16-1-1771. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

able to found a lodge of their own. It seems the activities of the aforementioned lodge De Goede Hoop in the area in 1798 were specifically aimed at initiating a surplus of local men to ensure enough continuity in membership for any new lodge. When De Goede Hoop was formally closed on 31-7-1798 by Van Reede tot de Parkeler, the minutes mention that he was 'proposed', probably as Worshipful Master for the intended new lodge.[300] The founding date of that lodge, to be named La Constante et Fidèle, is unclear. Later masonic authors agreed, that the decision to found the lodge was taken on 15-7-1798 after a meeting of De Goede Hoop, but minutes of this meeting were not found when consulting the lodge archive.[301] However, the founding date is clearly mentioned in a letter by Engelhard notifying the Grand Lodge of the fact, as the '15th Day of the 7th Month of the Year of True Light 5798'. This should translate as 15-5-1798, well before De Goede Hoop stopped its activities, but perhaps Engelhard or later authors did not take the masonic calendar into account. Bylaws of La Constante et Fidèle in the lodge archive, however, are dated as early as

1-3-1798.[302] The earliest surviving membership list is dated 11-9-1798 and closely overlaps with the names of the initiates recorded in De Goede Hoop.[303]

In any case, the formal request to the Grand Lodge for a constitution was signed on 15-11-1798.[304] All founders listed were former members of De Goede Hoop: Van Reede tot de Parkeler, Bassotiel, Cantzleiter, Fisscher, Heyser, Ludwig, Van Lugtenburg, Van Middelkoop, junior merchant Huibert Palm, Rubenkoning, Weydig and Von Wolzogen. The only one not mentioned in the records of De Goede Hoop was junior merchant Johannes Hendrik Kistler.[305] The request remained unanswered by the Grand Lodge and was therefore repeated unsuccessfully on 28-4-1799.[306] A third attempt was made on 3-11-1800, now enclosing a large advance to cover the costs and contributions. As usual, that worked. Although the Grand Lodge still did not reply, it did give Provincial Grand Master Engelhard leave to install the new Lodge as he saw fit.[307] It seems the relationship between Worshipful Master Van Reede and Engelhard was strained from the very beginning:

> Immediately after the founding troubles arose between the Lodge and Deputy Grand Master National Engelhard, such even, that an intervention by the Grand Lodge in The Netherlands was called for.[308]

Not until 10-5-1801 did Engelhard write to La Constante et Fidèle, explaining that Company business had prevented him from fulfilling his duties earlier.[309] He enclosed a constitution dated 3-10-1801, no less than two-and-a-half years after the first request made by the lodge.[310] The letter suggests that lodge La Vertueuse had refused to acknowledge La Constante et Fidèle or any of its members during the years awaiting the constitution. Of course Engelhard, originally a member of La Vertueuse, though this was a just course of action. Furthermore, he announced that he would leave the installation ceremony of the lodge to Van Boekholtz, and requested that La Constante and Fidèle would give Van Boekholtz the title of Past Master as a token of gratitude. This caused a conflict, resulting in the suspension of the lodge. Stevens attributed this to career rivalry and differences in social status between Van Reede, Engelhard and Van Boekholtz.[311] After all, shortly thereafter Engelhard succeeded Van Reede as governor and director of Java's northeast coast. This may very well have played a part, but a letter dated 28-3-1801 also provides another insight.

Boekholtz was former Senior Warden of La Constante et Fidèle and still a frequent visitor.[312] At some point he so severely offended the lodge, that its board had informed Engelhard of the incident and pleaded with him to never select Boekholtz for any commissions relating to the lodge.[313] Despite Engelhard's promise to respect this wish, he now commissioned him for the installation, thereby 'insulting the entire brotherhood'.[314] La Constante et Fidèle sent Engelhard copies of his earlier promise, and a transcript of lodge minutes of 28-3-1801, recording how member after member decided to quit, as soon as it became clear who would be conducting the installation ceremony. After delibarations, the members unanimously decided to close La Constante et Fidèle and return the constitution unused.

From a letter written on 5-9-1801 to inform La Vertueuse of the situation, it is clear that Engelhard took great offense to the return of the document. He instructed the other lodges to ban former members of La Constante et Fidèle as visitors and also refuse to initiate them (again) as proper members.[315] He also informed Nicolaas Maas, Worshipful Master of La Fidèle Sincérité, and the Grand Lodge about his point of view.[316] La Constante et Fidèle complained to the Grand Lodge about Engelhard's behaviour on 28-5-1801, announcing they'd wait for the judgement of the Grand Officers.[317] A letter from Engelhard to Reede tot de Parkeler dated 22-1-1802 shows exactly how deep the animosity ran:

> […] concerning you're your Honourable's complaint to the Grand Lodge National, I cannot, and will not stop it. Never Sir van Reede could you justify your behaviour shown in this questionable case as everything shows that your Honourable have given yourself over to the whims of a fickle Frenchman, and that your hatred and animosity against the Gentleman van Boeckholtz from bias and your power as Governor, has hurt the right of an Order, which until now, had been untainted. I declare you, that in the history of Masonry no example can be found, which compares with this and yet I cannot look upon those chaps that have assisted you in this piece so masterly, than with contempt […] However, I did not start the case and you have your Honour's Honourable self and your harmful followers to thank, because these instead of trying to stop Honourable in this [matter] they have strengthened you in it and what will in the order of Masonry be your Honourable and their wages […] the Brothers and Members of the order, who know the duties of a Mason, and who are



Fig. 5.18: Doodle of a bird (dodo?) in the minute book of lodge La Constante et Fidèle in Semarang, 1815. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

> aware of how La Constante et Fidèle had behaved here before and after its dissolution, should contempt the order, and curse the hour that they have participated if the events pass unpunished. And if I reflect on the publicity the Matter has gotten, as the whole city of Semarang had to know, which trick had been played to me thereby, as the officers on the *Paradeplaats van de Triumph* [= a square in Semarang] had to be informed by me and the Gentleman van Boeckholtz, than your Honourable and all who have been involved in it, should be erased for all those actions forever from the tracing board of Masons, who knows the circumstances first-hand could never again work in a Lodge with your Honourable and the same.[318]

Engelhard's reference to the *Paradeplaats* may indicate, that a public ceremony had been planned and had to be cancelled. Curiously, although Engelhard indicated he would not try to stop it, the Grand Lodge did not receive Van Reede tot de Parkeler's complaint. It did receive Engelhard's letter dated 29-6-1802, referring to an earlier 'full report' on the events of July 1801, which - like most of Engelhard's promised reports - had somehow not arrived.[319] Of 29-3-1803 dates a reminder from La Constante et Fidèle to the Grand Lodge, restating its earlier complaints about Engelhard's policies.[320] The response of the Grand Lodge was typical: it forwarded the letter to Engelhard and asked him to submit his earlier rapport.[321]

After several years of slumbering conflict, some lodge members must have gotten tired of the situation and bowed to Engelhard's wishes in order to be able to resume their activities. On 17-12-1804 Engelhard informed La Vertueuse which members of La Constante et Fidèle had formally apologized to him, and were therefore eligible for readmission in other lodges: founders Bassotiel, Kistler, Ludwig, Middelkoop, Rubenkoning, Weydig and Wolzogen, as well as captain August Philip Michaelis, military officer Albert Hendriks, head administrator Herman Johan August Sack (1766-1834), and marine officer Meindert Swaal. A second list comprised the names of members who remained 'resistant' and therefore banned: government secretary Daniel François van Alphen (1774-1840), 'Brauwer' [= I.G. Bauer?], C.J.A. van Dommelen, sea captains C. Jacobzon (died 1820) and Dirk Varkevisser, F. Roesler, J. Schmaltz and civilian George Frederik Smit.[322] La Fidèle Sincérité had intended to admit Smit in an upcoming Adoption lodge (a phenomenon to which we will come back later). When La Vertueuse was informed of this intention, predictably it objected to any deviation from Engelhards decree and decided on 15-9-1804 to inform him of the matter.[323]

Not until 1805, after Van Reede's death, was Engelhard willing to reinstate the lodge, but even then he demanded to know what had happened to the lodge's valuables.[324] By then Albertus Henricus Wiese (1761-1810) was appointed the next governor-general, a position he would keep until 1808. The lodge is thought to have been finally installed on 7-7-1805.[325] At the Grand Lodge meeting of 1806, Engelhard's

letters of 1804-1805 concerning the conflict and the reinstatement of La Constante et Fidèle were discussed. Engelhard had asked to ban Schmaltz from the Order as his attitude remained 'resistant'. The Grand Lodge approved his request, but also took measures and informed him of the commission Elout-Parvé, to which we will come back later.[326]

Lodge life resumed as before.[327] Engelhard conveniently forgot or failed to make explicit to the other lodges on Java that the former 'instigators' of the conflict (Van Alphen, Brouwer, Van Dommelen, Jacobson, Schmaltz, Smit, Roesler en Varkevisser) were now also rehabilitated. So these lodges kept banning them unnessacerily. His omission only came to light when La Fidèle Sincérité re-requested the readmission of Smit (an earlier request from 1804 had remained unanswered).[328] Engelhard wrote to La Fidèle Sincérité on 2-8-1811 to acknowledge the status of La Constante et Fidèle,[329] and this was repeated on 5-6-1812, now by Engelhard and Parvé acting together as Provincial Grand Masters. La Vertueuse was also formally informed on 8-7-1812, seven years after the event.[330] Friendly contacts were briefly resumed, but more trouble was on the way.

In 1812, the lodge got into trouble again after an incident involving the British lieutenant governor Raffles (discussed below), which resulted in a (second) suspension of their lodge and Chapter by Engelhard in 1813, discussed in more detail below. The lodge members defied Engelhard's decision. With the help of other lodges on Java, they appealed to the Grand Lodge for guidance and meanwhile remained working under direction of its former Warden, sea captain Willem Lamberger (died 1817).[331] On 4-11-1813 the lodge was reopened at the express permission of the Grand Lodge.[332] Lamberger was then formally instated as acting Worshipful Master by Engelhard, who did not risk going against the Grand Lodge.[333]

Part of the lodge archive would be lost in 1829, which is why information on early developments partially relies on secondary sources.[334] Because of these circumstances, the lodge would also receive a new letter of Constitution in 1829.[335]

■ *Meeting places of La Constante et Fidèle (1801-1810)*

On 5-2-1798 the temporary lodge De Goede Hoop met in the 'governor's house within the city of Semarang'.[336] This was the *Gouvernementshuis* (government building) in the city.[337] The governor's house is also described as the place where lodge La Constante et Fidèle was to have its first meetings. Other early locations used by the lodge were mentioned in a speech by A.H. Clignett, President of the *Weeskamer* (office dealing with legates) in 1845. The lodge moved in 1801 from the palace of Worshipful Master van Reede tot de Parkeler, where it was founded, to a building in the city, named *Het Paviljoen*, 'where the Head of the local board here resides'.[338] A second move was then made to the *Grote Zaal* or Grand Room of the City Hall or *Gouvernementshuis* in Semarang.[339] However, on 12-7-1808 the lodge wrote to Provincial Grand Master Engelhard:

> As the unfortunate death of our worthy Grand [= Worshipful] Master Carel von Wollzogen, left this Brotherhood not only without a leader, but also the use that the government general made of the so called government's House here, wherein our workplace was founded, uncovering us wholly of the place in which we could regularly work, ontblooten ons volstrekt van het locaal in het welk wij gereegeld konde werken'.[340]

(This contradicts Clignett and suggests the lodge worked in the *Gouvernementshuis* since all along.) The lodge had to stop its work until Knops was installed as the Worshipful Master and a room for 'provisional use' was found. What happened after that, is unclear, as accounts are contradictory. At some point, the lodge moved to a private house or *toko* of Mrs. De Vries on the Bodjong Road.[341]

The lodge minutes of 14-5-1810 recorded how the members decided to look for rooms 'more suitable for the labour'.[342] Architect Holtzhausen and Master of Ceremonies Beer were given the task to find such a space. On 28-6-1810 several suitable locations were discussed: the garden of the widow Kamerling, the plot and house of mister van Affelen, and the garden of lodge member H. Muller, of which the latter was chosen. The lodge, however, miscalculated the costs, and had to ask Muller to undo the sale.[343] He wanted to be compensated 1.500 Rds for the inonvenice, as the grounds had already been prepared, and was offered an unused plot of land in Bodjong, owned by the lodge. However, some members wanted to persevere. It was decided to keep Muller's plot and built a masonic hall as soon as funds allowed it. We will come back to La Constante et Fidèle later.



Fig. 5.19: Military hospital on the Bodjong Road in Semarang, photographed ca. 1885-1908 (postcard detail). Collection: KITLV, Leiden, inv.no. 1405006. Reproduced from: media-kitlv.nl.

♦ *Lodge De Vriendschap in Surabaya*

In 1798 travelling lodge De Goede Hoop, which had been so successful in propagating freemasonry in Semarang, also stopped over in Surabaya, but found too little potential Dutch members there to stimulate the founding of a lodge. A change came around 1808, when governor-general Herman Willem Daendels (1762-1818, fig. 5.24), former member of lodge Le Profond Silence in Kampen, reorganised the civil service in the East Indies. He divided the former directorship over the Northeast Coast of Java into five separate Prefectures (later: *Landdrost-ambten*), one of which was Surabaya. This brought more Dutch civil servants to the area and more traffic to the harbour. J.A. Middelkoop, one of the founders of lodge La Constante et Fidèle, was appointed in 1809 as Prefect and later became *Landdrost* and Head Administrator of East Java. It is thought he was one of the initiators of a new lodge in the area.[344]

According to a later commemorative publication, preparations started in May 1809.[345] The formal decision to found a lodge was taken on 27-10-1809 by former members of La Constante et Fidèle Middelkoop and Sack, as well as a number of civil servants: fiscal Hendrik Andreas van den Broek, administrator Hendrik Jacobus van Cattenburgh (died 1811), secretary J.F. van 't Wout, as well as Council of Justice Johan Anthony Zwikkert and his colleagues at the Justice Department Jacobus de Bruin and Klaas Meinders. The other founders were military men: major of engineers and artist Hermanus Christiaan Cornelius (1774-1833), captain Johannes de Frees, brigadier-general Carl Friedrich Gaupp, colonel Nicolas Dominique Chevreux la Grevisse, captain-lieutenant Pieter Jansen (1775-1821), surgeon-major Nicolaas van Meeverden, luitenant-colonel Alexander van Ostheim (former member of the Regiment Württemberg), luitenant-colonel Gerard Arnold Reinking, captain Jacob Rijk and marine officer J.F. Roos; as well as merchant Louis Constantijn Pielat.[346] However, the constitution which was granted on 28-11-1809 does not mention Gaupp, van Osthei, Roos, Sack or Van 't Woud as founders.[347] Middelkoop was appointed Worshipful Master, De Bruin as Secretary, Van Cattenburgh and Van den Broek as Wardens, and Jansen as Treasurer.[348] The lodge already started its activities on 11-10-1810[349], but the formal installation did not take place until 27-10-1810.[350] This festive occasion was supervised by Klaas Heynis Pieterszoon, notary and First Commissioner at the General Secretary in Batavia, acting on behalf of Engelhard en Parvé.[351]

Most of the archive of De Vriendschap is missing up until the 1820s, so most information on its early days comes from secondary sources. Hageman recorded that 'The codification and *ritualia* seem to have been subject to contemplation, but not strictly followed […] At first the receptions took place by communication'.[352] Although the lodge had received a bible and a book of law for the installation, 'a ritual of legal origins [was] not mentioned'. The lodge kept to itself and would make little effort to keep in





Fig. 5.20: The government offices at the Roode Brug in Surabaya, ca. 1865. Collection: KITLV, Leiden, inv.no. 155224. Reproduced from: media-kitlv.nl.
Fig. 5.21: The Heerenstraat in Surabaya, ca. 1870, photograph by W.J. Olland. Collection: KITLV, Leiden, inv.no. 100919. Reproduced from: media-kitlv.nl.



Fig. 5.22: Freemasons' Hall of lodge De Vriendschap in Surabaya, built in 1811, photographed ca. 1925. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 21014. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

contact with the other lodges on Java in the first decade of its existence. Hageman noted it worked 'according to a stiff, arrogant Company style'.[353] The contact between De Vriendschap and Engelhard certainly seemed distant. He rarely informed the lodge about relevant decisions or events. Sometimes one



Fig. 5.23: Grave monument of H.J. van Cattenburgh on the grounds of lodge De Vriendschap in Surabaya, photographed ca. 1925. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv. no. 21014-15. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

of the other lodges on Java took the trouble too informing De Vriendschap directly, but the lodge seems to have thrived without taking much notice of affairs outside its own building. Friendly contact was kept by La Constante et Fidèle[354], but it would take until 3-7-1822 for La Vertueuse to request a regular correspondence.[355]

■ *Lodge buildings of De Vriendschap*

According to a later commemorative publication, preparations to found lodge De Vriendschap took place in governmental building or City Hall, which founder Van Middelkoop had to his disposal, in the centre of town near de Roode Brug (fig. 5.20).[356] On 17-4-1811 the lodge decided to undertake a building project for a Freemasons' Hall, to which each member had to contribute a stake of 100 Rds in 'Probolingo Paper' (creditnotes with the land Probolingo as collatoral).[357] Meanwhile, the upper floor of the house of the widow Barbier in the Heerenstraat, next to the former house of the Administrator, was rented until april 1813 (fig. 5.21).[358]

Founding member Van Cattenburgh owned a plot of land 'in the southern suburb of Surabaya, in the district Simpang, about half an hour away from the city centre, an estate, Tandjongan, also called Petundjungan, 1494 square *roeden* [= surface measure] large.' He kindly ceded some 600 square *roeden* [= measure] as a loan to the lodge, by a notarial deed of 12 July 1811, for the duration of a hundred years.[359] Cattenburgh died on 29-11-1811, and was buried on the grounds of the lodge (fig. 5.23).[360] His widow then sold the entire 1494 square *roeden* to the lodge in 1812 for the sum of fl. 1.069,-, which was partially advanced, partially gifted by some of the lodge members. This meant the lodge could start the building works.

The foundation stone was laid on 20-2-1812. A colonel in British service, acted as overseer of the works, probably Colin Mackenzie (1754-1821), earlier member of lodge La Constante et Fidèle in Semarang. He was succeeded by the aforementioned J.W.B. Wardenaar, now a captain of the British military and architect/draftsman in service of lieutenant-governor Raffles.[361] The Brother of Talent, cadet H. Coolen, also supervised the works. The design for the building consisted of an 'oval structure, resting on columns, to which two elegant wings were joined'.[362] The costs were covered by contributions and a loan for the sum of 4.700,- Rds. The members had also been raising money since the plan was first approved on 27-7-1809.[363]

The moment that the new Freemasons' Hall could be inaugurated came on 31-5-1813 (fig. 5.22). For this occasion a procession of torchbearers was organised:

> […] on foot, each carrying the ornament assigned to him, light, decoration, banier, rough or cubic stone, tracing board or other masonic symbol, along a road an hour long, through districts populated by Javanese, Chinese and other nations [364]

The address of the lodge was later recorded as Tundjungan 80, across the Oranje-hotel in Surabaya.[365] Hageman remarked, that this 'openess of the Surabayan Brethren at the time' was unheard of in the Netherlands.[366] The British occupying forces on the other hand, were used to such public masonic processions and their membership of the De Vriendschap may have influenced this one. The inauguration of the building was again carried out by notary Klaas Heynis as representative of the Grand Lodge.[367] A bronze memorial plaque was installed to commemorate Van Cattenburg as benefactor of the lodge building. After 1813 several improvements were made, which included adding forecourts, stables and a wall around the property, as well as the furnishment of a clubroom and other facilities to improve the level of comfort.[368]

♦ ***Lodge buildings in Batavia (II)***

Meanwhile, lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia had to deal with maintenance of its building at the Moorish Hospital grounds. The lodge inventories again provide a valuable insight, as changes in the furniture and props reflected the changes in the membership body, whealth of the lodges and the rituals they practised.

Table 5.M: Inventory of the Steward of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, 30-11-1801.

[…] Silver wares
Two pieces Commemorative plates
Two pieces Oil and Vinegar sets
Two pieces Soup Ladles
Nineteen pieces Spoons
Eighteen pieces forks
Four pieces Tea Spoons
Six pieces ditto forks
One piece Plated Tea Vase [= Teapot]
One piece plated Tobacco box

Table wares
12 pieces wooden Tables
5 pieces Table Cloths
120 pieces Napkins
18 pieces copper candle sticks
16 pieces japanese ditto
65 pieces knives with ivory hilts large and small
12 pieces Tea Bowls in Sorts

A Table Service consisting of
6 pieces Soup Tureens
4 Lettuce Dishes
11 Butter Pots
7 salt cellars
11 mustard pots
3 Sauce boats
75 Dishes Large and Small
80 Deep Plates
300 flat ditto
147 Rice ditto
9 Vegetable Dishes
38 fruit ditto
13 Spoons

Furthermore Table Porcelain of Different Sorts
Six Soup Tureens
3 Fish Dishes
2 Butter Pots
3 Tea Pots
2 coffee jars
2 milk jars
3 gorgelets
4 sugar saucers
7 atjar Bowls
43 Dishes
27 deep plates
39 flat plates
6 poached Fish Dishes
7 Salad Dishes
23 fish bone Saucers

Glass works
53 carafes in sorts
207 Wine goblets, of which 71 with gold rims
2 beer glasses of which 6 with gold rims
6 wine and water glasses
6 wine and water glasses
40 Lamp glasses in sorts

Kitchen wares
11 pieces copper Castrolls and pans in sorts
1 piece copper kettle
2 pieces japanese martavaans

Maintenance was carried out in 1801-1804 by the Chinese overseer Lie Tjoeko.[369] A new pantry was added to the building and the bridge was repaired.[370] An inventory dating from 1801 provides the most detailed insight into porcelain and other table wares so far (table 5.M).[371] Apparently it was also necessary to amend the purchase contract of the lodge building, as the minutes of 10-10-1802 noted this task was given to the members Engelhard, Francois van Braam (1770-1810), a cousin of Van Braam Houckgeest (see chapter 7) and Pieter Veeris, who worked as secretary at the bank.[372] The Freemasons' Hall was still valued at 12.000 Rds around 1805.[373] At a meeting on 3 December of that year lodge Architect Johannes Jongkind listed the necessary repairs to the temple, including paintwork, gilding and new upholstery for the throne, discussed in more detail below. The costs were estimated at 3.641,10 Rds, which had to be paid from both the Treasurer's and Almoner's budget, and even then supplemented by donations of lodge members, as La Vertueuse also had a debt in contributions to the Grand Lodge to pay. A subscription list shows that members made pledges for 50 to 200 Rds.[374] On 3-12-1805 La Vertueuse wrote to Engelhard, formally to inform him but actually being a covert request for contribution.[375]

The finances of La Vertueuse remained problematic. On 2-12-1806 the purchase of new silver wares for the table and costs of paintwork were again financed by subscription of members.[376] On 6-2-1807 a more overt request was made to Engelhard to contribute, after which he pledged 150 Rds.[377] That same year, the lodge also bought 150 'coastal stones', probably for use in the garden.[378] The next inventory was made up in 1807 (table 5.N), of which the 1808-1809 versions differ very little.[379]

The tropical climate had a profound effect on the lifespan of houses and goods, and insects could also be a problem. The lodge minutes list the effects of tropical storms and floods on the accessibility of roads, sometimes causing meetings to be postponed. On 27-8-1809 the members discussed how the presence of 'white ants' (= termites) had chewed through the wooden floor of one of the front rooms, which had to be replaced by a stone floor. Lodge Architect Jongkind wrote on 11-9-1809 to Wijnand van

Table 5.N: Inventory of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, 9-7-1807.

[…] In the Lodge Upstairs
Some Throne decorations
1 Grand Master's Chair painted yellow and gilt
1 Table with its White Silk Cover embroidered with gold and ditto fringe
1 Canvas cover
3 pairs of glass crowns
2 copper patent Lamps each with 2 branches and their belongings
1 wooden Altar with a Bench and two pillows with their White Silk embroidered covers laid with gold fringe
2 Japanese Tracing Boards
2 triangular Tables with their White Silk covers laid with gold fringe
2 ditto Tin Ink stands
1 large Bengal floor carpet and a leftover piece
1 Canvas floor cloth
1 Japanese Silk embroidered tracing board in a chest
1 New, and |
1 Old |- Canvas painted floor tracing board
12 large Emblems or Allegorical Paintings
1 metal orator's Lectern, damaged
2 copper Lustres on the Columns of the Temple door
48 yellow painted Chairs
32 half worn chair cushions of yellow Silk
2 new |- yellow painted and gilt wardens chairs
2 old |
1 Painting representing the former Grand Master National Van Boetzelaar in a gilt frame
9 Canvas Covers for the Windows
16 Wall bell shades glass, some with the lids missing
29 old Chair cushions

In the apartment behind the Throne
1 Hanging bell shade glass
1 wooden air pipe
A board or Thorny path
3 boards or Thorny Seesaw bridges, broken
1 iron pan and its ditto Spoon
1 Lamp post with a copper plate behind the Blazing star
1 wooden stairs with 2 Steps
2 pieces glass crowns of which one broken

in the Forecourt
1 Glass hanging bell shade
1 Long wooden Ladder
4 yellow painted small stairs
2 yellow ditto Cabinets of which 1 with papers and Documents under care of the Brother Secretary
1 in which the following goods, being
25 New lire maçons
16 old ditto ditto
1 new |
1 old |- Law Book
1 large |
1 small |- Bible
19 High german song books
1 jar with quicksilver
1 bottle ditto
1 iron Seal
1 fascia with the Snippet
1 velvet eye cover, damaged
2 New of yellow silk
1 metal funnel
1 ditto Tray
some books containing the duties of Free Masons
a lot of Playing cards
1 iron Shackle with its copper handcuffs
2 copper cuffs with chains
2 ivory Hammers
9 wooden ditto, of which 3 gilt
7 large Linen table cloths, new and
4 old, damaged
18 towels, damaged
58 Napkins
2 small Silver swords
1 velvet Bag with Ballot beans
1 proposition Bag
1 lacquered chest in which the following ornaments:
1 master ornament covered with brilliants
2 Silver Trowels
2 ditto pairs of compasses
2 ditto Set Squares
3 ditto Triangles
1 gold and 1 Silver gilt plate with the 5 building orders
2 turned wooden ornaments with Silver gilt fixtures
2 Silver gilt ornaments for the Brethren Architects
1 Silver Gilt Scroll for the Brother Orator
1 Set square on blue Stone surrounded with small stones
1 Plumb Line on ditto ditto ditto
1 with 2 quills ditto ditto with ditto ditto (in the hands of the Brother Secretary)
1 Key ditto ditto
1 Level ditto ditto
1 collection box
1 Silver double triangle with G
2 plated Candle snuffs
3 ditto candle sticks

in the Portal near the Stairs
1 Glass crown
1 Lamp stairs
6 wooden triangular lustres
2 Drawer tables containing
1 Black Silk garment for the Brother Terrible
12 round hats
15 Silk Cloaks
3 Rolls Black ribbon
2 rolls yellow ribbon
3 rolls covered with Black crape
12 pairs Goats leather gloves for women
12 ditto ditto ditto ditto men
26 Silk bands of the order of different colours
15 new Black Aprons
5 ditto ditto bands of the order
20 old Silk Aprons with different colours
` 13 yellow New of this Temple
6 ditto ditto Master bands

In the Dining room
1 Large glass crown
2 small glass crown

12 wall lanterns with glasses and garlands
1 large Mirror
1 Marble table with gilt foot
2 new dinner tables with their 6 wooden Supports
12 brown varnished dinner tables
2 yellow painted corner cabinets, in one of which are kept
107 Silver spoons of which | Of which 72
1 piece broken |- dozen recently
106 silver forks | bought
38 table knives with ivory hilts
20 dessert ditto ditto ditto
2 Silver soup ladles
6 ditto Jam forks
2 ditto Commemorative plates
2 plated oil and vinegar Services each with 5 bottles
1 ditto tobacco box
15 triangular metal Candle holders
1 Black varnished gilt old Master's Chair

In the Masters' Lodge
3 wooden Lustres with 3 copper branches
2 dittto ditto " 2 ditto ditto, damaged
1 Tracing board painted on Canvas
4 Emblems or Allegorical Paintings
1 grand Master's chair Black painted and Gilt
2 wardens ditto ditto ditto
1 Black painted Altar
2 ditto ditto triangular tables
12 ditto ditto large |
2 ditto ditto small |- candle stands
12 ditto ditto wooden candle sticks
1 ditto Satin cover embroidered with silver
1 ditto ditto tablecloth and ditto cushions with Silver for the Altar
1 ditto painted and embroidered with Silver Table cloth for the Master's Table
3 ditto new pillow covers

Behind the Masters' Lodge
1 iron sloe Branch
2 wooden stairs
1 metal bell
8 glass bell shades belonging to the crowns in the downstairs room
23 ditto covers different

Under the Stairs
1 pouring table covered with Lead and its tin cooling tray
1 cooling vat with copper hoops
1 chair with iron hooks
1 lacquered table
1 ditto ditto smaller
1 old orator's Lectern

In the downstairs Room
1 large glass crown
8 hanging bell shades of which one broken
14 Wall ditto with their belongings, of which 1 broken
4 mirrors with gilt frames
8 ditto " ditto ditto and ditto branches
8 playing tables in sorts

37 brown Varnished chairs of which 4 broken
6 ditto ditto gueridons [= stands or side tables]
15 ditto ditto short candle stands
14 Japanese porcelain spittoons
40 new chairs for the table, recently bought

In the chamber of reflection
1 chest with a Skeleton
2 wooden skeletons
1 long metal caller
1 Lectern as well as some trifles

In the back Gallery
5 Hanging bell shades glass
8 Wall lanterns glass
1 square table with a hole
1 old playing table
19 round men's chairs, all unfit

In the Pantry
16 lacquered candle sticks
13 copper ditto
some incomplete table porcelain red with white
ditto ditto ditto ditto white with blue borders
2 Beer glasses with gilt rims
19 ditto plain
95 wine goblets with masonic emblems
55 ditto plain
20 cut glass lamps
35 glass carafes, the damaged ones being 8 pieces broken
2 small hanging bell shades belonging above the Throne
13 Lamp glasses
25 ribbed Wine goblets
3 porcelain jugs with their wooden bowls
5 iron varnished Tea bowls and 3 wooden
3 copper Castrolls
2 ditto skillets
1 ditto roasting pan
2 ditto stewing pans
1 ditto water kettle
2 wooden benches for the Lamp glasses
1 ditto mill to climb on, damaged
7 iron pans damaged

In the Kitchen
2 iron grills
1 roasting spit with its stand, damaged
2 Kitchen tables
2 buckets
1 large vat
3 water vats

In the apartment of the Mandur
2 Rifles
2 pistols
2 Japanese Martavaans buried in the ground
2 Japanese chamber pots […]

Table 5.O: Inventory of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, July 1816 [with notes, below in blue].

Inventory of Furniture Goods which on this date were under administration of the Brother Master of Furniture in the Temple la Vertueuse

In the Lodge Upstairs

Some Throne decorations
1 Grand Master's chair, painted yellow and gilt
1 Table with its Silk cover embroidered with gold and ditto fringe / NB of which ~~the white silk should be replaced~~ everything was renewed
1 Canvas cover
3 Pairs Glass Crowns
2 copper Patent Lamps with their belongings
1 Wooden Altar with a Bench and two cushions, covered with their white silk embroidered cover, with gold fringe ~~*NB of which the white silk needs to be renewed*~~
2 triangular tables with their silk covered laid with gold fringes ~~*of which the silk covered need to be replaced*~~ *all new*
2 Tin Ink stands
1 Large Bengal Floor carpet
1 Canvas Floor Carpet, unfit
1 Japanese Silk embroidered tracing board in A chest
3 old Canvas painted floor Tracing boards
12 large Emblems or Allegorical Paintings
1 Metal orator's Lectern, unfit
2 Coper Lustres on the Columns of the Temple door
48 Yellow painted Chairs
32 half worn Chair pillows of yellow Silk
2 Yellow painted and gilt wardens chairs
1 Painting, the old Grand Master National van Boetzelaar
7 Canvas Covers for the windows, 2 unfit
16 Glass wall bell shades Some missing the lids
29 old Chair cushions
2 Large foot Stools

In the apartment behind the Throne

1 Glass Hanging bell shade broken
1 board or thorny path
1 Lamp post with a copper plate behind the Blazing Star
2 pieces broken small glass crowns lapsed

In the front Portal

1 Glass Hanging bell shade
1 Long wooden ladder
4 Yellow painted Stairs
2 ~ cabinets of which
1 with papers and Documents under guard of the Brother secretary
1 in which the following goods being
15 New Lire Maçonnes
25 old ditto ditto
1 New |
1 old |- law Book
1 Large Bible
~~*27*~~ *3 High German song Books*
1 Empty jar in which used to be quicksilver
1 bottle quicksilver empty
1 iron Seal
1 velvet eye cover, unfit
2 Half worn ditto of yellow silk
1 Metal tray
24 ~~*Speel*~~ *Playing cards left 4 decks*
1 iron Shackle with its copper hand cuffs
2 Copper Hand cuffs with chains
2 ivory Hammers
8 ~~*9*~~ *wooden ditto of which 3 gilt*
6 Large Linen table cloths all unfit
3 Towels
100 Napkins ~~*unfit*~~
2 Small Silver swords
1 velvet Bag with Ballot beans
1 Proposition Bag
1 Lacquered Chest in which the following ornaments
1 Master ornament surrounded with Brilliants under guard of the Brother Grand Master
2 Silver trowels
2 " Hammers
2 " Triangles
1 gold and 1 Silver gilt Plate with the 5 building orders
1 turned Wooden ornament with Silver gilt fixtures
1 Silver gilt ornaments for the Brethren architects
2 Set squares
2 Silver Pairs of Compasses
1 set square on a blue Stone covered with small stones To Brother Engel
1 plumb line on
1 with 2 quills
1 key ditto
1 set square ditto
1 Collection box
1 Silver double triangle with G
1 Silver ornament in triangle
2 Plated Candle snuffs
3 ditto candle sticks
17 Small Trowels

In the Portal near the stairs

1 Glass crown
1 Lamp Stairs
8 wooden triangular Lustres 1 Broken
2 Drawer Tables containing
1 Black Silk garment for the Brother Terrible
11 round hats *old and almost unfit*
35 Silk cloaks in Sort *Idem Yes even rotting*
1 ornament for the Terrible
1 ditto Orator

In the Dining Room

1 Large glass crown
2 small crowns
12 Wall lanterns with Glasses and garlands
1 Large Mirror
1 marble Table with gilt foot
2 New Dinner table with its 3 wooden supports given by the Worshipful Master to Villeneuve
12 Brown and varnished Dinner tables
2 Yellow painted corner cabinets; in one of which are

106 Silver Spoons
103 ditto ditto forks
36 Table knives with ivory hilts
21 dessert " " " "
118 Dozen pieces new knives missing 6
10 ditto forks
2 Silver Soup Ladles
6 ditto Jam forks
2 Silver Commemorative plates
2 Plated oil and vinegar Sets, each with 5 bottles
1 ditto Tobacco box
1 ditto incense vat
15 triangular metal Candle holders
1 Black painted gilt old Master's Chair

In the Masters' Lodge
1 Wooden Table newly made
3 ditto Lustres with 3 copper branches |
2 ditto ditto " 2 ditto ditto |- unfit
4 Emblems or Allegorical Paintings
1 Grand Master's chair Painted black and Gilt
2 wardens Chairs painted black
1 black Painted Altar
2 ditto ditto triangular tables
2 Satin covers or cloaks Embroidered with Gold
12 Black painted large candle stands
2 ditto ditto small ditto
14 ditto ditto Wooden candle sticks
1 Black Satin cloth Embroidered with Silver
1 ditto ditto Table cloth and ditto pillow with Silver for the Altar
1 ditto Painted and with silver Embroidered Table cloth for the Master's Table
3 ditto New pillow covers
20 new [Lire] maçons of which one with the Brother Servant Dankanoietz

Behing the Masters' Lodge
1 Iron Sloe Branch
2 Wooden stairs
1 Metal Bell
~~*6*~~ *Glass bells hades belonging to the crowns Lapsed*
23 ditto Lids different

Under de Stairs
1 Pouring Table covered with lead and its tin Cooling tray
1 Cooling vat with copper hoops
1 chair with iron hooks

In the downstairs Room
1 Large glass crown
6 Hanging bell shades
~~*14*~~ *Wall ditto with their belongings, of which 4 broken*
4 Mirrors with gilt Frames
8 Mirrors with ditto and ditto branches
6 playing tables in sorts of which 2 broken
26 ~~*32*~~ *Brown varnished chairs " 4 broken*
6 ditto ditto gueridons [= stands or side tables]
12 ditto ditto short candle stands of which 1 broken
8 ~~*11*~~ *Japanese porcelain spittoons*
60 New Chairs for the Table 26 broken 34 unfit

In the chamber of reflection
1 Empty closet
1 chest with a wooden Skeleton handed over to Lievaart
2 wooden Skeletons
1 Long metal caller
1 Lectern, as well as some Trifles
1 Wooden cross
3 Yellow Painted plumes
1 reception window with 2 doors
1 Coffin
1 Guillotine
2 iron Shovels

In the back Gallery
5 Glass Hanging Bell shades
8 " wall Lanterns
~~*10 round men's Chairs, all broken*~~
1 Billiard table ~~*with its belongings, including the balls remaining 5*~~ *4 handed over to Vingers*

In the Pantry
16 lacquered Candles
13 copper ditto ditto
Some Incomplete table Porcelain red with white
Some ditto " ditto white with blue
165 Beer glasses in Sorts |
66 ditto ordinary |- *missing 66 Pieces*
55 wine goblets with masonic Emblems
12 Cut Glass lamps
27 Glass Carafes
2 small Hanging bell shades belonging above the Throne
14 Lamp Glasses
3 Large
56 wine goblets plain and ribbed
1 ~~*pair*~~ *Pieces porcelain jugs, with their wooden bowls*
2 varnishes iron Tea bowls & 4 of wood

In the Kitchen
1 Large Iron Grill
1 Roasting Spit with its Stand broken
1 Water kettle
4 Tatjoes *[= pans] not found*
2 Wooden Benches for Lamp Glasses
2 Kitchen tables
1 Bucket unfit
1 Large Vat
1 Carrying Vat unfit

In the apartment of the Mandur
2 Rifles handed to the Brother Servant
2 Japanese Martavaans Buried in the Ground
2 ditto Chamber pots unfit lapsed

Hoesen, Extraordinary Council of the Dutch possessions at the Cape and a freemason, to request the necessary materials.[380] A list of names of the Chinese workmen employed to lay the floor has survived, as have their contracts.[381]

In 1811, a bamboo bridge was constructed on the lodge premises by Abdul Karien, and in 1813 Chinese workmen repaired a roof of one of the outbuildings.[382] A 'Name list of the Coolies of Lodge La Vertueuse' from 1814 also lists their wages:

Mandur Abizel Jala		rds 30
Boenjang	Soerat	15
-	Jayuman	15
-	Noeram	15
-	Mayumoeder	15
-	Maydeer	15
The monthly wages		rds 105.[383]

A receipt dated 18-6-1813 for Abdul Jalal mentions the service of men 'for the making in order with leaves and laying of seeds for the Labyrinth'. From 10 to 17 June some eight mandurs and 186 coolies worked on this garden project, presumably to provide (European style) entertainment for the celebration of St. John's Day.[384]

The last inventories of the lodge to survive are those of 1812, 1814 and 1816, the last of which is reproduced here (table 5.O).[385] After that date, information on the lodge building can still be found in the financial records and minutes, but these are less detailed.

♦ *Commissioners Engelhard and Parvé (1809-1813)*

Although the Order formally did not engage in politics, many freemasons were engaged in politics in daily life, meaning government commissions were often intertwined with masonic commissions. Just like captains of VOC ships were used as couriers by the Grand Lodge, political envoys often have a double role as representatives of the Grand Lodge. Cornelis Gerrit Bijleveld, Grand Master between 1804 and 1809, aimed to stimulate the expansion of the Order in the Dutch East Indies, while at the same time in daily politics *Raadpensionaris van de Republiek* (Pensionary of the Council of the Republic), R.J. Schimmelpenninck (1761-1825), appointed a commission to implement a new system of government, justice and trade. In 1805 the task was given to a committee consisting of Carolus Henricus van Grasveld (1766-1841), an envoy and commissioned minister, and Mr. Cornelis Theodorus Elout (1767-1841), the attorney general. Meanwhile Bijleveld appointed a masonic commission to the East Indies, consisting of Elout, who was a member of lodge Vicit Vim Virtus in Haarlem[386], mr. Herman Adriaan Parvé, a member of lodge La Vertu in Leiden and member of the Council in Haarlem[387], and Hendrik Merkus de Kock (1779-1845), initiated in lodge l'Astre de l'Orient in Vlissingen and chief of the General Staff.[388]

It is quite likely that Bijleveld's commission was a response to letters by Provincial Grand Master Engelhard dating from 2-1-1804 and 20-2-1805 regarding the conflict with lodge La Constante & Fidèle (discussed above), which were brought into the Grand Lodge meeting of 1806. The Grand Officers must have been unhappy with Engelhard's style of government over the lodges and general lack of communication. The Grand Lodge simply informed Engelhard about the appointment of Elout and Parvé as its new representatives.[389] They were given the power to constitute and install lodges, and oversee the activities of the existing ones, effectively side-tracking Engelhard without dismissing him.

Things did not go to plan. The government commissioners were called back before they reached their destination, due to political developments back home. The Netherlands were under French rule and Lodewijk Napoleon had appointed Daendels as governor-general of the Dutch East Indies in 1807. As a result, Elout en Grasveld had to return home, while De Kock and Parvé travelled on to Java.[390] Once there, De Kock concentrated on military business[391], but Parvé wrote to the Grand Lodge on 20-8-1808 and 20-3-1809, that he had taken up his duties diplomatically: 'together with and besides […] Engelhard'.[392] They would now jointly operate as 'Commissioners of the Grand Lodge of the symbolic degrees and the Grand Chapter of the Highest Degrees'.[393]

The appointment of Daendels as governor-general marked the start of a difficult period for freemasonry in the East-Indies, even though he was a freemason himself.[394] As the Netherlands were under French rule from 1795 until 1813, this made them enemies of the British, who in the beginning of the 19th century were trying to take over French and Dutch colonies in the West and East Indies. Arriving in Batavia



Fig. 5.24: Raden Sarief Bastaman Saleh (ca. 1810-1880), posthumous portrait of Herman Willem Daendels (1762-1818), governor-general and member of lodge Le Profond Silence in Kampen. Oil on canvas, 119 × 98 cm. Collection: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv.no. SK-A-3790. Reproduced from: rijksmuseum.nl.

in 1808, Daendels task was to protect the colony against the British and also carry out some governmental reforms, which meant the conservative elite in Batavia would lose some of its power. One of the officials forced out of power was Engelhard, who lost his position as governor of Java in 1808. Parvé on the other hand, was promoted to Council-Extraordinair of the East-Indies on 30-8-1808.[395] Daendels forced Engelhard to lend 35.000 Rds, which according to Hageman contributed to his sympathy for the British.[396]

This political reform was echoed in the reform of authority over the lodges, where Engelhard was also sidetracked. The formal installation of the new commissioners Parvé and Engelhard was to be celebrated in La Vertueuse on 16-1-1809, for which occasion La Fidèle Sincérité was to be invited and the building was 'illuminated' (a public spectacle to which we will come back later).[397] The organisers proposed to invite governor-general Daendels as a guest, which was approved.[398] Daendels was indeed invited, but apparently declined. The program for the installation ceremony is now in the CMC collection.[399] On the night itself, speeches were given by Engelhard, Worshipful Master Van Stockum of La Vertueuse, Past Master Maurisse of La Fidèle Sincérité, and the Orators of both lodges, Van Sevenhoven & Schonenberg. In a letter to Grand Master National Bijleveld dated 14-7-1809, Engelhard described what happened next:

> […] that the Lawyer Fiscal of the East Indies Heukevlugt, also being a Member of La Vertueuse and present at the Installation, demanded on behalf of his Excellence the Marshall Daendels the original of the speech from my lips made because of the commission, and that of the Brother Maurisse, because some to this High board had indicated, that we had made insulting expressions relating to this Character – that especially by me had been made a, for his Excellence, very degrading parable, between the same and the former Commissioner General Mr. C.F. Elout – and to which requisite, by both discourses, us shortly after submitting [them], again handed back by the Secretary general Muntinghe, we have been successful, to demand Satisfaction for this accusation and [injustice?] suffered - the complainant himself remained hidden to us, despite the enquiries we have made about this despicable subject - The joint Commissioner Parvé, after this incident having gone to Java, and being there having the Beakons on the Lodge remained in status quo, and the wait is for his Noble

> return, to take the matter up, and act thereon, as it should and the circumstances of time will come to suggest.[400]

Later masonic historians explained that as the British were trying to take over the Dutch possessions, someone had on purpose alerted Daendels to the possible pro-British orientation of some of the speakers, including Engelhard.[401] Both Commissioners suspected La Vertueuse was guilty of submitting a transcript of the speeches behind their backs, and demanded that each member made a written statement declaring their innocence. The lodge was highly offended and some members plainly refused, which in turn the Commissioners did not take kindly.[402] However, on 26-3-1813 the Commissioners wrote to La Vertueuse that they 'considered it communicated' that lodge members Meijer, Van Panhuijs, Beijvank, Engel and Van Sprenger 'had declared on their word as Mason that they were innocent of divulging the contents of the discours', thus 'restoring harmony'.[403] Perhaps it is not a wholly coincidental that Heukevlugt, who had demanded the speeches on behalf of Daendels, was dismissed from both government service and the membership of the lodge in 1810?[404]

♦ *British occupation and the Flora Lodge*

The British forces, under command of Robert Rollo Gillespie (1766-1814, fig. 5.27), gained control over Java in 1811 when governor-general Jan Willem Janssens (1762-1838), who had only just taken over from Daendels, capitulated. These political developments had little effect on the activities of the lodges, as there were many freemasons under the occupying forces. Dutch and British freemasons in Southeast Asia had already been aware, if not visitors of each others lodges since the 1750s. The laws of the Order prohibited discussion of politics and - sticking to the system of recognition of legitimate masonic lodges and their members - British visitors were still welcomed as Brothers. So this was freemasonry brought into practice: both parties to some extent ignored their government's position in order to let the bonds of Brotherhood prevail. The welcoming of the British must have paved the way for 'foreign' elements to sneak into the Dutch ritual practise on the island. On 4-2-1814 La Fidèle Sincérité sent a letter to the new governor-general of British India, Lord Moira (past Acting Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England), congratulating him with his arrival in the East Indies and expressing faith in his rule, and asking to be put under his protection.[405] The British lieutenant-governor Raffles, who had an interest in becoming a freemason, caused a commotion at one of the St. John's Day celebrations, which will be discussed in more detail below.

During the British occupation of Java, an illegal, military British lodge is thought to have been active in Weltevreden.[406] The minutes of lodge La Vertueuse noted on 2-2-1814 that one of its members, J. Barre Sloane, had attended a meeting of the 'Flora Lodge', presided by a Grand Master Josten. Sloane claimed to have been initiated in a lodge of the Antients Grand Lodge, which contradicted his recent initiation as Apprentice in La Vertueuse. The lodge members concluded that he had misled them.[407] La Vertueuse then wrote to Provincial Grand Master Engelhard on 5-3-1815 about:

> […] the presence of an unlawful gathering of free masons under the name Flora Lodge in which a Doctor Titler acts as Grand Master [= Worshipful Master] without letters of Constitution […] that in these meeting secrets were discovered by the profane Heele[,] Lieutenant in the Artillery.[408]

The commemorative publication on the lodges in the East Indies of 1848 further elaborates:

> In 1814 the discovery was made among the English officers of a Clandestine and without Constitution working [lodge] in Weltevreden under the name of The Horn lodge and the [lodge] governed by a Dr Titler, the member of La Vertueuse. J.B. Sloane on the received prohibition not to frequent this [lodge] and having however shown to have been disobedient & resistant, was therefore denied the membership.[409]

The [Old] Horn Lodge was named after the Horn Tavern in London, but changed its name after a merger in 1774 and can therefore not have been the mother lodge to Flora lodge, if that is what is implied here. The lodge is not listed in *Lane's Masonic Records* and nothing else is known about its activities. In any case, they

must have ended with the retreat of the British occupiers in 1815, soon after La Vertueuse discovered its existence.

♦ *Lodge Virtus et Artis Amici and the Raffles incident*

Engelhard, who had lost his position under the new regime of Daendels in 1808, at first continued to live as a private citizen in Batavia.[410] The governmental residence Buitenzorg and the surrounding lands Tjawie and Pondok Gedeh (fig. 5.25) had been handed down from governor-general to governor-general, until Daendels decided to sell the lands to make a profit. Engelhard was one of the main buyers and retreated to Buitenzorg, after he had been briefly detained in 1811, together with others accused of sympathising with the British.[411]

When the British occupied the Dutch colonies in 1811 the governor of Bengal, Gilbert Elliot-Murray-Kynynmound, the 1st Earl of Minto (1751-1814), appointed Thomas Stamford Raffles (1781-1826, fig. 5.26) as lieutenant-governor of Java.[412] Raffles had worked for the British East India Company as a secretary and translator in Penang, which meant he could speak Malay, the language that was also commonly spoken on Java. He had been involved in the planning of the acquisition of Java, which the British considered a blow against the French as well as their Dutch trade competitors, because the Netherlands was under Napoleon rule at the time. During the occupation, Engelhard continued to live in Buitenzorg and refused all offers to take on government positions for the Brits.[413] Like Daendels, the new government also decided to sell lands to private owners. Together with Raffles, Thomas Macquoid, a friend of Raffles and chairman of the land sale committee, and Andries de Wilde, a member of La Fidèle Sincérité, Engelhard acquired the land Soekaboemi in Preanger for fl. 58.000 in 1813.[414] When the British left, the land came fully into his possession, but in 1823 Engelhard was forced to sell it to the government for fl. 800.000,-.[415.] Minto and the commander of the British forces, Gillespie, were both freemasons and may have encouraged Raffles to become one.[416]

The minutes of lodge La Constante et Fidèle recorded on 3-5-1812:

> Furthermore it was proposed by the Worshipful Master [Knops], having understood from that side that if the Lieutenant-Governor [Raffles] would be invited to our celebration [of St. John's Day], [he] would very much like to make an appearance. However not knowing if the Honourable Lieutenant-Governor was a freemason; though finds such as to change our table [lodge] into a celebration with the Sisters; whereafter by the joint Brethren it was decided to celebrate the occasion with the Sisters; with or without his Excellence.[417]

On 7-5-1812 then came the news that Raffles was not a freemason but none the less intended to attend – accompanied by his wife. Worshipful Johannes Knops (1761-1814, in daily life the administrator of forests), asked if the celebration with Sisters (Adaption lodge) should be changed into a profane occasion, which was approved by the majority of members. The Senior Warden, William Lamberger, and several lodge members opposed, because St. John's Day was simply not a profane occasion. A proposal to postpone the banquet for 14 days, so it would no longer take place on St. John's Day, was also voted down. Instead Lamberger proposed to give Raffles the 1st and 2nd degree by communication, like they would a traveller.[418] It is not clear what happened next, as the last entry in the minute book concerns the installation of Officers on 8-5-1812, but was left empty after that, probably as a result of the events to follow.

La Constante et Fidèle had somehow neglected to inform the other lodges which would also partake in the occasion. These were highly surprised when on the night itself Raffles walked in, who was not just accompanied by his wife, but had simply taken the liberty to ask his 'aide de camps' to accompany him, as well as a group of men and women who were his houseguests at the time.[419] Although the presence of so many uninvited profanes must have embarrassed La Constante et Fidèle, of course no one dared to refuse them admittance. Immedeately afterwards, Lamberger and several other members made a complaint to Engelhard about the way Knops had handled the matter, and requested his replacement (as a Senior Warden, Lamberger himself would be the most obvious choice).[420]

True to Engelhard's style, they had to wait for a reply for eight months, after which the lodge received a coldly written letter, requesting they return their constitution.[421] Instead of replacing Knops as they had expected, Engelhard pointed out that they had not made sufficient efforts to resolve the problem.[422] Why had the lodge not simply consented to postpone and make it a profane celebration? For

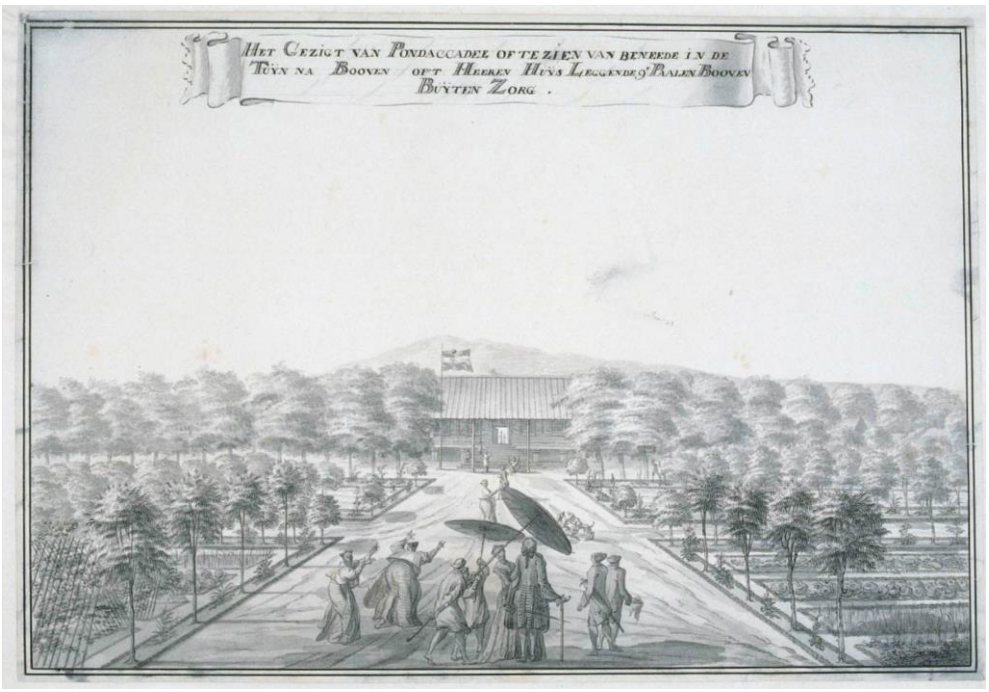


Fig. 5.25: Johannes Rach, View of Pondaccadee *[= Pondok Gedeh], 1771. Collection: National Library of Indonesia. Reproduced from: atlasmutualheritage.nl.*





Fig. 5.26: Portrait of Sir Thomas Stamford Bingley Raffles, 1817. Oil on canvas, 139.7 x 109.2 cm. © National Portrait Gallery, London (gift by W.C. Raffles Flint, 1859). Reproduced from: npg.org.uk.
Fig. 5.27: Henry R. Cook (attributed), portrait of Sir Robert Rollo Gillespie (1766-1814) in uniform after a miniature by William Haines (1778-1848), published by I.C. Barrington, London, 1-8-1814. Collection: National Library of Ireland, Dublin. Reproduced from: catalogue.nli.ie.

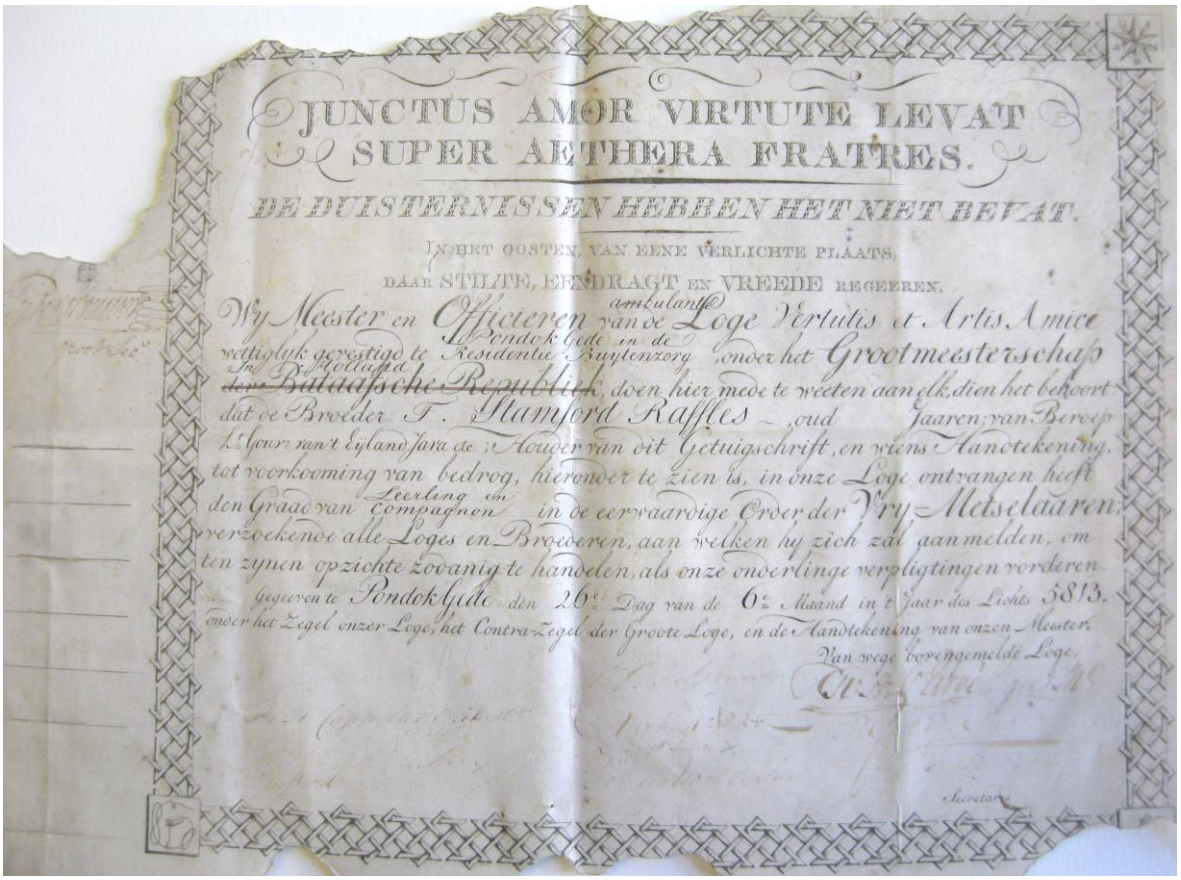

JUNCTUS AMOR VIRTUTE LEVAT
SUPER AETHERA FRATRES.
DE DUISTERNISSEN HEBBEN HET NIET BEVAT.
IN HET OOSTEN, VAN EENE VERLICHTE PLAATS,
DAAR STILTE, EENDRAGT EN VREEDE REGEEREN.
Wy Meester en Officieren van de Loge Vertutis et Artis Amice
wettiglyk gerestigd te Residentie Buytenzorg onder het Grootmeesterschap
In Holland
der Bataafsche Republiek, doen hier mede te weeten aan elk, dien het behoort
dat de Broeder T. Stamford Raffles oud Jaaren; van Beroep
Gouverneur van't Eyland Java &c. Houder van dit Getuigschrift, en wiens Handteekening,
tot voorkooming van bedrog, hieronder te zien is, in onze Loge ontvangen heeft
den Graade van Compagnon in de eerwaardige Orde der Vry-Metselaaren:
verzoekende alle Loges en Broederen, aan welken hy zich zal aanmelden, om
ten zynen opzichte zodanig te handelen, als onze onderlinge verpligtingen vorderen.
Gegeven te Pondok Gede den 26e Dag van de 6e Maand in't Jaar des Lichts 5813.
onder het Zegel onzer Loge, het Contra-Zegel der Groote Loge, en de Handteekening van onzen Meester.
Van wege bovengemelde Loge.

Fig. 5.28: Certificate for the degrees of Apprentice and Fellow, issued to Thomas Stamford Raffles by lodge Virtus et Virtutis Amici on 26-6-5813 (= 26-4-1813). Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 107-1.

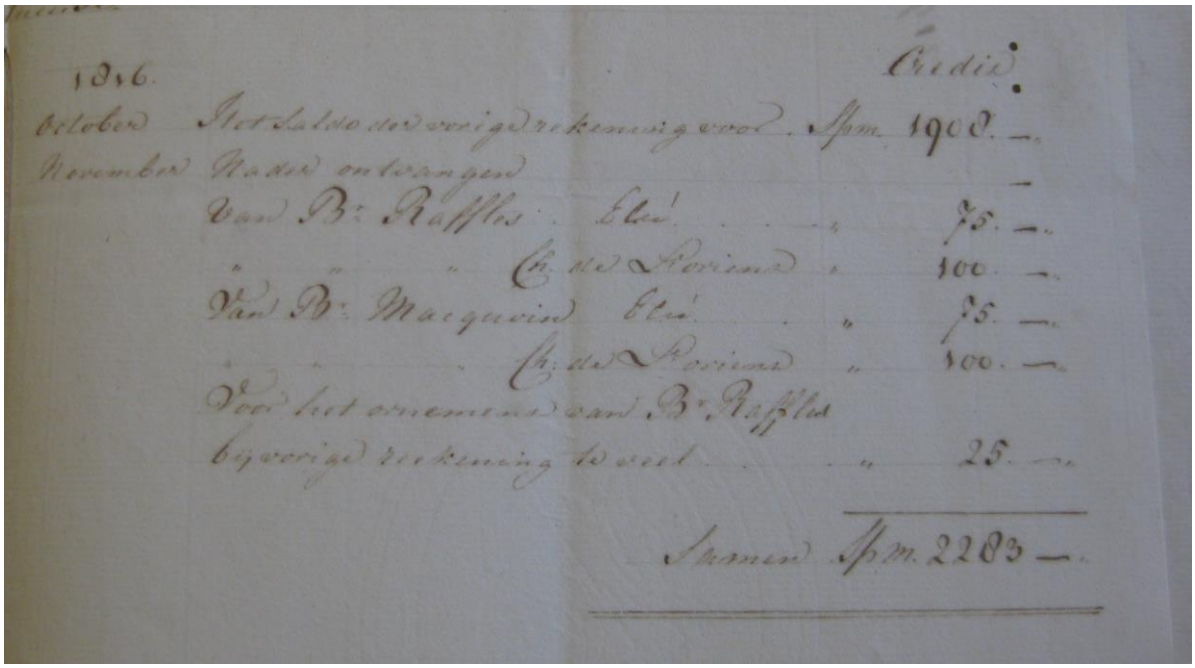

1816. Credit:
October Het Saldo der vorige rekening voor . Spm. 1900.—
November Nader ontvangen
Van Br. Raffles Elie' . . . " f5.—
" " " Ch. de Perint . " 100.—
Van Br. Macquoid Elie' . . " f5.—
" " " Ch. de Perint . " 100.—
Voor het ornement van Br. Raffles
bij vorige rekening bewust . . " 25.—
Samen Spm. 2283—

Fig. 5.29: Financial records showing payments by Raffles for his initiations in the Chapter of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, 1816. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Photograph: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

their unwilling attitude they were now punished with the (second) suspention of their lodge and Chapter, which would last until Knop's death in 1814.

Shortly after the incident, on 5-3-1813, a lodge was erected by the commissionaires of the Grand Lodge, Parvé and Engelhard, known as Virtus et Virtutis Amici. Parvé was elected Worshipful Master.[423] On 26-4-1813 a meeting of this new lodge was held on Engelhard's estate to initiate Raffles into the 1st and 2nd degrees. Guests at this occasion were Lord Minto, Gillespy and Mr. Herman Warner Muntinghe (1773-1823), a member of the Council of the East Indies and advisor to Raffles.[424] Raffles' certificate (fig. 5.28) reveals some of the other members, as it was signed by Parvé and Engelhard, and W.J. Cranssen from La Vertueuse and J.F.van Boekholtz from La Fidèle Sincérité, as well as H. Kappelhof (perhaps Pieter van Heemstede Cappelhof, also of La Fidèle Sincérité). They must have been the other lodge officers, together with the three guests barely covering the minimum number required to found a lodge.

A later commemorative publication, noted that Engelhard founded Virtus et Virtutis Amici with like-minded men who thought the other lodges were not sufficiently resisting Daendels' politics.[425] But it is more likely, that this was nothing more than an occasional lodge, founded for the sole purpose of elegantly smoothing over the Raffles incident. This idea is supported by a letter from Parvé and Engelhard, formally informing lodge De Vriendschap in Surabaya about the founding and recognition of Virtus et Virtutis Amici 'in the Residence of the Preanger Lands' on 5-7-1813. They requested that Raffles would be raised as a Master in De Vriendschap that same evening, because he would leave Surabaya the next day.[426] Indeed Raffles was raised as a Master that evening at 20.00 hours, albeit 'by communication'.[427] Lodge La Vertueuse was not formally notified of these events until the end of 1813.[428]

According to Hageman lodge Virtus et Virtutis Amici was closed again in 1815, but the exact date is unknown and it is not sure if the lodge ever convened more than once.[429] There are no surviving minutes or membership lists documenting the years 1813-1815.

Raffles' masonic career was not yet ended. On 12-8-1813 Raffles and his friend William Robinson were balloted and accepted as new members by lodge La Vertueuse.[430] The financial records of 1813 show that he was due 10,- [Rds] per month in contribution and had not yet any fines to his name.[431] On 5-2-1814 he paid 150,- Spd for his 'Admission as Member', probably covering a year's contribution and the costs of regalia.[432] Engelhard and Raffles both held speeches on the occasion of the election of new Officers on 22-4-1814.[433] Raffles then went on to acquire several higher degrees in the Chapter of La Vertueuse, as is clear from the financial administration of the lodge.

In April 1815, Raffles paid 75,- Spd for his reception as *Schots Meester [en Ridder van St. Andries]* (Scots Master [and Knight of St. Andrew]).[434] He briefly returned to England, but by March 1816 he was back and paid another 150,- Spd for his initiation into the *Rose Croix* degree.[435] The initiation itself took place on or circa 25-4-1816, when Raffles was 'perfected' by communication as *Souvereign Prince Rose Croix*. The aforementioned Mcquoid and several other, mainly British men were also initiated by communication at this same occasion, including Charles Assey, the Secretary to the British Government; J. van Boekholst, agent of the Salt Department, Western Division; J.D. Papet; Captain W. Macdonald, Collector General of Customs; J. Dalgaerns, member of the Revenu Committee; Petrus Theodorus Couperus (1787-1823), Deputy Collector of Customs and Revenue (grandfather of the famous Dutch author Louis Couperus); Ths. Watson, assistant at the Secretary's Office, and W.S. Davidson.'[436]

These initiations were probably a gesture of friendship to the British, who were about to hand the rule over the island back to the Dutch. In March, Raffles had already been replaced as lieutenant-governor of Batavia by John Fendall (1762-1825) and in May Godert Alexander Gerard Philip baron van der Capellen (1778-1848) had arrived with the Dutch fleet, ready to assume his role as governor-general**.** The latter was a member of lodges La Paix in Amsterdam and Vicit Vim Virtus in Haarlem.[437] On 29-5-1816 a farewell lodge was held for the British brethren in La Vertueuse[438], and in august 1816 Java was formally handed back to the Dutch. On 20-10-1816, several months after Raffles had left, the payment of 75,- Spd for 'the ornament for Brother Raffles' was noted in the accounts of La Vertueuse (fig. 5.29).[439] Lastly, in November 1816 the accounts noted 'To be received […] from Brother Raffles Elu 75,- […] Chevalier de L'Orient 100,- […]', indicating he had left without settling such financial affairs, to which the treasurer added 'For the ornament of Brother Raffles in the last invoice [paid] to much 25,- [Spd]'.[440]

Van der Capellen would stay in office until 1826. Raffles would famously go on to build up the British presence in Singapore, before returning to England in 1823.

♦ *The housing debacle of La Fidèle Sincérité*

From 1816 dates a 'Report concerning the Purchase and sale of A House and Plot on Jacatra Having been intended for a New Lodge [Building]'. It was written by lodge member Pieter de Bruin Vermeer, 'in order to serve as a remembrance for our descendants to be kept with the archives of this lodge'.[441] The report summarized the perils which La Fidèle Sincérité experienced during the British occupation. Together with the correspondence from these years, it suggests some mismanagement and naivety on the part of La Fidèle Sincérité, as well as the usual harsh stance by Provincial Grand Master Engelhard.

De Bruin Vermeer recalled how the building on the Amanusgracht was in a dire state by 1813, so much so that at several meetings supports had to be placed under the beams to prevent a collapse. La Fidèle Sincérité then learned that 'the garden and house standing on the road to Jacatra and belonging to the estate of the late widow Ginkel Van Haak' was about to be publicly auctioned.[442] The Worshipful Master and several brethren decided to buy it privately and resell it to the lodge against favourable conditions, covering the costs for the renovation of the new building by selling the old one on the Armanusgracht. The members had assembled a sum of 9.000-9.250,- Spd for this fine purpose, but at the auction a 'brother from another East' (= a lodge in another town) outbid them. La Fidèle Sincérité was surprised and a little offended to receive a letter on 19-5-1813 by its own member Diederik Popkens, who had acquired the property for the sum of 10.550,- Spd and now offered to resell it to the lodge without profit.[443] The members refused, because they could not raise that amount of money.

To help out, Provincial Grand Master Engelhard bought the plot and on 22-5-1813 generously offered it to La Fidèle Sincérité for the lower sum of 9.550,- Spd on the condition of a loan. He also advised the lodge to approach the newly appointed British lieutenant-governor Raffles for a second loan, so it could afford to build a new Freemasons' Hall on the Van Haak plot. La Fidèle Sincérité accepted Engelhard's offer. The lodge raised its membership fees in order to meet some of the estimated costs. Lodge Architect Eeckhardt was asked to have a design and the necessary drawings made (which did not survive). The plan for the new Freemasons' Hall was presented to the members on 10-7-1813 and approved. The costs of the project were estimated at 33.945,33 Spd. A large number of Chinese overseers was allowed to submit offers for the building commission (fig. 5.30).[444] On 7-8-1813 La Fidèle Sincérité chose between bids ranging from 14.000,- to 50.000,- Spd, and predictably signed a deal with the lowest bidder: the Chinese contractor J. Adjiet.

The new Freemasons' Hall in Batavia was to measure 112 x 88 feet, would be two stories high and have a front facade consisting of columns supporting a balustrade, separated by a fronton. The ground floor would be reserved for meeting rooms and storage facilities, leaving the upper floor to house a temple.[445] A calculation for the costs of building materials and manpower mentions a 'front gallery inside the walls of 108 foot long and 24 wide', 'a back gallery or room ad idem', 'a side wing with upper and lower [stories], the second ditto only upper', 'in the centre the dome' and finally 'an attic'.[446] Unfortunately the only information given about the decoration of 'the interior of all rooms' was that these would consist of 'panels as according to Architecture to be specified later'.[447] The work was to be carried out by 30 Chinese workers and 30 *coolies* (labourers) during 16 months.[448] Next to the fee for Adjiet, the estimate for painting and various facilities amounted to an extra 23.550,- Spd, while there was also the debt to Engelhard to consider. In other words, La Fidèle Sincérité involved itself in a project costing over 80.000,- Spd, while the members had initially gone to auction with 9.250,- Spd as a maximum budget…

As advised by Engelhard, La Fidèle Sincérité appealed to Raffles on 2-9-1813, requesting a mortgage loan of 24.000,- Spd, to be paid in instalments of 1.000,- Spd a year without interest.[449] Contrary to their expectations, a government loan was granted for the lesser sum of 20.000,- Spd, to be paid in much higher instalments of 250,- Spd per month against 6% interest. This would plunge the lodge into serious debt and leave no room for the upkeep of the new building. La Fidèle Sincérité therefore politely declined Raffles offer on 10-10-1813, and suspended work on the plot.

Engelhard gave his view on the process in a letter to Past Master Wijnand Lucas Baggers, a former ship's captain, now presenting his brotherly gesture in a different light. He claimed to have taken a 'loss' of 1000,- Spd by reselling the plot to the lodge, because:

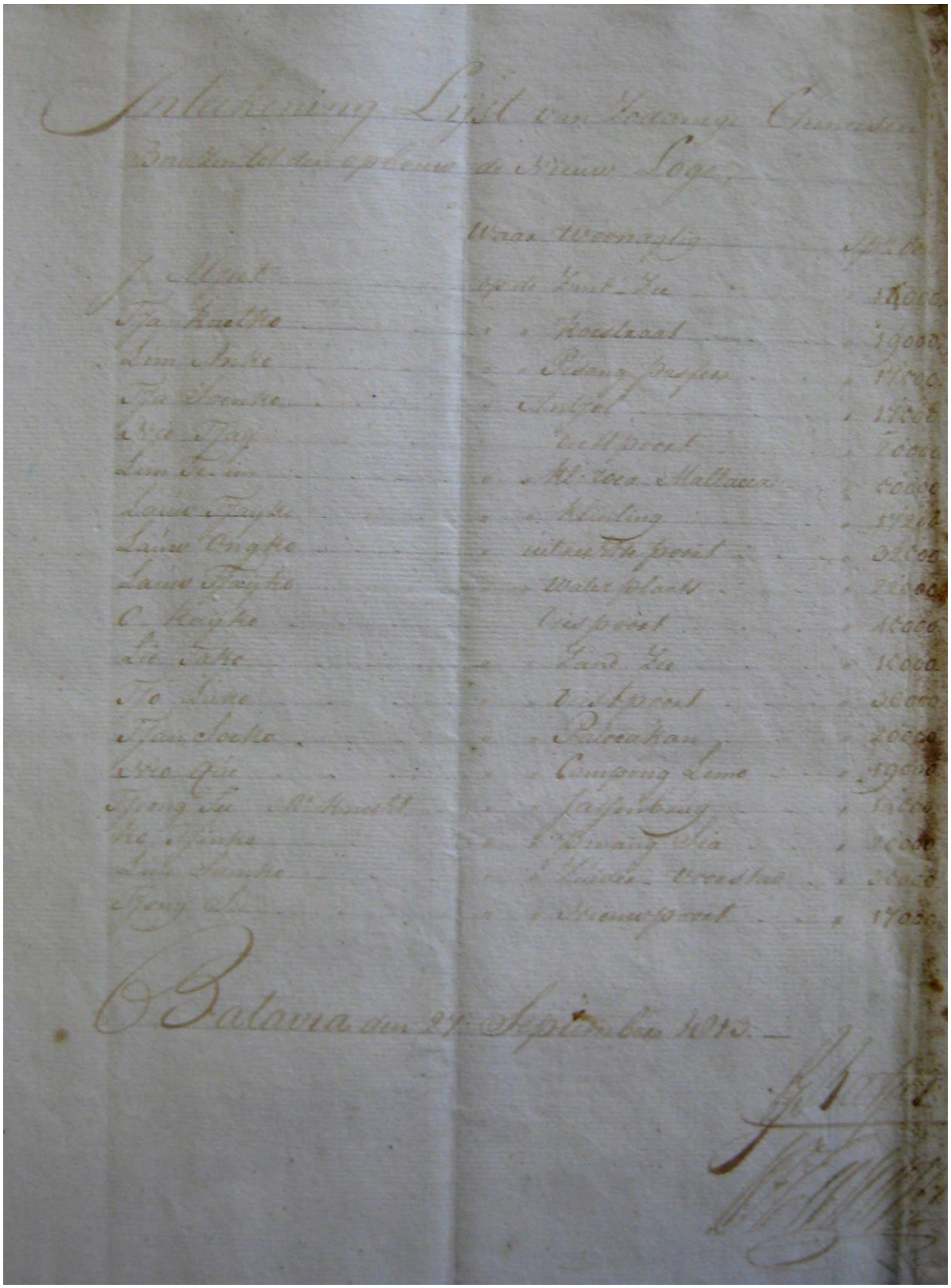


Fig. 5.30: 'List of such Chinese bosses that have signed in for the building of a new lodge', listing the commissioned overseers, their addresses and wages, 27- 9-1813. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

> '[…] to the public road of Jacatra would be made a substantial embellishment, but my Garden lying next to that Plot, thereby would desire an increase of value, so the sacrifice […] would have meant nothing to me compared to the advantages […].[450]

Having to comply with unfavourable government measures regarding loans made him 'suffer' an even higher loss. Engelhard felt that La Fidèle Sincérité, disadvantaged by the same government measures, had 'wrongly' decided to stop the building work. He implied the lodge only had itself to blame and should have made a 'less complicated' request to Raffles. Engelhard coldly announced that he would sell the plot and expected the lodge to be present at the Magistrates on 16-1 [1814?] to arrange a transfer. Moreover, he demanded that La Fidèle Sincérité immediately pay him back his 9.550,- Spd.[451] It meant the lodge had to cough up money it did not have for a plot it could not afford to build on, while its old building remained derelict.

La Fidèle Sincérité tried to find a solution. On 30-9-1813 it decided to offer the grounds back to Engelhard at a value of 1550,- Spd in reduction of the debt.[452] However, he would only accept a value of 1000,- Spd for the grounds, consenting the lodge could rebuy it for that sum later if desired. The only way the lodge could pay Engelhard the remainder was by selling the house standing on the Van Haak plot against demolition value, for which they had already struck a deal with Adjiet worth 8.000,- Spd. This still left La Fidèle Sincérité with a loss of 500,- Spd on the venture and no lodge building to meet in. On 7-12-1813 the revised agreement with Engelhard was approved. The lodge was recognized as buyer of the Van Haak house without obligation towards the surrounding grounds. Engelhard received an obligation worth 8.550,- Spd, to be paid in two instalments against 0.75 % interest before the deadline of 9-12-1814.[453]

Their troubles were far from over. From 1816 dates a second report by De Bruin Vermeer, in which he describes what disastrous consequences the contract with Adjiet had for La Fidèle Sincérité.[454] The lodge had made itself depended of Adjiet, who was to make payments for materials taken from the demolition of the Van Haak building, due on 9-8 and 9-12-1814.[455] If Adjiet failed to meet the terms of the agreement, the lodge couldn't reimburse Engelhard, and Engelhard couldn't pay off his creditors.[456] Of course that is precisely what happened. The lodge threatened Adjiet with a court case, to which he simply replied that he wouldn't be able to work from prison in which case La Fidèle Sincérité would never see the money. Engelhard wrote increasingly angry reminders, and in turn threatened La Fidèle Sincérité with a court case. The lodge finally got a little over 2000,- Spd from Adjiet and quickly tried to raise more capital, but it wasn't good enough for Engelhard.[457] On 1-4-1815 he had the High Court of Justice confiscate the building on the Amanusgracht. The bailiff accompanied the Master of Furniture in order to evacuate the building, about which De Bruin Vermeer later wrote:

> We all remember that moment that buildings and Furniture of La Fidele Sincerite were exposed in the most guiltless way to public auction by means of execution and we remained unsure where we would further carry out our masonic Work.[458]

Remarkable is that, despite all the financial problems experienced during these years, the lodge never stopped making regular donations to the widows of lodge members and to others who depended on such support. Just when the need was the greatest, two solutions presented themselves. The lodge was offered a house on the Spinhuijsgracht, but did not have to make use of this offer, because another opportunity presented itself.

Among the work of the aforementioned artist and freemasons Johannes Rach is a *View of the Tijgersgracht with its living and Playhouse of the Noble Gentleman Jeremias van Riemsdijk, First Council and Director General of the Dutch East Indies* (fig. 5.31). The house depicted by Rach was inherited by Wilhelm [Vincent] Helvetius van Riemsdijk (1752-1818), son of governor-general Jeremias van Riemsdijk and one of the richest people on the island.[459] As far as we know Wilhelm van Riemsdijk was not a member, but through lodge member A. Maarschalk the brethren learned on 8-1-1815 that he generously offered them the free use this building.[460] The lodge struck a deal with Engelhard, agreeing that the building on the Armanusgracht would be sold at public auction, but not the lodge furniture (most of which Engelhard could not have allowed to pass into profane hands anyway).[461] The sale lessened the debt by another 2.528,44 Spd[462], but Engelhard



Fig. 5.31: Johannes Rach, View of the Tijgersgracht with its living and Playhouse of the Noble Gentleman Jeremias van Riemsdijk, First Council and Director General of the Dutch East Indies, *1772. View from the south side of the canal. The occupants of the carriage are linked to the Van Riemsdijk family. The Van Riemsdijk residence, later used as a lodge building, was situated alongside the playhouse on the canal. Drawing, 35.5 x 52 cm. Collection: National Library of Indonesia, Jakarta. Reproduced from: atlasofmutualheritage.nl.*

kept up the pressure. By the end of the year he demanded the remaining sum, stating 'I myself am put in the highest inconvenience'.[463] Engelhard claimed that, with interest, the debt had accumulated to 9.692,02 Spd, meaning a third still had to be paid off.[464] With a further 2.083,33 Spd payment from Adjiet and a private donation by Past Master Baggers of 482,- Spd, La Fidèle Sincérité was left to reimburse Engelhard 443,- Spd.[465] It was not until 1817 that the matter was completely resolved.[466]

On 1-2-1815 La Fidèle Sincérité informed both La Vertueuse and Provincial Grand Master Engelhard about its permanent move to the 'East side of the Tijgersgracht in Batavia'. Not just the bad condition of the old building, also 'the difficulty of the distance and the road leading there' was given as a formal reason.[467] The letter included an invitation to the moving ceremony, which was to take place on 5-2-1815.[468] In a public procession the bible, constitution and law book of La Fidèle Sincérité were transferred from the Amanusgracht to the Tijgersgracht.[469] A list of subscribers dated 7-1-1817, naming all members who contributed towards the renovation of the building for its new masonic function, has survived.[470]

The financial overview for 1814-1815 notes 'for the transfer of the New Lodge […] Spd 238, 21 […] except for the payment to the Brethren van der Keer and Maarschalk for painting the Lodge Blue', the colour of the Order.[471] There is little other information on the new interior, as no inventories from this building survived. The financial records list reimbursements to lodge members, but mostly without specifying the items purchased or their suppliers.

♦ *Ambulant lodge De Militaire Broederschap*

N. Gorter and J.A. Kluppel, the Worshipful Master and Treasurer of lodge De Noordstar in Alkmaar, the Netherlands, applied to the Grand Lodge on 29-1-1815 for a constitution for an ambulant lodge, named De Militaire Broederschap (The Military Brotherhood). The lodge would consist of members of the 19th

bataillon of the *Oost Indische Troepen* (East Indies Troupes), about to leave for Batavia in 1816.[472] Once having arrived at that destination, the lodge was formally affiliated to La Vertueuse on 8-4-1818 (table 5.P).[473] De Militaire Broederschap was then installed on 20-4-1818, again by the members of La Vertueuse but with those of La Fidèle Sincérité as guests.[474] Luitenant Colonel Otto George Veltman Munthinge was appointed Worshipful Master.[475]

Because there was a large in- and outflow of members, the government of the lodge was left to the board of La Vertueuse, while the members of De Militaire Broederschap were also considered members of La Vertueuse. However, they were not allowed to be appointed to the office of Worshipful Master,
Warden, Secretary or Treasurer, although they were allowed to take other offices. They were given the same voting rights and obligations (such as paying contribution) as normal lodge members, but it was stipulated that they were not allowed to lay any claim on possessions of La Vertueuse, should their paths separate again in future.[476]

A report of the summer St. John's Day celebration of the joint lodges in 1818 was published in the Dutch masonic almanac of 1819, and a song for the same occasion appeared in the edition of 1827.[477] In 1821 the members of La Vertueuse were called to a meeting to discuss a merger between the two lodges and electing a new board.[478] However, the merger did not take place at that time, and when on 29-1-1824 a meeting was postponed, it was noted to inform the members of De Militaire Broederschap, suggesting the lodges were still separate entities.[479] On 10-3-1829 it was noted in the minutes that members of De Militaire Broederschap could be accepted as members of La Vertueuse without ballot.[480] That moment can probably be regarded as the definitive closing of the ambulant lodge.

Table 5.P: Members of lodge De Militaire Broederschap, 1818

NB: the transcribed document does not include first names

- *Achenbach, captain*
- *Bolling, lieutenant*
- *Cleerens, lieutenant colonel*
- *Du Cloux, kapiein*
- *De Colonie, surgeon 2nd class*
- *Dibbetz, captain*
- *Fritz, lieutenant*
- *Van Gent, captain*
- *George, captain*
- *Izeffz, lieutenant colonel*
- *Jerie, lieutenant*
- *Jestermann, lieutenant*
- *De Kock van Leeuwen, captain*
- *Koster, adjunct captain*
- *Luneau, surgeon major*
- *Meier, captain*
- *Mess, lieutenant*
- *Mulder, captain*
- *Muller, major,*
- *Van Raalten, surgeon 2nd class*
- *De Raet, lieutenant*
- *Riesz, captain*
- *Rikkers, adjunct captain*
- *Rismuller, lieutenant*
- *Rochemont, captain*
- *Schneiders, captain*
- *Tierlam, major*
- *Otto George Veldtman [Muntinghe], lieutenant colonel*
- *Verboom, lieutenant*
- *Zeldenrijk, staff surgeon*
- *Ziemhagen, surgeon 2nd class*

♦ *Engelhard's second term (1816-1822)*

When Parvé travelled to Batavia for business, he was also given the task to collect the unpaid lodge contributions. In the Grand Lodge meeting on 2-4-1816 it was mentioned that he had arrived, but Grand Master Izaak Busquet had later given notice that Parvé would be unable to fulfil his duties due to an injury.[481] So from 1816 onwards, the role of Provincial Grand Master was again fulfilled by Engelhard alone. It would now become clear that he had neglected to collect or forward contributions of the lodges in the Dutch East Indies to the Grand Lodge. The lodges must have been shocked to receive a letter by Engelhard, dated 18-9-1820, requesting them to smooth over the accounts going back to 1797 - in other words: to cough up 23 years of debt, and soon.

Each lodge handled the situation differently. La Fidèle Sincérité replied on 9-10-1820 that it would oblige, provided the sum it had already paid up until 1813 was deducted. Engelhard then requested the lodge to send in a financial overview of its payments made so far (suggesting he did not keep his own administration), to which the lodge agreed.[482] The lodge also pointed out that circumstances would prevent the sum being transferred any time soon. A particular obstacle for La Fidèle Sincérité was, that at some

point the lodge had taken a loan of 5.000,- Spd from Heukevlugt, which after his death the debt had passed on to C.H. Specht, who had also died.[483] The lodge still owed about 3.000,- to the *Weeskamer* presiding over loans, and now had to ask for a postponement in paying the required instalments. The *Weeskamer* demanded security, so La Fidèle Sincérité had to prove it owned worth at least 2.2000,-, or the full loan would be claimed by the end of august 1820.[484] The lodge replied on 9-8-1820 that it was awaiting a valuation of its possessions, and asked the *Weeskamer* to wait.[485] The lodge prioritised collecting overdue contributions and other payments from its own members, and made failure to pay up punishable by expulsion from the lodge.[486]

On 24-4-1820 Engelhard informed La Fidèle Sincérité that its outstanding debt to the Grand Lodge amounted to fl. 1998,10, which he generously offered to halve to fl. 1000,-.[487] The lodge was of course unable to pay anyway, and applied for a second postponement to the *Weeskamer*. La Fidèle Sincérité struggled to collect the fees from its members, who refused to be held responsible for debts of their predecessors long since departed or deceased, and simply quit their membership to avoid having to contribute. Eventually the sum would be raised and paid by 1821.[488]

Lodge De Vriendschap experienced less discomfort, but had to cancel the St. John's Day celebration of 1820 in order to be able to pay the debt. According to Hageman, the lodges 'considered, according to contemporary custom, direct communication with the Grand East of the Netherlands as subject to insurmountable trouble and objections'.[489] In the matter of contributions however, the lodge tellingly chose not to communicate through the Provincial Grand Master. Instead, on 20-9-1822 the contacted the Grand Lodge through mediation of lodge Concordia Vinxit Animos in Amsterdam to arrange a payment. De Vriendschap added a charitable bonus of 700 *Indisch* currency, suggesting the lodge had little financial troubles.[490] The Grand Lodge recorded the receipt of fl. 834,75 on 10-5-1824.

La Constante et Fidèle simply denied that its debt went to its (re)constitution in 1809, as several members (including Lamberger, Klein and Beer) remembered having transferred payments. The lodge was prepared to pay for the years 1817-1820.[491]

Engelhard was repeatedly reprimanded for the lack of communication by the Grand Lodge in the years 1820-1822, and urged to send membership lists and unpaid contributions[492] His response was usually to do just enough to keep from being relieved from his position. For instance, on 10-3-1821 the Grand Lodge received a letter from Engelhard, expressing congratulations with Prince Frederik's appointment as Grand Master National and announcing a payment of fl. 2.000,- by money transfer via a captain Azon on 10-1-1821.[493] But by 26-3-1822 the Grand Lodge meeting again recorded that no communications had been received from the Dutch East Indies.[494]

In a letter dated 18-12-1822, Engelhard announced his intended departure for the Netherlands on 20-12-1822 to the lodges in the East Indies.[495] Although he had been lenient towards La Vertueuse, before his leave, he wrote a reminder that the lodge still owed the Grand Lodge 1.792,- Spd.[496] He then left his successor to deal with the matter.[497] Engelhard arrived back in the Netherlands in July 1823, but it was not until 2-11-1823 that he found the time to provide the Grand Lodge with some insight into the state of affairs in the East Indies. A debt of circa fl. 5.000 of overdue contributions remained, including an unspecified sum owed by the Chapters.[498]

♦ *Verhuell's initiation in De Vriendschap*

The memoires of Quirijn Maurits Rudolf VerHuell provide an 'outsiders' view on being introduced into a lodge and its building in 1818.[499] At the time Verhuell was captain of the ship Evertsen, which harboured in Surabaya for technical servicing. He spent some leisure time ashore, during which he came into contact with local lodge members. During a dinner at the house of Resident A.M.Th. Baron de Salis esq. (1817-1822) in Simpang, VerHuell was urged to become a member himself. He mocked 'the secrets of the order and the ridiculous trials, which a newcomer was to endure', but when he was made out to be a coward, he challenged those attending 'now I defy You all, [to see] if there is a possibility, to scare me with all your tests! I will become a Freemason, the sooner the better'.[500] A few days later Verhuell received an invitation to make his way to the lodge building *'pakejan deftig'* (suited up). When at the initiation his blindfold was taken off, he saw a 'beautiful Temple with Corinthian Columns', a blue ceiling with golden stars and the lodge members, carrying their swords and regalia.[501] That night he received his own regalia, including a

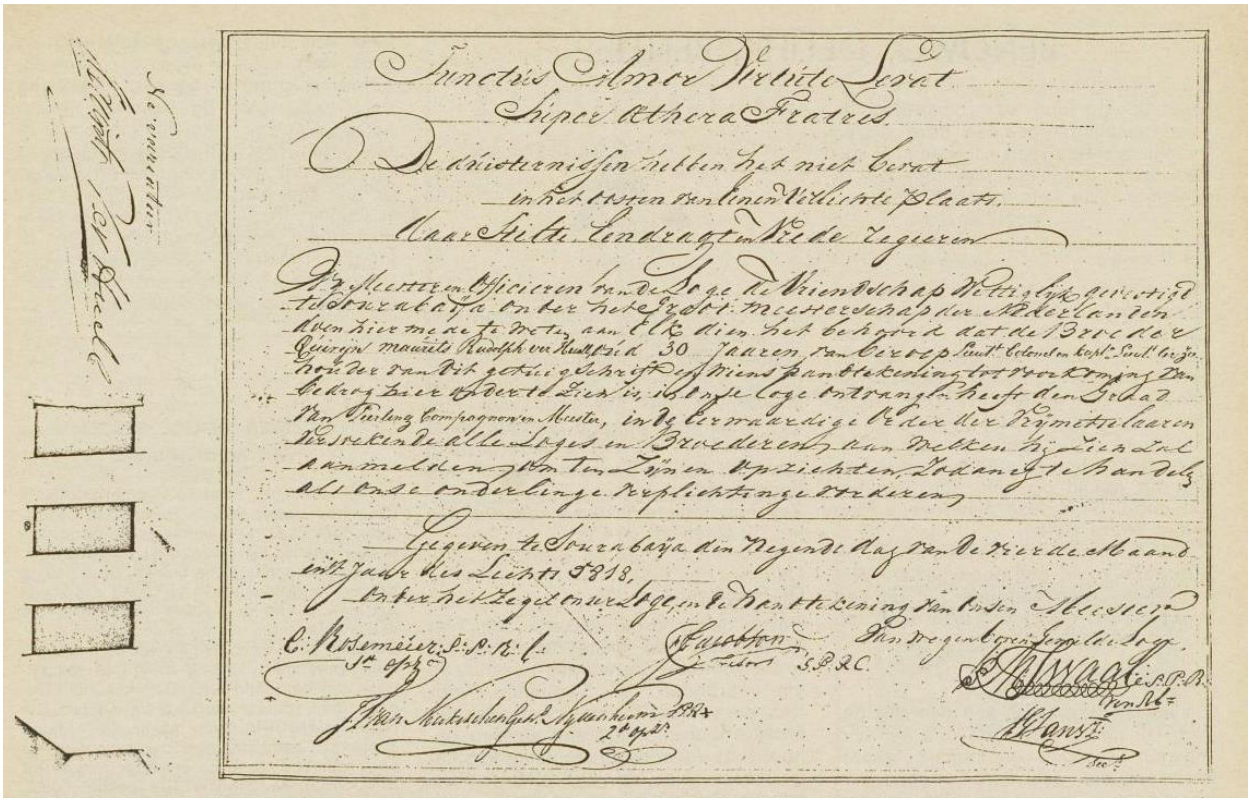


Fig. 5.32: Diploma for Q.R.M. Verhuell, issued by van lodge De Vriendschap on 9-4-5818 (= 9-2-1818). Reproduced from: De Graaf 1973, p. 9.

silver triangle on a green ribbon, before he joined the table lodge.[502] Verhuell's diploma, issued on 9-2-1818 survived and shows he received all three degrees (fig. 5.32).[503]

Verhuell also recalled the celebration of St. John on 14-10-1818, which was celebrated with 'sisters', following a ceremony especially designed for the occasion.[504] In his memoires Verhuell described how the lodge building was covered in Chinese lanterns, and that the public watched the procession of the lodge members, carrying a banner and incense.[505] This took place before a party at the house of the Worshipful Master, where the ladies were presented with a small silver triangle on a green ribbon, similar to the lodge jewel.

♦ *Lodge buildings in Batavia (III)*

Lodge La Fidèle Sincérité had barely settled on the Tijgersgracht, when Van Riemsdijk died. The lodge now had to choose between buying the building or evicting it.[506] The main estate was valued at 18.000 Rupees, and even though the adjoining buildings had some demolition value, the lodge decided not to buy.[507] Instead, they asked the executor of the estate, lodge member Pieter van Heemstede Cappelhof, to allow them some time to clear the premises.[508] The lodge then appealed to La Vertueuse on 31-1-1818, explaining their predicament, and asking if it could use its rooms 'on such conditions as Fairness demands from both parties'.[509] La Vertueuse consented, an indication that the relationship between the lodges had somewhat improved.[510] Overly formal, as was usual at the time, a committee was instated to organize the transfer. It proposed a temporary arrangement, stipulating that La Fidèle Sincérité was not allowed to bring its own furniture or jewels, nor change anything else inside the temple.[511] On 28-3-1818 La Fidèle Sincérité kindly declined the offer, being unable to accept these conditions.[512]

On 19-6-1818 Cappelhof informed La Fidèle Sincérité that the Tijgersgracht building had been sold to Sech Matam Taliep for demolition, now making the move of the lodge more urgent.[513] Past Master Willem Lamberger then proposed to buy the 'garden' of new lodge member Levinius Heukevlugt:

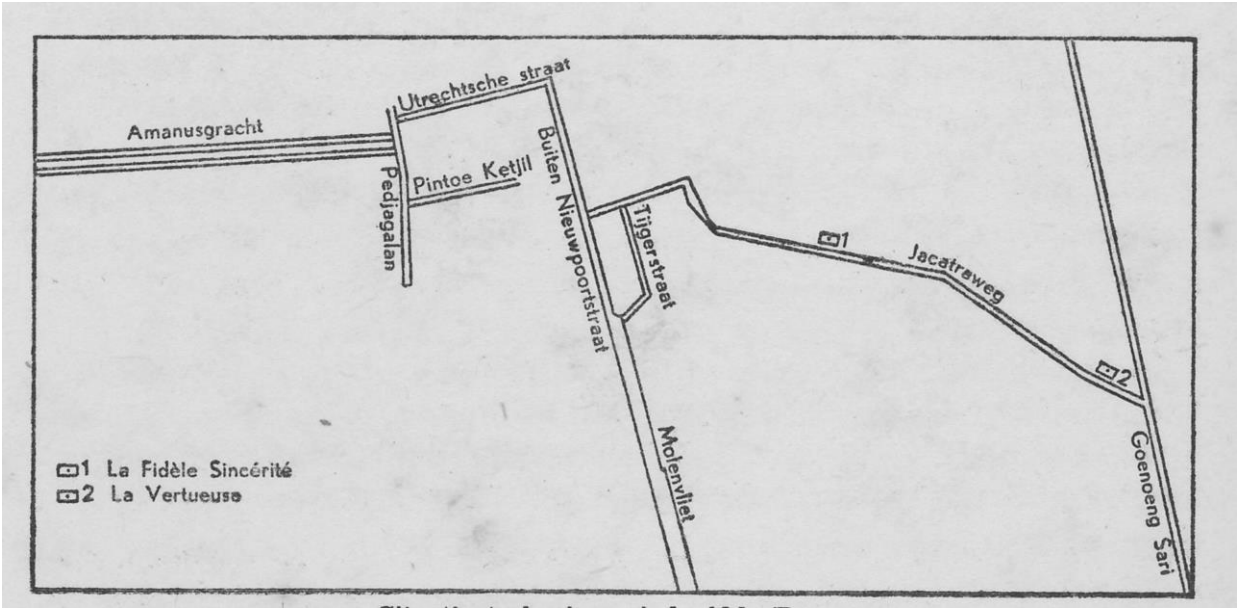


Fig. 5.33: Map of Batavia marking the location of the buildings used by the lodges in Batavia by the end of the 18th century. Reproduced from: 100 jaren *1937, p. 88.*

> [the house] […] only being a little small […], and needing on the one side a Portal and on the other A Throne to be added from the outside, the ceiling being too low needing to be raised and vaulted, the stairs relocated painted etc; And as such being altered could be used for a Lodge.[514]

On 4-5-1818 La Fidèle Sincérité formally informed Engelhard that it had indeed moved from the Tijgersgracht to Heukevlugt's plot.[515] The lodge received a gift of 1000,- Spd from its Chapter on 13-5-1818 towards improvements necessary for a new temple interior.[516] The sum was instead used as a down payment towards buying the building. On 14-6-1818 Lamberger acted on behalf of the lodge and signed an agreement with Heukevlugt for purchase of 'his garden on Jacatra on the North side' for the sum of 8.000,- Spd. Another 5.000,- was given as deposit by the lodge members as a loan to La Fidèle Sincérité against 0,75 % interest, with the remaining 2.000,- to be paid as soon as possible, against the same interest.[517]

Again a design (which did not survive) was made to adapt a private residence to the function and needs of a lodge building.[518] The Heukevlugt plot was described as 'on Jacatra', later interpreted as along the Jacatra Road (fig. 5.33). Other documents relating to the renovation show that the lodge again employed the Chinese community in Batavia. For instance, the list of the Chinese overseers subscribing for the commission of the renovation works, drawn up on 10-8-1818, survived.[519]

A detailed description of the temple can be found in the 'Covenant of Commission' drawn up between Past Master Baggers and 'master carpenter' J. Atjieh on 26-9-1818.[520] (This is probably the aforementioned Adjiet, as the phonetic spelling of Chinese names in Dutch documents varies.) The parties agreed 'some capital repairs and improvements', including the demolition of a front gallery and the roofs until the second floor, and a projecting back room up until a back gallery. The contract specifies digging and masonry works to build an extension to the existing house. The lodge would be plastered white and have 'walls with pilasters and cornices', according to drawings made by lodge member Johan Hendrik Horst. He was in government service as Architect of Civil Buildings and would later be responsible for the Willemskerk, a church in Batavia, which until now was believed to be the only design of his hand.[521] The existing attic beams would be changed to fit a new roof, providing more attic space, and new stairs would lead to the upper floors. One of the existing back rooms would be changed to a Chamber of Reflection. When doors, panels, blinds and window glass would be ready for installation, 'especially the blinds had to be worked so carefully that when closed not the least possible opening would be left between them', ensuring secrecy.[522]

The ceilings, chandeliers, panelling and other decorations were to be specified at a later stage. The front room of the second floor must have been allocated as temple, because a throne was to be specified later here, and later documents show it had a series of 12 niches in the walls. The contract further stipulated the building of a stable and two blocks of 'slave houses', one and two stories high.[523] Again one of the demands made to Adjieh, was that as much as possible of the necessary materials would be sourced from the demolition. The lodge paid him in regular instalments via Voorman or Horst, the last instalment to be given after the completion and inspection of the work.[524] Lists were drawn up, to see which furniture needed replacement and which surplus goods could be sold to raise funds.[525]

As most of the building was still unsuitable for use, on 27-5-1819 the lodge arranged with innkeeper De Groot that the table lodge for St. John's Day was to take place in De Harmonie in Batavia (a gentlemen's club of which the membership at the time significantly overlapped with that of the Order).[526] Several widows of former members were hired to take care of the catering.[527] An inventory of table wares was made up by Steward H. Brithoff after this occasion (table 5.Q).[528] Another inventory dated 10-8-1819 by Hendrik Boekhoff shows which additions were made to the furniture (table 5.R), wil also be discussed in more detail in the second half of this chapter.

The inauguration of the new lodge building finally took place on 24-6-1819.[529] The Master of Furniture then was assigned on 16-8-1820 to have *koekoeken* (= ventilation grates, typical for the Dutch East Indies) made on the front of the windows.[530] According to the minutes of 20-12-1819, the lodge asked *landmeester* Eerhardt, (county master), to value the finished building.[531]

Table 5.Q: Inventory lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia, 1-4-[1819].

Inventory of such goods belonging to the Lodge La Fidèle Sincerite as on this date are under the supervision of the undersigned in the aforementioned lodge

Silver works
1, a Coffee pot
2, two Chirandoles, both with a double arm lighter of which a cap is missing
1, a Sugar vase, to which belong:
18 eighteen Sugar spoons and
2 two Sugar thongs,
48 forty-eight Eating spoons,
2, two Soup ladles,

Plate and Steel wares
4 Candles in sorts, of which two large and two smaller
4, eight ditto of a different kind
2, two ditto a third kind
5, five different arm lighters, to be used on the aforementioned Candles
13, thirteen different caps belonging to the candles and arm lighters
3, three Steel Forks
37, thirty-seven Table knives
34, thirty-four desert Forks
34, thirty-four desert knives
3, three Cutting knives
3, three ditto Forks

Glass works
136, one hundred and thirty-six masonic Wine glasses
98, ninety-eight ditto Beer glasses
38, thirty-eight ditto Decanters

Ceramics
A small lot of mostly damaged plates, saucers and soup bowls, unfit for any use in the Lodge

Linen wares
15, fifteen Table cloths half laken [= woven, worked wool]
105, One hundred and five Napkins ditto

♦ *A nameless lodge in Makassar (1823)*

A commemorative publication mentions correspondence dating from 1823 between Baron van Lawick van Pabst and the Deputy Grand Master [Engelhard?] concerning the foundation of a lodge in Makassar on the isle of Celebes. It seems nothing came of the plan and a lodge would not be founded in the area until the end of the 19th century.[532]

♦ *Provincial Grand Master Merkus de Kock*

On 18-12-1822 the Grand Lodge announced that the aforementioned Henrdrik Merkus de Kock had been appointed as Provincial Grand Master (fig. 5.34).[533] He had been initiated as a freemason at the start of his career as a military navy officer in lodge L'Astre de l'Orient in Vlissingen in 1804. De Kock was sent to the East Indies in 1807 and quickly gained commanding positions. He was involved in campaigns against the English and squashed local uprisings against the Dutch regime, which furthered his career. He arrived in

11 playing Tables
1 large coffee stand
1 large Carpet
1 Javanese Floor carpet
1 Flask with a quantity of quicksilver
1 Apprentice Tracing Board
1 Master's ditto
1 Elu's ditto
1 Scots' ditto
1 Knight's ditto
2 Bibles, of which one Damaged
2 Law books
1 Lire Macon [= song book] green
1 ditto red
1 lot old Lire maçons [= song books]
1 black and white bag with the beans for the Ballot
3 small sitting stands
5 ditto coffee and tea stands
1 Blowpipe
2 hammer stands for the Wardens
1 Silk Curtain for the Throne of the Grand Master with its belongings
1 iron lamp for the Dark Chamber
1 Chair for the Orator with its copper candlestick
18 wooden black candlestick stands
8 iron Rods for the Master Lodge
1 Led Fountain with its Block for the Highest Degrees
1 black Master's floor carpet
1 black Master's Chair, old
4 iron chains
8 wooden falling sheets |
1 board with pins |- for the hollow road
1 small Step |
2 blocks |
Some old Sails
1 chest with clutter
2 hanging locks with the Keys in the Pantry
2 hanging bells
2 gilt Sceptres, with two sticks for the Elu Lodge
2 coffins with hood
2 black Linen doors for the Master Lodge
1 wooden Head
2 Hourglasses
2 hanging Locks, and 2 Keys, in the Dark Chamber
2 big Machetes
2 porcelain night Lamps, or Shades
1 Dining Table, consisting of 26 Pieces, of which 2 broken
1 Chest for glasses
3 tables in the Dark Chamber
13 white curtains for the Windows
3 Kitchen Tables broken
1 Rinsing Bowl
1 Lamp Stairs broken
1 Japanese Martavaan
1 Javanese Water Pot
Garden tools
2 rakes
2 weed shovels
4 Patjols [= Javanese plows]
2 watering cans
1 Garden Scissors
2 Axes
2 Pruning Knives

Table 5.R: Inventory Lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia, 1-4-[1819].

Inventory Of all such Goods as are present on this date in the Lodge La Fidele Sincerite, and under supervision of the undersigned; namely

8 Master Bands with Ornaments
1 silver Trowel
1 silver Compass
1 silver Square
1 Grand Master's [= Worshipful Master's] ornament
1 Master of Ceremonies' ditto
1 Treasurer's ditto
1 Orator's ditto
1 Brother Terrible's ditto
1 Secretary's ditto
1 Fiscal's ditto
1 Senior Warden's ditto
1 junior ditto ditto
1 Masonic silver tray
1 silver collecting box
1 silver drinking cup
5 silver Masonic candle holders on stands
2 swords with silver hilts
1 silver dagger with silver scabbard for the junior warden
2 copper pokers
7 Apprentice Aprons
7 Master ditto
19 metal Candle Holders
3 covered clubs
16 copper Candle Holders, of which 2 without pipes
3 Masonic Tin Ink Stands
4 ditto candle snuffs with metal coasters
1 Japanese [= Chinese] porcelain masonic Punch bowl
1 Blue Archive chest, contents unknown
1 ditto large calf's leather chest
9 wooden Hammers
1 copper Bell
1 copper Fire chest [= safe]
1 Metal Lantern defect
4 diplomas for the highest degrees
12 Blue carpets for the master Lodge
1 wooden chest with four drawers
91 pairs ladies gloves
60 pairs mans ditto
1 Metal Lamp behind the Throne
1 Thunder metal
1 Metal collection box
12 Copper spittoons
5 different glass crowns
20 double plated wall shades with their spools
12 Single ditto ditto of which one torn
15 ditto copper ditto with cooper branches and wooden spools, of which one torn
37 different hanging shades with copper fittings
54 hooks for shades and crowns
47 Lamp glasses
1 grand master's Table |
1 Secretary ditto |- *with their Silk*
1 Treasurer's ditto | *Covers and Pillows*
1 wooden altar |
3 distinctive Chairs
195 Chairs of which 6 stools



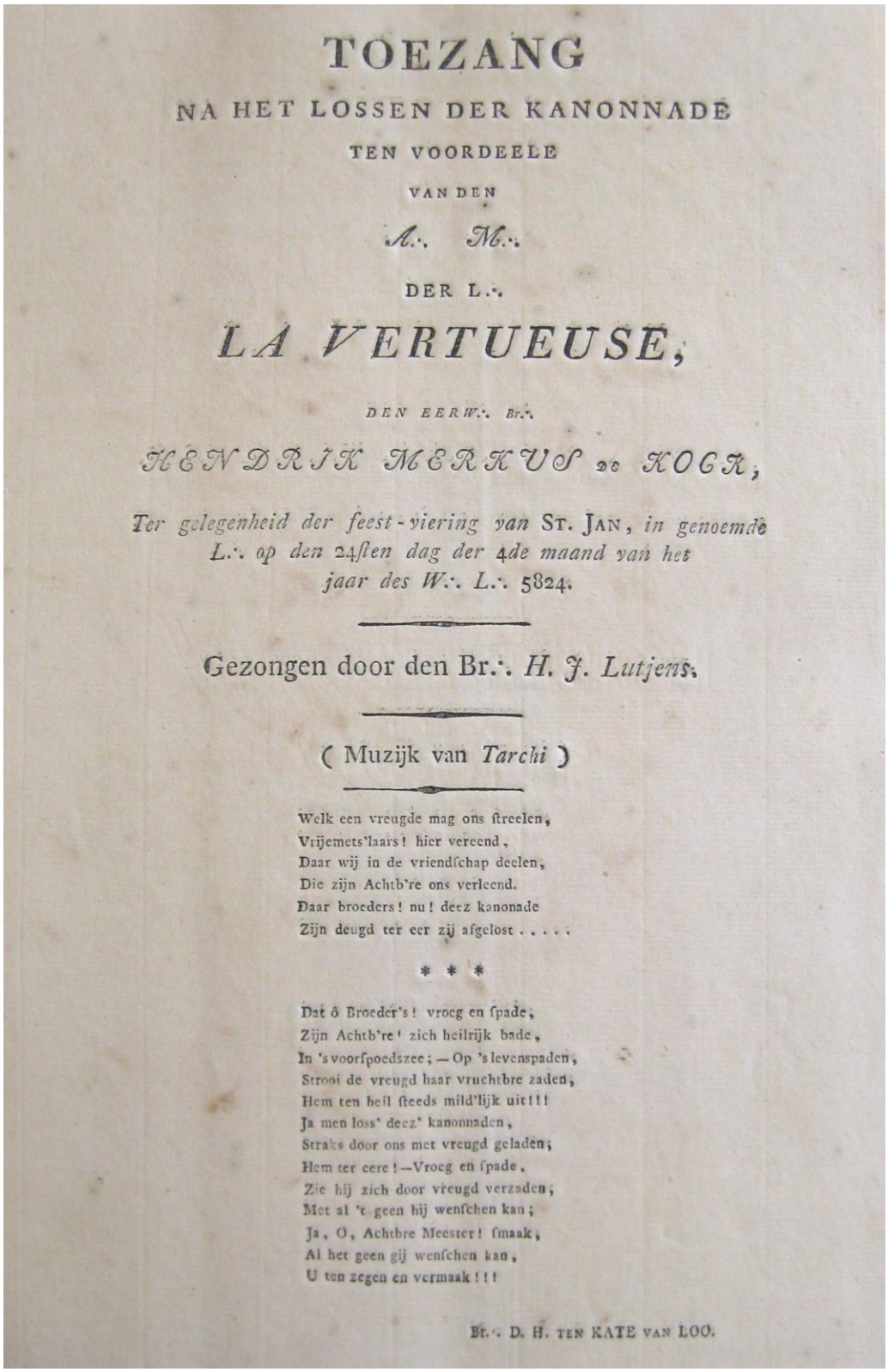
Fig. 5.34: Cornelis Kruseman (1797-1857), Portret van Hendrik Merkus Baron de Kock (1779-1845), military commander and Deputy Grand Master for the East Indies, 1826-1845. Oil on canvas, 106 × 90 cm. Collection: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv.no. SK-A-3796. Reproduced from: rijksmuseum.nl.

Java in 1816 and was appointed governor of the Moluccas. He became a member and Worshipful Master of lodge La Vertueuse in 1821.

Merkus de Kock contacted the lodges on the late contribution matter, and learned that La Vertueuse still owed fl. 1873;7;8 which would soon be paid. He wrote to De Vriendschap on 1-6-1823, explaining that Engelhard had been distracted by the loss of his wife and several friends, preventing him from properly transferring his affairs as Provincial Grand Master to his successor. He also explained Engelhard had not left any funds behind for his successor to manage.[534]

In contrast to Engelhard, De Kock was largely an absent Provincial Grand Master. His government business kept him away so much that he had to delegate much of his task. On 5-4-1823 Senior Warden of La Fidèle Sincérité, Ernst Frederik Fischer already had to temporarily take over as Provincial Grand Master.[535] De Kock's formal installation did not take place until 27-12-1824 in the temple of La Fidèle Sincérité, with members of other lodges attending as guests. The program for the occasion survived.[536] De Kock wished to remain Worshipful Master of La Vertueuse, but had to be replaced by Van Beusichem as interim on 24-6-1825, when he was called away to deal with the Java War. De Kock gained much credit with the Dutch government when he captured Diponegoro (Raden Mas Ontowiryo, 1785-1855), the leader of the uprising. He was appointed interim governor-general in 1826, until Leonard Pierre Joseph viscount du Bus de Gisignies (1780-1849) was installed as such late that year. Until 1830 De Kock was yearly re-elected as Worshipful Master of the lodge, while he remained absent most of the time.[537]

Under Merkus de Kock contact with the Grand Lodge did proceeded to run more smoothly.[538] Engelhard returned to Batavia in 1824 to deal with private affairs, and although he no longer acted in any official masonic capacity, he did manage to end the contribution debacle. In March 1825 he sent a money transfer for fl. 7.398,- to The Hague via the firm Bagman and Son in Amsterdam, including fl. 2.400,- from the various Chapters.



TOEZANG

NA HET LOSSEN DER KANONNADE

TEN VOORDEELE

VAN DEN

A.·. M.·.

DER L.·.

LA VERTUEUSE,

DEN EERW.·. Br.·.

HENDRIK MERKUS de KOCK,

Ter gelegenheid der feest-viering van ST. JAN, *in genoemde L.·. op den 24ſten dag der 4de maand van het jaar des W.·. L.·.* 5824.

Gezongen door den Br.·. *H. J. Lutjens.*

(Muzijk van *Tarchi*)

Welk een vreugde mag ons ſtreelen,
Vrijemets'laars! hier vereend,
Daar wij in de vriendſchap deelen,
Die zijn Achtb're ons verleend.
Daar broeders! nu! deez kanonade
Zijn deugd ter eer zij afgelost . . . . .

* * *

Dat ô Broeder's! vroeg en ſpade,
Zijn Achtb're! zich heilrijk bade,
In 's voorſpoedszee; — Op 's levenspaden,
Strooi de vreugd haar vruchtbre zaden,
Hem ten heil ſteeds mild'lijk uit!!!
Ja men loss' deez' kanonnaden,
Straks door ons met vreugd geladen;
Hem ter eere! — Vroeg en ſpade,
Zie hij zich door vreugd verzaden;
Met al 't geen hij wenſchen kan;
Ja, O, Achtbre Meester! ſmaak,
Al het geen gij wenſchen kan,
U ten zegen en vermaak!!!

Br.·. D. H. TEN KATE VAN LOO.

Fig. 5.35: Song in honor of Hendrik Merkus de Kock performed at St. John's Day (24-4-5824 [= 24-2-1824]). Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hagiue.

How did some of the lodges fare under Merkus de Kock? In 1819 the material posessions of lodge De Vriendschap in Surabaya were valued at fl. 12.000,-.[539] The lodge building was extended after 1822 under direction of J. Penning Nieuwland, Worshipful Master between 1822-1825 and 1827-1832. He ran the lodge more tightly than his predecessor Van Middelkoop..[540] By the 1820s De Vriendschap charged fl. 80,-, fl. 40,- and fl. 100,- for receptions in the 1st-3rd degrees, as well as contributions between fl. 4,- and fl. 12,- per month, admission fees of fl. 25,- fl. 50,-, and a fee for certificates of fl. 16,-.[541]

According to Hageman, the rituals practised by De Vriendschap were initially reviewed according to Etienne François Bazot's *Manuel du Franc-Maçon* (1817).[542] De Vriendschap then requested the Grand Lodge to send Dutch rituals for the three basic degrees. The Grand Lodge recorded the receipt of this request on 15-3-1823 and sent copies of the law book (ed. 1818), rituals and blank membership certificates, not directly, but via the Amsterdam lodge Concordia Vincit Animos.[543] At the same time the Grand Lodge requested more regular correspondence. The goods arrived in Surabaya on 8-9-1823 on the ship 'Vrouw Maria'.[544] This prompted another review of the rituals and laws used by De Vriendschap.[545] Penning Nieuwland explained his motivation to the lodge in a speech on 18-10-1824:

> […] it was very often enough to pay, to gain access to the most honourable society, which therefore soon degenerated, and was left by the few well-intentioned members.
>
> By a lack of legally approved rituals, the work was often below the dignity of a reasonable mind […] the Apprentice-reception being made into a ridiculous farce, that of fellow a fable, sometimes under four eyes and the Master-reception a ceremony which left the mind blank.
>
> By the founding of a Chapter of the in themselves honourable Higher degrees, the raised Master Degree was considered and viewed as the beginning of Freemasonry, while this contains its goal, - by all of which here too many WOLSONS were born.
>
> Freemasonry claims virtuous Brethren and the Lodge numerous members, to give glory and substance to the work. The latter (numerousness) is here too difficult to desire, without punishable indulgence concerning the first (virtuousness). Surabaya counts 100 masons, and lodge *De Vriendschap* 30 members. The old state of affairs is here too is gradually making place for the influence of the Grand Lodge of administration, especially since the accepting of the High office by the High Enlightened Brother De Kock, whose example inspires every righteous Freemason to follow it.[546]

Some members of De Vriendschap did not approve of Penning-Nieuwlands style and quit their membership of the lodge in 1823.[547] Handwritten rituals used in the lodge from 1825 onwards have been preserved in the collection of the CMC.[548] These include watercolours of tracing boards, to which we will come back later (figs. 5.55-5.57).

In 1824 a sum of fl. 875,- was spent to improve the interior of the temple.[549] A wooden floor was laid and painted 'in a moziac fashion', the throne was latered, a backroom was created and the whole building was painted inside and out.[550] 'Heavy alterations and improvements' amounted to costs of fl. 1639,- in 1825 and fl. 5.230,- in 1831-1832.[551] In 1832-34 candlelight would be replaced by modern lighting fixtures. While La Constante et Fidèle was *in ruste*, meaning suspended, between 1824-1829[552], De Vriendschap's relative isolation meant that it was hindered less by international and local conflicts than the lodges elsewhere.[553] The lodge would again have very little contact with the Grand Lodge in The Hague, this time until 1836.[554] Due to the large number of members deployed as military and seafaring officers however, there were times when too many members were absent. As a result, visitors were encouraged and by 1826 their admission fees were abolished. Later, contributions were suspended altogether.[555] In 1831 the lodge Secretary G. Mooijaart was expelled because he had failed to keep minutes over a year and had given parts of the lodge archive in profane hands.[556] That might explain why much of the early material of the lodge remains missing. Mooijaart must have repented, because his name is listed again in later lodge records.

Between 27-3-1815 and 1822 the lodge La Constante et Fidèle met in the building of the former militairy school in Semarang. [557] The program of the inauguration of the new temple survives.[558] In 1822 Worshipful Master Cornelius, the director of the school, repatriated and the lodge had to move yet again. The military school was later a military hospital (or apothecary?), photographed in the end of the 19th century (fig. 5.19).[559]

La Constante et Fidèle may have temporarily worked in members houses, including that of H.J. Domis, Worshipful Master.[560] In 1829 suitable rooms were found above Sociëteit de Vereeniging, in the Kerkstraat.[561] While the membership list of 1830 still mentioned 'Societeit De Veereniging' as location, those of 1833-1834 list 'Societeit La Constante et Fidèle', suggesting the lodge became owner of the premises.[562] When in 1920 the Indische Handelscompagnie renovated the building, wall paintings were discovered. One of these depicted *Silence*, suggesting there may have been a decoration scheme representing masonic virtues.[563]

♦ *Lodge buildings in Batavia (IV)*

Let's return to the housing of lodge La Fidèle Sincerité. Its Freemasons' Hall at the Jacatraweg was renovated and extended several times. Despite the problems experienced with Adjiet earlier, he must have eventually delivered good work, because the lodge loyally kept using his services. This allowed for a new conflict, however, this time concerning repairs made to the building. Adjiet made more changes than instructed and demanded more than 3.600,- Rupees extra pay for the extra work.[564] In March 1820 a committee was instated to consider compensation provided Adjiet had acted 'in good faith and fairly on oral instruction […] making such Capital changes or repairs, as to which he was not obliged'.[565]

Typical maintenance had much to do with the climate in the Archipelago, and no doubt the earthquakes in the region also regularly caused some damage. In 1820 the lead behind the fronton of the building had melted away by the sun's heat, causing the covering material to split and leakages to appear inside. Tears in walls had to be repaired and the bridge and gate were up for renewal.[566] The name of a Chinese carpenter, spelled Tjing Lean or Tjung Liun, regularly appears in the financial records between 1821 and 1825.[567] In December 1822 several bamboo houses were built on the lodge premises, to permanently house the mandur and *boejangs* (workmen) employed by the lodge.[568] Musicians were now hired from the 'gentleman Michiels'. This must be the pensioned major Augustijn Michiels (1769-1833)**,** whose large household included four orchestra's made up of his employees and slaves of various nationalities.[569] They played European, military, Chinese and gamelan music. These musicians represent yet another group of Asian men, who had access to the lodge without actually being members. Michiels himself does not appear on the membership lists.

An inventory was drawn up again in 1822 by lodge members P. Meyer, J. Boekhoff and P.J. Kamphuis (table 5.S).[570] The most notable acquisitions were Japanese lacquer items (a tracing board and a name list), which are discussed in detail in chapter 6. On 21-3-1823 the lodge minutes noted that Boekhoff had advanced the costs of some repairs. The lodge needed to make some changes to the throne to prepare for the upcoming celebration of St. John. As funds were low, it was decided to start chasing unpaid contributions and sell all unnecessary goods.[571] None the less, it was decided to lower the costs for initiations, so there would be less difference with those of lodge La Vertueuse. The fee for the 2nd degree was lowered from fl. 30,- to fl. 55,-, and that of Master from fl. 80,- to fl. 60,-. As La Vertueuse chargech fl. 100,- for the 1st degree, whilst La Fidèle Sincérité charged fl. 220,-, that fee was cut to fl. 100,-. The one off membership fee was set at fl. 150,- and the monthly contribution at fl. 10,-, while further payments had to be made: fl. 4,- towards the charity box, fl. 11,- towards the servants' wages, fl. 8,- for a song book.[572]

From the outside, the lodge building would not have stood out from other Dutch buildings in Batavia. The walls were chalked white, the window shutters were painted black on the outside in 1823[573] (changed to green in 1824) and 'grey or pearl' on the inside.[574] Major repairs costing fl. 1.450,- were made in September 1824, including repairs to the roof, chalking of the walls, repairing locks and fixtures, and painting the woodwork.[575] On 6-2-1824 the property of the lodge, now described as a garden in 'Block L, 26th part, no. 30' was valued for tax purposes at fl. 18.000,- (almost € 200.000,- today).[576] A inventory dated 24-10-1824 provides an overview of furniture and other goods lent to the lodge by Boekhoff.[577] As he was leaving Batavia, he requested that these would be taken on by the lodge.

The next inventory came from the hand of Master of Furniture P.J. Alix, and was signed by Deputy Secretary H. Strauch. It dates from 1825 and is almost identical to the earlier version.[578] Objects damaged or broken account for small differences. However, it is a little more detailed on the contents of several chests, revealing those to contain regalia, and describing the song books (table 5.T). Alix also noted that some wall shades had been stolen in a burglary. Presumably these were from the exterior of the building, as nothing else seems to have gone missing. From 1825 onwards, the care for the inventory would

Table 5.S: Inventory lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia, 13+1*1822.

Inventory of Such Furniture and Goods belonging to the Lodge La Fidele Sincerite in Batavia as by us the undersigned have Been found and under supervision of the Master of Furniture. - being -

5 Glass Crowns
37 Hanging Shades with their lamp glasses and iron hooks
2 Alabaster hanging shades
26 Wall shades /in Cellar/ with their Spools
20 ditto ditto Double
136 Chairs in Sort
1 Dinner table consisting of 22 separate pieces
3 Tables of the Master Treasurer and Secretary with their silk cloths
1 Altar with its Silk Cloth and Pillow
9 Ventilation grates
1 Lectern
1 Closet for the Archives of the Lodge in a chest
1 Closet for the Master of Furniture
7 Wooden Hammers
3 Tin Ink stands
2 Books of Law
2 Bibles of which One is old and Thorns
3 Chests /large/
1 Silver Collection Box
5 ditto Candle holders
2 ditto Swords
1 ditto Poker
1 ditto Pair of Compasses
1 ditto Square
1 ditto Trowel
1 ditto Tray
2 ditto Chirandoles
2 ditto Candlesticks
1 Fire chest [= safe]
12 Plate Candlesticks
5 Tracing Boards
1 Japanese [lacquer] Apprentice Tracing Board in Painting
1 Portrait of the Grand Master National in the Netherlands
1 Japanese [lacquer] Name list of the subscribers for the building of this Lodge
1 Japanese Porcelain Bowl with Masonic figures
3 Constitutions of this Lodge of which one in a Gilt Frame
1 Copper Sword
2 Ballot Bags
13 Copper Candle holders
12 ditto Spittoons
4 Steel Candle snuffs with coasters
40 Round and Candle Stands in Sort of which 4 with glass shades
11 Playing Tables
1 Large round stand
1 Metal Lamp behind the Throne
7 Boards for the Bumpy road
1 Board with nails
1 Iron Lamp
2 Hour glasses
2 Cleavers
2 Coffins and lids
2 Chains
1 Metal blowpipe
1 Thunder metal
9 Ornaments for the Officers of the Lodge
1 Curtain for the Throne, blue Silk cloth
1 Blue Floor Cloth in the Lodge
1 Floor Carpet " " ditto
13 White Curtains
A lot of old song books
81 New ditto ditto
4 Apprentice Aprons
2 ½ dozen Men's gloves
7 ditto Women's ditto
1 Copper Collection box for the Master's Lodge
9 Black Candle Stands and 9 ditto Wooden Candle stands
9 Clubs for the Master's Lodge
2 Master's Bands
1 ditto Aprons
2 Lamp Stairs
1 Glass Corner Closet
1 Rinsing Bowl
4 Candle holders

be clearly divided between the Steward, responsible for the table lodge, kitchen, provisions and wine cellar, and the Master of Furniture, dealing with the furniture for the temple and the regalia. In that same year, Tjing Lean was again hired to carry out substantial repairs and paint 'the Back Upper Room, in the Newly Made Back Gallery'.[579]

The lodge minutes of 21-8-1826 recorded a proposal to fire two of the four boejangs employed by the lodge 'because in future when a majority of the servants is needed at a reception Lodge or otherwise, one can just as well hire the same for that evening or replace them by servants of the Brothers Members present'.[580] This is again an indication non-initiates were present at ritual meetings. It was also decided to no longer serve banquets after household meetings.

In 1827, the door to the Chamber of Reflection was altered to contain a hatch.[581] During the ritual, the Candidate is left blindfolded and alone in this room. There are several moments when the officer seeing to his preparation for the ritual speaks to him through the closed door.[582] Presumably the hatch was to make him more audible. In 1828, a notable addition to the inventory were paintings, discussed in more detail below, by lodge member R. Kimmel.[583] The financial records for 1827-1829 list recurring expenses for whitewash, blacking agent, chalk and other materials.[584] In 1829, the roof required fixing and another inventory was drawn up, but with no notable additions.[585] In 1830 lodge Architect W.H. Bernhoff was given

Table 5.T: Inventory lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia, 20-27+1*5825 (detail).

[…]
A Chest containing
Five Master bands
A ditto Apron
An Apprentice ditto
A ditto ditto
Thirty & Six parchment Certificates
A parchment diploma of F.E. Furr
A Chest containing
Three green Aprons
three ditto bands
four red Aprons
four ditto bands
A Chest or Box with the title La Fidelle Sincerite, containing
Four Aprons white and black
One band ditto ditto
Three different Aprons
Ten ditto ditto in Black
Two ditto ditto in blue
[…]
56 Fifty-six Lire Macons [= song books] (new)
Some old ditto Dutch & French
34 Thirty-four High German song books
[…]

a commission to oversee repairs to the lodge building.[586] The 'native captain' Barodien was paid fl. 100,- for erecting a barrack behind the lodge building.[587] Repairs to the building itself were carried out by Abdul Hamied, first known to the lodge as a guarantor for Adjiet, between 1829 and 1831.[588] A note, probably by Beruhoff, reads:

Friend Wattendorff, Please be so good and pay to the [East] Indian Captain Abdul Hamiet the 3rd part of the f 590 which is f 196-66. He has to buy Paint and is making good progress with his work - he is also to get the remaining f 750 in three parts but not before I have seen what he does. Now the building is made in order though it has not been whitewashed in a Year. Please give to the Lazy mandur who has 4 people under his command and does nothing then to work in the garden for the Mister Boekhoff some money to buy chalk. I have asked Boekhoff so many times but the answer is always when a boat arrives from bantam then he will buy chalk.[589]

Hamied was later asked to build bamboo houses for the boejangs and the mandur, again indicating they lived on the lodge premises.[590] For the St. John's Day ritual and celebrations, musicians were still borrowed from Michiels and now paid 50,- in copper money.[591]

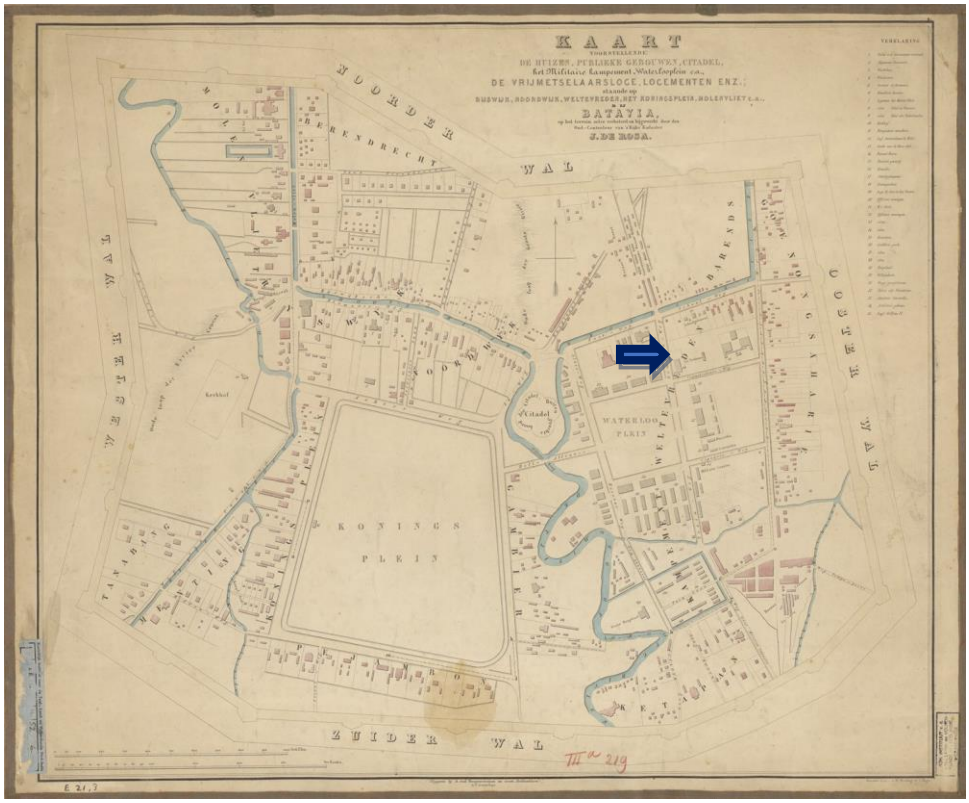
New inventories were drawn up in 1831, 1833 and 1834. The financial records of La Fidèle Sincérité for 1835 specify the pay of the mandur as fl. 12,- per month, that of the boejangs as fl. 8,-.[592] Musicians were hired for fl. 25,-, now via the Chinese lieutenant Seneen, the 'salary runner' of the lodge Secretary, presumably responsible for distributing payments to the regular employees of the lodge.[593] The records also show that members Barend van Tienen, Levinius Heukevlugt and A.A. Vinju lent money to the lodge, running up to as much as fl. 2.000,- in Vinju's case.[594]

Money clearly remained a problem. In a meeting on 23-4-1835, the Chapter of La Fidèle Sincérité considered and accepted a proposal to buy a quarter share of the lodge building for fl. 1.000,-.[595] Chalk was finally bought and repair work was commissioned to the Chinese 'chief carpenter' Tja Anghy, who employed three carpenters and 35 coolies for the execution of the work.[596] Prioritising these repairs ran the lodge into trouble, because later that year they received a summons from the bailiff for a failure to pay goods bought at public auction worth fl. 240,29.[597] The lodge may have solved the problem by selling fl. 300,- worth of copper left over from the building works to captain Baroedien, and reducing it from the fl. 540,- pay still owed to him.[598] Again and again the juggling of funds is apparent from the financial records. In 1836, the Chinese Laun Tjioedjie was paid for 'two windows of the devil's House', as locals described the lodge building.[599]

■ *Freemasons' Hall at the Vrijmetselaarsweg*

Meanwhile, lodge La Vertueuse still used the Freemasons' Hall on the Moorish Hospital grounds. In 1820 an overview of superfluous goods was made.[600] A sum of 1.000 Rds was paid to Abdul Hamied, also employed by La Fidèle Sincérité, for various repairs on 9-3-1819.[601] Between 1821 and 1824, such work was given to 'the Chinese boss Nan Tjonko', who was also responsible for the renovation of the dining room.[602] Then, after almost 45 years of frequent use, the Freemasons' Hall on the Moorish Hospital grounds no longer met the needs of La Vertueuse. On 15-7-1829 the building was closed, and the members temporarily met in the building of La Fidèle Sincérité on the Jacatra Road.[603] Engelhard relinquished his stock in the building, in order to make it possible to sell the plot and use the money towards a new Freemasons' Hall.[604]

At a meeting of La Vertueuse on 29-5-1829, held at the request of Senior Warden Johannes Diederik Kruseman (born 1795), the members discussed the possibility to move the lodge:



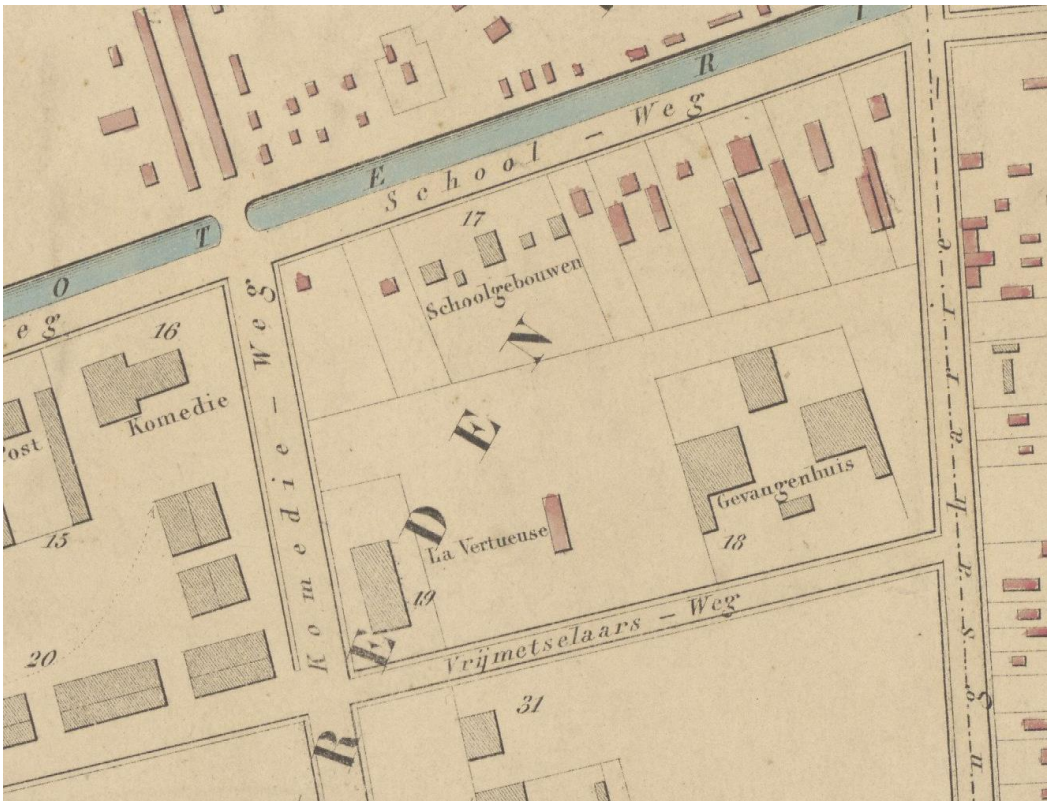


Fig. 5.36 and detail: J. de Rosa, Map of Batavia, published by A. van Hoogstraten en Zoon in The Hague, ca. 1860, 55 x 66 cm. The Freemasons' Hall of lodge De Ster in het Oosten (formerly La Vertueuse) at the Vrijmetselaarsweg is clearly indicated as number 19. Collection: KITLV, Leiden, inv.no. E213.



Fig. 5.37: Cornelis Kruseman (1797-1857), Portrait of count Johannes van den Bosch, governor-general of the Dutch East Indies and Minister of Colonies, 1829. Oil on canvas, 87 x 70 cm. Collection: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv.no. SK-A-2166. Reproduced from: rijksmuseum.nl.

> […] to a healthier and for the houses of members more appropriate site, as the reduction in members and the infrequent visits which the lodge now receives are being attributed to the aforementioned causes by changing times, as they lived in the residence of the well to do citizens. Since the coming of the English, everything had taken on another guise largely due to the changes of work & dinner hours as well as the current building now having existed almost half a century and being subject to many defects and major repairs […].[605]

The government made a plot available to the lodge, as mentioned in the *Javaasche Courant* 6-8-1829:

> Powered by the Resolution of the [East] Indies Government, dated 14 July no. 56, the undersigned makes it known, that the Government will make available free of charge, to those who are allowed to wish them, the unbuilt estates, located north of the palace in Weltevreden, under conditions to be announced after. These estates are divided in nine plots, traced from the road of Gunung-saharie until the large southern road, and divided as follows […] Plot no. III. Broad along the south side 15, and along the back 13 *roeden* [= length measures]; deep along the west side 55, and along the east side 55 *roeden*.[606]

Plot no. III was located alongside the public road, which would later be called the *Vrijmetselaarsweg* or Freemasons' Road, at the corner of the *Comediebuurt* (fig. 5.36).[607] The building plan for the new Freemasons' Hall was made by lodge Architect J. Tromp, who in daily life was Head Engineer of Water Management and Buildings.[608] The demolition of the old building and the building of the new were commissioned for fl. 12.500,-, and another fl. 4000,- was reserved for other costs. A description of the building plan reads as follows:

> […] the main building in the front and back
> facade would measure a width of 60 feet and a depth of 137 feet, the division would be in three large rooms of 90 feet long, one of which the Throne room and 6 chambers.
> The throne room would measure a height of 4 feet above the other rooms and stick out with its roof above the other roofs and receive its light from above [= have a skylight].

> […] the costs were estimated at f 9000 silver or f 12000 copper, for which the old building would be demolished and the new with the materials from the demolition, as far as usable, would be built up, provided that the contractor would receive the empty plot on Jacatra and the unused building materials.' [609]

The costs were covered by the members for a total of fl. 9.750,- by a joint loan, later made a gift to the lodge.[610] Provincial Grand Master Hendrik Merkus de Kock contributed fl. 4.000,-; Jan Michael van Beusechem, Joost Carel van Romswinckel and [J.C.L.] Splenger fl. 1000,- each; C.J. Smulders, J. Tromp, J.J. Nolthenius, Frederik van Teutum and A. Gevers fl. 500,- each; and lastly A.H.W. Baron de Kock (son of the Provincial Grand Master) fl. 250,-.

The ceremony for the laying of the first stone took place on 15-2-1830, at night by torchlight. For the occasion guests were welcomed in the Palace on Weltevreden of governor-general Van den Bosch (fig. 5.37), which indicates the close ties between the lodge and the government.[611] From there, a procession carrying the lodge banner, bible and masonic tools walked to the new building for the laying of the stone ceremony, and afterwards only the freemasons present were invited into the old building, to formally 'extinguish the lights'. The occasion also served as an opportunity to welcome back from the Java War the Deputy Grand Master (also Worshipful Master) Hendrik Merkus de Kock, who lead the ceremony.[612] The program of the celebration has survived (fig. 5.38).[613]

The formal inauguration of the Freemasons' Hall then took place on 27-6-1831, St. John's Day, and was led by Worshipful Master Jan Michael van Beusechem.[614] Members of La Fidèle Sincérité and even the Past Grand Master National Isaac Bousquet, now Council of the East Indies, were also present.[615] The ceremony had been announced in the newspaper, inviting freemasons on Java to be present (fig. 5.39).[616] After welcoming the guests and the formal opening, a procession made its way three times around the building, carrying a rough stone, compasses & square, the lodge banner and various other symbols. The first stone of the 1786 building was transported to the new, but the contents were found to have perished.[617]

Unfortunately, there are no inventories of La Vertueuse of the years spent in this second Freemasons' Hall, and financial records are less detailed. No significant changes were made in the years leading up to the lodge merger. On 4-9-1833 it was decided to take a loan or mortgage on the building of fl. 7.000,- silver and redeem the previous loan of fl. 6.600,-.[618] The entry fee was put at fl. 30,- for visitors and fl. 20,- for members. In 1835 some of the floors had sagged and needed to be repaired.[619]

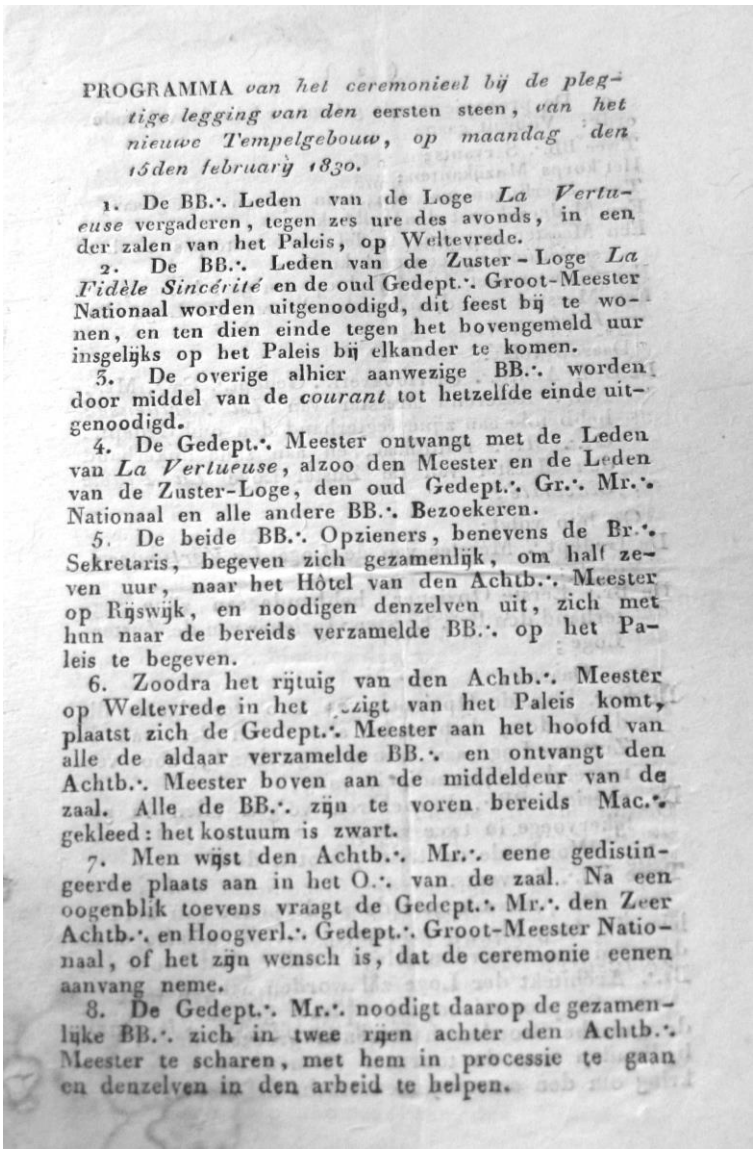
♦ *Towards unity*

When Merkus de Kock left for the Netherlands in 1830, Van Beusichem was appointed Deputy Grand Master *ad interim*. By that time, all the outstanding debts of the lodges to the Grand Lodge had finally been resolved.[620] As successor of De Kock the Grand Lodge then appointed Jan Isaak van Sevenhoven (1782-1841) in 1831.[621] He had come to the East Indies as a bookkeeper in 1801.[622] Van Sevenhoven held several government offices and was *Directeur van Kultures* by the time he was appointed Deputy Grand Master.[623] Shortly after, he was appointed Council of the Dutch East Indies. In 1830, the next governor-general was also a freemason: Johannes van den Bosch (1780-1844), initiated in lodge La Vertueuse in 1801. Van den Bosch was replaced in 1833 bij Jean Chrétien Baud (1789-1859), a member of lodge St. Napoleon in Amsterdam of 1811.

Since the founding of the first lodges in Asia in the 18th century, they had not been formally represented in the yearly Grand Lodge meeting in The Hague. On 26-3-1833 Penning Nieuwland tried to be registered as a representative of De Vriendschap, but was not admitted.[624] The next year, lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam proposed to have the participation of representatives of the lodges overseas approved, because the contact with the West- and East Indies was so difficult.[625] This proposal was accepted in 1835.[626]

Through the mediation of Van Sevenhoven during the years 1831-1837, the lodges La Vertueuse and La Fidèle Sincérité finally became closer. The coming together of both parties may have been:

> […] only appearance and not reality […] not the result of a stimulated wish, to continue the great work with force, but on the contrary was caused by an undeniable fading and inactivity, and the merger was nothing less, than a palliative for a 'sudden death'.[627]



PROGRAMMA *van het ceremonieel bij de plegtige legging van den* eersten steen, *van het nieuwe Tempelgebouw, op maandag den 15den februarij 1830.*

1. De BB.·. Leden van de Loge *La Vertueuse* vergaderen, tegen zes ure des avonds, in een der zalen van het Paleis, op Weltevrede.

2. De BB.·. Leden van de Zuster-Loge *La Fidèle Sincérité* en de oud Gedept.·. Groot-Meester Nationaal worden uitgenoodigd, dit feest bij te wonen, en ten dien einde tegen het bovengemeld uur insgelijks op het Paleis bij elkander te komen.

3. De overige alhier aanwezige BB.·. worden door middel van de *courant* tot hetzelfde einde uitgenoodigd.

4. De Gedept.·. Meester ontvangt met de Leden van *La Vertueuse*, alzoo den Meester en de Leden van de Zuster-Loge, den oud Gedept.·. Gr.·. Mr.·. Nationaal en alle andere BB.·. Bezoekeren.

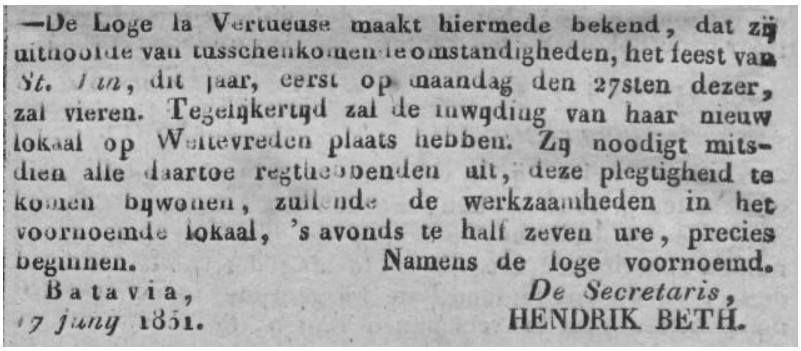
5. De beide BB.·. Opzieners, benevens de Br.·. Sekretaris, begeven zich gezamenlijk, om half zeven uur, naar het Hôtel van den Achtb.·. Meester op Rijswijk, en noodigen denzelven uit, zich met hun naar de bereids verzamelde BB.·. op het Paleis te begeven.

6. Zoodra het rijtuig van den Achtb.·. Meester op Weltevrede in het gezigt van het Paleis komt, plaatst zich de Gedept.·. Meester aan het hoofd van alle de aldaar verzamelde BB.·. en ontvangt den Achtb.·. Meester boven aan de middeldeur van de zaal. Alle de BB.·. zijn te voren bereids Mac.·. gekleed: het kostuum is zwart.

7. Men wijst den Achtb.·. Mr.·. eene gedistingeerde plaats aan in het O.·. van de zaal. Na een oogenblik toevens vraagt de Gedept.·. Mr.·. den Zeer Achtb.·. en Hoogverl.·. Gedept.·. Groot-Meester Nationaal, of het zijn wensch is, dat de ceremonie eenen aanvang neme.

8. De Gedept.·. Mr.·. noodigt daarop de gezamenlijke BB.·. zich in twee rijen achter den Achtb.·. Meester te scharen, met hem in processie te gaan en denzelven in den arbeid te helpen.

Fig. 5.38: Program for the ceremony of the laying of the first stone of the Freemasons' Hall of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, 15-2-1830. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.



—De Loge la Vertueuse maakt hiermede bekend, dat zij uithoofde van tusschenkomende omstandigheden, het feest van *St. Jan*, dit jaar, eerst op maandag den 27sten dezer, zal vieren. Tegelijkertijd zal de inwijding van haar nieuw lokaal op Weltevreden plaats hebben. Zij noodigt mitsdien alle daartoe regthebbenden uit, deze plegtigheid te komen bijwonen, zullende de werkzaamheden in het voornoemde lokaal, 's avonds te half zeven ure, precies beginnen. Namens de loge voornoemd.

Batavia, *De Secretaris,*
17 juny 1831. HENDRIK BETH.

Fig. 5.39: Advertisement in the Javaasche Courant*, 21-6-1831, announcing the inauguration of the new Freemasons' Hall of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia. Collection: National Library, The Hague. Reproduced from: delpher.nl.*

Table 5.U: Freemasons' Halls in Batavia

Lodge	Location	Data	Architect
La Choisie	Heerenlogement	1763-1769	
La Fidèle Sincérité	Rented gardens	1767-1775	
	Amanusgracht	1775-1815	
	Tijgersgracht	1815-1818	
	Jacatraweg	1818-1837	J.H. Horst
La Vertueuse	Rented gardens	1769-1778	
	Kormandelswijk	1778-1783	
	Rented gardens	1783-1785	
	Moorish Hospital grounds	1786-1829	F.A. Heilman
	Vrijmetselaarsweg (I)	1829-1837	J. Tromp
De Ster in het Oosten	Vrijmetselaarsweg (I)	1837-1855	J. Tromp
	Vrijmetselaarsweg (II)	1856-1934	D. Maarschalk
	Bisschopsplein	1934-1960	ir. N.E. Burhoven Jaspers

Indeed, on 22-4-1837 Van Sevenhoven pointed to the 'fading interest, which the Lodges in this East experienced during their work', and the fact that the number of freemasons in Batavia was no longer large enough to sustain two lodges.[628] Van Sevenhoven therefore called a meeting on 29-4-1837, to discuss a solution.[629] Eventually a committee was formed to prepare a merger to take place in 1837.[630] For the members of La Fidèle Sincérité, the distance between the members' homes and the current lodge building was a problem. They also had little funds and less members as a result of both the Java War and the investment in the new building. Although in case of a merger they would not give up their lodge colour and dispute the anciennity of La Vertueuse, in principle the members were not opposed to the plan. Having learned something from the persistent rivalry of the past, it was decided not to dissolve one lodge for the benefit of the other, but instead to have them both dissolve and found a new lodge, under the name De Ster in het Oosten (The Star in the East). Whereas in the past it had been fashionable to give lodges French names, after the end of the French rule over the Netherlands, new lodges were given Dutch names.[631]

♦ *Lodge De Ster in het Oosten (1837-present)*

The Constitution of the new lodge De Ster in het Oosten which would now count 87 members, was dated 19-6-1837.[632] Van Sevenhoven installed the new lodge on the same day, also the celebration of St. John's Day.[633] Penning Nieuwland was the Worshipful Master of the new lodge until 1839. A speech given on this occasion by Orator Frederik van Teutem (1786-1842) was published in the Dutch masonic yearbook of 1839, and is remarkable because it acknowledged - after 70 years of disagreement on the subject - the founding of La Fidèle Sincérité in 1767.[634] This must have been a gesture towards the members of that lodge, in order to smooth over whatever animosity may have remained. It seems the lodges elsewhere in the Dutch East Indies were not formally informed of the merger until 30-4-1838.[635] Dominique Jacques de Eerens (1781-1840), governor-general between 1836 and 1840, would also become a member of the lodge.

Between 1839 and 1841 Worshipful Master of the lodge was Johan Schill (died 1852). In 1843 he wrote down the history of freemasonry in the Dutch East Indies up until 1837 in the manuscript *Gedenkboek voor de Javasche Broederschap der Orde*, which included an appendix with an overview of all the members since the foundation of La Choisie.[636] His manuscript was edited by [Johan?] De Waal in 1852-1853, but never got published as intended.[637] It would however be used by many later masonic historians as the basis of commemorative publications. It also provides a fitting end to the overview of lodge histories for this chapter.

■ *Freemasons' Hall at the Bisschopsplein*

By 1837, La Fidèle Sincérité was preparing to merge with La Vertueuse. It was decided that all the possessions of both lodges would become property of the new lodge De Ster in het Oosten, and any surplus would be sold. The building of La Vertueuse at the Vrijmetselaarsweg was valued again in order to settle the accounts between the two lodges. La Fidèle Sincérité would now own half of the total estate, valued at



Fig. 5.40: W.J. Olland, photograph of the Freemasons' Hall of lodge De Ster in het Oosten in Batavia, ca. 1870. The statue of Silence is clearly visible in the gallery. Collection: KITLV, Leiden, inv.no. 100898. Reproduced from: media-kitlv.nl.

fl 8.000,-.[638] The building of La Vertueuse would continue to be used by the new lodge, De Ster in het Oosten. By 1845 the temple, which had been in use since 1831, was found to be in a bad condition, and needed to be renovated.[639]

Ten years later, the building was pulled down, in favor of a new Freemasons' Hall (fig. 5.40), probably designed by David Maarschalk (1829-1886), the later inspecteur-general of railways.[640] The first stone was laid at the Vrijmetselaarsweg on 19-12-1856, but the formal consecration did not take place until 24-6-1858.[641] During the building works, the lodge met in a bamboo barrack on the plot.[642] The foundation stone of the 1786 building was once more transported and relaid, this time covered with a commemorative plate.[643] This new Freemasons' Hall would be used until 26-2-1934. It is now the Kimia Farma Apotik building on the Jalan Budi Utomo.

5.3. The material culture of the lodges on Java explored





Fig. 5.41: Simon Fokke, engraving of Silence*, frontispiece of the Almanach des Francs-Maçons (ed. 1769). Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Photograph: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.*
Fig. 5.42: Statue of De Stilzwijgendheid from the Freemasons' Hall in Batavia, bronze, ca. 1856. Reproduced from: 100 jaren *1937, n. pag.*

In the former paragraphs, the building of masonic halls and their inventories were introduced. The material culture of the lodges on Java, in particular the main two on Batavia, now deserves to be explored in more detail. This can be done like a walk through a lodge building, from the exterior to the interior. This furnishment of the building then be will be discussed per category: wall and ceiling decorations, furniture and ritual objects, as well as the regalia stored in the lodge. Lastly, we will look at objects reserved for the higher degrees, as well as the necessities for the table lodge and post-ritual gatherings.

♦ *Exterior decorations*

There is no information on sculpture or other permanent decoration on the exterior of buildings used by La Fidèle Sincérité. The Freemasons' Hall built by La Vertueuse did have at least one permanently visible masonic symbol incorporated in its exterior design. The frontispiece of the building on the Moorish Hospital grounds erected in 1786, carried 'a wooden statue, after proportion & depicting The Silence'. The aforementioned Heilman, responsible for the execution of the building and overseer of the stonemasons' and sculptors' workplace, may well have been responsible for this too.

As lodges met in secret, Silence was one of the masonic virtues. In fact, the motto of the Dutch Order to which La Vertueuse belonged was *Silentio et Fide* (Silence and Fidelity). From 1769 onwards, several editions of Dutch masonic almanacs had a depiction of Silence as a frontispiece (fig. 4.41). The first is signed 'La Bien Aimée inv[entit]' and 'R.G. Robart Del[eneavit], suggesting the original design was made by Georg Remi Robart, a member of and/or commissioned by the Amsterdam lodge La Bien Aimée. The plate for the almanacs was made by the well-known Dutch engraver S[imon] Fokke (1712-1784).[644] As the wooden statue was lost, it's not clear if it may have been inspired by this print, well known among Dutch freemasons. The statue was replaced after the merger of the lodges into De Ster in het Oosten (1837). A bronze statue depicting Silence was kept on the front gallery of the Freemasons' Hall on the

Vrijmetselaarsweg, and later transported to the inner yard of that on the Bisschopsplein (fig. 4.42).[645] The building of lodge De Ster in het Oosten would carry a five-pointed star in the tympanum of the facade, as a reference to its name.

Both La Fidèle Sincérité and La Vertueuse were known to put up temporary decorations on the facade of their buildings for specific festive occasions. For instance, the description of an Adoption lodge held on 23-11-1804 by La Fidèle Sincérité mentions that the building on the Amanusgracht was 'illuminated', decorated with masonic symbols that were lit up for dramatic effect. Receipts show that, by the time the lodge had moved to the Jacatraweg, workmen were hired to prepare these decorations. On 26-2-1821: 'the Native Borame [for] the Illumination on St. John's Day f 240,-'[646], and on 17-8-1823: 'to the Native Bozarhan for the making of the illumination and delivering oil for the same on the St. John's festival', fl. 451,-.[647] Similarly in 1825: 'to the native Jahvedien for delivered oil, Bamboo, Coolies &c at the illumination of the 24 June 1825 f 481,5'.[648] (Judging by the names, these were not the usual Chinese employed by the lodge, perhaps members of the Muslim community on Java?)

From such short notes, which occur in the financial records yearly or even twice yearly around summer and/or winter St. John's Day, it is clear that the illumination was made of bamboo and oil lamps, quite worrying by modern safety standards. A receipt from 1-7-1827 mentions '3 Sheets Metal f 2' and 'For the engraving or Cutting of Letters in the Same f 6'[649], suggesting these letters were used to spell the name of the lodge or a masonic motto.[650] In 1828 a man called Barodien was paid for arranging the illumination, about which the receipt provides some details:

for making in order the Lodge of St. John's Day	
Coolie Salary for [moving] Chairs Benches Bell Shades	
Paintings Crowns and Carpet and hanging of the same with garlands	f 74
Nails, chain, agal agal for the garlands[,] hanging Mirrors and Paintings	16
For the Renting of A wagon on 26 June 1828	f 7[651]

By the 1830s, the spectacle seems to also have included some painted and other elements. For instance, on 25-6-1832 a payment of fl. 20,- in copper money was made 'for a Sasinet [= window blind] in the Illumination of St. John and the Borrowing of three Niches'[652], while for the illumination itself another fl. 289,- was spent.[653]

La Vertueuse also regularly organised illuminations of its Freemasons' Halls on special occasions. The financial records show similar expenses for these highly flammable features. For instance, on 26-6-1805 the overseer Tjoa Kulks received a receipt for 'the Illumination of the yellow Lodge' on the Moorish Hospital grounds, covering expenses for:

600 Bamboos	30 rds
10 Bunches Cane	6
11 Tin oil Cans	15
600 earthenware Lamps	18
Lamp wicks	10
Adap [= leaf roof covers]	2
50 *Catjes* [= measures] Small candles	30
40 *Takkars* [= measures] Lamp oil	105
37 Coconut Falkens [= fakkels = torches?]	4
For Coolie wages of 339 at 1 rds per day	250[654]

For the celebration of St. John's Day in July 1813, necessities were hired or borrowed by La Vertueuse. The financial records mention the costs for the hiring of wagons and transporting a table service from a Miss Lutgouw, cleaning it and returning it.[655] Also listed was the transport of furniture borrowed from La Fidèle Sincérité, and silver wares from the house of Van Romswinckel. Other expenses included the hiring of servants, including 10 coolies who had to serve at night, and replacing broken dishes and missing napkins. From 9 until 26 June, a total of 120,48 Spd was paid for another 19 days work by mandurs and 531 days by coolies, some at night.[656] Two Chinese painters were hired for 3,- Spd. Receipts for '2 wooden stars A Lamp

and Two front peaks Sp 4,-', as well as '800 bamboo and 15 rotting [= a type of rattan] ad 39½ Spd' to lieutenant Taban Arab were presumably for decoration of the lodge or another illumination.[657]

Although this was a frequently repeated summer event, there are frustratingly few descriptions of these spectacles. On 24-6-1815 St. John's Day was celebrated together with La Fidèle Sincérité, at which occasion 'the building was to be illuminated on the outside, and decorated in masonic fashion on the inside in such a way, as the space and the [yellow] colour of the Lodge would permit'.[658] For St. John's Day on 24-6-1818, again celebrated together with La Fidèle Sincérité, it was decided: 'Just within the Fence, a gate with its wings, of bamboo, will be erected and illuminated after a design to be made by the Brother Architect Barthold'.[659]

The tradition of providing illuminations was continued until well into the middle of the 19th century. The most detailed description remaining, dates after the merger of the two lodges. The 75th anniversary of freemasonry in the Dutch East Indies was celebrated in lodge De Ster in het Oosten at the Vrijmetselaarsweg on 16-11-1844 in a grand fashion:

> The front of the building was illuminated, and in the frontispiece glistened the allegorical depiction of the celebrated feast: two acacia sprigs entwined with immortelles [= a type of aster], bound together at the stem and joined on the end, forming a circle, depicting the two lodges la Vertueuse en la Fidele Sincerite, which have become constituted to one workplace; within that circle a shining star, referring to de Ster in het Oosten […], and the middle of the star was adorned with the number 75. The whole was radiant and strewn with masonic symbols.[660]

From the 18th century onwards, these illuminations were conscious public displays, which would draw the attention of the local population. It shows that the lodge was a clearly visible presence in the community and that the maintained secrecy mainly concerned the rituals and the interior of the temple. Although the indigenous population was not (yet) allowed regular membership of the lodge, the members clearly had no problem with showing them the design with masonic symbols prior to the execution of these illuminations.[661]

♦ *Interior decorations*

Unfortunately, there is little, if any, visual documentation on the lodge buildings described above, and most of their contents were lost. That makes it difficult to give visual reference points for the following discussion of lodge interiors and inventories. Non-masonic furniture can be compared to contemporary illustrations, such as the work of Jan Brandes (1743-1808, a preacher who stayed in Batavia between 1779-1785), and contemporary pieces from Dutch museum collections. For the masonic furniture, useful reference points are the aforementioned illustrations of manuscripts such as *Maçonnerie des Hommes* (circa 1782-1792), *Rite Écossais Ancien et Accepté. Décorations et Costumes* (circa 1804-1815), both from the Kloss collection (see chapter 2), as well as a tuileur for the *Rite Français et Rite Écossais* (1850-1875) in the Amsterdam Museum.[662] Together they illustrate the curious combinations of functional, ritual and decorative elements that must have marked masonic interiors in the Dutch East Indies.

When convening in members' houses, the lodges had to make due with whatever space was provided to them. The room used as a temple could be used for initiations as well as for the table lodge. But when the lodges acquired their own buildings, the number of separate rooms with different functions (ritual, social and/or administrative), quickly grew. This also allowed for permanent decorations. Symbolical or allegorical scenes were most fitting for the space used as temple, but overall decorative schemes would follow existing fashions and non-ritual spaces would look very similar to other, 'normal' colonial interiors.

■ *Wall and ceiling decorations*

According to the 1775 inventory of La Fidèle Sincérité, lodge member Van Duyveland loaned '12 paintings in Sorts' to his brethren.[663] The 1781 version of the Amanusgracht omits these items and instead mentions '8 white, and blue decorated [gilded] Angels'.[664] These have no masonic connotation, so perhaps these were simply sculpted decorative putti, painted in the Order's colours. The 1798 inventory includes 'Four Paintings with Gilded Frames' and another 'six paintings'.[665] Only the first four recur up until 1801, and there is no further clue as to their representation. For the temple the 1775 inventory lists '1* Set of Blue



Fig. 5.43: Lodge interior for the degree of Compagnon Écossais, as illustrated in a watercolour in Maçonnerie des Hommes *(1775-1792). Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 10500-3. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.*

Curtains for the Master's Lodge'.[666] Colour symbolism played an important part in freemasonry, and the simplest way to give the temple colour, was by using curtains or wall hangings. These drapes would be blue for the basic degrees and could be switched to other colours for a particular part of the ritual, or for rituals of the higher degrees (compare figs. 2.92-2.96, 5.43, 5.48, 5.50).

In the inventory of 1798, 'a set of curtains with iron rods' are still listed.[667] But as the lodges prospered, drapes were substituted by or combined with wall and ceiling paintings. Between 1821 and 1824, and again between 1833 and 1837, La Fidèle Sincérité commissioned the artist J[ean] Giraud (also spelled Giroud, Geroud or Chiro) to decorate its temple at the Jacatraweg. A first payment was made on 17-8-1821: 'to the painter Giraud for painting 6 Sculptures f 240'.[668] A receipt shows that this commission concerned six wooden, painted sculptures, to be placed in niches in the temple.[669] On 11-5-1823 Giraud was paid fl. 274,- for 'various Paintworks in the Lodge'.[670] In the accounts for the St. John's Day celebration of 1823, another payment to Giraud for fl. 100,- was not specified further.[671] By 1824 alterations to the throne were made, to be discussed below. A receipt of March 1824, signed by Giraud, mentions '2 Sasinetten painted on Linen at the side of the Throne and at the side of the Doors of the Lodge at f 50 each f 200'.[672] *Sasinettes* are blinds, made from cloth stretched over a wooden frame, usually covering windows to provide shade. Again there is no clue as to their decoration. As these items are not mentioned in the later inventories, they must have been permanent parts of the wall decoration or considered as such. Unfortunately, it was not possible to further identify the artist Giraud, but we will come back to him later.[673]

In 1825 'seven pair white curtains old', 'Some old Silver ribbons & fringe' and 'One Old Black drape' were still listed in the inventory[674], while the 1828 version mentions its replacements:

White Curtains	7
1828 January 1 Newly made	27
Black Wall Hangings (old)	1

1828 January 1 Newly made curtains	14[675]
Pieces of Canvas or Flemish linen	8
1828 March 3 for the Masters' lodge (used)	1
June 7 for Niches to have painted and	
A Large Door for the Masters' Lodge (used)	1
Niches for the Apprentice and Masters' Lodge	
1828 march 3 Had painted by the Brother Kimmel	12
Large Window of Canvas	
1828 June 7 Had painted by the Brother Kimmel	1[676]

These accounts suggest that the niches with sculptures by Giraud were either given background paintings, or replaced by paintings altogether. *Trompe l'oeuil* images or personifications of masonic virtues for instance, would have fitted very well in the decorative scheme of a lodge in this era. The 'door for the Master's Lodge' may be a ritual prop, rather than a decorative element, such as a tracing board for the Master's degree, depicting the door to the Temple. The curtains and niche paintings recur on inventories until the lodge merger in 1837.[677] The painter, R. Kimmel, was a member of La Fidèle Sincérité from 1817 onwards, but could not be identified further.[678]

What about the wall decorations of lodge La Vertueuse? A receipt from 3-4-1784 for a payment made 'to Baerssen', lists:

1 roll white Satin	32:28 [Rds]
19 ditto Lemon yellow Lustring	386:30
5 ditto Peking [= silk]	93:24
2 white ditto	37:19
20 Pieces Lemon yellow Ribbon narrow	49:13
5 ditto wide	14:3[679]

As mentioned earlier, lemon yellow was the distinguishing colour of the lodge, and was in the temple decoration combined with white, rather than the traditional blue of the Order, which must have given the lodge interior a very bright and sunny character. Satin and silk, ribbons and bullion were used for the drapes in the temple (as well as the upholstery of the throne and the members' regalia). Most textiles would have been imported from nearby China and India. A series of receipts in 1788-1789 for payments to Rhei Tjien Tjoean for 'varnishing the Lodge' on the Moorish Hospital grounds and other paintworks mention red, vermilion and dark red paints.[680] Combined with the yellow lodge colour this either suggests a very vivid decorative colour scheme, or work done specifically for the higher degrees, such as the *Écossais* lodge.

Around the same time, Daniel Adriaan Beeckman (1747-1796?), former merchant and 1st Administrator of the Westside Warehouses and lodge Almoner, was about to leave for the Netherlands, where he would give the Grand Lodge a report on developments within La Vertueuse. The minutes of 4-9-1788 recorded how Beeckman:

> […] to show his appreciation to the Lodge had generously offered at his arrival in the Netherlands, for his own account, to have made as an ornament to the Lodge the necessary wall hangings between the windows of our Temple building; nothing was handed to him that would [direct] the size and description in which way and taste he must have these painted, so it was communicated, to the making of one and other commited, and to request the Brethren Coortsen and Heijleman and Fetmenger and to command them while forming of the drawing to be mindful, that the same will have to consist of Masonic Emblems in order to be given to Brother Beeckman.[681]

A report of the committee instated for this purpose, noted that the temple measured a height of 16 foot and 6 thumbs, and that the walls were covered in wainscoting, 2 feet high, from the floor until the window sills. In total, 16 pendants of 10 feet high and different widths would have to be made. The committee suggested: 'if it would not be right, to ask the brother Beeckman, to have trophies, or festoons painted in these fields in the [distinguishing] colour of this Lodge being a white ground with yellow'.[682] La Vertueuse sent Beeckman, who had already left, a letter with a design and measures on 15-9-1788 with the ship De

Goede Verwachting under captain Tijmen de Sweet, emphasizing 'We will not decide how we will want these painted, but will leave such utterly to Your choice and approval'.[683] But the members changed their mind, so on 19-2-1789 a duplicate letter with a 'more improved plan' was sent after Beeckman with the warship De Beschermer through the gentleman B. Treijkenius. This plan now included 'by the Brother Heijlman made ready, the enclosed drawing of the Lodge, showing in which manner, the hangings should be painted'.[684] The design did not survive. Beeckman either never received the letters or was unable to make good on his promise, because La Vertueuse never heard from him again.

Meanwhile, the financial records of La Vertueuse noted a payment on 1-12-1789 'For the buying of 22 Pieces of Chinese Linen and Painting Black of the Masters' Lodge' for 66 Rds.[685] In 1790 'twelve curtains for the Lodge' were ordered from the widow Crana[ch?] for 30 Rds.[686] According to the minutes of 19-2-1791 the members agreed 'for a sum of Rd 350,- to have the lodge painted inside, and outside'.[687] A receipt dated 9-6-1791 records a payment to Gyt Aig Sie Ako for 'varnishing and gilding the garden on the road to Jaccatra', which lists both white and purple paints, as well as gilding, again suggesting vivid decorations.[688] Another 150 Rds was spent on 3-12-1791 for 'painting the Master Lodge'.[689] Such brief descriptions are difficult to interpret. This either concerns very frequent upkeep (the lodge had just been painted black in 1789) or the word 'lodge' should here be interpreted as 'tracing board', which would make the involvement of Chinese painters all the more interesting.

La Vertueuse contacted the Grand Lodge in The Hague between 1792 and 1794, asking Grand Court Master Carel Jacobus Mohr to look into the Beeckman affair.[690] Mohr replied on 19-5-1794, stating he knew nothing of Beeckman, but offering to take care of the paintings himself if La Vertueuse would send him the design and information on their budget.[691] He suggested:

> If Your Honourable would be inclined to buy a fine painting as an ornament to Your Honourable Lodge, there is an opportunity to buy a very fine piece being a Vanitas and Lamplight by one of the famous Masters for a reasonable price, a hundred daalders were asked for it, but it would be obtainable for fifty Rijksdaalders […].[692]

La Vertueuse did not respond to his offer. As their first attempt had only resulted in a six year delay to the finishing of the temple decorations, the lodge now wisely contacted a local painter. The lodge commissioned 'the able French painter named Piron' to make twelve 'emblematic paintings'.[693] Their subjects were recorded in the lodge minutes of 19-5-1795:

> In the first three fields La Sagesse, la Force, la beaute et la Vertu
> in the two middle fields La Charite et la Concorde
> The three next La Prudence, l'Esperance, la Justice & la Paix
> Besides the door; La Vertu, le silence Ou la mystere, le sevat [savant?]
> […] the Grand Master Communicates to have had Mediation for Piron
> And having given him 200 spanish dollars.[694]

In other words, these were a series of masonic virtues: Wisdom, Strength, Beauty and Virtue; Charity and Concord; Prudence, Hope, Justice and Peace; Virtue (in a double role) and Silence.[695] Receipts dated 29-8 and 2-10-1795 list payments for 'the cameo shields 158,8 paper money', which probably relates to Piron's commission, and 'the chinese painter 141,24 paper money', which may relate to more general maintenance.[696] The 1796 inventory listed more newly acquired decorations: 'In the Masters' Lodge […] 4 large Emblems or Allegorical paintings'.[697] It seems likely these too were made by Piron, together matching the total of 16 fields as originally pointed out to Beeckman. They are included in all later inventories.

The painter Jean (also known as Nicolas) Piron was from Belgian descent and came to the East Indies as part of a French scientific rescue expedition.[698] In 1791 the ships La Recherche and L'Espérance were deployed to Asia to find the missing explorer Jean-François de la Pérouse (1741-1788?), but their journey was without success. A later report on the expedition by J.-J. H de Labillardière, *Atlas pour servir à la relation du voyage a la recherche de la Perouse […]* (Paris 1800), included Piron's drawings of landscapes and local flora.[699] By September 1793 the French ships landed in Batavia and learned of the Revolution and wars in Europe, causing unrest between the monarchists and the republicans aboard. The Dutch disarmed the ships, capturing the French republicans, including Piron. There are indications that freemasons among

them, members of the lodges Des Quinze Artistes, La Triple Esperance, La Paix and Les Vingt-Un in Mauritius, appealed to the lodges in Batavia for support.[700] This may have worked, because after some time, the prisoners of war were allowed to reside in Semarang and some were even employed by the Dutch government. Piron was privately commissioned by commissioner general Nederburgh to paint the landscapes of Java for him, starting on 15-9-1794 for 100 Rds per month.[701] It was contractually agreed that Piron would not work for others and he was given papers to freely travel around, but it remains unclear what the results of this commission were. During his stay on Java, Piron probably painted portraits of Engelhard and his wife.[702]

The records of La Vertueuse show Piron worked for the lodge about half a year after his commission by Nederburgh. Perhaps his contractual obligation had already finished, they had parted ways for some other reason, or an exception was made to allow this work for the lodge. Lodge member Carel van Naersen made costs on 26-7-1795 for 'housing of Piron at Molenvliet of La Vertueuse'.[703] By the end of 1795 Piron had left Batavia for Manilla and Canton, as is apparent from his correspondence with fellow lodge member Isaac Titsingh, by then stationed in China as a diplomat.[704] Nederburgh himself would be initiated as freemason in 1798 (see lodge De Goede Hoop discussed above).

Piron's masonic paintings were in use for a long time. They occur in lodge inventories from 1796 onwards, later specified as 'nailed to the wall'.[705] When La Vertueuse moved to the Vrijmetselaarsweg on 27-6-1831, the paintings were also transferred. Even after the merger of the two lodges into De Ster in het Oosten in 1837 the members wanted to hold on to them. Schill's *Gedenkboek* (1843) noted how 'these scenes on windows of canvas, currently hang in the two downstairs rooms of the Lodge and are still admired as Masterpieces of Art'.[706] Likewise, Hageman noted in 1866 that they were in good condition[707], and the *Gedenkboek* (1917) noted they were 'partially still present'.[708] It is not clear if any of them survived beyond the Second World War.

Financial records provide little information on decorations in later years. A receipt dated 1-7-1805 notes a payment to the 'Chinese painter' Sie Entang, for repairs and paintworks to 'the Yellow Lodge', mentioning that the ceiling of the lodge building was painted blue.[709] A further clue to the colour scheme is provided in the minutes of 18-1-1806. The members decided:

> […] both below, as above will be wholly painted, after the adopted Colour of this [lodge] [= yellow], and the border-work gilt; Furthermore the doors, Window Sills etc; green on the outside and the ceiling of the downstairs apartments sky blue.[710]

This corresponds with a receipt dated 13-3-1806 by VOC cashier Barends to 'overseer of Carpentry and repairs' Johannis Jongkind (the lodge Architect) for paints bought from the Company's store, the *Kleine winkel*:

800 ld Lead White at	f 8 t ld	rds	161,30
40 Spanish green	2,5		45,22
100 King's yellow	17,12		44,40
50 Red Primer	3,4		4,5
6 Berlin blue	4,12		13,45'.[711]

A receipt for 210 Rds, dated 26-1-1813, 'for the painting of the ceiling boards' and 'black painting of a canvas' was signed by 'Tjoa Tongsong'.[712] A 'Memo on Goods for the Furnishing and Decoration of the Lodge At the occasion of the St. John's festival and otherwise, which have been given into Custody of the undersigned brother Steward and stored in His House to prevent Damage', dated 31-8-1816, lists:

> 2 Large Yellow *Talbelaars* brought Together from three people's Yellow Carsay
> 88 ell Fringe belonging to the Talbelaars
> 220 " bees yellow ditto ditto ditto
> 30 white tassels ditto ditto ditto
> 30 pieces white Chinese linen making 12 Pieces Curtains For the Glasses
> 120 Ell Fringe belonging to the Curtains[713]



Fig. 5.44: Detail of a lodge banner, marking the names and dates of the four lodges in Batavia, 1837. Silk embroidered with metal thread. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 5653*. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.*

Carsay or *karsaai* was a type of twilled woollen cloth. The word *talbelaars* may be a misspelling of *tabliers* or aprons. Perhaps oversized aprons were used as banners? Banners were regularly displayed in lodges and in the 19th century photographs often show them placed near the throne of the Worshipful Master. Banners were also carried in masonic processions, like the ones described above at the inauguration of the lodge building. Little other changes to the interior decoration scheme were recorded until the merger of the lodges in 1837. The lodge banner made that year, listing the names and successive founding years of La Choisie, La Fidèle Sincérité, La Vertueuse and De Ster in het Oosten, survives in the collection of the CMC, albeit in a poor condition (fig. 5.44).

♦ *Throne and officers' furniture*

As discussed in chapter 2, the chair of the Worshipful Master was one of the most important pieces of furniture in the lodge, both serving a ritual purpose and being a symbol of authority, and would therefore be given the richest decoration. Early masonic illustrations show that in Europe ceremonial chairs with detachable headpieces were used after British examples. Later in the 18th century, the Worshipful Master's seat was elevated and came to rest on a podium or set of steps, and was to be crowned with a dais or canopy in order to resemble a (royal) throne. The chairs of the most important officers, such as the Wardens, would also be visibly distinguished of those of regular members in either colour, form or decoration. Lodge inventories list the officers' furniture as more elaborately upholstered than those of other members, often in combination with cushions or table covers. The seats of regular members were often painted in the lodge colour or the symbolic colour of the degree in which they worked.

The 1775 inventory of La Fidèle Sincérité lists the furniture used in the building at the Amanusgracht. These include 36 and 21 'chairs in sort' for members and officers (reflecting the number of members and regular visitors), as well as tables, candle-stands (*torchières,* fig. 5.52) and chests for storage.[714] Just as the decorative drapes, most furniture was painted blue for the basic degrees or black for the Master and/or the *Élu* degrees. 'Three sided Benches' are the first of many triangular objects appearing in the inventories, as geometric symbolism was common in lodge interiors. It is, however, not always clear which furniture was meant for the temple and which for the table lodge (discussed below), as in this early stage one room could have combined both functions.



Fig. 5.45: Jan Brandes, Tea visit in a European house in Batavia, 1779-1785. The women are sitting on round-back chairs typical for the East Indies, a tea stand between them, with a spittoon on the floor to the left. Watercolour over pencil drawing, 15.5 x 19.5 cm. Collection: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, NG-1985-7-2-15. Reproduced from: rijksmuseum.nl



Fig. 5.46: Armchair. Batavia, 1775-1800. Satinwood and cane, height 96.5 x width 59 x depth 57 cm. Reproduced from: Röell/Viljoen 2013 A, no. 31.
Fig. 5.47: Round back chair, Batavia, 18th century. Teak and tamarind, cane, height 87 x width 63 x depth 63 cm. Reproduced from: Röell/Viljoen 2011, no. 24.



Fig. 5.48: Lodge for the Élu des Quinze *(10th degree), as illustrated in the manuscript* Rite Écossais Ancien et Accepté, Décorations et Costumes*, ca. 1804-1815. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 16107. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.*

While a 'throne table painted blue' and a 'throne table painted black' were already mentioned in the inventory of 1775, the Master's seat must have been counted among the many unspecified chairs.[715] This changed in the 1781 inventory, of which several annotated versions exist. These mention presents to the lodge by Pieter Aneas de Win, who became a member in 1771 and in daily life held the office of Vice President of the College of Orphan Masters (*Weesmeesteren*). His gifts to La Fidèle Sincérité included:

> A Throne for the worshipful Master
> 3 Grand Chairs as for the Grand Master & 2 for the 1st & 2nd Warden
> 36 Javanese small armchairs
> 1 lectern for the Orator[716]

The financial account of the lodge dated 28-12-1784, however, mentions a payment to De Win 'for the throne 153,24' Rds, meaning either the throne as a whole or the chair placed upon it.[717] This suggests a discount rather than a present. From 1781 onwards, the inventories mention a range of chairs - Chinese, round, long, armchairs and men's chairs, some varnished - which must have been similar to those used in family homes in Batavia and were probably used for other rooms than the temple (see for examples figs. 5.45-5.46).

The financial records show that the upholstery of the throne was regularly renewed or adapted. On 13-6-1787 the account mentions:

> To the Carpenter paid for the making of the Throne 320,-
> To the Painter paid 100,-
> […] Various expenses for the roof of the Throne 103,-.[718]

Here it is indicated for the first time that the throne had a 'roof', a canopy or dais, in the form of drapes supported by a raised wooden frame. Such an investment usually marked the transition from ambulant furniture to a permanent temple with fixed elements (compare figs. 2.89, 2.92-2.96, 5.43, 5.48, 5.50).

Unfortunately, data for the next decade are missing. The inventory of 1798 listed 'A large chair painted blue', as well as a 'A Black varnished and Silver Master's Throne and a Chair covered with Black Satin and silver fringe'.[719] The same inventory mentions 'a square table covered in white satin' most likely the Worshipful Master's table. In 1801 these items are repeated, adding 'two wall shades for the Grand [= Worshipful] Master, of which one damaged' and 'five cushions in sort'. The 'three large blue chairs with Cushions' no doubt refer to the officers' seats. The use of satin and padding shows that the furnishings were getting more comfortable and luxurious. In 1798, 'A large silver star' was also added to the inventory.[720] This was possibly a decoration for the throne, placed above the Master's chair on the canopy or on the wall above it (compare figs. 2.93 and 5.43). There is another gap in the data until 1819, when tables for the Treasurer and Secretary were added to the same set of officers' furniture, as well as '1 Silk Curtain for the Throne of the Grand Master with its belongings'.[721] From the same year dates a ritual for a mourning lodge, in memory of Past Master Lamberger. The plan for the ceremony includes a description of the temple, which was covered in black and black candles were sed for this occassion.[722]

During a meeting on 13-6-1822 lodge member Boekhoff proposed that a number of chairs in the Portal were 'unseatable'.[723] He was permitted to purchase four dozen chairs at 6,- per piece, as well as four 'distinctive' chairs.[724] A receipt dated 19-10-1822 lists what is probably the upholstery of the Wardens' chairs:

For the making in order of 2 chairs	
For the covering and embroidering of the same	14,-
3 Ell Dark Blue Satin	6,-
5 Ell Light " "	15,-
Silver Sequins and Silver thread	3,-
Copper Nails	6,-
17 Ell Silver Lacing at 1 Spanish Dollar	f 37,12'[725]

On 5-1-1823 the Master of Furniture was reimbursed fl. 108,- for the painting and gilding of the six dozen other chairs.[726] Minutes of the meeting on 21-3-1823 mention preparations for the celebration of St. John's Day and the fact that 'the Worshipful Master [Maurisse] has because of his own offer been qualified to have such changes made to the Throne as [he] will see fit'.[727] This must have concerned the employment of the aforementioned painted Giraud, as a financial overview of 7-2-1824 mentions a payment to him for 'the making of Satin Curtains for the Throne'.[728] The accompanying receipt notes a payment for 'the head piece', costing fl. 150,-.[729] It suggest the Worshipful Master's chair (still) had a detachable decoration, as seen on early images of lodge interiors (see chapter 2). At that time, the lodge had financial problems and put pressure on members late with their contributions, in order to cover the costs.

By 1825, the list of officers' furniture was as follows:

1 One table for the Grand Master	|
1 One ditto " Treasurer	|- with silk coverings
1 One ditto " Secretary	|
[…] 1 One Chair for the Master	
2 Two ditto for the Wardens	
2 Two distinction Chairs	
1 Lectern	
2 One pair of Curtains for the throne; blue silk Cloth[730]	

After a break of nine years Giraud would be employed again in 1833, this time by the Chapter of La Fidèle Sincérité, discussed below. On 28-5-1835 he was hired again by the lodge of the basic degrees, as is clear from an advance of fl. 600,- silver for 'work accepted' by him. This was a large sum for a lodge that at the time had little means. On one of the receipts is a scribble in pencil, probably made by the worried Treasurer: 'Can we afford this? And can I approve this?'[731] Again Giraud delivered the decoration and upholstery for a new throne. From this we can deduce that he was probably more of an interior decorator than an artist, and that some of the work may have been carried out by assistants. The bill included:

[…] 3 Pieces flemish Linen for the sides of the Throne and within	60.-
for the Painting of 2 Saginetten on Side of the Throne Hercules and Time	100.-
accepted work to bring the New Throne in order	
the raising of the Ceiling	
and painting according to the supplied design agreed for	852.-[732]

The choice of such mythological and allegorical subjects would have fitted equally well in masonic temples in Europe at the time. In a masonic context, Hercules could represent Strength, while Time could represent Wisdom, leaving another element in the lodge interior to represent Beauty. A last receipt to Giraud, dated 18-7-1836, mentions:

[…] 13 Benches at f 15 silver together	f 195
3 boxes of small Nails for stretching the Canvas	7,50
13 Days for painting the Stretched Canvas	6,50 [...].[733]

This indicates he also delivered the benches to seat the lodge members 'in the Columns'. On 22-4-1835 the lodge wrote a receipt for:

The covering of 67 Chairs with grijn at 50 Cents	33,50
5 Packs copper nails at f 5,-	25,-
2 tatjes [= measure] Small Iron Nails at a f 4 per tatje	8,-
For the Painting varnishing and gilding of three distinctive Chairs 100 Pieces ditto f 1	103,-
For the covering of the Master's[,] Secretary[s and] A Treasurer's Table & the altar	
with Its Cushions a f 8	32,-[734]

Grijn was a particular type of worked woollen cloth, often striped. The receipt suggest the upholstery of the throne, officers furniture and altar was now clearly coordinated as a set. On 4-8-1835 an advance was again paid 'for the painting and covering of the chairs of said Lodge.[735]

The financial records of La Vertueuse give information about its throne, predating its inventories. The earliest receipt dates from 29-6-1771 and was made out by lodge member D. Hasselaar to the Chinese Li Ongko for '12 […] Chairs, whereby varnished and gilt rds 104,-'.[736] The financial records of 18-9-1777 show a reimbursement of 77 Rds to member Van Stockum 'for 12 red varnished and gilt chairs for use of the Lodge'.[737] The 1779 inventory showed the purchase of '42 Javanese Chairs at 2 1/3 rd each', '3 blue Chintz bench mattresses with their cushions' and '30 ditto chair cushions'.[738] *Chintz* was a painted type of cotton, exported from India (see for example fig. 5.49) and so desirable it was copied by European factories. The number of chairs again gives some indication of the capacity of the lodge to welcome members and visitors.

On 6-9-1781, the following payments were made for meetings, presumably in the house Kormandelswijk:

For the throne paid according to receipt		60:--:-
to the haberdasher Hanke for 12 @ golden fringes		60:--:-
the Chinese	for 32 @ gold bullion of 12	96:--:-
	for 272 @ watered moiré [= silk]	
	102 sonal [= measure?] gold bullion	46:--:-
[…] rent of black cloth to decorate the Lodge at master Ritual		
idem the chamber of reflection at several reception of Apprentices		60:--:-.[739]

On 24-5-1783 a payment was made for 'covering the Lodge with black cloth, black chairs and ribbons'.[740] Another overview dated 9-3-1784 lists: '3 English Candlesticks on the Throne [Rds] 18:--:-'.[741] The financial records noted on 3-9-1784 'Adam kesk for 24 Chairs 40:-' and 'Steenbergen for House furniture [Rds] 150:'.[742]

'A Grand Master's Chair' is first mentioned in the 1787 inventory of La Vertueuse, later specified as 'painted yellow and gilded'.[743] For the new Freemasons' Hall on the Moorish Hospital grounds, inaugurated



Fig. 5.49: Part of a palempore (ornately decorated textile or bed cover) with a pattern of flowers and birds. India, 1750. Printed cotton, 270 x 184 cm. Collection: Textielmuseum, Tilburg, inv.no. 00101. Reproduced from: textielmuseum.nl.

in the same year, a brand new throne was made. The inventory dated 27-12-1787 provides a detailed description of the investment made in materials and labour:

Varnishing the Throne and the Portal, and the delivered gold-varnish	[Rds] 286
[…] For the making of the Throne the Woodwork	300
For decoration of the same	
35 Ell gold-Gauze	106:24
13 ounce large Sequins	69
9 " Small "	24
14 Ell gold Cord	14:24
A Roll yellow Pangsie	8
10 Rolls white Cloak cloth	260
10 Strings Gold thread	30
10 Leaves gold-Foil	23:16
19 Ell gold Fringe	95
4 pieces Gold Tassels	20
35 Ell gold-Braid	29:8
2 ½ Rolls white Armozijn	60
for various Trifles	30:32
" labour to Miss Cra[n]casta	500
" the fine Painting of the Sun	100
[…] An Orator's chair	
[…] A square Table on the Throne	
Two triangular tables [for the Wardens]	
All three with their covers of white armozijn	
[…] 2 Curtains of the old Throne […]. [744]	

Pangsie was a type of Chinese silk.[745] Here too, the throne had a canopy, with white and yellow drapes (reflecting the lodge colour, instead of the traditional blue) and gold accents. In the French Rite practised by the Dutch, it was common to paint the sun and moon on the wall on both sides of the throne, as can still be seen on the first photographs of lodge interiors in Batavia (figs. 5.143 and 5.147). Less common was the depiction of a sun above the Worshipful Master's seat on the canopy or on the cloth hanging down from his

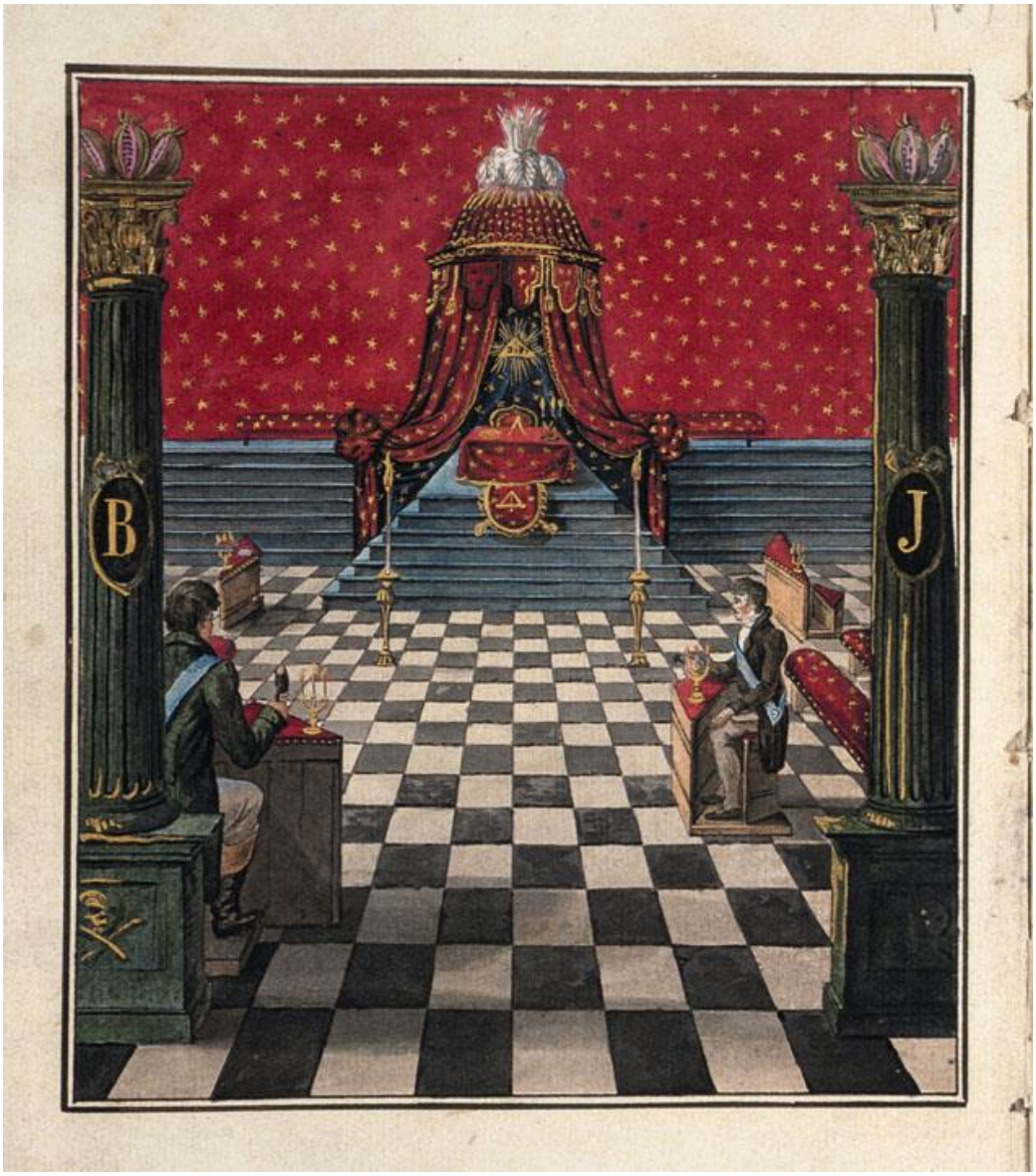


Fig. 5.50: Lodge for the Grade d'Apprentif, 1er du Rite Écossais ancien et accepté, *ca. 1800-1810. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no 16152. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.*

table.[746] The 1787 inventory also included '48 round men's chairs', '46 Long ditto' and '32 Cushions of yellow Silk' for officers, members and visitors.[747] Separate chairs for the Wardens were not mentioned until the 1790 version. Most of this and other furniture was painted yellow and gilded.

La Vertueuse regularly appointed committees to undertake repairs and purchases. A report by such a committee dated 7-5-1789 notes: 'that it is necessary, for the rise to the throne a Canvas flap has to be made in order to protect the goldthread for the Strength of the air [= rust] and the throne in general for decay'.[748] A year later, the cushions needed replacing. In 1792 it was noted that the Orator's chair 'could be sold and another machine of less complexity could be made', as was indeed done.[749] This was later specified as a 'Metal Orator's lectern'.[750]

The inventory of La Vertueuse of 1794 mentions only 'The Throne and its decorations', but 'with three ornaments more on the master's chair'.[751] This is reminiscent of the headpieces depicted in early drawings of lodge interiors, such as that of Nicolaas Maas (see fig. 2.67). It also lists a 'Standing or reverberating or lighting machine with 7 lamps', kept behind the throne.[752] On 27-12-1794 Worshipful Master Van de Weerth proposed to have the upholstery replaced, because the bullion had oxidized and the

size of the throne [canopy] had an adverse effect on the acoustics.[753] Lodge Architect Josi and member Reinst were commissioned to oversee the work.

The inventory of 1796 added '[…] 2 Small hanging bell shades, belonging above the throne'.[754] An undated receipt from the same time noted 'For painting Black the old Curtains of the throne of the Lodge, for use of this Throne in the Masters' Lodge 20,- [Rds]', a further 14,12 Rds for silk, ribbons, nails and wages, as well as 'for the gilding of a Sun and the silver plating of a Lantern 10,- [Rds]'.[755]

From 1792 onwards, the inventories describe a space as the 'Masters' lodge' as well as the regular temple. It is not until 1797, that a substantial amount of furniture for this Masters' lodge was described, including:

> 1 large Master's chair, painted Black and Silverplated
> 2 Wardens Chairs, ditto ditto ditto
> […] 2 wooden black painted Triangular Tables
> […] 1 Black Satin Cloth embroidered with Silver
> […] 3 ditto New Pillow Covers[756]

This shows it in fact concerned a second temple, entirely decorated in black and silver, which suggests it could be used by both the third and the *Élu* degrees.

Later inventories provide little new information. On 3-9-1806 the lodge minutes recorded another proposal to 'have the Throne in the room of the Apprentice Lodge renewed' and the reservation of a large budget of 1000 Rds.[757] The minutes of 27 October show that members Zwekkert and Gerlach saw to the 'renewal of the upholstery'.[758] Lodge Architect Jongkind had hired an 'Inland Christian' for 25 Rds to make sure 'no paint was stolen' during the work.[759] By 1807, 'two new yellow painted and gilded warden's chairs' replaced the old ones[760], and in 1809 'two large footstools' were added for comfort.[761] By 1816, all the table covers were renewed.[762] In 1818 it was decided '1 Metal Orator's Lectern' and 26 chairs should be sold, while 200 new chairs would be needed.[763] No other notable changes were recorded.

♦ *Lighting scheme*

The inventories show a large amount of light fixtures, ranging from crowns or chandeliers, to silver candle-stands, candle holders and candle sticks, as well as glass lamp shades. Mirrors were not only decorative objects, but also part of the lighting scheme as they reflected the candle flames (see for example of this use in a colonial interior fig. 5.51). In a lodge, however, lamps were not only necessary because activities took place in the evenings in the era before electricity, and because blinds had to close perfectly even in daytime in order to maintain secrecy. They were also essential to create the required solemn moods and dramatic effects during the ritual, in which transformation from darkness to light and the 'seeing of the light' by the candidate played such an important part. Two types of candles were used: beeswax candles and the cheaper *spermaceti* candles, made of the waxy secretion of a particular organ in the cranium of sperm whales.

It is difficult to tell from inventory descriptions, which light fixtures had masonic significance and which could be found in every interior in Batavia. The 1775 inventory of the building on the Amanusgracht, occupied by La Fidèle Sincérité, included items stored 'upstairs in the Lodge', probably referring to the temple, marked with an asterisk:

> 6 pieces.* Silver Triangular candle holders
> […] 10 * Gilded beer glasses as lamps
> […] 27 Triangular [copper] candle holders[764]

The 'triangular' candle holders (literally described as 'three sided') reflect the masonic symbolism, seen before (figs. 2.92-2.96, 5.43, 5.48, 5.50). The silver ones may have been placed on or near the officers' tables. Interesting are the gilded beer glasses, serving as lamps. Drinking glasses for use in a lodge were often engraved with masonic symbols, the engravings then highlighted with gilding. The three large candlesticks one would expect to be placed around the tracing board, cannot be identified clearly in this inventory.



Fig. 5.51: Jan Brandes, Dutch wedding party in Batavia, 1779-1785, The room is lit with light crowns, the candlelight reflected in large mirrors. Watercolour, 20.1 x 33 cm. Collection: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv.no. NG-369. Reproduced from: rijksmuseum.nl.



Fig. 5.52: Candle-stand, Batavia, 18th century. Padouk (wood), lacquered and gilded, height 105.5 cm, diam. cup 21 cm. Reproduced from: Röell/Viljoen 2012, no.26.
Fig. 5.53: Candle-stand, Dutch East Indies, early 18th century. Djati wood, a brass bowl and red lacquer, height 73 cm. Reproduced from: Röell/Viljoen 2013 B, no.21.

The inventory for 1781, of which several versions exist, mentioned substantially less light fixtures, with twelve silver candle holders being loans from lodge members Danroth and Maas.[765] A receipt dated 15-3-1782 shows that the lodge was reimbursed by Maas for fl. 315,42 when 'Six Pieces Silver Lustres' (= mirrors with side-lights) were returned to him.[766] By 1786, the loan from Danroth was scrapped and replaced by 'six Masons Lustres', not specified further (perhaps triangular or made of the same beer glasses as mentioned above?).

While lamps are perhaps not the most exciting objects on the inventories, they illustrate the progress of technique very well and show how the lodges went along with the changing times. The inventory for 1798 again lists a large amount of light fixtures, including copper lanterns of different sizes, candle holders and stands, copper and steel candle snuffs**,** glass bell shades and wall shades, as well as 'four metal English patent Lamps with two branches' showing a significant investment was made to brighten things up. For the table lodge were added 'Nine hollow Candlesticks' (eight round and one square) and 'Five hollow Chirandoles' (= candelabras, table candlesticks with branches), probably meaning plated ones.[767] The items with masonic significance are:

> Four small Lustres with blue frames
> […] Three large stands with Silver candle holders triangular
> Three small stands with Silver candle holders triangular
> Four stands with copper candle holders triangular
> […] Thirteen copper and Some Lead candle holders triangular
> […] A [metal] triangular Lantern and two hourglasses […]
> Six triangular stands

Here, the three large stands with silver candle holders may well be those placed around the tracing board. The addition 'triangular' probably refers to the shape of the foot or that of the dripping bowl for the candle. The triangular lantern may have been intended for the Chamber of Reflection, as it is mentioned in combination with hourglasses, a symbol of fleeting time, which would be a regular prop for that room.[768] The 1801 version shows many of the same items. Added are '2 alabaster hanging bell shades', while more of the simple light fixtures are now mentioned as having a blue colour.

There is a gap in the inventories of nearly two decades, but the financial records noted the purchase of '2 Silver candle sticks' and '2 ditto Chirandoles' for Rds 600,- on 18-7-1810.[769] The 1819 versions of the inventory at the Tijgersgracht includes the following items with masonic significance:

> 5 silver Masonic candle holders on stands
> […] 4 masonic candle snuffs with metal coasters
> […] 1 Metal Lamp behind the Throne
> […] 1 iron lamp for the Dark Chamber
> […] 18 wooden black candlestick stands[770]

It would have been interesting to have a better description of the silver 'masonic' candle holders and candle snuffs, but perhaps they were simply triangular. The black candlesticks were used in the Master or *Élu* degrees. Furthermore, the inventories show that lamps with hooks and spools to raise, lower or move them now allowed for more flexible lighting of the rooms. And by now the table lodge had its own, more elaborate set of candle sticks. The financial records noted that on 2-9-1819 '8 glass crowns' were purchased for 1100 Rupees[771], while on 14-12-1819 mirrors were bought from the estate of the late Worshipful Master Willem Lamberger for fl. 75.[772] A receipt dated 3-9-1822 survived, listing costs made for the cleaning of the lamps:

> 2 Pieces Crowns of 8 lights each at f 10,- per piece f 20
> 1 Piece fine Crown with 12 candles 19
> for its thread 4
> 2 Pieces of white Lamps in the Black Room 7
> 2 Crowns under the galleries 19
> For their thread 4 […]
> However, the Cleaner has repaired 6 pieces stones to the large crown – which have not been billed at f 3,-[773]

A second receipt shows that this concerned 'English' glass chandeliers with white lamps.

Little significant changes were recorded in years leading to the merger in 1837, only fluctuations in numbers as items were broken and replaced. However, the later inventories describe the candle snuffs as metal, not silver, and the accompanying metal coasters as 'lacquered'. It is unclear if that should be



Fig.5.54: Doodle of a candlestick in the minutes of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, 3-11-1818. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

interpreted as a European or Asian style 'varnish' or actual Asian lacquer. On 17-8-1831 the purchase of another lamp was noted: 'Estralie burned Lamp with arms / borrowed since January / silver f 40', to which the Worshipful Master added 'needed for the throne - as I can no longer see by any other light'.[774] *Estralie* is a misspelling of the Dutch *astraal*, meaning a so-called astral or star lamp. This was a type of oil (table) lamp, popular because it burned brighter and lit a larger surface than earlier ones. A last receipt dated 3-2-1837 named Koan Boe Eko as a local craftsman, who repaired a lamp for fl. 9,50.[775]

The 1779 inventory of La Verteuse, including purchases only, lists light fixtures without particular masonic significance, including mirrors, glass bell shades, lanterns and candle sticks.[776] The list does not cover what may have been already present in the lodge building, at that time the house Kormandelswijk. The financial records mention purchases of '12 round lanterns' for 265,- Rds from the estate of Johannes Heim in the same year and the purchase of '12 Lustres' for 240,- Rds in 1783.[777] Likewise, in 1784 '10 pieces of candle sticks' were bought for 52 Rds from Adam Keskel, and '4 ditto metal and one glass' for the lesser sum of 5 Rds.[778]

The 1787 version for the Freemasons' Hall on the Moorish Hospital grounds shows crystal chandeliers, lustres and bell shades were prominent features, but again no items of masonic significance were mentioned.[779] In later years, the numbers varied but the type of lamps used remained similar. The 1788 version added '16 Lacquered Candle sticks', valued at 95,- Rds, which appear on all later inventories.[780] Again it is unclear whether this should be considered as varnished or lacquered, European or Asian. In 1789 a committee overseeing the inventory noted 'that the Eight old Mirrors and Seven pieces of Lanterns […] can be sold, as the undersigned [..] have purchased 12 wall [bell] shades, for a very modest price', being 120 Rds.[781] A glass crown was also acquired for 63 Rds.[782] By 1790 light fixtures were listed per room, which provides a better insight into the overall lighting scheme, but still no masonic items are included. That does not mean any symbolism was absent, just that the inventory maker did not think to remark on it.

A receipt dated 30-4-1792 mentions work done for the lodge, as well 10 Rds per month as wages for one of the hired workmen:

costs for the same 2 candle sticks with each 3 sprouts	4 [Rds]
for Light to the Head costs	1
for making a new Head	5[783]

In the same year, 'two Air Lamps' (an early use of gaslight?) appear in the bar area of the inventory. Later these were described as 'patent lamps, each with two arms and their belongings'.[784] '12 Wall Lanterns with garlands' were present in the dining room. This overview also lists items kept in the space behind the throne, including '1 wall Lantern', and the Masters' Lodge, including '1 large triangular and 6 small Candle stands' and '3 wooden candle stands, each with three branches'.[785] The latter are the three lights around the tracing board, with three branches being customary for the Master's degree. '27 triangular candle holders' were stored in the apartment behind the throne from 1794 onwards.[786] So La Vertueuse did follow the same pattern as La Fidèle Sincérité what its choice of ceremonial lights was concerned.

The lodge sold five of its mirrors in 1795 at public auction, fetching 74,46 Rds.[787] By 1796 '2 copper Lustres on the Columns of the Temple door' and '6 wooden triangular Lustres' in the portal near the stairs were specified in the inventory.[788] In the same year, two lamp ladders or stairs, presumably for lighting or cleaning the light fixtures were added, and it was noted that candle stands of various sizes in the second temple or Masters' lodge were painted black.[789]

On 3-9-1806 the lodge minutes recorded that Architect Jongkind was to arrange replacements 'As the Mirrors and Mirror glasses in the doors of this Temple, by loss of foil, have become an unattractive sight'.[790] '15 triangular metal candle holders' were present in the dining room from 1807 onwards.[791] There were no significant additions in the inventories up until 1816. Later data are scarce, as only the names of members to be reimbursed were noted, not the purchases themselves. Lastly, the Deputy Grand Master presented La Vertueuse with a pair of mirrors worth fl. 96 to the lodge in 1833.[792]

♦ *Ritual objects*

Apart from practical furniture, a lodge would include several objects with a ritual or ceremonial function. As discussed in chapter 2, the most important pieces for the Dutch rite, usually kept in the temple itself, are: a tracing board, the three lights placed around it, an altar carrying the bible and the masonic tools placed upon it, as well as props to enhance the candidate's journey and, by the 19th century, a coffin was added for the Master's degree.

■ *Tracing boards*

The tracing board is an essential ritual object, as it depicts the most important symbols of the particular degree being worked in during a ritual, and it is placed on the floor in the centre of the lodge while the candidate's 'journey' takes place around it. While originally drawn upon the floor and erased at each occasion (see chapter 2), by the middle of the 18th century tracing boards had taken a solid form in the shape of a painted panel, an embroidered or painted cloth, and later a woven floor carpet.

The 1775 inventory of La Fidèle Sincérité for the Amanusgracht mentioned '4 Carpets in Sort', probably tracing boards.[793] The 1781 inventory indeed specified '4 Tracing Boards in Sort, also a present to the lodge by the Brother [Pieter Aeneas] de Win'.[794] From 1798 onwards five were listed, along with 'One floor cloth', which may have been a normal carpet.[795] This begs the question for which degrees these tracing boards were used, basic and/or higher degrees. Sometimes the 1st and 2nd degree together used but one tracing board, and on other occasions a lodge had two design variations of a tracing board for one single degree, or both a painted and a carpet version. The fact that there are more than three can also indicate that higher degrees were being practised, which seems most likely. It was not until 1819 that the degrees of the tracing boards were specified in the overview, the ones for the higher degrees discussed below. After the move of La Fidèle Sincérité to the Jacatraweg four tracing boards appear on the inventories from 1822 onwards, as well as one specified as made of Japanese lacquer, discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

From 1825 onwards, ‘a blue floor cloth for the lodge’ was added to the existing floor cloth, reflecting the Order’s colour.[796] This could be a carpet covering the whole room, or a blue Apprentice tracing board. Around this time the notion developed, that the main colour of the tracing board for the first degree should be blue, that for the second degree yellow and that for the third degree black.[797] The tracing boards were by then considered ‘old’. The 1831-1833 inventories specify that the four tracing boards were ‘painted on canvas’.[798] These may have been made by the aforementioned Giraud, who in 1833 did similar paintwork for the Chapter, discussed below.

There are no data on tracing boards used by lodge La Vertueuse before 1781, by which time the lodge had moved to Kormandelswijk. The financial records of that year recorded the following payment:

> [to] the Chinese […] for the painting of a new tracing board 30:-
> for the same somewhat brightened 5:-[799]

The newly made tracing board was listed on an inventory of 1789[800], later specified as ‘painted on cloth’.[801] It is interesting that the making of a masonic design would have been left to a local Chinese artist or craftsmen, who remained anonymous. And this would not be the only occasion. Among the gifts La Vertueuse received for the inauguration of the Freemasons’ Hall on the Moorish Hospital grounds in 1786, was ‘a tracing board being Satin with gold well detailed’, sent by lodge member Romberg from Dejima, Japan.[802] It was still listed in the last inventory of 1816.

Past Master Titsingh, stationed in Bengal, wrote to Van Overstraten, Worshipful Master of La Vertueuse, on 17-2-1788. The minutes of 15-4-1788 recorded his message:

> Furthermore noted by the Worshipful Master, the contents of a letter received from Bengal by the High Enlightened Brother Past Master Titsing accompanied by a carpet for the Lodge which said Brother had made at our request, in service of our Lodge with the request to accept said Carpet as a souvenir of the aforementioned Brother [and] to make the necessary use of it.
>
> Then his Worshipful hereafter proposed to the Brethren if it would not be reasonable to thank Brother Titsing for such a substantial and precious gift that would be an ornament for the whole Lodge in the name of all the Brethren of la vertueuse, such was agreed, to have this done at the first opportunity in fitting Masonic terms under assurance that we will keep the same as a worthy souvenir of our High Enlightened Brother in our hearts.[803]

A draft for a thank-you letter to Titsingh was partially crossed out:

> ~~[…] accompagnied by a formidable carpet for our Lodge La Vertueuse, considering that the weaving of the tracing board and the indented border could not take place, and that the same can be accepted as a minor souvenir~~
> besides the long awaited Carpet for La Vertueuse. We quickly had the commemorative piece spread out in the East [= in the temple], while it drew the surprise and general approval of the brethren as being not only in beauty unsurpassable, but also in length and width evenly proportioned to the floor of our temple.[804]

From the crossed out lines it is clear, that the lodge had originally commissioned Titsingh to have a tracing board incorporated in the design of the Bengal tapestry, and that there was now some disappointment at his failure to do so - which was of course courteously concealed. Just as Titsingh may have decided to make a gift of the carpet to avoid discussion about the success of his commission and/or the costs. The lodge minutes of 3-5-1788 noted:

> […] that the carpet received the other day from Bengal for the Lodge was with great effort spread across the Room of our Temple, and as each of the Brethren has to admit was a great ornament, when holding the Table Lodge, a cover or cloth of Flemish linen will have to be made in order to be spread at such an occasion over the aforementioned carpet.[805]

This implies the table lodge still took place in the temple, not yet a separate dining room. The carpet is listed in inventories from 1789 onwards, but by 1794 it had already been 'damaged by Moths here and there'.[806] It was repaired in 1808 and occurs in inventories up until 1812.

As the lodge still wanted a tracing board, Romberg stepped in to help. He offered to have one made in Japan, which arrived in 1791, being made of lacquer instead of textile.[807] If that was not remarkable enough, later inventories included various other lacquer tracing boards, which are discussed in more detail in chapter 6. Apart from lacquer versions, the 1792 inventory of La Verteuse also included '4 different Tracing Boards, of which 2 in metal tubes' and '1 master tracing board' later specified as 'painted on canvas'.[808] That makes five in total, probably accounting for at least one higher degree. Only in 1794, the inventory notes: '1 embossed copper hanging tableau'.[809] It is unclear if a tracing board or a *tableau* in the sense of a decorative scene is meant here.

In later years, the number of tracing boards would be reduced again to four by 1807. On 4-8-1808 the lodge decided 'to request and qualify the Master of Furniture to have the daily Tracing Board of Jewels of the Temple which is spread there; painted again'.[810] Interesting is that the minutes of 7-5-1818 mention 'the sale of the old worn tracing board'.[811] It was customary to burn or destroy such items, rather than have them fall into profane hands. A sale to a lodge member would be ok, but who would pay for such a worn-out item?

On 4-6-1834 a last reference is found in the minutes of La Vertueuse at the Freemasons' Hall on the Vrijmetselaarsweg: 'The Architect J. Tromp, had endeavoured himself to have separate tracing boards made for each of the three degrees, as well as to place the initials J and B on the Southern and Northern Columns'.[812]

▪ *Various ritual props*

The initiation of a new candidate had the character of a 'journey with obstacles' through the lodge room. In the 18th century, all kinds of theatrical props and effects were used to enhance the impact of the experience for the candidate. The 1775 inventory of La Fidèle Sincérité listed:

> 1 * Coffin and Bier painted black
> […] 1 * Led pump and its bucket
> 1 * Iron Chain
> 8 * Winding Stairs
> 1 * Board with Thorns[813]

As discussed in chapter 2, before the candidate entered the temple, he would spend some time in the Chamber of Reflection. The coffin was probably placed there as around this time in Europe it was not yet a standard prop that it would become in the 19th century for the Master's degree, as reference to Hiram's death. It appeared on all La Fidèle Sincerité's inventories until the lodges' merger. The pump and bucket, as well as the iron chain may have been used for sound effects (such as running water and rain), while the board with thorns is a symbolical obstacles on the candidate's journey. The candidate was asked to jump onto the thorns as a sign of trust in his brethren. It was a trick: when he landed on the board, the thorns disappeared instead of wounding him. The winding stairs seem to be a British element: the stairs which the candidate has to climb in the English 2nd degree ritual to gain access to the middle Chamber of the Temple (1 Kings 6:8).

The 1781 inventory listed 'the decorations for the Brethren & 2 Columns'.[814] This indicates that the columns had already 'materialized' from symbols on the tracing board to movable props or pieces of furniture (see chapter 2). They are not mentioned in later inventories, probably because they became fixed parts of the temple interior.

The contents of the Chamber of Refletion were not specified in the inventories of La Fidèle Sincérité until 1786. By then this room at the Amanusgracht contained a coffin, as well as a square table or altar, covered with a white linen cloth with a black border, on which a bible with seven locks, an hourglass, a naked sword and skull with bones were placed.[815]

In the 1798 version, a second coffin with cover was added, while none of the earlier other 'obstacles' were listed. For the first time a 'Silver Cup' was mentioned either the 'cup of bitterness' to be

drunk by the candidate during his initiation as Apprentice, or the cup with water, placed in the Chamber of Reflection with bread and a lit candle to symbolize life.[816] It remained present on all further inventories. Other additions were a 'chest containing several images and figures', and 'a roll of Chinese paper' of which the purpose is unclear.[817]

In 1801 'one Dark Chamber and belongings' were listed. The description gives the impression that the Chamber of Reflection was not a room outside the temple, as would become the standard in lodge buildings, but rather a small constructed space, like a large, ready-to-assemble box. After 1801, there is a gap in the data until 1819, after the move to the Jacatraweg. By then, new props included a 'thunder metal', probably a thin sheet, shaken to produce the sound effect of rolling thunder. Other additions were:

8 wooden falling sheets	|
1 board with pins	|- for the hollow road
1 small Step	|
2 blocks	|[818]

The 'hollow road' should probably translate as some sort of tunnel (comparable to the covered walkway on a bridge), again one of the obstacles on the candidate's journey. By 1825, 'One metal blowpipe' and 'Three clubs' were added.[819] The blowpipe was not a weapon, but a prop used to blow air against the candidate's face, or a version of the Lycopodium lamp used in the Netherlands to have a candidate literally 'see the light'.[820] The clubs were symbolical weapons, again referring to the central theme of the Master's degree: the murder of Hiram Abiff. These props were later described as 'covered clubs', presumably padded to soften their symbolical blow.[821]

The inventories of lodge La Vertueuse are a little easier to interpret, as they sum up in which rooms various ritual props were kept. A description is given of the Chamber of Reflection, which includes (a chest with) a skeleton as *memento mori*, first mentioned in the 1788-1789 inventories. This had been purchased for 60 Rds, and Heilman had been ordered to make for it 'a wooden chest, in order to be placed on a good and dry place'.[822]

To the contents of the temple an 'air pipe' (similar to the blowpipe of La Fidèle Sincérité) and 'one board with many spiked wooden blocks', later described as 'the thorny path', were added in 1792. A year later 'two bottles of quicksilver and a machine belonging with them', later described as a tray, as well as 'the shackles' and 'the stairs going up and down' (a seesaw) also appear on the list. (The use of quicksilver is not immediately clear, this may be an alchemical reference, perhaps placed in the Chamber of Reflection along with sulphur and salt.[823]) In 1796 some of these were kept in the apartment behind the throne, as were 'an iron pan with its spoon' (for a sound effect?), and 'an earthenware pot and its candle warmer stand' (an incense burner?). Stored in the Chamber of Reflection were 'a metal caller' (probably a horn to enhance the voice of the *Terrible* (the officer preparing the candidtae) speaking to the candidate), a lectern and 'other trifles'. A yellow cabinet in the 'front portal' contained the quicksilver and:

1 fascia with a snippet
1 velvet eye mask
1 tin funnel
1 tin tray[824]

The eye mask was obviously the candidate's blindfold, in 1807 replaced by two yellow silk ones. The tin funnel and tray may have been used for the quicksilver. The use of the fascia is less clear, but all appear in the overviews until 1816. 'A Lamp post with a copper plate behind the Blazing star' was included in inventories from 1797 onwards, as was 'a metal pipe for conveying the Light' to the candidate, probably a lycopodium lamp.[825]

After a substantial gap in the data, the 1808 inventory for the Chamber of Reflection included:

1 Empty closet
1 chest with a skeleton wood
2 wooden Skeletons

1 long metal caller
1 Lectern and some trifles
3 yellow painted plumes
1 Wooden cross
1 Reception window with 2 doors
1 coffin
1 guillotine
2 iron Shovels[826]

The plumes may have been ornamental, or quills in the distinguishing colour of the lodge. During the initiation the candidate could be asked to write the answer to a question or even his testament. The shovels may have been accessories to the chest with the skeleton. The guillotine was probably, like the thorny path, fake and meant as a harmless test of faith for the candidate. It was only stored in the Chamber of Reflection, to be taken out for use in the ritual. The same goes for the 'Reception window', possibly a tracing board. This list remained mostly unchanged until 1816.

In the beginning of the 19th century, Worshipful Master Penning Nieuwland of lodge De Vriendschap in Surabaya, revised the lodge rituals. In the CMC collection are several ritual manuscripts from that time, containing tracing boards for the Apprentice, Fellow-Craft and Master's degree. Their design uses familiar elements, but in an unusual composition and colour scheme. The tracing board for the first degree depicts the rough stone, various tools and the letter 'W' for *Wijsheid* or Wisdom, as well as a black cloth, possibly representing the blindfold of the candidate (fig. 5.55). That for the second degree shows the cubic stone and masonic tools upon a brightly coloured mosaic pavement, the five-pointed star with the letter G, and the letter 'K' for *Kracht* or Strength (fig. 5.56). The Tracing board for the third degree depicts the altar in front of the steps, leading to the seat of the Worshipful Master under a canopy (5.57). It is flanked by the columns J and B. To the left is a banner depicting an ouroberos and the words *Ik Ben* (= I am). Surrounding the scene are symbols such as the three windows, a circle, an oil lamp, a tracing board with the Greek text, an acacia sprig and a coffin. The whole is topped by a sun and moon flanking the letter 'S' for *Schoonheid* or Beauty. The sun is in fact a radiant all-seeing eye, with precisely 13 rays. These can represent Christ and the apostles, but also have a second layer of meaning in the higher degree of *Chevalier d'Orient*, discussed below.

■ *Altar*

A crucial moment in the initiation of new members was the swearing of the oath (later promise) of secrecy on the bible. We know from early descriptions of rituals, that the bible at first lay on the Worshipful Master's table, and later got its own table in between the throne and the tracing board, which in turn developed into an actual altar (see chapter 2). The 1775 inventory of La Fidèle Sincérité listed '1 Throne table painted blue' and '1 Throne table painted black', as well as '1 Silver Pair of Compasses' and '1 ditto Set Square' to be placed on the bible.[827] The bible itself was omitted, but could have been among unspecified books. The symbolical tools listed among the silver and plate works, are easily confused with the officers' ornaments, also listed in the inventories. Although it is possible such ritual objects were purchased and imported from The Hague, it seems more practical that they were commissioned from a local silversmith in Batavia.

The 1781 inventory did specify 'One Bible in Folio'[828], which according to the 1798 version had 'copper fittings'. The 1798 version also mentioned 'A white satin drape with gold fringe' and 'A blue satin drape with gold fringe', which may be covers for the Master's table.[829] The word 'altar' was used for the first time in the 1801 inventory, and a report on repairs to be made that year noted: 'the altar, for use of an Apprentice lodge is to be covered'.[830] By 1825, the altar was indeed described as having 'a silk cover and pillow'.[831] 'One Bible', presumably new, was accompanied by another, 'old and torn'. While the old one was discarded, the listing of the altar with its belongings remained unchanged until the merger of the lodges in 1837.



Fig.5.55: Tracing board for the degree of Apprentice, as illustrated in: Loge De Vriendschap, Soerabaya: Ritualen voor de leerlings-, gezel en- Meestergraden als gespecificeerd*, Surabaya [1825]. Water colour. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 122 C 1-2. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.*



Fig. 5.56: Tracing board for the degree of Fellow-Craft, as illustrated in: Loge De Vriendschap, Soerabaya: Ritualen voor de leerlings-, gezel en- Meestergraden als gespecificeerd*, Surabaya [1825]. Water colour. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 122 C 1-2. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.*



Fig. 5.57: Tracing board for the degrees of Master, as illustrated in: Loge De Vriendschap, Soerabaya: Ritualen voor de leerlings-, gezel en- Meestergraden als gespecificeerd*, Surabaya [1825]. Water colour. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 122 C 1-2. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.*

La Vertueuse listed 'A Pedestal with white armozijn Cover, and a pillow of yellow velvet' from the 1787 inventory onwards.[832] In 1790 a footstool was added, to make the kneeling candidates more comfortable. Not until 1792 was it explicitly described as '1 wooden altar with a bench and two pillows'.[833] The altar, with its cover of white silk and gold fringe, is included in all later inventories, although it was noted in 1814 that the silk needed replacing.

A bible was not listed in the inventories until 1790, but here too may have been included between unspecified books. From 1792 onwards the furniture of the second temple, the Masters' Lodge, was described. From 1797 this also included '1 Black painted wooden altar' with its 'Black Satin Table Cloth and ditto Pillow, in Silver'.[834]

▪ *Ceremonial tools*

Apart from the compasses and square discussed above, there were other ceremonial tools mentioned in the inventories of La Fidèle Sincérité. Various types of hammers remind a freemason of his symbolical labour: the working of a rough stone into a cubic stone[835] for the building of the temple. In 1801, 'three wooden hammers' were listed. The Dutch word *hamer* literally translates as (carpenter's) hammer. The tools used here were more likely to be chairman's gavels or stonemasons' mauls, probably belonging to the Worshipful Master and Wardens as a sign of authority. Blows of the gavel were used to mark the opening and closing of meetings, as well as decisions made.

From 1825 onwards, a 'Silver Trowel' was listed, along with 'Eight wooden hammers'.[836] In 18th century freemasonry the trowel was closely associated with the ritual of the Adoption lodges, but as will come clear below, in the lodges in the East Indies trowels were also associated with special occasions and gifts. The trowel listed here, for instance, may have been used in the ceremony of laying the foundation stone for the Freemasons' Hall at the Jacatraweg in 1819. The number of hammers listed here, suggests some were for the lodge officers and others may have been used in the ritual or the instruction of newly initiated members into masonic symbolism. By 1827, their number was reduced to six.

One of the last inventories noted 'Golden Trowel 1, by the Worshipful Master W.M. Keuchenius presented to the Lodge 10 June 1833', when he stepped down.[837] The 1834 inventory however, added it was 'found to be silver, gilt'.

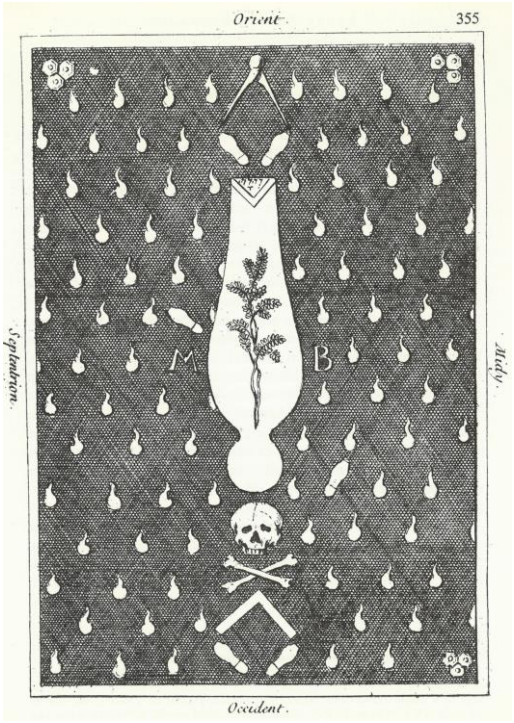
Likewise, the inventories of La Vertueuse listed various ceremonial tools. Hammers were first mentioned in the 1787 version: '2 ivory, and 3 Wooden Hammers'.[838] Presumably the ivory ones were used by the Worshipful Master and Wardens, the wooden versions for ritual purposes or instruction. By 1792 their number rose to six,[839] and by 1794 there were nine.[840] Later it was specified that three of them were gilded.[841]

Most other ceremonial tools used by La Vertueuse, however, were made of silver, such as those received for the inauguration of the Freemasons' Hall on the Moorish Hospital grounds in 1786 from lodge member Andries (or Andreas) Hartsingh.[842] On 7-5-1791 the minutes of the lodge noted for a second time 'that Brother Hartzink has honoured this Lodge with A Silver Trowel A ditto set square A ditto Triangle & a ditto pair of compasses'.[843] Later inventories shows that these were kept in their own 'lacquered box' in one of the cabinets.[844] The 1793 inventory specified their weight and value:

1 Silver Pair of Compasses, weighing 2 ¼ real	3:-
1 ditto triangle Weighing 2 5/8 real	3:-
1 ditto Set square Weighing 2 ¾ real	3:-
1 ditto Trowel, with its wooden handle Weighing 12 real	10:-[845]

The weight measure, a *reaal*, was a Spanish-Portuguese coin or *real*, worth 6 Dutch Stuivers.[846] The silver tools are mentioned in inventories up until 1834. The 1797 version added 'A Copper Trowel' and 'A Small [metal] sheet' (probably engraved with the Hebrew letters 'JHWH', discussed below), but neither appear on later inventories.[847]

The minutes for 23-3-1805 noted another gift. Pieter Walbeek, who quit his membership on 6-3-1805, probably because he was about to move away, 'honoured this Lodge with the word Jehorab the Sloe branch and the skull all in Silver and suitable for a Masters' Lodge'.[848] These were several props, related to



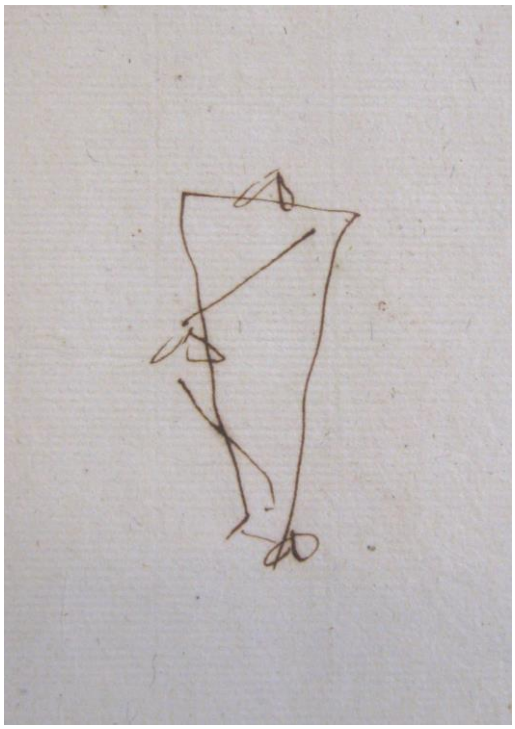


Fig. 5.58: Tracing board for the Master's degree, as depicted in Leonard Gabanon's La Désolation des entrepreneurs modernes du Temple de Jerusalem, ou Nouveau catechism des Francs-Maçons *(1747). The triangle, branch and skull-and-bones are all represented here. Reproduced from: Carr 1971, p. 355.*

Fig. 5.59: Doodle in the 1822-1824 minute book of La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia, representing the steps on the tracing board of the 3rd degree. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 3076. Photograph: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

the myth of Hiram Abiff in the Master ritual (see chapter 2, compare figs. 2.81, 2.83 and 5.58). The word *Jehorab* most likely refers to 'Jehovah'. Ritual manuals and illustrations of tracing boards show that the word was usually written as the Hebrew letters 'JHWH' on a golden triangle. This was placed on the tracing board during the ritual, symbolizing the grave of Hiram Abiff (compare figs. 2.81, 2.83 and 5.58). In the 18th century the word was sometimes written on the coffin, sometimes in a triangle. Here, the minutes probably refer to a triangular, engraved silver plate.

The sloe branch was meant to be an acacia sprig, which according to masonic myth marks the grave of Hiram Abiff.[849] This too was placed on the tracing board, on or beside the mount of earth, representing the first, temporary grave of Hiram. The same goes for the skull (usually a skull-and-bones), which was usually placed or depicted on the coffin. 'An iron sloe branch' was already mentioned in inventories of La Vertueuse between 1796 and 1812. A 'silver skull with ditto branch' was listed in the years 1808-1812.

The minutes of 26-10-1804 recorded a second gift by Walbeeck, which included:

> 2 Hammers with Silver fixtures
> 1 Silver set square
> 1 ditto pair of compasses
> 1 ditto Single Triangle
> 1 ditto double ditto [carrying the letter 'G', for the *Écossois* degree, discussed below]
> 1 ditto Trowel[850]

So the lodge now owned a double set of silver ceremonial tools, which were included in the overviews until 1816. Some of this silverware would eventually be melted down, as the lodge minutes recorded on 3-11-1818:

> The Brother Treasurer communicates to have already had the benefit of producing three new Silver Ink stands, made from the next unusable Silverworks as:

1 silver plate with the old Master Word [1st gift from Walbeeck]
1 ditto Sloe branch [1st gift from Walbeeck]
1 ditto double triangle [2nd gift from Walbeeck]
1 ditto plate as a skull [1st gift from Walbeeck]
1 ditto incense vessel and 13 Silver trowels [for the *Chevalier d'Orient* degree, discussed below] weighing together 53 ½ Real, for which in wages has been paid Spd 24[851]

Treasurer at the time was [Barend] Jacob Barends, brother of the jeweller Aron Barends (?-1815), also a lodge member.[852] Finally, the lodge minutes of 4-6-1834 recorded:

The Brother Steward and Master of Furniture G. Gijsing acknowledges that he received from the hands of the Worshipful Master the following Silver wares and other necessities; being
[…] 2 Silver gilt Trowels
2 Two ditto Set Squares
2 Two ditto Triangles
2 Two ditto Pairs of Compasses[853]

♦ *Regalia*

As discussed in chapter 2, a member's regalia could consist of one or more aprons (decorated with the colour of the lodge and the symbols of his initiation level or officer's function), and a pair of white gloves, as well as one or more jewels (also marking his affiliation to the lodge, initiation level and/or officer's function[854]) and a ceremonial accessory (such as a sword or a staff, appropriate for his function in the lodge or place in the ritual). The officer's regalia were often kept in the lodge building and listed in inventories. There was also as a small supply of aprons and gloves for newly initiated members and visitors. The cost of these was either covered by the initiation fee or paid for separately.

■ *Officers' jewels*

The most precious objects on any lodge inventory are usually the officers' jewels. This is illustrated by an incident, which occured in La Fidèle Sincérité on St. John's Day, celebrated on 2-1-1772. The meeting was closed with the usual table lodge:

[...] until our precious rest and innocent joy were disturbed and interrupted by the Grand Master [= Worshipful Master] van Gehren who, not wanting to listen to the friend- and brotherly warnings of our beloved Past Master Remer to avoid the excessive use of alcohol and mind what was left of the day, left the Table Lodge without having properly closed it in an agitated and singular manner, and went outside upon which the Brother Senior Warden van Stammhorst closed the lodge.[855]

The members tried to calm Van Gehren, who 'in an unseemly fashion led the sacred Sign of Grand Master from his chest'. He then ordered the uneaten meal to be cleared and left the premises 'under the eyes of 'the profane'.[856] Some days later, lodge officers tried to reason with Van Gehren, to no avail. At a meeting in the house of lodge member De Lopes, a location chosen because of the bad weather on 7-1-1771, it was decided that he would be relieved from his office and replaced by J.M. Reemer. Van Gehren would only be allowed access to the lodge after a written apology. However, he showed no remorse but instead demanded that he be restituted his contribution to the high costs of the table lodge, using the three officers' jewels he still had in his possession as leverage. The lodge was heavily offended, but in a letter dated 10-1-1772 did agree to pay him in exchange for the jewels, as these precious items had previously been funded by Reemer and De Lopez.

La Fidèle Sincérité's inventory of 1775 mentioned '8 pieces ornaments in Sort'[857] which are specified further in the 1781 version, by then counting nine items:

3 Ornaments, As, 1 for the Greater [= Grand Master] and, 2 for the 1st & 2nd Wardens in their own possession
1 ornament for the Treasurer of Zouwas
1 ditto " Orator The same gilt [silver]
1 ditto " Secretary ditto ditto
1 ditto " Architect ditto ditto



Fig. 5.60: Sawasa tobacco box, the top decorated in relief with a Chinese landscape, the gilded interior inscribed 'J. vd. Bank', 18th century. Gilt and lacquered metal, length 11.8 cm. Displayed at Christies, Amsterdam, 2-11-2004, sale 2637, lot 462.
© Christie's Images Limited, 2015.

1 ditto " Fiscal ditto ditto
1 ditto " Master of Ceremonies Ebony with Silver fittings[858]

Remarkable is that, next to silver and gilding, the term *zouwas* is used, meaning *sawasa*. Objects made using this copper alloy, had a surface consisting of relief of gilt parts contrasting with brown-black lacquer (for an example of the technique, see fig. 5.60).[859] The complex decorative technique was practised in Japan since the end of the 17th century. Objects made from sawasa were a part of the private trade of VOC employees, and were rarely mentioned in official VOC orders. From the archives of local silversmiths it is clear that sawasa was also made or worked in Batavia by the end of the 18th century.[860] The wearing of sawasa jewellery was something only a small, rich elite could afford. Although La Fidèle Sincérité was less wealthy than La Vertueuse, it still owned a few precious items like this.

According to the 1786 inventory, the jewels were kept in '1 Iron money-box with 2 hanging locks by brother Arnold presented to the Lodge'. In 1798, a jewel was added for the Tyler, bringing the total to ten. Like in the Netherlands, each jewel had a shape or symbol referring to the officer's function in the lodge (see chapter 2). The various symbols were not detailed until the 1798 inventory, while the 1801 version linked them to particular officers, as indicated between brackets below:

A small Silver sheet in which the building orders are engraved	[= Architect]
[…] One " Rule gilded	[= Junior Warden]
Two " Quills	[= Secretary]
A black ornament with silver fittings gilded	[= Master of Ceremonies]
A Silver rod gilded	[= Fiscal]
A " book "	[= Orator]
One " Skull "	[=Tyler]

[…] Three “ triangular ornaments	[= a triangle for the Worshipful Master, a water vat for the Senior Warden, and two keys for the Treasurer][861]

Most of the jewels listed compare well to examples from Dutch lodges from the same era, discussed earlier (compare figs. 5.35-5.36). For instance, the description of the Architect's jewel as plate or sheet engraved with the building orders (Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, Tuscan and Composite) fits examples in the CMC and other masonic museums (figs. 5.61-5.63). Only the jewels for the Junior and Senior Warden mentioned are unusual, normally having the shape of a plumb line and a level, but here a ruler and - not specified until 1801 - 'a water vat'.[862] That inconsistency may simply be down to a mistake or inexperience by the writer of the inventories. The three 'triangular ornaments' are from 1801 onwards described as made of gilded silver rather than silver. These were probably miniature tools or symbols fastened on a triangular base or fitted in a triangular frame, of which there are many examples in masonic collections (fig. 5.64). In those designs the function of the triangle was not merely symbolic, it also formed a support structure for the more delicate parts of the jewel.

Between 1825 and 1831 the inventories again list 'nine ornaments for the officers of the lodge', suggesting one was lost or kept at home, or an officer's function had been scrapped.[863] In 1831 two new jewels were added to the inventory.[864] The 1834 version mentions:

Ornaments for the [Worshipful] Master and Officers	11
1833 made on 24 June for the Master of Ceremonies	1
1834 “ 26 “ “ the Preparer	1[865]

It is the first time a replacement of a jewel (for the Master of Ceremonies) is mentioned, suggesting the same collection of officers' jewels had by then been used for well over 50 years. The Preparer mentioned here, is probably the Tyler doubling as *Terrible*. He symbolizes death, who comes to collect the candidate so he may be reborn as a freemason, and is also the officer who prepares the candidate for his initiation up until the door of the lodge, where a Warden takes over.[866] This officer can therefore wear a jewel depicting either a skull-and-bones or an hourglass, or both.

A new custom was introduced in La Fidèle Sincérité in 1835. A receipt dated 27 June mentions: 'for the having made of the following as on 26 June 1835 Silver gilt set square for M[aitre] P[assé]. 11,-'.[867] This refers to the Past Master, which at the time was Diederick Popkens. It is still common for a Past Master to receive a jewel when they step down, to mark their service to a lodge.

The first inventory of La Vertueuse to include a list of officers' jewels, was that of 27-12-1787. The following items were worn:

Various Ornaments for the Grand Master
A diamond Cross
A gold Sun
A ditto Pair of Compasses with a Star within
for the Senior Warden
A Silver Set Square
for the Junior Warden
A Silver gilt Plumb Line
for the Secretary
Two Silver gilt Quills
for the Treasurer
Two Silver gilt Keys
for the Orator
A Silver gilt paper Scroll
for the Architect
A Silver gilt plate
for the Master of Ceremonies
An Ebony ornament with Silver-gilt fixtures[868]

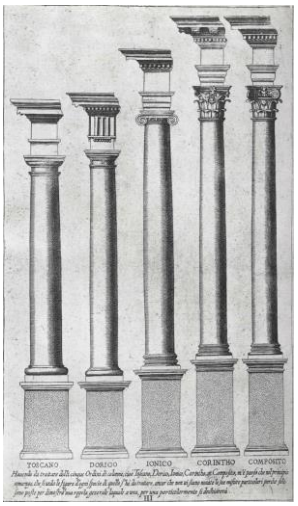




Fig. 5.61: The five building orders, as depicted in G. Barozzi da Vignola, Regola delli Cinque Ordini d'Architettura (1607). Reproduced from: MacNulty 1991, p. 78.
Fig. 5.62: Jewel for an Architect, engraved gold coloured metal, 19th century, 5 cm. Collection: Musée du Grand Orient de France, Paris, inv.no. not listed. Reproduced in: Freemasonry Museum 2000, p. 68, no. 74. Photograph: Elie Bernager.



Fig. 5.63: Jewel for an Architect, engraved silver coloured metal, end of the 18th century. CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no 7145. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

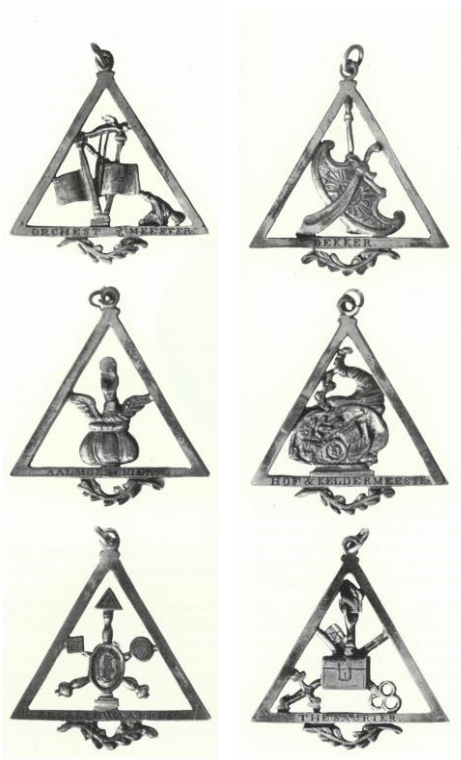


Fig. 5.64: Series of officer's jewels with a triangular base, belonging to lodge Orde en Vlijt in Gorinchem and lodge Aurora in Sliedrecht (1845-1929), 1815- ca. 1850. Collection: lodge Orde en Vlijt, Gorinchem. Reproduced from: Hoed en Rand *1990, pp. 41-42. Photo: W. van der Poel.*



Fig. 5.65: Jewel for the Rose Croix *degree, consisting of a crowned Latin cross, the centre carrying the image of a pelican. Early 19th century, silver with enamel, white and green stones, size not listed. Collection: Musée de la Maison des Maçons, Paris, inv.no. B2-753. Reproduced from: glnf-musee.fr.*

Somewhat unusual was that not the Worshipful Master, but the Senior Warden carried the set square. The jewels listed for the Worshipful Master made from gold and diamonds must have been extremely precious for their time. The diamond cross may have been a *Rose Croix* degree jewel, as surviving examples (from French Rite) can have the shape of a (radiant) cross (compare fig. 5.65). This was probably one of the highest degrees practised in the Dutch East Indies at the time, and it was customary for the Worshipful Master to have such a high rank.

Between 1788 and 1798 La Vertueuse regularly made use of the services of gold- and silversmith Martin Wyszinsky (also spelled Wijszijnsckij), not listed as a lodge member. He worked in Batavia between 1780 and 1785 as *ijkmeester* (judge) of measures and weights, and between 1785 and 1802 as *keurmeester* (a similar judge) of gold and silver.[869] A financial overview of 10-7-1788 first mentions a payment to this artist:

29 April for a Sawassa Box	rd 10
A Cross gilded and the 4 Silver gilded	
For heads new pins welded on	
And the gold finished, and made white	5
3 Maij the Sawassa Box melted and made triangular	
with a Lock wages thereof	6
3 June A gold plate / square / with Pillars	
Weighing 2 real 24 ½ Stuivers Each real 22	rds 55,11[870]

The triangular sawasa box was a function jewel for the Almoner in the shape of a collection box.[871] The 'plate with pillars' was the jewel for the second Architect.[872] The crosses are more of a puzzle. The only ones featured in later inventories are those of the Worshipful Master and two St. Andrews crosses for the *Écossais* degrees, discussed below.[873] That brings the total to three. One may have been a function jewel for a second Master of Ceremonies consisting of two crossed ceremonial staffs or rods, of which two are listed in the 1789 inventory as 'Two Ebony ornaments with Silver gilt fixtures'.[874] These staffs may have had new pins welded to the silver end pieces or 'heads', but it is also possible that 'heads' should be interpreted as 'skulls' for the *Terrible* (or the *Élu* degrees, discussed below). The purpose of the last cross remains unclear. Around this time a jewel for the Fiscal was added, but this consisted of only one 'rod with a Sawassa band'. Other commissions were given to Wyszinsky for larger objects, to which we will come back later.

On 3-3-1789 the financial records mention the following purchase:

For 6 ornaments	rds	390:-
by 15 p.j. Agis		58:24[875]

On 14-3-1789 lodge member Dirk van Hogendorp (1761-1822) signed for the payment of 'six hundred, twenty-four Rupees, for Six masonic Ornaments'.[876] None of these seem to be listed in the inventories, so we may conclude that the old set of officers' jewels was replaced. Indeed, a committee was instated to oversee the replacement of goods that had become unusable after 24-12-1788. A report by member Pieter van der Weert dated 28-12-1789 mentions: 'of the ornaments most of the old ones have been sold to Brother [A.W.A. van] Idsinga, and the revenue answered for to the Brother Treasurer'.[877] The new set officers' jewels was included in the inventory of 27-12-1789, while the 1793 version listed the weight and value of each piece, as added between brackets below:

For the Grand [= Worshipful] Master		
A cross surrounded by brilliants		[300:- Rds]
A pair of compasses with the leg measure on a blue Stone decorated with small stones		[10:-]
[1 Silver gilt ornament]	[¾ real]	[1:-]
for the Senior Warden		
[1 silver gilt ornament on a blue stone being a Level]		[10:-]
for the Junior Warden		
A Plumb line on a Blue Stone		[10:-]

A set square on a blue Stone as above		[10:-]
for the Secretary		
Two pens also inlaid on a blue stone		[10:-]
for the Treasurer		
A Key inlaid on a blue Stone		
for the Orator		
A silver gilt machine representing A Paper scroll	[1 ¼ real]	[2:-]
[1 silver gilt ornament]	[1 ¼ real]	[2:-]
For the Architect		
A [silver gilt] level on a blue Stone as above	[2 ½ real]	[25:-]
A gold, and		
A silver gilt plate in which are engraved the 5 building orders	[2 ¼ real]	[3:-]
for the Master of Ceremonies		
Two [turned] Ebony ornaments with silver fixtures		
for the Fiscal		
A [turned wooden] rod with a Sawassa band		
For the Almoner		
[2 ornaments on a blue stone]		[10:- each] [878]

The cross of the Worshipful Master was later specified as 'enamelled' (compare fig. 5.65), while all jewels on a blue stone are described as surrounded by smaller stones, probably meaning rhinestones.[879] By 1793 the sawasa collection box of the Almoner had been replaced by 2 other ornaments, one of which was specified in 1797 as a 'collection box on a blue stone'.[880] The Senior Warden now carried an ornament consisting of a level, while the added Orator's ornament was not specified. It is likely that '2 small gold ornaments, weighing ¼ real [valued] 5:-' also listed in 1793 were those of the two Masters of Ceremonies, Architect or Fiscal.[881] However, as the inventory does not specify which of the listed silver tools are jewels and which are larger ceremonial objects, these categories are easily mixed up.

Masonic historian Maarschalk described the jewel worn by Engelhard, probably in his capacity as Provincial Grand Master between 1798 and 1823 as follows:

> The sign of his dignity was made of gold, hanging from a light blue ribbon, with a silver star on the jewel. He also wore an apron of blue silk with silver stars and gold fringe.[882]

In 1808 the blue stone in the Worshipful Master's diamond cross was broken. The jewels of the second Master of Ceremonies and the second Architect were both omitted from the inventory of 1812. The overview remained unchanged, until the 1816 version added '1 ornament for the Terrible' and '1 ditto Orator', not specified further.[883]

■ *Membership jewels*

Just as Dutch lodges were free to choose a distinguishing colour for their apron and ribbons, it became popular to choose a jewel with a particular colour, form or symbol that all its brethren could wear as a mark of membership of that particular lodge. The financial records of both lodges in Batavia provide overviews of contributions and initiation fees paid, which often include the price of such regalia. For instance, an overview of contributions and other payments of lodge La Vertueuse dated 10-11-1789 mentions: 'from Brother Idsinga for Gold-works 50,-' and 'Brother Josinger for various Gold works by his Honourable taken over 50:-:-'.[884] And on 1-12-1789 the records noted: 'The following Brethren officers according to decision on this for the following year for the Ornaments worn by the Brethren, being [the names of 6 officers] 10:-:-'.[885] In other words, the normal members purchased their membership and degree jewels after which they became owners, while the officers paid a fee (or rent) for their function jewels, which remained property of the lodge.[886]

Some lodges chose to combine the lodge colour with general masonic symbolism, other used the lodge name, or a symbol referring to the lodge name in their jewelry. For instance, membership jewels of lodge De Vriendschap in Surabaya in the CMC collection combine the colour green in the form of a ribbon or rosette with a jewel in the shape of a triangle, encompassing a pair of clasped hands as reference to





Fig.5.66: Detail of a faded green sash with a lodge jewel attached, attributed to lodge De Vriendschap, 1830-1860, silk and silver coloured metal, 56 x 6.5 cm. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 4513. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

Fig.5.67: Lodge jewel on a green rosette, attributed to lodge De Vriendschap, 19th century, satin and silver coloured metal, 18.5 x 12 cm. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 2136. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.





Fig.5.68: Jewel of lodge De Vriendschap, 19th century, silver plated metal, 4.5 x 4.5 cm. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 2190. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

Fig. 5.69: Jewel of lodge De Vriendschap, 1875-1945, silver coloured metal, 4.2 x 4 cm. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 6717. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

friendship (5.66-5.70). Unfortunately, the financial administration of the early years of this lodge is missing, which means virtually no information on the prince or maker of the lodge jewels is available.

After the merger of La Fidèle Sincérité and La Vertueuse, the new lodge De Ster in het Oosten adopted a star as a symbol, referring to its name. Examples of jewels in the CMC collection consist of designs with both five- and seven-pointed stars within a triangle, or placed within a circle within a triangle (fig. 5.70a-c).



Fig. 5.70a-c. Various membership jewels, worn in lodge De Ster in het Oosten, 19th century, size npot listed. Metal and (faded) blue silk and cotton. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, (clockwise from top left) inv.nos. 2082, 2085, 6639. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

■ *Special commissions*

Schill's *Gedenkboek* (1843) mentions some of the earliest jewels of lodge La Vertueuse:

> […] in october 1769 a farewell meal was given for a prominent Brother visitor Silvester in a Lodge held in the garden of the worshipful Master [= Van der Vorm] at which occasion also two leaving Brethren members [including Lieve Nicolaas Meybaum] were hung with gold trowels in which the name of the lodge is engraved.[887]

In 1815 the lodge employed silversmith Willem Cornelis Jacobs. He was working in Batavia and appointed *keurmeester* of gold and silver in the years 1803-1804, 1806-1808 and 1810.[888] On 24-6-1815 La Vertueuse made a payment to Jacobs 'for the making of A Silver *kop* with gilt silver with gold Ducat in wages Spd 15,-'.[889] As the Dutch word *kop* translates as both 'head' and 'cup', it is unclear whether this was a jewel in the form of a skull (for the *Terrible*) or a drinking cup, but considering the price it must have been a relatively small object.

La Vertueuse decided to honour its Past Master, Jan Isaac Van Sevenhoven, who now had the function of Deputy Grand Master, by presenting him with a jewel. The lodge minutes of 24-5-1834 noted that the object had been completed.[890] It had the shape of a golden triangle, engraved with the text 'the

Lodge La Vertueuse to Br. J.I. van Sevenhoven'.[891] The jewel was then presented to Van Sevenhoven on 4-6-1834, mentioning that it 'had been made by the Brother J.M. van Beusichem'.[892] However, it is unlikely he forged it himself, this probably refers to him making the design, overseeing the commission to a goldsmith or paying for this present.

■ *Aprons, gloves and sashes*

The domestic laws of La Fidèle Sincérité, drawn up in 1775, stipulated that only officers were allowed to wear jewels and all aprons had to be 'equal' with the usual colours blue and white.[893] In the same year, the lodge's first inventory listed '1 red Drawer for Aprons' and 'Shammy leather Gloves'.[894] It is unclear if these belonged to the officers and were kept in the lodge like their jewels, or rather a supply for new members. Some years later, the financial records of the same lodge noted an interesting commission: '1778 19 October: to Rach for the painting of two Aprons rd 64;24,-'.[895] Until now, it was not known that the artist Johannes Rach was ever commissioned by a lodge. There is unfortunately no indication that any masonic design by his hand survived.

The 1798 version first mentioned aprons and related items for the *Écossais* and *Élu* degrees, discussed below, as well as:

> One Master apron
> […] Six apprentice ditto
> Three pairs of goats leather men's gloves
> Six " ditto women's ditto[896]

In all later inventories similar regalia are mentioned. The overview of 1801 showed regalia for the basic and two higher degrees were kept in a 'chest with ten drawers and copper fittings'.[897]

Before 1800 the difference between regalia for the basic and higher degrees was mainly indicated by the use of colour. After 1800, regalia in general quickly became more elaborately decorated, while each lodge and each degree often had its own distinctive combination of colours and symbols. The distribution of *tuileurs* or masonic manuals with illustrations of regalia stimulated this development. While in Europe painted, printed and embroidered textiles were used, in the Dutch East Indies painted and embroidered items seem to have been more popular. There is no mention of printed items. Unfortunately the specific symbols used on Master aprons are not specified either, although we know from surviving examples in masonic collections that these could be very elaborate.

After 1801 there was a substantial gap in the inventories. The 1825 inventory specified a chest and a box with the aforementioned types of regalia, including '59 Fifty nine pairs of women's gloves' and '9 Nine pairs of men's ditto'.[898] The significant difference between them may simply be down to a recent order of stock, although the accounts in the years 1825-1831 do show a high turnaround of women's gloves. A new member was supposed to present a pair to the woman he held most dear, and as there were more Dutch men than women in Batavia, many a pair will have been sent to someone back in the Netherlands. The gloves ran out in 1829 and some old aprons were destroyed in 1830. An invoice dated 3-6-1829 listed '9 blue watered officers' bands at f 6 silver'.[899] Bands here probably means sashes, and indeed most surviving sashes and cordons from 19th century lodges are made of 'watered silk' or *moiré*. On 25-6-1832 a special commission was made for '8 Master of Ceremony bands silver f 8 for the celebration of St Johns day of 23 June'.[900]

Not only lodge members were often commissioned to deliver goods, their wives and especially widows were regular suppliers of textiles, including regalia. Between circa 1827 and 1836, the widow Dekker (also spelled Decker) was often mentioned in financial records, for instance:

> Receipt no. 8, 19-7-1836 […]
> 12 Apprentice Aprons at f 5 60,-
> 12 pairs Men's gloves " 1 ½ 18,-
> 12 women's gloves " 2 24,-
> […] Widow Dekker[901]



Fig. 5.71: Apron for the Master's degree and/or mourning lodge (here shown with the flap pulled back), probably from the Dutch East Indies, 1800-1825. Embroidered silk, 40.5 x 36.5 cm. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 755. Reproduced from: Kroon 2001, p. 222.

Receipt no. 54,. 17-11-1836 […] to widow Dekker […]

6 Apprentice Aprons	at f 5	30,-
6 Pairs women's Gloves	2	12
6 Pairs Men's ditto	f 1,50	9 […].[902]

Receipt no. 61,.12-3-1837 […] to widow Dekker […]

12 Master Bands [= sashes] a	f 5	f 60
12 ditto Aprons	5	f 60 […].[903]

A last receipt dated 22-7-1837, mentioned the payment to widow Dekker for: 'One Silver ornament with a Blue watered [moiré] Band f 17,-'.[904] It is unlikely the widow made the ornament herself, so this indicates she acted as a go-between for the lodge.

Curious is an undated invoice among the documents of circa 1836 for an 'Advance for making 30 Boys *Baadjes*' for fl. 64.[905] A *baadje* is a typical Dutch East Indies' type of blouse, according to this invoice made with white linen bands (sashes or ribbons?) and lining, blue and white thread and buttons. Such a large order of what seem to be boys uniforms points to a special occasion, but not necessarily a masonic one. It is possible the lodge supported a local orphanage or school and this was a donation of uniforms.

In 1772 Orator Frederik Herman Muller held a speech in La Verteuse, to celebrate both St. Johns Day and the return of Deputy Grand Master Steendekker and lodge member Feit 'after many floundering dangers'.[906] In his speech he referred to 'death, who spares the King no more than the Beggar', as all are equal in the face of death.[907] A rare apron in the CMC collection expresses this very concept (fig. 5.71). The white silk apron is embroidered with two skull-and-bones, asking the viewer to decide 'who was king' and 'who was beggar', which of course is impossible. The subject matter indicates it may be a Master and/or a mourning apron. A wide band along the edge of an apron is considered typical for examples from the Dutch East Indies, although the red colour chosen here does not help to attribute it to a specific lodge.

The inventories of La Vertueuse provide an insight into the manufacture of regalia. In this lodge too, members were often reimbursed for purchases of regalia made on behalf of the lodge. The financial records for 21-9-1776 noted:

Ad idem [Van Stockum], for silk ribbon and what's more	
for the making of 3 aprons	9:--:-
ditto 6 men's and 6 women's Goats Leather gloves	18:24:-[908]

On 6-9-1781 the wages for the production of aprons were specified:

5:-	pieces for Apprentice, white satin with yellow armozijn without ribbon at rds 32 each	17:24:-
15:-	Master, white satin with yellow armozijn and yellow ribbon at rds 42 each	67:24:-
[…]22:-	Master Lodge: white satin with black armozijn and black ribbon at rds 42 each	99:-:-[909]

The fact that the Apprentice wore an apron without ribbon, and the Master with ribbon, indicates a British influence. In the Netherlands, the position of the flap of the apron was used to indicate the degree, in England this was done by the absence or precense of a ribbon around the edge of the apron.

Mourning symbolism was important to the Master ritual, and apparently the lodge used real funeral outfits. This is evident from payments on 24-5-1783 'for the use of 20 hats with trailing mourning bands'[910] and on 9-7-1784 to the widow W.G. Durand 'for 9 pieces double or 18 single Pieces Mourning dress and 18 Pairs White Goats Leather Gloves together 200:-'.[911] Such symbolical attire was also worn in actual mourning lodges, held to commemorate members that had passed away.

Gloves were obtained through lodge member and merchant Philippus d'Elwijk for 1,32 Rds per pair.[912] The aforementioned widow Durand was one of the regular suppliers of La Vertueuse, as was the widow Meurs. For example, on 9-3-1784 the financial records mention:

The payment to the gentleman von Erath:		
1 roll white Satin		45:--:-
To miss the widow Meurs paid:		
for	40 aprons with Silk	160:--:-
	6 " with gold	72:--:-
	Armozijn as lining	30:--:-
	126 Ell Ribbon	13:--:-
	white Satin	7:24:-
NB:	1 apron with gold costs after this account rds	13:30:-
	1 ditto with Silk	6: 6:-[913]

A receipt dated 24-10-1785 for a payment to the aforementioned 'Chinese carpenter' Tan Jaijko, which could be translated as '1 piece template to paint garments on order of the lady your beloved as agreed 3,16'.[914] Does this mean the Chinese craftsman made a template for the wife of a lodge member to use on aprons? Or was this work for an Adoption lodge, as discussed below? The 1787 inventory then listed the following regalia:

The dress of Le frere Terrible
[…] One grand master Apron
7 Different Aprons[915]

This shows that the Grand Master had his own distinct apron, the other '7 different aprons' either belonging to the officers or being a supply for new candidates. This and later inventories also include a supply of ribbons in various colours, as well as gloves.

By 1789, the lodge no longer hired mourning clothing. A receipt dated 18-11-1789 to J. Hacker notes the purchase of '1 piece *lakenras* 49,30' and '2 rolls black robe cloth 48,-', as well as the 'wages for making cloaks 32,-;'.[916] *Lakenras* was a particular type of cloth, made of w

oven and shaven wool. Indeed

the 1789 inventory lists '20 Black hats and 18 ditto cloaks' made of this cloth. Such regalia were now kept in two drawer tables in the 'outside portal' of the lodge building. The purchase proved unsuccessful. On 27-1-1791 it was discussed that at the recent St. John's Day Celebration the cloaks for the Master lodge had been found too small, and new ones needed to be ordered.[917]

By 1796, the outfit for the *Terrible* was replaced by a new one of 'black silk', while '3 new silk painted aprons' were added to the stock kept in the lodge. The 1797 inventory provides an overview of regalia with some notes by the Master of Furniture in pencil. Interesting is the mention of 'Aprons of this lodge' and 'Master ditto', indicating that the lodge probably used a specific design for all its Apprentice and



Fig. 5.72: Sash and jewel of the lodge La Constante et Fidèle in Semarang, belonging to a member of the Holmberg de Beckfelt family, 19th century. Embroidered silk, silvercoloured metal, 98 x 11 cm. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 4876-4877. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.



Fig. 5.73: Master apron belonging to the lodge La Constante et Fidèle in Semarang, 19th century. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 101. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.



Fig. 5.74: Apron from lodge De Ster in het Oosten, decorated as a mourning apron on the back, ca. 1837-1875. Embroidered silk with metal fringe. Private collection. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.



Fig. 5.75: Apron for the Master's degree, worn in lodge De Ster in het Oosten, ca. 1837-1855. Embroidered silk with metal fringe. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 665. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.





Fig. 5.76: Apron, worn in lodge De Ster in het Oosten from a member of the Holmberg de Beckfelt family, ca. 1837-1875. Faded blue and white silk, 33.5 x 30 cm. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 5531. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.
Fig. 6.77: Apron, worn in lodge De Ster in het Oosten, ca. 1837-1875. Blue and white silk. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 1355 (Dozy legate). Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

Master aprons.[918] Many lodges in the Netherlands did so too, often incorporating the lodge name or a symbol resembling the lodge name, into the regalia design. The use of mourning crape, a black see-through, veil-like cloth, covering aprons and bands [= sashes] was now noted.[919]

A few pieces examples of regalia also survive from other lodges in the Dutch East Indies, although little information is known about them. For instance, in the CMC collection is a blue silk sash, embroidered with the lodge name 'La Constante et Fidèle' in silver and trimmed with silver fringe. The sash carries a jewel, consisting of a triangle with the letter 'G' of the type discussed above (fig. 5.72). From the same lodge, a silk apron was preserved (fig. 5.73). It has the shape of a heraldic shield, and is modestly embroidered with a pair of compasses crossed with a set square on a bow. On either side are the letter 'MB', referring to the Master word and identifying it as a Master apron. Below the tools are crossed acacia sprigs, and above them the sun and moon are depicted. On the flap is a blazing star with the letter 'G'. The whole is lined with silk and edged with a metal fringe.

After the merger of the lodges, De Ster in het Oosten had to decide on new regalia. Several aprons belonging to De Ster in het Oosten in the CMC collection, show a variety of designs. In the 19th century, there was still much diversity in the decoration and execution of aprons. Fig 5.74 shows a fringed apron, carrying the lodge name and a radiant star on the red flap. The white field of the apron is embroidered with various tools (pair of compasses, square, ruler, level, plumb rule, trowel and hammer) and an acacia sprig in the background. The reverse of the apron is black and the underside of the flap is embroidered with a skull-and-bones, so it could be worn in the Master's degree as well.

Another apron, worn in the same lodge, is embroidered with a (French style) design of a temple between the columns J and B, around which acacia sprigs are winding (fig. 5.75). The whole is topped with crossed compasses and square (holding the letter 'M' as a reference to the Master word), as well as the sun, moon and stars. On the flap is a radiant, five-pointed star with the letter 'G'. Aprons of this type were also worn in Europe. Later more standardised aprons consisting of a simple design would be used: crossed compasses and square in blue on a white field, with a blue and white indented border (figs. 5.76-5.77).[920]

▪ *Other attributes*

Not part of the regalia are some attributes that clearly did belong to a specific lodge officer. A metal collection box for instance, was mentioned in the 1775 inventory of La Fidèle Sincérité for the Amanusgracht.[921] The box was included in later inventories until 1801 and would have been used by the Almoner, collecting funds at each meeting for widows and orphans of lodge members, as well as other charitable goals.

As the *Assemblée des Francs-maçons* series of engravings illustrated (figs. 2.24-2.25, 2.27-2.30) it was common in the 18th century for not just the military, but also for civilian men to wear a sword as part of their formal dress, also in lodge meetings. The swords mentioned in the inventories, however, are ceremonial accessories. A sword was part of the regalia of the Wardens and the Tyler, the symbolical guard of the lodge, carried a sword to ward off intruders. According to the domestic laws of La Fidèle Sincérité of 1775, the youngest lodge member would have to be on watch with a sword during initiations.[922] A sword was also one of the items displayed in the Chamber of Reflection, while a sword on a pillow, often carried in masonic processions, symbolized the sovereignty of the lodge (see chapter 2). Therefore three or four swords would normally appear on lodge inventories. The fact that they were not mentioned in early versions, might simply mean the officers of La Fidèle Sincérité kept theirs at home or used their own ones.

The 1781 and 1786 inventories of La Fidèle Sincérité mentioned '1 Ballot chest', a ballot box for the voting on newly proposed members, which did not appear on later inventories.[923] The Master of Ceremonies, or another officer chosen by the Worshipfull Master, passed it round. The 1798 inventory of the Amanusgracht building listed 'Two small swords with silver hilts', probably belonging to the Wardens.[924]

In 1819 'One Silver Collection Box' was named together with 'One Copper Collection Box'.[925] The silver one seems to have belonged to the basic degrees of La Fidèle Sincérité, the copper one to the Chapter. Both objects were listed until the Chapter inventory became separate in 1833, after which the silver one remained until the lodge merger in 1837. In 1822, '2 Ballot bags' were listed[926], and by 1825 another two 'with handles' were added, along with 'Two Red Linen Bags' which may have been meant for the Chapter degrees.[927] These were in use until the lodge merger.

At the inauguration of its new Freemasons' Hall on the Moorish Hospital grounds in 1786, one of the gifts received by La Vertueuse was: 'Van Welgevaren prompt a fine silver collection box'.[928] It was kept in the dining room according to the 1792 inventory. Later the aforementioned silversmith Wyszinsky was asked



Fig. 5.78: Collection box of the lodge La Constante et Fidèle in Semarang, after 1801, hammered and engraved silver, 15.6 x 12.5 cm. Collection: C.M.C. Prins Frederik, The Hague. inv.no. 6354. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

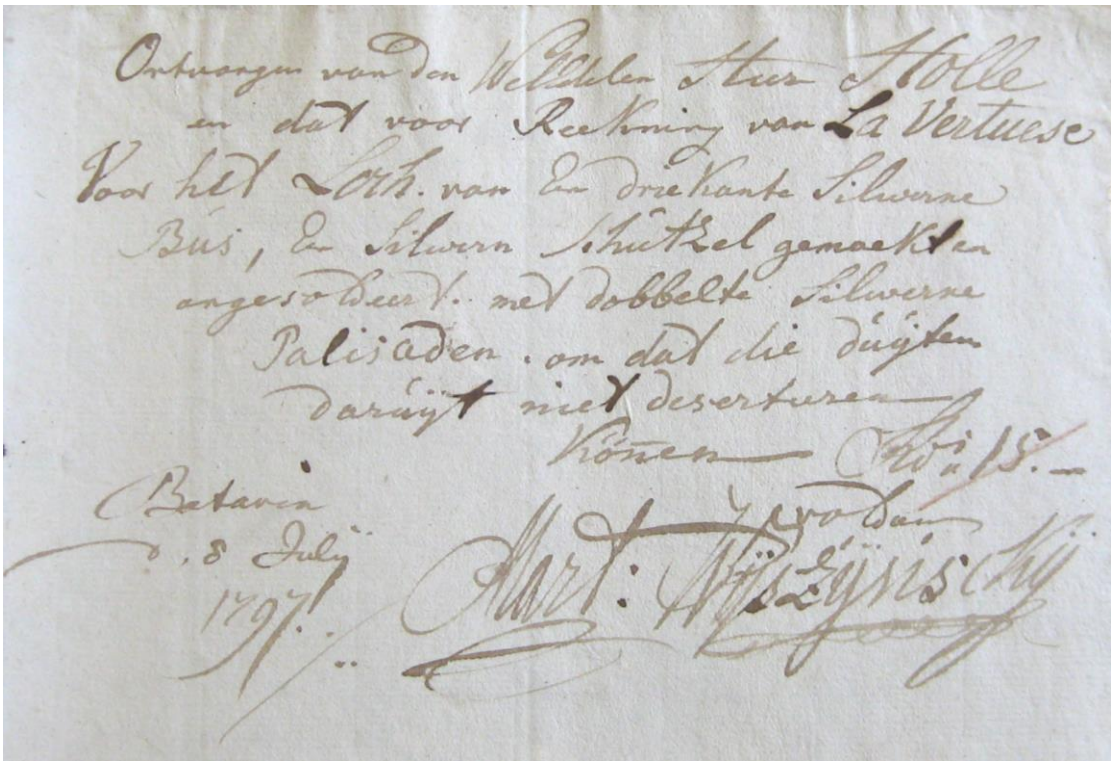


Fig. 5.79: Receipt signed by silversmith Martin Wysynsky in Batavia, 8-7-1797. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

to repair a collection box, probably the same one. It might indicate he was also the original maker. A receipt dated 8-7-1797 reads (fig. 5.79):

> For the delivery of A Triangular Silver Box, A Silver lid made and welded on with double Silver Palisades so that the coins cannot escape Rds 15'[929]

The box did not survive, but there is another example of a silver triangular collection box. It belonged to lodge La Constante et Fidèle in Semarang, dating from the beginning of the 19th century (fig. 5.78). The lid has a simple engraving consisting of a pair of compasses, set square, level and star, while the name of the lodge is engraved on the side. All visible surfaces have a decorative (indented) border.

In 1792 a 'ballot box and its beans' were added to the inventory. From 1796 onwards, a velvet bag was used for voting on new members and in 1807 a 'proposal bag' was used for submitting new names (and/or officers' elections).[930] From 1793 onwards, La Vertueuse's seal (stamp) was included in the inventories, later specified as made of iron.

♦ *Necessities for the table lodge*

As described in chapter 2, a communal meal or table lodge was the last part of a ritual meeting. From the 1775 inventory onwards, dinner tables and chairs, as well as pouring, pantry and kitchen tables in various shapes and numbers appeared on the inventories of La Fidèle Sincérité. Much of this furniture was painted blue, the colour of the Order and the basic degrees. At first dinner and other tables were loaned from lodge members Maas and Van Duijveland, but from 1781 onwards the lodge owned its own, and in 1798 a cooling table was added. The number of glasses, cutlery and dinner services, as well as the expanding range of pots and pans illustrate how the *combuijs* or kitchen became more and more equipped to deal with large parties.

The records of lodge La Vertueuse show a similar pattern. The first inventory of 1779 illustrated the purchase of a corner cabinet for glassware, a pouring table (later specified as 'with lead and its tin cooling



Fig. 5.80: A freemasons' glass on a firm base, or so called 'canon', one of a set of six orginally belonging to Hendrik Veuger (see chapter 7). The symbolic decoration includes masonic tools grouped around a triangle, topped by a sun, a moon and a sixpointed star, the whole embraced by crossed acacia branches. Fired glass, engraved and gilded, early 19th century. Private collection. Reproduced with kind permission of Gerrit Bloothooft from: hum.uu.nl/medewerkers/g.bloothooft/Veuger.

tray') and several sizes of dining tables.[931] The 1787 version listed '12 square Dinner tables' with '2 Head-Pieces'.[932] From 1796 onwards, 'a marble table with a gilt base' was kept in the dining room (possibly the 'stone table' already appearing in earlier versions).[933] Similar items appear in all later records.

■ *Glass wares*

The earliest inventory of La Fidèle Sincérité from 1775 mentioned beer and wine glasses, water carafes and '50 Free masons glasses' in stock at the Amanusgracht.[934] These glasses were probably the so-called 'canons', cone shaped wineglasses on a thick, round base, firm enough to be slammed on the table. It was common to make toasts during the meal, using such canons and specific (military) terminology and (see chapter 2). Surviving examples from the 18th century are often engraved and gilt with masonic symbols (figs. 2.58 and 5.80).

Glass wares were not included in the overviews until 1798, by which time the stock was somewhat larger, but no masonic items were specified. Added were 'Three liqueur bottles'.[935] By 1801 the glass service was kept in a corner closet, including 132 beer glasses, 40 water carafes and 'eighty-six wine glasses with the Free Masons' mark'.[936] Perhaps the lodge wanted to be equipped to host joint meetings with La Vertueuse.

After a gap of some years, the 1819 version mentions no less than 136 masonic wine glasses kept in the building on the Jacatraweg[937], while in later inventories the specification as masonic is left out again. The supply kept growing along with the membership and the expanding choice of beverages. A highpoint was reached in 1825, when a total of 420 wine glasses and 90 beer glasses was kept ready for thirsty



Fig. 5.81: Masonic wineglass, ca 1810-1820. Decorated on one side with a medaillion on a bow, encompassing masonic tools, columns, sun, moon and stars, and a Jacob's ladder. The reverse carries the name 'J. Anthony' above decorative foliage. Lead glass, engraved, diam rim 9.7 cm. Collection: Museum Rotterdam. Reproduced from: museumrotterdam.nl.

brethren.[938] Other glass types were no longer mentioned. In 1832, 139 new beer glasses were 'bought from the gentleman Hellerman'[939], and in 1833 '16 water carafes' were bought at auction.[940]
The financial records of lodge La Vertueuse listed glass wares shortly before these appear on its inventories. The earliest mention, dated 12-8-1776, concerned a purchase 'for 22 Canons on behalf of the Lodge [Rds] 2:24:-'.[941] These were definitely the characteristic freemasons' glasses with a sturdy base. A second purchase, for 12 Rds, was made in June 1782 after the move to the Kormandelswijk property, noting a reimbursement 'to the gentleman Walkert for 26 pieces masons' glasses'.[942] On 10-9-1783 a larger set was acquired from the gentleman Wolf: '4 dozen freemasons' glasses 24:--:-'.[943] A whole glass service was purchased several years later when the Freemasons' Hall on the Moorish Hospital grounds was completed, as is clear from a receipt dated 7-12-1787, listing:

8 dozen wine goblets	rds 20
2 ditto wine and water glasses	30
2 ditto decanters	
5 ditto beer glasses	30[944]

The inventory of 27-12-1787 then recorded the overall supply of glass wares as follows:

14 Beer glasses with gilt rims
60 " ungilded
30 Wine and Water Glasses
140 Wine Glasses
32 Decanters[945]

Though the numbers vary, the same types of glassware are included in later inventories, while masonic glasses are not always specified, but probably still present. In 1789 a committee on the purchase of goods for the lodge reported: 'of these Glass wares on occasion 95 Pieces of wine Glasses as the feet are a little small; could be sold & some more Sturdy bought in their place'.[946] This again illustrates the particular use of canons, which had to withstand a firm strike on the table. In 1790 an addition to the regular items were '3 Soopjes bottles', a *soopje* referring to a sip, usually of strong liquor.[947] The 1792 version further added '1 Soopjes Cellar with 2 bottles'.[948] By 1793 only the cellar was left, which was listed until 1807.

The 1796 inventory first mentioned '50 ribbed wine glasses'[949], described in later overviews as 'ribbed wine goblets', their number peaking at 81 and eventually lowering to 21 by 1809. The inventory of 6-7-1808 includes '93 wine goblets with masonic emblems'[950], recurring until the last inventory of 1816.

■ *Porcelain and other ceramics*

Lodge member Van Duijveland lent one Japanese and one Bantam water pot to La Fidèle Sincérité, according to the 1775 inventory for the Amanusgracht.[951] Presumably these were earthenware objects, similar to the *martavaan* type listed on later inventories: large, often egg-shaped storage vats for water or pickled vegetables. Other ceramics were not mentioned in the 1781 and 1786 versions. The financial overview listed a purchase: '1787 13 June […] for 200 flat plates Rds 20,-'.[952] The word 'porcelain' first appeared in inventories in 1798, after which dinner services and individual pieces were mentioned frequently, but unfortunately their materials or providence were rarely specified.

The 1798 inventory listed flat and deep plates, rice and salad dishes, tureens, sauce boats, salt cellars, butter and pepper pots, as well as a teapot, milk jug and cups and saucers among the items for the table lodge.[953] Most of these are specified as belonging to a blue dinner service, most likely made of Chinese porcelain, and a white service, which as we will see shortly was of Dutch make. Their many individual parts suggest that full meals were being served.

By 1801 another martavaan had been added, most of the blue service had been broken, and most remaining items were now specified as white porcelain, with some mustard pots, salad and pastry bowls also being specified.[954] Because the words used to describe the individual parts and the level of detail provided by successive authors varies greatly, it is difficult to tell which is which. A 'soup tureen' became a 'soup bowl with dish' in a later version, a 'water basin with bowl' became a 'ewer', etc. The overall impression is that La Fidèle Sincérité had to be frugal, because it kept using the same services even when these became more and more incomplete.

There was a gap in the inventories until 1819, when the new overview for the building on the Jacatraweg included 'A small lot of mostly damaged plates, saucers and soup bowls, unfit for any use in the Lodge', as well as a Japanese and a Javanese water pot or martavaans.[955] The inventory of the Steward of 1822 mentioned 'Some blue porcelain or a damaged tea Service'.[956] A list of goods to be sold from the same year, mentioned 'A lot of Dutch white porcelain'.[957] By 1825, the Steward was responsible for:

> 56 Six & Fifty Cups
> 48 Eight & Forty Saucers
> […] 2 Two Water Martavaans of which One damaged
> A Rinsing bowl[958]

The cups and saucers were part of a tea service and reappeared until the 1834 version, though numbers varied. From 1829 onwards, they were accompanied by 'round tea stands'.

The inventories of the Steward in the years 1827-1833 recorded various purchases. On 2-6-1829, a 'table service' was acquired at auction, later specified as 'white porcelain'.[959] This can be matched with receipts of the same date 2-6-1829 to the trade office or *negotiehuis* Thompson Roberts & Co for '6 dozen low dishes'[960] and to *negotiehuis* Thornton & Mist for '12 dozen white plates at f 3,50 the dozen', together amounting to fl. 44,56[961] On 16 October of the same year were bought: 'a tea or *trekpot*', 'sugar pot', 'milk jug' and 'rinsing jug'.[962] This matches a receipt of the same date for 'purchase of a blue Tea service […] f 10 copper'.[963] No less than 72 'dishes (…) for the salad and potatoes with covers were bought on 24-10-1833, and on 5 September of the same year, another 'martavaan [for] water' was purchased at Veldman, Leconge & Co, 'for 12 silver'.[964]

From 1819 onwards, a 'bowl with masonic figures' appears on the inventories of the Freemasons' Hall on the Jacatraweg.[965] This is most likely a Chinese punch bowl and therefore discussed further in chapter 7, dealing with export porcelain. Although meals could be prepared on the premises of La Fidèle Sincérité, the catering was often provided by a third party, such as a widow of a brother or a professional cook, and festive meetings with larger parties sometimes took place at another venue, such as De Harmonie in Batavia. The caterer may have supplied some of the dinnerware the food was served in, which would explain why La Fidèle Sincérité only owned basic dinner and tea services.

Among the purchases La Vertueuse made in 1779, was a 'lacquered tea cabinet', presumably for its tea service.[966] The earliest mention of porcelain, however, dates from 1780, when the lodge still occupied the Kormandelswijk property. Lodge member Bestbier was reimbursed for 'A blue porcelain table service', bought on behalf of the lodge in 1778 for 188 Rds', elsewhere described as an English service, 'white with a blue border'.[967] In 1784 'A fair gilded Chinese Table Service consisting of 398 pieces' was acquired for 110 Rds.[968] its decoration elsewhere described as 'red flowers [on a] white ground'.[969] Both of these are specified in inventories for the Freemasons' Hall on the Moorish Hospital grounds from 1787 onwards, showing the Chinese service consisting of flat and deep plates, flat and deep dishes, covered fish dishes, soup tureens, sauce boats, salt cellars, mustard and butter pots. The English service included a tea, coffee and chocolate service. Also listed were a punch bowl and a 'sambal bowl'.[970] *Sambal* is a hot, spicy condiment, typical for the East Indies' kitchen. Included in the same inventory were '12 porcelain spittoons', which number later doubled.[971] They were valued at 20 Rds and specified as Japanese porcelain.[972] By 1816, eight remained. Spittoons were necessary because betel-leaf chewing was popular.[973]

In 1789 a committee suggested replacing both services, and indeed replacements were acquired: a 'Service blue & white large 330 pieces Rs 100', bought by lodge member and merchant Jacon Hacker[974], and 'One blue Table Service 200:-', bought by loge member Van Massau on 17-12-1789.[975] A further 10,- was spent on '2 sets of Tea wares'.[976] All these items appear on the 1789 inventory, along with other additions:

> Four porcelain cups, and
> Four wooden Bowls for the hand washing water
> Two porcelain washing basins
> Six chamber pots[977]

The cups with bowls for hand washing cost 9,- according to their receipt, were later specified as Chinese and recurred in inventories up until 1796, although described as jugs rather than cups.[978] The water pots were included in later inventories as 'large Japanese martavaans', valued in 1793 at '10 Rds' because of a notable crack.[979] They remained in the kitchen at first, were then kept in the back rooms and the mandur's quarters, after which they were buried in the ground in 1807. The washing basins were omitted as soon as 1790, the chamber pots broken by 1792.[980] Perhaps they were replaced by an outhouse on the premises? The lodge now possessed a total of four table and tea services, all listed as incomplete on later inventories up until 1809.

The 1797 inventory listed '4 porcelain gorgelets', small water jugs with a long neck, 'in the back room'.[981] They were not included in later versions, while the 1808 inventory did include '3 porcelain jugs with their wooden bowls'.[982] Perhaps these are all the same items? In any case by 1809 only one was left. The same 1797 inventory listed as additions to the pantry 'a Japanese chamber pot' and '1 ditto adjar bowl, the wooden coaster incomplete'.[983] *Atjar* is a pickled vegetable condiment, typical for the East Indies' kitchen.

The 1801 inventory included a detailed listings of the individual components of the four services. Besides the various plates, dishes etc., already mentioned above, now salad and vegetable dishes, fruit dishes with their spoons, sugar saucers, steamed fish dishes and fish bone saucers were also specified.[984] Unfortunately it remains unclear from the inventories which items belong to which service. By 1807, only the red and white, and the white with blue border services remained, no tea services. In the room of the Mandur were two Japanese chamber pots.[985]

The lodge minutes of 7-5-1818 recorded several suggestions made by a committee dealing with the inventory:

> […] buying some goods needed by the Brethren Master of Furniture & Economist, being […]
> 1 Tea Service
> 1 Table Service
> […] To consider in the purchase of some necessary goods, such as a number of Beerglasses borrowed by the Brother Velthuisen for the last illumination taken place, As well as of the borrowed Porcelain table service, which is just the same as the one belonging to this temple […].[986]

From later minutes it is clear, that this concerns a 'white with blue border British Table Service'.[987]
The proposal was approved and no other significant changes were noted.

■ *Silver and plated wares*

The 1775 inventory of La Fidèle Sincérité for the Amanusgracht listed '1 Silver *schenkpiering*', best translated as commemorative or presentation plate or tray.[988] The word *schenken* is Dutch for bestowing or presenting, and *piring* is Malaysian for plate.[989] Commemorative trays of hammered or engraved silver are typical for the Dutch East Indies and had a decorative function (see for non-masonic examples fig. 5.82-5.83). Although 17th century examples exist, most were made in the 18th century. The elegant engraving was usually a text, marking a special occasion, person or event, such as a birth, marriage, jubilee or death, and could be combined with a family crest. One can imagine this particular example might have marked the foundation of La Fidèle Sincérité or the reign of a particular Worshipful Master. However, it does not appear on later inventories.

Regular table wares were not listed until the 1798 inventory, which included a copper coffee pot, a (silver) plated oil and vinegar set, soup ladles and spoons, knives and forks.[990] By 1800 a few pieces of cutlery were broken or missing, while another oil & vinegar set and 'Three copper Coffee pots' were acquired.[991] There is a gap in the documents, until in 1819 the Steward provided a new overview, the only notable additions of silver works being 'a sugar vase' with its spoons and thongs, as well as (silver) plated dessert forks and knives, and carving knives and forks.[992] The overview of the Master of Furniture for the same year listed accompanying items, such as '1 Large Coffee stand' and '5 small coffee and tea stands'.[993]

By 1819 '1 Masonic silver presentation tray' was listed at the Jacatraweg, the first mention of such an object with masonic significance.**[994]** It was likely engraved with masonic symbols and/or triangular in shape. The tray was included in all inventories from 1822 onwards, but always without the masonic element being specified.[995] By 1822 La Fidèle Sincérité apparently needed cash.**[996]** A receipt dated 19-10-1822 to Boekhoff noted: 'For Melting into Bars of a Silver Coffee Pot of the Lodge f 9,-'.[997] The specification 'of the lodge' was normally used for items with the lodge name or emblem, such as aprons, suggesting the coffeepot may have also had some masonic engraving or design. Another coffeepot weighing 224 3/8 real was sold at public auction for fl. 338,-.[998]

Between 1825 and 1834, the list remained largely unchanged.**[999]** In 1828, on 21 July a silver spoon was reported stolen, and a week later 24 forks and knives were also stolen.**[1000]** A 'Plated Coffee Pot' was bought at auction house JJ Dominicus from the estate of the late Dominicus in 1829.[1001] The last additions, a 'Plated teapot' and a 'Plated Chocolate Pot', the latter bought at auction, were made in 1831.

For lodge La Vertueuse, there is luckily a little more information on the makers of the silver wares. The lodge's financial records of 9-3-1784 recorded another commission to the aforementioned Abraham van Campen:

> To the Silver Smith van Campen for delivered 2 Silver Schenkpiering [= commemorative plates] in which is engraved in memory of La Vertueuse according to receipt [Rds] 115:--:-'[1002]

However, these commemorative plates were not included in the following inventories. This may indicate a gift as a souvenir to a parting lodge member or (less likely) that they were melted down before the next inventory was made. The 1787 inventory for the Freemasons' Hall on the Moorish Hospital grounds did include silver spoons and forks, knives with silver hilts, silver-plated oil and vinegar sets (later specified as 'each with 5 bottles', and a copper milk jug, as well as some Japanese coffee, chocolate and tea kettles with their warmer stands.[1003] The next year, a committee concerned with the inventory remarked:





Fig. 5.82: Elias Albertus Meiszner, schenkpiering *or commemorative platter, Batavia, 1751. The centre is engraved with a crowned coat of arms surrounded by palm leaves. The reverse is engraved with a text, commemorating Maria Giliana Gerlag, wife of Reinier Harmensz (merchant, 2nd Administrator and Bookkeeper of the Medicin Shop), who died in Batavia on 6-11-1751 at the age of 24. Engraved silver, maker's mark 'EM' and mark of Batavia, 32 x 32 cm. Reproduced from: Röell/Viljoen 2012, no.24.*
Fig. 5.83: Schenkpiering *or commemorative platter, Batavia, circa 1734. The centre is engraved with a a circular inscription, commemorating Adriaan Oostwalt (First Council and Director of the Dutch East Indies) who died 29-12-1734 at the age of 60, and enclosing a Javanese inscription. The reverse is also inscribed in Javanese, noting the names of former owners. Engraved silver, with the mark 'BI' attributed to Barent Jacobz, mark for Batavia and later Dutch duty mark, diam. 34.5 cm. Reproduced from: Röell/Viljoen 2011, no. 29.*

> […] that one of the knives with Silver hilts was lost
> [...] that a Silver Spoon has since been stolen
> While we propose the sale of the 21 knives with Silver hilts, as these are old and worn, and now in their place with foreknowledge of Your High Worshipful have been bought by the undersigned
> 4 dozen Table and 2 ditto desert knives with ivory hilts
> Furthermore the silver works have been increased with 2 Silver Soup ladles […].
> Together with a plated vase for Coffee, which the undersigned [Pieter van der Weert] requests, that La Vertueuse will please to accept in his memory.[1004]

All cutlery was kept in a corner cabinet in the inner portal according to the 1789 inventory, but the Japanese coffee, tea and chocolate kettles were sold.[1005] The dessert *couverts* were later specified as 'with ivory hilts with silver bands'.[1006] The financial records listed their price as 28,12 Rds for the spoons and 72 Rds for the knives.[1007] The receipt was signed by dowager Vermeulen, indicating this was a purchase of second hand wares from an estate. The old knives were sold at public auction in the garden of Worshipful Master Van Overstraten for 74 Rds.[1008]

Another order from the aforementioned silversmith Martin Wyszinsky, dated 27-1-1790, concerned:

For 6 persons Silver spoons and	|- at 1 rd 32 per person	rds	20
6 persons ditto forks	|		
A Silver Cooling tray weiging 9 Real			26
Purchase [materials]			10,-.[1009]

These forks and spoons were listed in the inventories as *confituur* or jam spoons and forks. The cooling tray was also described as a cooling vessel. Although the numbers vary as items were broken and replaced, the

same types of silver cutlery were included in all later inventories. The lodge minutes of 7-5-1791 recorded another acquisition:

> Brother [Jacob] Hacker bought on the expense of this Lodge from the Estate of late Brother [Phillipus d']Elwijk from public auction, two silver schenkpierings, which said Brother Elwijk had made to honour this lodge but which by his Sudden passing was unable to present.[1010]

On 20-2-1792 a similar purchase of 'Two pieces silver Schenk Pierings weighing 57 real at 84 stuivers rds 99,36' was made from the Estate of the late lodge member Jan Reynier Coortsen.[1011] However, only two of those four schenkpierings are included in the 1792 inventory. By 1797, '2 Japanese kettles' were added once more, but not repeated in later versions.[1012] From 1801, '1 [silver]plated Tobacco box' was also included in the inventories, kept in the dining room so the members could enjoy a smoke after their meal.[1013]

The silversmith Johan Anthony Zwekkert (died 1819), born in Jaffnapatnam (Ceylon), became a member of La Vertueuse around 1803.[1014] He was appointed Assayer and Mint Master in Surabaya, and also worked as merchant for the VOC.[1015] It is not clear if he ever made silver wares for the lodge himself, but on 2-12-1806 Zwekkert was, in his position of Master of Furniture, asked to supply various goods. These included 'six dozen silver spoons and forks', and the lodge asked to 'have hammered in those, as well as those currently used by the lodge, the letters L.V.'[1016] The minutes of a meeting on 2-1-1807 recorded the costs of this silver, as well as 100 table chairs, amounting to 1800 Rds, which sum was raised by a subscription among the members.[1017]

In 1807, the plated coffee pot was listed missing. The purchase for ten dozen knives and forks, worth 70 Rds, was reimbursed to lodge member Johan Adriaan Doorninck on 22-9-1812.[1018] An addition to the inventory from 1814 onwards, was '1 Silver incense vessel', kept in the dining room. This is one of the subtle signs of the lodge adapting to local customs. The lodge minutes of 7-5-1818 again included a report of a committee, concerned with the inventory. It was proposed 'To sell […] 2 silver trowels, 2 ditto triangles, 17 ditto trowels [for the *Chevalier d'Orient*, discussed below], 1 silver ornament for the Master Tracing Board, 1 ditto double triangle, 1 star with Silver plate'.[1019] This was approved and temporary Master of Furniture Barends was requested 'to ensure to sell such, as without comment can be sold to profane, as the silver unusable pieces, can be melted and some silver Teaspoons made thereof'.[1020] These, however, do not appear on the next inventories.

Lastly, the lodge minutes of 4-6-1834 recorded that Gijsing, the aforementioned Master of Furniture for the Freemasons' Hall on the Vrijmetselaarsweg, received 'from the hands of the Worshipful Master':

> 100 One Hundred Silver spoons
> 100 One Hundred ditto forks
> 12 Twelve ditto Tea spoons
> […] 2 Two ditto Schenkpierings[1021]

■ *Lacquer wares*

The 1775 version La Fidèle Sincérité's inventory listed '4 lacquered serving trays' and '1 lacquer Cellar', with drink bottles given in loan by lodge member Van Duyveland for the building at the Amanusgracht.[1022] The trays must have been a gift to the lodge, because they appear on inventories until 1798, the drinks cellar does not. By 1801, only three trays were left, and 'two dozen lacquered coasters' were added. Only in 1827 'lacquered insect boxes' were listed on the inventory[1023], perhaps referring to the *krekeldoosjes*, small cages to keep fighting beetles (for gambling), cicades and other pet insects in? It is not clear whether any of the aforementioned items were made of varnished wood, or Asian lacquer. Other objects more clearly specified as Japanese, will be discussed in chapter 6.

Lodge La Vertueuse possessed more Japanese lacquer wares than La Fidèle Sincérité in general, including tracing boards to which we will come back later. The committee dealing with the inventory noted in December 1789:

> […] that the Japanese lacquered Tea trays continued in the inventory, are totally broken and unusable, and we request the qualification, to the Purchase of another 4 or 5 copper lacquered trays as being more durable, having the undersigned by provision for use already bought 5 pieces for rd. 10:-[1024]

These were omitted again in 1796. The 1794 version notes '1 Pouring table now in *'t verlaecktje* under the stairs'.[1025] The Dutch term used, *'t verlaecktje (literally*: the lacquered), suggests a varnished or lacquered or cabinet or closet of some sort. By 1797, other additions were made:

> 4 wooden Varnished Tea Bowls
> 5 Lacquered Metal ditto
> 2 wooden large ditto[1026]

By 1816, only 2 'iron' and four wooden were left. In 1807, '1 [square] lacquered table' and '1 ditto ditto smaller' were kept under the stairs, and reoccur up until 1814.[1027] Again these descriptions are vague, but considering Batavia was a main trade post for all kinds of export wares, it is likely that Asian lacquer furniture was part of the lodge inventory.

■ *Linen wares*

The first inventory of La Fidèle Sincérité made mention of '27 pieces Napkins' and '2 Tablecoths' as linen wares for the table lodge at the Amanusgracht in 1775.[1028] By 1798 their numbers were respectively 100 and 10, showing the capacity of the lodge for hospitality was extended. After the move to the Jacatraweg, by 1819 these numbers were 105 and 15, with the textile specified as 'half linen'.[1029] An invoice dated 1-9-1827 mentioned the purchase of linen for napkins and dishcloths[1030], while the 1829 inventory mentioned purchase of the same from lodge member Wattendorf. In later inventories, the same, unremarkable items are listed with little variations in numbers.

Records are a little more detailed for lodge La Vertueuse. The first inventory of 1779 listed a purchase of table cloths, napkins and towels.[1031] The financial records for the building at Kormandelswijk included a payment on 1-1-1783 'for 60 napkins, 14 table clothes and 12 towels [at] 150 rds'.[1032] Numbers varied, but the same types of linen wares recur in all later inventories and accounts. Those of the Freemasons' Hall on the Moorish Hospital grounds for the years 1790-1791 mentioned that wages for the washing of linen wares were made out to H. van Gaalen[1033], but in 1794 the Worshipful Master Van de Weerth took the washing home for his servants to deal with.

The records also provide some information on the type of cloth used. In 1790, the committee dealing with the inventory noted:

> The Brother servant Hein showing the shortage of the Table wares, thus two pieces of *guinees* are necessary to make Napkins & towels.[1034]

The *guinees* mentioned here was a rough, chequered cotton cloth, exported from India.[1035] Similarly, on 23-8-1791 the lodge minutes recorded:

> Upon a friendly offer by the Brother visitor Crap, it was agreed to bring *Lijwaet* from Bengal for this Lodge, for Table cloths and Napkins, taking into account that the Lijwats there are easier to come by then here.[1036]

Lijwaat or *Lijnwaad* was a more general name for coloured or chequered textiles, exported from Asia.[1037] However, on 7-2-1792 the lodge members decided to have napkins and table cloths made of 'Chinese Linen'.[1038] Such orders were made through the VOC channels at the lodge's disposal.

Later years showed the same pattern. The purchase of '3 pieces white Guinees from which [can be] made 120 pieces napkins and 4 large table cloths for 60 rds' was arranged by brother Meijer on 31-8-1798.[1039] In 1804 the lodge took inventory and decided another 10 table cloths, 120 napkins and 24 towels were needed.[1040] J.A. Garisson-van Nimwegen was asked to supply these goods in 1805 for 516,12 Rds.[1041] Lastly, in 1834 the lodge minutes recorded that the Worshipful Master proposed 'the purchase of a blue linen table cloth for use in the *comparitien* [= non-ritual meetings]' at the Vrijmetselaarsweg.[1042] (Dutch

freemasons made a difference between ritual meetings and non-ritual lodge meetings, called *comparitie*, which does not translate well). Again this was a choice for a symbolic colour.

■ *Kitchen equipment*

Prior to 1798, La Fidèle Sincérité probably did not have its own kitchen equipment. The inventory of that year lists a modest range of copper and iron water and ham kettles, frying pans, as well as *broeder*- and *poffertjes* pans. The latter two were used to make two types of small yeast pancakes, a sweet dish typical for the Dutch kitchen. By 1800 the lodge was still housed at the Amanusgracht, where an 'iron Rice kettle', 'two copper roasting pans', an 'iron grill' and 'four metal *Almenieten*' had been added, of which the latter could not be identified. This kitchen equipment does not appear in later inventories, perhaps because the lodge made use of a caterer who brought his own.

An invoice of 1828, by which time the lodge resided at the Jacatraweg, shows that, amongst other table wares, a new ham kettle and a *broeder*-pan were obtained from the auction house of J.J. Dominicus.[1043] In 1829 new purchases were made: a 'copper ham kettle' and a 'copper kastrol' (a large type of roasting or simmering pot with a lid) were bought at auction from 'the gentleman Jans', while a second castrol and a 'copper cake pan' were bought from the auction house Dominicus. No other additions were listed in the later inventories.

Similarly, the financial records of La Vertueuse note on 31-6-1778 'for the making of 4 large brown varnished dinner tables, for the table lodge to be seated with 32 brethren 36:--:-'.[1044] The kitchen equipment listed in its 1787 inventory for the Moorish Hospital grounds included a roasting spit, iron grills, rice and ham kettles, simmering and roasting pans, tables and water vats.[1045] While their numbers vary, similar items appear on the later inventories. In 1789 '2 pancake pans' and '2 water kettles' were added, while the lodge sold several superfluous items, including copper kettles, copper *broedertjes* pans and a 'grease pan' by public auction.[1046]

A receipt dated 21-1-1802 'for tin-plating 5 pieces of kitchen utensils' for 13,- Rds was made out to Tan Fieko.[1047] By 1812, most of the pans were considered damaged and taken off the list. The financial records of 22-6-1813 show purchases from a Chinese supplier for 16,- Spd:

> 60 Pieces *kualies* for the Kitchen
> 12 Konfoor [= candle warmer stands]
> 30 Spoons of coconut [shell]
> 20 Cane *Lekaars* or Dishes[1048]

There were no other notable additions in later years.

■ *Bar furniture*

After the ritual, the meeting often continued on a purely social level, and over time the lodge would also function as a gentlemen's club, where one could play a game, smoke and drink. As one might expect of any bar in those days, a number of 'spittoon stands' is listed on the 1775 inventory of La Fidèle Sincérité for the Amanusgracht.[1049] The 1798 and 1801 versions also included '12 copper spittoons' (compare fig. 5.45) and 'three copper tobacco *confoirs*' (= warmer stand, in this case: a stand with hot coals, used to relight pipes), but they were no longer mentioned in later overviews.[1050] In 1775, Van Duijveland first made '2 Playing tables covered with green Cloth' and '2 ditto ordinary' available to La Fidèle Sincérité.[1051] They became property of the lodge and their number rose to six by 1798, and to eleven by 1825. By then, the lodge was housed at the Jacatraweg, and the tables had been replaced by a 'large oak table, consisting of five and twenty pieces'. The lodge even kept its own supply of tobacco and new card decks. Socializing would likewise take place after meetings of the higher degrees.

The inventories of La Vertueuse included very similar items: '10 copper spittoons' were acquired in 1779, along with '6 tea stands' (compare fig. 5.45), '4 playing tables, 2 with red velvet, 2 covered with green laken, with 4 playing candle stands'.[1052] The 1787 version specified six, in pairs made of Ambonese, Ceylon and Javanese wood (compare fig. 5.84).[1053] In 1788 two more, made of Ambonese wood 'with lacquer', were added. All were kept in the 'lower room' of the Freemasons' Hall on the Moorish Hospital grounds and their number kept steadily rising. In 1792 English mahogany and djatie wooden playing tables were



Fig. 5.84: Games table, Batavia, first half of the 18th century, the removable top enclosing a backgammon board. Sono keling, amboyna, ebony and kayu pelet, 70 x 116 x 59 cm. Reproduced from: Röell/Viljoen 2013A, no. 45.

added, others were broken or sold. By 1807 there were eight, by 1816 six of which 2 broken. This lodge too kept its own supply of 'fine' and 'second type' playing cards, as well as tobacco.

In 1796 '21 dozen half *Cabale* [?] pipes' were kept in storage. 'Under responsibility of the Mandur' were '1 revolving hood and one music table'.[1054] La Vertueuse also boasted another luxury: between 1809 and 1816, the inventories included '1 Billiard with its belongings, including ten balls'.[1055]

■ *Seals and certificates*

The inventory of La Fidèle Sincérité for the year 1801 mentioned:

> 5 ink wells in sort
> […] 1 one gavel seal or Stamp moulded in Silver under care of the brother Grand Seal bearer
> 1 one small Seal or Stamp moulded in Silver and under care of the brother Secretary[1056]

The grand seal was used for authenticating diplomas, the responsibility of the Seal Bearer. Lacquer seals were either applied directly onto the paper, or set in a metal box, attached to documents with a ribbon in the lodge colour. The small seal was used by the Secretary for closing letters. The seals were not included in later inventories, probably because they were not the responsibility of the Master of Furniture.

Although much of the lodge archive survived, most of the red lacquer seals have melted, broken or been cut away from documents. As a result, imprints of the early lodge seals are now rare. One is found on

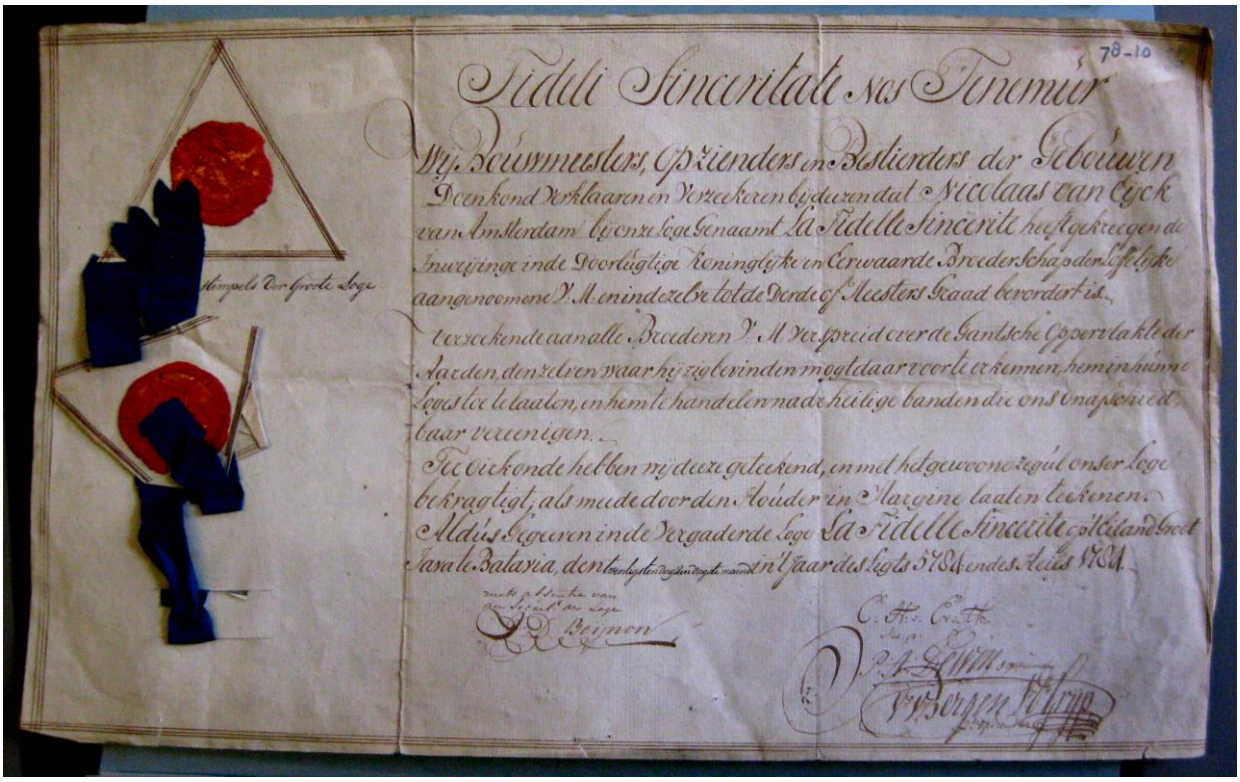


Fig.5.85 (and detail below left): Écossais certificate issued by the Lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia to Nicolaas van Eijck on 20-8-1784. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. N1. Photograph: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.





Fig. 5.86 (right): Imprint of the seal of the Lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia on a membership certificate issued to Jacob Arends on 3-6-1802. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. N1. Photograph: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

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an Écossais certificate dated 20-8-1784, issued by La Fidèle Sincérité to its member Nicolaas van Eijck. It shows the seal to have been round, consisting of a central composition of masonic tools: a pair of compasses, a set square and a level. These are topped by clouds in which a radiant sun, a five-pointed star and a moon appear. Around the seal is the motto of the Dutch Order, *Silentio et Fide*, and the lodge name. Although the text is half melted away, the word 'Fidelle' is still recognizable (fig 5.85). Normally a





Fig. 5.87: Imprint of a seal on a certificate issued by lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia to Isaak Gerardus Hartman, 22-2-1819. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no 82. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.
Fig. 5.88: Imprint of the seal of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, as used in 1798-1837. Here reproduced from a letter by lodge member Musquetier in 1832. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.





Fig. 5.89 (and detail): Seal of lodge De Ster in het Oosten, into which symbols from the former seals of La Vertueuse and La Fidèle Sincérité have been incorporated. Red lacquer in a metal box with silk ribbon, 19th century. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 4240. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

certificate would also bear the Grand Lodge seal, so as explanation for presence of the lodge seals only, the text 'By lack of stamps of the Grand Lodge' was simply written under one of the imprints.

Either the basic degrees of La Fidèle Sincérité used another seal, or the lodge changed the design sometime after 1784. A membership certificate dated 3-6-1802, issued by the lodge to Jacob Arends, bears an imprint of more elaborate design (fig. 5.86). It consists of a (simplified) tracing board, enclosed in a circle. Two columns and steps represent the temple. Between the columns are crossed acacia sprigs with a skull-and-bones below them (representing Hiram's grave), an all-seeing eye in a radiant triangle in between the sprigs and a five-pointed star with the letter G above them. The scene is surrounded by building tools,

including a set square, pair of compasses, level, plumb line, hammer and trowel. Above the columns are the sun and the moon. Along the edge of the circle, letters spell the name of the lodge.

By 1811 an inventory of the lodge archive was made, and it was discussed in a meeting that the archive was in a poor state, with many documents already missing.[1057] The 1819 inventory of the building on the Jacatraweg listed '3 Masonic Tin Ink stands', suggesting a symbolic shape or decoration.[1058] These were included in all later inventories, as was a 'fire chest' or safe, in which important documents could be stored. From 1825 onwards, separate cabinets for use of the Secretary (or Archivist) and the Master of Furniture were mentioned.[1059]

On 11-6-1798 the financial records of La Vertueuse recorded a payment to J. Iszaaksz: 'for delivering a Silver seal rds 10,-'.[1060] On 12-6-1798 the costs for 'cutting the Seal 40,-' were added.[1061] Again, little imprints of these seals have survived. A seal on an Apprentice certificate for Isaak Gerardus Hartman from 1819, shows a round seal with a radiant all-seeing eye (fig. 5.87), but not depicting the typical lodge seal. This is best preserved on a letter by lodge member Musquetier in 1832 and shows a more elaborate design (fig. 5.88). Its consists of a triangle, in which a set square, pair of compasses and a ruler are set against an arch on two pillars. The triangle is framed by scrollwork below and to the left, and by a branch to the right, probably representing an acacia. The whole is topped with a sun, on both sides of which the name of the lodge can just be made out. This design was used by La Vertueuse between circa 1798 and 1837.

The 1796 inventory included '3 triangular tin ink stands'. Lastly, the lodge minutes of 4-6-1834 record that the aforementioned Master of Furniture Gijsing received 'from the hands of the Worshipful Master':

> […] 3 Three silver Ink stands, and belongings
> […] 1 Ivory Seal, of which the Seal [surface] is cut from mother of pearl.[1062]

Could this still be the mother of pearl seal (stamp), received from Van Braam in 1786? This could only have been used for (embossed) paper seals, as hot lacquer would have probably damaged the mother of pearl. The financial records of La Vertueuse recorded an order from Brother De Elwijk on 7-12-1789:

> 20 silver boxes for various expedited acts 90:--:-
> 4 gilt Boxes ditto 34:--:-'.[1063]

A receipt dated 15-2-1796 also recorded the purchase of '6 pieces Silver freemasons' boxes', this time for 66 Rds.[1064] These were either covers for certificates or the boxes protecting the seals, which hung on ribbons from certificates. At the request of lodge member Herklotz the aforementioned silversmith Wyszynsky produced 'thirty pieces silver boxes according to the enclosed example'.[1065] The prototype was lost, but the invoice for his work dated 25-1-1797 provided more details:

> 30 pairs silver boxes weighing 62 7/3 real (at 80..) rds 104,38
> wages per piece rds 2 ¾ 82,24'[1066]

On 2-6-1798 another 20 were ordered for Rds 145,30.[1067] Later records also regularly mention orders for seal boxes. On 28-2-1802 a payment to a gentlemen Meppert was recorded as 'for wages for the making of 12 pieces seal boxes and 2 thereof delivered silver at 5 ½ Rds per piece rds 66,-'.[1068] A receipt dated 3-7-1807 'for 12 pieces silver boxes at 5 rds the piece' was made out to Dirks, probably the silversmith M.M. Dirksz, to whom we will come back later. Another last receipt in his name dates from 18-12-1811 and also concerned an order of five silver seal boxes, this time for 50 Rds.[1069]

On 1-1-1813 a payment was made for 'twelve Silver boxes fit for containing the Seal of the Lodge which is attached to each Certificate of a brother leaving and which boxes each cost 2½ Spd'.[1070] Between 1813 and 1815 four payments were made to a 'Chinese silversmith', including orders for silver and gilded seal boxes. In all four cases this is probably Oeij Tianko, whose name is specified once.[1071]

After the merger of the lodges in 1837, the new seal of lodge De Ster in het Oosten incorporated symbols from both earlier ones (fig. 5.89). Surviving examples show a round design, consisting of two pillars on a set of steps, with between them a pair of crossed acacia branches holding a triangle with an all seeing

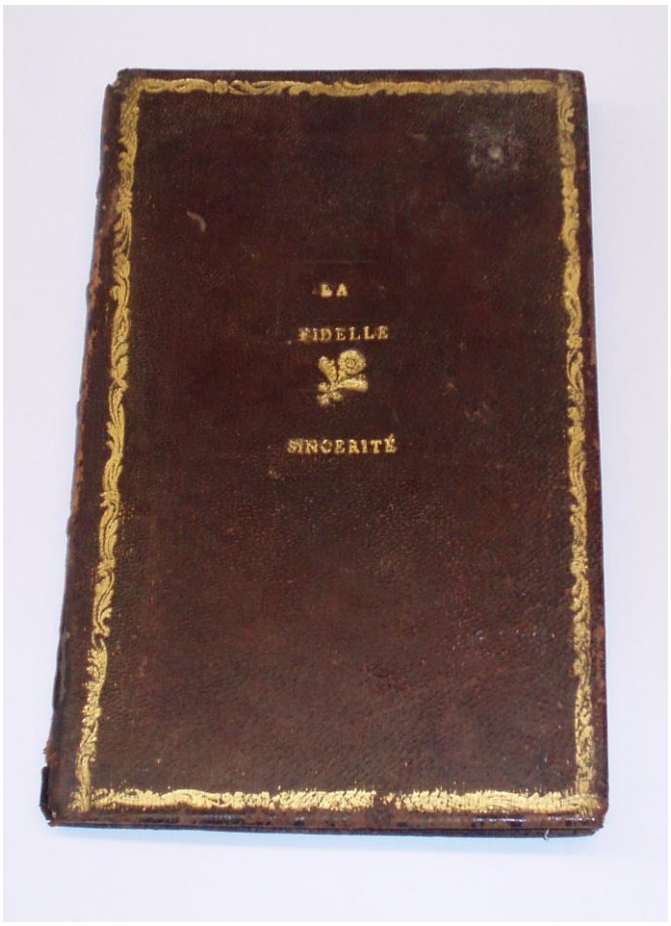


Fig. 5.90: Vrije Metselaars gezangen*, song book with gold-stamped binding dedicated to lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia, ca. 1820. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 6C8. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.*

eye. The scene is topped by a five-pointed star carrying the letter 'G'. Below the steps are a trowel, pair of compasses crossed with a set square and hammer, and beside the pillars are a plumb and level. The whole is framed in a circle formed by the lodge name.

♦ *Books and prints*

Books were one of the first things mentioned in the correspondence between the Grand Lodge and the lodges in the Dutch East Indies. Along with the constitution for lodge La Choisie, Grand Secretary Radermacher jr sent a *tabellie* (an overview of regular Dutch lodges), two copies of *La lire maçonne ou recueil de chansons des Francs-Maçons* and a dozen copies of *De Pligten, wetten of algemeene reglementen der Vrye metzelaaren*, along with a bill amounting to fl. 75,15 to Batavia in January 1765.[1072] Later, masonic song- and law books were regularly ordered from the Netherlands by all the lodges in the region. For a long time these were distributed by Rutgerus van Laak, the official bookseller of the Order. While the need for a book of rules and laws of a society is evident, songbooks were also essential to the daily lodge life. Solemn music and singing was used to enhance the mood of the rituals, while more humorous (drinking) songs livened up the table lodge.[1073]

The Grand Secretary sent La Fidèle Sincérité its (definite) constitution on 20-9-1771, along with 50 sheets of pre-sealed parchment, lawbooks, a list of lodges and a *kasje* or till, as well as some *Lire maçonnes* in 'French bindings'.[1074] Later correspondence provides some insight into the use of international courriers by the Grand Lodge. In 1773 Van Laak had 50 copies of *La code maçonne et la muse maçonne […]* and

50 copies of *La muse maçonne ou recueil de poésies diverses […]* delivered by ships captains to La Fidèle Sincérité.[1075] Van Laak promised to send the Resolutions of the Grand Lodge later on, via 'brother Johannes Sneijders', who can be identified as captain of the ship Pauw.[1076]

The lodge kept inventories of its furniture separate from those of its archive. The latter fell under responsibility of the Secretary. His overviews include 'A book of Resolutions, bound in red leather, starting Anno 1767'.[1077] The lodge inventory of 1781 for the Amanusgracht mentioned a 'Loquet Kast', a type of filing cabinet divided into compartments, 'with books and papers'.[1078] In 1798 'Twelve Song books' were mentioned separately[1079], and in 1801 '40 song books or lire macons high german' are added.

There was a gap in the data until 1816, when the lodge resided at the Tijgersgracht and lodge member J. Schill ordered new song books from Europe. These arrived on the ship Vrouw Catharina under captain J. van Dijl, and were stored in the warehouse of J. van Reenen & Co.[1080] La Fidèle Sincérité offered copies to La Vertueuse in 1819 for the price of fl. 8,-.[1081] A copy of *Vrije Metselaars gezangen* in a gold-stamped leather binding dedicated to La Fidèle Sincérité, dating from around this time, survives in the collection of the CMC (fig. 5.90). The inventory of the same year shows the lodge possessed 'A Blue Archive cabinet' or chest. Besides two bibles, two law books and 'a lot of old Lire Maçonnes', the overview included '1 Lire Maçon green' and '1 ditto red', presumably referring to precious *maroquin* or maroccon leather bindings. By 1822, '81 new song books' were in supply, as well as the old ones.[1082] The numbers of Dutch, French and German copies kept fluctuating the following years, while a number of chests, drawers and cabinets were listed for storage purposes.

The lodge minutes of 16-8-1820 reveal that La Fidèle Sincérité decided to buy a print of the new Grand Master National, Prince Frederik, which had been brought over by captain Wegener on the ship Het Schoon Verbond 'to be an Ornament of the Lodge and hang it, just in front of the Throne of this temple' at the Jacatraweg.[1083] This must have been the well-known engraving by Dirk Sluyter, portraying the prince in his masonic regalia after a painting by Harmanus Langerveld (1777-1830, also spelled Hermanus Langeveldt) (fig. 5.91). Langerveld first lived and worked in Groningen and then from circa 1809 in Amsterdam. There he was a member of lodge Concordia Vincit Animos in 1810-1812. By 1822 his name was also mentioned in the archives of lodge La Charité in Amsterdam.[1084] The engraving by Sluyter appeared after Prince Frederik's appointment as Grand Master in 1816. It was published in a high print run and became very popular among Dutch freemasons. Several later variations were made, copies of which are in the collection of the CMC. On 12-9-1820 Boekhoff was asked to have a frame made for the print for fl 25,-.[1085] The framed portrait was listed on all inventories of La Fidèle Sincérité from 1822 onward.[1086]

(The inventory of 1822 also specifies '3 Constitutions for the Lodge of which one with Gilded frame', as well as '1 Japanese List of Names of the subscribers for the building of this Lodge' to which we will come back in chapter 6.[1087])

While in the 18th century most books and certificates were ordered from The Hague by all lodges on Java, in the 19th century these items were more often produced locally. The minutes of La Fidèle Sincérité recorded how on 15-8-1822 permission was given to print poems by lodge member Dirk Hendrik ten Kate van Loo (1792-1828), which was later presented to La Vertueuse, Vriendschap and La Constante et Fidèle.[1088] In the CMC collection remains a copy of his poem on freemasonry, as well as a poem on John's the Baptist, published in Batavia 1825 to support a masonic charity in the Netherlands.[1089] From the 1820s onwards, financial records show La Fidèle Sincérité made more and more use of the services of printers such as the Landsdrukkerij in Batavia for its convocation letters, certificates etc.[1090] In 1823 the printing of 100 certificates cost fl. 36,-.[1091] The lodge minutes recorded on 21-8-1822 that lodge La Constante et Fidèle in Semarang offered 50 new song books for a price of fl. 8,- per piece, and La Fidèle Sincérité decided to buy 25 copies.[1092] Receipts show that the lodge also had adverts placed in the local newspaper, *Javaasche Courant*, announcing its meetings and celebrations (figs. 5.38-5.39). This is another sign that the lodge remained very 'visible' to the local community.

A receipt dated October 1830, made out to lodge member J. Tromp, lists 'gilt Frame with glass silver f 21'.[1093] This corresponds with the inventory of the Master of Furniture for 1829-1830, which notes the acquisition of 'a vase' on 13 May 1830, later specified as 'Gilded Painting representing a Masonic Vase'.[1094] Lodge member W.A. Keuchenius wrote on 12-3-1831 on behalf of Worshipful Master J. Schill to the Grand Treasurer of the Grand Chapter in the Netherlands, thanking him for 'the received print of the



Fig. 5.91: Dirk Sluyter, Z.K.H. Prins Frederik*, engraving and etching after a painting by Harmanus Langerveld, 1817. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 15432. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.*

vase offered to the High Noble [Master of the Lodge], it shines enclosed in a lovely Frame, as a permanent memento, in our temple'.[1095] Indeed the framed painting was listed on inventories up until 1834.

Several payments for the gilding of frames were made to the Chinese Oei Kwando in 1837.[1096] A last receipt dated 28-2-1837 to Boeckhoff mentions 'received from your wife a piece of blue moiré ribbon for use in different diplomas of newly accepted members 10 ell at 2 Guilders Silver.[1097]

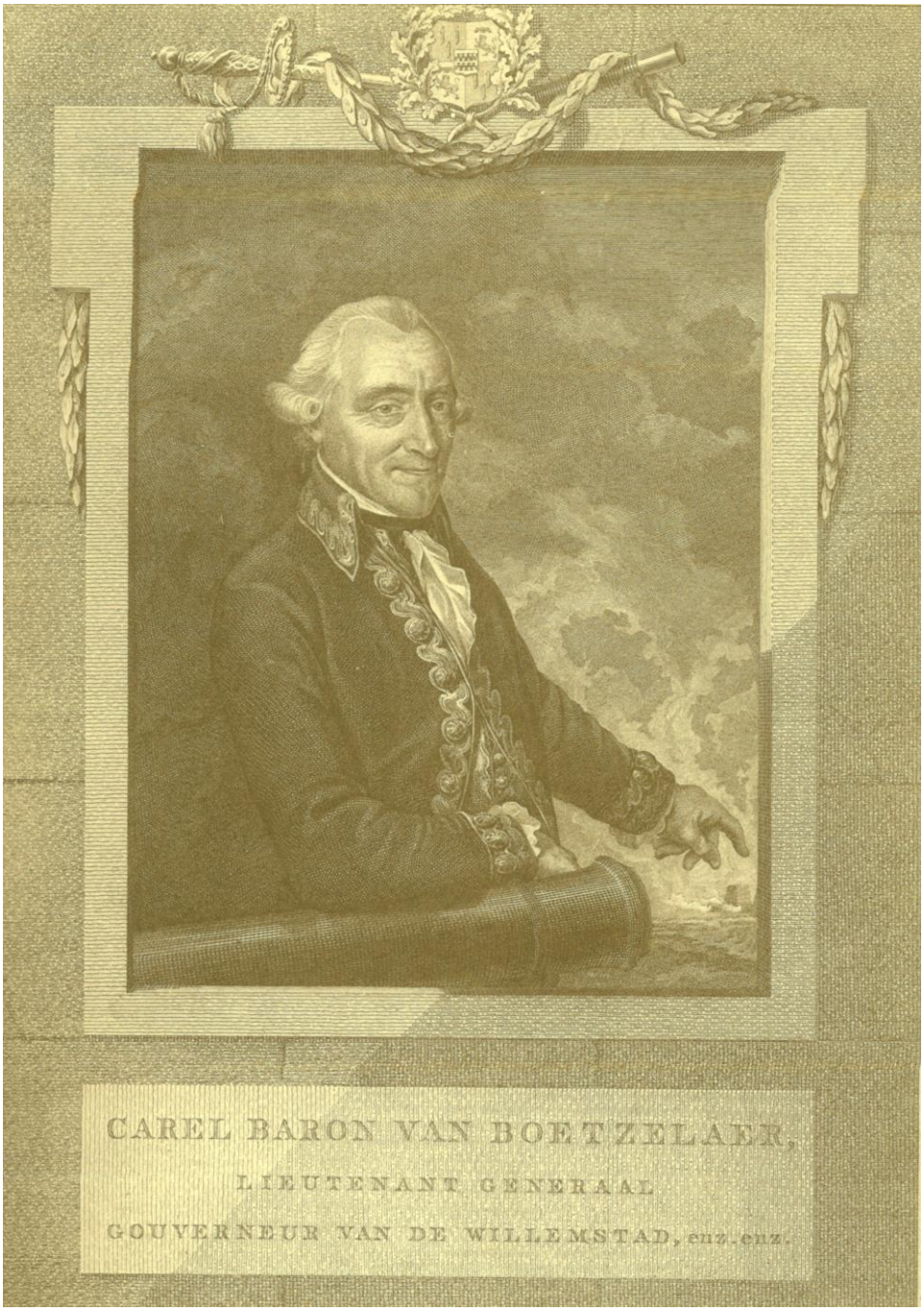


Fig. 5.92: Reinier Vinkeles, portrait of Carel Baron van Boetzelaer, engraving published by Johannes Allart in Amsterdam in 1793. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

La Vertueuse also regularly ordered masonic song and law books from the Netherlands. A letter dated from 1-9-1769 by Van Laak, mentions the delivery of Lire Maconnes, law books and parchment for a total of fl. 75,-.[1098] On 3-10-1772 La Verteusue thanked Deputy Grand Master Steendekker for his letter of 20-5-1771, and the shipment of Lire Maconnes, as well as 50 copies of *Vreugdeklank op de geboorte van den Jongen ErfStadhouder* (*Sounds of Joy at the birth of the young heir-Stadholder*).[1099] The financial overviews recorded the purchase by members of 12 *Chansons de table*, as well as poems for the installation, 30 copies of *Vreugdeklanken*, 24 printed lists, 18 law books in 8◦ and one law book in 4◦, all on 17-8-1774.[1100] The numbers here indicate *octavo* and *quarto*, the format of the paper/book. The purchase of certificates is also frequently mentioned in archive documents.



Fig. 5.93: Cover of J. Holtrop's Gezangboek voor vrijmetselaren *(Amsterdam 1806), bound especially for lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia. Leather stamped with gilt. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. N78 F7. Photos: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.*

The earliest inventory of La Vertueuse of 1779 listed mezzotints and chalk drawings, as well as several framed pictures.[1101] Although Worshipful Master Isaac Titsingh signed the list for approval, they were purchased by the Steward Hartsingh without authorisation and are probably not representative of what the lodge normally would have chosen. It is for instance, unlikely the lodge would have invested in mezzo tint nudes of its own accord - but once presented with them the members probably found some decorative use for them. There are inventories for the years 1779-1787, after which these items are no longer included.

La Vertueuse was able to have its own print work done much earlier than La Fidèle Sincérité and also had customized bindings made. The records noted in May 1783 'for the binding of the Lire massons 25:--:-'[1102], and on 10-9-1783:

> Domenicus for the printing of 160 Songs in 4 verses size 4 pages 16:--:-
> For print costs of 80 speeches size 16 pages idem binding in lemon yellow paper 36:32:[1103]

The 1787 inventory for the Freemasons' Hall on the Moorish Hospital grounds listed 'A Letter of Constitution', 'One Law Book' and '20 Song Books'.[1104] The books were kept in the corner cabinets in the inner portal of the lodge building. La Vertueuse also had 'two chests suitable for the storage of the papers belonging to the lodge'.

A receipt from 1796 made out to lodge Architect Josi, noted: 'to the Brother Servant Langeweg for making a frame for the Portrait of the Grand Master National van Boetzelaar 35,- for a Glass for ditto 1,- Rds'.[1105] The portrait of Carel Baron van Boetzelaar, Grand Master between 1759 and 1798, was included in La Vertueuse's inventories from 1797 onwards (fig. 5.92).[1106] It was most likely an engraving by Reinier Vinkeles, published in Amsterdam in 1793 and distributed among all Dutch lodges.

In the years 1796-1797 the records included receipts for print work and expenses for paper and writing supplies.[1107] On 3-2-1797 La Vertueuse sent a letter to the Grand Lodge in The Hague with an order of 'fifty Lire Macons as the previous [order] with red or green Maroes leather and the Name of La Vertueuse', as well as a request for certificates and seals.[1108] A supply was included in the lodge inventory of that year, as well as 'some patents'.

The Dutch bookseller J[ohannes] Holtrop wrote to La Vertueuse on 24-6-1805 announcing a new song book: *Gezangboek der Vrijmetselaren*. It was to be published in Amsterdam in 1806 by his grandfather, Willem Holtrop, a member of lodge La Charité in the same city. La Vertueuse ordered 'a hundred copies […] bound in a French binding, with gilt on the cut and the cover embossed with golden letters: La Vertueuse'.[1109] A copy of this binding is preserved in the CMC collection (fig. 5.93). The lodge inventory of 1806 listed two bibles and two law books, old and new copies of *La Lire Maçonne*, as well as '19 High German song books' and 'some books containing the duties of Free Masons'.[1110] In 1808 lodge member Jassoij died, and 'some ornaments and Papers' as well as 'some Masonic books and Papers' were handed over to the lodge.[1111]

Just as La Fidèle Sincérité, La Vertueuse was also offered a print of a portrait of Prince Frederik in masonic regalia in 1820. On 9 January of that year, the lodge minutes recorded the receipt of a letter by H. Langerveld, the painter himself, offering the print for 22 guilders per piece.[1112] Although La Vertueuse decided to buy a copy, this is not listed in the later inventories. That was also the case with the print of the aforementioned 'masonic vase', offered by Voute to the Chapter of La Vertueuse in a letter dated 3-9-1828.[1113]

Lodge De Vriendschap celebrated its 25th jubilee in 1835. For this occasion, a membership list was printed on orange silk and set in an oak frame. It was later displayed in the museum room at the Freemason's Hall in The Hague and is still in the CMC collection.[1114]

The archive of the lodge De Ster in het Oosten contains several printed documents marking special occasions. By the 1840s it became more common to have the speeches held at mourning lodges distributed among the lodge members as a souvenir. On 18-4-1840 a mourning lodge for D.J. De Eerens took place, of which a speech and poem by orator J.H. de Waal are kept in the collection of the CMC.[1115] De Waal was also responsible for the speech at the mourning lodge for J.C. Goldman on 15-8-1840.[1116] The program for the mourning lodge 15-2-1841 for Van Sevenhoven also survives.[1117] On 18-11-1841 the lodge mourned the passing of no less than three brothers, J. Davidson, W.W. Milar, en L.G.J.G. Schönermarck again in speeches by De Waal.[1118] From 6-7-1849 dates a speech on the occasion of the mourning lodge for Launey.[1119]

Not only sad occasions were marked. Poems survive, which were read at the feast of Winter St. John in 1841.[1120] Another important occasion was the installation of Penning Nieuwland as Worshipful Master in 1843. The accompanying speech was printed in the Dutch masonic yearbook.[1121] A few years later an article covering the St. Johns celebrations of 1845 was published in another edition of the yearbook, including a song written to mark the occasion.[1122]

♦ *Adoption lodges*

One of the masonic traditions copied from Europe, and France in particular, was the organizing of Adoption lodges. As discussed in chapter 2, these were lodges with female members, associated to a lodge with male members and with their own rituals. Lodge celebrations at which ladies were invited, were also called Adoption lodges, although no female members were initiated at those occasions. On 10-9-1773 lodge La Vertueuse organised an 'Adoption or sister lodge', inviting the wives of its members. The program for this occasion shows that after all the guests had entered the lodge, there was communal singing and a table lodge, followed by a ball.[1123]

Similarly, on 10-9-1783 an Adoption lodge was organised at the house of lodge Architect Daniel Kreysman, probably as a farewell to Worshipful Master Radermacher Jr, who was about to leave for the Netherlands.[1124] His speech and a table song, especially written to honour the ladies present at this occasion, were later published in the Dutch masonic almanac (figs. 5.94-5.95).[1125] The program for this celebration followed the same pattern as before: the ladies were solemnly escorted into the lodge, where they would participate in singing, a joint meal and a ball, 'at which occasion the Ladies were hung with a



(25)

REDENVOERING

Gehaan in de Loge

LA VERTUEUSE

te Batavia,

by het houden eener

ADOPTIE LOGE;

Den 10 September 1783,

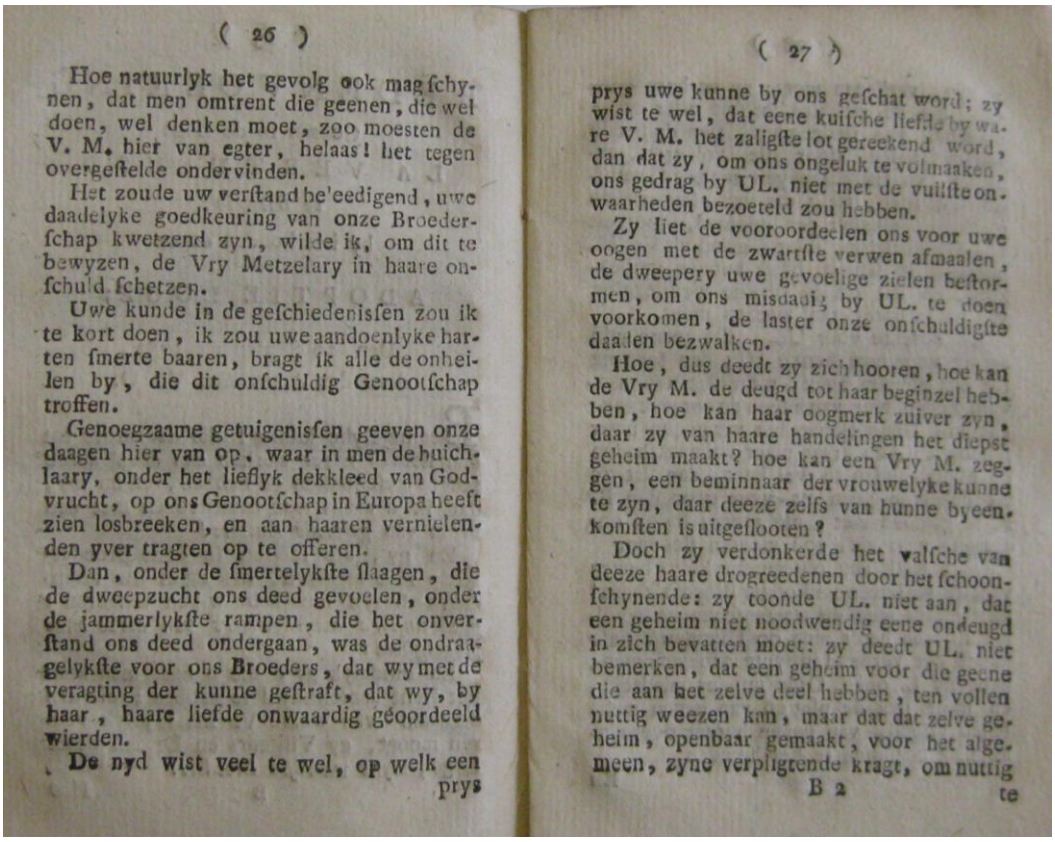
door den Agtb. Mr. V. O.

Beminnelyke kunne! die de natuur tot een ſieraad harer werken aan deez' aarde ſchynt geſchonken te hebben, vergun my, dat ik u thans mag aanſpreeken met den naam van *gelievde Zusters!*

En gy, die ſchoon in onze Broederſchap niet ingelyvd, ons egter uw vriendelyk byzyn niet hebt willen weigeren, *goedgunſtige aanſchouwers van deeze onze plegtigheid!*

En eindelyk gy, die u beroemen kunt het licht aanſchouwd te hebben; die den eernaam van waare V. M. vryelyk voeren moogt, gy Viſiteurs en Leeden dezer Loge, *myne waardſte Broeders!*

B Hoe



(26)

Hoe natuurlyk het gevolg ook magſchynen, dat men omtrent die geenen, die wel doen, wel denken moet, zoo moesten de V. M. hier van egter, helaas! het tegen overgeſtelde ondervinden.

Het zoude uw verſtand beleedigend, uwe daadelyke goedkeuring van onze Broederſchap kwetzend zyn, wilde ik, om dit te bewyzen, de Vry Metzelary in haare onſchuld ſchetzen.

Uwe kunde in de geſchiedenisſen zou ik te kort doen, ik zou uwe aandoenlyke harten ſmerte baaren, bragt ik alle de onheilen by, die dit onſchuldig Genootſchap troffen.

Genoegzaame getuigenisſen geeven onze daagen hier van op, waar in men de huichlaary, onder het lieflyk dekkleed van Godvrucht, op ons Genootſchap in Europa heeft zien losbreeken, en aan haaren vernielenden yver tragten op te offeren.

Dan, onder de ſmertelykſte ſlaagen, die de dweepzucht ons deed gevoelen, onder de jammerlykſte rampen, die het onverſtand ons deed ondergaan, was de ondraagelykſte voor ons Broeders, dat wy met de veragting der kunne geſtraft, dat wy, by haar, haare liefde onwaardig geoordeeld wierden.

De nyd wist veel te wel, op welk een

prys

(27)

prys uwe kunne by ons geſchat word; zy wist te wel, dat eene kuiſche liefde by ware V. M. het zaligſte lot gereekend word, dan dat zy, om ons ongeluk te volmaaken, ons gedrag by UL. niet met de vuilſte onwaarheden bezoeteld zou hebben.

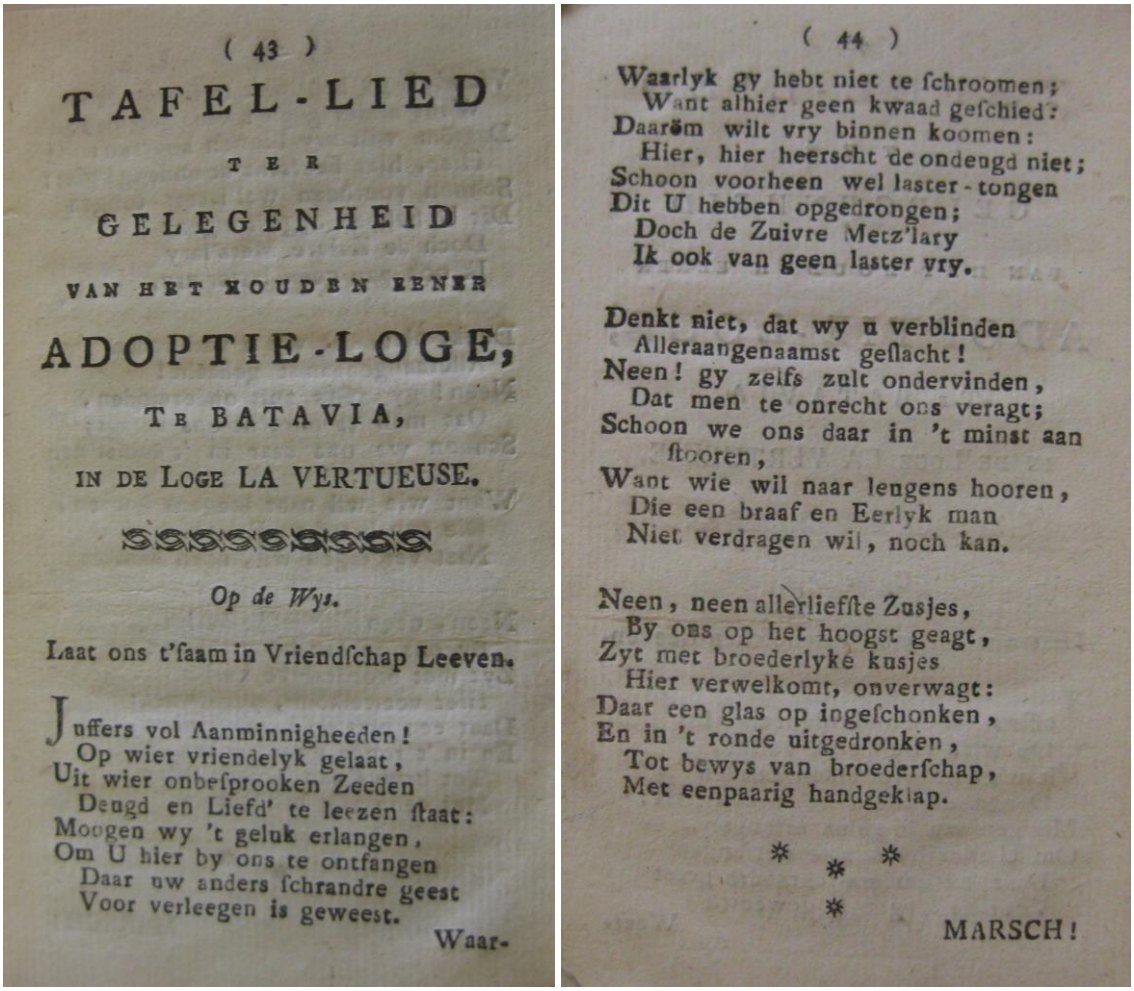
Zy liet de vooroordeelen ons voor uwe oogen met de zwartſte verwen afmaalen, de dweepery uwe gevoelige zielen beſtormen, om ons misdaadig by UL. te doen voorkomen, de laster onze onſchuldigſte daaden bezwalken.

Hoe, dus deedt zy zich hooren, hoe kan de Vry M. de deugd tot haar beginzel hebben, hoe kan haar oogmerk zuiver zyn, daar zy van haare handelingen het diepſt geheim maakt? hoe kan een Vry M. zeggen, een beminnaar der vrouwelyke kunne te zyn, daar deeze zelfs van hunne byeenkomſten is uitgeſlooten?

Doch zy verdonkerde het valſche van deeze haare drogreedenen door het ſchoonſchynende: zy toonde UL. niet aan, dat een geheim niet noodwendig eene ondeugd in zich bevatten moet: zy deedt UL. niet bemerken, dat een geheim voor die geene die aan het zelve deel hebben, ten vollen nuttig weezen kan, maar dat dat zelve geheim, openbaar gemaakt, voor het algemeen, zyne verpligtende kragt, om nuttig

B 2 te

Fig. 5.94: Beginning of the speech by Daniel Kreysman, given at an Adoption Lodge organized in Lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, 10-9-1783, published in De Nederlandsche Vry-metzelaars Almanach *('s-Gravenhage 1785).*
Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', inv.no. 4F38. Photos: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.



(43)

TAFEL-LIED

TER

GELEGENHEID

VAN HET HOUDEN EENER

ADOPTIE-LOGE,

TE BATAVIA,

IN DE LOGE LA VERTUEUSE.

Op de Wys.

Laat ons t'ſaam in Vriendſchap Leeven.

Juffers vol Aanminnigheeden!
Op wier vriendelyk gelaat,
Uit wier onbeſprooken Zeeden
Deugd en Liefd' te leezen ſtaat:
Moogen wy 't geluk erlangen,
Om U hier by ons te ontfangen
Daar uw anders ſchrandre geest
Voor verleegen is geweest.
Waar-

(44)

Waarlyk gy hebt niet te ſchroomen;
Want alhier geen kwaad geſchied:
Daarom wilt vry binnen koomen:
Hier, hier heerscht de ondeugd niet;
Schoon voorheen wel laster-tongen
Dit U hebben opgedrongen;
Doch de Zuivre Metz'lary
Ik ook van geen laster vry.

Denkt niet, dat wy u verblinden
Alleraangenaamst geſlacht!
Neen! gy zelfs zult ondervinden,
Dat men te onrecht ons veragt;
Schoon we ons daar in 't minst aan
ſtooren,
Want wie wil naar leugens hooren,
Die een braaf en Eerlyk man
Niet verdragen wil, noch kan.

Neen, neen allerliefſte Zusjes,
By ons op het hoogst geagt,
Zyt met broederlyke kusjes
Hier verwelkomt, onverwagt:
Daar een glas op ingeſchonken,
En in 't ronde uitgedronken,
Tot bewys van broederſchap,
Met eenpaarig handgeklap.

* * *
*

MARSCH!

Fig. 5.95: Table song, composed for an Adoption Lodge organized in Lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, 10-9-1783, published in De Nederlandsche Vry-metzelaars Almanach *('s-Gravenhage 1786). Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', inv.no. 4F39. Photos: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.*

Free Masons decoration on a lemon yellow ribbon'.[1126] This corresponds with a payment noted in the financial records of La Vertueuse 10-9-1783:

> […] at the organizing of an adoption Lodge […]
> to the Silver Smith for 20 gold ornaments
>
> with a set square and pair of compasses weighing 2 rds and 40 stuivers 91:--:-.[1127]

As the lodge made use of the services of the aforementioned silversmith Van Campen in 1784, these jewels may have also been ordered from him. In 18th century freemasonry the trowel was closely associated with the rituals of the Adoption lodges, but here the jewel consisted of other tools, probably indicating that a non-standard ritual (*gelegenheidsrituaal*) was used.

Apparantly, invitations could sometimes be extended to profanes as well. When Engelhard dealt with the Raffles affair in 1813, he explicitely referred to a precedent: an Adoption lodge held in Batavia in 1786, of which the invitations showed that 'the members of the High Government and their wives, as other distinguished Gentlemen and Ladies were requested to attend that party'.[1128]

From 1797 onwards, the widows Barends and Van der Weert were employed to supply regalia to La Vertueuse, particularly for the higher degrees. One of the first payments to Barends on 22-4-1797 included 'two ladies' Sashes' for an Adoption lodge.[1129]



Fig. 5.96: Initiation ceremony in an Adoption lodge, France, 1804-1814, gouache. Collection: Grand Orient de France, Paris. Reproduced from (postcard): vrijmetselarij.nl.



Fig. 5.97: Impression of an Adoption lodge in Hotel de Vilette, 1819, steel engraving, published in: Clavel ed. 1865. *Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 16092-10. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.*



Fig. 5.98a-b: Miniature trowels, presented to ladies present at the century celebrations of the lodges in the Dutch East Indies in 1869. Silver coloured metal, the engraving on the front reading 'Vrijmetselaars Eeuwfeest met Zusters' and on the back 'Batavia 30.11.69'. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 3737. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

An Adoption lodge in La Fidèle Sincérité, held on 23-11-1804, is well documented. For this occasion, the wives of the lodge members of La Fidèle Sincérité, as well as the members of La Vertueuse and their wives were invited. The invitation read as follows:

> The sisters will (if they please) bring along their unwed daughters, provided they have reached the age of fourteen years.[1130]

Although the young age is now considered inappropriate, marriages at fourteen were not uncommon at the time.[1131] And where else would one find a suitable marriage partner for their daughter, than among the brethren with whom trust and friendship were already formed? The program gives us an impression of the lodge premises:

> In the evening before six o'clock the Lodge will be, both inside and out, splendidly illuminated [...] The carriages will all ride in through the large fence, then come over the wooden bridge on the adjoining piece of land and will drive along a bamboo bridge, over the noksloot again drive on the heerenweg.
> NB: To this end the Mandur will have to stand ready, to show the carriage drivers the way [...].
> The Front room will be covered with the large tapestry from the Lodge [room], where the sisters will be received [...]. The inner court yard will also be fitted with a carpet, for the reception of the Brethren [...]
> There will be a masonic Aria played by the Musicians during the Entree and the procession to the Lodge [building] [...].[1132]

The program further mentions pieces from the German version of the masonic song book being performed, the dancing of a minuet before the table lodge took place, and more singing, accompanied by soft music, after dinner. The inauguration of the new building on the Jacatraweg in 1819, also had the character of an Adoption lodge or celebration with ladies, according to Hageman.[1133]

A receipt dated 15-7-1836 recorded a payment by La Fidèle Sincérité of '30 spanish dollars a f 2,55 and fifty guilders silver for the making of 120 small trowels'.'[1134] The receipt is signed in Chinese writing, which indicates again that a silversmith from the Chinese community in Batavia was engaged by a lodge. La Fidèle Sincérité and La Vertueuse celebrated St. John's Day together that year. As reported in the Dutch masonic almanac of 1838: 'Then this numerous group of Women, as a reminder of this day, was hung with ribbons, with trowels especially made therefore'.[1135] A receipt dated 20-7-1836 recorded that the gentleman B. Pont received fl. 140 silver from the gentleman Ardeeht 'for Ten trowels in gold, and Twenty in silver'.[1136] Could those have been meant for the lodge officers or esteemed guests at the same Adoption lodge?

As the miniature trowels in the collection of the CMC rarely have provenance records, no objects were linked to any of the occasions mentioned above. However, the custom can be illustrated with the tiny jewels that were made in 1869, presented as a souvenir to the ladies present at the 'Century feast with sisters' held by the lodges in the Dutch East Indies (fig. 5.98a-b).

Adoption lodges have recently been studied from the perspective of women's and ritual studies, as these allowed women responsible positions of power in the 18th century which society in general still denied them.[1137] By the 19th century, Adoption lodges in the Dutch East Indies seem to have been little more than a title for a feast with ladies, occasionally doubling as a reliable marriage market. It would be interesting to find out who actively participated in such lodges in Batavia. The membership lists for the years in which Adoption lodges took place are available in the CMC, so basic genealogical research should be able to reveil the names of their wives and daughters - the women involved.

♦ *Higher degrees and Chapter inventories*

As the higher degrees had developed in France around 1740, members of the new *Écossois* degree were at first given certain priviliges and authority. This led to rivalry and was counteracted by the Grand Lodge, but the same thing happened with the *Rose Croix* degree around 1760. The introduction of new degrees, and the implied shift in the balance of knowledge and therefore power, kept leading to grumbling and prejudice towards higher degrees among lodges of the basic degrees and their Grand Lodges.

In 1769 some English freemasons in Batavia, a mister Mesterton (probably Archibald Mesterton of lodge Salomon in Bengal, see chapter 4) and a mister Brahé (former member of La Choisie), are thought to have tried unsuccessfully to gain control over lodge La Fidèle Sincérité. They boasted authority over the other lodge members because they possessed the (British) Royal Arch degree.[1138] Deputy Grand Master Steendekker wrote to the The Hague on 16-1-1771:

> There is here a stronger man well known to you High enlightened, who makes masters in the Front room or by his Own hand, and he makes Scots and Elus and E[cos]sois [ou] Elu Parfait &c and what is more, but he has been Before in the [lodge] La Choisie, here are serveral other degrees, those of soo called Baron van Schonneck here introduced Although not after the true Masonry.[1139]

This probably referred to Brahé. Steendekker asked the Grand Lodge to grant him more powers, to be able to overrule such men.

On 19-4-1775 the Grand Lodge informed La Vertueuse, that a new Grand Master would be chosen especially for the *Élu* and *Écossois* degrees.[1140] It seems several successive attempts to found a lodge for the higher degrees on Java were then made before the end of the 18th century. The process started in 1776, when La Vertueuse wrote to the Grand Lodge, that the degrees of Élu and Ecossois were practised in the East Indies, 'mainly promoted by the deceased Brother Vernet, former Director of Bengal, the brother Architect Mesterton, and more others'.[1141] The lodge wondered if such initiations were legal and if so, wanted to receive a formal document to be allowed to do so. In 1778 the first lodge for the higher degrees in the Dutch East Indies is thought to have been founded by La Fidèle Sincérité.[1142] At the time the Order in the Netherlands was engaged in the higher degrees of the German *Strikte Observanz* (Strict Observance rite). However, most Dutch freemasons preferred to practice the French higher degrees, which eventually caused the *Strikte Observanz* to be abandoned and a Dutch Order of Higher Degrees to be established in 1803 (see chapter2). The lodges in the Dutch East Indies also stuck with the French degrees.

The archive of La Fidèle Sincérité contains templates for certificates for the degree of *Écossais* and *Élu* dating from 1778.[1143] In 1780, several 'Gabaons receptions' were noted in the financial administration of the lodge. *Gabaon* is the password for the (4th) degree of *Petit Architect*e, as published in *Les Plus Secrets Mystères […]* (1766) and the *Recueil Précieux de la Maçonnerie Adonhiramite* (ed. 1783).[1144] As discussed in chapter 2, elements of this (*Écossais*) degree were later incorporated into the (4th) *Schots Meester en Ridder van St. Andries* (Scots Master and Knight of St. Andrew) of the Dutch Order of Higher Degrees. The mention of these initiations in the financial records of a lodge of the basic degrees show that separate archives were not yet kept for the higher degrees.

It is logical that lodges working in a place where so many international travellers stayed over, came into contact with a wide variety of rituals. A later inventory of the lodge archive of La Fidèle Sincérité listed

undated rituals for the *Maître Parfait Anglois*, *Maître Parfait Maçon* and *Maître Écossais, Petit* and *Grand Architecte*, *Maître Illustre ou Chevalier des Deux Aigles*, *Écossais de K.S.* [= Kadosh?] *… de Paris et de Montpellier* and *Chevalier Anglais*.[1145]

Meanwhile, lodge La Vertueuse had received a constitution for its higher degrees on 9-8-1784, which somehow went missing.[1146] None the less, the lodge kept working in those degrees. On 6-2-1794 the members made a second attempt to found a lodge for the *Écossais* and *Élu* degrees.[1147] La Vertueuse entertained friendly correspondence with the French lodges on Mauritius, with whom contact had been established some years earlier, when ships had arrived in search of the French explorer La Pérouse, discussed above. Surviving correspondence suggests that three French visitors - Josef Gaspar Roger de Kerbron, Joseph François Antoine du Gasquet and Pierre Antoine Monneron - possessed the '3e et 4e Ordre' of the Rite Moderne. This meant they practised the *Chevalier de L'Orient* and *Rose Croix* degrees, for which La Vertueuse did not have a Chapter.[1148] The French had arranged a constitution from their *Grande Chapitre General*, allowing la Vertueuse to work in the highest degrees.[1149] The members of La Vertueuse who already had the *Écossais* degree - Engelhard, Holle, Naarssen, Hartsinck, Garrisson, Barends, Cranssen, Canter Visscher en Jossi – were initiated as *Chevaliers d'Orient* and the three oldest members - Engelhard, Holle and Naarssen – also received the degree of *Souvereign Prince Rose Croix*.[1150] A letter to the Grand Chapter in Paris clearly states that the Chapter of La Vertueuse was operating:

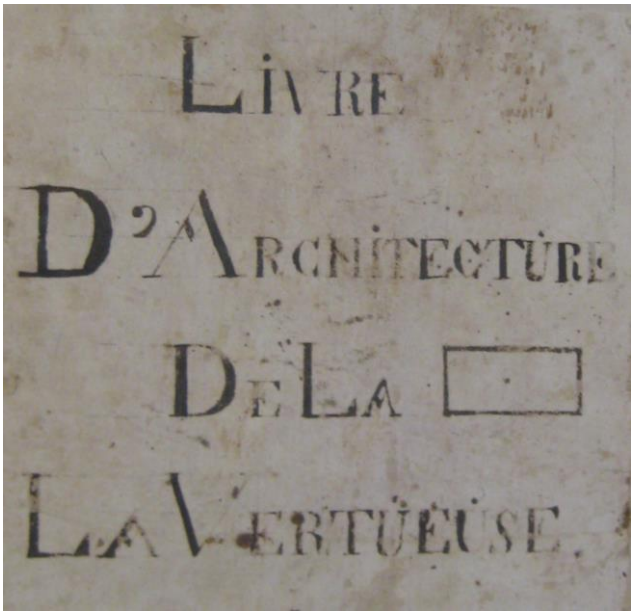
> […] for now under the auspices of the Souvereign Chapter of the royal Lodge St. Jean under the distinctive title of Les 15 artistes in the East of the Isle de France, formed Extraordinarily by the respectable J.G. Roger of the royal Lodge Les 15 artistes J.F.A. Du Gasquet of the royal lodge la triple Esperance and Pierre Monneron of [lodge] la fraternite Cosmopolite, the first two in the East of the Isle de France, the latter from Pondicherry […].[1151]

From 1796 survived a *Livre d'Architecture*, which seems to be a minute book for this Chapter, describing the meetings rituals for the degrees of *Élus*, *Écossais*, *Chevalier d'Orient* and *Rose Croix* practised by La Vertueuse according to the *Rite Moderne* / *Rite Français* (fig. 5.99a-b)[1152] Engelhard acted as Worshipful Master, and among others, Siberg and Van Overstraten were mentioned as members, albeit regularly absent.

Of course all of this was cause for yet another argument between La Vertueuse and La Fidèle Sincérité.[1153] On 10-7-1797 members of La Fidèle Sincérité complained how visitors from La Vertueuse seemed to have 'received the degree of *Élu de Quinze* not properly and not according to our Constitution'.[1154] They did not accept the perceived higher rank of the French. What also stung them, is that members, who had received their first *Élu* degree in La Fidèle Sincérité, now turned elsewhere for the successive *Élu* degrees, meaning La Fidèle Sincérité also missed out on the initiation fees.[1155]

Of course, La Vertueuse continued without taking any notice. But when it came to explaining things to the Grand Lodge, La Vertueuse remained vague. It claimed to have accepted only the preparation of a Chapter by the French, not knowing how long a Dutch constitution would be under way.[1156] La Vertueuse assured the Grand Lodge that it had refused the actual Constitution from the French in favour of one from the Netherlands. However, from correspondence from Engelhard to La Constante et Fidèle in Semarang it is clear, that this lodge too had contact with the French and may have arranged a Chapter constitution from them.[1157]

From 1808 onwards, a yearly meeting of a Grand Chapter for the High Degrees took place in the Netherlands. (The lodges in the Dutch East Indies would not be represented in the Grand Chapter meetings until 1830, nor in the Grand Lodge meetings for the beasic degrees until 1844.[1158]) This new Grand Chapter probably considered all existing Chapters in the Dutch East Indies irregular. As discussed earlier, by that time Engelhard had to share his power with Parvé as 'Commissioners of the Grand Lodge for the symbolic and the Grand Chapter of the High Degrees'.[1159] As such, they wrote to The Hague on 20-10-1809, explaining the four degrees practised in the East Indies (*Élu*, *Schots Meester of Ridder van St. Andries*, *Ridder van de Degen en het Oosten*, *Souverein Prins Rose Croix*).[1160] To the dissatisfaction of the Chapters on



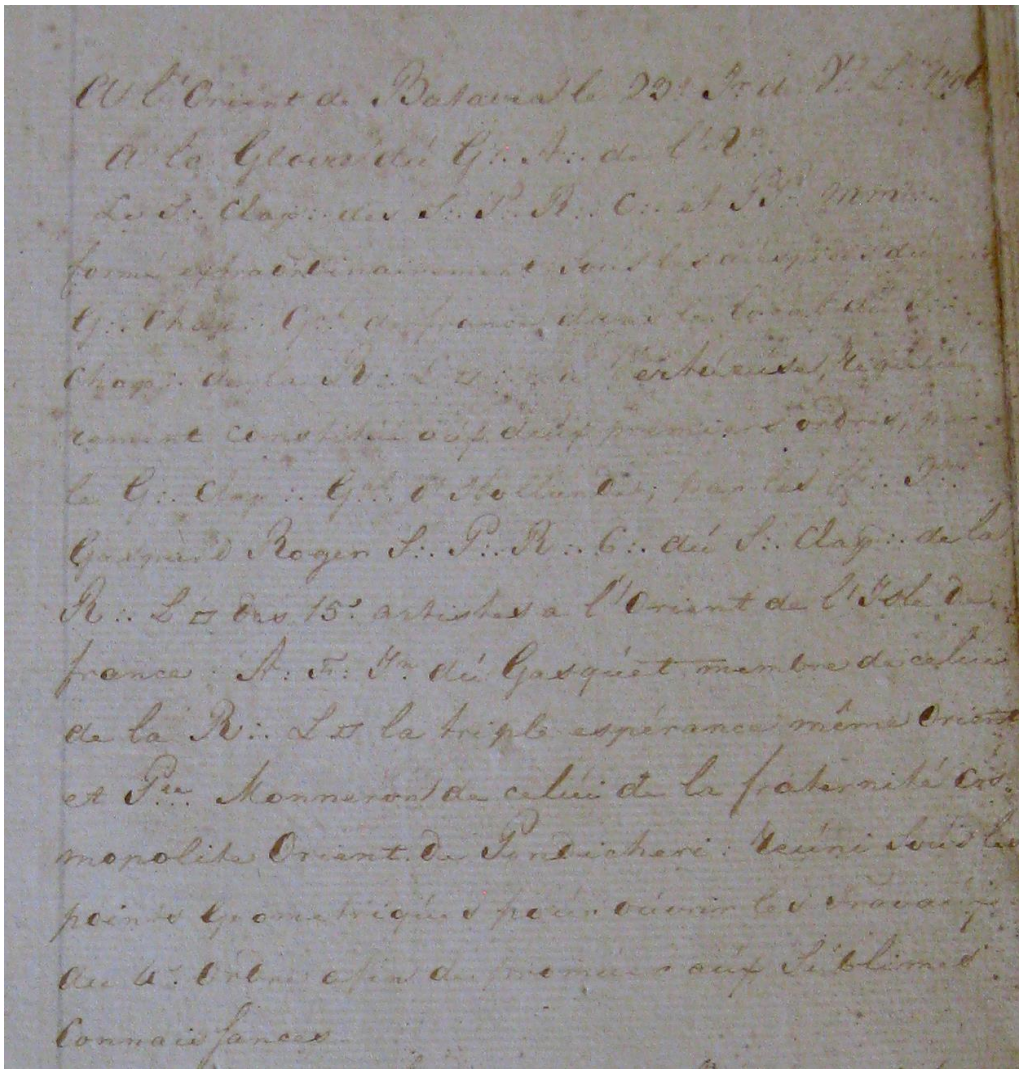


Fig. 5.99a-b: Cover and page of the minutes from the Livre d'Architecture de La [Loge] La Vertueuse *in Batavia, 1796-1799. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. IIB13. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.*

Java, their constitutions were then withdrawn by the commissioners, who set about forming a new Grand Chapter for the Dutch East Indies to preside over them in future.[1161]

Meanwhile, La Vertueuse ignored the ban and continued practising the higher degrees, as is clear from a letter of complaint by the commissioners to La Vertueuse dated 10-10-1809. The lodge had initiated the aforementioned Herman Warner Muntinghe as *Élu*, which the Committee declared unlawful.[1162] Apparently Engelhard and Parvé then did allow the lodges to temporarily work in Chapters with their explicit permission, but they left it unclear that this permission was required for each higher degree separately.[1163]

The initiation in the higher degrees was expensive, as is clear from a letter by Engelhard to La Constante et Fidèle dated 30-5-1809, suggesting:

> […] the same *emport* in *Rijksdaalders* as the Law states in guilders […] Chevaliers d'Epée Rds 100 en SPRC 150 silver specie [= money] or together 250 Rds. With a little consultation the Brethren can immeadiately form a Fines Till, in general the whole reception is decided on 200 or 150 namely 80 or 50 for Chevalier de Lorias [sic] and 120 or 100 for that of SPRC all in silver. It is good if the price is set a little high, otherwise the applications are difficult, and if the first Founders of this Temple, therein set a good example, the next Brothers that request to be admitted into these degrees, have nothing to say, they are to Sublime to arrive there *but en blanc*'.[1164]

A ritual for the 'installation' of an *Élu* dating from 1813 survived.[1165] It probably dates just after the constitution of the Grand Chapter for the Dutch East Indies in the same year.[1166] As the installation involved Engelhard, it did not run smoothly. He invited two members of La Fidèle Sincérité to share their thoughts about the organisation of the event, which then led to a disagreement about their profane affairs. The Worshipful Master of La Fidèle Sincérité wrote to Engelhard on 8-3-1813, handing in his resignation because things had gotten so out of hand.[1167]

A next step by the Grand Chapter was to agree on standardised initiation fees. Engelhard formed yet another committee to arrange the matter between the lodges, which again caused a conflict leading to some members being banned. Eventually the committee decided on fees of 100,- silver Spd for the *Élu,* 75 for the *Ecossais* and the *Chevalier d'Orient*, 125 for the *Rose Croix* degree, as well as 10,- Spd for each diploma and 25,- Spd for that of the *Rose Croix* degree.[1168] In October 1814 Engelhard wrote to the *Rose Croix* Chapter concerning a request by the *Écossais* for the reinstatement of their Chapter, and apologies offered by banned members Muller, von Winckelman, Middelkoop, Overbeeck and Sack. He agreed with Parvé that there was no objection to let them attend the meetings of the lodges of the basic degrees again.[1169] Similarly, the Chapter of La Constante et Fidèle, constituted in 1809 but closed after the Raffles debacle, was allowed to reopen on 25-12-1814.[1170] The constitution of a Chapter of lodge De Vriendschap in Surabaya was dated 8-6-1814.[1171] The successive Worshipful Masters of the lodges would also act as heads of the Chapter.[1172] However, the workings of the higher degrees were not always clear to the members themselves. In 1819 lodge member Weynmalen, who had been initiated into the *Élu* degrees in La Fidèle Sincérité, requested his certificate for the *Écossais* degree, mixing up the two.[1173]

By 1817 the situation in the Low Countries (the Netherlands and Belgium now united) had changed: a *Supreme Conseil des Pays Bas* or Grand Chapter for the *Rite Écossais Ancien et Accepté* was founded in Brussels.[1174] Under Prince Frederik, the new Grand Master National, the Dutch system of higher degrees would be reformed. In 1819 he founded the *Afdeling van de Meestergraad* (Department of the Master Degree). This was meant to offer a Dutch alternative for the popular French higher degrees. As a result, between 1819 and 1835 these operated parallel to eachother.[1175] In the Dutch East Indies, the old practises still continued for some time.[1176] On 15-2-1826 a letter from the Grand Lodge reached the Chapter of De Vriendschap, announcing the changes made by Prince Frederik. The Chapter decided not to implement the new system and continued to work in the four French higher degrees. The Provincial Grand Master was then informed accordingly.[1177]

By the 1830s, the Chapter of La Fidèle Sincérité became responsible for its own inventory. Its possessions were no longer listed on those the overviews of the basic degrees. Three Chapter inventories, dated from 24-6-1833, 23-7-1834 and 23-8-1835, survived, the latter being most elaborate (Table 5.V).[1178] As the



Namens den benoemd voorzitter van het *kapittel der oppergraden*, gevestigd in de Loge de *Ster in het Oosten*, noodigt de ondergeteekende alle daartoe geregtigde vrijmetselaren uit, om op maandag den 5den Februarij aanstaande, des avonds te *half zeven* ure, te willen bijwonen, de installatie van genoemd kapittel.

De benoemd kanselier van het kapittel voormeld,

P. VAN REES.

BATAVIA, *den 31sten Jan. 1838.* *P:. S:.*

Fig. 5.100: Advert for a Chapter meeting of lodge De Ster in het Oosten in Batavia, Javaasche Courant, 31-1-1838. Reproduced from: delpher.nl.

Chapter also made use of the facilities and furniture of the basic degrees, it did not need to invest in many objects of its own. On 2-10-1834 Worshipful Master Popkens of La Fidèle Sincérité wrote a letter to M. Reijnst, who had obtained an *Élu* degree in La Vertueuse, which shows that the former (still) did not recognize the Chapter of the latter. The Chapters of both lodges contined to work separately for a bit longer, while the lodges of the basic degrees had already merged.[1179] The foundation of the Chapter of De Ster in het Oosten and its installation did not take place until 5-2-1838[1180], after a formal announcement of the occasion was made in the *Javaasche Courant* on 31-1-1838 by Chancellor P. van Rees (fig. 5.100). This underlines once again how publicly visible the lodges and even the Chapters operated.

Table 5.V: Chapter inventory Lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia, 23-8-1835.

Furniture belonging to the Chapter of highest degrees established in lodge La Fidèle Sincérité

4: English Lamp crowns with Branches
4: ditto Hanging Lamps with Balance
14: ditto Table Lamps
4: ditto Wall Lamps
A cave Complete for the Elús Lodge
2: Silk Cloaks ⎫
2: Crowns ⎭
1: Sceptre of Wood
1: Tracing Board for Elú
1: ditto for Scots Master
1: ditto for Knight of the east ⎫
1: Copper Bell ⎭
1: Large Metal Tin
1: Frame gilt containing a Ma [?]
1: ditto ditto in which a Name List of Members
1: chest for the Archive at the grand chancellor
1: Silver seal " " " "
2: Mahogany wooden Playing Tables
8: Painted Brown Lamp stands
2: Large Mirrors

▪ *Chapter jewels*

Never one to waste an opportunity, as soon as a Grand Master for the higher degrees was to be appointed in The Hague in 1775, Van Laak informed lodge La Vertueuse of 'novelties' he could supply for the higher degrees, including black clothing and ornaments for the Élu degree, and ribbons and sashes with rosets for the *Écossois*.[1181] Those initiated into one of the higher degrees, could wear a jewel with the colour and symbols of that degree, but only at meetings of that particular degree. As there was no one of 'lower' status to witness it, this was not a sign of a member's seniority or rank, but marked a deeper understanding of masonic labour and symbolism. Although that was the masonic ideal, in practice some members were rather proud of their achievement and tried to display their status by wearing their higher degree jewels in meetings of the basic degrees as well, causing heated arguments on the subject (see chapter 4).

The 1801 inventory of La Fidèle Sincérité listed: '8 eight Silver triangles with the Letter G'.[1182] These were most likely jewels for the *Écossais*, as will become clear from the records of sister lodge La Vertueuse below. In rare cases only a reference to jewels was mentioned in the minute books. On 22-4-1818 the Chapter of La Fidèle Sincérité discussed how:

> Brother Boekhof was presented with the ornaments of this degree [= Knight of the East] belonging to the estate of Deceased Brother Eekhout, and such in recognition for the Window curtains donated by him [to the lodge].[1183]

J.C.M. Wasbeek Eekhout had been the Orator for some years when he died in 1814. It was common for masonic objects in the estate of deceased members to be returned to the lodge, so they might be passed on to a new generation of members. Masonic publications even included a notice specifically asking for them to be returned. Much 18th and 19th century heritage was preserved this way, with objects ending up in masonic museums when a lodge was erased, or the regalia having become outdated. It was unusual for the relatives of the deceased to hold on to such objects, if they were not freemasons themselves.[1184]

An invoice dated 1-6-1827 to the widow Decker, to whom we will come back in the discussion of aprons, listed '6 Master Bands [= sashes] with Silver triangles f 18'.[1185] The 1829-1830 inventory provided more details: 'Silver G's for the Master ribbons 16 [pieces] 7 May 1830 taken in stock'.[1186]

The financial administration of La Vertueuse also recorded orders for degree jewels. For instance, on 9-3-1784 the overview included:

> The payment to the Silversmith van Campen, for the following for which the brethren who have enjoyed the same are still to pay before the last of the following April
> 3 Silver pokers 21:--:-
> 10 " ornaments gilt with the Letter G in the middle 33:--:-.[1187]

The silversmith was most likely Abraham van Campen (died 1796), 'from Tegal' and most active in Batavia between 1772 and 1776.[1188] The 'poker' refers to the poniard of the *Élu* degrees, in which the revenge for Hiram's murder and a dagger play an important role (see chapter 2). A small dagger-like sword is used both as a jewel and a ritual prop in those degrees (figs. 5.108, 5.110 and 5.115). The lodge inventory of 27-12-1787 further specified the commissioned items as:

> A gold and Silver Saint Andrew on the Cross,
> Two Sawassa Triangles, with the Letter G within, for the Brothers Scots
> Three Silver Pokers with Ebony Hilts, for the Brothers Elú.[1189]

An X-shaped cross (saltire) with an image of St. Andrew was also a symbol for the degree of 'Scots Master or Knight of St. Andrew' (see chapter 2 and fig. 5.101).[1190] The 1793 inventory lists the 'silver gilt' version as weighing 3/8 real and valued at 1:- Rds.[1191] The sawasa triangles were omitted from the inventories from 1789 onwards, the pokers from 1793, the gold St. Andrew's cross from 1796 and finally the silver gilt version from 1797 onwards. Jewels of this degree are represented in the collection of the CMC and give some impression how these pieces may have looked (fig. 5.102 detail).

In the years 1791-1800 La Vertueuse commissioned several pieces from 'the Jeweller Remer', who has not been identified further.[1192] He may have been related to one of the lodge members with the surname Remer, also spelled as Reemer or Reimer. The minutes of 7-5-1791 recorded:

> […] furthermore it was approved to qualify the Brother Welgevare at his offer to have made at the expense of the Lodge an ornament of juwels representing the St. Andrew's Cross in order to offer the same to the Brother Past Master [P.G.] van Overstraten at the occasion of his Worshipful's farewell to this Lodge, as a souvenir.[1193]

Van Overstraten was also Master of the *Écossais* lodge of La Vertueuse. A receipt by Remer for the materials used, dates from September of the same year: 'For delivering 203 pieces Dutch roses to One Order, at rd 1:32 per piece amounts to Rds 338:16, The gold used therefore 24,-'.[1194] 'Dutch roses' are probably rose cut diamonds or other precious stones. The gift was mentioned again in the minutes of 1-11-1791, when the lodge wondered why Remer had not mentioned any wages.[1195] On 15-11-1791 the reply came 'that said Jeweller did not desire anything for it'.[1196] When the widow of Van Overstraten repatriated



Fig. 5.101: Regalia for the Écossais degrees, as illustrated in a tuileur for the Rite Français and Rite Écossais, ca. 1850-1875. Collection: Amsterdam Museum, inv.no. A 16107-189. Reproduced from: am.adlibhosting.com.

years later, she restored the jewel to the lodge, according to the minutes of 13-3-1808 'as professing not having taken any Precosia on the journey'.[1197]

Remer was commissioned again on 25-8-1796, when he was paid for '20 pieces gold Master ornaments at rds 15 the piece amounting to rds 300,-'.[1198] On 21-6-1797 five more Master ornaments were acquired for the same price[1199] and in February 1800 another eight were ordered.[1200] Considering the high price, these too must have been *Écossais* jewels rather than 3rd degree jewels. They are not listed in the inventories, because individual members probably kept their regalia at home.

The financial records of the *Élu* Chapter noted another payment on 22-6-1798: 'Brother Reemer for 12 pokers 120:-'.[1201] Similar orders were made on 7-6-1798[1202] and February 1800.[1203] On 10-10-1802 a payment was made to 'Brother Jassoij Leijd about two silver swords for rd 20 bought from him'.[1204]



Fig. 5.102 (and detail): Sash of red moiré silk, 19th century, belonging to a member of the Holmberg de Beckfeld family from the East Indies. Jewels for the Écossais degree are attached: a double triangle with the letter 'G' on a green silk rosette and a St. Andrew's cross on a red silk bow. Silk, copper and silvercoloured metal, 95 x 10.5 cm. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.nos. 4873- 4875. Photograph: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.



Fig. 5.103: Jewel attributed to a lodge in the Dutch East Indies, 19th century. Gold coloured plating on silver coloured metal, size not listed. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 2157. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.
Fig. 5.104: Jewel attributed to lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, 19th century. Silver coloured metal, size not listed. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 7363. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.





Fig. 5.105: Jewel attributed to lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, 19th century. Silver coloured metal, size not listed. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 7372. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.
Fig.5.106: Jewel attributed to lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, 19th century. Yellow silk (faded) and silver coloured metal, size not listed. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 7375. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

A receipt for 36 Rds was made out on 27-4-1808 to C.J. Adriaans: 'for the making of Six Silver poniards'.[1205] Possibly Adriaans was a relative of the silversmith A.J. Adriaens, working in Batavia some years earlier.[1206]

Between 1803 and 1811 the financial records list payments for silver ware to 'M.M. Dirksz', possibly a relative of lodge member Simon Dirksz. The first receipt dated 7-5-1803 concerned the delivery of '12 Pieces Silver gilt Triangle with Letter G at 5 rds 60 rds'.[1207] On 7-1-1805 the sum of 100 Rds was paid 'for 10 Pieces double silver gilt Triangle with letter G'.[1208] The latter should be interpreted as a jewel in the shape of a six-pointed star or Seal of Solomon with the letter G in the middle. Both types of jewel are associated to the *Écossais* degrees, of which similar examples are kept in the CMC collection (figs. 5.103-5.106). The next receipt is dated 16-8-1809 and mentions:

for 4 pieces Silver gilt sculptures at 30 rds	rds 120
for 6 pieces ditto ditto double Triangle with letter G at 20 rds	120,-.[1209]

The 'sculptures' were probably more elaborate, cast jewels, such as St. Andrew on the cross (compare fig 5.102). A last payment of 54 Rds on 16-2-1810 for 6 'triangles with G' was probably also made to Dirksz.[1210]

In 1811, lodge members Age Iges (see chapter 6) and Johan Adriaan Doornik signed for a payment of 45 Rds for '4 pieces Master ornaments Silver gilt'.[1211] On 5-8-1812 the widow Van der Linden was reimbursed for delivering various regalia, including '2 silver ornaments 10 rds'.[1212] Likewise, the financial records of the Chapter of La Vertueuse of 28-9-1813 noted a payment of 185,- paper money 'To Mrs [Lucia] van PanHuijs for delivered ornaments for the high degrees', who had earlier delivered aprons and other textile regalia.[1213] This shows that the lodge had no problem with women seeing (or overseeing the commission of) regalia, even though the laws of the Order formally prohibited such sharing of 'secrets' with the profane.

Between 1813 and 1815 four payments were made to a 'Chinese silversmith'. This is most likely Oeij Tianko, whose name is mentioned on one of the related receipts. On 20-1-1813 he was paid 36,- Spd 'For the making of 24 silver ornaments gilded with gold'.[1214]



Fig. 5.107: Jan Luyken (1649-1912), Dress of the high Priest, as illustrated in Petrus Cunaeus, La republique des Hebreux*, Amsterdam 1705, Vol. I, p. 130. Collection: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv.no. RP-P-OB-44.140. Reproduced from: rijksmuseum.nl.*

▪ *Aprons, sashes and other textile regalia*

Most remarkable is the description of the garments worn by an officer in La Fidèle Sincérité in 1786:

> […] the Brother Terrible will henceforth - when in function - be amongst others clothed in an honourable Priestly dress of white Cotton with a breastplate of black velvet, on which the Square, Compasses and Plumb Line are embroidered in Silver; wearing on his Head a large Turban, on his feet a pair of moorish slippers, and disguising his face by a mask and grey long beard.[1215]

In total contrast with what was common in the Netherlands at the time, the *Terrible* of La Fidèle Sincérité wore an outfit reminiscent of that of a High Priest (fig. 5.107), which formed the basis for the dress of an officer in the (American) Royal Arch degree. However, this degree (derived from the *Écossais* degrees, see chapter 2) was not yet commonly practised by the Dutch at the time. We will come back to other Royal Arch elements in the inventories later.

The 1798 version first mentions aprons and related items for the higher degrees:

> Three Elu aprons
> […] Three Scots aprons white
> […] Five Scots aprons blue
> Eleven light blue ribbons and rosettes[1216]

In later inventories, regalia for the same higher degrees are mentioned. Before 1800, these were recognizable by their colour: black and silver for the *Élu*, while the blue listed here for the *Écossais* would be replaced by red and green. The overview of 1801 included the following items:

> A chest with ten drawers and copper fittings [containing]
> 3 three Elu Aprons of the 1st and 2nd degree
> 2 Two " " 3rd degree

7 Seven breastplates
3 three black bands[1217]

Breastplates were an uncommon feature, again related to the Royal Arch degree, but in Batavia associated with the *Écossais* degree, as will become clear from similar items on the inventories of La Vertueuse discussed below.[1218] It is an indication that the ritual practice in the Dutch East Indies sometimes deviated from that in the Netherlands. There was a substantial gap in the inventories up until 1819, when the breastplates no longer appeared on the lists. In the years in between, the financial records specify the type of regalia that was made to order for the lodge. A receipt dated 18-8-1815 lists:

6 Elu Bands [= sashes] with Silver Letters and Silver Heads at 30 per Piece		180 [Spd]
6 ditto Aprons at 6 Each	36	
[…] 6 Red Embroidered Bands [= sashes] for the Souvereign Prince [Rose Croix] at 15 per Piece	90	
6 ditto Cordons at 3 per Piece	18	
6 ditto Aprons at 7 per Piece	42	
[…] 6 Scots [Master] Aprons at 4 Spd each	24	
6 ditto Band at 3 ditto each	18	
6 Chevaliers' Bands [= sashes] at 3 Spd each	18	
6 ditto Aprons at 4 ditto	24[1219]	

The financial records of 1821 show that aprons and bands [= sashes] were acquired through Master of Furniture H. Boekhoff.[1220] Prices remained steady. A receipt dated 27-1-2-1823 mentions 11 'Sovereign' (= *Rose Croix*) collars for fl. 11,- and aprons for fl. 12,-, 'Chevaliers' bands for fl. 15,-, as well as *Écossais* bands with ornament for fl. 20,- and those without for fl. 8,-, the accompanying aprons for fl. 6,-.[1221] An invoice dated 20-8-1827 'for having made of watered [moiré] black Elu bands [= sashes] with silver skulls, Letters, Poker and Fringe' amounts to fl. 30,- (compare fig. 5.108b).[1222] By 1831 the Chapter of La Fidèle Sincérité was responsible for its own inventory, so the financial records for the basic degrees no longer included relevant items.

The accounts of lodge La Vertueuse included a mention of 'ribbon and sash for [the] Rose order', requested with supplies from the Netherlands on 1-9-1769.[1223] It is not clear of 'rose' should here be interpreted as a flower, and as such a reference to either the Rose Croix degree (which was only just developing in France and used a *cordon* or saltire, not a sash) or to the Adoption lodges, as a rosette (a reference to the *Ecoissois* degrees, which used rosettes in regalia) or as the colour rose (red, also a reference to the *Ecoissois* degrees).

On 6-9-1781 the wages for the production of aprons were specified, including: '16:- Scots Master green cloak cloth with red ribbon at rds 42 each 72:--:'[1224] The aforementioned Grand Court Master Mohr sent a letter to La Vertueuse on 19-5-1794, asking if the lodge needed regalia for the higher degrees, stating: 'I can deliver the same for both degrees at ten Ducats, that of the Élu embroidered.[1225] The 1797 inventory provided an overview of regalia with some notes by the Master of Furniture in pencil. Remarkable is the mention of '11 [Scots] Master breastplates', associated with the Royal Arch degree.[1226] From 1797 onwards, the widows Barends, Van der Weert and Smit were employed to supply regalia, particularly for the higher degrees.[1227] In October 1797 the widow Smit delivered:

EE	6 Black bands [= sashes] with 3 skulls and snake at 13 rds Rds	70:-
EE	6 ditto ditto with 1 skull and snake at 15 rds	60:-
EE Mr	ditto apron ditto ditto ditto at 12 "	264:-
SchMr	ditto bandoleer embroidered with gold cross and red at 12 rds	36:-
ditto	3 red band [= sashes] embroidered with gold cross at 5 rds	15:-.
Mr	12 yellow aprons at 9 rds	108:-
EE	12 pieces triangular embroidered with heads at 6 rds	72:-
SPRC	12 rose red bows with black roses at 1 rd	12:-
Mr	5 bands of yellow satin at 2 rds	10:-[1228]





Fig. 5.108a-b: Regalia for the Élu des Neuf *and* Élu des Quinze *(9th-10th degrees), as illustrated in the manuscript* Rite Écossais Ancien et Accepté, Décorations et Costumes *(Vol. I), ca. 1804-1815. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 16107. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.*

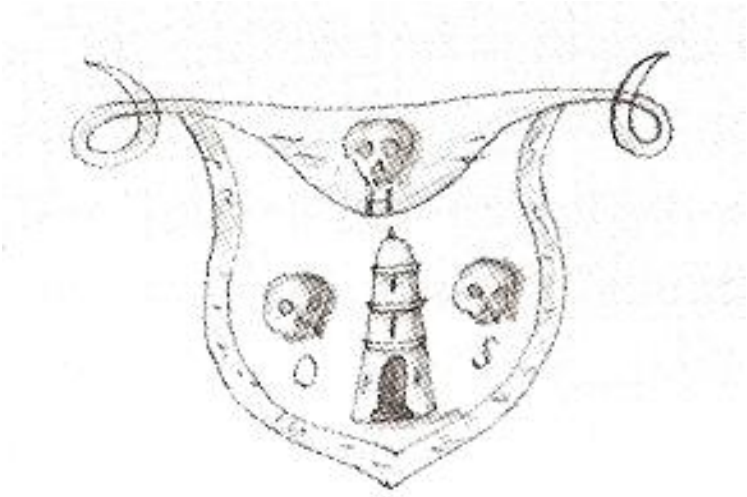


Fig. 5.109: Apron for the degree of Élu des neuf *(Chosen Master of Nine), as illustrated in* Collection de 84 tableaus *(1784). Collection CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Reproduced from: Kroon 2001, p. 240.*

The abbreviations of course stand for *Élu* and *Élu Maître*, Scots Master or *Écossais*, 3rd degree Master and *Souvereign Prince Rose Croix*. On 17-9-1807 a payment of 96 Rds was recorded 'for Elu bands [= sashes] with three heads'.[1229] Another mention of a design is found on a receipt dated 28-7-1809 of widow A.C. van der Linden (née Klijn) for, amongst others, '6 Elu aprons with towers' for a total of 120 Rds.[1230] This matches the description of regalia for this degree in *Collection de 84 tableaus* (1784) *(*fig. 5.109).



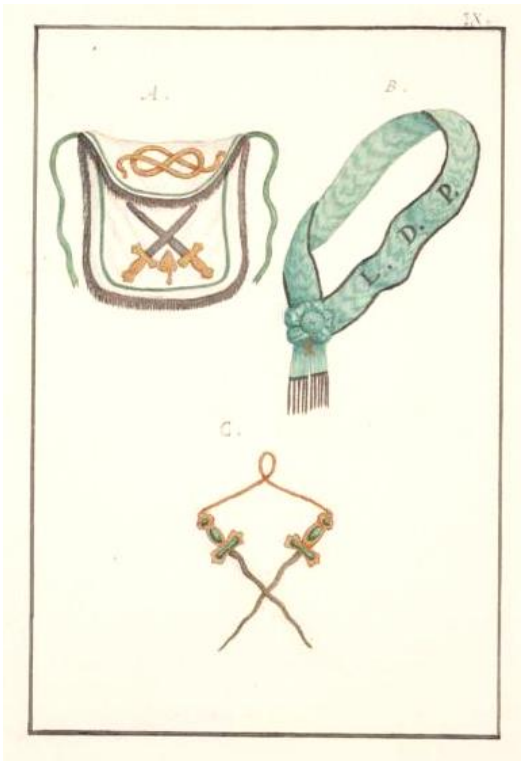


Fig. 5.110: Regalia for the Élu degrees, as illustrated in a Tuileur for the Rite Français and Rite Écossais, ca. 1850-1875. Collection: Amsterdam Museum, inv.no. A 16107-189. Reproduced from: am.adlibhosting.com.
Fig. 5.111: Regalia for the Knight of the Sword and the East degree, as illustrated in a Tuileur for th Rite Français and Rite Écossais, ca. 1850-1875. Collection: Amsterdam Museum, inv.no. A 16107-189. Reproduced from: am.adlibhosting.com.

When lodge member Jassoij died on 7-1-1808, he bequeathed several masonic objects to the lodge, including:

Scots Master 4 aprons
3 bands [= sashes]
2 ornaments
the Silk cords, concerning [unreadable]
Elu 5 aprons
4 bands [= sashes]
3 triangles
3 pairs of gloves
3 poniards
Master 5 aprons
5 ornaments and 2 Apprentice
Apprentice 4 aprons [1231]

It illustrates how much regalia a single lodge member might collect during his masonic career, which over the years would also require a substantial investment.

On 24-4-1810 the lodge minutes recorded that the Worshipful Master was 'requested for what it costs to order from China 50 Ell red and 50 Ell black watered [moiré] Ribbon for the decorations of the Members of this Temple'.[1232] The inventory for 1812 included '17 Small Trowels'.[1233] These were usually worn on a blue sash in the Chevalier d'Orient degree, and reoccur in the inventories up until 1816. The widow Barends was still working for the lodge by 1813, when she was paid 150,- Spd for supplying aprons, red bands [= sashes] and collars, as well as red gloves for the *Rose Croix* degree, and aprons and green bands for the *Chevalier d'Orient* degree.[1234] A receipt of 6-8-1816 to J. Kern (nee Heemskerck) lists a payment of 119,- Spd for embroidered red bands, green bands 'with letters', aprons in 'white and *geplout*



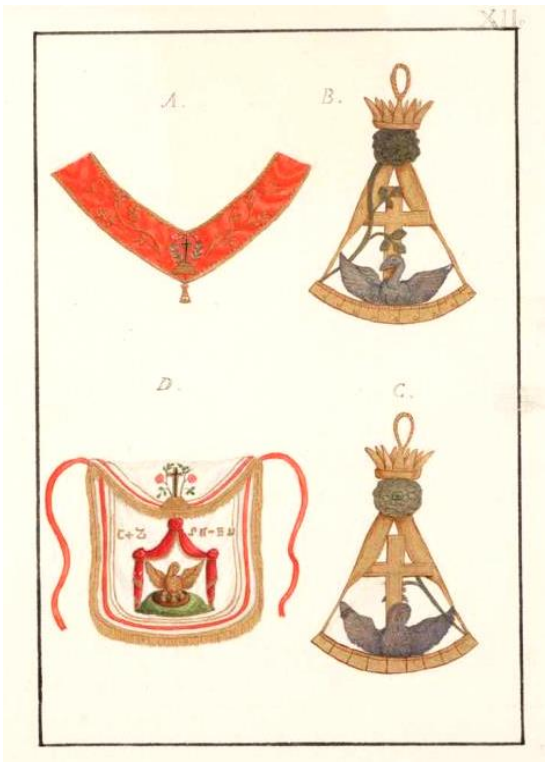


Fig. 5.112: Regalia for the Rose Croix d'Heredom de Kilwinning *(18th degree), as illustrated in the manuscript* Rite Écossais Ancien et Accepté, Décorations et Costumes *(Vol. I), ca. 1804-1815. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 16107. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.*

Fig. 5.113: Regalia for the Rose Croix degree, as illustrated in a Tuileur for the Rite Français and Rite Écossais, ca. 1850-1875. Collection: Amsterdam Museum, inv.no. A 16107-189. Reproduced from: am.adlibhosting.com.

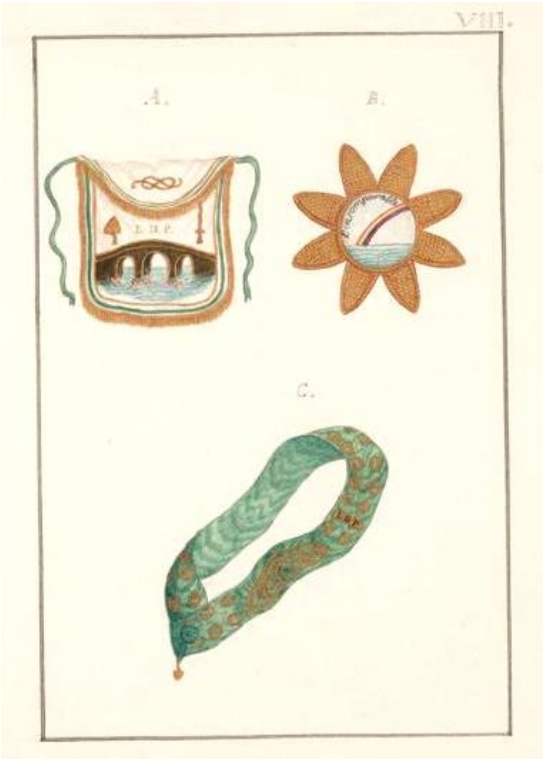


Fig. 5.114: Regalia for the Knight of the Sword and the East degree, as illustrated in a Tuileur for the Rite Français and Rite Écossais, ca. 1850-1875. Collection: Amsterdam Museum, inv.no. A 16107-189. Reproduced from: am.adlibhosting.com.



Fig. 5.115: Miniature poniard, worn on a sash in the Élu degrees, 19th century. Metal and wood, size not listed. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no 1833. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

(= pleated?) red', aprons in white and green, and lastly collars 'red with black roses' (= rosettes).[1235] Later accounts do not show significant changes, as the same degrees were practised for a long time.

■ *Crowns, swords and sceptres*

The 1819 inventory of La Fidèle Sincérité for the Jacatraweg building listed:

> 1 silver poniard with silver scabbard for the Junior Warden
> […] 2 gilt Sceptres, with 2 Sticks for the Elu Lodge'.[1236]

The poniard belonged to the *Élu* degree, where it was a symbol of revenge (for Hiram's death). The 'sticks' may be ceremonial staffs, or clubs, but it is not clear what precisely is meant here. In the masonic rituals of various higher degrees, lodge officers took on the 'role' of king Solomon and other biblical figures. Ceremonial crowns, sceptres and staffs etc. were therefore all part of the regalia or 'costumes' for the performance of such a higher degree.

The 1822 version added '1 Copper Sword', possibly the one for the Chamber of Reflection[1237], while the 1825 version listed:

> 2 Two swords with Silver hilts
> 1 One Silver poker
> 1 one ditto ditto with scabbard
> […] one copper sword.[1238]

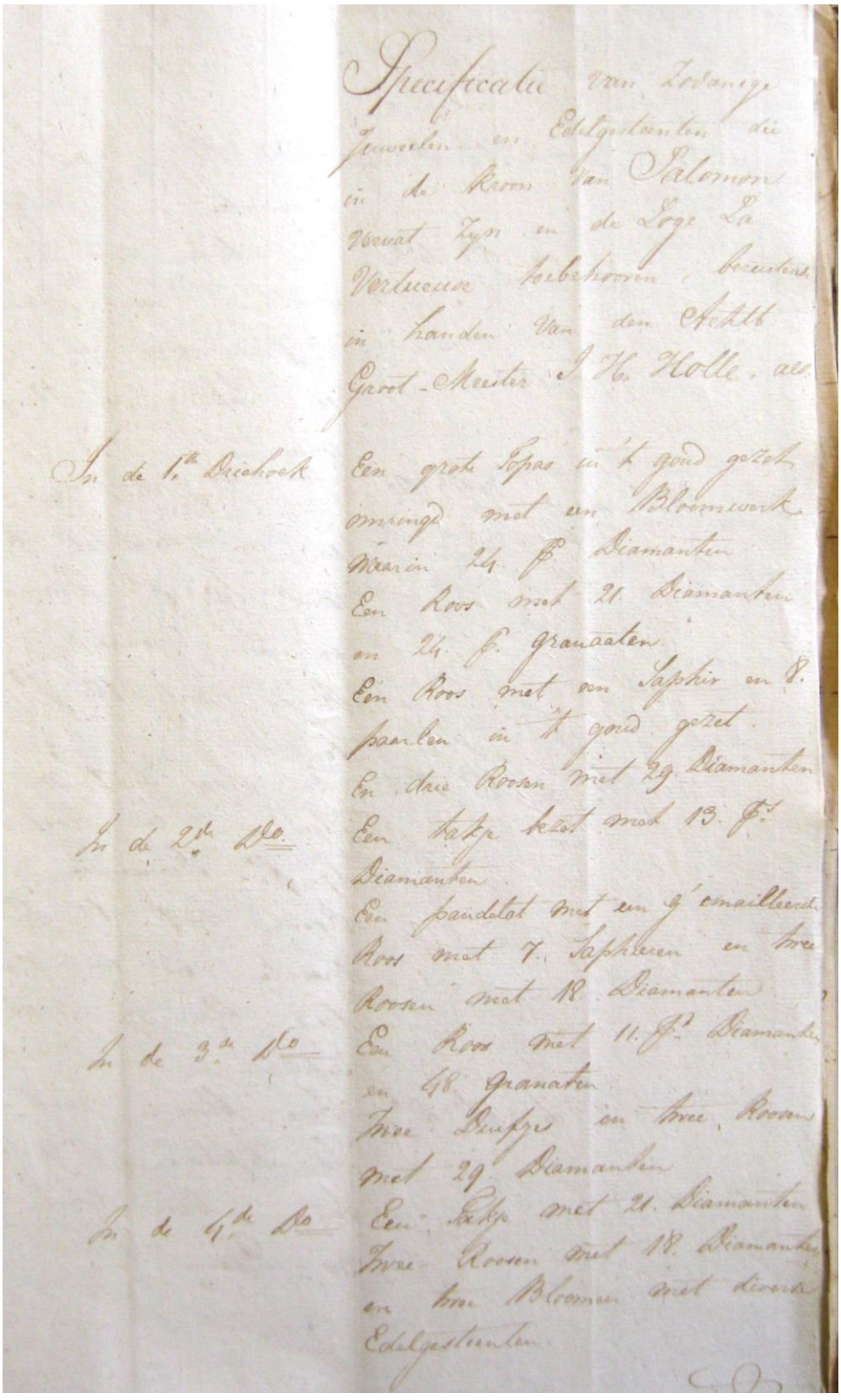
All swords were included in inventories up until 1833. As mentioned above, that year La Fidèle Sincérité employed (the firm of) Giraud again. Amongst others, he was paid for 'the making of a sculpted Head And a Sceptre' and 'For Two Satin Blue and Red capes with gilt Garlands And Two Crowns'.[1239] These items were listed in the separate inventory for the higher degrees of 1835 as '2 Silver Cloaks, 2 Crowns, 1 Sceptre of wood'.[1240]

Similar items appeared on the inventories of La Vertueuse. The 1797 inventory for the Freemasons' Hall on the Moorish Hospital grounds included '2 chests for the Elus', containing amongst other regalia '1 red 1 blue Robe for the Elus' and '6 pokers [for] bands [= sashes] '.[1241] The financial records, however, listed what

must have been one of the most precious and extraordinary pieces of masonic regalia of all time, ordered by La Vertueuse in 1798 from gold- and silversmith Wyszynski. An addendum to a 1807 inventory gives the following description of this luxurious object:

> Specification of Such Jewels and Precious Stones which are contained in the crown of Solomon and belong to the Lodge La Vertueuse, being held by the Worshipful Grand-Master J[ohan] H[endrik] Holle, being:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | In the 1st triangle | a large topaz set in gold surrounded with flower work in which 24 diamonds |
> | | a rose with 21 diamonds and 24 garnets |
> | | a rose with a sapphire and 8 pearls set in gold |
> | | three roses with 29 diamonds |
> | In the 2nd triangle | a branch set with 13 Diamonds |
> | | a pendelot[1242] with an enamelled rose with 7 sapphires and |
> | | 2 roses with 18 diamonds |
> | In the 3rd triangle | a rose with 11 diamonds and 48 garnets |
> | | two doves and two roses with 29 diamonds |
> | In the 4th triangle | a branch with 21 diamonds |
> | | 2 roses with 18 diamonds |
> | | two flowers with various precious stones |
> | In the 5th triangle | three flowers with 47 diamonds and 7 precious stones |
> | In the 6th triangle | a branch with 24 diamonds |
> | | Two roses and two flowers with a ruby, a sapphire and 17 diamonds |
> | In the 7th triangle | a rose with an entourage |
> | | and a pendelot covered with 40 diamonds and 25 garnets |
> | | 2 roses with 18 diamonds |
> | In the 8th triangle | a rose covered in various Stones |
> | | a rose with 19 diamonds |
> | | 2 roses with 18 diamonds and |
> | | an enamelled flower with a sapphire |
> | In the 9th triangle | two flowers with a ruby, six sapphires and 17 diamonds |
> | | Three roses with 30 diamonds |
> | In the 10th triangle | a branch, two enamelled flowers and two roses, together with 38 diamonds and 2 sapphires |
> | In the 11th triangle | a branch, a flower, two roses and a dove, covered with 46 diamonds and 7 garnets |
> | In the 12th triangle | a branch, a pandelot, two roses and a dove, together with 27 diamonds and 6 sapphires |
>
> | | | |
> |---|---|---|
> | The value of the crown with the fashion of over 700 precious stones | RDs | 1330,- |
> | The sceptre weighting in gold over 5 real | | 100,- |
> | To the Gentleman Wyzynsky paid for invoice of the Freemasons' Lodge for the two crowns | | 120,- |
> | Together | RDs | 1550,-[1243] |

This description mentions two crowns, of which only one is described in detail. Apparently that one consisted of 12 golden triangles, set with precious stones outlining delicate flowers and birds. The question is for which particular degree and officer this spectacular crown was meant. Masonic symbolism was undoubtedly used, but is not easy to interpret from this description. The crown could have been worn by an officer playing the role of King Solomon, for instance in the *Élu* degrees, in which case the second crow could belong to the officer representing King Hiram of Tyre. It is not cleare if rose should here also be interpreted as flower, or as rosette. The doves and olive branch were symbols belonging to the (Harodim) Adoption tradition (later incorporated to the Royal Ark Mariner degree). The twelve triangles represent the twelve tribes, while topazes, sapphires, garnets and diamonds all feature in the breast plate of the High Priest (Exodus 28:17-20). The latter plays a part in some versions of the Royal Arch degree, in which a



Specificatie van Zodanige
Juweelen en Edelgesteenten die
in de Kroon van Salomon
vervat Zyn en de Loge La
Vertueuse toebehooren, bevindende
in handen van den Ed:Hr
Groot-Meester J. H. Holle, als

In de 1.ste Dischoek
Een groote Sspas in't goud gezet
omringd met een Bloemwerk
Waarin 24. ff. Diamanten
Een Roos met 21. Diamanten
en 24. ff. granaaten
Een Roos met een Saphir en 8.
paarlen in't goud gezet
En drie Rooten met 29. Diamanten

In de 2.de Dto.
Een Katje bezet met 13. ff.
Diamanten
Een pandelaar met een g'emailleerd
Roos met 7. Saphieren en twee
Rooten met 18. Diamanten

In de 3.de Dto.
Een Roos met 11. ff. Diamanten
en 48. Granaten
Twee Duiffjes en twee Rooten
met 29. Diamanten

In de 4.de Dto.
Een Katje met 21. Diamanten
Twee Rooten met 18. Diamanten
en twee Bloemen met diverse
Edelgesteenten

Fig. 5.116: Description of a crown for the Chapter of lodge La Vertueuse, purchased in 1798 (written in 1807). Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

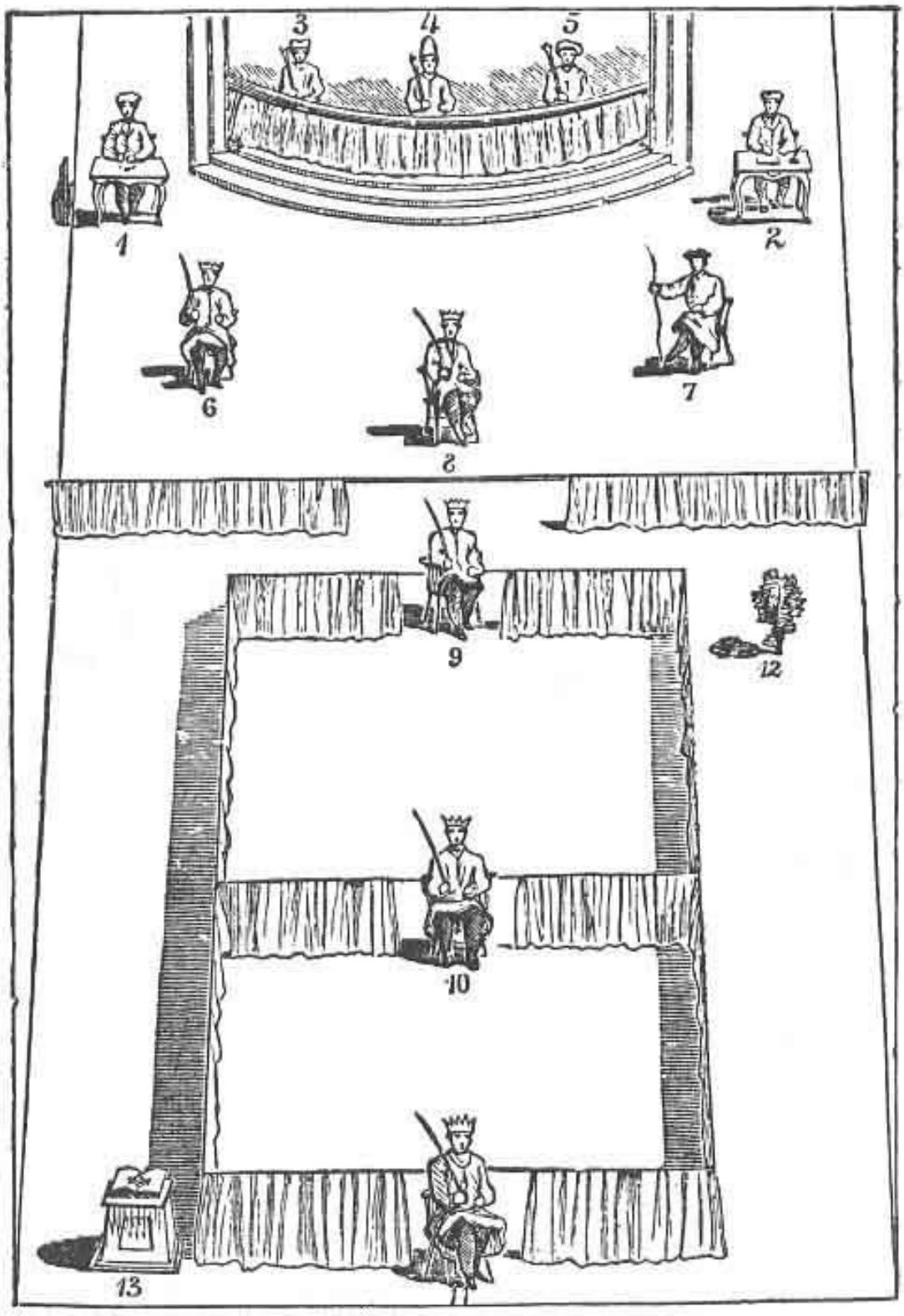


Fig. 5.117: Lodge for the Royal Arch degree, as illustrated in Duncan's Masonic Ritual and Monitor… *(1866).*

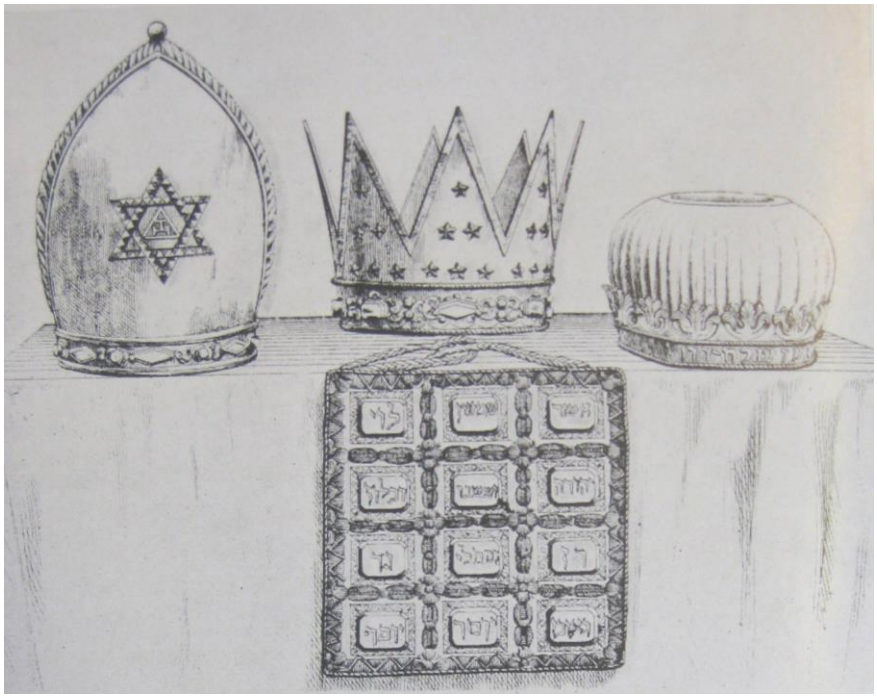


Fig. 5.118: Headdresses (mitre, crown and turban) and breastplate for the (British) Royal Arch degree, as advertised by Messrs Spencer, 1856. Reproduced from: Jones 1957, p. 209.

crown is also worn. But this (British) degree was not yet commonly practised by the Dutch at the time the crown was commissioned, so the crown of Solomon for the Élu degree seems the most obvious choice.

So this precious object illustrates very well how the lodge inventories reflect the development of Dutch rituals in the East Indies as a result of cross-pollination between French and English degrees. Snoek has pointed out that the Royal Arch degree seems to have borrowed elements from the *Écossais* degree, before its ritual was established around 1780.[1244] We also know that Dutch freemasons travelling in Asia relied for a long time on British lodges to visit, as there were no Dutch lodges before the second half of the 18th century and few before 1800. So Dutchmen who were used to the French rituals practised in the Netherlands, came into British lodges in Asia, and worked along with whatever ritual they were using. By the time the Dutch designed their own rituals for their lodges in the East Indies around 1800, both French and British elements may have been used. This could explain why the lodge inventories include items like a turban (for the *Terrible* in 1786), breastplates (for the *Maître Écossais* in 1796-1801) and crowns (for the *Élu* in 1798), all of which were also associated with the Royal Arch degree - probably not practised in the Netherlands yet. If by chance the Royal Arch was already practised at this time in the Dutch East Indies, the history of that degree needs to be revised.

In 1796 Engelhard had been initiated into the *Rose Croix* degree by the French Chapter, and in 1798 he was named Provincial Grand Master for both the basic and higher degres in the Dutch East Indies. He may have been the first allowed to wear this crown for an hour or two once a month, or less often, among a handful of initiates in the building at the Moorish Hospital grounds.[1245] The baffling price of 1.550 Rds (3.875 guilders), would amount to over € 33.000,- today.[1246] Regalia of this spectacular calibre were and are unknown to Dutch freemasonry. This example does not only underline the extreme wealth of lodge La Vertueuse, but also how members seriously invested in their masonic labour, rather than in a personal asset that would have done more to enhance their public status.

On 8-6-1798 La Vertueuse reimbursed jeweller Remer for the full 1.550 Rds, who apparently worked together with Wyszynsky.[1247] It is therefore likely that other payments to Reemer for gold- and silverware, mentioned above, are in fact for work by Wyszynsky, even where he is not explicitly mentioned in the lodge accounts.

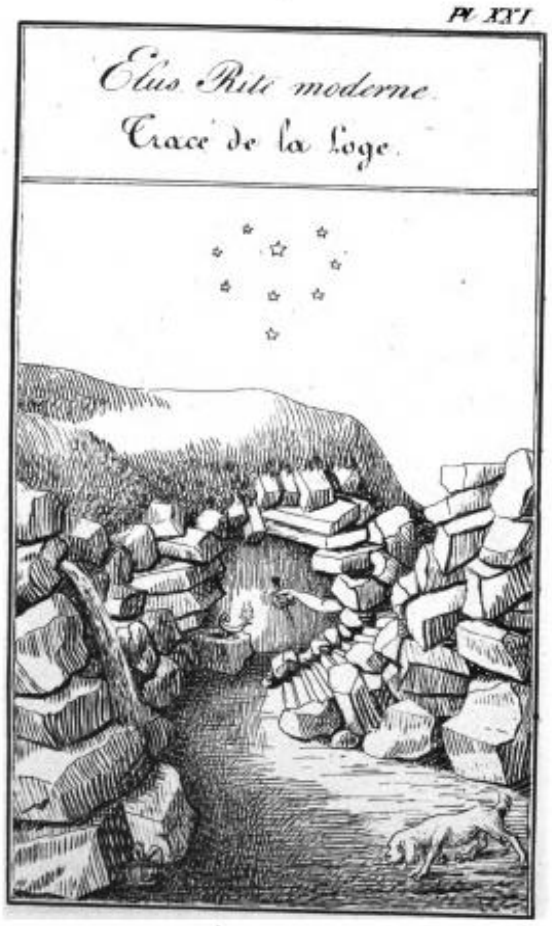


Fig. 5.119.: Tracing board for the Élu (Rite Moderne), as illustrated in Manuel Maçonnique ou Tuileur de tous les rites de maçonnerie pratiqués en France *(1820). Collection: Gent University Library. Reproduced from: books.google.fr*

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The detailed description of the crown was added to the 1807 inventory. Also included in this overview were 'two small silver swords'[1248], probably for the Wardens, which reappeared up until 1816. La Vertueuse moved with the times. On 4-2-1808 the minutes recorded a request to buy two pistols for the *Terrible*, indicating swords were becoming a thing of the past.[1249] Pistols and *snaphanen*, a type of rifle, were already been kept 'in the apartment of the mandur' according to the inventories from 1797 onwards.[1250]

■ *Higher degree props*

Towards the end of the 19th century, props for the higher degrees started to be mentioned in the lodge papers. In 1796 '1 iron shackle with its copper handcuffs' and '2 copper handcuffs with chains' were added to the inventory of La Fidèle Sincérité.[1251] These may have been used in the degree of *Chevalier d'Orient*, where the candidate is lead as a prisoner in front of King Cyrus. In 1797 the Chinese Thoe Saainkho received 22 Rds 'for the making of a lamp window with thirteen candle holders and a metal trough'.[1252] This may have been a representation of the sun with 13 rays, which in the same degree represented the rulers of the twelve tribes plus king Zerubabel. In that case, the (round) lamp construction would be lying on the floor with a chair at each candle, while a fire the trough or vessel in the middle would function as the sun.[1253]

That same year, triangular lamps (lanterns) and pokers or poinards were added for the Élu degrees. Between 1797 and 1816, a 'chair with iron hooks' is mentioned.[1254] This may be a reference to the (British) Royal Arch degree, and used to lift the candidate.[1255] The financial records of La Vertueuse included a payment on 8-4-1797 'for 3 pieces of paper *beonsoeka* rds 12' under which is written 'or the fake heads for the Elu Lodge'.[1256] A Chinese signature indicates these too were made by a local craftsman, who must have wondered what such dead faces could be needed for. In 1798 'Four chalices' were added to the inventory of La Fidèle Sincérité, probably used for the joint drinking from the same cup in Rose Croix Chapter



Fig. 5.120: Apron for the Élu degrees by Maison Guérin, ca. 1800. Printed silk, 29.5 x 29.5 cm. Collection: Musée de la Maison des Maçons, Paris, inv. No. T2-1143. Reproduced from: glnf-musee.fr.

meetings.[1257] 'Two [severed] heads' were also listed, most likely wooden or *papier maché* props for the *Élu* degrees referring to the punishment of Hiram's murderers by beheading (see chapter 2). In 1801 'a chest for the elus and scots' was included.

On 25-5-1807 the minute books of the Chapter of La Fidèle Sincérité, housed at the Amanusgracht, noted: 'the reception of Brother Brandel is postponed until the same will have made good on his duty, to paint within the temple the necessary decorations onto the surfaces left open to do so'.[1258] We can only speculate if these painted panels were to include general decorative figures, or specific allegorical or masonic designs. If Alexander Brandel, a former soldier from Dresden and now land master, complied, he would be initiated free of charge. This trade of services for initiations was not uncommon, and a useful way to ensure secrecy.

The inventories of La Fidèle Sincérité made after the move to the Jacatraweg still listed one 'wooden Head' between 1819 and 1825.[1259] Tracing boards were specified for the Apprentice and Fellow-Craft degree, as well as the *Élu*, *Écossais* and *Chevalier d'Orient* degrees.[1260] A 'gilt frame with glass, being left for a membership list' appeared on the 1831 inventory of the same lodge. This corresponds with a receipt dated 6-8-1831 'for having made A Gilded Frame in Glass meant for a [Constitution?] letter of the Grand Chapter of the High Degrees of the Kingdom of the Netherlands silver f 9,-'.[1261] The 1831-1833 inventories specified that four tracing boards were 'painted on canvas'.[1262] These may have been painted by the aforementioned Giraud, who was employed by the Chapter around that time and again delivered not only paintwork, but also ritual props and regalia. A payment to him (or his firm), made on 21 February that year, covered:

> For the making and painting of a new Elus lodge
> The painting of the Tracing board[1263] Again G

The 1835 inventory for the higher degrees mostly lists regalia for the three most commonly practised higher degrees, and a few ritual props. The 'Cave complete for the Elu's lodge' should be read quite literally as a number of set pieces to construct a decor resembling a cave, in which according to the myth of the *Élu* degrees one of Hiram Abiff's murderers was hiding. This cave is described in ritual manuals and depicted on

several aprons belonging to this degree (fig. 5.119-5.120). Such set pieces again show how closely freemasonry and theatre were linked. The inventory again included three different tracing boards for the *Élu*, *Écossais* and *Chevalier d'Orient* degrees.[1264] Lastly a receipt dated 10-5-1835 recorded the payment of 'sixty guilders silver for the producing and engraving of a large silver seal [by] Master Kornelen'.[1265] The name Kornelen does not appear on lists of known silversmiths in Batavia, but there is a master mark consisting of the letter 'K' of which the silversmith was not yet identified.[1266] Further research is needed to determine if Kornelen can be linked to this mark. The seal in question was probably made for the Chapter of La Fidèle Sincérité, as its 1835 inventory mentioned '1 Silver seal [kept] by the Grand Chancellor'.[1267]

♦ *Consumption pattern*

Freemasonry is anecdotally associated with copious drinking, but this can probably be said of most gentlemen's clubs with a social function. That the table lodge, its ceremonial drinking and drinking songs were part of the masonic ritual, made it inevitable that special attention was paid to the shared meal. Because lodge also functioned as a social meeting place or bar after the ritual, this meant that catering facilities were quickly developed on site in lodge buildings. In some cases, the catering service even extended to the houses of (married) lodge members, serving meals for intimate parties. Surviving financial administration provides an overview of the contents of the wine cellar, as well as the ingredients bought for the meals, the supply of candles and lamp oil, and as such of the consumption pattern of both lodges in Batavia. It is simply too tempting not to have a look at the menu served at the table lodge and the liquids that filled those *canons*. It is also highly relevant, as a large part of the material culture of freemasonry consists of the table wares used at the table lodge. When drawing conclusions about the place of freemasonry within colonial society, changes in the menu can be indicative of cultural exchange taking place.

The financial records of La Fidèle Sincérité for 1778 show that 'Seven times an ordinairy Table' provided by the Worshipful Master cost 105,- Rds (15 Rds per meeting), while the more luxurious 'table on the days of St. John Baptist and Evangelist' cost 120,- Rds for one meeting.[1268] In 1779, the beverages used were reimbursed to the Worshipful Master Christiaan Hendrik van Erath every three months. During eight regular meetings in August-October a total of 145 bottles of heavy beer, 140 light beer, 67 red wine and another 50 fine red wine were consumed, for a total of 120 Rds. That is a little over 50 bottles per evening, while the lodge counted 16 members that year, not all of whom were present. La Vertueuse kept a different accounting system. It reimbursed the Master of Furniture Hartsink monthly for 'expences', presumably for the table lodge, which for a quarter of a year amounted to over 200 Rds in 1779. While the lodge counted 19 paying members, 59 bottles of red wine and 190 heavy beer were bought during those same months for a little over 86 Rds. But it is not clear how many meetings were covered by this supply.

A bill presented to Worshipful Master Nicolaas Maas on 3-7-1788 by the widow Pothoff for a table lodge, gives an impression of what was on the menu on St. John's Day in La Fidèle Sincérité:

1 wet pastry	Rds	5:-		
1 dry pastry		5:-		
1 boiled Dutch ham		6:-		
1 fresh ham		2:-		
1 front haunch of a kalf roasted		3:-		
2 dishes of braised pork chops		4:-		
2 ditto *frikadellen* [= minced meat balls or patties]		4:-		
1 dish steamed fish		2:-		
1 ditto baked ditto		1:32		
2 dishes of boiled crabs		1:12	Rds	33:44
2 dishes boiled peas		4:-		
2 ditto ditto asparagus		4:-		
2 ditto stewed green beans		3:-		
2 ditto spinach		2:-		
2 ditto potatoes		3:-		
2 ditto endive salad		1:12		
2 ditto lettuce		1:12		

2 ditto baked oysters	4:-	Rds 22:24
1 dish turban cake	2:-	
2 ditto *broeders* [= small yeast pancakes]	5:-	
2 ditto *colombijntjes* [= sweet cakes]	5:-	
2 ditto profiteroles	5:-	
2 ditto *spritsen* [= a type of shortbread]	5:-	
1 ditto almond tart	4:-	
1 ditto praline ditto	2:24	
½ sweetmilk cheese	4:-	
6 dishes [illegible] various	6:-	
1 ditto Dutch butter	-:36	
1 ditto fresh butter	-:24	
40 pieces of bread at 2 ½ Stuivers each	2:4	
10 wax candles	1:12	Rds 43:4
for table rice, atjar, Sambal, oil, & Vinegar &c	2:24	
the use of [a] silver table Service	5:-	
for tea, Coffee, chocolate, sweetmilk, jam & sweet rice	2:24	
use of tables, tablecloth, dishes, pierings, napkins as well as done dishes	6:-	Rds 16:-
		Rds 115:24[1269]

The lodge counted about 24 members in 1786, but there may have been guests. From the number of bread rolls, we may assume this was for a party of 40 or more. Similarly, lodge La Vertueuse celebrated St. John's Day on 24-6-1788 (fig. 5.121). Its menu looked a little different:

A *paaterstuk* [= best ribs of a cow]	Rds	1:-
A ham		4:24
A suckling pig		2:24
Turkey		3:36
Goose		1:-
Large grouses		-:24
Small ditto		1:-
Young pigeons		1:12
Greens & potatoes		3:-
Two ducks		-:40
Fruits		-:30
A fish		-:-8
Fresh butter		-:40
Bread and biscuit		1:12
Eggs		-:20
Milk		-:20
Sugar, *maniesan* [= candied fruits] and Tea		-:30
Atjar		-:15
Rice		-:12
A day's rent		1:32
To the cooks		5:-
For coolie wages		-:30
For distributing the money		5:12
	Rds	42:40[1270]

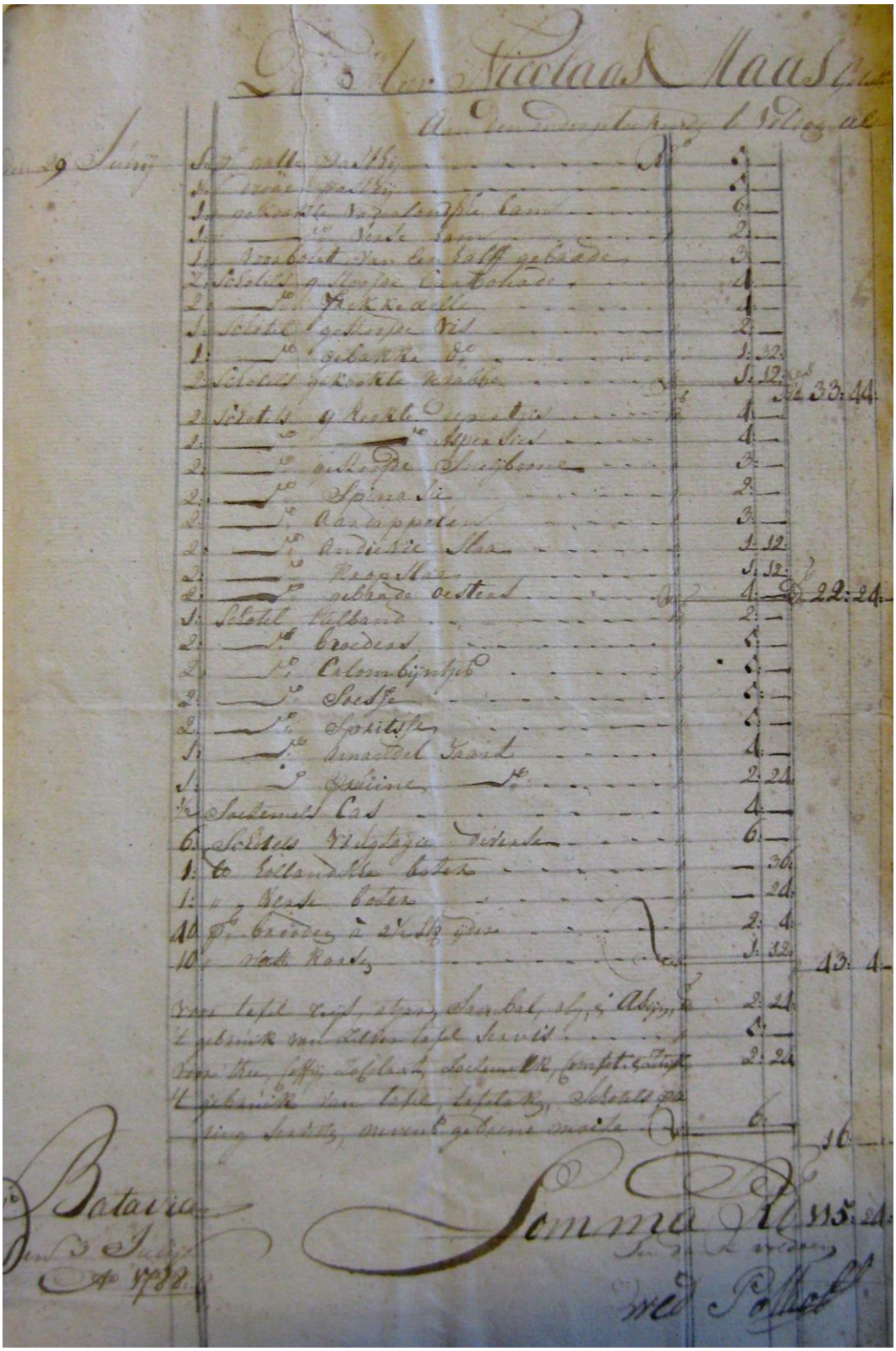


Fig. 5.121: Invoice for a meal from the widow Pothoff, 3-7-1788. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

Several of the birds listed were not indigenous, so these must have been imported and bred locally for consumption. The bill, made out to Fiscal Van Massau, was signed by Hendrik van Gaale. La Vertueuse had about 40 members that year, some of which were away from Batavia at the time. So the wealthier lodge

actually had a cheaper meal, and (as is apparent from other bills) clearly favorited poultry. The lodge minutes recorded on 3-5-1788 a complaint, that members did not give notice that they would be absent in time, 'without taking in consideration the costs and trouble taken to arrange the table'. So it was decided to increase the fine for that offence.[1271]

Many similar bills, illustrating the changing eating pattern of the lodges in later years, have survived. Some things stand out. The financial records of La Vertueuse for 1-11- 1798 included a payment of 15 Rds for 'the 29th try out lodge of the French cook and farewell to Brother Cornabe'.[1272] By the end of the century, more and more local dishes were listed on the invoices for the table lodge of La Vertueuse. These included Japanese soy and *so-oen* (noodles) in 1798-1799.[1273] In the years 1800-1802 ingredients such as *koeping tiekos* (dried Chinese mushrooms), local fruits including *rammenas*, *mangistan*, *ramboetan*, *doekoe*, *pisang mas*, Japanese and Bantam *soetappels* (sweet apples) were on the menu, as well as Danish beer and *jammoen* (probably Indian *gulab jamun*, a sweet dish).[1274] An imported Edam cheese costing 3,- Rds was enjoyed in 1813.[1275] On 31 July of the same year, the menu for a table lodge for special guests from the Grand Lodge in The Hague included 'a quarter Catje [= measure] Birds' Nests 10,- Rds' for a Chinese style dish.[1276] Probably for the same meal, was the purchase of 'A white Jug of Japanese soy' costing 2½ Spd.[1277]

The aforementioned Mrs. Garisson-van Nimwegen supplied linen wares and meals for the table lodge to La Vertueuse in the beginning of the 19th century. When she died in 1807, Miss Hopkeert took her place as supplier.[1278] However, in a lodge meeting on 7-10-1807 it was discussed that the lady had accompanied her husband to Timor, so the lodge would be without meals. On 28-10-1807 it was suggested that 'the in this Municipality seated Citizen and Inn keeper Aart de Jongh' would be willing to arrange the table for 3 Rds per person, as well as a coffee table for 10 Rds per occasion. After a try out meal, it became clear on 4-11-1807 that the price would have to be set at 4 Rds per person, which was approved.[1279]

A bill for a joint table lodge of La Fidèle Sincérité and La Vertueuse also held in honour of visitors from the Grand Lodge in the Netherlands on 16-5-1809 (fig. 5. 122), is astonishing:

125 bottles Red wine	at Rds	5	Rds	625		
81 Heavy beer	"	2		162		
98 Light beer	"	2		196		
17 Rhine wine	"	3		51		
27 Madera wine	"	3		81		
11 white "	"	4		44		
12 Carafes of Dutch water	"	1 ½		18		
1 cellar bottle genever				3		
1 Brandy				4		
½ gross pipes				6		
2 chests of spermacetie candles at 90 Rds				180		
¼ picol [= measure] of wax candles at 140 Rds				35	Rds	1405
On top of which						
The payment for the Illumination						280
For pastries, coffee, &c the 15th May						35
" the table, the 16th May						800
" coolie and praaw [= boat] wages						28
" Lamp oil						96
To the musicians						150
			Together		Rds	2794[1280]

The drinks amounted to 373 bottles of different sizes in a single night for 84 members and guests, not counting the water. If 100 people were present, this still implies more than 3½ bottles per person were consumed. The money spent was the equivalent of more than 50.000,- euro in 2013, while a mandur in service of the lodge earned about 30 stuivers per month (the equivalent of circa € 600,- per year).[1281] The dinner cost more than he would have earned in his whole lifetime.

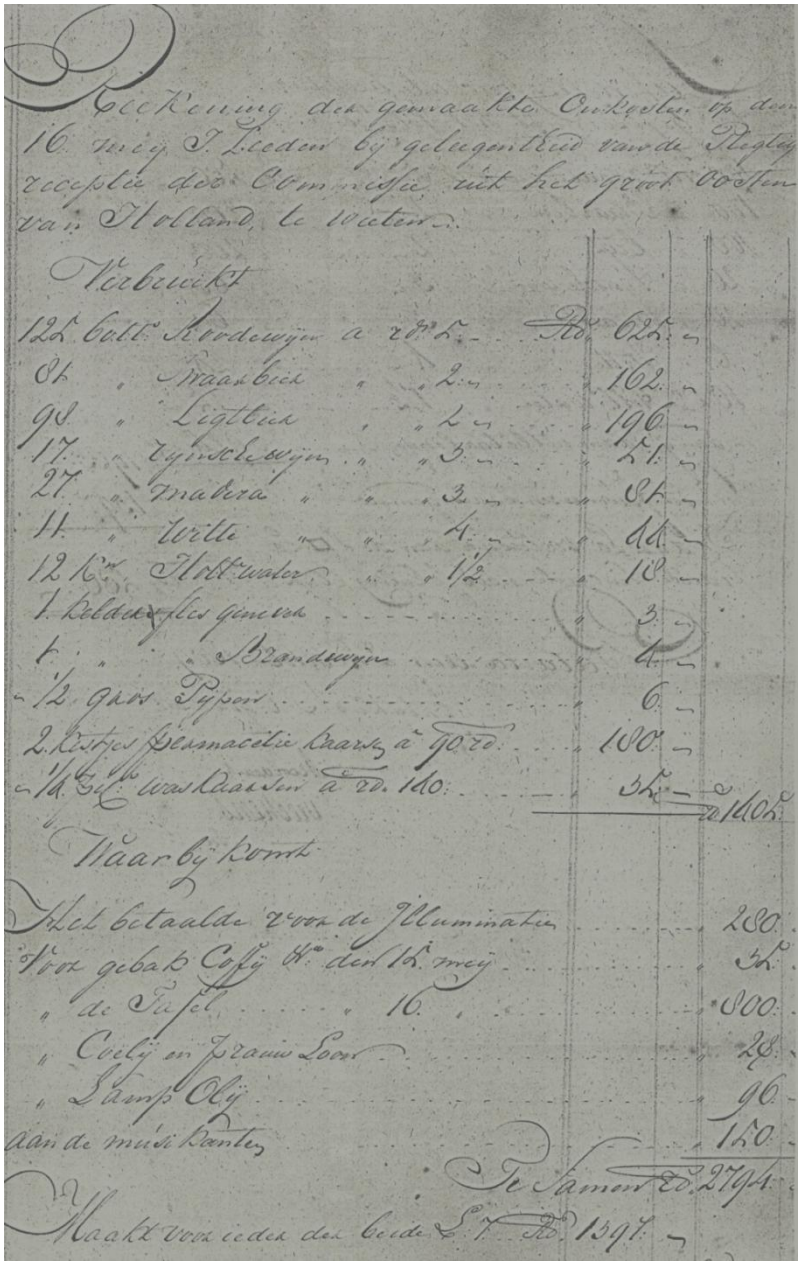


Fig. 5.122: Bill for a joint table lodge by La Fidèle Sincérité en La Vertueuse at the occasion of a visiting committee of the Grand Lodge in The Hague, 16-5-1809. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

On 25-9-1817 the minutes of La Fidèle Sincérité recorded a complaint, that too many visitors were welcomed at the table lodge. Entertaining them became too expensive, so a fee was asked in future.[1282] The financial administration for 1818 illustrates whose services La Vertueuse employed to organize the celebration of summer St. John:

For turkeys, grouse, capons, ducks, greens,
fruits, eggs and other table necessities as pig, meat and suckling pigs f 259,-
" the widow Wenkelaar for a calf, two sheep,
sauerkraut, sausages, tripe, jams, kitchen pickles, &c f 138,-
" the widow Zwarts for pastries, *Party* and biscuits etc f 149,18
" Miss Engel for 6 dorated Salads f 35,6
" different payments for coolie wages for bringing the goods f 194,-
" the Gentleman Lutjens for candles & glasses f 229,3

" the Gentleman Leps H. for cheeses	f 26,12
" the Gentleman Hommes for wines	f 306,16
" the Gentleman van Tienen for ditto	f 528,-
" the Gentlemen van Rijck for hams, Brandy etc	f 262,5
" the Chinese for 200 bread rolls	f 17,6
" the Carpenter Boss for the Illumination & repairing windows and doors &c	f 227,-
Somma	f 2372,-[1283]

La Vertueuse met on 2-5-1820 to discuss the budget for St. John's Day, estimated at fl. 1.000,-, excluding borrowed furniture, but including the table lodge, drinks and lights. Voluntary donations of brethren raised fl. 832,-. Restaurant owner Paijen was allowed to have a try out for the table lodge, which if successful meant that he would be hired for the bigger occasion as well.[1284] On 8 -8-1820 his meal at fl. 5,- per person was approved.[1285] However, later minutes show that he served three dinners without being paid the fl. 450,- owed to him, which sum then had to be advanced by several well-to-do brethren.[1286]

By the 1820s lodge La Fidèle Sincérité stocked the same types of wines, genever and brandy, as well as bitters and 'Zelters' or Selters water, an early type of carbonated drink.[1287] In the 1830s a difference was made between red wine and 'fine wine', presumably white, while liqueurs and champagne were added to the stock. That same year, lemonade was also in stock. Next to tobacco, the lodge now also stocked soap, combs and pomade, so the members could look their best.[1288] (This would have been especially welcomed visitors living on the other side of the island or travellers just arriving with a ship.) In 1837 the lodge paid fl. 60,- silver for one dozen bottles of champagne.[1289] All in all, lodge archives do little to counteract the traditional prejudice that freemasons liked their liquor. Most drinks were alcoholic and imported from Europe, or as my professor once subtly put it: 'Whole shiploads of booze must have sailed to the East just to keep the lodges wet.' Indeed, there were some excesses, but mostly on special, festive occasions such as the visit of Grand Lodge delegations.

A receipt dated 14-3-1837 for the widow Dekker, earlier responsible for supplying regalia and now for catering a table lodge of La Fidèle Sincérité for 31 people, sums up the following ingredients:

2 Cans Steamed Salmon	f 12 Rds
2 " Sardines on oil	f 12
½ Sweetmilk cheese	f 5
1 pitje [= measure] anchovies	f 4
1 Ham	f 8
2 salted Tongues	f 8
Lard for Steak	f 4
1 Turkey	f 6
1 Bronswijk sausage	f 10
potatoes	f 2
Butter	f 6
1 Bottle gherkins	f 3
Oil Pepper vinegar mustard and Salt	f 3
Salad and Beets	f 2
Bread	f 3
Baked goods and Sugar work	f 35
Cook and servants	f 10
	f 133.[1290]

The records show that lodge meals in the years 1767-1837 consisted mostly of European fare, making use of imported (canned) foods and drinks, as well as familiar animals raised and vegetables grown locally. Asian additions were the use of sambal, atjar, soy, local fruits and Chinese vegetables. But we can only guess if meals were spiced and prepared in a European or an Asian manner. From building accounts discussed above, it is clear that the lodge's kitchens were especially renovated to place grill racks. Should we consider that Javanese *sateh* was among the grilled dishes served at the table lodge? While the discussion of the consumption pattern of the lodge has to be limited here to such anecdotes, the many,

many documents deserve to be studied further by researchers of socio-economic developments in the colonial era as well as by lovers of the Dutch-Asian kitchen.

♦ *Cultural interaction*

After reviewing the inventories and spending pattern of the lodges, several observations can be made. The lodges relied heavily on two types of suppliers of regular services: the local craftsmen in Batavia, and the wives and widows of lodge members. The first group mainly saw to the upkeep and decoration of the lodge building, the latter to the regalia and catering. By especially employing widows, the lodges offered an early form of social security to widows and children of members, who could also apply to an allowance from the Almoners charity box. The contractors and overseers of (building) works were usually Chinese men, the labourers from the indigenous population of the islands. The lodges allowed a mandur, servants and their families to live on the lodge grounds, creating a small community behind the lodge's fence.

Purchases of furniture were seldom made from stores, most necessities were obtained at auction, particularly from the sale of estates of lodge brothers. The lodge also made efforts at these occasions to prevent masonic objects from falling into 'profane' hands. The lodge members, mostly the Masters of Furniture, advanced many purchases, as a result of which the actual suppliers are not always known. Precious regalia and other gold- and silverworks were obtained from silversmiths in Batavia, both from European and Chinese backgrounds. Likewise, paintings were ordered from both European and Chinese artists. Lodge La Vertueuse made unsurpassed investments in regalia and decorations for the lodge, indicating that the members took their masonic 'labour' very seriously. There is always a fine line between expressing devotion and display of social status, but as the lodge members could only show off their regalia behind closed doors to a handful of initiates, who were already part of the Dutch elite, surely there would have been more to gain from displays made in public.

The lodges were a very visible presence in the community. As commissioners of services, various goods and art works, but also as hosts of festive spectacles, such as the St. John's Day illuminations and inaugurations of buildings. Prominent members of society, including non-members and their wives, attended these celebrations. In the 19th century lodge meetings were regularly announced in local newspapers. And while a government figure such as Daendels incidentally took action against lodge members for political reasons, there were no notable disturbances involving any of the lodges. Freemasons were a respected and accepted part of society. So much so, that those in need, not just orphans and widows of members, but also travellers fallen on hard times, would regularly appeal to the lodge for financial assistance or a return ticket home. The lodges maintained their position because so many high ranking officials, even the freemasons among the British occupiers, were members. When the lodges needed government loans or new plots of land, these connections certainly did not hurt. However, most large acquisitions were made privately by a group of lodge members, who then either bequeathed or loaned the acquisition to the lodge. The lodge itself rarely acted as a legal body.

While the laws of the Order prohibited the sharing of secrets with the uninitiated or profane, both Asian and European craftsmen, artists and musicians, as well as members' widows, were clearly involved in the preparation of regalia, the decoration of temple interiors, and the illuminations at big events. Secrecy may have been part of the masonic ritual 'game', but what the running of its affairs was concerned, lodges clearly favoured practicality above secrecy.

The lodge inventories demonstrate that Asian influences on various aspects of lodge life, ranging from the use of local materials and techniques, the import of Chinese silk and porcelain, and Japanese lacquer and porcelain, to the use of incense in rituals. There are little surviving objects and visual documentation of the lodges in Batavia predating 1900, but we may assume there was a mixing of decorative styles as well. Lodge interiors will have been no different in that respect from other Dutch colonial interiors. Lodge members travelling to other parts of Asia in service of the VOC, including captains and diplomats, were commissioned to arrange purchases and advances for the lodges in Batavia. Not just supplies of textiles or functional objects such as porcelain dinner ware, but even ritual objects, such as tracing boards. This is a new aspect of the private trade taking place within the VOC network, which is further discussed in chapters 6 and 7. These are also interesting aspects of the cultural mediation, long preceding the introduction of Asian men into the lodge membership.

The first contact between lodge members and the (Eur)Asian community on Java was clearly commercial, with the lodge needing goods and services. From brief mentions in 18th century lodge records it is clear, that several lodge members owned slaves, which from present day perspective seems abhorrent and contradictory to masonic ideals. However, slavery was already common practise among the native population of many regions of the Dutch East Indies before the arrival of the Europeans. One could become enslaved as a result of war, debt or birth from parents who were slaves. Java was an important exception, as slavery was not practised by the local population, only in Batavia after the arrival of the Europeans. While the West India Company was heavily involved in the slave trade from Africa, its counterpart the VOC much less. However, some 300.000 slaves were transported to Batavia during the 18th century, and half the population of Batavia would have consisted of slaves or former slaves.[1291] The Company and its servants owned slaves, but their treatment, as well as their and import and export, was bound by strict rules. Slaves were sometimes borrowed or hired by the lodges from their members, when extra labourers were needed for work on the building or the organisation of events. The region of birth is never mentioned, and the distinction between *slaves* and *coolies* in the lodge records is not always clear. Nor is there any indiction how many lodge members owned slaves and how many did not.[1292]

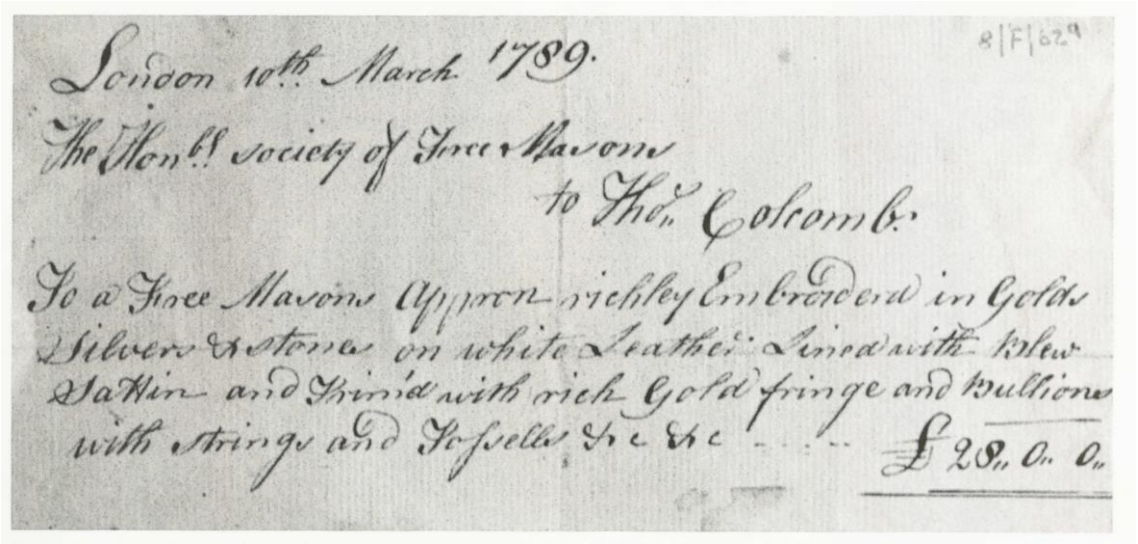
On 3-1-1803 La Vertueuse received a complaint about their member P.H. Fietz, a merchant from Rodenstock, 'because of his ill treatmen of the slaves' when he was a visitor in La Fidèle Sincérité.[1293] La Vertueuse decided to take the matter up with La Fidèle Sincérité, but aparantly things were not resolved. On 17-1-1803 it was announced that La Fidèle Sincérité had barred Fietz from attending any further meetings.[1294] Similarly on 6-4-1809 a complaint by Age Iges was registered. He wrote a report about an incident with the Serving Brother Dakanowitz, who at a table lodge supposedly hit two slave boys and then manhandled the female slaves, belonging to the caterer, widow Winkelaar, who then refused to serve coffee and tea.[1295] A memorial publication mentions another event, the date not specified, when the luitenant governor-general [= Raffles] was present at a banquet during the British occupation of Java:

> Assisted by male and female slaves, the loyal brother Servant was passing the cup of friendship, and making sure the diners did not want for anything. Much embarrassment occured however, when on a certain day the pastry baker submitted a complaint to the master of the lodge concerning the forward behavior of the brother Servant and some other gentlemen, towards the slave girls, and based on these liberties at first refused to offer the assistance of his cooking skills to the brethren.[1296]

The financial records show that slaves members of La Fidèle Sincérité's could 'rely on their accompanying slave', presumably to wait on them during the table lodge and/or the social gathering afterwards. The lodge may even have owned its own slaves, as the contract between lodge La Fidèle Sincérite and the Chinese builder Atjieh in 1818, included the building of two blocks of 'slave houses', one and two stories high.[1297]

Authors on freemasonry and colonial politics, including Harland-Jacobs, Révauger and Deschamps, have discussed the contrast between freemasonry's tolerant and inclusive world view and the very exclusive racial politics of the western governments represented by a large section of the lodge members. The sitiation in the lodges in the Dutch East Indies has not yet been comprehensively studied from that perspective. While some freemasons clearly had no problem owning slaves, others would be involved in promoting less oppressive colonial politics and abolishion movements. Freemason and author Eduard Douwes Dekker (Multatuli, 1820-1887) is the most famous Dutch example of such an activist from the 19th century. As for this particular project, the lodge accounts were searched for information on material culture, and although some references to slaves were found, these were accidental and too few to base any usefull conclusions on. Examples like the minutes quoted above do suggest, however, that it would be very worthwhile having another look at these same archives with a clear focus on issues of race, slavery and abolishion politics.

Apart from the dark side of colonial history touched upon here, the presence of these men and women is also significant for another reason. Quite a number of Asian people must have been intimately familiar with the lodge building and its contents, some being involuntary involved in the upkeep and decoration of the temple, the preparation of both ritual meetings, meals and public spectacles, and others being hired to do so, including local artists and craftsmen. The lodge grounds, with the servants houses



London 10th March 1789.

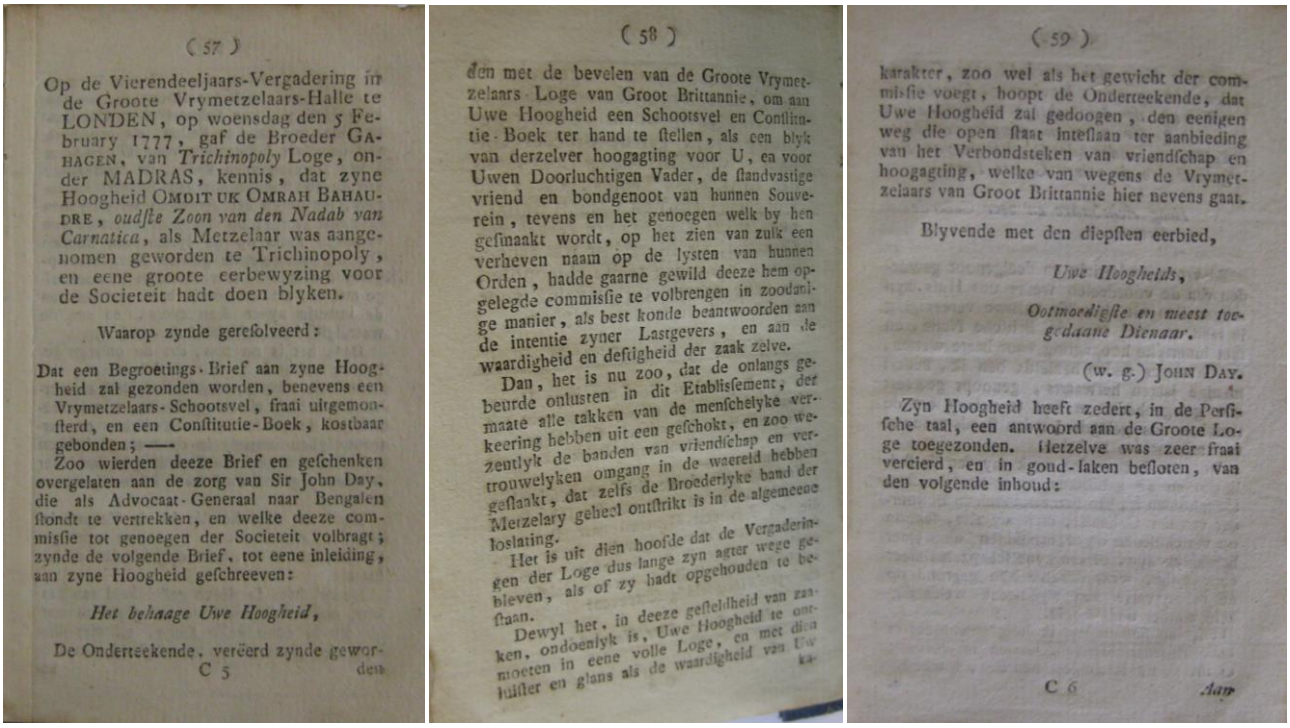
The Honbl Society of Free Masons

to Thos Colcomb.

To a Free Masons Apron richley Embroidered in Gold Silver & Stone on white Leather Lined with blew Sattin and Trimd with rich Gold fringe and Bullions with Strings and Rosettes &c &c ... £28 0 0

8|F|62.9

Fig. 5.123: Invoice for the purchase of an apron by Umdat-ul-Umrah Bahadur 1789, in: Hamill/Gilbert 1991, p. 93.



(57)

Op de Vierendeeljaars-Vergadering in de Groote Vrymetzelaars-Halle te LONDEN, op woensdag den 5 February 1777, gaf de Broeder GAHAGEN, van *Trichinopoly* Loge, onder MADRAS, kennis, dat zyne Hoogheid OMDIT UK OMRAH BAHAUDRE, *oudste Zoon van den Nadab van Carnatica*, als Metzelaar was aangenomen geworden te Trichinopoly, en eene groote eerbewyzing voor de Societeit hadt doen blyken.

Waarop zynde gerefolveerd:

Dat een Begroetings-Brief aan zyne Hoogheid zal gezonden worden, benevens een Vrymetzelaars-Schootsvel, fraai uitgemonfterd, en een Conftitutie-Boek, kostbaar gebonden; —

Zoo wierden deeze Brief en geschenken overgelaten aan de zorg van Sir John Day, die als Advocaat-Generaal naar Bengalen ftondt te vertrekken, en welke deeze commisfie tot genoegen der Societeit volbragt; zynde de volgende Brief, tot eene inleiding, aan zyne Hoogheid geschreeven:

Het behaage Uwe Hoogheid,

De Onderteekende, vereerd zynde gewor-

C 5 den

(58)

den met de bevelen van de Groote Vrymetzelaars-Loge van Groot Brittannie, om aan Uwe Hoogheid een Schootsvel en Conftitutie-Boek ter hand te ftellen, als een blyk van derzelver hoogagting voor U, en voor Uwen Doorluchtigen Vader, de ftandvastige vriend en bondgenoot van hunnen Souverein, tevens en het genoegen welk by hen gefmaakt wordt, op het zien van zulk een verheven naam op de lysten van hunnen Orden, hadde gaarne gewild deeze hem opgelegde commisfie te volbrengen in zoodanige manier, als best konde beantwoorden aan de intentie zyner Lastgevers, en aan de waardigheid en deftigheid der zaak zelve.

Dan, het is nu zoo, dat de onlangs gebeurde onlusten in dit Etablisement, der maate alle takken van de menschelyke verkeering hebben uit een geschokt, en zoo wezentlyk de banden van vriendschap en trouwelyken omgang in de waereld hebben gefmaakt, dat zelfs de Broederlyke band der Metzelary geheel ontftrikt is in de algemeene loslating.

Het is uit dien hoofde dat de Vergaderingen der Loge dus lange zyn agter wege gebleven, als of zy hadt opgehouden te ftaan.

Dewyl het, in deeze geftaltheid van zaken, ondoenlyk is, Uwe Hoogheid te ontmoeten in eene volle Loge, en met dien luister en glans als de waardigheid van Uw ka-

(59)

rakter, zoo wel als het gewicht der commisfie voegt, hoopt de Onderteekende, dat Uwe Hoogheid zal gedoogen, den eenigen weg die open ftaat inteflaan ter aanbieding van het Verbondsteken van vriendschap en hoogagting, welke van wegens de Vrymetzelaars van Groot Brittannie hier nevens gaat.

Blyvende met den diepften eerbied,

Uwe Hoogheids,

Ootmoedigfte en meest toegedaane Dienaar.

(w. g.) JOHN DAY.

Zyn Hoogheid heeft zedert, in de Perfifche taal, een antwoord aan de Groote Loge toegezonden. Hetzelve was zeer fraai vercierd, en in goud-laken befloten, van den volgende inhoud:

C 6 *Aan*

Fig. 5.124: Announcement of the initiation of Umdat-ul-Umrah Bahadur as a freemason in De Nederlandse Vry-metzelaars Almanach *('s-Gravenhage 1793). Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague*

built upon it, formed small gated communities. Hageman noted in 1858 that lodge De Vriendschap was looked upon curiously, but at the same time accepted by the community:

> […] within the Javanese world the practise of the Royal Art in all its facets is without any scandal or hindrance whatsoever. The common Javanese calls […] the Workplace and its surroundings 'Gedong Setan' (the Devil's house), but the nineteen Javanese families on the grounds, never experience the least of which, that the superstitious and still civilised European in his homeland, under the same circumstances, would experience. Thee nineteen families, or about 130 souls, live wholly free of charge, and guard and serve only the buildings and the Brethren.[1298]





Fig.5.125: Friedrich Carl Albert Schreuel (ascribed), portrait of raden Sarief Bastaman Saleh (ca. 1810-1880), ca. 1840. Oil on canvas, 106.7 x 85.5 cm. Collection: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv.no. SK-A-4703. Reproduced from: rijksmuseum.nl.
Fig. 5.126: Portrait of Aquasi Boachi, ca.1849. Photograph of the original oil on canvas by atelier P. Herrmann in Buitenzorg, 10 x 7 cm. Collection: Archief Delft, inv.no. 10478. Reproduced from: virtueeldelftslexicon.nl.

Both diplomatic, economic and personal relationships between the Dutch and the indigenous population reached a point, where the acceptance of Asian men as lodge members became a logical next step. It is difficult to pinpoint, however, what the exact starting point for this new development was.

The initiation of Umdat-ul-Umrah Bahadur (1748-1801) son of Muhammad Ali Khan Walajah (ca. 1717-1795, the *Nawab* of Alcot or ruler of the Carnatic region in India), is considered the earliest record of the acceptance of an Asian man, as well as a Muslim, into the Order.[1299] Muhammad Ali was an ally of the British East India Company, seeking support for plans to invade a neighboring region. The initiation of his son was probably a diplomatic move. However, information about the precise date and place is conflicting.[1300] The current Grand Lodge of Madras places the initiation as early as 1767 in Trinichopoly Lodge no. 3, but without providing a source.[1301] In the collection of the Library and Museum of Freemasonry is a letter by Umdat-ul-Umrah Bahadur from 1778, for which the provenance record notes that an announcement of the initiation in 1774 was made in the Grand Lodge meeting of 1775.[1302] This letter by Bahadur, together with a letter by Sir John Day, the Attorney General of Bengal, commenting on this occasion, was published and eventually translated in Dutch in the masonic almanac of 1793 (fig. 5.124.).[1303] Day stated that the (earlier) initiation had been announced on 5-2-1777 by Terence Gahagen, military surgeon and member of Lodge Trichinopoly, upon his return to England. So between 1774 and early 1777 seems most likely. Welcoming the news, the Grand Lodge sent Bahadur an embroidered apron as a gift, for which the purchase invoice survived (fig. 5.123), as well as a book of Constitutions.Sir John Day brought these gifts over when he came to India.[1304]

Eurasian men may have been involved in Dutch lodge activities at a much earlier stage, probably from the founding of the first lodges in the region onwards. Like most VOC-settlements in Asia, the European society in Batavia consisted mainly of Company employees and freeburgers, often former Company employees. Such settlements had a large so-called *mestizo* culture; part of the population was of mixed European and Asian descent. As there were less European women in the trade posts than men, many

men took an Asian woman as a lover. Sometimes the Asian women involved would be baptised and given a European name. Provided a child from such a mixed relationship had been formally recognized and Adopted by the European father, the child would also be considered European, although discrimination against people of such mixed descent was very common.[1305] Children who remained unrecognized by their European fathers had no other choice than to blend in with the Asian population, which might not accept them either. The VOC made good use of Eurasian men, who understood and could easily navigate the customs of the local population, whereas for Asian rulers, Eurasian men could do the same towards the Europeans.[1306]

The lodge records do not mention matters of birth and provide little clues. The 1775 the new laws for lodge La Fidèle Sincérité included instructions for the admission of members. Article 23 stipulated:

> No one of low status, that is, Offensive Behaviour or born out of wedlock or Slavery, will be allowed to be proposed into this Royal Order, let alone accepted.[1307]

This rule seems to be a confirmation of an already existing practise, rather than a change in policy. It is important to note that this rule did not explicitly exclude Eurasians or Asians, provided they had a certain status in local society. In practise, that was of course a substantial barrier, as were the high costs of initiations, regalia and contributions. As Jean Gelman Taylor's study on the subject has pointed out, lodge members were among the men marrying Eurasian women, and for men of mixed parentage the membership of a lodge could be an important step in defining one's identity as European or Western.[1308] But such Eurasian men are difficult to identify in the early lodge records, as both parents could carry a European name. It is likely they participated in the founding of the first lodges in Southeast Asia in the 17050s-1760s, but the earliest records are also the most incomplete and more genealogical research of the membership lists is needed to determine this and understand how this may have influenced later acceptance of Asians as members.

For instance, what to make of Joseph Dat, born in Neral (India), who travelled as a sailor to Java in 1772, became a freeburger in 1782 and joined La Fidèle Sincérité in 1783? Of some members joining after 1800, we already know their Eurasian background. Examples include military draughtsman Pieter Jacob Beetjes (who had a Javanese mother), a member of La Fidèle Sincérité in 1814, government architect Johan Hendrik Horst (who had a Kantonese mother), a member of La Fidèle Sincérité, and William Titsingh (who had a Bengal mother), assistant-Resident and a member of La Vertueuse in 1822. There are no clues that being from either Indian, Javanese or Chinese descent, was more acceptable than any of the others, all seem to be represented in the lodge records.

None the less, the initiation of Asian men remained a rarity until well into the 19th century. The fact that until ca. 1815-1820 the masonic 'game' heavily relied on allusions to the bible, with which most Asians were still unfamiliar, may have been one of the contributing factors. Mestizo's raised within European culture would be more familiar with the symbolism used.[1309] In 1827 the initiation of a local Muslim was recorded in a British lodge in Penang (Malaysia). Hassan bin Ibrahim became a member of a lodge in July of that year.[1310] Curiously, the first recorded initiation of a man of Javanese descent did not take place on Java itself. In 1836 the painter raden Sarief Bastaman Saleh (circa 1810-1880) was accepted as a member in the lodge Eendracht maakt Macht in The Hague (fig. 5.125).[1311] As *raden*, a respectful form of address for people of high birth, indicated, he came from a royal Javanese family.[1312]

Raden Saleh had as a child been taken into the home of the resident of Tjiandjur, R.L.J. Baron van der Capellen, brother to the governor-general. He was taught how to paint by the artist A.A.J. Payen (1792-1853). In 1829 raden Saleh travelled to the Netherlands in the position of clerk to the inspector of finances, Jean Baptiste De Linge. He then decided not to return to the East Indies, but to stay and further his education as an artist. Although initially raden Saleh was allowed to do so for two years under the supervision of J.C. Baud, director of business relating to the Dutch East Indies in The Hague, he ended up spending more than 20 years in Europe.[1313] While studying and working in the Netherlands he befriended many artists, including Charles Rochussen (1814-1894), Bartholomeus Johannes van Hove (1790-1880), Jozef Moerenhout (1801-1874), Samuel Leonardus Verveer (1813-1876) and Johan Friedrich Welsch (born 1796), who were all members of local lodge Eendracht maakte Macht, which eventually lead to him also being proposed as a member. Raden Saleh's initiation took place at the same day as that of another



Fig. 5.127a-b: Commemorative coin, marking the 75th anniversary of lodge De Ster in het Oosten on 16-9-1844. Silver, 5.4 cm. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 1463. Photos: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.



Fig. 5.128a-b: Commemorative coin, marking the laying of the first stone for the Freemasons Hall in Batavia on 19-12-1856, and the dedication of the building on 28-6-1858. Bronze, diam. 4.2 cm. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 1900. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl

candidate, Arnoldus van Otterloo. During his lifetime, raden Saleh collected many honours, including the title of court painter to King William II. He would not return to Java until 1852, where he was appointed curator of the *Rijks Schilderijencollecties* (the Dutch State collection of paintings) in Batavia.

The initiation of raden Saleh did little to open the membership up to other Asian men. Said bin Abdul Rachman bin Hussin bin Sabil is thought to be the first muslim merchant initiated into a lodge on Java. He was accepted as a member in lodge De Vriendschap in Surabaya in 1844.[1314] Described in literature as a 'descendant' or 'great-grandson of the Sultan of Pontianak on Borneo', Abdul Rachman is simply listed as a merchant in the membership list of 1845.[1315] The dates of his birth and death are unclear and he remains to be identified more precisely. Initiations of men of other ethnic groups followed. On 26-6-1852 the initiation of Aquasie Boachi (1827-1904), prince of Ashanti in West-Africa, was recorded in lodge La Constante et Fidèle in Semarang (fig. 5.126).[1316] He had studied at the Technical University in Delft and was by then a mine engineer in service of the Dutch government. Because he suffered discrimination throughout his career, he settled in the Dutch East Indies. Boachi would later become co-founder of the masonic society in Bogor and Worshipful Master of a new lodge in the area.

In 1856 a Chinese sugar merchant, The Boen Keh, requested to be admitted to lodge De Vriendschap in Surabaya. His request was rejected in the ballot:

> […] after a two-hour debate during which numerous objections were raised to 'the opinionated and indelible Chinese concepts of virtue and vice, life and death, promises and secrets' which seemed 'diametrically opposed to Western tenets and conceptions.[1317]

After a special committee had observed his motifs for a year, his application was reconsidered and The Boen Keh was admitted in 1857 along with four other Chinese men.[1318] His request to have the rituals explained to him in Malay, however, was rejected, so he was forced to learn Dutch.[1319]

All the examples mentioned above deal with men, and we have no information whatsoever on the (possible) participation of (Eur)Asian women in the Adoption lodges held in the Dutch East Indies. That too is a research area calling for more attention. It would also be interesting to compare the complex relationship between freemasonry, slavery, abolition politics, and the initiation of non-Europeans in the East Indies to those in the West Indies. Cécile Révauger has already contributed much to this subject regarding developments in America.[1320]

♦ *Later developments*

The 75th anniversary of freemasonry in the Dutch East Indies was celebrated in De Ster in het Oosten on 16-11-1844 in a grand fashion. In attendance were formal representatives of De Vriendschap and La Constante et Fidèle, as well as Deputy Grand Master Van Beusichem.[1321] For this occasion, the lodge building was accordingly decorated with green drapes and ornaments on the in- and exterior, while the front of the building was illuminated with masonic symbols, just like in the 18th century.[1322] Flowers were strewn at 'the memorial, erected in honour of the founders'.[1323] A commemorative coin was made for the occasion and distributed in both silver and bronze copies (fig. 5.127).[1324]

In 1866 Prince Frederik celebrated 50 years as Grand Master National, for which occasion the lodges in the East Indies presented him with a testimonial, bound in black velvet stamped with silver symbols, placed in a chest of Asian wood decorated with masonic symbols.[1325] Developments in freemasonry in the East Indies in the second half of the 19th century have been described by authors including Van der Veur and Stevens, but not in relation to material culture. By the middle of the 19th century, most lodges had acquired a proper Freemasons' Hall. Both in the Netherlands and the Dutch Easts Indies these buildings functioned more and more as community halls, meeting places where important local events took place and public lectures were given. As such, masonic halls became places that facilitated the transfer of 'modern' ideas, not just on esoteric thought.[1326]

The Order would come to flourish in other areas of Java and on the other islands of the Archipelago. After the failed first attempt Padang finally got its own lodge in 1858. Significantly it was the first to carry a Malaysian name, *Mata Hari* (Eye of the Sun), indicating that the relationship between the Dutch and the indigenous population and culture was now rapidly changing. While De Ster in het Oosten, La Constante et Fidèle and De Vriendschap continued their activities, 14 lodges would be founded in the second half of the 19th century by the Order of Freemasons under the Grand East of the Netherlands (see Table 5.W).

The first surviving photographic images of lodges on Java date from around 1900 and depict a world about to change. Yet these images are also very helpful in visualising how the earlier lodge interiors must have looked, for two reasons. Firstly, freemasonry strongly valued its traditions. Over the course of decades rituals changed in details only and lodges honoured their ritual and commemorative objects. Even in modern interiors, much older pieces such as officers' chairs and lodge banners were still used lovingly. Secondly, during the 19th and early 20th century the Dutch Order had a somewhat conservative character when it came to decorative fashions, being a trendfollower, not a trendsetter. Many temples still had a distinctly 19th century feel, while the streamlined design of the 1920s was already conquering Europe and the Dutch East Indies. Photography itself is an aspect of material culture, but clearly lies outside the timeframe of the objetcs discussed here. We should only consider them visual sources, helpful in understanding earlier developments and imaging objects of which no images exist.

■ *Masonic hall in Semarang*

On 19-4-1845, La Constante et Fidèle finally realised its wish to have a proper Freemasons' Hall. The members acuired a plot and building, just outside the city, between the Boebaan, the road to Ambawara and the road to Jernaton.[1327] It would be located between the prison and the *Fröbelschool*, and was also

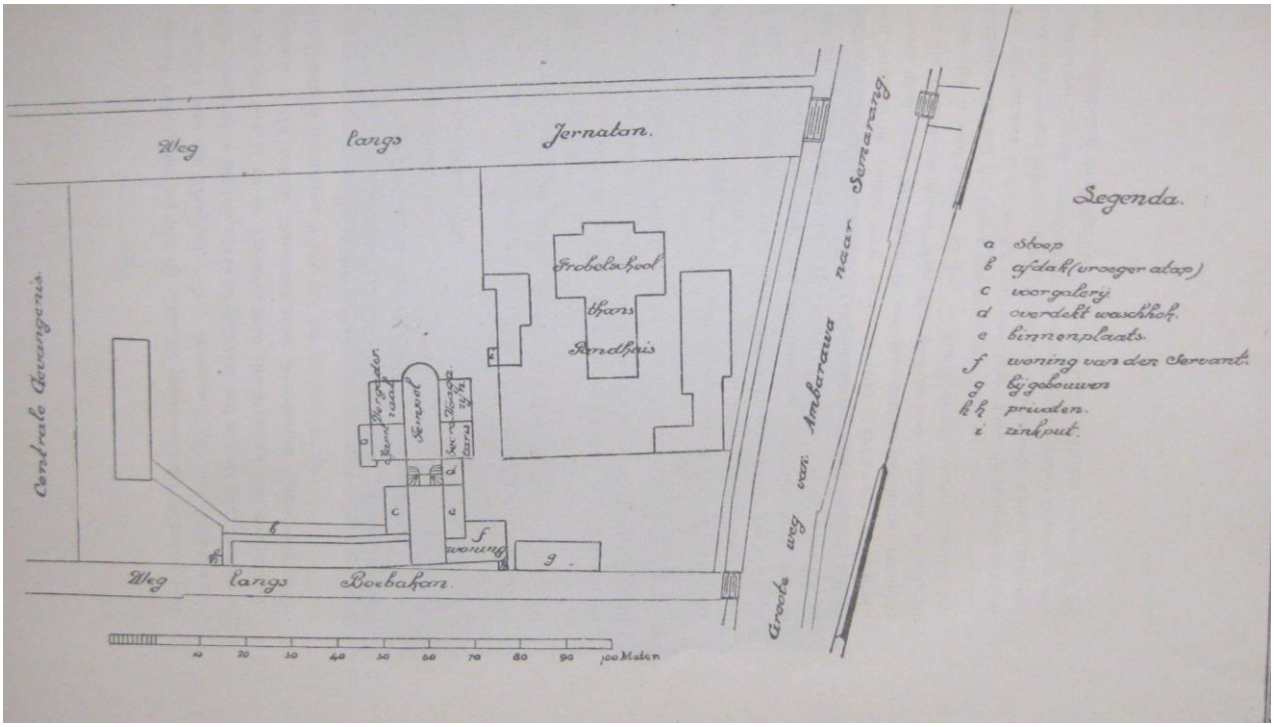


Fig. 5.129: Freemasons' Hall of lodge La Constante et Fidèle on the Boebaan in Semarang, used between 1845-1900. Reproduced from: Gedenkboek *1917, p. 222.*

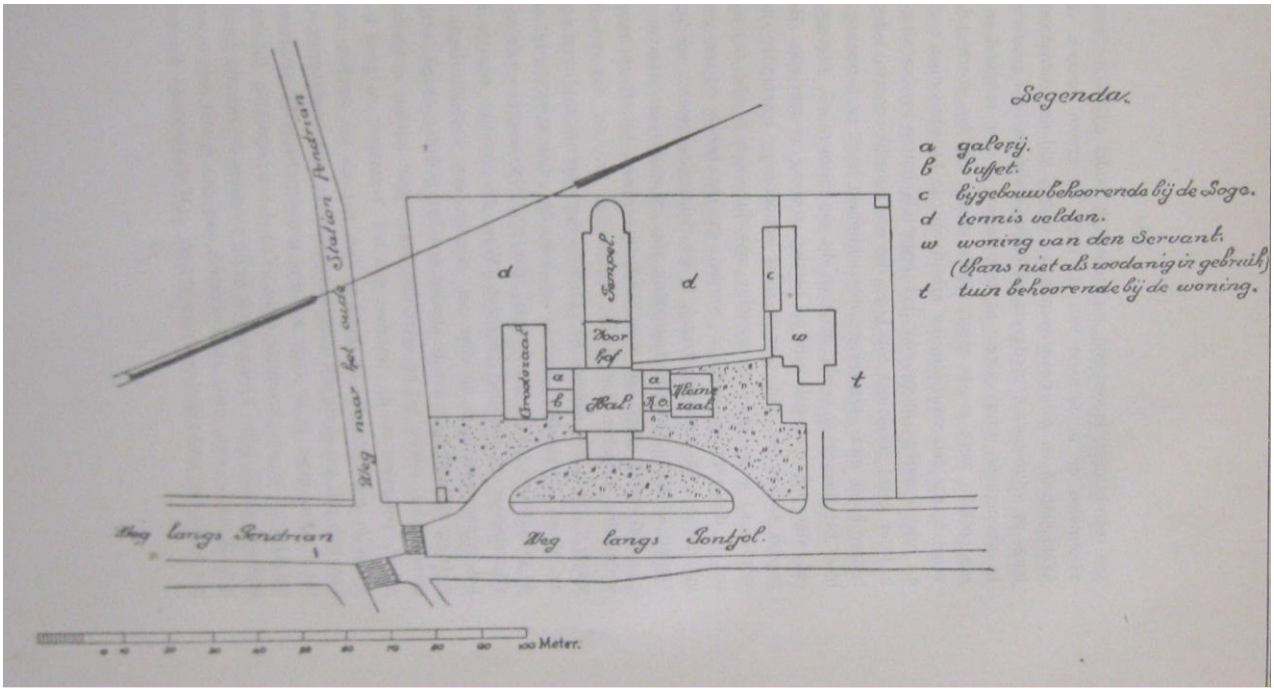


Fig. 5.130: L.A. de Pagter, floor plan of the Freemasons' Hall of lodge La Constante et Fidèle on the Pendrian in Semarang, used after 1900. Reproduced from: Gedenkboek *1917, p. 224.*

described as a building in 'Boebakan' in the centre of Semarang (fig. 5.129). The renovation was financed by a subscription by the members, who bought stakes of fl. 50,- free of interest, and raised about fl. 20.000,-.[1328] The building works and its interior decoration were overseen by lodge members Henry Louis van





Fig. 5.131 (and detail_: Interior of the temple in the Freemasons' Hall of La Constante et Fidèle in Semarang, after 1900. Reproduced from: Stevens 1994, p. 128.



Fig. 5.132: Freemasons'Hall of lodge La Constante et Fidèle at the Prins Hendriklaan in Semarang, photographed after 1900. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague (postcard).Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

Bloemen Waanders (1796-1851), Overseer and later Architect 1st class of Engineers, and Clignett. This building would be in use until 1900 and would later become the office of the *Landraad*.

On 28-6-1851 Lodge La Constante et Fidèle celebrated its 50th jubilee.[1329] For this occasion a jubilee ensign (banner) and a memorial juwel were made, the latter consisting of 'a silver trowel with a gilt handle, to which a ribbon is attached, in the color of the lodge [= sky blue, to which white was added for that occasion], so it may be worn in [the Lodge] besides the membership jewel'.[1330] The ceremony started with a procession and the 'guiding of the jubilee ensign before the Temple where the same, whilst heralding the proclamation and lighting of a celebration vase, set upon the altar, by the R.M. was solemnly thuryfied'.[1331]

On 27-10-1900 another Freemasons' Hall was inaugurated in Semarang. It was located on the *Pendrian* (Prins Hendriklaan) in Pontjol (figs. 5.130-5.132). Although the earliest lodges were active in Batavia, one of the earliest surviving photographs depicts the interior of this Freemasons' Hall in Semarang (fig. 5.131). It is dimly lit and shows a throne with a canopy, flanked by 19th century throne lamps, with an altar in front of it. The triangular officers' tables with covers, gavels and candles are also visible, as are the neo-classical candle stands around the tracing board and the dark, wooden members' chairs. To the right in the background are two banners, one belonging to the lodge and the other perhaps belonging to the Chapter. The walls are decorated with a series of arches, part modelled, part painted. On the throne is not only the chair of the Worshipful Master, but also the tables of the Secretary (left or North) and Orator (right or South), following not the Dutch but the French custom.[1332]

The building would be demolished in 1978 to make room for the office of the Vereeniging van Sigarettenfabrikanten.[1333]

- *Masonic hall in Surabaya*

The Resident of Surabaya decreed in 1838 that lodge De Vriendschap had to enclose the *kampong* or village that had grown on the grounds around the lodge building at Tundjungan with a wall. To cover the

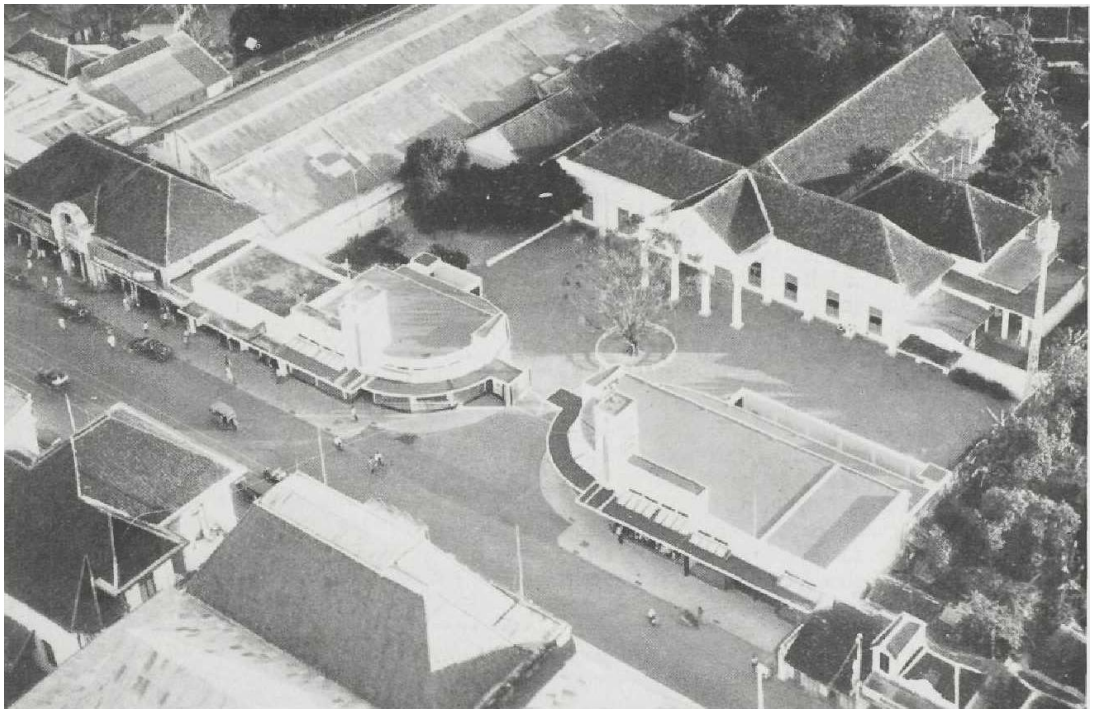


Fig. 5.133: Aerial view of the Freemasons'Hall (top right) in Surabaya by K.N.I.L.M. in 1936. Reproduced from: IBT Lokaale Techniek/Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift *(1936) no. 5, cover.*

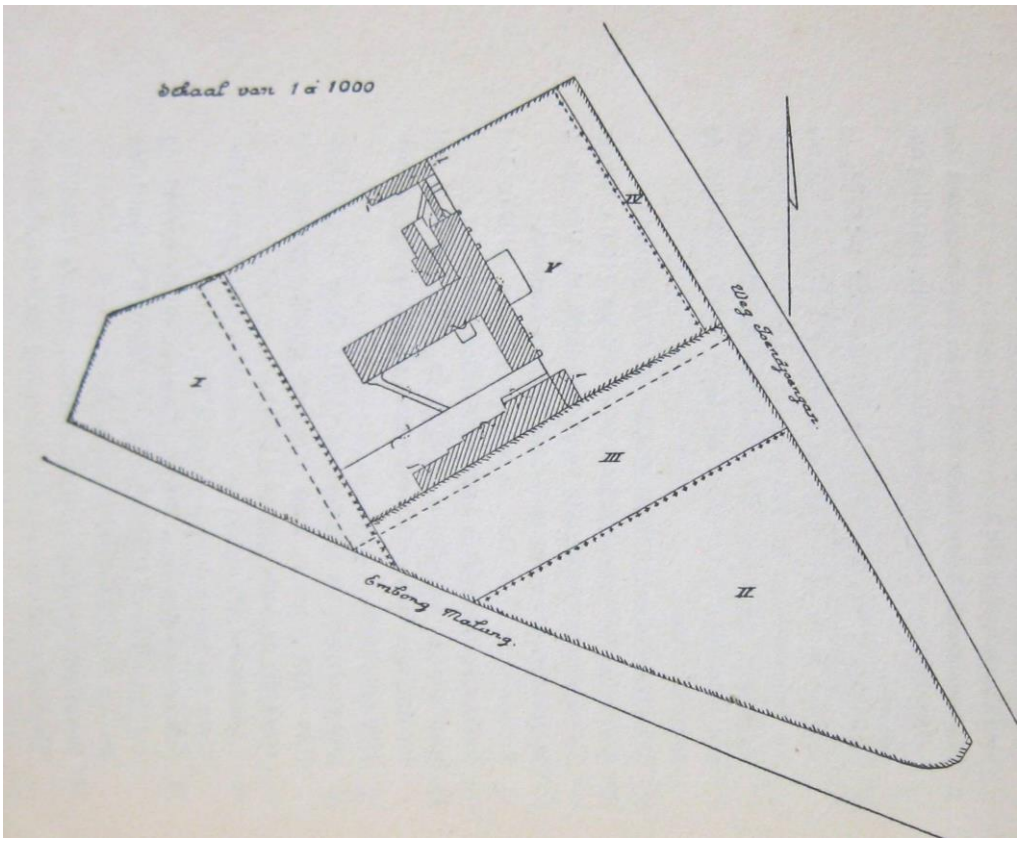


Fig. 5.134: Floor plan of the Freemason's Hall in Surabaya, ca. 1934. Reproduced from: Loge 'De Vriendschap' *1934, p. 54.*

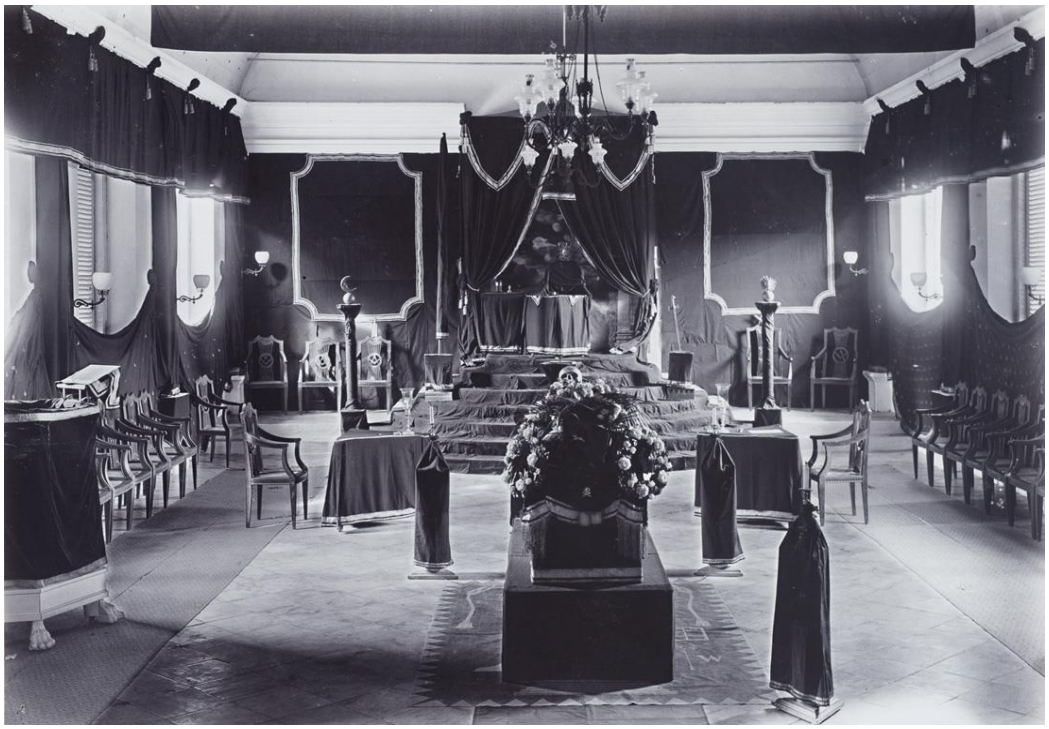




Fig. 5.135 and detail: Interior of the temple in the Freemasons' Hall of lodge De Vriendschap in Surabaya, 1898. Photo by R. Treuerbach in an album presented to Th. Ameschot. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 21012. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.



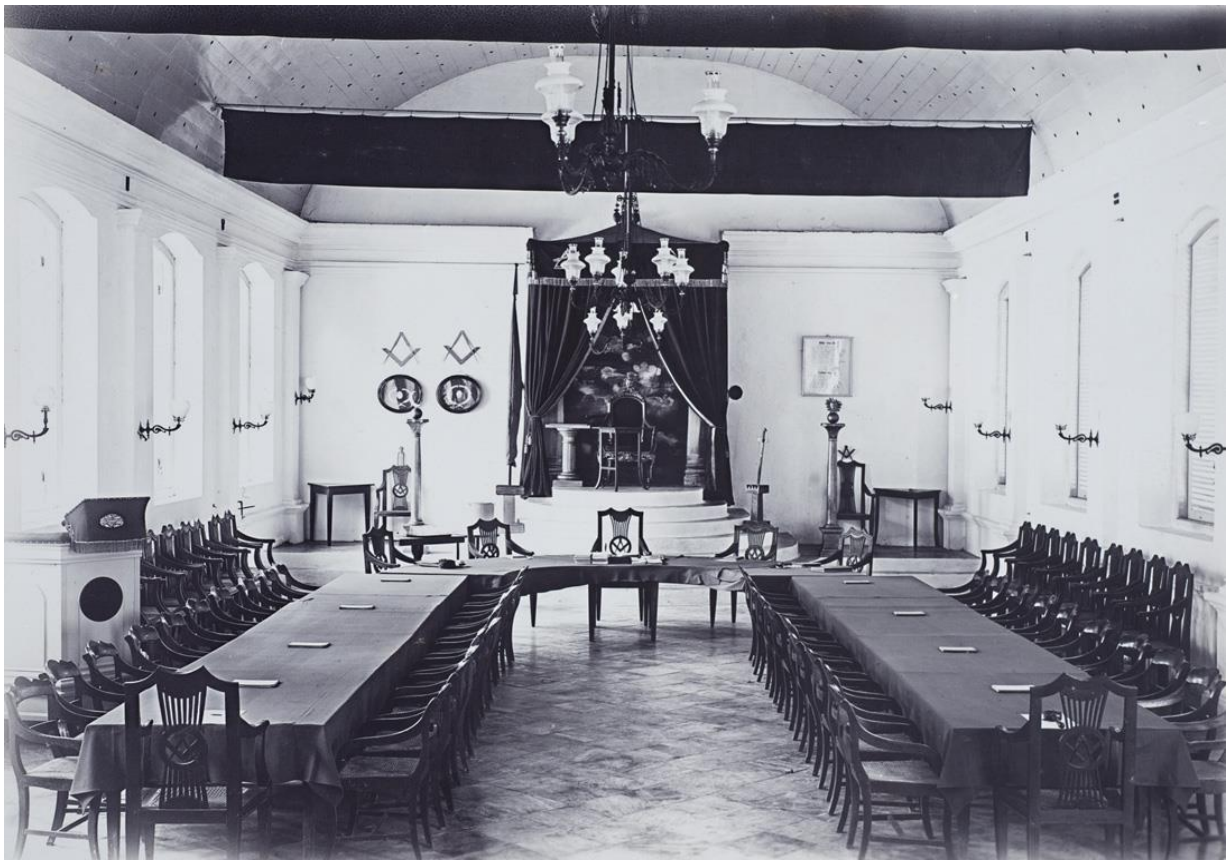


Fig. 5.136a-b: Interior of the Freemasons' Hall of lodge De Vriendschap in Surabaya, 1898. Photo by R. Treuerbach in an album presented to Th. Ameschot. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 21012. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.



Fig. 5.137: Officers of lodge De Vriendschap in Surabaya around the throne (detail), 1898. Photo by R. Treuerbach in an album presented to Th. Ameschot. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 21012. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.



Fig. 5.138 and detail: Raffles-type chair of lodge De Vriendschap in Surabaya, remake [?] of 19th century model, wood and rattan. The name of the lodge is caved in the back of the seat. Private collection. Reproduced from: marktplaats.nl.



Fig. 5.139: Non-ritual space in the Freemason's hall of lodge De Vriendschap in Surabaya, 1898. Photo by R. Treuerbach in an album presented to Th. Ameschot. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 21012. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

costs, the lodge had to sell part of its land. The grounds at back of the building bordered on the Chinese cemetery. It was agreed to sell this plot to a Chinese luitenant on the condition he would build a wall behind the lodge building for the sum of fl. 50,-. The deal fell through, and the lodge then arranged with the inhabitants of the kampong that they would build a wall together, but that plan fell through as well. Finally it was decided that the families would continue to live on the land and pay 50 cents in rent each, as well as

perform both paid and unpaid services. The grounds at the back were eventually sold in 1838 to Oei Tjing Lian for 160 guilders in copper money and the wall was built by the lodge itself.[1334] In 1837 en 1838 De Vriendschap already made its building available for formal public celebrations by non-members.[1335] By 1845 plans were made for a library in the front rooms of the building, which was realised in 1852 and also open to the public.[1336] The masonic hall would remain in use until [1960] (figs. 5.133-5.134).

The building in Surabaya was photographed by R. Trouerbach around 1900, when it still had much of its 19th century character (fig. 5.135-5.139).[1337] The photographs were enclosed in an album, presented to Dr. Theodorus Aneschot when he stepped down as lodge Orator and Fiscal. These images, now in the CMC collection, depict the interior of the temple in mourning style, with the candles, columns and the chair of the Worshipful Master covered in black (fig. 5.135). Black drapes painted with tears cover the windows (here only halfway to leave enough light to take the photo). The throne has a canopy and the officers' tables are triangular, just as in the earlier descriptions. In the middle of the space stands a coffin with a skull, covered in flowers and palm leaves. The light fixtures seem 19th century.

A second photograph depicts the same space, without drapes, and in this lodge the tables of the Secretary and Orator are placed in Dutch style, in front of the Throne (fig. 5.136a). The candle sticks shaped like classical columns can now clearly be distinguished, as are the lids on top. Curious is that not three, but four are present here, as sometimes used to be the case in the Élu degree. The columns, not part of the architecture but 'loose' objects placed in the room, appear topped with a sun and moon. A third image shows the room set up for a non-ritual or household meeting (fig. 5.136b). The officers' chairs had an open back with a masonic design, while the Raffles-style members' chairs had the name of the lodge and compasses and square carved in the back (fig. 5.138).

A photograph of a group of officers around the throne, offers a glimpse of the chair of the Worshipful Master of De Vriendschap (fig. 5.137). It has a radiant sun as a headpiece. The inside of the throne is painted with clouds and, somewhat unusually, the scales of Justice. A last photograph offers a view of one of the non-ritual spaces in the building, by the look of the rocking chairs meant for relaxation. Again elements such as the light fixtures, mirror and some of the chairs appear older (fig. 5.139).[1338] The lodge also had a bar-area, piano and pooltable, not depicted here.

▪ *Masonic Hall in Batavia*

As discussed earlier, from 1856 onwards lodge de Ster in het Oosten occupied a building at the Vrijmetselaarsweg in Batavia, designed by David Maarschalk. To thank him for his efforts he received a precious gift from the lodge in 1859 in the form of a silver goblet, made by the court's gold- and silversmith Philip de Meijer (1812-1869) in The Hague (fig. 5.141).[1339] The elaborate design with masonic symbols was reproduced and described in *De Kunstkroniek* (fig. 5.140):

> The foot of the cup, as one sees, consists of a three sided set of steps of which the carpet has been artificially encrusted. The surface, on which the steps meet, forms a mosaic pavement, on which are three cast statues, hollow and worked without seems, depicting Wisdom, Beauty and Strength, to express the idea, that man, whom God gave wisdom to discern good for evil, and moral strength to let virtue and truth conquer sin and lie, should try to rise to the highest possible beauty, on a moral level.
>
> The three statues have been grouped around an acacia tree, on which rests the bowl of the cup. That bowl is divided into three surfaces, on one of which three masonic symbols have been embossed, of which ompasses, set square and trowel take the first place, while those surfaces have been separated by the busts of three sphinxes as karyatids. The sphinx, one knows it, is the symbol of Silence.
> […] On the lid is a star in a triangle, symbol of both the lodge in Batavia, and the exalted idea that this light and hope creating heavenly phenomenon stirs in the human hart.
>
> On another of the three surfaces of the cup is an appropriate inscription, stating the name ofthe man, whom his bretheren have deemed worthy of such a sign of homage. [On the third surface is the image of a temple.] While the foot of the cup restricted the artist to the symbols he had to show, elsewhere he could follow the style that seemed most fitting to him: he therefore chose the renaissance style, in which the bowl and lid, the frames and bands, as well as other ornaments have been executed. The whole has been executed in a beautiful alteration of matte and unworked silver.[1340]

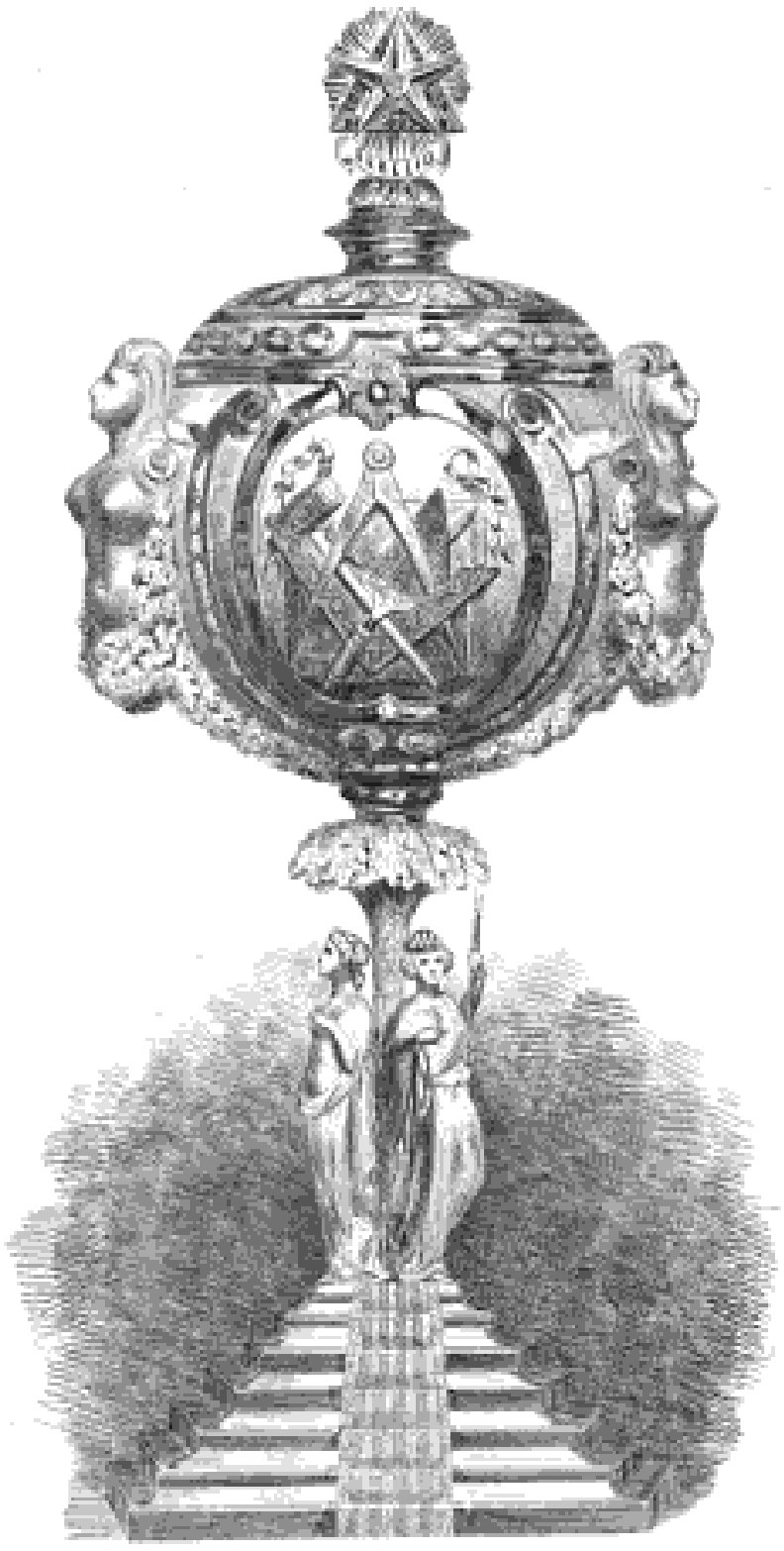


Fig. 5.140: Design for a covered cup by Philip de Meijer, 1859, litho by E. Spanier. Reproduced from: Kunstkroniek *1860, p. 47.*



Fig… 5.141: Philip de Meijer, covered cup, presented to lodge De Ster in het Oosten by the maker in 1859. Silver, height 42 cm (lid 14.4 cm). Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

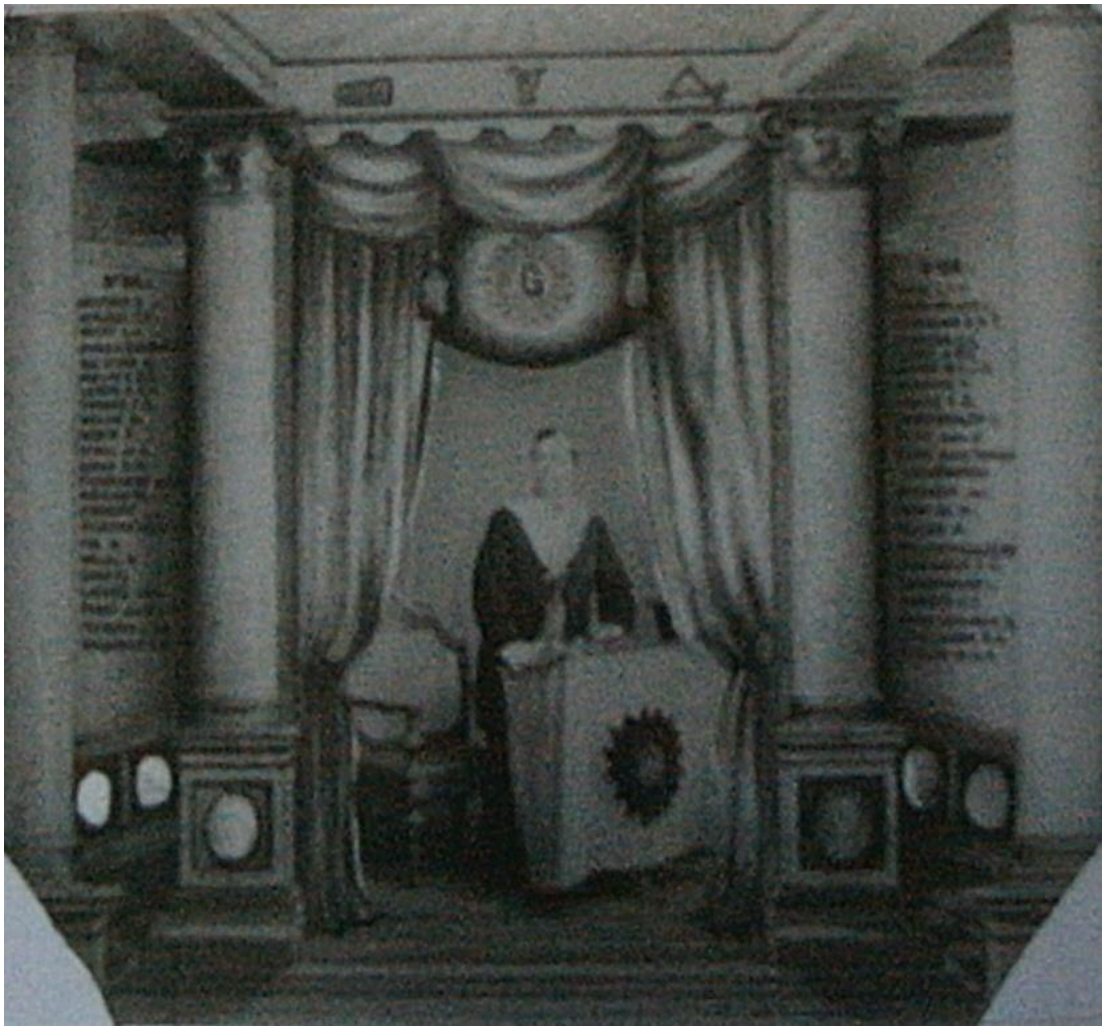


Fig. 5.142: Portrait of Th. DerKinderen (1823-1898) at the occasion of his 25th year as a freemason. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague

There is little information about the lodge interior. The chair of the Worshipful Master of lodge De Ster in het Oosten in Batavia was documented in a portrait of Th. DerKinderen (1823-1898) (fig. 5.142). He is standing behind a table, covered with a cloth depicting a sun, reminiscent of the many draperies in 18th century lodge interiors. The interior of the masonic hall at the Vrijmetselaarsweg was photographed before the lodge moved away in 1934 (fig. 5.143). The same chair can be seen on the throne. To the sides of the throne, a sun and a moon with stars were depicted on the wall in continuation of the 18th century tradition. Below them are officers' chairs with ornamental headpieces, which considering their shape and colour stand out from the rest of the interior, and have a more 19th century feel to them. To the left, is the lodge banner from 1837. Much of the other furniture seems to date from around 1900. The candlesticks around the tracing board, however, are clearly contemporary.

In the beginning of the 20th century, the design of Dutch masonic objects and buildings would radically change and take on an austere, streamlined look, which was also introduced into the lodges of the Dutch East Indies (see for example fig. 5.145). The interior of lodge buildings seemingly became more sober, with their white, stylized look, but in fact complex design theories based on 'sacred geometry' were incorporated. Symbolism shifted from allegorical decorations which could be easily 'read' to shapes 'hidden' in the architecture and the composition of furniture.



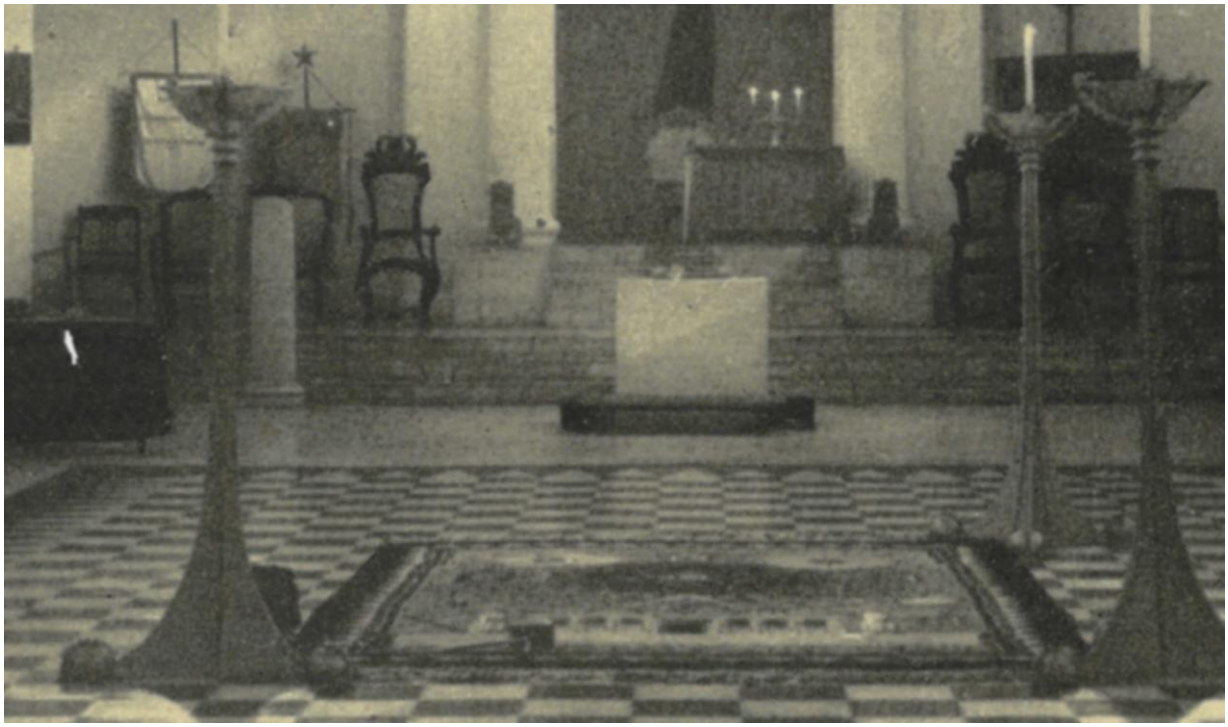
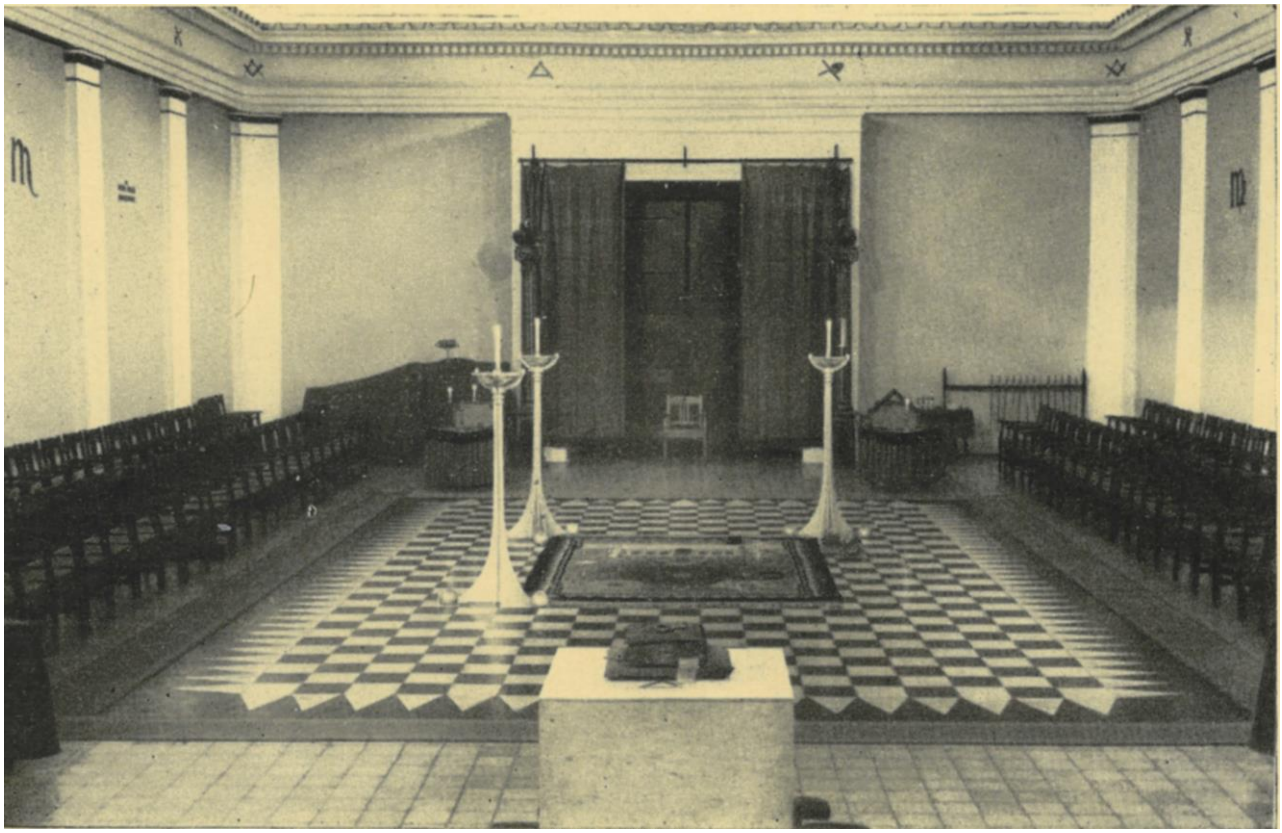


Fig. 5.143 and detail: Interior of the Freemasons' Hall at the Vrijmetselaarsweg in Batavia, built in 1856. Photograph ca. 1934. Reproduced from: 100 jaren *1937, p. 41.*



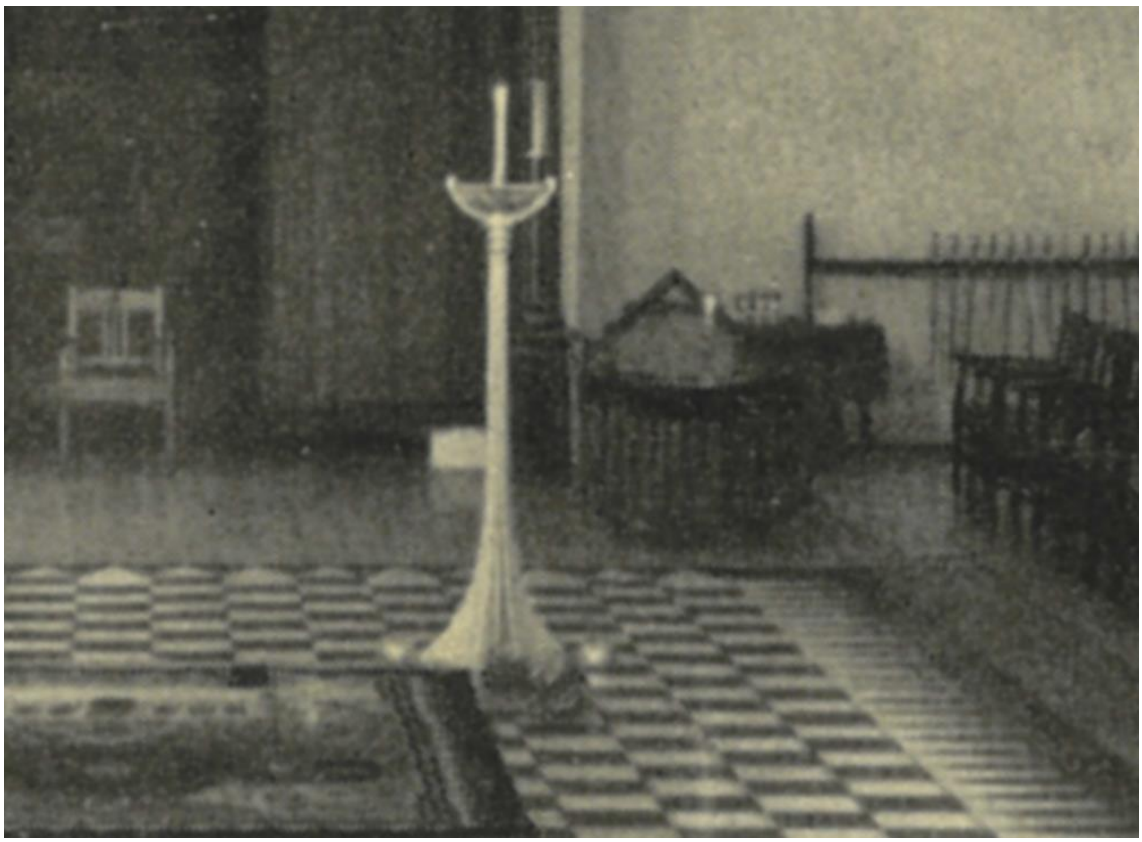


Fig. 5.144 and detail: Interior of the Freemasons' Hall at the Vrijmetselaarsweg in Batavia, built in 1856. Photograph ca. 1934. Reproduced from: 100 jaren *1937, p. 41.*



Fig. 5.145: Freemasons' Hall of lodge La Constante et Fidèle in Semarang, ca. 1935. Collection: KITLV, Leiden, inv.no. 121156. Reproduced from: media-kitlv.nl.



Fig. 5.146: Freemasons'Hall 'Adhuc Stat' at the Bisschopsplein in Batavia, ca. 1930. Collection: KITLV, Leiden, inv.no. 4261. Reproduced from: media-kitlv.nl.



Fig. 5.147a-b: Interior of the Freemasons' Hall 'Adhuc Stat' at the Bisschopsplein in Batavia, c'a. 1930. Reproduced from: 100 jaren *1937, p. 16.*



Fig. 5.148a-c: Stained glass windows from the Freemasons' Hall 'Adhuc Stat' at the Bisschopsplein in Batavia before 1960. Collection: CC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

In 1933 lodge De Ster in het Oosten bought the former home of H. 's Jacobs at the Burgemeester Bisschopsplein.[1341] The building was to be extensively renovated by N.E. Burhoven Jaspers, losing the tympanon and adding a second floor. The result was an example of the typical Art Deco style with both Dutch and East Indies' elements, which had developed in the early 20th century (fig. 5.146-5.147). The first stone was laid on 28-1-1934 and the building, carried the motto *Adhuc Stat* (Still Standing) on the facade, a reference to the fundament of the temple.[1342] It was consecrated on 30-3-1934. On the first photographs of this Freemasons' Hall at the Bisschopsplein, dating from or shortly after 1934, some of the earlier furniture can be seen. After the closure of the lodges in Indonesia in 1960, three of the stained glass windows with masonic symbols were removed. They are now in the collection of the CMC (fig. 5.148a-c).

Besides the change to seemingly sober lodge buildings, the turn of the century brought a much more significant change to freemasonry: mixed lodges. While another nine lodges of the Order of Freemasons under the Grand East of the Netherlands were to be founded before the Second World War, these now competed in popularity with lodges under the jurisdiction of the International Order for Co-Masonry 'Le Droit Humain', that admitted both men and women on an equal basis. The first Dutch lodge of Le Droit Humain was founded in the Netherlands in 1904, followed by at least nine lodges in the Dutch East Indies between 1911 and 1940. These became independent from the Dutch Federation in 1919, and were incorporated in the Eastern Federation with lodges in other Asian countries in 1934. The history of this Dutch Co-masonic Order has yet to be written.[1343]

Veterans tell stories of secretly holding lodge meetings in the camps under the Japanese occupation, just like the stories about freemasons in German camps, using whatever scraps they could find to make the necessary ritual objects. After the war, many lodges did not manage to regroup. Those that did succeed to continue their work after the new Republic of Indonesia declared itself independent of the Netherlands in 1945 (and was recognized as such by the Dutch government in 1949), finally had to 'dim their lights' in 1960, when the political regime of Soekarno nationalised many former Dutch organisations and buildings.[1344] As many of the former lodge members moved to the Netherlands, so did lodges De Ster in het Oosten, St. Jan, De Vriendschap and Het Zuiderkruis. The lodges of Le Droit Humain were not forced to close, but some did so anyway because many members left for the Netherlands.[1345]

♦ *The Dutch East Indies in the CMC collection*

While the inventories of the lodges in Batavia conjure up images of a rich material culture, very little of it survived. From 19th century catalogues of the museum room of the Freemasons' Hall at the Fluwelen Burgwal, it is clear that *oud-Indiegangers*, repatriates from the Dutch East Indies, made regalia and other objects from Java available for display. During WW2 the confiscation of masonic collections by the Nazis meant that many objects were destroyed or melted down, or sold to subsequently disappear from view. Both during the looting and the (partial) retrieval processes, objects were separated from the documentation on their provenance. While archives and libraries were partially retrieved, most objects were not.

Table 5.W: Lodges founded under Dutch jurisdiction in the Dutch East Indies, 1850-1945[1346]				
Island	**Location**	**Lodge name**	**Masonic Body**	**Active years**
Banka		NN	Le Droit Humain	?
Java	Bandung	Sint Jan	Grand East of the Netherlands	1895-1960, continued in the Netherlands
		Broedertrouw	Grand East of the Netherlands	1931-1942
		Hermes	Le Droit Humain	1915-1942
	Batavia	De Ster in het Oosten	Grand East of the Netherlands	1837-present
		De Broederketen	Grand East of the Netherlands	1919-1955
		Lux Orientis	Le Droit Humain	1911-1942
	Blitar	Blitar	Grand East of the Netherlands	1906-1960
	Buitenzorg	Excelsior	Grand East of the Netherlands	1891-?
		Serapis	Le Droit Humain	1917-1942
	Djember	De Driehoek	Grand East of the Netherlands	1926-1942
	Djokjakarta	Mataram	Grand East of the Netherlands	1870-1942
		NN	Le Droit Humain	Before 1935-1942
	Kediri	De Dageraad	Grand East of the Netherlands	1918-1942
		NN	Le Droit Humain	Before 1935-1942
	Malang	Malang	Grand East of the Netherlands	1899-1960
		Sirius	Le Droit Humain	1915-1942
	Mangelang	Tidar	Grand East of the Netherlands	1896-1960
	Meester Cornelis	Het Zuiderkruis	Grand East of the Netherlands	1918-1960, continued in the Netherlands
	Poerwokerto	Serajoedal	Grand East of the Netherlands	1933-1942
	Probolingo	Veritas	Grand East of the Netherlands	1882-1942
	Rembang	Prins Frederik der Nederlanden	Grand East of the Netherlands	1871-?
	Salatiga	De Vooruitgang	Grand East of the Netherlands	1873-?
		Fraternitas	Grand East of the Netherlands	1896-?
	Semarang	Thomas Moore	Le Droit Humain	1915-1942
	Sukabumi	De Hoeksteen	Grand East of the Netherlands	1932-1942
	Surabaya	St. Germain	Le Droit Humain	1913-1942
	Surakarta	L´Union Frédéric Royal	Grand East of the Netherlands	1872-1942
	Surakarta	NN	Le Droit Humain	1915-after 1917
	Tegal	Humanitas	Grand East of the Netherlands	1898-1960
Sumatra	Medan	Deli	Grand East of the Netherlands	1888-?
		Deli	Le Droit Humain	Before 1935-1958
	Padang	Mata Hari	Grand East of the Netherlands	1858-1942
	Palembang	Palembang	Grand East of the Netherlands	1932-1958
Lombok	Kota Radja	Prins Frederik	Grand East of the Netherlands	1880-1942
Celebes	Makassar	Arbeid Adelt	Grand East of the Netherlands	1883-?

For lodge collections in the Dutch East Indies managed to survive the Japanese occupation, things became difficult after the founding of the Indonesian Republic. Much was lost in the political turmoil of the 1960s which forced lodges into closure. The chaos in which people, objects and documents were hurriedly transported from Indonesia to the Netherlands also accounts for the lack of documentation on relevant objects currently in the CMC collection.

There are some 18th and 19th century objects in the CMC collection that seem to fit descriptions in the inventories of the lodges in Batavia. Identification may be possible, provided inventory descriptions are closely matched with 19th century exhibition catalogues, pre-war photographs of the museum room, the archives of former curators (containing correspondence on acquisitions) and correspondence on the looted collections in WW2. However, practical obstacles, including the closure and move of the CMC in 2014-2015, has so far prevented this last crucial phase of research from being performed.[1347] Future research of the regalia collection, especially involving a specialist on silver from the Dutch East Indies, might make for some interesting discoveries.



Fig. 6.1: Kawahara Keiga (ca. 1786-ca. 1860), View of the island Dejima in the bay of Nagasaki, ca. 1809, silk painting, 80.5 x 58.5 cm. Collection: Het Scheepvaart Museum, Amsterdam. Reproduced from: maritiemdigitaal.nl.

6.1. Freemasonry in Japan (1772-1853)

The relationship between the Netherlands and Japan goes back for over 400 years. From the beginning of the 17th century onwards, the commercial trade between the two countries has resulted in a cultural exchange and a shared material culture. Until Japan opened up to the west in 1854, the Dutch boasted a monopoly on this trade, be it under very strict rules.[1] From 1643 onwards, they were allowed to maintain a trading post or *Faktorij* on the artificial island of Dejima in the bay of Nagasaki, where a small group of Dutchmen lead an isolated existence. Only twice a year the Dutch ships carrying supplies and trade goods would arrive, often also carrying replacements for the VOC employees in the trade post. The commercial trade with Japan concentrated on valuable metals (gold, silver and copper) and to a lesser extent on luxury goods, including paper, soy sauce, sake, rice, tea, camphor, porcelain and lacquer ware. Private trade or *kamban* by the VOC employees was also allowed under certain rules and actually made up a large part of the shipped luxury goods.

Japanese lacquer was more expensive than porcelain, and had to compete with Chinese lacquer and European imitations for its place in the consumer market. By the beginning of the 18th century, private trade accounted for most of the lacquer export from Dejima. As Impey and Jörg pointed out in their standard work on the subject, *Japanese Export Lacquer 1580-1850*, bartering with the Japanese lacquer workers was an art in itself. Dutch officials who agreed high prices for VOC orders could benefit from cheaper prices for private orders, on which substantial profits could be made in Batavia.[2] While the early

trade consisted of objects with traditional lacquer decors, from circa 1785 onwards lacquer ware was also produced with decorations copied from European prints (much later than was the case with porcelain[3]), as will be discussed in more detail later. The introduction of this practice has been attributed to Isaac Titsingh (see chapter 4) and/or Johan Fredrik Baron van Rheede tot de Parkeler (see chapter 5). Both held the position of *Opperhoofd* (= chief officer and negotiator) of Dejima in the 1780s and are known to have ordered such lacquer wares.[4]

The surviving archives of the VOC, ego documents, as well as the many descriptions and images made by Japanese scientists and artists, document the activities of the Dutch in Dejima in great detail. Yet, there is little known material on the private trade in lacquer ware, let alone on masonic objects. Relevant orders may not always have been recognized by scholars unfamiliar with masonic terminology or symbolism.[5] More importantly, in accordance with the rules of the Grand Lodge, documents regarding masonic matters were to be kept strictly separate from any profane correspondence or administration, including that of the VOC and its successor, the Nederlandsche Handel Maatschappij (Netherlands Trading Company, 1824). Luckily, surviving lodge archives do contain some information on masonic export lacquer. These documents also suggest that we may need to adjust our view of the way the Dutchmen in Dejima passed their spare time.

◆ *The first Dutch freemasons in Japan*

Isaac Titsingh, a member of lodge La Vertueuese in Batavia since 1771 and Opperhoofd of Dejima in 1779-80, 1781-1782 and 1783-1784, is generally considered the first freemason in Japan[6], but lodge archives show that other Dutch freemasons beat him to it. George Steendekker, appointed as Foreign Deputy Grand Master by the Grand Lodge in The Hague in 1769 in order to found lodges overseas (see chapters 3-4), travelled to Japan in 1772 as captain of the ship Maria Margaretha.[7] Unfortunately, this first trip in a masonic diplomatic capacity also seems to have been his last, as the ship was lost on the return journey, so the Grand Lodge never received a report on the results of his assignment. We do know that the ships from the Netherlands to Japan and back made a stopover in Batavia, and that the membership records of the local lodges include men who were stationed in Dejima in service of the VOC. Among them were most of the Heads of the Faktorij between 1771 and 1850:

- Arend Willem Feith (member of La Vertueuse since 1770), *Opperhoofd* 1771-1772, 1773-1774, 1775-1776, 1777-1779, 1780-1781;
- The aforementioned Isaak Titsingh;
- Hendrik Caspar Romberg (member of La Vertueuse since 1782), *Opperhoofd* 1782-1783, 1784-1785, 1786-1787, 1789-1790;
- Johan Fredrik Baron van Rheede tot de Parkeler (member of La Vertueuse since 1784), *Opperhoofd* 1785-1786, 1787-1789;
- Gijsbert Hemmij (member of lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia since 1775), *Opperhoofd* 1792-1798;
- Willem Wardenaar (member of La Fidèle Sincérité since 1797), *Opperhoofd* 1800-1803;
- Hendrik Doeff Jr (member of La Vertueuse since 1800), *Opperhoofd* 1803-1817;
- Germain Felix Meijlan (member of La Vertueuse since 1811), *Opperhoofd* 1826-1830;
- Joseph Henrij Levijssohn (member of La Constante et Fidèle in Semarang since 1829), *Opperhoofd* 1845-1850.[8]

With so many freemasons in an influential position for over three quarters of a century, it is not surprising that the production of masonic lacquer ware started and blossomed under their rule. This was however, also a period in which trade with Japan was often hampered by political upheaval: a war with England (1780-1784), the foundation of the Dutch Republic (1795), the bankruptcy of the VOC (1799), the occupation of the Low Countries by the French (1799-1814), the occupation of Java by the British (1811-1814) and the founding of the Nederlandsche Handel Maatschappij (1824).

◆ *The first commissions of masonic lacquer ware*

As discussed in chapter 5, Dutch lodges in Batavia kept yearly inventories, in which Japanese porcelain and lacquer ware were frequently mentioned. That is not surprising; the population of Batavia was closely involved in the international trade and export objects were therefore part of many households. More interesting are especially commissioned goods for the lodges in Batavia. However, there are no known examples of masonic commissions for Japanese porcelain. The earliest mention of an order of lacquer with masonic decorations in the archives dates back to 1788, some time after the production of lacquer after European prints is believed to have started.

■ *Tracing boards for lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia*

As discussed in chapter 5, lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia received various gifts to celebrate the inauguration of its new lodge building in 1786. For this occasion lodge member Romberg sent 'a tracing board being Satin with gold well detailed' from Dejima, where he had been posted as Chief since 1785.[9] This suggests that Romberg had first supplied a masonic print or drawing as an example - possibly the first such image to reach a Japanese artist. The embroidered tracing board was in use until at least 1812, and probably repaired in 1818.[10]

Romberg then sent a second gift, as is mentioned in the lodge minutes of 13-3-1788:

> The recently from Japan returned Br[other] Romberg presented to the lodge an extra fine lacquered box to store all the jewels of the Worshipful Master, and the Officers.[11]

This implies the order must have been given some time earlier and that Romberg may have gotten involved in the order of lacquer objects soon after he arrived in 1785. The box, of which is not clear whether it had a traditional or a masonic decor, was kept in one of the closets in the antechamber to the temple. It was also described as a 'small Japanese lacquered chest' for documents and was listed yearly in the lodge inventories until 1834.**[12]**

As previously discussed, Past Master Titsingh, had been given a commission when he was stationed in Bengal, to have an Indian floor tapestry made for the lodge room, incorporating a tracing board in its design.[13] When this turned out not to be possible Romberg stepped in to help, according to the lodge minutes of 3-5-1788:

> That B[rother] Romberg, spurred on by a Profound Need for Our royal art had offered himself to have a Tracing Board made for the Lodge in Japan, that was equal in neatness and elegance to the tapestry.
>
> That his W[orshipful] [Master] had accepted This serious offer by said B[rother], and requested to have such a Tracing Board made according to the same offer, after a model which will be made available to said B[rother].
>
> That his W[orshipful] [Master] on the willingness shown by B[rother] Coortsen, to take care of an able painter who could draw it accurately, had likewise accepted this presentation and decided to have two Tracing Boards made in order to use one for the service of the L[odge] instead of the current which had decayed well by length of time and the other brought along with B[rother] Romberg, so it was understood to be satisfied with this arrangement.[14]

In other words Romberg, who was about to leave for Japan anyway, suggested to have a tracing board made there, which could be placed in the middle of Titsingh tapestry during rituals. Although we do not know the name of the Japanese artist employed, the financial records of the lodge do reveal which artist in Batavia was commissioned to make the basic design by lodge member Jan Reynier Coortsen (died 1791), a merchant and administrator of the VOC. Three payments were made for a total of 110 Rds, the equivalent of circa € 2.400,- today.[15] These were made on 2-7-1788 'to the Chinese Oey Kieko (…) for the painting of a tracing board', on 23-7-1788 'to the Chinese Giu Ki' for the same, and on 6-9-1788 'to the Chinese painter' ('schilder Chinees') without further specification.[16]

Titsingh's correspondence includes a letter by Romberg dated 25-11-1789, in which he mentions the order of the tracing board:

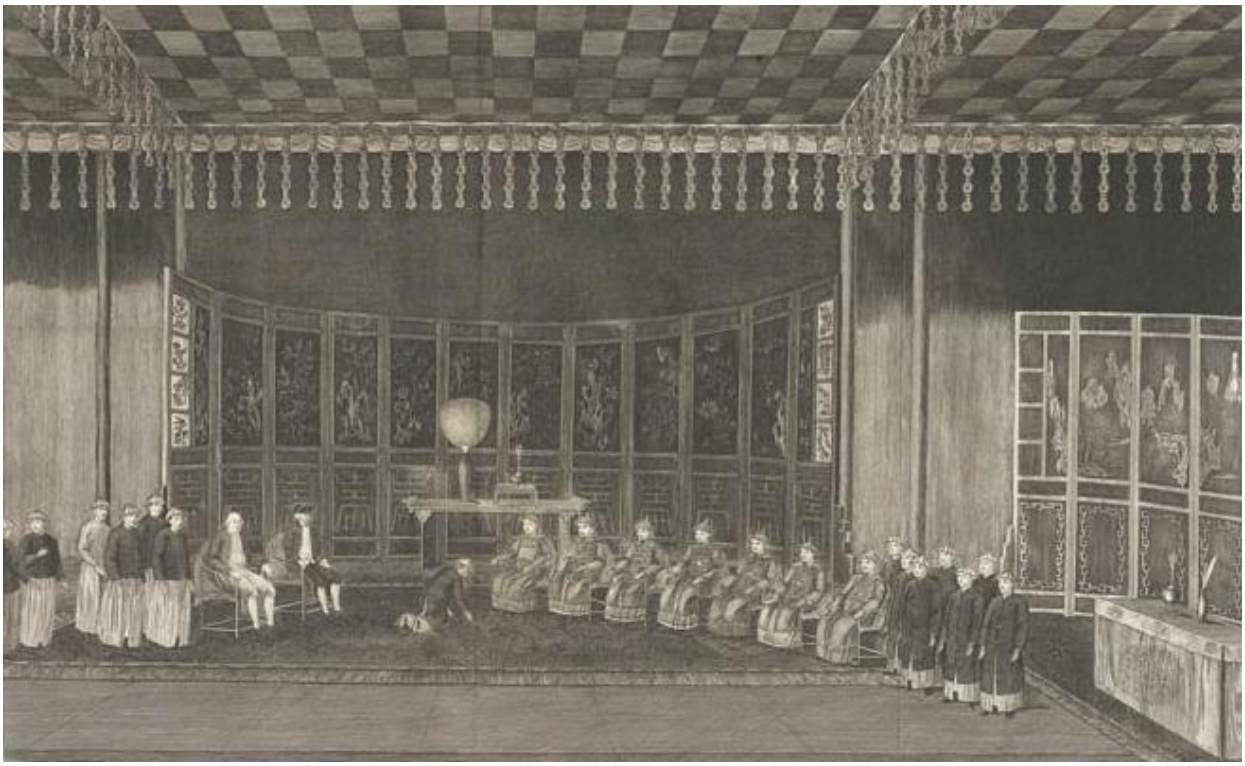




Fig. 6.2 and detail: Titsingh in China, uit: A.E. Van Braam Houckgeest, Voyage de l'ambassade *(1797), showing the reception of Dutch diplomats in Canton. Titsingh is the second seated figure from the left, recognizable by his hat. Collection: University Library Leiden, inv.no. 353 B 12-13. Reproduced from: hetgeheugenvannederland.com.*



Fig. 6.3: Panel with the list of names of the Dutch 'Opperhoofden' of Dejima. Black lacquer on wood with gilding and pearlshell, 162.5 × 106.5 × 4.5 cm, ca. 1823 (names added until 1850). Collection: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv.no. BK-16465. Reproduced from: rijksmuseum.nl.

> […] under kind order of Negotieboekhouder Mr. [Hendrik] [Andries] Ulps:
> […] 1 lacquered painting depicting the Tracing Board of La Vertueuse, as I had it embroidered, black and gold according to specifications by Mr Overstraaten.[17]

Hendrik Andries Ulps (died 1791) is not listed as a member of a lodge in Batavia[18], but his involvement in the order makes it likely that he too was a freemason, perhaps initiated elsewhere. Pieter Gerardus van Overstraten (1755-1801) was a government Secretary and the Master of the Lodge at the time. According to the minute books, the finished tracing board arrived on 24-6-1791:

> By Br[other] Romberg was brought from Japan A fine lacquered Tracing Board ~~which cost him there the sum of Rd 150~~ and the same being offered to this L[odge] for the purchase value it was so agreed to take over the said Tracing Board for that price. [19]

The crossed out text suggests that this special object had a commercial value of around 150 Rds, which combined with the already paid design would amount to a total of 260 Rds (circa € 3.600,-).[20] But when the object was formally valued along with other items in 1793, its worth was estimated as reduced to 50 Rds (circa € 1.200,-).[21] The tracing board was kept 'in the lodge room upstairs', along with the earlier embroidered version.[22]

Considering this is all about a European image, brought to Batavia by a Dutchman, copied by a Chinese painter to be recopied by a Japanese artist, and then brought for use in the Dutch community in Batavia, that makes this lacquer object a prime example of the cultural exchange along the international trade route. The fact that it concerned a ritual object, not a decorative item, is remarkable.

Although it was a special and precious object even for its time, it did not remain unique for long. The lodge inventory of 1796 specifies not only '1 Japanese embroidered and 1 ditto painted small Tracing Board' (Rombergs orders), but also another '2 Japanese Lacquered Tracing Boards' of which it is unclear

how they were acquired. This brings the subtotal to three lacquered versions.[23] The 'small' version was no longer mentioned after 1797, while a new acquisition appeared in the minutes of a meeting on 26-10-1804. Brother Pieter Walbeeck (born 1764), resident in Bandjermasin, Palembang and Cheribon, later extraordinary member of the Council of the Dutch East Indies, made a gift to the lodge consisting of silverware and 'A Japanese lacquered Tracing Board'.[24] So in total four lacquered tracing boards were acquired by the lodge between 1788 and 1804. As the main props used in the rituals, tracing boards were generally intensively used until totally worn, which may explain why none of these lacquer objects survived. Two remaining examples were still listed in the inventory of 1807, but there is no mention of them in later versions.[25] In May 1815 however, the costs of 'glueing and making in order the tracing board (Japanese) 6 Spd' is mentioned in the financial accounts of the lodge.[26] This suggests some of the lacquer or mother of pearl may have come off.

It will remain a question how these Japanese tracing boards looked. Probably very similar to the masonic lacquer boxes discussed in the next paragraphs, of which the production took off around the same time. One can easily imagine lodge members and visitors admiring, if not coveting these beautiful objects. As a Japanese artist was already familiar with an example design, a commission to adapt it to suit a smaller surface (like the lid of a tobacco box) was easily given.

■ *Commissions for lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia*

Although lodge La Fidèle Sincérité is generally thought to have had a much smaller budget than La Vertueuse, which united the wealthiest men in Batavia, this lodge also invested in special commissions of lacquer ware. In 1822 La Fidèle Sincérité also acquired a 'Japanese Apprentice Tracing Board in a frame'.[27] The same 1822 inventory mentions '1 Japanese List of Names of the subscribers for the building of this Lodge'.[28] Both items were listed in the inventories up until 1833.[29] On 27-10-1824 a new lodge building was consecrated, the cost of which had been financed by having each member buy a share. The list of benefactors names would have been displayed prominently in the building, perhaps in the Hall. The object was included in the inventories until 1833.[30] Although it did not survive, an object in the collection of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam can give us some idea of how it might have looked. A black lacquered panel lists the names of the Chiefs of Dejima in gold, the frame inlaid with flowers in pearlshell (fig. 6.3). It was probably made in 1823, while names were added until 1850.[31]

One special item did survive: a box, executed in black lacquer inlaid with pearlshell and some details highlighted in gilding. The lid is decorated with the seal of the lodge (fig. 6.4, compare fig. 5.86), consisting of a (simplified) tracing board, enclosed in a circle. Two columns and steps represent the Temple. Between the columns are crossed acacia sprigs with a skull below them (representing Hiram's grave), an all-seeing eye in a radiant triangle in between the sprigs and a five pointed star with the letter G above them. The scene is surrounded by building tools, including square, compasses, level, plumb line, hammer and trowel. Above the columns are the faces of the sun and the moon. Along the edge of the circle, letters spell the name of the lodge in gold, the words separated by inlaid dots: 'LOGE • DE • LA • FIDÈLE • SINC • ÉRITÉ'. The whole is surrounded by two cords with tassels, entwining into (love)knots, painted in gold. The corners of the lid are decorated from left to right with a square and compasses resting on a quarter circle, a flaming five pointed star, a level and a plumb line. The sides of the box are decorated with flowers and it is closed with a lock.

As La Fidèle Sincérité was inactive between 1825 and 1833, and merged with La Vertueuse into the new lodge De Ster in het Oosten in 1837, the box must have been ordered well before that date. Such a precious object could have been commissioned to celebrate a lodge jubilee. The occasion of the inauguration of a new lodge building in 1824 could be a possibility, as the style of the lacquer work dates from ca 1810-1825.[32] Indeed the inventory of the lodge for 1825 mentions 'a chest or box carrying the title La Fidèle Sincérité', containing various aprons.[33] The box could have been an order by the lodge itself, or a luxurious gift by a member or another lodge. It is now in the collection of the British Federation of the International Order of Mixed Freemasonry 'Le Droit Humain' in London.



Fig. 6.4: Japanese box, made for lodge La Fidèle Sincerite in Batavia. Black and gold lacquer, inlaid with pearlshell, 1815-1825. Compare to fig. 5.86. Collection: Le Droit Humain. Reproduced from: droit-humain.org/uk/gallery.

◆ *Lodge Decima (1804)*

Dutch freemasons stationed in Japan in the second half of the 18th century, must have known about each other's membership of the Order. Some of them had already met in a lodge in Batavia. The lodges in the Dutch East Indies actively exchanged lists of members, one reason being to prevent fraudsters from being admitted. So they would have been familiar with the names of other local members, even if they had never met in person. Or they would have identified each other as freemasons do today, by the use of typical masonic phrases during a regular conversation that would have only been noticed by another initiate, by making gestures relating to the ritual (the famous masonic handshake), or by using personal objects, such as smoking ware or a snuff box with a masonic decoration.

The formal history of freemasonry in Japan is counted from 1866, when a lodge was constituted in Yokohama, so the big question is if freemasons in Dejima already held formal lodge meetings during the 18th century - whether they actively participated in masonic rituals during their time in Japan. According to the regulations of the Order at the time, a request for the foundation of a new lodge would have to be addressed to the Provincial Grand Lodge in Batavia by at least seven freemasons. Considering the small group of Dutchmen in Dejima, it would have been difficult to meet that requirement. But *if* the number of initiates was sufficient at any given moment, their isolated existence and the coinciding boredom would have easily spurned a wish to found a lodge. It is therefore not surprising that during the office of Opperhoofd Hendrik Doeff jr a lodge was indeed founded, be it in a somewhat unorthodox matter.[34] Although no records of this lodge survive, its foundation is mentioned in minute books of La Vertueuse in Batavia.

Doeff came to Dejima at a bad time. The Dutch government in Batavia was forced to hire American ships for the trade with Japan between 1797 and 1809, as Dutch ships could not arrive as a result of the conflict with the British. In 1798 most of the buildings on Deshima were destroyed by a fire. In 1799 the VOC went bankrupt, while the trade with Japan was continued by the government of the Dutch East Indies.

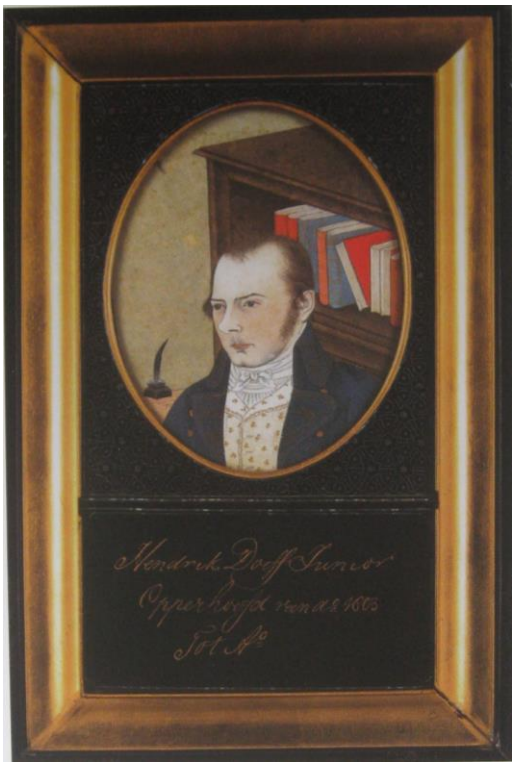


Fig. 6.5: Kawahara Keiga (ca. 1786-ca. 1860), portrait of Hendrik Doeff, 1803, 35 x 23 cm. Collection: Kobe City Museum. Reproduced from: Impey/Jörg 2005, p. 63.

Doeff was stationed in Dejima from 1799 as part of a group of men who had to reorganize the chaotic situation. Initially he worked as a secretary and warehouse master, but from 1803 he was Head of the factory until 1817. In his memoirs, *Herinneringen uit Japan* (1833), Doeff recalled how a colleague, Maarten Mak (1795-1857), was his successor as secretary to the factory in 1801 and again in 1803 as warehouse master.[35] The accountant Age Iges (died 1820) succeeded Mak as secretary. As will become clear from the proceedings that follow, Doeff was a freemason, probably initiated in a lodge in Amsterdam or Batavia before he left for Japan. Iges must have been initiated in Batavia as well, as his name is mentioned in the financial records of La Vertueuse in January 1798.[36]

According to Doeff's memoires, the rented Danish ship Maria Susanna arrived under a Dutch flag in the harbor of Nagasaki on 8-8-1804, under command of a captain Gerrit Belmer (died 1810), a member of lodge La Fidèle Sincérité since 1804.[37] On 11-8-1804 a second captain, Arend (also: Arnoldus) Musquetier, arrived with the ship Gesina Antoinette.[38] Franciscus Emilius Baron Lawick van Pabst (1769-1829), a captain of the troups in Batavia and a friend of Musquetier, had travelled along to Japan for the benefit of his health.[39] At least one other freemason, captain Hoofd, must have also arrived on one of these ships.[40] These six gentlemen identified each other as freemasons and learned that there was no lodge on the island. This was probably not what they expected, as lodges were available in almost all other Dutch trading posts. They therefore decided to form a lodge themselves, but were one man short. In warehouse master Mak they saw a suitable candidate, so they initiated him on the spot to make up the required number of founding members. But in doing so they had gone way ahead of the usual proceedings.

Mak later returned to Batavia on one of the Dutch ships. Carrying a formal request for a letter of constitution for the new lodge Decima, he sped to the building of La Vertueuse. The welcome he received there was less warm than he had expected. The lodge minutes of 6-11-1805 recorded what transpired next:

> In awe of the grand architect of the Universe the 6+ of 11* in the Year of the true Light 5805. Monday, in the evening at seven o'clock apprentice Lodge in La Vertueuse [...]

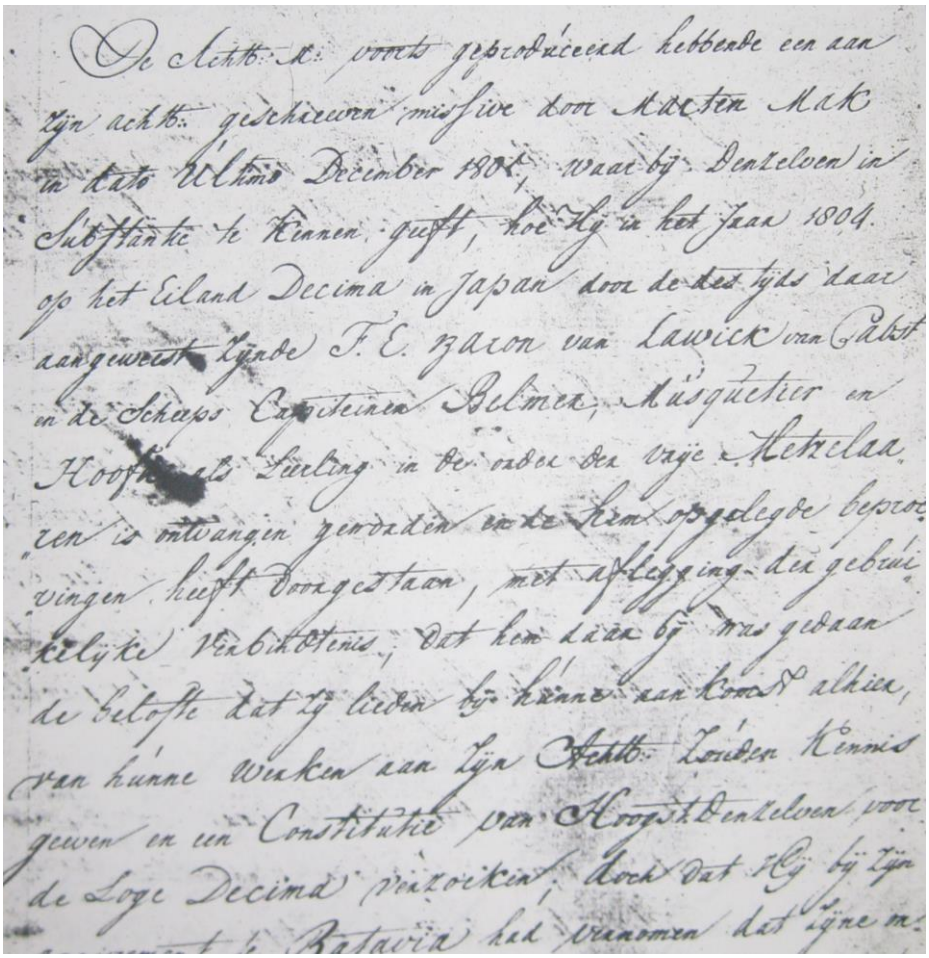


Fig. 6.6: Detail of a page from the minute book of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, dated 6-11-1805, concerning the activities of lodge Decima in Japan. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

The Worshipful Master having approved a letter addressed to his worship by Marten Mak dated Ultimo December 1804, in which The same in substance acknowledges how in the year 1804 on the Island decima in Japan by the then present F.E. Baron van Lawick van Pabst and the ships Captains Belmer, Musquetier and Hoofd as having been received as Apprentice in the order of free Masons and having passed the trails put before him, with the making of the usual commitment, that was done him a promise, that they at their arrival here, would make known their activities to His Worship and request a Constitution of His Highest for the Lodge decima, but that on His arrival in Batavia he had heard that His reception was unlawful and of no value, as His Worship under sending to him the given diploma and a received receipt of his debit to the Lodge Decima, humbly praying to for him arrange that He might be received again, requesting however to be excused of the reception, as he himself had already undergone it once before.

On which having deliberated, was, in the first place considered that the reception of the person Marten Mak is an unlawful act, of no contractual power and thus without saying of nil and no value, that however considering the aforementioned Mak by request of some B[rethren] Free Masons and here entirely without his fault, got involved in this for him uncomfortable circumstance, it would be for him a great hardship to have to be recipiated *de novo*; and that also the use, otherwise found in the reception and the reason why this takes place, in this case would have to make place for a bare ceremony, with which the aforementioned Mak is now, as well as with that which an Apprentice is allowed to know, already fully familiarized.

And taking this into account it was decided by majority that He will be accepted as Apprentice in one of the next Lodge [meetings] and will be excused of the usual reception, though nevertheless He will be led inside blindfolded and in that State will have to repeat at the base of the altar the Oath of commitment for all Free Masons, under further payment of the usual reception fees, to support the treasury of this Lodge.

> Furthermore, on examination of the for the aforementioned submitted diploma having seen from that it was undersigned by the B[rother] F.E. Baron van Lawick van Pabst as Grand Master and the former servant B[rother] of this L[odge] Age Iges as Secretary, accordingly provided under their signatures on 29+ van de 9* of the year of true Light 1804.
>
> Also having become apparent that the original receipt offered by the aforementioned Mak of his Debit to the Socalled L[odge] Decima, has been given out by the B[rother] Hendrik Doeff Junior [as Treasurer]. Taken into account that the aforementioned B[rothers] van Lawick van Pabst, Age Iges and Hendrik Doeff Junior all are acknowledged Masons at this L[odge], which has worked in an unconstitutional manner and under the name of the L[odge] Decima held gatherings and meetings prohibited by law, which deed has to be announced locally, according to Art. 67. of the general book of law and it follows that [it was] agreed to inform of the unlawful reception of Marten Mak, and the unconstitutional establishment of the so-called L[odge] Decima at the first opportunity the High Enlightened Deputy Grand Master National Nicolaas Engelhard, currently residing in Semarang; under transmission *in Copia* the letter by Marten Mak and the enclosed receipt as well as the original of the thereby offered Diploma, requesting to dispose of them, as his High enlightened [Grand Master] sees fit according to his wisdom and the nature of the case.[41]

So lodge Decima was considered illegal without taking the enthusiasm of the brothers in Japan or the delay and other difficulties hampering international communication into account. The decisive factor in his harsh judgment could have been a financial one. One had to pay a substantial fee for the constitution of a lodge, as well as for each initiation, and La Vertueuse seemed eager to pocket some of that money. Even though initiating Mak again would be useless, as he had already undergone the entire process, he was made to pay the full fee just to be allowed to swear the oath once more. The lodge wrote the intended letter to Engelhard on 3-12-1805 and added:

> By the First undersigned, after reading the aforementioned letter and for clarification of its contents, it was expressed that his W[orshipfull] at the return of the Japanese ships in the year 1804 had indeed been requested by the Br. F.E. Baron van Lawick van Pabst for a letter of constitution for a L[odge] in Decima, with information of the already proceded work; though that because on the Island Decima could hardly be found seven Dutch Employees, a lot less than the recognized number of Seven B[rothers] free Masons to Constitute a L[odge] and moreover the aforementioned B[rother] van Lawick van Pabst was not equipped with any papers whatsoever, which should have shown his qualifications, his W[orshipfull] could not pay attention to this, none the less not suggested to the more named B[roeder] van Lawick van Pabst of the unlawfulness of the meetings held and work directed under his continuation and that when the circumstances thereof should become known legally, He and those that had worked with him could not ignore to come into an unfavorable position of having made themselves guilty in the highest sense of a direct violation of the prohibition by the general book of law against the organizing or attending similar illegal meetings.[42]

The letter was signed by Johan [Jan] Hendrik Holle (1755-1808), a merchant acting as Master of the Lodge at the time.[43]

While we don't know what happened to lodge Decima, whether it ceased activities or continued defiantly, we do know what happened to some of the lodge members.[44] On 18-1-1806 Marten Mak was initiated for the second time in La Vertueuse as intended.[45] Immediately afterwards, Mak requested to be initiated into the second degree which 'even though he did not serve his time as Apprentice' was allowed 'from Consideration that he is a traveling B[rother].'[46] Mak was also initiated into the Master's degree on 28-2-1806, again because he was a 'a travelling B[rother], who is about to leave for Japan'.[47] He served again as warehouse master in Dejima and was replaced in 1807 by Jan Cock Blomhoff (1779-1853), who arrived on 28 July on the ship De Goede Trouw under captain Hendrik Voorman, a member of lodge La Fidele Sincerite.[48] Mak then returned to Batavia.

The minutes of La Vertueuse show that Iges was balloted with two black beans on 27-10-1806. He was then made a Master on 8-11-1806.[49] On 22-4-1808 he was balloted again, probably for one of the higher degrees, in which he was initiated on 25-4-1808.[50] His name is still listed in the overviews of contributions paid in 1811-1812[51] and in the lists of guests for the celebration of St. John in the lodge La Fidèle Sincérité te Batavia in 1812 and 1814.[52] In 1815, the *Java Half-Yearly Almanac and Directory* listed an 'A. Iges, baker, Armanusgracht'.[53]



Fig. 6.7: Kawahara Keiga (ca. 1786-ca. 1860), portrait of Philipp Frans Balthazar von Siebold (1796-1866), 1823. Collection: Nagasaki Prefectural Art Museum. Reproduced from: nagasaki-museum.jp.

Doeff had been instrumental in maintaining the Dutch trade monopoly, when the Russian envoy Nikolai Rezanov (1764-1807) arrived in August 1804 in an attempt to break into the Japanese market and would be so again when the British ship Phaeton arrived in 1808 to try the same.[54] Doeff stayed in Japan for a long time and managed to continue the trade post when Dutch ships did not arrive as planned between 1808 and 1816, due to the French annexation of the Netherlands and the following confiscation of the Dutch East Indies by the British. When in 1813 Wardenaar was sent to Dejima with an English delegation to take over command, disguised under a Dutch flag, Doeff again managed to remain in control. He was finally relieved of his position by Cock Blomhoff as the next Opperhoofd in 1817 and returned to the Netherlands. His ship Admiraal Evertsen ran into trouble near Mauritius and although he was rescued by the American ship Pickering, he lost all the documents and objects he had collected over the past 19 years. If any existed, the archive of lodge Decima was probably lost on the same journey. Back home Doeff got a position as advisor on the trade with Japan and was involved in the Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij.

What masonic activities, if any, took place in Japan after Doeff's leave? From 1815 onwards, Dejima was the responsibility of the Ministry for the Colonies in The Hague, and the resident physician was an appointed military officer.[55] In 1823 the German physician and scientist Philipp Frans Balthazar von Siebold (1796-1866) arrived as such a military physician. He was also a scientist and famously went on to study Japanese flora, fauna and culture. Von Siebold gathered a collection of Japanese specimens and artefacts, which formed the basis of the later Ethnographical and Natural History Museums in Leiden. It is not (yet) known if this influential scholar was also freemason too, but in his company on the *Hofreis*, the diplomatic journey to the Edo court, were his assistant Heinrich Burger (1804/1806-1858) and the artist Karl Hubert de Villeneuve (1800-1874), both members of La Fidèle Sincérité.[56] An article in the *Freemasons' Quarterly Review* (1849) suggests that Von Siebold was at least familiar with the phenomenon:

> The present professor at Leyden, Bro. F. Von Sybold, who had made a long stay at Japan, whither he had gone as medical attendant to the Dutch embassy, but remained several years after its return, for the purpose of measuring the country and investigation, addressed the Lodge Socrates in Frankfurt upon the subject of

> lodges in Japan, and among other matters mentioned, that at initiations the candidate's eyes were released from a bandage in front of a looking glass, amid the cry of 'know yourself'.
>
> When we compare these different reports we must come to the conclusion that Freemasonry not only exists in the East, but is spread over a large portion of Persia, Japan, Egypt, and European Turkey, and that a very considerable number of our brethren have seen the light who are not professing Christians.[57]

During the 19th century, one would expect a guest speaker in a lodge on the subject of freemasonry to be a freemason himself. Unfortunately, the archives of lodge Sokrates zur Standhaftigkeit in Frankfurt am Main which could have provided a further insight, were lost during World War II. A further clue that Von Siebold was at the very least intimately familiar with freemasonry, is the fact that he ordered a masonic lacquer box for his uncle, Johan Heinrich Theodor Damian von Siebold (1768-1828), a member of lodge Johannis der Evangelist in Darmstadt.[58]

In 1826 the aforementioned freemason Germain Felix Meijlan took over as Opperhoofd. The minutes of lodge La Fidèle Sincérité from around that time indicate that it was still beneficial for travelers to and from Japan to be initiated. On 21-4-1826 Hendrik Strauch[59] wrote in his capacity as Secretary to La Fidèle Sincérité that the Master of the Lodge had proposed a new member: 'Pierre van Outeren, born in Leijden, age 25 years, profession Scribe and Accountant in Japan', while Strauch himself proposed 'Pieter Willem Verkerk Pistorius, born Rotterdam, age 21 years, profession Civil servant in Japan'.[60]

Johan [Gerard] Frederik Van Overmeer Fisscher (1800-1848) was stationed as a civil servant in Dejima between 1820 and 1830, but journeyed to Batavia in 1825 and 1827. He quickly made a career and became a warehouse master, although he was overlooked for the position of Opperhoofd. Like his superior Cock Blomhoff he acquired a large collection of Japanese art and artefacts that later became part of the Dutch Royal Cabinet. The lodge minutes for the Chapter of La Fidèle Sincérité, recount how on 23-4-1827:

> […] the Brother J.F. Overmeer Fisscher, already for a long time being favored in the Symbolic Degrees with the degree of Master mason, having himself, after having served his time as Master, joined us to be advantaged with the Degrees of Elu and Scots Master which had been granted to him at the time as he was about to leave, though by the speedy sailing of the Japanese ships with which the forenamed Brother Fisscher had to leave for Japan as a civil servant not having taken place at the time which is why he has reapplied to obtain said Degrees.[61]

It was decided to provide him with the desired degrees 'by communication', which means without the required ceremony. On 17-4-1830 Overmeer Fisscher obtained the further degrees of *Ridder van de Degen en het Oosten* (Knight of the Sword and the East) and *Souverein Prince Rose Croix* (Sovereign Prince Rose Croix).[62]

On 27-4-1831 the Chapter minutes of La Fidèle Sincérité note that: 'Br[other] A. Manuel [was] to be promoted to Scots Master as he is about to leave for Japan'. The candidacy was accepted and the degree was again provided 'by communication'.[63] Manuel, already a member of the lodge since 1829, had to pay fl. 161,- (ca. € 1.450[64]) for the degrees of *Schots Meester* (Scots Master) and *Élu* (Elected Master).[65] On 18-5-1833 the minutes of the same Chapter mention a 'request by Brother J. Borger about to leave for Japan, to be promoted'. This was again approved and Borger was made *Schots Meester*, while the aforementioned brother Manuel was granted the degree of *Ridder van de Degen en het Oosten* after a similar request.[66] On 19-4-1835 the secretary of La Fidele Sincerite wrote to the Provincial Grand Master asking to allow Pieter Vis, commander of the ship India, to be initiated before his leave for Japan.[67]

These minutes show that the required number of seven masons was now more easily assembled in Dejima. This also raises some questions. Considering the continuous traffic of freemasons between the Dutch East Indies and Japan, how likely was it that only Henrik Doeff was the only one who felt the need to create the familiar atmosphere of a lodge so far away from home? And why would these travelers ask to rush their (costly) initiations into not just freemasonry, but even its highest degrees on the eve of their leave for Japan, if there were no lodge meetings to attend? For which activities did they expect to have to be able to show their masonic credentials? Some calculated answers can be formulated as follows.

The evidence of (illegal) masonic activities on Dejima in 1804 provides a new insight into the way the Dutchmen spent their free time on the island, as well as the nature of their relationship to each other. It also raises questions about the relationship and cultural exchange with the Japanese. Was it really possible to keep lodge activities strictly secret, while every move the Dutch made was closely watched?



Fig. 6.8: Portraits of Nishi Amane (left) and Tsuda Mamichi (right). Collection: National Diet Library, Tokyo. Reproduced from: commons.wikimedia.org.

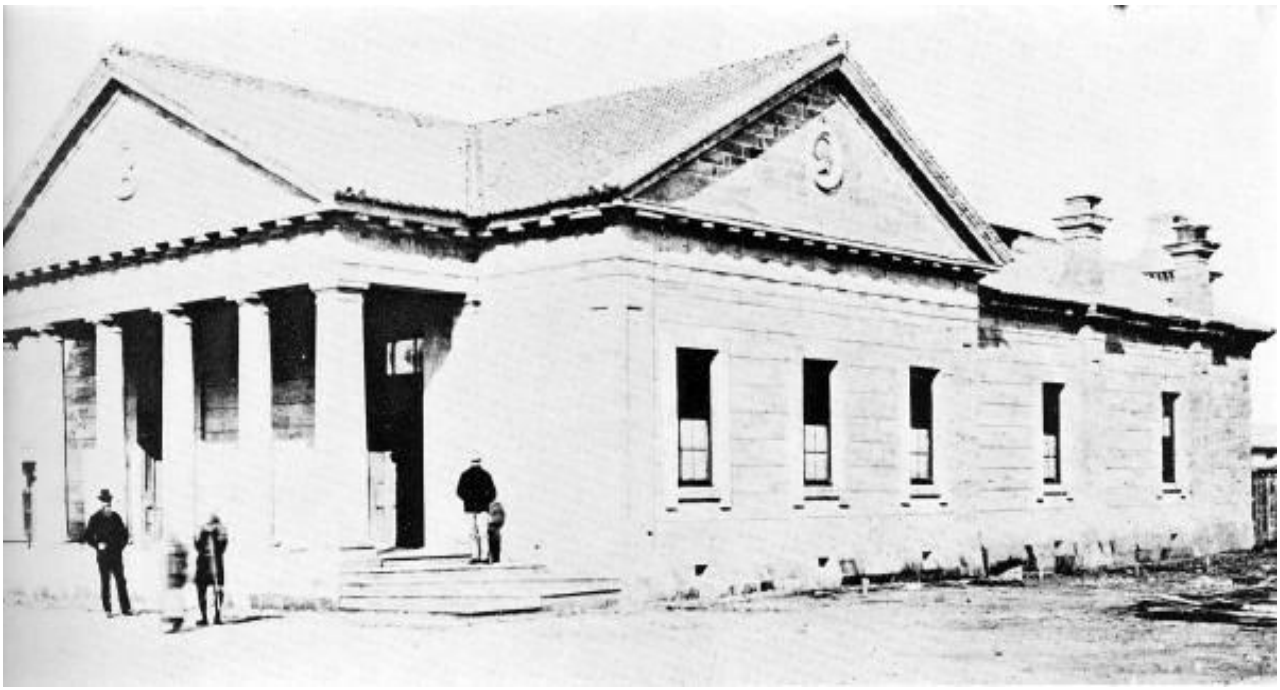


Fig. 6.9: The Freemason's Hall in Yokohama, built in 1868-1869 at plot no. 170 Yamashitacho and destroyed in the earthquake of 1880. Reproduced from: 2.gol.com/users/lodge1.

Dutch and Japanese scholars made intimate studies of each other's culture and habits, sometimes resulting in close friendships. Freemasons were in positions of influence until at least 1850, when freemason Joseph Henrij Levijssohn was replaced as Opperhoofd. Were masonic ideals really never shared between scholars and friends until the founding of the first official lodge in Japan in 1864? Considering that Japanese artists were asked to copy masonic prints from 1786 onwards, it would not be surprising if (more) rules were broken for practical purposes.

◆ *The first Japanese freemasons*

Taking the long presence of freemasons in Japan into account, it seems only logical that the Dutch played a part in the first official (legal) initiation of Japanese men. This event took place in 1864, when two Japanese

naval officers were accepted as freemasons in lodge La Vertu in Leiden.[68] Two years earlier negotiations were held between the Japanese Naval Department and the Dutch Consulate in Japan. It was agreed to send a group of Japanese officers to the Netherlands in order to study naval architecture, medicine and western studies. Amongst these men were two researchers: Nishi Shusuke (1829-1897) en Tsuda Shinichiro (1829-1903), later named Nishi Amane en Tsuda Mamichi. Nishi had studied Dutch and English, and, like Tsuda, was a researcher of European Culture. The two men travelled to the Netherlands with dr. J.C.L. Pompe van Meerdervoort (1829-1908), who had been the last resident physician on Dejima and was involved in setting up a teaching hospital in Nagasaki. In Leiden they were assigned as students of Simon Vissering (1818-1888), a professor of law and political sciences, who was also member of La Vertu, a local lodge closely associated with university teachers and students. The lodge minutes recorded on 20-10-1864:

> In this Lodge has been accepted as E[ntered and] A[ccepted] F[ree] M[ason] Shusuke (Amane) Nishi, born in Tsuwano in Japan, age 35 [...] Mr. Nishi, having signed the required declaration, was brought within the Lodge and made a Mason according to ancient custom; having shown sufficient proof of his constancy, taking into account his rather scanty knowledge of the Dutch language, the Brethren decided that he be permitted to see the Light.[69]

Nishi's initiation was followed by that of Tsuda on 17-11-1864, but the lodge records do not elaborate any further. This Dutch experience of course influenced their views on western culture. Both men became prominent intellectuals and played an important role in the modernization of Japan.[70]

In 1854 Japan had opened up to Western trade after a display of power by the American expedition of four warships lead by commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry (1794-1858), although it would take until 1859 before the trade from various ports would be truly open. The influx of traders from various parts of the world also meant an influx of freemasons, most notably British and American men. There were many conservative Japanese landowners who could not accept the treaty signed by the *shogun*, not by the emperor, and who wanted the incoming stream of western traders reversed. This led to some vicious attacks on foreigners, some of whom just happened to be freemasons. Amongst the unlucky victims in Yokohama were the Dutch sea captains Wessel de Vos (1818-1860) and Jasper Nanning Decker (1810-1860). They were buried on 29-2-1860 on the new international cemetery in Yokohama, as recounted by a witness:

> A day or two after, the funeral took place, with Masonic rites and all the ceremony which the resources of the settlement permitted, and was attended by the several Consular representatives, the entire foreign community, and the crews of vessels in port, it being considered desirable to make as much of a demonstration as possible.[71]

In the Dutch East Indies public display of masonic ceremony was already common (see chapter 5), but this was the first recorded case in Japan. While general anti-western sentiments were strong in some parts of society, it is precisely around this time that freemasonry started to flourish in Japan.

The first official lodge activities in Japan were linked to a traveling military lodge, which was active in Japan in the 1860s. The British Minden Lodge, belonging to the 20st 'Regiment of Foot' of the Lancashire Fusiliers, obtained it's constitution from the Grand Lodge of Ireland in 1748. Because the regiment took part in various international conflicts, the lodge travelled through various parts of Europe.[72] By 1796 the lodge was in the Plymouth area, where two new battalions were formed. These recruited men in 1796-1801, including several Dutchmen. The lodge then travelled with the regiment to Ireland, Egypt and the Mediterranean. The regiment was directed to St. Helena to guard Napoleon in 1819 and sent to India in 1821, where it remained for a long time. The 2nd Battalion formed a new travelling lodge in 1860: Sphinx Lodge no. 263. The battalion was then stationed in Yokohama in 1864, where the attached lodge met from 27-1-1865 onwards in a warehouse on Main Street, owned by lodge member T.W. Walker. This lodge also admitted (foreign) civilians as members. When the military had to move on again, the lodge was closed on 28-3-1866. But so many civilian freemasons were now living in the area that they had already applied for the constitution of a permanent lodge to the Grand Lodge of England.[73] Yokohama Lodge no. 1092, formally

founded on 26-6-1866, was recorded in history as the first lodge in Japan. A proper Freemasons' Hall was built on Main Street, opposite the German club, for which the first stone was laid in 1869.[74]

The foundation of other internationally oriented lodges soon followed, but these were still ruled by foreign masonic bodies.[75] According to the Japanese Peace Preservation Law of 1887 the meeting of secret societies remained prohibited. An exception was made for freemasonry - provided membership was limited to foreigners.[76] Tadasu Hayashi (1850-1913), Japan's first ambassador to Great Britain, became a member of Empire Lodge no 2108 in London in 1903.[77] The membership of Japanese men would not become common until after World War II. Japan would finally get its own Grand Lodge in 1957.

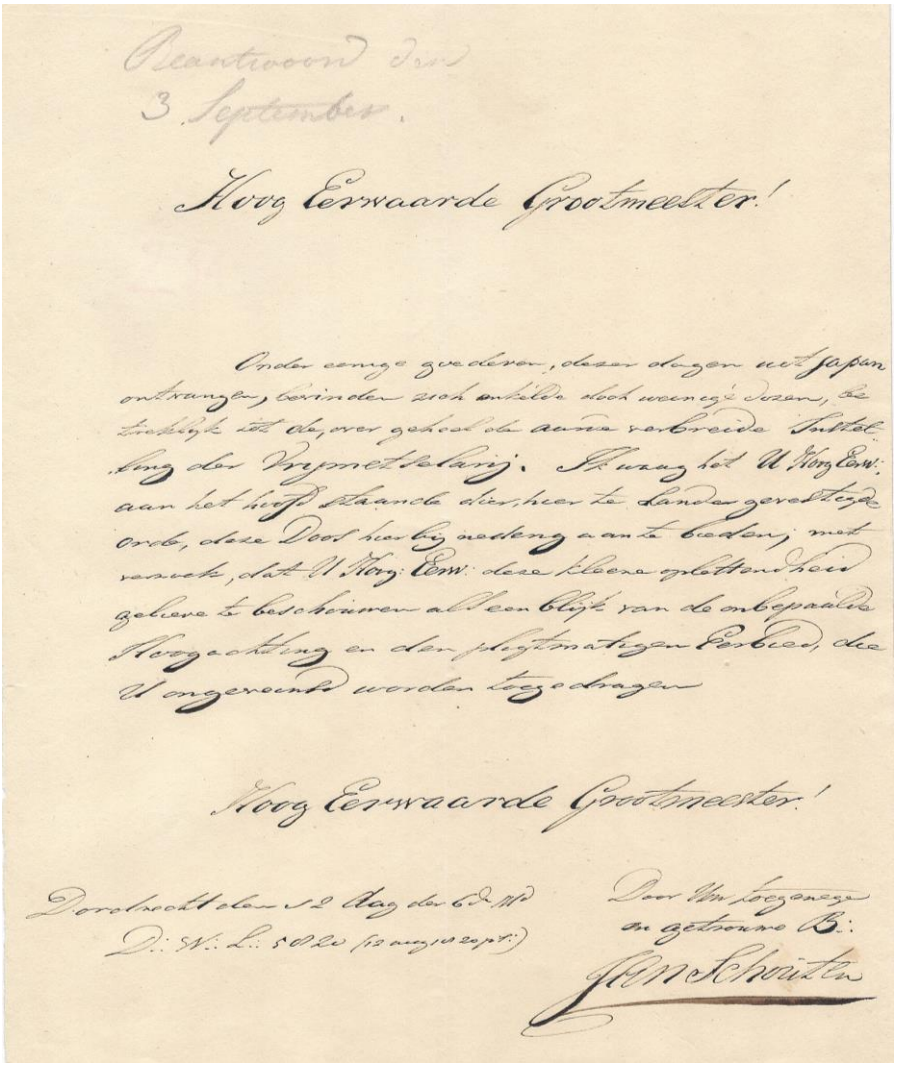


Fig. 6.10: Letter by Jan Schouten to Grand Master Prince Frederik, offering him a masonic lacquer box as a token of esteem, dated 18-8-1920. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague.

6.2. Masonic export lacquer

◆ *Commercial production*

The lacquer objects commissioned by the lodges in Batavia in the 18th century were unique, in the sense that there were no copies and they were not distributed to a wider market. This would be the case with lacquer boxes with masonic designs, which were taken into production around the turn of the 19th century. At first, only small size boxes were being produced, perhaps serving as a memento for freemasons having spent time in Dejima. Examples are discussed below. The traffic between the Netherlands and Japan was hampered between 1808 and 1817, which implies that a more commercial production of masonic lacquer boxes probably started soon after the restoration of communications, with the first finished products reaching the Netherlands around 1820.

Indeed, on 12-8-1820 Jan Schouten, Worshipful Master of the Lodge La Flamboyante in Dordrecht (see chapter 2) wrote to the Dutch Grand Master, Prince Frederik (1797-1881):

> Amongst some goods, received from Japan during these days, are some though few boxes, relating to the world-wide dispersed Institution of Freemasonry. I dare to humbly offer Your High Honorable, being at the head of this order established in this country, this Box, requesting that Your High Honorable will consider this

> small attention as a sign of the unlimited esteem and the dutiful worship, that is unreservedly addressed to You.[78]

Schouten was in an excellent position to acquire Asian objects, as he owned a shipping yard in Dordrecht.[79] Schouten had been initiated into lodge Het Vrij Geweten in Breda in 1810, and then became co-founder and Master of the Lodge La Flamboyante from 1812 to 1852. In 1823 he was responsible for the building of the steamer Vereniging (later named Prins Frederik der Nederlanden, after the Grand Master), while he co-founded the Eerste Oost-Indische Rederij (First East Indian Shipping Yard) in 1825. The members of La Flamboyante, which included many mariners, financed the building of three fregats, named Broedertrouw (1837), Delta (1840) and Osiris (1841), which he nicknamed his Faith, Hope and Charity. Later followed the ships Jan Schouten (1853) and the Grootmeester Nationaal (1857). At the same time Schouten fulfilled the position of Deputy Grand Master of the Order between 1840 and 1853. He was also active as a poet, and amongst other subjects wrote frequently about freemasonry and even poems on his ships.[80]

Being a very passionate freemason, his gift to the Grand Master was no doubt sincere, but it was also commercially smart. Which brother would not want to own a beautiful object similar to that of the Prince, a material representation of ideals shared between brothers world-wide? The gesture may well have stimulated a wider demand for these objects.

◆ *Characteristics and variations in decoration*

While most of the lodge-commissioned objects did not survive, there are still many examples of masonic lacquer boxes in public and private collections all over the world. These boxes differ in shape and quality of execution, but the central decoration is usually one of four commonly used designs. In the 1960s P.H. Pott already identified three of the pictorial sources for these designs.[81] These are derived from specific engravings in popular ritual manuals, which freemasons must have carried with them as an *aide-memoire* on their travels to the East. If one had the opportunity to convene a lodge in a foreign port with the participation of one or more foreign visitors, not all participants would be familiar with the same ritual or have sufficient experience as lodge officers in the leading of the proceedings. In those cases it was especially handy if one had a ritual manual as an instruction guide.

Travelling freemasons could have their aprons and officers' jewels amongst their personal belongings. These were often designed as a simplified tracing board, reduced to a few main symbols. The fourth type of lacquer box is probably decorated after such a personal object. Exceptions to the four types discussed below, such as the box for La Fidèle Sincérité mentioned earlier, must be considered very rare.

▪ *Type 1:* L'Ordre des Francs-Maçons trahi […] *(1745)*

In 1745 the French ritual manual *L'Ordre des Francs-Maçons trahi et le secret des Mopses revelé*, was published simultaneously with the Dutch translation: *De geheimen der Vrije-Metselaars en der Mopsen geopenbaart* (see chapter 2). The text includes a short description of a tracing board:

> One should take heed, that in the middle of the room of Acception a large field is marked on the floor, where one draws with Chalk two Columns, remains of the Temple of Solomon: on both sides of this field one sees drawn a large J and a large B. […] In the middle of the field, and between the drawn Columns, are three candle [sticks] with burning candles, arranged in a triangle, or placed.[82]

The frontispiece for this publication was an engraving of a tracing board, titled *Image of the lodge for the acception of a free-masons Apprentice-Fellow-Craft* (Fig. 6.11). The different symbols are numbered and explained to the reader in a caption. Letters indicate the seats of the lodge Officers as well as the place of the most important pieces of furniture.

For a freemason, all of these symbols would have a specific meaning or recall a certain concept. The columns 'J' and 'B' refer to the columns 'Jachin' and 'Boaz' at the Temple of Solomon (1 Kon. 7:21). The left column reads *Force* (Strength) and the right *Sagesse* (Wisdom). In the middle of the image is a flaming star with the letter 'G' and the word *Beauté* (Beauty). Together Wisdom, Strength and Beauty form an important *trias* within freemasonry. The different tools refer to the symbolical building of the Temple. Above the left column is a rough stone, above the right a pointed stone with an axe. Working the rough

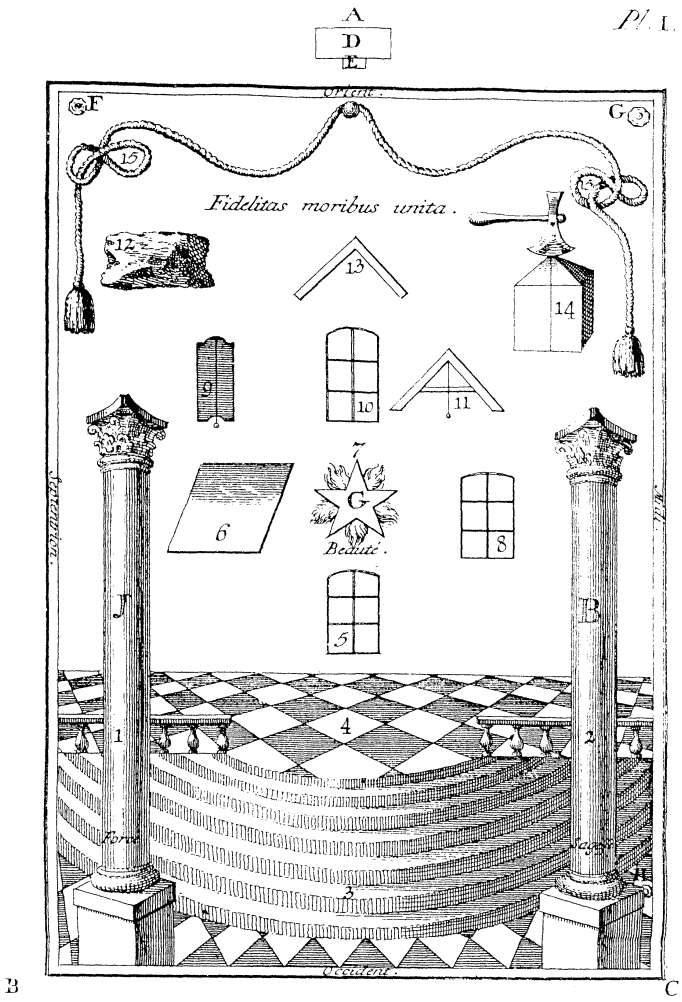


Fig. 6.11: Image of the lodge of acception of a free-masons Apprentice-Fellow-Craft*, frontispiece of the Dutch translation of* L'Ordre des Franc-Maçons trahi […] *(1745). The caption reads: '1. Column Jakin. 2. Column Boaz. 3. The 7 steps to climb to the Temple. 4. The Mosaic floor. 5. West Window. 6. Plank to draw on, for the Masters. 7. Flaming Star. 8. South Window. 9. The Plumb 10. East Window. 11. Level. 12. Rough Stone. 13. Square. 14. Cubic Stone, with a spired top. 15. The Tassle. A. Place of the Grand-Master. B. Place of the Senior Warden. C. Place of the Junior Warden. D. Altar. E. Foot stool. F. G. H. The three Lights.'*
Reproduced from: Thoth *21 (1970) II-III.*[83]

stone to a cubic shape is the symbolical labor of the Apprentice, working to make himself a building block in the Temple (of humanity). On top is a cord with two (love)knots and tassels, with the Latin *Fidelibus moritas unita* (Loyalty and Unity undil death). Pott remarked that the makers of this and other early masonic prints decided to omit the seats of the lodge members (Dutch: 'Leerling- en Gezelkolommen'), located on opposite sides of the tracing board, in order to simplify the image and adapt it to the available space.[84] The place of the Wardens is indicated, as is the seat of the Master of the Lodge - right behind the altar with the bible. A footstool in front of the altar marks the place where the candidate would swear the oath. The places for the candle sticks, The Three Lights, are also indicated.

In the collection of the CMC are several tobacco boxes with a design after the frontispiece of *L'Ordre des Francs-Maçons trahi […]* (type 1a). These are made of black lacquer on copper and of a small size, no bigger than circa 14 x 9 cm (figs. 6.12-6.13).[85] The decoration on the lid depicts the tracing board described above, finely executed in pearlshell (abalone for blue hues) with highlights in gold. Details are engraved in the shell and filled in with black. The sides of the boxes are sparsely decorated with flower sprays. Compared to the original print, there are some subtle differences that must have been specifically requested by the commissioner of the box. The square and the level have changed places, and the square is





Fig. 6.12: Tobacco box with a design after L'Ordre des Franc-Maçons trahi […] *(1745). Black lacquer with pearlshell on copper, 1785-1820, 13.5 X 8 X 2.5 cm. Collection CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 1807. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.*
Fig. 6.13: Japanese box with a design after L'Ordre des Franc-Maçons trahi […] *(1745). Black lacquer with pearlshell on copper (interior later lined with velvet), 1785-1820, 13.5 x 8 x 2.4 cm. Collectie CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 1804. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.*

now crossed with a pair of compasses. The Latin words have been replaced by a radiant sun. Above the rough stone, a trowel has appeared, and a bow has been added to the cord. Fig. 6.13 shows a slight variation on this decor (type 1b): the box has rounded edges and an indented border has been added to the central decoration, while flames have been added to the five-pointed star.

As only the Dutch were in the position to order, boxes of type 1 have so far only been identified in Dutch collections.[86] This type was probably one the first to be produced, when the number of commissions from the home market was still relatively low. But it cannot be excluded that Dutch freemasons traded these boxes with other countries (or took orders on their behalf), so examples could still turn up in collections elsewhere.

- *Type 2:* Jachin and Boaz *(1797)*

The first edition of the British ritual manual *Jachin en Boaz; or, an authentic key to the Door of Free-Masonry, both Ancient and Modern* appeared in 1762.[87] The book was reprinted several times, but never translated into Dutch, nor into the French spoken by the Dutch elite. An addition to the 1776 edition was a frontispiece, showing a tracing board within an oval medallion hanging on a bow (Fig. 6.14). According to the accompanying text, the image was derived from the jewels that freemasons would wear on a ribbon around the neck.[88] In the 1797 edition the oval medallion was replaced by an octagonal one, now hanging on a bow with longer ribbons, probably in accordance with changing fashions. This later print was signed by James Baynes (1766-1837) as designer of the drawing and Isaac Taylor (1730-1780?) as engraver. The tracing board itself was also executed in a different style and appears to have been mirrored, but although the composition was somewhat rearranged most of the symbols remained the same. Here too the different elements in the composition were numbered and (compared *to Le secret des franc-maçons trahi)* explained a little more elaborately in the text. Not only the plan of the lodge and the main symbols of the tracing board, but also the officers' badges and the props used in the initiation of a candidate are illustrated.

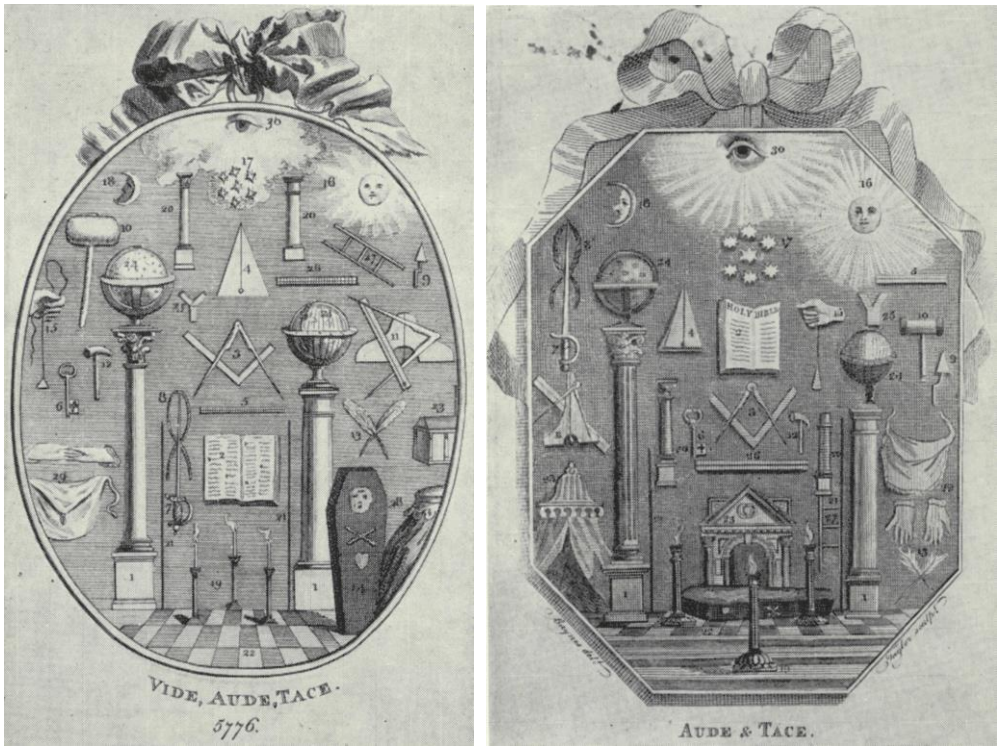


Fig. 6.14: Frontispieces to the 1776 and 1797 editions of Jachin and Boaz, or an authentic key to the Door of Free-Masonry, both Ancient and Modern *(1762). Reproduced from: Pott 1966, p. 180.*

'Description of the Regalia and Emblematical Figures used in Freemasonry, represented in the Frontispiece:

1. The two pillars called Jachin and Boaz, the first for signifying Strength, the second to establish in the Lord.

2. The Holy Bible opened, as an emblem that it should be the rule of our faith.

3. The Compass and the Square, to figure our actions, and keep them within bounds, the Master's emblem or jewel, which is suspended with a ribbon round the neck, and always worn when the Lodge is opened, and on public days of meeting, funerals, &c.

4. The Level, the Senior Warden's emblem or jewel.

5. The 24 Inch Gauge, to measure the Mason's work.

6. The Key, or Treasurer's emblem.

7. The Sword, presented to the naked left breast of the Apprentice.

8. The Cable, or Rope, put round the neck of every new-made Mason at the time of making.

9. The Trowel, an instrument of great use among Masons.

10. The Gavel, or setting Maul, used in building Solomon's Temple, the first grand work of Masonry.

11. The Plumb, Level, Compass, and Plumb Rule, the Junior Warden's emblem.

12. The small Hammer, to knock of superfluous pieces.

13. The Cross Pens, the Secretary's emblem.

14. A Coffin, with the figure of the maimed body of Hiram (the first Grand Master) painted on it. He was murdered by three Fellow-Crafts, for refusing to reveal the Secret.

15. The Hand Plummet, for taking perpendiculars.

16. The Sun rising in the east, emblematical of the Master Mason, standing in the east, and setting the men to work.

17. The Seven Stars, an astronomical emblem, frequently engraved on the medals worn by Masons.

18. The Moon that rules the night.

19. The Candlesticks, placed in triangular form.

20. The Columns, used by the Senior and Junior Wardens in the Lodge.

21. Two black Rods, carried by the Senior and Junior Deacons.

22. The Three Steps and Pavement.

23. Entrance or Porch to Solomon's Temple.

24. The Terrestrial and Celestial Globes, representing the works of creation.

25. A Machine used by Masons for forming Triangles.

26. The large Rule, for measuring the work.

27. The three Step Ladder used in Masonry.

28. Hiram's Tent.

29. The White Aprons and Gloves, emblems of innocence.

30. Eye of Providence, the great superintendent of all the works of the Universe, and Masonry represented as under its immediate influence.'[89]



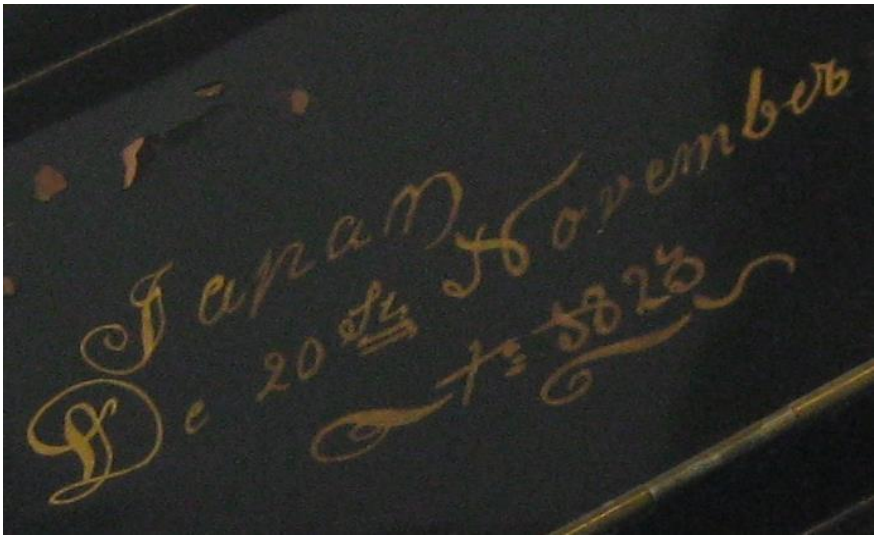


Fig. 6.15 (and detail): Tobacco box with a design after Jachin and Boaz […] *(ed. 1797) with an inscription on the inside 'Japan De 20st November A 5823'. Black lacquer with pearlshell on copper, 1800-1823, 14.5 x 9 x 3 cm. Collection CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no.1803. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl (box). Photograph by the author (lid).*





Fig. 6.16a-b: Tobacco box with a design after Jachin and Boaz […] *(ed. 1797) with an inscription on the inside of the lid 'Souvenir du Capt. Mesdagh a Son Ami L. Margeritte, Japan 26 November 1825'. Black lacquer with pearlshell on copper, 1800-1823, size not listed. Collection and photographs with kind permission of Antiqves Wim Prové, Belgium.*

A decoration after the 1797 frontispiece is more often found on masonic lacquer ware than any other, and in more varied executions and types of boxes, indicating it was very popular. As the engraving depicts the usual elements of a British masonic ritual, some symbols may have been unfamiliar to Dutch freemasons, including the sword, the noose and the ladder (all used in the Apprentice degree) and the mathematical symbol depicting the Pythagorean theorem (no. 25, used in the ornament of Past Masters).[90] Yet the type 2 design is the most common decoration of masonic lacquer boxes in Dutch collections.

There is a tobacco box with a design after *Jachin and Boaz […]* in the CMC collection (type 2a) (fig. 6.15). It is executed in black lacquer and pearlshell on a copper base with details highlighted in gold. The field within the medallion is sprinkled with gold. Again every effort was made by the Japanese artist to make details, such as the body of Hiram on the coffin, visible by engraving the inlayed sections. An inscription on the inside of the lid reads: 'Japan De 20 St November A 5823' [= 1823]. A similar box, but with rounded courners, a less detailed inlay and an added floral decoration on the lid, appeared at auction. This also carries an inscription on the inside of the lid: 'Souvenir du Capt. Mesdagh a Son Ami L. Margeritte, Japan 26 November 1825' (type 2b, Fig. 6.16). This was probably M. Mesdagh, captain of the ship Johanna Elisabet in 1825.[91] In other variations of this decor the field of the medallion in between the pearlshell is filled in with gold lacquer (type 2c, fig. 6.17). The corners of the box are clipped, giving it an octagonal shape. The sides are decorated with flowering branches and Ho-Ho birds with a long tail.[92] An almost identical box from the collection of Willem Jeron Maria van Ogtrop (born 1903) appeared at auction.[93] There is one member with this surname listed in the membership records of the CMC: Jacobus G. Ogtrop, initiated in lodge La Paix in Amsterdam in 1816. He got three degrees in one session, indicating he was about to leave for a journey.

More famous is a third variation in the collection of the National Heritage Museum in Lexington, USA (Fig. 6.18). This too has an octagonal shape, but the decoration is executed in raised gold lacquer and the design is oriented horizontally instead of vertically (type 2d). Details like the architectural elements on the front of the Temple are very finely executed, suggesting depth to the scene, while others are highlighted in pearlshell. The sides of the box are decorated with diagonal bands of sprinkled gold dust in *nashiji* style and flowers (gingko, chrysanthemum and lotus blossom). It is also one of the few boxes of which the provenance is thought to be known. According to a letter kept with the box (Fig. 6.19), it was a gift by George Washington (1732-1799), himself a freemason, to general General Ebenezer Stevens (1752-1823) of New York.[94] (We will come back to Washington later.) The museum's own research suggests a slightly different history: the box was ordered and *intended* as a gift to Stevens, but Washington died before he could do so.

Earlier museum catalogues suggested that the box may have been acquired on behalf of Washington by one of his Dutch contacts, such as Van Braam Houckgeest (chapter 7).[95] More recent research suggests that the box was acquired by captain James Devereux of the American ship Franklin from Salem (Massachusetts), sailing under a Dutch flag. On board was also the aforementioned freemason Hendrik Doeff). The ship arrived at Batavia on 28-4-1799 and returned to Boston from Nagasaki on 18-12-1799, just after Washington's death on the 14th of that month. Stevens was somehow presented with the box. The surviving letter suggests it now contained a leaf from a bush growing over Washington's grave. The box was later passed on by Stevens to general John Winslow of Boston. He in turn gave the box to Benjamin Whitman in 1819, who passed it on to his son George Henry Whitman in 1835.

Based on this provenance and taking the travel and production timelines into account, the print would have to have been taken to Japan 'hot of the press' after its publication in 1797, for the box to have already arrived in 1799. Lacquer ware of this type is generally dated a little later in the available literature. However, earlier editions of *Jachin and Boaz* played an important role in American freemasonry, and it is likely that the new 1797 edition was also widely available.[96] That Devereux was involved in a commission on Washington's behalf however, is not very likely. The Dutch hired the ship Franklin on the spur of the moment, because the ship Eliza chartered earlier had sunk. So no one could have foreseen that Devereux would be on his way to Japan.[97] That makes it more likely that a Dutch contact was involved in the commission, as the original museum provenance suggested.

Together the Washington/Stevens box and the inscribed Dutch box suggest that the small format or tobacco boxes were produced for freemasons from circa 1797 until well into the first quarter of the 19th century. During the first half of the 19th century the same decoration scheme was also applied to wooden

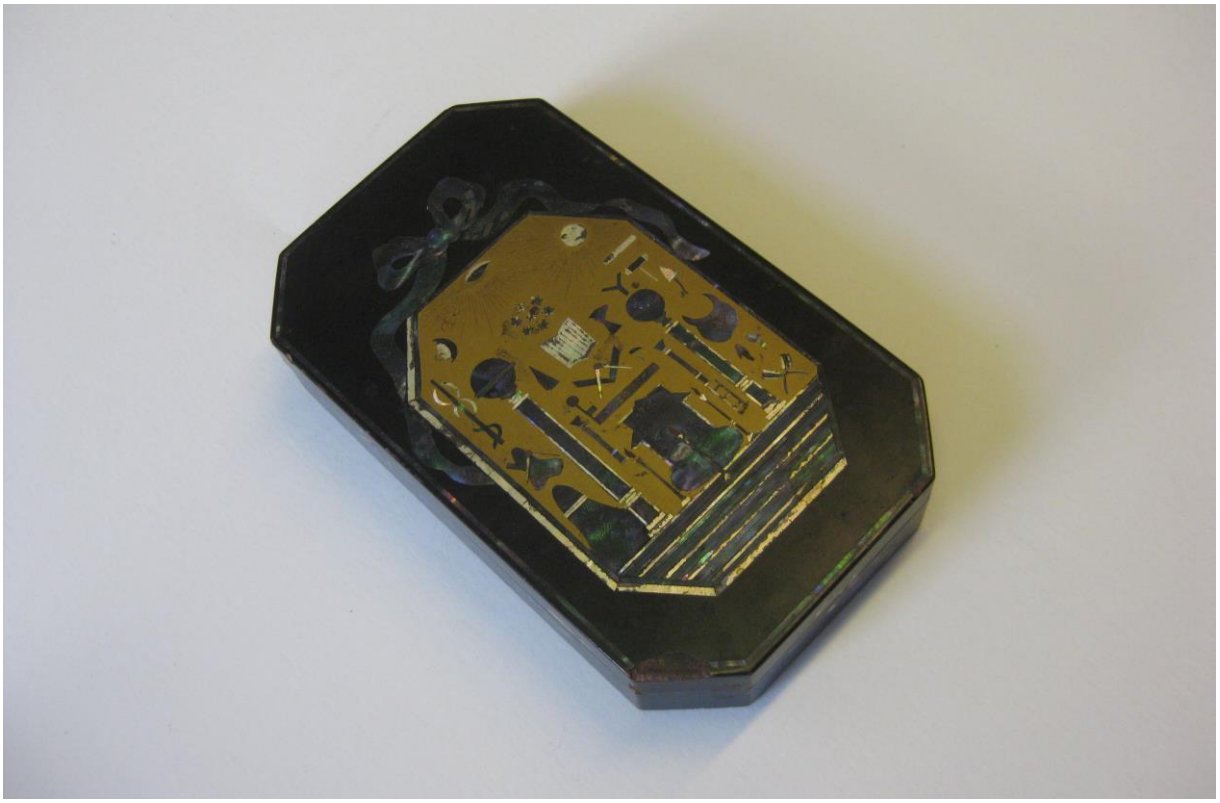
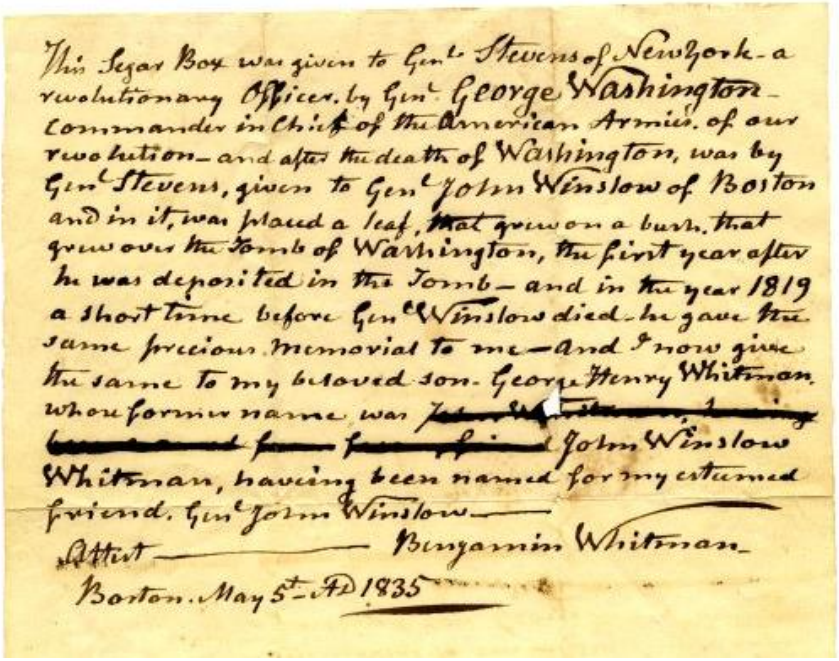


Fig. 6.17: Tobacco box with a design after Jachin and Boaz […] *(ed. 1797). Black and gold lacquer with pearlshell on copper, 1800-1820, 13 × 9 x 2.5 cm. Collection CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.*



Fig. 6.18: Tobacco box with a design after Jachin and Boaz […] *(ed. 1797). Black and raised gold lacquer with pearlshell on copper, after 1797-1820, 13.6 x 9 x 2.5 cm. Collection of the Scottish Rite Masonic Museum & Library, Special Acquisitions Fund, inv.no. 78.20.1. Reproduced from: nationalheritagemuseum.org.*


This Segar Box was given to Genl Stevens of Newyork - a revolutionary Officer. by Genl George Washington - Commander in Chief of the American Armies. of our revolution - and after the death of Washington, was by Genl Stevens, given to Genl John Winslow of Boston and in it, was placed a leaf, that grew on a bush, that grew over the Tomb of Washington, the first year after he was deposited in the Tomb - and in the year 1819 a short time before Genl Winslow died - he gave the same precious memorial to me - and I now give the same to my beloved son. George Henry Whitman. whose former name was [redacted] John Winslow Whitman, having been named for my esteemed friend. Genl John Winslow -

Attest - Benjamin Whitman

Boston. May 5th - AD 1835

Fig. 6.19: Statement given by Benjamin Whitman, Boston, Massachusetts in 1835 regarding the lacquer box in fig. 6.18. Collection of the Scottish Rite Masonic Museum & Library, Special Acquisitions Fund, inv.no. A78/002/1.

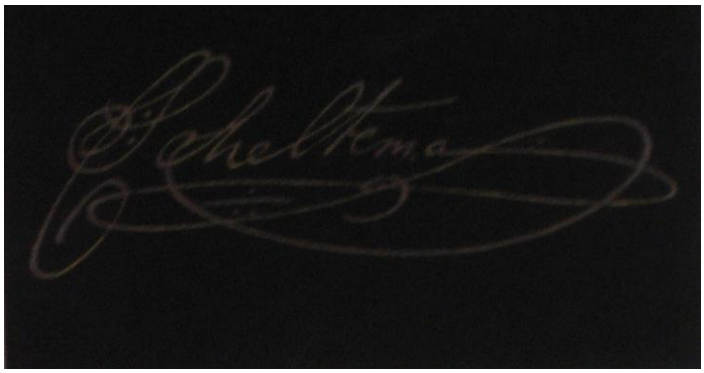




Fig. 6.20 (and detail): Japanese box with a design after Jachin and Boaz […] *(ed. 1797), inscribed 'C. Scheltema' on the inside of the lid. Black and gold lacquer on wood, inlayed with pearlshell, 1800-1830, 32 x 17 x 8 cm. Collection CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 1801. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl (box) and Impey/Jörg 2005, p. 211 (autograph).*

lacquered boxes of a larger, oblong format, usually no bigger than circa 32.5 x 17 cm. A lock and key were added, making the boxes suitable for storage of private or precious items. There are several boxes of this type in the collection of the CMC (type 2d). Figs. 6.20-6.21 were executed in black lacquer with pearlshell inlay, with details highlighted in gold. Apart from the central medallion and a thin band of pearlshell around its edges, the lid was left undecorated, while subtle motifs of flowers and birds were applied to the sides of the box.[98]

While dozens of these boxes can be found in collections worldwide, only in rare cases their provenance was recorded. Fig. 6.20 in the CMC is inscribed on the inside of the lid: 'C. Scheltema'.[99] Several members of this family were members of lodges in the Dutch East Indies. A similar box belonging to merchant Hendrikus Veuger (1786-1842), a member of lodge La Paix in Amsterdam (the same lodge as the aforementioned Ogtrop) appeared at auction in 1994.[100] (We will come back to him in chapter 7). The well-known Dutch composer Frederik Willem Johannes Pijper (1894-1947), a member of lodge De Drie Kolommen in Rotterdam, also had a box of this type in his possession.[101]

Figs. 6.23-6.24 are variations of the design executed in gold lacquer (type 2e) and red lacquer (type 2g).[102] While the tracing board is usually oriented towards the long side of the box, a box in the Museum



Fig. 6.21: Japanese box with a design after Jachin and Boaz […] *(ed. 1797). Black and gold lacquer on wood, inlayed with pearlshell, 1800-1830, 32 x 16.6 x 7.5 cm. Gift by mrs. Vermeulen-Kool, collection CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 6326. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.*





Fig. 6.22: Box with a design after Jachin and Boaz […] *(ed. 1797). Black and gold lacquer with pearlshell on wood, 1800-1830, 32.2 x 16.7 x 8 cm. Collection Museum für Lackkunst, München. Reproduced from Impey/Jörg 2005, p. 211.*
Fig. 6.23: Japanese box with a design after Jachin and Boaz […] *(ed. 1797). Black and gold lacquer on wood, inlayed with pearlshell, 30.5 x 16.8 x 7.4 cm, 1800-1830. Collection CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no.* 17617. *Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.*

für Lackkunst in Münster shows the design oriented towards the short side (type 2f, fig. 6.22). As the century progressed, lacquer ware in general became more influenced by western styles. The masonic boxes' additional decorations of flowers, birds and butterflies became more prominent. The boxes also became bigger and in more variations of oblong shapes.[103]



Fig. 6.24: Japanese box with a design after Jachin and Boaz […] *(ed. 1797). Red, black and gold lacquer on wood, inlayed with pearlshell, ca. 1830, 32 x 16.5 x 8.2 cm. Lock plate is missing. Collection of the Scottish Rite Masonic Museum & Library, Special Acquisitions Fund, inv.no. 78.20.2. Photograph by David Bohl.*



Fig. 6.25: Japanese box with a design after Jachin and Boaz […] *(ed. 1797), the inside lid decorated with flowers. Black and gold lacquer with pearlshell, 1820-1840, 35 x 23.4 x 8 cm. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 17618. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.*



Fig. 6.26: Japanese box with a design after Jachin and Boaz […] *(ed. 1797). Black and gold lacquer with pearlshell, inside gold lacquer, 1820-1840, 43 x 34 x 7. 5 cm. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 1806. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.*



Fig. 6.27: Japanese box with a design after Jachin and Boaz […] *(ed. 1797), owned by Gerrit Valewink, 1934 in Bandung, the Dutch East Indies. Black and gold lacquer with pearlshell, 1820-1840. Private collection, displayed online by Haags Historisch Museum, The Hague. Reproduced from: mijndenhaag.org. Photographer: Maaike van Grol Fotografie, The Hague.*



Fig. 6.28: Japanese box with a design after Jachin and Boaz […] *(ed. 1797), black and gold lacquer, 1820-1850, 41 x 30.9 x 13.7 cm. Displayed at auction at Christie's, online sale 8/19-12-2014, lot 24. © Christie's Images Limited, 2015.*





Fig. 6.29: Japanese box with a design after Jachin and Boaz […] *(ed. 1797), black and gold lacquer with pearlshell, 1820-1850, size not listed. Collection: Musée de la Maison des Maçons, Paris, inv.no. A2-572. Reproduced from: glnf-musee.fr. (Also reproduced in cat. exhib. Paris 2010, p. 68.)*
Fig. 6.30: Japanese box with a design after Jachin and Boaz […] *(ed. 1797), black and gold lacquer with pearlshell, inside lid with floral design in pearlshell, 1820-1850, 39.3 x 22.8 x 12 cm. Collection of the Scottish Rite Masonic Museum & Library, Special Acquisitions Fund, 78.20.4. Photograph by David Bohl.*

Some variations stand out. Fig. 6.25 in the CMC collection shows a cartouche in gold around the edge of the lid, while the flower sprays in pearlshell have additional, elegantly curling branches in gold (type 2h).[104] Fig. 6.26 shows a large, flat box in the same collection, which has an additional border with an inlaid zigzag pattern on the lid, as well as flowers in each corner (type 2i). Within the medallion the design of the Temple, here consisting of open arches, is less massive than usual. The lock shows a chrysanthemum motif.

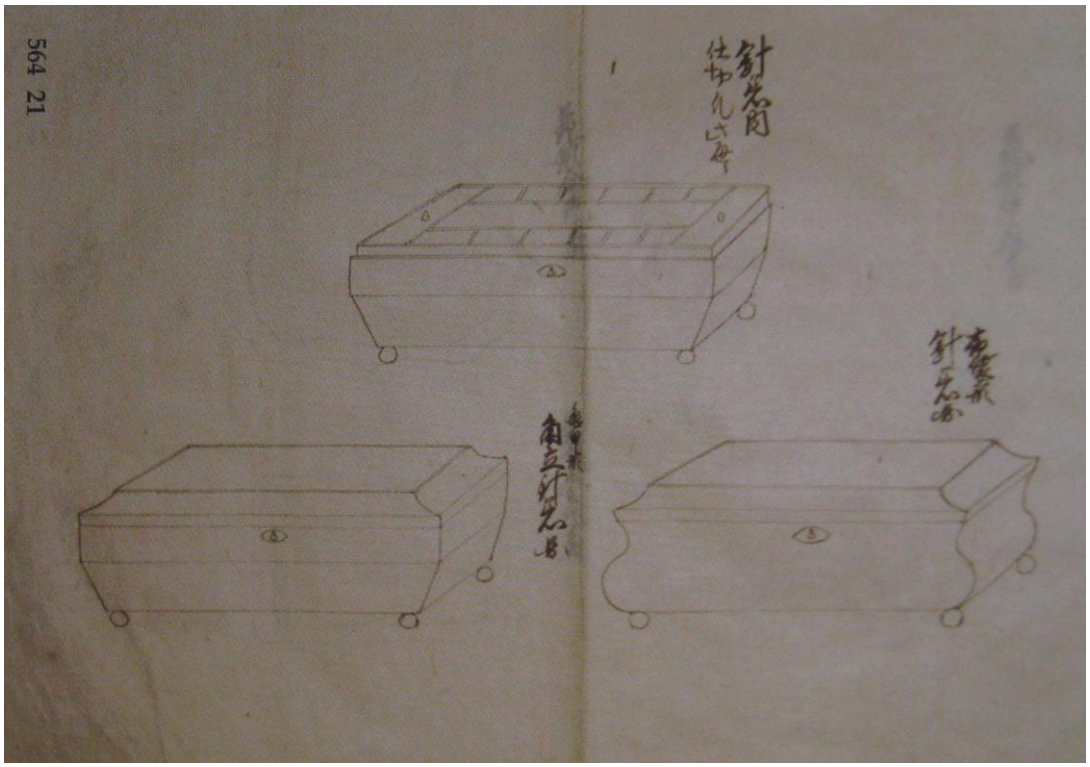


Fig. 6.31: Design from the Aogai makie hiinagata hikae (Memorandum of designs for lacquer with inlaid pearlshell) *of the Assada workshop in Nagasaki, 1856. Collection Nagasaki City Museum, Japan. Reproduced from Impey/Jörg 2005, p. 275.*



Fig. 6.32: Japanese box with a design after Jachin and Boaz […] *(ed. 1797). Black and gold lacquer with pearlshell, inside gold lacquer, 1820-1850, 40.5 x 30.5 x 13.5 cm. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 1809. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.*





Fig. 6.33: Japanese box with a butterfly lock and a design after Jachin and Boaz […] *(ed. 1797). Black and gold lacquer with pearlshell, 1820-1850. Collection: Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London. Reproduced from: McNulty 2006, p. 131.*
Fig. 6.34: Japanese box with a design after Jachin and Boaz […] *(ed. 1797), probably belonging to Daniel Jan Bijleveld (1825-1883). Black and gold lacquer with pearlshell, inside gold lacquer, 1830-1850. Private collection. Photograph kindly supplied by Peter Bijleveld.*



Fig. 6.35: Japanese box with a design after Jachin and Boaz […] *(ed. 1797). Black and gold lacquer with pearlshell, 1820-1850, 34 x 27.5 x 12.5 cm. Private collection, Groningen. Reproduced after Impey/Jörg 2005, p. 211.*

Pott notes that the face of the moon is typical for the depiction of Europeans in Japanese prints of the time.[105]

Fig. 2.27 shows a smaller box, its lid richly decorated in a lattice pattern in gold, in which spaces are left open for the medallion and two slim fields with flower sprays (type 2j). This example belonged to Gerrit Valewink in Bandoeng in the 1930s and is now in a private collection.[106] In the Musée de la Maison Maçons in Paris is a box abundantly decorated with various patterns in gold in a curious combination with other decorative elements: apart from the medallion, fields in different geometric shapes have been filled in with pearshell designs of geishas, flower sprays and flower pots (type 2k, fig. 6.29).



Fig. 6.36: Japanese box with a design of masonic tools. Black and gold lacquer with pearlshell, 1800-1830, 31.5 x 16.5 cm. Reproduced from: Auction cat. 2001, lot 492, p. 126.

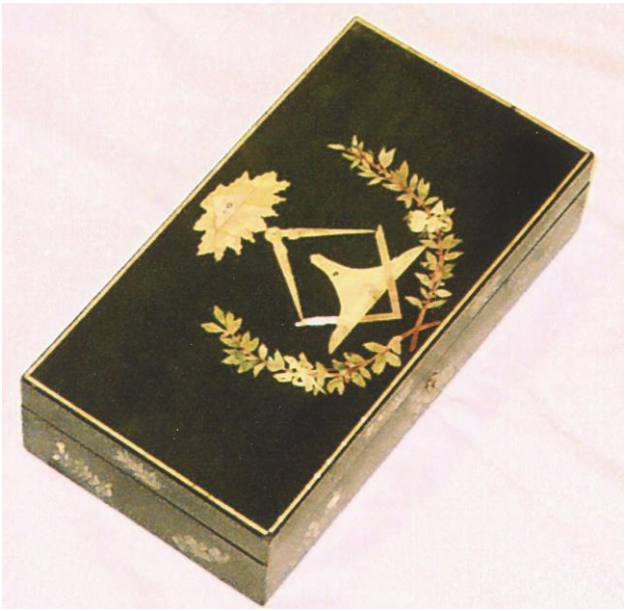


Fig. 6.37: Japanese box with a design of masonic tools. Black and gold lacquer with pearlshell, 1800-1830. Collection: lodge In Vrijheid Een, Bussum.

Transition pieces towards the middle of the 19th century are of larger and taller size, have softly rounded edges and/or a lid with sloping sides, of which figs. 2.28 and 2.30 show variations executed in gold lacquer and pearlshell (types 2l-2m).[107]

By the middle of the century a large shape, not so much a box as a chest, with curved sides and small flat feet became popular. That particular shape is seen on a drawing in the papers of the Asada lacquer workshop in Nagasaki, dating from 1856 (fig. 6.31).[108] The surviving examples of boxes of this shape are large, circa 30 x 40 cm, providing more room for storage and had a decorative scheme filling almost all the available surfaces. As they were mass produced, the inlay work is less often executed in great detail. A number of symbols, most notably the western tools, were unfamiliar to Japanese artists and therefore appear somewhat distorted. It is possible that copies were no longer made after an original print, but after

an earlier box (a finished product), thus allowing mistakes to be more easily recopied. Fig. 6.32 in the CMC collection, decorated with additional flower sprays on the sides and sloping edges of the lid (type 2n), is but one example; others are found all over the world.[109] Fig. 6.33 in the collection of the Grand Lodge of England is decorated with flower sprays and birds on the sides, and various fans on the sloping edges of the lid.[110] A slightly smaller variation executed in gold lacquer is held in a private collection in Groningen (type 2o, fig. 6.35). It has details such as little red flames on the candlesticks.

Again the provenance is known in rare cases only. Fig. 6.34 probably belonged to Daniel Jan Bijleveld (5-11-1825/18-6-1883), who was initiated into lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam on 27-8-1852.[111] He transferred to Java and was given the Fellow-Craft degree in lodge La Constante et Fidèle in Semarang on 14-3-1855. Bijleveld married on 13-8-1855 to Alida Anna Wilhelmina Klein (1836-1910), and left the lodge on 13-1-1858. This was probably because the couple moved to Batavia, where Bijleveld became a member of lodge De Ster in het Oosten between 1858 and 1859. His profession was listed as merchant at the time. Bijleveld is listed again in lodge records in 1879-1880, 1881-1882, and 1882-1883. On 2-8-1881 he became a member of the Masonic Society in Bogor, then travelled to Vienna in 1883, only to settle in Leiden in 1886 at Rapenburg 77. Several later generations of the Bijleveld family also included freemasons.

- *Type 3: Masonic tools*

A third type of decor is found less frequently and only on oblong boxes of the first quarter of the 19th century (fig. 6.36). It is executed in black lacquer and pearlshell on a wooden base. The design on the lid shows a simple combination of crossed acacia sprigs encompassing masonic tools, topped with an all-seeing eye. The eye refers to the Grand Architect of the Universe, while the acacia sprigs (easily mistaken for laurel leafs) refer to Hiram's death and the ritual of the Master's degree. The tools - a pair of compasses resting on a square, crossed with a plumb - not only refer to masonic labor, but also to their place on the bible on the altar and to the main officers within a lodge.

A specific print which may have served as an example has not (yet) been found. This decorative scheme is very similar to that of aprons and officers' jewels of the end of the 18th and first half of the 19th century, and may well have been derived from such a personal object in the possession of a travelling freemason. In the Netherlands, examples of this decor are rare. There is a box in the collection of lodge In Vrijheid Een in Bussum (fig. 6.37) and others have appeared at auction.[112]

- *Type 4:* The True Masonic Chart *(1819)*

In 1819 Jeremy Ladd Cross (1782-1861) published *The True Masonic Chart or Hieroglyphic Monitor.* This was one of the first American manuals for freemasons, which included explanations of various masonic symbols with illustrations by the artist Amos Doolittle (1754-1832).[113] The book appeared in many editions throughout the first half of the 19th century and therefore had a large impact on the iconography of American freemasonry. P.H. Pott already noted that Doolittle's illustrations were copied on lacquer boxes around the middle of the 19th century.[114] These are large, oblong wooden boxes with black lacquer and pearlshell.

The design on the lid consists of an altar with an open bible, flanked by two candlesticks with burning candles. These are the usual components of a lodge interior. Above the altar is the all-seeing eye, below the altar is a five pointed star, of which Pott noted that it has the same segmented build up as the illustration of this symbol in Cross. Near the right candle are a winged hourglass, a pair of compasses and two hands clasped together. The hourglass is of course a reference to fleeting time and therefore mortality, while the hands refer to friendship or brotherhood. Near the left candle are a beehive on a stand, a square and a trowel. The beehive is a reference to masonic labor. Together, this decoration can be seen as a simplified version of a tracing board.

There are again subtle variations between the boxes of this type, which point to production by a different artist's hand or different workshops. Fig. 6.39 has a flat lid that closes with two little hooks on the front (type 4a).[115] The all-seeing eye is executed in pearlshell with a thin eyebrow. Other examples have a lid with sloping edges, decorated with flowers (type 4b). The all-seeing eye on these boxes is executed with a whole eyelid in pearshell (fig. 6.40).[116] A third and last variation has the same style eye, but carries additional masonic symbols on the sloping surface of the lid (type 4c). These are usually a radiant sun, a moon with three tiny stars, several five pointed stars, as well as a square crossed with a pair of compasses

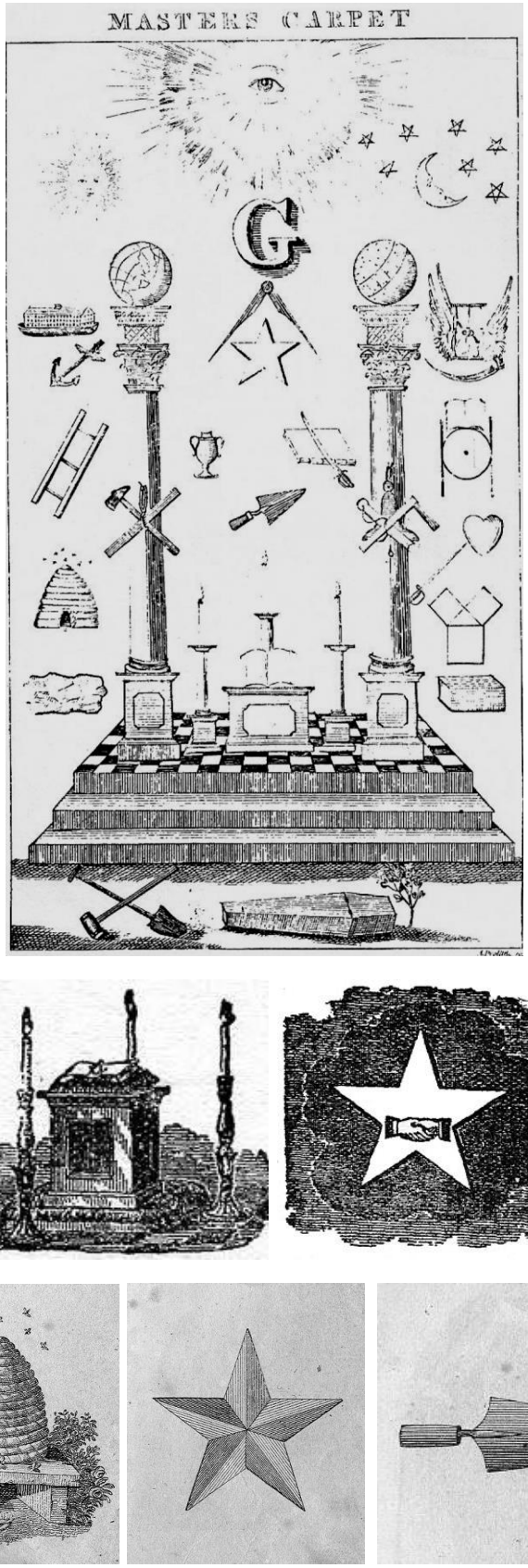


Fig. 6.38: Illustrations by Amos Doolittle for Jeremy L. Cross, The True Masonic Chart or Hieroglyphic Monitor*, reproduced from the 1819 and 1845 editions in the Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London / CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague.*



Fig. 6.39: Japanese box with a decoration of a simplified tracing board. Black lacquer with pearlshell, 1820-1850, 43 x 35 x 9 cm. Private collection, The Hague. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.





Fig. 6.40: Japanese box with a decoration of a simplified tracing board. Black lacquer with pearlshell, 1820-1850, size not listed. Collection: Musée de la Maison des Maçons, Paris, inv.no A2-614. Reproduced from: glnf-musee.fr.
Fig. 6.41: Japanese box with a decoration of a simplified tracing board. Black lacquer with pearlshell, 1820-1850. Auctioned at Du Mouchelles, Detroit. Reproduced from: liveauctioneers.com, lot 091078.

(fig. 6.41). The sides are usually decorated with flower arrangements. The execution of these decorations is somewhat less refined than the earlier types.

While the hourglass was not normally an element in Dutch masonic designs, a depiction of *tempus fugit* would have appealed as a *memento mori* relevant to the Master's degree, and together with the other elements of the decoration would have appealed to freemasons all over the world. It is also possible that

Table 6.A: Production of masonic lacquer ware, 1785-1850

Decoration	Date	Shape	Production
Type 1			
Les Francs-Maçons trahi […] (1745)	1785-1825	small + oblong	high quality, few commissions
Type 2			
Jachin and Boaz […] (ed. 1797)	1800-1830	oblong	
	1830-1850	large + curved	commercial production for wider audience
Type 3			
Masonic tools	1800-1830	oblong	few commissions
Type 4			
The true Masonic Chart […] 1819	1820-1840	oblong	lesser quality
	1830-1850	sloping sides	mass production

these boxes were at least partially aimed at the American market. As the next chapter will illustrate, the Americans traded with China from 1783 onwards, resulting in commissions of masonic export porcelain. The Dutch may have traded masonic lacquer against masonic porcelain through Batavia.

The provenance is rarely known. An example is a box (type 4a) in the collection of the Svenska Frimurare Ordens Museum in Stockholm, having belonged to by G.M. Rosenberg (born 1821). He was initiated into the Swedish Order in 1856.[117]

◆ *The function of masonic lacquer ware*

Summarizing the development of masonic lacquer ware above, the production of these objects can be roughly divided into four decoration types and three production phases (see also Table 6.A):

- 1785-1825:
  - few private commissions of high quality,
  - tracing boards and small size boxes,
  - mainly type 1 and 2 decorations;
- 1800-1830:
  - commercial production for a wider audience,
  - mainly oblong boxes,
  - mainly type 2 and 3 decorations;
- 1830-1850:
  - mass production, lesser quality,
  - large and curved boxes,
  - mainly type 2 and 4 decorations.

What do we know about the function and use of the lacquer boxes? It is generally agreed that the small varieties were used to store either tobacco, snuff, cigarettes or cigars[118], and could be carried on a person along with other smoking ware. Pott suggested that the small boxes had just the right size to collect sheets of paper typical for a *liber amicorum* around 1830.[119] The larger ones are thought to have been be used to store regalia (apron, gloves and jewels) and/or documents (masonic certificates, lodge minutes, ritual manuals).

As stated above, lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia indeed used a 'small lacquered chest' to store the officers' ornaments, for which the small masonic boxes of type 1 and 2 were indeed a suitable size.[120] The aforementioned Hendrikus Veuger kept his apron, discussed in chapter 7, in a lacquer box.[121] After the death of Rijk Peter Vermeulen[122], a member of La Vertueuse, the 'Sequester' wrote on 7-1-1833 to the Master of the Lodge, J.M. van Beusichem (died 1847), in order to return the lodge archives that Vermeulen had been keeping:

> The accompanying Japanese lacquered chest, of which the key is enclosed, contains (as it seems to me) the deceased's own certificates and masonic ornaments, which I hereby submit to your Honor, as not eligible for sale.[123]

The 'not eligible for sale' probably refers to the customs within the (Dutch) Order at the time. All masonic regalia, ritual manuals etc. from a deceased member were to be returned to his lodge (or the Grand Lodge) in order to prevent them from falling into profane hands. Those dealing with an estate were sometimes unfamiliar with this custom or chose to ignore it, so quite a few objects reached profane collections anyway. In this particular case, Van Beusichem replied that the chest was not lodge property (indicating a private purchase) and would therefore be returned to the estate.[124] Such examples illustrate that the lacquer boxes were used both within the lodge and in private.

Archives abroad include similar mentions of use. The inventory of the personal belongings of one of the most famous freemasons, George Washington, listed '1 Japanese box containing a masons apron' in 1799.[125] A type 4 box in the collection of the National Heritage Museum was registered as a 'Masonic Bible Box', probably on the basis of information provided by the former owner, while the large boxes dating from the 1850s are referred to as 'apron caskets' in other collections.

(Even in the faked minutes of lodge Freedericks Vreedendall, actually written in 1816 as part of a famous hoax in support of ritual reforms in the Netherlands, 'A square Japanese chest with seven silver ornaments within' is mentioned.[126])

The function of a box or chest in a lodge building or a private home is self-evident. But would the need to keep masonic items secret in a private home, locked away from prying eyes of non-initiates, not be undone by the decoration of these boxes? A mysterious design on such a precious object would draw rather than avert attention from visitors. And that is precisely the point: masonic lacquer ware was neither purely functional, nor purely decorative.

The decoration of these boxes, which to a freemason's eye contained several layers of symbolism, reminded their owners daily of masonic labor and ideals, their duty in the profane world. Displaying such a box in one's home, or carrying a smaller one about one's person, was also a means of communication. It provided a subtle way of revealing oneself as a freemason to others. Once recognized by a visitor who was also an initiate, these objects could be admired and discussed together. But even those visitors who did not speak the language would immediately recognize the symbols, and would therefore be more inclined to trust the host, to treat him like a Brother, than they would any other stranger.

The existence of the lacquer boxes raises several questions. As the laws of the Order clearly prohibited disclosure of secrets - including tracing boards - to non-initiates, it had become common practice in Europe to commission artists who were already lodge members (also an easy way of ensuring a discount if not a freebie). In other cases, the costs of an initiation were covered as a way of (re)paying an artist and assuring he would not divulge information to the uninitiated. But the situation overseas was more complicated. The Japanese government opposed western influence and the contact between the Dutch and the Japanese men in Dejima was closely watched. The Dutch were forbidden to import weapons, books or religious prints - but as long as the Christian cross did not feature in a masonic print, that would not pose a problem. The Dutchmen befriended the so-called *rangakusa*, or students of Dutch customs and sciences, who were very interested in novelties from Europe, including western prints. So one has to wonder if close Japanese relations were ever shown or explained masonic images. There is no proof, nor any evidence to the contrary, but there are clear signs that Dutch freemasons far away from the Grand Lodge and the Provincial Grand Lodge would sometimes bend the rules for practical reasons.

◆ *The CMC lacquer collection*

Masonic lacquer ware was already on display in the museum room of the former Freemasons' Hall at the Fluwelen Burgwal in The Hague in the middle of the 19th century - the time in which the lacquer ware was still being produced. But it is unclear which items now in the CMC belong to that original collection, as objects were looted during World War II, and even returned items had lost their provenance documentation. A closer inspection of the 'forgotten' collection catalogues from the 19th century by Deputy

National Librarian Noordziek (see the Foreword) provide an insight into the contents of the original collection. The descriptions are very short, but they do hint at the former owners of these objects. The earliest mention is found in an exhibition catalogue from 1859:

> 216. Lacquered box, suitable for the storing of masonic objects, having belonged to the V[enerable] Br[other] Riesz.[127]

The caption probably refers to Carel Jan Riesz (1791-1856), grandfather of the famous Dutch author Louis Couperus.[128] Riesz made a career in the Dutch and the Dutch East Indian armies, and was appointed *Resident* of Surabaya in 1834. The date of his initiation is unclear, but he is listed as freemason in the Dutch East Indies from circa 1835. Riesz was pensioned in 1839 and in January of that year was made honorary member of lodge De Vriendschap, before he returned to the Netherlands.[129] In 1841 he joined lodge L'Union Royale in The Hague.

The exhibition catalogue of 1860 lists not one, but three boxes:

> 225. Lacquered box, suitable for the storing of masonic objects, having belonged to the V[enerable] Br[other] Riesz.
> 226. Fine large lacquered Japanese Box, used for safekeeping of masonic decorations and ornaments, decorated on top with an image of the Tracing Board lined in gold.
> 227. Japanese lacquered tabacco box, decorated on the top with an image of the Tracing Board.[130]

The first collection catalogue, dating from 1910, also mentions these 'three black lacquered boxes with masonic decorations' as well as an interesting new item: '9. A tea tray made of [= inlaid with] Pearlshell, depicting a mas[onic] tracing board'.[131]

A vague picture of the museum room from 1911 provides a first glimpse of lacquer boxes that fit the description above (fig 5.42). From left to right these are a very large box with a type 2 decoration after *Jachin and Boaz* (1797) flanked by flower sprays, and a smaller oblong box with a more restraint type 2 design. The last one, on the right, is a large box with a different type of tracing board. A detailed look at this photograph reveals that this is the aforementioned lacquer box of La Fidèle Sincérité (fig. 6.4), now in a British collection.[132]

The 1912 edition of the collection catalogue provided no new information[133], but the 1913 edition elaborated a little more:

> Three Indian black lacquered boxes, with masonic decorations; belonging to Br[ethren] J.H. de G. (2 items) and one of br[other] J.S. On one (that of br[other] de G.) is a picture of the old city inn in Batavia on the inside of the lid. […] Three Japanese lacquered boxes with mas[onic] decorations by the Br[ethren] R. en W. en der K.'.[134]

So now the total of boxes in the original collection amounts to six. The initial 'R' probably refers to Riesz again. Pott also attributed the initials 'J.H. de G.' to Jan Hendrik de Groot (1834-1907), a book seller, initiated in lodge La Constante et Fidèle in Semarang in 1854 and lodge l'Union Royale in The Hague in 1868.[135] The *Stadsherberg* or City Inn, depicted on the inside of one of the boxes from his collection, was opened in 1849 at the harbor canal in Batavia at the so called *Kleine Boom* (Little Tree) opposite *De Uitkijk* (Watching Point) (see chapter 5, fig. 5.5).

Pott further attributed the initials 'J.S.' to the aforementioned Jan Schouten, who gifted a lacquer box, perhaps the one displayed at the time, to the Grand Master. The initial 'W' remains to be identified, as there are too many potential candidates, but the initials 'Der K.' no doubt refer to the family 'Der Kinderen', of which several members are recorded in the lodges in the Dutch East Indies during the 19th century. One of them was mr. Timon Hendricus der Kinderen (1823-1898), a member of the Council of the Dutch East Indies and Provincial Deputy Grand Master during the years 1867-1887.

Another pre-war photograph of the museum shows four lacquer boxes. From left to right, the first and largest box is identical to that on the 1911 photograph. The two following boxes - one large and curved, the contours of the other one less visible - also have the same type 2 decoration.[136] A smaller

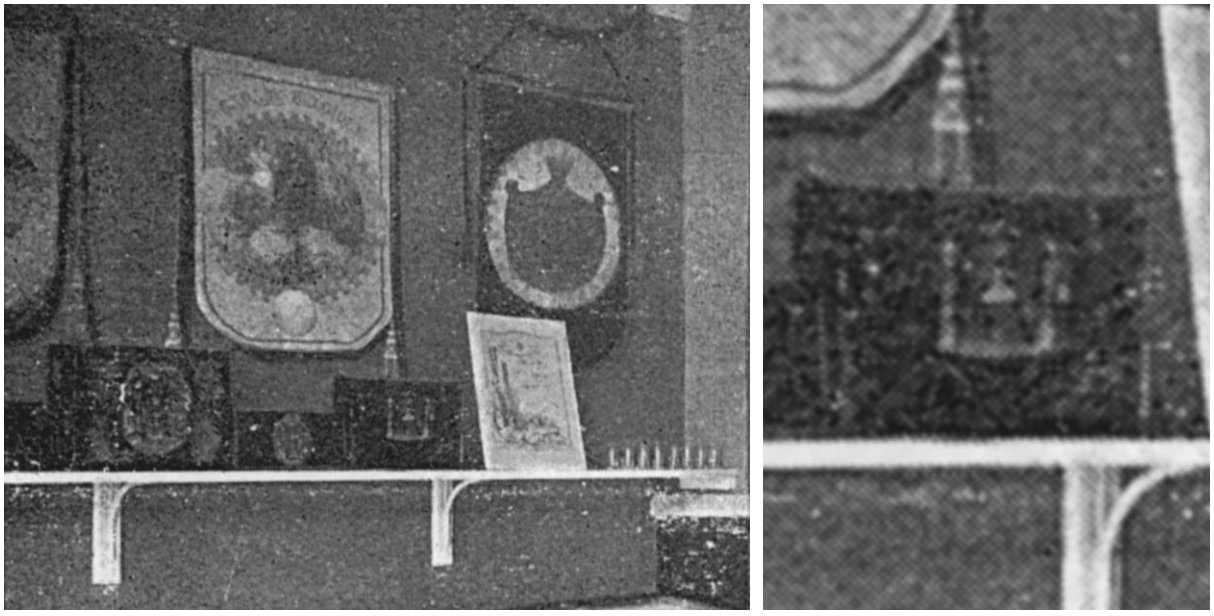


Fig. 6.42 (details of chapter 1, fig. 5a): Japanese lacquer boxes exhibited in the Freemasons' Hall at Fluwelen Burgwall 22, The Hague, circa 1911. To the right the lacquer box of the lodge La Fidèle Sincérité (compare fig. 6.4). Reproduced from: 'Het gebouw' 1911, p. 20.



Fig. 6.43: Carel Jan Riesz. Reproduced from: P.H.K. van Schendel, De Militaire Willemsorde, 1893.

tobacco box on the right is decorated after *Le secret des francs-maçons trahi […]* (1745, type 1), very similar to the examples still in the collection of the CMC (fig. 6.13). We may assume this object survived the war. As the box of La Fidèle Sincérité has also been located, this leaves four out of the original six boxes missing from the collection. Their fate is unclear.

It is possible they were on loan by a lodge or a member, and returned to their owner sometime after the photographs were taken. But the texts of the catalogues suggest that they were a permanent part of the Order's museum collection and became spoils of war.[137] Were they destroyed, sold or hidden just in time by a sympathizer? If they survived the war somehow, they could by now have ended up in another (lodge) or private collection in some other part of the world, with the current owner completely

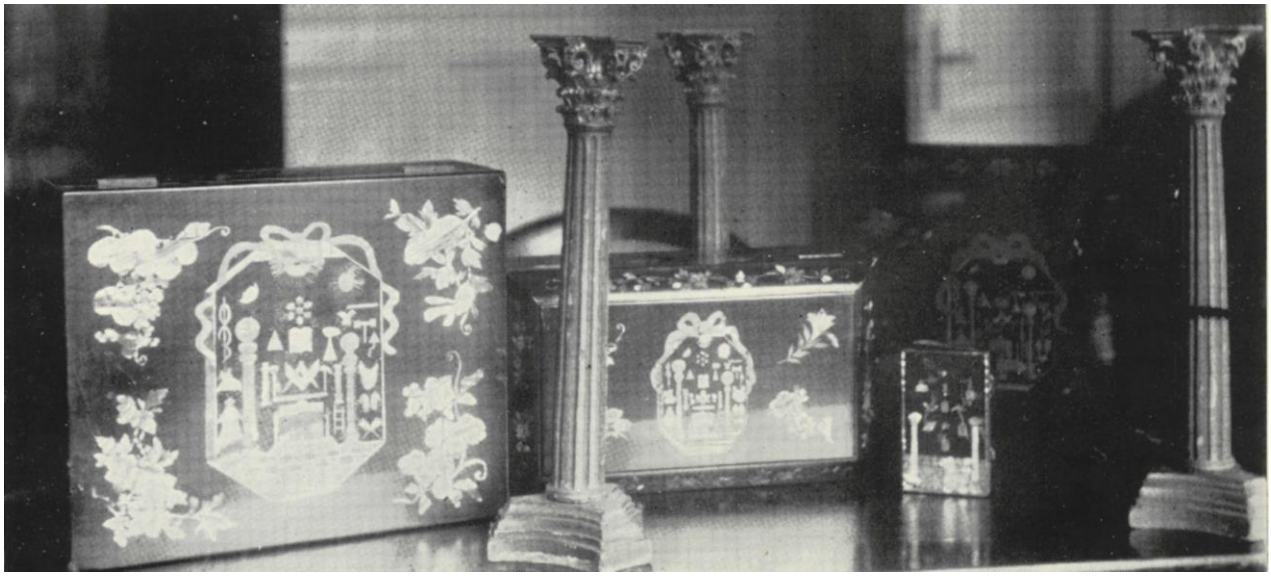


Fig. 6.44: Japanese lacquer boxes exhibited in the Freemasons' Hall at Fluwelen Burgwall 22 in The Hague, before 1940. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague (photo collection).



Fig. 6.45: Leonard de Koningh (1810-1887), portrait of Jan Schouten (1786-1852) in his masonic regalia, lithoraphy, 1852. Collection: Regionaal Archief Dordrecht, inv.no. 551_15712. Reproduced from: beeldbank.regionaalarchiefdordrecht.nl.

unaware of their history. This seems to be the case with the box of lodge La Fidèle Sincérité, now in a British collection. Perhaps the publication of these images will allow another of the missing boxes to surface so we can document its travels. As Dutch freemasonry lost such a large part of its cultural heritage in World War II, and with it an important part of its identity, masonic organizations deserve to have their looted art and ritual objects traced, if not restored.



Fig. 7.1: Anonymous, the international Factories in the harbour of Canton, painting, ca. 1825, 34.5 x 30.5 cm. Collection: Het Scheepvaartmuseum, Amsterdam. Reproduced from: maritiemdigitaal.nl.



Fig. 7.2: Detail of a 'Hong' punch bowl depicting the British and Dutch Factories in Canton (each recognizable by their flags), ca. 1780. Polychrome enamels, diam. 36.5 cm. Displayed at Polly Latham Asian Art, Boston. Reproduced from: pollylatham.com.

7. CHINA
DUTCH FREEMASONS AND THE INTERNATIONAL PORCELAIN TRADE

7.1. Freemasonry in China (1757-1813)

While the trade with Japan was an almost exclusively Dutch affair until the middle of the 19th century, the trade with China was a matter of fierce international competition. The early porcelain trade via Malacca and Macao had been in the hands of the Portuguese. They had dominated the market since the middle of the 16th century, only to be surpassed by the VOC during the 17th century.[1] Their British competitors first reached Macao in 1635, but concentrated their trade on India until Canton (now Gouangzhou) was opened up to foreign trade in 1699. The British Honourable East India Company (EIC) founded a trade office in Canton in 1715 and would remain one of the strongest competitors in the market until well into the 19th century.

Almost every European country had a similar enterprise trying to make a profit. The French Compagnie de la Chine joined the trade in 1698. The *Oostendse Compagnie* was active briefly in 1718-1757, while the *Svenska Ostindiska Companiet* made the most of its trade route to Canton via Cadiz (Spain) between 1731 and 1813. The *Danske Asiatisk Kompagni* also established a trade office in Canton in 1730, while the *Könlich-Preussisches Asssiatische Compagnie* in Emden was active between 1752 and 1757. Although last to establish a direct trade route with Canton in 1784, the USA soon started to dominate the market. While Europeans traded through company ships, the Americans used privateers.

At first the Dutch did not have direct access to China itself. They were dependent on supplies arriving in Formosa (now: Taiwan) until 1662, after which trade centred on Batavia.[2] In 1729 a procedure was arranged to trade directly with Canton, while Batavia remained an important stopover for ships *en route*. Dutch ships would leave Europe in the winter in order to arrive in China in August or September. Part of the deal was that VOC ships would stop at Macao, where a Chinese comprador (*loods*) would come on board and lead them up the Pearl River to Whampoa, where taxes (*cumshaw*) had to be paid. From there the supercargoes had to travel in smaller boats to Canton to buy the desired cargo. Deals had to be made quickly, as the return trip to Europe had to be made in January at the latest, before the monsoon season. Any Dutch employees left behind would not be allowed to stay in Canton off-season, but had to retreat to Macao, where the Portuguese were trading.[3]

The Dutch commercial office or Factory stood alongside those of other European nationalities on the small strip between the city of Canton and the Pearl River (figs. 7.1-7.2). Between 1735 and 1756 the dealing with Canton was overseen by the government in Batavia, but when this proved unsatisfactory to the VOC a Chinese Commission *(Chinasche Commissie*) was formed in Amsterdam. The *Opperhoofd*, supercargoes and captains together formed a Council, dealing with commercial and shipping affairs in sub-councils. The trade mainly consisted of tea, with an underlying layer of porcelain in the cargo hold, in order to weigh the ships down. Buying porcelain for export was a complex matter for the supercargoes. They carried a list of ordered porcelain (*eisch van retour*) drafted by the Chambers and later by the Chinese Commission, which summed up the type of porcelain requested, as well as the desired decorations and numbers of each type.[4] The majority of goods had to be ordered from officially instated Chinese merchants, the *Co-Hong*, although some business was also conducted with 'unprivileged' merchants.

Porcelain was mainly produced at the factories in Jingdezhen in Jiangxi province, which since the early Ming dynasty had supplied most of the export ware. Orders were initially made for traditional Chinese porcelain, but in the late 17th century orders were also made for the so called *Chine de commande*, made to order for the European market and executed to suit western tastes. European shapes were copied and decorated with family arms, company logos and other personalized decorations. By the second half of the 18th century porcelain with decorations copied after western prints was produced in large quantities. Chinese merchants acted as go-betweens to supply the requested pieces, which were painted either in Jingdezhen or by workshops in Canton itself. In their standard work *China for the West* (1978) David Howard and John Ayers discussed various pieces with masonic decorations within the category of armorial porcelain. Although the existence of masonic porcelain was not ignored (most authors on the subject included one or two examples in their publications), these items were mostly treated as curiosities. For

decades *China for the West* remained the only comprehensive overview of masonic export ware. More recently, in his *Chinese Armorial Porcelain for the Dutch Market*, Jochem Kroes identified at least ten private commissioners among the members of lodges in the Dutch East Indies: Otto Willem Flack, Arend Jacob de Wilde, Harmannus Laurents Discher, Willem Jacob Andriesse(n), Pieter Ras, Hendrik van Stockum, Gerlach C.J. van Massow, Nicolaus Engelhard, Albertus W.A.F. van Idsinga and Willem Jacob Cranssen (see chapter 5).[5] Despite such indications that lodge networks may have been relevant to the porcelain trade, the subject remained uninvestigated.

Just like the freemasons in Japan seized the opportunity to order masonic lacquer ware, those in China wasted no time in ordering porcelain decorated after masonic prints for their home markets. This trend was started by the British, who founded lodges in Asia from the 1730s, long before the Dutch Grand Lodge gained the power to do so (see chapter 3). The first masonic decorations appeared on export porcelain around the middle of the 18th century, mainly on tea services and punch bowls, later followed by mugs (tankards) and jugs (pitchers) produced in bulk. Examples of objects other than tableware, such as decorative statuettes, have not (yet) been discovered. Masonic export porcelain tells a much more complex story than masonic lacquer, as there were more countries involved in the trade in these goods and there was a larger variety of objects and decorations being produced. Similarly to masonic lacquer the porcelain orders were part of the many private commissions. Pieces were transported in the chests allowed as cargo for company employees for such purposes, which meant they were not documented in the company papers.[6] Consequently very little information on the ordering process, prices and the people involved is known. However, pieces with masonic decorations can contribute to a more precise dating of export porcelain.

♦ *The first Dutch freemasons in China*

As far as we know, no Dutch lodge was founded in China before the 20th century[7], but absence of proof is not necessarily proof of absence. The communication with the Grand Lodge back home or the Provincial Grand Master in Batavia was difficult, and the case of lodge Decima (see chapter 7) already illustrated how a group of freemasons might act under such circumstances and how relevant documents could be lost with an unfortunate ship. In any case, many freemasons travelling from the Netherlands reached China. No doubt this was already the case shortly after the founding of the first Dutch lodge in the first half of the 18th century when lodges appeared in cities with VOC Chambers, but lodge membership records from this era are fragmentary at best. One of the first recorded names was that of a member of lodge La Charité in Amsterdam, Jan Hendrik Knibbe (born 1738), who travelled as third carga aboard the ship Sloten to Canton in 1757.[8]

How many followed his example? Jörg published a list of directors, supercargoes and assistants who sailed to Canton in service of the VOC between 1729-1794.[9] Comparison of this list to the membership records of the Grand Lodge archive (available from 1756 onwards) shows a significant overlap. During the years 1757-1794 a total 67 of the high ranking VOC employees (directors, supercargoes, assistants) sailed to Canton and 16 (24%) of them can be identified as members of a masonic lodge in the Netherlands (see Table 7.1. There is a peak in the data in 1760-1772, when the respective numbers are 10 (33%) of 33 officers. Considering these numbers represent the highest ranking officers only, that the surviving membership records of the Grand Lodge are incomplete, and that freemasons on VOC ships were sometimes initiated in other countries, it is clear that the actual percentages must have been higher. The VOC monster rolls are already accessible online and - at the time of printing of this book - the lodge records are being digitalized, so future comparison with the membership and visitor records of lodges in cities with VOC Chambers could provide some interesting insights.

Was the presence of freemasons in the highest positions within the VOC significant for the export trade from Canton? As discussed in chapter 3, freemasons arriving in a trade post could visit lodges of other nationalities, if none of their own was available, a practice facilitating both social and commercial contacts. Masonic literature lists lodges of at least two nationalities in 18th century China that would have admitted Dutch visitors[10]:

- The Swedish Prins Carl's lodge, active in Canton 1759-circa 1767,
- an unnamed British lodge, established in Amoy (Xiamen) in 1760,[11]

- the British lodge Amity no. 407, active in Canton circa 1767-circa 1804,[12]
- the Swedish lodge Elisabeth, active in Canton 1787-1812.

Unfortunately, very little information is available on the two British lodges. However, the Dutch participation in international masonic networks can be illustrated by a case study of the Swedish lodges in Canton. A prosopograhic exploration of the membership of these lodges demonstrates the character, frequency and scope of international masonic contacts, as well as their relevance to the export trade and the position of the Dutch among them.[13]. The existence of the Swedish lodges in Canton has been known for some time, but below is a first attempt to identify the international mix of men involved, their masonic affiliations and their position in the trade companies in relation to the porcelain trade.[14] As will become clear later in this chapter, this 'excursion' into Swedish freemasonry is by no means unnecessary and will prove useful to the identification of surviving pieces of masonic export porcelain.

♦ *Dutch participation in the Swedish lodges in Canton*

▪ *Previous masonic relations between the Netherlands and Sweden*

From the beginning of Dutch lodge records, there is evidence that Dutch and Swedish lodge members sustained friendly contacts by regular visits and correspondence. For instance, a 'John Pike' was initiated in a 'grand' or 'great' lodge (*stora logen*) in Amsterdam in circa 1746-1748.[15] Presumably this was Joh[a]n Pike Jr (circa 1720-circa 1768), a Swedish merchant of British origins, who would become a supercargo for the SOIC, like his father John Pike Sr (died 1744) before him.[16] From the (re)opening of the Grand Lodge of the Netherlands in 1756 onwards, friendly ties were formally acknowledged between the Dutch and Swedish lodges. In 1757 for instance, the minutes of Lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam recorded:

> […] the Master of the Lodge [told] of how this Lodge had started correspondence with the Very Respectable Grand Lodge L'Auxiliaire de St. Jean in Stockholm, and which signs of true friendship and brotherhood this Grand Lodge has bestowed on our Lodge, by honouring the Lodge with A Gold Medal, requesting to hang it on the chest of the Worshipful Master, as a sign of A Friendly and Brotherly Union between these both Lodges.[17]

Lodge member Archibald Mesterton, mentioned earlier for his role in India and Java (see chapters 4-5) was instrumental in the arrangement of this gift.[18] Not surprisingly, the 18th century visitor lists of La Bien Aimée regularly included Swedish men.[19] These included a future professor of mathematics and astronomy, Bengt Ferrner (1724-1802) from Uppsala, and the son of an SOIC director, Jean Lefebure (1736-1804), a member of Salomoniska Logen in Göteborg. Ferrner's memoires describe how in 1759 he was taken in by the Grill family in Amsterdam, some of whom we shall meet later in relation to the porcelain trade.

A random check of the membership records of a lodge in a city with a VOC Chamber, De Eendragt in Rotterdam, reveals that a number of merchants, *cargadoors* and captains of Dutch, British, American and Scandinavian backgrounds were affiliated to the lodge between 1769 and 1816. One of them was Charles Klockefeldt, a lieutenant from Stockholm in service of the SOIC, who joined in 1786.[20] There he must have met Jean Martineau (died 1810), a 'porcelain merchant' and member since 1784[21], as well as Johannes Floris Eilbracht, a 'lieutenant at sea' and probably a relation of Jacob Eilbracht, Provincial Grand Master of the Dutch lodges in India and Ceylon (see chapter 4).[22] By 1812 formal ties were affirmed between De Eendragt and Salomoniska Logen.[23] Several Swedish visitors and members to Dutch lodges in Asia are listed in Appendix II.

The participation of Dutchmen in the Swedish lodges in Canton was simply a continuation of the existing tradition of formal relations between lodges of both countries. Although the aforementioned men may not have been directly involved in the shipment of masonic porcelain to the Netherlands, this system based on recognition of friendly ties provided ample opportunity for the (private) export trade in such goods.



Fig. 7.3: Portrait of Anders Gadd (1721-1767), Chinese behind glass painting.
Collection: Göteborg Historiska Museet, inv.no. GM 10.142. Reproduced from: Berg 2000, p. 147.

▪ *Daughter lodge of Salomoniska Logen*

Freemasonry was established in Sweden around the same time as the SOIC. The import/export broker Henrik König (1686-1736) set up a trading scheme with Niclas Sahlgren (1701-1777), a Swedish trader who had previously lived in Amsterdam and had travelled in service of the VOC. The Scottish merchant Colin Campbell (1686-1757), who had experience with the Oostendse Compagnie, joined their initiative. He acted as supercargo on the first SOIC ship to head East in 1732, the Fredericus Rex Sueciae. Aboard was also the aforementioned Pike Sr.[24] Although the founders did not yet participate in lodges, many of their relatives and employees became members of the Order from circa 1735 onwards.[25]

In 1753, count Carl Fredrik Scheffer (1715-1786), who had a keen interest in Sinology, was elected Grand Master of the Swedish Order of Freemasons. Shortly after he came to power the foundation of Salomoniska Logen in Göteborg on 27-6-1755 gave an important push to the expansion of freemasonry to China. (The lodge was later renamed Salomoniska Logen af Trenne Lås and Salomon à Trois Serrures, meaning 'Salomo's lodge of Three Locks', but for convenience of the reader the original name is used here). This lodge was closely linked to the SOIC. Among its founding members was supercargo Friedrich Habicht, who had been initiated in the Prince Clermont Lodge in Paris in 1749 and had now returned on the ship Götha Leijon from his first trip to Canton to Sweden on 1-7-1754. Lodge member Charles Chapman (1752-1809), brother of a shipyard owner, sailed to Canton on 1-3-1757 as captain of the ship Enigheten. Supercargo Pike jr was also among the first members. By 1759 the lodge had attracted no less than 102 members, 25 of whom were in service of the SOIC.[26] In the period 1755-1795 some 60 members can be identified as SOIC employees, while the 14 captains of (other) ships and 153 merchants can also be considered relevant to the SOIC activities.[27] Genealogical research has shown that the owners of the big Swedish merchant houses and the high ranking crewmembers of the SOIC ships were all interrelated by marriage.[28]

Before two SOIC ships left for Canton, some freemasons amongst the crew members applied to Salomoniska Logen on 8-1-1759 for a Constitution for a new, ambulatory lodge.[29] From the ship Stockholms Slott the applicants were the captain, Carl Gustav Lehman (1714-1777), and the aforementioned

supercargo Habicht. Aboard the Prins Friedrich Adolf, the petitioners were captain Carl Gustaf Ekeberg (1716-1784), captain, supercargoes Andreas [Anders] Gadd (1721-1767, fig. 7.3) and Jacob Hahr (1727-1785), lieutenant Herman Celsing and navigator Livinius Olbers. These men had only very recently become members of Salomoniska Logen[30], which could imply that the lodge or the two captains had been 'recruiting' amongst SOIC crew about to embark, in order to ensure the required minimum of seven founding members for the new lodge in Canton would be met. The ships left Sweden in January 1759 and stopped at Cadiz in April of the same year.[31] The first lodge meeting took place in Cadiz aboard a third Swedish ship, the Prins Carl, as meeting ashore was apparently difficult. The name 'Prins Carl's Lodge' was used, but thereafter the lodge was referred to as 'the eldest daughter [of Salomoniska Logen] voyaging to Canton with the Swedish East India Ships'.[32] (For the convenience of the reader, the name Prins Carl's Lodge is used here)

The crew of the Prins Carl included several members of Salomoniska Logen, who must have been glad to see their lodge brethren from Göteborg[33]: captain Baltzar Grubb (1725-1766), supercargo Michael Grubb (1728-1808) and assistant Gustaf Tham (1724-1781). Four men on the Swedish warships staying in Cadiz also applied for initiation and were balloted.[34] Although the outcome was positive for these men - Magnus Kock, naval priest; Pehr Morén, lieutenant of the ship Svarta Örn; Karl Gustav Adolf Kjellman, secretary; and L. Fahlstedt, captain of the ship Postiljonen -, due to being 'placed amongst Catholics and hindered by other duties and lack of time' the intended initiations did not take place. Instead Kock, Morén and Kjellman became members of Salomoniska Logen after their return home.[35] Franz Walter, the supercargo of 'Stockholms Slott', was initiated during a later stage of the ship's journey.[36]

In his publications on freemasonry in Asia, author Christopher Haffner estimated that the first lodge meeting in China took place in 1759, before the closing of the trade season in 1760.[37] The first stop must have been Macao, followed by Whampoa near Canton, where the ship had to wait for its cargo for four months. The crew would have been able to row to Canton in order to visit the Factories of the East India Companies, including the Swedish office.[38] But the lodge meetings still continued on board of the ships, perhaps because it was difficult to keep such meetings secret within the buildings of the SOIC, or just because no suitable room offering enough privacy was available.[39] At first the Swedish offices were situated in a modest rented space, but from 1748 onwards the SOIC owned its own building, which housed shops, offices and accommodations for employees. The first head of this new Swedish Factory was lodge member Michael Grubb, who would become the head of the Swedish Board of Commerce and director of the SOIC (1766-1769).[40]

Some of the lodge members were involved in the porcelain trade and commissioned private pieces, but so far no individual objects have been linked to the Prins Carl's Lodge. However, in various Grand Lodge collections in France there are parts of a Chinese porcelain tea service with a masonic decor (figs. 7.4, 7.6 and 7.8).[41] All parts of this service are painted in grisaille and gold with a 'miniature tracing board' type decoration, surrounded by flower sprays. The central design is made up of a cartouche with a five pointed star carrying a monogram (either 'JJB' or 'JBJ'), a skull and bones and various masonic tools (pair of compasses, set square, level and trowel). The star is surrounded by what at first glance may look like three trowels, but on closer inspection are clearly three triangular locks, which can only be a reference to Salomoniska Logen af Trenne Lås ('Solomon's lodge of the three locks') in Göteborg.

This becomes clearer, when comparing the porcelain design to the lodge seal (figs. 7.5 and 7.7). The locks only appear to be locked as the hatches are lowered, referring to the lodge device *Sapienti Aperta*, which in this context can be interpreted as 'Opened to the Wise', implying that the locks are open to lodge members only. The number of three locks refers to the Trinity. The name of the lodge can therefore be interpreted as alluding to the notion that the mysteries of the Trinity are open to the initiates of the lodge.[42] A punch bowl in the collection of Grande Loge de France shows a subtle variation of this décor, where the five pointed star carries the letter 'G' instead of a monogram (fig. 7.9).[43] The provenance records date these around 1760, which would correspond with them being ordered during the first years of activity of the Prins Carls lodge in Canton as a fitting tribute to its mother lodge in Göteborg - quite literally a SOIC lodge.[44]





Fig. 7.4a-b: Tea cup and saucer with the 'three locks' type decor, ca. 1760-1770, size not listed. Collection: Musée de la Maison des Maçons, Paris, inv.no. F2-950 and F2-950-01. Reproduced from: glnf-musee.fr.
Fig. 7.5: Seal of Salomoniska Logen in Göteborg. Reproduced from: Kinnander 1943, p. 157.




Fig. 7.6: Detail of the 'three locks' type decor. Postcard, published by the CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague (author's collection).
Fig. 7.7: Seal of Salomoniska Logen in Göteborg. Reproduced from: Berg 2000, p. 66.




Fig. 7.8: Tea service, consisting of tea pot, sugar bowl, milk and cream jugs, and 6 cups with saucers, with the three locks type decor, ca. 1760. Collection: Musée-Archives-Bibliothèque de la Grande Loge de France, Paris, inv.no. Apo.002.22.1-23. Reproduced from: Cat. exhib. Tours 1997, p. 239, no. 15/14.
Fig.7.9: Punch bowl with the 'three locks' type decor, ca. 1760, height 12,5 cm, diam. 29 cm. Collection: Musée-Archives-Bibliothèque de la Grande Loge de France, Paris, inv.no. Apo.015.3000. Reproduced from: 'Freemasonry Museum' 2000, p. 59, no. 50.

▪ *Potential lodge members (1760-1767)*

When comparing the personnel of SOIC ships with the membership list of the Swedish Grand Lodge, it becomes clear that freemasons kept travelling to Canton in the following years (see Table 7.1).[45] Apart from the many crewmembers already mentioned above, at least two other freemasons were also present in Canton in the 1759-1760 season: Herman Hindric [af] Dittmer (1731-1811), supercargo of the Prinsessan Sophia Albertina and member of Salomoniska Logen, and Charles [Carl] Bratt, supercargo of Stockholms Slott and member of lodge Adolf Fredric in Stockholm.[46]

In the following season at least seven Swedish freemasons (the minimum necessary to maintain a proper lodge) can be counted, all previously members of Salomoniska Logen. The aforementioned Baltzar Grubb, Tham and Chapman returned, along with some 'newcomers' aboard the Riksens Ständer: supercargoes David [af] Sand[e]berg (1726-1788) and Hindric Wilhelm Hahr (1724-1799, brother of the aforementioned Jacob Hahr). They were joined by their brethren aboard the ship Prince Frederic Adolph: supercargoes Friedrich Wilhelm König (died 1763) and Jean Abraham Grill (1736-1792, brother-in-law to Tham).[47] We'll come back to Grill later.

The season 1762-1763 saw Gadd, Ekeberg and Dittmer returned, with the season's newcomers aboard the ship Stockholms Slott being supercargoes Johan Fredrik Petterson (1725-1768), a member of Salomoniska Logen; Dougald (Dugal) Campbell, a member of lodge St. Jean Auxiliaire in Stockholm from 1759 onwards; and Claude Laurent, a member of a non-Swedish lodge.[48] Grill had stayed behind in Canton to join Stockholms Slott for the home journey, making the total - again - at least seven.

The pattern was repeated once more the following season, when Tham and Jacob Hahr returned. Aboard the ship Riksens Ständer was König, as well as supercargo Ulric Martin Valtinson (1731-1783), a member of lodge St. Edvard in Stockholm. Aboard the ship Finland was captain Simon [Gustaf] Ruuth, a member of lodge St. Harald in Karlskrona. This time their number only amounted to six, but that is excluding any freemasons amongst the lower ranking officers. More clues that masonic activities continued, at the very least in the season 1766-1767, can be found in the personal archives of supercargo Jean Abraham Grill, discussed below.

During the same years Dutch freemasons were among the employees of the VOC travelling to Canton. Examples are the assistants Isaac Guitard (died 1771), a member of lodge La Charité in Amsterdam since 1757 and probably a relation of Hendrik Isaac Guitard in Batavia, and Philip[pus] Rocquette (died 1767), a member of lodge La Perseverance in Rotterdam since 1763.[49] Documents in the Grill archive suggest that some of these men were aware of the activities of the Swedish lodge and participated as visitors in the 1766-1767 season.

▪ *The lodge archive of Jean Abraham Grill (1766)*

The Grill family originated in Augsburg, Southern Germany.[50] The family's genealogy is complicated by the frequent recurrence of some first names (fig. 7.10). Three brothers, silver- and goldsmiths by trade, moved to Amsterdam in the early 17th century. While Anthonie (1640-1727) and Johan (1668-1734) founded a Dutch branch of the Grill family, Abraham Sr (1674-1725) moved to Sweden. This Swedish branch of the large Grill family played an important role in the SOIC, with three of Abraham's four sons becoming directors of the Company[51]:

- Claes (1705-1767) was director of a shipyard in Stockholm (where some of the SOIC's ships were built), director of the SOIC in 1751-1767 and director of the merchant house Carlos & Claes Grill in Stockholm;
- Abraham Jr (1707-1768) was director of the SOIC in Göteborg in 1746-1768 and a member of Salomoniska Logen from 1756 onwards. He allowed the lodge to meet in his house.[52] The aforementioned Jean Abraham Grill was his son;
- Johan Abraham (1719-1799) was director of the SOIC in 1767-1799 and also a director of the merchant house Carlos & Claes Grill.

The fourth son, Anthonie jr (1705-1783, a twin of Claes), moved to the Netherlands and settled in Amsterdam in 1722. He set up the banking firm Anthony Grill & Sons and lived at Keizersgracht 123, now known as 'Het Huys met de Hoofden' ('The House with the Heads'). Anthonie Jr's sons all became

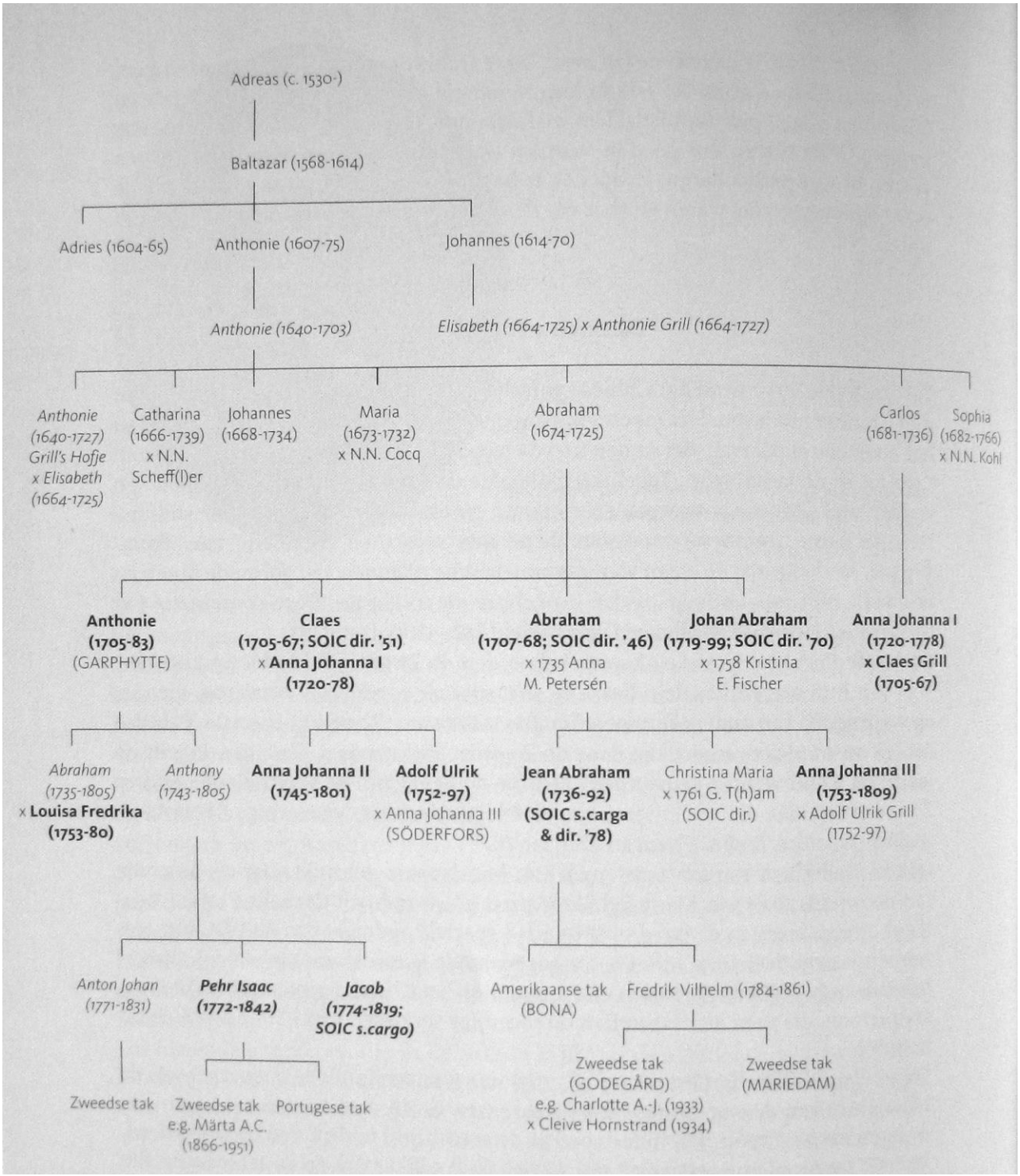


Fig. 7.10: Family tree of the Grill family. The members involved in the order of armorial porcelain are in bold letters. Reproduced from: Kroes 2012, p. 90.

freemasons: Abraham (1735-1805) was a member of the lodges La Bien Aimée and La Charité in Amsterdam around 1756, having previously been initiated elsewhere,[53] while Jacob (1734-1797, not listed in fig. 7.10) and Anthoni (1743-1805) were also members of La Bien Aimée[54], as was grandson Anthoni Johannes (1771-1831).[55]

The aforementioned Jean Abraham Grill was a cousin to the Dutch Grills. He came into service of the SOIC in 1753 and made his first trip to China in 1753. On his return in 1756 he made a *Grand Tour* in France,



Fig. 7.11: Portrait of Jean Abraham Grill. Collection J.W. Grill. Reproduced from: Hornstrand 2013, p. 15.

lived in Montpellier and worked for the firm Mallet & Blancheney in Marseille. In 1760 he was made 3rd supercargo and travelled to and from China until 1769, by which time he was 1st supercargo.

During his stay in Canton Jean Abraham acted as both a business partner and a lodge brother of Michael Grubb and later Jacob Hahr. Together they invested in the trade with Chinese ships to Batavia, Macao, Vietnam and Cambodia and in loans to Canton merchants, which made them huge profits. Jean Abraham's surviving correspondence illustrates their friendship and business dealings, and also includes correspondence with the Dutch branch of the Grill family. Jean Abraham would become a member of the Swedish Academy of Sciences in 1773, writing and lecturing on his experiences of China, and from 1775 lived in Godegård Manor, where the house and the English style landscape garden were decorated with *chinoiseries*. He was director of the SOIC in the years 1778-1792.

The Grill businesses extended to the porcelain trade and at least twelve family members commissioned or owned armorial porcelain from Canton, including eight different services with ten different designs.[56] Jean Abraham Grill played a key role in these orders, of which remaining documents show some were made through Batavia.[57] Heraldry expert Jochem Kroes made a study of the various Grill services and suggested that the investment in this porcelain may have been due to the administrative difficulties that Grill, Grubb and Hahr encountered when trying to transfer money from Asia to Europe. It may have been easier for them to transport porcelain and simply turn that into cash on arrival in Europe.[58] Grill may have been equally heavily involved in the export of masonic porcelain, but so far no documents relating to such orders have been discovered. Here too, absence of proof is no proof of absence. Private trade would normally not be listed in SOIC papers, while even in private papers porcelain orders are given as lists of numbers with only the briefest description of decorations ('blue pattern', 'red flowers', 'coat of arms'). It was common practice to mask any reference to freemasonry in 'profane' dealings, making them easy to overlook.

None of the Grill family porcelain purchases described by Kroes have masonic connotations. There is one surviving object though, that deserves to be mentioned here: a (European) porcelain snuff box, believed to have belonged to the Grill family, is held in the Swedish Grand Lodge collection (fig. 7.12). It is decorated on the inside of the lid with the personification of La Bien Aimée, after the lost painting by



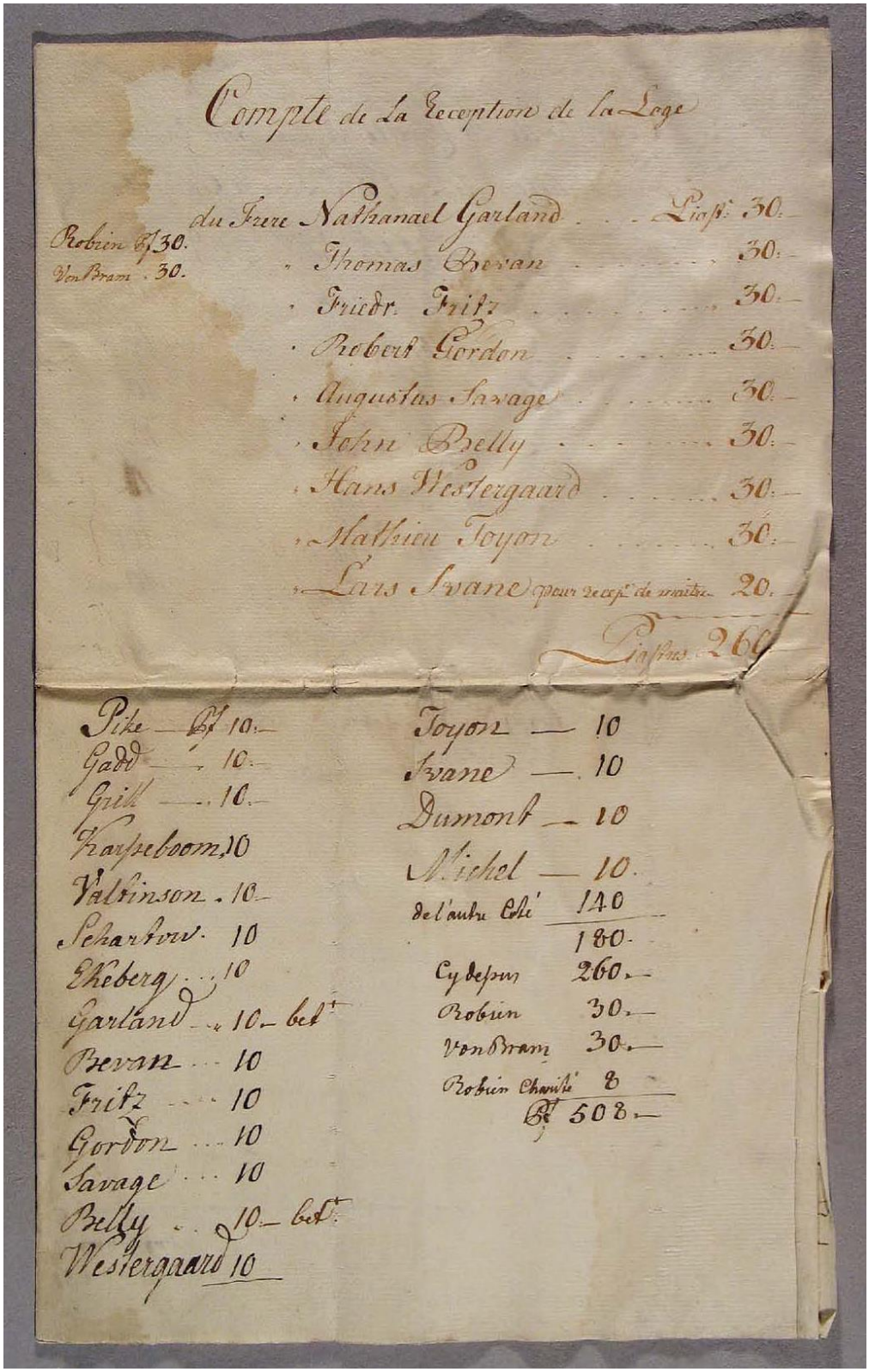
Fig. 7.12: Porcelain snuff box, decorated with enamel painting and a gilded messing rim, mid-18th century, 8.5 x 6.5 x 4 cm. Collection: Svenska Frimurare Ordens Museum, Stockholm. Reproduced from: Cat. Stockholm 1953, p. 31, no. 16.1.

George Robart commissioned in 1755 (see chapter 2, figs. 2.84-2.86).[59] The box must date after 1755, but unfortunately its provenance remains unclear. According to the provenance record it belonged to an Abraham Grill, described as Worshipful Master of La Bien Aimée before his return to Sweden in 1773.[60] The box was acquired by the museum in 1925, together with a gilded silver seal of the lodge arms, also belonging to a member of the Grill family.[61] A similar box in the same collection is described as having belonged to Jean Abraham Grill, again listed as Master of the Lodge.[62] But in fact Anthoni Antz Grill was the only member of the family to have ever held that particular position in this lodge.

The painted decorations on various copies of snuffboxes with this decoration, held in masonic collections worldwide, are executed by different hands. Some details shaped so clumsily, that they resemble the 'mistakes' made by Asian artists when depicting European prints on export lacquer and porcelain. This may be due to cheaper production, but considering the link between the Grill family, the Amsterdam lodge and the Canton trade, it is not unthinkable one of these boxes might in fact be export porcelain, later mounted with a European metal frame. However, it would require physical examination of individual pieces to confirm or exclude this hypothesis on a case by case basis, which was not possible for this project.

The personal archives of Jean Abraham Grill mainly document SOIC matters, but they also include some fragments of a lodge archive (figs. 7.13-7.19).[63] In December 1765 Grill left Sweden for Canton on the ship Stockholms Slott, where he stayed behind when the return ships left.[64] Grill and his colleagues were apparently involved in lodge meetings, held in Macao or Canton in 1766-1767, as the financial records regarding membership contributions, the furnishing of a lodge room and the expenses for eight consecutive table lodges have survived.[65]

Many of the expenses listed for food and furnishings were made on behalf of the lodge by Ava, a Chinese comprador and business contact of Grill.[66] An undated list of contributions reveals the names of the lodge members, as well as a group of men who were apparently initiated during their stay in China (fig. 7.13). Among the regular lodge members were some familiar names from the crew of Stockholms Slott:



Compte de La Reception de la Loge

du Jure Nathanael Garland . . . Piast: 30.
Robin Pf 30.
VonBram 30.
" Thomas Bevan . . . . . 30.
" Fredr. Fritz . . . . . 30.
" Robert Gordon . . . . . 30.
" Augustas Savage . . . . . 30.
" John Belly . . . . . 30.
" Hans Westergaard . . . . . 30.
" Mathieu Joyon . . . . . 30.
" Louis Ivane pour Reception de maitre 20.
Piastres 260

Pike — Pf 10.
Gadd — 10.
Grill — 10.
Kempeboom 10
Valkinson 10.
Scharbow 10
Ehleberg 10
Garland 10 bel
Bevan 10
Fritz 10
Gordon 10
Savage 10
Belly 10 bel
Westergaard 10

Joyon — 10
Ivane — 10
Dumont — 10
Michel — 10.
de l'autre Cle 140
180.
Cy dessus 260.
Robin 30.
VonBram 30.
Robin Chaisse 8
Pf 508.

Fig. 7.13: Overview of contributions and initiation fees of the lodge in Canton, 1766-1767, from the personal archive of Jean Abraham Grill. Collection and photo: Nordiska Museet, Stockholm.

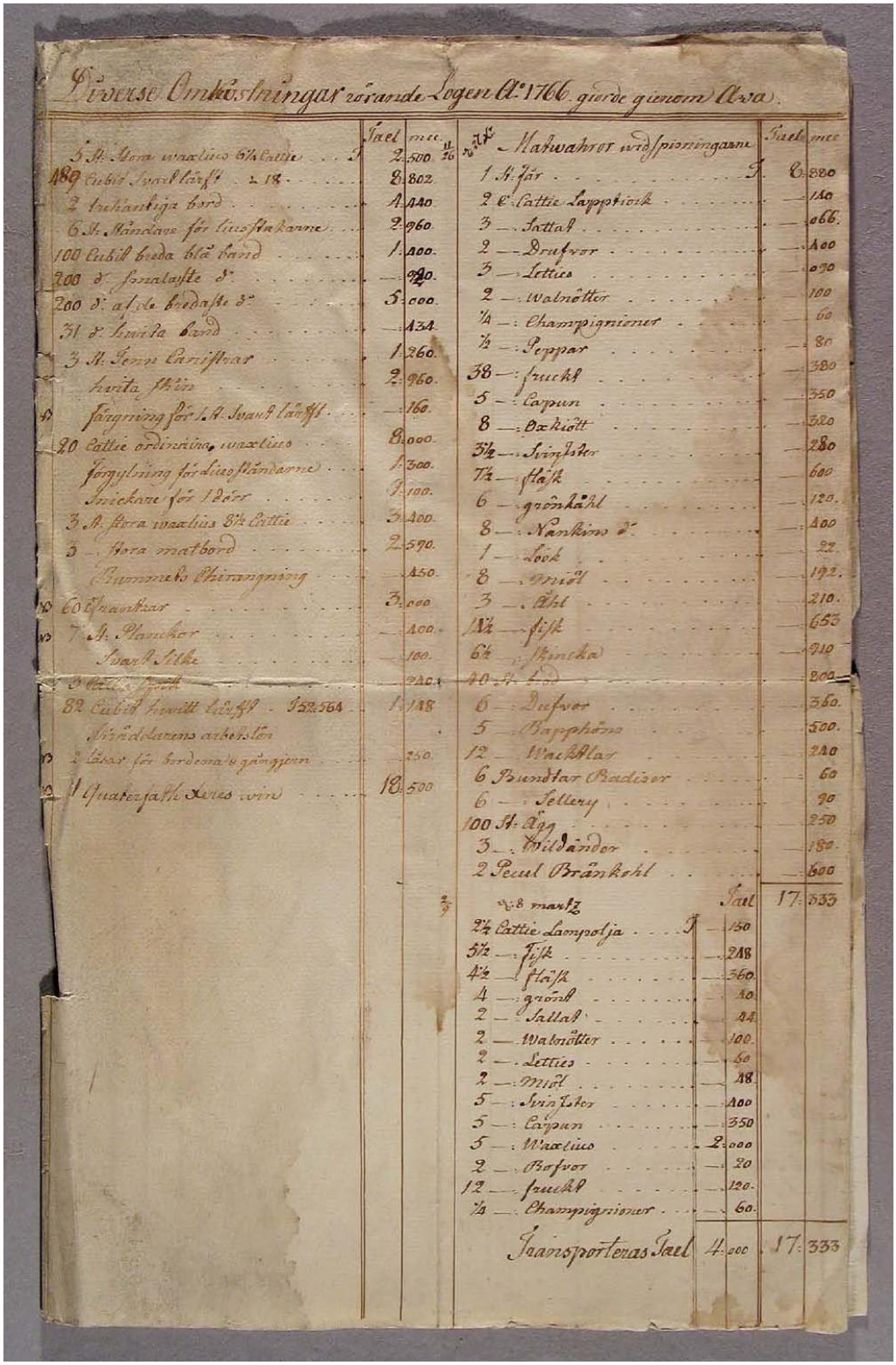
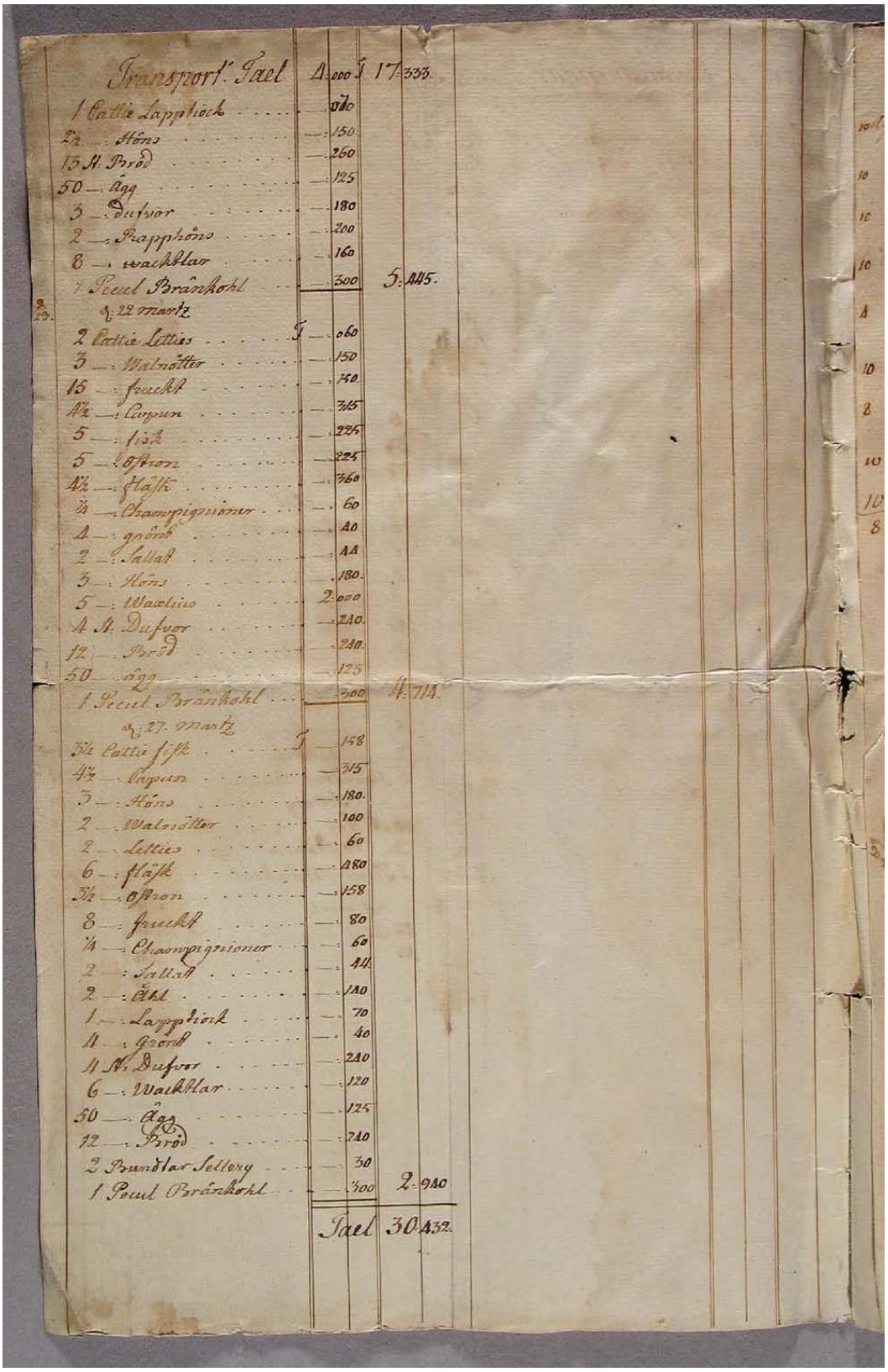


Fig. 7.14: Overview of expenses for furnishings (left column) as well as food and drink for the table lodge (right column) for the lodge in Canton, 1766-1767, from the personal archive of Jean Abraham Grill. Collection and photo: Nordiska Museet, Stockholm.



Transport. Jael A. 000 Sp. 17. 333.

1 Cattie Lappfisck		070	
2½ : Höns		150	
13 St. Bröd		260	
50 — Ägg		125	
3 — Dufvor		180	
2 — Rapphöns		200	
8 — wachtlar		160	
1 Peucl Bränkohl		300	5. 115.
d. 22 martz			
2 Cattie Lettics	5	060	
3 — Walnötter		150	
15 — fruckt		140	
4½ — Capun		345	
5 — fisk		225	
5 — Ostron		225	
4½ — Häsk		360	
½ — Champignioner		60	
1 — grönt		40	
2 — Sallat		44	
3 — Höns		180	
5 — Waxlius		2.000	
4 St. Dufvor		240	
12 — Bröd		240	
50 — Ägg		125	
1 Peucl Bränkohl		300	4. 714.
d. 27. martz			
3½ Cattie fisk	5	148	
4½ — Capun		345	
3 — Höns		180	
2 — Walnötter		100	
2 — Lettics		60	
6 — fläsk		480	
3½ — Ostron		158	
8 — fruckt		80	
½ — Champignioner		60	
2 — Sallat		44	
2 — Ål		140	
1 — Lappfisck		70	
1 — Grönt		40	
4 St. Dufvor		240	
6 — Wachtlar		120	
50 — Ägg		125	
12 — Bröd		240	
2 Bundlar Sellery		30	
1 Peucl Bränkohl		300	2. 940
	Jael		30. 432.

Fig. 7.15: Overview of expenses for food and drink for the table lodge of the lodge in Canton, 1766-1767, from the personal archive of Jean Abraham Grill. Collection and photo: Nordiska Museet, Stockholm.

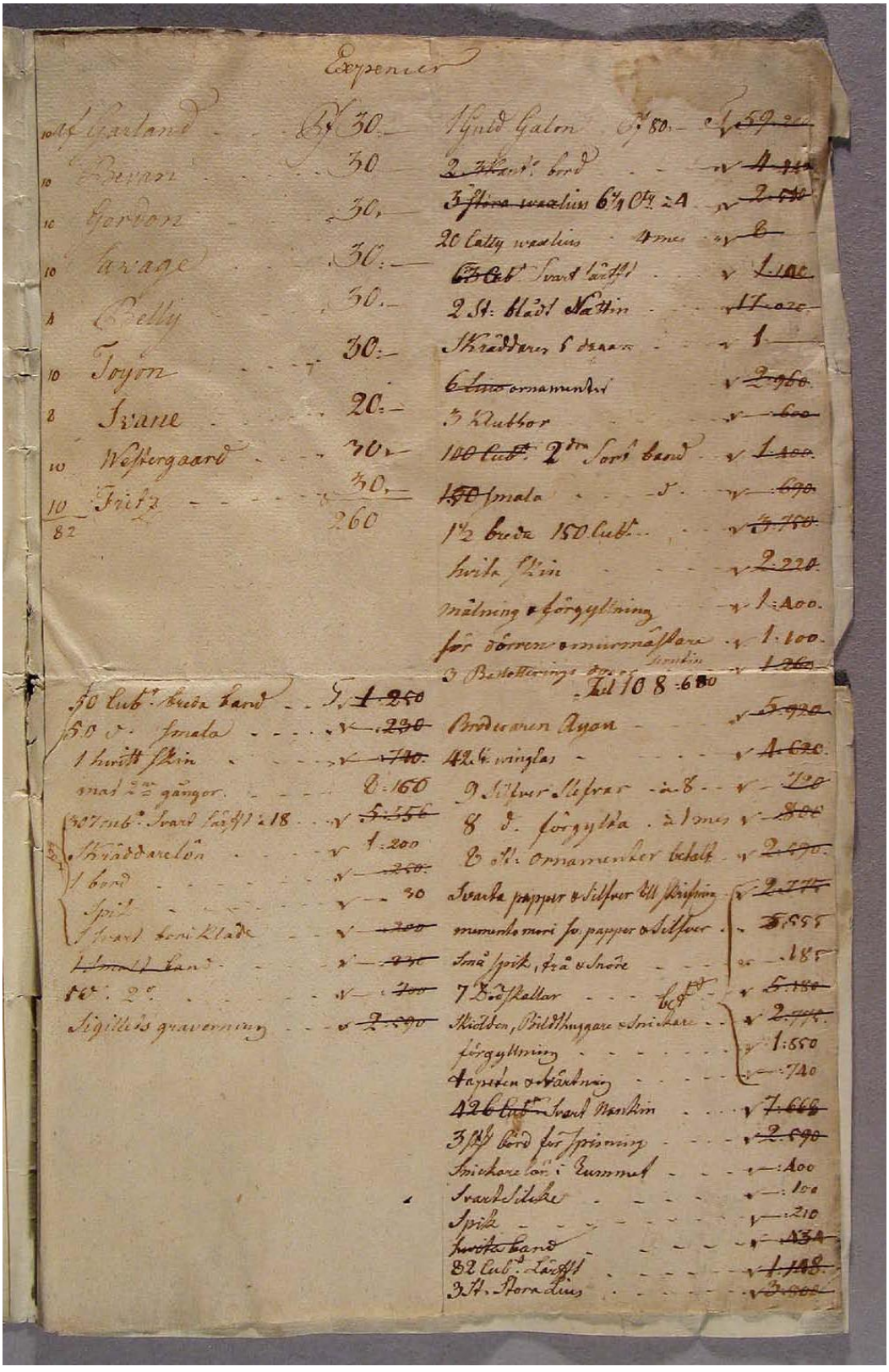
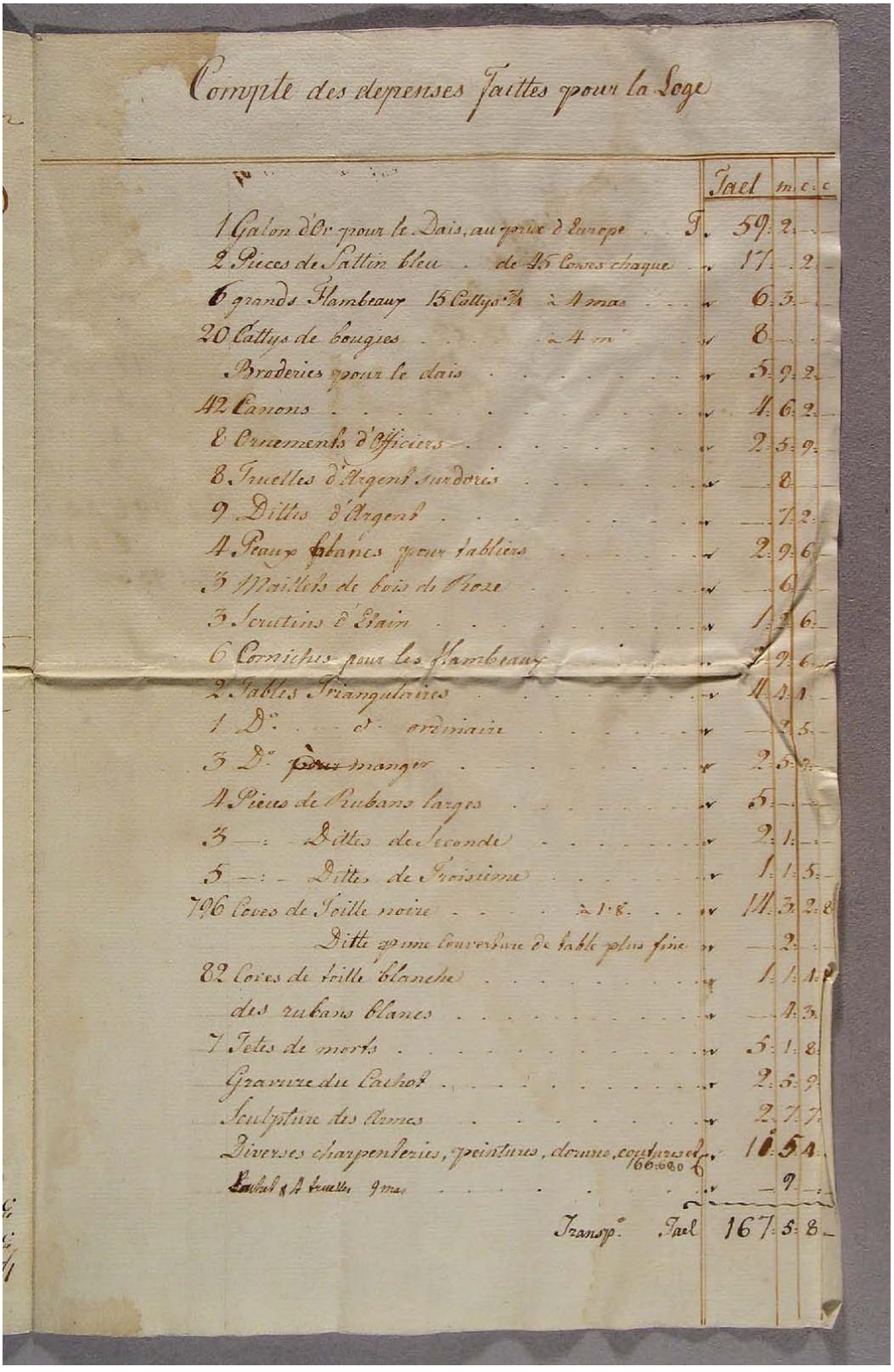


Fig. 7.16: Overview of membership fees (upper left column) and expenses for the furnishings of a lodge room in Canton, 1766-1767, from the personal archive of Jean Abraham Grill. Collection and photo: Nordiska Museet, Stockholm.



Compte des depenses faittes pour la Loge

		Tael	m.	c.	c
1 Galon d'Or pour le Dais, au prix d'Europe	T.	39.	2.		
2 Pieces de Sattin bleu de 45 Coves chaque		17.	2.		
6 grands Flambeaux 15 Cattys ℔ à 1 mas		6.	3.		
20 Cattys de bougies à 4 m		8.			
Broderies pour le dais		5.	9.	2.	
42 Canons		1.	6.	2.	
8 Ornements d'Officiers		2.	5.	9.	
8 Fluettes d'Argent surdores			8.		
9 Dittes d'Argent			7.	2.	
4 Peaux blanches pour tabliers		2.	9.	6.	
3 Maillets de bois de Roze			6.		
3 Scrutins d'Etain		1.	2.	6.	
6 Corniches pour les flambeaux		2.	9.	6.	
2 Tables Triangulaires		1.	1.	1.	
1 D°. d° ordinaire			3.	5.	
3 D°. pour manger		2.	5.	9.	
4 Pieces de Rubans larges		5.			
3 — Dittes de seconde		2.	1.		
5 — Dittes de Troisieme		1.	1.	5.	
796 Coves de Toille noire à 1:8.		11.	3.	2.	8
Ditte pour Couverture de table plus fine			2.		
82 Coves de toille blanche		1.	1.	1.	
des rubans blancs			4.	3.	
7 Tetes de morts		5.	1.	8.	
Garniture du Cachot		2.	5.	9.	
Sculpture des Armes		2.	7.	7.	
Diverses charpenteries, peintures, dorure, coutures &c 66:6:0		10.	5.	4.	
Cachet & 4 fluettes 9 mas			9.		
Transp°. Tael		167.	5.	8.	

Fig. 7.17: Overview of expenses for the furnishings of a lodge room for the lodge in Canton, 1766-1767, from the personal archive of Jean Abraham Grill. Collection and photo: Nordiska Museet, Stockholm.

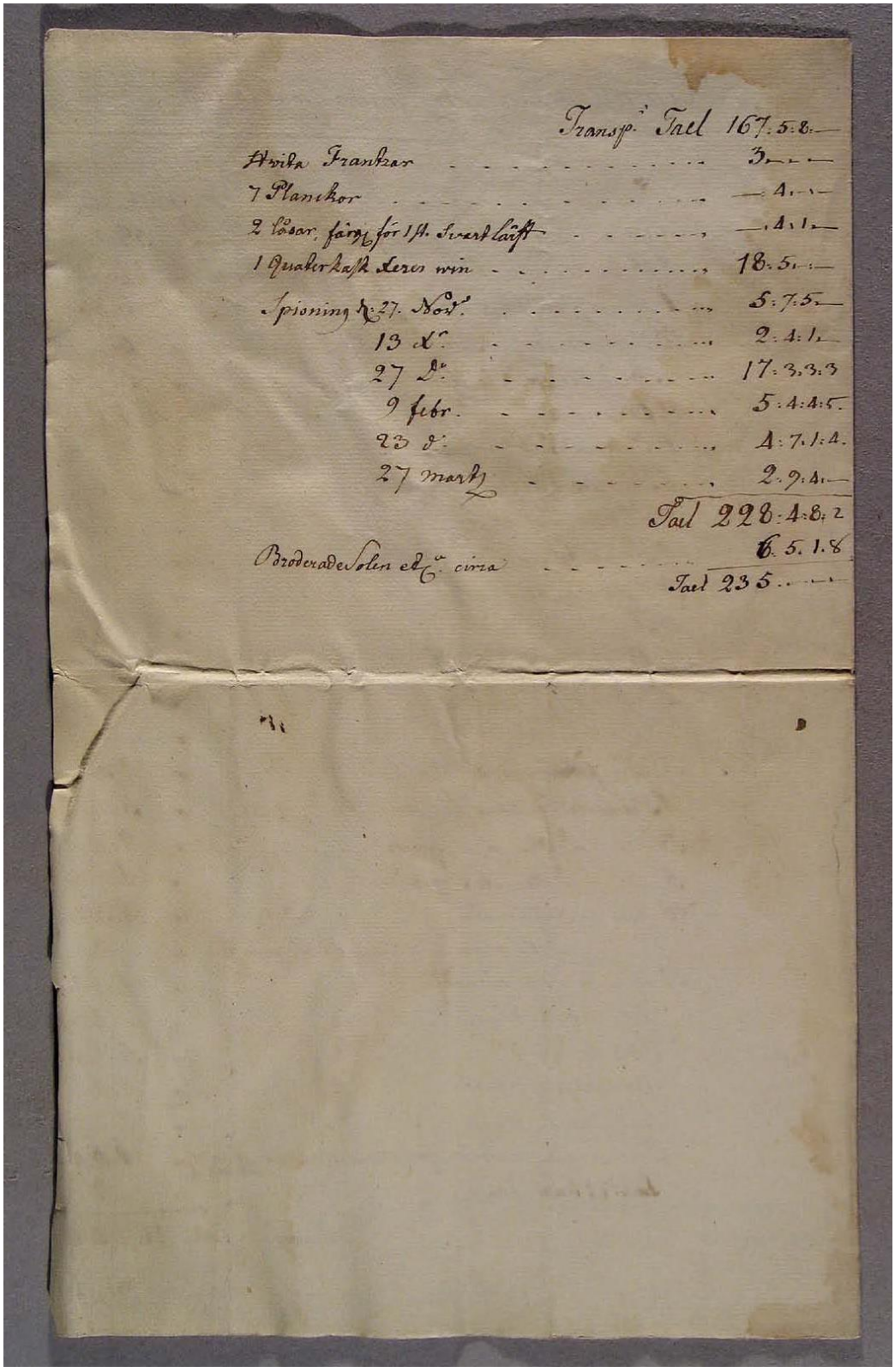


Fig. 7.18: Overview of expenses for the decoration of a lodge room and the food for the table lodge for the lodge in Canton, 1766-1767, from the personal archive of Jean Abraham Grill. Collection and photo: Nordiska Museet, Stockholm.

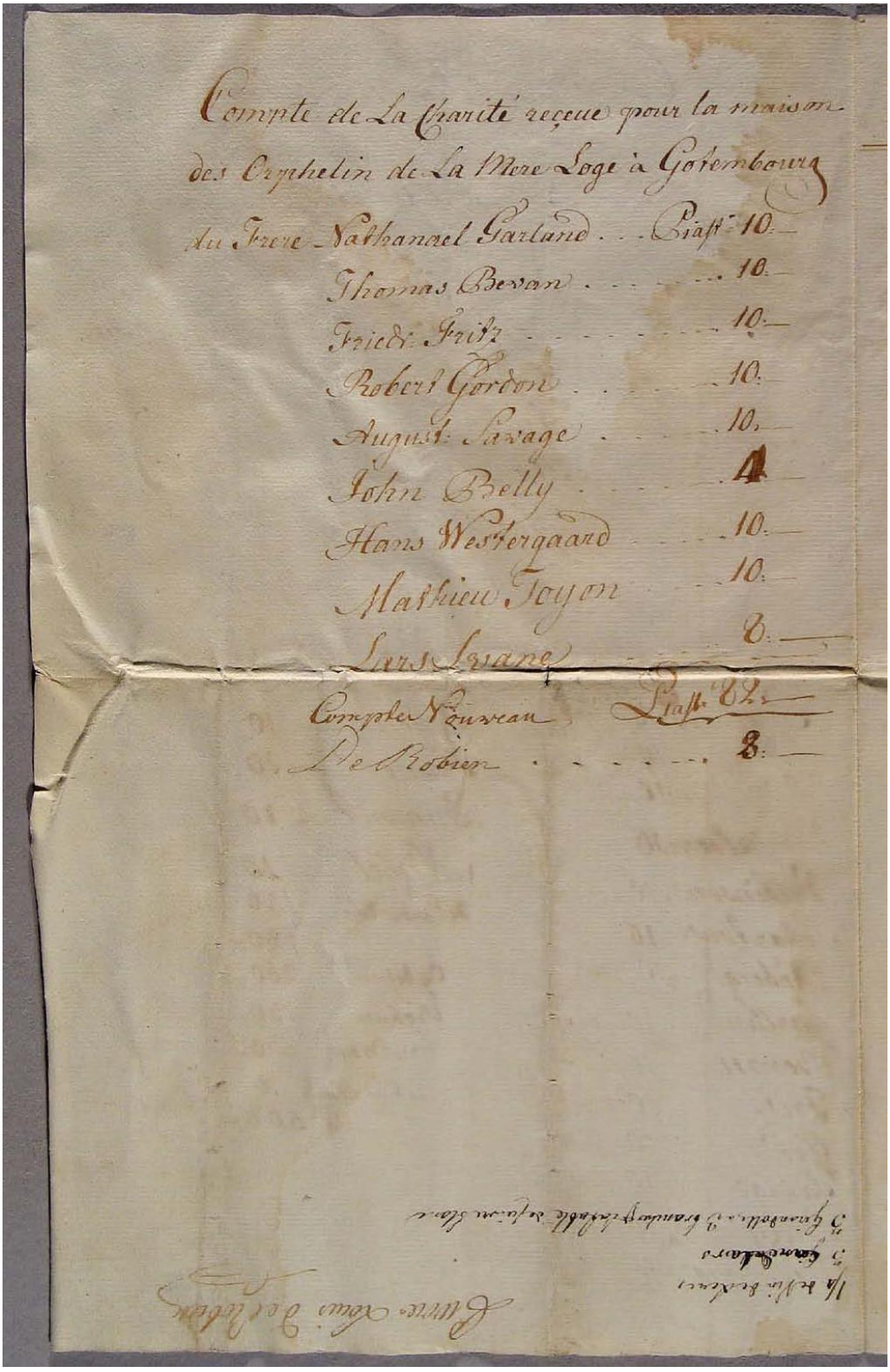

Compte de La Charité reçeue pour la maison
des Orphelin de La Mere Loge à Gotembourg
du Frere Nathanael Garland . . . Liasst 10.—
Thomas Bevan . . . . . 10.—
Friedr. Fritz . . . . . 10.—
Robert Gordon . . . . . 10.—
August. Savage . . . . . 10.—
John Belly . . . . . 4.—
Hans Westergaard . . . . 10.—
Mathieu Joyon . . . . 10.—
Louis Ivane . . . . . 8.—
Compte Rousseau Liasst. 82.—
De Robien . . . . . 3.—

Fig. 7.19: Overview of donations by members of the lodge in Canton to a charity in Göteborg, 1766-1767, from the personal archive of Jean Abraham Grill. Collection and photo: Nordiska Museet, Stockholm.

captain Ekeberg, supercargoes Pike Jr, Gadd and Valtingson, and of course Grill himself. They seem to have invited some French and Dutch colleagues to join them in order to make up the sufficient number of freemasons to hold a lodge: a *monsieur* Dumont, supercargo and *chef de l'expedition* aboard the ship La Paix[67]; *monsieur* Michel, cadet aboard the ship Le Vilvain; Jacob Corneliszoon Karsseboom (1703-1774), a member of Lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam since 1756 and supercargo of the ship Jonge Thomas; and Johan Benedict Schartouw, a supercargo on the same ship.[68] It is not yet clear where he was first initiated, but after his stay in Canton he was a visitor in La Bien Aimee from February 1770 until November 1774.

The lodge members each paid 10 piasters as contribution towards the expenses made for the food and drink served at the table lodge and for the lodge's furnishings. The *Compte de la Reception*, a list of newly initiated members and fees paid, also emphasises the international character of the lodge. In service of the EIC were Nathaniel Garland, supercargo and member of the Council of Canton in 1763-1766[69]; Thomas Bevan, a translator especially commissioned in 1753 to learn the Chinese language, which was prohibited by the Chinese authorities at the time, and member of the Council of Canton 1763-1772[70]; Augustus Savage (died 1782), a supercargo on the ship Duke of Cumberland, later to be a captain[71']; and John Belly, later an agent for the supply of stores and provisions for the garrison of Fort William in Bengal.[72] Robert Gordon (also British), was an associate of Grill and Hahr.[73] Also listed was Fredr[ich] Jacobsen Fritz, not yet identified but probably a German.[74] Three Danes were included: Hans Westergaard,[75] Mathieu Toyon[76] and captain Lars Svane.[77] The French supercargo Chevalier Pierre Louis Achille de Robien [de Treullan] (1736-1792), nicknamed 'le Chinois'[78], appears on the list along with Andreas Everardus Von Braam Houckgeest (1739-1801), Opperhoofd of the Dutch Faktory, having arrived on the ship Jonge Thomas.[79] We will come back to him later. These newcomers all paid a sum of 30 piasters for their initiation plus the 10 piasters contribution. De Robien had his contribution reduced to 8 piasters as he was apparently in need of 'charity'. Swane's payment was only 20 piasters and is explicitly noted as being for the Master's degree. The mix of nationalities illustrates the worldwide network relationships between freemasons, who in daily life were all involved in the export trade from China, including the porcelain trade.

The Swedish Factory extended its building ´for religious purposes´, which included installing 'an altar with flowers and a golden figure as well as an altar piece' in the extension.[80] As every trade ship would have a Chaplain, who'd lead the crew's religious services on board twice a day, and funerals of foreigners were prohibited on Canton ground, there seemed no religious necessity for such an extension. Detailed records were kept of all daily events aboard the ship and on land, while no references are made to any events which took place in the devotion room. The extension was 'repaired' in 1767 by supercargo Grill.[81] The papers in his archive confirm that a lodge room was indeed furnished on the Swedish Factory premises. His accounts include expenses made by the aforementioned Ava on behalf of the lodge for various materials (7.14-7.16, 7.18), which were partially translated in French to allow checking of the books by some of the international members (fig. 7.17). The listings include:

1 gold trimming for the canopy [above the throne] at European price		59. 2. -. -.
2 pieces of blue satin, of 45 *cowes* each		17. -. 2. -.
6 large candlesticks 15 catties 3/4	à 4 max	6. 3. -. -.
20 catties of candles	à 4 m	8. -. -. -.
Embroideries for the canopy		5. 9. 2. -.
42 canons [= masonic wine glasses]		4. 6. 2. -.
8 officers jewels		2. 5. 9. -.
8 gilded silver trowels		-. 8. -. -.
8 ditto silver		-. 7. 2. -.
4 white skins for aprons		2. 9. 6. -.
3 rosewood gavels		-. 6. -. -.
3 tin ballot boxes		1. 2. 6. -.
6 cornices for the candlesticks		2. 9. 6. -.
2 triangular tables		4. 4. 4. -.
1 ditto ordinary		-. 2. 5. -.
3 ditto for dining		2. 5. 2. -.
4 pieces of large ribbon		5. -. -. -.
3 ditto of the second [size/quality]		2. 1. -. -.
3 ditto of the third [size/quality]		1. 1. 5. -.

786 measurements of black cloth	à 1.8.	14. 3. 2. 8.
	ditto more fine for covering the table	-. 3. -. -.
82 measurements of white cloth		1. 1. 4. -.
white ribbons		-. 4. 3. -.
7 skulls		5. 1. 8. -.
Engraving of the seal		2. 5. 9. -.
Sculpting of the coat of arms		2. 7. 7. -.
Various carpentry, painting, gilding, sewing, etc.		10. 5. 4. -.
Seal and 4 trowels	9 ma	-. 9. -. -.
		157.5.8. -.

Other items include: 'embroidery of the sun', locks and hinges for the tables, nails, black paper with silver for writing and '*Memento mori* [of] black paper with silver'.[82]

All this adds up to a basic lodge interior. The many cloths and ribbons would have been used for draperies and the decoration of the throne, seats and tables, as well as for aprons and other regalia. These were probably fashioned by the Chinese embroiderer Ayan, for whom a fee is listed. Such expenses would not have been made for use on one or two occasions, and hint at a permanently decorated lodge room. As it was customary for some of the personnel to remain in Canton while the rest of the crew returned home, someone would be left behind to look after the lodge room in between trade seasons. Another indication that the lodge did not meet temporarily, but had a more permanent character, was that a seal was ordered, to be used on formal lodge correspondence and membership certificates.

The number of officer's jewels and trowels used, according to Swedish masonic customs, corresponds with circa eight Master masons (acting as Officers), nine Fellows of the Craft and three Apprentices: 20 in total. This adds up to the number of members listed as paying contribution, while the mention of 42 glasses and the three dining tables suggest enough room for the same number of visitors, as do the consumption bills.[83] The mourning colours and *memento mori* are common to the Chamber of Reflexion and the Master's degree, but could also be a reference to the (higher) Andreas degrees of the Swedish rite.[84]

The lodge documents include accounts for the groceries ordered for the table lodge, which on at least one occasion - probably the celebration of St. John - included enough breads, eggs, meats, poultry, fruits, vegetables and Xeres wine (sherry) to feed several dozen people.[85] Like similar grocery lists from the Dutch lodges on Java illustrate, the lodge stuck to familiar European fare, but as supplies were purchased in Canton these inevitably got a local touch by using ingredients like 'Nankings cabbage'.

The sheer amount of food consumed however, implies that freemasons of other Factories probably joined the lodge meetings as guests. Swedish visitors in 1766-1767 could have included the returning Tham, Sandberg, Petterson and Olbers (the latter now a captain), als well as captain Jacob Habicht of the Prins Carl, a relative of the aforementioned Friedrich Habicht. Also present in Canton that season amongst the Dutchmen were the aforementioned Rocquette, and the assistant Jan Jacob Teschemacher (born circa 1735), initiated shortly before his trip in lodge Concordia Vincit Animos in Amsterdam in 1765, and Nanning Wijnberg, member of lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam.[86] Another likely Dutch visitor to the lodge was François Helene van Eijmbeek (died 1768), working as assistant for the VOC. The inventory of his estate shows he lived in the trade post in considerable luxury. The list of his possessions includes '8 masonic glasses'.[87] This is too large a number for personal use only, but enough to cover a small lodge.

The lodge archive further includes a list of donations to a charity, the masonic orphanage in Göteborg, made by Garland, Bevan, Fritz, Gordon, Savage, Belly, Westergaard, Toyon, Svane and De Robien.[88] The fact that some of the financial records were written by Grill, suggests that he acted as Treasurer for the lodge. An interesting question remains what rituals were performed in this international group of gentlemen. The Swedish Rite was somewhat different from the rites used elsewhere in Europe, and there may also have been a language barrier.

Amongst the papers in the large business archive of Jean Abraham Grill are some sketches. One of these is a faded, rough sketch of a heraldic shield with the initials 'CL' dating from circa 1767 (fig. 7.21). It could have been drawn for or by Carl Lehman as a try-out for a private commission of porcelain. A plate decorated for Lehman survived in a private collection (fig. 7.20). It shows the monogram 'CL' in a crest with a square and pair of compasses, carried by clouds. Above it is a radiant five pointed star. As will be



Fig. 7.20: Plate with the monogram C.L. (Carl Lehman) and masonic symbols, ca. 1767. Private collection. Reproduced from: Berg 2000, p. 158.



Fig. 7.21: Sketch for heraldic shield with Lehman's initials in the personal archive of Jean Abraham Grill, no.3.6/11.6. Collection and photo: Nordiska Museet, Stockholm.

discussed below, it was not uncommon to combine such monograms or family crests with masonic tools on porcelain services to express an affiliation to the Order.

- *Transition period (1767-1787)*

It is not clear if and for how long Grill's lodge was active after March 1767, as there are no more records. Haffner assumed that lodge documents were either destroyed on purpose as a result of the high level of secrecy in 18th century Canton, or that documents could have been lost with a ship. The Grand Lodge collection in Göteborg was twice damaged by fire, which could also have affected relevant documents. Unfortunately there is little information available from non-masonic sources.[89] According to masonic regulations the lodge would not have been allowed to continue meeting with less than seven members, but it could have been inactive (Dutch: 'in ruste') each season until the ships returned to Canton. In 1767 Grill had again stayed behind while the others left for Sweden. When captain Lehman returned, Grill joined him on the Cron Prins Gustaf for the journey home after the 1769 season. As he seemed personally responsible for the upkeep of the lodge room, it is believed that the lodge was now closed, while former lodge members limited their activities to purely social meetings.[90] But would the leave of a Treasurer really be reason to give up a lodge and its recently furnished temple?

Previous authors on the subject have assumed that Grill's lodge was Swedish, even though only a quarter of the members were of that nationality. It is assumed, but by no means certain, that the lodge functioned under the constitution of the earlier Swedish lodge, and that there was a gap between the closing of Grill's lodge and the founding of a second Swedish lodge, Elisabeth in the 1780s (discussed below).

So far from home, with so many difficulties in establishing a continuity in lodge officers - let alone corresponding and submitting fees to a Grand Lodge - freemasons thought practically. Abroad men of different nationalities sought out the familiarity of a lodge meeting and would have cared less under which constitution or on which premises they met, then when in Europe. The Swedish Factory was located next to the British one. Before Grill left, his duties could have been transferred to someone of another nationality and (as they would not have the same unlimited access to the Swedish Factory) would probably move the lodge furniture to their own factory. In order to maintain secrecy, more members amongst that particular Factory's employees would be initiated and once a majority in members' nationalities was established a switch to a constitution of that particular nationality could be the next logical step. According to Lane's annual overviews of lodges, the British lodge Amity no. 407 was founded under English constitution between 18 and 24-10-1767 in Canton, which fits neatly after the last records of Grill's lodge.[91] The nationalities of Amity's members were recorded as five English men, four French, two Danish, one Swedish and one Dutch, quite similar to those of Grill's lodge.[92]

While the successive lodges active in Canton are considered separate entities with clear affiliations to Sweden and Britain, they can also be interpreted as the transitional stages of the international masonic community in Canton as a whole.

Again comparison of Swedish Grand Lodge and SOIC company records illustrates that the 'masonic traffic' to and from Sweden steadily continued after Grill's departure, albeit in somewhat smaller numbers for the next 20 years. It is possible to reconstruct who would have been the most likely visitors of lodge Amity during those decades. The aforementioned Ekeberg, Ditmer, Hahr and Chapman all returned during their years of company service (see Table 7.1). There were also several newcomers from lodges in Sweden, likely to seek out other freemasons, who deserve to be mentioned here.

In 1771 captain Gabriel Ström (1740-1785)[93] and supercargo Carl Hendric [Hindrich] Forss (born circa 1744) arrived with the ship Adolf Friedrich. Both were members of lodge Adolf Fredric in Stockholm. In 1778 Henric König Petterson, supercargo aboard the ship Terra Nova, arrived in Canton along with Mauritz [Peter Grameen] von Krusenstjerna (circa 1766-1818), captain of the ship Finland. Both these men had recently joined Salomoniska Logen. A 'Captain Savage', probably the aforementioned Augustus Savage, was listed as a member of Amity in Canton in 1778.[94] They would all keep returning to China in later years. Seven was the minimum number of freemasons required to properly maintain a lodge.

Eric von Stockenström (1749-1788), supercargo aboard the ship Cron Prins Gustav, in 1780 and Johan Adolph Burtz (born 1744), captain of the ship Gustav III), again members of Salomoniska logen, arrived in

1781. From lodge St. Edvard in Stockholm came Johan Adolph Smedberg (1753-1793), a supercargo aboard the ship Drottning Sophia Magdalena. He was also a member of lodges St. Jean Auxiliaire and L'Innocente in Stockholm, as well as lodge De tre Förenade Kronor in Göteborg.[95] Burtz and Smedberg would both return in later years ans Smedberg prove instrumental in getting masonic activities started up again.

Georg Johan Conradi (1752-1808, supercargo aboard the ship Louisa Ulrica) arrived in Canton in 1782, followed in 1783 by Frederic Ulric Peyron (1752-1801), a supercargo of the ship Adolf Friedrich. The next new arrivals included Pehr Tranchell (born 1743), captain of the ship Cron Prins Gustav[96], and Hans Hindrich Clason (born 1749), the captain of the Adolf Friedrich[97]. In 1786 Jacob Habicht returned along with H. Hahr and Georg (also called Goran or Jöran) Samuel Gegerfelt (1742-1810), a marine officer of noble birth and now captain of the ship Gustav III.

What of the Dutchmen during the meagre years 1767-1786? The aforementioned Guitard, Karsseboom and Van Braam Houckgeest kept returning to China until 1772. In the years 1773-1778, for reasons which remain unexplained, and during the war with the English in 1780-1783, no Dutch members were identified amongst the high ranking VOC employees on the ships to Canton.[98] In the years 1779 and 1784-1787 the Dutch assistant Adrianus A. Boers, member of the lodges La Vertu in Leiden and La Vertueuse in Batavia, may have been the only eligible visitor (not counting lower ranking VOC employees).[99]

▪ *Lodge Elisabeth in Canton (1787-1812)*

Almost 20 years after the members of Grill's lodge recorded their donation to the masonic orphanage in Göteborg, a donation to the same charity was made by men aboard the ship Adolf Friederich in Canton.[100] These 21 members of what was described as a Swedish 'Masonic Society' recorded their pledges in a document dated 14-10-1785.[101] It seems likely that this society was a continuation of the earlier lodge, for practical reasons unable to perform ritual duties, but keeping up a social function. In any case several of these charitable men would be involved in the founding of a new lodge under Swedish constitution: Elisabeth, named after Hedvig Elisabeth Charlotta of Holstein-Gotrop (1759-1818), wife of Grand Master Charles, Duke of Södermanland (the later king Charles VIII, 1748-1818).[102]

Berg suggested that the foundation of this lodge was instigated by the Grand Master.[103] On 20-11-1787 the Grand Lodge provided a formal constitution for the new lodge Elisabeth to the aforementioned supercargo Smedberg, about to depart for Canton on the ship Adolph Friederic. [104] He would be acting as Worshipful Master. It was stipulated that future meetings would take place during the seasons when the European ships were in Canton. The Worshipful Masters would always have to be elected from the Swedish supercargoes, while the Deputy Master and Wardens would have to be chosen from the Swedish captains, making this a true SOIC lodge. Other nationalities were only allowed for the less important lodge officers. It was further decided that the lodge could work 'in any other language in between [the visits of Swedish ships]'[105], so the involvement of employees of various European East India Companies was clearly anticipated.

The formal installation of lodge Elisabeth took place in Canton on 20-9-1788 at 4 p.m. Six applications by would-be members were balloted, including a Danish assistant, an English supercargo and four Swedes.[106] During a second meeting at 7 p.m., several officers were installed and a new member was admitted. Most of the participants had earlier joined Salomoniska Logen in Göteborg. William Chalmers (1748-1811, supercargo and resident representative of the SOIC in Canton since 1783, fig. 7.22) was elected Senior Warden, while the aforementioned Conradi was elected Junior Warden. Eric Nissen jr (1753-1816), a first mate and later captain, acted as Treasurer. Two lower ranking crewmen were chosen as Servants and initiated into the Apprentice degree: Carl Broberg, and Peter Björkman, the latter later listed as 3rd mate. Lars Gotheén (born 1750), a supercargo on the Terra Nova (1782), was living so close to the lodge premises, that working in secret would be impossible without his involvement, so he was initiated that day too.[107] The meeting was followed by a Table Lodge.

Berg cites the financial accounts for 1788, which again include supplies for the table lodge, as well as a new 'lodge seal, officers' jewels, ritual books, etc., all put in a steel box with three locks' (a reference to mother lodge Salomoniska Logen?), and other required equipment such as 'tables, chairs, white gloves, leather aprons, trowels (smaller for the 1st and 2nd degrees and bigger and gold plated for the 3rd degree)' as well as masonic tools and candlesticks.[108] The lodge seal consisted of a 'shield with the Swedish three



Fig. 7.22: Carl Frederik von Breda (1759-1818), portrait of William Chalmers (1748-1811), 1802, oil on canvas, size not listed. Collection: Chalmers Tekniska Högskola, Göteborg. Reproduced from: Berg 2000, p. 56.



Fig. 7.23: Original and later versions of the lacquer seal of the lodge Elisabeth in Canton. Reproduced from: Lagerberg 1904, pp. 37 and 121.

crowns and the Chinese signs for Quang Dong (Canton), a rising sun, masonic tools and the motto *Conjuncta Valent*' (fig. 7.23).[109]

A third meeting took place on 30-9-1788, where new members were proposed and initiated.[110] Again the choice fell on the ship's crewmembers. The naval lieutenants Mauritz Grameén, probably a relative of captain Von Krusenstjerna, and [Johan Gustav] Adolph Nordenheim (1754-1854), as well as Dav[id] Marshall, probably a Scottish crewmember of a British ship, were already Apprentices of Salomoniska

Logen, and were admitted to receive further degrees later that season.[111] Vincent Beijer (died 1793), 3rd assistant and earlier a member of Lodge St. Andrew no. 48 in Edinburgh, was made Fellow of the Craft.[112] The Danish assistant George Beck and the English supercargo Thomas Freeman, later a member of the Select Committee of the British East India Company, were rejected as candidates, and their ballots postponed for several months. The members then proceeded with the initiation of three other candidates amongst the crews.[113] Carl Eriksson Malm was first assistant (later supercargo), while Axel Willh[elm] Lilljestråle was a lieutenant of noble birth, as was 5th mate Abraham Willhelm Silfverhjelm (1754-1835). Apprentice mate Jacob Alberts also applied for membership.[114] With so many rituals in one day, this was a veritable mason-making factory. Assistant Johan Fagraus signed the records and acted as Secretary.[115]

The lodge archives record later meetings on 14, 24 and 26 October, during which the men proceeded with initiations of existing members in several (higher) degrees, as well as the acceptation of more newcomers. A collection was made to cover the cost of new lodge decorations. An overview of contributions made for 1788 includes the aforementioned Gothéen, Tranchell and Clason (now captain of the ship Cronprins Gustav[116]), and reveals as additional lodge members: Johan Leonhardt Törngren, supercargo of the ship Göteborg III; Jacob [Lothsack] Kjerrman-Sköld (1745-1813), a naval lieutenant of noble birth and later captain of the ship Gustav III[117]; and Andr's Andresson, who had the rank of mate. A Jacob Bruce, not yet identified, also applied for membership. The lodge members were asked to voluntarily contribute to the costs of the décor of the lodge room.[118]

A possible Dutch visitor in the years 1790-1793 was assistant Jan Bekker Teerlinck (1759-1832), the son of a pharmacist and a cousin of the famous Dutch writer Betje Wolff (1738-1804). He became a seed collector and wine maker, and was probably a member of La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam.[119] The aforementioned Van Braam Houckgeest was also in Canton again. Surely he would have visited the lodge to pay his respects and enquire after the wellbeing of his former brothers of Grill's lodge?

No information on the lodge is available until 31-10-1791, when the minutes recorded a new season of meetings. Sometimes the lodge meeting was formally opened and closed several times a day, in order to comply with a rule that limited the number of initiations to three persons per meeting. These took place on 1st, 3rd, 4th and 30th October, as well as 18th December. Presented candidates at this time were mostly crew members of the ship Gustav III, including: Gustav [Gudmund] Lorentz Sivertson (born 1758), ships preacher; Fredrik Warming, an assistant; Carl Fredric Gröndahl (1760-1816), chief barber and surgeon, later personal physician to Duke Frederik Adolf[120]; Fredric Winberg (born 1769), 3rd assistant and ships writer: and finally Isaac Toutin (1763-1828), 3rd assistant, who came from a merchant family in Göteborg and later became supercargo. These new candidates were proposed not only by regular members of lodge Elisabeth, but also by visitors from Salomoniska Logen aboard the ship Gustaf III: supercargo Olof Hanqvist (1754-1798), 2nd assistant Gustav Palm (1760-1798) and 1st mate Petter [Per] Maurice (1751-1798).[121]

The next season started on 29-10-1792, when a similar pattern of meetings was followed on 30th October, 20th and 21st November, 21st and 23rd December. This time the newly initiated members were: supercargo George Cumin, 'from London'[122]; 2nd assistant Petter Roempke (1763-1803), later supercargo; naval lieutenant Gabriel Gadd, later captain[123]; ship's preacher Johan Bru[n]nius (1765-1828); and Joh[an] Holmgren (1763), a farmhand servant to Sir Gustav Palm). Carl Gustaf Treutiger (1748-1808), captain of the ship Götheborg and member of Salomoniska Logen, was mentioned as a proposer only. From the lodge minutes it is clear that initiation procedures were speeded up in comparison to what was customary at home.[124] The ballot and initiation of a candidate were often scheduled on two separate meetings on the same day, while candidates could receive the 2nd degree as soon as three weeks after their initiation into the 1st degree, and the 3rd degree could be given one day after the 2nd degree. In Europe it was more customary for a year to pass between these initiations. The minutes provided no indication that lodge meetings included activities other than initiation procedures - no lectures, celebrations or administrative meetings were recorded on paper.

The death of Vincent Beijer was mentioned on 29-10-1792. His regalia were handed back to the lodge, which decided that the Treasurer had to deliver them back home to Göteborg. Smedberg, who was still acting as Master of the Lodge, died on 13-12-1793. It is likely that he was temporarily replaced by Nissen. That same year Chalmers had left for Göteborg. The lodge became more or less dormant for several years (at least no minutes of any meetings survived), until activities were again recorded in 1795. Palm,



Fig. 7.24: Anonymous artist, portrait of Roelof Jacob Dozy. Behind glass painting, 46.5 x 33 cm. Private collection. Reproduced from: rkd.nl.

who had stayed in Canton (and would become director of the SOIC office in 1797) was appointed as the new Master of the Lodge. Treutiger returned that same year.

At the first meeting on 9-11-1795 a memorial service was held in honour of Smedberg. His regalia were broken into pieces and the pieces distributed amongst the members. The proposal and initiation of new members continued as before. Newly welcomed candidates were Jacob Gabe [Gabriel] Ullman, a 2nd mate (later supercargo); Jacob Grill [jr] (1774-1819), grandson of the Dutch Anthoni Grill (1705-1783) and ships clerk; and a mister Giffhorn, who remans to be identified. Andreas Fitings was welcomed as visitor.[125] Johan Dassau (1748-1808), supercargo aboard the Cron Prins Gustaf and member of Salmoniska Logen since 1786, acted as proposer for Grill.[126] Another potential visitor was the aforementioned Gegerfelt.

Lodge members would now be mostly recruited amongst the English crews of EIC ships, On 30-11-1795 another visitor was welcomed: James Andrew John Lawrence Charles Drummond (1767-1851), a Scottish supercargo working in Canton since 1790. He was earlier a member of Shakespeare's Lodge no. 146 in London.[127] On the same evening, Henry Barin, supercargo and supervisor of the EIC, was proposed as member. Other meetings were held on 1st and 18th December. Meanwhile Drummond joined the lodge as a formal member. He was to become President of the Select Committee (1801-1807), in which position he privately ordered a porcelain service for the Drummond family.[128] His house and garden in Macao later became the City Museum.

The raising of a Dutch member as Master was recorded on 18-12-1795: the new head of the Factory Roelof Jacob(us) Dozy (1759-1818) (fig. 7.24).[129] Dozy was a member of lodge La Vertueuse, having been initiated shortly after his arrival in Batavia in 1784. He worked as supercargo in Canton since, but in 1791 he travelled to Batavia in the company of his brother Reinier on the ship De Erfprins to. Dozy would then serve as Head of the Factory in Canton until 1802.[130] His introduction into the lodge follows the pattern seen throughout the European settlements: the leaders of the trading posts would be welcomed into the lodge, thereby securing its protection and prosperity. Later that same meeting, two English and two Scottish members were also introduced as candidates: Charles Arthur (born 1762), an inspector for the EIC; Thomas Charles Pattle (1771-1815), who had been appointed supercargo in 1794 and would later became director

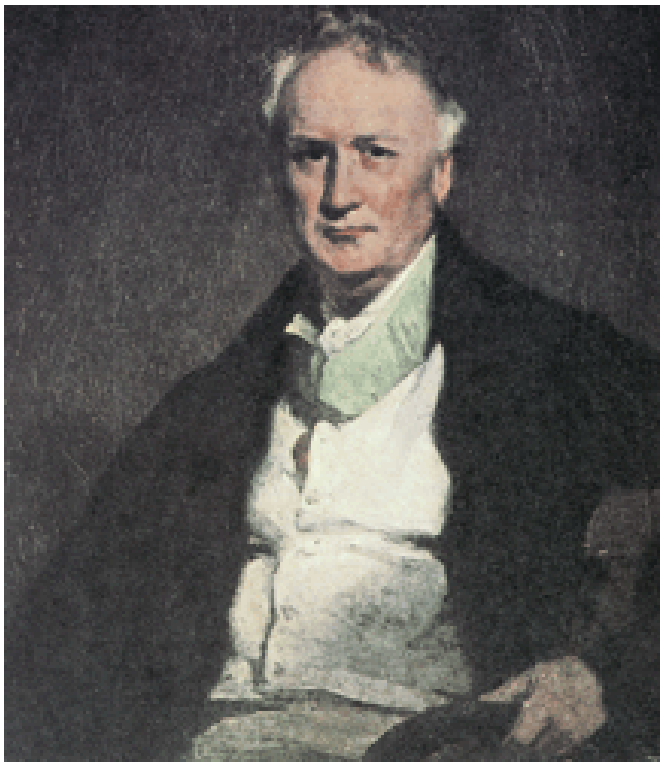


Fig. 7.25: George Chinnery (1774-1852), portrait of Anders Ljungstedt (1759-1835), ca. 1830. Collection: Peabody Essex Museum, Salem. Reproduced from: Berg 2000, p. 132.

of the EIC; David Reid (born 1769) a tradesman, possibly associated to Fairlie, Reid & Co of Calcutta, and a partner in the opium trade; and lastly Geo[rge] Lockart (born 1772), a mate on an EIC ship.

The following day Sven Wennerstrom, already a member of Salomoniska Logen, was appointed as Servant. On 23-11-1795 Henry Brown (born 1753), supercargo and head of the British EIC office in Canton, was accepted as a new member, and on the last day of the year, yet another Company employee, the doctor James Crichton (1766), was accepted. The last two meetings took place very late in the season, on 4-1-1796 and 16-1-1796, when three more British supercargo's were balloted and approved that last day: Samuel Peach (died 1832), later a director of the EIC, George Sparks and J.W. Roberts.[131]

The membership lists of 1795-1796 reveals the names of the proposers of new candidates as members of Salomoniska Logen, making them too likely members or at least visitors of lodge Elisabeth: the supercargoes J[ohan] Dassa[n/u] and P[eter/Pehr] Schenling on the ship Drottning Sophia Magdalena, on which Nissen had returned.[132] By 1796 the ratio of non-Swedish members had significantly risen, and the lodge now counted the heads of the Swedish, British and Dutch Factories in its midst. Perhaps records of these later years are missing, because Haffner does not describe the lodge activities after 1796 in much detail, and does not give names of new members. Berg noted that Dozy became Master of the Lodge on 16-1-1796.[133] Table 7.1, however, again gives an indication which existing lodge members kept returning to Canton, including Roempke, who now had the rank of supercargo. In 1797 Olof Hanqvist was appointed Master of the Lodge.[134]

In the season 1798-1799, Dassau returned on the ship Maria Caroline, while his captain, Isaac Ritterberg, was a member of Salomoniska Logen and therefore a likely visitor of the Canton lodge. Also a member of the Göteborg lodge was the newly arrived Anders Ljungstedt (1759-1835), supercargo of the ship Drottningen, who would later be Sweden's first consul-general to China (fig. 7.25).[135] Gabriel Gadd, now captain of the ship Östergöthland, returned in 1799. Captain Treutiger, supercargo Roempke and potential visitor Gegerfelt all returned one last time in 1800. By the end of the century, the slowing of trade activities of the SOIC must have significantly affected the lodge. In 1801 James Chalmers (1751-1817), a surgeon, supercargo and brother of the aforementioned William, wrote that 'neither we Swedes nor the

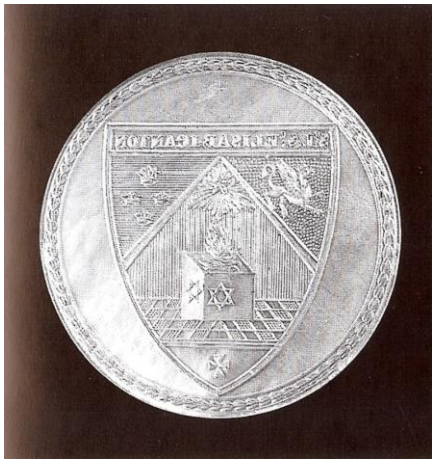


Fig. 7.26: Seal, engraved with coat of Arms of Lodge Elisabeth in Canton, 1806. Collection: Svenska Frimurare Ordens Museum. Reproduced from: Cat. exhib. Turku 1992, p. 147.



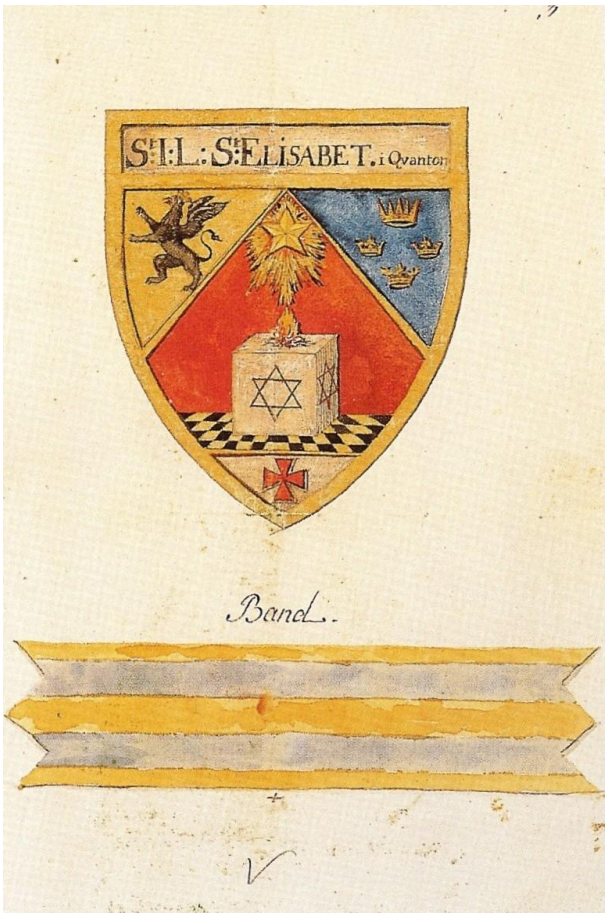


Fig. 7.27: Altar of Lodge Elisabeth in Canton. Collection: Svenska Frimurare Ordens Museum. Reproduced from: Berg 2000, p. 72.
Fig. 7.28: Watercolour of the arms and ribbon of Lodge Elisabeth in Canton, 1787, 29.3 x 17.7 cm.
Collection: Svenska Frimurare Ordens Archiv, Stockholm. Reproduced from: Cat. exhib. Turku 1992, p. 147.

Englishmen had time to do any work in [the masonic] manner during the current year which I heartily regret'.[136] Things were the same in 1802, due to the short time the ships were present in the harbour. Chalmers was appointed Worshipful Master in 1802, counting on the aforementioned Ljugsted and a mister Ullgren for support, while captains Gadd and Ritterberg, as well as [Johan] Minten (1753-1824), a merchant and - of course - member of Salomoniska Logen, were also on their way to Canton.[137] Nissen brought

updated rituals and lawbooks from the Grand Lodge in Sweden. In 1803, Anders Siberg (1768-1846) and Fredric Adolph Shierman (born 1755), supercargo and captain of the ship Drottningen, as well as Hans Hansson, captain of the ship Wasa, were among the potential visitors from Salomoniska Logen not yet listed by Haffner.

On 2-7-1804 Chalmers complained to his brother that the ships were now directed to Macao, where freemasonry was not permitted (by the Catholic Portuguese), and remarked 'Canton is therefore no longer the proper place for our work, and therefore also the English lodge [= Amity?] which worked here some years ago came to nothing'.[138] Earlier he wrote to his brother 'my two colleagues are not keen and will not take an office. I am thus alone and to work a Swedish lodge in a foreign language I have found above my capabilities'.[139]

The Swedish Factory in Canton was located next to the old British Factory. It is not surprising then, that lodge Elisabeth had quite a few British members[140], while James Chalmers' notes make it clear, that they were also aware of the presence of British lodges in China. For instance, he remarked on the 'recently' suspended activity of lodge Amity in Canton in 1804.

The minutes of the Grand Lodge of 1805 recorded an 'unwelcome tiding' from lodge Elisabeth, stating it had been unable to work properly for the last six years.[141] Chalmers received instructions from Provincial Grand Master Pehr Dubb, to destroy the lodge archive, consisting of two crates and two boxes, if he could not safely take it back to Göteborg.[142]

The last SOIC ship returned home from Canton in 1806. However, in the collection of the Swedish Grand Lodge is a seal, the grip made of ivory and mother of pearl, which is engraved with the arms of the lodge and the inscription: '1806, Joh[an] Peter Sundstén, Canton Maij' (fig. 7.26). Sundsten was *overligande hovmastare* (steward) and general-consul in Canton, involved in orders for porcelain. The seal depicts a white, cubic altar, decorated with two intertwined triangles (Solomon's Seal). On the altar is a burning fire, above which is a blazing five-pointed star. The altar is standing on a chequered floor with a Templar cross. Surely a seal would not have been ordered unless the lodge was still active. Why otherwise make the expense? Indeed, Haffner does not list lodge Elisabeth as formally suspended until much later, on 23-2-1812, and mentions that its archives were returned to the Grand Lodge in Sweden in 1814[143], following the dissolution of the SOIC in 1813. The altar of the lodge was also preserved (fig. 7.27).

Meanwhile the Dutch were having a tough time. By 1810 the political trouble at home and the British occupation of Java stopped ships getting through. Supercargo J.H. Bletterman (1771-1845) had to depend on Hong merchants to tie him over financially in order to keep the Dutch Factory functioning for the next five years. In 1822 the Factory offices burned down and had to be replaced, while the foundation of the Dutch Trade Company (Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij) was meant to turn the tide, but meanwhile the international competitors had made good use of the weakened position of the Dutch.

♦ *Fraternal commissions for America*

The Americans were relatively late to the porcelain trade with Canton, they joined in after the revolutionary war. There is little information on the activities of American freemasons in China until the founding of a lodge in Shanghai in the second half of the 19th century (discussed below). But plenty of surviving objects bear witness to the fact that the American market for masonic export porcelain flourished soon after as their first ships reached China. American commissions for masonic export porcelain are closely linked to those of other 'brotherhoods' or fraternal organisations, as well as to the Unionist ideals.

The first American ship to sail to Canton, the Empress of China, left in 1784 with captain John Green (1736-1796). The history of the Munson family recalls that this ship already carried some masonic porcelain on the return journey:

> Major Munson sent to China by Capt. Green for two two-gallon punch-bowls; one designed for himself ornamented with masonic emblems and his initials, W.M.; the other designed for Gen. Washington ornamented with military emblems and his initials, G.W. Before the precious china could be presented to Washington, his death occurred. Soon after, the Major visited the General's widow, presented the bowl, and dined with her.[144]



Fig. 7.29: Punch bowl with the five masonic motifs and vine border, belonging to major William Munson, 1784. Polychrome enamels, height 15 cm, diam. 36.5 cm. Collection: Hiram Lodge no. 1, New Haven. Photograph kindly provided by John Schatzlein. (Also reproduced in Schiffer 1980, p. 142.)

Major William Munson (1747-1826) was a member and officer of Hiram Lodge in New Haven, which received his masonic punch bowl from his granddaughter in 1891. The bowl, which is decorated with the 'five masonic motifs' discussed below, is still in the lodge collection (fig. 7.29).[145]

The supercargo of the Empress of China, major Samuel Shaw (1754-1794), described in his journals the social scene among the Europeans, who tried to pass the time between the arrival of ships with billiard games, concerts and dinner parties:

> The Europeans, as has been observed, who have establishments at Canton, pass the intervals between the seasons for trade at Macao, where each nation has a good house, hired by the Portuguese, in which they are well accommodated. […] It often happens that, for want of room in what are called the company's houses, some gentlemen among the English and the Dutch hire houses on their own account, towards the rent of which they are allowed a stipulated sum by the company. This gives rise to a number of social parties, and tends to promote a harmony and good-fellowship […].
>
> During my residence here, every attention has been paid to me that I could wish. From the Chief, mr. Hemmingson, and other gentlemen of the Dutch house, it was of such a nature that I went to their table whenever I pleased and without ceremony. To that of the Swedes I always waited for a particular invitation. With the Danes particularly, and with their Chief Mr. Vogelsang, particularly […] I was ever at home. With the French supercargo, Mr. Desmoulins, and the other gentlemen of that nation, I was upon a friendly footing, particularly with Mr. Bourgogne. […] Mr. and Mrs. Dozy, of the Dutch house, who lived separate from the company, as Messrs. Bethem and Boers, of the same nation, were also particularly attentive to me […].[146]

Another good friend of Shaw was Thomas Freeman of the British Company, like Dozy a member of Swedish lodge Elisabeth in Canton.

Although we do not have concrete evidence of commissions, Shaw's diary illustrates how such informal relationships could have facilitated the private trade in masonic export goods. It is not known if Shaw was a freemason, but he was certainly in the position to order fraternal objects, if not masonic items. He was a member of the Society of the Cincinnati, a fraternal hereditary order founded by a group of high ranking militaries to preserve the friendship between the Continental Army and its French allies.[147] George Washington became president of this society in 1783, and a high percentage of freemasons was amongst the founders and members. Freemasonry and other fraternal organisations like the Society of the Cincinnati, the Odd Fellows, the Society of Bucks, etc. have certain social and ritual elements, as well as





Fig. 7.30: Part of a Chinese export porcelain service with the logo of the Society of the Cincinnati. Polychrome enamels with gold and an underglaze blue border, ca. 1784. Collection: Winterthur Museum, Wilmington, inv.nos. 1963.700.28 and 1963.700..57 A-C. Reproduced from: museumcollection.winterthur.org.
Fig. 7.31: Detail of a plate decorated with the logo of the Society of the Cincinnati. Collection: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Reproduced from: metmuseum.org.



Fig. 7.32: Portrait figurine of a Dutch merchant, possibly A.E. van Braam Houckgeest, unbaked clay with oil paint, produced in Canton ca. 1770, 36.5 x 31.5 x 20 cm. Collection: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, BK-1976-49. Reproduced from: rijksmuseum.nl.

symbolism and material culture in common. The orders for export porcelain for such fraternal organizations have rarely been explored and deserve more attention.

Shaw ordered a blue and white dinner and tea service, consisting of 302 pieces, with the insignia of the Society of the Cincinnati.[148] In his journal he described how he showed several prints to a porcelain painter and tried to explain his wishes for a design. He found that although the artist could copy them precisely, he had great trouble in assembling the intended design from various parts. The end result was therefore a compromise: a winged figure with trumpet representing Fame, bearing an American bald eagle on a bow of blue ribbon (figs. 7.30-7.31). When Shaw left Canton his commercial partner Thomas Randall waited for the order to be completed, so the porcelain cargo arrived in Baltimore with the next American ship, the *Pallas*, in 1785. It was sent to New York City, where through the services of colonel Henry Lee

(1758-1818) it was acquired by George Washington in 1786. (See also the Cincinnati porcelain signed by Syng Chong, fig. 7.39 discussed below.)

The head of the Dutch Factory, Van Braam Houckgeest was also involved in an important order for American porcelain and therefore deserves to be introduced further (fig.7.32). His father had founded the firm Van Braam & Helsdingen in Amsterdam, merchants in East India linen and Chinese curiosities.[149] After becoming supercargo in 1758 Van Braam travelled to Canton, where he acted as head of the Dutch Factory between 1758-1761, 1761-1763 and 1765-1773.[150] After his time in the VOC, he had emigrated to the USA in 1783, where he worked as Dutch consul. He then settled as owner of a rice plantation and became a US citizen in 1786. After a difficult period, during which he lost four young children, he entered the VOC service once more and was appointed head of the Dutch Factory in Canton one more time from 1790 onwards. He was from Company service in 1794 but postponed his leave in order to accompany the Dutch embassy to the Chinese emperor in Peking.[151] The Dutch diplomats had been making yearly visits to the Chinese emperors since 1655 in order to offer allegiance. By the end of the 18th century, the frequency had been reduced to every four years and the journey in 1794-1795 would be the last. The two commissioners of the diplomatic journey, Sebastien Cornelis Nederburgh and Jean Siberg (see chapter 5), were freemasons, as were the diplomats who made the journey to the emperor in 1795: Titsingh, Dozy and Van Braam Houckgeest.

The previous year Titsingh had been acting as Worshipful Master of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia (see chapter 5). Before his leave to China, where he would join Van Braam Houckgeest, the lodge minutes recorded on 12-8-1794:

> As now the main purpose of our meeting had been to once more have the pleasure of the important and pleasant presence of our worthy and high enlightened Brother Past Master Titsingh and to bid a solemn and brotherly farewell to him who will shortly be leaving for China, the Worshipful expressed his and the Brethren heartfelt sorrow about the pending loss of an enlightened and worthy member and predecessor of our Order with the most cordial wishes for his wellbeing and successful return to said Brother, who reciprocated in a similar captivating fashion […]. While one was already busy to make everything in order for the reception of the Profane, the Worshipful brought to the attention of the Brethren the receipt of a seal carved from mother of pearl for the grand Seal of this Lodge, one that was sent to him by Brother van Braam [from China] as a gift to the Lodge, and proposed to thank said Brother on behalf of La Vertueuse and carried this commission to Brother Titsingh who willingly accepted.[152]

Curiously this precious little object is not mentioned in the rather detailed inventories of the lodge, except in 1834.[153] Van Braam Houckgeest used the diplomatic journey to study Chinese culture, made notes and sketches, and collected objects. In 1795 he emigrated to the USA again, where he worked on the publication of his memoires of the journey.[154]

As an admirer of George Washington (1732-1799), America's most famous freemason, Van Braam Houckgeest has been named in connection to orders of Japanese lacquer on Washington's behalf (see chapter 6). In 1795 he also ordered a 45 piece Chinese porcelain tea-, coffee- and chocolate service in Canton as a gift for Martha Washington (1731-1802) (fig. 7.33-7.34).[155] The design is thought to have been supplied by Van Braam Houckgeest himself. It was decorated with the initials 'MW' in a wreath of green leaves, described as laurel and olives, against a radiant sun or sunburst, derived from the American eagle design popular in the new Republic. Beneath it is a banner, reading *Decus et tutamen ab illo* (*Honour and Glory come from it* [= from the Union]).[156] The rim of saucers and cups belonging to this service is decorated with a chain of elliptical links, carrying the names of the States of the Union. Above the chain an ouroboros is depicted: a snake with blue and gold scales, biting its tale and thus forming a perfect and never ending circle.[157]

Although there is no masonic symbolism as such present here, the radiant sun, the chain and the ouroboros are all symbols which do appear frequently in masonic iconography, for instance in the decorations of 18th century aprons (fig. 7.35). In such decorations, the chain refers to the unbreakable *chaine d'union*: the forming of a human chain by lodge members (Dutch: 'broederketen') during the ritual, a symbol of unity and the unbreakable bond of brotherhood (fig. 7.36). The service therefore has two layers of symbolism, which the viewer will have overlooked or recognized depending on his background. To most



Fig. 7.33: Chocolate cup with cover and saucer with the initials of Martha Washington, ca. 1795. Photograph: Mount Vernon Porcelain Collection, courtesy of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, USA.





Fig. 7.34 and detail: Dish with the initials of Martha Washington, ca. 1795. Photograph: Mount Vernon Porcelain collection, purchased by the Connoisseur Society of Mount Vernon, 2013, W-5308.

this design would evoke the ideals and strength of the union of the new republic, but to Washington and fellow initiates it could also evoke subtle overtones of masonic idealism. The service illustrates how enlightenment, fraternal and republican ideals were all intertwined in the visual culture at the time.

The additional demand from America stimulated further production of export porcelain. Accounts for the ship Experiment which sailed to Canton with captain Steward Dean (born 1748) in 1797 provide information about the retail prices of masonic export ware:

Masonic Bowls from 1 to 1 ½ gallons	2 to 3 [dollar]	each
ditto mugs 3 in a set	1¾ [dollar]	set



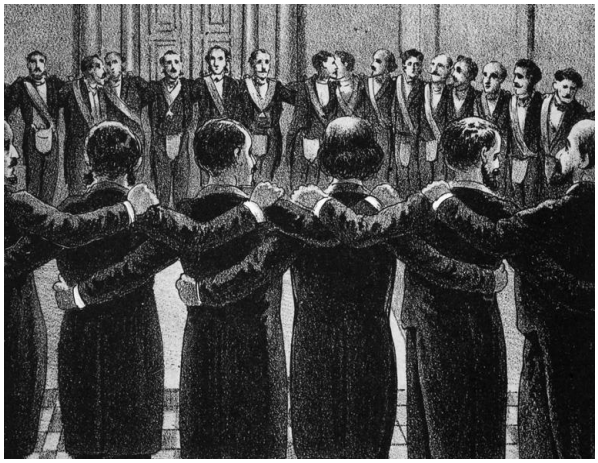


Fig. 7.35: Apron decorated with a RoseCroix degree jewel, flanked by a crown of thorns and an ouroboros surrounding a chalice. The words 'pax vobis' are embroidered in masonic code on opposite sides of the flap, which carries a radiant grail and stars. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Reproduced from: Kroon 2001B, p. 256.
Fig. 7.36: Freemasons at a lodge meeting, forming the 'chaine d'union' or 'broederketen'. Reproduced from: Taxil 1894.

ditto pint mugs		20 [dollar]	100 p[iece]s[158]

While they are now considered curiosities, such pieces were clearly sold by the hundreds. It would not be surprising if these prices referred to pieces decorated with the 'five masonic motifs' discussed below (see fig. 7.134), which were indeed mass produced and of which the largest number of pieces still survives.

♦ *Syng Chong's involved in fraternal commissions*

There is no information on the artists involved in the production of masonic export porcelain. Chinese export porcelain was mass produced in large workshops at Jingdezhen, employing several artists at the same time. It was unusual for their work to be signed or even the name of the workshop was rarely listed. That makes the punch bowls signed by Syng Chong, a Chinese porcelain merchant in Canton, all the more rare. One of the surviving pattern sample plates of his workshop is kept in the Victoria & Albert Museum in London (fig. 7.37), which shows various border and monogram samples.[159] There were of course many porcelain merchants in Canton, but somehow Syng Chong stood out. He was often praised by the European and American traders who dealt with him:

> The most respectable China Ware or Porcelain trader – he is very correct in Business – his worth is better than that of any other Dealer in Canton and his prices are in Proportion, for Common & Cheap Goods he is not so suitable as some Other.
>
> Old Syngchong is Head China Ware Merchant, is sometimes dearer, often a little cheaper generally better China & always best packed of any man in Canton, is a closed fisted old miser, gets drunk every day, but performs his contracts and whatever you can bind him to, he will fulfil. [160]

The aforementioned American supercargo Shaw was certainly also familiar with this man, although he only once referred to him in his journals:

> Syng Chong, the principal porcelain merchant at Canton, told me one day, with much satisfaction, that his wife had brought him a third son, - and added, with an air expressive of gratitude, that Joss [= a household deity] was very good to him. 'Joss loves me', continued he, 'because I make him much chin-chin [= worship].[161]



Fig. 7.37: Pattern sample plate with the mark of 'Syng Chong FM', over glaze enamels and gilding, produced at Jingdezhen, 1790-1800. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London (gift by Mr R.A. Pfungst), C.121-1923.
Reproduced from: collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O437100/plate-unknown.

That the Swedish Company also dealt with him, is clear from the inclusion of his name on a list of four important Chinese porcelain merchants in the papers of Carl Christian Ström (1767-1842), a ship's preacher aboard the Gustaf III in 1796 and probably a relative of captain and lodge member Gabriel Ström.[162]

Syng Chong was responsible for several orders of fraternal porcelain for the Society of the Cincinatti. One was a punch bowl, now in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. It is finely decorated after an engraving for a membership certificate, issued in December 1785 by the Society of the Cincinnati to major-general Ebenezer Stevens (1751–1823), vice president of the New York branch of the Society (figs. 7.38-7.39).[163] A polychrome version of this bowl was made for colonel Richard Varick (1753–1831), president of the New York branch of the Society during Steven's time. Varick later became Washington's confidential secretary and mayor of New York (1789-1801). The bowl is now in the collection of Morristown National Historical Park, New Jersey.[164]

Another bowl was presented on 4-7-1812 by major-general Jacob Morton (1756-1837, former Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of New York) to the Corporation of the City of New York (fig. 7.40). The interior of the bowl is decorated with a view of *New York from Brooklyn* after a design by William Birch (1755-1834) and engraved by Samuel Seymour (circa 1755-1822) in 1802.[165] Apart from an inscription relating to the presentation, the lettering on the base reads: 'THIS BOWL WAS MADE BY SYNGCHONG IN CANTON FUNGMANHE PINXT' - a most rare revelation of the name of the Chinese artist, Fung Manhe. The initials 'FM' on the sample plate mentioned above (fig. 7.37), probably also point to this artist.

Syng Chong was also responsible for at least one masonic piece commissioned for a British lodge in India, now in the collection of the Library and Museum of Freemasonry in London (fig. 7.41). It also happens to be one of the largest preserved Chinese punch bowls in the world. A text along the foot and the inside rim of the bowl reads:

> This bowl is presented to the Worshipful Master Wardens and Brethren of the lodge of True Friendship Bengal No 1 as a mark of esteem by their Brother Hugh Adams.
> This bowl made by Syng Chong China Merchants Canton AD 1813.[166]



Fig. 7.38: Blank membership certificate for the Society of the Cincinnati. Collection: Library of Congress, Washington, i nv.no. LC-DIG-pga-01184. Reproduced from: loc.gov.



Fig. 7.39: Punch bowl decorated after an membership certificate of the Society of the Cincinnati issued to Ebenezer Stevens (1751-1823) in 1785, signed by Syng Chong, Canton, diam 40.6 cm. Collection: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (gift of Lucille S. Pfeffer), inv.no. 1984.449. Reproduced from: metmuseum.org.



Fig. 7.40: Punch bowl with a decoration after a view of New York from Brooklyn (1802), presented on 4-7-1812 by general Jacob Morton (1756-1837) to the Corporation of the City of New York, signed by Syng Chong, Canton, diam. 25.4 cm. Collection: New York Historical Society, on permanent loan to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Reproduced from: Howard 1984, cat. c.71.





Fig. 7.41: Punch bowl produced by Syng Chong in Canton and commissioned by Hugh Edwards for the lodge True Friendship No. 218 in Bengal. Polychrome enamels and gold, dated 1813, height 26 cm, diam. 56 cm.
Collection: The Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, inv.no. D2009/42 (permanent loan from lodge True Friendship).
Reproduced from: freemasonry.london.museum.co.uk (above) / Howard 1997, p. 133 (below).







Reverse sides and interior of fig. 7.41. Reproduced from: Hervouët/Bruneau 1986, p. 285.

Lodge True Friendship was the first lodge in Bengal, founded in 1773. So far, nothing was known about the bequeather, Hugh Adams. Most likely he was the commander of the ship Upton Castle by Forbes & Co, active in Bengal in 1798, and later working as a Free Mariner (someone licensed by the court of London to earn their living as a professional mariner in the East Indies) in India in 1809.[167]

The punch bowl has a diameter of circa 55 cm, providing enough space for one of the most elaborate masonic decorations executed on export porcelain.[168] The exterior top rim is painted with a blue and gilded meander while the other decorations are divided into four main groups of symbols. The first is a miniature tracing board type decoration with symbols for the Apprentice, Fellow-Craft and Master's degrees.

Between two columns is a set of steps, on which rests a bible, opened on II Chronicles, Chapter III (dealing with the building of the temple). On top of the bible are a set square and compass; around it on the steps three candlesticks and a coffin are grouped. Various tools appear from behind the bible: a Jacob's ladder, a level, a rule, a plumb rule, a trowel and a maul. To the right is a pair of clasped hands, referring to friendship and the lodge name, and to the left a hand holding a plumb line. Below the bible is a pentagram with the letter 'G', and above it are depicted the sun, moon and seven stars, topped with all-seeing eye, a dove and a blue banner reading 'FIDE, SPE ET CHARITATE' ('Faith, Hope and Charity'). The dove is probably a reference to Noah and the (British) side degree of Royal Arch Mariner. Faith, Hope and Charity are here a reference to the Rose Croix degree of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite (AASR). Other parts of the decorations also refer to higher degrees and side workings.

The second group of symbols shows a bridge, consisting of five arches, referring to the Knights of the Sword and of the East (AASR). The bridge is topped by a cross entwined by a serpent, referring to the degree of Knights of the Brazen Serpent (AASR). On both sides are eight pointed stars. The left shows another cross with a serpent within a garter carrying the motto 'LONGE INDE ESTE' ('Far from me'). The right shows a cross with two crossed swords within a garter is the motto 'IN HOC SIGNO VINCES' ('In this sign thou shalt conquer'). The latter represents the badge of the Order of the Knights of Constantine.

The third group depicts a compass on a section of a circle, framing a radiant sun, possibly the Officer's jewel for the Deputy Grand Master in Bengal. Around it is the text 'LODGE TRUE FRIENDSHIP. BENGAL NO 1 G[RAND] L[ODGE OF] E[NGLAND] 315', topped by a pair of clasped hands, a reference to friendship and the lodge name. The fourth group again refers to higher and side degrees, such as the Knights Templar. It shows a patriarchal cross with the text 'INRI' and IHS' and a serpent entwined around it. Above the cross is an all-seeing eye, to the left an eight pointed star with a (brazen) cross and serpent, a coffin with a skull and crossed bones at its centre. Below the star a skull is painted. To the right is a Templar cross, with skull and crossed bones below. Under this scene is a banner with text reading 'SUB CRUCE SALUS' ('Salvation under the Cross'). These symbols refer to the Knights Templar, another side working.

The interior of the bowl is painted and gilded with a wide floral rim. On the base is a fifth group of masonic symbols, referring to the Royal Arch degree: underneath an arch is a radiant altar, carrying amongst others a triangle with the *Tetragrammaton*. To the left are a crossed pickaxe and shovel, to the right a pair of compasses crossed with a set square. Above the altar is an All-seeing eye, and above the arch is a banner with the text 'SIT LUX ET LUX FUIT' ('Let there be light and there was light').[169]

The bowl remained in the possession of the lodge. In 1892 a three tier, triangular stand of ebonised wood for the bowl was presented. It was decorated with silver panels with the names of the consecutive Worshipful Masters (additional names were added in 1963). In circa 1920 the lodge was presented with a additional silver ladle with an ivory handle.[170] After the end of the British Empire in 1947 the bowl was returned to England, where the lodge continued to meet in Bristol. The museum's provenance records that in the past, the bowl was taken back to the lodge from time to time for use at a special occasion. Even the recipe for the punch is preserved:

> 4 Quarts of Three Star Brandy, 4 Quarts good Jamaica Rum, 4 Quarts Whisky, 1 Orange Curacao, 1 Pint Lime Juice, 2 Tablespoons Angostura Bitters, 2 sliced Oranges, 2 sliced Lemons. The sliced skin of one Cucumber, 2 pounds of Sugar. Garnished with a handful of fresh herbs and spices. The punch was prepared at 1 pm or 'Tiffin' time and just before the evening banquet bottles of Bathgate soda water were ceremonially added by four members standing at North, South, East and West of the bowl. The ration per member was a fifth of a gallon and it was recommended that only punch or water be drunk on those evenings. The flavour was strong

> and the recipe notes that a considerable quantity of soda and brandy could be used to top up the bowl before the flavour suffered.[171]

♦ *The first Chinese freemasons*

The activities described above all pertain to those of foreigners on Chinese soil. So far, the comprador Ava and the merchant Syng Chong are the only Chinese men named in relevant archives. What then of Chinese freemasons? In Europe it was common to initiate employees as Servants in order to ensure their secrecy. The services of Chinese men were hired by the Dutch lodges in Batavia and Canton, but their names were not discovered in any of the membership records researched for this project. After the closure of the Swedish lodges, freemasonry continued as an imported phenomenon, but in this phase it became a mostly British occasion.

As mentioned above, there is little information on the British lodges Amoy (founded 1760) and Amity (founded 1767). Apart from possible losses of archive materials at sea, several fires destroyed the Canton Factories, which helps explain this lack of documentation. Amity suspended activities around 1804,[172] and although it seems unlikely that no other nation would have filled the gap, according to official masonic history it would take forty years before any lodge activities resumed. The strained relationship between Britain and China after the end of its East India Company charter and the subsequent Opium War (1839-1842) must have been contributing factors. It seems the treaty of Nanking, which opened up more ports to foreign trade and the transfer of Hong Kong to the British created the right climate for lodge activities to resume.

On 29-4-1844 twelve freemasons petitioned the English Grand Lodge for a letter of constitution for a lodge in Victoria, Hong Kong. The constitution dated 18-9-1844 for Royal Sussex Lodge no. 735 was not received until 27-3-1847.[173] The lodge met in a room of the *godown* (warehouse) of the trading company Gibb Livingston & Co, as T.A. Gibbs was a member.[174] In 1845 Samuel Rawson (1819-1893), merchant at Fox, Rawson & Co and earlier a member of lodge Industry and Perseverance no. 129 (now no. 106) in Calcutta, was elected Master of the Lodge. Meetings took place in a house at Holywood Road.[175]

The membership flourished to 62 men and by 1846 another lodge was needed to accommodate them all.[176] The constitution of that second lodge in Hong Kong, named Zetland no. 768, was dated 21-3-1846. The Worshipful Master was Oliver Goldsmith, Assistant Commissary General. The members of this lodge were less prosperous than those of Sussex.[177]

By 1847 a Provincial Grand Master was appointed by the British Grand Lodge and the choice fell on Rawson.[178] When many lodge members moved to Canton for commercial reasons, Royal Sussex lodge also relocated to Canton. The first meeting there took place in the British Factory on 18-2-1847; later meetings were held in the Club House above the boat house of the Factory. When the Factory was burned down as a result of civil unrest, the lodge returned once more to Hong Kong in 1856.[179]

Meanwhile, the membership of lodge Zetland dwindled, but meetings continued in the houses of various lodge members. When activities picked up again, funds were raised for a proper lodge building on the site of the former Court House, for which the foundation stone was laid on 1-2-1853 with much pomp and circumstance:

> The Provincial Grand Master, Bro Samuel Rawson, led a procession of Masonic brethren in regalia who were preceded by the bands of the 59th Regiment and the United States naval vessel Susquehanna. When HMS Cleopatra made the signal that the sun was at its meridian, the bells proclaimed high noon and the stone was lowered into position. After the Provincial Grand Master tried the stone with the plumb, level and square, he poured corn, wine and oil on the stone, and the building was declared dedicated to Freemasonry.[180]

The lodge building was replaced by the more impressive Zetland Hall on the upper junction between Zetland Street and Ice House Street in 1865 (fig. 7.42). This second Hall was designed by lodge member C. St. George Cleverly (1819-1897), Surveyor General for Hong Kong.[181]

Meanwhile, a lodge had also been founded in Shanghai. Although the formal constitution of the Lodge of Northern China no. 832 dates from 1849, efforts to form this third lodge started earlier. On 7-11-1844 Rutherford Alcock was appointed Consul in Amoy. Having earlier been a member of Brittanic Lodge no. 33 in London, he now became active in the founding of the Lodge of Northern China, as did some members from Zetland and Royal Sussex lodge who had relocated to Shanghai.[182] Fourteen freemasons signed the petition for a constitution dated 1-8-1849. Meetings first took place in the house of a captain



Fig. 7.42: Zetland Hall on Zetland Street, Hong Kong, ca. 1865 (bombed in 1944). Reproduced from: Wikimedia Commons.



Fig. 7.43: Masonic Hall (left) and Pustau & Co. (right) on the Bund in Shanghai, 1886. Collection: Chinese Museum (Museum of Chinese Australian History), Melbourne. Reproduced from: chia.chinesemuseum.com.au.

Landers in December, a bungalow next to the Friends of China office.[183] The lodge acquired a building of its own on Nanking Road (formerly Park Lane) and met here from circa 1855 onwards, while in 1857, the house known as Maloo Gate was the lodge premises.[184] After that, the meetings were held in a building shared with the English and German Glee Club (later The Harmonia), in the library and other places, until it was decided to assemble funds for the building of a proper Freemason's Hall.[185] Consul W.D. Methurst expressed his worry, that the 'respectability of the institution in the eyes of the Chinese' depended on choosing the right name for the building, as locals often attached 'lucky' or negative names to a location, which could influence their attitude towards it:

> In the case of the Lodge, the natives at present know it, I believe, by the name the Library has, but I have not the slightest doubt that ere long, the mysterious character of the ceremonials conducted within it, will reach their inquisitive eyes and ears, and their diseased imaginations will infallibly hit upon a solution of the mystery by no means complimentary to the Fraternity, and the Lodge will be named accordingly. You will at once see how detrimental this result may prove to the name of Freemasonry in this port, and even beyond it, more especially if you call to mind the fact that to a Chinese everything that is vile and horrible is associated with the very idea of a secret society. […]
>
> Mencius, who as you know, was a Chinese sage of ancient days, happened curiously enough in his teaching to on the subject of the compass and the square, and to demonstrate therefrom [sic] to his disciples, that, as those instruments were the origin of the circle and the square, so the good man was the perfect exhibition of the relations of human society. […] I propose therefore the Chinese name of 'Kwei-hei-tang', meaning 'Compass and Square Hall' as the most fitting designation that can be adopted. This title will at once associate the building, and the fraternity who congregate within it, in the minds of the uneducated natives with all that is right and orderly […] as uttered by the sage, and which fortuitously perhaps, but none the less distinctly, convey so Masonic an idea to the mind.[186]

Methurst referred to his time in Batavia, where he 'repeatedly had the lodge building pointed out to [him] as "Roomah Saitan", that is "The dwelling of Beelzebub"', to underline his argument.

The lodge thought it wise to adapt the suggested name for its new The Masonic Hall on Canton Road, which was taken into use in 1861, as recollected *The Freemason's Monthly Magazine* (1866):

> […] it was determined to build that fine three storied building in the Canton Road, where, besides all meetings of Lodges, chapter and encampment, there are those also of the Asiatic Society, Debating Society, &c.
>
> The plans for this building, called by the Chinese, according to the, inscription over the portal, Kwe-itche-tong - the Hall of the Compass and Square, - were made by Mr. C. W. Gribble, since deceased, the work being contracted for by a Chinese, at a total cost, including the ground purchase, of taels 11,500, 9,500 of which were advanced by certain of the brethren on loan, free of interest. This has all been repaid; so that, in its property alone, the North China Lodge is the richest in China […].[187]

The Northern Lodge of China was renumbered as no. 570 in 1863. The lodge took in members of several lodges in Shanghai and Hong Kong that had been erased through depletion of members. Masonic activities in the region were increasing. Royal Sussex Lodge also moved to Shanghai in 1863. One of its members was the widely known masonic historian Robert Freke Gould (1836=-1915). In that same year the lodge Ancient Landmark was granted a constitution by the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts in the USA, while the Sphinx Lodge No. 263, a military lodge travelling under Irish constitution, arrived in Hong Kong.[188] Meridian Lodge no. 1045, a military travelling lodge formed by the 31st Regiment of Foot (as a daughter of a lodge of the same name in Poona, India) applied for use of the Freemasons Hall in Shanghai between 1862 and 1863.[189] In 1864 Victorian Lodge No. 1026 was founded in Hong Kong, as was Tuscan lodge No. 1027 in Shanghai. That same year Northern Lodge of China allowed the foundation of Scottish Cosmopolitan Lodge No. 428 to take place on its premises.[190] That is not counting the various Chapters and side degrees active in China at the time.[191]

As their membership expanded, the Northern Lodge of China, Royal Sussex lodge and Tuscan Lodge decided to join efforts to erect a new, three-storied lodge building in Italian style on The Bund at Canton Road in Shanghai, which was designed by architect and lodge member Clark, and finished after his leave by

lodge member W. Kidner (fig. 7.43). The foundation stone was laid in 1865, and the building was consecrated in 1867.[192] Its design was described as follows:

> The *Idea* was to have a Lodge, Reception, and Preparation Rooms on one Floor, but it having afterwards been proposed, that an Organ be obtained from England, it was determined, in open Lodge, *to have the Upper Floor as one Large Hall*, with a Small Room for Tyler, and a Preparation
> Room adjoining; as when the Organ is erected, a proper Dais, placed at the East End, and the walls properly coloured, the Room will be nicely proportioned - The Reading Room, was intended for a small Lodge Room, - and the Book room, as Reception & for Banqueting Room - the lower Floor or Godown has been Ceiled and Moulded, and a Wooden Floor laid, so by introducing glazed windows, the East end may be closed off and used as a Kitchen, by being fitted with an American Cooking Stove, &c. and the West end would form a fine Banqueting Room.[193]

In 1868 the Grand Orient de France established the lodges Confucius in Hong Kong and Foederis Arca in Shanghai, as the founding of English lodges continued.[194] While all these lodges boasted a very international mix of members, Chinese names are lacking among them. Periods of civil upheaval and the difficulties of transporting archives overseas might explain why there is now so little documentation available on the initiation of local Chinese men into these lodges, but the first must have taken place around the middle of the 19th century, as was the pattern in the rest of Asia.

Freemasons have often remarked on similarities between their own fraternity and the many secret societies in China, such as the Heaven and Earth Society. Although the shared, pre-Christian origins perceived by some 19th-century authors were clearly based on wishful thinking, the fact that organisations with a fraternal, ritual and secret character were common in Chinese society may have facilitated the introduction of freemasonry into that same society. Jean DeBernardi has explored the relationship between the Chinese Triad societies and freemasonry from the perspective of social anthropology. She points to a statement by a 'missionary resident in the Straits' Settlements' (British Malaysia) circa 1859:

> […] [t]he English, instead of destroying these secret [Triad] societies, have tried to introduce amongst the Chinese freemasonry; and many respectable merchants among them generally frequent the lodge of the place where they are.[195]

As discussed in chapter 5, the earliest surviving records of the initiation of Chinese men seem to originate from the Dutch East Indies, the first being the sugar merchant, The Boen Keh, initiated into lodge De Vriendschap in Surabaya in 1856.[196]

In 1865 Yung King, a Chinese graduate of an American college, applied for membership of Cosmopolitan lodge, and was rejected.[197] The initiation of Shan Hing Yung, a lieutenant in the Chinese navy, into lodge Star of Southern China EC in Canton in 1889 and that of Lie Khong, a merchant, into Corinthian Lodge in Amoy in 1895, are still considered the earliest of such events recorded in China itself.[198]

Table 7.1: Swedish and Dutch freemasons among East India Company employees in China (1757-1813)[199]

Last names between [square brackets] indicate suspected, but unconfirmed lodge members; lodge names between [square brackets] indicate a suspected, but unconfirmed continuation of activities.

Year	SOIC	VOC	EIC	Other companies	Available lodges
1754	supercargo F. Habicht (ship Götha Leijon)				-
1755					-
1756					-
1757	captain Ch. Chapman (ship Enigheten)	supercargo J.H. Knibbe			-
1758	captain B. Grubb, supercargo M. Grubb (ship Prins Carl); supercargo H.H. Ditmer (Prinsessan Sophia Albertina)	supercargo J.B. Schartow			-
1759	captain C.G. Ekeberg, supercargo A. Gadd, J. Hahr (ship Prins Friedric Adolph); captain C.G. Lehman, supercargoes Ch. Bratt, F. Habicht, F. Walter (ship Stockolms Slott)	assistant A.E. van Braam Houckgeest			**Prins Carls lodge, Canton**
1760	supercargo G. Tham (ship Prins Carl), captain Ch. Chapman (Prinsessan Sophia Albertina); captain B. Grubb, supercargoes D. Sandberg, H.W. Hahr (ship Riksens Ständer)	supercargo J.B. Schartow, assistant I. Guitard			**Prins Carls lodge, Canton** **Lodge Amoy, Amoy**
1761	supercargoes F.W. König, J.A. Grill (ship Prins Friedric Adolph)	[supercargoes J. Stuart], L. Schermer]			[Prins Carl's lodge, Canton]
1762	supercargoes A. Gadd, J.Fr. Petterson, D. Campbell, C. Laurent, .J A. Grill (home journey) (ship Stockolms Slott); captain C.G. Ekeberg, supercargo H.H. Ditmer (ship Finland)	supercargoes J.B. Schartow, A.E. van Braam Houckgeest, assistants I. Guitard, [J.P.J. Texier]			[Prins Carl's lodge, Canton]
1763	supercargo G. Tham (ship Prins Carl); supercargoes F.W. König, J. Hahr, U.M. Valtinson (ship Riksens Ständer)	supercargo J.B. Schartow, [assistant J.P.J. Texier]			[Prins Carl's lodge, Canton]
1764	captain S. Ruuth (ship Finland)	supercargo J. Karsseboom, assistants [J.P.J. Texier], I. Guitard			[Prins Carl's lodge, Canton]
1765	captain J. Habicht, supercargo H.W. Hahr (ship Prins Carl); captain C.G. Lehman, supercargo H.H. Ditmer (ship Riksens Ständer)	supercargoes J. Karsseboom, J.B. Schartow, assistants I. Guitard, P. Rocquette			[Prins Carl's lodge, Canton]
1766	captain C.G. Ekeberg, supercargoes A. Gadd, J.A. Grill, J. Pike, U.M. Valtinson (ship Stockolms Slott); captain L. Olbers (ship Adolf Friedrich)	supercargoes [J. Stuart], J.B. Schartow, J. Karsseboom, A.E. van Braam Houckgeest, assistants J.J. Teschemacher, P. Rocquette, N. Wijnberg	supercargoes N. Garland, A. Savage, translator Th. Bevan, R. Gordon, J. Belly	supercargo Dumont (ship La Paix), cadet Michel (ship Le Vilvain), supercargo P.L.A. de Robien [de Treullan], M. Toyon (all French), H. Westergaard, captain L. Svane (both Danish), F.J. Fritz (German?)	**Grill's lodge, Canton**
1767	supercargoes D. Sandberg, F. Habicht (ship Adolph Friedric); supercargoes G. Tham, J.F. Pettersson (ship Lovisa Ulrica); supercargo J.A. Grill	supercargoes J.B. Schartow, A.E. van Braam Houckgeest, J. Karsseboom, assistants N. Wijnberg			**Grill's lodge, Canton** **Loge Amity, Canton**
1768	captain C.G. Lehman (ship Cron Prins Gustaf); supercargo J.A. Grill	supercargoes J. Karsseboom, A.E. van Braam Houckgeest, assistants I. Guitard, F.H. van Eijmbeek			[Lodge Amity, Canton]

1769		supercargoes J. Karsseboom, A.E. van Braam Houckgeest, assistant I. Guitard			[Lodge Amity, Canton]
1770	captain C.G. Ekeberg (ship Finland); supercargo H.H. af Ditmer (ship Cron Prins Gustaf)	supercargoes J. Karsseboom, A.E. van Braam Houckgeest			[Lodge Amity, Canton]
1771	captain G. Ström, supercargoes H. W. Hahr, C.H. Forss (ship Adolph Friedric)	supercargoes J. Karsseboom, A.E. van Braam Houckgeest, assistant I. Guitard			[Lodge Amity, Canton]
1772		supercargo A.E. van Braam Houckgeest			[Lodge Amity, Canton]
1773		-			[Lodge Amity, Canton]
1774	captain G. Ström, supercargo H.H. af Ditmer (ship Cron Prins Gustaf); captain C.G. Ekeberg (ship Drottning Sophia Magdalena)	-			[Lodge Amity, Canton]
1775	supercargo C.H. Forss (ship Stockholms Slott); captain Ch. Chapman (ship Terra Nova)	-			[Lodge Amity, Canton]
1776		-			[Lodge Amity, Canton]
1777	captain Ch. Chapman, supercargo H.H. af Ditmer (ship Drottning Sophia Magdalena)	-			[Lodge Amity, Canton]
1778	captain Mauritz von Krusenstierna (ship Finland); captain G. Ström, supercargo H. König Petterson (ship Terra Nova); captain A. Savage	-			**Lodge Amity, Canton**
1779	supercargo H.W. Hahr (ship Lovisa Ulrica)	assistant A.A. Boers			[Lodge Amity, Canton]
1780	captain Mauritz von Krusenstierna (ship Adolph Friedric); supercargoes H.H. af Ditmer, E. von Stockenström (ship Cron Prins Gustaf)	-			[Lodge Amity, Canton]
1781	supercargo J.A. Smedberg (ship Drottning Sophia Magdalena); captain J.A. Burts, supercargo H. König Petterson (ship Gustaf III)	-			[Lodge Amity, Canton]
1782	supercargo H.W. Hahr (ship Lovisa Ulrica); supercargo G.J. Conradi (ship Cron Prins Gustaf)	-			[Lodge Amity, Canton]
1783	supercargo F.U. Peyron (ship Adolph Friedric); captain Mauritz von Krusenstierna (ship Gustaf III)	-			[Lodge Amity, Canton]
1784	supercargo H. König Petterson (ship Terra Nova); captain J.A. Burtz, superkargor: J.A. Smedberg (ship Gustaf Adolph)	assistant A.A. Boers			[Lodge Amity, Canton]
1785	captain H.H. Clason (ship Adolph Friedric); captain P. Tranchell, supercargoes G.J. Conradi (ship Cron Prins Gustaf)	assistant A.A. Boers			Masonic Society, Canton [Lodge Amity, Canton]
1786	captain J. Habicht, supercargo H.W. Hahr (ship Riksens Ständer); captain J. Gegerfelt (ship Gustaf III)	assistant A.A. Boers			Masonic Society, Canton [Lodge Amity, Canton]
1787	supercargo: J.A. Smedberg (ship Drottning Sophia Magdalena)	assistant A.A. Boers			Lodge Elisabeth, Canton [Lodge Amity, Canton]

1788	captain H.H. Clason (ship Cron Prins Gustaf); captain P. Tranchell, supercargo: G.J. Conradi, J.L. Törngren (ship Götheborg II); supercargo L. Gothéen (Terra Nova); lieutenants M. Graméen, J.G.A. Nordenheim, A.J. Lilljestrale, J.L. Kjerrman-Skold; assistants C.A. Malm, J. Fagraus; C. Broberg, P.Björkman, mate A. Andresson, 1st mate E. Nissen, 5th mate A.W. Silfverhjelm		supercargoes William Chalmers, [Th. Freeman], D. Marshall, 3rd assistant V. Beijer, J. Bruce	[assistant G. Beck (Danish)]	Lodge Elisabeth, Canton [Lodge Amity, Canton]
1789		assistant J. Bekker Teerlinck	supercargo William Chalmers		**Lodge Elisabeth, Canton** [Lodge Amity, Canton]
1790		director A.E. van Braam Houckgeest, assistant J. Bekker Teerlinck	supercargo William Chalmers		**Lodge Elisabeth, Canton** [Lodge Amity, Canton]
1791	supercargo O. Hanqvist, preacher G.L. Sivertson, barber-surgeon C.F. Gröndahl, assistants assistant F. Warming, F. Winberg, I. Toutin, G. Palm, mate P. Maurice (ship Gustaf III)	director A.E. van Braam Houckgeest, assistant J. Bekker Teerlinck	supercargo William Chalmers		**Lodge Elisabeth, Canton** [Lodge Amity, Canton]
1792	captain C.G. Treutiger, supercargoes P. Schenling, J.L. Törngren, assistant P. Roempke, lieutenant G. Gadd, preacher J. Brunnius, servant J. Holmgren (ship Götheborg II)	director A.E. van Braam Houckgeest, assistant J. Bekker Teerlinck	supercargoes William Chalmers, George Cumin		**Lodge Elisabeth, Canton**
1793	captain H.H. Clason, supercargoes J.A. Smedberg, J. Chalmers (ship Drottning Sophia Magdalena)	director A.E. van Braam Houckgeest, assistant J. Bekker Teerlinck	supercargo William Chalmers		**Lodge Elisabeth, Canton** [Lodge Amity, Canton]
1794		director A.E. van Braam Houckgeest, assistant J. Bekker Teerlinck			**Lodge Elisabeth, Canton** [Lodge Amity, Canton]
1795	captain E. Nissen, supercargoes P. Schenling, J. Dassau (ship Drottning Sophia Magdalena); captain J. Gegerfelt, supercargo: O. Hanqvist, C. Ericsson Malm (ship Gustaf Adolph); clerk J. Grill jr, mate J.G. Ulmann; Giffhorn, A. Fitings, S. Wennerstrom	director R.J. Dozy, diplomats A.E. van Braam Houckgeest, I. Titsingh	Supercargoes H. Brown, J.A.J.L.C. Drummond, H. Barin, T.C. Pattle, inspector C. Arthur, doctor J. Crichton, merxchant D. Reid, mate G. Lockart		**Lodge Elisabeth, Canton** [Lodge Amity, Canton]
1796	captain C.G. Treutiger (ship Gustaf III)	director R.J. Dozy	supercargoes S. Peach, G. Sparks, J.W. Roberts		**Lodge Elisabeth, Canton** [Lodge Amity, Canton]
1797	captain J.J. Kjerrmanskiöld, supercargo P. Roempke (ship Gustaf III); captain F.A. Shierman, supercargo: O. Hanqvist (ship Gustaf Adolph)	director R.J. Dozy			**Lodge Elisabeth, Canton [Lodge Amity, Canton]**
1798	captain H. Hansson (ship Drottning Sophia Magdalena); captain E. Nissen, supercargo: P. Schenling, C. Ericsson Malm, A. Ljugstedt (ship Drottningen); captain I. Ritterberg, supercargo: J. Dassau (ship Maria Carolina)	director R.J. Dozy			**Lodge Elisabeth, Canton [Lodge Amity, Canton]**
1799	captain J,.J. Kjerrmanskiöld (ship Gustaf III); captain G. Gadd (ship Östergöthland)	director R.J. Dozy			**Lodge Elisabeth, Canton suspended [Lodge Amity, Canton]**
1800	captain H. Hansson, supercargo A. Siberg (ship Drottning Sophia Magdalena)	director R.J. Dozy			**[Lodge Amity, Canton]**

1801	captains C.G. Treutiger (journey to Canton), J. Gegerfelt (home journey), supercargo P. Roempke (ship Drottningen); captain I. Ritterberg (journey to Canton) (ship Maria Carolina)	director R.J. Dozy	supercargo James Chalmers		**[Lodge Amity, Canton]**
1802	captain E. Nissen, supercargo H.J. Åhman (ship Gustaf III); captain G. Gadd (ship Prinsessan); A. Ljugstedt, Ullgren, J. Minten	director R.J. Dozy	supercargo James Chalmers		[Lodge Amity, Canton]
1803	captain F.A. Shierman, supercargo A. Siberg (ship Drottningen); captain H. Hansson (ship Wasa)		supercargo James Chalmers		[Lodge Amity, Canton]
1804	captain G. Gadd (ship Gustaf III)		supercargo James Chalmers		**Lodge Amity suspended**
1805					-
1806	J.P. Sundsten				-
1807					**–**
1808					-
1809					**–**
1810					-
1812					**Lodge Elisabeth, Canton erased**
1813					**Lodge Amity, Canton erased**

7.2. Masonic export porcelain

During the 18th and 19th centuries Chinese porcelain with decorations of family crests, monograms, seals and other emblems was made to order by European families, organizations and companies. From the middle of the 18th century onwards (coinciding with the foundation of European lodges in Asia) the production of such *Chine de Commande* started to include decoration schemes with masonic symbols. These export products are usually categorized as 'armorial porcelain'. While so much has been written on the subject, identification and dating of the surviving objects still proved difficult. On the one hand, standard works on export porcelain treat masonic objects as curiosities, the explanation of their decorations usually limited to 'various masonic symbols', 'the symbols of the fraternity' or an inaccurate attempt at interpretation.

The online catalogue of the Victoria & Albert Museum in London for instance, in 2015 provided the following description of an octagonal dish, decorated with the masonic theme of the Three Grand Masters (fig. 7.118 below):

> The original design may have been taken from an engraving by William Tringham made in 1755.[...] In the scene three figures stand around a wooden box, or the Ark, symbol of the Lodge, looking at plans; close to them are the mason's tools: the gavel, square, compass, level and plumb-rule, which respectively stand for power, morality, God's justice, equality, and uprightness. The same design appears on other export porcelain, and may represent the constitution of a new lodge. In 1764, Lord Blayney founded in London a Masonic sect called 'The Moderns', and attempted to reconcile the differences with other groups. It has been suggested that the service to which this dish belongs may have recorded such an event.[200]

As will become clear from the detailed discussed of this theme below, not only is this item attributed to the wrong artist (Tringham instead of Cole), the interpretation of basic masonic symbolism is also incorrect (including mistaking a cubic stone for the Ark). The idea that a service with this design - relating to the building or founding of the Temple of Solomon - could have been commissioned for the founding of a (Grand) lodge is not too farfetched. However, describing the Moderns' Grand Lodge as a 'sect' does not reflect the professional objectivity expected from an educational online tool. This example illustrates how the results of academic research into freemasonry, which have developed to a high standard in the last quarter of the 20th century, are yet to be disseminated into the art historical field. That there is a need for more cooperation between relevant disciplines is further illustrated by the fact that masonic literature and exhibition catalogues tend to get both the dating and country of origin of export wares wrong.[201] Below, the dating of objects as provided in museum provenance records has for the first time systematically been reviewed on the basis of dated masonic sources, allowing for many corrections.

Dutch freemasons were involved in the porcelain trade. The men mentioned in studies of export porcelain, as for instance by Jörg and Kroes, have been identified in lodge records. As the Dutch traded in masonic lacquer and were present in the international lodge in Canton, we may expect them to also have been involved in the trade in masonic export porcelain. However, so far only orders for non-masonic porcelain services by freemasons have been documented, which means we would have to identify Dutch sources for the decorations on masonic export porcelain in order to confirm any Dutch involvement in this trade. While the production of masonic lacquer ware was mainly a Dutch enterprise, the production of masonic export porcelain involved several European countries as well as the United States. As a result, there is a much wider variety of decors to be considered as a possible Dutch link.

As there is no comprehensive guide to masonic porcelain decorations, the following paragraphs attempts to offer the first such overview, distinguishing the most popular decoration types and their possible pictorial sources.[202] No less than 16 different themes (not counting variations within each theme) have been identified and it's possible more will yet be discovered. From this overview it will become clear that there are many surviving pieces with elaborate iconographic schemes, which have none of the family or company crests associated with armorial porcelain, but instead offer a deep symbolic significance to their owner.

♦ *Masonic or not?*

The first question to be addressed is: which decorations on export porcelain are 'masonic' in character? Recognizing masonic symbols - be it in the decoration of objects, interiors or architecture - can be problematic, even for experienced scholars. As explained in chapter 2 freemasonry used a wide spectrum of symbols and narrative scenes, derived from a much older iconography that was widely used in western (predominantly Christian) society well before the development of modern freemasonry. Examples are:

- tools from the building trade (compasses, square, plumb line, etc.), also found in emblems and allegories related to art and architecture, as well as guild emblems;
- astrological symbols (sun, moon, stars, etc.), also found in both western and non-western art;
- personifications (Wisdom, Strength, Beauty, Silence, etc.), also common in Christian art;
- mourning and transience symbols (tears, skull, broken column, etc.), also found in *memento mori*;
- biblical symbolism and narratives (building, destruction and rebuilding of the Temple of Solomon; pelican with young, rose and cross, etc.), derived from the most well-known book at the time of freemasonry's development.

Not all objects presented as 'masonic' in literature or at auction, qualify for this distinction on closer inspection. When masonic symbols are present on Chinese export ware this can heighten their rarity and market value, making a positive identification more attractive than a negative one. But mistaken attributions more often spring from the citation culture amongst scholars and the unfamiliarity of art historians with the subject, than from financial motives.

When attempting to identify masonic porcelain, one has to consider how heavily freemasonry borrowed from earlier pictorial traditions, including the visual imagery used by all kinds of organizations related to building, architecture, arts and sciences. Therefore, only specific combinations of symbols can be identified as masonic:

- decorations referring to the masonic myths of the initiation ceremonies of various degrees, described and illustrated in ritual manuscripts and printed manuals;
- decorations derived from the symbolism depicted on masonic regalia, tracing boards and other ritual objects;
- decorations derived from particular pictorial examples, such as engraved lodge certificates, and the illustrations in publications by or for members of the Order.

If a pictorial source cannot be identified, circumstantial evidence is necessary to support the identification process, preferably lodge archives documenting the membership of the commissioner, trader or buyer of the object. When there are no such documents, prosopographical research can be used to verify that the person in question had at least an affiliation with the Order through family, friends or business relations, or had intimate knowledge of masonic symbols, concepts or literature circulating within his social group. In some cases, documentation is absent and a level of uncertainty will remain. (Again absence of proof is not necessarily proof of absence, however, because early masonic archives are simply incomplete.)

■ *Theme 1: Nautical themes*

▫ *Heraldic-shield-and-ship design (Dutch)*

A fine example of an ambiguous case is that of a tea service dated circa 1760, now in the collection of the Masonic Library and Museum of Pennsylvania (fig. 7.44).[203] It's decorated with a family crest, consisting of a shield in front of which a stork is standing on a ball, searching in the water before a field of reeds, under a blue sky with three octagonal stars. On top of the shield is a helmet and another stork with spread wings and an eel in its beak. The shield is resting on a dune top and several navigation tools are depicted at its feet: a quadrant (sextant), a compass, a pair of compasses and a set square. The background scene shows the sea with two ships, one flying a Dutch flag. According to Jochem Kroes' *Chinese Armorial Porcelain for the Dutch Market*, it may have belonged to the Dez Maretz family in Delft or the Woltgraft family in





Fig. 7.44 and detail: Tea service decorated with a Dutch family crest against a nautical scene, combined with small flower sprays. Polychrome enamels with gilding, ca. 1760. Collection: Photograph: The Masonic Library and Museum of Pennsylvania. © Christie's Images Limited, 2015 (top) / Reproduced from: phoenixmasonry.org (bottom).

Kampen, after which it was passed to the Van der Leck Le Clerq collection in the province of Zeeland in the mid-19th century.[204]

The museum's provenance record describes this service as masonic. A pair of compasses crossed with a set square has been a typical masonic image since the 18th century, the 'logo' of freemasons if you will, but this particular combination of tools was not used exclusively within freemasonry. It is also part of the visual imagery of the architectural and nautical sciences. A compass on a quadrant can look very similar to a sextant, when painted in miniature by a Chinese hand unfamiliar with western tools. The question is in which context the depicted tools should be interpreted here, nautical or masonic? As no additional information is currently available on possible membership of the Dez Maretz or Woltgraft families of the Dutch Grand Lodge (whose membership records of this early date are incomplete), it is not possible to draw definite conclusions either way, although the early dating also implies nautical rather than masonic meaning.

In the 18th century, this scene would have appealed to a buyer in the shipping trade, a shipyard owner or a seaman, while a freemason might take to it for a different reason, and that is still the case today. Some could argue that the allusive 'game' is being played here on purpose (see chapter 2). The use of 'hidden' symbolism to be 'discovered' by members only - a layering of different levels of symbolism in architecture, decorations and objects, which provide informed viewers with a so called *Aha Erlebnis* - is typical for the material culture of freemasonry.[205] The question remains whether the original (western) artist of the design ever intended this double layered meaning, or whether it is a case of *Hineininterpretierung* by later buyers. In such cases where documentation is lacking, it is wise to err on the side of caution. Once a label has been assigned, it will quickly become part of a citation culture.

▫ *Monument-and-ship design*

The identification problem can be further illustrated by a decoration, which is available in versions with both heavy, light and zero masonic overtones.[206] The first examples clearly have a masonic context. A plate dating circa 1790 in a Danish collection was decorated with a nautical scene in the centre (fig. 7.45). It consists of a (square) monument, bearing the monograms 'PNS' and 'ODLA' and the text *varigt venskab* (true friendship). It is placed in front of - or hacked from - a rock face, from which a tree or branch is sprouting. To the right of the monument is a broken column, carrying a group of tools (a pair of compasses, a set square and a plumb line) from which hangs a medallion with the letter 'I'. To the left of the monument is a view of a ship at sea, carrying a banner marked 'N Ξ 1'. Above the scene is a flaming eight-pointed star carrying the letter 'Z'.

The monograms have been identified as belonging to Peder Norden Solling (1758-1827), a captain in service of the Danish East India Company, and Otto Diderick Lytken Agerbech (1747-1806), his second in command, both members of lodge Zorobabel til Nordstjernen in Copenhagen since 1781.[207] The text on the plate indicates that it was probably commissioned to mark both the men's friendship and the bond of lodge brothers. From that masonic perspective one could speculate if the clean lines of the monument may have been contrasted with the rough surface of the rock on purpose, referring to the work of the Apprentice. The green branch could be a Chinese interpretation of an acacia sprig, while the monument itself could represent a grave monument: that of Hiram. The letter 'I' most likely refers to the column Jachin, while the flaming star with 'Z' can only be a reference to the lodge name.

The same gentlemen commissioned another plate with a variation of this design (fig. 7.46). In the second version the monument has a more elegantly curved shape, carries an urn and is dressed with a garland. The rock face has disappeared and instead a rock is depicted on the foot of the monument. The broken column is more prominent in the composition, while the tools are now arranged separately against the column and the tree is reduced to a decorative branch with leaves instead of pines. The text on the monument now reads *saa fast staeer venskabet* (so firmly steers friendship). The ship is more prominent and appropriately carries a Danish flag. Overall, the masonic symbolism is so reduced that this scene would be interpreted as 'just' nautical and/or a *memento mori*, if it weren't for the flaming star with the letter 'Z'.[208]

How subtle the difference between masonic and non-masonic variations of the monument-and-ship design can be, is illustrated by two punch bowls from the same decade. The first one shows the monument



Fig. 7.45: Plate with a monument-and-ship type decoration, commissioned by Peder Norden Solling (1758-1827) and Otto Diderick Lytken Agerbech (1747-1806). Polychrome enamels, 1790s, diam. 24.5 cm. Appeared at auction at Lauritz.com, lot.no. 3271985. Reproduced from: Lauritz.com. (Also reproduced in Grandjean 1965, fig. 96.)



Fig. 7.46: Detail of a plate with a monument-and-ship type decoration, also commissioned by Solling and Agerbech. Polychrome enamels, 1790s. Reproduced from: Grandjean 1965, fig. 96a.
Fig.7.47: Punch bowl with a monument-and-ship type decoration. Iron red enamel, 1780-1800, diam. 39 cm. Collection: C.L. Davids, Copenhagen. Reproduced from: Grandjean 1965, fig. 119.

carrying the monogram 'EE' and the text *fliid vinder anseele* (diligence is gaining) (fig. 7.47). Cornucopias are depicted at the foot of the monument, tools are arranged along the column. The scene is flanked by seascapes with ships. The inside rim of the bowl is decorated with a series of monogrammed medallions, hanging from garlands: 'MW', 'CB', 'MS', 'CS', 'PP' and 'PR'. On the bottom of the bowl a verse is written:

Derfor viin og kierlighed	Let love and wine
lad kun ordet blive	therefore be the only word
Det kan lindre vor fortred	It can relieve our misery
Og al sorg bort drive	and dispel all grief
Brodre kom skienk I duldt maal	Brethren come, pour your glass full
Glasset foer til munden	and lift it to your mouth




Fig. 7.48 and detail: Punch Bowl with a monument-and-ship type decoration and small flower sprays. Iron red and blue enamels with gilding, ca. 1795, diam. 33 cm (rim)/17.8 cm (foot), height 14 cm. Photo's: Jan-Erik Nilsson, Göteborg, Sweden. Reproduced from: gotheborg.com/exhibition/exhibit_64-147_armorial.shtml (collection listed as 'AW').

Kierlighed og viinens skaal	Love and wine glass
Drick den ud til bunden	drink them down to the bottom

The text includes some spelling mistakes made by the Chinese artist. The bowl was attributed to Erich Erichsen (1752-1837), director of the Danish East India Company and a member of lodge Zorobabel since 1778.[209] Considering the presence of compasses and square on the column and the word 'brothers' in the verse, the other monograms may well refer to the members of his lodge.

On the second bowl however, the masonic tools on the column have been omitted (fig. 7.48). The cornucopias have been replaced by some pottery, the monogram now reads 'PBC' while the ship in the background carries a Swedish flag.[210] Nothing suggests a masonic context here.

The design was also used in orders from other countries. Three examples show non-masonic variations. Fig. 7.49 shows the monument, carrying the monogram ('SG'), faced with a floral spray and surmounted by a bird (seagull or stork) holding a sprig or eel in its beak.[211] Here the ship is flying an American flag and the monument is surrounded by greenery. The column is missing and some tools are displayed at the foot of the monument, which can be interpreted as either nautical or masonic, comparable to the crest-and-ship design discussed above. Above the scene is now a banner reading 'AMERICA'. Fig. 7.50 shows a second version of this design on a cup in the collection of Reeves Centre in Washington. Here, the ship flies the British Union Jack (authorized in 1801) and above the central design is a banner with the words 'IN CREDO' (= 'In Faith'). A third variation is seen on a teapot, carrying the initials 'CB' on the monument (fig. 7.52), and on a mug, carrying the initials 'IH' or 'JFC', where the scene also includes a Union Jack, but shows a dove perched on an urn (fig. 7.51). [212]

A Dutch variation was made to commemorate the marriage of the assistant Johannes Arend de Melander in 1790, who travelled to Canton in 1789-1792 (fig. 7.53).[213] In this version, the year is depicted below the monument, while the initials of the married couple and the name 'SCHIP ALBLASSERDAM' is painted on the monument itself, suggesting this ship is depicted in the background.[214] Fittingly, two loving doves are depicted on a perch above the urn. A sugar bowl in another Dutch collection is decorated in the same manner with initials and the name of the ship 'VASCO DI GAMA' (fig. 7.54). Both these examples also lack any masonic references.

These many variations on the same theme illustrate how, once a design was copied, the Chinese artists could re-use and alter the design to suit the next client's wishes. It is not clear of the masonic or the non-masonic version was used first. Did the commissioners of the American, British and Dutch versions ask for symbols to be omitted, or did the Danes ask for masonic symbols to be added to an existing design?





Fig. 7.49: Mug with a monument-and-ship type decoration and the monogram 'SG'. Polychrome enamels with gilding, ca. 1795, height 10.2 cm. Reproduced from: Howard/Ayers 1978, no. 467. (Also reproduced in Cat. exhib. Seattle 1976, p. 63.)
Fig. 7.50: Mug with a monument-and-ship type decoration with the monogram 'IH' or 'JFC', and a blue, star studded band with six oval medallions with landscapes and birds. Polychrome enamels with gilding, ca. 1805, height 14 cm. Reproduced from: Howard/Ayers 1978, no 468.



Fig. 7.51: Cup with a monument-and-ship type decoration. Polychrome enamels with gilding, ca. 1805, height 6.7 cm. Collection: Reeves Center Collection, Washington and Lee University. Reproduced from: Litzenburg/Bailey 2003, p. 251.





Fig. 7.52 and detail: Teapot with a monument-and-ship type decoration and the monogram 'CB'. Grisaille painted with gilding, ca. 1800, 15.24 cm. Collection: Polly Latham Asian Art, Boston. Reproduced from: pollylatham.com.



Fig. 7.53: Tea caddy with a monument-and-ship type decoration, commemorating the marriage of J.A. de Melander. Polychrome enamels with gilding, 1790, height 15 cm, base 4 x 9 cm. Private collection. Reproduced from: Jörg 1982, p. 146.
Fig. 7.54: sugar bowl with a variation of the monument-and-ship motif. Polychrome enamels with gilding, 1790, height 6.3 cm, diam. 12 cm. Collection: Groninger Museum. Reproduced from: Jörg 1982, p. 146.



Fig. 7.55: Token for admission to Freemasons' Hall in London, silver coloured metal, 1755-1770, diam. 3.3 cm. Collection: Museum and Library of Freemasonry, London, inv.no. M2013/185. Reproduced from: freemasonry.london.museum.
Fig. 7.56: Plate jewel for Lodge No. 71, presented to W. Bro. J. White. Cut and engraved metal, ca. 1760, 4.8 x 4 cm. Collection: Museum and Library of Freemasonry, London, inv.no. M2009/1643. Reproduced from: freemasonry.london.museum.



Fig. 7.57a-b: Tankard and punch bowl decorated with masonic tools and a pentagram. Red and black enamels with gilding, dated 1755, tankard height 15.8 cm; bowl height 12.2 cm, diam. 28.3 cm. Collection: British Museum, London, inv.no. BM Franks 741-741a (donation by Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks). Reproduced from: britishmuseum.co.uk (left) / Connor e.a. 1986, p. 96, no. 125 (right).



Fig. 7.58a-c: Punch bowl with two heraldic motifs, separated by masonic tools; a flower spree on the bottom of the bowl and a blue and gold star border around the exterior rim, ca. 1800. Polychrome enamels, height 16.5 cm, diam. 43.8, 5-11-2011. Displayed at Skinner Auctioneers & Appraisers, Massachusetts. Reproduced from: liveauctioneers.com.

♦ *Characteristics and variations in decoration*

■ *Theme 2: Masonic tools*

Early examples of masonic porcelain have a restrained decoration consisting of a group of building tools, comparable to those depicted on lodge jewels or tokens (see for example figs. 7.55-7.56). Such is the case with a mug and a punch bowl in the collection of the British Museum, inscribed with the year 1755, making them the oldest dated pieces of masonic export porcelain. Both objects are decorated with a central decoration of a five-pointed star (pentagram), intertwined with a set square, plumb-line and level (fig. 7.57a-b). The initials 'E' and 'M' appear on either side of the central decorations, which are separated by flower sprays on the bowl and by a pair of compasses on the mug. The base of the bowl is decorated with a pair of compasses.[215] Together, these tools represent the distinguishing badges of the senior officers within a lodge (see chapter 2, table IV).

In other cases, masonic tools were combined with a family crest to demonstrate an affiliation to the Order (see figs. 7.20 and 7.131-7.133). An example is a punch bowl, decorated on two sides of the exterior with a coat of arms, consisting of a shield below the banner ‘God with us’. The shield is divided in four fields, showing two lion faces and two covered urns or cups with rings, the whole topped by a gold ring with a gemstone. Masonic tools, representing officers’ jewels, are painted on the remaining sides of the bowl: a level, a set square and a ruler hanging together from a bow, and a pair of compasses on a quarter circle embracing a radiant sun, also hanging from a bow (fig. 7.58a-c).







Fig. 7.59 and detail: Punch bowl with a miniature tracing board type decoration in oval medallions, separated by flower sprays, and flower garlands along the interior rim, ca. 1770. Polychrome enamels, height 10 cm, diam. 23 cm. Collection: Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London (loan by Quatuor Coronati Lodge nr. 2076), inv.no. QC 37. Reproduced from: freemasonry.london.museum.
Fig. 7.60: Masonic seal, 18th century, metal, 7 cm. Collection: Musée de la Maison des Maçons, Paris, inv.no. S2-987. Reproduced from: glnf-musee.fr.

■ *Theme 3: Tracing boards*

As mentioned before, after the middle of the 18th century specific combinations of symbols, best described as miniature or simplified versions of tracing boards (= the most important symbols of a particular degree, see chapter 2). These designs appeared as illustrations in ritual manuals and formed the basis for decorations on aprons, seals and membership jewels, all of which travelling freemasons could have carried to distant ports. In some cases Chinese artists copied directly from the published prints, made available to them for this purpose. In other cases a freemason would submit a design of his own hand to an artist, but such designs were always inspired by the familiar symbolism of their regalia, lodge certificates and engravings of tracing boards.

▫ *Tools in oval medallion*

A fine example is a punch bowl from the collection of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge of Research (fig. 7.59). It is decorated on two sides with an oval medallion, topped with a bow and ribbons, separated by flower sprays. Inside the medallion are masonic tools: a pair of compasses and set square, a level, a pickaxe and a maul. The presence of sun and a crescent moon indicate that this symbolism is derived from a tracing board. The medallion itself is formed by a decorative double border. The inner border has foliage at the top, possibly a (decorative) representation of an acacia sprig. The design seems to have been derived from a seal in the collection of the Musée de la Maison des Maçons (fig. 7.60). The design on the bowl is a mirror image, indicating a seal print may have been used as an example. On the bowl the shape of level is somewhat distorted, almost resembling a bell, while the ruler is missing.



Fig. 7.61: Punch bowl decorated with a design by Rowling Kent, presented by Thomas Reason to Mourning Bush Lodge. Famille rose enamels, ca. 1776, height 13 cm, diam. 30.5 cm. Collection: Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, inv.no. M2009/362 (donation by Mrs. Berridge, 1949). Reproduced from: freemasonry.london.museum.

▫ *Rowling Kent design (1776)*

From 1773 onwards Thomas Reason was a member of Mourning Bush Lodge No. 13 in London, later named Lodge of Emulation, now No. 21. The minutes of this lodge recorded the following events:

> 1776, Nov. 11th:
> Bro[ther] Reason made the Lodge a present of a set of Bowls which he had made in China for the use of the Lodge; his health with thanks was accordingly drank on the occasion.
>
> 1777, Feb. 24th:
> A motion was made and seconded that Bro[ther] Reason's health be drank annually for the very genteel present he made the Lodge, and also that he be made admitted an Honorary Member.[216]

The bowls' decoration was designed by another lodge member, the surgeon Rowling Kent. When a hundred years later it was decided to sell some of the lodge possessions amongst the members, both bowls were sold to Robert Berridge, and eventually donated to the Library and Museum of Freemasonry in London. One is illustrated here (fig. 7.61).[217]

The body of the bowls is decorated with a heart shaped miniature tracing board, depicting a sun and moon, a set square, crossed keys (= Treasurer's jewel), crossed quills (= Secretary's jewel), a sun enclosing the letter 'G', a level and a plumb rule. Below is a banner bearing the text 'R KENT DELINEAT / MOURNING BUSH LODGE / DATUM T REASON'. The whole is surrounded by flowers, while flower garlands are hanging from the exterior rim. Flower sprays decorate the base of the bowl and a flower band is painted along the interior rim.

These designs must have been re-used by the Chinese manufacturer for other customers, as a bowl with a similar decor is now kept in the collection of the Musée de la Maison des Maçons (fig. 7.62) and a tankard with this motif appeared at auction (figs. 7.63).[218] In those examples the sun and moon were emphasized with clouds and rays, now carrying a face, while a blue cloud with seven stars was added above the heart shape. In freemasonry, these stars represent the Pleiades (even if not all seven are present) and allude to the numerological symbolism of the number 7, which is specifically mentioned in the masonic ritual. A different floral pattern was chosen for this variation, now combined with a chain motif which, although not exclusive to freemasonry, would especially appeal to lodge members as a reference to the *chaine d'union* (see chapter 2). Considering the dated Rowling Kent design, these examples must have been made around 1780-1785.



Fig. 7.62: Punch bowl with a heart shaped miniature tracing board type decoration. Polychrome enamels with gilding, ca. 1780-1785, size not listed. Collection: Musée de la Maison des Maçons, Paris, inv.no. F2-788. Reproduced from: glnf-musee.fr.



Fig. 7.63: Tankard with a heart-shaped miniature tracing board type decoration, separated by flower sprays, and a chain with flower garlands around the exterior rim. Polychrome enamels with gilding, ca. 1780-1785, 15 cm. Displayed at Christie's Paris, sale 5098, 8-7-2004, lot 1536/Christie's London, sale 6510, 10-6-1994 lot 272. © Christie's Images Limited, 2015.

▫ *Riegelsen/Fuglede design (1775-1779)*

Among the members of The Drejers Klub, a Danish Literature Society founded in 1775 in Copenhagen. were many freemasons. Two of them - H. Riegelsen, a ship's captain, and Philip Christian Fuglede (1748-1816), commander of the Danish East India Company - ordered several export porcelain punch bowls for the club. Fuglede had designs brought to China for this purpose.[219] Possibly Riegelsen and/or Fuglede were also members of the lodge Zorobabel til Njordsternen in Copenhagen, as the inventory of this lodge for the year 1779 listed 120 plates with the same masonic decorations as the Drejers Klub bowls.[220] Two smaller punch bowls with the same design are now in the collection of the Frederiksborg Historical Museum (fig. 7.64 and 7.65).

The main decoration on the exterior of the bowls consists of a crowned shield resting on a pedestal or altar, surrounded by clouds. Around the shield is a draped flag or banner. Above it is a radiant group of four stars, two six-pointed and two seven-pointed. Perhaps these refer to a star sign or a home beacon in the Northern sky? Depicted within the crest are various symbols topped by a small ring, suggesting they

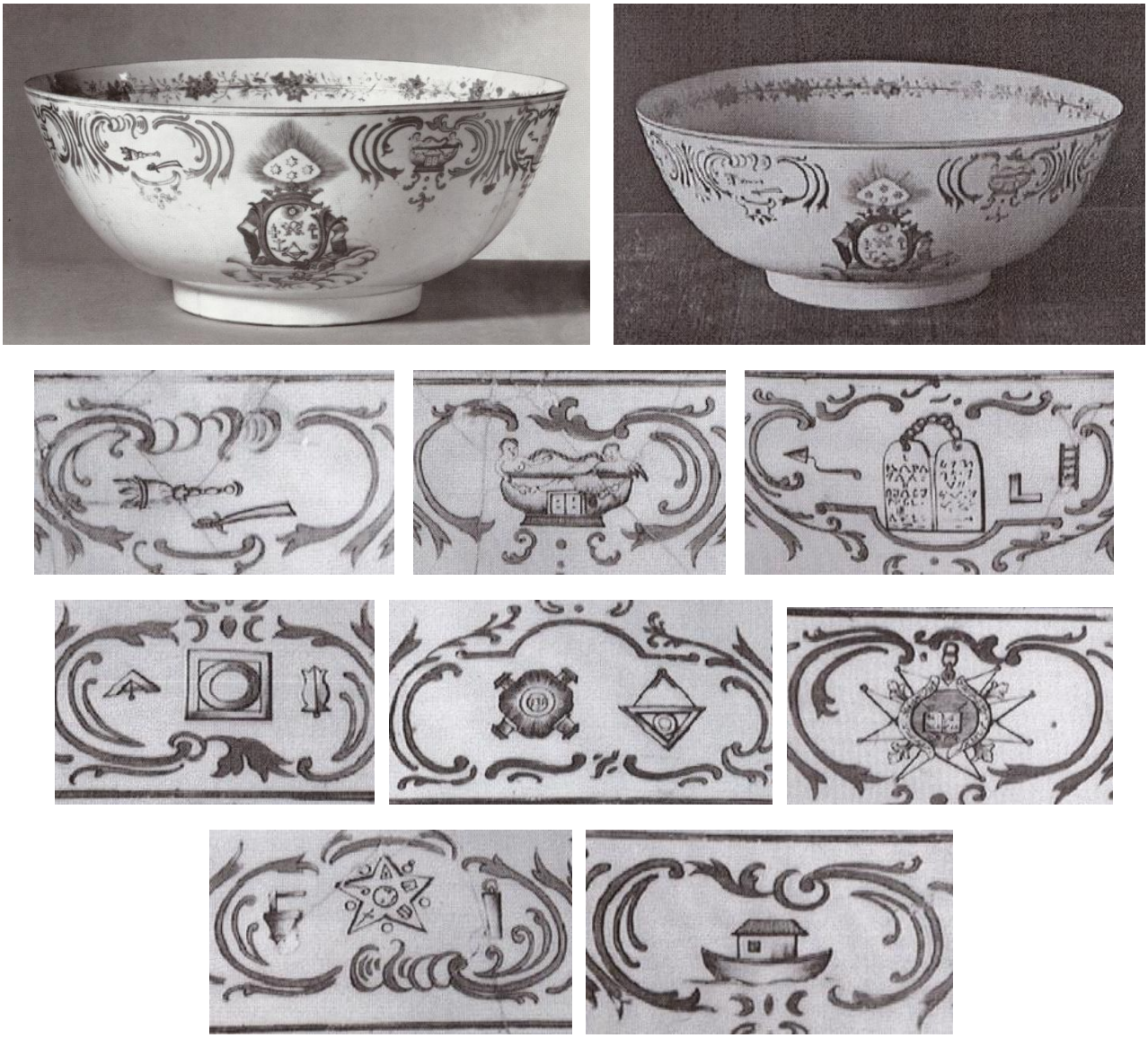


Fig. 7.64: Punch bowl with a miniature tracing board type design commissioned for the Drejers Klub in Denmark. Polychrome enamels with gilding, ca. 1780. Collection: Storlogen af Denmark, Copenhagen. Reproduced after: Grandjean 1965, fig. 117.
Fig. 7.65 and details 7.65a-h: Punch bowl of a service with a miniature tracing board type design, commissioned for the Drejers Klub in Denmark. Polychrome enamels with gilding, ca. 1780, height 16.5 cm, diam. 39.8 cm. Collection: Det Nationalhistoriske Museum, Frederiksborg Slot. Reproductions kindly provided by Erik Westengaard.

represent officer's jewels. These include: a pair of compasses with a rule and set square (Worshipful Master); a cross and an anchor (the Wardens?); an axe crossed with a sword and a radiant sun on top (the combined jewel for the Worshipful Masters of an Andreas Lodge and Chapter in the Swedish Rite); a key through a heart (the combined jewel of the Treasurer and the Almoner), and a purse (the jewel of the Almoner). If the heart-shape of the purse is intentional, together with the cross and anchor this represents the trias Faith, Hope and Love. In front of the pedestal is (Hiram's) coffin, probably indicating that the pedestal is in fact a grave-monument, with a skull and cross-bones (a reference to rebirth), and a sword. Lying against the crest on the right is an officer's jewel in the shape of a triangle with a radiant sun (possibly belonging to the Orator).

Around the exterior top rim of the bowls is a border of cartouches with various symbols, some of which appear distorted. They mostly refer to higher degrees and side workings as practiced in Britain and Scandinavia, including (see details in fig 7.65a-h, from left to right):



Fig. 7.66: Plate of a service with a miniature tracing board type design, commissioned for the Drejers Klub in Denmark. Polychrome enamel with gilding, ca. 1780, diam. 23,1 cm. Collection: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv.no. AK-NM-13521 (J.G.A.N. de Vries bequest, The Hague, 1925). Reproduced from: Rijksmuseum.nl.

- a sword and a sceptre (attributes of king Cyrus in early Royal Arch or Scots Master's degrees);
- two winged cherubs in what seems a basket, but is meant to represent angels carrying the Ark of the Covenant (a symbol of the Cryptic degrees);
- a trowel, the Ten Commandments (a symbol of the Cryptic degrees of the York Rite), a set square and Jacob's ladder (a symbol of the Adoption Rite, transferred to British Craft degrees);
- a plumb, circle within a square (referring to the chest in the next set of symbols) and a level. These symbols are depicted upside down on the bowls;
- broken columns and a chest with the tetragrammaton, its glorious rays overshadowing the usual underlying symbol (circles and squares) which is therefore represented in the previous set of symbols[221]; and a downward triangle hanging on strings from a ring (a jewel of the Cryptic degrees of the York Rite. These symbols are also depicted upside down on the bowls;
- a building crane (a symbol of the Scots Master's degree in the Swedish Rite, where the ritual refers to



Detail of fig. 7.66.

- a gallows or crane, used to lift Hiram's mummy from the vault), a pentagram (a symbol of the Knights of Malta degree, representing the star-shaped table with the tools of the Knights lying upon it) and a rectangular shape on a ring (possibly a distorted representation of Hiram's mummy). Again these symbols are depicted upside down;
- Noah's Ark (a symbol in both the Adoption Rite and the degree of Royal Ark Mariner);
- a Maltese cross carrying an open book on two crossed swords (a symbol of the Order of the Red Cross of Constantine, while the open bible can also refer to the officer's jewel of the Chaplain).

The interior rim of the bowl is decorated with a band of flowers.

A similar bowl is in the collection of the Danish Grand Lodge (fig. 7.64), and there are plates with a similar design in the collections of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam (fig. 7.66) and the Grand Orient de France.[222] On these plates, the cartouche containing the tablets with the Commandments has been omitted in order to allow the border decoration to be divided in three groups of three cartouches. But a symbol has also been added in the sequence with the broken columns: three trowels within a triangle, representing the officer's jewel for the Keeper of the Seal.

The complex combination of symbols points to the Royal Order of Scotland, a side degree of which the first lodge outside Great Britain was founded in Sweden.[223] It is not clear if the colours of the prominent banner around the crest (red, yellow, blue) are a specific reference. They are not typical for the Danish flag





Fig. 7.67: Jug with a twisted strap handle and lid, the body decorated with a tracing board after Jachin and Boaz […] *(ed. 1776). Iron red and blue enamels with gilding, 1785-1795, size not listed. Collection and photograph: Dietrich American Foundation, on loan to the Philadelphia Museum of Art, inv. no. 389-1997-22a-b.*
Fig. 7.68: Plate jewel with a design after Jachin and Boaz […] *(ed. 1776), with an inscription on the reverse: 'JOHN READ MM'. Engraved silver coloured metal, 7 x 4.8 cm. Collection: Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, inv.no. M2009/1668. Reproduced from: freemasonry.london.museum.*

(red and white) and have in the past caused these objects to be attributed to several other European countries. Perhaps these are the heraldic colours of the families involved, the lodge colours or simply artistic license

▫ *Frontispiece of* Jachin and Boaz *(1776)*

As discussed in chapter several editions of *Jachin and Boaz […]* included an illustration of a tracing board. The frontispiece of the 1776 edition inspired various British plate jewels (see for instance fig. 7.68), and was also copied on a pair of jugs in the collection of the Dietrich American Foundation (Philadelphia) (fig. 7.67). These jugs have twisted strap handles and a lid with a crouching lion finial.[224] The tracing board is depicted on the sides of the body in an oval medallion with a bow, executed in iron red and blue, with highlights in gold. The rim of the jugs is richly decorated with various patterned bands and flower garlands. These objects probably date before 1797, when a new edition of *Jachin and Boaz* included a different frontispiece.

▫ *Oval tracing board*

A punch bowl in the collection of the Reeves Centre of the Washington and Lee University shows a tracing board in an oval medallion (fig. 7.69). Depicted are the two columns, topped by a sun and a moon, standing on an elevation of five steps. In the space between them is an altar (or stylized bible) with a pair of compasses and a set square, above it the symbol for Euclid's 47th proposition (a mathematical sign, which shows that in order to get a square angle it is necessary to draw a triangle with the sides proportioned as 3-4-5). It is given a prominent place in this composition, indicating the commissioner or owner may have been an Installed Master, as the symbol is associated with this function in British freemasonry. Above it is a five-pointed star or pentagram, and a radiant letter 'G'. Surrounding the bible are various tools (their shapes somewhat distorted by the painter, who was clearly unfamiliar with them), Jacob's ladder. Beneath the elevation is a coffin with what no doubt is meant to be a skull, curiously executed like a grimacing mask.



Fig. 7.69: Bowl decorated with a miniature tracing board in an oval medallion. Iron red and blue enamels with gilding, ca. 1795, diam. 28.9 cm. Collection: Reeves Center, Washington and Lee University. Reproduced from: Litzenburg/Bailey 2003, p. 206.





Fig. 7.70: Jug decorated with a miniature tracing board in an oval medallion (worn), with strap handles and a lid topped with a crouching lion finial, ca. 1795, size not listed. Displayed at William J. Jenack Auctioneers, sale 30-4-2006, Lot 94. Reproduced from: liveauctioneers.com/item/1946425.

Fig. 7.71: Teacup decorated with a miniature tracing board in an oval medallion. Iron red and blue enamels with gilding, ca. 1795, diam. 6.5 cm. Collection: Winterthur Museum, Wilmington, inv.no. 1956.0038.045. Reproduced from: museumcollection.winterthur.org.



Fig. 7.72: Punch bowl with a reduced style tracing board decoration and garlands on the exterior, a gilt monogram 'WR' with a pair of compasses and dividers within a sunburst in the base. Polychrome enamels with gilding, ca. 1795, diam. 33.7 cm. Braunfeld collection, displayed at Sotheby's New York, sale 7961, 17-1-2004, lot 1021. Reproduced from: sothebys.com.



Fig. 7.73: Plate with a decoration of an oval panel with the monogram 'TP' between columns, with masonic tools in the foreground and flower sprays along the rim. Polychrome enamels and gilt, 1790-1795, height 3.2 cm, diam. 14.6 cm. Collection: The Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, inv.no. M2008/1209 Reproduced from: freemasonry.london.museum.co.uk.

A teacup with this décor is found in the collection of the Winterthur Museum (fig. 7.71).[225] The execution is somewhat different, the skull here resembling a smiling face. Other parts of this service type include a jug (fig. 7.70) and mug with twisted strap handles (consisting of two ribbed straps with flower terminals), as well as a teapot, tea caddy, tea bowl and saucer, bowl and a plate.[226] In some cases, the five-pointed star has been replaced by a six-pointed star or Seal of Solomon.

▫ *Embraced by acacia*

As freemasonry gained popularity in the 18th century, its visual symbolism had become a familiar part of the iconography of the time. More and more objects for personal use were decorated with masonic symbols, including dinner services, snuff boxes and smoking paraphernalia. In some designs - either for aesthetic purposes or for practical reasons like a simple lack of space - the tracing board would be reduced to a bare minimum. For the initiated the space between the columns J and B was already enough to evoke the association with the lodge room or the Temple.

Fig. 7.72 is an example of a reduced style tracing board in the décor of a late punch bowl. On one side of the bowl, a decoration of two columns, an altar and candles on a chequered floor represents the lodge. The bible with set square and compasses can be seen on the altar, but the usual tools and other accompanying symbols were omitted. The scene is topped with a radiant sun and embraced by two green branches, probably intended as acacia sprigs. The reverse and sides of the bowl are decorated with flower sprays. In the interior of the bowl is a gilt monogram *'WR'* with a pair of compasses and dividers within a sunburst. The theme of the Temple or the columns embraced by two acacia sprigs also features on aprons of the time (compare for instance chapter 2, figs. 2.32-2.33).

▫ *Columns and monogram*

In the decorative compositions for (European) aprons the space between the columns would also be used to show a pair of compasses and a set square, a coffin or simply the letters 'MB' (referring to the secret Master word). On export porcelain this provided a convenient space for the depiction of a commissioner's monogram. Fig. 7.73 for example, shows a plate with the monogram 'TP' between Corinthian columns, topped with globes. In the foreground are masonic tools (including a set square, level and hammer). Above the column is a gilt sun with facial features.

■ *Theme 4: Advertisements with masonic symbols*

▫ *The Queen's Head*

Princess Sophia Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz (1744-1818) came to England in 1761 to meet her husband, King George III, to be for the first time. She travelled by boat and coach, possibly passing through Gravesend, and arrived at St. James's Palace by coach. Forty years later, the proprietor of a local inn in Gravesend clearly wanted to advertise a connection between his establishment and the new Queen. He had the mug made, decorated with the portrait of Charlotte, reproduced from an engraving published in 1762 after a painting by Thomas Frye (1710-1762) (fig. 7.74). The portrait was placed in a medallion with a cartouche containing the text:

> John Jounson
> Queens H[ea]d Gravesend
> NB: Clean & well m[a]d[e] Beds Neat
> Post Chaises. A Coach to Chatham and a
> Boatt to London every
> Tide

Around the cartouche various masonic symbols convey to the viewer that Jounson (perhaps a misspelling of Johnson?) is affiliated to the Order and therefore must be dependable (fig. 7.75). Clockwise from the right hand top corner, one can discern the capital of a (broken) column, a level and a set square, followed by a pair of compasses crossed with a set square, and a beehive surrounded by bees. Next are what appear to



Fig. 7.74: Portrait of Sophia Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz by Thomas Frye, mezzotint, published 24-5-1762, 50.2 x 53.5 cm. © National Portrait Gallery, London, inv.no NPG D11287 (gift by Mary Elizabeth Stopford, 1931). Reproduced from: npg.co.uk.



Fig. 7.75: Detail of a mug advertising the Queen's Head in Gravesend, ca. 1790. Private collection. Reproduced from: Hervouët/Bruneau 1986, p. 288.



Fig. 7.76: Punch bowl with an advertisement for hat maker William Gloster, depicting masonic tools. Polychrome enamels with gilding, 1785-1790, height 11.4 cm, diam. 25.8 cm. Collection: Winterthur Museum, Wilmington, inv.no. 2000.0061.074 (gift of L.A. and D.C. Hodroff). Reproduced from: museumcollection.winterthur.org.



Fig. 7.77: Hat & Beaver trade card, ca. 1791. Reproduced from: Howard 2013, p. 109.

be an Andreas-Cross and a trowel, and lastly a candlestick with another capital of a (broken) column. The whole is topped by the image of a coach, flanked by a sun and a moon with stars.

▫ *Hat maker William Gloster*

Another example that showing one's affiliation to the Order could be beneficial for business is fig 7.76. This is clear from a punch bowl that probably served as a shop display at the end of the 18th century, now in the collection of the Winterthur Museum.[227] The bowl is decorated on opposite sides with a cartouche, entwined with flower garlands and foliage. The top half depicts a beaver in a landscape, topped by a hat, clearly copied from a trade card from hatter William Gloster (fig. 7.77). The bottom half shows an inscription, reading:

> William Gloster
> HATMAKER
> at the Hall and Beaver
> 37 Leman Street
> Goodman's Field's
> London
> Makes fine Beaver and other Hatts Wholesale & Retail.
> NB Hatts turned Dyed Lined & blocked in the Newest Manner

Below this are two white rabbits and a recumbent camel. Gloster was a member of Lodge of Unity No. 183 in London.[228] A subtle sign that he wanted to attract freemasons as clientele are the pair of compasses crossed with a set square, dangling from the middle of the cartouche underneath the beaver. On the other sides of the bowl are cartouches, formed by pillars, topped with a sun and a moon. A building block or cubic stone with a hat on top is depicted in the foreground. From the scrollwork and foliage between the pillars ribbons are hanging, bearing masonic tools. This is a less subtle reference to the hat maker's membership of the Order. Within the cartouche an inscription which repeats his address. On the interior of the bowl is a medallion with the monogram 'WG' on a ribbon, surrounded by a band of flowers, garlands hanging from the interior rim. The bowl probably dates from the late 1780s.





Fig. 7.78: Lodge Certificate after an engraving by J. Cartwright, issued to William Cope by Half Moon Lodge (now Constitutional Lodge No. 55), London, 10-10-1767. Collection: Museum and Library of Freemasonry, London, inv.no. A10944. Reproduced from: freemasonry.london.museum.
Fig. 7.79: Lodge Certificate issued to John Briggs by Lodge of Harmony, Liverpool, 6-9-1795. Reproduced from: Haunch 1969, p. 200.

■ *Theme 5: Masonic virtues*

The first masonic certificate issued by the Premier Grand Lodge of England was printed in 1756 with a design incorporating female personifications of the Christian virtues Faith, Hope and Charity (fig. 6.78).[229] Faith (woman with book) and Hope (woman with anchor) were depicted on top of the columns J and B, with Charity (bare breasted woman with children) seated on the floor between them. In the 18th and 19th centuries, both British and American lodge certificates (for instance fig. 7.79), as well as aprons, were often decorated in a similar style. Personifications of the masonic trias Wisdom, Strength and Beauty were also common.

▫ *Faith and Hope*

A first example of this theme on export porcelain is a covered pitcher in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 7.80). An arched frame enclosed a composition of two columns on a set of three steps, between which is the usual symbols and tools are grouped, including a bible with the inscription ‘St John’. The columns are topped with the figures of Faith and Hope, while Charity appears to be missing here. But Jacob’s ladder has been reduced to three steps. In masonic iconography, the ladder represents the virtues which need to be practiced to attain heaven, the minimum of which are the three theological virtues Faith, Hope and Love (Charity). So in that sense the trias is still complete.[230] In front of the steps is a coffin with skull and cross-bones, and an acacia sprig, referring to Hiram’s grave and inscribed ‘Memento Mori’.[231]

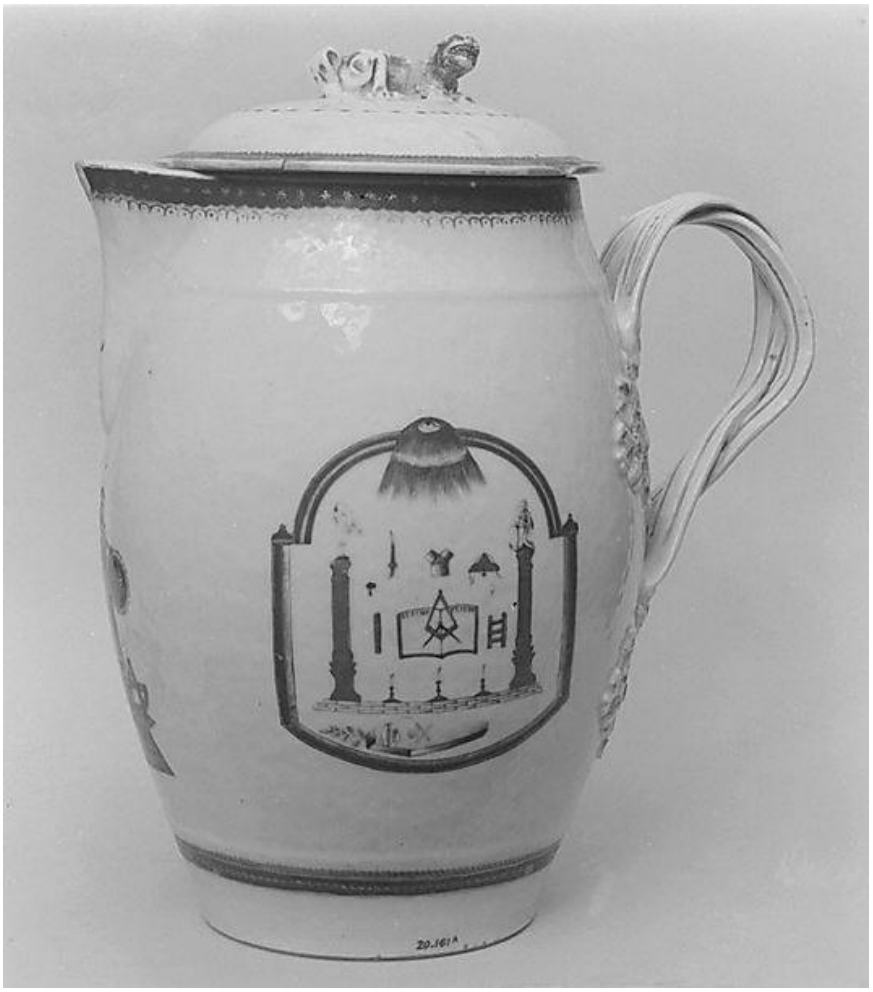


Fig. 7.80: Covered pitcher with a twisted strap handle and crouching lion finial, decorated with a tracing board including Faith and Hope. Polychrome enamels, ca. 1795, height 29.1 cm. Collection: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv.no. 20.161ab (gift of A. Murray Young, 1920). Reproduced from: archive.org/details/mma_pitcher_with_cover_194624. (Also reproduced in Hyde 1936, p. 101, plate XX, nr. 82.



Fig. 7.81: Teapot with a twisted strap handle and a Faith, Hope and Charity type decoration, the lid with a strawberry finial. Blue and pink enamels with gilding, ca. 1785-1790, height 15 cm. Liebman Collection, Chazen Museum of Art, Madison. Reproduced from: Coleman Brawer 1992, p. 79, no. 54.



Fig. 7.82: Tea caddy with a Faith, Hope and Charity type decoration and a cover with a lychee finial. Blue and pink enamels with gilding, ca. 1795, height 14 cm. Displayed at Christie's New York, sale 1327, 20/21-1-2004, lot 418.
© Christie's Images Limited, 2015.



Fig. 7.83: Punch bowl commissioned for the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, decorated with the Great Seal of the USA and personifications of Faith, Hope and Charity. Polychrome enamels, 1785-1800, height 17.6 cm, diam. 40 cm. Collection: Detroit Institute of Arts, inv.no. 55.516 (gift by Robert H. Tannahill). Reproduced from: dia.org.

▫ *Cross and Anchor*

A variation on the theme is seen on a tea pot of the twisted strap handle model with a cover with a strawberry finial in the Lieberman collection at the Chazen Museum of Art (fig. 7.81). It is decorated on each side with columns, flanking an apron with the monogram 'ACL'. The aprons strings wind around the columns.[232] A cross (Faith) and an anchor (Hope) are lying on the ground underneath the apron, and a beehive is set on a pedestal. Between the capitals of the columns is a cloud in which two figures are resting: a woman and child, representing Charity to complete the masonic trias. Above the cloud is a radiant all-seeing eye. The scene is surrounded by foliage, from which ribbons with compasses and squares are hanging. The central motif is surrounded by scattered floral sprays.[233] A tea caddy with a similar design appeared at auction (fig. 7.82). Its cover is decorated with a lychee finial.

▫ *Faith, Hope and Charity*

A punch bowl included in the Seattle exhibition *China's Influence on American Culture in the 18th and 19th centuries* (1976), but unfortunately not illustrated, was described as decorated on one side with:

> […] an altar arrangement flanked by columns supporting allegorical figures and surrounded by various emblems based on the arts of building. Prominent in this arrangement is a Book of the Law opened to the Chapter of St. John. Below the altar is placed a coffin with an inscription MEMENTO MOEL' [= probably a misspelling of *memento mori*).[234]

This theme was repeated on the inside of the bowl, the exterior decoration consisting of the 'five masonic motifs', discussed below.



Fig. 7.84a: Engraving, depicting masonic virtues, attributed to I. Dood. Collection F.W. Levander. Reproduced from: AQC *(1907) Vol XX, n. pag.*

The allegorical figures were most likely Faith, Hope and Charity, which also feature on the Union Lodge punch bowl (fig. 7.127). The three virtues appear as similar female personifications on a punch bowl in the collection of the Detroit Institute of Arts (fig. 7.83). Between Hope and Charity is the Great Seal of the United States, while the face of a radiant sun is depicted between Hope and Faith. Between Charity and Faith are two symbols: the coat of arms of Pennsylvania and a masonic symbol. The latter consists of a bible, on the cover of which is a radiant all-seeing eye. The book is embraced by a set square and a ruler, and topped by a pair of compasses (together forming a square with a triangle). The inside of the bowl is decorated with five pillars, from which flower garlands are hanging. Their basements carry masonic tools: a set square, a compass on a quarter circle, a triangle, a plumb line and a level. In the middle of the bottom of the bowl is a winged cherub trumpeting the motto 'AD MAJOREM SUPREM ARCHITECTI GLORIAM' (For the Greater Glory of the Supreme Architect). On a banner suspended from the trumpet is the text 'GRAND LODGR OF PENNSYLVANIA' (misspelling 'lodge').[235]

▫ *Seven masonic virtues*

A last example is a punch bowl in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. The interior is decorated after an undated engraving, attributed to I. Dood (perhaps a misspelling of Dodd, a more common engravers name around 1800) (fig. 7.84a). It depicts eight masonic virtues in front of the Temple. In the forefront is a medallion with female personifications of Faith, Hope and Charity. To the right are Temperance, pouring water into a cup, and Strength, accompanied by a lion. A closed book is lying by her side, suggesting she doubles as wisdom. They are standing on rocks. To the left are Prudence, viewing into a mirror, and Justice, holding scales and a sword. Both are standing on cubic stones, as is a beehive. Behind them are the columns J and B, topped by globes, and a chequered floor, leading to the entrance of



Fig. 7.84b: Punch bowl with a decoration of Faith, Hope and Charity in the interior, a phoenix and a monogram on the exterior, dated 1795, diam. 23.5 cm. Collection and Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, inv.no. 40.243 (In memory of Dr. Gorham Bacon presented by his daughter, Mrs. R. M. H. Harper). Reproduced from: mfa.org (interior), Hervouët/Bruneau 1986, p. 288 (exterior).

Solomon's Temple. A triangle with the letter 'G' is suspended underneath an arched doorway. On top of the temple are statues of three crowned figures. An all-seeing eye is depicted in the sky above.

On the punch bowl, the composition has been slightly altered. Only Charity is depicted with her children in the central medallion. Jacob's ladder has been added behind the book, lying next to Strength, emphasising these virtues are the path to heaven. The all-seeing eye was omitted. Around the exterior rim of the bowl is a blue ribbon, decorated with masonic tools and carrying three medallions with the image of a phoenix on a pedestal, surrounded by the text 'WE BY DYING LIFE ATTAIN 1795'.[236] This is a reference to the symbolic death and rebirth of the candidate during the ritual of the Rose Croix degree, with which the image of a phoenix is also associated. Below the medallions the monogram 'FHB' is repeated three times.[237]

■ *Theme 6: Grand Lodge arms and seals*

As the origins of the Order are linked to the (British) building trade, the seal of the Premier Grand Lodge of England incorporated the coat of arms of the Masons Company of London: a crest with three towers and a pair of compasses (fig. 7.85). Probably copied from membership certificates and other documents carrying this seal, the Premier Grand Lodge seal also appears on export porcelain from the middle of the 18de century onwards. Pieces can often be dated according to changes made in the design of the seal by the Grand Lodge.

▫ *Premier Grand Lodge seal*

The earliest version of the Grand Lodge of England seal, used around 1732-1738, shows the crest with towers and compasses, supported by two beavers and crowned by a bird (lapwing) (fig. 7.86).[238] A cup in the collection of the Library and Museum of Freemasonry in London, dated circa 1760, is decorated on the front with a rococo cartouche, depicting the central part of this seal, surrounded by foliage. On the opposite sides of the handles are flower sprays (fig. 7.88).

▫ *Releif seal*

Between April 1737 and October 1757, the Grand Lodge minutes and certificates were validated with the so called 'Releif seal', after the misspelling of the word 'relief' (fig. 7.87). Its design is attributed to engraver James Cartwright, member of Lodge No. 197 at the Jack of Newbery pub in Chiswell Street, London.[239] This seal also appears on both sides of a punch bowl, separated by flower sprays, in the collection of the Library and Museum of Freemasonry (fig. 7.89).[240] Under the arms is a banner reading 'RELEIF AND TRUTH' enclosed in an oval frame bearing text 'THE SEAL OF THE GRAND LODGE OF MASONS, LONDON'. The provenance record for the bowl dated it ca. 1760, based on the use of the seal, but the border decoration suggests a much later date, ca. 1790-1795.[241] That implies that a 35 year old certificate was shown as an example at the time of commission, or there may have been much earlier pieces depicting this seal, which were copied. A similar bowl appeared at an auction.[242]

◦ *Arms of the Antients' Grand Lodge*

In 1751-1753, a second Grand Lodge was formed in England.[243] This was the result of an influx of Irish day labourers earlier in the century. The masons among the Irish tried to visit lodges in London, but were either rejected because of their social status or experienced differences in ritual practice. As a result, several lodges became active independently of the (Premier) Grand Lodge of England from the 1730s onwards. These started to admit English members and by 1750 moved towards unification as a new masonic body. This body called itself The Antient Grand Lodge of England, resulting in a competition between the 'Antients' and the 'Moderns'. The Grand Secretary of the Antients, Laurence Dermott (1720-1791), wrote a book of constitutions in 1756: *Ahiman Rezon, or a help to a brother.* It was popular enough to be reprinted several times. These reprints, which travelling freemasons could have carried to China, included a frontispiece with an illustration of both the arms of the Moderns (Premier) and Antients' Grand Lodge (fig. 7.90). The Antients' arms depicts winged satyrs, supporting a crest with the symbols of the four Evangelists (a lion, an ox, a man and an eagle). It is crowned by winged figures holding the Ark of the Covenant. Below the crest are masonic tools and a banner with the motto 'Holiness to the Lord'. These arms were incorporated into the seal of the Antients' Grand Lodge in 1775.[244]

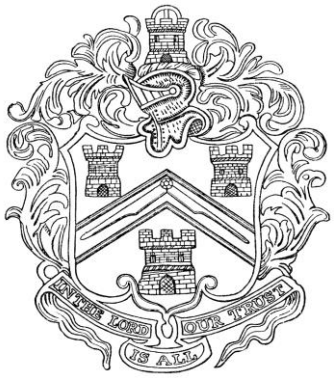






Fig. 7.85-6.86: Coat of arms of the Masons Company of London (left) and the Seal of the Premier Grand Lodge of England (middle). Reproduced from: freemasonry.bcy.ca (left) / Haunch 1970, p. 239,
Fig. 7.87 (right): The so-called 'Releif seal', Inscribed on the reverse 'I Cartwright London Sculp'. Steel, 1737. Collection: Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London.





Fig.7.88: Tea cup decorated on one side with the arms of the Premier Grand Lodge of England; flower sprays on either side of the handle. Polychrome enamels with gilding, ca. 1760, height 6.5 cm, width 5.9, depth 8.3 cm. Collection: Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, inv.no. M2008/1211. Reproduced from: freemasonry.london.museum.



Fig. 7.89: Punch bowl, painted on opposite sides with the 'relief seal' version of the arms of the Moderns Grand Lodge, separated by flower sprays with a butterfly, which is repeated on the inside of the bowl. Polychrome enamels with gilding, ca. 1790-1795, height 12.1 cm, diam. 29 cm. Collection: Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, inv.no. M2008/1213. Reproduced from: freemasonry.london.museum.



Fig. 7.90: Frontispiece of Laurence Dermott, Ahiman Rezon, or a help to a brother *(1st ed. 1756), edition 1764, depicting the arms of the Antients Grand Lodge (top left). Collection: Photograph: The Masonic Library and Museum of Pennsylvania*.
Reproduced from: phoenixmasonry.org.



Fig. 7.91: Mug with twisted strap handles, the body decorated with the arms of The Antient Grand Lodge of England and flower sprays; a blue diaper design around the rim. Polychrome enamels with gilding, ca. 1795-1810, height 14.9 cm, diam. 11.3 cm. Collection: Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, inv.no. M2008/1277 (donated by R.L. Golds).
Reproduced from: freemasonry.london.museum.

The arms of the Antients' Grand Lodge are depicted in combination with various flower sprays on a strap handle mug (fig. 7.91) and two punch bowls (figs. 7.92-7.93) in the collection of the Library and Museum of Freemasonry.[245] A similar bowl appeared at an auction.[246]



Fig. 7.92: Punch bowl decorated with the coat of arms of The Antient Grand Lodge of England on both sides, separated by flower sprays; a flower spray in the interior. Famille rose enamels, ca. 1770, height 11.2 cm, diam. 26.7 cm. Collection: The Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, inv.no. M1988/85 (purchase Philips, London 1988).
Reproduced from: freemasonry.london.museum.





Fig. 7.93: Punch bowl decorated with the arms of The Antient Grand Lodge of England on four sides, surrounded by flower sprays, flower garlands along the interior rim. Famille rose enamels, ca. 1770-80, height 16.8 cm, diam. 39.8 cm.
Collection: The Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, inv.no. M2009/356 (purchase 1938).
Reproduced from: Howard 1997, p. 134 (top) / freemasonry.london.museum (bottom).

■ *Theme 7: Lodge names*

Porcelain commissioned by (or as a gift to) a local lodge is often decorated with coat of arms or seal of that particular lodge, or a decoration alluding to its name. While there are many examples on European porcelain and ceramics, there are but a few on export porcelain. The service with the arms of the Swedish Salomoniska Logen in Göteborg, discussed above, is one such example (figs. 7.4-7.9).



Fig. 7.94: Punch bowl decorated with panels depicting St. George and the dragon and a banner with the text 'UNITY / IS THE GOD OF / MASONRY'; a flower sprays along the interior rim and in the base. Famille rose enamels, ca. 1770, height 17.1 cm, diam. 40.1 cm. Collection: Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, inv.no. M1965/62 (donation by St. George & Cornerstone Lodge, 1965). Reproduced from: freemasonry.london.museum.

▫ *St. George & Cornerstone*

A punch bowl dating from circa 1770 was purchased by St. George & Cornerstone Lodge and donated to the Library and Museum of Freemasonry, because its decoration may refer to the lodge's name (fig.7.94).[247] The bowl is decorated with three, equally spaced rococo cartouches depicting St. George slaying the dragon. Each cartouche is surrounded by masonic symbols (tools, broken columns, etc.), foliage and flowers. A banner below bears the text 'UNITY / IS THE GOD OF / MASONRY'. While a decoration of George and the dragon on itself could have been interpreted as just a reference to a patron saint, the inclusion of the text makes it plausible likely that this scene is indeed an allusion to a lodge name.

▫ *The King's Arms*

A teapot in the collection of the British Museum (fig. 7.95) and a tea canister in the collection of the Winterthur Museum (fig. 7.96), as well as a tea bowl in the collection of the Library and Museum of Freemasonry (fig. 7.97) are all decorated with the coat of arms of the Hanoverian Kings of Great Britain (1714-1801). They are supported by a lion and a unicorn, and enclosed by a belt with banners reading the French motto's 'DIEU ET MON DROIT' ('God and my honour') and 'HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE' ('Evil/Shame unto him who thinks evil of it', the motto of the Most Noble Order of the Garter). Underneath the arms is a rococo cartouche in which masonic tools, an apron and a sword are depicted lying on the ground. The level, plumb, gavel, set square, ruler and apron are recognizable, other shapes could represent a tracing board and a lewis (iron cramp to lift a stone), but appear distorted.

The design was too large for the cup, so it was divided into two parts and combined with a floral motif. The inside base was decorated with an additional set square and a level. According to the museum's provenance record, the cup was probably commissioned on the occasion of the initiation of William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland (1721-1765) in 1743, which would make this one of the earliest masonic designs. The rococo cartouche could be dated as early as 1760, but considering the flower sprays on the lid







Fig. 7.95: Teapot and cover with the Royal arms of England, replacement handle and branch-like spout. Polychrome enamels with gilding, ca. 1770-1780, height 17 cm, width 22.5 cm. Collection: British Museum, London, inv. no. Franks.806. Reproduced from: britishmuseum.org.

Fig. 7.96 and detail above: Tea canister (lid missing), decorated with the Royal arms of England. Polychrome enamels with gilding, ca. 1750-1775, height 10.95 cm, diam.7.65 cm. Collection: Winterthur Museum, Wilmington, inv.no. 1956.0046.071. Reproduced from: museumcollection.winterthur.org



Fig. 7.97: Tea bowl with the Royal arms of England and masonic tools. Polychrome enamels with gilding, ca. 1770, height 4.3 cm, diam. 7.6 cm. Collection: Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, inv.no. M2010/1764 (donation by Sir Algernon Tudor-Craig, 1935). Reproduced from: freemasonry.london.museum.





Fig. 7.98: Punch bowl decorated with various images relating to George III, dated 1771; a flower spray in the interior base. Polychrome enamels with gilding, ca. 1780-1795, height 13.1 cm, diam. 29.1 cm. Collection: The Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, inv.no. M2009/3592002 (gift by J. Rochelle Thomas, Jordan Lodge No. 201, 13-12-1932). Reproduced from: freemasonry.london.museum.



Reverse sides of fig. 7.98.

and the shape of the spout, circa 1770 is more likely.[248] A similar teapot appeared at auction, while a similar teacup was recently displayed by a dealer.[249]

Rather than seeking a connection between the Order and the royal family in this design, the depiction of the royal or 'King's arms' should here be taken literally. During the 18th century The King's Arms pub in London was a meeting place of several lodges, while a service of this type could have also appealed to, for instance, the Old King's Arms Lodge in London, the King's Friends Lodge in Nantwich and the King George III Lodge in Portsmouth.

▫ *George III*

Some decorations remain very difficult to interpret. Fig. 7.98 shows a bowl decorated with two oval panels: one with a scene of buildings and an equestrian statue, the other with an image of an equestrian statue of George III in Roman dress.[250] Between these panels are bows holding masonic tools (compare fig. 7.58a-b), and depictions of both sides of a George III guinea coin dated 1771. In the interior base of the bowl is a flower spray in blue and gold and the border decoration suggests it was commissioned around 1785-1795.[251] What reference should the viewer observe in this decoration? Clearly there is some relation to George III, but he never became a freemason, although he did father seven sons who lived to maturity, six of whom were initiated into freemasonry.[252] And as mentioned above, there was a lodge named after King George III active in Portsmouth in the 18th century, and the 'King's Head' as depicted on the coin was the name of another meeting place of lodges.

▫ *Lodge of Emulation (1789)*

On 17-11-1785 a sea captain of the United East India Company based in Portsmouth, Richard Meriton, was initiated into the Lodge of Emulation, No. 12 (now No. 21) in London. He commissioned several pieces of export porcelain for the lodge, which he presented to the brethren in 1790.[253] Two large, covered loving cups[254] and a punch bowl were preserved in the collection of the lodge (fig. 7.99-7.100).

The cups have a bell shaped base and double split handles, and covers with a flower finial. Each cup is painted on both sides with an image of the Temple of Solomon within a double circle with the text 'LODGE OF EMULATION 1789'. Before the Temple are a chequered pavement and steps leading to the entrance, flanked by columns and statues holding a long staff, possibly representing Wisdom (with a helmet) and Strength. Above the columns the sun and moon are depicted. On both sides of the scene are birds, representing a phoenix and a pelican, behind which are acacia sprigs or trees. Below the Temple is the monogram 'RM' (or 'RW? See the second bowl discussed below). The rest of the body of the vases and their covers are decorated with the 'five masonic motifs', to be discussed below. The punch bowl is decorated in the same manner.[255]

The design was re-used some years later, as can be seen from a bowl which appeared at auction (fig. 7.101). In this version, the Temple is enclosed in a pink circle with the text 'RICHARD WHITE 1792'. A notable difference is that one can see a golden triangle on the roof of the Temple, with distorted lettering



Fig. 7.99: Pair of large covered cups, commissioned by Richard Meriton for Lodge of Emulation No. 12 in 1789, a flower finial on the cover. Iron red, pink and green enamels with gilding, height 31.3 cm, diam. 18 cm. Collection: Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, inv.no. D2008/43 (loan from Lodge of Emulation). Reproduced from: Howard 1997, p. 131.



Fig: 7.100 (and detail): Punch bowl, commissioned by Richard Meriton for Lodge of Emulation No. 12 in 1789. Iron red, pink and green enamels with gilding, height 16.6 cm, diam. 40.3 cm. Collection: Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, inv.no. D2009/35 (loan from Lodge of Emulation). Reproduced from: freemasonry.london.museum.

probably meant to spell 'JHWH'. Below the chequered floor is the monogram 'RW'. The rest of the exterior and interior are again decorated with the 'five masonic motifs'. The commissioner, Richard White (ca. 1739-1796) has been identified as a Freemason in Essex, initiated in 1767, and a member of the Lodge of Unity, No. 402 in Colchester around 1784-1785 (the lodge was erased in 1791). A similar bowl is in the collection of the Library and Museum of Freemasonry, and another appeared at auction.[256]

A caution is appropriate here: the Lodge of Emulation design has been copied onto cheap modern ceramics in the end of the 20th century. The decoration is usually executed in grisaille and the lodge name is misspelled, appearing amongst others on shaving bowls, fruit stands and pill boxes. These items are often offered online or at flea markets as 'genuine' antiques.



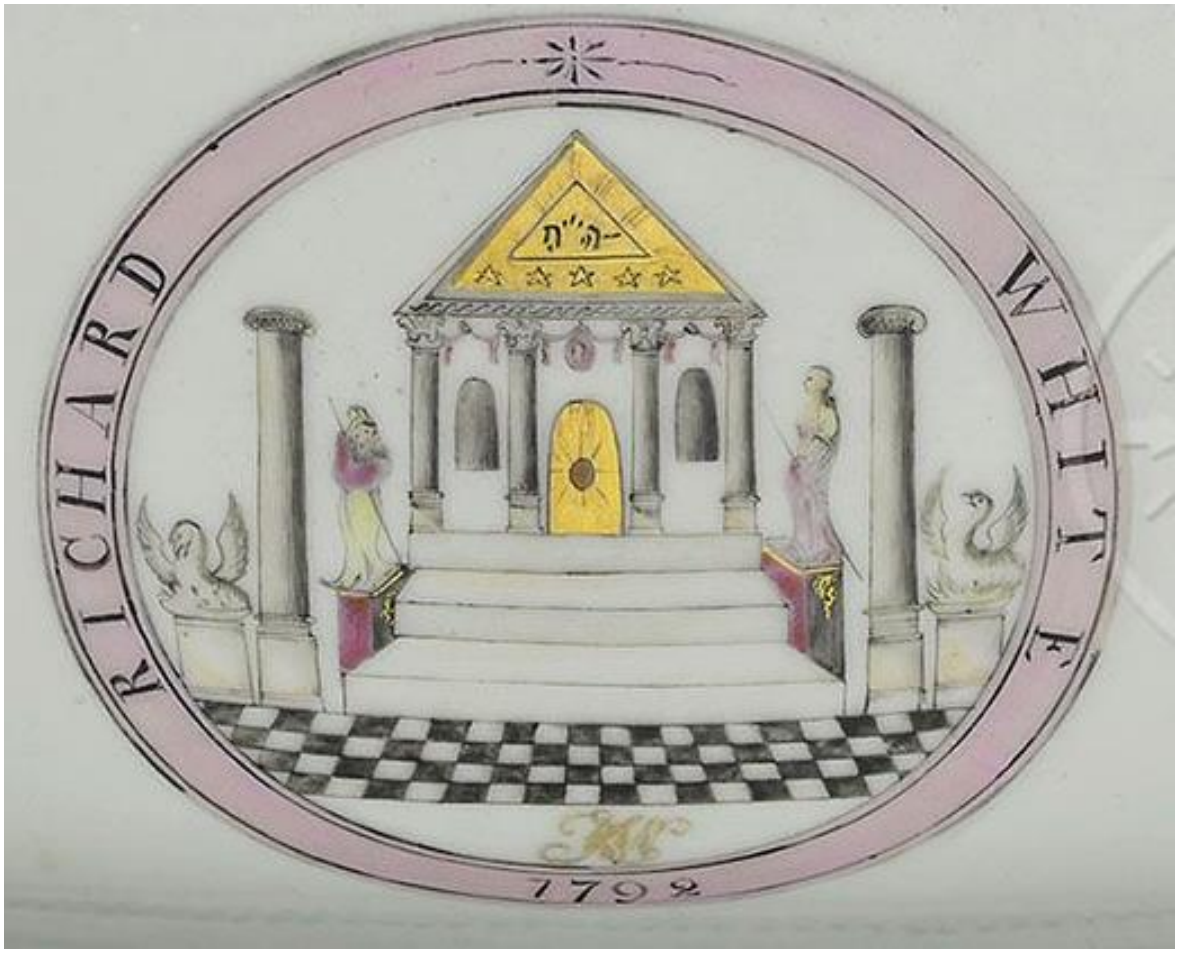


Fig. 7.101 (and detail): Punch bowl, decorated with a round medallion depicting a Temple, combined with the five masonic motifs, commissioned for Richard White in 1792. Polychrome enamels with gilding, height 12 cm, diam. 31.75 cm. Photograph courtesy of James D. Julia Auctioneers, Fairfield, Maine, USA, jamesdjulia.com.



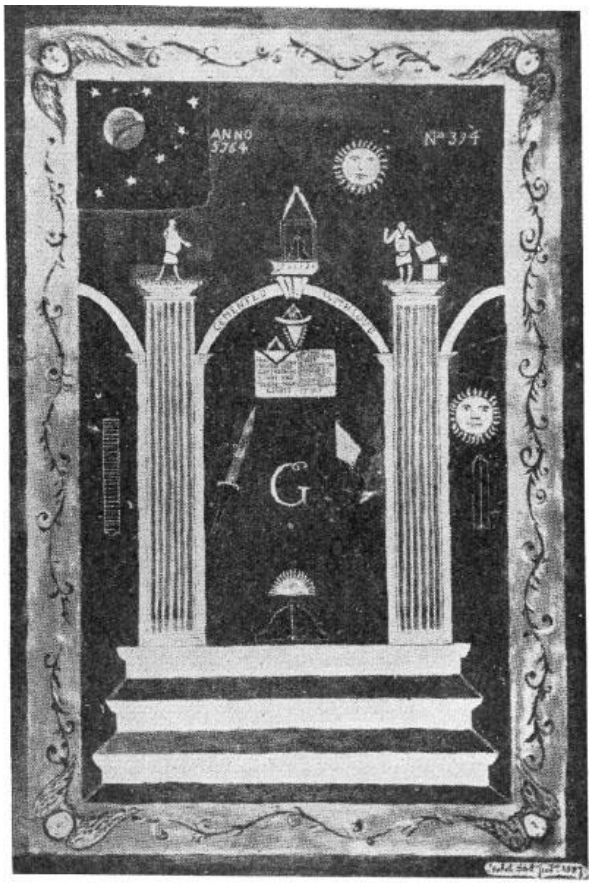


Fig. 7.102: Grand Lodge summons for Lodge No. 78 in Kingston-upon-Hull in Yorkshire, ca. 1759. Provenance unknown, reproduced from: Stillson/Hughan 1892, p. 557.
Fig. 7.103: Tracing board for Lurgan Lodge No. 394 (Grand Lodge of Ireland), the design dating from 1764, as published in the Transactions of Lodge of Research CC *(1923). Reproduced from: freemasonry.bcy.ca.*

■ *Theme 8: Royal Arch*

The rituals of the Royal Arch degrees cover the events in the vaults under the Temple, and includes the finding of the 'unspeakable name'. The Royal Arch was already practised in Ireland in 1746, but its origins are not yet clear.[257] It was probably related to or derived from the early variations of Scots Master's degrees, an then developed into a separate group. The Royal Arch became more popular in Britain under influence of the Antients' Grand Lodge and its Grand Secretary, Dermott, around 1753-1763. One of the first Royal Arch lodges grew out of the Punch Bowl Lodge in York in 1761.[258]

The iconography of this degree includes he image of two columns, connected by an arch with a keystone. An early version can be found on a Grand Lodge summons to Lodge No. 78 in Kingston-upon-Hull in Yorkshire, dating from circa 1759 (fig. 7.102).[259] The design consist of an arch between two pillars, bearing the words 'CEMENTED WITH LOVE'. From the headstone is hanging a pair of compasses on a quarter circle (a Worshipful Master's jewel), with a triangle with the tetragrammaton (the Hebrew letters 'JHWH'). On top of the headstone is a composition of masonic tools (compasses, square, level and plumb) forming a triangle upon a square. On top of the left column is an inscription reading 'VIRTUE & SILENCE', while on the right are the words 'TRUE FRIENDSHIP'. Two figures, clothed only in their aprons, are standing on top of the columns. The left one makes a gesture of taciturnity, a finger to the lips, while the right one wears a set square on a ribbon around his neck and is holding a hammer, while pointing at Euclid's 47th proposition at his feet. A similar design appears on a tracing board of Lurgan Lodge No. 394 (Grand Lodge of Ireland), thought to have originated in 1764 (fig. 7.103).



Fig. 7.104: Punch bowl with a Royal Arch design, separated by flower sprays, the same pattern on the interior of the bowl. Above the arch are roundels with the seal of the Grand lodge and the portrait of the Duke of Bedford, surrounded by text 'BEDFORD HEAD MAIDEN LANE'. Polychrome enamels, 1770-1780, height 13.2 cm, diam. 32.6 cm. Collection: The Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, inv.no. M2008/1270 (purchase 1938). Reproduced from: freemasonry.london.museum.

▫ *Bedford Head*

Dermott's Royal Arch also inspired the decoration of a punch bowl, now in the collection of the Library and Museum of Freemasonry (fig. 7.104). The arch is repeated three times on the exterior of the bowl, separated by flower sprays, and again three times on the interior of the bowl. A flower spray is depicted in the interior base. There are however some notable differences to the original print. Only the right figure on the columns is wearing an apron, the left is now fully clothed. On either side of the arch is the text 'St. Johns Lodge'. This is not a reference to a specific lodge or lodge name, as masonic lodges of the basic degrees were generally referred to as St. John's lodges. Above the arch are two roundels, one bearing the arms of the Moderns' Grand Lodge surrounded by text 'Amor Honor et Justitia' ('Love Honour and Justice'), the other bearing a portrait of the Duke of Bedford surrounded by the text 'Bedford Head Maiden Lane'.

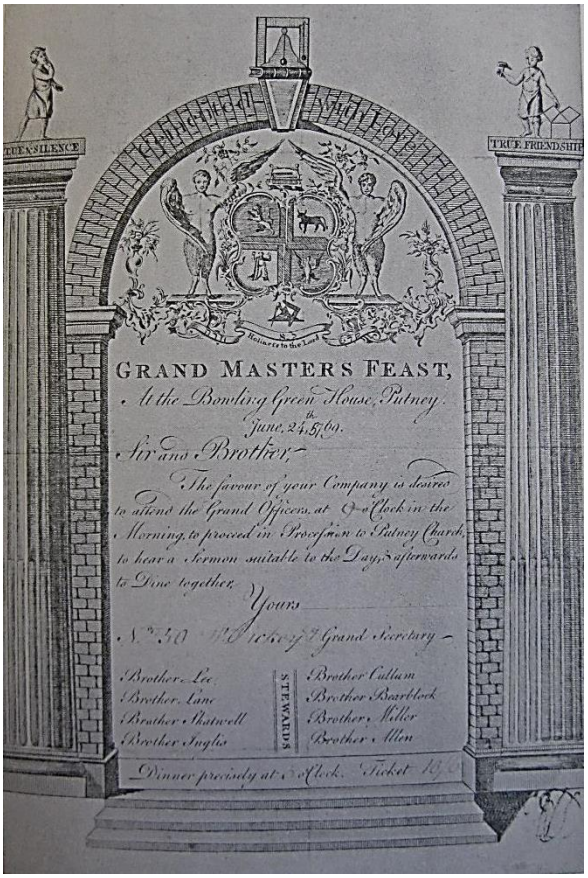


Fig. 7.105a: Lodge summons for the 'Grand Masters Feast' in Putney in 1769. Reproduced from: AQC *(1905) Vol. XVIII, z.p.*



Fig. 7.105: Punch bowl with a Royal Arch design including the arms of the Antients' Grand Lodge, signed 'Fra. Jukes fecit', and separated by flower sprays; a flower spray in the interior of the bowl. Famille rose enamels, ca. 1770-1785, height 12.2 cm, diam. 29.2 cm. Collection: The Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, inv.no. M2007/367 (purchase 2007). Reproduced from: freemasonry.london.museum.



Fig. 7.106: and detail: Bowl and plate with a Royal Arch design including the arms of the Antients Grand Lodge. Polychrome enamels with gilding, ca. 1795, diam. 13.9 cm. Frelinghuysen collection, displayed at Christie's New York, sale 2528, 24-1-2012, lot 155.
© Christie's Images Limited, 2015.

This is not so much a reference to Francis Russell (1593-1641), 4th Duke of Bedford, as to the alehouse after his name, located in Maiden Lane in London. The Bedford Head was listed in *Lane's Masonic Records* as the meeting place of several lodges between circa 1741 and 1833.[260] The bowl was probably presented to one of them.

▫ *Francis Jukes' design*

Dermott's Royal Arch was combined with the arms of the Antients Grand Lodge in the design of a lodge summons for the 'Grand Masters Feast' in Putney in 1769 (fig. 7.105a).The same design, with the text omitted, can be seen on a punch bowl, also in the London collection (fig. 7.105). The bowl is signed 'Fra. Jukes fecit', who can probably be identified as the engraver Francis Jukes (1747-1812), who may have also been responsible for the original lodge summons. The involvement of this engraver implies that the bowl cannot be dated around 1760 as the provenance record suggests, but must have been made somewhat later, circa 1770-1785, which also matches the style of the decoration.

The same design, but on a smaller scale and now enclosed by a rectangular border (even more reminiscent of a lodge summons) appeared on a plate and bowl in the collection of the Grande Loge de France and others at auction (fig. 7.106).[261] Figures on top of the columns, either freemasons with an apron or personifications of virtues, became a regular part of masonic iconography. The Antients and the Moderns merged in 1813 into the United Grand Lodge of England. Porcelain with the new arms of the Grand Lodge is mostly of European make.

▫ *King Zerubbabel*

The Royal Arch is also found on a rectangular tea caddy with rounded shoulders and a cylindrical spout (fig. 7.107, same model as fig. 7.82). Here the columns J and B are depicted on a chequered pavement. They are connected by an arch with a keystone, topped by a sun. Below it is the letter 'G'. Distinct are the pattern on the arch and the garland wrapped around the right column. Within the space between the columns, a pair



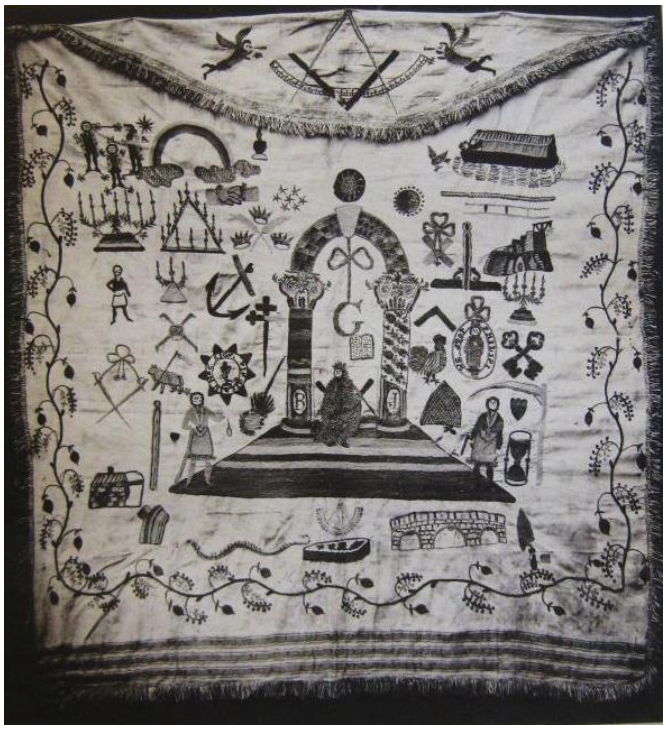
Fig. 7.107: Tea caddy with a Royal Arch type decoration including a crowned figure behind an open bible. Iron red and blue enamels, ca. 1790-1795, 12.4 x 8.5 x 3.7 cm. Collection: The Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, inv.no. M2009/560. Photograph provided by Martin Cherry.

of compasses and a set square rest on an open bible (the text intended on the bible an illegible interpretation by the Chinese artist).[262] Behind the book is the upper body of a crowned figure in a cape, arms raised, probably not representing King Solomon, but King Zerubbabel, who after the destruction of the Temple oversaw its rebuilding. Beneath the pavement is a pair of compasses resting on a section of a circle, enclosing a sun, the jewel of a Worshipful Master.[263]

The motif of the crowned figure under the arch, making a pointing gesture, is also depicted on jewels, aprons, masonic charts and handkerchiefs around 1800-1820 (see for example figs. 7.108-7.110). However, the tea caddy probably dates a little earlier, so the original pictorial source on which all these variations are based, remains to be identified.



Fig. 7.108: Both sides of a jewel, presented to William Scott of Lodge No. 6 in London on 27-12-1800 by Lodge No. 1 in Cape of Good Hope. Reproduced from: AQC *(1926) Vl. XXXIX, p. 273.*[264]



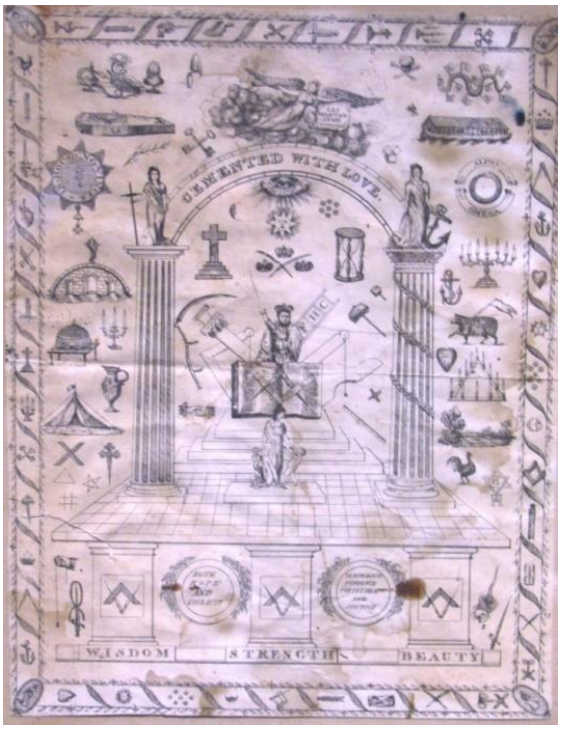


Fig. 7.109: Apron from Lodge Truth No. 22 in Belfast, ca. 1817. Collection: William Gillies, Glasgow. Reproduced from: AQC *(1891) Vol IV, z.p.*[265]
Fig. 7.110: Masonic Chart, ca. 1800. Collection: Shamrock Lodge No. 101, Athlone. Reproduced from: irishfreemasonry.com/blog.



Fig. 7.111: Jacobus Harrewijn (ca. 1660-ca. 1735), Solomon inspecting the building plan for the Temple, engraving ca. 1700. Reproduced from: Van der Sande 1995, p. 40.

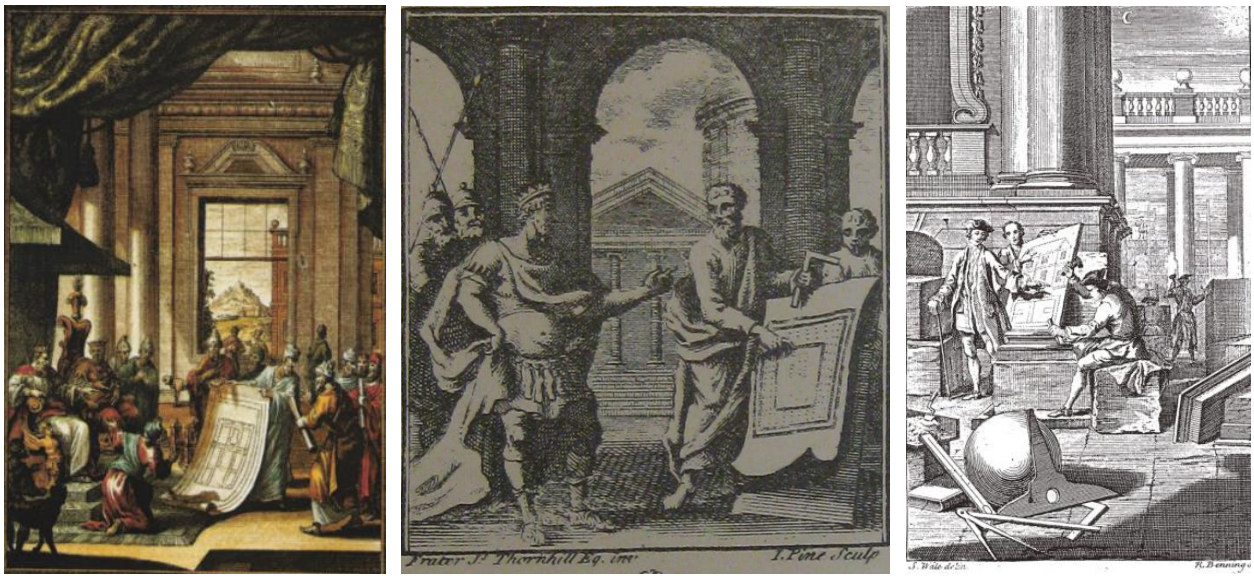


Fig. 7.112: Solomon inspecting the building plan for the Temple, in: J.J. Scheuchzer, Physica Sacra […] *(1731). Reproduced from: MacNulty 1991, p. 40.*
Fig. 7.113: Engraving from Anderson's The Constitutions *[…] (ed. 1738). P. xii. Reproduced from:* Quatuor Coronatorum Antigrapha *VII.*
Fig. 7.114: Frontispiece of Chansons originaires des Francs-Maçons *(2nd ed. 1749). Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 6B2.*

■ *Theme 9: Three Grand Masters*

An example of a decoration that would have appealed to both the general public and freemasons, is a scene depicting King Solomon inspecting the building plans for the Temple. It is found on export porcelain from the middle of the 18th century, but developed from a much older pictorial tradition, not exclusive to freemasonry. In Christian iconography popular scenes from the biblical story were 'Solomon receiving a Messenger', 'The inspection of the Building Plan', 'Solomon's Judgement' and 'Solomon and Sheba', which often shared elements of composition and iconography.

Variations of 'The Inspection of the Building Plan' from the early 18th century - the time in which modern freemasonry developed - include an engraving by Jacobus Harrewijn (circa 1700) and a print in J.J. Scheuchzer's *Physica sacra iconibus aeneis illustrata procurante & sumtus suppediante Johanne Andrea Pfeffel* (1731) (figs. 7.111-7.112). As freemasons strongly identified with the biblical story in a ritual context, they made the iconographical theme their own. It was first depicted within a specific masonic context in an

engraving by James Thornhill (1675-1734) after a design by John Pine (1690-1756), among others published in the 1738 edition of *The Constitutions* (fig. 7.113). Another variation by Samuel Wale (1721-1786), showing a gentleman-architect inspecting the building plan, was published as a frontispiece to *Chansons originaires des Francs-Maçons* (2nd ed., 1749) (fig. 7.114).[266] There are several other variations of later dates.

By the middle of the 18th century the text of popular ritual manuals, such as *Three Distinct Knocks* (1760), must have influenced the visual representation of 'The Inspection of the Building Plan'.[267] This publication includes a masonic catechism (1st-3rd degrees), which reads as follows:

Mas[ter]	Why do three make a lodge Brother?
Ans[wer]	Because there were three Grand Masters in the building of the World, and also that noble Piece of Architecture Man; which are so complete in Proportion, that the Antients began their Architecture by the same Rules.
Mas[ter]	The second Reason, Brother?
Ans[wer]	There were three Grand Masters at the building of *Solomon*'s Temple.[268]
Mas[ter]	What supports your Lodge?
Ans[wer]	Three Great Pillars.
Mas[ter]	What are their names?
Ans[wer]	Wisdom, Strength and Beauty.
Mas[ter]	Who do they represent?
Ans[wer]	Three Grand-Masters: *Solomon*, King of *Israel*; *Hiram*, King of *Tyre*; and *Hiram Abiff*, which was the Widow's Son who was killed.
Mas[ter]	Were all those Three Grand-Masters concerned in the building of *Solomon*'s Temple?
Ans[wer]	They were.
Mas[ter]	What was their Business?
Ans[wer]	*Solomon* for finding Provision, and Money to pay the Hirelings; *Hiram*, Kind of *Tyre*, for finding Materials for the Work; *Hiram Abiff*, for performing the Work. [269]

A similar reference was included in the catechism for the 3rd degree, published in *Jachin and Boaz* (1762). The visual and textual traditions somehow morphed into one new theme: 'The Three Grand Masters', usually depicted as King Solomon and King Hiram of Tyre inspecting a drawing offered to them by Hiram Abiff.

▫ *Dundee Arms Lodge summons (1750s)*

The text of ritual manuals could have inspired the engraver Benjamin Cole (1695-1766). He was commissioned by the English Grand Lodge to regularly produce the 'Engraved Lists of Lodges' between 1745 and 1766.[270] Around 1750 Cole was commissioned by Dundee Arms Lodge (now Old Dundee Lodge No. 18, London) to make an engraving for the lodge summons (fig. 7.115).[271] In his engraving Cole incorporated the theme of the Three Grand Masters. Two crowned figures, Solomon and Hiram of Tyre, are shown standing on a chequered floor against an architectural background, underneath a sky including both the sun and the moon. A building block or cubic stone is placed in the foreground, surrounded by various tools. The scene is placed in a medallion, formed by an ouroboros and surrounded by three pillars, which are carrying globes of heaven and earth and a beehive. The two outer pillars are decorated with the crest of the Masons Company and a crest depicting a pot of lilies, after the arms of the city of Dundee.[272] Beside and below the columns are representations of Faith, Hope and Charity.

The published history of Old Dundee lodge by Arthur Heiron (1921) quotes archive documents, which demonstrate how the lodge repeatedly ordered a set of 500 prints from Cole for the sum of 15 shillings in the years 1749-1755 (presumably the lodge summons), and in 1750 paid him for altering a (copper) plate.[273] Heiron also provides some abstracts from the archives, mentioning some interesting expenses:

- 1754, Nov 28: 'Bro[ther] Inglis made Ye Lodge a present of a China Punch Bowl',
- 1754, Dec. 30: 'Paid foor Stand for the Punch Bowle', £ 1 s.1. d.0,
- 1757: 'P[ai]d Br[other] Clarke for the Designs of the Bowls', £ 0 s.4. d.0,

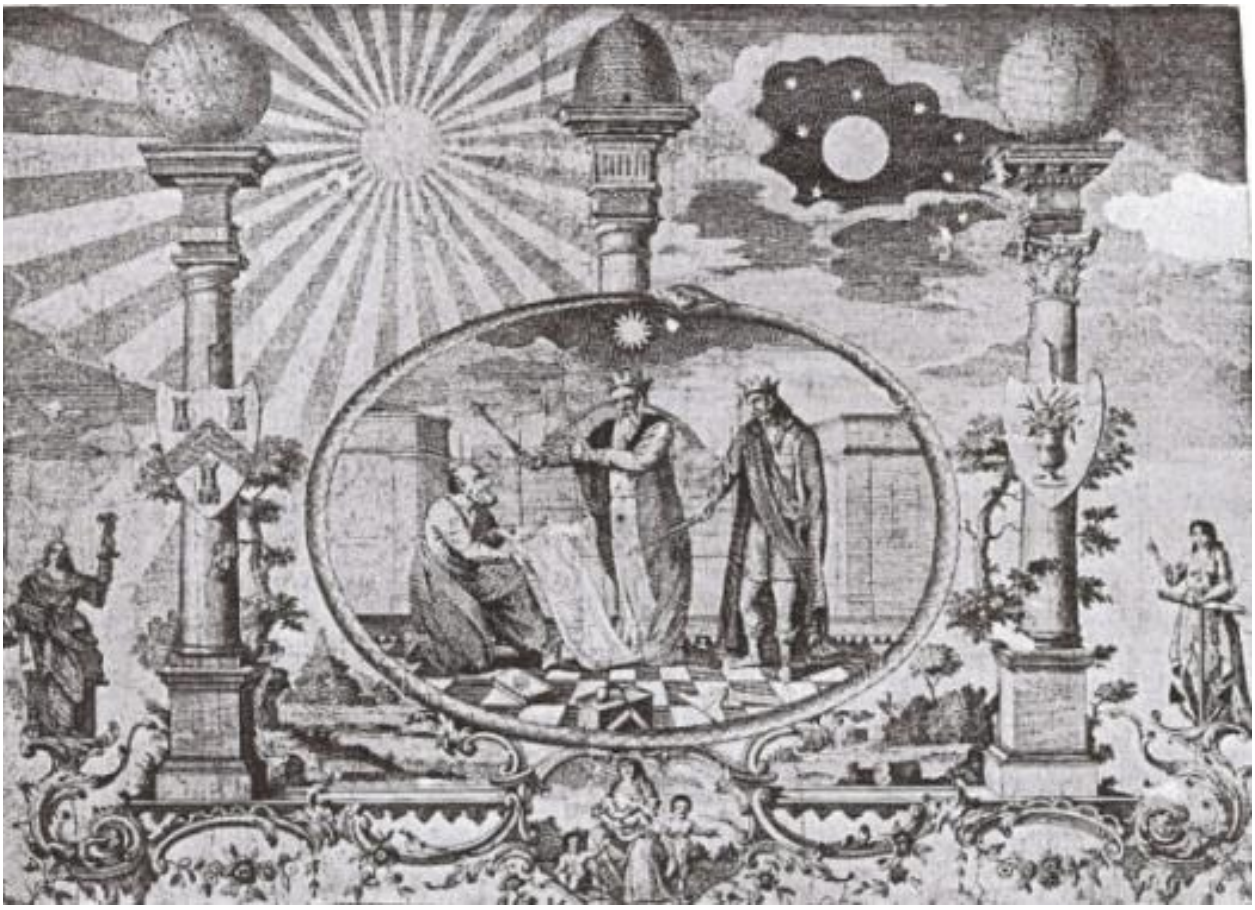


Fig. 7.115: Benjamin Cole (1695-1766), engraving for a summons of the Dundee Arms Lodge, ca. 1750. Reproduced from: Heiron 1921, opposite p. 209.

- 1762: 'P[ai]d Br[other] Dobbie for 4 China Bowls for this Lodge', £ 5 s.0. d.0,
- 1767: 'P[ai]d for 2 China Bowles', £ 1 s.16. d.0,
- 1798: 'P[ai]d for mending 7 Bowles', £ 0 s.4. d.8.[274]

Brother Inglis was a 'Sea Member', apparently in the position to order export porcelain.[275] He or one of his fellow lodge members was probably responsible for getting Cole's print to China in the next few decades. The assumption cannot be verified, but there is a punch bowl in the collection of the Library and Museum of Freemasonry with a decoration after this print dated around 1790-1795 (fig. 7.116).[276] On one side of the bowl, the theme of the 'Three Grand Masters', enclosed in a medallion, was faithfully copied from the print. The other sides of the bowl show the sun, the moon and the bible with compasses and square from the 'five masonic motifs', to be discussed below. On the bottom of the bowl is a simple flower spree with a butterfly. The exterior rim is decorated with a patterned gilt band, while the interior rim has an additional pattern, which was also applied to the base of the bowl.

Heiron continued his history with a list of gifts to the lodge, which in 1788 included a 'China Punch bowl […] decorated with emblems of Masonry', donated by John Haverstock, who was also described as a 'Sea Member'.[277] The lodge celebrated the arrival of the gift in a fitting manner. On 22-10-1788 the lodge minutes recorded:

> The Members of the Dundee Lodge having this Night been presented with an Elegant China Bowl [decorated with The Emblems of Masonry] by Br. Havistock, they returned him Publick [sic] and Sincere Thanks by Drinking his Health with *Three Times Three*.[278]





Fig. 7.116: Punch bowl decorated on one side with the 'Three Grand Masters' motif after an engraving by Benjamin Cole for the Dundee Arms Lodge, and on the other sides with some of the 'five masonic motifs'; a flower spray with butterfly in the interior of the bowl. Polychrome enamels with gilding, ca. 1790-1795, height 13.7 cm, diam. 33.1 cm. Collection: Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, inv.no. M2009/353. Reproduced from: freemasonry.london.museum. (Also reproduced in Carr 1965, p. 255.)

In the following years, more gifts were recorded:

- 1802, Aug. 12: 'The Thanks of the Lodge was [sic] given to B[rother] John Campbelle for Eleven Handsome Bowls which he has kindly presented to this Lodge; thanks were also given to Mr. Thompson for the great care he took of the same',
- 1802, Sept. 9: 'Mr William Thompson was this Night Balloted and Accepted, and on ac[count] of his going on a Voyage was Initiated into the Three Degrees of Masonry and for his Care in bringing over the Bowls presented to the Lodge by Br. John Campbell was Made "*Free of the Lodge*"'.[279]

The records of Dundee Lodge illustrate that travelling members were involved in the import of porcelain over a longer period of time, as would have also been the case in lodges in port towns elsewhere in Europe.



Fig. 7.117: Punch bowl with the 'Three Grand Masters' motif in oval panels, framed by columns and flower garlands, the arms of the Moderns' Grand Lodge below. Between the panels are flower sprays and a monogram, repeated at the bottom of the bowl. Polychrome enamels with gilding, ca. 1760-1770, height 9.9 cm, diam. 22.9 cm Collection: Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, inv.no. M2009/352. Reproduced from: freemasonry.london.museum.

▫ *Three Grand Masters variations*

There are two other variations of the Three Grand Masters theme. A bowl in the collection of the Library and Museum of Freemasonry was decorated on opposite sides with a panel showing the Three Grand Masters, flanked by flower sprays, but here the execution of the central design is less refined (fig. 7.117).[280] Only the main part of the print, the scene with the three men, is depicted and underneath the arms of the Masons Company have been added. The dress of the men is different, with both Kings wearing trousers, and a simple architectural structure as background. The medallion is framed by the three columns, connected with scrollwork and foliage, from which building tools are suspended. The other sides and the bottom of the bowl are decorated with a monogram, enclosed by a circle formed by a chain. Similar bowls have appeared at auction.[281]





Fig. 7.118: Octagonal serving dish with the 'Three Grand Masters' motif, ca. 1760-1770. Polychrome enamels with gilding, diam. 21.1 cm. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv.no. C.225-1931 (Gulland Bequest). Reproduced from: collections.vam.ac.uk.
Fig. 7.119: Octagonal serving dish with the 'Three Grand Masters' motif. Polychrome enamels with gilding, ca. 1760-1770, 41 x 32 cm. Collection: Musée de la Grande Orient de France, Paris. Reproduced from a postcard, author's collection.
Fig. 7.120a: Masonic jewel, late 18th century. Collection not listed. Reproduced from: AQC *(1908) Vol XXI, p.5.*



Fig. 7.120: Detail of an octagonal plate with the 'Three Grand Masters' motif. Polychrome enamels with gilding, ca. 1760-1770, height 4.3 cm, diam. 24.6 cm. Collection: Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, inv.no. M2008/1212. Photograph by Painton Cowen. Reproduced from: tamrin.proboards.com.

The third version of the design is found on octagonal dinner ware from around the same time, of which a plate is in the Victorian & Albert Museum (fig. 7.118). Similar items are in the collection of the Library and Museum of Freemasonry (fig. 7.120) and the Chasem Museum of Art.[282] Again the pictorial style is less refined, and the dress of the men is somewhat different. Serving dishes of the same type are part of the collection of the Musée de la Grande Orient de France (fig. 7.119), and have appeared at auction.[283]

While the bowls with the original version of the design were probably commissioned for Dundee Arms Lodge, the second and third versions may have been cheaper products and therefore less finely executed. Although the biblical theme may have appealed to an non-mason as well, decorations relating to the old testament on export porcelain were not popular with a wide audience at the time, so these objects must have been primarily aimed at the masonic market.[284] A pictorial source for the latter two versions is not known, but they closely resemble the decoration of an engraved lodge jewel from the end of the 18th century (fig. 7.120a), suggesting a common source.

■ *Theme 10: Tringham's* The Mysteries […] *(1753)*

In 1755 William Thompson produced reproductions of an engraving, titled *The Mysteries that here are Shown are only to a Mason known* (1753). The design was made by William Tringham (1723-after 1770), a London based engraver, print seller and publisher. His image is rich with symbolism (fig. 7.121). On the left is a temple, with the text *Pulsanti Aperietur* ('who knocks shall be answered' or 'knock and it will open', referring to the candidate who has to knock on the door of the lodge (see Matt. 7:7; Luke 11:9). Above it are depicted personifications of Time (also represented by a partially visible zodiac) and Dawn (Aurora) with a cornucopia. Dawn is holding a scroll with the text *Hic Labor, Hoc Opus* ('this is the labour, this is the work'), indicating the work is done.[285] A winged angel is blowing a trumpet with a banner bearing the date '5753' (thus heralding freemasonry in the *anno lucis* 1753), while cherubs are carrying a veil with the motto 'Silence and Secrecy' are lifting the clouds. These are references to the wisdom gained by the initiate, the secret revealed.

Beneath the Temple is are two broken columns (referring to the Scots Master's degree) with a skull and cross-bones (referring to death and rebirth), as well as a cubic stone with a hammer and a chisel (symbols for the Entered Apprentice degree). In the background on the right a group of seven freemasons (which according to masonic ritual 'makes a perfect lodge') is seen passing seven arches. The men are holding various tools, as if they are discussing symbols in a field lodge. On the right in the foreground is the most important figure: a crowned man, seated at a table with a tracing board (with a black-and-white dented border) in his hands. He is drawing Euclid's 47th proposition, while seated on a stool on a chequered pavement in a landscape with pillars and architecture.

The question is, who this crowned figure represents. It cannot be Solomon, as he was not an architect. According to masonic literature, only Euclid, Pythagoras and Hiram Abiff are able to draw the mathematical figure, but none of them were kings. This suggests that this is no worldly crown, but a 'crown of the wise' (Proverbs 14:24).[286]

The man's drawing board rests on a monument, altar or tomb, while in front of him is a sundial, the side of which is decorated with a radiant sun. The sundial refers to the symbolic work of freemasons, from noon to midnight. According to *The Three Distinct Knocks* (1760), the Junior Warden is positioned 'in the South […] to observe the Sun, at high Meridian'.[287] Behind him are five beehives, grouped in the shape of a pentagram on a triangular base.[288]

In the collection of the Library and Museum of Freemasonry in London are two punch bowls with a decoration derived from Tringham's print, both dated circa 1760 and showing a monogram supported by hares on the interior base. On each bowl the top and bottom half of the print are depicted in separate oval medallions. On the first bowl, these medallions are separated by the arms and seal of the Moderns' Grand Lodge (fig. 7.122).[289] One the second bowl they are separated by the arms of the Moderns and the crest of the Boys family with London in pretence (fig. 7.123). The angel heralding freemasonry is now turned towards the sun. According to the provenance record, this bowl was probably made for Samuel Boys from Hoventon (Norfolk) and his wife Anne London of Albye. Her coat of arms was incorporated into that of Boys.[290] The bowl is accompanied by a lacquered wooden stand.



Fig. 7.121: William Tringham (1723-after 1770), The Mysteries that here are Shown are only to a Mason known *(1753). Collection: Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London. Reproduced from: MacNulty 1991, p. 68.*

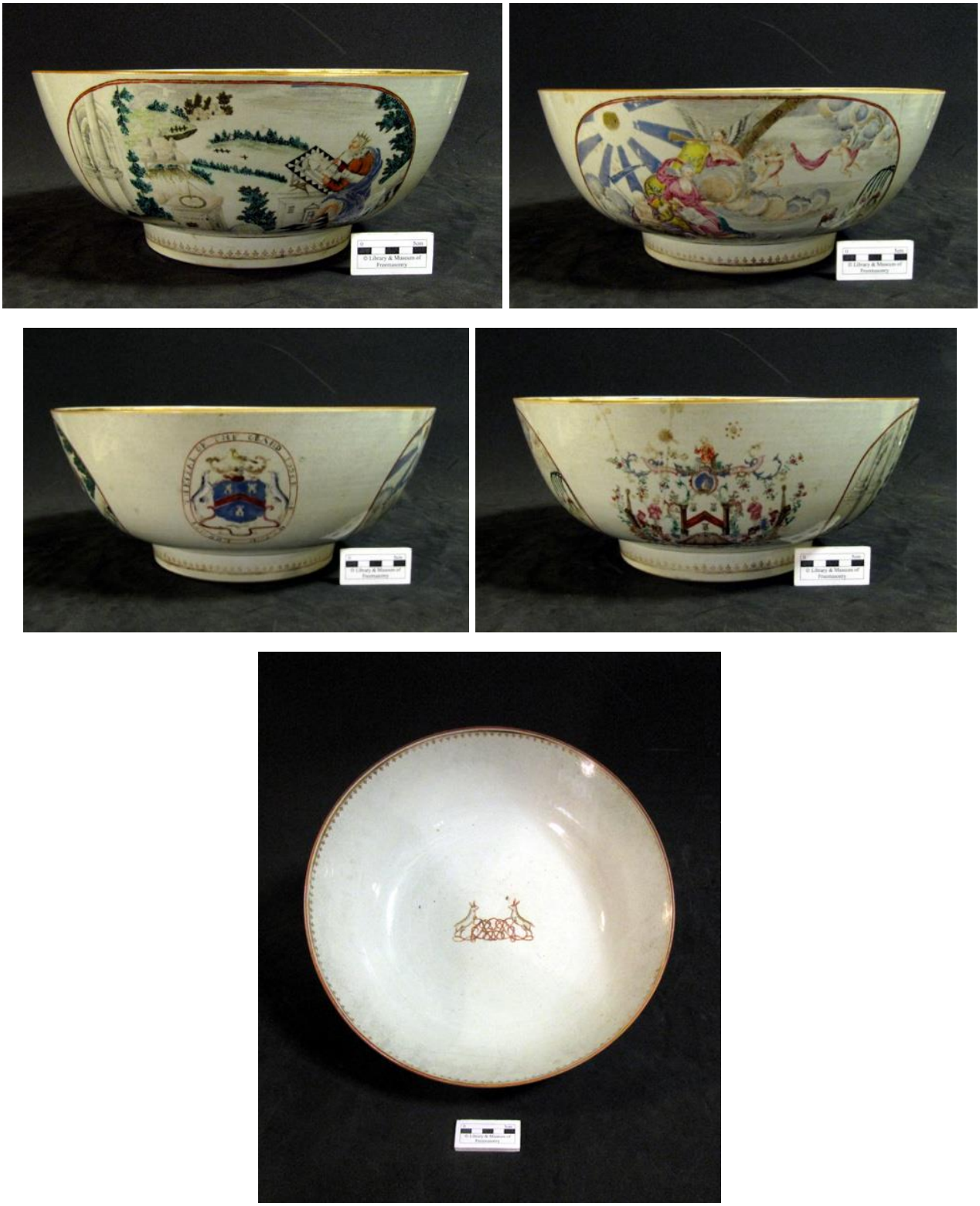


Fig. 7.122: Punch bowl, decorated with two oval panels after William Tringham's The Mysteries that here are shown […] *(1753), and the arms and the seal of the Moderns' Grand Lodge. The bottom of the bowl is decorated with a monogram supported by hares. Polychrome enamels with gilding, ca. 1760, height 14.7 cm, diam. 35.7 cm. Collection: Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, inv.no. M2008/1274. Reproduced from: freemasonry.london.museum.*







Fig. 7.123: Punch bowl, decorated with two oval panels after William Tringham's The Mysteries that here are shown […] *(1753), separated by the arms of the Moderns Grand Lodge and the arms of the Boys family. The bottom of the bowl is decorated with a monogram supported by hares. Polychrome enamels with gilding, ca. 1760, height 10.9 cm, diam. 25.5 cm. Collection: Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, inv.no. M2008/1210. Reproduced from: Howard 1997, p. 131 (top) / freemasonry.london.museum (middle and bottom).*



Fig. 7.124: Punch bowl with a 'Knock and you shall be opened' type décor. Famille rose enamels with gilding, ca. 1760-1770, diam. 35.5 cm. Collection: Musée-Archives-Bibliothèque de la Grande Loge de France, Paris, inv.no. Apo.12.1980.
© Christie's Images Limited, 2015.



Fig. 7.125: Plate and bowl with a 'Knock and you shall be opened' type decor combined with flower sprays (background). Polychrome enamels with gilding, ca. 1760-1770, size not listed. Collection: Svenska Frimurare Ordens Museet, Stockholm. Reproduced from: Cat. Stockholm 1953, title page.

▫ *Pulsanti Aperietur*

On the left side of Tringham's design, an arch is visible on a series of steps between two pillars. An inscription on the arch reads: 'PULSANTI APERIETUR' ('knock and you shall be opened'). A freemason stands in front of the door in the distance, possibly a Tyler. This part of the design may have inspired a different series of punch bowls. It is also possible that both the bowls and Tringham's design were inspired by an earlier source.

A bowl in the collection of the Grande Loge de France is decorated with a round medallion executed in *famille rose* with details in gilt (fig. 7.124).[291] It shows a similar scene of a freemason standing in front of a door. The words 'PULSANTI APERIETUR' appear on a drapery above the arch. The scene is flanked by scrollwork, from which masonic tools are hanging on bowed ribbons; below is a skull and cross-bones.

The sides and bottom of the bowl are decorated with flower sprays. A similar plate and bowl are in the collection of the Svenska Frimurare Ordens Museet in Stockholm (fig. 7.125).

■ *Theme 11: Closed book, compasses and square*

Depictions of a book with a pair of compasses and a set square surfaced within freemasonry just before the middle of the 18th century.[292] One of the first examples appeared in the 1746 frontispiece to *The Builder's Jewel* by Batty Langley (1st ed. 1741), which shows various combinations of masonic tools on three columns, representing the different building orders (fig. 7.126). The book with compasses and square are attached to the left column. The book could of course represent the bible, but as the iconography of freemasonry developed further, the bible was usually shown opened (on the gospel of St. John) with the tools lying upon it, comparable to how these objects were displayed in the lodge during the ritual. Therefore the open bible also appears on most tracing boards, officers' jewels, aprons and masonic prints, which in the 18th century may have served as an example for export porcelain. It is possible that the closed book here does not represent the bible, but for instance a lodge minute book, a book of masonic law, or is a more general reference to knowledge and wisdom.

A document in the Library and Museum of Freemasonry is decorated with a similar closed book caught between a pair of compasses and a set square, as well as a level, plumb line and set square suspended from ribbons (fig. 7.127). It was designed by Michael Devon, the Deputy Grand Master of the Moderns in the 1760s, who illustrated the Grand Lodge minute books with masonic symbols and also accepted commissions to decorate letters of constitution and other lodge certificates. Devon's design with a closed book may have been inspired by the print in *The Builder's Jewel*, but he depicted the set square in a different angle, and behind instead of on top of the book. The book itself carries a mark in the middle, as if to suggest a stamped cover. One of Devon's certificates may have reached China, as his book motif occurs on a particular type of export porcelain. According to Clements, Devon may even have been asked to provide a set of templates for porcelain production.[293]

▫ *Book with a pair of compasses*

An early example of the closed book motif appeared on a tea pot stand, now in the collection of Freimaurer Museum Schloss Rosenau (fig. 7.128). It is decorated with a female figure, seated in a landscape, holding a crest with a monogram. Above the central motif is a book caught in a pair of compasses, but without the set square. The sculpted rim of the dish is decorated with a band of foliage. This is yet another example of a motif, that isn't overtly masonic.

▫ *Book with compasses and square*

A dish, kept in the collection of the Grande Loge de France shows the closed book motif on its own (fig. 7.129).[294] The dish is shaped like a tobacco leaf, decorated with a underglaze blue border, and may have been part of a larger dinner service. The book with the tools also features in the gilded decoration of a punch bowl (fig. 7.130). The central design on the outside of the bowl is formed by a two columns, connected by an arch of rococo scroll work. Two candlesticks can be seen on the floor between the columns, and a plumb and a level are hanging on bows in the scrollwork. In the top of the design is a cartouche with an all-seeing eye with a pair of compasses crossed with a set square, flanked by a sun and a moon. In the centre between the columns are a large bible with compasses and square, the book executed in an odd perspective and carrying the inscription 'HB', identifying it as the Holy Bible, and 'No. 3', possibly

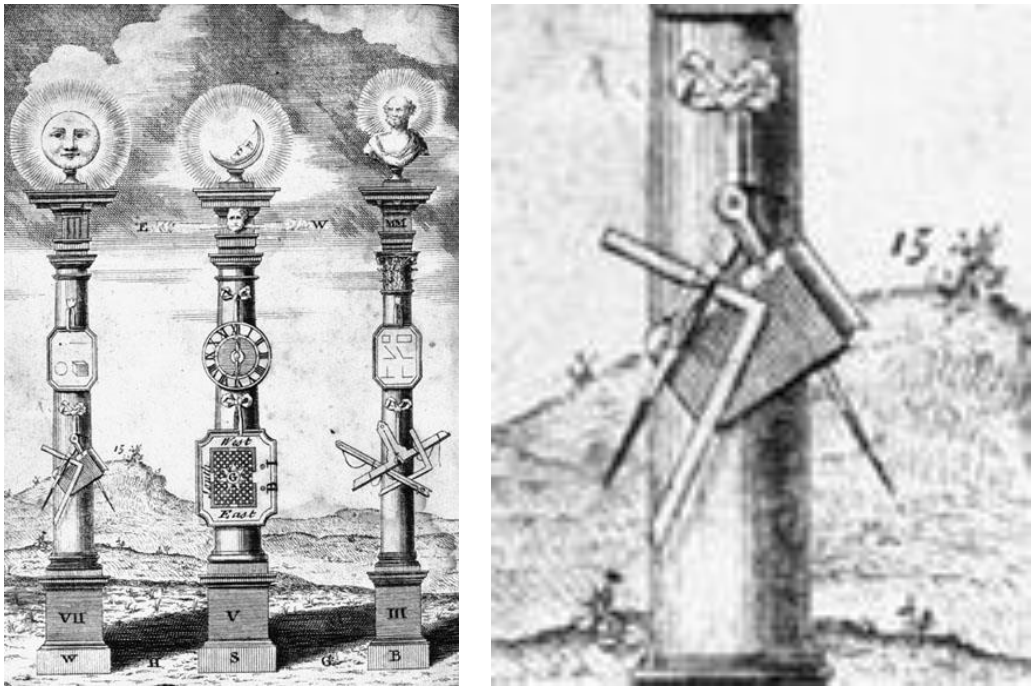


Fig. 7.126: Frontispiece to Batty Langley, The Builder's Jewel *(1st ed. 1741), ed. 1746. Reproduced from: rickypound.london.*



Fig. 7.127: Plea for assistance, designed by Michael Devon, 25-7-1769. Collection: Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London. Reproduced from: Hamill/Gilbert 1991, p. 49.

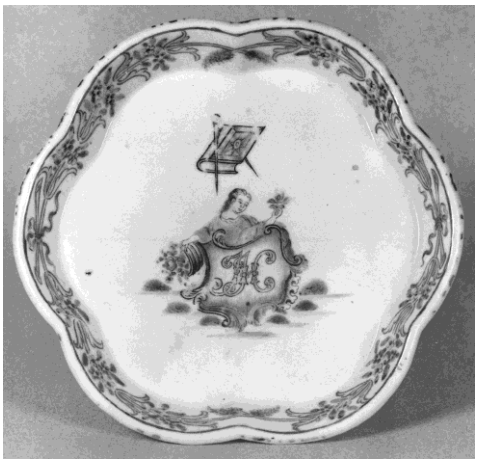




Fig. 7.128: Tea pot stand with a sculpted rim, decorated with a crest and a monogram, held by a seated female figure in a landscape; a book with a pair of compasses above it. Polychrome enamels, ca. 1750, size not listed. Collection: Freimaurer Museum Schloss Rosenau, Rosenau. Reproduced from: Valmy 1991 p. 214.
Fig. 7.129: Tobacco leaf-shaped dish with a closed book motif. Iron red and underglaze blue enamels, ca. 1790, size not listed. Collection and photograph: Musée-Archives-Bibliothèque de la Grande Loge de France, Paris, inv.no. Apo.12.1983.







Fig. 7.130: Punch bowl decorated with a book, carrying the initials 'HB' and 'No. 3', and a pair of compasses with a set square, framed by elements of a tracing board and masonic tools. Black enamel with gilding, ca. 1760, diam. 30.9 cm. Displayed at R&G McPherson Antiques, London, stock no. 23227. Reproduced from: chineseceramicslondon.com.





Fig. 7.131: Covered tureen decorated with the arms of Devan impaling Hellord, surrounded by flower sprays and masonic tools; hare head handles; two monograms and a flower finial on the cover. Famille rose enamels with gilding, ca. 1765, height 21.6 cm, width 36.5 cm. Displayed at Freeman's, sale 1482, lot 175. Reproduced from: freemansauction.com.
Fig. 7.132: Soup plates, decorated with the arms of Devan impaling Hellord, surrounded by flower sprays and masonic tools; monograms 'MID' and heraldic lions separated by flowers and butterflies on the rim of the plate. Famille rose enamels with gilding, ca. 1765, diam. 22.9 cm. Displayed at Northeast Auctions, sale 15/16-8-2009, lot 782. Reproduced from: northeastauctions.com



Fig. 7.133: Detail of a soup plate, decorated with the arms of Devan impaling Hellord, surrounded by flower sprays and masonic tools; monograms 'MID' and heraldic lions separated by flowers and butterflies on the rim of the plate. Famille rose enamels with gilding, ca. 1765, diam. 22.9 cm. Displayed at CRN Auctions Inc., sale 1-5-2011, lot 185d. Reproduced from: crnauctions.com.

the number of the lodge which commissioned the bowl. The design is combined with a delicate flower spray and repeated on the inside base of the punch bowl.

▫ *Family crest of Devan impaling Hellord*

One particular service, dating around 1765, seems to have been decorated after Devon's certificate. The plates of this service bear the coat of arms of Devan impaling Hellord, surrounded by four masonic symbols separated by flower sprays (fig. 7.131-7.132). Depicted are the closed book with compasses and square, a level, a plumb line and a set square, the latter three all hanging from bows in the same fashion as on the certificate by Devon. The rim of the plates is decorated with two monograms 'MID' and two heraldic lions on opposing sides, separated by butterflies and flowers. To the uninitiated, the tools in the design could be seen as a reference to architecture, the book to knowledge or the bible. Only a fellow freemason would appreciate the allusion to the Order. A plate of this service is in the collection of the Grande Loge de France, others have appeared at auction (fig. 7.133).[295] A matching covered tureen with hare-shaped handles is in the collection of the Grande Loge de France and another has appeared at auction (fig. 7.131).[296]

■ *Theme 12: Five masonic motifs*

By the end of the 18th century there seems to have been an increase in the number of orders of masonic porcelain for the European and American markets. The number of surviving items of any particular design or shape is not necessarily indicative of how many were actually produced: of most decoration types only a handful of pieces have survived, regardless of their production numbers. There is one type of decoration, however, of which so many examples still remain, that it must have overflowed the market. It concerns a particular combination of five masonic motifs (fig. 7.134):

- A closed book caught between a pair of compasses and set square (after the aforementioned Devon design); often flanked by beehives.

- Various stonemason's and draughtsman's tools, referring to the labour of freemasons:
  - a level, grouped with a plumb line and a drawing or tracing board (or a set square);
  - a folding rule, a protractor and a parallel ruler;
  - a block of (rough) stone, with a saw and a tracing tool leaning against it, and vessels of water (for humidification of the stone during the work) resting on top of it; flanked by a table with bread and water, salt and sulphur (representing the contents of the Chamber of Reflection and the 1st degree[297]) and by a cubic stone with a Lewis[298] in it (a symbol of the 2nd degree).

- A radiant sun and a crescent moon, both with human features, and a group of seven stars; often depicted against a backdrop of clouds. The sun and the moon are sometimes mistaken for a full and a crescent moon, and the five-pointed star with the letter 'G' is sometimes mistaken for a sun, as it often appears somewhat distorted.

- A miniature tracing board, consisting of two pillars topped by globes, standing on a chequered floor, with a radiant and flaming letter 'G' between them. The flames are sometimes distorted into a sun motif. The whole is often, but not always, enclosed by a circle or medallion.

- A waterfall streaming towards an ear of corn[299], sprouting from the earth. This motif is often mistaken for rain coming from the heavens (clouds) or even acacia sprigs growing from a mount of earth. It is more likely a reference to the biblical story of Moses. After the Israelites left Egypt, they crossed the Red Sea and travelled through the wilderness toward Mount Sinai. They complained of hunger and thirst, so God told Moses to strike a rock with a rod, and water came pouring out. (Psalm 105:41: 'He opened the rock, and the waters gushed out; they ran in the dry places [like] a river'.[300]) Here too, the image is somewhat distorted or oddly coloured: the water is sometimes green, resembling sprigs; the rocks blue, resembling clouds. The corn refers to the biblical story of Jephtha and the battle against the Ephraimites (Judges 12), as well as the password for the 2nd





Fig. 7.134: Punch bowl with the five masonic motifs and a scroll and ouroboros border, ca. 1790-1795, height 11.4 cm, diam. 27.3 cm. Collection: Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, inv.no. M2009/48 (donation King George V, 1934). Reproduced from: freemasonry.london.museum.





Reverse sides of fig. 7.134.



Interior of fig. 7.134.





Fig. 7.135a-b: Examples of the border types that would have appealed to a masonic audience: a blue band with gilt stars (right) and scroll border with ouroboros and crossed torches (left).

degree: Shibboleth. The *Emulation Ritual* (1813) describes how ‘Shibboleth denotes plenty, and is here [= on the tracing board of the 2nd degree] depicted by an ear of corn near to a fall of water.’ This 'fall of water' can also refer to a crossable part of the river Jordan, where Jephtha made anyone who wished to cross speak the word ‘Shibboleth’. He did so in order to discover Ephraimites, who would pronounce it as ‘Sibbolet’ and would then be killed. Although the ear of corn should be paired with the rocks, is often painted on top of the circle enclosing the miniature tracing board, even when the rocks aren’t represented in the rest of the decoration scheme.

These ‘five masonic motifs’, for lack of a better name, are mostly found on punch bowls, but also on various parts of tea, coffee and chocolate services, as well as on sturdier, covered jugs and mugs of the twisted strap handle type. On larger objects like punch bowls and jugs, all five masonic motifs are usually represented, although the grouping of the different elements, colours and style vary. On smaller objects



Fig. 7.136: Plate with the five masonic motifs. Polychrome enamels, ca. 1780, height 3.7 cm, diam. 20.2 cm. Collection: Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, inv.no. M1969/260 (donation 1969). Reproduced from: freemasonry.london.museum.

like teacups and saucers some symbols were omitted in order to fit the design onto the available surface, while a service as a whole would again represent all five. All items with this décor were probably produced for the American market around 1795-1810.

Commissioners could chose different patterns for border decorations. A blue band with gilt stars, although not exclusive to masonic export porcelain, would have especially appealed to a masonic clientele, as blue is the colour of the Order and a blue ceiling with stars would become the standard decoration of the lodge room around this time (fig. 7.135a). A scrolled green band, decorated with purple flowers and interceded by an ouroboros with two crossed torches, may have also appealed to a masonic audience (fig. 7.135b). The snake biting its tail represents the eternal life, the torches the flame of life. This symbolism is found in relation to some Dutch cemeteries in the end of the 18th century (where the torches are pointing downwards, though to represent life extinguished), as well as in at least Dutch one interior.[301] (It requires further investigation to determine if the symbol was common on a European level or particularly used by the Dutch, to determine of there may be a Dutch connection to this type of export porcelain.) In the border of the punch bowls, the torches are depicted sideways and almost shaped like clubs, their shape possibly misunderstood by the Chinese painter. This means they may have also been interpreted as clubs by the buyer, which could have added an extra layer of symbolism to their interpretation.[302]

Most decorations on masonic objects refer to the Master's degree, but the symbolism of the five masonic motifs points heavily to the 2nd degree, in which the lewis, flaming star, letter G, ear of corn and waterfall all play a part.

▫ *Tea and coffee services*

A plate in the collection of the Library and Museum of Freemasonry has a restrained decoration, showing only the bible and one standard group of tools. While the medallion around the columns and the rocks have also been omitted, the sun, moon and stars are present (fig. 7.136). Such variations could be the result of a request by the commissioner or artistic license taken by the painter. Two sets of tea bowls and saucers



Fig. 7.137a-f: Teacup and saucer with the five masonic motifs, ca. 1790. Teacup height 4.7 cm, diam. 8.9 cm; saucer height 2.8 cm, diam. 14.3 cm. Collection: Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, inv.no. M2008/1214-1215. Reproduced from: freemasonry.london.museum.



Fig. 7.138: Tea bowl and saucer with the five masonic motifs. Polychrome enamels, ca. 1780, size not listed. Collection and photograph: Musée-Archives-Bibliothèque de la Grande Loge de France, Paris, inv.no. Apo.012.1982.1-2.

in the same collection dating around 1790, one of which illustrated here, are executed with a gilt border along the inside rim and a scroll and ouroboros border around the exterior rim (fig. 7.137).[303]

In the collection of the Winterthur Museum are parts of a larger tea, coffee or chocolate service, including cups and saucers, a covered sugar bowl and a tea caddy, each decorated with one of the five motifs (fig. 7.140a-d). A similar cup is kept in the collection of the Musée de la Maison des Maçons in Paris. This service has a very loose variation of the scroll and ouroboros border. The round medallion with the



Fig. 7.139: Coffee or cream jug with cover, decorated with the five masonic motifs. Polychrome enamels, ca. 1780, height 15.9 cm. Displayed at Christie's New York, sale 1621, 26-1-2006, lot 144. © Christie's Images Limited, 2015.



Fig. 7.140a-d: Pieces of a tea service with the five masonic motifs and a scroll and ouroboros border. Polychrome enamels, ca. 1790-1800, sugar bowl height 14.6 cm, tea canister height 14.6 cm, saucer diam. 14.3 cm, teacup height 6.5 cm. Collection: Winterthur Museum, Wilmington, inv.no. 2002.11.1a-b/2/3. Reproduced from: museumcollection.winterthur.com.

columns is not represented in this set, but it most likely appeared on a tea, coffee or chocolate pot, of which examples have appeared at auction (fig. 7.139).

A saucer dish from the collection of porcelain expert and author Elinor Gordon (fig. 7.141) is among the small objects decorated with all five symbol groups. Here the depiction of the flaming letter 'G' between the columns is curious, no longer recognizable as a western symbol. A cup and saucer set, together showing the five motifs, is kept in the collection of the Grande Loge de France. The saucer of that set shows the columns in a medallion with a scrolled border, topped with an ear of corn (fig. 7.138).

Two less common variations stand out. One is a bowl of this type executed with a pink interior rim decoration of a triangle pattern (fig. 7.142). Another is a bowl with a sculpted rim and blue underglaze border with flower and honeycomb pattern, both kept in the collection of the Musée de la Maison des Maçons. A similar bowl with an underglaze blue border is kept in the collection of the Library and Museum of Freemasonry (fig. 7.143). Their size suggests they may have been rinsing bowls.



Fig. 7.141: Saucer dish, decorated with the five masonic motifs. Polychrome enamels, ca. 1790-1800, diam. 20.3 cm. Elinor Gordon collection, displayed at Sotheby's New York, sale 8650, 23-1-2010, lot 283. Reproduced from: sothebys.com.



*Fig. 7.142 (left): **B**owl with the five masonic motifs. polychrome enamels, ca. 1795-1810, height 6 cm, diam. 13.5 cm. Collection: Musée de la Maison des Maçons, Paris, inv.no. F2-727. Reproduced from: glnf-musee.fr.*
Fig. 7.143a-b: Bowl with the five masonic motifs and a sculpted rim, the outside of which is decorated with a scroll and ouroboros border, the inside with a pattern of flowers and honeycomb. Underglaze blue and polychrome enamels, ca. 1790, height 9.3 cm, diam. 11.7 cm. Collection: Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, inv.no. M1969/255 (donation 1969). Reproduced from: freemasonry.london.museum.



Fig. 7.144: Punch bowl with the five masonic motifs and a gold border, the initials 'JD' between the columns on the inside of the bowl. Polychrome enamels with gilding, 1790-1800, height 11.8 cm, diam. 29.2 cm. Collection: Winterthur Museum, Wilmington, inv.no. 1956.555. Reproduced from: museumcollection.winterthur.org. (Also reproduced in: Palmer 1976, p. 119.)

▫ *Punch bowls*

Punch bowls decorated with the five motifs are by far the most common masonic export objects found in European and American collections. The medallion with the columns, as a reference to Solomon's Temple, is typically depicted on the inside bottom of the bowls, while the sun, moon, stars and rocks are usually evenly spaced along the interior rim, and the book and tools are evenly arranged on the outside of the body (see fig. 7.146 with a vine-leaf border and fig. 7.147 with a neo-classical border). There are simply too many surviving items to discuss here, so only items with additional or non-typical decorations are mentioned.[304] For instance, a bowl with a simple gilt rim in the collection of the Winterthur Museum carries the monogram 'JD' between the columns (fig. 7.144).

While dozens of similar bowls survived, only in a few cases the provenance of the objects is known. A pair of punch bowls with the five masonic motifs in the collection of the Grand Lodge of New York once belonged to Columbian Commandery No. 1, a lodge of the Knights Templar (a popular masonic side degree) in New York. The pair is said to have been used in 1824 at the ceremonies when the marquis de Lafayette was made a member of this Commandery, but probably had been brought from China some decennia earlier.[305]

A punch bowl in the collection of the National Heritage Museum in Lexington was originally owned by George Doolittle (1759-1825) (fig. 7.145). He was a shoemaker who fought in the American Revolutionary War. Doolittle was commissioned a brigadier general in 1800 and served in the war of 1812. He was presented with the bowl by his fellow officers.[306] A similar bowl in the collection of the New York Historical Society was presented to chancellor Robert R. Livingston (1746-1813), one of the Founding Fathers of the United States, for his 50th birthday.[307]





Fig. 7.145: Punch bowl with the five masonic motifs and a scroll and ouroboros border, presented to General George Doolittle (1759-1825). Polychrome enamels, 1790-1800, height 10.1 cm, diam. 23.1 cm. Collection of the Scottish Rite Masonic Museum & Library, Gift of Frederick B. Doolittle, inv.no. 77.32. Photograph by David Bohl.
Fig. 7.146: Punch bowl with the five masonic motifs and a vine leaf border. Polychrome enamels, 1790-1800, height 11.7 cm, diam. 29.5 cm. Collection of the Grand Lodge of Masons in Massachusetts at the Scottish Rite Masonic Museum & Library, inv.no. GL2004.2566. Photograph by David Bohl.
Fig. 7.147: Punch bowl with the five masonic motifs and a neo-classical border. Polychrome enamels, 1790-1800. Reproduced from: fairfieldauction.com.



Fig. 7.148: Tankard with a twisted strap handle, decorated with the five masonic motifs and a scroll and ouroboros border, ca. 1780, height 12.7 cm, diam. 14.2 cm. Collection: Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, inv.no. M2004/1521. Reproduced from: freemasonry.london.museum.

The Albany Institute for the History of Art has a bowl in its collection, having belonged to either Leonard Gansevoort (1751-1810) or his brother, general Peter Gansevoort (1749-1812).[308] In the collection of the Philadelphia Museum of Art is a punch bowl with the five masonic motifs in combination with the inscription 'AM Eckfeldt', belonging to Adam Eckfeldt (1769-1852, a coiner at the Philadelphia Mint between 1795-1839), and his wife Maria Hahn. Eckfeldt was a member of Concordia Lodge No. 67 between 1795-1806 and Master of the Lodge in 1803.[309] A punch bowl donated by King George V is kept in the Library and Museum of Freemasonry in 1934 (fig. 7.134).[310] Richard Hely baron Hutchinson (died 1825), Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, owned a punch bowl which combined the five masonic motifs with the arms of Hutchinson, made between 1788 and 1797.[311]

▫ *Mugs or tankards*

Mugs decorated with the five masonic motifs all have a straight sided cylindrical body and a twisted strap handle. Most common are the variations with a rim decoration of a blue band with gold stars, such as examples in the Winterthur Museum (fig. 7.149).[312] Among those in the Library and Museum of Freemasonry (fig. 7.148) and Musée de la Maison des Maçons are variations with a scroll and ouroboros border.[313] Examples with a vine leaf border are also known in American collections.[314] In some cases, like an example in the Musée de la Maison des Maçons, the border design was left out to allow more room for the central decoration. Again there are simply too many surviving pieces to warrant an individual discussion and provenance records are rare.



Fig. 7.149: Tankard with a twisted strap handle, decorated with the five masonic motifs, and a blue and gold star border. Polychrome enamels with gilding, 1790-1800, height 12.6 cm, length 14.5 cm, diam. 10.2 cm. Collection: Winterthur Museum, Wilmington, inv.no. 1956.557. Reproduced from: museumcollection.winterthur.org.



Fig. 7.150: Mug with a shaped and gilded handle, English porcelain in the style of Chinese export porcelain with a closed book motif, ca. 1800-1810, height 8.1 cm, diam. 8.5 cm. Collection: Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, inv.no. M2010/789. Reproduced from: freemasonry.london.museum.



Fig. 7.151: Covered jug with the five masonic motifs, twisted strap handles and a lid with a crouching lion finial. Peach coloured enamels with gilding, early 19th century, 26 cm. Hodroff Collection, Winterthur Museum, inv.no. L2003.2775.32. Photograph kindly supplied by Ron Fuchs. (Also reproduced in Fuchs 2005, p. 148.)

It is however, interesting to note that this design has travelled the world and returned home. A mug in the collection of the Library and Museum of Freemasonry is of English make, but is decorated with a closed book design after a Chinese export example (fig. 7.150). The body of the mug is separated into yellow and white panels by gold chain-patterned bands. The front panel depicts the closed book between a pair of compasses and set square.

▫ *Jugs or pitchers*

Lastly, the five masonic motifs are depicted on sturdy covered jugs or pitchers of the twisted strap handle type, the cover usually decorated with a crouching lion finial. In the collection of the Winterthur Museum is an example decorated in peach-coloured tones and richly gilded (fig. 7.151). All the elements of the motif are present on the body of the jug, with the columns in a roundel under the spout, while the rim and cover are decorated with a broad vine leaf border. A monogram is depicted on the sides of the jug. A similar jug is in the collection of the Musée de la Maison des Maçons (fig. 7.152) and another appeared at auction.[315] Variations with a vine leaf border on a clear underground are found in American collections.[316]



Fig. 7.152 (detail): Covered jug with the five masonic motifs and the monogram 'JF', twisted strap handles and a lid with a crouching lion finial. Peach coloured enamels with gilding, ca. 1800, size not listed. Collection: Musée de la Maison des Maçons, Paris, inv.no. F2-1269. Reproduced from: glnf-musee.fr.

A pitcher in the Musée de la Maison des Maçons, with a blue and gold star border, carries the monogram 'JF' in between the columns under the spout. Similar items are found in other American collections and have appeared at auction.[317]

■ *Theme 13: Paul Revere certificate*

In 1760 the well-known American patriot, goldsmith and engraver Paul Revere (1735-1818) became a member of St. Andrew's Lodge in Boston in 1760 and later acted as Worshipful Master.[318] He was instrumental in the creation of a Provincial Grand Lodge of Massachusetts under the Grand Lodge of Scotland in 1769 which, as one of the first institutions to break its ties with Great Britain at the time, became independent in 1777. Between 1795 and 1797 Revere then acted as Grand Master of the new Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, established in 1792. During his artistic career Revere engraved lodge jewellery and seals, and designed several lodge documents. In 1772 he made a design for a lodge summons for St. Peter's Lodge in Newburyport (Massachusetts) (fig. 7.153), which was used again for St. Andrew's Lodge in 1784.

The summons has an ornamental border. At the top is a scene of two putti, wearing aprons and working with various tools on stone blocks. The arrangement of the tools, such as a saw resting against a cubic stone, is somewhat reminiscent of those depicted in the five masonic motifs. In the top corners are cartouches, one of which shows a beehive and the other a lodge plan or tracing board. From the sides of the border four sections of the columns are visible, and masonic tools (representing officers' jewels) are hanging from ribbons. Seated at the bottom is a cherub writing on a piece of paper.

In the collection of the National Heritage Museum in Lexington is a punch bowl with a decoration clearly inspired by Revere's design. The various parts of the border design have been copied as separated segments onto the exterior body of the bowl (fig. 7.154).[319] The inside of the bowl however, shows a classical temple with a dome, topped by a statue. One would expect to see Solomon's Temple here, but instead this building probably represents the Temple of Liberty, with the statue representing Fame declaring the (masonic) ideal of Liberty. Although the form of the temple on the bottom of the bowl is somewhat reminiscent of an oriental pagoda, on closer inspection it bears a likeness to the Capitol in Washington, designed in 1791-1793. The Capitol is considered the United States' own Temple of Liberty, and here illustrates the mixing of masonic and Unionist ideals. This would date the bowl ca. 1795 and illustrates that a spearhead border was used longer than previously assumed.[320]

■ *Theme 14:* Illustrations of Masonry *(1801)*

John Cole (died 1818) was the third generation of a British family of engravers, known for producing masonic prints. He established a 'Masonic Printing Office' at Fore Street in London. In his *Illustrations of Masonry* (1801) he included a print of a tracing board for the Second Degree, engraved by F. Curtis (fig.



Fig. 7.153: Paul Revere (1735-1818), lodge summons for St. Peter's Lodge in Newburyport (Massachusetts), 1777 (after a 1772 design). Reproduced from: americanantiquarian.org.

7.155). It illustrates a passage from the ritual for the Fellow Craft degree. After passing the pillars J and B in front of the temple, the candidate arrives at a winding staircase, where the Junior Warden will question him on the correct signs and words. The candidate then climbs the staircase, at the top of which he meets the Senior Warden, who will question him on the correct signs and words for the second degree before passing him to the Middle Chamber of the Temple. On top of the stairs are the doors to the Middle Chamber, a chequered floor before them and a radiant triangle with the letter 'G' above them. To the right



Fig. 7.154: Punch bowl, decorated after an engraving by Paul Revere; an image of the Capitol as the Temple of Liberty in the base of the bowl. Purple enamels with gilding, ca. 1795, 16.8 x 39.6 cm. Collection of the Scottish Rite Masonic Museum & Library, Special Acquisitions Fund, inv.no. 84.7. Photograph by David Bohl.

hand side is an ear of corn and a waterfall underneath an arch. The imagery is reminiscent of the earlier 'Knock and you shall be opened' theme (compare figs. 7.124-7.125 above).

Several punch bowls have been decorated after Cole's design. One example was documented in the Mottahedeh collection (fig. 7.156). Here, Cole's design was supplemented with a circle in the middle of the stairs, including the letters 'T F P J' around a radiant sun, the letters separated by a bible, pair of compasses

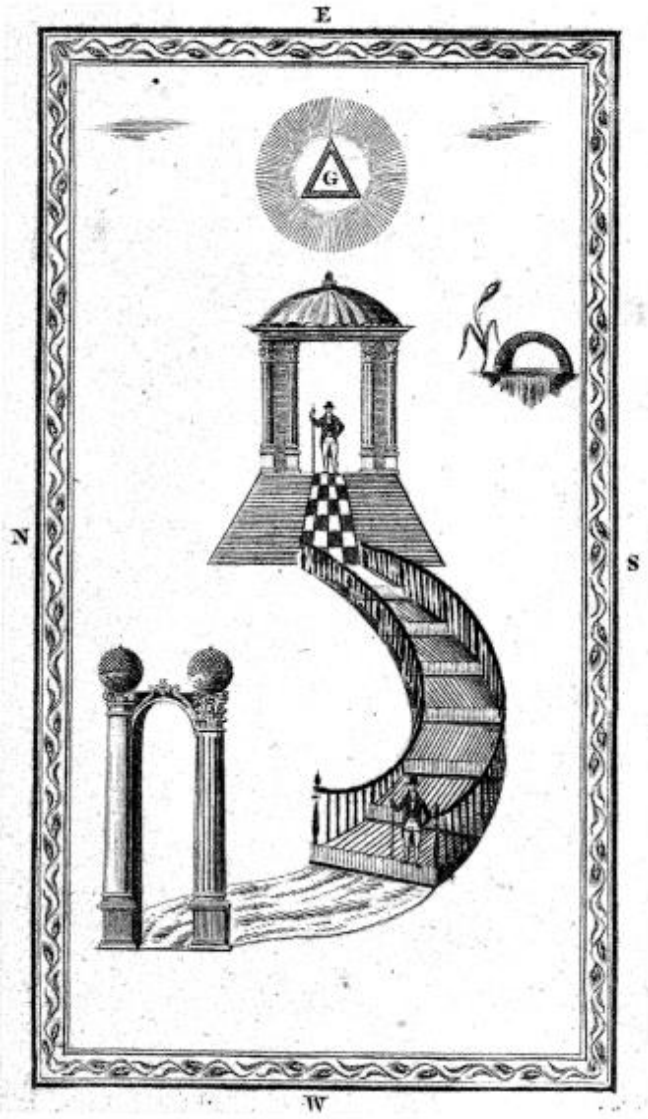


Fig. 7.155: Tracing board as depicted in John Cole, Illustrations of Masonry *(1801). Reproduced from: MacNulty 1991, p. 78.*

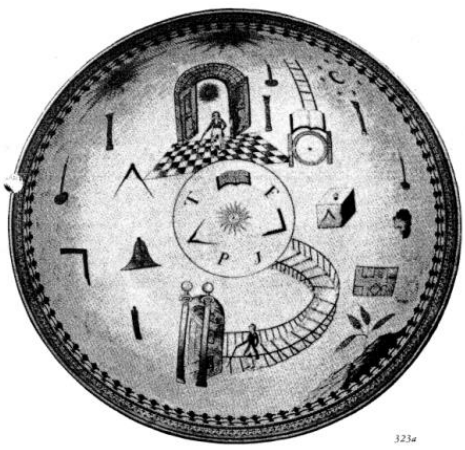




Fig. 7.156: Punch bowl decorated on the inside after a tracing board by John Cole's (1801) and on the outside with the five masonic motifs. Polychrome enamels with gilding, ca. 1805, diam. 29.8 cm. Mottahedeh collection, displayed at Sotheby's New York, sale 5281, 30-1-1985, lot 202 and sale 7520, 19-10-2000, lot 249. Reproduced from: Howard/Ayers 1978, no. 323a and sothebys.com (exterior).



Fig. 7.157: Punch bowl with an interior decoration after a tracing board by John Cole's (1801), repeated on the outside. Polychrome enamels with gilding, ca. 1805, size not listed, Collection: Lodge La Parfaite Intelligence et l'Étoile Réunies, Liège, Belgium. Reproduced from: Cat. exhib. Brussels 1983, p. 94, no. 384.

and square. It is a reference to the virtues: Temperance, Fortitude, Prudence and Justice, which the initiate will come to know on his masonic 'path'.[321] Around the central motif, various masonic tools and symbols derived from (British type) tracing boards have been placed, including three candles, a rough and a cubic stone, a tracing board and a circle with a centre point. The latter is a symbol of time and eternity, while the two parallel lines at its sides represent John the Baptist and John the Evangelist, while an open bible is represented by the curve between them. On top of this a standing Jacobs ladder. This symbol is often found on tracing boards for the 1st degree. The design along the inner rim and the outside of the bowl represent the 'five masonic motifs', discussed above. The border around the exterior rim includes a cord with tassels.

A similar design is found on a punch bowl in the collection of lodge La Parfaite Intelligence et l'Étoile Réunies in Liège (Belgium) (fig. 7.157). In this case, Cole's print has been depicted on the inside as well as the outside of the bowl.[322] Various masonic tools are depicted around the central motif, 'floating' in Chinese type 'curled' clouds.

■ *Theme 15: Compasses & Square*

Over time, the image of a set square crossed with a pair of compasses developed into the distinguishing sign of freemasonry, comparable to an emblem, trademark or logo. While often part of a more elaborate masonic decoration, the motif also appears as a central design on masonic export services.

▫ *Compasses & square with hands*

By the end of the 18th century, a tea service of the twisted strap handle model was produced with the simple emblem of a pair of compasses crossed with a set square (fig. 7.158). The decoration refers to the tools. A trowel and hammer are placed at the sides and the whole is crowned with a crescent moon. In some designs, a row of seven stars is added above the moon.[323]



Fig. 7.158: Parts of a tea and coffee service, decorated with a compasses-and-square design. A lychee finial on the teapot. Blue enamel with gilding, ca. 1800. Photograph: Carlsen Gallery Inc., carlsengallery.com.



Fig. 7.159: Plate and mug with a compasses-and-square type design and a monogram. Blue enamel with gilding, ca. 1800, diam. 13.3 cm. Displayed at Christie's New York, sale 2528, 24-1-2012, lot 157 (Frelinghuysen collection).
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Fig. 7.160: Cup plate, decorated with the Great Seal of the USA between a crossed pair of compasses and set square; the shield on the breast of the eagle shows the initials 'DW'. Blue enamel with gilding, ca. 1795, diam. 14 cm. Collection and photograph: The Masonic Library and Museum of Pennsylvania, inv.no. 2003.6. Reproduced from: pagrandlodge.org.

▫ *Compasses & square with sun*

In a variation of the previous design, a sun replaces the clasped hands in the space between the compasses and square (fig. 7.159). A coffee pot in the National Heritage Museum shows this latter design in combination with monogram 'RMB'.[324] In a private collection is a tea service of this type with the monogram 'JSB', which according to the provenance records belonged to Joseph Bartis of Philadelphia.[325] Other examples with varying border decorations can be found in the collection of the Musée de la Maison des Maçons and have appeared at auction.[326]

▫ *Compasses & square with eagle*

After the American Revolutionary war, masonic imagery was often combined with symbols referring to the Union.[327] An example is a plate in the collection of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, carrying the Great Seal of the USA in the space between the crossed square and compasses (fig. 7.160). It depicts an American eagle with spread wings, holding arrows in its right talon and an olive branch in its left. A shield on the breast of the eagle shows the initials 'DW'.[328]

■ *Theme 16: Masonic and non-masonic combinations*

Although masonic motifs are often combined with or separated by flower sprays, heraldic arms or crests, a combination of these motifs with non-related (narrative) scenes is rarer. A punch bowl in the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem for instance, is decorated with hunting scenes as well as the five masonic motifs (fig. 7.161). On the exterior of the bowl are two oval medallions, showing horsemen in riding dress, one riding at a five-barred gate and the other riding at speed with a raised whip. The image is loosely based on an engraving by James Seymour (1702-1752), *Jumping the Gate*, and may be derived from a secondary source based on that print.[329] At the other sides, two circular medallions are decorated with images of country houses, while the masonic motifs separate these seemingly unrelated scenes. On the bottom of the interior of the bowl is the usual roundel with the two columns and the radiant letter 'G', the whole topped with an ear of corn. Unusual is that around this representation of the Temple various tools are spread, including an arch, plumb line, a pair of compasses and a set square, trowel, gavel and callipers. Also depicted are a coffin - with a skull and cross-bones, and a heart on top - as well as Solomon's seal (two interlaced triangles forming a six pointed star). Besides the right column is a sword piercing a rope or noose and besides the left column is a key. The provenance record states a Mrs. Theodore Brown as the former owner.



Fig. 7.161: Punch bowl decorated with two medallions with hunting scenes and two with country houses, combined with the five masonic motifs, originally owned by Mrs. Theodore Brown, ca. 1785-1800. Polychrome enamels with gilding, height 11.8 cm, diam. 29.5 cm. Collection: Peabody Essex Museum, Salem. Reproduced from: Sargent 2012, pp. 412-413.



Fig. 7.162a-c: Two punch bowls commissioned by Robert Edwards, member of Grand Master's Lodge No. 1, London, in 1827, with their transport crate and carrier nets. Diam. 56cm. Displayed at Sotheby's London, sale 5-11-2014, lot 337 / Cohen & Cohen, Tefaf Maastricht, 2015. Bowls and detail reproduced from: sothebys.com. Photograph of the crates by C.J.A. Jörg with kind permission of Cohen & Cohen, London.

A similar bowl, depicting the same hunting scene without the masonic motifs, was part of the Mottahedeh collection.[330]

Very unusual is the combination of Chinese figurative designs and masonic emblems, found on a set of punch bowls which appeared at auction (see fig. 7.162a-c). Both bowls are identical, each decorated in the interior with a medallion enclosing the compasses and square motif discussed above. Here, a radiant sun is depicted between the tools, flanked by a trowel and a gavel and topped with moon and stars. Below the tools is the text 'Grand Masters Lodge No. 1'. The medallions are surrounded by a Chinese scene, depicting an assembly of scholars, ladies and attendants in a fenced garden with bamboo and rocks. These are shown below a wide band of birds and flowers against a gilt ground. The exterior of the bowls is similarly decorated with a shaped foliate cartouche enclosing the masonic emblem, framed by flowers and the beribboned 'eight treasures', alternating with shaped floral panels enclosing ladies, scholars and warriors, all below a band of shaped cartouches with dragons and cranes.

Rare is that these bowls were preserved in their original wooden crate and carrier nets. Also rare is that the provenance of the bowls is clear: Lodge No. 1 is listed in Lanes Masonic records as founded in London in 1756 and formally constituted by the Grand Lodge of England in 1759. The bowls came into possession of the lodge in 1827, when they were acquired by lodge member Robert Edwards from Canton.[331] The lodge itself offered them at auction in 2014.

♦ *No Dutch involvement?*

The variety of shapes of masonic porcelain is no different from that of armorial export porcelain. Surviving objects mainly include tea services, mugs, jugs and punch bowls. Figurines were not mentioned in the reviewed records and none with masonic connotations are known to have survived. Some items were personalized by combining masonic decorations with family crests or monograms, and reflect the expression of affiliation to the Order by the porcelain's commissioner. In some cases the design incorporated a blank space, where monograms could still be added, while in other cases the composition was compromised and they were added anyway. Most of the surviving objects however, are decorated with a purely masonic design, suggesting they were aimed at a wider buyer's market.

The decorative iconography applied to masonic export ware was directly derived from the symbolism of the masonic ritual. The designs were therefore often reminiscent of contemporary regalia (aprons, jewels) and/or the illustrations of tracing boards in ritual manuals. By the use of this particular iconography, these objects expressed the beliefs, virtues and ideals held by members of the Order, and served their owner as a reminder of his duties as a mason in both the lodge and the profane world. Even the choice of a blue border with gilt stars - although not exclusive to masonic commissions - would have especially appealed to freemasons, reminding them of the typical ceiling decoration of lodge rooms. Dated masonic prints and certificates suggest a particular decoration could not have been introduced earlier that its publication or issue (*ante quem* principle). Border designs, however, show that the same masonic designs were sometimes applied several decades after their first issue.

The above overview suggests that the production of masonic porcelain started with British commissions around 1750, followed by Scandinavian commissions around 1760 (see table 7.1). Most of the arms depicted on the pieces discussed are of British origin, while the Library and Museum of Freemasonry in London (the collection of the Grand Lodge of England) now holds the largest collection of masonic export porcelain. This indicates that the British held their dominant position in the trade - at least until 1785, when the Americans joined in and a whole new masonic market opened up. Most of the surviving objects date from the last two decades of the 18th century, suggesting a sudden surge in orders and popularity. This may have been due to the general boom in freemasonry in Europe and America around that time, when it became fashionable to display one's membership of the Order through personal objects. The last important commissions of seem to have taken place in the early 19th century. The chaos created by the Napoleonic wars did obstruct the VOC trade through Batavia, but not that between America and China.

While the Dutch were key players in the masonic lacquer trade, they seem to have been less involved, if at all, in the masonic porcelain trade. Orders from lodges in the Netherlands have not been recorded in the consulted literature and, contrary to the lacquer commissions discussed in chapter 7, the (incomplete) archives of the lodges in Batavia have not revealed any commissions for masonic export porcelain either.[332] From inventories dating between 1775 and 1834 it is clear that Chinese porcelain was used daily in lodges La Vertueuse and La Fidèle Sincérité, but porcelain with masonic decorations is not specifically mentioned until the first quarter of the 19th century. The inventories of La Fidèle Sincérité list a 'large Japanese masonic punch bowl' in the years 1819-1822.[333] Then in 1825-1829 a 'Large porcelain bowl with masonic figures' is mentioned.[334] It is likely that both descriptions refer to the same object and that the responsible lodge officer simply confused Japanese and Chinese porcelain while writing the inventories. No Japanese export porcelain is known to have been decorated with masonic designs - although it cannot be ruled out that such objects might still be identified in the future.

Kroes points out that by the 1760s the number of Dutch orders for armorial porcelain were already declining, which may have been a contributing factor, but surely is not the whole story.[335] Does the fact that the English Grand Lodge did not acknowledge the Dutch Grand Lodge as a sovereign body until 1770 and/or the agreement in 1771 not to found lodges on each other's territories, have anything to do with it?

Table 7.1: First appearance of masonic motifs on export porcelain				
	British	**Scandinavian**	**American**	**Origins unclear**
1750s	- Masonic tools - Bible & Compasses			
1760s	- Premier Grand Lodge seals - Tringham design - Pulsanti Aprietur - Crest of Devan impaling Hellord	- Salominiska Logen seal - Crest of Lehman		
1770s	- Antients' Grand Lodge arms - Various lodge arms - Dermott's Royal Arch - Three Grand Masters motif			
1780s	- Rowling Kent design - Francis Jukes design - Lodge of Emulation		- Masonic virtues	
1790s	- Masonic advertisements - Oval tracing board - Jachin and Boaz - King Zerubbabel - Dundee Arms summons	- Monument & ship motif	- Paul Revere summons	- Embraced by acacia - Columns & monogram - Five masonic motifs
1800s	- John Cole design		- Compasses & square motif	
1810	- Lodge True Friendship		- Union Lodge	

It almost seems as if the trade in masonic export goods was being divided up by some agreement, with British, Scandinavian and later the American freemasons supplying porcelain and the Dutch supplying lacquer ware, perhaps to be traded against each other? The country of origins of pictorial sources may be a 'red herring' as to for which country the export objects were intended. If the Dutch ordered lacquer ware decorated after an engraving of the foreign *Jachin and Boaz*, surely they'd have no problem with porcelain decorated after foreign engravings either. But the lack of documentation at least suggests that the Dutch were not seriously involved.

It is clear however, that the Canton lodges and the various East India Companies were inextricably linked. An international mix of lodge members was involved in the porcelain trade for their companies or engaged in private trade. Although there are few documents linking specific people to masonic commissions, there was clearly an international social network in place to support such activities for several decades. Men like Grill, Grubb and Lehman were probably key players for the Scandinavians. As for the Dutch, Van Braam Houckgeest was in the right place at the right time.

Like masonic lacquer ware, the very existence of this type of export porcelain raises questions about the nature of cultural exchange: from the 1750s onwards Chinese artists came into contact with western images with a specific ritual context. They copied the unfamiliar western symbols from lodge certificates, illustrations in ritual manuals and other masonic prints, while the rules of the Order clearly prohibited showing such 'secrets' to the non-initiated. It is tempting to question if friendships between men of different nationalities would have allowed the initiation of a Chinese man into the brotherhood, before the formal history of Chinese freemasonry began in the middle of the 19th century. However, there is no archival evidence and local authorities at the time actively guarded against the transmission of western (religious) beliefs into China. While many questions remain, we do know that the commercial exchange between East and West in general had a large impact on Chinese society and arts. The contact with freemasonry may have contributed more significantly to that impact than we were previously aware.

By the end of the 18th century, the demand for export porcelain had led to such mass production of goods, that it affected the quality of individual pieces. Meanwhile, European porcelain had developed to a high standard, with factories better able to cater quickly to the changing fashions in the West. Porcelain with masonic themed transfer prints was readily available in Europe and the United States. In 1822, following many years of troubled trading and a recent devastating fire which required the Batavian government to heavily invest in the trade post, the Dutch factory in Canton was suspended and replaced by a consulate,

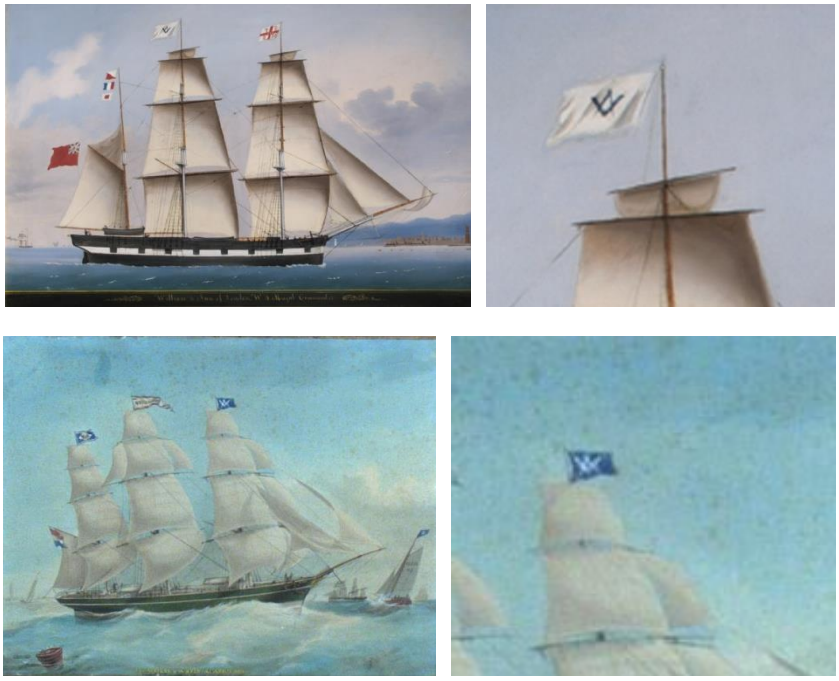


Fig. 7.163: M(ichele) Renault (active 1840-1868), The English ship 'William and Anne', off Livorno*, dated 1855. Collection: Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London. Reproduced from: bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings.*
Fig. 7.164: Jacob Spin (1806-1875), Fregat ship sailing in the wind*, watercolour, 1864. Gift by the artist to his daughter, Anna Spin, on the occasion of her marriage to Gottlieb Wilhelm Weigel, 21-4-1864. Collection: Maritiem Museum Rotterdam, inv.no. P1291. Reproduced from: maritiemdigitaal.nl.*

which would operate until 1840. A fire then permanently destroyed the international factories in Canton in 1856.

By that time Canton had lost its importance, as other ports now also catered to western traders. In the 1840s the Treaty Ports of Hong Kong, Shanghai, Amoy, Foochow and Ningpo attracted western merchants. Developments in ship building, such as the introduction of the *klipper* in the middle of the 19th century, were also partly responsible for a decline in the China trade, as these could carry more cargo per journey and actually caused an over-supply of goods. By the second half of the 19th century the tradeclimate had completely changed.[336] Although the export of porcelain continued, it did so in much lesser quantities, while most masonic porcelain was now produced locally in Europe and the United States.

It is interesting to note that marine paintings from the middle of the 19th century onwards show ships flying a masonic flag with the compasses and square 'logo' (figs. 7.163-7.164). So far mainly American and a few British ships have been identified as carrying this flag, as well as a rare Dutch example.[337] This is an indication that for the owner or captain, marking one's affiliation to the Order was somehow favourable to international (trade) relations. Perhaps it was a sign to invite fellow brethren to visit, a way of attracting business from freemasons in the port of call, or an alternative choice of flag for a ship's owner who did not have many other affiliations to show. There are many anecdotes of freemasons receiving preferential treatment in situations of conflict or as prisoners of war, so perhaps the flag was also a means of alerting the enemy (military, pirates) or of securing assistance. Here too, information is lacking and the subject deserves to be researched further.

♦ *Function of masonic export porcelain*

Kroes notes in his standard work on Dutch armorial porcelain, why it was so popular during the 18th century. As more and more people started to drink tea, export porcelain functioned in European homes as a status symbol, a fashionable and decorative object, which could also commemorate a special event in the owner's life, such as a wedding, or mark time spent in the East.[338] Masonic export porcelain however, also had a distinctive ritual element, as the Table Lodge with its ceremonial eating and drinking is the closing

section of the masonic ritual itself (see chapter 2). Dining services, wine glasses, punch bowls and tea services were all used for the Table Lodge, and the more informal drinking session that often followed. Masonic export porcelain was therefore designed to be suitable for use both at lodge meetings (in member's houses, hired accommodations or lodge buildings) and within private homes (intimate circles of family and friends, whose lodge affiliation was known to the host).

Because of its ritual character and symbolism, this export ware (like all masonic objects) shares some characteristics with religious objects: there is a combined decorative, functional and ritual aspect within one object. Previous studies of armorial porcelain have overlooked not only the ritual aspect, but also the importance of the element of allusion (see chapter 2), so characteristic for the material culture of freemasonry as a whole. Decorations of masonic spaces and objects often have an ambiguous character, in which only the initiated recognize references to symbols used or phrases spoken in the masonic ritual. Often a 'profane' decoration, such as a perfectly harmless flower spray, would be placed on one side of a bowl, a masonic symbol on the other, so that either side could be displayed, while the other remained unseen. The owner could chose to dramatically 'reveal' the masonic side to a particular visitor. Or he could use the object within a private circle, as a reminder of the customs and ideals shared within the lodge, both evoking and emphasising the bond between brethren. As described by Snoek, this aspect of revelation and stimulating intellectual play with the visitor is also seen in the design of masonic gardens.[339] By owning masonic porcelain, the owner expressed not only his affiliation to the Order and his belief in masonic ideals, but also his understanding of allusions in decorative symbolism, and more importantly his belonging to an intellectual, enlightened civil society, which communicated through such allusive imagery.[340]

To be classified as armorial porcelain therefore seems too limiting a label. Masonic and fraternal organisations, like the Order of the Cincinnati, share many characteristics, as does their material culture, including porcelain. This is why they are studied as a group in the field of Religious Studies. It seems logical to follow this classification and regard 'masonic and fraternal' items as an individual category of export porcelain. That will allow a better understanding of the function and meaning of these objects, and will stimulate the exploration of the historical role of fraternal networks in the international trade.

♦ *Porcelain in the CMC collection*

As explained in the introduction, a wish to know more about the Japanese lacquer boxes and Chinese porcelain bowls in the collection of the CMC prompted this exploration of the role of freemasonry in the trade with Asia (see Foreword, figs. 7-9). Based on the above overview of the many different decors, it is now clear that both bowls in the Dutch collection are painted with the five masonic motifs and were probably produced circa 1790-1800 for the American market.

It is not clear when these bowls were acquired. The 19th century exhibition and collection catalogues of the Order of Freemasons under the Grand East of the Netherlands do not list Chinese porcelain and there is no indication they were already part of the collection before 1940. Considering the fate of such fragile items when the Nazi's looted the Freemasons' Hall in The Hague, it seems more likely that they were acquired or donated after 1945 when efforts were made to rebuild the collection.



Fig. 7.165: Masonic apron of John Flagg Fry, a member of St. John's Lodge No. 1 in Providence (Rhode Island), 'wrought in Canton, China'. Embroidered silk with metal threads and fringe, ca. 1799. Collection: Doylestown Lodge F. & A.M. No. 245, Doylestown, Pennsylvania. Photograph: The Masonic Library and Museum of Pennsylvania.

7.7. Masonic export textiles

Porcelain was just one of many commodities traded from China. Embroidery, mostly executed by male artists, was also exported from Canton during the 18th century. Orders included religious clothing for the Catholic mass, intended for use both in Asia and Europe.[341] The trade in such export textiles is a somewhat neglected field of study, but there is some evidence that this export may have included a few rare masonic items.[342]

♦ *Chinese aprons*

There is only one apron which according to its provenance record was 'wrought in the City of Canton, China, in the year 1799' (fig. 7.165).[343] It belonged to John Flagg Fry (1773-1809), a member of St. John's Lodge No. 1 in Providence (Rhode Island). He can be identified as an employee of the firm Browne and Ives (formerly Browne and Benson).[344] The apron was probably brought to America on the ship Ann Hope, which carried porcelain and other goods for Brown and Ives and its trade partners from Canton in 1798-1799. John Flagg's son, John William Fry, Worshipful Master of Doylestown Lodge no. 245 in Pennsylvania, presented the apron to his own lodge on 11-2-1859.

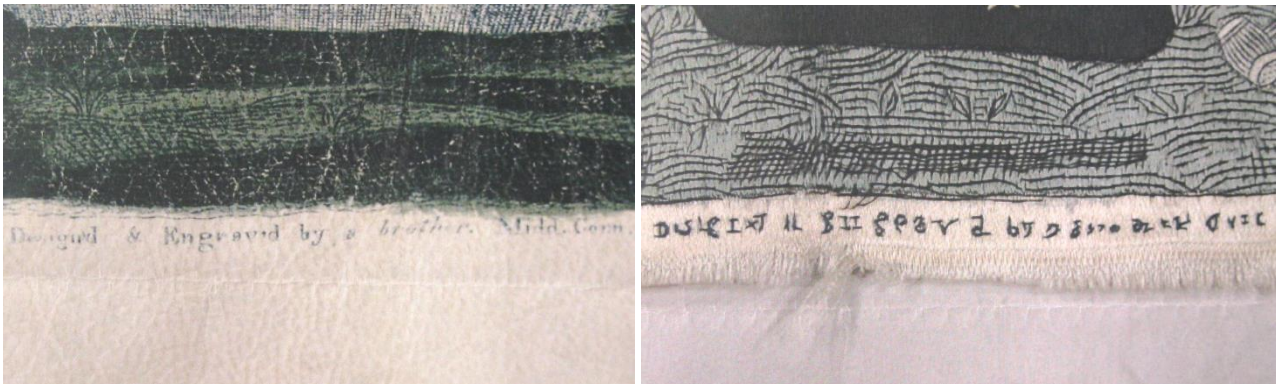
The decoration of this apron, executed in embroidered silk, shows a miniature tracing board as commonly used in America around 1800. The central motif consists of three candle sticks on an elevation of three steps, flanked by columns. Sun, moon and stars are hidden under the flap which is decorated with a radiant all-seeing eye. Surrounding the columns are various symbols, which to the right are from the top down: a pickaxe, a rough stone, a rolled up plumb line, Jacob's ladder, level and a beehive. Beneath the steps are a coffin with a scythe, an acacia sprig and a skull with crossed bones. Continued clockwise are a sword pointing at a heart, a shoe, a winged hourglass, a ruler, a gavel, Euclid's 47th proposition, and a bridge. Symbols like the hourglass, shoe, sword and heart were introduced into the York Rite in American



Fig. 7.166: Apron printed with an engraving by James T. Porter, Middletown, Connetticut, ca. 1820-1825. Printed silk. Collection of the Scottish Rite Masonic Museum & Library (Gift of Harold Burns), inv.no. 75.14.



Fig. 7.167: Apron decorated with a miniature type tracing board, after an engraving by James T. Porter, ca. 1820-1825. Embroidered silk, 36.8 x 45.7 cm. Collection of the Scottish Rite Masonic Museum & Library (Gift of John M. Bachulus), inv.no. 82.11. Photograph by David Bohl.



Details of figs. 7.166-7.167.

freemasonry by Thomas Smith Webb (1771-1819), and popularized through his publication *The Freemason's Monitor or Illustrations of Masonry* (1797). The book was issued in several later editions and followed up by his pupil, Jeremy Ladd Cross (see chapter 6).

As is also the case with Japanese lacquer and Chinese porcelain some details in the design again appear to be somewhat distorted, as the embroiderer was not only unfamiliar with freemasonry, but with western objects altogether. Note for instance the odd perspective of the coffin, the rough stone, the hourglass and the pickaxe. The faces of the sun and the moon, as well as the all-seeing eye could be considered as having oriental features. Another indication that the apron was indeed made in China is the choice of particular blue shades for the chequered floor, the type of stitching and the use of metal strips, rather than metal threads.[345]

An apron in the collection of the National Heritage Museum is also believed to have been made in China (fig. 7.166).[346] It has a pleated silk border and is embroidered with a miniature tracing board type decoration after an engraving by freemason James T. Porter (circa 1785-1826) of Middletown, Connecticut, which appears on another apron in the same collection (fig. 7.167).

As usual the central motif is placed on a set of steps flanked by two pillars topped with globes, but in between these pillars is another set, showing the three building orders topped with personifications of Faith, Hope and Charity. On the chequered floor are the usual altar with bible, compasses and square, and the three lights, although the five pointed star is here found on the altar and the letter 'G' superimposed in gild on one of the columns. The whole is surrounded by various symbols, including a book with a sword, an urn, a winged hourglass, a sword pointing at a heart, a circle with a centre point topped by a book, Euclid's 47th proposition, a cubic stone, a rough stone, a beehive, Jacob's ladder, Noah's Ark, and an anchor. In the foreground is a coffin with a spade and a gavel. The sun, moon and stars are depicted under the flap, while on the flap itself is a radiant all-seeing eye.

The artist made such a faithful attempt at copying the original that even the lettering under the print appears in the embroidery, albeit in illegible script. It's a clear indication that the artist could not read Latin script.

♦ *Two identical aprons*

Previous publications have discussed two identical aprons in the collection of the CMC in The Hague, dating from around 1800-1825.[347] Both are made of white satin and are beautifully embroidered with coloured silk and metal threads (fig. 7.168a-b and 7.170). Around one apron is a satin border of (faded) yellow and black silk in a triangle pattern, associated with the Dutch lodge Le Préjugé Vaincu in Deventer on top of an original blue border. The other apron only has the original blue border. The embroidery on the aprons was again probably copied after the design of a British or American lodge certificate, which as discussed before often included personifications of masonic virtues on top of columns (see figs. 7.78-7.79). Common were

depictions of Faith, Hope and Charity, or Wisdom, Strength and Beauty, but here a curious combination of Wisdom, Strength and Charity was chosen.

On the flap of both aprons, the embroidery depicts an all-seeing eye, flanked by ribbons and foliage, from which masonic tools are hanging: a pair of compasses and a set square, two crossed feathers, a hammer and a plumb, a trowel, two crossed staffs, a level and two crossed keys. These represent officers' jewels. Beneath the flap are the sun, moon and seven stars, while in the centre the Bible with square and compasses is depicted, enclosing the letter 'G'. From the compasses and square are hanging ribbons with other tools: a trowel, hammer and level. To the left of the bible is a beehive, to the right is Noah's Ark, and above Jacob's ladder.

In the foreground of the scene is a chequered floor between two columns. The left carries a Minerva, recognizable by her helmet, spear and shield, representing Wisdom. The right carries a woman holding a *fasces* (= bundle of branches), representing Strength. In the middle of the floor is a woman with bare breasts and two children, representing Love in the sense of Charity. Behind the right column is what seems like a smaller pillar, because of the odd perspective, but it is meant to depict a third column, thus completing the Doric, Ionic and Corinthian building orders.

By the foot of the right column is a small figure working with hammer and chisel on a rough stone, which identifies him as an Apprentice. A second man by the left column is measuring the angle of a cubic stone, identifying him as a Fellow of the Craft. These figures appear as putti on a certificate used by several lodges of the Grand Orient de France (fig. 7.169),[348] suggesting the apron design could be a composite of several earlier sources. Nearby the foot of the right column is a small tree, no doubt representing an acacia sprig. In the foreground is a coffin with a scythe, and to the right a skull with bones. These *memento mori* symbols identify the apron as that of a Master Mason. The acacia marks the temporary grave where Hiram was buried by his murderers. The left column seems to be connected with a smaller pillar or tower, standing on a green patch in the otherwise blue floor. This is probably an interpretation of Hiram's permanent grave, marked with a monument.[349]

In the middle of the floor are three candles. The objects scattered on the rest of the floor are less easy to identify. From left to right these depict: a rough stone with a compass on top, a shape which could represent a tracing board, a gavel and a trowel, a pair of compasses and a set square, and an object which may be a chalk bucket with a shovel, a pickaxe and a shape resembling a vat, possibly a very distorted cubic stone. Along the underside of the scene is a balustrade.

The fact that a two almost identical aprons exist, points to serial production. Fortunately, in this case one of the apron's provenance is well known. The one with the original blue border belonged to Hendrikus Veuger (1786-1847), who was born in the small Dutch town of Meppel (fig. 7.171).[350] He was a 'commissionair' (merchant) and lived on Haarlemmerdijk 327 in Amsterdam when he was initiated into the lodge La Paix in 1816.[351] It is interesting that he received the three basic degrees at the same time 'by communication'; indicating that the actual initiation ceremony was left out, as was usual with those about to embark on a (long) journey. Veuger was not mentioned in the lodge records again until two months later, on 5-2-1817, and he was frequently noted as 'absent' between 1816 and 1823, although his location was not recorded.[352] Veuger tried to resign from the lodge on 26-9-1820 due to his frequent travels, but his request was denied because he was now a Master of Ceremonies, which meant that he was required to first finish his term as lodge Officer.[353] On 10-10-1821 he was initiated into the Rose Croix degree of the Chapter of La Paix (Fig. 7.172).[354] Veuger had to wait until March 1823 before he was eventually discharged from membership. By that time he had moved to the small town of Runerwold and embarked on another foreign journey.[355] In 1827 Veuger married Neeltje Blaauboer, daughter of the local Burgomaster, and together they ran a shop in the 'Hoge Huys' (Tall House) in St. Maartensburg.[356] It is not clear if he continued to do business in Amsterdam, or whether he ever became a member of a lodge again, either in the Netherlands or abroad. Veuger died on 27-1-1847 in Zijpe.[357]



Fig. 7.168a-b. Two master aprons depicting Wisdom, Strength and Charity, ca. 1800-1825, the right having belonged to Hendrikus Veuger. Silk embroidered satin, silver and gold threads, 44 x 44 cm. Collection CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.nos. 645 and 15431. Photograph by Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.



Fig. 7.169: Certificate issued by Lodge L'Union Parfaite in St. Louis, Senegal, early 19th century. Reproduced in: Hamill/Gilbert 1991, p. 126.



Fig. 7.170: Detail of the apron of Hendrikus Veuger, 1800-1825. Collection CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 15431. Photograph by Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

At some point during his life, Veuger also came into the possession of a Japanese lacquer box with a masonic design (see chapter 6), in which he used to keep his apron.[358] This suggests that he may have travelled to Asia, but there are no records of his travels.[359] If he did not go there himself, lodge La Paix had many members who were merchants and travellers to the East, including Musquetier, Hooft and Ogtrop (see chapter 6). One of his lodge brothers could have ordered the box on his behalf, or presented it to him as a gift.

When comparing the design of the two identical aprons with that of John Flagg Fry discussed above, some similarities stand out: the way the coffin with scythe, the beehive with little arrows for bees, and the rounded shape of Noah's Ark have been executed, as well as the blue colours of the chequered floor, and



Detail of fig. 7.170.

the metal strips used to embroider the columns. The all-seeing eye and the figures depicted on the columns seem to have a non-western look. It all suggests these aprons may have also been made by an Asian artist. An indication that at least the design of the two aprons was available in China after 1800, is a magnificent punch bowl in the collection of the Museum of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania (fig. 7.173). Fortunately, in this case the provenance of the bowl is also traceable.

At the time of the founding of Union Lodge No. 121 in Philadelphia, two of its members - Henry Toland Jr (1785-1863) and Caleb Ash - were abroad. They could therefore not personally sign the request for a letter of constitution to the Grand Lodge. Toland was a merchant in the Philadelphia grocery firm Toland and Son.[360] From circa 1808 he travelled to China as a supercargo, where he was in business with Ash, about whom more information is not yet available.[361] Not being present at this key moment was apparently a big thing to these two men. On 2-4-1812 they wrote to their brethren requesting to be formally listed as founding members despite their absence. The request was granted and the minutes of the lodge noted on 16-4-1812:

> A letter was received and read from Brothers Henry Toland Jr., Caleb Ash, and William Smith, entreating the Lodge to accept a large handsome China bowl, whereon the Secretary was directed to return the unanimous thanks of the Lodge to the brethren for their handsome present, and to congratulate them on their late safe arrival from abroad. [362]

The third benefactor mentioned can probably be identified as William Smith (1768-after 1820), captain of the ship Albatross. The Chinese punch bowl passed into ownership of the politician Richard Vaux (1816-1895), a member of Union Lodge between 1844 and 1895. It is believed that punch continued to be served



Fig. 7.171: Portrait of Hendrikus Veuger (1786-1842), ca. 1800-1820. Private collection. Photograph by Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.



Fig. 7.172: Certificate for the Rose Croix degree, issued to Veuger by the Chapter of lodge La Paix in Amsterdam, 15-12-1816. Collection: CMC 'Prince Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. E 2-114. Photograph by Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.



Fig. 7.173: Chinese porcelain punch bowl with masonic decoration, donated to Union Lodge No. 121, Pennsylvania, in 1812, height 24.13 cm, diam. 55 cm, able to hold 9 gallons. Collection and photograph: The Masonic Library and Museum of Pennsylvania.

at the table lodge in this bowl up until 1906.[363] Vaux's descendants then donated the bowl to the Museum of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania in 1948.

The decoration of the bowl must have been taken after the same pictorial source as the two identical aprons discussed, as the design is strikingly similar. Note how even the clothes of the personifications are executed in the same colours. Similar also, are the distortions of some of the symbols: the bible is no longer book-shaped, the coffin is again disproportioned as are the various tools on the floor, Noah's Ark has a rounded, tucked-in effect and, here too, little arrows are swarming around the beehive.[364] The bowl is executed in a very fine manner, suggesting it may have been produced in the same Chinese porcelain





Fig. 7.174: Apron presented to George Washington by Elkanah Watson and M. Cassoul in 1782. French embroidery on silk, size not listed. Collection: Alexandria Washington Lodge, Frederiksburg. Photograph kindly supplied by Mark Tabbert.
Fig. 7.175: Apron presented to George Washington by the marquis de Lafayette in 1784. French embroidery on silk, 53.98 cm × 41.75 cm. Courtesy of the Brethren of Mt. Nebo Lodge #91, Ancient Free & Accepted Masons, established December, 1811; Shepherdstown, West Virginia.

workshop of Syng Chong as the True Friendship bowl discussed earlier, which is of a similar size and date (fig. 7.41).

♦ George *Washington's Mark Master apron*

One of the most iconic objects from American and masonic history, to many a symbol of masonic virtues and their influence on the early development of the USA, is George Washington's apron (fig. 7.177).[365] The former president's affiliation with freemasonry is well documented. Washington was a member of the Frederiksburg and Alexandria Lodges, and many of his formal appearances were marked with a masonic element.[366] Although much of his association with freemasonry has been idealized and many tales cannot be verified, his surviving correspondence documents his sincere affiliation to the Order and its ideals, while several masonic objects are associated with Washington's estate.
In 1782 the freemasons Elkanah Watson (1758-1842) and François-Corentin Cassoul, owners of an international trading company in Nantes (France), presented Washington with a silk apron, said to have been embroidered by French nuns (fig. 7.174).[367] In 1784 a second apron, a gift by the French Grand Lodge, was presented to Washington by the marquis de Lafayette (Marie Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert du Mortier, 1757-1834) on his visit to Mount Vernon (fig. 7.175). After Washington's death in 1799, his estate papers mentioned '1 Japan box containing a masons apron', which - assuming this was not one of the two aprons he received as gifts - would bring their total to three and fits the number of surviving pieces.[368] All these items remained in the possession of Martha Washington, until after her death parts of the Washington estate were sold in 1802.[369]

The 'Watson-Cassoul' apron is believed to have been purchased by Burdett Ashton (1747-1814), husband of Washington's niece, Ann (1752-1777). He passed it on to his wife's cousin, major Lawrence Lewis (1767-1839), probably along with a masonic sash and a book shaped lacquer box. Lewis in turn donated all three objects to Alexandria Washington Lodge No. 22 on 3 June 1812 (fig. 7.176).[370] The apron is embroidered with a radiant cloud carrying a golden triangle with the letters 'JHWH', surrounded by the





Fig. 7.176: Chinese, book-shaped lacquer box with Mark Master symbolism, in which according to tradition one of Washington's aprons was kept. Black lacquer and gold on wood, inlaid with ivory panels painted with flowers, ca. 1800, size not listed. Collection Alexandria Washington Lodge No. 22. Photo (top) kindly supplied by Mark Tabbert / Reproduced from (bottom): Harris 1998, p. 4.

faces of seven winged cherubs. This symbolism suggests a connection to the *Écossois* degrees, in which the golden triangle with the *tetragrammaton* buried beneath the Temple plays a role (see chapter 2). It is an indication that Washington may have been initiated into this degree. Behind the cloud are two crossed flags, one French Bourbon flag and one United States flag. Under the flap is a cord with love knots and tassels, a gavel hanging from it on a ribbon with a bow. The gavel indicates the apron belongs to a Worshipful Master, which is indeed a position Washington held in Alexandria Lodge in 1788-1789.
The box is executed in black Chinese lacquer on wood, painted in gold with a lattice pattern border, in which six oblong ivory panels with rounded corners have been inlayed and painted with flower patterns.[371] The lid of the box is decorated in gold with masonic symbols: a set square and a pair of compasses on one side, and on the other side a beehive in a circle with the letters 'HTWSSTKS'. This is an abbreviation of 'Hiram the Widdow's Son Sent To King Solomon', a text referring to the ritual of the Mark Master's degree. Part of the iconography of this degree is a keystone in the vault underneath the *sanctum sanctorum* of the Temple, bearing this motto.[372] It has previously been suggested that he may have received the Mark Master



Fig. 7.177: Masonic apron, formerly mistaken for the Lafayette gift to George Washington, but more likely related to the lacquer box from his estate. Embroidered silk, ca. 1800. Collection: Photograph: The Masonic Library and Museum of Pennsylvania. Photo reproduced from: phoenixmasonry.org.

degree in the Military Lodge No. 227, attached to the 46th Regiment, as well as the Royal Arch degree, which his lodge in Fredericksburg began to award from 1753 onwards.[373] The symbolism on Washington's box and apron also suggest that may have been the case. So far, this box is the only known example of Chinese export lacquer with a masonic decoration. We will come back to it in relation to the 'Pennsylvania' apron.

The 'Lafayette' apron is believed to have been purchased by Thomas Hammond (1770-1820), husband to Washington's niece, Mildred (1772-1805). When Hammond became a member of Mount Nebo lodge in Shepherdstown, West Virginia, in 1815, he donated the apron to the lodge. It is embroidered in a similar fashion as the Watson-Cassoul apron, with silver and gold coloured metal threads, again depicting two crossed flags: those of France and the United States. On top of the flags are a pair of compasses crossed with a set square, surrounding a skull with a crossed bone and dagger, a reference to the Elu degrees (see chapter 2). Behind the flags is an acacia sprig. Under the flap is again a cord with love knots and tassels, from which a ribbon with a gavel is hanging. The apron is lined with black silk and has a black silk ribbon along the border.



Details of fig. 7.177: The Secretary and Hope, depicted on the Washington apron.



Fig. 7.178: Tankard, decorated with a medallion and the name 'SMITH', topped by a female figure leaning on an anchor. This service was likely made for Henry Smith, super cargo of the ship George Washington in 1784. Polychrome enamels, underglaze blue border, handle restored, height 15.2 cm, diam. 12.7 cm. Collection: Polly Latham Asian Art, Boston. Reproduced from: pollylatham.com.

Fig. 7.179: Detail of a punch bowl, decorated with a shield with the monogram 'JH' topped by the figure of a woman leaning on an anchor, the whole surrounded by drapes; flower sprays on the other sides, ca. 1780-1800. Pink and blue enamels with gold, underglaze blue border, height 13 cm, diam. 30.5 cm. Displayed at Skinner Auctioneers and Appraisals, 7-11-2009, lot 255. Reproduced from: liveauctioneers.com.

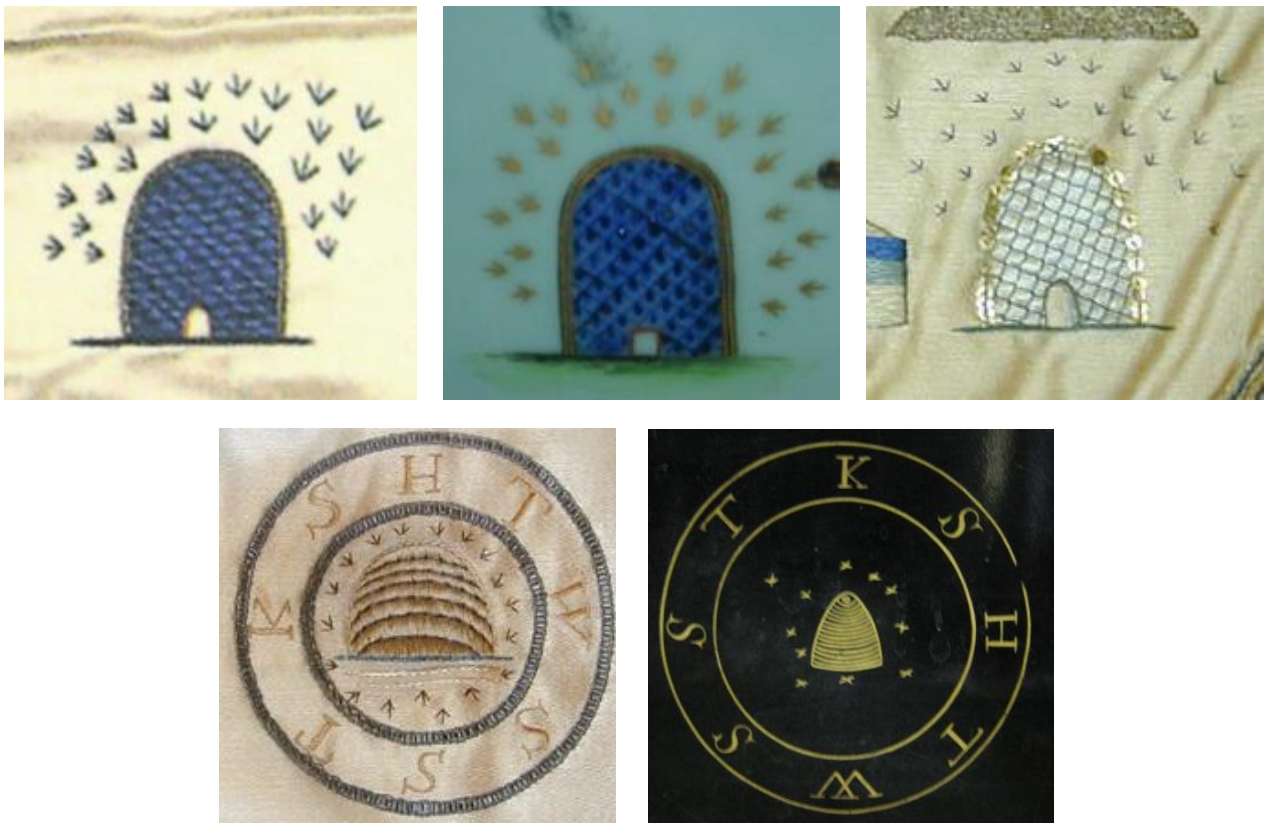


Fig. 7.180: Beehives surrounded with bees, as depicted on the Veuger apron (top right), Union Lodge punch bowl (top middle), Fry apron (top right) and Washington apron (bottom left), and the Washington lacquer box (bottom right).

Since the beginning of the 19th century, the Watson-Cassoul and Lafayette aprons have often been confused with each other, not helped by the fact that they look similar.[374] Meanwhile, the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania acquired a third apron (fig. 7.177), which for a long time contended to be the 'Lafayette' apron, but documented history only shows this third apron was gifted by an unspecified group of Washington's legatees to the Washington Benevolent Society on 26-10-1816. The Society in turn donated the apron to the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania on 3-7-1829.[375]

The 'Pennsylvania' apron has a miniature tracing board type decoration, similar to those used in British and American rituals of the time. An arch rests on two of four pillars, enclosing the scene. From the top down, several familiar symbols are depicted: the all-seeing eye with sun, moon and stars, and a bible with a set square and pair of compasses. These are surrounded by several working tools and various other symbols, such as a Jacob's ladder, Noah's Ark, a pentagram or five pointed star, as well as a personification of Hope, and the figure of a freemason holding keys (representing a lodge Secretary). Not normally present is the bird, flying underneath the rays of the eye. The emblem with the beehive and letters 'HTWSSTKS' applied to the flap of the apron clearly suggests a relationship with the Mark Master's degree and the aforementioned lacquer box with the same letter emblem. As the Watson-Cassoul and Lafayette aprons have recently been verified to be genuine by curator Mark Tabbert, could the Pennsylvania apron be the third one, described in the 1799 Washington estate papers as paired with a lacquer box? To a layman's eye Japanese and Chinese lacquer look quite similar, so it would have been an easy mistake to make while drawing up the estate papers. As the 'Pennsylvania' Mark Master apron shares symbolism with a Chinese object, the lacquer box, it's worth examining the apron itself for a possible connection with China, if only to exclude it.

Although the apron was clearly executed with great care, it too shows distortions of western shapes similar to those on the two identical aprons and the punch bowl discussed above. Most notable are the facial features of the figures (especially the Secretary) and all-seeing eye, the strange attire of the personification of Hope (barely recognizable as female), the rounding of the square shapes of tools and

other symbols, and again the use of arrows instead of bees (fig. 7.180). A western embroiderer would not likely have made such mistakes on an important commission. It is also relevant to note similarities between the figure of Hope on the apron, and the portrayal of this personification on armorial porcelain from the end of the 18th century (compare figs. 7.177 and 7.169).[376] The (faded) blue colours of the silk, as well as the type of metal thread are similar to the aprons of Fry and Veuger discussed above. Could the apron have been produced by a Chinese hand at the same time as Veuger's lacquer box and the Union Lodge punch bowl?

Unfortunately, there is no documentation available to verify this assumption. Furthermore, it should be noted that Chinese embroidery was also produced outside China, by artists living in Chinese communities in other parts of Asia. For instance, there was a large Chinese community in Batavia, also involved in the international trade. Then again, from the porcelain orders for the Washington and Cincinnati services, we know that people from Washington's circle were in the position to order such objects directly in Canton. It is tempting to consider that men like Shaw or Van Braam Houckgeest might have been involved here too, but it is wiser to refrain from speculation and wait for American researchers with better access to relevant sources to solve this puzzle.



Fig. 8.1: Stereo photograph, depicting a candidate before entering a lodge room, ca. 1855-1865. Collection: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv.no. RP-F-F10773. Reproduced from: rijksmuseum.nl.

Freemasonry and the Dutch trade in Asia once seemed worlds apart. Scholars have described the role of East India Company employees in the export of art works to Europe, not for a moment realizing many of the men involved were freemasons. Among the lodge members were ship's captains, tradesmen, diplomats and government officials, some registered in several lodges along the trade route. Their activities were noted in lodge archives and masonic publications. A letter by one lodge officer to another often turns out to be a letter of one Company employee to another. References to 'brethren' and masonic activities are easily overlooked in formal correspondence, as is the importance of a first meeting in a lodge for later friendships or commercial enterprises. By combining and comparing information from two fields of study, our view of the history of the Dutch exchange with Southeast Asia takes some unexpected turns.

It is comparable to rediscovering two halves of a 19th century stereo-photograph that have become separated a long time ago. On its own, each half is equally interesting and provides historical information on the scene and the people depicted, but it remains a flat and two-dimensional object. You won't even realize something is missing, until you discover the other half in a dusty pile of forgotten documents. Only by gluing both halves back together and looking at them through the proper stereo-viewer, a vivid three-dimensional picture is restored. The scene depicted suddenly seems fresh, the people almost alive. Hopefully readers will be surprised by the new viewpoint offered by this book and continue to look with fascination at the subject.

That lovely mental image aside, what about the questions which prompted this study? Have they been answered? As is the case with most PhD-research, the answer is both 'yes' and 'no'.

♦ *Freemasons within the VOC*

Was there a connection between the activities of the VOC and the founding of masonic lodges in the Dutch overseas trade posts? Of course there was. The trade was one of the main reasons Europeans flocked to these ports and wherever Europeans went in the 18th century, freemasonry simply followed. As explained in chapter 3, Dutch freemasons were relatively late to the game, compared to the British. But that was precisely the time when it had become fashionable to be a freemason, as the Order had both an intellectual

and socio-economic appeal - with particular advantages for travellers. So freemasonry in the Dutch trade posts went hand in hand with the heydays of the VOC and became part of an intricate, flexible, worldwide masonic network which far outlasted the Company's existence.

What number of freemasons was active within the trade posts? We don't know precisely because only a fraction of the available membership records has been explored. However, chapter 7 and Appendix II indicate that between 1757 and 1800 up to 20-30 % of the VOC-elite may have been involved in freemasonry. Considering that the sources on lodges overseas which produce these numbers are fragmentary, and that the membership lists of lodges founded in the Netherlands are yet to be explored, the real percentage may well be higher. As discussed in chapter 3, previous researchers have pointed at the dominance of particular prominent families within the VOC and trade post government, such as the Radermachers. These family networks significantly overlap with those of the lodges, where many members were fathers and sons or sons-in-law. The link between freemasonry, VOC and the government of Dutch settlements is evident, and some fortunate careers seem to have benefitted from or coincided with a lodge membership. This leaves us with a chicken-or-egg question: what came first? Did the initiation into a lodge precede a (social) promotion, or would a promotion be followed by an invitation to join a lodge? To what extent did the Order influence international careers and politics? Those are questions political historians may want to try and answer in the future.

What was the background of individual lodge members? The membership lists of Southeast Asia mention everyone from junior sailors and soldiers, to the directors and governors of the trade posts. Identifiable groups among the members were ship's captains and crew; merchants; doctors; civil servants and government decision makers with administrative, judicial and commercial responsibilities, as well as artists, cartographers, architects and burghers or private citizens. Although almost all were Europeans, a substantial part of these men was born in Asia. Further genealogical research will probably confirm many of them were of Eurasian descent. Even though they were not formally admitted into the Order until the beginning of the 19th century, chapter 5 shows that Asians were intimately involved in lodge life in Batavia from the founding of the first lodges in the late 1760s onwards. Some were slaves, others employed as servants or hired as workmen, musicians and artists. As such, they were partly responsible for the (symbolic) decoration of the masonic halls, supplying precious regalia and other objects, catering and even attending at (ritual) meetings and meals. Although it remains to be confirmed if the initiation of women also took place in the trade posts, the frequent mention of the participation of wives, daughters and even 'sisters' in lodge celebrations, show that European (and Eurasian?) women were very much part of 'lodge life'. The fact that they visually distinguished themselves at social gatherings as associated to a lodge or lodge member, indicates this was a desirable status. Here too, genealogical research of lodge records could help to further identify the groups involved.

How did freemasonry spread to the overseas trade posts? Individual freemasons happened to be employed by the VOC in the first half of the 18th century, but because Grand Lodge records between 1735 and 1756 are fragmentary we cannot identify them in any substantial number. The idea that a handful of freemasons on a foreign shore would stumble upon each other and decide to found a new lodge out of masonic ideals is somewhat romanticized. Grand Lodge correspondence and documents presented in chapters 3, 4 and 5 suggest, that from 1757 onwards it actively commissioned representatives to travel eastwards and found new lodges to expand its jurisdiction after the example of the English Grand Lodge. Once the first Provincial Grand Lodges had been founded, requests from overseas members for letters of constitution started to pour in. The missionary zeal to spread the ideal of brotherhood across the globe is mentioned in letters of the Grand Lodge, but in the same breath with requests for contribution. The foreseen extra income from new lodges overseas was at least an added motivation. Likewise, almost every lodge that was founded in a new area tried to obtain the title of Provincial Grand Lodge (Salomon, De Getrouwigheid, La Choisie). Two rival lodges in Batavia, La Fidèle Sincérité and La Vertueuse, even actively competed for it. The Grand Lodge experimented with investing the power of regional representation alternately in individuals and in lodges, to finally decide on a Provincial Grand Master rather than a Provincial Grand Lodge by 1798. By then the trade posts in India and Ceylon had been given up to the British, and as Dutch lodges were never (at least not formally) established in Dejima or Canton, Java remained the only regional seat of power.

What was the attraction of lodge membership? Archives show a pattern of men hurriedly being initiated 'by communication' without (parts of the) usual ceremony, both in the Netherlands and abroad (chapters 2, 4 and 5). The term *recipiendaire passant* (passing candidate) was used to indicate travellers (both Dutch and foreign), only in town for a night or two, wanting to be initiated before moving on to another destination. Lodges in Batavia performed such 'quickie' ceremonies for men stopping over on their way to India, China and Japan. Travelers could even receive the first, second and/or third degree in the same meeting, meaning some candidates were only freemasons for one day before they left. There was a clear advantage to join the Order before embarking. The membership and the masonic certificate which proved it, served as a social and economic passport as well as travel insurance. Its advantages were clear from the moment one set foot on a ship. It guaranteed access to a network of personal and commercial contacts on board, at each stopover and at the point of destination. First and foremost, it guaranteed practical help: being welcomed as a brother into a new town, being introduced into local society and commercial networks as a trustworthy contact. It also guaranteed financial assistance for those who got stranded or sick, and - if the worst should happen - support for the wife and children left behind. An added bonus was access to a 'safe route' for correspondence, finances and even objects, carried along by the captains of ships, who as brethren were a better bet to put your trust in than complete strangers. Combine that with a ritual practice which offered you a moral compass and strong bonding, familiar surroundings and customs reminding you of home; as well as all the friendships, diversions and comforts of a gentlemen's club, including the well-stocked wine cellar, copious banquets and the regular feasting with (unmarried) ladies. No wonder that hundreds of travellers were lining up to become freemasons. Some of the ships of the East India Company and its successors were almost literally floating lodges.

♦ *Freemasonry's material culture*

In the past masonic objects were considered as curiosa by art historians. As discussed in chapter 2, since the end of the 20th century the academic study of western esotericism is rewriting much of art history. Scholars have pointed at the relevance of esoteric currents to both the creative processes of individual artists and the networks influencing the dissemination of art theories, as well as the buyers and collectors markets. Of all modern esoteric currents, freemasonry has produced the largest and most diverse material culture. This book demonstrates that, when comparing masonic archives with sources on the international trade with Asia, here too history has to be partially rewritten. A worldwide network of lodges facilitated the mixing of sociability, commerce and art, and contributed to the exchange between different cultures, resulting in a fascinating and often beautiful material heritage.

As noted in the foreword, the practical purpose of this study was identifying objects in the CMC collection in The Hague: Chinese porcelain and Japanese lacquer with masonic decorations. Comparison with other collections confirmed that the CMC boasts the largest collection of masonic lacquer pieces, including tobacco boxes and apron coffers, in the world. The Dutch dominated the trade in Japanese lacquer, including these objects, which complex symbolical decorations are similar to those on Chinese export porcelain. Both types of export goods would have appealed to a wider international masonic market. The punch bowls in the CMC collection can now be identified as mass produced for the foreign market, most likely traded via American merchants. While the CMC boasts two bowls not represented in collections elsewhere in the Netherlands, the Library and Museum of Freemasonry in London showcases what is probably the largest and most diverse collection of masonic export porcelain worldwide.

What was the market of commissioners and buyers of masonic export objects? Chapter 6 and 7 have made clear that individual Dutch freemasons in Dejima and Canton - most notably Titsingh, Romberg, Grill and Van Braam Houckgeest - were involved in ordering and exporting such goods. The first masonic commissions from Japan were ritual objects (tracing boards) for the lodges in Batavia from 1788 onwards. These were quickly followed by decorative lacquer boxes, which would be produced until well beyond the middle of the 19th century. Although there is little or no documentation of direct orders of such masonic lacquer wares, the presence of various examples in collections worldwide suggests this was a lucrative private trade, destined for a European and later American masonic market. Chinese porcelain was produced with masonic decorations from the 1760s onwards, which had an equally wide appeal. Many Dutch lodge members ordered armorial porcelain and there is ample evidence of connections between Dutch, British, Scandinavian and American freemasons that would have facilitated the trade in masonic

porcelain. Yet there are no surviving records of Dutch commissions of masonic pieces.

Why was Chinese export porcelain produced for a masonic market, but not Japanese porcelain; and why Japanese, but not Chinese lacquer? The Dutch in Dejima and Canton had every opportunity to order such objects. Was it too costly or too complicated, or were there 'territorial' agreements to be respected? Or was it simply a matter of quality? Japanese export lacquer was regarded superior to Chinese, while commissioned Chinese porcelain had a better paste, glaze and enameled decoration than Japanese. Perhaps the men involved were simply satisfied to trade lacquer and porcelain amongst each other, or to take orders on each other's behalf. This is one of the remaining questions.

Through which channels were such objects acquired? The lodges in Batavia must have fulfilled a central role in the private trade in masonic objects. Most freemasons on their way to Asia passed through there, when ships stopped over for trade, maintenance or supplies. The lodge records show that freemasons stationed in Dejima or Canton in VOC-service before 1800 were often members of the lodges La Fidèle Sincérité or La Vertueuse in Batavia. British visitors, as well as French from Mauritius, were among the many nationalities passing through these lodges, disregarding the changing political positions and even conflicts between their respective countries. They could travel on to India and Ceylon, where Dutch, British and French lodges were active. Swedish freemasons in service of the SOIC maintained successive lodges in Canton until 1813 and the few remaining records show they accepted members of Dutch and other nationalities. Doeff founded a lodge, irregular as it may be, in Dejima in 1804. Through men like Mesterton, Grill, Titsingh, Van Braam Houckgeest and Schouten, we can trace direct lines of masonic communication between the Netherlands and the whole of Asia. In other words, travelling freemasons were in the unique position to facilitate the order, transport and sale of masonic and other objects on an international scale - not being restrained by the international politics that did affect the VOC.

Were they commercial commodities or rarities in their time? The role of masonic export objects changed over time. As discussed in chapter 6, the first lacquer commissions were for ritual, not decorative objects, which were certainly precious rarities, even in their time. Lodge accounts show that pieces of masonic export porcelain were often donated to a lodge by a travelling lodge member to mark his affiliation and brotherly affection (chapter 7). Like the lacquer ware, such services and punch bowls also had a practical function: they could be used at the table lodge, which was a formal part of the ritual. However, by the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century it was fashionable in Europe to be a freemason and carry a masonic snuff box, watch or other personal object. It is within this context, that lacquer boxes, tea services and punch bowls with masonic decorations must have become attractive commercial commodities. They combined the status attached to displaying a fashionable, exotic and precious object with the intellectual and social status attached to being a freemason. A rare price list, as well as the number of surviving pieces decorated with the 'five masonic motifs' (chapter 7), suggest that by 1790-1810, masonic porcelain was sold *en masse* on the American market. Although the masonic market was a wealthy one, it was conservative, not at the forefront of fashion. A trend follower, rather than a trendsetter.

What are the characteristics of masonic export objects? Inventories of the lodges in Batavia suggest that both export porcelain and lacquer were used in the lodge, for ritual and/or decorative purposes. However, when displayed outside the lodge in a freemason's home, these objects provided the owner with the means of subtly revealing himself as a member of the Order. He could display their symbolic decoration in a private circle or to a visitor, hoping the onlooker would also identify himself as a brother. If not, no harm was done. The decorations were ambiguous in such a way that the uninitiated would simply interpret them as a biblical or allegorical references, and one could always muse on the beauty of the object and its exotic origins.

What is the meaning of their symbolic decoration and which visual sources were used as examples? As discussed in chapter 6, there are four main types of decorations found on masonic lacquer ware, three of which can be traced to prints of tracing boards in ritual manuals: *L'Ordre des Francs-Maçons trahi* (1745), *Jachin and Boaz* (ed. 1797) and *The True Masonic Chart* (1819). The fourth is a simple depiction of tools, as one would find on an apron or lodge jewel. Masonic export porcelain shows a much wider variation in decorations from both British, Scandinavian and American freemasonry, ranging from depictions of tools and tracing boards, to lodge and Grand Lodge emblems, as well as copies from popular masonic prints and even advertisements with masonic elements. They are listed in full in chapter 7. What almost all of these

objects have in common is that the symbolism, however decoratively applied, is directly derived from the tracing boards and myths of the masonic ritual. The means of transfer were European and American aprons, lodge jewels and illustrations in masonic manuals, which a travelling freemason took with him to Asia to have faithfully copied by a local artist. (In other cases, a freemason made his own design inspired by those sources and had it copied.) The design reminded the commissioner or buyer of the object of masonic labour, virtues and ideals, as well as the bonds of friendship and brotherly love.

Who were the artists and craftsmen involved? The Dutch lodges on Java ordered paintings and interior decorations, as well as silver ware and regalia from both European and Asian artists (see table 8.1.). Although a large number of receipts signed with Chinese stamps and Asian signatures is available for further identification, for now most of those local artists unfortunately remain anonymous. The same goes for the painters of masonic export porcelain. We do know the Chinese merchant Syng Chong was involved as a go-between in at least one masonic commission. All of this implies that Asian artists working in Batavia, Canton and Dejima were given European images of tracing boards and other masonic symbols to copy. That begs the question: Did local artists in Asia understand masonic symbolism? If so, were any of them initiated into a Dutch lodge? That is highly unlikely. Trade in Dejima and Canton was restricted, with Japanese and Chinese officials and merchants serving as go-betweens. The lacquer workers and porcelain painters probably never came into direct contact with the commissioners of their products, let alone freemasons among them. But we do know that men leaving for Japan and China would ask to be quickly initiated in a lodge in Batavia. Why do so, if they knew there was no Dutch lodge at their destination? We also know, that men like Titsingh intimately befriended some of the scholars among the Japanese, and that someone like Doeff felt such a need to form a lodge in Dejima that he overlooked the rules. So one can wonder how far the rules may have been bent at any particular occasion, if the circumstances called for it. An entertaining thought, but there is no evidence whatsoever to support it.

Table 8.1: Artists and craftsmen working for Dutch lodges in Southeast Asia, 1757-1853

European artists

- Abraham van Campen, silversmith, schienkpiering *and regalia for lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, 1784*
- Jean Giraud, painter, paintings and other interior decorations for lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia, 1821-1837
- Willem Cornelis Jacobs, silversmith, regalia for lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, 1815
- R. Kimmel, painter, series of 12 paintings for lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, 1828
- Nicolas Piron, painter, series of 12 wall paintings and interior decorations for lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, 1795
- Reemer, jeweller, regalia for lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, 1791-1800
- Martin Wyszinsky, silversmith, regalia including sawasa and a precious crown for lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, 1788-1798

Local artists

- Anonymous, Chinese painter, tracing board for lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, 1781
- Giu Ki, Chinese painter, tracing board for lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, 1788
- Oey Kieko, Chinese painter, tracing board for lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, 1788
- Oeij Tianko, Chinese gold- and silversmith, regalia and seal cases for lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, 1813-1815

What other examples of material culture directly resulted from the involvement of freemasons in the Asian trade? As surviving documentation and objects from other regions in Southeast Asia are lacking, this question can only be properly answered for the Dutch East Indies. Like in the Netherlands, lodges produced a rich material culture, encompassing ritual objects, regalia, furniture, interior decorations and architecture, as well as personal and decorative objects. Many of these served as the props, costumes and settings for the ritual 'performance'. The whole of the material culture of freemasonry is characterised by the decorative use of a specific iconography, derived from the myths of the rituals of the various degrees. Most common is imagery relating to the building, destruction and rebuilding of the Temple of Salomon and the fate of its architect Hiram Abiff, as well as imagery concerning masonic virtues.

In India, Ceylon and the Dutch East Indies lodges made sure they had appropriate meeting places. In the second half of the 18th century these were often the country houses or office buildings of members, who were government officials in daily life. Towards the end of the 18th century buildings were rented and converted to accommodate a lodge room, dining room, kitchen and/or bar area. By the turn of the century, lodges could afford to invest in the building of their own accommodation, and more rooms with different functions were added. By then, India and Ceylon were out of the picture, but the lodges in the Dutch East Indies continued to bloom. By the middle of the 19th century they owned proper masonic halls, combining

office and ritual space with dining and meeting rooms. When the accommodation was not used by the lodge, local organisations were allowed to hold meetings there or provide lectures. Thus lodge buildings developed from purely private spaces to important community centres.

Were there lodge buildings and temple interiors, comparable to those in the Netherlands? Yes, their development fully reflected what was happening in the Netherlands. Dutch freemasons were bound by the rules of the Grand Lodge in The Hague, which not only prescribed the proper procedures for founding lodges and electing officers, but also for the ritual practice, regalia and lodge settings. Although the Grand Lodge had less control over the lodges in Southeast Asia than those at home, the rules were mostly followed. The decoration of lodge interiors therefore developed in much the same way as in the Netherlands. However, as described in detail in chapter 5, the lodges commissioned both European and Asian artists for building and decoration works. They commissioned such ritual objects as tracing boards, such essential furniture as the throne, as well as symbolical paintings from local artists. The lodge inventories and financial accounts show that they made use of locally sourced building materials, bought Asian furniture, as well as imported goods such as porcelain, silk and lacquer. Inevitably, lodge buildings therefore showed the same mix of styles as do other 'colonial' interiors. It is quite extraordinary that here the mixing of styles, influences and cultures affected not a domestic, but a ritual setting. Therefore the lack of surviving visual sources of lodge buildings and interiors predating photography is to be lamented, but hopefully this book will stimulate further research and contribute to new discoveries.

Interesting from the perspective of the study of freemasonry is that the inventories provide so much insight into the development of the Dutch ritual in the trade posts. As described in chapter 5, the shift from ambulant to permanent lodge furniture and decoration is well illustrated, as is the introduction of higher degrees. French visitors from Mauritius were involved in the founding of a *Rose Croix* Chapter in 1794-1796. The fact that so many freemasons of other nationalities passed through the Dutch lodges or operated in their vicinity, also clearly left its mark. The inventories list regalia and props, which do not yet appear in the Netherlands around the same time, suggesting that lodges in the Dutch East Indies practised not only Dutch rituals, but also some originating in France with British elements mixed in. The ritual practise of Dutch freemasons is perhaps best described as 'hybrid', especially where it concerns the higher degrees.

Have examples of this heritage survived? From the middle of the 19th century onwards, the Grand Lodge displayed historical documents and objects in the masonic hall in The Hague, including those from lodges in Asia. In the 1860's, masonic historian Hageman attempted to retrace former lodge buildings in the Dutch East Indies and was unable to do so. Lodge buildings that survived the Second World War were nationalized by the Indonesian government in 1960 and in the ensuing chaos much was lost. The masonic hall at the Vrijmetselaarsweg in Batavia dating from 1856 is now the Kimia Pharma office. Other masonic halls, dating from the 20th century, have also been converted into offices. The current ownership of what may be the oldest surviving masonic hall on Java, that of De Vriendschap (built 1811), is unclear. In recent years it was partially used as an office, and partially used by squatters. Details of the interior, like the terrazzo tracing board survived, but maintenance left a lot to be desired (fig. 8.2). In the recent efforts to conserve and restore joined heritage of the Netherlands and Indonesia, masonic heritage was not considered a point of attention. Fortunately, most of the lodge archives were transported to the Netherlands and are now in the CMC collection. Among the regalia and other objects currently in the collection some (such as a few membership jewels of lodge De Ster in het Oosten) have been identified as pieces originating from the lodges in Asia, while others still deserve to be rediscovered.

The Dutch assets in India and Ceylon were taken over by the British by the end of the 18th century, and masonic historians have always assumed that no trace of the Dutch lodges in the region was left. A recent inventory of Dutch overseas archives by the Tanap project did not result in the rediscovery of significant masonic archives, although a handful of documents was retrieved. In China and Japan no lodge buildings or archives are assumed to have survived. On the other hand, as no efforts have ever been made to specifically inventory masonic heritage in Southeast Asia - which would require training heritage experts to recognize masonic objects or symbolism - it seems unwise to rule the possibility out.

♦ *Impact and cultural mediation*

The membership of the Order offered what we would now call 'a fully immersive experience'. After the emotionally evocative initiation, not just the design of the lodge building but everything in one's intellectual



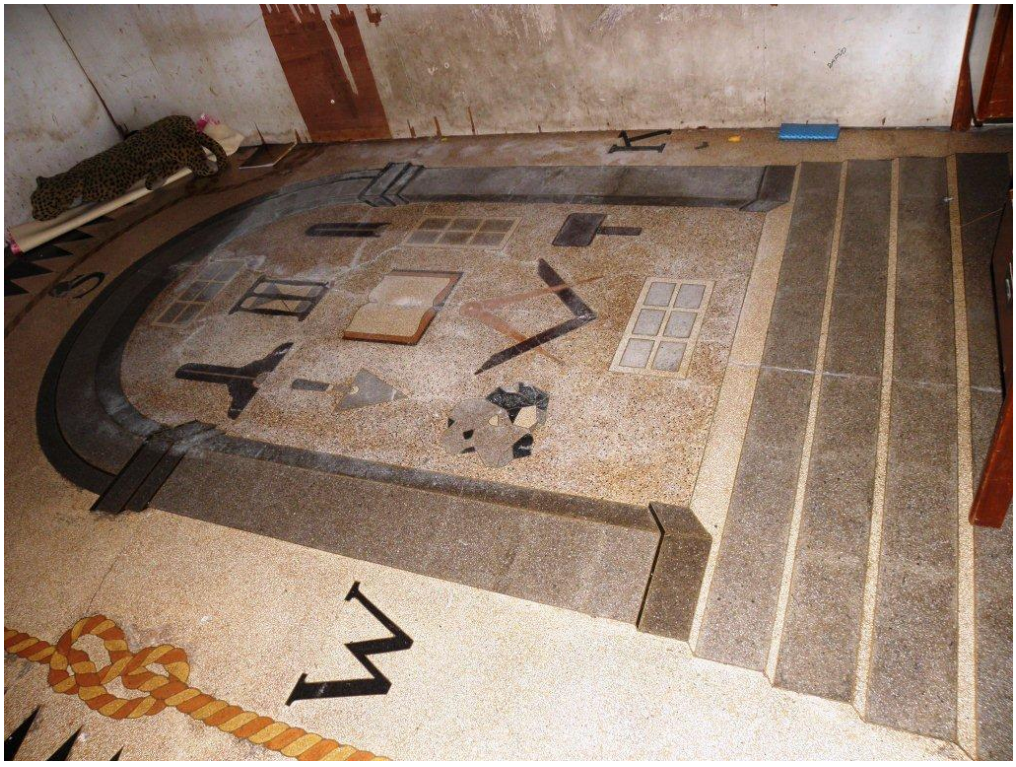


Fig. 8.2a-b. The former masonic hall in Surabaya, beginning of the 21st century.
Photos with kind permission of Theo Spierenburg, Den Haag.

living environment suddenly appeared to allude to masonic concepts. Masonic symbolism was omnipresent: in the decoration of such personal objects as pipes, snuffboxes and dining services, music (and by the time Mozart became a member, opera), art, books, satirical prints; even a walk through a garden could turn out to have an intentional masonic design. Thus, the experience of 'seeing the light' in the lodge would have a ripple effect into ordinary life with 'aha'-moments around every corner, each time

one encountered familiar words, signs or symbols in the 'profane' world. Acquaintances one made in polite society would reveal themselves as brethren by offering snuff from a tell-tale box or by phrasing their words so they resembled a ritual text. Revealing oneself in the same subtle manner to others could open doors and benefit careers. You were not just reborn in the lodge, you stepped into a new, much bigger world. As this book has hopefully illustrated, a network encompassing the globe was now at one's disposal.

The trade with Southeast Asia had a huge impact on both western and eastern cultures. As discussed in chapter 3, influences were not so much exchanged from one culture to another. They were absorbed, interpreted, altered and then reintroduced to each other repeatedly over a number of centuries. So what was the significance, if any, of the involvement of freemasons in the exchange between East and West? That is one of the hardest questions to answer. After all, this was just a first look at the presence of Dutch freemasons in Asia, not a definitive one. What has become clear from the research presented in this book, is that a masonic network was intricately interwoven with the Dutch overseas government and the VOC, as well as with the family networks in places of power. It is therefore difficult to see freemasonry's impact on trade and cultural mediation as separate, because it often concerns the same people in different capacities. But it is fair to say that freemasonry's contribution to the exchange was probably more substantial than we ever expected.

- Lodges had substantial spending power and were a part, if not a driving force, within the local economies of the trade posts. They employed the local population as servants, labourers, musicians and artists. They had buildings erected and decorated, and regularly needed regalia and catering. By also employing widows of former members, they provided an early form of social security.
- Lodges were publicly visible not only as employers and commissioners, but also as organisers of banquets, festivities and illuminations, advertisers in newspapers, etc. Their buildings were prominent presences in town. Around 1800 freemasons also used objects with masonic decorations outside the lodge. Masonic prints were supplied to Asian artists and ritual objects commissioned.
- Lodges admitted Eurasian men, familiarizing them with European rituals, objects and symbols. In the 18th century this contributed to the acceptance of this part of the population by European society. It preceded the acceptance and admission of Asian men into the lodges in the 19th century.

All this meant that between 1757 and 1854, Dutch/European culture and customs with distinct masonic elements were introduced into local society. The masonic presence must have been accepted, or there would have been more documentation of negative reactions from the community. But those only came from the odd preacher and from the Dutch government (Daendels, see chapter 5).

Meanwhile, Asian materials and furniture were introduced into the lodge and the ritual environment. The result was a specific material culture which connected Dutch, masonic and Asian elements. It also caused a specific development in the art market, which started catering oriental export goods to an exclusively western masonic audience.

So to conclude, the lodges along the trade route formed a socio-economic network that facilitated trade, including that in masonic export objects. These same channels were probably used for the transmission of ideas, for instance about equality, morality and colonial politics, and for exerting political influence. Those aspects deserve to be studied further, as does the involvement of women and (Eur)Asians. Another conclusion is that freemasonry produced a fascinating material culture, examples of which do not deserve the label of curiosa. Instead, this material culture could be seen as an example of 'shared heritage': an exciting mixture of private and public, profane and esoteric, eastern and western elements, which deserves to be explored, studied, exhibited and preserved.

♦ *Masonic, esoteric and ritual heritage*

As the masonic ritual has a distinctly theatrical character, different elements of the lodge interior can be compared to elements used on stage: props with a 'passive' role (furniture), props with an 'active' role (ritual objects), costumes (regalia) and set pieces (architecture, wall and ceiling decorations). Even props with a passive role, such as the throne, often have an important symbolical meaning. A separate category comprises objects with symbolic decorations for practical use in the lodge (such as table wares at the table lodge) or for personal use outside the lodge (such as smokers' requisites). Especially the latter may not

seem to have a theatrical element, but in fact it does: these objects can be used to (subtly or dramatically) reveal the membership of one person to another.

From the material presented above it is clear that no element, object or decoration within a lodge interior was without symbolical function or meaning. Function, form, colour, iconography and symbolism interact to allow various complex layers of allusion. The material culture of freemasonry therefore asks to be studied from a cross-disciplinary perspective, combining viewpoints from various disciplines, including art history, anthropology and religious studies.

Within religious studies and anthropology, freemasonry is defined as an initiation society with a ritual and social character, *not* as a religion. Lodge buildings and communal masonic halls are therefore not religious buildings, such as churches, mosques or synagogues, although they do share some characteristics. There is no worshipping involved in a lodge building, but there are ceremonies and rituals being performed. Freemasons' Halls include spaces with combined social and ritual functions that are not found in any other category of buildings. The Chamber of Reflection, the Forecourt and the Lodge Room (or Temple) are characteristic for freemasonry, and although the dining room and meeting room may seem similar to 'profane' examples, the fact that the *table lodge* and the Dutch *comparitie* and *bouwstukken* are performed there, again sets them apart.

Within religious studies freemasonry has now been categorized under 'western esotericism' for several decades, so it would be appropriate if the heritage sector adapted similar terminology such as 'western esoteric heritage' and 'masonic heritage' for the historical examples of freemasonry's material culture. When describing lodge buildings and masonic halls, especially in relation to monuments, the terms 'esoteric architecture', 'masonic architecture' or even the more neutral 'ritual architecture' seem appropriate - but not 'religious architecture'. But why plead for definitions and terminology for this specific category of heritage in the first place? Because of how our heritage protection systems work. Worryingly, masonic heritage still remains at risk in the Netherlands in the 21st century.

As budgets are limited, not all heritage can be protected. Government and heritage organisations can only provide a protected status and related funding to a few rare buildings, selected for their unique cultural-historical value. This value is determined on the basis of specific criteria and terminology. These criteria are then applied to particular categories of buildings, such as religious, industrial and moving heritage (boats, planes), and even 'young' monuments (built post 1945), in order to systematically evaluate which buildings are unique and deserve protection. Lodge buildings have not yet been considered as a separate category. They have never been evaluated on a national or local level, because the results of research in religious studies have not yet been disseminated into the heritage sector and art historical studies. Or to put it less politely, the Dutch heritage sector is half a century behind compared to developments in academia. How does one make informed decisions on protection, restoration or funding policies, let alone demolition permits, for a category of heritage that art historians, architects and restorers are often unfamiliar with? A plea for more cross-disciplinary cooperation between the heritage sector and scholars of western esotericism, as well as the curators of masonic collections, seems very appropriate here.

♦ *The future of research into freemasonry in the Netherlands*

It is customary to point to possible future research paths in a dissertation. However, these have already been identified in previous chapters. It therefore seems more appropriate to make some remarks on the future of research into freemasonry and specific contributions that could be made by Dutch scholarship. Although the study of freemasonry has evolved into a recognized field of study within the Humanities, scholars are yet to agree on whether there is a need for university chairs for this discipline. Regardless of this debate, there is a need for a research centre or other platform in the Netherlands in which expertise from the CMC and other masonic collections, the academic field and the heritage sector is united.

There is no question that, after decades of international scholarship underlining its importance to the history of modern western society, freemasonry is now firmly on the academic agenda, that it benefits from a cross-disciplinary approach and that not just libraries and archives, but also object collections should be included in future research paths. It is therefore curious (if not downright ridiculous) that Dutch scholarship is dragging behind international developments in this field of study, while it has a world renowned collection sitting on its own doorstep. Since 1735 the small, private archive of the Order of

Freemasons under the Grand East of the Netherlands has grown into a national heritage collection of international fame. Scholars from all over the world invest and travel hundreds of miles for an opportunity to study in the CMC. The list of dissertations and other publications referencing the collection is endless. So how long will Dutch universities and museums continue to miss the evident opportunity for structural cooperation, education and research? We can't blame students for overlooking the subject, if we don't present them with more opportunities to explore the history of Dutch freemasonry.

Similarly, despite the importance of freemasonry to the social, economic and esoteric history of the Netherlands, major public collections do not include masonic (fraternal or esoteric) objects in their research or acquisition policies. Of course the CMC does have an acquisition policy, but lacks the means to keep the collection fully up to date and make major acquisitions. As a result, the collection is now at risk of becoming static. This also means important historical objects are mainly traded commercially and remain outside the view of the public, researchers and even freemasons themselves. Despite all the attention being given to religious and cultural diversity in current Dutch policies, local and national heritage and preservation schemes do not include masonic, fraternal or esoteric heritage. Meanwhile the Library and Museum of Freemasonry, located in the monumental Freemasons' Hall in London, has demonstrated how well such a landmark and collection can take a place in today's academic and heritage sector, as well as fulfil a role in the local community and successfully collaborate with the commercial sector.

In the Netherlands a new interdisciplinary platform or research centre is needed, in which curators of public and masonic collections, academic experts on freemasonry, fraternities and western esotericism, as well as art history and heritage professionals can unite their knowledge, and plan joint acquisition, research, exhibition and preservation strategies. The chair for the History of Hermetic philosophy and related currents at the University of Amsterdam (which offers BA and MA courses on western esotericism), for instance, could bring welcome expertise to such an initiative. (Especially so, if the special chair for Freemasonry as an intellectual current and socio-cultural European phenomenon at the Leiden University is not to be revived.)

In future, Dutch masonic heritage deserves to be cherished, explored and displayed - not as curiosa, but as an integral part of our collective national heritage.

APPENDIX I: MASONIC TERMINOLOGY AND SYMBOLS

For the benefit of the reader, below is an overview of frequently used masonic abbreviations, terminology and symbols. Because Dutch freemasonry was oriented towards the French ritual practise for a long time, some Dutch and French terms as well as their English translations are included.

A.A.S.R.: Dutch and English abbreviation for the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite.
Aalmoezenier: Dutch term for Almoner.
Acacia: symbol of the Master degree, as reference to the acacia sprig marking the (first) grave of Hiram Abiff.
Adoptieloge: Dutch term for Adoption Lodge.
Adoption Lodge: lodge with female members, associated to a lodge with male members. Such lodges were active in the 18th and 19th centuries after a French example, but did not remain a part of Dutch freemasonry. Celebrations for which wives and daughters of lodge members were invited, were sometimes also called Adoption lodges, without any rituals taking place.
Almoner: lodge officer, whose duty is seeing to the collection of gifts and managing of funds for charitable purposes, such as donations to needy lodge members, their widows and children. His function jewel is a purse or charity box.
Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite (A.A.S.R.): masonic Rite of 33 degrees. During the 18th century the so called Scottish Rite developed in French territories in America, and was then practised in France after 1803. In 1817 a governing board, the Supreme Council for the Kingdom of the Netherlands was founded. Between 1830 and 1912 this Rite was not practised in the Netherlands.
Anno Lucis: see Year of Light.
Ante-Chamber: space in the lodge building where freemasons gather before they enter the actual lodge (temple). This space symbolizes the Ante-Chamber (forecourt or -portal) to the Temple of Solomon.
Apprentice: initiate into the first degree of freemasonry.
Apprentif: French term for Apprentice.
Apron: item of clothing resembling a stonemason's apron, which a candidate receives at his initiation as freemason and. It is part of the standard regalia of a freemason and has several layers of symbolism. It is both a symbol of being a freemason, of the membership of an order and (in the Netherlands, because of its border colour) membership of a particular lodge. The position of the flap shows the degree of initiation. In the 18th and 19th centuries aprons were richly embroidered, printed and painted with symbols, showing the owner's degree of initiation and/or function within the lodge.
Arbeid: Dutch term for (masonic) labour.
Arch: symbol of the Royal Arch degree, referring to the vaults underneath the Temple.
Architect: lodge officer, responsible for the lodge building and its upkeep, or for the design of a new lodge building. His function jewel is a plate showing the five building orders.
Archivist: lodge officer, responsible for the lodge archive. This function is relatively rare, more often these duties are part of those of the Secretary.
B: see Boaz.
Battle: battle fought with swords on the bridge over the river Starburzanai is a symbol for the degree of Chevalier d'Orient (et de l'Epeé), and a reference to the name of the degree.
Bible: the most influential book in western society in the time modern freemasonry developed. Much of masonic symbolism borrows from biblical stories, including the building of the Temple of Solomon. A bible was placed on an altar during the ritual and a candidate swore his oath of secrecy on the bible.
Bijou(x): French term for (masonic) jewel(s).
Blue degrees: basic degrees of Apprentice, Fellow of the Craft (Fellow-Craft) and Master mason. Blue is also the colour of the British and Dutch masonic Orders practising these degrees.
Boaz: the name of one of the columns of the Temple of Solomon, representing strength. See also Jachin.
***Bouwstuk*:** Dutch term for a lecture on a masonic topic by a lodge member.
Branch: see Acacia.
Bridge: bridge over a river (with skulls drifting in the water) is a symbol for the degree of Chevalier d'Orient (et de l'Epeé), as reference to the battle on the bridge over the river Starburzanai.
Broeder: Dutch term for Brother.
Broeder van Talent: Dutch term for Brother of Talent.
Brother: form of address between freemasons, emphasising equality and friendship. Only the Master of the Lodge is usually addressed as 'Venerable' or 'Worshipful Master'.

Brother of Talent: lodge Officer, responsible for the music in the Lodge. His function jewel is a musical instrument, such as a harp.
By communication: receiving a degree without undergoing the actual ritual. This was common if a candidate was about to leave on a journey.
Canon: masonic cone shaped drinking glass with a heavy foot. Toasts are made at the Table Lodge, in which military terminology is used, such as loading and firing for pouring and drinking.
Catechism: text with a question-and-answer structure, which is spoken at the end of a masonic (initiation) ritual.
Cave: a cave is a symbol of the *Élu* degrees, referring to the events after Hiram's death.
Chalice: symbol for the Rose Croix degree, as reference to the last supper, the blood of Christ, drinking from the same cup, and as such to an unbreakable bond.
Chamber of Reflection: room in which the candidate, prior to his initiation, is left to overthink the various symbols in this room and the coming events.
Chapter: lodge for the practice of higher degrees.
Chevalier d'Orient (et de L'Epée): French name for Knight of the East (and the Sword) degree.
Chosen Master: In the course of the 18th century in France the so-called higher degrees developed, including the *Élu* or Chosen Master degrees. The symbolism of these degrees concerns the events following the murder of Hiram Abiff, the architect of the Temple of Solomon, and the Masters appointed by Solomon to find his three killers. The *Élu* degrees were included in the *Rite Moderne* as 4th order and in the Scottish Rite as 9th-11th degrees. The Dutch Rite only covered the punishment of the third murderer in the 4th degree, *Élu*.
Coffin: symbol of the Master degree, referring to the death of Hiram Abiff.
Compagnon: French term for Fellow (of the Craft).
***Comparitie*:** Dutch term for a non-ritual lodge meeting in which household and organisational matters are discussed and/or lectures on masonic topics are delivered.
Compasses: see Pair of compasses.
Constitutie(brief): Dutch term for (Letter of) Constitution.
Constitution: see Letter of Constitution.
Convocation letter: formal invitation to lodge members for their next meeting**.**
Cordon: a wide V-shaped textile band, worn around the neck, of which the colour or decoration is a distinguishing mark. As part of masonic regalia often combined with a jewel attached to the point of the cordon.
Cross: a Latin cross is a biblical symbol used in the Rose Croix degree, referring to the suffering of Christ. An X-shaped cross or Andreas Cross is a symbol of the *Élu* degrees, referring to the punishment of Hiram's murderers.
Crowned figure: reference to either King Hiram of Tyre, King Solomon or King Cyrus.
Donkere Kamer: Dutch term for Chamber of Reflection.
East: Freemasonry is oriented to the (symbolical) East, as the place where Light comes from. The lodge and the seat of the Venerable Master are directed towards the geographical East fort his purpose - where possible. But even if this is not the case, the seat of the Master is considered as the geographical East during the ritual. The city in which a lodge is housed, is indicated as 'in the East'. For example: 'Lodge Véritable Zèle in the East of The Hague'.
Econome: Dutch term for Steward.
Écossois: French term for Scots Master.
Élu: French term for Chosen Master.
Exposure: as new members swore an oath of secrecy, masonic law forbade putting information about its rituals and other secrets on paper. During the 18th century many publications appeared, claiming to 'expose' or 'betray' these secrets. In many cases these publications were published for the lodges under the guise of exposure, but in fact functioned as a ritual manuals.
Fellow (of the Craft): initiate into the second degree of freemasonry.
Fight: see Battle.
Fiscal: lodge officer, whose duty is guarding against violations of lodge rules and disruptions during the meetings.
Forecourt: see Ante-Chamber.
Foreportal: see Ante-Chamber.
Freemasonry: an initiation society, of which the origins are sought in a complex of social and political developments, culminating in 17th century Europe. Although the first modern masonic organisation was founded prior to 1717, a meeting of lodges that year is seen as an important turning point in its developement. Freemasonry is characterised by lack of a *doxis* (there is no doctrine, members are free to give their personal interpretation to symbolism used), its ritual *praxis* (initiations into successive levels of symbolism) and allusive method (referencing biblical and other texts, which were popular among a large audience at the time of freemasonry's development, in symbols and acts). There is no one specific form of freemasonry, over time many different masonic organisations developed with male, female or mixed membership. See also Recognition.

Function jewel: distinguishing badge which indicates the officers (= board members) function of a member of a (Grand) lodge. It often has the shape of a pendant, worn on a ribbon or cordon around the neck, and/or depicted on the apron.
Dagger: symbol of revenge, used in the *Élu* degrees.
Degree: level of initiation of a freemason. Freemasonry has three basic degrees of Apprentice, Fellow of the Craft (or Fellow-Craft) and Master. Each degree deals with a certain masonic symbolism or myth. A Master mason can become a member of several higher degrees or side workings, their number depending on the Rite in which one works. A higher or a side degree has the character of deepening one's understanding of masonic symbolism, not a promotion or reward.
Degree jewel: distinguishing badge, indicating the degree or level of initiation of a freemason by its colour or symbolic shape.
Gezel: Dutch term for Fellow of the Craft (or Fellow-Craft).
Graad: Dutch term for Degree.
Grand Chapter: Grand Lodge for the higher degrees.
Grand East: see Grand Lodge.
Grand Lodge: yearly meeting of (representatives of) lodges is called Grand Lodge or (after French practice) Grand East. In many countries, including the Netherlands, this term is also used for the national board of a masonic order.
Grand Master: chairman of the (national) board of a masonic order. His function jewel is a radiant sun. During the 18th and 19th centuries the term Grand Master was often used for the Venerable Master of a local lodge.
Grand Officers: members of the (national) board of a masonic order, including the Grand Secretary, Grand Treasurer, Grand Senior Warden, etc.
Groot Bouwmeester des Heelals: Dutch term for Supreme Architect of the Universe.
Grootloge: Dutch term for Grand Lodge.
Grootoosten: Dutch term for Grand East.
Grote Lichten: see Three Lights.
Head: severed or decapitated head (on a spear) is a symbol of the *Élu* degrees, referring to the punishment of Hiram's murderers.
Heilig Koninklijk Gewelf: Dutch term for Royal Arch.
Higher degrees: a Master mason can, depending on the Rite in which one works, be initiated into a number of higher degrees, which offer a deeper understanding of masonic symbolism. In the Netherlands, the most popular degree in the era discussed in this book, were the degrees of *Écossois* or Scots Master, *Élu* or Chosen Master, *Chevalier d'Orient/d'Epée* or Knight of the East/the Sword, and *Souverain Prince Rose Croix* or Sovereign Prince of the Rose Cross. These degrees were not formally introduced in the Netherlands until 1820 and not practised after 1854.
Hiram Abiff: building master of the Temple of Solomon, based on a biblical figure, and a central figure in the masonic myth of the Master degree. According to the myth of this degree, Hiram is murdered and as a result the Master Word is lost. During the ritual, the candidate takes on the role of Hiram in order to undergo a symbolical death and rebirth.
Hofmeester: Dutch lodge officer, best translated as a Steward in British freemasonry, whose duty is overseeing the Servants and the organisation of the Table Lodge. His function jewel is a cornucopia. During the 18th and 19th centuries this function was often combined with the *Keldermeester*.
Hoge graden: Dutch term for Higher degrees.
HSO: the letters ''HSO' are a symbol of the Elu degrees, as reference to the names of Hiram's murderers.
Installation: moment on which a lodge (after gaining a Letter of Constitution) formally starts its work for the first time, usually marked with a ceremony.
J: the letter 'J' is a reference to Jachin, the name of one of the columns of the Temple of Solomon. The letter 'J' within interlaced triangles or concentric circles is a symbol of the Écossais degrees.
Jaar des Waren Lichts: Dutch term for Year of True Light.
Jachin: the name of one of the columns of the Temple of Solomon, representing wisdom. See also Boaz.
Jewel: distinguishing badge, usually a pendant, indicating by its colour or shape to which lodge a freemason belongs, in which degree he has been initiated or which function he has in the board of the lodge. (The term is also used for personal jewellery with masonic symbolism.)
Junior Warden: lodge officer, responsible for the Apprentices in the lodge. His jewel is a plumb line.
Kamer van Overdenking: Dutch term for the Chamber of Reflection.
Kanon: Dutch term for Canon.
Kapittel: Dutch term for Chapter.
Keeper of the Seal: lodge Officer, whose duty is keeping the seal of the lodge, which is used on correspondence and certificates as a sign of approval and authenticity. This is a relatively rare function, as these tasks would normally fall under those of the Secretary. The function jewel for the Keeper of the Seal is a seal.

Keldermeester: Dutch lodge officer, comparable with a Steward in British freemasonry, whose duty is overseeing the wine cellar of the lodge and the drinks at the Table Lodge. His function jewel is a grapevine or -press. During the 18th and 19th centuries this function was often combined with that of the *Hofmeester*.
Knight of the East (and the Sword): In the course of the 18th century the so-called higher degrees developed in France, including the degree of *Chevalier d 'Orient (et de l'Epee)* or Knight of the East (and the Sword). The symbolism of this degree is based on the biblical story of the return of the Jewish people after the Babylonian exile and the destruction of the Temple. The degree was introduced into the *Rite Moderne* as the 6th order and into the Scottish Rite as the 15th degree. It features as 6th degree in the Dutch Rite: *Ridder van de Degen en het Oosten*.
Labour: symbolic work of freemasons in a lodge. According to masonic myths, this is working the rough stone until it is a perfect cube, suitable for the building of the Temple of Solomon, which is often interpreted as each man becoming a suitable building block for the temple of humanity.
LDP: see Liberté de Passer.
Leerling: Dutch term for Apprentice.
Letter of Constitution: moment at which the foundation of a lodge is formally acknowledged by (and official representative of) the Grand Lodge of a masonic order and has received the necessary Letter of Constitution (= formal foundation document). The term is also used for the document itself.
Liberté de Passer: motto of the degree of Chevalier d'Orient (et de l'Epée), meaning 'freedom of passage'.
Light symbolism: symbolism of light and dark plays an important role in freemasonry. The initiation of the candidate is a symbolical journey from darkness into light, from ignorance to insight. A candidate literally 'sees the light' at a particular point of his initiation.
Lodge: term used to describe both a local organisation of freemasons, and the space in which they have (ritual) meetings, as well as the building in which this space is located. This space was also called workplace or temple.
Lodge certificate: document, formally issued by a lodge to a lodge member, declaring he is a member of that lodge and into which degree he has been initiated. Usually authenticated with the lodge seal and the signatures of the main officers.
Lodge colour: the distinguishing colour of the first English masonic Order was blue, and as such was copied by the Dutch masonic Order***.*** From 1756 onwards Dutch lodges chose their own distinguishing colour(s), which they used in their regalia, and were listed in the Letter of Constitution. Some lodges have formally changed their lodge colour(s) more than once.
Lodge jewel: distinguishing badge, often in the form of a pendant worn on a ribbon around the neck or included in a medal, indicating to which lodge a freemason belongs by its colour or shape.
Lodge officer: member of a lodge, who has a specific organisational, administrative or ritual function. Functions include: Venerable Master, Deputy Venerable Master, Secretary, Treasurer, Junior and Senior Warden, Orator, Almoner, Architect, Master of Ceremonies, Master of Furniture, *Terrible*, Tyler, Seal Bearer, Sword Bearer, Steward.
Loge: Dutch term for Lodge.
Maître: French term for Master.
Maître Passé: French term for Past Master.
Master (Mason): someone who has been initiated into the third degree of freemasonry.
Master Certificate: document, formally issued by a lodge to a lodge member, declaring he is a member of that lodge and that he has been initiated into the third degree of freemasonry. Usually authenticated with the lodge seal and the signatures of the main Officers. See also Lodge certificate.
Master diploma: see Master certificate.
Master of Ceremonies: lodge Officer, whose duty is seeing to the correct preparation and execution of ceremonies in the lodge. His function jewel consists of two crossed ceremonial staffs.
Master of Furniture: lodge officer, whose duty is overseeing the furniture of the temple (and the lodge building). His function jewel is a column.
Master of the Lodge: see Venerable Master.
Master Word: masonic myth which tells how Hiram Abiff was murdered in the Temple by three 'evil' Fellows in an attempt to force him to name the secret Master Word. Knowledge of (how to pronounce) this word would allow the Fellows to receive the higher wages of a Master. The symbolical loss and rediscovery of the word play an important role in masonic ritual.
MB: the letters 'MB' are a reference to the Master Word.
Meester: Dutch term for Master.
Meesterwoord: Dutch term for Master Word.
Metals: financial means. Before his initiation, the candidate is asked to take of his metals, because he is about to symbolically die (and be reborn) and he cannot take worldly goods with him.
Oeconome: Dutch term for Steward.
Officer: see Lodge officer.

Oosten: Dutch term for East.
Opperbouwmeester des Heelals: Dutch term for Supreme Architect of the Universe.
1ste Opziener: Dutch term for Senior Warden.
2de Opziener: Dutch term for Junior Warden.
Orator: lodge officer, whose duty is lecturing at solemn occasions. His function jewel is a scroll of paper.
Orde: Dutch term for Order.
Orde van Vrijmetselaren onder het Grootoosten der Nederlanden: Order of Freemasons under the Grand East of the Netherlands, governing body for the Netherlands, established in 1735 and reorganised in 1756 to its modern form.
Orde van Vrijmetselaren onder het Hoofdkapittel der Hoge Graden: Order of Freemasons under the Grand Chapter of the Higher Degrees, governing body for the Rite Moderne in the Netherlands, established in 1803.
Order: masonic organisation, usually consisting of a (national) Grand Lodge and associated local lodges, all practising the same rite.
Ouroboros: snake biting its own tail. a symbol of the Rose Croix degree and a reference to eternal life.
Pair of Compasses: building tool, used to draw a circle and determine the degree of an angle, as well as measure a distance. Within freemasonry, a pair of compasses is the function jewel of the Venerable Master. (Not: a compass, which is a tool to tell direction.)
Passer: Dutch term for a Pair of Compasses.
Past Master: former Venerable Master or chairman of a lodge.
Patent: see Lodge certificate.
Pelican: a pelican (picking its chest to feed its young with its own blood) is a symbol of the Rose Croix degree, and a reference to self-sacrifice.
Phoenix: a phoenix (rising from flames) is a symbol of the Rose Croix degree and a reference to rebirth and eternal life.
Poignard: French term for poniard.
Poniard: short sword in the shape of a slender dagger. Within freemasonry it symbolises revenge or treason and is a symbol of the Chosen Master degrees.
Ponjaard: Dutch term for Poniard.
Profane: masonic term for a non-initiate, someone who has not yet 'seen the Light', also used for everything belonging to daily life outside the lodge.
Provincial Grand Lodge: regional board of a masonic organisation, governing (overseas) territories on behalf of the Grand Lodge in the homeland. This power included the founding of lodges, the collecting of contributions for the Grand Lodge, seeing to compliance to the rules of the Order, solving disputes and applying sanctions.
Provincial Grand Master: regional representative or deputy governing (overseas) territories on behalf of the Grand Lodge in the homeland. This power included the founding of lodges, the inning collecting of contributions for the Grand Lodge, seeing to compliance to the rules of the Order, solving disputes and applying sanctions.
PS: the letters 'PS' or 'profane style' can be added to a date, to note the fact that the masonic calendar is not being used.
R.E.A.A.: abbreviation for *Rite Écossais Ancien et Accepté*, the French name of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite.
Regalia: distinguishing clothing, jewel and attributes of a freemason, including the apron and the gloves, and possibly a ribbon, cordon or sash, as well as a lodge, function or degree jewel. During the 18th and 19th centuries, it was common in certain degrees or functions to wear a sword, hat, cape and/or other attributes.
Ribbon: piece of ribbon worn around the neck, usually in combination with a lodge, function or degree jewel hanging from it, of which the colour is a distinguishing badge.
Rite: whole of all rituals practised by a masonic organisation. This practise can differ per organisation or country. Popular rites were the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite (a system of 33 degrees) and the *Rite Moderne* (a system of 3 degrees and 4 orders).
Rite Écossais Ancien et Accepté: French name of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite.
Rite Français: see Rite Moderne.
Rite Moderne: In the 18th century the so called higher degrees developed in France. In the Netherlands these degrees were practised in so called Scots lodges. In France they developed into the *Rite Moderne* or *Rite Français*, a system of 3 basic degrees and 4 'orders' (higher degrees). This system and its rituals were formally established in 1786 by the Grand Orient de France (the French Grand Lodge). The four orders of the *Rite Moderne* correspond with similar degrees of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite. In the Netherlands a governing body for this Rite was established in 1803: the Order of Freemasons under the Grand Chapter of the Higher Degrees.
Rituaal: Dutch term for the (written or printed) text in which a ritual is formulated.
Ritual: whole of ceremonial acts and texts which are performed and spoken during a specific masonic meeting.
Ritual manual: publication, which described the rituals (including the catechism) of various masonic degrees. Often also illustrating the tracing boards and/or regalia for these degrees.

Ritueel: Dutch term for Ritual.
Ritus: Dutch term for Rite.
River: a river with skulls drifting in the water is a symbol for the degree of Chevalier dÓrient (et de l'Epée), as reference to the battle on the bridge over the river Starburzanai.
Red degrees: in the 18th century the colour red was associated with both the *Écossois* and the *Rose Croix* degrees.
***Rendre la Liberté aux Captifs*:** motto of the degree of Chevalier d'Orient (et de l'Epée), meaning 'give the prisoners their liberty'.
Rose: flower symbol used in both the Adoption and Rose Croix degrees.
Rose Croix: In the 18th century the so-called higher degrees developed in France, including the degree of *Souverain Prince Rose Croix* (Sovereign Prince of the Rose Cross). The symbolism of this degree concerns the suffering of Christ and therefore has an explicit Christian character. This degree was included in the *Rite Moderne* as the 7th order and in the *Scottish Rite* as the 18th degree. In the Dutch Rite it was included as the 7th degree of *Souverein Prins van het Rozekruis*.
Royal Arch: from the 18th century French degree of *Écossois* or Scots Master developed a British group of degrees with similar symbolism. The rituals of this degree cover the events in the vaults under the Temple, and include the finding of the unspeakable name. These degrees were incorporated in the Scottish Rite as *Grand Maître Architect*, *Royale Arche* and *Grand Écossais* (12th-14th degrees).
Saint John('s Day): the biblical figures of St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist play an important role in freemasonry. The longest and the shortest day of the year are celebrated (by approximation) in summer and winter, at which occasion these 'patron saints' are honoured in the celebration of St. John('s Day).
Sash: a band of cloth worn diagonally across the body, of which the colour and/or embroidery are distinguishing for a function, degree or lodge. Sometimes combined with a function, degree or lodge jewel.
Schietlood: Dutch term for Plumb Line.
Schootsvel: Dutch term for Apron.
Schots Meester: Dutch term for the Scots Master.
Scots Master: in the course of the 18th century the so-called higher degrees developed in France, including the degree of *Écossois* or Scots Master. A recurring theme in the myths relating to this degree is the finding of the unspeakable name and the discovery of the golden triangle with the *tetragrammaton* in the (ruin of the) Temple. This degree was introduced into the *Rite Moderne* as the 6th order. The Dutch Rite incorporated it as a 5th degree, split up in *Schots Leerling, Schots Gezel* and *Groot Schots Meester of Ridder van St. Andries* (Scots Apprentice, Scots Fellow and Grand Scots Master or Knight of St. Andreas). The British Royal Arch degrees also shared elements with the French Écossois degrees.
Secretary: lodge fficer, whose duty is sending out invitations to lodge members for meetings, keeping the minutes of lodge meetings, overseeing correspondence with third parties and taking care of the lodge archive. His function jewel consists of crossed quills.
Senior Warden: lodge officer, responsible for the Fellows in the lodge. His jewel is a level.
Set Square: tool used to measure a right angle (90 degrees). Within freemasonry this tool is the function jewel of the Venerable Master. (Not to be confused with a square: a geometrical shape.)
Snake: see Ouroboros.
Solomon: commissioner of the building of the temple and an important figure in masonic myth. Based on the biblical figure of King Solomon.
Souverain Prince Rose Croix: see Rose Croix degree.
S.P.R.C.: abbreviation of the title of *Souverain Prince Rose Croix*, see Rose Croix degree.
Square: see Set Square.
Star: a (five-pointed, blazing) star with the letter 'G' is a symbol of the Fellow of the Craft degree. The letter 'G' stands for 'Glory', 'Grandeur' or 'Geometry'.
Steward: British lodge officer whose function is not comparable exactly to that of an officer in Dutch freemasonry. His function is best compared to that of the *Hofmeester* and *Keldermeester*, responsible for overseeing the food and drinks at the Table Lodge, which normally closes each lodge meeting.
Supreme Architect of the Universe: although freemasonry is not a religion, it refers to the concept of a Supreme Architect of the Universe. Members are free to interpret this term according to their own religious background as God, or as a divine or creative concept.
Suprême Conseil par le Royaume des Pays Bas: governing body of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite for the Netherlands, founded in 1817.
Sword bearer: lodge officer, whose task is carrying the sword of the lodge on solemn occasions. This sword is a sign of the sovereignty of the lodge.
Symbolic degrees: term for the three basic degrees of Apprentice, Fellow of the Craft (or Fellow-Craft) and Master.
Tableau: French term for Tracing Board, also used in Dutch.

Table Lodge: The closing meal after a lodge meeting. The communal meal is a formal part of the masonic ritual, but of course also has a social function. After the meal, it is not uncommon to proceed with informal social drinks.
Tablier: French term for Apron.
Tafelloge: Dutch term for Table Lodge.
Tears: mourning symbol, used in the Master and *Élu* degrees.
Tekenplank: in masonic symbolism the tool on which the building plan for the Temple is drawn, is the tracing or drawing board. In Dutch, this is also a term used for a masonic letter.
Tempel: Dutch term for Temple.
Temple: name for the workplace in which a lodge has (ritual) meetings, as well as the building in which this space is located. The masonic temple is based on the biblical Temple of Solomon. Its symbolical building, destruction and rebuilding play an important part in the masonic ritual. The symbolical labour of a freemason is working the rough stone until it is a perfect cube, suitable for the building of the Temple of Solomon, which is often interpreted as each man becoming a suitable building block for the temple of humanity.
Terrible: lodge officer, whose duty is preparing the candidate for, and supporting him during, his initiation. He represents death, coming to fetch the candidate who is about to be reborn as a freemason. His function jewel is an hourglass. During the 18th and 19th centuries, the function of the *Terrible* was often combined with that of the Tyler.
Tetragrammaton: the Hebrew letters 'JHWH', which form the unspeakable name of God: Yahweh or Jehova.
Three Lights: three candlesticks with candles placed around the tracing board, representing Wisdom, Strength and Beauty.
Tools: the symbolism of freemasonry is borrowed from the building trade. The tools of the stonemason, such as the compasses, set square, plumb line, level, hammer and rule, as well as their practical use, have a symbolical meaning.
Tower: a tower with the letters 'HSO' is a symbol for the *Élu* degree, referring to the punishment of Hiram's murderers.
Tracing Board: A representation of the essential symbols of a particular masonic degree, placed in the middle of the lodge and forming the centre of actions during the ritual. It refers to the building tool of the Master, a drawing board on which the design for the temple is drawn. In the earliest masonic rituals, the tracing board was drawn by hand on the floor of the lodge during each meeting and wiped out again afterwards. Since the 18th century permanent tracing boards in the shape of a painted wooden panel or floor carpet have been used.
Treasurer: lodge officer, whose duty is overseeing the finances of the lodge. His jewel consists of crossed keys.
Tree: most likely a distorted representation of an acacia sprig, see Acacia.
Tyler: lodge officer, whose duty is guarding the lodge against disruptive influences. He is symbolically armed with a sword and checks each visitor at the entrance of the lodge on his knowledge of secret words and signs for the degree in which the meeting takes place. His function jewel consists of a skull (and crossed swords).
Vaincre ou mourir: motto of the *Élu* degrees, meaning 'conquer or die'.
Venerable Master: chairman of a local lodge, who has both administrative and ritual responsibilities. His function jewel is a set square or a radiant sun.
Visitor: once a member of a Masonic Order, a freemason is welcome as a visitor in each lodge, worldwide, which is affiliated to that particular Order.
Voorbereider: Dutch term for Preparer.
Voorportaal: Dutch term for Ante-Chamber.
Voorzittend Meester: Dutch term for Venerable Master.
Wijsheid, Kracht en Schoonheid: Dutch terms for Wisdom, Strength and Beauty.
W.K.S.: Dutch abbreviation for *Wijsheid, Kracht en Schoonheid*, meaning Wisdom, Strength and Beauty.
Workplace: space in which lodge meetings are held. See also Lodge.
Worshipful Master: see Venerable Master.
Year of (the True) Light: the Dutch masonic calendar counts from building of the Temple of Solomon, while the masonic year starts on 1 March. Therefore the masonic calendar differs 4.000 year and 2 months with the Gregorian calendar used in the modern western world. In correspondence and lodge minutes, dates are often written using symbols: + for the day, and * for the month. For example 1+3* 5800 means 1-1-1800. When using the Gregorian calendar, 'P.S.' can be added to note 'profane style'.
Zegelbewaarder: Dutch term for Keeper of the Seal.

APPENDIX II: *MEMBERS OF DUTCH LODGES IN INDIA, CEYLON AND SURROUNDING REGION, 1758-1836*

The following list of 324 members of Dutch lodges was compiled from:

- The archives of Dutch lodges in Southeast Asia, including membership and visitor administration, lodge minutes, administration of paid contributions and membership certificates.[1] The names of masons of other nationalities, who were listed as members or visitors, have been included. In some cases names were added on the basis of signatures under certificates or correspondence.
- The membership lists which lodges in Asia were required to send annually to the Grand Lodge of the Netherlands (but were received irregularly).
- The CMC membership card register, which includes members of Dutch lodges before 1800. These data are incomplete, which allows for omissions.

The records above have been cross-referenced with previous studies of lodge membership records[2] and VOC employees[3], as well as the database of VOC *monsterrollen* (employee enrollment lists) hosted by the National Archive[4] and various editions of the 18th century *Naam-boekje van de wel ed. heeren der hooge Indiasche regeeringe, Journal of the Dutch Burger Union* and *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British and Foreign India, China and Australasia*. This allowed for the positive (and in some cases probable) identification of men only listed with initials or a surname in masonic records. The Dutch settlements in the region were small, making mistaken identities unlikely. Where the information from lodge records and literature gave contradictory names or dates on the same person or event, the data stated in the original documents from the lodge archives were considered conclusive. Footnotes provide references only to sources which have not been mentioned above.

Although substantial archives of the lodges in the Dutch East Indies survided, very little material remains on the lodges in India, Ceylon, China and Japan. The incomplete membership records for these areas only reveal a fragment of the actual number of Dutch freemasons that must have been active in this region. By comparing VOC employee records with the CMC membership card register, it was possible to identify some additional names of men initiated in the Netherlands before they travelled to Asia and are therefore potential visitors. But again numbers should be estimated higher, because some men were not initiated in the Netherlands, but elsewhere before they traveled East. If the name of a person is not listed in the list of names below, this does not provide proof that he was not a member or visitor of a Dutch lodge in Asia in the given time frame, just that his name was not recorded in the few surviving archives.

As was made clear in the previous chapters, political conflicts rarely influenced the contact between masons of different nationalities, which allowed for friendly contacts to continue during times of war or occupation. There were British, French and Scandinavian lodges in Asia, which would welcome travelling Dutch freemasons. Future research of the membership and visitors records of these lodges will no doubt reveal additional Dutch names, to be added to this list.

For each person, the following information is provided (if available):

- Name (place and date of birth/date and place of death), occupation and travels;
    - degree(s) and date(s) of initiation and/or officer's function(s), name(s) of the lodge(s).

Some functions aboard VOC ships proved difficult to translate and are given in Italics.[5]
Dates are given as 1-1-1800 (day-month-year), with '< 1800' meaning 'before 1800' and '> 1800' meaning 'after 1800'.

- Töger ***Abo*** (from Copenhagen 1747 / died 1809), travelled 2-1-1776 as mate on the ship Tempel to Bengal, arrival 25-10-1776; repatriated on the same ship; travelled 29-12-1777 as first mate on the ship Bovenkerker Polder to Bengal, arrival 20-08-1778; repatriated 1779 on the same ship; travelled 28-10-1780 as captain of the ship Hof ter Linden to Batavia, arrival 31-05-1781; repatriated 1786 with the ship Voorschoten;
  - Member lodge De Opregtheid < 13-9-1775.[6]
- G[eorge] A[uguste dossit] ***d'Alban*** (from Bengal), travelled 31-3-1791 as lieutenant on the ship Zeeland, arrival Batavia 20-3-1792, last registered in Asia 28-2-1797;
  - Apprentice/Fellow-Craft/Master in Ceylon < 1801, member lodge Astre de l'Orient in Vlissingen 19-12-1801.[7]
- Carl Ludwig Baron von ***Albedyhl*** (born 1756 / died 1804), secretary of police and justice in Gale, junior Merchant and warehouse master in Surat;
  - *Maître Parfait Anglois* lodge De Opregtheid 31-11-1788, 1789, 1791.[8]
- Willem Hendrik ***Andre[e]*** (born ca. 1764 / died 1822), Magistrate at Gangebadde and Talpe Patto;
  - *Maître Parfait Maçon* lodge De Opregtheid 1800 > < 1804, *Écossois*/Steward (Hofmeester) 11-8-1804.
- Petrus ***Andriessen*** [probably:] (from Antwerp, died 4-9-1784 Asia), travelled as soldier on 1-2-1765 on the ship Vlietlust to Ceylon, arrival 4-7-1765;
  - Fellow-Craft/Servant lodge De Opregtheid 30-1-1774.
- Olke [Hendrik] ***Andringa*** (bapt. Kuinre 26-12-1741 / died 31-7-1812 Colombo), travelled 30-4-1759 as third mate on the ship d'Immagonda to Batavia, arrival 13-11-1759, repatriated 17-1-1760 on the same ship, arrival Texel 18-8 1760[9]; travelled 14-6-1762 as third mate on the ship Enkhuizen to Batavia, arrival 2-3-1763, repatriated 26-10 1766 on the same ship, arrival Texel 8-5-1767; travelled 1-12-1765 as first mate on the ship Vrouwe Petronella to Batavia, arrival 21-6-1766, the ship perished dismissed to Bengal near the Ganges 11-1-1768, travelled 25-5-1770 as first mate on the ship Duivenbrug to Batavia, arrival 12-1-1771, repatriated 20-5-1771 on the same ship, arrival Texel 7-6-1772; travelled 2-7-1773 as captain on the ship Lam to Batavia, arrival 28-3-1774, repatriated 20-1-1775 from Bengal, arrival Texel 3-6-1775; travelled 23-8-1776 as captain on the ship Hoogkarspel to Batavia, arrival 7-4-1777, repatriated 24-1-1778 from Bengal, arrival on Texel 13-7-1778; travelled on the same ship 24-8-1779 to Batavia, arrival 3-5-1780; leaves ca. 1783 to Europe; equipment master in Colombo 26-3-1784, captain at sea 5-4-1785[10]; 3-9-1795 dismissed from service with frozen wages and bonuses[11];
  - Parting Secretary lodge De lodge De Standvastigheid 27-12-1774, mail courier from lodge Salomon to Grand Lodge 1775, representative of lodge Salomon at the Grand Lodge 10-1-1775, visitor lodge Salomon 1777[12]; Master lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia 1781-1782 'absent'.[13]
- Johan Gerard ***van Angelbeek*** (born Wittmund[14], Ostfriesland 12-9-1727 / died 2-9-1799 Colombo), travelled on 12-4-1761 as soldier on the ship Schakenbos to Batavia, arrival 18-10-1751; travelled in 1754 as civilian to the Dutch East Indies; sollicitor in Batavia 10-9-1754; repatriated 1755; travelled as junior merchant in 1756 on the ship Spaenderswout to the Dutch East Indies, without employment in Batavia, *weesmeester* (civil servant dealing with legates) 1-3-1757 until 3-6-1760; cashier and secretary of police in Bengal 14-8-1760, merchant 8-7-1763; fiscal in Colombo 10-4-1764, secretary 5-6-1764, senior merchant 4-6-1765; head in Tutucorijn (Coromandel Coast) 1767, as such confirmed 21-6-1770; commandeur of Malabar 15-9-1780; Extraordinary Council of the Dutch East Indies 8-12-1781, Council of the Dutch East Indies 1787; governor of Ceylon I-8-1794 until 15-2-1796;
  - Founder lodge De Vereeniging 1794.
- ***Appengh***, see Appingh.
- Jan ***Appingh*** (born Groningen, from Haaren / died 2-6-1779 Negapatnam), travelled as junior merchant 18-10-1750 on the ship Slot van Kapelle to Batavia, arrival 4-6-1751; for employment to Coromandel 27-7-1751; Head of Bimlipatam 18-6-1756 until 14-8-1758; awaiting employment 13-7-1762 to Coromandel; dispencer in Negapatnam 14-3-1771; bookkeeper ca. 1773, member of Police 1774;
  - Junior Warden and Orat lodge De Langgewenschte ca. 1773, Treasurer 9-11-1773, Master 12-3-1774, Master 11-1-1776, Master 15-10-1778.
- ***Armen*, see von Arnim.**
- John ***Armitage*** (born Failsworth 1807 / died 1868 Manchester), author of *The History of Brazil…* (1836), in Ceylon from 1836, merchant at Armitage, Scott & Co; chairman Chamber of Commerce in Colombo, later Magistrate; director Bank of Ceylon; repatriated to England in 1855;
  - *Chevalier d'Orient* lodge Escudo Brasilense in Rio de Janeiro < 2-1838; Member St. John's Lodge of Colombo 21-2-1838, Worshipful Master 1840-1841.
- ***Arnem***, see von Arnim.

- Hans Carel [Baron] ***von Arnim*** (from Berlin / died 19-12-1773 Hoogly); travelled 25-2-1764 as lieutenant on the ship Oudkarspel to Batavia, arrival 1-9-1764, travelled onwards as captain-lieutenant to Bengal; captain 13-6-1765, junior merchant ?-6-1767, ordinary commissioner in Hoogly 18-5-1769, overseer of buildings 3-7-1770;
    - Master lodge Salomon 11-1-1772, 10-1-1773.
- C[harles] [Chaston] ***Assey*** (born England? ca. 1780 / died 1821 Calcutta), surgeon, Secretary for the English government in Batavia, left for Bengal 1814**;** author of *On the Trade to China, and the Indian Archipelago: With Observations on the Insecurity of the British Interests in that Quarter* (1819);
    - Master lodge La Constante et Fidèle in Semarang 24-4-1812 until 27-12-1813; Honorary member 24-4-1814; member lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia 1814; visitor English Provincial Grand Lodge in Bengal 1814.[15]
- Friderich ***Axen*** (from Embden), travelled 28-02-1789 as a junior sailor on the ship Trinconomale to Ceylon, Arrival 09-09-1789, last registered 31-08-1794[16];
    - *Maître Parfait Maçon* lodge De Opregtheid 1800 > < 1804, *Écossois* / Sword bearer 11-8-1804; [probably] member of lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia 1817.[17]
- ***Baerendsz***, see Ma[a]gen.
- Pieter ***Balans***, [probably] (from Delft / died 22-7-1777 in Asia), travelled on 26-10-1753 as *hooploper* (low ranking sailor) on the ship Erfprins to Batavia, arrival 20-5-1754, repatriated in 1757 on the ship Batavier; travelled on 24-4-1760 as *botteliersmaat* (assistant of the distributer of food and drink) on the ship Gouverneur Generaal to Batavia, arrival 19-10-1760, repatriated in 1761 on the ship Sloten; travelled on 5-4-1762 as *botteliersmaat* on the ship Bleiswijk to Batavia, arrival 26-9-1762, repatriated in 1763 on the ship Hoop; travelled on 8-5-1764 as third mate on the ship Kattendijke to Batavia, arrival 31-12-1764; repatriated in 1765 on the ship Westfriesland; travelled on 1-10-1766 as third mate on the ship Vrouwe Anthoinetta Coenrardina to Batavia, arrival 15-4-1767, repatriated in 1768 on the ship Ruiteveld; travelled on 8-4-1769 as third mate on the ship Lekkerlust to Batavia, arrival 28-4-1770; repatriated in 1770 on the ship Huis te Bijweg; travelled on 2-4-1771 as first mate on the ship Vreeburg to Batavia, arrival 26-10-1771, repatriated in 1775 on the ship 't Lam; travelled on 5-7-1776 as first mate on the ship Vrouwe Anthoinetta Coenrardina to Batavia, arrival 9-4-1777;
    - Mail courier from lodge Salomon to Dutch Grand Lodge; Apprentice/Fellow-Craft lodge Salomon < 1775.[18]
- Johannes ***Bartholomeusz***, translator Dutch in the second division of the Fiscal office 1814, first clerk at the Registrar's Office 1823[19];
    - Member lodge De Vereeniging 5-12-1816, Orator 1822, Secretary/*Souverain Prince Rose Croix* 18-1-1825.[20]
- Jan Hendr[ik] ***Beckerman***;
    - Secretary lodge De Vereeniging 30-4-1794, 1798.[21]
- Pieter Wilhelm ***Behm*** (from Osnabrück), travelled 29-12-1773 as soldier on the ship Veldhoen to Ceylon, arrival 11-7-1774; lieutenant in the Second Batallion of Malayans in the Company of captain Talip[22]; ensign; left VOC service in Asia 31-8-1794;
    - *Maître Parfait Maçon* lodge De Opregtheid 31-11-1788, Secretary/Steward (*Hofmeester*)/*Petit Architecte* 31-11-1789, *Grand Architecte*/Senior Warden 28-11-1790.
- Jacob ***Beijster*** (born Malacca), bookkeeper;
    - Master lodge De Langgewenschte 11-1-1776.
- Adrianus ***van de Berg[h]*** [Jr] (from Dordrecht / died 5-5-1783 Galle), travelled as captain-lieutenant 20-12-1767 on the ship Velsen to Ceylon, arrival 14-6-1768; without employment 1768; *sabandhaar* in Galle 1769, customs officer 1771, without employment 1772, junior merchant (1772) and second warehouse master;
    - Master lodge De Getrouwigheid 1770 'in Gale', Master 27-1-1772; Founder/Terrible lodge De Opregtheid 1771, Terrible 12-2-1771, Junior Warden 7-2-1772, Senior Warden 30-1-1774.
- Joseph[us] ***van den Berg***, [probably:] (from Workan), travelled 25-5-1791 as soldier in the Regiment Württemberg on the ship Vrouwe Anthoinetta Koenrardina to Batavia, arrival 13-4-1792;
    - Servant lodge De Opregtheid 11-8-1804.
- Bernhard Hendrik ***van Bergheim*** (from Straatsburg / died 6-12-1789 Colombo), travelled 13-8-1755 as corporal on the ship d'Hof Uno to Batavia, arrival 18-6-1756; *Geautoriseerde* (authorised) in Matura 1760; bookkeeper and sworn clerk at the Secretary of Police in Colombo 1764, secretary of the *Landraad* (judicial body) 1766;
    - Secretary/Treasurer lodge De Getrouwigheid 1770, Secretary/Treasurer 27-1-1772.
- Bernhard Hendrik ***von Bergheim*** (died 1778), bookkeeper [possibly the same or a relation of the former, different date of death];
    - *Élu* lodge De Opregtheid 1778.
- Bernhard Johan ***von Bergheim***, assistant *oppermeester* (medical officer);
    - Apprentice lodge De Opregtheid 31-11-1788 and 1789;

- Frans Lodewijk ***Bergman***, (from Amsterdam), travelled 1-10-1766 as Second Master on the ship Ganzenhoef to Batavia, arrival 21-3-1767; repatriated on the ship Leimuiden in 1769;
    - Member lodge De Resolutie in Amsterdam in 1765[23]; Founder lodge De Getrouwigheid 1768.[24]
- Nicolaas ***Bergmans***, state printer 1815-1830;
    - Member Lodge no. 62 of the 8th Regiment of Foot (Irish Constitution).
- Johan[n] Godlieb ***Beutenmuller*** (from Ludwigsburg), travelled 3-8-1789 as corporal in the Regiment Wurttemberg on the ship Hof ter Linden to Batavia;
    - Past Senior Warden/Souverain Prince Rose Croix lodge De Opregtheid 11-8-1804; Past Master/ Honorary member lodge La Constante et Fidèle 24-4-1810.
- [N.N.] ***Black***;
    - Member Union Lodge 24-8-1835.
- [N.N.] ***Blain des Cormiers***, probably a captain or officer of a French ship from Île de France[25];
    - *Grand Élu* lodge St. Jean de la Concorde 1-1-1774, Founder 11-9-1775 and 1-11-1775.
- Pierre ***le Blanc[q]*** (from 'Cartenuwier'), in 1767 as sailor in service of the VOC; captain-lieutenant in Galle 1767; captain 1771, in Colombo; released from service to the Netherlands 1774;
    - Apprentice/Fellow-Craft lodge De Opregtheid on 12-2-1771, Master 24-6-1771.
- David ***Blume***, military lieutenant;
    - *Élu* lodge De Opregtheid 31-11-1788 'to Trinconomalee'.
- Johan Carel Lodewijk ***Blume*** (born ca. 1727-1728 / died 11-7-1797 Chinsurah), registered as freeburger in Bengal 1774; set up indigo plantations in 1778-1779; junior merchant without employment in Hoogly 1786; freeburger in Bengal (1787), registered as junior merchant and permanent sorter of *lijnwaad* (= textiles) 1788-1792; *Calcutta Gazette* 21-3-1799 registered his house being sold after his death on 30-3-1799; the 'Indigo Works' named 'Khoosie Gunge' belonged to his estate[26];
    - Member lodge Salomon 30-12-1777.
- Anthony ***Bogaard[t]*** (bapt. Den Haag 25-12-1740 / died 19-9-1788 Hoogly), travelled 30-12-1757 as *hooploper* (low ranking sailor) on the ship Osdorp to Bengal, arrival 30-8-1758; bookkeeper and second commisioner in Bengal 29-6-1766, junior merchant 16-6- 1767, trade office bookkeeper 3-7-1770; as merchant and trade office bookkeeper in Hoogly confirmed by letter from patria 18-10-1771; dispencer and *factuurhouder* in Hoogly 23-6-1775; British prisoner of war 3-7-1781; head administrator proposed as senior merchant 23 -7-1784; senior merchant and administrator 20-7-1787;
    - Fellow-Craft lodge Salomon 31-10-1770, Master lodge Salomon 11-1-1772; Founder lodge De Standvastigheid 27-12-1772, Cashier 31-12-1772, Senior Warden 10-1-1773 and January 1774.[27]
- Mattheus [de Riveaux] ***de Boissemoin*** (from 'Geernies'), in 1766 as soldier in service of the VOC, lieutenant in the fusilliers 1766, captain 1784; registered in Colombo 3-1789; repatriated 1790;
    - Junior Warden lodge De Getrouwigheid 1770, Junior Warden 27-1-1772.
- C.A.E. ***Boone***;
    - Member lodge De Vereeniging 1806.[28]
- Jacobus ***de Bordes*** (bapt. Amsterdam 13-4-1743 / died > 12-1780 Colombo), travelled 29-12-1765 as junior merchant on the ship Huis Om to Ceylon, arrival 20-6-1766; *soldijoverdrager* (transporter of wages) in Colombo 18-4-1769, junior merchant and *soldijoverdrager* 1770; merchant, trade office bookkeeper and first warehouse master 5-4-1771, sabandaar (= harbour master) and *ontvanger der domeinen* in Colombo 8-4-1779;
    - Senior Warden lodge De Getrouwigheid 1770, Senior Warden 27-1-1772.
- Louis Rene ***des Bordes*** [de Jouy] (from Strasbourg), lieutenant in the Regiment De Meuron 1-6-1781, captain lieutenant 1-6-1787, participated at the defence of Fort Ostembourg at Trinconomale August 1795, retired in Arnee 1-1-1800;
    - Founder/Master lodge La Réunion Neuchatelloise 16-5-1790.
- Mattheus [Matthijs] ***Bosman*** (bapt. Amsterdam 22-12-1745 / died 28-2-1789 The Cape); travelled 18-12-1764 as *bosschieter* (responsible for the artillery) on the ship Overnes to Ceylon, arrival 4-7-1765; repatriated 30-1-1765 on the ship Jerusalem, arrival 31-8-1765; travelled 16-10-1766 as sailor on the ship Westfriesland to Batavia, arrival 26-6-1767; repatriated 22-10-1767 on the same ship, arrival 15-4-1768; travelled 13-11-1768 as third mate on the ship Pallas to Batavia, arrival 7-8-1769; repatriated 13-2-1770 on the ship Velsen, arrival 2-8-1770; travelled 8-6-1771 as third mate on the ship Bleijenburg to Batavia, arrival 4-2-1772; first mate, became captain 20-7-1781, captain at sea 13-6-1782; repatriated 27-11-1786 as captain on the ship Diamant, arrival in Rammekens 27-6-1787; travelled 11-9-1787 as captain of the ship De Schelde to Batavia, arrival 2-6-1788;
    - Apprentice or Fellow-Craft lodge De Standvastigheid 27-12-1774; Master lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia 7-11-1785.[29]

- Simon ***Both*** (from Enkhuizen / buried 13-2-1776 Batavia); cadet, became provisional lieutenant at sea 4-1-1752, absolute lieutenant at sea 9-7-1754; travelled as first mate 12-1-1758 on the ship Vrouwe Petronella Maria to the Dutch East Indies, took over command when captain Reinier Jan Elsevier died shortly after 12-4-1759, arrival in Batavia 29-6-1759; repatriated 1760; travelled 11-10-1761 as captain on the ship Ouderamstel to Ceylon, arrival 5-6-1762, from there to Batavia; repatriated 2-11-1763 on the same ship, arrival on Texel 11-5-1764; travelled 8-10-1764 as captain on the ship Noord-Beveland to Batavia, arrival 2-5-1765, from there to China; repatriated 5-1-1766 on the same ship, arrival on Texel 15-7-1766; travelled 2-12-1767 as captain on the ship 's Lands Welvaren to Bengal, arrival 1-8-1768; repatriated 29-1-1770 on the same ship to the Netherlands, arrival on Texel 21-8-1770; travelled 31-12-1771 as captain on the ship Huis ter Meijen to Batavia, arrival 5-9-1772;
    - Apprentice or Fellow-Craft lodge De Standvastigheid 31-12-1773, Apprentice or Fellow-Craft 1774.
- Cezar ***Boucher*** (born Ceylon), French jeweller[30];
    - Architect lodge De Opregtheid 30-1-1774.
- Cornelis [Gerritsz] ***van Brattem*** [probably] (bapt. Rotterdam 16-1-1732 / died 24-1-1784), travelled as third mate on 23-10-1756 on the ship Rotterdam to Batavia, arrival 19-5-1756, repatriated 1758 on the ship Keukenhof; travelled as junior mate on 9-4-1759 on the ship Vredestein to Batavia, arrival 26-9-1759; repatriated in 1760 on the ship Hoop; travelled as junior mate on 27-5-1761 on the ship Vrouwe Elisabeth, arrival 27-11-1761, repatriated in 1762 on the ship Luxemburg; travelled as first mate op 15-6-1763 on the ship Huis ter Donk, arrival 11-12-1763, repatriated in 1764 on the ship Leimuiden; travelled as captain on 10-6-1767 on the ship Bleiswijk, repatriated in 1769; on the ship Vlissingen; travelled as captain op 10-2-1768 the ship De Erfprins;
    - Courier of correspondence between Dutch Grand Lodge and lodge De Getrouwigheid 1769; [probably] Fellow-Craft lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia 26-10-1773, Master 26-10-1774.
- Pieter ***Br[e]uijs*** (bapt. Den Haag 8-11-1730 / died 23-8-1783 Bengal), travelled 28-12-1752 as assistant on the Ship Getrouwigheid to Batavia, arrival 21-6-1753; junior merchant in Bengal 7-3-1754; merchant and *Secunde* in Cassimbazar 1770, *pakhuismeester* 23-6-1775; head administrator in Hoogly proposed as senior merchant 20-6-1776, confirmed as such 17-10-1777; unshipped 3-7-1781;[31];
    - Member lodge Salomon 2-1764 'in Cassembazaar' and 10-1-1768, Master 31-10-1770, Grand Master Passé [= Past Provincial Grand Master] 11-1-1772, 10-1-1773, Deputy Provincial Grand Master 30-12-1777.
- [Christian] Frederi[c]k ***Brix*** [Briks], sollicitor and council at the Supreme Court of Justice in Calcutta 1779;
    - Master lodge Salomon 31-10-1770, Master lodge De Standvastigheid 27-12-1774.
- L.J. ***Broberg***;
    - Architect lodge De Vereeniging 14-4-1798.[32]
- Johannes Abraham ***Bronsveld*** (born Colombo), first sworn clerk of police and Secretary of Justice in Negapatnam 1776, *Resident* in Portonovo 1776;
    - Secretary lodge De Langgewenschte 18-9-1774 and 12-10-1774, Secretary 11-1-1775, Secretary/Orator 11-1-1776, Secretary 15-10-1777, Junior Warden 15-10-1778.
- Broerius [Brouwerius] ***Brouwer*** (bapt. Leeuwarden 17-7-1745 / died 30-12-1791), travelled as assistant 21-9-1767 on the ship Schagen to Batavia, arrival 6-5-1768; bookkeeper, provisional bookkeeper of wages and secretary of the *weeskamer* (legate office) in Negapatnam 12-1770, confirmed as such 26-5-1780; Member of Justice 1774; secretary of police and cashier in Palliacatta 14-3-1786, fiscal 20-5-1788;
    - Warden lodge De Langgewenschte 9-11-1773, Senior Warden 18-9-1774 and 12-10-1774, Master 11-1-1776 and 15-10-1778; member lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia 1770[33], Fellow-Craft 24-10-1770.
- Joh[an]n George ***Bruckner*** [probably:] (from Rodach), travelled 24-5-1792 as soldier on the ship Hilversbeek to Ceylon, arrival 8-12-1792; last registered 31-8-1794 in Asia;
    - *Maître Parfait Maçon* lodge De Opregtheid ?-10-1800 > < 11-8-1804, *Chevalier d'Orient*/Secretary 11-8-1804.
- Laurens ***Buijs*** (from Middelharnis / died 3-12-1779), travels 2-9-1750 as junior sailor on the ship Standvastigheid to Batavia, arrival 18-5-1751; repatriated 30-10-1755 with the ship Standwijk, arrival 26-7-1756; travelled 7-12-1756 as sailor on the ship Bronswijk to Bengal, arrival 15-9-1757; repatriated 4-1-1763 on the ship Vrouwe Petronella Maria, arrival 3-7-1763; travelled 17-12-1763 as third mate on the ship Liefde to Ceylon, arrival 5-8-1764; repatriated 1-2-1765 on the ship Luxemburg, arrival 7-7-1765; travelled 13-12-1768 as first mate on the ship Vrouwe Geertruida to Ceylon, arrival 7-8-1769;
    - Apprentice lodge De Getrouwigheid 1770 'travelling', Apprentice 27-1-1772.
- ***Bullot***, see De Meuron.

- E[i/y]lert/Egbert ***Bus[s]ing*** (from the county Oldenburg / died 1784 Galle), travelled as *bottelier* (distributer of food and drink) 6-12-1759 on the ship Sparenrijk to Batavia, arrival 19-7-1760; dispencer in Colombo 1765; bookkeeper and *soldijoverdrager* (transporter of wages) in Calpetty 1768, dispencer in Galle 1775;
    - Apprentice/Fellow-Craft lodge De Opregtheid as well as provisional Secretary/Treasurer 12-2-1771, Master 24-6-1771, Secretary/Treasurer 7-2-1772, Secretary 1773, Treasurer 30-1-1774, Member Chapter 1783.
- Johannes ***Camp*** (from Amsterdam, born 1779), arrival in Colombo 1779, in 1793 in government service as assistant at the *Pen* and clerk in several offices;
    - Member lodge De Vereeniging 5-12-1816[34], Secretary/*Souverain Prince Rose Croix* 1822, 18-1-1825[35], *Souverain Prince Rose Croix* 3-8-1836.[36]
- Colin George Lynd ***Campbell***, clerk 1838, deputy assistant superintendant of stores 1867; Ordinance 1770;
    - Master Union Lodge < ?-2-1838, Member St. John's Lodge of Colombo 21-2-1838.
- [N.N.] ***De Cary*** ;
    - *Grand Élu* lodge St. Jean de la Concorde 1-1-1774, Founder 11-9-1775 and 1-11-1775.
- Paul Gib[b]o[u/n] ***Castel*** (from Zeedam / died 25-12-1773 Bengal), travelled 5-12-1759 as sergeant on the ship Huis te Manpad to Bengal, arrival 9-1-1761; ensign 21-7-1761;
    - Member lodge Salomon ?-2-1764, Master 1768, Arch. 31-10-1770.
- Cornelis ***van Citters*** Aernoutszoon (bapt. Middelburg 1-11-1749 / died 9-7-1798 Middelburg[37]), third mate 1766, junior merchant 1767; travelled 20-9-1768 as junior merchant on the ship Willem de Vijfde to Batavia, arrival 7-5-1768; awaiting employ sent to Soeratte 1-7-1768, secretary of police 3-7-1769; *factoor* in Brootchia 19-7-1770; warehouse master in Soeratte 21-7-1774; member of *Bataviaasch Genootschap voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen*; merchant and *opperhoofd* (Chief) of Patna 23-7-1784; *opperhoofd* in Cassimbazar and Patna, as senior merchant confirmed 5-5-1791; governor of Bengal 24-5-1791 until 27-7-1795; unshipped 31-7-1795; repatriated 1796;
    - Apprentice lodge La Philantrope in Middelburg 24-2-1771, Hnorary Member January 1774; *Élu des Neuf* lodge St. Jean de la Concorde 1774, Founder 11-9-1775 and 1-11-1775, Worshipful Master 7-4-1777[38], and 1780-1783.
- ***Co[c]q***, see Ro[o]semal[e].
- Franciscus ***Colvenbach*** [probably:], travelled 07-07-1782 as a soldier on the ship Voorberg to Ceylon, arrival 03-08-1783; released from VOC-service 28-02-1789[39]; civilian;
    - Fellow-Craft Servant lodge De Opregtheid 31-11-1788-89.
- ***De la Combe***, see Migot.
- Charles Frederick baron ***van Conrady*** [Schneider] (bapt. 3-9-1775 / died 11-1-1833 Hulfstdorp), commissioned In 60th regiment, lieutenant Ceylon Rifles Regiment 20-3-1806;
    - *Souverain Prince Rose Croix* lodge De Vereeniging < 1822.
- Jan Jacob ***Coquart*** (from Straatsburg / died 1786), travelled as corporal 1755 on the ship Formeel to the Dutch East Indies; major in the Grenadiers in Colombo 1767, head of the militia 1771;
    - Founder/Senior Warden lodge De Opregtheid 1771, Worshipful Master 7-2-1771.
- ***Des Cormiers***, see Blain.
- Jan ***[C/K]raaij*** [probably] (from Amsterdam / died 1-5-1795 in Asia), travelled 6-1-1779 as junior mate on the ship Vrouwe Johanna Margaretha to Batavia, arrival 1-7-1779, repatriated 1780; travelled 10-10-1784 as captain of the ship Hoop to Batavia, arrival 24-4-1785; travelled 18-12-1785 as captain of the ship Stralen to Bengal, arrival 5-9-1786; repatriated from Java 1789; travelled 23-11-1789 as captain of the ship Gouverneur-Generaal Maatsuijker to Batavia, arrival 23-7-1790; 1792 captain on the ship Casteschip;
    - Member of lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia 1785; Courier of funds from lodge La Vertueuse to Bengal 1792.
- Lucas ***Cramer*** (from Amsterdam / died 28-2-1780), travelled 6-5-1748 as surgeon on the ship Lekkerland, arrival in Batavia 26-12-1748, from there to Bengal; chief surgeon of the Bengal directors 1762; chief surgeon in Hoogly 1765; registered as former chief surgeon 10-6-1779;
    - Initiation as Apprentice lodge Salomon 7-4-1758, *Stokkendrager* [8-1-1759, Cashier 2-1764, 10-1-1768, Member 8-11-1768.
- [N.N.] ***Creuset***;
    - Founder lodge Salomon 1758.[40]
- N.N. ***Cruyshallow*** [illegible: Croph[a/o]lens? Cruikshank?];
    - *Petit Architecte*/Warden lodge De Opregtheid 1790, Member 1791.[41]
- Abraham Cornelius ***van Cuijlenburg*** (born Colombo 1790), Proctor S.C.[42];
    - Past Master Union Lodge < ?-2-1838, Member St. John's Lodge of Colombo 21-2-1838.

- Petrus Henricus ***van Cuijlenburg*** (born Colombo 1752)[43];
    - Steward (*Hof- en KelderMeester*) lodge De Vereeniging 30-4-1794, 14-4-1798[44], 5-12-1816.[45]
- [N.N.] ***Dalençon***;
    - Founder lodge Salomon 1758.[46]
- Wilhelm Freiherr ***von Danckelman*** (bapt. Hanau 20-5-1741 / died 1782), travelled 1-10-1768 as junior merchant on the ship Vreeburg to Batavia, arrival 19-7-1769; junior merchant and second administrator in the Westside warehouses in Batavia; warehouse master in Hoogly with the title and rank of merchant 2-7-1771, confirmed as such 1-7-1773; fiscal and dorpmeester Hoogly 22-6-1778, dismissed and permitted to leave to Ceylon 29-6-1781, from there to Bengal 10-7-1781, permission to leave with his bark Ganga 31-7-1781; perished travelling from Bengal to Batavia 1782;
    - Apprentice lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia 1770; Master lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia 18-1-1771; Treasurer lodge Salomon 10-1-1773.
- Frederik ***Dankwaar[d/t]*** [probably:] (from Amsterdam), travelled 6-5-1748 as junior sailor on the ship Eendracht to Ceylon, arrival 22-1-1749; repatriated on the same ship in 1750; travelled 4-12-1750 as quarter master on the ship Diemen to Bengal, arrival 12-9-1751, repatriated on the same ship in 1752; travelled 3-10-1752 as quarter master on the ship De Drie Heuvelen to Batavia, arrival 20-5-1754; repatriated on the ship Baarzande in 1755; travelled 20-5-1756 as third mate on the ship Spanderswoud to Batavia, arrival 19-11-1756;
    - Member lodge De La Paix in Amsterdam 1766-1767[47]; Founder lodge De Getrouwigheid 1768.[48]
- Frans ***Diersen*** (from Hameln), extraordinary lieutenant and later captain-lieutenant of Artillery;
    - *Maître Parfait Maçon* lodge De Opregtheid 31-11-1788 'in Colombo', *Écossois* 31-11-1789; *Souverain Prince Rose Croix* and visitor lodge Constante et Fidèle in Semarang ca. 1808.
- Jan Christoffel ***Dijkvoet***;
    - Fellow-Craft lodge De Opregtheid 30-1-1774.
- Adrianus ***Ding[s]hof[f]*** (bapt. Amsterdam 10-2-1743 / died 16-8-1783 Bengal), travelled 2-2-1756 as boy on the ship Bevalligheid to Bengal, arrival 8-10-1756; bookkeeper in Hoogly (1767); prisoner-of-war 3-7-1781;
    - Master lodge Salomon 11-1-1772 'on Cassembar'; Founder lodge De Standvastigheid 27-12-1772, Steward (*Hofmeester*) 31-12-1772; Provincial Grand Treasurer lodge Salomon 10-1-1775 and 15-11-1777.
- G.L. ***Dosreijn***, prisoner of war;
    - 'Master in the Ancient and Modern Lodges' in Pullicat.[49]
- J.H. ***Douwe***, civil servant at the supreme court registry;
    - Member lodge De Vereeniging 5-12-1816.[50]
- Friedrich Wilhelm ***von Driberg*** (born Hannover 1764 / died 1807 Jaffna), ensign in Galle; travelled 18-1-1790 as military lieutenant on the ship Gouverneur-Generaal Mossel to Ceylon, arrival 21-7-1790; captain commander of the 1st Batallion of Malayians; last registered 31-8-1794; commander of Mullaitivu;
    - *Maître Parfait Maçon*/Sword bearer lodge De Vereeniging 14-4-1798.[51]
- H[a/e]rmanus ***Driesman*** (from Amsterdam / died 1790), travelled 18-11-1770 as *hooploper* (low ranking sailor) On the ship 't Loo to Batavia, arrival 9-6-1771; repatriated on the same ship in 1772; travelled 19-9-1776 as third mate on the ship Jachtrust to the Cape, arrival 21-1-1777; repatriated 1777, out of VOC service to Katwijk aan den Rijn; travelled 29-12-1777 as third mate on the ship Ceres to Ceylon, arrival 27-6-1778; repatriated 1779 on the same ship; travelled 25-12-1772 as *bottelier* (distributer of food and drink) on the ship Oostkapelle to Batavia, arrival 17-7-1773; repatriated on the ship Mars in 1775; travelled 28-10-1780 as junior mate on the ship Hof ter Linden to Batavia, arrival 31-5-1781; repatriated on the ship Rozenburg in 1785; travelled 18-12-1785 as captain of the ship Draak to Ceylon, arrival 22-8-1786; repatriated on the same ship in 1788; travelled 28-2-1789 als captain of the ship Trinconomalee to Ceylon, arrival 9-9-1789; repatriated on the same ship in 1790; travelled 23-11-1790 as captain on the ship Negotie to Ceylon, ship perished 27-11-1790;
    - Master lodge De Opregtheid 31-11-1788 'to Europe'.
- J. ***van der Duim***;
    - Member lodge De Vereeniging 5-12-1816.[52]
- [N.N.] ***Durege***;
    - Member of lodge La Paix in Amsterdam ca. 1757; member lodge De Getrouwigheid 1769.[53]
- [N.N.] ***Durville***;
    - Founder lodge Salomon 1758.[54]
- Jan ***van Eijsden*** (from Den Briel / died 1773 the Cape), travelled 17-4-1744 as *hooploper* (low ranking sailor) On the ship Leeuwerik to Ceylon, arrival 25-1-1745, repatriated 1746 on the ship Duinhof; travelled 15-1-1748 as *kwartiermeester* on the ship Sloterdijk to Batavia, arrival 12-10-1748, repatriated on the same ship; travelled 21-4-1750 as third mate on the ship Leiden to Batavia, arrival 31-10-1751, repatriated 1755 on the ship Hoop; travelled 12-7-1756 as junior mate on the ship Bronstee to Bengal, arrival 28-8-1758, repatriated 1758 on the ship

Radermacher; travelled 5-3-1759 as first mate on the ship Blijdorp to Batavia, arrival 21-10-1759, repatriated on the same ship; travelled 12-12-1761 as captain on the ship Vrouwe Petronella Maria to Batavia, arrival 7-3-1762, repatriated on the same ship in 1763; travelled 17-5-1764 as captain of the same ship to Batavia, arrival 16-1-1765, repatriated 1768 on the ship Duinenburg; travelled 10-2-1769 as captain on the ship Alkenmade to Batavia, arrival 27-5-1770; last registered 19-2-1773; left from the Cape 26-5-1773, but the ship perished;

- Proposed to be initiated as passer-by from Batavia in lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam 9-11-1761, did not show up for initiation[55]; member of lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia 1770, Master 24-10-1770; courier of funds from lodge De Langgewenschte to Dutch Grand Lodge 1772.

- Casparus Leonardus ***Eilbracht*** (bapt. Amsterdam 20-7-1740 / died 16-1-1807 Paliacatta), travelled 23-10-1753 as boy on the ship Buitenzorg to Batavia, arrival 8-6-1754; provisional assistant in Hoogly 1756; assistant 1759; bookkeeper and sworn clerk at the Secretary of Police 1769; bookkeeper and translator Persian and Moorish languages in Bengal 1770; title and rank of junior merchant 10-6-1779, promoted to junior merchant 4-7-1780; *opperhoofd* (Chief) and provisional commander in Jaggernaipoer 1791;
  - Treasurer lodge Salomon 11-1-1772; Founder lodge De Standvastigheid 27-12-1772, Secretary 31-12-1772, Provincial Grand Secretary 1772, Worshipful Master 24-6-1774, 27-12-1774 and 10-1-1775; Worshipful Master lodge Salomon 1774-1775, Member 10-1-1775, Junior Warden 15-11-1777.
- Jacob ***Eilbracht*** (bapt. Amsterdam 4-6-1738 / died 20-4-1804 Paliacatta), travelled 28-12-1752 as boy on the ship Kasteel van Tilburg to Bengal; provisional assistant in Hoogly 1758; sworn clerk and bookkeeper in Hoogly 1766; secretary of Police and cashier with the title and rank of junior merchant 18-6-1769, confirmed as such 9-6-1772; sent from Bengal as junior merchant in arrest to Batavia and there dismissed from arrest 2-5-1781; employed at the office of the governor general 21-8-1781; *trade office bookkeeper*, dispenser and *factuurhouder* proposed as merchant in Hoogly 23-7-1784; travelled 29-8-1790 with the ship De Expeditie from Bengal to Coromandel; senior merchant and provisional commander of Coromandel 1790-1795[56];
  - Fellow-Craft lodge Salomon 31-10-1770, Master 11-1-1772; Founder lodge De Standvastigheid 27-12-1772, Worshipful Master 31-12-1772, 10-1-1773 and 31-12-1773; Member lodge Salomon 10-1-1773, Provincial Grand Master 24-6-1774, 10-1-1775, 19-5-1776 and 15-11-1777, Past Provincial Grand Master 30-12-1777; patron lodge De Voorzegtigheid 1794; Provincial Grand Master 10-10-1798.[57]
- J[e]an [Jacques] David ***d'Estandau*** [Estandan] (from Rijnsburg / died 1815), junior merchant in Colombo, Dispencer 1783 in Galle, 1786 fiscal and cashier in Galle;
  - *Chevalier d'Orient*/Senior Warden/Treasurer lodge De Opregtheid 31-11-1789, *Chevalier d'Orient* 1790, Member 1791[58], *Souverain Prince Rose Croix*/*Chevalier*/*Magister* 1798.[59]
- Otto Wilhelm ***Falck*** (bapt. Zutphen 10-8-1738 / died 15-4-1814 Amsterdam); travelled 7-12-1756 as *Constabelsmaat*(assistant to the overseer of canons and munition) on the ship Amelisweert to Batavia, arrival 16-7-1757; junior merchant, secretary of Police and cashier in Hoogly 3-8-1759; dismissed to find employment in other service 14-8-1760; secretary of Police in Bengal 8-7-1763, merchant and *opperhoofd* (Chief) in Patna 18-7-1769, confirmed as such 15-10-1770, left for Batavia[60] < January 1774, dismissed and released from service to the Netherlands 9-7-1773; repatriated 1775 on the ship Willem de Vijfde; *bewindhebber* VOC in Amsterdam 1786;
  - Provincial Grand Master lodge Salomon ?-2-1764, Past Provincial Grand Master 10-1-1768, Master 31-10-1770, Past Provincial Grand Master 11-1-1772 and 10-1-1773.[61]
- [Boudewijn Verselewel] ***Faure*** [probably:] (born Dendermonde, Belgium 25-1-1734 / died 12-5-1770), travelled 18-10-1750 as marine cadet on the ship Middelburg to Batavia, arrival 10-7-1751, repatriated in 1753 on the ship Wildrijk; travelled on 2-2-1756 as junior merchant on the ship Rhoon to Batavia, arrival 19-9-1756; travelled in 1756 to the Cape; travelled as junior merchant on the ship Brouwer from the Cape to Batavia, arrival 2-9-1760; director in Bengal 1770[62];
  - Apprentice lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia < 1769.
- ***Fix***, see Vix.
- [N.N.] ***Florin***;
  - Founder lodge Salomon 1758.[63]
- ***Foenander***, see Toenander.
- Johannes Hermanus ***Francken***, captain commander in Gale 1774;
  - Inititated in Den Haag ca. 1750, Master in Antwerpen; Founder lodge De Opregtheid 1771, Worshipful Master 7-2-1772, 30-1-1774 and 1775, Chapter member 1783.
- Johannes Hermanus ***Francken [Jr]*** (from Workum, Friesland / died 5-6-1781 in Asia), travelled as sailor 23-7-1763 on the ship Gouverneur-Generaal to Batavia 11-9-1764; captain and military commander in Galle 1764, major 13-7-1781[64']; [possibly the same or a relation of the former]

- Fellow-Craft lodge De Opregtheid 30-1-1774, Secretary 1775.[65]

- P[aulus] ***Fran[c]ken*** (died 1814), First clerk of Police in Jaffapatnam 1786;
  - Founder lodge De Opregtheid 1772[66]; Fellow-Craft lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia 1782 'From the list [as brother? illegible]', member 1782-1784[67], Master [7-1784][68], 'to Ceylon' 1785[69], member 1804.[70]
- ***Frans[sen?]*** ;
  - Member lodge De Vereeniging.[71]
- A.L. ***Fransz***;
  - Member lodge De Vereeniging 1806.[72] [possibly the same or a relation of the former]
- [N.N.] ***De Frein[e] [= De Fresne?]***, ship's captain;
  - Member lodge De Getrouwigheid 1769-1772; probably later a member of lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia.[73]
- Ernst Wilhelm ***Fuchs*** (born Hesse, Darmstadt ca. 1752), soldier in 1775;
  - Fellow-Craft/Servant lodge De Opregtheid 31-11-1788-89, Apprentice/Fellow-Craft 28-11-1790, visitor lodge La Paix in Amsterdam 23-8-1793, visitor lodge De Eendragt in Rotterdam 4-1-1809 and lodge De Drie Kolommen in Rotterdam 1-6-1809.[74]
- Adam ***Gauder***;
  - Servant lodge De Opregtheid 11-8-1804.
- Johan[n] Adam ***Gauder*** [probably:] (from Oberensinger), travelled 8-11-1788 as fusilier of the Regiment Wurtemberg on the ship Jonge Frank to Batavia, arrival 24-12-1789[75];
  - Rnts lodge De Opregtheid ?-10-1800 > < 11-8-1804.
- G. ***Gaudin***, in Chandanagar in 1814[76]
  - Correspondent with lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia 1814.[77]
- Pieter Willem ***Ge[e/c]ke*** (born Ludenscheids / died 8-1-1789), travelled 5-6-1763 as soldier on the ship Oranjezaal to Batavia, arrival 13-12-1763; arrival Ceylon 2-3-1764; travelled as soldier 22-9-1766 on the ship Lekkerlust to Batavia, arrival 15-6-1767; assistant in Negapatnam 1772, junior merchant 1773 and *provo* essayeur January 1777, essayeur 12-1778 until 3-1789, dispencer 1779-1786, mint master 1786 until March 1789;
  - Fellow-Craft/Secretary lodge De Langgewenschte ca. 1773, Member 9-11-1773 and 18-9-1774, Treasurer 12-10-1774, Senior Warden/Cashier 11-1-1776, Senior Warden 15-10-1778.
- Petrus Franciscus ***Gerbrands*** (from Veggel / from Den Bosch), travelled 25-11-1788 as third mate on the ship Schoonderloo to Batavia, arrival 19-6-1789; repatriated 1791 on the ship Leviathan; travelled 17-12-1791 as lieutenant on the ship Oosthuizen to Batavia, arrival 9-7-1792, repatriated on the ship Leiden in 1793;
  - Fellow-Craft lodge De Opregtheid 31-11-1788 'to Batavia'.
- ***Gerrein/Gerrien***, see Guérin.
- A[lbert Hendrik] ***Giesler***, accountant, sworn clerk and translator in Colombo 1791; Keeper of Records 1803;
  - Member lodge De Vereeniging 14-4-1798.[78]
- Frederik Bern[h]ard ***Giffenig*** (from Demind [= Dommin, Pommeren] / died 26-9-1779 in Asia), travelled 2-11-1754 as corporal on the ship Amelisweert to Batavia, arrival 31-5-1755; assistant 1759, boekhouder 1760, deacon of the Dutch Reformed Church in Colombo 1767-1769 and 1775-1778; 1778 in Mannar, Ceylon[79];
  - Fellow-Craft lodge De Getrouwigheid 1770 and 27-1-1772.
- Samuel ***Gigaud***, (from Neuchatel / died 1795 Batavia), lieutenant in the Regiment De Meuron 1-6-1781; travelled 2-9-1782 to the Cape, arrival 31-1-1785; captain lieutenant 1-7-1984, captain 22-9-1788, detached to 2nd Company to accompany governor Van Angelbeek to Batavia 1794;
  - Founder/Master lodge La Réunion Neuchatelloise 16-5-1790.
- ***Ginnat***, see Guinot.
- ***Gissenig***, see Giffenig.
- Henry Edward Augustus ***Glasgow***, clerk at Trinconomalee 1834; Ordinance storekeeper, convicted of forgery And embezzlement on 8-8-1839 and sentenced to seven years transportation[80];
  - Master Union Lodge < 2-1838, Member St. John's Lodge of Colombo 21-2-1838.
- ***Gonding***, see Guding.
- ***De la Grange***, see Moncrif.
- William ***Granville*** (born 1787 / died 16-1-1864; buried Stoke Poges), arrival in Galle 13-7-1805, second assistant at The Secretary, first Assistant at Colombo and Kachcheri, distributor of stamps 1807; customs master in Jaffna 1810, collector of customs in Galle 1811, left for England on the ship Thomas Greville in May 1811, travelled with the same ship to Ceylon in 1812, customs collector at Matara, Galle and Kalutara; 24-1-1816 left as escort to the deposed king of Kandy, arrival in Madras 22-2-1816[81]; deputy Secretary 1816-1818; collector in Colombo 1821; Paymaster General 1825; vice-treasurer and commisioner of stamps 1828; Colonial Treasurer 1834-1838; left for England on the ship Tigris 8-5-1838; retired 1-4-1840;

- Freemason since 1818; Royal Arch, *Souvereign Prince* Kt *Rose Croix*, Knight Templar/Past Master [Union Lodge or St. John's Lodge of Colombo], 21-2-1838.

- Pieter Jacob Leopold ***Gratiaen*** (born 1795 / died 1852), clerk, assistant auditor general 1848;
  - Souverain Prince Rose Croix lodge De Vereeniging 3-8-1836[82]; Kt *Rose Croix*/Royal *Arch*/Senior Warden Union Lodge < 2-1838, Member St. John's Lodge of Colombo 21-2-1838, probably Worshipful Master 1840-1845.
- Emanuel ***Gregoor***, [probably:] (from 's Haage [= Den Haag]), travelled as *hooploper* (low ranking sailor) on 9-4-1759 on the ship Erfprins to Batavia, arrival 30-10-1759; repatriated in 1762 on the ship Luxemburg; military ensign 1768; overseer of the *Wapenkamer* (weaponry) 1769;
  - Fellow-Craft lodge De Langgewenschte 11-1-1776, Master 15-10-1778.
- William ***Gregory***, arrived on Ceylon 1834, secretary of the United Service Museum; captain Royal Engineers, resided in 27 Chatham Street, Colombo 1839; probably a relation to the later governor of Ceylon;
  - Member St. John's Lodge No. 211 in Halifax, Nova Scotia; Deputy Worshipful Master Union Lodge 24-8-1935; Master Union Lodge < ?-2-1838, Member St. John's Lodge of Colombo 21-2-1838, left The lodge 15-4-1843.
- [N.N.] Le Chevalier ***de Grenier***[83];
  - Founder lodge St. Jean de la Concorde 11-9-1775 and 1-11-1775.
- ***Grenus***, see Tissot.
- Pieter ***Guding*** [probably: ***Gonding***], (from Vecht / died 26-10-1789 in Asia), travelled 29-6-1787 as third mate on the ship Phoenicier to Batavia, arrival 30-4-1788; sous-lieutenant at sea 1788 Batavia;
  - Master lodge De Opregtheid 31-11-1788 'to Batavia'.
- Isaac Hu[y]bregt ***Guérin*** (bapt. Maastricht 7-4-1745 / died 23-6-1785 Hoogly); travelled 15-11-1765 as third mate on the ship Kievitsheuvel to Batavia, arrival 24-6-1766; sworn clerk at the Bengal government 1772; first sworn clerk in Semarang 1776; first clerk at the Secretary 1776; bookkeeper; secretary of Police in Hoogly proposed as junior merchant 29-6-1781;
  - Apprentice lodge Salomon 31-10-1770, *Hofmeester* (Steward) 11-1-1772; Founder lodge De Standvastigheid 27-12-1772, Orator 31-12-1772; Provincial Grand Secretary lodge Salomon ?-7-1774[84] and 10-1-1775, Senior Provincial Grand Warden 15-11-1777 and 30-12-1777, Provincial Grand Secretary 1776-1783.
- [Franz] ***Guillard*** [probably: ***Gaillard***], (from Cleves), travelled 28-12-1788 as fusilier in the Regiment de Meuron on the ship Zuiderburg to Batavia, arrival 1-9-1789[85];
  - *Maître Parfait Anglois* lodge De Opregtheid 31-11-1789.
- E[s]tienne ***Guinot*** (from Lorient, Bretagne), cadet in VOC service 1764; ensign in Colombo 1765, in Galle 1766; to Coromandel; promoted to lieutenant in Colombo 18-5-1775; commission to Malabar 1776; captain lieutenant in Colombo 19-7-1779;
  - Apprentice/Fellow-Craft lodge De Opregtheid 12-2-1771, Master 24-6-1771 and 30-1-1774.
- [N.N.] ***Gunn***;
  - Member Union Lodge 24-8-1835.
- Hendrick ***de Haan***, clerk to Deputy Assistant Commissioner's Office, later merchant and wine seller in 24 King Street Colombo; testament made 7-1832;
  - *Souverain Prince Rose Croix* lodge De Vereeniging < 1822.
- Benjamin Pieter Cornelis ***de Haart*** (born ca. 1752 Tiel / died 1808 Batavia), sworn clerk in Ceylon 1779-1784; cashier in Colombo 1784-1786 ; onderkoopman 1786; member of the High Council of Justice of the Dutch East Indies;
  - Member lodge De Vereeniging 1806.[86]
- Carel Godlieb ***Haartz***;
  - Fellow-Craft lodge De Getrouwigheid 1770 and 27-1-1772.
- Gerradus ***van Haeften*** [probably] (born Delft), Member of Justice;
  - Apprentice lodge De Langgewenschte 12-1-1774, Master 11-1-1776, Orator 15-10-1778.
- ***Haigel***, see Heygel.
- Adriaan [Jan Willemsz] ***van Hall*** (from Leiden), travelled 17-5-1784 as third mate on the ship Vrouwe Wijnanda Luberta to Batavia, arrival 13-11-1784; repatriated 17-11-1789 on the ship Arend, arrival 19-7-1790; travelled 5-6-1791 as captain luitenant on the ship Meeuwtje to Ceylon, arrival 7-1-1792; resigned from VOC service 27-11-1792;
  - Member lodge De Opregtheid < 1800; visitor lodge La Charité in Amsterdam 21-8-1800[87] and Lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam 24-6-1802.[88]
- Car[e]l [Friedrich] ***Hallwachs*** (from Esslingen), [probably] captain lieutenant of the Wurttemberg Regiment, later transferred to Soerabaya;

- Junior Warden/Secretary/*Chevalier d'Orient* lodge De Opregtheid 1798[89], Secretary 1800,[90] Secretary/Senior Warden/*Chevalier Kadosh* 11-8-1804.

- [Anastatius] ***van Halm*** [probably:] (from Archangel), travelled 13-5-1769 as third mate on the ship Lychocton to the Cape, travelled 24-10-1769 as third mate on the ship Welgelegen onwards to Batavia, arrival 20-1-1770; travelled 8-2-1773 as seond mate on the ship Zeeduin to Batavia, arrival 10-9-1773; repatriated 22-11-1776 on the ship Delfshaven, arrival 19-6-1777[91];
  - Courier of correspondence from lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia to lodge Salomon ?-7-1774[92]; Master lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia 31-5-1777[93], 1778-1780.[94]
- [Michiel] ***Hamelo*** [probably] (from Copenhagen), travelled 20-5-1754 as third Master on the ship Kievitsheuvel, arrival 3-4-1755 in Ceylon, repatriated on the ship Liefde in 1757; travelled 15-1-1758 as first mate on the ship Slot van Kapelle to Batavia, arrival 22-8-1758, repatriated on the ship Oudkarpel in 1760; travelled 5-5-1762 as first mate on the ship Leimuiden to Batavia, arrival 23-12-1762, repatriated 1765 on the ship Stralen; travelled 30-4-1766 as captain on the ship 's Lands Welvaren to Batavia, arrival 25-11-1766, repatriated on the same ship 15-1-1767 , arrival 28-7-1767; travelled 7-5-1768 as captain on the ship Renswoude to Batavia, arrival 6-11-1768; repatriated 21-10-1769 on the ship Vreeburg, arrival 7-5-1770; travelled 1-10-1770 as captain on the ship Huis Om to Batavia, arrival 29-09-1771; repatriated 6-11-1771 on the same ship, arrival 10-6-1772; travelled 25-12-1772 as captain on the ship Landskroon to Ceylon, arrival 16-7-1773, repatriated 3-2-1774 on the same ship, arrival 23-9-1774; travelled 27-6-1776 as captain on the ship Beemster Welvaren to Batavia, arrival 10-4-1777; repatriated 6-2-1778 on the ship 't Loo, arrival 1-10-1778; captain of the ship Jonge Hellingman in 1778[95];
  - Courier of correspondence between Dutch Grand Lodge and lodge De Getrouwigheid 1771.
- Anthony ***Hardy*** (bapt. Breda 12-1-1739 / died 4-12-1810 [Lausanne]), travelled 23-10-1751 as assistant on the ship Voorland to Batavia, arrival 22-5-1752; travelled on 27-11-1758 as assistant on the ship Vlissingen to Batavia, arrival 29-6-1759; fiscal and village master in Hoogly, confirmed as such 15-10-1770, dismissed and released to the Netherlands 9-7-1773; fiscal and village master in Hoogly 9-6-1774; left < January 1774 to Batavia[96]; repatriated on the ship Willem de Vijfde, arrival in the Netherlands 25-7-1775, member of the Wallonian community in Breda 2-2-1776;
  - Senior Warden lodge Salomon 31-10-1770, Provincial Grand Master 11-1-1772, 27-12-1772 and 10-1-1773.[97]
- Pierre ***Hardy*** (from Auvenier), captain lieutenant in Regiment de Meuron 1-6-1781, captain 11-11-1787, commanding four Compagnies in Negapatnam for the English 1794, accompanied governor Van Angelbeek from Cochin to Colombo 1794, captain commander of the Rifles during Mysore campaign and major 25-8-1798, brevet 1-1-1800, commander Grenadiers and injured arm 4-5-1799, campaigned in 1801-1802, lieutenant colonel 21-10-1803, replacment commander 24-9-1804 until 14-3-1812, with Garrison in the Mediterranean, sold his commission to lieutenant colonel Wynd'ham and stayed in Sicily;
  - *Maître Parfait Maçon* lodge De Opregtheid 31-11-1788, *Élu des Neuf*/*Élu des Quinze*/Terrible 31-11-1789.
- Johan Willem Salomon ***von Haugwit[z/s]*** (bapt. 's-Hertogenbosch 20-9-1744 / died 12-11-1796 Chinsura), travelled 16-11-1764 as assistant on the ship Walenburg to Batavia, arrival 23-6-1765; cornet of the Dragoons in Batavia 11-10-1765; appointed junior merchant 21-10-1765, to Bengal awaiting employment 30-6-1766; ordinary commisioner in Hoogly 3-7-1767; bookkeeper of wages 18-7-1769; *Secunde* in Patna I-8-1769; first warehouse master proposed as merchant 22-6-1778, confirmed as such 23-9-1779; first in the *Kledenzaal (textile warehouse)* from Bengal 30-9-1785; head administrator proposed as senior merchant 14-9-1789; acting commander during the surrender to the English 1795[98];
  - Orator lodge Salomon 1764, Master 31-10-1770 and 11-1-1772; Master lodge De Standvastigheid 31-12-1772.[99]
- Abraham ***van der Hegge[n]*** (from Den Haag), travelled as junior sailor 29-1-1761 on the ship Hoop to Batavia, arrival 2-11-1761; captain and equipment master in Galle; to Ceylon 1776; repatriated 22-1-1786 on the ship Constantia, arrival 20-7-1786;
  - Founder lodge St. Jean de la Concorde 11-9-1775.
- Adam Gotlieb ***Hen[c]k*** (born Karlskrona, 1737 / died 13-1-1780 Negapatnam), luitenant in Swedish service; travelled as *hooploper* (low ranking sailor) 20-5-1754 on the ship Eendracht to Batavia, arrival 14-1-1755; bookkeeper in Negapatnam 1755-1772, ensign by title and surveyor 1772, junior merchant and dispencer ca. 1773, surveyor of works 1775-December 1778;
  - Member lodge De Langgewenschte 1772, Schatmeester ca. 1773, Secretary 9-11-1773, Member 18-9-1774, Junior Warden 12-10-1774, Worshipful Master 11-1-1776 and 15-10-1778.
- Gregorius ***Herklots*** (bapt. Middelburg 29-11-1739 / died 14-2-1787 Calcapoor); travelled 21-9-1759 as *constabelsmaat* (assistant to the overseer of canons and munition) on the ship Duinenburg to Batavia, arrival 1-6-1760; since 1760 in Bengal, bookkeeper and overseer of buildings in Hoogly; junior merchant, provisional cashier

and secretary in Hoogly 24-6-1766; second in the warehouse 1770; first in the Mint in Cassimbazar 3-7-1770; *opperhoofd* (Chief) in Patna proposed as merchant 9-7-1773, confirmed as such 19-10-1774; *opperhoofd* of Cassimbazar proposed as senior merchant 22-6-1778; *Secunde* from Bengal 15-6-1780; confirmed as senior merchant 23-10-1779; prisoner-of-war 3-7-1781; provisional director Bengal 9-7-1784-1785;

- Sword bearer lodge Salomon 10-1-1768, Secretary 8-11-1768, Master 31-10-1770, Past Secretary 11-1-1772 'on Patena', Master 10-1-1773.

- Bartholomeus ***Herwieus***;
  - Servant lodge De Opregtheid 11-8-1804.
- Johan Hendrik ***Heygel***, military captain in Colombo 1766-1774;
  - Member lodge De Opregtheid > 31-1-1772, Master 30-1-1774.
- Johannes Cornelis ***Heyning*** (bapt. Kaapstad 4-8-1754 / died 15-9-1810 Chinsura), soldier in service of the VOC, resigned 2-1-1768; travelled 15-5-1769 from the Cape on the ship Vrouwe Kornelia Hillegonda to Bengal, arrival 9-1769; assistant, confirmed as junior merchant 6-12-1779; bookkeeper of wages 13-7-1784; acting trade office bookkeeper, dispencer and *factuurhouder*, proposed as merchant 21-4-1793;
  - Terrible lodge De Standvastigheid 27-12-1774, Member 15-11-1777; Architect lodge Salomon 1777.[100]
- John Godfried ***Hillebrand*** (born ca. 1778 / died 1847), Proctor S.C., member of the Legislative Council 1830, acting *Puisne* Judge 1841; District Judge in Colombo 1838-1844; [possibly the same as the former or a relative]
  - K[nigh]t *Rose Croix*/Royal Arch Union Lodge < 2-1838, Member St. John's Lodge of Colombo 21-2-1838.
- W. ***Hillebrand***;
  - Member lodge De Vereeniging 5-12-1816[101] and 1822.[102]
- Johan Christiaan ***Hoen*** (from Hadersleben); travelled 3-10-1752 as soldier on the ship Vlietlust to Batavia, arrival 7-6-1753; junior master in Hoogly 1756; surgeon 1762, chief surgeon 1767; repatriated 22-1-1772 on the ship IJsselmonde, arrival on Texel 19-7-1772;
  - Master lodge Salomon 31-10-1770.
- Pieter ***Hoff*** (from Amsterdam / died 17-12-1788 Bengal), travelled 12-12-1761 as *constabelsmaat* (assistant to the overseer of canons and munition) on the ship Oosterbeek to Bengal, arrival 11-10-1762; provisional assistant and first clerk in Hoogly 1768;
  - Orator lodge Salomon 31-10-1770 and 11-1-1772, Junior Warden 10-1-1775, member 15-11-1777.
- [Abraham] Christoffel ***Hofman***, [probably:] (from Tongermundes / died 17-10-1789), travelled 27-1-1761 as soldier on the ship Vrouwe Rebecca Jacoba to Bengal, arrival 16-7-1761; later military captain of Cipayers in Bandjermasin, involved in the defeat of Pangeran Amir; repatriated 1790;
  - Fellow-Craft lodge De Langgewenschte 12-10-1774.
- ***Holmberg***, see Kyronius.
- Albertus ***Hor[n/m]oet***, merchant and administrator 1774,
  - Member lodge De Opregtheid > 31-1-1772, Secretary/Orator 30-1-1774, Senior Warden.
- J.B. ***Hoyer***;
  - Member lodge De Vereeniging 30-4-1794, 14-4-1798[103], 1816[104]
- P[ieter] ***Hoyer*** [probably:] (from Dronthen), travelled 1-5-1780 as corporal on the ship Morgenster to Ceylon, arrival 22-12-1780; ensign of the Grenadeers in Colombo 1787; second lieutenant 1790; last registered in Asia 31-8-1794; captain at Anke in 1795;
  - *Maître Parfait Englois*/*Maître Parfait Maçon* lodge De Opregtheid <1820[105]; Member lodge De Vereeniging 1806.[106]
- Dirk ***Hoytink***, *oppermeester* (medical carer);
  - Fellow-Craft lodge De Opregtheid 31-11-1788 'to Batavia'.
- J[ohannes] ***Huber*** (from Eberspach / died 1804), travelled 15-9-1788 as Fusilier in the Regiment Wurttemberg On the ship Diamant to Batavia, arrival 19-6-1789;
  - Master lodge De Opregtheid 10-1800 > < 11-8-1804.
- Theobald ***von Hügel*** (from Ludwigsburg), cadet 1771; travelled 1-7-1787 as commander colonel on the ship Drie Gebroeders in the Regiment Württemberg to Ceylon, arrival 30-11-1787[107];
  - *Chevalier Kadosh*/Junior Warden lodge De Opregtheid 11-8-1804.
- Peter ***Huijsken*** [probably:] (from Amsterdam), travelled on 30-12-1757 as sergeant on the ship Giessenburg to Ceylon, arrival 16-8-1758; last registered in Asia 31-8-1794;
  - Master lodge De Opregtheid 1774.
- Jean Pierre ***Humbert*** (born Berlin 30-8-1725 / died 13-12-1785 Bengal), travelled 19-10-1746 as *onderkuiper* (assistant to the overseer of barrels) on the ship Huis te Rensburg to Ceylon, arrival 17-8-1747; travelled 5-10-

1751 as sergeant on the same ship to Batavia, arrival 1-7-1752; junior merchant 6-3-1753; to Bengal for employment 7-3-1754; warehouse master in Cassimbazar 11-7-1758; merchant and first in the *Kledenzaal (textile warehouse)* in Hoogly 30-6-1766; confirmed 29-6-1762;

- member lodge Salomon ?-2-1764 'in Cassembazaar', Junior Warden 10-1-1768, member 8-11-1768, Provincial Grand Master 31-10-1770, Past Provincial Grand Master 11-1-1772, 10-1-1773, 10-1-1775 and 30-12-1777.

- William ***Huxham*** (from Exeter), merchant since 1819, owner of coffee plantations, partner in the firm Beaufort & Huxham, wine importors; bankrupt ?-3-1822;
  - Member lodge De Vereeniging < 1822.
- [Jan] ***Ide*** (from Wre[e]men/Wuemen/Bremerlee), travelled 2-2-1756 as *bosschieter* (responsible for the artillery) on the ship Bevalligheid to Bengal, arrival 8-10-1756; repatriated on the ship Hoop in 1758; travelled 19-5-1759 as *bootmansmaat* (assistant to the overseer of the great mast and its sails) on the ship Zuiderburg to Batavia, arrival 16-2-1760; repatriated on the ship Eendracht in 1761; travelled 12-12-1761 as third mate on the ship Admiraal de Ruyter to Batavia, arrival 21-7-1762; repatriated on the ship Lychoston in 1763; travelled 27-9-1763 as third mate on the ship 's Lands Welvaren to Batavia, arrival 16-5-1764, repatriated on the ship Stralen in 1765; travelled 17-5-1766 as first mate on the ship Veldhoen to Batavia, arrival 18-12-1766; repatriated on the ship Waakzaamheid in 1768; travelled 12-10-1769 as captain on the ship Scholtenburg to Batavia, arrival 27-5-1770; repatriated on the ship Foreest in 1774; travelled in 27-10-1774 as captain on the ship Patriot to Batavia, arrival 18-7-1775; repatriated on the same ship in 1776;
  - Courier of correspondence between Dutch Grand Lodge and lodge De Getrouwigheid 1771.
- Assuerus ***Issendorp*** (from Auistic), travelled 29-12-1777 as assistant on the ship Ceres to Ceylon, arrival 27-6-1778; last registered in Asia 11-11-1794; bookkeeper of wages and First *Visitateur* 1796;
  - Member of the lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam 1779; Senior Warden lodge De Vereeniging 30-4-1794, Treasurer 14-4-1798.[108]
- [N.N.] ***Jambon***;
  - Founder lodge Salomon 1758.[109]
- P.P. ***Jehtten*** [Sehtten? illegable];
  - Member of lodge De Vereeniging < 30-4-1794.[110]
- Samuel ***Je[s]quier*** (from Fleurier / 14-5-1789 Galle), member of a family of watchmakers, captain-lieutenant And *grand-juge* in the Regiment De Meuron 1-6-1781, captain and *grand juge* 1-5-1787;
  - *Maître Parfait Anglois* lodge De Opregtheid 1778; Founder/Master lodge La Réunion Neuchatelloise 16-5-1790.
- H[a/e]rmanus ***Jets*** [Jotz] (bapt. Amsterdam 10-11-1743 / died 14-4-1779 [Hoogly]), travelled 2-10-1768 as *tweede meester* (medical carer) on the ship Ouderamstel to Batavia, arrival 4-6-1769; since 1770 in Bengal, surgeon 1772;
  - Fellow-Craft lodge De Standvastigheid 31-12-1772, Treasurer/*Hofmeester* (Steward) 31-12-1773, Master 27-12-1774[111]; Magister lodge De Vereeniging 30-4-1794 and 14-4-1798.[112]
- ***Joenander***, see Toenander.
- Hendrik Ambrosius ***Johnson*** (born Oran, Algeria 1743 / died 3-12-1781 Batavia), born from English parents and orphaned, sold as a slave in Algiers and cared for by the Dutch consul Paravinci, Hendrik Lijnslager and Ambrosius Staniford, after whom he was named; transferred to The Hague where his education was provided by the widow Tinne[113]; travelled as assistant 15-6-1761 on the ship Voorland to Batavia, arrival 23-3-1762; dispencer in Negapatnam 21-12-1762, junior merchant 28-5-1765, second warehouse master 14-3-1771, title of merchant and first warehouse master 28-4-1772, confirmed as such 20-10-1773; *opperhoofd* (Chief) of Palliacatta 11-5-1775; to Ternate awaiting employment 13-1-1778, fiscal and shopkeeper 6-11-1778; fiscal in Banda 8-2-1780;
  - Worshipful Master lodge De Langgewenschte ca. 1773, 9-11-1773, 18-9-1774 and 12-10-1774.
- Jeronimus ***Jong[en]berg*** (from Nörrkoping, Sweden / died 1-3-1765 Batavia), travelled 14-11-1745 as *hooploper* (low ranking sailor) on the ship Scheijbeek to Batavia, arrival 20-6-1746, repatriated on the same ship in 1747; travelled 6-5-1748 as junior sailor on the ship Eendracht to Ceylon, arrival 22-1-1749, repatriated 1750 on the same ship; travelled 4-12-1750 as third mate on the ship Ruyskestein to Batavia, arrival 1-8-1751, repatriated on the ship Prinses Carolina in 1753; travelled in 23-10-1753 as first mate on the ship Keukenhof to Batavia, arrival 14-6-1754; travelled from the Cape on the ship Bronstee to Bengal, arrival 28-8-1757; repatriated 15-1-1759 as commander of the ship Jerusalem, arrival on Texel 4-8-1759; travelled 26-4-1763 as *bosschieter* (responsible for artillery) on the ship Rotterdam to Batavia, arrival Batavia 28-10-1763;
  - Master lodge Salomon 8-1-1759, courier of funds from lodge Salomon to Dutch Grand Lodge 1759.
- Chrs. Eds. ***Juffer***;
  - Member lodge De Vereeniging 3-8-1836.[114]

- John Pierre ***Jumeaux*** (born 13-7-1792 Delhi / died 8-4-1850 Colombo), fiscal of the Western Province in Colombo 1839; fiscal of the civil service 1844;
    - Royal Arch Union Lodge <?-2-1838, member St. John's Lodge of Colombo 21-2-1838.
- Pieter ***Kalff*** (born Rotterdam 9-3-1735 / died 22-6-1776 Galle), travelled as assistant 27-9-1763 on the ship Vrouwe Elizabeth to Batavia, arrival 28-3-1764; junior merchant in Colombo 1766; fiscal and cashier in Galle 1767, without employment 1768;
    - Founder/Warden lodge De Opregtheid 1771, Junior Warden 12-2-1771, Senior Warden 7-2-1772, Master 30-1-1774.
- Emanuel Hendrik ***Kantzo[u]w*** (from Stockholm), travelled 2-2-1756 as corporal on the ship Bevalligheid to Bengal, arrival 8-10-1756; former provisional assistant in Hoogly 1763;
    - Initiation as Apprentice lodge Salomon 7-4-1758, Treasurer 8-1-1759.
- Willem ***Kerkman*** (from Oudewater / died Batavia 13-4-1774), travelled 21-4-1750 as boy on the ship Langewijk to Batavia, arrival 23-12-1750; since 1752 in Bengal, bookkeeper and ordinary commisioner in Hoogly, junior merchant 3-7-1767, first *factoor* in Dhecca 4-7-1771; travelled 15-1-1773 to Batavia;
    - Member lodge Salomon 1768, Apprentice or Fellow-Craft lodge De Standvastigheid 27-12-1774.
- Paulus ***Kern***, chief surgeon at the public hospital;
    - Initiated and Master lodge De Opregtheid ca 1772.
- Salomon ***van Keulen***;
    - Master lodge De Getrouwigheid 1770 'arrived from the homeland', Master 27-1-1772.
- David ***Kinloc[h/k]*** (from Yverdun, Switzerland), travelled 2-12-1767 as assistant on the ship 's Lands Welvaren to Bengal, arrival 1-8-1768; assistant and Third in Patna 1776, confirmed as junior merchant 12-11-1776, fled from arrest and absent from service 10-2-1778; collector of Government Customs in Hoogly 1784;
    - Master lodge De Standvastigheid 31-12-1773 and 27-12-1774.
- Jan Carel ***Kist*** (from Sas van Gent / died Bengal 19-1-1766), travelled 2-2-1756 as junior merchant on the ship Bevalligheid to Bengal, arrival 8-10-1756; Second in the *Kledenzaal* (textile warehouse) in Hoogly 11-7-1758, first 29-6-1762; *weesmeester* (civil servant dealing with legates) Hoogly 3-9-1762; proposed as merchant 11-7-1763;
    - Initiation as Master lodge Salomon 7-4-1758, Junior Warden 8-1-1759, member ?-2-1764.
- Jan ***Kloprogge***, city doctor;
    - *Maître Parfait Maçon* lodge De Opregtheid 31-11-1788 'in Colombo', 31-11-1789.
- Jens ***Koefoed*** (1775-1833), governor of the Danish settlement at Tranquebar;
    - Master lodge De Opregtheid 10-1800 > < 11-8-1804 'left for Tranquebar'.
- ***Kolfenbag***, see Colvenbach.
- Adrianus Gerhardus ***Kra[a]yenhof[f]*** (bapt. Dordrecht 3-11-1745 / died Den Haag 27-1-1827), travelled 2-10-1769 as junior merchant on the ship Alkemade to Batavia, arrival 27-5-1770; junior merchant without employment, ordinary commisioner in Hoogly 2-7-1771; confirmed as bookkeeper of wages 16-5-1777; fiscal and village master in Bengal proposed as merchant 29-6-1781; prisoner-of-war 3-7-1781; travelled 15-12-1792 on a Danish ship from the East;
    - Fellow-Craft lodge De Standvastigheid 31-12-1773, Senior Warden 27-12-1774 and 10-1-1775; member lodge Salomon 10-1-1775.
- [Jan] Balthazar ***Krauth [Crauth]*** (from Den Haag), travelled as sailor on the ship Juno to the Cape, arrival 11-4-1773; travelled onwards 7-7-1773 on the ship Zeeduin to Batavia, arrival 10-9-1773; freeburgher 10-1-1778[115];
    - Courier of correspondence from Grand Lodge to lodge Salomon 1772.
- W.A. ***Kriekenbeek***;
    - Chevalier *Rose Croix* lodge De Vereeniging 3-8-1836.[116]
- Nicolaas ***Kyronius [Holmberg de Beckfeldt]*** (born Upsala 9-9-1742 /died 20-12-1818 Culemborg), travelled as *constabelsmaat* (assistant to the overseer of canons and munition) 28-7-1759 on the ship Keukenhof to Batavia, arrival 29-4-1760; assistant at the general directorate in Batavia; translator English, French and Portugese languages in Surat 1762, bookkeeper 1763, dispencer 1765, junior merchant and secretary of Police 1768, warehouse master 1769, *provo* merchant 1771, repatriated 29-7-1774 [or 1775?] on the ship Mars, Council at the Court of Justice and the *Rekenkamer* of the county Culemborg 1780, raised in Swedish nobility 2-6-1789 adapting the name Holmberg de Beckfeldt, mayor of Culemborg 1804-1809;
    - Secretary lodge St. Jean de la Concorde 1-1-1774, Founder 11-9-1775 and 1-11-1775; member lodge L'Inséparable in Bergen op zoom 1779-1781; Founder lodge La Candeur in Culemborg 1784.[117]
- Abraham ***de Labat*** (born Amsterdam 6-5-1736 / died 19-2-1770 Bengal), travelled 30-12-1757 as junior merchant on the ship Osdorp to Bengal, arrival 30-8-1758; second in the *Kledenzaal (textile warehouse)* in Bengal 29-6-1763;

- Member lodge Concordia Vincit Animos in Amsterdam, Treasurer[118], resigned as member 4-12-1757, commissioned to found a regular lodge 18-12-1757; member lodge Salomon 8-1-1759.

- J.R. ***Lam[b]ert***;
  - Member Union Lodge 24-8-1835.
- Frans ***Lamij*** (born Amsterdam 13-10-1732 / died 25-1-1786 Bengal), travelled 19-12-1751 as corporal on the ship Immagonda to Bengal, arrival 29-4-1752, repatriated 1755 on the ship Ruyskestein; travelled 29-10-1759 as sergeant on the ship Vrouwe Petronella to Batavia, arrival 17-6-1760, travelled onwards 13-8-1760 to Bengal; assistant in Hoogly 1764; first *afpakker* in the *Kledenzaal (textile warehouse)* 1770; prisoner-of-war 3-7-1781; continued in Bengal 31-8-1785;
  - Initiation as Apprentice lodge Salomon 6-4-1763, Secretary 10-1-1768.
- Joost ***Lammerts***;
  - Servant lodge De Langgewenschte 15-10-1778.
- Jn. Joh. ***Landsberger***;
  - Member lodge De Vereeniging 5-12-1816.[119]
- F.E. ***Lawick van Pabst***;
  - Member lodge De Voorzegtigheid < 1800.[120]
- George ***Lee***, PMG;
  - Master Union Lodge < 2-1838; member St. John's Lodge of Colombo 21-2-1838.
- Caspar Hendrik ***Leembruggen***;
  - *Rnts* lodge De Opregtheid 10-1800 > < 11-8-1804 'in Mature', Apprentice or Fellow-Craft 11-8-1804.
- [Hans] Jacob ***Leeuwer***;
  - Apprentice lodge De Getrouwigheid 1770 'travelling', Apprentice 27-1-1772; Master in lodge La Fidèle Sincérité 1772.
- Charles ***Liard***;
  - Souverain Prince Rose Croix lodge De Vereeniging 1822.
- Mr. Arnoldus ***de Lij*** named Peijl (from Bergen op Zoom / buried 27-8-1784 Batavia), travelled as junior merchant 24-5-1755 on the ship Vrijburg to Ceylon, arrival 15-3-1756; *dessave* in Matara 1762-1765; commandor of Galle 1768-1783; to Batavia to assist the *Hooge Tafel*, Extraordinary Council of the Dutch East Indies, director of the Amphioen Society;
  - Apprentice/Fellow-Craft lodge De Opregtheid 21-6-1771, initiated as Master 24-6-1771, Master 1772 and 30-1-1774.
- Jacob[us] ***van der Linde[n]*** [probably:] (from Bergen op Zoom), travelled 8-12-1773 as soldier on the ship Noordbeek to the Cape, arrival 28-4-1774; travelled onwards 12-5-1774 on the ship Zuid Beveland to Ceylon, arrival 13-7-1774; travelled 16-5-1787 as Second Surgeon on the ship Constantia to Batavia, arrival 18-12-1787; *Secunde oppermeester* (medical carer) 1788; repatriated 1794 on the ship Drechterland; out of service 27-6-1798;
  - Fellow-Craft lodge De Opregtheid 31-11-1788 'to Batavia'; member of lodge La Fidèle Sincérité 1798.
- Lambertus [W.] [baron] ***van der Linde[n]*** (born ca. 1763 / died 16-4-1822), Overseer Civil Engineers department;
  - *Rnts* lodge De Opregtheid 10-1800 > < 11-8-1804 (in Colombo); member lodge De Vereeniging 5-12-1816[121], 1822.
- Jan ***van der Linden*** (from Zaltbommel / died 6-12-1788 Bengal), travelled 17-4-1765 as young sailor on the ship Vreeburg to Batavia, arrival 16-11-1765; bookkeeper in Hoogly (1776);
  - Member of lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia 1772[122]; Apprentice or Fellow-Craft lodge De Standvastigheid 27-12-1774.
- Johan Fredrik ***Lindsted[t]*** (from Norrköping), travelled 5-5-1753 as soldier on the ship Spanderswoud to Batavia, arrival 26-4-1754, repatriated 1763 on the ship Immagonda; travelled 15-11-1764 as sergeant on the ship Welgelegen to Bengal, arrival 28-7-1765; confirmed as junior merchant and dispencer in Hoogly 11-7-1772, dismissed 23-6-1773; last registered 31-1-1776;
  - Visitor in lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam 12-7-1764[123]; member lodge Salomon 1768, Junior Warden 31-10-1770, Deputy Provincial Grand Master 11-1-1772 and 10-1-1773, resigned as Provincial Grand Master 24-6-1774, Past Provincial Grand Master 10-1-1775.
- Jan Hendrik ***L[o]udovici***, *verbandmeester* (medical officer);
  - *Maître Parfait Maçon* lodge De Opregtheid 31-11-1788, *Écossois*/Master of Ceremonies 31-11-1789, 1791.[124]
- P. Ad[riaan] ***Louman***;
  - Keeper of the Seal lodge De Vereeniging 30-4-1794.[125]

- John Fredrik ***Lorenz***;
    - *Chevalier d'Orient* lodge De Opregtheid 11-8-1804.
- [J.] Willem ***Luyken*** (born Jaffanapatnam), commisioner in the Mint;
    - Fellow-Craft lodge De Langgewenschte 12-10-1774, Master 11-1-1776, member 15-10-1777, Secretary 15-10-1778.
- Paulus ***Ma[a]gen Baerendsz*** (from Amsterdam / died 25-3-1791 on the ship Horssen), travelled 28-2-1789 as third mate on the ship Trinconomalee to Ceylon, arrival 9-9-1789; lieutenant at sea;
    - Fellow-Craft lodge De Opregtheid 31-11-1788 'to Batavia.
- Jacobus ***van Maaren***, [probably] (born Middelburg ca. 1765), travelled 7-7-1782 as sailor on the ship Zeeuw to Ceylon, arrival 3-8-1783, repatriated 1787 on the ship Hindelopen; travelled as third mate on 24-1-1787 on the ship Sint Laurens to Batavia, arrival 18-12-1787; in 1791 repatriated on the ship Berkhout; travelled on 20-2-1792 as captain lieutenant (seaman) on the ship Zeeland to Ceylon, arrival and last registered 16-9-1792;
    - Fellow-Craft lodge De Opregtheid 31-11-1788 'to Batavia', Fellow-Craft 28-10-1789, Master 8-10-1790[126], member 1791.[127]
- Jean Baptiste ***de la Maison***, [probably] (from Plevie / died 7-5-1779 in Asia), travelled as soldier op 17-1-1767 on the ship Admiraal de Ruyter to Ceylon, arrival 12-12-1767;
    - Fellow-Craft Servant lodge De Opregtheid 30-1-1774.
- Paulus ***Marc[h]i*** (from Cochim / died 16-8-1776 Galle), travelled as *ondermeester* (medical carer) 19-11-1759 on the ship Overschie to Batavia, arrival 17-6-1760; chief surgeon in Galle;
    - Member lodge De Opregtheid < 7-2-1772, Steward (*Hofmeester*) 30-1-1774.
- Di[e]derik ***Marquard[t]***;
    - Fellow-Craft lodge Salomon 11-1-1772, Orator 10-1-1773, Senior Warden 10-1-1775.
- Joost ***Masson*** (from Amsterdam), travelled 15-9-1774 as *constabelsmaat* (assistant to the overseer of artillery) on the ship Indiaan to Batavia, arrival 17-6-1775; repatriated on the same ship in 1776; travelled 22-1-1777 as third mate on the ship 't Loo to Ceylon, arrival 2-9-1777; repatriated on the same ship in 1778; travelled 17-4-1779 as third mate on the ship Diana to Batavia, arrival 14-7-1780; Captain-lieutenant at sea 1788;
    - Fellow-Craft lodge De Opregtheid 31-11-1788 'to Batavia'.
- Johannes ***Mayer***;
    - Servant lodge De Opregtheid 11-8-1804.
- [Archibald] ***Mesterton*** [probably:] (from Carelshamm, Sweden / died 12-12-1772 in Asia), partner in the firm H. & A. Mesterton in Amsterdam member of the college Concordia et Libertate in Amsterdam in 1749, board member 1759; travelled as assistant on 20-12-1767 on the ship Bartha Petronella to Batavia, arrival 7-7-1768;
    - Apprentice/Fellow-Craft of lodge La Bien Aimée Amsterdam 14-3-1755, Master 14-11-1755, Master of Furniture 10-9-1756, Fiscal 28-12-1757; member lodge Salomon ca. 1768[128]; Orator of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia 1771, Terrible 1771-1772.[129]
- Johan Frederik [Friedrick] ***von Meybrink*** (from Leijpzig / died 8-1812), travelled 12-12-1783 as soldier from Texel on the ship Berkhout to Batavia, arrival 6-5-1784; last registered 31-3-1785;
    - Worshipful Master lodge De Vereeniging < 1836.
- C[harles] Daniel Comte **de Meuron** (born St. Sulpice, Neuchatel 6-5-1738 / died 4-4-1806), Commander of the Swiss Regiment De Meuron named after him, 'Chambellan de Sa Majesté G';
    - Founder lodge La Réunion Neuchatelloise 16-5-1790.
- Pierre Frederic Comte ***de Meuron*** (born Neuchatel / died 1812), travelled 1-7-1787 as colonel commander of the Regiment De Meuron on the ship Josephus de Tweede to Ceylon, arrival 10-2-1788, military governor 1797-1798;
    - Founder lodge La Réunion Neuchatelloise 16-5-1790.
- Chev. Jean Pierre ***de Meuron-Bullot*** (born Neuchatel 1744 / died 20-10-1803 Madras), captain in the Regiment De Meuron 1-6-1781, major 1-7-1783, lieutenant-colonel 9-11-1784, temporarily replaced the commander 1786-1797, left behind sick in Vellore during Mysore campaign, colonel 1802, perished while boarding ship to Europe, funerary monument on St. Mary cemetery in Madras;
    - Founder lodge La Réunion Neuchatelloise 16-5-1790.
- Henry-David ***de Meuron [de] Motiers*** (born Motiers 1753 / died 23-9-1804 Seringapatnam), captain lieutenant In the Regiment De Meuron 1-6-1781, captain and major 8-9-1790, lieutenant-colonel 25-9-1798, brevet 1-1-1800, commander during Mysore campaign 1800-1801, commander 1803, funerary monument in garrison cemetery in Seringapatnam;
    - Founder lodge La Réunion Neuchatelloise 16-5-1790.
- Charles Frédéric ***de Meuron de la Tour*** (born St. Sulpice, Neuchatel 1763 / died 24-5-1797 Pondamallee), cadet-sergeant and third mate in Regiment De Meuron 1-6-1781, ensign 1-5-1782, lieutenant 1-6-1783, captain lieutenant 1-11-1787, captain 23-12-1793;

- Founder lodge La Réunion Neuchatelloise 16-5-1790.

- Willem Jan ***van Midlum*** (bapt. Den Haag 11-9-1748 / died 24-11-1791 Bengal), travelled 13-11-1768 as junior merchant on the ship Huis te Bijweg to Batavia, arrival 7-8-1769; to Bengal for employment 3-7-1770; ordinary commisioner in Hoogly 2-7-1771; second in Cassimbazar 23-7-1784; confirmed as merchant 2-9-1788;
  - Fellow-Craft lodge De Standvastigheid 31-12-1773, Junior Warden 27-12-1774 and 10-1-1775; member lodge Salomon 10-1-1775 and 15-11-1777.
- Anth. Louis ***Migot de la Combe***, captain of the Regiment Luxembourg;
  - Fellow-Craft lodge De Opregtheid 31-11-1788 'near coast Malabar'.
- [N.N.] ***Moncrif de la Grange***;
  - Founder lodge St. Jean de la Concorde 11-9-1775 and 1-11-1775.
- François ***Montandon [Montauban?]*** (from La Brevine / died 21-11-1797 Pondamallee), cadet-sergeant in the Regiment De Meuron, decorated after battle at Fort Frederic in Trinconomalee, promoted to third mate 9-1795;
  - *Maître Parfait Maçon* lodge De Opregtheid 31-11-1788 'to the Cape', *Élu*/Parting Architect 9-15-1789.
- Matthias ***Monté*** [probably:] (Dordrecht), travelled as sailor on 2-9-1750 on the ship De Standvastigheid to Batavia, arrival 18-5-1751; last registered 31-8-1784;
  - Founder lodge St. Jean de la Concorde 11-9-1775, treasurer 1777.[130]
- Gerrit Joan ***de Moor*** (bapt. Colombo 24-8-1732 / died 1784 Galle), in 1741 as boy in service of the VOC; sworn clerk at the secretary of Police and secretary of marital affairs in Colombo 1755; secretary of Police and Justice in Galle 1766, second warehouse master 4-1770, junior merchant 1772;
  - Initiated and Master lodge De Opregtheid ca. 1772, member < 7-2-1772, Orator 1773, Master 30-1-1774, Warden 1775, Chapter member 1783.
- Cecil Arnold ***Morgan***, Proctor S.C.;
  - Knight *Rose Croix*/Royal Arch Union Lodge < ?-2-1838; member St. John's Lodge of Colombo 21-2-1838,
- R. ***Morgan***;
  - Member lodge De Vereeniging 5-12-1816.[131]
- A[ndreas/Andries] W[ilhelmus] ***Motta[n/u]***, travelled 20-2-1791 as soldier on the ship Christoffel Columbus to Ceylon, arrival 12-2-1791; travelled 10-7-1792 from Goeree on the ship Teilingen, arrival Batavia 5-1-1793[132]; last registered 31-8-1794;
  - Member lodge De Vereeniging 1806.[133]
- ***De Motiers***, see de Meuron.
- Abraham ***Mour*** [illegible];
  - Junior Warden/*Souverain Prince Rose Croix* lodge De Vereeniging 18-1-1825.[134]
- Jean Eli[e] ***de Mourin [van Yperen]*** (born Colombo 1745[135]/ died 12-1766), travelled 22-3-1747 as *hooploper* (low ranking sailor) on the ship Baarzande to Batavia, arrival 30-10-1747, in Batavia until 1756; in Hoogly 1757-1762; first clerk, junior merchant 16-6-1758; in Batavia 1762-1764; head of the Mababadde in Colombo 1764-1765; in Galle 1766;
  - Member lodge Salomon 8-1-1759.
- N.N. ***Mulls*** [Mullo/Hullo? illegible];
  - Proposed in lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, but not initiated; Apprentice in a lodge in Ceylon < 1795.[136]
- Edward ***Muskett*** (died 7-7-1827), merchant at firm Muskett & Young 1823, passenger on the ship Eclipse 29-10-1821 from Colombo to Galle, and the ship Sarah from Madras to Colombo 14-7-1822;
  - Member lodge De Vereeniging < 1822.
- Pieter ***Mutz***;
  - Member lodge De Vereeniging 1798.[137]
- N. ***Nagttrap***;
  - Master lodge De Getrouwigheid 1770 'arrived from the homeland', Master 27-1-1772.
- C. ***Natt*** [Watt? illegible];
  - Member lodge De Vereeniging 1798.[138]
- Johan Fredrik Samuel ***Neitge*** (born Maagdenburg), travelled as soldier 1-12-1766 on the ship Keukenhof to the Cape, from there 9-4-1767 on the ship Scholtenburg to Negapatnam, stayed there 8-4-1767 until 24-7-1767; provisional assistant in Negapatnam 1772; assistant 1773;
  - Fellow-Craft lodge De Langgewenschte ca. 1773, member 9-11-1773, Terrible 18-9-1774 and 12-10-1774, Junior Warden 11-1-1776.
- Claude ***Ogerdias [Oger Dias]*** (from Cusset), travelled 9-3-1753 as corporal on the ship Amstelveen to Batavia, arrival 15-12-1753; ensign-engineer of artillery 28-8-1758; overseer of buildings in Bengal 3-8-1759; to Batavia 11-

7-1763, permitted to stay there 29-6-1764; retired to Angouleme in 1773[139];
    - Member lodge Salomon 8-1-1759 and 2-1764.
- N. ***Ohlkers***;
    - Apprentice lodge De Getrouwigheid 27-1-1772 'travelling'.
- ***Van Pabst***, see Lawick.
- ***Peijl***, see De Lij.
- Justus Hen[d]rik ***Pfyll [Pfeil]***, [probably] (from Harme in Saksen), travelled 12-1-1758 as soldier on the ship Kronenburg to Batavia, arrival 20-6-1759, repatriated in 1761 on the same ship; travelled 12-12-1761 as *botteliersmaat* (assistant of the distributer of food and drink) on the ship Admiraal de Ruyter to Batavia, arrival 21-7-1762, repatriated on the same ship in 1763; travelled 15-11-1764 as third mate on the ship Welgelegen to Bengal, arrival 28-7-1765, repatriated in 1766 on the ship Scholtenburg;
    - Member of lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia 1772[140]; member lodge De Opregtheid voor 24-1-1775.[141]
- J. ***van der Plas*** [illegible: Oplas?];
    - Member lodge De Opregtheid < 1801; visitor lodge La Charité in Amsterdam 23-1-1801.[142]
- Johan Go[tt/d]lob ***Pren[s/z]el*** [probably:] (from Har[t/d]a), travelled 27-9-1763 as *oppermeester* (medical carer) on the ship Aschat to Batavia, arrival 16-5-1764, repatriated on the same ship in 1765; travelled 25-10-1765 as *oppermeester* on the ship Jonge Thomas to Batavia, arrival 25-6-1766, repatriated on the same ship in 1767; travelled 24-11-1767 as *oppermeester* on the ship Jonge Lieve to Batavia, arrival 8-6-1768, repatriated 1769 on the ship Damzicht;
    - Founder lodge De Getrouwigheid 1768.[143]
- A. ***Prins***;
    - Member lodge De Vereeniging 5-12-1816.[144]
- Cornelis Arnoldus ***Prins***;
    - *Maître Parfait Maçon* lodge De Opregtheid 10-1800 > < 11-8-1804, *Élu*/Orator/Master of Ceremonies 11-8-1804.
- François Albertus ***Prins*** (from Trinconomale / died 1774), soldier in service of VOC 1734, ensign, lieutenant 12-9-1747, *ritmeester* (cavalry captain) 1757, major 9-6-1767, major of militia 1770, proctor; schoolmaster 1838;
    - Worshipful Master lodge De Getrouwigheid 1770 and 27-1-1772; *Chevalier d'Orient*/*Prince de Jerusalem* Union Lodge < ?-2-1838; member St. John's Lodge of Colombo 21-2-1838.
- Henry Carmichael ***Prins***, Proctor S.C.;
    - Master Union Lodge < ?-2-1838; member St. John's Lodge of Colombo 21-2-1838.
- John Theodore ***Prins***, gaol doctor;
    - Fellow-Craft Union Lodge < ?-2-1838; Member St. John's Lodge of Colombo 21-2-1838.
- Pieter ***van Pro[o]yen*** [probably] (from Rotterdam), travelled 13-4-1750 as boy on the ship Schakenbos to Batavia, arrival 18-1-1751, repatriated on the ship Wildrijk in 1753; travelled 5-2-1754 as third mate on the ship Nieuwvijvervreugd to Batavia, arrival 10-9-1754, repatriated on the ship Kattendijke in 1755; travelled 24-10-1756 as junior mate on the ship Gustav Willem to Batavia, arrival 10-6-1757, repatriated on the ship Immagonda in 1758; travelled 28-9-1759 as first mate on the ship Keukenhof to Batavia, arrival 29-4-1760, repatriated on the ship Stralen in 1762; travelled 14-12-1763 as *opperstuuurman* on the ship Velsen to Batavia, arrival 9-5-1764, repatriated 1769 on the ship Bovenkerker Polder; captain on the ship De Ridderkerk ca. 1769; travelled 18-8-1778 as captain on the ship Bleijenburg to Batavia, arrival 12-3-1779, repatriated on the same ship in 1780;
    - Courier correspondence from Grand Lodge to lodge De Getrouwigheid 1769.
- Hieronimus Casemirus Carolus Baron ***de Prophalow*** (from Biala), travelled 19-4-1783 as military captain on the ship Rotterdams Welvaren to the Cape, travelled onwards 23-12-1783 on the ship Vrouwe Everhardina to Batavia, arrival 24-4-1784; last registered 31-8-1794[145];
    - *Maître Parfait Maçon* lodge De Opregtheid 31-11-1788, *Petit Architecte*/Junior Warden/*Hospitalier* 31-11-1789, *Petit Architecte*/Junior Warden 25-11-1790.
- N. ***Quiaart***;
    - Fellow-Craft lodge De Getrouwigheid 1770 and 27-1-1772.

- Jean Francois Paul ***Rachard***, Extraordinairy lieutenant of Artillery;
    - *Maître Parfait Anglois* lodge De Opregtheid 31-11-1788, Architect/*Maître Parfait Anglois* 31-11-1789, 1791.[146]
- Sam[ue]l ***Radermacher*** (born Den Haag 4-6-1748 / died 1-1-1816), travelled 6-1-1767 as young sailor on the ship Tulpenburg to the Dutch East Indies, arrival in Batavia 21-8-1767; assistant, became junior merchant 8-6-1768; from Ceylon to Bengal for employment 21-7-1769; second warehouse master in Hoogly 3-7-1770, junior merchant/second warehouse master proposed as merchant 9-7-1773; fiscal and village master in Bengal 9-7-

1773, confirmed as such 19-10-1774; *opperhoofd* (Chief) in Patna 22-6-1778; prisoner-of-war 3-7-1781; repatriated on Danish ship ca. 1784; bought Huize Endegeest in Oegstgeest 4-11-1787; owned Oude Singel 118 in Leiden 1789-1805;

- Fellow-Craft lodge De Getrouwigheid 1770 and 27-1-1772; Master lodge Salomon 11-1-1772, Junior Warden 10-1-1773, Past Provincial Grand Warden 10-1-1775, Past Senior Warden 30-12-1777.

- Lodewijk Carel ***von Ranzow*** (died 1824 or 1826);
  - Member lodge De Vriendschap in Soerabaya; Apprentice 25-4-1814, Fellow-Craft and Master 6-5-1814; member English lodge Star in the East, Calcutta 7-5-1814.
- [E]Rasmus Christiaan ***Rask*** (born ca. 1788 Copenhagen / died 14-11-1832 Copenhagen), professor and junior librarian 1823, in Ceylon 30-11-1821 until 19-8-1822, famous philologist;
  - 1st-8th degree lodge De Vereeniging 15-1-1822, 14th-18th degree 11-3-1822, 19th degree 23-3-1822, *Grand Pontiff et Sublime Écossois de Jerusalem Céleste*/Mark Master/Royal Arch 1-3-1822.
- Joseph ***Read***, merchant at W.C. Gibson, Read, Davidson & Co; first chairman of the chamber of commerce 1839;
  - Member of St. Andrew's Lodge in Perth; Master Union lodge < ?-2-1838, Member St. John's Lodge of Colombo 21-2-1838.
- [N.N.] ***Reckerman***;
  - Member lodge De Vereeniging < 1822[147], *Chevalier Rose Croix* 3-8-1836.[148]
- Jan Hendr. ***Reckerman*** (born ca. 1768 / died 9-8-1831), Fiscal from Colombo;
  - Secretary lodge De Vereeniging 14-4-1798, Senior Warden 1822, *Souverain Prince Rose Croix*/ Senior Warden 18-1-1825.[149]
- Frans ***R[e/ee/u]gel*** (bapt. Amsterdam 18-9-1746 / died 21-7-1781 Bengal), travelled 15-6-1763 as *Constabelsmaat* (assistant to the overseer of canons and munition) and junior soldier on the ship 's Gravenzande to Batavia, arrival 19-2-1764; travelled in 1767 on the ship Overwijk to Bengal, bookkeeper and second *afpakker* in the *Kledenzaal (textile warehouse)* in Hoogly 1775;
  - Fellow-Craft lodge De Standvastigheid 31-12-1773, upcoming Secretary 27-12-1774, member 15-11-1777; member lodge Salomon 1777.[150]
- Johan Leonhard ***Remmers***;
  - Founder lodge De Getrouwigheid 1768.[151]
- Pierre ***Renaud*** (from Neuchatel), captain in the Regiment De Meuron 1-6-1781, participated in the defence of Trinconomalee 1795 and the battle of Mysore 1799, commander of a company of the Regiment at the battle of Seringapatnam; retired in 1-1-1800, later returned to Europe;
  - Founder lodge La Réunion Neuchatelloise 16-5-1790.

- Thierry ***Reynard*** (born Den Haag 28-7-1733/ died 5-4-1778 Bengal), travelled 27-1-1761 as *ziekentrooster* (spiritual carer) on the ship Getrouwigheid to the Cape, travelled 12-5-1772 further as junior merchant on the ship Bovenkerker Polder to Batavia, arrival 3-7-1761; since 1763 in Bengal, bookkeeper, became third *afpakker* in the *Kledenzaal (textile warehouse)* in Hoogly 29-6-1764, junior merchant 1768, second in the *Kledenzaal* 3-7-1770;
  - Secretary lodge Salomon 31-10-1770, Senior Warden 11-1-1772; Founder lodge De Standvastigheid 27-12-1772, Master 31-12-1772; Secretary lodge Salomon 10-1-1773, Past Provincial Grand Warden 10-1-1775, Past Senior Warden 30-12-1777.
- Cornelis ***Rietveld*** (bapt. Amsterdam 10-9-1732 / died 10-10-1768 Patna), travelled 18-11-1750 as junior merchant on the ship Gustaaf Willem to Batavia, arrival 26-7-1751; since 1753 in Bengal, bookkeeper of wages in Hoogly 27-6-1755, junior merchant without employment 1760, cashier 21-7-1761, trade office bookkeeper and first warehouse master 8-7-1763, merchant, fiscal and village master 1765; *opperhoofd* (Chief) of Patna 30-6-1766[152];
  - Initiation as Apprentice lodge Salomon 7-4-1758, Sword bearer 8-1-1759.
- Jacques ***Ri[e]viere*** (from Straatsburg / died 8-12-1763 Bengal), travelled 30-12-1754 as sergeant on the ship Scholtenburg to Bengal, arrival 17-8-1755; bookkeeper and first *afpakker* in the *Kledenzaal* (textile warehouse) in Hoogly;
  - Founder and Senior Warden lodge Salomon 8-1-1759.[153]
- David ***de la Roche*** (from Middelburg / died 20-1-1775 Hoogly), travelled 12-8-1762 as young sailor on the ship Vlissingen to Batavia, arrival 16-5-1763; provisional assistant 1763; bookkeeper and second *Resident* in Abaath 1768;
  - Fellow-Craft lodge Salomon 11-1-1772; Fellow-Craft lodge De Standvastigheid 31-12-1772.
- Gerardus ***Roghé*** (born Amsterdam 29-9-1747 / buried 18-1-1788 Batavia), travelled 15-11-1764 as assistant on the ship Welgelegen to Bengal, arrival 28-7-1765; bookkeeper and second *afpakker* in Hoogly (1770); left in

January 1774 to Batavia[154]; *dagregisterhouder* (keeper of daily register) and archivist at the general Secretary proposed as junior merchant 19-6-1775; first clerk of Police in Semarang 9-2-1776; confirmed as junior merchant 23-4-1783; *Resident* in Japara proposed as merchant 20-4-1784;

- Master lodge Salomon 31-10-1770, Secretary 11-1-1772, member lodge Salomon 10-1-1773; Founder lodge De Standvastigheid 27-12-1772, Junior Warden 31-12-1772 and 10-1-1773; Senior Warden 31-12-1773- > ?-1-1774.[155]

- S. ***Roose***;
  - Apprentice lodge De Getrouwigheid 1770 'travelling', Apprentice 27-1-1772.
- Petrus Jacobus ***Ro[o]semal[e]-Co[c]q*** [probably:] (from Leiden), travelled as soldier 1-9-1763 on the ship Schagen to Batavia, arrival 22-9-1764; arrival Tuticorin in India 22-5-1764[156]; last registered 31-8-1794; Secretary of the Landraad;
  - *Maître Parfait Maçon* lodge De Opregtheid 31-11-1788 'in Colombo', *Maître Parfait Maçon* 31-11-1789, member 1798[157], *Chevalier Kadosh*/Worshipful Master 11-8-1804.
- Johannes Matthias ***Ross*** (born IJsselburg, Kleef 9-6-1730 / died < 31-7-1788 in Europe), travelled 19-12-1751 as assistant on the ship Immagonda to Bengal, arrival mid 1752; trade office bookkeeper and first warehouse master in Hoogly 30-6-1766; senior merchant and head administrator 18-7-1769, confirmed as such 9-6-1771; *opperhoofd* (Chief) of Cassimbazar 24-7-1771; director of Bengal 25-6-1776, confirmed as such 17-10-1777; prisoner-of-war 2-7-1781; 1782 to Europe; director Hollandsche Maatschappij van Wetenschappen in Haarlem 1777;
  - Secretary/Orator lodge Salomon ?-2-1764, Parting Secretary/Senior Warden 10-1-1768, member 8-11-1768, Master 31-10-1770, Past Master 11-1-1772 and 10-1-1773, Provincial Grand Master 30-12-1777;
- Jan Mijndt [Mijndersse] ***Rudolf[f]*** (from Bij den Vliet / died 14-8-1792 in Asia), travelled 31-10-1762 as *busschieter* (responsible for the artillery) on the ship Vrijburg to Batavia, arrival 8-7-1763; cannoneer in Hoogly 1770;
  - Apprentice/Servant lodge Salomon 11-1-1772, Chaplain 10-1-1775.
- Theodorus Cornelis ***Rudolph***;
  - Member lodge De Vereeniging 1816.[158]
- Casparus ***Runsdorff***;
  - Fellow-Craft lodge De Opregtheid 30-1-1774, Chapter member 1783.
- Pauolo ***St. Martins***;
  - Apprentice lodge De Getrouwigheid 1770 'travelling', Apprentice 27-1-1772.
- Johan Lodewijk [Ludwig] ***Sche[e]de[n]*** (from Vallwijk, Volbruch), travelled as ensign 3-6-1763 on the ship Lekkerland to Ceylon, arrival 3-2-1764; promoted to lieutenant in Colombo 13-6-1765, in Galle and in Matara; captain in Galle 22-6-1780; in Trinconomale 1787; major and military commander in Galle 1790; last registered 31-8-1794;
  - Apprentice and Fellow-Craft lodge De Opregtheid 12-2-1771, Master 24-6-1771, Terrible 7-2-1772, Junior Warden 30-1-1774, *Écossais* 1783, Worshipful Master/*Chevalier Kadosh* 31-11-1789, 1790.
- W.K. ***Schede***;
  - Member lodge De Opregtheid 1791[159], *Chevalier Kadosh* 1798.[160]
- Jacobus Larwood ***van Scheevikhaven*** (bapt. Arnhem 22-2-1728 / died Ternate 1-12-1762), travelled 4-12-1750 as sergeant on the ship Diemen to Bengal, arrival 12-9-1751; assistant, became junior merchant, bookkeeper of wages and ordinary commissioner in Hoogly 22-8-1752; merchant, fiscal and village master 27-6-1755; summoned with cancelled wages 14-8-1760, dismissed from service as undesirable subject 20-7-1761, released 31-12-1761, from singular grace as military lieutenant rejoined service 29-1-1762;
  - Member lodge Concordia Vincit Animos in Amsterdam 1770 <[161]; Founder/Worshipful Master lodge Salomon 7-1-1759, Provincial Grand Master 24-6-1759 and 23-12-1759.
- Jan Jacobus ***Schellus***;
  - Fellow-Craft lodge De Getrouwigheid 1770 'in Jaffanopatnam', Fellow-Craft 27-1-1772.
- Gualterus ***Schneider*** (born Jaffna 23-11-1772 / died 10-9-1841 Colombo), captain of Royal Engineers, under English rule a civil engineer 1810, third Surveyor General 1812-1833, retired 1838;
  - Member lodge De Vereeniging 5-12-1816, 'Grand Kight, Grand Inspector, *Élu Kadosh* and Souvereign Prince of the Royal Secret 32 degree' and Worshipful Master 1822, Magister 32nd 18-1-1825[162], Worshipful Master Union lodge; Magister Second 1836.[163]
- Johan Fredrik ***Schols***, corporal;
  - Servant lodge De Langgewenschte 11-1-1776.

- J.J. ***Schumacher***;
    - Member lodge De Vereeniging 5-12-1816.
- C.F. ***Schuman***;
    - Architect lodge Salomon 10-1-1773, Past Provincial [Grand] Treasurer 10-1-1775.
- Jan Albert ***Sichterman*** (born 1692 / died 1764), lieutenant, after a duel in service of the VOC; travelled April 1716 on the ship General Peace to Batavia; on to Hoogly in 1718; accountant in Cossimbazar; overseer of the warehouse in Hoogly 1721; transferred to Batavia; merchant and tax collector in Hoogly 1725; director of Bengal 1734-1744, to Batavia 1744, Exraordinary Council of the Dutch East Indies 1740-1744, Council of the East Indies 1744, repatriated 1745; owner Sichtermanhuis in Groningen, art collector;
    - Not registered as member, but after his death his legate inventory contained five masonic glasses, which suggests he was a freemason.[164]
- Johan Hendrik ***Si[e]mon*** [probably:] (from Gints), travelled 7-7-1779 as soldier to Batavia, arrival 14-02-1780; fired from VOC service 14-9-1790; burgher;
    - Apprentice Servant lodge De Opregtheid 31-11-1788 and 1789.
- Jan ***Sierevel*****[d/t]** [probably:] (from Middelburg), travelled as third wake on 25-9-1761 on the ship Huis te Boede to Batavia, arrival 24-5-1762, repatriated in 1763 on the ship Noord-Beveland; travelled 20-11-1764 as third wake on the ship Pallas to Batavia, arrival 24-6-1765, repatriated on the same ship in 1766; travelled as junior mate on 7-11-1766 on the ship Pallas to Batavia, arrival 28-6-1767, repatriated in 1768 on the ship Duijnenburg; travelled as first mate on 14-12-1768 on the ship Geinwens to Ceylon, arrival 7-2-1769, repatriated in 1770 on the ship Vrouwe Geertruida; travelled on 13-1-1771 as captain on the ship Borssele to Ceylon, arrival 14-7-1771, repatriated in 1772 on the same ship; travelled as captain op 26-12-1772 on the ship Oud Haarlem to Ceylon, arrival 16-7-1773, repatriated in 1773 on the same ship; travelled as captain op 7-14-1775 on the same ship to Ceylon, arrival 6-11-1775, repatriated in 1776 on the same ship; travelled 19-10-1777 as captain on the ship Zeeuw to Batavia, arrival 18-5-1778, repatriated on the same ship; travelled as captain 28-12-1784 on the ship Slot ter Hoge to Batavia, arrival 10-7-1785, last registered 1786 the Cape;
    - Courier correspondence and funds between the Grand Lodge and lodges De Opregtheid and De Getrouwigheid 1770-1771, 1774.
- Laurens ***de Sille*** (bapt. Waalwijk 5-6-1743 / died 31-3-1811 Delft), travelled as third mate 10-2-1769 on the ship Alkenmade to Batavia, arrival 27-5-1770, lieutenant at sea at the Admiralty on the Maas 1775; repatriated in 1776 on the ship Woestduin; travelled 9-3-1778 as commander on the ship Katwijk aan den Rijn to the Cape, arrival 25-8-1778; repatriated on the same ship in 1779; travelled 4-1-1780 as captain on the ship Amsterdam to Ceylon, arrival 11-7-1780; equipment master in Galle; repatriated on the ship Duifje 1787; *schepen* of Den Bosch 1793;
    - Member lodge De Opregtheid < 9-10-1776[165], Member *Écossois* lodge 1783.
- Edouard Jean ***Silvat*** (died > 26-2-1841);
    - *Souverain Prince Rose Croix* lodge De Vereeniging 1822.[166]
- G.H. ***Sluijsken***;
    - Member lodge De Opregtheid 1791.[167]
- P[i]eter ***Sluysken*** (bapt. Amsterdam 22-5-1740 / died 13-9-1813 Colombo), travelled 23-10-1753 as hooploper on the ship Keukenhof to Batavia, arrival 14-06-1754; repatriated 17-10-1755 on the ship Standvastigheid, arrival 29-7-1756; travelled as sergeant 30-12-1757 on the ship Giessenburg to Ceylon, arrival 16-8-1758; commisioner at the areeck trade in Colombo 1759; warden of Galle proposed as junior merchant 22-4-1766, confirmed as such 14-6-1767; lieutenant-dessave in Colombo with rank and title of merchant 16-10-1767; head of Mahabadde 3-12-1770; merchant without employment; administrator in Jaffnapatnam 3-10-1779 - 22-6-1780; trade office bookkeeper, sabandhaar and receiver of the domains in Colombo 31-5-1781, head administrator proposed as senior merchant 19-3-1782; commandor of Galle and lands of Matara 1788; commander in Surat 1792-1795;
    - Initiated and Master lodge De Opregtheid ca. 1772, < 7-2-1772, Master 30-1-1774.
- Frederik Wilhelmus ***Smith***;
    - *Maître Parfait Maçon* lodge De Opregtheid ?-10-1800 > < 11-8-1804, certificate as such 1802.[168]
- Johan ***Snijders*** [probably:] (from Delft / died 25-7-1782 in Asia), travelled as *kwartiermeester* on 9-4-1759 on the ship Erfprins to Batavia, arrival 30-10-1759, repatriated in 1761 on the ship Giessenburg; travelled as third wake on 5-4-1762 on the ship Bleiswijk to Batavia, arrival 26-9-1762, repatriated in 1764 on the ship Overnes; travelled as third wakke on 7-10-1764 on the ship Bleiswijk to Batavia, arrival 2-4-1765, repatriated on the same ship; travelled as junior mate on 12-10-1767 on the ship Pauw to Batavia, arrival 8-6-1768, repatriated in 1768 on the same ship; travelled as first mate on 2-10-1769 on the ship Erfprins to Batavia, arrival 27-5-1770, repatriated in 1771 on the ship Vrouwe Anthoinetta Coenrardina; travelled as first mate on 31-12-1771 on the ship Pauw to Batavia, arrival 12-7-1772, repatriated in 1773 on the same ship; travelled as captain on 11-5-1774 on the ship Pauw to Batavia, arrival 25-10-1774, repatriated in 1776 on the same ship; travelled as captain on 28-8-1777 on

the ship Ridderkerk to Batavia, arrival 4-4-1778, repatriated in 1778 via Bengal on the same ship; travelled as captain on 5-8-1780 on the ship Zilveren Leeuw to Batavia, arrival 13-5-1781;

- Courier correspondence Grand Lodge to lodges on the Cape and Batavia 1774.

- Willem Lodewijk ***Sontag*** (bapt. Den Haag 9-7-1749 / died 21-12-1779 Surat), travelled as junior merchant 2-10-1769 on the ship Willem de Vijfde to Batavia, arrival 27-5-1770; junior merchant, cashier, *factuurhouder* and *negotie-overdrager* in Surat 1772;
  - Member of lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia ca. 1770[169]; Senior Warden. lodge St. Jean de la Concorde 1-1-1774, Founder 11-9-1775 and 1-11-1775, 'E.O.' 1777 [which could mean *Eeuwig Oosten* = deceased, or *Eerste Opziener* = Senior Warden'].[170]
- C[ornelius] A[drianus] ***Spaar***, deacon in the Wolfendahl Church of Ceylon;
  - Member lodge De Vereeniging 5-12-1816.[171]
- Andries Andriesse ***Spin*** [probably] (from Rotterdam, Delfshaven) travelled as boy op 10-4-1770 on the ship Zilveren Leeuw to Batavia, arrival 22-10-1777, repatriated in 1771 on the same ship; travelled as junior sailor on 1-4-1772 on the ship Mercuur to Batavia, arrival 3-10-1772, repatriated in 1773 on the same ship; travelled as sailor on 27-9-1774 on the ship Delfshaven to Batavia, arrival 28-4-1775, repatriated in 1777 on the same ship; travelled as lieutenant on 24-11-1788 on the ship Delft to Batavia, arrival 26-6-1789, repatriated in 1791 on the ship Recht door zee;
  - Fellow-Craft lodge De Opregtheid (to Europe) 31-9-1789.
- Dominicus ***van Staden*** (from Ner[r/v]a / died 23-7-1790); travelled 7-1-1747 as soldier/passenger on the ship Voorzichtigheid to Batavia, arrival 3-8-1747; since 1750 in Bengal, ensign 1750; lieutenant 27-12-1757, captain 14/15-8-1760; captain-commander of the garrison in Hoogly 3-9-1762; repatriated 19-1-1763 on the ship Scholtenburg, arrival Texel 31-7-1763; travelled 11-6-1789 as military captainr on the ship De Draak to Batavia, died before arrival;
  - Member lodge Salomon 8-1-1759.
- Henry Joseph ***Staples***, Proctor S.C.;
  - Member St. John's Lodge of Colombo 21-2-1838.
- John James ***Staples*** (born 8-11-1798 / died 21-1-1852 Colombo), proctor S.C., Deputy Queen's Advocate 1839; district judge in Kandy 1842;
  - Royal Arch, Member Union Lodge < ?-2-1838, Member St. John's Lodge of Colombo 21-2-1838, probably Worshipful Master St. John's Lodge of Colombo 1839.
- George [Frederik] ***Steendekker*** (from Defolt / 15-7-1773 missing at sea), leaves 15-6-1761 as junior mate of the ship Voorland to Batavia, arrival 23-3-1762, repatriated 1765 on the ship Vrouwe Kornelia Hillegonda; travelled as first mate of the ship Jeruzalem 2-8-1766 to Batavia, arrival 4-3-1966, repatriated on the ship Vrouwe Elisabeth in 1768; captain on the ship Concordina Antoinetta 1768; travelled 13-5-1769 as captain of the ship Lycochton to Batavia, arrival 9-1-1770; 1770 in Malacca, loses possessions by fire on ship being struck by lightning 16-10-1771, has to stay in Batavia[172]; travelled in 1772 from Batavia to Dejima, Japan on the ship Vrouwe Margaretha Maria, arrival 6-8-1772 without several masts; return to Batavia 16-11-1772[173]; in Japan according to *Amsterdamse Courant* 10-7-1773; left Batavia for Bengal 15-7-1773, perished on the ship Vrouwe Margaretha[174];
  - Apprentice/Fellow-Craft lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam 12-12-1760; Visitor lodge Concordia Vincit Animos in Amsterdam 1760[175]; Master/*Passant* (= traveller) La Bien Aimée Amsterdam 13-3-1761; member lodge Salomon 1765, courier correspondence Grand Lodge and lodge Salomon 1766 and 1768; member *Écossois* lodge Concordia < 1768, Deputy Grand Master 13-5-1769-1772.
- Jean Gotlieb ***Stein*** (from Thurgovie / died 22-11-1793 Trinconomale), captain lieutenant in Swiss regiment De Meuron 1-6-1781, captain 1-7-1783;
  - Founder lodge La Réunion Neuchatelloise 16-5-1790.
- James ***Stewart*** [probably:] (born 19-12-1794 Colombo / died 28-3-1843 Colombo), second lieutenant 1811, assistant commissionary general 1817-1818;
  - Member Union lodge 24-8-1835, Fellow-Craft Union Lodge < ?-2-1838, Member St. John's Lodge of Colombo 21-2-1838.
- Hendrik Anthon[y/ie] ***Stoete*** (from Amsterdam), travelled 16-12-1775 as gunner on the ship Honkoop to Ceylon, arrival 30-7-1776; repatriated on the same ship in 1777; travelled 5-3-1789 as captain at sea of the ship Spaarne to Bengal, arrival 31-8-1789; repatriated on the ship Schoonderloo' in 1792;
  - *Maître Parfait Maçon* lodge De Opregtheid 1778 (to Bengal), visitor lodge La Charité, Amsterdam 15-7-1801.[176]
- Marthinus ***Stoffenberg*** [probably:] (from Saltbommel / died 8-8-1779 in Asia), travelled as sergeant on 8-5-1764 on the ship Kattendijke to Batavia, arrival 31-12-1764; junior merchant, secretary of police and cashier in

Negapatnam, member of a commission to take over Dutch possessions from the English 1785; merchant, chief administrator in Palliacatta; to St. Thome to recover from illness;

- Terrible lodge De Langgewenschte 11-1-1776, Terrible 15-10-1778.

- Johan Hendrik ***Str[o]u[c]k*** [probably:] (born Hamburg / died 21-12-1773 in Asia), travelled as soldier on 14-12-1763 on the ship Westfriesland to Batavia, arrival 29-8-1764; travelled as soldier I-12-1765 on the ship Oranjezaal to Bengal, arrival 4-8-1766 as 'disabled'; bookkeeper at the trade office in Negapatnam 1773;
  - Senior Warden lodge De Langgewenschte ca. 1773 and 9-11-1773, member 1774 [listed posthumously].
- Jacobus ***Swart[h]*** [probably:] (from Wi[t]sburg, Wilsbury), travelled 9-12-1744 as *bosschieter* (responsible for the artillery) on the ship Brouwer, arrival 18-8-1745, repatriated in 1745 on the same ship; travelled 19-10-1746 as third wake on the ship Beukestein to Batavia, arrival 15-6-1747, repatriated on the ship Bredenhof in 1750; travelled 18-11-1750 as junior mate on the ship Giessenburg to Batavia, arrival 10-7-1751, repatriated on the ship Leiden' in 1752; travelled 28-12-1752 as first mate on the ship Zuiderburg to Ceylon, repatriated 1754 on the ship Vrijburg; travelled 20-5-1756 as first mate on the ship Amstelveen to Batavia, arrival 28-11-1756, repatriated 1757 on the ship Luxemburg; travelled 19-12-1757 as captain on the ship Vlietlust to Ceylon, arrival 23-7-1758, repatriated 1759 on the same ship;
  - Introduced in lodge La Bien Aimée Amsterdam 11-2-1761, member 13-3-1761, initiated elsewhere; member lodge Salomon < 1761.[177]
- Jan ***S[ch]wendler*** [Swindler] (from Dendermonde / died 31-1-1763 Hoogly), travelled 29-1-1752 as assistant on the ship Huis ten Donk to Batavia, arrival 26-7-1752; in Bengal 1754, bookkeeper 1760;
  - Initiation Apprentice lodge Salomon 7-4-1758, Secretary 8-1-1759.
- ***Tan***, see Vauquet.
- Theodorus van ***T[e]ijlingen*** (born Negapatnam 1760 / died 17-1-1812 Batavia), assistant in Colombo 1784, overseer of the iron warehouse 1786, chief of the Mahabadde 1789, chief of the Cinnamon Department; merchant and Resident in Tegal, Java 1792-1804; repatriated 1804; on Java 1806[178];
  - *Maître Parfait Anglois* lodge De Opregtheid 31-11-1789; Master lodge La Constante et Fidèle in Semarang 24-6-1799, 'in Tegal' until 27-10-1801.
- Jacob ***van Tessel*** (born Negapatnam), Commisioner and pupil at the Mint;
  - Apprentice lodge De Langgewenschte 11-1-1776, Apprentice or Fellow-Craft 15-10-1778.
- Joh[an] Martinus ***Thomasse[n]*** [probably:] (from Middelburg / died 28-1-1806), travelled as *hooploper* (low ranking sailor) on 13-12-1773 on the ship Willem de Vijfde, arrival 28-7-1774; last registered 31-8-1782; travelled as third mate on 17-4-1784 on the ship Constantia to Batavia, arrival 21-4-1785, repatriated in 1787 on the ship Eenparigheid; travelled on 27-11-1787 as captain (lieutenant) on 27-1-1787 on the ship Recht door zee to Batavia, arrival 20-8-1788, repatriated in 1790 on the ship Slot Capelle; travelled 12-9-1791 al captain (lieutenant) of the ship to Batavia, arrival 1-4-1792;
  - Member of a lodge in Trinconomalee < 1791; Member of the lodge De Eendracht in Rotterdam in 1791; Founder lodge St. Jean de la Concorde 11-9-1775 and 1-11-1775.
- Frederik ***T[h]ot[t]*** (from Frederikshal); travelled 23-10-1753 as soldier on the ship Giessenburg to Batavia, arrival 21-4-1754; in Batavia tot 1758; in Coromandel 1759; from 1759 in Bengalen, sworn clerk (1765); bookkeeper and First clerk in Hoogly 1770; in 1771 dismissed from service;
  - Treasurer lodge Salomon 31-10-1770, Master 11-1-1772, Senior Warden 10-1-1773; Treasurer lodge De Standvastigheid 27-12-1774; Past Provincial Grand Warden 10-1-1775.
- Jacob Goverts ***Tirion*** (from Hamburg), acts as provisional assistant 1769 in service of the VOC, bookkeeper, First clerk of Police and Secretary of Justice in Surat 1773 until December 1778;
  - Member lodge St. Jean de la Concorde 1-1-1774, Founder 11-9-1775 and 1-11-1775.
- François Leonard Pierre August ***Tissot Grenus*** (from Grancy, Vaud, born 1732 / died 18-6-1810 Aix, Bouches du Rhone)[179], military lieutenant in Bengal 14-8-1760; Commander of the Fleet travelling to Patna 1764; dismissed from service 30-6-1766; repatriated 1768; citizen of Geneva 1775;
  - Delegate lodge l'Indissoluble in The Hague at the Grand Lodge 26-12-1756; Member lodge Salomon 8-1-1759, Senior Warden ?-2-1764; Provincial Grand Master 10-1-1768 t/m 4-11-1768, Past Provincial Grand Master 12-1-1771.[180]
- Isaac ***Titsingh*** (bapt. Amsterdam 21-1-1745 / died 2-2-1812 Paris), travelled as junior merchant on the ship Nieuw Nieuwerkerk to Batavia; secretary of marriage and small court cases in Batavia; ensign of *stadspennisten* (city clerks) 18-7-1771; second administrator in the grain warehouse 9-7-1773; lieutenant of *stadspennisten* 14 -5-1776; captain-lieutenant of *stadspennisten* 7-6-1777 until 14-6-1779; first administrateur in the grain warehouse proposed as merchant 10-4-1778; *opperhoofd* (director) in Japan proposed as senior merchant 16 -2-1779, confirmed as such 9-7-1781; director of Bengal 29-4-1785; Extraordinary Council of the Dutch East Indies 25-4-1788 until 24-5-1791, transferred to Batavia; Council of the Dutch East Indies 15-7-1792; receiver and postmaster

general 9-11-1792 until 14-8-1794; chief commissioner of the *ambtgeld* (civil servants budget) in Batavia 27-8-1793; commissioner at sea and in the field 31-8-1793; Extraordinary Council of the East Indies 1794; ambassador at the court of Peking 15-8-1794; returned to Europe March 1796 on an English ship; member of the Royal Society in London 1797;

- Apprentice in lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia 12-4-1771 and 1-11-1771, Master 26-10-1772, Architect/Junior Warden 8-1-1774, Terrible 19-1-1775, *Écossois* 1776[181]; Worshipful Master ca. 1775-1781[182]; *Élu* Apprentice 27-12-1782[183]; Past Master 8-1-1783, 21-6-1783, 16-12-1785 and 24-6-1788 'in Bengal', 29-10-1792; *Élu* 8-11-1794, Past Scots Master 28-12-1796; still listed as member in1805.[184]

- Albert ***Tobias*** (from Amsterdam / died 25-9-1773), travelled 4-12-1750 as *constabelsmaat* (assistant to the overseer of canons and munition) on the ship Diemen to Bengal, arrival 12-9-1751; assistant 1757, bookkeeper 1761, commisioner in the Mint 29-6-1764; warehouse master in Cassimbazar 1766; third in Patna 1768;
  - *Stokkendrager* lodge Salomon 8-1-1759.
- Samuel Pieter ***Toenander*** (from Calmer), travelled 1-4-1780 as *bosschieter* (responsible for artillery) from Texel on the ship Bovenkerker Polder, arrival Bengal 16-11-1780; ordinary *vuurwerker* (amunition worker) 1786; captain luitenant engineers 1790; overseer of buildings 1794; last registered 1794[185];
  - *Élu* lodge De Opregtheid 31-11-1789.
- ***De la Tour***, see De Meuron.
- Jean Jacques Babtista ***Trembley*** (from Genève / died <25-10-1760 Hoogly), travelled 7-7-1753 as assistant on the ship Jerusalem to Batavia, arrival 26-1-1754; junior merchant 7-3-1754; *Resident* of Tegenapatnam 18-6-1756; travelled 1758 on the ship Osdorp to Bengal; junior merchant in Hoogly;
  - Member lodge Salomon 8-1-1759.
- J[oh/an] H[endrik] ***Trip*** (from Hessen, Darmstadt / died 9-9-1775 in Asia), travelled as soldier on 19-5-1763 on the ship Vrouwe Petronella to the Cape, travelled onwards 31-10-1763 on the ship Lekkerland to Ceylon, arrival 3-2-1764; sargent and enseign in Batavia 1775;
  - Fellow-Craft lodge De Langgewenschte 12-10-1774.
- Christianus Cornelius ***Uhlenbeck*** (born 12-9-1780 Colombo / died 20-1-1845 Delft), ensign in Colombo 1796, prisoner-of-war; civil engineer in English service; represented the Dutch on Ceylon and stimulated the abolition of slavery on Ceylon; repatriated in 1820, but shipwrecked at the Tafelbaai 1821; settled in Voorburg, appointed mayor 1828, resigned 1837; administrator of the Polytechnical College in Delft 1842[186];
  - Fellow-Craft lodge De Opregtheid 1798[187], *Maître Parfait Anglois*/*Maître Parfait Maçon* 1800.[188]
- J[ohan/nes] W[ilhelm/us] ***Uhlenbeck*** (born on the Eulenbeck estate in Velbert, Germany 1-2-1744 / died 28-2-1810 Colombo), founder of ironworks in Velbert, left and served as *Feldwebel* under Frederik the Great; fled after a duel and travelled 20-12-1767 as soldier on the ship Vlietlust to Ceylon, arrival 7-12-1768; last registered 31-8-1794; majoor-commander of Galle, prisoner-of-war 1796; lived as private citizen after his release; father of Christianus Cornelius, listed above[189];
  - Junior Warden lodge De Vereeniging 14-4-1798.[190]
- Rawdon John Popham ***Vassal*** (died 15-6-1884 London), enseign by purchase of the 78th Highland Regiment 1822; lieutenant 1825, captain 1826, major 1841; travelled to London on the ship Columbus 1845; lieutenant colonel 1851, colonel 1854, major-general 1864, lieutenant-general 1874, geeral 1877[191];
  - Member Union Lodge 24-8-1835.
- Jacques Theodore ***Vaucquet*** [de Tan/Detang] (bapt. 24-5-1727 Rotterdam / died 3-1-1789 in Asia), travelled 22-1-1759 as corporal on the ship Lekkerland to Batavia, ship returned and left again 5-3-1759, arrival 4-10-1759; accountant in Palicol 1762, *Secunde* and cashier 1786;
  - Fellow-Craft lodge De Langgewenschte 11-1-1776.
- [Charles Estienne] ***Vaugine*** [de Vaufourand] (from Weissenberg, Elsas), engaged in VOC service in Paris bij the gentlemen Van de Perre and Boers, travelled on the French ship Louis Francois to the Cape; travelled 11-04-1783 as military captain on the ship Schoonderloo to Batavia, arrival 18-7-1783; captain of fuseliers in Colombo 1781; last registered 31-8-1794; in 1796 the only member of the Military Council to oppose surrender to the British; as colonel and adjutant-general part of a diplomatic mission to the crowning of the sultan of Bantam in 1802, colonel on Java 1807;
  - Souverain Prince Rose Croix/Master of Ceremonies lodge De Vereeniging 30-4-1794.[192]
- J[o]an Werner ***van der Velden*** (bapt. Amsterdam 4-10-1744), travelled 18-12-1764 as junior merchant on the ship Landskroon to Batavia, arrival 13-8-1765; for employment to Colombo 1765; *dagregisterhouder* (keeper of the day register) at the general Secretary in Batavia 28-9-1769; second warehouse master in Hoogly 1770; suspended from function 28-7-1778, to be sent to Batavia at convenience;
  - Initiated as passer-by lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam 14-11-1764; member lodge La

Vertueuse in Batavia ?-12-1769; Orator/Secretary lodge De Standvastigheid 31-12-1773, > ?-1-1774[193]; excluded from the Order 11-1-1775.

- Willem ***Verhaage***;
    - Apprentice/Fellow-Craft/Master in lodge Social Friendship no. 4 E.C. in Madras < 16-5-1802; visitor 23-8-1803 in lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia; *Élu des Quinze* in lodge La Constante et Fidèle in Semarang 12-7-1808; visitor lodge De Vriendschap in Soerabaya 20-5-1810.[194]
- George Louis ***Vernet*** (bapt. Den Haag 22-1-1711 / died 12-12-1775 Batavia), travelled 24-6-1731 as sergeant on the ship Huis te Marquette to Batavia, arrival 11-4-1732; junior merchant, cashier and warehouse master; merchant and second in Cassimbazar 29-8-1749; senior merchant and hoofd administrator in Hoogly 9-7-1754; *opperhoofd* (Chief) of Cassimbazar with rank and title of *Secunde* in the Bengal government 27-6-1755; in Kalikapur 1756-1758, commander in the Bengal government with the title of director at Chinsurah 8-7-1763, confirmed as such 15-8-1765; licensed to the Netherlands 18-7-1769;
    - Junior Warden lodge Salomon ?-2-1764, Deputy Provincial Grand Master 10-1-1768, Provincial Grand Master 4-11-1768, Past Provincial Grand Master 12-1-1771.
- Leonardus ***Verspyck*** (from Nijmegen; bapt. Bergharen 18-10-1734 / died 23-4-1819 Leiden), travelled 30-3-1760 as sergeant on the ship Torenvliet to Batavia, arrival 26-9-1760; in Hoogly since 1768, bookkeeper of wages in Hoogly; *Secunde,* trade office bookkeeper and cashier in Cassimbazar proposed as merchant 20-6-1776, confirmed as such 18-6-1778; prisoner-of-war 3-7-1781; became the *maneance* of business in Cassimbazar proposed 23-7-1784; repatriated on the ship Stralen, arrival in the Netherlands 19-8-1788;
    - Member of lodge De Resolutie in Amsterdam < 1762-1763[195]; Fellow-Craft lodge Salomon 31-10-1770, Junior Warden 11-1-1772, member 10-1-1773, Deputy Provincial Grand Master 10-1 1775; Founder lodge De Standvastigheid 27-12-1772, Senior Warden 31-12-1772 and 10-1-1773; Worshipful Master 31-12-1773, ?-1-1774[196];
- Stephen ***Vertue*** Jr (from Liverpool), merchant, dealer and chapman on Ceylon; secretary to the Chamber of Commerce 1839; the family firm of Vertue, grain traders in Liverpool, was declared bankrupt in 1846;
    - Member lodge De Eendragt, Rotterdam < 2-1838; Member St. John's Lodge of Colombo 21-2-1838.
- I.L. ***Vix***;
    - Fellow-Craft lodge Salomon 1770, Master 1772, Former Warden 1773.
- Reynier ***van Vlissingen*** (bapt. Leeuwarden 13-10-1734 / died 12-3-1783 Batavia), travelled as soldier 23-10-1751 on the ship Bosschenhove to Batavia, arrival 6-6-1752; *factuurhouder* 19-12-1758, junior merchant and *negotie-overdrager* 8-5-1759, merchant and trade office bookkeeper 23-2-1761, ensign of the *stadspennisten* (city clerks) 13-6-1764- 11-6-1765, second senior merchant of the castle 21-8-1764, as such confirmed 10-9-1765, captain the city clerks 6-6-1769, first senior merchant 2-4-1771; governor and director of Coromandel 3-5-1771, as such confirmed 1-7-1773-1781; released from service 12-11-1781 to private ship;
    - Member lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia 1769, Master 22-5-1770, Worshipful Master 24-6-1770 until 18-1-1771[197]; Worshipful Master lodge De Langgewenschte ca. 1773, Past Master 9-11-1773, 18-9-1774, 12-10-1774, 1776 and 1778.
- J[oh]an[nes] ***de Vos [probably],*** Deacon in the Wolfendahl Church of Ceylon 1752-1757, Elder 1767-1772, 1774-1776 and 1780-1782;
    - Apprentice lodge De Getrouwigheid 1770 'travelling', Apprentice 27-1-1772.
- Gozewijn Willem Hendrik ***de Vriese*** (born Delft, Castle Keenenburg 6-11-1752 / died 28-1-1812 Breda), travelled 13-12-1773 as junior merchant on the ship Willem de Vijfde to Batavia, arrival 28-7-1774; First in the Mint at Cassimbazar 1776; Second in Patna 1780, prisoner-of-war 3-7-1781; repatriated ?-7-1787 on the ship Stralen; *schepen* in Middelburg 18-4-1805; his son would become a famous botanist at the Hortus Botanicus of the Leiden University;
    - Fellow-Craft or Apprentice lodge De Standvastigheid 27-12-1774.
- John William ***de Waas*** (died 1828), clerk at the Chief Secretary's office at Colombo;
    - Member Lodge no. 62 of the 8th Regiment of Foot (Irish Constitution).
- Johan[nes] ***Wa[h]lberg***, ensign in Macassar 1778; lieutenant in Batavia 1781; accountant in Ceylon; reported on irrigation, such the construction of the waterworks at Manthai[198];

    - Senior Warden/*S[ublime] E[cossai]s* lodge De Opregtheid 1798,[199] *Chevalier Kadosh*/Magister 11-8-1804.
- Abraham ***van der Weijde[n]*** (from Delft / died 31-1-1773), travelled as trumpeter on 18-4-1748 on the ship Westhoven to Batavia, repatriated on the ship Hof d'Uno in 1750; travelled as trumpeter on 1-5-1751 on the ship Erfprins to Batavia, repatriated on the same ship in 1753; travelled as *constabelsmaat* (assistant to the overseer of canons and munition) on 26-10-1753 on the same ship to Batavia, repatriated on the ship Jerusalem in 1756;

travelled as third wake on 6-4-1761 on the ship Scholtenburg to Batavia, repatriated on the ship Gouverneur Generaal in 1762; travelled 8-10-1762 as junior mate on the ship Overschie to Batavia, arrival 17-4-1763, repatriated 1764 on the ship Noord Nieuwland; travelled as first mate on 7-10-1764 on the ship Bleiswijk to Batavia; became captain 13-5-1766; repatriated as captain of the ship Renswoude, arrival on Texel 24-5-1767; travelled 2-10-1768 as captain of the ship Ritthem to Batavia, arrival 4-6-1769; repatriated from Bengal on the same ship 29-1-1771, arrival in Rammekens 10-8-1771; travelled 31-12-1771 as captain of the ship Pauw to Batavia, arrival 12-7-1772; repatriated on the same ship 27-10-1772, [probably died on board 31-1-1773] arrival of the ship in Goeree 23-5-1773;

- Courier correspondence from Grand Lodge to lodge De Getrouwigheid 1771; Provincial Grand Master who constituted lodge De Goede Hoop at the Cape 4-5-1772, replacement Deputy Grand Master Steendekker 1772[200]; Installed lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia 24-6-1772[201]; correspondent lodge Salomon 1771-1777.

- Joshua Christoffelsz ***Weinman*** (died 1824), assistant shopkeeper in the Colonial Shop Department;
  - Member Lodge No. 62 of the 8th Regiment of Foot (Irish Constitution).
- Egbert Nicolaas ***Wiardi*** (born 7-1-1747 Groningen), accountant, First Clerk of Justice and Secretary of Police in Surat 1769, junior merchant 1776, warehouse master 1784;
  - Secretary lodge St. Jean de la Concorde 1777.[202]
- Frederik ***Wieman*** (bapt. Amsterdam 3-6-1750 / died 5-6-1791 Chinsura), travelled 15-11-1764 as boy on the ship Welgelegen to Bengal, arrival 28-7-1765; bookkeeper and sworn clerk at the Council of Justice in Hoogly 1775; prisoner-of-war 3-7-1781, secretary of police and cashier, approved as junior merchant 2-9-1788;
  - Orat and Architect lodge De Standvastigheid 27-12-1774, member 15-11-1777; member lodge Salomon 1777.[203]
- Arent Jacob ***de Wilde*** (bapt. Utrecht 20-6-1723 / died 13-7-1761 Bengal), travelled 9-6-1751 as junior merchant on the ship Tulpenburg to Batavia, arrival 26-1-1752; ordinary commisioner in Cassimbazar 29-6-1753, merchant and Seconde in Cassimbazar 9-7-1754; appointed head administrator and senior merchant in Bengal 21-7-1761, but was by then already deceased;
  - Initiation as Master lodge Salomon 7-4-1758.
- C. ***Wilke*** [possily the same as Willekes below];
  - Apprentice lodge De Standvastigheid 1772.
- J[oh]an Christoffel ***Willeke(s)*** (from Rotterdam / died 29-11-1780 Hoogly), travelled 5-6-1767 as junior master on the ship Walenburg to the Cape, arrival 2-10-1767; junior surgeon in Hoogly 1770; travelled 12-5-1772 from the Cape on the ship Bovenkerker Polder to Bengal, arrival 15-8-1772;
  - Apprentice lodge Salomon 31-10-1770 and 11-1-1772; Apprentice lodge De Standvastigheid 31-12-1772.
- D. ***Willekes***;
  - Apprentice lodge Salomon 1772
- [N.N.] ***Williams***;
  - Member lodge L'Union and visitor lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia 1821-1824.[204]
- F[ranz Carel Philip Freiherr von] ***Win[c]kelman[n]*** (died 29-7-1820 Semarang), travelled 29-6-1787 with the Württemberg Regiment on the ship Fortuna tot the Cape; travelled through South Africa when on a mission to retrieve gods from a stranded ship in Plettenbergsbaai 1788-1789; captain lieutenant 1791; prisoner-of-war 1796; major 1796; travelled to Java with the Württemberg Regiment 1805, lieutenant colonel 1808; inspector general of forests; brigadier 1810; acting superintendent of teakforests 1814; director of forests 1816[205];
  - Junior Warden lodge De Vereeniging 30-4-1794[206], Senior Warden 14-4-1798.[207]
- Christiaan ***Wist***;
  - Member lodge De Getrouwigheid < 26-10-1770, visitor lodge Salomon < 26-10-1770.
- Thomas Alex[ander] ***de Witt*** (bapt. the Cape 11-7-1745 / buried 8-8-1776 Batavia), travelled in 1758 as *hooploper* (low ranking sailor) from the Cape on the ship Bleiswijk to Batavia, arrival 13-10-1758; as travelled as sailor on 25-8-1761 on the ship Visvliet from Zeeland to the Cape, arrival 8-5-1762; travelled 25-9-1764 on the ship Amerongen from the Cape to Batavia, arrival 29-12-1764, repatriated in 1766 on the ship 's-Gravenzande; travelled 16-5-1767 as junior mate on the ship Lapienenburg to Batavia, arrival 26-11-1767, repatriated on the ship Scholtenburg in 1769; travelled 12-10-1769 as first mate on the ship Scholtenburg to Batavia, arrival 27-5-1770; became commander on island Edam 30-5-1772, captain 3-9-1772, junior equipment master 12-6-1775, lieutenant at sea 11-7-1775, commander and senior equipment master, as well as *buitenregent* of hospitals and post master in Batavia 28-5-1776, captain at sea 4-6-1776;
  - Steward (*Hofmeester*) lodge De Standvastigheid 27-12-1774.
- J. ***Young***, assistant surgeon, 78th Regiment;
  - Member Union Lodge 24-8-1835.

- John Ebenezer ***Young***, merchant of the firm Young Bros in Colombo;
    - Royal Arch Union Lodge < 2-1838; member St. John's Lodge of Colombo 21-2-1838.
- William Henry ***Young*** (born Yorkshire 1787 / died 1879 Somerset), 1811 Hospital Mate for General Service; 1813 Assistant Surgeon 91st Regiment of Foot; 1814 Served at Bergen-op-Zoom (the Netherlands); 1815 Served at Waterloo and made Assistant Surgeon 2nd Dragoons, placed on half-pay; 1822 full-pay Staff Assistant Surgeon; 1828 Surgeon Ceylon Rifle Regiment; 1836 Surgeon 44th East Essex Regiment of Foot; 1838 Exchanged with Surgeon John Harcourt 2nd Queen's Royal Regiment of Foot; 1844 Surgeon 28th North Gloucestershire Regiment of Foot; 1854 travelled to Malta; 1854 Left for Turkey and retired to half-pay[208];
    - Member Union Lodge 24-8-1835.
- ***Van Yperen***, see de Mourin;
- Gijsbertus ***Zeegelaar*** (born 's Haage [= The Hague]), military captain,
    - Fiscal lodge De Langgewenschte 1776 and 1778.
- Aren[d/t] ***de Zeeuw*** [probably:] (from Amsterdam / died 22-8-1777 in Asia), travelled 5-9-1761 as *Constabelsmaat* (assistant to the overseer of canons and munition) on the ship Overnes to Batavia, arrival 19-12-1761, repatriated on the ship Walenburg in 1769; travelled in 29-12-1769 as junior mate on the ship Jonge Thomas to Batavia, arrival 7-1-1770, repatriated in 1771 on the ship Nieuw Rhoon; travelled 30-12-1771 as first mate on the ship Leiderdorp to Batavia, arrival 17-8-1772; repatriated on the ship Zilveren Leeuw in 1774; travelled 11-5-1776 as captain on the ship Veldoen to Batavia, arrival 17-11-1776;
    - Member lodge De Standvastigheid < 9-11-1774.[209]
- Jan Hendrik ***Zinner*** (from Keevenraad [= Kefenrod] / died 23-5-1775 Hoogly), travelled 1743 as a soldier on the ship Den Heuvel to the Cape; in Batavia 1758-1760, sergeant, became ensign 3-7-1759; since 1760 in Bengal, lieutenant 14-8-1760, captain-commander 29-6-1762;
    - Initiation as Apprentice lodge Salomon 11-5-1764, *Hofmeester* (Steward) 10-1-1768, Deputy Provincial Grand Master 31-10-1770, Past Deputy Provincial Grand Master 10-1-1773 and 10-1-1775.

NOTES

Notes to chapter 1

[1] The word *lodge* was used to describe four things: a local organisation of freemasons, the symbolical drawing or tracing board at the heart of their rituals, the ritual space in which they met, and the building in which this space was situated. In the Netherlands, this space was also described as *workplace* or *temple* at particular times in history. In order to avoid confusion, especially for readers new to the subject, I prefer the term *lodge* to describe the people, *tracing board* to describe the symbolical drawing, *lodge room* or *temple* for the ritual meeting space, and *lodge building*, *masonic hall* or *freemasons' hall* for the premises in which the ritual meeting place was located. In masonic documents, the word *lodge* is often substituted by an abbreviation ('L.') or a symbol (one or two rectangles with a centre point). Fr the convenience of the reader, these have been replaced by the word itself in the transcripts and translations which follow below.

[2] Information kindly provided by the staff of the CMC, 11-6-2015, based on the number of individual cards in the membership registration. This is not an exact number, as spelling variations have allowed some members to be listed twice. The real number of members is probably higher, as the cards were based on membership records of the Grand Lodge, which survived incomplete, and not all names listed in minutes books or correspondence have yet been added.

[3] This study mainly focuses on the period between 1735 and 1853 and the lodges of the (masculine) Order of Freemasons under the Grand East of the Netherlands. During the 18th century, women were admitted to and held high functions in so-called 'adoption lodges', see chapter 2.

[4] Great Britain had known almost a century of civil war, largely due to religious issues. Jessica Harland-Jacobs/Jan Snoek, 'Freemasonry and Eastern Religions', in Bogdan/Snoek 2014, p. 259.

[5] This trickle-down effect is well demonstrated in art, with artists and architects among the members drawing upon masonic symbolism in their work and their followers, unaware of the origins of this symbolism, copying it. See Ariëns-Volker 2004 and idem, 'Freemasonry and Modern Art', in Bogdan/Snoek 2014. Bax 2006 demonstrates the same effect for theosophy. Excluding all influences from one's membership in one's work would require a conscious effort, which in itself confirms such influence existed.

[6] See Kwaadgras 1998.

[7] Original owner was from Jacoba Diderica Arnoldina van Lennep (1822-1869), wife to Philip Jacob Baron van Pallandt (1814-1892). For the history of the building, see amongst others CMC, *Verzameling van bescheiden betrekking hebbende tot de schenking van het gebouw met aanhoorigheden, op den Fluweelen Burgwal te 's Gravenhage aan het Groot-Oosten der Orde van Vrijmetselaren [...] door Z.K.H. Prins Frederik der Nederlanden [...] in den jaren 1856,* and Dielemans 1993.

[8] The looting and return of the collections are described in Hoogwoud e.a. 1997 and Kwaadgras 2000. The latter provides the first, concise overview of events. Kwaadgras concludes that, incredible as it may seem, there has never been a structural effort to trace the fate of the object collection, or to try and retrieve it. Curator Beitj Croiset van Uchelen made handwritten notes in his personal copy of the collection catalogue from 1913, which indicate that some items were returned. This is the only, incomplete registration of the pre- and post-war collection available.

[9] Like other 'old school' curators, Croiset van Uchelen had the habit of leaving many notes and corrections in pencil or ink in the corners of books or even historic documents. This unorthodox way of passing on knowledge is of course now frowned upon by conservation specialists, but none the less proved very effective. His legacy of tiny personal notes is still guiding present scholars in their research efforts, including me.

[10] When in 1995 I proposed to dedicate my final paper at the department of Art History and Archaeology at the Leiden University to the iconography of the masonic apron my professor scoffed at the idea and dismissed freemasonry as a 'scouts club for grown men' without any artistic merit. I persisted and requested an expert on freemasonry from outside the university to be allowed to act as a co-reader (which is incidentally how I came to meet dr. Jan Snoek). Eventually I even had to transfer to another professor in order to graduate at all, and I was shamed before family and friends with a lecture on 'learning academic modesty' at the graduation ceremony itself. These professors could not have foreseen that just a few years later, in 2000, the Leiden University would be the first in the Netherlands to dedicate a special chair to the 'History of Freemasonry as a spiritual movement and socio-cultural phenomenon in Europe' at the Faculty of Religious Studies.

[11] *Sporen van Smaragd. Nederlandsch-Indisch erfgoed in Den Haag, 1853-1945* was a project for the Department of Monuments of the Municipality of The Hague, aimed at inventorying the shared heritage resulting from the ties of this city with the former Dutch East Indies (2010-2014).

[12] M. van de Geijn-Verhoeven 2002, Jörg 2003, Impey/Jörg 2005.

[13] In masonic terminology people and things outside freemasonry are considered 'profane' (not in the sense of sinful, but in the sense of non-initiated).

[14] The most important stop on the route to Asia was obviously the Cape. The almost complete archive of the Dutch lodge De Goede Hoop in Cape Town, containing documents from the period 1772-1963, is available for research at the Cape Town Archives Repository in South Africa. A detailed inventory is available at: tanap.net. It was not possible to travel to consult this archive in person, due to funding and research time limitations. The Cape Town Archives Repository declined to correspond on the contents of the documents or to send any photocopies to the Netherlands. A request for assistance in obtaining photocopies was then made to the formal owner of the archive, the Grand Lodge of South Africa, but unfortunately such assistance was unavailable. There was such an abundance of never before published material readily available in the Netherlands that I decided to concentrate fully on the Dutch lodges in Asia instead. Requests for information on the possible survival of relevant documents and objects in local Grand Lodge collections were made to several masonic organizations in Asia, but unfortunately they could not provide any relevant information.

[15] Readers may note that the references to inventory numbers in endnotes are non-uniform. The original library and archive inventory numbers were based on a simple placement system, indicating row, planch and place number at Fluwelen Burgwal 22 (for instance: such as IIA4). After the move of the collection to the Jan Evertstraat in the 1990s such inventory numbers were changed, for instance into 3030-5, indicating box and folder number. Over time files were regrouped, renamed and sometimes mislaid or not fully copied into the digital collection database. Some documents consulted in 1990s therefore proved untraceable in 2014, when the collection was being packed for its relocation to the Javastraat. Some files may be renumbered a third time by the time this book is published. All this accounts for the non-uniform footnote references, which often have a descriptive style to ensure future researchers can retrace the correct files. The good news is that many documents will be made available online in the near future, as the CMC participates in the Delpher and Metamorphoze projects of the Netherlands' National Library.

[16] Bölger 1963, [p. 60].

[17] With kind permission of Christopher Haffner, I was able to research his notes and correspondence with Bengt and Harry Lindberg on the subject, dating from the 1970s, which include summarized translations of Swedish lodge records (now in the Library and Museum of Freemasonry in London: YSW 166 LOD, 'Lodge Elisabeth at Canton' [manuscript]).

[18] Pott 1966.

[19] I was unable to obtain this title in a Dutch Library and am grateful to the author for personally supplying me with a copy in time for my defence.

[20] VOC/NA.

[21] Bax 2006 has combined a prosopographical and sociological perspectives, tracing not only network relationships but also the shifts in power, and

processes of inclusion and exclusion affecting theosophical groups and art currents. Although this element is not explored further here, the same patterns can of course be seen in the forming and closing of lodges in the East Indies, particularly the 'battle' for the title of Provincial Grand Lodge or Grand Master, and the founding of lodges for the higher degrees.

[22] For exposures and other basic texts, it would have been possible to use contemporary equivalents in English (or later translations such as those by Carr). Those English translations were based on the French originals, and they do not reflect the many subtle differences between the French originals and the contemporary Dutch versions. As the book deals with Dutch freemasonry, I therefore opted for a (less polished) translation of the Dutch sources.

[23] Anderson 1723.

[24] Hobsbawn/Ranger 1992.

[25] See Robert-Jan van Pelt, 'Freemasonry and Judaism' in Bogdan/Snoek 2014, pp. 196 and further.

[26] See amongst others (not referenced further here): Norman Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide; The Myth of the Jewish World-Conspiracy and the Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, London 1967; Jacob Katz, *Jews and Freemasons in Europe 1723-1939*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1970; Christopher Sykes, 'The Protocols of the Elders of Zion', *History Today* 17 (1967), pp. 81-88; Pierre-André Taguieff*, Les Protocoles des Sages de Sion; Faux et usages d'un faux,* (2 Vol.) Paris 1992; as well as Bogdan/Snoek 2014, pp. 214-219.

[27] Tolerant in the sense that discussion on religion and politics was not to be discussed in the lodge meetings, and that in the 18th century membership was already open to men of various Christian religious backgrounds. However, 18th century lodges were by no means all-inclusive and members were often deeply involved in the politics of their time. See Jacob 1991 (chapter 1), 2005 and 2013, who also points out that the Dutch situation was very different from that in France and other countries, and that the perceived tolerant character of the Order has been disputed by other scholars, including François Furet.

[28] Snoek [2008], p. 5.

[29] Snoek [2008], pp. 7-8.

[30] Prescott [2008], p. 29.

[31] Hanegraaff 2013, pp. 13-14. Faivre established a set of characteristics defining an esoteric current, while Hanegraaff proposed the less complicated rejected knowledge'. For an introduction, see Faivre 1994, Hanegraaff 1996 and 2013, or (not referenced further here): Kocku von Stuckrad, *Western Esotericism. A Brief History of Secret Knowledge*, London 2005.

[32] Wouter J. Hanegraaff, 'Western esotericism and the status of the image', in: Kroon/Bax 2005, pp. 19-20.

[33] Wouter J. Hanegraaff, 'De geschiedenis en wetenschappelijke benadering van westerse esoterie', in Kroon/Wagtberg Hansen 1999, p. 9.

[34] Jacob recently reflected on her own work, opposition and more recent scholarship in Jacob 2013. Recently, scholarschip of the Enlightenment and related notions of civic society has moved towards the concept of 'Super-Enlightenment'. The Enlightenment was not a homogenous movement, but a complex current in which enlightened, scientific and public concepts were combined with esoteric and private concepts. Dan Edelstein is a leading author on the subject.

[35] The presence of chairs and collections does not automatically make funding available. Unique to the Netherlands is the OVN, *Stichting ter bevordering van wetenschappelijk Onderzoek naar de geschiedenis van de Vrijmetselarij en verwante stromingen in Nederland*, an independent academic foundation for the advancement of research into the history of freemasonry in the Netherlands, founded in 2001. See: stichtingovn.nl.

[36] Hanou 2002, pp. 112-115, also published in Kroon/Bax 2003, pp. 51-53. Hanou lists the following knowledge gaps: a bibliography of primary sources; a bibliography of secondary sources until 1800 or 1850; an overview of members before 1800; an overview of masonic archives; more resources for the CMC so it can facilitate more researchers; reprints of important early texts; a history of the Grand Lodge and its officers as a governing board; histories of individual lodges; biographical studies of prominent Dutch freemasons, of masonic publishers and printers, of prominent author-members, of prominent politician-members and prominent artist-members; a study of freemasonry as a society and a (better) study of the role of Dutch freemasonry, individual lodges and members in the Enlightenment. In 2007 an effort was made to provide an overview of masonic archives, see OVN/Archiefwijzer. See also an updated view on the knowledge gaps in Snoek [2008].

[37] Prescott [2008], p. 2.

[38] I am grateful to dr. Marty Bax (Bax Art Concepts & Services) for sharing her insights with me during the preparation of our joint dream project *The Initiated Artist. Methodological Introduction into Western Esotericism in Art, 18th-20th Centuries* (2007), which never came to fruition, but certainly paved the way for others.

[39] Kroon/Wagtberg Hansen 2011 was an attempt to provide such an overview for The Hague, which deserves to be followed up by other main cities, if not a national survey.

[40] The collections of several masonic Orders are available on the internet, see the website of the Association of Masonic Museums, Libraries and Archives in Europe (ammla.org) and the Masonic Library & Museum Association in the USA (masoniclibraries.org). Although many masonic organizations in the Netherlands, Belgium, Great Britain, France, Germany and America allow non-members full access to their collections for research purposes, in some other countries such collections are still only accessible to (male) lodge members.

[41] The Dutch artist-members of the Theosophical Society were inventoried in Bax 2006 and the database: theartarchives.com. During the preparation of the aforementioned project *The Initiated Artist* (2007), we noted that the archives of several pre-war artists whose affiliation with western esotericism was evident, hardly contained documents relating to this engagement. One example is the artist and political cartoonist Henri Verstijnen (1882-1940). His esoteric engagement is illustrated thematically in his art works; he designed the cover for the theosophical journal and alluded to esoteric thought in some surviving letters to his daughter (see Kroon/Wagtberg Hansen 2006). Yet his archive does not include his membership papers, correspondence with the Theosophical Society or his fellow members, nor other document illustrating his affiliation any esoteric organisation. According to his widow, Verstijnen destroyed cartoons ridiculing the Nazis as a precaution just before the war broke out. It is very likely he and other artist-members of his generation did not only destroy or conceal evidence of their political engagement, but also their esoteric engagement before or during the war, as both could get them into serious trouble with the occupying regime.

[42] Hanegraaff has pointed out that since the Enlightenment, pagan or occult images have been perceived as irrational and therefore rejected, which has resulted in a knowledge gap on what we now call western esoteric iconography. See Hanegraaff, 'Western esotericism and the status of the image', in: Kroon/Bax 2005, pp. 19-20, and (not referenced further here) his 'Forbidden Knowledge. Anti-Esoteric Polemics and Academic Research', *Aries, journal for the study of western esotericism* 5 (2005) 2, pp. 225-254.

[43] Some relevant buildings do have a protected status, but this was awarded coincidentally because of the presence of a rare wood structure or the involvement of a famous architect - not on the basis of criteria regarding the importance of the building as esoteric heritage or ritual architecture. See Kroon/Bax 2005.

[44] Snoek [2008] 2, p. 5.

[45] The Library of the University of Amsterdam acquires newly published books on western esotericism as it has a chair for the subject. The National Library has a collection on what is described as 'occultism' rather than western esotericism (including part of the Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica and a bequest by Croiset van Uchelen). Freemasonry is only marginally represented in both collections.

Notes to chapter 2

[1] Bogdan/Snoek 2014, p. 3.
[2] Prescott [2008], p. 8.
[3] See Scanlan 2000, n. pag., accessed online at: freemasonrytoday.com, 23-7-2008.
[4] Prescott [2008], p. 8.
[5] Prescott [2008], pp. 8-9.
[6] Hobsbawm/Ranger 1992.
[7] Reproduced in: Knoop/Jones/Hamer 1938.
[8] Prescott [2008], pp. 6-7. The proposed time frame is: (1) 1425-1583; (2) 1583-1717; (3) 1717-1736/7; (4) 1737-1763; (5) 1763-1797/8; (6) 1798-1834; (7) 1834-1855/6; (8) 1856-1874; (9) 1874-(say) 1967; (10) 1967-present.
[9] See Stevenson 1988, and his entry in Bogdan/Snoek 2014; see also Snoek 2002.
[10] Bogdan/Snoek 2014, p. 15.
[11] The first documentation dates from 1621, but suggests an earlier practice. Bogdan/Snoek 2014, p. 15.
[12] Scanlan 2003, pp. 41-54.
[13] See also Scanlan's more elaborate article on the origins of freemasonry in England in Bogdan/Snoek 2014, which illustrates how these misconceptions influenced scholarship on the subject.
[14] See Scanlan 2000, n. pag., accessed online at freemasonrytoday.com, 23-7-2008.
[15] Scanlan 2004, pp. 27-29 and 53-54.
[16] Stevenson 1988, p. 167; Berman 2012, p. 21.
[17] Scanlan 2001, n. pag., accessed online at: freemasonrytoday.com, 23-7-2008; Scanlan 2003, p. 85.
[18] Snoek 2012 B, p. 80; and (not referenced further here) J.W. Campbell, 'Was Sir Christopher Wren a Freemason?', *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* 125 (2012), pp. 15-16; Berman 2012, pp. 26-27.
[19] Anderson 1738, p. 109. See Scanlan 2003, p. 85.
[20] For a biography, see Carpenter 2011.
[21] That not only the administrative organisation of the Grand Lodge, but also ritual aspects such as the lay out of the lodge changed, is evident from *A Dialogue between Simon and Philip*, ca. 1725, to be discussed below. Carpenter 2011, pp. 94-95 suggests that Desaguliers may have even been involved in the introduction of the Hiram myth.
[22] Carpenter 2011, pp. 82-111.
[23] Prescott [2008], p. 13.
[24] See Van Reijn 1982.
[25] Anderson 1723, p. 55.
[26] Anderson 1723, pp. 50 and 54.
[27] Snoek 2000 A, p. 624, refers to Anderson 1723, who names William III as a freemason, as do papers of the Dutch Grand Lodge from 1797. He also notes the ceiling painting *The Glorification of William and Mary* (ca. 1707) by the freemason Sir James Thornhill (1676-1734) at Greenwich Hospital, which contains early masonic symbolism and could be interpreted as a portrait of William III 'on Solomon's throne'.
[28] Dagran's dates and personal details remain unknown. Van de Sande 1995, p. 57, mentions that he became a citizen of The Hague in 1728 but does not mention a source. The membership register before 1800 at the CMC notes that he was initiated as Apprentice and Fellow on 19-11-1734 at the founding of the first lodge in The Hague, of which he became Master of the Lodge on 24-6-1735. On 24-10-1735 he was one of the founders of lodge Le Veritable Zèle in The Hague. On 21-11-1735 he was called to the 'Conseilleir Grand Pensionnaire', and was called to appear before the 'Magistrate et Grand Balief', Baron van Boetzelaer, who prohibited him from ever partaking in any masonic meeting. Yet he participated as Deputy Grand Master and Master of two lodges in the reopening of masonic activities on 22-3-1744. He supposedly resigned as Deputy Grand Master on 19-5-1748 but was reinstated by Grand Master Van Wassenaar in 1752. He acted as Grand Master ad interim from 24-6-1752 until 26-12-1756, oversaw the installation of the new Grand Master on that day, and was refused to attend the Grand Lodge meeting on 18-12-1757.
[29] For the dispute about Dagran's claim to the title of Grand Master and his two manuscripts, see Gerlach 1981 and Kat 1982.
[30] Although many articles had a scholarly quality, from the 1990s onwards the level of scholarship has dropped with the passing of a particular generation of masonic historians. Now the journal has a more popularized tone.
[31] More related to specific subjects, such as civil society, enlightenment, literature and stage (not referenced further here), are: W.W. Mijnhardt, *Tot 't heil der menschdom. Culturele genootschappen in Nederland: 1750-1815* (1988); the many publications by André Hanou, including *Sluiers van Isis, Johannes Kinker als voorvechter van de Verlichting, in de vrijmetselarij en andere Nederlandse genootschappen 1790-1845* (1988), *De naakte waarheyt der vrije metselaars: Teksten van de 18de-eeuwse schrijver Jacob Campo Weyerman over de vrijmetselarij* (2004), and *Drift en deugd : Literatuur van vrijmetselaars in de loge Vicit Vim Virtus voor 1830*, Hilversum 1993; A. van de Sande/J. Rosendaal (eds.), *'Een stille leerschool van deugd en goede zeden'. Vrijmetselarij in Nederland in de achttiende en negentiende eeuw*, Hilversum 1995; Pauline van den Heuvel, '"In één woord: men zorge voor elkander": Tonelisten & vrijmetselarij in Amsterdam 1795-1844', (ongepubliceerde doctoraalscriptie Universiteit van Amsterdam) 2003; Floor Meijer, *Wereldburgers. Vrijmetselaren en de stad Amsterdam, 1848-1906*, Amsterdam 2010. For the history of individual lodges see Kwaadgras 2003 (a revised edition of Lowenstijn 1961). The publication is known to contain several inaccuracies, but it is still the only, valuable overview. For developments towards 1900, see C.J.M. Dijkmans, *Het ontstaan van de 'Nederlandsche Vrije Loges'*, [Amsterdam 1885]; Bax, Marty, 'Spinozisme, vrijmetselarij en De Dageraad circa 1850-1870' en 'De theosofische loge Post Nubila Lux 1881-1889', in: Bax 2006, pp. 96-124 en 147-151.
[32] Here quoted from Van Reijn 1982, p. 237.
[33] Van den Brand 1993, refers to Netherlands National Archive, archive Staten van Holland en West Friesland 1572-1795, dossier no. 1917 and 1918, computer no. 3.01.04.01 [1452]: '[…] dat al meer dan 14 jaaren geleden een zoodanige Confrerie van agt personen alle van Engelsche en Schotse Natie (waar van zij ook waren) alhier hadde gesubsisteerd: doch dat die nu sederd bijnaa 12 maanden niet bij den anderen gekomen was: zijnde het doenmaals mede wel seven Jaaren geleden, dat niet vergaderd was geweest'. Ephraim Chaimbers, *Cyclopædia: or, an [sic] universal dictionary of arts and sciences…,* London (1728), includes an entry on 'Free and Accepted Masons', which states that 'They are now very considerable both for Numbers and Character; being found in every Country in Europe […].' Thanks to Andrew Pink, UCL, for bringing the entry to my attention.
[34] Discussed in Snoek 2000 A and 2000 C.
[35] Kwaadgras 2002, n. pag.
[36] Van Reijn 1982, p. 241.

[37] Although the Scottish family names of these men are frequently mentioned in the baptism-, marriage- and burial registers in the Rotterdam Municipal Archives of this era, I found no records mentioning them explicitely as (permanent) residents. See stadsarchiefrotterdam.nl. Inventory no. 326 'Remonstrants Gereformeerde Gemeente Rotterdam', 4.2. 'Eigendomsbewijzen van obligaties', no. 990429, contains proof of ownership of stock by a Robert Stirling and Adriana van Velzen, dated 20-1-1751. Inventory no 33.02 'Handschriftenverzameling', 9242 (1995 24), contains copies of letters by Valentine Enys, merchant in Cornwall, to a Patrick Harper, 1704-5, Cornwall Record Office EN968, inv.no. 33.01, 'Handschriftenverzameling (Rotterdam)', 3146, lists a Patrick Harper in an ensurance policy for the sailing ship Catharina under captain Pieter Franse in 1704. According to the baptism records, an Alexander Naughton was present in 1697, 1698 and 1711 as a witness to the baptism of members of the Scottish community. (In two cases he was present at the baptism of children of an 'Agnes Duncan', possibly a relation to lodge member Adam Duncan?) An Alexander Naughton is also mentioned as a ship's captain, buying plant seeds in Holland on commission for a Scottish merchant in: Tom Donnoly, *Arthur Clephane, Edinburgh Merchant and Seedsman,* 706,30, at: bahs.org.uk/AGHR/ARTICLES/18n2a4.pdf. A Robert Story is listed as arriving in Rotterdam 'from Wels' in the 's-*Gravenhaegse Courant*, 31-12-1725.
[38] Discussed in Gerlach 1981, Birza 1984, Van den Brand 1993, Kwaadgras 2002.
[39] Anderson 1738, p. 129. Cursory by Anderson.
[40] Kwaadgras 2002, n. pag.
[41] Van den Brand 2006, pp. 26 and 28 refer to: A. Hanou, 'Wijerman en de vrijmetselarij. Een bouwsteen', *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weijerman*, XXVI (2003), pp. 49-58; Koninklijk Huisarchief, A 17, inv.no. 173, omslag 1007, and inv.no. 173/19 (no. 659).
[42] Snoek 2000 A, pp. 624-625.
[43] Netherlands Institute for History, Inventories of the household effects of the House of Orange (1576-1795), 'No. 359: 1 plaque emaille sur cuivre, faite a Berlin, et representant un loge des francs-macons' (online at: inghist.nl/retroboeken/inboedelsoranje).
[44] Kat 1974, plate I (which reproduces the original text as a photograph).
[45] Gerlach 1981, p. 49: 'Den 19den deeze is ten huyze van A. Maillet, woonende in de Hofstraat alhier, alwaer de Goude Leeuw uythangt, opgeregt een Loge van 't van ouds beroemde Medebroederschap der Vrywillige Metselaers; in welk Genootschap geintroduceert zyn zes nieuwe Leeden, die men tot Broeders ontfangen heeft, en men twyfeld niet of deeze Loge zal in 't kort talryk zyn'.
[46] Van den Brand 2006, p. 26, refers to CMC, Register of outgoing correspondence of the Grand Lodge (Uitgaande Missiven) I, p. 246, letter by the Grand Lodge to the lodge Die Drei Weltkugeln in Berlin, 14-1-1765.
[47] As listed in Van den Brand 2006.
[48] As noted in the minutes of the *Grand Loge des Provinces Unies à La Haye, surnommé[e] De La Sincérité* on 11-9-1749 (Van den Brand 1993, p. 30).
[49] Kat 1974, plate I: 'Le 24 du mois de Juin 1735 Jour de St. Jean Baptiste fut unanimement proclamé et êlú par tous les Membres de la loge Regullièrement assemblé, pour le Premier Grand Maître de Nôtre Illustre ordre - dans les Provinces Unies et du Ressort de la Généralité, Le Tres Digne, Tres Venerable, Tres Respectable et Tres Noble Frère Jean Corneille Radermacher'. Radermacher had only just been initiated into the lodge on 4-3-1735. CMC membership card register.
[50] J.A.M. Snoek, 'Radermacher, Johan Cornelis / Jean Corneille (1700-1748)', in: Porset/Révauger 2013, pp. 2322-2324.
[51] Kat 1974, plate I: 'Le 24 du mois d'octobre 1735, a été formé et ouverte La Seconde Loge des Libres et Francs Maçons, sous Le Nom de La Loge Le Veritable Zèle, Hollandaise - et Françoise - a La Haye chez frère Jean Minning - au Nouveau Doelen'.
[52] The choice and meaning of (French) lodge names in the Netherlands is explained in Van Peype 1978.
[53] Kwaadgras 2003, p. 12.
[54] Possibly Johannes Roerman (1712-1762) from Delft.
[55] Van Tongeren 1938, p. 164: 'Anº 1735. 5. Xber was Jacobus Maas Dirks Zoon, makelaar; met Jacobus van Dalem, reysende bode van de stad Haerlem, saamen in den Haag zynde, alsmede de Casteleyn van 't Logement van Haerlem, met nog yemand, in den Doelen, binnen de Kaamer van het Collegie der vrye Metselaars, alwaer een van de leden hen aanwees en verslag deed van de Meubilementen in dat zelve vertrek'. I referred to this document in my MA paper in 1996. Professor Willemijn Fock of the Leiden University doubted if it was genuine, because of the type of chair depicted. I have since not discovered the supposed anomalies and according to Harmen Snel, senior archivist at the Amsterdam City Archive, the style of handwriting corresponds with the date of the document. Physical testing of the paper could prove conclusive.
[56] Van den Brand 2006, p. 29.
[57] Van de Sande 1995, p. 58.
[58] Beyerinck 1960, p. 28.
[59] J.A.M. Snoek, 'Radermacher, Johan Cornelis/Jean Corneille (1700-1748)', in: Porset/Révauger 2013, pp. 2322-2324.
[60] CMC, [former] inv.no. 41:41, BA20.
[61] Brother to the Swedish consul, Pierre Balguerie (born 1722), according to Keith Schuchard 2012, p. 215.
[62] There may be a link here with the Durege family, who were freemasons in Amsterdam.
[63] Landwehr 1981 first pointed to this source, but adapted the text in *Ontroerd Holland* to modern standards. Below is the original.
[64] *Ontroerd Holland* 1748, p. 245 '[Zij] bragten hunne *Meubelen* buiten de *Utrechtse Poort* op het *Zaagmolens Pad*: daar zij van een ieder kosten [= konden] gezien worden, die in t zelve huys een fles Wyn drinken wilden. De *Waard* stak daar een Uithangbord uit met 't opschrift L'OBSERVATOIR'.
[65] Kwaadgras 2003, p. 286, refers to *Jaarboekje* 1863, p. 172. Ypma 1982, p. 3, refers to city archivist W. Eekhoff, *Geschiedkundige beschrijving van Leeuwarden* (1846).
[66] See Van den Brand 1993, pp. 42-43.
[67] Van den Brand 2006, pp. 31-33.
[68] Kat 1974, plate I: 'par des Très Digne Frères que'on alloit Défendre les Loges - et la fraternité sur quoi -les deux loges print la résolution - de finir et cesser à tenir loge'.
[69] The City of Amsterdam on 2-12-1735, the City of The Hague on 7-12-1735, the City of Rotterdam on 10-12-1735 and the Court of Holland (Hof van Holland) on 12-12-1735. See Van den Brand 1993, pp. 52-53 and 62, who suggests that an informal notice may have already been given on 12-11-1735 to the owners of taverns where freemasons frequently met. The ban was announced in the *Europese Mercurius vervattende de 6 laatste maanden van het jaar 1735*, and *The Daily Advertiser* of December 1735, stating that plundering had been prevented in The Hague.
[70] Van den Brand 2006, p. 36.
[71] Bouman 1993, p. 18.
[72] Van den Brand 1993, pp. 56-59.
[73] Van den Brand 1993, pp. 80-99 (pp. 80-81 suggests that the text of the Dutch translation with *Les Free-Massons* implies this accusation).
[74] Van den Brand 1993, pp. 89-95; Van den Brand 2006, pp. 41-44.
[75] Van den Brand 1993, pp. 99-105.
[76] In 1738 the Catholic Church banned freemasonry in the papal bill *In Eminenti* by Pope Clemens XII (Van den Brand 1993, p.105).
[77] Van den Brand 1993, p. 69.
[78] Anderson 1723, p. 50, charge 2.

[79] Van den Brand 2006, p. 40.
[80] Snoek 1994 A, p. 30.
[81] Van den Brand 1993, pp. 110-118.
[82] Van den Brand 2006, p. 37.
[83] As a reaction to the ban, the translation limited the freedom of a rebel against the State, and some remarks on the moral behaviour of lodge members were added, in order to take away some of the arguments against the Order (Van den Brand 1993, pp. 120-121). The work was confiscated none the less.
[84] Van den Brand 2006, pp. 38-39.
[85] See Bouman 1993.
[86] Kat 1974, p. 11.
[87] Kat 1974, plate I: 'Par le Consentement du Très Digne, Très Venerable et Très Respectable Grand Maître de nôtre Illustre ordre, le Très noble Frère Jean Corneille Radermacher, son Député Grand Maître Louis Dagran Entreprit - et Risca par Pur & Veritable Zèle de Réouvrier les deux Loges chez lui'.
[88] Kat 1974, p. 16: '[...] ondanks de verdrukking en vervolging was er van tijd tot tijd een straaltje licht voor onze Loge "de la Paix"; men kwam bijeen, men hield Loge, men werkte, maakte veroveringen, zodat het grootste deel van de Broeders Vrijmetselaars in deze stad en zelfs in het land, hun inwijding ontvingen in deze Loge, die reeds voor het jaar 1747 bijna honderd vaste leden telde, die in deze stad woonden'.
[89] As listed in Kwaadgras 2003.
[90] Kat 1974, plate 8. See also J.A.M. Snoek, 'Van Wassenaer, Juste Gérard / Joost Gerrit, baron (1716-1753)', in: Porset/Révauger 2013, pp. 2713-2715.
[91] Davies 2007.
[92] Kat 1974, p. 8.
[93] Kat 1974, pp. 27-28.
[94] *De Instellingen* 1736, quoted here from *Thoth* 5.3-6 (1954), appendix p.35: 'Adelijk geboren zijn, ofte een man van deftige afkomst, een Uytmuntend Scholier, seer konstig Architect, oftewel enig ander vornaem Konstenaer, welke egter van Eerlijke Ouders geboren moet zijn'.
[95] Van Loo 1967, p. 14.
[96] As listed in Kwaadgras 2003.
[97] Kind advice by dr. Jan Snoek, Heidelberg University, August 2008.
[98] As listed in Kwaadgras 2003.
[99] Van den Brand 2006, pp. 53-54.
[100] J.A.M. Snoek, 'Boetzelaer, Carel, baron Van (den) (1727-1803)', in: Porset/Révauger 2013, pp. 402-406.
[101] It was identified in the correspondence on the subject by Deputy Grand Master Sauer. CMC, Box 2001, Incoming correspondence received by the Grand Lodge, 1747-1762, no. 81-4, undated: 'Explanation of the Plate. In a pleasant land, Enlightened by the Star of Day The Hague is at the base of the Scene, Of which we lift the Curtain; So that with pleasure each contemplates The Columns, the base of a Temple, Or Fine Arts and Virtues, One sees the Attributes shining. And under the eye of Providence Fidelity and Silence Support on each side The Shield of Brotherhood: There, its Throne offers a Godess This is Minerva, this is Wisdom, Who with one Hand, to Free Masons Draws and dispenses her Teachings And with the other hand protects them. At his Feet, between his followers, Freedom fills the upper scene; Strength is supported everywhere: The second place, she gives The fiery Diligence to Harmony. Friendship is placed below Reaches out to every good Brother, But besides her is Prudence, Knowing to make the difference, And the Lion is always ready To revenge an eavesdropper.' ('Explication de la Planche. Dans une agréable Contrée De l'Astre du Jour eclairée, La Haye est au fond du Tableau, Dont on va lever le Rideau; Pour qu'à l'aise chacun comtemple Le Colonnes, bazes d'une Temple, Ou des Beaux Arts et des Vertus L'On voit briller les Attributs. Et sous l'oeil de la Providence La Fidélité le Silence Supportant de chaque côté L'Ecu de la Fraternité: Là, son Trône offre une Déesse C'est Minerve c'est la Sagesse, Qui d'une Main, aux Francs Maçons Tracé et dispense ses Leçons Et de l'autre main les protège. A ses Pieds, entre son Cortège, La Liberté tient le haut bout; La Force en est l'appui partout: Le second rang, elle l'accorde Au Zèle ardent à la Concorde. L'Amitié se placant aub as A tout bon Frère tend les Bras, Mais aupres d'elle la Prudence, Scait en faire la difference, Et le Lion est toujours pret A la vanger d'un Indiscret.'
[102] CMC, Box 2001, Incoming correspondence received by the Grand Lodge, 1747-1762, no. 81-2, undated, with no. 81-3 corrected version in another hand. The text was also printed in the introduction to the 1983 facsimile of *Du Bois* 1761, n. pag.: 'Imagine Your Honourable to see Minerva [=Wisdom] in battle dress sitting on a Throne, in her right hand a Pair of Compasses and in her left her Shield and Spear, to her right and left hand a ribbed Column, above her head between the Pillars the All-seeing Eye in a Triangle; above the dais of the Throne the Weapon of the Grand Lodge, supported by Silence on the right and Loyalty on the left hand. On the 3 steps of the Throne, sitting on her knees three images to the right and the left side, outward from each other, (so that those sitting on the top step, are nearest to Minerva). To the right hand sits Freedom kneeling down, carrying the Hat and a [Horse]whip in the hand; on the left hand Strength or Hercules, resting his Club wearing the Lion skin. To the right hand of Freedom sits Diligence, carrying in the left hand a burning Vase, resting the right arm on the Holy book, holding a Broom in the right hand. On the left side of Strength sits Concorde on one knee carrying in the right hand a Fruit and in the left hand two Cornucopia. To the right hand of Diligence, sits the Friendship of Man, on a resting deer, carrying a Stork [the City Emblem of The Hague] on the right arm, and to the left side of Concord is Prudence, who sees her reflection in a mirror. All these figures are looking towards Minerva. On the Steps of the Throne are the Attributes of our order, and before the Steps stand the [National] Lion in full strength, holding in the right claw a rolled up Constitution, and resting with the left on the Book of Laws. Furthermore is to the right side of the Throne a Sun in full strength hand on the left side of the Throne the Moon goes under. Under the Sun to the right hand of the Throne one sees the Great Church of The Hague in the distance. Lastly there is a balustrade to the Throne and to the right side a Globe.' ('Verbeeldt Uwed[ele] te zien Minerva in krijgsgewaad sittende op den Troon, in haar regterhand een Passer en in haare slinker haar Schilt en Piek, aen haere rechter en slinkerhand eene geribde Colomme, boven haar hooft tussen de Pilaaren het Alziende oog in een Driehoek; boven de kap van den Troon het Waapen van de Groote Loge, gehouden door de Stilswijgentheid ter regter en de Getrouwigheid ter slinkerhand. Op de 3 trappen van den Troon, sitten op haare knien 3 beelden ter regter en ter slinkerhand, uytwaarts van elkander, (zodat die op de bovenste trap sitten, het digste bij Minerva sitten). Aen de regterhand sit geknielt de Vrijheid, den Hoed op hebbende en eene Spitsgarde in de hand; op de slinkerhand de Sterkte of Herkules, rustende op zijn Knots met de Leeuwehuyd om. Op de regterhand van de Vrijheid sit den IJver, hebbende in de linkerhand eenen brandende Vase, rustende met den regterarm op de Heylige boeke, houdende eene Swiep in de regterhand. Op de slinkersijde van de Sterkte sit op eene knie de Eendragt hebbende in de regterhand eene Vrugt en in de slinkerarm twee Hoorne van overvloet. Op de regterhand van den IJver, sit de Vriendschap der mensche, op een leggende Hert, houdenden eene Ooijevaar in de regterarm, en op de slinkersijde van de Eendragt is de Voorsigtigheid, dewelke sig spiegelt. Alle deeze beelden hebben het aengesigt gewent na Minerva. Op de Trappe van den Troon leggen de Attributs van onze ordre, en voor de Trap staat een Leeuw in volle kragt, houdende in de regterclauw een opgerolde Constitutie, en rust met slinker op het Boek van de Wetten. Verder is op de regterzijde van den Troon eene Zon in volle kragt en op de slinkerzijde van den Troon gaat de Maan onder. Onder de Zon op de regterhand van denTroon siet met in het verschit de Groote kerk van 's Hage. Voor het overige is aen den Troon de Ballustraade en op de regtersijde ene Globe.')

[103] CMC, Box 2001, Incoming correspondence received by the Grand Lodge, 1747-1762, no. 81-2, -3 and -4.
[104] The assignment to publish a book of constitutions was already given on 18-12-1757 (Hanrath e.a. 1971, p.20). Dubois was, amongst others, private secretary to the embassy of Poland and Saxen. For a biography, see Davies 2005, pp. 129-133.
[105] Boerenbeker 1979, pp. 13-21; Jan Snoek, 'Boetzelaer, Carel baron van (den) (1727-1803)', Porset/Révauger 2013, pp. 402-406.
[106] Van de Sande 1995, p. 82.
[107] Jan A.M. Snoek, 'Preface', in: Heidle/Snoek 2008, p. viii.
[108] Heidle/Snoek 2008; see also Snoek 2012 A-B and Révauger/Lemaire 2010.
[109] Van den Berg 1908.
[110] Translation of *La Maçonnerie des Femmes*, Londres 1774. Several undated, late 18th century manuscript rituals from the libraries of Dutch lodges are found in the collection of the CMC. There are two manuscripts with Dutch translations of respectively Louis Guillemain de Saint-Victor's La vraie Maconnerie d'Adoption of 1779 and of the French manuscript CMC 123.B.164: *Handboek der Vrije Metzelarinne of de Waare Metzelarij bij Adoptie* (CMC 123.C.47) and *Regelen voor de Metzelarij bij Adoptie* (CMC 123.C.48). Apart from the first mentioned one, there is also a manuscript copy, *La vraie Maçonnerie d'Adoption*, 1779, by Pieter Duvelaar van Campen: *1er, 2me & 3me Grade de la vraye maçonnerie D'adoption,* ca. 1805 (CMC 123.B.53). The collection further includes several *tuileurs* or ritual manuals: 'Maçonnerie d'Adoption ou des Dames!', in: *L'Art du Frère Thuileur*, ca. 1795 (no. 122.A.2); 'Maçonnerie d'Adoption', in: *Collection Maçonnique* ca. 1810 (CMC 123.A.33); 'Maçonnerie d'Adoption ou des Dames', in: *L'Art du Frère Thuileur*, ca. 1812 (CMC. 122.B.109); 'Maçonnerie d'Adoption', in: *Instruc[tions] Mac[onnique] pour le F[rere] de Livry (Schouten) V[enera]ble F[rère d'Hon] eur D[e] L[a] R[espectable] L[oge] La Flamboyante O[rient] De Dordrecht*, ca. 1840 (CMC 122.A.3). These tuileurs are virtually identical to each other, as well as to: 'Maçonnerie d'adoption', in: J. Beeldsnyder: *Tuileur de la Maconnerie [sic!]*, Amsterdam ca. 1812 (Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris: FM4 100). I am grateful to dr. Jan Snoek, Heidelberg University, for this overview.
[111] They were influential in other countries, where they were announced by Bishops and became part of clerical law, such as Italy, Spain, Portugal and several German states.
[112] J.A.M. Snoek, 'Van Teylingen, Isaäc (1735-1813)' in: Porset/Révauger 2013, pp. 2711-2712.
[113] For the following, see Snoek 2000 B, pp. 643-644.
[114] Van de Sande 1995, p. 100.
[115] Van de Sande 1995, p. 73.
[116] After which he left for Batavia in 1816 and became a member of the Council of the Dutch East Indies.
[117] Van Peype 1995, p. 11; (not referenced further here) Anton van de Sande, *Prins Frederik der Nederlanden (1797-1881). Gentleman naast de troon*, Nijmegen 2015.
[118] Andréa A. Kroon/Jan A.M. Snoek, ´Understanding Symbolic and Masonic Historical Gardens: New Insights into a Neglected Category of Cultural Heritage´, in: Snoek/Scholl/Kroon 2006, pp. 9-24. The gradual loss of this skill (as illiteracy declined and printed and other communication media became more available) is a contributing factor to misunderstandings about freemasonry.
[119] For this and the following definitions, see: Snoek 1987 and other publications on ritual studies by the same author. Snoek interprets freemasonry from the cross-disciplinary point of view of Ritual, Anthropological and Religious Studies.
[120] Although this has been described in literature of the origins of freemasonry, actually *seeing* how this works is a real eye-opener. I can recommend the BBC programme *Secrets of the Castle* (2014), in order to get a better understanding of how terminology and tools made a transition from the work floor into symbolism. The castle Guédelon is now a tourist attraction, where the building process is demonstrated.
[121] Knoop/Jones 1948.
[122] Bettag/Snoek 2012, pp. 123-124. For the development of the tri-gradal system, see Snoek 2002.
[123] Anderson 1723, p. 78: 'the new Master [...], being yet among the Fellow-Craft', 'from among his Fellows'.
[124] Snoek 2002, pp. 1-19.
[125] Snoek 2002, p. 18 emphasizes however, that 'Lodges were rather independent and thus did not develop in a synchronized way, which is why documents from different lodges do not always show one clear line of development when read in combined chronological order'.
[126] Formally seen there was no awarding of degrees, but lodge archives show that some 'exceptions confirm the rule'. Men who performed a particular service or had been especially active on behalf of the lodge, were sometimes allowed the membership of a lodge or the initiation into a higher degree without having to pay the normal admission fee. For instance, an artist-member would not be paid for executing paintings in a lodge building, but could be waived the fee for initiation into a particular degree; or a servant who left a lodge after many years of loyal service could be rewarded with a Master's degree, the fee of which his humble salary would normally not cover.
[127] In theory every man (and since the end of the 19th century: every woman) could one day become a member of a masonic lodge. If they already are familiar with the initiation, the experience would not be a surprise and therefore have a different impact.
[128] The first images of Worshipful Masters, such as *Les Free Massons* (1735) and *Assemblée des Francs-Maçons* (1745), depict their badge as a square. According to De Graaf e.a. 1996, p. 58, the later choice of a sun was possibly related to the text of the ritual: 'like the Sun rises in the East to start her day's travel, the Worshipful Master should be in the East to open the lodge, start and oversee the work'.
[129] In British freemasonry also responsible for regalia, which in Dutch freemasonry is often a task of the *Meubelmeester* (Master of Furniture)
[130] In British freemasonry his title is Architect, but in Dutch freemasonry that is another officer, responsible for the building. Sometimes the two tasks are combined in the function of *Bouw- en Meubelmeester* (Architect and Master of Furniture).
[131] Pollard 1997, p. 10.
[132] Pollard 1997, p. 30. While Pollard speaks of 'truths' to be discovered, I prefer the term 'insight', as there is no doctrine in freemasonry and each member was/is free to interpret the explanation of a symbol as provided during ritual according to his own beliefs. The word 'truth' would suggest there can be only one 'correct' interpretation.
[133] Pollard 1997, p. 30, refers to Frith.
[134] Although masonic terminology speaks of compasses, there are several types of this tool, including dividers and callipers. In masonic iconography, dividers are the ones usually depicted.
[135] The action in the lodge, including the candidate's journey, took place originally around the Worshipful Master and the tracing board, with the Worshipful Master in the centre, representing God and the tracing board his plan. As the rituals developed, the Worshipful Master was placed in the symbolical East, where the light comes from, and light symbolism became more important. See Bogdan/Snoek, p. 323.
[136] See Robert-Jan van Pelt, 'Freemasonry and Judaism', in Bogdan/Snoek 2014, p. 192.
[137] See Thierry Zarcone, 'Freemasonry and Islam, in Bogdan/Snoek 2014, p. 233.
[138] Hanrath e.a. 1971, p. 13: '[het] gebruik dat wordt gemaakt van bepaalde vormen teneinde de beleving van de eenheid van de groep te versterken en er persoonlijk een stimulering van eigen geestelijk en religieus beleven in te vinden'.
[139] Pollard 1997, pp. 10-11, who refers to Eliade's concept of multivalence.
[140] Hanrath e.a. 1971, p. 14.
[141] See Pott 1959, 1964 and 1970; Van Peype 1994, pp. 113-122; see also Snoek 1999 A.

[142] *Edinburgh Register House MS* 1696, quoted here from Knoop/Jones/Hamer 1943, p. 33.
[143] Snoek 1998, pp. 85-88.
[144] See Andrew Prescott, 'The Old Charges', in Bogdan/Snoek 2014, pp. 33-49.
[145] Many of these manuscripts have been transcribed and annotated in Knoop/Jones/Hamer 1943.
[146] Many of these manuscripts have been transcribed and annotated in Knoop/Jones/Hamer 1945.
[147] Many exposures were published almost simultaneously in a French and a Dutch translation, often in Amsterdam, but were mainly orientated at a French speaking market.
[148] Important annotated English translations of these deliberately incorrect publications were published in Carr 1971.
[149] Published in the *'s-Gravenhaegse Courant,* 20-1-1738, no 9. Later published as a pamphlet *Reception d'un Franc-Maçon*. See Croiset van Uchelen 1965 A, p. 57, and Snoek 2001, pp. 507-524.
[150] See chapter 7.
[151] Bogdan/Snoek 2014, pp. 21-22.
[152] One publication did have antimasonic tendencies: *Shibolleth* (1765). Another group of publications appeared to describe the rituals incorrectly, but are now believed simply to be describing different ritual traditions: *La Franc-Maçonne* (1744, relevant to the Adoption rite), *Le Parfait Maçon* (1744, relevant to the Harodim tradition), and *Les Francs-Maçons Ecraséz* (1747, relevant to the *Écossais* degree and translated into Dutch as *De Vry-Metzelaars vernield,* 1747). See Snoek 2003.
[153] See the publications by Van Loo and Snoek in the bibliography, as well as numerous articles in the journals of masonic study lodges, such as *Thoth* and *Acta Macionica*.
[154] See also Snoek 1997 B.
[155] The caption reads: 'Dessiné par Madame la Marquise *** et gravé par Madem.elle ****'.
[156] Beyer 1930, pp. 229-246, discusses the different versions. These appeared in 1766, 1770, 1780, 1787, 1790, 1809 and 1812, while the costumes of participants and the decoration of the room were sometimes changed to reflect contemporary fashions. In 1744 and 1757 mock-versions appeared, showing animals instead of freemasons.
[157] For the development of the tracing board and especially depictions thereof, see: K.C.F. Feddersen, *Die Arbeitstafel in der Freimaurerei. Entstehung, Entwicklung und Phänomenologie der Arbeitstafeln und Arbeitsteppiche in England und auf dem Festlande*, 2 Vol., Bayreuth 1982 (Quellenkundliche Arbeit no. 16 der Forschungsloge Quator Coronati no. 808 Bayreuth).
[158] See Snoek 1998.
[159] 'Entrée du Recipiendaire dans la loge. Dedié au très galant, très sincère et très véridique Frère profane Leonard Gabanon, Auteur du Catéchisme des Francs-Maçons' (this publication is discussed in Boerenbeker 1971). '1. Le Grand Maître, 2. Le p[remier] Surveillant, 3. Le s[econde] Surveillant, 4. Le Recipiendaire, 5. l'Orateur, 6. Le Secretaire, 7. Le Tresorier'
[160] 'Le Recipiendaire fait serment avec imprecation la main sur l'Evangile, de ne jamais reveler les mysteres de la Maçonnerie'.
[161] According to masonic terminology, a candidate is 'accepted' as Apprentice, 'passed' as Fellow and 'raised' as Master.
[162] *Proeve Gezel* 1975, p. 76.
[163] Pott refers to this image in Vitruvius and Agrippa van Nettesheim (*Proeve Gezel* 1975, p. 89).
[164] Snoek 2004 has suggested that the development of the masonic ritual can be divided into three main stages: the pre-Hiramic version (before 1720), the original Hiramic version (circa 1725-1800), and the revised Hiramic version (after 1816). The pre-Hiramic version was a kabbalistic-mystic ritual, dealing with the destruction of the temple and the lost pronunciation of the name of God (JHVH). The original Hiramic version had a deeply religious component in which a *Unio Mystica*, the identification of the candidate with Hiram (= God), is achieved and in which the Temple of Solomon has the function of an *Imago Mundi*, a model of the world. The revised Hiramic version focussed more on the moralistic element of the myth: Hiram's refusal to reveal the Master Word in the face of death. His reburial in the Sanctum Sanctorum and as such the *Unio Mystica* were omitted.
[165] Snoek 2004, pp. 22-25.
[166] See Snoek 1994 B and Snoek 1999 B.
[167] The name of God, in Hebrew spelled as 'JHVH', was according to the biblical tradition only allowed to be spoken once a year by the high priest in the Holy of Holies, first that of the Tabernacle, and (after its initiation) that in the Temple of Solomon. In the masonic tradition the word can only be spoken by three people at the same time (forming a 'treble voice', as described amongst others in the *Graham MS*, 1726). This refers to the ancient tradition that the name of a deity can only be spoken by him-/herself. As the Christian God is a trinity, only its three components together can speak the name. If one of those (Hiram, representing Christ) has been murdered, this is no longer possible. Kind advice by dr. Jan Snoek, Heidelberg University.
[168] The crossed bones represent thigh-bones (long-bones) of the mother, where the baby's head appears at birth, and as such refer to (re)birth. The skull is also a biblical reference to Golgotha. These symbols are also references to the Third Temple, representing the body of Christ (Joh. 2:19-22). The destruction of that Temple is the Crucifixion, which leads to conquering death, resurrection and eternal life.
[169] Snoek 2004, pp. 25-27.
[170] Snoek 2004, p. 27.
[171] 'Le Second Surveillant fait le Signe de Maître et va chercher le Recipiendaire qui est pour tems en dehors de la Loge avec le Frère Terrible'.
[172] 'Entrée du Recipiendaire dans la loge'.
[173] 'Le Recipiendaire est couchée sur le Cercueil dessiné dans la Loge, le visage couvert d'un linge teint de sang. Et tous les assistans ayant tirée l'épée luy presentent la pointe au corps'.
[174] 'Le Grand Maître revele le Recipiendaire en luy donnant l'atouchement, l'accolade et luy disant le mot de Maître'.
[175] For a more detailed discussion of the function and iconography of the apron, see Kroon 1996 and 2001 B.
[176] Bettag/Snoek 2012, pp. 124-142.
[177] Bettag/Snoek 2012, pp. 130-136.
[178] Snoek 1994 B, pp. 26-28.
[179] Snoek 1994 B, p. 49.
[180] Arturo de Hoyos, 'Masonic Rites and Systems', in: Bogdan/Snoek 2014, pp. 363-373.
[181] Many higher degrees offered a 'perfection' of the Master degree, and as such *Rite de Perfection* is just a term for a higher degree system. In the 19th century however, members of the REAA considered it the name of the precursor of their Rite. More recently the name of Order of the Royal Secret as provided in the Francken Manuscripts became more widely acknowledged. See Arturo de Hoyos, 'Masonic Rites and Systems', in: Bodgan/Snoek 2014, p. 371.
[182] Révauger/Marcos 2015, pp. 34-61.

[183] The Rite developed in the 1790s in the French Caribbean. Several independent degrees of French origins were assembled in this rite, which was formally established in 1801 in Charleston, South Carolina, and introduced in France by count Alexandre François August Grasse de Tilly (1765-1845) in 1803.
[184] Only three copies are thought to have survived. See De Hoyos/Morris 2012.
[185] Snoek 1994 B, p. 28.
[186] The 7th degree in *Les plus secrets mystères*, Noachite or Prussian Knight, centres on the dispersion of tribes after the destruction of the Tower of Babel (*Les plus secrets mystères* 1766, pp. 129-146.) The ritual describes how the Knights meet in the moonlight in order to accept the descendants of Hiram as Prussian Knight, in relation to the crusades. The degree would not develop into one of the most influential degrees, and is therefore not discussed further here. It was incorporated in the Rite de Perfection and *R.E.A.A.* as 21st degree.
[187] The degree of *Chevalier d'Orient (et de l'Epée)* inspired other French degrees with a knightly character, the German Rite of the *Strict Observance* and the British degrees of Knights Templar and Templar Knights of Malta.
[188] CMC (no inv.no.), reproduction in: CMC, A.R. Overbeek/G.L. Prinsen 1984 (private print). The manuscript originally counted six volumes, of which only three survived. It was acquired from the sale of the library of André Josef Etienne Lerouge (1766-1833) in 1833 (CMC: 240.A.5, 189: *Catalogue des Manuscrits et Imprimés sur La Francmaçonnerie provenant du cabinet du Feu M. Lerouge* (1834)). A part of the sold publications were bought by booksellers Jules Renouard and Leblanc, the further sale of which is documented in correspondence (CMC: 193.C.1).
[189] CMC, 192.A.51. The title on the first page of the manuscript is: *Collection de quatre vingt quatre pieces de Tableaux et Habits de differentes loges, faite pour le contentement des Frères par le frère Löwen. 3 Du*[*c*?]*aten.* Kloss added the following about its provenance: 'From the legacy of Br[other] General von Hahn, deposited next to notebook 1-22 of a French system by Br[other] Jean Noe du Fay (?). Amongst the legacy of Br[other] Ludhart is another cardboard bound of 79 pages, also signed and drawn by Br[other] de Löwen, according to an inserted note, previously in the possession of a Br[other] Born (in Vienna?). After organizing these likewise bound 79 pages, these form the Hahn collection, and as such the only currently numbered copies, although a better order is often wished for. Despite the analogy of opposites the drawings derived from that have also been inserted here.' ('Aus dem Nachlasse der Br. General von Hahn, nebst Cahier 1-22 eines Französischen Systems vom Br. Jean Noe du Fay (?) deponiert. Unter dem Nachlasz des Br. Ludhart findet sich ein andere cartonnirtes Exemplar von 79 Blättern, ebenfalls vom fr. de Löwen gemahlt und gezeignet, nach darin befindlichen Inschrift, ehedem im Besitz eines Br. von Born (zu Wien?). Nach Anordnung der also eingebundenen 79 Blatter, sind die Hahnsche Sammlung, und somit gegenwärtige Copien numerirt, wiewohl öfter eine bessere Anordnung zu wünschen ist. Der analogie der Gegenstände wegen, sind auch an derwärts herstammende Zeichnungen hier eingelegt.'
[190] For a translation of the *Francken Manuscript*: Auke Overbeek, *Eerste proeve van vertaling (voor studie-doeleinden) van de graden 4-17 zoals vervat in het handschrift: Rite de Perfection The rituals from the 4th to the 25th degree as translated in 1783 by Henry Andrew Francken*, 1982 (unpublished document, CMC, no inventory number).
[191] CMC N83F6. Reprint: CMC, [Auke] Overbeek, *Les Rituels du Rite Écossais Ancien et Accepté de la période peu après l'introduction du Rite en France en 1804. Transcription du Manuscrit XXVII (de 36 nrs., exceptés les nrs. 1 et 23, le numéro 5 integré dans nrs. 2-4) se trouvant dans la Bibliothèque 'Kloss' de la Grande Loge des Pays Bas à la Haye*, (Latomia, Fonds pour excavation maçonnique) La Haye 1993 (private print).
[192] CMC 122C58.
[193] CMC 123C44. The Dutch translation was used here: CMC, no. 93, A. Overbeek, *Het boek van Prins Frederik*, Amsterdam 1986 (unpublished document).
[194] Sepers 1993, pp. 68-69, also refers to CMC, *Manuscript de Montaleau* and a translation in Overbeek 1978, without further specification of this source.
[195] Cat. exhib. Brussels 1983, p. 118.
[196] The edition of 1828 was used here, as an earlier one is not available in the CMC or other Dutch libraries.
[197] The edition of 1821 was used here, as an earlier one is not available in the CMC or other Dutch libraries.
[198] The edition of 1830 (facsimile 1975) was used here, as an earlier one is not available in the CMC or other Dutch libraries.
[199] For the development of the Dutch Rite under Van Boetzelaer, see J.A.M. Snoek, 'Boetzelaer, Carel, baron Van (den) (1727-1803)', Porset/Revauger 2013, pp. 402-406.
[200] See Sepers 1993 for a discussion of differences and similarities.
[201] Sepers 1993, pp. 65-96.
[202] See also Van Loo 1953 and Snoek 1991.
[203] Snoek 1994 B, p. 27.
[204] *Les plus secrets mystères* 1766, pp. 4-5.
[205] Hiram's murder and revenge are constructs for ritual purposes, because if no one dies the candidate cannot be reborn. However, comparisons have been made to historical events, which may have inspired the violent theme, including: the murder of Thomas Becket in 1170 in Canterbury Cathedral by three blows of (four) murderers. Coincidently, the first lodge in Paris, known by name, was called St. Thomas; the burning of Jacques de Molay, the last Grand Master of the Templars, on 18-3-1314 in Paris on the order of King Philip IV; the deposition of King James II of England (James VII of Scotland), the last king of the Stuarts in 1688. The Jacobites, who played an important part in the early history of freemasons, were supporters of James II, his son and grandson. Kind advice by dr. Jan Snoek, Heidelberg University.
[206] *Les plus secrets mystères* 1766, p. 30.
[207] *Les plus secrets mystères* 1766, pp. 40-43.
[208] Sepers 1993, pp. 72 en 76.
[209] Sepers 1993, p. 72.
[210] Sepers 1993, p. 72.
[211] *Les plus secrets mystères* 1766, pp. 55-70.
[212] *Les plus secrets mystères* 1766, pp. 71-97.
[213] The lodge decoration and regalia for these degrees are generally associated with the colour red, see Snoek 1995 B.
[214] Sepers 1993, pp. 77 and 84. The so-called Royal Arch degrees are also related to the old degree of Scots Master, but form a separate Group. The Royal Arch degree was already practised in Ireland in 1746, but its origins are not yet clear (Sepers 1993, p. 77). The rituals of this degree cover the events in the vaults under the Temple, and include the finding of the 'unspeakable name'. They were incorporated into the *Ordre du Secret Royal* as *Ridder van het Koninklijk Gewelf* (Knight of the Royal Arch, 13th degree) and *Groot Uitverkoren Volmaakt Verheven Meester* (Grand Chosen Perfect Master, 14th degree); in the *R.E.A.A.* as *Grand Maître Architect* (Grand Master Architect, 12th degree), *Royale Arche* (13th degree) and *Grand Écossais* (14th degree). As they are mainly important to British-orientated freemasonry, these degrees are not discussed further here.
[215] This degree is most comparable to that of *Kleine Bouwmeester* (Little Architect), which is related to the ritual for Scots Master as it was practised between 1756 and 1766 in lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam (see CMC 124.B.14).
[216] Also called *Apprentif*, *Compagnon* and *Maître Écossais* (Scots Apprentice, Fellow and Master), or *Petit Architecte*, *Grand Architecte* and *Grand Maître Écossais* (Little Architect, Grand Architect and Scots Grand Master).

[217] Snoek 1994 B, p. 27.
[218] *Les plus secrets mystères* 1766, pp. 99-105.
[219] *Les plus secrets mystères* 1766, p. 99.
[220] The *Francken Manuscript* mentions more than once that the Starburzanai is in fact the river Euphrates.
[221] The (knightly) Crusades inspired the degrees of *Grand Élu* (Grand Chosen Master) and *Chevalier Kadosh* (Knight Kadosh).
[222] CMC 240C53, *Rituaal 'Straatsburg'* 1760. The caption reads: '"Chevalier de l'Aigle du Pélican de Rose-Croix de Saint André, ou le Parfait Maçon", c.a.d. le Chevalier de l'aigle Souverain de Strasbourg 1760 Epuré du fr[ère] Ro...s c. L 7. Le Chevalier de l'aigle du 6e Maçon parfait qui a conservé la formule ordinaire et originaire de la vraie Maçonnerie'.
[223] CMC 240C53, '*Rituaal 'Straatsburg'* 1760, p. 13. A print was included in *Les Francs-Maçons Ecrasés* (1747), depicting the Tracing Board for the degree of *Architects, or Écossais Masons* (Architects or Scots Masons) (illustrated in Carr 1971, p. 310). Five animals are depicted on the Tracing Board, placed in the shape of a cross: clockwise starting with a pigeon, then a monkey, a fox and a pelican on a nest with three young birds, with a lion in the centre. The pelican plays a part in the symbolism of the *Rose Croix* degrees. Like the *Écossais* degrees, these too are characterized by the colour red.
[224] CMC 122C42, from a collection of rituals by A. van Helden.
[225] Jacob 1991, p. 67.
[226] Engelberts 1986, p. 13.
[227] Croiset van Uchelen 1965 A, p. 63: 'Yder heeft een fles voor zig staen, en wannner men begeerd te drinken, wordt gezegd: Kruyd op de pan, 't geen inschenken beteekend; waer op de Grootmeester zegt, Leg aen; en het glas driemael aen den mond gebracht zynde, drinkt men alzo op de gezondheyd van den Broeder; dog alvoorens het glas weder op de tafel neder te zetten, brengt men het zelve op de linker tepel, vervolgens op de rechter, dan weder voor de borst, alles in drie movementen, en in drie andere het glas lynregt op tafel; waer na een yder driewerf in de hand klapt, en driemalen uytroept, Vivat. Voorts wordt altoos in acht genoomen, dat drie waschkaarsen in een driehoek op tafel staen; […]'.
[228] Engelberts 1986, p. 17: 'De tafel wordt altoos gediend met drie, vijf, zeven of negen gerechten. Wanneer men zyne plaats genomen heeft, kan yder eene fles wyn voor zig zetten. Alle de uitdrukkingen waarvan men zich in het drinken bedient, zyn ontleent van de Artillery. De fles wordt genoemd Vat; daer zyn'er, die zeggen Ton, dat 's onverschillig. Men geeft aan den wyn den naam van Poeder, of Buskruit, allsmeede aan het water; met dit onderscheid dat het ene rood, en het andere wit kruit is. De exercitie, die men drinken-de doet, laat niet toe dat men zich van glaazen bediene; daar zou'er niet een eenig van heel blyven, nadat men gedronken zoude hebben. Men heeft niet dan bekers, die men Kanonnen noemt: als men plechtig drinkt, zegt men: Geeft kruit. Yder staat op, en de Eerwaarde zegt: Laadt. Alsdan schenkt yder wyn in zyn beker. Vervolgens zegt men: Slaat de hand aan uw geweer… Legt aan… Vuur, sterk vuur. Ziet daar de drie tempo's, die men verplicht is in het drinken in acht te nemen. Op de eerste Commando slaat men zyn hand aan de beker; op de tweede, brengt men de zekven voor zich, als om het geweer te presenteren; en op de laatste, drinkt men tegelyk. Men houdt onder het drinken zyn oog op den Eerwaardigen, om alle te gelyk dezelfde Exercitie te doen. Den beker van den mond neemende, laat men dien een weinig voor zich zakken, vervolgens brnegt men hem aan de slinker borst, en van daar naar de rechter; dit geschiedt tot drie maal toe: men zet vervolgens den beker in drie tempo's weder op de tafel, men klapt drie-maal in de handen, en een yder roept drie-maal, Vivat. […] Het geluid dat men hoort in het nederzetten van de bekers op de tafel, is vry sterk, doch niet verwart; het is maar een en dezelfde slag, zwaar genoeg om de drinkvaten te breeken, die niet van sterke stoffe waren.'
[229] Engelberts 1986, pp. 36-37.
[230] Engelberts 1986, p. 17; CMC 4F33-4F43, *De Nederlandsche Vry-Metzelaars Almanach*, 's-Gravenhage 1782.
[231] Engelberts 1986, p. 21.
[232] Quoted here from facsimile in *Thoth* 23 (1972) II-III, pp. 101-102: 'Maar de liefste kleinodien zyn de Kanons en de Kruid-tonnen. In de eerste Fig. 12. Die roode-kruid Ton geheeten wordt, doet men den wyn. De andere daar men het water in diet, en niet gebruikt wordt dan wanneer er boete gedaan moet worden, het witte-kruid. Fig. 14. Het Kanon. Fig. 15. is een gemeen drinkglas, maar onder aan dik op dat het hard op de tafel gezet kunnen worden als de Kanons gelost zyn. Als ht gebeurt dat zy alle tegelyk neergezet worden zodanig dat zy maar eenen slag schynen te geeven, laat zyne Achtbaarheid nooit naa te reopen, goed, Broeders, dat gaat wel.'
[233] Engelberts 1986, p. 85.
[234] See Speth 1889, pp. 116-117; Jones 1952 (ed. 1979), plate X, following p. 192; Beringer 2003, p. 9; Berman 2012, pp. 92-93; and, for a detailed explanation of the symbolism: Mulvey-Roberts 2003, pp. 259-262.
[235] Quoted here from facsimile in *Thoth* 23 (1972) II-III, pp. 98-99: 'Maak, als gy aan tafle zit, eenen winkelhaak met het mes en de vorm, een Metselaar die het merkt zal oordelen dat gy 't licht hebt gezien [= bent ingewijd]. Als gy drinkt, houd het glas een halven voiet van de Borst, bren het 'er weder by in eene rechte lyn, rek van het punt daar zy eindigt eene andere die een rechte hoek maake met de eerste. Als gy een mes gebruikt, houd het recht op, het end van 't hecht op de tafel leunende, en de vinger uitgestrekt liggende op de punt van 't lemmet. Als men u de snuif-tabak aanbied, of als men u de doos toehoudt, geef drie slagen op de doos; en de hand uitsteeende, houd de vingers uitgestrekt, en draag zzorg dat de duim een winkelhaak maakte met de voorsten vinger. Als gy den Tabak aan den neus brengt, snuif dien in drie onderscheide reizen op, maar op eene zachte wyze. Moet gy uw neus snuiten; strek den arm uit, laat den neusdoek vallen als om hem te ontvouwen, maak een goede winkelhaak.'
[236] For the relationship between freemasonry, songs and music, see also Pink 2007.
[237] Davies 2005, pp. 324-326.
[238] For a brief history of punch, see the online exhibition *Uncorked, wine, objects and tradition*, at the Winterthur Museum (2012), uncorked.winterthur.org/consumption-equipage/punch.
[239] L&MF, *Lane's Masonic Records 1717-1894* gives 21 hits for 'punch'.
[240] In 1730 Hogarth was also listed as present in the Lodge At the Bear and Harrow in Butcher's Row. See: Cécile Révauger, 'Hogarth, William (1697-1764)', in: Porset/Révauger 2013, Vol. II, pp. 1434-1438; Révauger 1999. Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth*, (3 vol.) Cambridge 1991-1993 (not referenced further here), also discusses the masonic network of the artist and the references to masonic symbolism in his work.
[241] Révauger 1999, p. 280.
[242] The people present are caricatures of figures of authority, some of whom have been identified. See for instance: Clifford Armion (dir.), 'The Works of William Hogarth', *La Clé des Langues*; cle.ens-lyon.fr/anglais/the-works-of-william-hogarth-169448.kjsp, consulted 17-9-2015.
[243] Also published by John Smith at Cheapside ca. 1760, and by Carington Bowles at No. 69 in St. Pauls Church Yard, after 1764. See copies in the Lewis Walpole library, lwlpr02462 and Museum Of Our National Heritage, Lexington USA, inv.no. 87.42.2 (reproduced in Hamilton 1994, p. 32, no. 2.1.6.).
[244] Quoted here from Jackson 1986, p. 95.
[245] *Hiram* 1764, p. 22.
[246] *Hiram* 1764, p. 28.
[247] Lindner 1976, p. 238, noted it was probably commissioned by apothecary March, an opponent of Cagliostro.
[248] Winterburgh 1957, p. 111.

[249] Winterburgh 1957, p. 111.
[250] In the Netherlands, this bar area is jokingly called *de zevende graad* (the seventh degree). It's not clear how this came about and seems a relatively recent development.
[251] *Country Life*, 21-8-1986. Kind advice by prof. Andrew Prescott, University of Glasgow.
[252] See also Stevens Curl 2011**.**
[253] See for instance Stubbs 1983, Cryer 1989-1990, cat. exhib. London 2006, *La Loge* 2006, Culot/Stevens Curl e.a. 2006, Moore 2006, cat. exhib. Paris 2010.
[254] OVN/Kroon 2005, p. 5, lists 344 including lodges of Le Droit Humain founded after 1904. See also the masonic exhibition catalogues listed in chapter 1.
[255] OVN/Kroon 1997 and OVN/Kroon 2005. A book on the most important Dutch masonic halls by the OVN Foundation is forthcoming.
[256] Here quoted from Carr 1971, p. 76, footnote I.
[257] Snoek 2002, pp. 1-19.
[258] Carr 1971, p. 44.
[259] Perhaps more accurate would be to say it split. The much smaller table of the Worshipful Master, discussed below, can be seen as a remnant of the original communal table. This smaller table eventually also split, into a) the table of the Worshipful Master on the throne and b) the altar.
[260] This is discussed in the context of masculine identity and social behaviour in Morrison 2012.
[261] For the following section, see Akkermans 1991, pp. 19-23.
[262] Akkermans 1991, pp. 16-17, is probably based on Pott 1961, who provides the same arguments.
[263] See Kroon/Wagtberg Hansen 2011, which illustrates how lodge buildings of not only masculine and co-masonic organisations, but also spiritualists, theosophists and other esoteric currents in The Hague played a central role in the local community up until 1940. They hosted public lectures by groups of various idealistic backgrounds and as such facilitated the transmission of 'modern' ideas on emancipation, labour rights, pacifism, vegetarianism, cremation, the protection of animals and children, etc., as well as on esoteric movements. 19th century newspapers, consulted through the delpher.nl database, show that similar meetings were announced in lodge buildings in the Dutch East Indies.
[264] This ambulatory stage can be considered from an anthropological perspective. Many rituals would start with ceremonial actions which indicate that the events take place outside the physical realm and normal time, and will end with actions which symbolically bring the participants back to the real world. The careful drawing of the tracing board and subsequent wiping out is, for instance, similar to the rituals of the Navaho Indians. Sand paintings were drawn for healing ceremonies, the action of pouring sand signifying the transfer to another dimension. In order to close the ritual and 'return', the painting needed to be wiped out after use, despite its beauty and the time and effort spent on creating it. For this process, also described as 'framing', see (not referenced further here): H. Jungaberle/J. Weinhold (eds.), *Rituale in Bewegung. Rahmungs- und Reflexivitätsprozesse in Kulturen der Gegenwart*, Berlin 2006; Jens Kreinath/Jan Snoek/Michael Stausberg, *Theorizing Rituals*, (2 vols) Leiden Brill 2006/2007.
[265] Here quoted from Pollard 1997, p. 38.
[266] Pollard 1997, p. 45.
[267] See note 284 above.
[268] Akkermans 1991, pp. 21-23.
[269] Knoop/Jones/Hamer 1943, pp. 179-180.
[270] Carpenter 2011, pp. 94-95.
[271] Carpenter 2011, pp. 87-94.
[272] Carpenter 2011, p. 92.
[273] Here quoted from Knoop/Jones/Hamer 1943, p. 162.
[274] Knoop/Jones/Hamer 1943, p. 192 (here 2nd ed. 1963, p. 242).
[275] Carr 1971, p. 73, footnotes.
[276] Carr 1971, pp. 73 (footnotes) and 78.
[277] Here quoted from Knoop/Jones/Hamer 1963, pp. 165-166. This wording is not present in the Dutch translation of Prichard.
[278] Here quoted from Croiset van Uchelen 1965 A, pp. 61-62: '[…] als wanneer men hem in de kamer driewerf om zekere tekening leyd, die op de vloer geschetst is, en op twee kolommen van de ruine van den Tempel van Salomon rust, aen welkers beyde zyden 2 capitale Letters, als een I. en een B. geschreeven zyn, die echter niet dan na de receptie uytgelegt werden.'
[279] *Three Distict Knocks* 1760, p. 38: 'The senior and junior Warden have each of them a Column in their Hand, about Twenty Inches long, which represents the Two Columns of the Porch at Solomon's Temple, Boaz and Jachin. The senior is Boaz, or Strength. The junior is Jachin, or establish'. These interpretations are derived from the comments on 1 Kings 7:21 in the (Calvinist) Geneva Bible (1599): '[Iachín] That is, he will stablish, to wit, his spmes [= promise?] towarde this house'; '[Bóaz] That is, in strength: meaning, [the] power thereof shal continue'. J.A.M Snoek, 'Rituals I - English, Irish and Scottish Craft Rituals', in: Róbert Péter (ed.), *British Freemasonry, 1717-1813*, Vol. 2, 2015 (forthcoming).
[280] Here quoted from Knoop/Jones/Hamer 1943, p. 181.
[281] All quoted here from Knoop/Jones/Hamer 1943, p. 177.
[282] Here quoted from Croiset van Uchelen 1965 A, pp. 61-62: 'De gemelde drie touren gedaen zijnde, wordt den voorgestelde op het midden van de bovengenoemde tekening ondervraegt, staende tegens over den Grootmeester, die zig aen het hoogereynde achter een gestoelte bevindt, waerop het Evangelium van Johannis legt; [...] doet men den voorgestelde driemalen tot het tabouret aen de voert van het gestoelte naderen, [...] doet men hem […] op het Tabouret knielen'.
[283] Here quoted from Knoop/Jones/Hamer 1943, pp. 179-180.
[284] Here quoted from Knoop/Jones/Hamer 1943, pp. 162-163.
[285] Here quoted from Knoop/Jones/Hamer 1943, pp. 162-163.
[286] Kind advice by dr. Jan Snoek, Heidelberg University.
[287] Here quoted from Knoop/Jones/Hamer 1943, pp. 178-179.
[288] Here quoted from Croiset van Uchelen 1965, pp. 61-62: '[...] De gemelde drie touren gedaan zynde, wordt den voorgestelden op het midden van de bovengenoemde teekening ondervraegt, staende tegenover den Grootmeester, die zich aen het hogereynde achter een gestoelte bevind, waarop het Evangelium Joannis legt [...] [daarna] doet men de voorgestelde driemalen tot het Tabouret aen de voet van het gestoelte naderen [...].'
[289] Here quoted from Knoop/Jones/Hamer 1943, p. 180.
[290] Here quoted from Knoop/Jones/Hamer 1943, p. 162.
[291] Here quoted from Carr 1971, p. 78.
[292] Here quoted from Carr 1971, p. 442.
[293] Van Tongeren 1938, p. 164: 'Anº 1735. 5. Xber was Jacobus Maas Dirks Zoon, makelaar; met Jacobus van Dalem, reysende bode van de stad Haerlem, saamen in den Haag zynde, alsmede de Casteleyn van 't Logement van Haerlem, met nog yemand, in den Doelen, binnen de Kaamer van

het Collegie der vrye Metselaars, alwaer een van de leden hen aanwees en verslag deed van de Meubilementen in dat zelve vertrek. het was niet groot, maar per gis 14 a 16 voeten ruimte. aan eene der wanden hingen aan een kapstok 10 a 12 wit ledere schootsvellen, met Cabrette Handschoenen netjes opgestrikt. En de schootsvellen met klappen neerhangende, een knoopsgat daerin om boven vast te maaken. in een hoek van 't vertrek stond een schabell, en daer op een kastje met schuiflaaden of insteekbakjes, en daer in papieren, brieven en andere geschriften etc. boven op het kastje eene Globe. Voorts stoelen etc.'

[294] Van Tongeren 1938, p. 164.: 'boven de [kleine] stoel is een Paralel-linie / Rüsleere stoel voor de leden / Des [grote] Presidents zeetel, van fray nootehout en vergultsel / Kapwerk wordt achter ingestoken, als bij de Barbiers / Rusleere stoel / grote zeer hoge kandelaer en swaare kaarsen'.

[295] Prof.dr. Willemijn Fock, a specialist on Dutch furniture of the period at the Leiden University, questioned the authenticity of the document in 1996, while reviewing my MA paper on this subject. In her expert opinion the design of the chairs does not fit the date of the drawing. However, I have since not been able to verify these doubts. Harmen Snel, senior archivist at the Amsterdam Municipal Archive, was consulted more recently and feels that the writing style and type of the document do not provide a reason to doubt its dating or authenticity. Physical testing of the paper might be conclusive, but that was not possible for this project.

[296] Prichard 1730, here quoted from Knoop/Hammer/Jones 1943, p. 113.

[297] The publication appeared between 1723 and 1743 in eleven volumes and was printed in Amsterdam. Between 1727 and 1738 a Dutch translation of the *Céremonies* was published, see Moubach 1736.

[298] See amongst others (not referenced further here): Margaret Jacob, 'Bernard Picart and the Turn to Modernity', *De Achttiende eeuw* vol. 37 (2005), pp. 1-16; Lynn Hunt/Margaret C. Jacob/Wijnand Mijnhardt, *The Book That Changed Europe: Picart and Bernard's "Religious Ceremonies of the World"*, Harvard 2010; idem, *Bernard Picart and the First Global Vision of Religion*, Los Angeles 2010.

[299] From 1725 to 1741 Pine annually produced the engraved lists of lodges: directories of lodges warranted by the English Grand Lodge, providing the time and place of their meeting. Each Lodge was distinguished by a miniature identification sign, usually that of the tavern where the members met. The backdrop to this image depicts the 1735 version of the annual list (with their tavern signs). It is framed and headed with the family crest of the Grand Master of the English Grand Lodge at the time, Thomas Thynne Viscount Weymouth (1710-1751). The portrait is that of the publicist and polititian Sir Richard Steele (1672-1729), which is curious as his membership has not been established. Steele wrote about freemasonry in the *Tatler* in 1709-1710. See Croiset van Uchelen 1961, p. 92; Prescott 2004 B.

[300] Kind advice by dr. Jan Snoek.

[301] *Het Onroerd Holland* 1748, pp. 245-246: 'De voornoemde *Meubelen* bestonden in drie *Stoelen*, die weergaloos van *Karssebomen hout* waren gemaakt. De *Stoel* van den *Groot-Meester* was als een *Troon*: de kap van boven tot onderen was twaalf voeten hoog: men zag daarop aan de ene zyde verbeeld de *Zon*, aan de andere kant was de *Maan*, en in 't midden een *Astronomische Spheer*, alles deftig verguld: boven in de kap waren alle de gereedschappen die *Timmerlieden* en *Metzelaars* in de *Bouwkunde* gebruiken: Daar nevens stonden twee *Pedestallen*, dienende om *Waschkaarsen* op te zetten, die zoo dik moisten zyn als een mans arm, en van de *Broeders Vrye Metselaars* gemaakt wierden.' Landwehr 1981, p. 31 incorrectly translated the *Spheer* or Sphere as zodiac.

[302] Landwehr 1981, p. 31.

[303] See (not referenced further here): J.W.H.J.M. Noldus, 'De edelsmid Philippe Metayer en zijn ontwerper Louis Fabrice Dubourg. Herkomst en betekenis van een verzameling ontwerptekeningen in het Rijksprentenkabinet', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 33 (1985), pp. 226-232.

[304] Van den Brand 1993, pp. 122-128.

[305] Croiset van Uchelen 1961, p. 92, points out the first lodge in The Hague is missing from the list. It was listed as no. 131 in 1736.

[306] Stadsarchief Amsterdam, transportakten before 1811, 16-12-1755: Kalverstraat (West side), house and plot opposite to the Gapersteeg.

[307] There are several different versions in various collections, which have identical prints but different colours. A serial number is given as 'C. Priv. S. Coes.Ma. 16', each set having a different number.

[308] The Jewish Historical Museum in Amsterdam for instance, owns a perspective theatre of this series, depicting the *Loofhuttenfeest* (Feast of Tabernacles).

[309] An example of this theatre in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris is set in a wooden box, which was restored in 1943. See Lindner 1976, p. 236, no. 122.

[310] CMC 4F33-4F43, *De Almanach der Vrye Metzelaren*,'s-Gravenhage 1782.

[311] An English translation of Wolson appeared as *Solomon in all his Glory* (1766).

[312] Here quoted from reprint in *Thoth* 5 (1954) 2, p. 85: 'Vrag. Hebt gy in 't zelve eenige cieraden. Antw. Ja. Vrag. Wat zijn die. Antw.: Mosaïk werk (Ingelegt werk van steen, metaal, glas, schulpen, enz. uitgewrocht als Strikken en Bloemen, zoo konstig dat alles maar een stuk schijnt te weezen.) een Staart-Star en stof met goud geborduurt. Vrag.: Waartoe dienen die. Antw.: De vloer van 't vertrek is met Mosaïk werk geplaveidt, de staart-ster is 't middelpunt, en de wandt rondom is met stof, met goud doorwerkt bekleed'.

[313] Here quoted from reprint in *Thoth* 5 (1954) 2, p. 85: 'Een Bordt, ruwe Hardsteen en spitse Troffel'.

[314] This publication by an unknown author is a compilation of *Le Secret des Francs Maçons* (1742) and *Catéchisme des Francs-Maçons* (1744). Boerenbeker published an annotated facsimile in *Thoth* in 1971, in which he remarked that this particular ritual was very influential in The Netherlands. Accounts kept by Van Laak, the book supplier of the Grand Lodge, show that the publication was ordered by lodges together with other, official publications by the Grand Lodge (Boerenbeker 1971, pp. 9-10). The publication seems to have inspired *A Master Key to Freemasonry* (1760).

[315] Boerenbeker 1971, pp. 15-16.

[316] Boerenbeker 1971, p. 29: 'zo als die te Parijs is uitgegeeven, maar gebrekkelyk' and 'waare' version.

[317] Pérau 1745, pp. 56-59.

[318] The first part of the text, copied from *Le Secret des Francs-Maçons* (1742), describes the dress of lodge members, corresponding with the illustration. But the second part, copied after *Catéchisme des Francs-Maçons* (1744), does not correspond with the prints. For instance, two members present at the Master initiation are wearing the flap of the apron upright (the Dutch custom for the degree of Fellows, who would not have been admitted to a meeting in the Master's degree), and this differs from the text. This suggests that the illustrations were conceived by the engraver (after the example of *Catéchisme des Francs-Maçons,* 1744), while the author of the book based himself on another source in 1745.

[319] Pérau 1745, pp. 71-72: 'De figuuren worden met kreijt geschetst op de vloer van de Zaal van Aanneming, en in plaatse van een ruuwen vormeloozen Steen welke getekent is in den tyd der Aanneming van een Leerling [...] zo schetst men tot de aanneming van een Gezel, een steen die bekwaam is om de gereedschappen te slijpen [...].'

[320] Pérau 1745, pp. 73-74: 'Wanneer men dan een Meester zal aannemen, is de Zaal van Aanneming versiert gelyk tot de Aanneming van de Leerlingen en van de Gezellen, maar daar zyn meer figuuren in het beschreven perk. Behalven de driehoekig geplaatste Kandelaars en de twee vermaarde Kolommen [...] maalt men daar [...] iets dat 't geene gelykt naar een gebouw, dat zy *Mosaïsch Paleis* noemen. Men maakt 'er ook twee andere figuuren; de eene wordt genoemt de *tandige Kwast*, en de andere, het *Verhemelsel bezaait met sterren*. Daar is ook een werktuig van Metselaarschap, dat de werklieden gewoonlijk het *Loodt* of het *Schietloodt* noemen. De steen die gedient heeft om deze figuren te tekenen, blyft op de vloer van de Kamer van Aanneming. Men ziet 'er bovendien zekere afbeelding, welke het graf van Hiram verbeeldt'.

[321] Pérau 1745, pp. 117-118: 'In de kamer alwaar deze ceremonie geschiedt, tekent men op de houte vloering der Loge van den meester, de gedaante van eene Doodkist omringt met traanen (a). Op een der einden van de Doodkist tekent men een Doodshoofd; op het andere twee Beenderen kruiswyze; en men schrijft in 't midden *Jehova*, het oude Meesters-woord. Voor de Doodkist tekent men een ope Passer; aan 't andere einde, een Winkelhaak; en aan de rechter hand een Berg, op welkers top een tak is van Acacia; en men tekent, gelyk in de Loge van den Leerling-Gezel, de vier hoofd-Punten. Men verlicht deze Astekening met negen waschlichten, te weeten drie ten Oosten, drie ten Zuiden, en drie ten Westen [...] waarna de Groot-Meester [...] zyne plaats neemt, en zich zet voor een zeker slach van een klein Altaar dat ten Oosten is, waarop het boek van het Evangelie legt, en eene kleine houte Hamer. (a) Ziet de *Waare Afbeelding der Loge van den Meester*.'
[322] Pérau 1745, pp. 195-196: 'VII. 't Geen men eigentlyk de Loge noemt, dat is te zeggen, de figuuren op de houte vloering getrokken op de dagen van Aanneming, moet met kryt getekent zyn, en niet geschildert op een doek, die men voorbedachtelyk in eenige Loges voor die dagen bewaart: zulks is tegen den regel. Maar van deze figuuren spreekende, zal ik hier aanmerken, dat eenigen eene *Globe* of Aardbol stellen in plaatse van de *Sphere* of Hemelkring, welke ik hebbe doen verbeelden in de *waare Afbeelding van de Loge der Leerlingen*.'
[323] Pérau 1745, p. 196.
[324] Pott 1964 A, pp. 9-11; Boerenbeker 1971, pp. 29-30.
[325] Pott 1964 A, pp. 9-14.
[326] Boerenbeker 1971, p. 30.
[327] Boerenbeker 1971, p. 30.
[328] Jan Snoek, 'Smith, [John], George [de] (c. 1728-c. 1785)', in: Porset/Revauger 2013, pp. 2562-2566, and Snoek 2006.
[329] Wolson 1753, pp. 10-12.
[330] Wolson 1753, p. 5: 'Salomons Tempel verbeeld de Majesteit der Loge, waar in de Broeders arbeiden. De twee koperen Kolommen drukken een onwrikbare steun uit die het gebouw schraagt. De Vlammende Starre, het licht dat hen leid in hunne wandel. Het Gehemelte met Starren bezaaid, de vrije gemeenschap die zij met den hemel hebben, zich afzonderende van het *profanum Vulgus*, of de *Ongewijden*, gelijk zij zich uitdrukken, en de ondeugden.'
[331] Wolson 1753, pp. 17-18: 'Ik zag [...] de hoog Eerwaarde met den Moker opgeheven, eene tafel voor hem, een Boek daar op, drie kaersen, twee degens kruiswyze over elkander liggende. [...] Ik sloeg mijn gezigt nederwaart, en zag den heerlyken Tempel van Salomon met kryt op den vloer getekent.'
[332] Pott 1964 A, p. 9.
[333] 'Glory' can also be interpreted as 'shining' or 'radiance', see Snoek 1995 B, p. 167.
[334] Quoted here from fascimile in *Thoth* 23 (1972), II-III-, pp. 36-39: 'Gy zyt hier in eene eerwaarde *Loge,* of liever in Salomons Tempel zelven. Slaa uwe oogen op dit Taferel, (1ste *Plaat*) en volg my in de Verklaringe deezer wonderen. De trap, schreefsgewyze gemaakt, is, die naar den Tempel leidde. Men klimt er op zich wendende door 3, 5, en 7. Gy hebt dezelve beklommen voor dat gy zyne Hoog-Achtbare zyt aangeboden met drie schreden. Deeze kleine geteekende ruiten, die met verschillende kleuren afgezet behoorden te weezen, zyn de mosaische vloer. Deeze beide kolommen, geplaatst aan den ingang van den Tempels, zyn die aan welker voetstuk de Knechts [= Gezellen] en de Leerlingen zich 's avonds vergaderen om hunnen loon te ontvangen. Vermits zy in overgrooten getalen waren, moest men hun een verscheide word geven om ze uit elkander te kennen. De Leerlingen vervoegden zich by de kolom JACHIN ten Noorden; […] De Knechts in 't Zuiden […]. Zie de letters J en B, met welke de naamen JACHIN en BOAS aanvangen, die op de schaft deezer Kolommen geschreeven zyn. De hoogte dier zuilen was 18 ellen, haar omtrek 12, en hare dikte vier vingers. Op het Kapiteel deezer pylaaren en aan de Oostzyde staan geschreven de woorden WYSHEID, KRACHT, SCHOONHEID. […] Toen uwe oogen geopend werden door het wegneemen van den doek die u blinded, zaagt gy drie groote lichten; het eerste is de Zon, het twede de Maan, en het derde onze Hoog-Achtbare Meester, welken gy op deezen eerwaardigen stoel ziet zitten om de *Loge* te verlichten. Behalven deeze twee fakkels van den nacht en den dag. Ziet gy in het middelpunt een ander dat vlammen uitwerpt, en dat wy de vlammende Sterre heeten. […] Zy vervat in haar midden een G, de eerste letter van den naam des Bouwmeesters van het Heel Al. Wy geven 'er nog andere betekenissen aan, die wy uitdrukken door de woorden Glorie, Grootheid, en Geometrie. De Glorie is voor God, de Grootheid voor den Meester der Loge, en de Geometrie, welke wy de vyfde der weetenschppen stellen, is voor alle de Broeders. Wy hebben maar drie vensters in den Tempel, het een ten Oosten, het ander ten Westen, het derde ten Zuiden: wy plaatsen er gene in t Noorden, om dat de Zonne er hare straalen niet in kan schieten. Gy ziet hier verscheide kleinodien, wy hebben er zes, te weeten drie beweeglyke. De eerste zyn de Winkelhaak, dien zyn Hoog-Achtbare draagt; het Waterpas dat gy aan den hals van den eerste Opziener ziet hangen, en het Schietlood dat de twede aan zynen hals draagt. De drie andere Kleinodien zyn by ons het bord daar men op tekent, 't welk voor de Baazen [= Meesters] is; de *cubische* Steen met een punt, waar op de Knechts [= Gezellen] hun gereedschap slijpen, en de ruwe steen, die voor de Leerlingen is. Zie desgelijks rondom het Tafereel de driehoekige figuren, welke gy beurtelings vol en ledig ziet; zy verbeelden u den getanden rand die de uiterste enden van den Tempel omringde; voeg daar den mosaische vloer by, en de vlammende Sterre, en dan zult gy de drie sieraden hebben welke wy in onze *Loges* gebruiken.'
[335] In the oldest version of the Hiram myth (Prichard's *Masonry Dissected*, 1730) the word *cassia* (*Cassia Fistula*) is used; in the later French rituals the word became *acacia* (*Acacia Arabica*), either as a translation mistake, or because of an intended reference to the Arc of the Convenant, the Cross of Christ, etc. Within freemasonry several plants were used to depict the acacia. The sloe (*Prunus spinosa L.*) is of the *Rosaceae* family, while what in Dutch is considered an acacia (*Robinia pseudoacacia L.*) is of the Papilionaceae family. What the Dutch call Mimosa (*Acacia dealbata*) is of the *Mimosaceae* family. Kind advice by dr. Jan Snoek, Heidelberg University.
[336] Here quoted from facsimile in *Thoth* 23 (1972) II-III, n. pag.: '1 Winkelhaak op welken de aannemeling de voet zet. 2 Weg van den Aannemeling. 3 Passer waar op de Aannemeling knielt. 4 Adonhirams Graf met het oude Meesters Woord, het Doodshoofd, en den Sleepruimen Tak. 5 Traanen rondom het graf getekend. 6 Kandelaars der Loge. 7 Getande rand. 8. Altaar van zyne Achtbaarheid.'
[337] Here quoted from the facsimile in Thoth 23 (1972) II-III, pp. 99-101: 'Het Schrift der Loges is geheel verschillende met dat der Ongewyden. […]; men ziet hare gedaante in de 3de Plaat […] In de Loge gebruikt men gene ronde Kandelaars, zy moeten all driehoekig zyn. Fig. 3. Het Schootsvel is een wit vel met zyde gevoerd, en met een lint geboord; men mag er eenige toeeigeningen van de Orden op zetten, gelyk een driehoek en en winkelhaak. Fig 4. De Handschoenen zyn van dezelfde gedaante, als die de Ongewyden gebruiken. Een Broeder mag niet werken zonder ze in de hand te hebben. De Troffel is een gereedschap dat in de Loge in t geheel niet gebruikt wordt; men vergenoegt zich te zeggen dat hy moet dienen om gebreken zyner Broederen te stoppen. Daar naast ziet men de Passer en den Winkelhaak. Fig. 6. Fig. 7. Vertoont den Halsband van zyne Achtbaarheid. Fig. 8 dien van den eersten Oppasser. Fig. 9 die van den tweden. Zy moeten die Eeretekens afleggen als men de Loge sluit; men legt ze in eene kist daar zyne Achtbarheid een sleutel van heeft en den Geheimschryver den anderen. Fig. 10 is een Waterpas en een Schietlood, die men altemet tekent op het Tafereel in plaatse van die 'er op zyn. Fig. 11 De Moker van zyne Achtbaarheid en zyne twee Oppassers. Fog 12. Degens die men kruiswyze legt op den Bybel als men den Aannemeling den Eed afneemt.'
[338] Rodermond 1985, pp. 15-23.
[339] Kwaadgras 2003, pp. 14-15.
[340] Little is known about this artist. Could this be Rime Guillaume Robart, living on the Overtoomseweg, Amsterdam, as listed in the baptism and burial registers in the 1760s? SA, DTB 311, p. 7 (folio4), no. 17; DTB 344 p 227 (folio 114) no.1; DTB 1072 p. 49vo and 50.

[341] Here quoted from Rodermond 1985, p. 28: ‘voorstellende een emblema op de zinspreuk van onze Loge’, ‘Een vrouw, die grijs van ouderdom is, Met een witte sluijer omhangen en bedekt, De regterarm vooruythoudende, een weinig geboogen, En de regterhand met eenenen anderen witte doek behangen, Terwijl haar linkerhand op een bevallige wijze, Eene roos vasthoud. Staande het beeld op een grond, Versierd met passer, waterpas, schietlood, en andere gereedschappen van de bouwkunst. Terwijl een cierlijk zwaaijende lind, boven haar, De zinspreuk La Bien Aimee, voerende’. See CMC, [former] inv.no. 41.6, attachments to the minutes 1754-1756, no. 6 list of incoming correspondence, letter by Rousset de Missy 1755.

[342] Here quoted from Rodermond 1985, p. 28: ‘"Grijs van ouderdom" beteekende de aloudheid van onze vrindentrouw in de edle Orde der Vrijmetselarij. "Omhangen en bedekt met eene witte sluijer", om daardoor aan te duiden de opregtheid van het gemeod, die een metgezellinge der trouwe in de vrindschap weezen moet. "De regterarm vooruythoudende", beduijdende de opheffing der regterhan, de belofte en trouwe. "De regterhand met eenene witte doek behangen", beteekend dat de trouwe geheim moet zijn. "Eene roos", beteekend de aangenaamheijd tussen hals- boezemvrienden. "De verciering op de grond", vereijschte geen explicatien.’

[343] Compare for instance the copies in the collection of Svenska Frimurare Ordens Museum, Stockholm (reproduced in cat. Exhib. Turku 1992, p. 156) and Grande Loge de France, Paris (reproduced in Van de Sande 1995, p. 96) with those displayed at auction on 21-7-2013 and 22-7-2012 at cannes-encheres.com. A similar box with a less refined execution from the collection of Jean Baylot (1897-1976) is now in the collection of the Grande Loge de France.

[344] CMC, [former] inv.no. 41.6-10, Minute books I-V, 14-10-1757 indeed recorded that the Worshipful Master places a member beside him in the portico (‘nevens zich in het portique’).

[345] CMC, [former] inv.no. 41.6-10, Minute books I-V, 10-6-1757: ‘de portique in de kas wel bezorgt was en met grof vlaams linnen overdekt’.

[346] CMC, [former] inv.no. 41.6-10, archief La Bien Aimée te Amsterdam, Notulenboeken 1-5: ‘Broeder Ceremoniemeester absent fungeerde de Broeder Robart: Alle de Leeden verscheenen in Gala: Ider met zijn Teeken volgens de Bijzondere graaden aan Nieuwe Linten, de Venerable en de andere officieren hadden Nieuwe zeer fraaijgemaakte Ornamenten, de Portique was voor de Eerstemaal ophgerigt, Drie Nieuwe Christalle kroonen met Waskaarsen verlichten de zaal, de welke vergroot en uijtgelegt zijnde nu in order was [...].’

[347] CMC, [former] inv.no. 41.6-10, Minute books I-V, 4-2-1757: ‘Den Timmerman Ebbenhorst, waar mede ook ingevoegt is het geleeverde houd en opmaken van Een Architect kas in de Logekamer f333:15:12:
Onsen Br. Robart voor 't Fijn Schilderwerk aan de Portique en nog Eenige andere geleeferde Werken aan de Loge 169:15: 8
Aan Anth: Aardewijn voor kladschilderwerk aan de Portique en nog Eenige andere arbijd ten dienste van de Loge 125: 7:--
Jan de Beer voor Beeldhouwers arbeijd 47:10:--‘

[348] CMC, [former] inv.no. 41.6-10, Minute books I-V, 4-2-1757: 'Cieraden […] buijten order en kennisse des Loge besteed zijnde: [...] vertoont wierd een rekening van den Zilversmid Dan: Houzel voor Elf geleeverde fraaije officiers ornamenten, Een Losse Zilveren Winkelhaak, Een Losse passer en Drie Silvere Blakers belopende deeze reekening f294: 7:--
verder van de broeder Brouwer voor 5 Glaase Luysters a f16:- 30:--:--
En van Christ: Freijsler voor 3 Cristalle kroonen 101:10:--‘

[349] Boerenbeker 1971, p. 23.

[350] CMC, [former] inv.no. 41.6-10, Minute books I-V, 25-3-1757: ‘De Tres venerable verwittigde verders, dat Nopens de couleur was goed gevonden, dat ijder Loge haare aparte couleur zoude hebben, en dat alleenlijk de Grootofficieren van de Groote loge het blaauw Lint zouden voeren: dus onze Loge bij deeze verandering heeft gekozen de couleur de roze [...] dewijl nu veele Broederen reets onkosten gedaan hebben van blaauwe Linten en Doublures berichte de Tres Venerable, dat so de Broederen hunne blauwe Linten zouden overgeven in dezelfde plaats krijgen een ander van couleur de rose op onkosten van de Loge als meede hetzelfde omtrent de Tabliers die de Broederen op hunne kosten hebben doen met blauw omboorden en versieren.’ Tegen de beslissing werd nogmaals bezwaar gemaakt door de Passé Maître, echter zonder succes.’

[351] CMC, [former] inv.no. 41.6-10, Minute book I, p. 125, 27-7-1757: ‘Deeze volgende komen in de meubel kas
Het ornament van den Venerable
Twee voor de 1[ste] & 2de Surveillant
voor de Secretaris
dito Thesaurier
dito Ceremoniem[eeste]r
dito Terrible
dito Orateur
dito Architect
dito Maitre d'Hotel
dito Passe Maitre
dito Fiscaal
dito Meubelm[eeste]r
Een groote zilver
winkelhaak
Een losse Passer
drie Maillets
drie Tabeliers
Twee voorhangsels van
Spiegelglas S.E.B.
eene Goude Medaille
Deeze komen in de Meubelkas
Eenige paaren witte handschoenen
de Groote Waschflambouwen
de Waskaarsen
drie ruggen van stoelen
de decoratie La Bien Aimée
In de Architect kas komen
drie Groote Stoelen
het Tafeltje voor den Vener[able]
de kas van de Bien Aimée
het blik dat daartoe behoort
drie kandelaars met zilvere Blaakers

de Lessenaar van den Secretaris
Nog aan de Zolder
2 Cristallijne kroonen ijder met 6 armen
1 dito Cristallijne kroon met 8 armen
5 Luusters met koopere Armen
[met aantekening in kantlijn:] NB: deese zijn gebleeven in T schild van Vrankrijk
aldus geregistreerd [handtekening:] D.H.Kruimel Secretaris.'

[352] CMC, Box 2001, Incoming correspondence received by the Grand Lodge, 1747-1762, no. 164-2: 'de faire construire un Trône & un Temple representant celui de Salomon'. The word Temple might mean tableau or tracing board, but considering the information from lodge La Bien Aimée discussed above and that of Pott regarding lodge La Vertu below, here it probably means the background for the throne, resembling the facade of a temple. See Hanou 1997, pp. 86-89 and Snoek 1998 C.

[353] Hanou 1997, pp. 86-89. He designed a certificate for lodge L'Union Royale in The Hague. Also listed from 1770 as member of Serenitas Omen, commissioned to make regalia and tracing boards. See (not referenced further here: D.C.J. van Peype, 'Serenitatis Omen. De loge van Vrije Timmerlieden te Leiden (1770-75)', *Thoth* 28 (1977) 3, pp. 67-68, 72. He was also a member of the lodge Les Coeurs Unis in The Hague in 1770, where he took similar commissions. See the Rkd Artists database and, among others, J. van der Haer, 'De werkwijze van Paulus Constantijn', *Jaarboek Geschiedkundige Vereniging Die Haghe* Den Haag 1960, pp. 111-118.

[354] CMC, Incoming correspondence received by the Grand Lodge, 1747-1762, inv.no. 164-3:

'1761 […] 17 8br […] Voor drie groote tafels aan Verhey	9:-	18:-
30 dito Aan Schrieder voor een Plan	10:-	10-
[…] aan Vier d. Cabrette Handschoenen a 62	27:-	:-
Twee Tabliers voor Broeder Bierboom & Leenpoel	12:-	:-
een dito voor Broeder Carnabé	1:-	:-
aan Brodier, voor drie Maillets	15:-	:-
17 9br drie Tablié voor de Br[oeders] de Koning, Brand en Bucoi	18:-	:-'.

[355] CMC inv.no. 164-2, 'Stukken ingekomen bij hoofdbestuur': 'Notitie van de Byoux, Meubilen van de Logie de Astréa volgens inkoop

Het plan van de L[oge]	f13-	14-
Een dito	10-	10
Een Scruttin	:-	18-
Passer en Winkelhaak	:-	14-
IJzere Plaaten [om onweer te maken?]	13-	:-
Groot en Klein Zegel	26-	10-
de Constitutie uyt den Haag	52-	10-
Aan Brodier in s'Hage voor vyf Bijoux	34:-	:-
10 Cm. Blauw Lind	6:-	:-
11 dito rood Lind	9:-	16-
Een Cachet	5:-	5-
Een Buffet	5:-	5-
Aan den Boekbinder	16:-	8-
Een Leeman f5 3/4 en het verschilderen f2:- =	7:-	15-
Twee Bijoux voor d'Intend[ant] & Archit[ect]	20:-	:-
vyff Ell rood Lind a 14 SLS	3:-	10-
Negen Kandelaars	63:-	:-
Negen schoreven	:-	18-
Vier schryfboekjes	2:-	10-
TaffelKleed	4:-	:-
Den Throon volgens rekeningen	348:-	8-
tot verbetering van het Bijoux van de M[eeste]r	8:-	10-
Cachet de Secretaire	7:-	10-
Drie geincruteerde Maillets	15-	15-
Drie Armblakers Zon, Maan, & Sterren	18-	:-
24 Chaise de Paille a 20 SLS	24-	:-
12 Kopere Kandelaars a 18 SLS	10-	16-
Een Kroon met armblakers	11-	:-
Lantaarn in het Voorhuis	2:-	10-
Een Klein Kussen	1:-	5-
Zes rechaut	-	18-
Een Sye Doek	1-	5-
Drie Grote Tafels	36:-	10-
2 dito	12:-	10-
Zevenentwintig El Groen Caizant gedrukt tot Gordynen		
vier Ell dito tot 2 kleine Gordynen		
vier el rood gedrukt Caizant tot het buffet		
te zamen 35 Ellen a 12 stuivers	21-	:-
12 Kwispedoors	2-	14-
48 Canons & 6 Gobelet a bierre	9-	4-
Een Kandelaar met 7 armen	26-	5-
Een Tafeltie	15-	15-
Drie Raampies	9-	9-
dito Blakerties	2-	10-
Een Plan en drie geschilderde Chassinette	15-	15-
drie El Liver [?] Linnen	2-	8-
voor het verlakken en vergulden van het		

bovenseide Tafeltie en Kandelaar 18:- :-
nog een Plan de M[aitre] 10:- 10-
Een Ladder om op het frontispiece van den
Throon te klimmen 3:- 10-
te Zamen f932:- :-
Een Yzer haardje met koopere knoppen
Tang & as schop
2 Tinne Tabaksdozen
2 tabaks Confooren
4 Snuiters
3 Maillet van yvoor door Br[oeder] van Wellem prezent gedaan
de Mantel, en Mutz voor de terrible door Br[oeder] Schutt prezent gedaan
een Rood Fluweele Kussen door Br[oeder] Schuler prezent gedaan'

[356] Hanou 1997, p. 89: 'les fers pour la voute ferrée, & les planches avec les escabeaux pour le faire les faux escaliers'. Hanou refers to minutes of De Goede Trouw, discussing furniture of Astrée. See also CMC, Incoming correspondence received by the Grand Lodge, 1747-1762, inv.nos. 164.3-5, letters by Hauteville accidentally placed among documents dated 1751.

[357] Here quoted from Boerenbeker 1971, p. 7: 'Men zal geen geschilderde Loges [= tableaus] meer mogen gebruyken maar ieder Broeder zal zig in staat zoeken te stellen om dezelve behoorlijk te traceren'.

[358] Pott 1961 B, p. 147.

[359] CMC, A.1.1 no. 2, Personal archive of J.P.I. Du Bois, Folder 2, 'Ritueel voor der graad van Leerling Vry Metzelaar'. On the document itself is written a remark in pencil in the handwriting of former curator B. Croiset van Uchelen, identifying it as by Dubois and dating it 1773.

[360] The use of an image with motto here points to the practice of the Stricte Observanz, in which the image for the 1st degree was a broken column with the motto 'Adhuc stat' (still standing).

[361] CMC, A.1.1. no. 2. Personal archive of J.P.I. Du Bois, Folder 2, 'Ritueel voor der graad van Leerling Vry Metzelaar': 'Decoratie van de [Loge] De Loge, sowel van Leerling als die van Metgezel, is niet onderhevig aan Eenige bijsondere behangsels; Sij kan enkelijk versierd worden met zinnebeelden of eenige andere Schilderijen, overeenkomstig met de twee eerste graden. de armstoel en het autaar van de Ag[t]b[are] Meester sijn in het oosten geplaatst op Een voetenbank [= verhoging] van 3. trappen en onder een Dais of verhemelte. het autaar, de armstoel en de Dais zijn van ~~Blau~~ hemelsblauwe sijde, geborduurd met goude galonnen of franjes. de trap en het verhemelte kunnen aan de muur, soo men wil, vastgemaakt zijn, maar het autaar en de armstoel dienende daer wat van af te staan, opdat de ~~niewe~~ Candidaat zijne reyzen agter de Ag[t]b[are] Meester kan volbrengen. op de muur, aan het oosten, effen boven de Dais, of op een blauw doek of zijde, zal men een equilaterale triangel schilderen, sonder Eenige letters of naam in 't midden. alleenig sullen de 3 hoeken omringd zijn van een ~~blinkende~~ verheerlijkte glorie, met deez' inscriptie: Et Tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt [= Joh. 1:5: En de duisternis heeft het niet begrepen]. voor het Autaar zal men een Schilderij plaetse, voorbeeldende het particuliere zinnebeeld van de graad, die voor Een Leerling de Ruwe Steen is, en deese letters voor devies - - - -. Aan de voet van het autaar, op de bovenste trap van de voetenbank, zal Een kussen leggen met blauw stof overtrokken, en Een winkelhaek in 't goud daarin geborduurd, daer den Candidaat op knielen moet, als hij Sijne maçonnieke verbintenis doet. Op het autaar van den Ag[t]b[are] Meester zal geplaatst worden, Een kandelaar met 3. armen, Den Bijbel open op het 1ste Cap[ittel] van den Evangelist Johannes, ~~het Compas~~ de passer en de winkelhaak in malkander gevoegt - de truffel - den hamer en het Rituel van de graad, en soo er receptie is, zal men daar ook het schootsvel benevens de mans en vrouwen handschoenen voor den Candidaat op leggen. aen het Westen zullen twee heele kleine tafelties zijn voor de 2. Opzienders, op ieder van dewelke zal men Een waskaars zetten, Een maillet, het Rituel van de graad, en het order [= functieteken] van den Opzienders, hangende aan een blaauw lint. tuschen het autaar van het Oosten en de twee kleine tafelties van het Westen, zal het tapijt of Tableau geplaatst worden, verbeeldende een langwerpig vierkant. rondom het tableau zullen de 3, maconnique ligten geplaatst worden, op haere verheevene kandelaars. Een, aan den hoek van het Suydoosten, den anderen aan den hoek van het Suydwesten, en de derde aan den hoek van het Noordwesten. De Loge van het werk zal in 't geheel maar door 9. ligten, verligt zijn, namelijk door 3. van de kandelaar met de 3 armen die op het autaar staat _ 2. die op de tafelties van de Opzienders zijn, ~~en~~ 1. die op de tafel van den Secretaris van de [Loge] staat, en eindelijk door de 3. voornaemen groote ligten, die rondom de tableau staan. (N.B.: De tafel van den Secretaris dient ook, bij occasie, voor den thesaurier, en voor den orateur.) behalven die voornoemden 9. ligten zal de kamer daer de [Loge] zig houdt, met een raisonable quantiteyt waschkaarsen verligt worden, naer de grootte van de kamer. de form van het Leerlings Tableau is een langwerpig vierkant, omringd van een breede getande rant. de binnenste partij, die omtrent Een derde van de lengte uytmaakt, verbeeldt het voorhof des Tempels. aen de onderste kant op de regter sij van het Oosten, moet de ruwe Steen geplaatst worden, aen de linker sij, de cubique steen, en in 't midden, maer wat hooger, de teekenplank. Die drie dingen maken te saamen, Een weinig, Een Triangel uyt. In het bovenste eynd, Een vierkant, verbeeldende het binnenste des tempels, Siet men de flikkerende star met vijf punten, en met de letter G in 't goud in de midden. Aan de regter Sij van het Tableau de Zon, aan de linker Sij de Maan, en booven over heen Een getande koord, daer de quasten tot beneden het langwerpige vierkant moeten hangen. de communicatie van het voorhof, nee het binnenste des Tempels, aan het onderste gedeelte van het vierkant, word verbeeld door Een deur of poort die gesloten is, hebbende aan de regter Sijde, de Colom J, en aan de linker Sijde de Colom B, welke letter B: maar in de aanneming van de Medgezel geplaatst moet worden. men klimt op tot aan die Deur, met Een Trap van 7. spoorten, in een halve Cirkel, die in het voorhof, verwerkt is. op de 3e sport, van onder beginnende, die wat breeder moet zijn, set men de cijfer 3. op de vijfde sport 5. en op de bovenste sport 7., verder de mozaïeke grond als nae gewoonte.' The text is paraphrased in Akkermans 1991, pp. 11-16. The 1761 Apprentice ritual is partially quoted in *Thoth* 36 (1985) 2-3, p. 79.

[362] Pott 1961, pp. 76-77.

[363] Original in the archive of lodge La Vertu in Leiden, here quoted from copy in CMC, inv.no. 170-B: 'Meubelen Gereedschappen toebehorende aan de achtbare Loge la Vertu zoo als dezelve bevonden zijn in den Jaare 1769
Een vuurenhoute kistje
Een gebruneerd eyke kistje
Een dito klynder waarin
Het bijou van de Ven[erable] zijnde een diamanten Star, midden in een passer, de welke rust op een transport liniaal, een winkelhaak & drie deegens, onder de star is een doodshoofd en twee beenderen & boven de passer een keyzerlyke kroon
Een bijou, zijnde een waterpas voor d'eerste opziender
Een dito, een schietlood, voor de 2de opziender
Een dito, twee sleutels een kruys makende, op welke een passer, met beide punten, rust, onder staat geschreven LA VERTU, in 't midden ziet men Zon, maan & een star met letter G, tusschen de twee sleutels van onderen is een winkelhaak & een hamertje voor den Thesaurier
Een bijou, twee zwaarden in 't kruys, waarop in 't midden een doodshoofd voor de Terrible
Een bijou een open passer rustende op de Zon
Een dito een transport liniaal, & in 't midden een open passer

Een dito, een open passer, rustende op een vijfentwintigmaat halve cirkel voor de Ceremoniemeester
Een dito een klyn nootenhouten stokje aan beyde einde beslagen met silver, waarop eenige gereedschappen gesneeden en het woord La Vertu voor de Ceremonie Meester
Een gemeene kopere passer met stompe punten
drie houten maillets of hamertjes
Een driehoekig armbosje van blik
Alle de bijoux hangen aan breede groene zijde linten met een goud kantje omboord
Verder bij van Staden in den Doelen
De Throon met zyb toebehoren bekleed met groen en goud
2 tableaux een oude, een nieuwe
de tafel van de throon
drie arm stoelen met drie trijpe zittingen
21 kelken
3 houte vergulde kandelaars
3 dito klynder
3 dito met armen niet verguld
3 dito zonder armen
1 groote oostindische witte kist, met twee slooten & sleutels
Een vierkante houten plank met 27 gaaten
Drie tinne inktkokers'

[364] Snoek 1989, pp. 2-3 and 5: 'edog op conditie, dat gemelde Heer Borckhardt een fraay beijou soude maaken voor de Loge, volgens reekening voor een somme van 80 guldens, in betaalinge zeijner Receptie'. Burckhardt was initiated as Apprentice and Fellow, and later on 20-5-1769 as Master. He was Architect in 1769-1782, Master of Furniture 1773-1775, and Treasurer 1782-1812. On 4-2-1819 Burckhardt celebrated his 50-year membership and resigned his membership. However, on 25-2-1819 he was awarded an honorary membership for life. One of his (two) sons also became a silversmith, involved in commissions for the lodge and abroad. See Jan A.M. Snoek, 'Burckhardt, Christian Ehrenfried (1744-1821)' and 'Burckhardt, Johan Christiaan (1772-1848)', in: Porset/Révauger 2013, pp. 580-581 and 582-584. The various function jewels made by Burckhardt for the lodge, are also discussed in Snoek 1989 and (not referenced further here): *Leids Zilver*, cat. exhib. Leiden (Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal) 5-11 until 31-12 1977.

[365] OVN/Kroon 1997.

[366] CMC 170-B, 'Quitantien rakende de Loge La Vertu Juni 1765 t/m 1782 (integraal) en 1783-1822 (bloemlezing)', copy.

[367] CMC 170-B, 'Meubelen Gereedschappen toebehorende aan de achtbare Loge la Vertu zoo als dezelve bevonden zijn in den Jaare 1769, 28-11-1770', copy.

[368] CMC 170-B, 'Meubelen Gereedschappen toebehorende aan de achtbare Loge la Vertu zoo als dezelve bevonden zijn in den Jaare 1769, 28-11-1770', copy: '[…] 3 tinne inktkokers, met sandbakjes & pennekookers, driehoeksgewijzen, Een los blaakertje om op een van de zelve te zetten in plaats van de pennekooker
1 kistje met slot & kooper hengsel voor den thesaurier
1 dito voor kaarsen
[…] Het Cachet van de Loge'

[369] CMC 170-B, 'Meubelen Gereedschappen toebehorende aan de achtbare Loge la Vertu zoo als dezelve bevonden zijn in den Jaare 1769', 28-11-1770, copy: 'Twee Servants [m]utsen waarop de troffel en LA VERTU'.

[370] CMC 170-B, 'Meubelen Gereedschappen toebehorende aan de achtbare Loge la Vertu zoo als dezelve bevonden zijn in den Jaare 1769', 28-11-1770, copy: 'Meubelen welken ons de achtbare loge L'Age d'Or bij haar inlijving of vereeniging heeft vereert in den Jaare 1770
De throon met zijn toebehoren
Het tafeltje van de throon zijnde een kastje met twee deuren met Slot & sleutel, met een roosen rood zijd kleed met franjes, en in het selve vier laaden
Het knielbankje met dito zijde bekleed & franjes
[in kantlijn:] wij hebben dit vereert meen ik, aan eener loge in Middelburg
Drie houte sterk vergulde kandelaars met vergulde koopere pijpen
drie dito grooter
Drie houte kandelaars met vergulde houte blaakertjes
Een vergulde kroon met 8 armen
drie driekante plankjes met neege vergulde blaakertjes
Drie ijsere kandelaars staande op drie pooten
Drie houte kandelaars met koopere blaakertjes erop
Een fauteuil met roose roode sittel & leuning
Twee dito dog biese leuningen
Son, Maan & de Star met G om op de fautuils te zettten, verguld
3 houte maillets
Een blik Ding om een groot & schrielijk ligt te maaken
Een greenen houte kist met Slot & Sleutels
Een wit laaken & twee handdoeken
Een dubbele greene houte trap met vier treden
Een geschildert zijl, namelijk een Mosaig vloer'.

[371] CMC 170-B, 'Meubelen Gereedschappen toebehorende aan de achtbare Loge la Vertu zoo als dezelve bevonden zijn in den Jaare 1769, 28-11-1770', copy: 'Bijoux
[in kantlijn:]Deeze bijoux zijn van kooper verguld hangende aan roose roode zijde linten
Een Maillet
Een Schietlood
Een waterpas
Een winkelhaak
Een passer, midden tusschen de twee punten een son
Twee pennen aan malkander gestrikt

Een Sleutel
[de bijoux zijn doorgestreept, met in de kantlijn:] Deeze bijoux zijn vereert of aan eene Loge in zeeland of aan le profond Silence te Campen'.
[372] Pott 1957, p. 142: 'Vervolgens is den Leden vertoond, en voorgeleezen een ontwerp of plan van inteekening, omme op best mogelijke wijze de kosten tot eenen nieuwen Throon, zonder de Casse dezer L[oge] daer door te bezwaren, te vinden'.
[373] CMC 170-B, 'Quitantien rakende de Loge La Vertu, Juni 1765 t/m 1782 (integraal) en 1783 t/m 1822 (een bloemlezing) alsmede de administratie van het fond voor ''de nieuwe troon' (bij kwitantie 1776-10a) en gevolgd door een gereconstrueerde lijst van alle kwitanties, betrekking hebbende op Christian Ehrenfried Burckhardt, Weijnanda Burckhardt-van der Velde(n), en hun zoon Johan Christiaan Burckhardt (1769 t/m 1821)', 1776-10a: 'Stukken raekende de nieuwe Throon', 'Memorie wegens het maaken van een Nieuwen Throon. Tot het maken van het Behangsel en het bekleeden van het Kapwerk. [LO?] het Behangsel van Groen Fluweel of Zijde met Goude Franjes en Galon. het nodige Plamuurdoek het spanne van het zelve en het geene er verder toehoord Zal Circum Circa kosten honderd en vijf Gulden Actim Leyden den 16 Septemb. 1774 J.A. v. Hoogeveen Langerak'.
[374] CMC 170-B, no. 123, 'Meubelen Gereedschappen toebehorende aan de achtbare Loge la Vertu zoo als dezelve opgenomen op zondag den 14 Meij 1774': 'De throon met zijn toebehooren bestaande in

2 Colommen gehoopeerd met hunnen Capitelen in kroonlijsten,
2 Pylasters voetstukken en basementen
De kap van linden op hout gespannen van binnen hemelsblauw met gouden Starren
Het voetstuk zijnde een zilver schild waar op La Vertu en twee groen gelaqueerde takken
De gordijnen van groen Armozijn met goude franje en galon
De trappen en dekstukken gemarmerd
Het Altaartje gekooperd, met vergulde festonnen
Een armozijn kussentje op een plankje met een goud galonnetje

Een Armstoel met een groene effen trijpen zitting en rug met een galonnetje opgespijkerd, van boven met verguld en gelaqeerd snijwerk
2 dito Armstoelen wat kleinder met effenb groene trijpe zittingen en ruggen van gevolgte Rotting, met dekkleeden van grof linnen
3 dito Armstoelen met groene trijpe gebloemde zittingen en ruggen
6 Groote gesneeden houten kandelaars groen en verguld
6 dito kleinder
3 groote houte kandelaars, niet verguld, waarbij drie koopere blaakers en 3 driedubbele ijzer armen, met 9 vergulde blaakertjes
3 kleine Swarte kandelaars met blikke blaakertjes
3 dito met vergulde blaakertjes
1 vergulde gesneeden houten kroon met agt armen en blaakertjes
2 koopere kronen met 4 armen
2 koopere blaakers om tegen de muur te hangen
1 groote kist met 1 Slot en Sleutel blauw geverwt
1 dito kleinder niet geverwt met Slot en Sleutel
1 dito met Slot en Sleutel
1 dito in de kelder met een middelschot en Slot en Sleutel
1 vierkante plank met 9 gaaten
4 Tinne inktkookers, met zandbakjes en pennekookers driehoeksgewijze, een los blakertje om op een van dezelve te zetten, in plaats van de penne houder
1 gebruijneerd Eijke kistje, met een koopere hengsel voor den thesaurier, met een Sleutel
1 dito grooter voor de Secretay met één Sleutel
1 dito kleinder voor de Meubelmeester met 2 Sleutels
1 driehoekig koper armkaskje, met een koper Slootje en Sleuteltje
2 Servants mutzen, waarop een troffel en La Vertu
De Zon, Maan en Star met de G verzilverd en verguld
3 houten Maillets
Een blik instrument, om groot en schrielijk ligt te maaken
1 bebloede Serviet
1 dubbele groene houte trap met vier treden
Eenige stukken geschildert zijldoek
1 houten Lineaal of rij 32 El lang
1 Rood koort 3 el lang
1 bebloede kop
1 aarde lampje
1 Doodshoofd
1 blikke kroesje
27 blikke blaakertjes
De kap en gordijnen van de oude throon, zijnde groen zaaij, met een goud galon omboord, benevens 3 kwasten
2 Tableaux een oud en een nieuw met een stok om dezelve op te rollen
Een bijou zijnde een kristallen Star, midden in een passer, dewelke rust op een transport liniaal, een winkelhaak en 3 deegens, onder de Star is een doodshoofd en twee beenderen, en boven de passer een kroon.
Een winkelhaak
Een waterpas
Een schietlood
Twee pennen, en boven tusschen dezelve een winkelhaak
Twee sleutels in 't kruys, op welke een passer met beyde punten rust, onder staat geschreven La Vertu, in 't midden ziet men Zon, Maan en een Star met de letter G, tusschen de Twee sleutels van onderen is een winkelhaak & een hamertje
Een vlammen zwaard waarop VIRTUTI SERVIO
Twee zwaarden in 't kruys waarop in 't midden een doodshoofd
Een passer rustende op een Zon
Een transport liniaal en in 't midden een open passer
Een zak met Slootje, en op de zelve Verscheyde Metselinstrumenten tout se renferme en moi
Een overvloeds hoorn waarom een adder, en een platanus blad en boven leest men Virtutis Genis S.

Een open passer rustende op een vijfduims maet halve Cirkel
[in kantlijn: "Alle deeze bijoux hangen aan breede groene zijde Linten met een goud kantje"]
Een klyn rozenhoute Stokje, aan beide Eijnden beslaegen met zilver, waar op eenige gereedschappen gesneden zyn en La Vertu
Een koper vergulde kroon gevoerd met blaauwe stof, waar op paerlen en Spiegel Steenen
Een dito kroon zonder paerlen of Steenen
Een vergulde Scepter met blauwe Streepen en een blinkende driehoek erboven op
Een groote pook met zijn Scheê
Twee paar Zwarte handschoenen met zilvere franjes en omslagen
3 paar bebloede handschoenen
2 koopere Cachetten met houte knoppen
1 koopere passertje
[daarna in kleiner handschrift:]
2 kopere blakers aan de schoorsteen op de groote zaal
Een machine om te laten regenen
Een bokaal met een deksel en kistje
Een ruw linnezak met boonen en bakje
[doorgestreept: "1 Code macon in groene marquin"] dit op de lijst der archieven.
een Zwart kleed, op de tafel en 't troontje
Een Chambre Obscure Een kist met 2 slooten
twee blikken om te donderen
vijf met papier beplakte Raemen
een groote bijbel
Een wit laken met een Driehoek getekent en groene zij waarin la vertu
Een theepot & 1 dito met zout
10 houte gesneede verguldene lusters met kopere blakertjes
2 tafeltjes met Laden voor de Secret[aris] en tresaurier
1 Ladder van 11 Sporten
1 Groen kleed om de troon te bewaren
1 roode laetband
3 vergulde armpjes op de troon
1 feelet [?] van bordpapier in de chambre Obscur
[daaronder in ander handschrift:]
zwarte en witte festons voor de Meesters L[oge]'.

[375] *VOC-Glossarium* 2000.

[376] Pott 1961 B, p. 154.

[377] Pott 1960, pp. 75-76: '[…] een vierkante tempel [op zeven traptreden] […], welke krachtens het opschrift in de tympanon van het dak, zijnde het oude meesterwoord [= het tetragrammaton], gelijk moet worden gesteld met de Middenkamer. Zij wordt omgeven door vier figuren, waarvan er vrijwel steeds drie zichtbaar zijn, uitbeeldende Wijsheid, Kracht en Schoonheid, waarbij Wijsheid en Kracht de poort flankeren, afgesloten door een voorhang, waardoorheen de vlammende ster [met de letter G] zichtbaar is. Schuin achter de tempel vindt men de 'heuvel, waarvan de aarde blijken droeg eerst sinds korten tijd te zijn opgeworpen', terwijl aan de andere zijde een veelal pyramidaal opgezet en fraai [met werktuigen] versierd graf-monument de plaats aangaf waar de stoffelijke resten van Hiram Abiff zijn bijgezet.'

[378] See for instance: Lenning 1865, p. 554.

[379] Cat. exhib. Vienna 1993, p. 465.

[380] Pott 1960, pp. 76-77: 'Het merkwaardige nu is in feite dat deze uitbeelding de naam heeft gekregen van 'temple de la Sagesse et de la Vertu', waarbij men sterk de indruk krijgt dat de woorden Sagesse en Vertu dezelfde waarden vertegenwoordigen als onze begrippen Wijsheid en Kracht, welke zich verenigen tot Schoonheid. Hieruit zou dan volgen dat het woord Vertu in deze tijd en in deze kring nog vooral werd opgevat als beheerste Kracht, terwijl de combinatie van Wijsheid-Kracht als twee-eenheid wordt gezien, die als het ware aan het ene eind van de tempel staat, terwijl Schoonheid aan de andere zijde is geplaatst.'

[381] Pott 1961 A, p.77.

[382] Pott 1961 B, pp. 27-28.

[383] Pott 1961 B, pp. 28-29.

[384] Which is where the surrealist artist and poet Jean Cocteau (1889-1863) made have taken the idea from. For the relationship between Martinism, freemasonry and surrealism, see Ariëns-Volker 2004, as well as (not referenced further here): T.M. Bauduin, *Surrealism and the Occult. Occultism and Esotericism in the Work and Movement of André Breton,* Amsterdam 2014.

[385] CMC, [former] inv.no. 41-70, Minutes 11-9-1776: 'vermits het verval van eenige der Meubilen […] ter verbeetering van dezelve'.

[386] CMC, [former] inv.no. 41-70, Minutes 26-12-1776: 'Uytbrengen der Oude Sieraden
2 frere Servants met de deegens uyt
de Ceremoniemeester
de stoel van de 1 Surveill[an]t gedraagen door 2 Compagnons
de 1[ste] Surveillant met het Ligt
Een Compagnon die het Ligt heeft aangegeven
4 Meesters 2 aan 2
Thesaurier en Secretaris met het Wetboek & beurs
de Stoel van de [Voorzittend] Meester gedraagen door 2 Compagnons
2 Meesters met bloote deegens
den [Voorzittend] Meester draagende een Ligt aan weerszijden een Compagnon
Een Compagnon draagende het 3 hoekig Schabelletje
den Terrible & Orateur
4 Meesters 2 aan 2
den Adjunct van de Ceremoniemeester
de Stoel van de 2[de] Surveillant
de 2[de] Surveillant draagende een Ligt

4 Meesters 2 aan 2
Meubelmeester & Maître d'Hotel
2 Broeders Servants met de deegen
de Fiscaal plaatst zig Zoo lang agter de Tafel voor de Zetel des Ligts
Men doet 3 Maal de Tour in de Logies, en waar na men de oude meubelen uytleijd
onder deeze omleijding speelt de miesieq een affmarsch
bij het Inleiden der Meubelen
wendt dezelve ceremoniemeester geobserveert uytgenoomen
dat het musieq het gewoone accourez tous speelt
hetwelk de Broeders accompagneeren
en de derde Tours werden de 3 legten door
3 Compagnons op syn Plaats gezet
gelijk ook de 3 Stoelen en Schabelletje'.

[387] CMC, [former] inv.no. 41-70, Minutes 13-11-1783: 'aangezien diversen meubilen der loge in zodanige situatie zich bevonden, dat dezelve opmerkelijke reparatie of vernieuwing vereischten en bij die gelegenheid ook wel tot embelissement der Loge iets daartoe kon worden gevoegd'.

[388] CMC, [former] inv.no. 41-70, Minutes 26-12-1783: 'kunstvermogen', 'gedistingueerd tabeljé met de post van honorair Architect'. CMC membership card register lists Waldorp as Fellow in La Bien Aimée on 9-11-1774 and as Master on 12-3-1783. He left the lodge in 1788.

[389] CMC, [former] inv.no. 41-70, Minutes 26-12-1783: 'uitdenken der versierselen der loge', 'gouden medaille aan een keten van hetzelve metaal'. The medal was inscribed 'Ter gedachtenis van de herstelling aller sieraden der loge La Bien Aimée onder het meesterschap van J. Douwes' and on the reverse 'de Achtbare Broederen toegewijd 1783'. CMC membership card register lists a Pieter Brouwer as member of lodge La Paix in Astrwerdam in 1757. This may be the same as Pieter Brouwer (de Jonge, died 1810 or 1811), listed as a member of La Bien Aimée since 8-12-1773, Grand warden 1798-1801 and Grand Secretary 1801-1810. His son, Pieter Jan Brouwer, was a painter and a member since 10-1-1798 (also a member of lodge La Charité in Amsterdam), until his departure or death in 1808. Valkenburg was a *hoedenstofferder* (hatmaker) in Amsterdam, see for a genealogy: valkenburgh.nl. He became a member of La Bien Aimée on 9-2-1774 and resigned in 1788. De Famers became a member of the lodge on 8-4-1778 and functioned as Secretary in 1788-1789.

[390] CMC, [former] inv.no. 41-70, Minutes 26-12-1783: 'Kostbare Luxe Maçonne in groot Quarto gebonden in rood fluweel met goud en zilver emblematig geborduurd waarop gebonden word de volgende inscriptie, in fraaije Letteren in een driehoek daarvoor geschreven 'In Memoriam Emendationis Societas dicta La Bien Aimée sub auspicus venerabilis J. Douwes Corneli fibus Hoc Carmina Lyrica Maçonica ad Utum Venerabilis in Animi Grati tesseram pro fibe executione commendate dantur, dicantur & dedicantus P. Brouwer J.H. Valkenburg J.C. Hartsinck & J.R. de Famars'.

[391] CMC, [former] inv.no. 41-70: 'Plan van berekening voor de verplaatsing van de Loge La Bien Aimée in een daartoe aangeboden huurhuis, waarin men zoude kunnen hebben

Een Kamer voor	de Blaauwe Loge lang	66 v[oet]	breed	30 voet	hoog	20 voet
Een dito	de Meesters Loge	62		29		15
Een dito	Een Eetzaale & nevens voor een Collegie Kamer	62		29		15

Waar in men dan buiten de Loge avonden zoude kunnen hebben een winter avond Collegie voor de Leden van gen[oemde] Loge Meesters zijnde tot welkers aanlag volstrekt benodigt zal zijn

Voor timmeren & Schilderen van de blaauwe Loge			f2500:-
per beteren van de Meesters Loge			250:-
een Throon in de Schots Loge &c			300:-
een Throon in de Eetzaal			300:-
het maaken van de Chambre obscure & verdere			
Reparatien aan het tegenwoordige decoratien			500:-
100 Stoelen in de Eetzaal	f5		500:-
4 Kroonen in de dito	f50		200:-
1 Spiegel of Horlogie voor de Schoorsteenen ditto			150:-
Een Tafel Servies van geel Engels aardewerk			500:-
8 douzijn Zilvere Lepels & Vorken	a f14 't paar		1344:-
8 dito Pleat	2:-		192:-
NB 't Zilver kan tot menagement op Verkoping			
gekogt werden 't Pleat dient voor St. Jan			
200 Servietten a 7/4 a	350|		
10 tafellakens ab a 2b	120|		
4 dito 20	80|	- 625 a tafelgoed a 162	500:-
50 handdoeken a 6/4 b	75|		
2 koelvaaten, 12 schenkblaaden, 12 comfooren,			
12 kwispedooren, 2 douzijn caraffen, 8 douzijn kelken 4			
douzijn bierglaazen &c			100:-'.

[392] CMC, [former] inv.no. 41-70: 'Plan voor de verplaatsing [...] de Kok kon het zilver en tafelgoed leveren bij onze maaltijden. Men kon met weinig stoelen toe, omdat men in de Eetzaal op banken kon eeten gelijk nu, en 50 stoelen waren dan genoeg voor 't Collegie en Visiteurs. Men had maar drie groote vertrekken nodig want de Eetzaal kon tevens voor de Visiteurs kamer, voor de Collegiekamer en de Eetzaal dienen. Tot een Chambre obscur, spreek en receptievertrekken was overal plaats te vinden.'

[393] Rodermond 1985, p. 119.

[394] Kwaadgras 2003, p. 40.

[395] CMC 23.I, Extract of the Minutes 22-2-1769 until 18-6-1796; CMC 23.I.3, 'Protocoll fur den Loge zur Preussischen Eintracht zu Rotterdam', 26-5-1764 until 29-2-1804. The lodge had earlier on 3-10-1785 taken over furniture of another lodge, La Perséverance in Maastricht, for the sum of f 600,-

[396] CMC 23.I, Extract of the minutes 22-2-1769 until 18-6-1796: '1. dat er een behoorlijk orchest, bestaande uit differente instrumenten onder directie van den Br. Raap ten kosten van der Loge zal worden daargestelt, 't welke op de daartoe geapprobeerde plaats boven den Throon zal geplaatst worden [...]. 2. Dat ter Regterhand van den Throon een verheevene gestoelten voor den ged[eputeerd] g[roo]t M[eeste]r zal geplaatst worden, met een behoorlijke Tafel voor dezelve. 3. Dat de trappen des Throons, beneevens een gedeelte van den vloer voor den zelven met een tapijt bekleed; zullen worden, hebbende den Br. J. Faber de goedheijd gehad eenige sijner girandoles tot meerder luyster aan de Loge ten gebruyke

voor deeze avond te offereeren. […] 8. Dat er tot meerder agtbaarheijd bij den Meesterreceptien, eenige benodigdheden zullen worden aangeschaft, waarvan de executie aan Br. L.S. Davids gedemandeerd word. […].'

[397] CMC I.23.7, Inventory 30-11-1798: 'Waarde Broeders, Leeden deeser Loge, Uw Commissie, op Voorstel van den Br[oeder] 1ste Intendant benoemd den 26 dag, der 10 maand van het Jaar des Lichts 1798 ter naziening van alle de Meubilairen Goederen en het formeeren van eene Inventaris. Heeft zig met dat werk ontleedig gehouden & nauwkeurig nagezien alle de goederen op differente bergplaatsen leggende deeze loge in eigendom toekomende. En zal ulieden deeze avond alleen voordraagen het opgenomende, reserverende zij zig, om na de door Ulieden genoomene resolutie, op eenige door hun te doen voorstellen in de eerst koomende gewoone Comparitie Ulieden den executen Inventaris voor te leggen, van het geene de Loge als dan in Eigendom zal bezitten.

En daar eenige tot nu aanweesend zijne goederen overtollig & andere zeer defect zijn zoo zoude uwe Commissie voorstellen om die goederen te verkopen & het provenu daar van in de Cassa der Loge te storten & om dit des te beter te kunnen doen, verzoeke zij eene afzonderlijke stemming, over ieder voortedragene pointe.

En nu ter zaake zal zij verder voortgaan.

Hebbende gevonden

1. Den Throon, bestaande in
   - a Den Kap
   - b Drie Colommen met derzelve Pied de stallen
   - c Dertien stuks voetebanken & plinten, ter onderschraging verhooging
   - d Het houtwerk van de Chasinette, bestaande uit drie stukken, met 4 Bollen met Lely werk
   - e Seven transparante geschilderde chasinetten
   - f De Flammende Ster met de letter van glas liggende in een kistje
   - g Twee gordynen, met vier rabattten van blauw satijn, defect & oud, met galon & franjes van oud, dog echt goud
   - hi Een gordyn met rabat blauw Satijn met galon & franjes valsch goud, nieuw gemaakt
   - j Een blauw fluweel kleed, met klein kussen voor het altaar, met valsch goud galon & franjes & het blauwe trijp knie kussen
   - k Een blauwe zijde Toga met echt goud voor den Z[eer] A[chtbare] M[eeste]r
   - l Den Winkelhaak & den Passer van kooper
   - m twee kleine deegens of zwaarden
   - n Een Yvoor, met zilver ingelegd maillet met het Tablier van Satijn
   - o Een armstoel, met roode zitting
   - p Het taffeltje van den throon
2. De Twee Groote Colomme, bestaande in
   - a De Kapitelen, met granaatappelen gekooperd
   - b De Colomme, meede gekooperd
   - c De Piedestallen
   - d Acht koopere kettings voor de Kapitelen
   - e Eenige sleutel, schroeven, handvatten, om dezelve op te stellen in een zakje
   - f Twee yvoore met zilver ingelegde mailletten voor de opzieners
   - g twee leuning stoelen met roode zitting
   - h twee roode plankjes voor de Kapitelen
3. De kleine Throon, bestaande in
   - a de throon zelve, als d[ome?] voetebanken, de taffel & de 2 opzieners taffel, alles vierkant
   - b een rood zyde damast kleed
   - c Drie dito gordynen & een rabat met geele zyde franjes
   - d twee roode meré kleedjes met geele passementen voor de opzieners
   - e drie groene houten kandelaaren

Dit buiten gebruik zijnde & ook zeer defect & oud, geene reparatie waardig, zoude wij adviseren om opteruime

4. Het geene waar over de Comissie ter naziening en verbeetering der throon gegerapporteerd heeft, hoop te hebben aan den Schotse Loge voor te doen bestaat in
   - a een rood fluweel kleed, & kussentje met goude franjes
   - b een rood trijp knie kussen
   - c twee Saaye kleeden
     twee driekante taffels voor de opzieners
     twee voetebanken
   - d Drie mailletten
5. De Verlichting der Loge
   - a Een engelse Patent lamp
   - b Drie groote houten kandelaaren
   - c Drie Tinne kandelaaren a 3 branches
     den eene verguld, voor de troon & de 2 andere blauw voor de opzieners
   - d twa[a]lff Tinne kandelaaren
   - e twee blikke Blaakers voor een lees lessenaar
   - f De Blaakertjes & latwerk voor achter de Chasinetten
6. Voor de receptien in de 1[ste] & 2[de] graad
   - a Een hout rad, met toebehoren
   - b Twee beelden, de Voorzichtigheid & de Stilzwijgendheid
   - c Een blikke Bus met Erwten
   - d Een blind doek
   - e Twee planke met Spuykers, den eene valsch
   - f Eenig klater goud
   - g Een blik, trekpotje & tregtertjes
   - h Een tafreel
   - i Een Blikke roeper
   - k Een vol[le] waagen met losse stokken

l Een schommel

7. Voor de receptien in de 3e graad
   a Seven swarte plystere Potten of Urnes
   b De dood kist & onderstukken van Latten
   c Een swart kleed voor dezelven
   d Een swart Tafel Kleed met doodshoofde
     23 swarte Saaye godynen met Wit
     Lint voor de throon
   e een klein Bankje voor het doodshoofd
   f een tafreel voor dien graad
   g Het houte doodshoofd met beendere voor de kist
   h Twintig Swarte Soubissen & een dito Mantel

8. de Chambre obscure, bestaande in
   a Een Swarte Taffel & Tabinret
   b twee dubbele en Vier enkele raamen met Swart bespannen
   c een Swarte Plank voor de Lantaarn
   d de Lantaarn zelve
   e een hout driehoek met 2 oogen
   f een natuurlijk doodshoofd opgelegd met Swart haar
   g een Poignart
   h een oog van blik met glaaze Bol
   i twee eiseren Kettings
   j een Swart Kleed

9. Gebruik in de Loge
   a twee driekante Tinne Inktkookers & 1 dito met een steeltje voor de preparaten
   b Vijftien ellen blauw saay voor het orchest
   c De Standart bestaande in de Stok, lat met Kopere Bos; het vaandel op dubbeld satijn, de Kopere 3hoek met het oog & 3 orange Kwaste met zilver
   d de Constitutie met de ratitificatie aan vier letterhoute stokken
   e Twee blauwe Saaye Kleeden met geele franjes voor de tafels van de Secretaris & de Thesaurier
   f Twee blauwe gordynen met de Rabatten naast de Chasinetten
   g eenige Blauwe & Wit Koord
   h het oude standaard
   j Een engelse Bijbel
   k een arm Bus
   l Een kistje waar in 16 differente juwelen aan der zelve linte
   m Een oude mahoniehoute Ceremoniemeesters staf
   n 'T groote Swaard met de Schede
   o 5 differente deegens en Sabels
   p Eene ivoore met Silvere bande Ceremonimeesters Staf
   q Eene dito Palm houte, met Blikke bande
   r De quartette van de Zauberflote
   s Eenige elle gouden franjes

10. Gebruik aan de Tafel Loge
   a 61 Wijn Glaasen & Een Bokaal
   b Twee Kleine Collomme

11. Kisten & Kleeden om de goederen te bergen
   a Een grote Zijl om de Throon te dekken
   b Een mandje
   c Een lange vierkante houte Kist voor de Chasinetten
   d een kist met laade beide met sloten
   e eene Groote Kist met Slot
   f de Sleutels voor de zelven

12. Eenige andere goederen meer tot different gebruik
   a Een Blauw papier met Sterren op doek geplakt
   b een groote houte Lier
   c Eenige differente Planke & latten
   d een Stok met pauwe Veeren omwonden van wit papier
   e Een Passer, Winkelhaak, Waterpas & Teekenbord, van hout

13. Eenige Goederen buiten gebruik welke wij zoude adviseren om alle opteruimen
   a Een Tabouret met rood overtrekken
   b een zeer oud M[eeste]r Tablier Wit met blauwe zijde vooren
   c Twee oude armbussen defect
   d Een oud ballotage doosje zonder sleutel om hetgeen te doen
   e Nog 4 differente haamers buiten de geene welke men aan de Schotse Loge meend over te doen
   f Vijff differente Schede van deegens & Sabels defect
   g Eenig Klein hout Werk gebrooken
   h Eenige stukjes van Koopere kettings
   j Een ronde Blikke Bus, met bulten
   k Drie groote oude & antique arm stoelen zeer defect
   l Vier stukx voor een voetebank van de Passe Maitre
   m Drie Driekante Taffels, behoorende aan niets & nimmer gebruikt

n Een eiser voor Vier Lampions & een schootel eronder

Zie daar Waarde Broeders alle de Goederen gespecificeerd, behoorende aan deze Loge waarvan wij Ulieden op de aanstaande gewoone Comparitie den Inventaris behoorlijk zullen overleveren & zo het Ulieden moge behaagen, het door hun Voorgeslaagen te Verkoopen zal zij hiervoor zorg dragen & Ulieden de Verantwoording der Penningren doen

En hier meede onze Voorlopige Taak volbragt te hebben Wenschen Wij Ulieden Heil, Seegen en Voorspoed, door X.X.X.

Den 30 dag der 11 maand des Jaars 5798 onser geheimen

[Handtekening] I.J. Voûte [Handtekening] A.J. Van Son'.

[398] CMC I.23.8, Overview of expenses for the new throne, 30-1-1799:

'1. Een rekening van N. Rievier bedragende voor de twee Colommen & Piedestallen f 225. 6.8
nog een rekening van deselven bed[ragende] 92.10.-
dog op dese laatste Rekening beginnend met Januari 1798 is gebragt zijne verdienste van 't vorige Saisoen
[...] 2. Een rekening van den Beeldhouwer J. Keerbergen bedragende voor geleverd hout en snijwerk tesamen 243. 4.-
[...] [met daarbij de opmerking dat slechts een bedrag van f37.15.- was overeengekomen]
3. Een rekening van Jan Broekman Schilder voor de Colommen 70.15.-
voor den Troon etc. 192.10.8
[...] 4. Een rekening van A. v.d. Veer Koperslager voor de Lamp en verder koperwerk bedragende 56. 7.-
[...] 5. Een rekening van W. Waalbronk voor geleverd Fluweel, Saay, Etc. ten koste van 79.17.-
6. Een rekening van de Wed[uwe] V. Otter voor geleverd Galon, franje, etc. bed[ragende] 70.17.-
7. Een rekening van Joh. Kats voor geleverde Zijde, Taf, etc. bed[ragende] 56.15.-
waarvan [...] 2 7/8 El wit glasse tafs [...] hebbende gediend voor den standaard [...]
8. Een rekening van Jan Kobell[398] bedragende 42.--.-
waarvan f 33.10.- (voor 't schilderen der standaard met het model) [...]
9. Een rekening van R. Pietersen Draaier voor 3 Mailletten met zilver ingelegd [...] 36.2.-
[met de mededeling dat de opzieners Dreur en Dijkshoorn twee maillets aan de loge hebben geschonken]
10. Een rekening van Hogewal Meyer voor geleverd franjes, koord, kwasten bedragende 14.16.-
[...] 11. Een rekening van C.R. Haek wegens zijde voor de Tablié voor den Z[eer] A[chtbare] M[eester] in der
Tijd [onleesbaar] te samen 4.--.-
12. Een rekening van G. Palis voor geleverd lint koort kwasten etc. te samen 7. 9.-
waarvan [...] orange kwasten & koord voor 't vaandel
13. Een rekening van Denemie voor de nieuwe Star 15.15.-
bedragende alle dese rekeningen tesamen f1207. 5.-
waarin door den Zeer Achtbaeren Meester alleen gedragen wordt [...] in 't geheel f. 52.-.-
alsmede door onse beyde broeders opzieneren [...] samen f 15.4.-
en [...] door de Schotse Loge aan dese Loge behoord te worden betaald voor de drie tafelkleeden,
't kniekussentje, 't kussen op 't altaar, drie hamers en de twee opzieners tafels en voetebanken eene
somma van ten minste f. 70.-'.

[399] CMC, [former] inv.no. I.23.2, report 'Commissie ter naziening en verbetering van den Throon', 1798: 'ter naziening en verbetering van den troon, Het maken van Twee Colommen voor de Broeders 1e & 2e Opzieners, het Aanschaffen van een Lamp ter Verlichting van de Vlammende ster boven den Throon'. According to CMC membership card register, Voûte joined De Eendragt on 4-1-1797. He was Secretary in 1800-1802, and Worshipful Master in 1807-1808 and 1810-1811. In 1819 he quit the lodge, only to rejoin in 1821. Voûte became Honorary Master in 1847. He was also a member of lodges La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam (1824) and Concordia Vincit Animos (1839). Voûte held the office of Grand Inquisitor 1823-1824, Grand Architect in 1824-1835 and Grand Steward in 1838-1846.

[400] CMC, [former] inv.no. I.23.2, report 'Commissie ter naziening en verbetering van den Throon', 1798: om voortaan op de Throon & Colommen wasche in plaats van Smeerligt te branden'.

[401] CMC, [former] inv.no. I.23.2, report 'Commissie ter naziening en verbetering van den Throon', 1798: 'Dan eens Vergeleeken zij de Plaatsen in de Heilige Schrift met de vijf Bouwordens. geene derzelven kwam er geheel mede overEen, maar in Allen Vonden Zij iets, Dat er Meede in overeen Stemde. - Eindelijk Vonden Zij een Schrijver die hun vrijstellig bewees, dat die beyde Colommen als de Oorsprong Van alle Bouwordens moeten worden Aangemerkt en dat men in Laatere Tijden daer van had gevolgd 't geene men goede vond, en dat de Eens aangenoomen Regel voor Eene vaste bouworden, bij onderscheidene volken gehouden was. Uwe Comissie Nam dan dit bewijs voor Een Basis en Raadpleegde daarna voor Zoverre de Capitelen betroffen, alle de Bouwordens om te zien welk capiteel 't meeste kon worden gevolgd. De Corintische Orden heeft men in veele Loges als de Meest overEenkomende Aangenomen, dog uwe Commissie heeft zulks als Zeer ongerijmd verworpen-omdat die orden volgende - 't niet mogelijk was het netwerk met de granaatappelen te plaatsen overEenkomstig de beschrijving ons daarvan in den Heylige Schrift opgegeven entwel om dat 't lofwerk en voluten of krollen uit de Lelybladen voortkomende er niet konden worden uitgelaten. Nog eene reden waarom de Corinthische Bouworden verworpen wierd, was dat 't Eene volstrekt onmogelijkheid is, dat de Capitelen der beyde Colommen zodanig versierd zijn geweest also 't geval dat Lieraad [= Sieraad?] heeft voortgebracht toen Callimacus, bij gelegenheid dat hij een wild en groot blad gewas voor een pot of halve vaas ziende den inval kreeg om 't Capital der Corinthische Colom op die wijze te versieren. Broeder Voûte deed egter een proef was 't mogelijk dese Orden te volgen blijkens bijgaande tekening sub La A […] Waar 't keetenwerk geplaatst is geweest is niet gevonden, alléén dat de Capitelen ermeede versierd waaren en uwe Comissie heeft dus daermeede naar haere gevoelens gehandeld [...].'

[402] CMC, [former] inv.no. I.23.2, report 'Commissie ter naziening en verbetering van den Throon', 1798: 'Omgerekend resulteerde dit in maten van 6 voet hoog, 16 duim dik, 4 voet in omtrek, de kapitelen 20 duim hoog, de piedestallen 7 voet 8 duim hoog'.

[403]CMC, [former] inv.no. I.23.2, report 'Commissie ter naziening en verbetering van den Throon', 1798: 'de last die zij hadden dezelve tot tafels voor onze achtbare Broeders Opzieners te doen dienen moeten volgen en een geheele andere schikking moeten maaken [...] also de couleuren aan dezelve [pilaren] overeenkomstig de beschrijving gegeven, enkel bestaan in koper en marmer'.

[404] CMC, [former] inv.no. I.23.2, report 'Commissie ter naziening en verbetering van den Throon', 1798: '[...] hoe schitterend de Pijlaren dewelke 't Verheemelte onderschragen ook waaren, dezelve egter niet instemde met de couleur welke wij in de Blauwe maconnerie in acht moeten nemen. [...] De couleuren bepaald voor de onderscheyde deelen van de Throon- En de Agtergrond waer in de Chasinetten zig bevinden [Deeze] Op Eene behoorlijke hoogte te doen Rijsen en zodanige couleuren geordonneerd, dat deselven die aan den troon meer voorwaarts vertoonen konden'.

[405] Mentioned as such in RKD artists' database, rkd.nl, in which Broekman is not listed. According to CMC membership card register, Keerbergen joined the lodge on 3-11-1784, but resigned in 1786.

[406] According to CMC membership card register, Faber joined the lodge on 1-11-1797. A Frans Demmenie was a member of lodge De Drie Kolommen in Rotterdam in 1836, possibly a relative of the glassmaker.

[407] See (not referenced further here): Wim de Groot, *The Seventh Window: The King's Window Donated by Philip II and Mary Tudor to Sint Janskerk in Gouda (1557)*, Hilversum 2005, p. 256. See also *Magazin der neuesten Erfindungen, Entdeckungen und Verbesserungen der Engländer, Franzosen, Italiener, Amerikaner und deutschen in der gesammten Gewerbekunde*, 1816, Volume 1, p. 43; *Vaderlandsche letter-oefeningen of Tijdschrift van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* [...], Amsterdam 1821, p. 734.

[408] CMC, [former] inv.no. I.23.2, report 'Commissie ter naziening en verbetering van den Throon', 1798: 'gebruyk te moeten maaken om de Vlammende Ster boven den troon op ene geheel nieuwe wijze te doen vervaardigen, dog heeft tegelijk gezorgt tegens 't beschadigen derzelve, also die er telkens uit genomen, en in een Daer toe gemaakt kistje voor ongemak bewaard kan -worden-. En voor den Aankoop van Een Eigen Lamp ter Verlichting der Zalen heeft Zij ook aan Uw Lieder Last voldaan.'

[409] CMC I.23.2, report 'Commissie ter naziening en verbetering van den Throon', 1798: 'De verandering welek zij aan 't Verhemelte van den Throon heeft gemeend te moeten maaken onder anderen voor 't afnemen van de hangende bogten van hout denzelve een Gordijn verbeelde heeft hun in den noodzakelijkheyd gebragt, om een meer voegsaam ornament in plaats te stellen namenlijk een gordijn van dezelfde stof couleur en sieraad, als de gordijnen, die aan weerszijde van den Throon altoos zijn gebruikt geweest. de Comissie is van oordeel hier voor meer Luyster aan den Throon te geeven, en de goede gevoelens welke bij de andere Loges ten onsers opzichte plaats hebben te versterken.'

[410] CMC, [former] inv.no. I.23.2, report 'Commissie ter naziening en verbetering van den Throon', 1798: 'Hier meede zouden Uwe Commissie van den Troon kunnen afstappen was 't niet dat 't kleed, 't welk over de zogenaamd Altaar van den Zeer Achtbaren Meester legt, van eene Roode Couluer was. Zij hebben zeer lange geaarseld, of zij die kasten durfden maaken om 't zelven te veranderen, dog van ter zijde onderrigt zijnde dat de Broeders leden van der Schotse Loge welgenegen zoude zijn, die kleeden van Rood fluweel over te neemen en in aanmerking neemende dat der beyde kleeden geschikt geweest voor de tafels der broeders opzieners, nu van geen gebruik meer waren, 't zeer voordeelig was die kleeden aan de zelve over te geeven, en voor onse Loge een nieuw kleed van Blaauw fluweel te doen maaken, Besloten zij eindelijk en na ernstig overleg tot 't maken van zodanig blauuw kleed. te meerder daar [...] [zij] ongaarne zouden zien [dat] zij onagtzaam waaren geweest op eene hoofdzaak namentlijk de Couleur der graaden waar in wij werken. [...] 't Maillet of Hamer van den zeer Achtbare Meester als meede desselfs Tablié zijn al langere tijd aanstootelijk geweest. derhalve heeft de Commissie gemeend, ook die teekens van oppergesach te moeten veranderen, en heeft ook werkelijk nieuwe doen vervaardigen.'

[411] CMC, [former] inv.no. I.23.8, Overview of expenses for the new throne, 30-1-1799; [former] inv.no. 23.I.3, 'Protocoll für den Loge zur Preussischen Eintracht zu Rotterdam', 26-5-1764 unil 29-2-1804, minutes 2-1-1799: note that the new Worshipful Master at his installation was 'hung with the Master jewel and Apron of our Lodge' ('omhangen met het M[eeste]r Juweel + Tabbelie van onse Loge').

[412] CMC, [former] inv.no. I.23.8, Overview of expenses for the new throne, 30-1-1799. According to CMC membership card register, Dijkshoorn or Dijxhoorn joined thelodge on 2-3-1791, and quit in 1801.Dreux was a member since 6-1-1790, and acted as Djunct Grand Treasurer in 1820-1827, after whch his name no longer appears on the membership list.

[413] CMC, [former] inv.no. I.23.2, report 'Commissie ter naziening en verbetering van den Throon', 1798: 'De standaard onser Loge niet zijnde van de Coleur zoals 't behoord, dewijl 't beeld teeken wit moet zijn, is Uwe Comissie van mening geweest almede dat volgteeken te moeten vernieuwen, hebbende 't doen vervaaridigen van witte zijde, waarvan zij al mede 't genoegen heeft Uw lieden sub L.D hierbij de Teekening over te leggen'.

[414] CMC, [former] inv.no. I.23.8, Overview of expenses for the new throne, 30-1-1799. See RKD artists database for info on theKobell rtistic family.

[415] CMC, [former] inv.no. I.23.11, report 'Comissie tot het formeeren van een nieuw zegel', 26-4-1799: 'ten eerste, [dat zij] van gedachten is om: daar een Groot Zeegel niet bij alle omstandigehden te gebruiken is: een Klein Zeegel te maaken en hier toe te gebruiken ons thans werkelijk gebeesigd wordende zegel mits daariut de woorden La Concorde geslaagen worden en de woorden De Eendracht er op gegraveerd 't geene zeer ligt & met geringen kosten te doen is. ten Tweede, Een groot Zeegel te vervaardigen & te laten snijden in geel koper zijnde dit zeeker het minst kostbaarste, met oogmerk de afdrukken hier van Ulieden te proponeeren in wasch te laaten doen. Een concept maaken was hun moeilijker als zij bij aanvang dachten, daar het niet slegts willekeurig moest zijn, maar in eene massonique schikking zonder een volmaakt Tafreel nog ook eene Teekenkundige Schilderij te vormen en teffens eene zinspeeling op den Eendragt'.

[416] Here quoted from Mensema 1987, p. 62, who refers to *Gedenkschrift van de loge Fides Mutua, in het Oosten van Zwolle, ter gelegenheid van haar 150-jarig bestaan op 27 januari 1953* (naar gegevens van A. Maass en D. Bos), Zwolle 1953, p. 10: 'Inventaris van de loge L'Inebrandable te Zwolle opgetekend bij overname van de goederen door de loge Fides Mutua te Zwolle in 1803
De Troon, kap en verzilverde Bol,
4 voetstukken tot den Troon,
de gordijnen en vallen met kwassten,
't outaar,
2 colommen met desselfs pedestallen en trappen,
2 vaassen om op deselve te zetten
de Meester-stoel,
de Secretaires-stoel,
de Thesaurier-stoel,
de stoel voor de Ged[eputeerd] M[eeste]r
2 stoelen met voetstukken voor de Opzienders,
14 stoelkleden,
3 tafels voor de Meester, secretaire en Thesaurier,
2 dito voor de Opzienders,
1 lessenaar,
1 bijbel,
5 hamers,
2 groote kandelaren met 7 ligten,
3 dito,
12 kleine kandelaren,
10 hangblakers met 3 pijpen,
1 boete-busse,
1 zantlooper,
1 passer,
8 schilderijen voor de Meester Loge,
2 groote dito met Geraamten beschildert,
1 trap dienende bij Reseptiën,
11 zilveren Byous
18 wijnglazen'.

[417] See for the relationship between freemasonry and Egyptomania amongst others (not referenced further here): Erik Hornung, *Das esoterischen Egypten, Das geheime Wissen der Ägypter und sein Einfluß auf das Abendland,* Munchen 1999; Eugène Warmenbol, *Le lotus et l'Oignon. Egyptologie et Egyptomanie en Belgique aux XIXème siècle*, Bruxelles 2012; James Stevens Curl, *Egyptomania. The Egyptian Revival, a Recurring Theme in the History of Taste*, Manchester 1994.

[418] The designs are discussed in Gout 1991. A lyrical explanation was provided in the early 19th century by lodge member P. H[eimbach] J. Pz. (see Heimbach s.a.). Kuijper refers in his notes to plants and fruits in well known 18th century herbaria.

[419] Here quoted from Gout 1991, p. 26; '[…] Een geheelen nieuwe Loge volgens de ordonnantie en tekeningen van den Br[oeder] Bou[w]meester J. Kuiper, voorstellende een tempel van de Salomonische order door 28 Colommen van Lapislazurus ondersteund[,] versierd met goude Capitelen en basementen & verdere zinnebeeldige tussenvlakken als Wijsheid Schoonheid Sterkte [= Kracht,] de Streken[:] 't Zuyden Westen en Noorden Het Oosten d[e] Son of troon[,] een Engel of cherubin aan weerszijden[,] de overige 4 vakken met palmbomen en d[e] poort of ingang, met de Levantie van doek, verven & 't monument in 't Voorportaal [met] piedestallen [en] vasen […]'.

[420] Here quoted from Gout 1991, p. 12: 'De papaverbollen zinspelen op de slaap waarin de duisternis zich bevindt, de troffel van La Charité doet pogingen oneffenheden te herstellen, en de broederlijken toegenegenheid tragt door middel van haar ligt zijne lamp den [der?] ziele te ontsteken, daartoe gebruikt zij den hamer van gezag, den beitel van kragt, om den duisterling als vuur van steen voorgesteld tot Edeler gedaante te vormen. De grenaatappel is het huishouden der broederen. De krans der bloemen geeft te kennen, het aangenamen der broederschap en levert de gelegentheid om den duisterling aan te moedigen, gelijk de nijvere bij uit dezelven honing op te spooren. De Hamer op de Ruwen Klomp [= ruwe steen] slaande tussen de Slaapbollen, doornen en distelen, maken de ziel der duisterling wakker, hij werkt mede en de broederschap verheugt zig met een waardig lid vermeerdert te zien.'

[421] Here quoted from Gout 1991, p. 12: 'Duisternis, doornen en distelen in staat van domheid en aanstaand ligt' and 'Opklaring, Ligt, Bloemen en vrugten in de verlichting'.

[422] Here quoted from Gout 1991, p. 12: 'den broederlijken hand boven Wijsheid en Vreede zijn vruchtbaar en cierlijk'.

[423] Here quoted from Gout 1991, p. 16: 'Verzoeke op te letten, dat de massa van de beer in evenredigheid van de Paradijs Vogel in grootte en hoogte zij […]'.

[424] Gout 1991, p. 6.

[425] Here quoted from Gout 1991, p. 20: '1 Sphinx verborgentheid der wijsheid.
2 passer, Winkelhaak en Schietloodt, het oog der Ziel, en 2 Vlammen, verlichting derzelve. –verder
3 de Maatstaf.
4 Rollen en geschriften van beoefende Wijsheid.
5 Candelaber met een Vlam verspreidende altoos Ligt, is de fakkel der Reden de Slang, voorzichtigheid.
6 Bijenkorf, werkzaamheid.
7 Asende bijen op differente bloemen.
8 Antique Schaal, waar in de beteugeling der hartstogten onder het Simbolium der breidel 9. tegen de Kragt der Reden in Evenwigt gebracht zijn.
10 Een Zeef, zinnebeeld van Zuivering.
11 Het Schild der deugd, wendende door het Vlammende Zwaard, de Schichten der ondeugd verbroken.
12 & 13 zijn zinspelende op de Overwinning der deugd en Wijsheid. Zijnde de Eiken Tak dien voor de Wereldsche Stand en de Palm voor de Hemelsche.
14 Het Kaf [door de zeef van het koren gescheiden].'

[426] Here quoted from Gout 1991, p. 24: 'Op het autaar een Zonnewijzer met afperkingen der tijd, en vleermuijzen Wieken'.

[427] Here quoted from Gout 1991, p. 20: 'Zie daar nog een Antique Zonnewijzer, op het autaar te plakken'.

[428] The question already appeared in the Dutch translation of Prichard: Prichard 1735, here quoted from the facsimile in Thoth 5 (1954) 2, p. 88.

[429] Gout 1991, p. 26.

[430] Here quoted from Gout 1991, p. 24: 'Op het autaar: De vier standen des menschliges leven (…) 1 Ontluikende bloemen, 2 Meer volwassen, 3 Vruchten, 4 Dorre takken en Kerkhofsbloemen'.

[431] *Rituaal 1812*.

[432] Here quoted from reprint in *Thoth* 13 (1962) 3, p. 70: 'Onder den naam van Chambre Obscure wordt [door] V[rij] M[etselaren] een klein vertrek verstaan, hetwelk van alle zijden met zwart behangen of geverfd is. In hetzelve bevinden zig een Tabouret en een Tafeltje. Op dit laatste staat een brandende Lamp, en voorts ligt daarop een Doodshoofd en eenige Beenderen, een Inktkoker en pennen, een vat met Zout en dergelijke zinnebeelden. Op de behangsels of wanden staan verschillende spreuken, welke de Candidaat tot opmerkzaamheid en ernst moeten opwekken, bijv. de beeldtenis van een Haan en daaronder het woord *Waakzaamheid*; boven een Zandloper het woord *Volharding*; (…)'

[433] Here quoted from reprint in *Thoth* 13 (1962) 3, pp. 72-73: 'De Loge zelve moet een lang vierkant vertrek zijn, waarvan de deur in het W[esten] is. Aan het einde of de O[oost] zijde staat een Troon, waarop een Armstoel en waarvoor een driekant, met kleden omhangen Altaar op hetwelk een bijbel ligt, opengeslagen bij het 1e Kapitt[el] van het Evangelium van Joannes. Op deze Bijbel liggen een Passer en een Winkelhaak en een groot Zwaard. Ter beider zijden van den Troon staan twee beklede tafeltjes voor de secretaris en de Thesaurier. Aan de N[oord] en Z[uid] zijden der Loge zijn stoelen of banken langs de muren geplaatst voor de Br[oeders]. In het W[esten] staan twee armstoelen en voor elk derzelven een driekant Altaar evenals bij den Troon, doch op dezelven niet dan drie Lichten; naast elk dezer twee laatstgenoemde Altaren staat een Colom of pijlaar van gebronsde couleur; op diegenen, welke in het N[[oord] W[esten] staat, is voor de L[eerling] graad een I gehegd. Het vertek is voorts zo sterk verlicht als mogelijk is, en gedecoreerd overeenkomstig de smaak of de gelegenheid, die de Loge deswegen heeft. Op den grond ligt een langwerpig vierkant Tableau met onderscheide maconnicque Zinnebeelden; op elk der punten, die naar het N[oord] O[osten], het Z[uid] O[osten] en het Z[uid] W[esten] liggen, staat een Groot licht. In het N[oord] O[osten] is een geïllumineerde Zon en in het N[oord] W[esten]* een geïllumineerde Maan, omringt door negen sterren tegen de zolder geplaatst. Voorts is nog aan te merken dat onder den naam van *Chambre des pas perdus* het vertrek verstaan wordt waarin men den Candidaat ontvangt, alvorens hij naar de Chambre Obscure geleid wordt, alsmede het voorvertrek of Portaal hetgeen tot de deur der Loge geleidt. […] * (In het handschrift verbeterd tot N[oord] O[osten]; bedoeld zal zijn Z[uid] O[osten] - Red.)'

[434] Here quoted from reprint in *Thoth* 12 (1961) II, p. 51: 'De Loge is volkomen ingerigt als bij den leerlingsgraad. Boven den Troon is egter eene geillumineerde vijfpuntige Ster, in derzelver middenpunt een capaitale latijnsche G hebbende, geplaatst, aan den Colom in het Z[uiden] is een B gehegt.'

[435] Here quoted from reprint in *Thoth* 13 (1962) 3, p. 72: 'De Loge is geheel met zwart behangen; ook de Troon, het Altaar, de Tafeltjes der Opzieneren en van den Secretaris en den Thesaurier zijn met zwart bekleed. In het midden der Loge ligt het Medgezellen Tableau, waarop eenige kussens, over welken een doek of laken is uitgespreid alsof daaronder iemand lag. Op deze doek ligt een groene Tak. Aan de hoeken van het Tableau staan drie Kandelaren, elk met drie Lichten voorzien, die egter onopgestoken zijn. Een Licht bij den Troon en op elk der Tafeltjes van de Opzieneren een klein Lantaarntje, waarvan het licht weggeschoven kan worden, maakt de geheele verlichting der Loge uit. In het O[oosten], het N[oorden] en het Z[uiden] is een tafeltje of ander voetstuk geplaatst, waarop een doodshoofd ligt.'

[436] CMC, inv.no. 122C59, see Snoek 1995 B.

[437] Published in *Thoth* 22 (1971) 1-2 (Apprentice degree), 22 (1971) III (Fellow-Craft degree) and 23 (1972) I (Master's degree).
[438] In some higher degrees Hiram's heart is entombed separately in an urn. Kind advice by dr. Jan Snoek, Heidelberg University.
[439] Kwaadgras 2003, p. 47.
[440] Pennarts 1967, p. 47.
[441] 'Feestviering' 1863, p. 188.
[442] See (not referenced further here): Reinier Baarsen, *De lelijke tijd. Pronkstukken van Nederlandse interieurkunst, 1835-1895*, Amsterdam 1995.
[443] Pennarts 1967, pp. 63, 71 and further. CMC membership card register lists D. Verheul as member of lodge De Drie Kolommen in 1868, and his son, J. Verheul Dzn, a more well known architect, as member of lodge Acacia in Rotterdam from 1886 onwards.
[444] *Verslag* 1883, pp. 51-54: 'Vanuit de straat komt men in de entrée, die rechts toegang geeft aan twee wachtkamertjes voor kandidaten, links een spreekkamer; de entrée is versierd met een engelschen parketvloer waar in het midden passer en winkelhaak en om het geheel de getande rand is aangebracht. Door een glazen tcohtdeur komt men in de vestibule waar de hoofdtrap is gelegen naar de groote receptie-zaal die zich op de eerste verdieping bevindt, verder geeft zij toegang tot de vergaderzaal en de woning van de Br. Servant, die laatstgenoemde woning heeft zoo nodig een afzonderlijke toegang aan de straat en bevinden zich daar de kelders, voor bergplaatsen tevens ingericht. De conversatiezaal heeft een lengte van 12 Meter en eene breedte van 6 Meter bij een hoogte van 4 ½ Meter en ontvangt haar licht aan de gedempte Binnenrotte - verder bevinden zich in de vestibule de privaten en urinioirs. - Langs de Hoofdtrap komt men op de eerste verdieping in eene ruime vestibule die toegang geeft aan de receptiezaal, wachtkamer en een trap naar de 2de verdieping; de vestibule zelf biedt al dadelijk zeer veel schoons; in den wand bevindt zich een gedenksteen [voor de eerste steenlegging] omgeven door een lijst van prachtige Maconniek emblemen […]. Op de ruit welke tot verlichting van de vestibule dient trekt de aandacht het daarop door den Br. K. Hasper geteekende Alziend Oog. De vestibule leidt vervolgens tot de groote receptiezaal, die eene lengte heeft van 13 Meter en eene breedte van 16 Meter bij eene hoogte van 7 Meter en vervaardigd is in het karakter van de fransche Renaissance. Zij wordt verlicht door bovenlicht en biedt ruimte aan 160 à 180 personen. De vestibule geeft verder toegang tot de kamer ten gebruike bij openbare en commissoriale vergaderingen; zij heeft eene grootte van 5 x 5 Meter. Verder urinoir en buffetkamer. De trap leidende naar de tweede verdieping voert naar de kamer waar het archief der Loge zich bevindt; verder de kamer van overdeking, terwijl tevens de toegang daar is aangebracht om zoo noodig boven de tepelkap te koomen en de daar aanwezige ruimte tot begrplaatsen te doen dienen en leidt verder naar de zolder. […] Maar ook de decoratie en het ameublement verdient onze aandacht, vooral wat betreft het decoratief van den Tempel. Tegenover de ingang bevindt zich de troon met blauw gedecoreerd; achter in den troon prijkt de letter G. met een stralenkrans omgeven, waaraan de zilveren troffel gebruikt bij de eerste steenlegging. De zetel is een keurige geheel in Maçonnieke symbolen gebeeldhouwde stoel, aan weerszijden van den troon liggen twee sphinxen in franschen renaissancestijl vervaardigd. Naast den troon staat het nieuwe vaandel, een geschenk van den eersten steenlegger. Langs de zijden der zaal staan de banken en stoelen, vervaardigd geheel in den stijl van het Tempelgebouw dat alles gevoegd bij het verdere bij Loge-arbeid in gebruik, als kolommen, altar, eene kroon met eene verlichting door een 87tal gaskaarsen enz. Dan is deze zaal vorstelijk te noemen. Lof ook aan den Br. A. Snoeij Kiewt aan wien de decoratie was opgedragen, den Br. W.L. Thieme Jr, die met zooveel zorg eigenhandig de sphinxen boetseerde, den Br. K. Hasselt aan wien het voorlopige schilderwerk was toevertrouwd en aan de firma W.L. Thieme aan wie de levering van het ameublement was opgedragen.'
[445] In the collection of the CMC is a moving personal account from a lodge member, who watched Rotterdam get bombed and the building go up in flames: Wijndelt Zuerts, *Memoires Meimaand 1940 Bombardement Oppert 72 Rotterdam*, s.l s.a.
[446] De Veer [1962], p. 50; Jorissen 1987, p. 56.
[447] De Veer [1962], p. 49: 'Lieflijk was dezen de aanblik des voorportaals; daar vinden zij zich omgeven door bomen, prijkende met gulden ooft en bloesems tevens en door festoenen van schitterende bloemen. […] De Tempelpoort van brons, de zetels van eer, zo in het Oosten als in het Westen, van edel hout vervaardigd, met rijke stoffen bedekt; die tussen de zuilenrijen smaakvol en sierlij. De werktafelen des Meesters en der Opzieners, de bodem met een tapijt in de kleur der werkplaats bekleed […]. Zinnebeeldige voorstellingen troffen aan alle kanten het oog en ook Flora's gaven ontbraken niet aan het geheel.'
[448] De Veer [1962], p. 51.
[449] Jorissen 1987, pp. 62-64: 'Parralel aan de voorhof en evenlang als deze, is een wat smallere kamer, voorzien van een barok stucplafond. Er stiond destijds een lange vergadertafel in met eromheen ouderwetse stoelen, bekleed mer rood pluche. Deze ruimte wordt van oudsher de Meesterkamer genoemd. […] De vooral na 1945 doorzettende democratisering in de menselijke verhoudingen heeft het gebruik van die Meesterkamer doen verdwijnen en de Meestervergaderingen vinden tegenwoordig gewoon plaats in de voorhof, voorafgaande aan de comparitie. De Meesterkamer ligt er sedertdien dan ook wat verlaten bij. Tussen het trappenhuis en de voorhof bevindt zich boven de tuinkamer, de zogenaamde biljartkamer. Deze ruimte is in stijl aansluitend op die van de voorhof uitgevoerd. Ook hier is de oorspronkelijke schoorsteenmantel met ruimte voor een schoorsteenstuk aan het licht gebracht. De beide ramen aan de zuidzijde zien op de tuin uit, die aan de noordzijde werden dichtgemetseld. In die periode na de verbouwing van 1879 is er een groot biljart gekomen, waarmee de naamgeving is verklaard voor degenen die dit "monster" nimmer hebben gekend, want het is na 1945 weggegeven […]. Een grote tafel met solide zetels eromheen voorziet in de behoefte van het huidige gebruik, vergaderruimte voor kleinere gezelschappen. De scheidingswand tussen de voorhof en biljartkamer is als dubbele vouwdeur uitgevoerd, zodat beide in een handomdraai kunnen worden samengevoegd tot een 21 meter lange en 6 meter brede zaal voor bijzondere gelegenheden […]. Het massive eikenhout van de fraaie trap in het rrappenhuis is eerst betrekkelijk recent aan het licht gebracht, toen biij een schoonmaakbeirt besloten werd de verflagen te verwijderen, die in een ver verleden waren aangebracht, omdat een stedelijke belasting op blank eikenhout was ingevoerd. Via de overloop, boven aan de trap, komt men rechts bij de 'kamer van overdenking' […]. Aan het einde van de korte gang, waaraan zich links de toitletruimten bevinden, is het reeds genoemde [logeer]kamertje, dat door Arnoldus Jan Schouten was ingericht. Het werd ingericht voor opvang van de bezoekers, met de garderobe in de voormalige bedstee. Aansluitend daarop is, boven de Muntgang, de keuken gelegend waarin de maaltijden konden worden bereid in gevallen, dat een banket in de voorhof plaatsvond. […] Beneden, op de begane grond, is naast tuinkamer en trappenhuis een opslagruimte – in de vroegere keuken van de congiërge - welke omstreeks 1900, toen de velocipede zijn intree had gedaan, als fietsenbergplaats werd gebruikt. Tenslotte waren er nog de voormalige ruimten van de rosmolen, het kamp en roerwerk, het werkhuis met de muntschroeven (balanciers), het smelthuis en het zandhok. Hiervoor was geen feitelijke bestemming, evenmin als de voormalige paardenstallen met de ruimte daarboven. De eerstgenoemde ruimten werden veruurd, terwijl in de andere een woning werd geimproviseerd, welke eveneens in huur werd gegeven. In het gehele gebouw werd de ventilatie verbeterd, de gasverlichting omstreeks 1912 vervangen door elektrich licht en de verwarming door haarden en 'Godin'-kachels vervangen door gasradiatoren.'
[450] See Bax 2006, Kroon/Wagtberg Hansen 2011.
[451] Wils was initiated in lodge l'Union Frédérique in Rotterdam in 1929. Baanders was initiated in lodge Concordia Vincit Animos in Amsterdam in 1901. Wegerif was initiated in lodge De Veluwe in Apeldoorn in 1909. He was the author, among others, of 'Troon and Troonhemel', *Studieblad Ritus en Tempelbouw* (1949) no. 12.
[452] The designs for lodge Concordia Res Parvea Crescunt, as well as similar symbolism in the lodge building in Utrecht and lodge St. Lodewijk in Nijmegen are depicted in Akkermans 1991, pp. 36, 38 and 40 (see also: vrijmetselarij.nl/sneek/tempel, with excerpts from Baanders' diary on the lodge design). The history of lodge Silentium and its building is described in Sark 1976.

[453] These were, besides the building of La Flamboyante in Dordrecht: lodge Orde en Vlijt (founded 1812), Molenstraat 75, Gorinchem (built 1851); lodge De Ster in het Oosten (founded 1837), St. Domusstraat 64-66, Zierikzee (built 1854); lodge Fides Mutua (founded 1802), Bloemendalstraat 11), Zwolle (built 1867); lodge La Vertu (founded 1757), Steenschuur 4-6, Leiden (built 1872); lodge West Friesland (founded 1858), Binnenluiendijk 2, Hoorn (built 1872); Freemasons' Hall of three lodges in Ripperdastraat 13, Haarlem (built 1876); lodge Concordia Res Parvae Crescunt (founded 1818), Looxmagracht 20, Sneek (built 1880); lodge Anna Paulowna (founded 1817), Stationsstraat 61, Zaandam (built 1881); loge L'Aurore (founded 1761), Nieuwstraat 21-23, Brielle (built 1881); lodge Le Profond Silence (founded 1770), Bovennieuwstraat 36, Kampen (built 1888); lodge De Nordstar (founded 1800), Gedempte Nieuwesloot 153, Alkmaar (built 1893); lodge Silentium (founded 1801), Choorstraat 16-A, Delft (built 1894); lodge Jacob van Kampen (founded 1875), Van Persijnstraat 9, Amersfoort (built 1900); the Freemasons' Hall housing six lodges in Vondelstraat 39-41, Amsterdam (built 1904); lodge De Gooische Broederschap (founded 1896), Oude Enghweg, Hilversum (built 1905); lodge De Friesche Trouw (founded 1782), Bij de Put 15, Leeuwarden (built 1927); lodge Karel van Zweden (founded 1851), Zaadmark 97, Zutphen (built 1935). The building of lodge St. Lodewijk in Nijmegen (founded 1752; built 1898) is no longer in use as a lodge, but a significant example none the less. None of the pre-war buildings of the co-masonic Orders Le Droit Humain and its 1917 offshoot the Nederlands Verbond van Vrijmetselaren are still in use. Of great importance to the heritage of co-masonry is the former Freemasons' and theosophists' hall in De Ruijterstraat 67 in The Hague (built in 1916), now the Museum for Communication.

Notes to chapter 3

[1] Harland-Jacobs 1999, p. 137, referring to Donald Meinig.
[2] Harland-Jacobs 1999, p. 138.
[3] Berger 2010, n. pag. Berger is referring to the 19th-20th century, but the same counts for the 18th century.
[4] Raben 2013, p. 9.
[5] Raben 2013, p. 10.
[6] Raben 2013, p. 12, referring to Kerry Ward.
[7] Raben 2013, p. 30.
[8] Roberts 1969, here quoted from Berge 2010, n. pag.
[9] Dashwood 1948, 1950 and 1962.
[10] Prescott 2000.
[11] Deschamps 2014, p. 40: 'un modèle de sociabilité exportable', alluding to the words of Margaret Jacob.
[12] Clark 2000, pp. 309-349.
[13] Jones 1956, p. 372; Jessica Harland-Jacobs, 'Freemasonry and Colonialism', in: Bogdan/Snoek 2014, p. 441. The history of Dutch lodge certificates is described by Coriset van Uchelen 1965 B and Van Peype 1980.
[14] Van Peype 1980, p. 73, referring to Du Bois 1761.
[15] Heiron 1921, p. 48. The custom is also noted in the lodge's By-Laws: 'Going on a Voyage or Journey. 16th' [...] 'But if any Person or Brother be Proposed to be made a Mason in or Admitted a Member of this Lodge, cannot [tro' Reason of his going on a Voyage or Journey] stay till he is Proposed and Balloted for as above, he may be Proposed, Balloted for and [if Approved of] may be Made or Admitted on the '*Same Night*'. This Law shall not Include any Person '*Residing on Shore*' [...]'.
[16] Van Peype 1980, p. 78.
[17] Du Bois 1761, Chapter 5, article VIII, resp. IX, here quoted from Van Peype 1980, p. 78: 'Een bezoeker, hoe onderweezen hy in de Metzelarye ook zy, zal in geen Loge ontfangen werden, ten zy derzelven daar persoonlyk bekend, of door een bekenden Broeder voorgedragen was, ofte eyndelyk op goede getuigenis van zyn Loge. Daarom heeft de Grote Loge deezer Landen goedgevonden, dat ieder byzondere Loge, aan deszelfs Leeden, zal geeven een Briefje, door een der Officiers in Bediening zynde, onderteekent, inhoudende de Naam der Loge, die van den Broeder, en de Trappen, tot welke hy verheeven is, gemerkt met Cyffer-getallen, 1, 2, of 3, om door den Broeder Bezoeker, by zyn ondervraaginge, vertoont te worden'.
[18] Van Peype 1980, p. 79.
[19] For an overview of European masonic certificates and the symbolism in their decoration, see Terner 2001.
[20] Heiron 1921, p. 48.
[21] Heiron 1921, pp. 239-240, 300: '1812 A Swedish Sea-Captain Passed and Raised, he having received the 1st Degree of Masonry at the Lodge of St. Christophe at Christianstadt in Sweden […] 1803 A Brother Raised to the 3rd Degree of a Master Mason, he having been Initiated into the 2 First degrees of Masonry in Holland […] 1809 4 Dutch Mariners were Initiated into the 2 First Degrees, and at Bye Lodge they were raised to the 3rd Degree of Master Masons and each paid a fee of £3 13s. 6d'. The membership list of 1810 included 267 seafaring members, of which 56 foreigners, including those with Dutch, German, Swedish and Spanish nationality.
[22] Berger 2010, n. pag. describes how this formalisation proceeded in the 19th century.
[23] See: Beaurepaire 2004, Onnerfors 2006, Harland-Jacobs 2007, Révauger/Saunier 2012, Porset/Révauger 2013.
[24] Jessica Harland-Jacobs, 'Freemasonry and Colonialism', in: Bogdan/Snoek 2014, p. 439.
[25] *Dictionnaire* 2005, pp. 7-16.
[26] Beaurepaire 1999, p. 120; 'il y a une Republique universelle de negoce, qui ne se reduit pas a la utopie d'Adam Smith. Pour trouver des associes, des clients, des cautions morales et financieres, les negociants n'ont pas hesiter a utiliser les reseaux des loges. Une de leurs premieres demarches une fois debarques dans un port etranger consiste a se rendre a la loge negociante du lieu comme frere visiteur. Les captaines de navire leur emboitent le pas.'
[27] Jessica Harland-Jacobs, 'Freemasonry and Colonialism', in: Bogdan/Snoek 2014, p. 441.
[28] While the activities of some lodges have been roughly mapped, a general statistical overview on the activities of ambulant lodges, active under European and American constitutions in the East and West Indies, is still lacking. Important overviews are: Kwaadgras 2003 (Dutch lodges), Le Bihan 1967 (French lodges) and *Lane's Masonic Records* 1717-1894 (British lodges).
[29] The lodges in India belonged to various Grand Lodges (British, Scottish and Irish), and although many relevant lodge archives were preserved in the Library and Museum of Freemasonry in London, these were not yet all inventoried in detail. It was therefore not plausible to conduct systematic research into the membership of Dutch freemasons of British lodges in India.
[30] Based on *Lane's Masonic Records* 1717-1894, not counting lodges working on a Scottish and Irish Constitutions. See Draffen 1950.
[31] Deschamps 2014, p. 100.
[32] Although Deschamps 2014 discusses developments from 1730 onwards, his conclusion deals almost exclusively with developments in the 19th-20th centuries.
[33] Haffner 1988 A, p. 11. The lodge was formally erased in 1813.
[34] Haffner 1988 A, p. 12. The lodge was formally erased in 1862. On 19-3-1793 Rising Sun Lodge requested a Provincial Grand Master to be appointed: 'to unite and regulate other Lodges to be used on other parts of this coast'. Worshipful Master John Macdonald, described as 'Engineer of the place', was permitted the degrees of Royal Arch and *Chevalier d'Orient*.
[35] Haffner 1988 A, p. 12.
[36] Hageman 1869, p. 66. The lodge was formally erased in 1862.
[37] Mullan 2003.
[38] *Lane's Masonic Records* 1717-1894.
[39] Hageman 1866, p. 79; Hageman 1869, p. 66.
[40] *Dictionnaire* 2005, p. 7. These lodges were never authorized by the Grande Loge de France. See also Le Bihan 1967, pp. 408-410.
[41] Porset/Révauger 2013 may provide more updated info, but I was unable to consult this title; it is not available through a Dutch library or its IBL service.
[42] Le Bihan 1967, p. 403. Henderson/Pope 2000, p. 214, suggests the first masonic activity was recorded in Mauritius in 1754 by a catholic priest.
[43] Hageman 1869, p. 66; Le Bihan 1967, p. 402; Ligou 1991, p. 1009. A Chapter was founded in 1785. (It should be noted that Ligou has been reviewed in later editions, but those were not available in the CMC.)
[44] Le Bihan 1967, p. 403; Ligou 1991, p. 1009.

[45] Hageman 1869, p. 66 (mistakenly naming this La Triple Alliance); Deschamps 2014, p. 154. A Chapter was founded in 1788-1789. See also CMC F2: certificate for Gabriel Goppfert, issued by La Triple Espérance, 29-4-1811, and certificate for Peter D Schmidt, issued by La Triple Espérance, 2-5-1814; CMC F8: certificate Grand Conseil Sublime des Princes du RS, Île de France, 1-5-1814; CMC F 10: certificate 30th-33rd degrees 30-Bul-1819.
[46] Le Bihan 1967, p. 403.
[47] Le Bihan 1967, p. 403; Ligou 1991, p. 1009.
[48] Le Bihan 1967, p. 402 Ligou 1991, p. 1009.
[49] Hageman 1866, p. 63; Hageman 1869, p. 66; Le Bihan 1967, p. 403; Ligou 1991, p. 793.
[50] Le Bihan 1967, p. 404; Ligou 1991, p. 793.
[51] Le Bihan 1967, p. 404; Ligou 1991, p. 793; see also correspondence to lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, discussed in the next chapter.
[52] Henderson/Pope 2000, p. 39-40; Ligou 1991, pp. 793 and 1001.
[53] Ligou 1991, p. 1009.
[54] Ligou 1991, p. 793.
[55] Ligou 1991, p. 793; according to Le Bihan 1967, p. 405, also active in Pondicherry.
[56] Deschamps 2014, p. 154.
[57] Deschamps 2014, p. 156.
[58] Hageman 1866, pp. 80 and 90.
[59] Raben 2013, p. 16, concludes that 'there were only few examples of people who travelled intensively the different parts of the Dutch "empire"', which is where freemasons may well be different. The research for this project of the CMC membership register gave indications that the same family names, if not the same people, often appear in both VOC and WIC lodges. However, further research is needed to produce statistical and genealogical data, to verify this assumption.
[60] Minutes of the Premier Grand Lodge, here quoted from Walker 1979, p. 85.
[61] Here quoted from Walker 1979, p. 84. Pomfret and other key figures are regularly mentioned in literature, but not identified further. Is this a relation of Thomas Fermor, 1st Earl of Pomfret (1698-1753)?
[62] Walker 1979, pp. 84-85.
[63] Walker 1979, p. 85; Hamill/Gilbert 1991, p. 94.
[64] Spelling variations include: Far[r] Winter, Far-Winter, Farwinter or plain Winter. For the family history, see Morris 1986, pp. 26-27. The ship Eyles is listed in (not referenced further here): *The Political State of Great Britain* (Volume XLIII), London 1732, p. 230, as sailed for the 'Coast and Bay' [of India] on 20-12-1731 with 'Ralph Far Winter' as captain.
[65] Here quoted from Walker 1979, p. 85.
[66] Du Bois 1761, p. LXIV, Art. 1: 'ter plaatse daar reeds eene Loge is, geene Constitutie zal werden verleent, dan aan tien Broeders, onder welke den [Voorzittend] Meester en de Opzienders, Meesters Vrijmetzelaars moeten weezen, en waarvoor zy *Twintig Ducaaten* zullen betaalen; maar dat, ter plaatse alwaar geen Loge is, zeeven Broeders, waar onder den [Voorzittend] Meester en de twee Opzienders, ook Meesters Vrijmetzelaars zynde, eene Constitutie voor *Tien Ducaaten* kunnen verkrygen.'
[67] The value of the gulden/euro (2013): iisg.nl/hpw/calculate2-nl.php.
[68] De Neve/Prins 2002, p. 55. See also Van Wamelen 2014.
[69] De Neve/Prins 2002, p. 58.
[70] De Neve/Prins 2002, pp. 59-60.
[71] For the Radermacher genealogy, see: genealogieonline.nl/west-europese-adel/I1073978549.php.
[72] De Neve/Prins 2002, pp. 69-70.
[73] See De Visser Smits 1920/1921; Kalf 1921.
[74] Van Hasselt 1859, p. 235.
[75] De Neve/Prins 2002, p. 65.
[76] Based on the most recent overview of Dutch lodges in Kwaadgras 2003.
[77] Kaufmann/North 2014, p. 18.
[78] Astrid Erll, 'Circulating Art and Material Culture. A Model of Transcultural Mediation', in: Kaufmann/North 2014, pp. 321-328.
[79] Astrid Erll, 'Circulating Art and Material Culture. A Model of Transcultural Mediation', in: Kaufmann/North 2014, p. 323.
[80] CMC, no. 749-1: 'Acten en Commissien voor Buitenlandse Gedeputeerde en Provinciale Grootmeesters'.
[81] Boerenbeker 1979, p. 10: 'de Commissie op Broeder Abraham de Labat, om tot Bengalen een geregelde Loge op te regten'.
[82] Lutter/Christiaans 1994, p. 113. CMC, membership card register: De Labat was initiated as Master in lodge Concordia Vincit Animos in Amsterdam on 22-5-1757, and again noted as member in 1759. The minute book of the lodge does not mention these events.
[83] Van Hasselt 1860, p. 88: 'Uit eene missieve [= brief] van de Groote Loge van 23 December 1758 blijkt, dat aan B[roeder] Jacobus Larwood van Scheevikhaven eene acte van Provinciaal Gr[oot] M[eester] over Neerlands-Indie was verleend'. See also Maarschalk 1872, p. 363. According to Hageman 1866, p. 5, this letter was dated 23-10-1758 (the difference probably due to the masonic calendar).
[84] VOC/NA.
[85] According to Carpentier Alting 1884, p. 284, Van Schevikhaven was a member of lodge Concordia Vincit Animos.
[86] Lutter/Christiaans 1994, p. 127, transcript of a letter by Van Scheevikhaven to the Grand Lodge, 8-1-1759: 'getoont de magt dien Uw Seer Eerwaarde [= De Grootmeester] hun hebben gegeeven omme zo tot batavia als alhier een Reguliere Logie van Vrije en Aangenomene Metselaaren te kunnen opregten'. The commission to Tissot Grenus was not found in the documents researched for this project. According to the CMC membership card register, a Tissot Grenus had earlier acted as a representative for lodge L'Indissoluble in The Hague at the Grand Lodge meeting of 26-12-1756.
[87] CMC, inv.no. U1, Register of outgoing correspondence of the Grand Lodge 17-9-1745 until 6-9-1767, Vol. 1, letter by Grand Secretary Radermacher jr dated 27-5-1766.
[88] CMC, inv.no. U2, Register of outgoing correspondence of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2, 'Instructie voor den Broeder George Steendekker', 13-5-1769: 'buitenlandsch Gedeputeerde Groot Meester'.
[89] CMC, inv.no. U2, Register of outgoing correspondence of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2, 'Instructie voor den Broeder George Steendekker', 13-5-1769: 'ten einde de correspondentie te favoriseren en alle uitgaande en inkomende Broeders, aldaar rust Dag moetende houden, als dan ook de faciliteiten zouden hebben, zig op eenige wettige wijze te bezoeken'.
[90] CMC, Box 4613, Valette archive, copy Register of outgoing correspondence of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2l: '1769 April: instructie voor den Br George Steendekker (…) en commissie voor de Kaap de Goede Hoop omme aldaar eene Loge te constitueeren'.
[91] De Liagre 2004, pp. 260-261; Beaurepaire 1999, p. 120.
[92] Hageman 1866, p. 97.
[93] Based on the most recent overview of Dutch lodges in Kwaadgras 2003.

[94] CMC 4F8A, *Almanac des Francs-Macons*, 1766, p. 37, 'État présent de la Maçonnerie pour l'Année 5766', 'Le Continent de l'Afrique est habité par des peuples trop esclaves, trop ignorants, & trop barbares, pour être en état de recevoir & d'accueillir notre Art Royale'.
[95] Hageman 1866, pp. 68-70, 80, 155 includes a Union Lodge, lodge no. 305 Union Chapter, a lodge of the Regiment of Foot, Hooker St John's Lodge (17th Regiment), Mo[o]riah Lodge (22nd Regiment). See also *Lane's Masonic Records* 1717-1894.
[96] Based on the most recent overview of Dutch lodges in Kwaadgras 2003.
[97] Hageman 1866, p. 19, refers to CMC 71a, certificate for De Graaff.
[98] CMC 4F58, *Vry-metzelaars Almanach*, Rotterdam 1808, 'Officieel Stuk' [verslag J.A. de Mist aan Grootmeester met Extract besluit Grootoosten], pp. 53-69. See also CMC 3C22, Mossop [1914?].
[99] Due to the vast amount of unpublished material available in the CMC and limited financial resources, it was more practical to first focus on material in the Netherlands and making that publicly accessible. The history of Dutch freemasonry in South Africa (and the West Indies) has barely been researched or described. While the archives of most Dutch lodges in Asia were transferred to The Hague at some point after these lodges were erased, those in South Africa (and the West Indies) more often remained there. There is no comprehensive overview available of the size, condition and locations of these archives. The archive of lodge De Goede Hoop in Cape Town was registered as part of the Tanap project on internationally shared heritage. It is accessible in the Cape Town Archives Repository, while its inventory is accessible online at: databases.tanap.net/ead/html/CapeTown_5.4.6/pdf/CapeTown_5.4.6.pdf. Hopefully future projects will be able to focus on the lodges in South Africa and the West Indies, in order to gain a more balanced perspective on the role of freemasonry in Dutch colonial history.

Notes to chapter 4

[1] Gaastra 2002, p, 46.
[2] Jacobs 2000, p. 28.
[3] CMC 4F8A, *Almanach des Francs-Maçons,* 1766, p. 37, 'État présent de la Maçonnerie pour l'Année 5766': 'D'Ailleurs l'Angleterre, la France, la Hollande & les Nations du Nord de l'Europe qui ont quelque commerce un peu considérable dans les Indes Orientales y ont établi plusieurs Loges. De ce nombre sont celles qu'il y a à Bombay, dans le Royaume de Visapour; à Madras, sur la Cote de Coromandel, à Chandernagore dans le Royaume de Bengale; les trois Loges de Calcutta dans le Pais des Malabares & plusieurs autres'.
[4] The surviving letters, most of which are published here for the first time, are comparable to 18th century letters recently made accessible by the Sailing Letters project. The National Archives (TNA) in Kew (London) preserves the archive of the High Court of Admiralty, containing amongst others circa 38.000 documents written in Dutch. These include 17th and 18th century letters intended for the Netherlands, but intercepted by British ships. The Sailing Letters project transcribed these letters, making them available to both the public and researchers. It was finished in 2013, see: nationaalarchief.nl/internationaal/project-sailing-letters/literatuur, and: gahetna.nl/collectie/index/nt00424. Compare also the projects brievenalsbuit.nl and gekaaptebrieven.nl.
[5] Boerenbeker 1979, p. 10.
[6] Van Hasselt 1860, p. 88. See also Maarschalk 1872, p. 363. According to Hageman 1866, p. 5, the letter was dated 23-10-1758.
[7] Hageman 1866, p. 6, 49; Stevens 1994, p. 30.
[8] Mentioned as such in *Defence* 1762, p. 71. See Appendix II.
[9] CMC, Box 2402, Constitution file lodge Salomon, no. 57: 'Ayant eu l'avantage de lever une Loge ici, que les Patentes que le frere Tissoot Grenus, m'a remis des vous rendent juste, reguliere & parfaite je nai pas voulu manquer a avoir celui de vous le communiquer incessament'. CMC, 108E, Register of in- and outgoing correspondence of the Grand Lodge 26-6-1747 until 17-4-1823, Vol. I, lists the date as 7-11-1757. CMC, U1, Register of outgoing correspondence by the Grand Lodge 17-9-1745 until 6-9-1767, Vol I, p. 81, lists an invoice copy ('Copie van de Quittantie') dated 1759 by Van Scheevikhave to the Grand Lodge.
[10] Lutter/Christiaans 1994, pp. 112 and 116
[11] CMC, Box 2402, Constitution file lodge Salomon, no. 60, is a duplicate of the letter dated 8-1-1759. Lutter/Christiaans 1994, p. 127, provides a transcript of the letter (Schultink 1987, p. 146, lists the date as 7-1-1759.
[12] Lutter/Christiaans 1994, pp. 104-123. Remarkable is that Jambon, Creuset, Durville en Florin are not mentioned as founders in Lutter/Christiaans 1994 and Kwaadgras 2003. Van Staden is also omitted in Kwaadgras 2003. These men are not listed in the CMC membership card register.
[13] Lutter/Christiaans 1994, p. 123.
[14] Lutter/Christiaans 1994, pp. 114, 119 and 129.
[15] Lutter/Christiaans 1994, p. 127, transcript of a letter by Van Scheevikhaven to the Grand Lodge, 8-1-1759: '[…] getoont de magt dien Uw Seer Eerwaarde hun hebben gegeeven omme zo tot batavia als alhier een Reguliere Logie van Vrije en Aangenomene Metselaaren te kunnen opregten, dog die broeders onze Logie reets in behoorlijke forma opgeregt vindende, hebben dus geen gebruijk van hunne Patente gemaakt maar dezelve ons ter hand gesteld omme onder onze archiven sorgvuldig bewaart te werden en zijn vervolgens op hun verzoek tot leden dezer logie aangenomen'. In a letter dated 10-1-1768 the Secretary of lodge Salomon wrote to the Grand Lodge, explaining that Falck had been replaced as Grand Master by Tissot Grenus, 'deja decore par vous de ce haute grade en 1757' ('already decorated by you with this high degree in 1757'). CMC, Box 2402, Constitution file Lodge Salomon, no. 493-1.
[16] CMC, Box 2402, Constitution file Lodge Salomon, no. 60, duplicate of the letter, 8-1-1759.
[17] CMC, U1, Register of outgoing correspondence by the Grand Lodge 17-9-1745 until 6-9-1767, Vol I, p. 81: Copy of the invoice ('Copie van de Quittantie') from 1759 by Van Scheevikhaven to the Grand Lodge, 24-6-1761. Lutter/Christiaans 1994, p. 111. Maarschalk 1872, p. 363, notes that Jongenberg advanced a *don gratuit* in 1760, provided this would be reimbursed by lodge Salomon later (Schultink 1987, p. 146, mistakenly names him Texonius Jongenberg.) Value of the gulden/euro (2013): iisg.nl/hpw/calculate2-nl.php.
[18] Lutter/Christiaans 1994, p. 127, transcript of a letter by Van Scheevikhaven to the Grand Lodge, 8-1-1759.
[19] Lutter/Christiaans 1994, p. 111.
[20] CMC, Box 2004, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1771-1781, no. 749-1: overview of Acts and Commissions for Foreign Depuy and Provincial Grand Masters ('Actens en Commissien voor Buitenlandse Gedeputeerde en Provinciale Groot Meesters'). See also CMC, Box 2402, Constitution file lodge Salomon, no. 60, duplicate of the letter with request for this title, 8-1-1759. The decision was announced at the Grand Lodge meeting in The Hague on 23-2-1759, where it was also mentioned that Van Scheevikhaven had paid 'Hundred Ducats on behalf of the Grand Lodge as a Don gratuit' for his 'Certificate of Provincial Grand Master'. See Boerenbeker 1979, p. 21; Lutter/Christiaans 1994, p. 99, mentions the date as 23-12-1759 (difference due to the masonic calendar). Lodge Salomon was listed in CMC, 4F7, *Almanach des Francs-Maçons*, 1761, p. 34, and later editions.
[21] CMC, membership card register.
[22] CMC, U1, Register of outgoing correspondence by the Grand Lodge 17-9-1745 until 6-9-1767, Vol I: 'Uit welke hoofdzakelijkheid het aan de Groote Loge is voorgekomen, dat het aan de Broeders in Oost Indien niet onaangenaam zoude zijn meede deel te hebben in de distributie van dese Wetten. Dus zonder hier neevens 100 Exemplaaren van dezelve Ingenaait a 22 Stuijvers het stuk; (zijnde de Prijs van Inschrijving, zoo als alle de Loges betaalt hebben, waar van de afweezige Broeders egter profiteeren, schoon dezelven thans niet minder als 33 Stuijvers 't stuk te bekomen zijn) met verzoek van die te verzenden en distribueeren, ter plaatse daar Loges zijn en Broeders gevonden werden.[…] Zijnde ook hierbij eenige aparte Titel Plaaten, strekkende tot een Ornament of Cieraad voor de Loges, als de vergaderingen gehouden worden, met een Copie van de Uitlegging op dezelve, zoo als een Liefhebber der Digtkunde, in der haast, door de Fransche Taal zig uitdrukt. (Als meede eenige aparte Processien, dewelke alleen voor de Meesters der Loges zijn) kunnende de Broeders de voornemde Plaat, zo fraaij laaten belijsten als der zelven zullen goed vinden te behooren. Moetende de exemplaren met Chits Papier omplakt alleen voor de Meesters gehouden werden; zijnde daar in op Pagina 40 de Processie te vinden'.
[23] CMC, membership list lodge Salomon, February 1764, counts only 12 members. See Appendix II.
[24] CMC, U1, Register of outgoing correspondence of the Grand Lodge 17-9-1745 until 6-9-1767, Vol I: 'Boven en behalven deese cateerende zaaken en dringende reedenen van intrest, kan de Groote Loge niet voorbij gaan U Agtbare onder het oog te brengen, hoe smertelijk en gevoelig het verlies geweest is, van de Hondert Ducaten, dewelke U Agtbare aan ons heeft toegezonden, en waar meede de Schipper, aan wie die somme was toevertrouwt, is doorgegaan; juist in een tijd dat dezelve zoo nuttig zoude te pas gekomen hebben, en op welke al rijkhalsende gewagt wierd, om een goed emplooy van te maaken. Want naauwelijks had de voornoemde Schipper zig aangemeld, met die voor ons ten uiterste aangename tijding of was men met den uitvoer van zaaken beezig, welke steun aan de kragtloosheid gaven. Maar zeer verbaast stond men, als men zig vleijde op een gezondenen Quittantie, de betaaling van die gefingeerde belofte te ontvangen, men in plaats daarvan contanten zeer slegte berigte tot antwoord

kreeg, dat die Chevalier d'Industrie, met de Noorder Zon ge-eclipeert was, zonder dat men tot heeden heeft kunnen gewaar werden, waar die gepretendeerden eerlijken Man zig met'er woon heeft vervoegd. […] de Groote Loge bij nader overweeging goed gevonden, dit aan de goede Broeders, behoordende tot de Loges in Oost Indien voor te dragen en aan dezelven in bedenking te geeven of het niet in de billijkheid zoude zijn, dat zij, die reeds met zulke Noble Sentimenten zijn bezielt geweest, en zoo genereus als Cordaat, doorstaande blijken hebben gegeeven van hunnen opregten IJver en geneegenheid, bij het zenden van de Verloorene Hondert Ducaten, nu nog in deese zig Broederlijk gedroegen, om het gemis te repareeren, en door een Liberale Gift, het zwakke te helpen herstellen? Tot Eer en Glorie van de Maatschappije.' See also CMC, Box 2402, Constitution file lodge Salomon, no. 78-2, letter 26-9-1760 from Michiel Pijll, who wrote from Amsterdam concerning this payment to J.A. Chais in The Hague: 'In the past week I have spoken the captain Jongenberg, who as he says, would pay to me the money, though will speak to me more. Meanwhile good friend, be so kind as to send me a Receipt undersigned by the [Grand Master] Gentleman Baron van Boetzelaar and other Gentlemen, on receipt of which so I will do my best to obtain the money' ('In de gepasseerde week heb ik de schipper Jongenberg gesproken, die zoo hij zegt, aan mij het geld zoude betalen, dog zal mij nader spreeken. Inmiddels waarde vriend, weest zoo goed aan mij toetezenden een quitantie door de [Grootmeester] Heer Baron van boetzelaar en verdere Heeren ondertekent, bij ontfangst van dezelve zoo zal ik mijn best doen om het geld tekrijgen'). CMC, Box 2001, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge, 1747-1762, nos. 109-2 and 190-3: on 4-6-1761 Frans de Wilde, probably an employee at the *soldij comptoir* (wages office), that Jongenberg still had a credit of f 700,- to his disposal. He offered to try and cash in some of that for the Grand Lodge. On 8-6-1761 he wrote again, this time less optimistic. Jongenberg had sailed in 1744 on the ship Keukenhoff and came home in 1759 on the ship Jerusalem. In order to cash the money, De Wilde asked to receive the original document that the Grand Lodge had obtained from Bengal, a handwritten confession by Jongenberg showing he had received 100 Ducats, or - if this was unavailable - a letter by Van Scheevikhaven stating he had given te money to Jongenberg. (De Wilde further notes that the ship Voorland, under command of Paulus Hanssen, is ready and just waiting for an easterly wind, after which it willl sail for Bengal via Batavia. He warns that other ships won't sail until November and offers to bring any correspondence for the region to the ship. He also mentions the ship Zeeland being about to leave.) Boerenbeker 1979, p. 30, p. 32, footnote 4-5: on 28-6-1761, it was discussed in the Grand Lodge that a sum of money was passed on to captain Jeronimus Jongenberg, who claimed he had never received any such sum.

[25] CMC, U1, Register of outgoing correspondence by the Grand Lodge 17-9-1745 until 6-9-1767, Vol I, p. 132. '[...] in hoope het eene en andere aan U Agtbare Loge zoude gezonden werden, door het Schip Voorland, te diertijd naar Batavia gedestineerd. Maar tot onze groote verwondering, zijn Wij eerst Vijftien maanden naar dato ontwaar geworden, dat het Pak met de Brief, nog in Amsterdam lag, bij den Broeder [Jean] Durege, dewelke zulks verzuimd had. Zoodat Wij voor het tegenwoordige ons als nog refereeren aan de voorz[egde] Missive, dewelke hierbij original gaat. Alleenlijk bepalen Wij ons te deeser tijd, aan een nadere opheldering in de zaak [...] dat Wij ontdekt hebben, dat hij [= Jongenberg] nog eenige Penninge bij de Comp[agn]ie staande had, beslag op dezelve gelegd hebben. Edog hoezeer wij dien aangaande bedagt zijn geweest, heeft hij frivole uitvlugte, het daar heenen weeten te leijden, met slegs f 250 op Reekening te betalen; onder voorgeving, hij geen de minste wetenschap had, nogte uit zijn Boeken konde haalen, dat geld voor ons ontfangen te hebben. En wel zijn wij verpligt geweest, de neevengaan de Quittantie te geeven, eer en alvorens bij zulks wilde uitkeeren, zodat hij nog per rest f 275 is schuldig gebleeven. Laatende aan ons geen de minste hoop ooit tot het verhaal daar van te komen; naar dien in laater tijd berigt is, dat hij, na verscheide malen zig gepresenteerd te hebben, om weeder dienst te krijgen zelfs Drie graden minder als hij reeds gevaren had, telkens van de hand geweesen zijnde, thans dood arm is. Wij zenden bij deese met het Schip Jerusalem Hondert Exemplaren van de vooroemde Wetboeken. [...] Naardien onzen Geadmitteerden Boekverkoper, Broeder R. van Laak thans een zeer nette en complete Verzameling van alle de Vrij Metzelaars Gezangen, heeft doen drukken, zal denzelve zijn getal voor U Agtbare Loge hier bij voegen.' CMC, Box 2001, Incoming correspondence of the Grand Lodge 1747-1762, no. 128-2, letter 16-7-1761 by Jean Durege to the Grand Lodge, mentioning that he had sent Van Laak 'the package for Bengal', which he had earlier unsuccesfully tried to hand to De Wilde for transport.

[26] CMC 212B76, De Vignoles/Du Bois 1763. Davies 2005, chapter 4, provides information on the development and importance of this song collection.

[27] For a biography, see Davies 2005, pp. 128-129.

[28] CMC, Box 2001, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1747-1762, no. 305-2: 'Sedert het afgaan van onzen eerbiedigen [brief] in Januarij 1759 den toen fungeerenden meester Jacobs Larwood van Schevichaven, door hogere hand na Batavia opontboodene zijnde, in zijn plaats op den 2 december 1760, door ons tot Meester is verkoozen den verligten Br[oeder] Pieter Brueijs, dewelke dan ook de loge met veel lof bestierd heeft, tot den 12 sept. 1760, als wanneer zijne Achtb[are] in onze vergadering, zijne aanstelling tot Secunde van Kassembazaar communiceerde en tevens zijn ontslag verzogt [...] is ten zeker dager tot zijn opvolger verkooren den Br[oeder] Otto Willem Falk, die dan ook den 15de daaraan met de gewoone plegtigheid geïnstalleerd was'. Duplicate of an undated letter, signed by hand: 'Van de loge Salomon uit Bengalen februari 1764 (te concluderen uit Uitgaande Brief van 30 sept 1765 [van de Grootloge]), voorlopig aanwezig 4 bladzijden, rest ontbreekt'. This suggests the letter was written by Steendekker. Pieter Brueijs could be a relation of L.A. de Breuijs, initiated into the 1st and 2nd degrees on 11-2-1784 and the 3rd degree on 8-3-1784 as a *passant* (traveller) in lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam. He was the author of a ritual manuscript for the higher degrees written in French. See CMC, MS "De Brueijs". Kind advice by dr. Jan Snoek, Heidelberg University.

[29] Lutter/Christiaans 1994, p. 103.

[30] Lutter/Christiaans 1994, pp. 107-108.

[31] CMC, Box 2001, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1747-1762, no. 305-2: 'zodat onze vergaderingen, die op een vaste plaats plagten gehouden te worden, thans beurtelings bij de broeders, die zulks het best convenieerd, rond gaan […]'.

[32] CMC, Box 2001, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1747-1762, no. 305-2: 'zijnde in de drie laatsten jaaren, door ons maar twee [leden] tot meesters verheven'.

[33] CMC, Box 2001, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1747-1762, no. 305-2: '[...] om namelijk, deeze onze loge alhier, als eene Provintiale, of zelfs, zo 't mogelijk is, als de groote Nederlandsche loge van Oost-Indiën, waaronder de andere Hollandsche Loges in deeze gewesten/: bij aldienze in 't vervolg, ergens mogten opgerigt worden, sorteeren moeten, betijteld te zien [...] om door deeze verheerlijking, zo veel te meer om aanzien, in 't oog der broederen van vreemde alhier gezeetende Natien te verlangen'.

[34] Lutter/Christiaans 1994, p. 120.

[35] Lutter/Christiaans 1994, pp. 104, 111, 113, 120 and 123-124.

[36] CMC, membership lists, lodge Salomon, February 1764.

[37] CMC, U1, Register of outgoing correspondence by the Grand Lodge 17-9-1745 until 6-9-1767, Vol I.

[38] The first letter dated February 1764 was a duplicate of an earlier letter, which never reached the Netherlands, The second letter was dated 9-1-1765.

[39] CMC, U1, Register of outgoing correspondence by the Grand Lodge 17-9-1745 until 6-9-1767, Vol I: '[…] 't geen ons, niet zonder gegronde reden, deed besluiten, dat den Bodem [= het schip], op welke die Brief zig heeft bevonden, moet verongelukt zijn; en ofschoon men gewoon is bij een Duplicaat Missive, ook een Duplicaat Wissel te zenden, kunnen Wij ligtelijk vooronderstellen, dat zulks ten opzigte van Uwe Agtb[are] Assignatie van f 707,10 op d'Heeren Evert Schaas Berg en Benjamin Gibert, bij eenig abuis of vergetendheid zal zijn agtergebleven. Dus zien wij ons, voor den Tweede maal, gedeeltelijk berooft van den hoogst benodigden onderstand [...] Wij zullen ook zeer gaarne [...] de verlangde Constitutie of Provintiale Acte; toe te zenden, naar die Acte van Provintiaal Grootmeester, alreeds den 1sten December 1759 aan den Agtbaren Broeder Van

Scheevikhaven verleent, wegens het onvoorzien op ontbieden van dien Broeder naar Batavia, aldaar zeedert gecassert, en dus buiten effect gestelt is. Dog vermits wij, dit Jaar, in de gemelde Hoofdstad van Neerlands Indien, eene nieuwe Loge, onder den Naam van La Choisie, opgeregt hebben, welkers Leeden een diergelijk voorregt ook zoude mogen begeeren [...] meenen in zulk een geval veel nuttiger te zijn [...] tot onder Batavia, de Oostelijke, en onder Bengalen de Westelijke Quartieren, als zijnde zeer uitgestrekt en verre van malkander, gebragt wierden; des dat de Agtbare Loge Salomon, behalve de Mogolsche en Persiaansche Keijzer Reiken, over de Kusten van Choromandel, en Malabar, mitsgaders het Eijland Ceijlon; gelijk de Agtbare Loge La Choisie, over Java, Sumatra, Malakka, Makassar, Ternate, Ambonia, Banda &c het opperbewind, elk afzonderlijk zoude voeren, met deze waardigheid annex aan het lichaam der Loge en niet meer aan den Persoon, van den actueelen Meester derzelve [...]'. The letter was sent in triplicate, one via a ship with Van der Vorm and Van Ghere via Batavia, the second via England with the Deputy Grand Master and a third together with the Constitution on the ship Oranje Zaal, 1-12-1765. See also CMC, Box 2002, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1763-1769, no. 370: 'Extract, rakende de verdeeling van het Provinciaalschap over Neederlands Indien', 30-9-1765.

[40] He was proposed in La Bien Aimée as 'recipiendair passant' on 11-11-1760, approved as candidate and initiated as Apprentice and Fellow-Craft on 12-12-1760, and approved for the Master's degree on 11-2-1761 because he was about to leave ('staat op zijn vertrek'). The initiation into the 3rd degree took place on 13-3-1761. On 8-12-1762 it was proposed to make him associated member probably due to his absence, and it appears he did not return to the lodge again (Kat 1982, p. 431). On 15-12-1760 he was listed as visitor in lodge Concorida Vincit Animos in Amsterdam (CMC, Box 4140, Minutes 1755-1761).

[41] See Appendix II.

[42] *Supplement* 1765.

[43] 'Provinciaal Grootloge voor Bengalen, Indoustan, Persien, de kusten van Coromandel en Malabar, mitsgaders het eiland Ceylon'. CMC, Box 2302, Constitution file Salomon, no. 347-2, contains a draft Constitution for both Salomon and La Choisie as Provincial Grand Lodges dated 23-10-1765. Lutter/Christiaans 1994, p. 99 gives the date as 23-12-1765 (due to the masonic calendar). Schultink 1987, p. 146; Kwaadgras 2003, pp. 31-32, notes that Salomon sent a thank you note on 10-1-1768 to the Grand Lodge for the Constitution received in 1765; See also CMC, Box 3068, Folder 81 Letters by Grand Master National Isaac van Teylingen to lodge La Vertueuse 1798, letter 1-10-1798 regarding the title of Provincial Grand Lodge.

[44] CMC, U1, Register of outgoing correspondence by the Grand Lodge 17-9-1745 until 6-9-1767, Vol I: 'veele bedriegingen te voorkomen'. Schultink 1987, p. 148.

[45] CMC, Box 2402, Constitution file Salomon, no. 493-1, and duplicate 493-2. Lutter/Christiaans 1994, p. 130, provides a transcript.

[46] CMC, Box 2402, Constitution file Salomon, no. 493-1: 'Par differentes raisons nos loges ont été en tres petit nombre, depuis cinq ans, mais cela va changer. [...]Il y a quelques années que nous avons formé une Loge Ecossoise sous le nom de Concordia, que nous avons aussi donné a notre Batiment, on a obmis de vous en donner connoissance, daigués pardonner cette faute, qui surement à été commise sans intention'.

[47] Hageman 1866, pp. 48-52, and Hageman 1867 A, p. 99, refers to lodges he could not identify, named St. Jan and La Concorde, without linking these to either the Chapter Concordia or the lodge St. Jean de La Concorde. 'De loges onder het Grootoosten der Nederlanden', *Jaarboekje voor Nederlandsche Vrijmetselaren*, Amsterdam 1917, p. 52, gives the founding date for La Concorde as 1768. Schultink 1987, p. 148, claims it was a lodge working in the French *Rite Écossais*. Lutter/Christiaans 1994, p. 99, were the first to remark that it concerned an *Écossois* lodge.

[48] CMC, Box 2402, Constitution file Salomon, no. 493-1.

[49] CMC, U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2. In October 1768 new Provincial Grand Master Tissot Grenus wrote a private letter to Baron de Moutzlaan, a colonel of the Garde in The Hague, mentioning his new position: Many things have taken place under the Past [Provincial] Grand Master, who I will carefully remember, I will be more specific, at my arrival in Europe for which I will leave without fail [...] on the Ship which will sail the upcoming month of September, recommending myself in advance. To your good friendship + to that of all the brothers + and it fulfils me with extreme good spirits to [be able to] enjoy your good company. Cousin Tissot Patot will ask of his Highness the Prince of Orange [= Willem V, 1748-1806] a favour for me. If you are available, as I ask you the grace to lend me your help, I will ask to write him in Utrecht, where he lives'. (CMC, Box 2002, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1762-1769, no. 493-3 and duplicate 493-4: 'Beaucoup de choses ont ete de traverser soius les precedants G[rand] M[aitres] a quoi je vais remeder avec soin, je vais en ferai un detail specifique, a mon arrivee en Europe pour on je partirai sans faute en droiteure avec le Vaisseau qui partira le mois de 9bre prochain, me recommendant d'avance. A votre bonne amitié + a celle de tous les frères, + me rejouinant entrement du bonheur de jouir de vos cherre Comp[...]er. Mon Cousin Tissot de Patot, demandera à son A Jme Monseigneur le Prince d'Orange une grâce pour moy. Si vous etes dispose, comme je vous en demande la grâce a me rendre service, je vais prie le lui marquer Utrecht, ou il demeure.') It is unclear who this cousin is. CMC membership card register lists an L.P. Tissot van Patot, member of the ambulant lodge La Concorde in Maastricht in 1780. Kat 1982 p. 434 refers to capitain P.F. Tijssot van Patot, a member of lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam. Not listed was Simon Bernardus Tissot van Patot, in 1745 colonel of the Regiment Van Patot at Doornik. Snoek 2000a remarks on the possible membership of Willem V of the Order: 'after his escape to England (1795), he wrote to his daughter Louise: "I have hosted a dinner in Freemasons Hall with the Gentlemen de Nagell, de Cattendijke, Charles Bentinck, William de Reede, Heerd and Broekhuyzen." On 5 June 1799, one reads again: 'I have dined at Freemason's Hall at a grand dinner that the Prince of Galles [= Wales] organised for officers of the artillery company of the City of which he is captain general." Most of the people mentioned in those letters were freemasons.'

[50] CMC, Box 2002, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1762-1769, no. 516-2: 'Hoe zeer wij ons ook toeleggen, om op de Suinigste wijse huis te houden, kunnnen w'egter met de inkomsten maar even rondschieten; 't geen dan ook de reden is, w'ons tot ons leedweezen buiten stand vinden, dit Jaar eenige remise, aan U Zeer Edelens te kunnen overmaken, waar van d'oorsaak zijn, de ongelden, die wij tot voltooijing van de Thuin Concordia [= het logegebouw], noodzakelijk moeten doen'.

[51] Lutter/Christiaans 1994, p. 119.

[52] CMC, U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2: '[...] dezelve gesepareerd te houden, en niet vermengende met de aloude vrij Metzelarij [...] Dus zijn die geene, de welke met die Ornamenten en distinctien op de Nationale Groot Loge deezen Landen, zouden willen verschijnen daar niet admissibel'.

[53] Stavorinus 1793, Vol. II, p. 102: 'Een groot kwartier uurs van Chinsura naar den kant van Chandernagor, is onder het bestuur van den Heer Vernet een groot en fraai huis gebouwd, tot een Logie of Vergaderplaats der Vrije metselaaren, hetwelk bij mijn verblijf aldaar voltooid en ingewijd werd. Des avonds werd deze plegtigheid beslooten met een fraai Vuurwerk en Bal, waarop de Voornaamste Engelsche en Fransche Heeren en Vrouwen tegenwoordige waren. Dit huis, dat den naam van Concordia kreeg, had dertig duizend Ropyen gekost, hetgeen door de Leden van Hooglysche Logie uit hunne beurs betaald werd. Bij gelegenheid droegen de vrouwen, welkers mannen tot de broederschap behoorden, het ordensteeken aan een blaauw of rood lint, en wel over de linker schouder: zij zijn er sterk op gesteld om daar mede te pronken, en andere vrouwen, wiers man nog niet ingelijfd zijn, zetten hun hevig daartoe aan'.

[54] A 'Jan Stavorinus' became a member of lodge La Vertueuse in 1784, around the time J.S. Stavorinus was in the East Indies with the fleet of J.A. van Braam. Stavorinus came from Middelburg. CMC membership card register lists J.S. Stavorinus, member of lodge La Philantrope in Middelburg in 1788 (the year of his death), and a J. Stavorinus, probably a relative, in the same lodge in 1804-1808.

[55] CMC, U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2: 'Instructie voor den Broeder George Steendekker', 13-5-1769. CMC, Box 2004, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge, no. 749-1, 'Actens en Commissien voor

Buitenlandse Gedeputeerde en Provinciale Groot Meesters' provides the date as April 1769. CMC, Box 3069, Folder 82 Instruction Protocols of the Secretary of La Constante et Fidele ca. 1799, contains a copy of the draft for the appointment of Steendekker as 'Gedeputeerd Buiten Lands Grootmeester' without names or dates.

[56] CMC, membership lists, lodge Salomon, 31-12-1770.

[57] Lutter/Christiaans 1994, pp. 102, 105-111, 116 and 119-123.

[58] CMC, 108E, Register of in- and outgoing correspondence of the Grand Lodge 26-6-1747 until 17-4-1823, Vol. I: 'Eene Missieve inhoudende kennisgeving aan verscheide B[roeders] V[rij] M[etselaren] de welke genegen waren Een Loge aldaar [Bengalen] op te regten als dat zij verkeerd en tegen alle billijkheid gehandeld hadden om zich aan den Gr[oot] Loge in holland te addresseeren, Dewijle deze Loge [Salomon] als eene provintiale Loge de magt gegeven was, om Constitutieen te geven aan minder Loge die zich in dat gewest zich zoude willen Estabileeren &c'.

[59] Lutter/Christiaans 1994, p. 122.

[60] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 606 (last page missing): 'Gemelde Broeder heeft ons in een onzer bijeenkomsten verhaald, gehoord te hebben; dat den Broeder Steendekker met een brief van U Zeer Edelens aan ons was afgevaardigt, dog dat gezegd Broeder Steendekker onze afgegaan en vertrokkene Grootmeester George Louis Vernet, op Batavia gerencontreerd hebbende, die Missive na Schotse Loge te hebben belegd, heeft geopend; dat de Broeder van der Weijde met de Broeder Mesterton vervolgens bij de Broeder Vernet gegaan zijnde, door laatstgen[oemde] Broeder aan hun was gezegt, om met den Broeder van der Weijde, een brief aan onze Loge voor zijn vertrek naar herwaarts mede te geven, 't geen egter geen gevolg heeft genomen, dus wij niet in staat zijn om bij aldien er door U Zeer Edelens eenige Letteren aan ons waren afgezonden, daarop te kunnen antwoorden. [...] Onzen zeer eerwaarde Grootmeester George Louis Vernet, mits zijn vertrek na Batavia, den Eerwaarde Gedeputeerde Groot-Meester Johannes Matthias Ross, tot zijn opvolger benoemende [...] dewijl laatstgen[oemde] zijn Eerwaarde, mits continueele indispositie verzeld van menigvuldige besigheden, zijn ontslag is komen te verzoeken, [...] in zijn plaats liet voorstellen,; onser waardigen Broeder, de Gedeputeerde Groot-Meester Jan Pieter Humbert, die als de zodanige die waardigheid gunstelijk heeft gelieven te accepteeren, en tot zijne Gedeputeerde heeft benoemt, de waarde Broeder Jan Hendrik Zinner [...] En dewijl wij in Ervaringe zijn gekomen, dat ten Eilande Ceylon een Loge van Vrije Metselaaren was opgericht [= De Getrouwigheid] [...]'.

[61] CMC, BA 225, farewell letter by Mesterton to the lodge La Bien Aimée. See Kat 1982, p. 419.

[62] Lutter/Christiaans 1994, p. 111.

[63] CMC, Box 4506, Folder 256:1, Cash register of foreign bills of exchange of the Grand Lodge, August 1771, which includes further undated mentions; and Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge, 1770-1775, no. 606-3, duplicate of the money order.

[64] CMC, U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2: 'Wij hebben Broeder Boekverkoper R. Van Laak gechargeert, aan Uwe Agtb[are] alle de verzogte Boeken, Parkementen en Ornamenten te bezorgen, volgens inhoud Uwer Agtb[are] Missive, en zien met blijdschap dat Uwe Agtb[are] zig steeds beijveren, de goede ordre in alle opzigten te observeren'. The Grand Secretary also mentioned a new masonic Charity, enclosing a subscription list for donations.

[65] CMC, U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2, no. 162: 'Tweede en nadere Commissie voor de buitenlandsche Gedeputeerde Grootmeester, George Steendekker, om Loges in de Oostelijke Quartieren van Indien te Constituteeren'.

[66] CMC, U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2, no. 158: 'Wij hebben niet kunnen begrijpen, waarom sommige Broeders reflexien hebben gemaakt, op den inhoud van UwEd[elens] Commissie, als of dezelve niet genoeg geextendeert zoude zijn; en dat UwEde[ele] zig daar door verbeeld geen genoegzame magt te hebben, om met vragt door te werken. Om UwEdele te overtuigen, dat er geen agterhouding, bij ons plaats heeft, en alle eroneuse begrippen te stuiten, voegen Wij hier bij een nadere Authorisatie, als mede 25 stuks gezeegelde Perkamenten tot Certificaten, waar van UwEdele het nodige gebruik kan maken, omme dezelve te distribueeren daar het nodig is. De kosten daar van belopen volgens Resolutie van de Groote Loge f 30. En of het gebeurde dat UwEdele nog, op de eene of andere Kust mogte aanlanden, en Loges konde opregten, namentlijk in de Oostelijke Gedeeltens van Indien, naardien, de Westelijke gedeeltens onder het Resort van Bengalen horen, zullen Wij de Constitutien, door UweEdele uitgegeeven, Ratificeeren [...].'

[67] CMC, U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2, no. 158: 'Dat er in de Oost en elders, zo wel als in 't Vaderland Clandestine Receptiën gedaan worden, komt ons niet vreemt voor. Wij kunnen zulks niet veel anders weeren, als de zodanige uit te sluiten, en alle wettig aangenomene Broeders te verzoeken met de zulke geen gemeenschap te Houden'.

[68] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 646: 'Mijne laatste [brief] aan Uwhoog Verligte was per het schip Duyvenbrug A[nno] P[assato] waar in ik heb gemeld, het droevig ongeluk mijn op den 9e May zijnde Hemelvaardsdag door het swaar onweer van het verbranden van mijn schip en een considerabele cap[itaa]l aan goed van mijn, is omgekomen en in de asse gelegt. [...] Ik verlang met groote smerte na die papieren en documenten daarom ik verzoek van Uwhoog Verligte heb gedaan, waar voor ik bij mijn verblijf aan de Heer Cornelis Jacobus van der Lijn hebbe overgemaakt de Twee hondert Goude ducaten voor de Cas van de Nationale Logie, waar voor van Uw Hoogverligte hebbe versogt, Constitutie en Papieren Edog tot heeden bij mijn nog niemand zijn ontfangen, waar over ik zeer verleegen ben, voor mijn vertrek uijt Indien zal genootzaakt zijn, om die gelderen aan hun Edele weer te restitueeren, als die Papieren van Uwhoog verligte verzogt niet koomen.'

[69] CMC, U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2, no. 196: '[...] hebben Wij, met leedwezen vernomen, dat den Bodem, door UWelEdele gevoerd, verbrand is en dat UweEd[ele] daardoor groote schade geleeden heb, dewelke Wij hopen UwEd[ele] spoedig te boven mag zal komen. Uit dezelve zien Wij ook dat UwEd[ele] verlangt te verneemen, of de gezondenen Tweehondert Ducaten aan ons geremitteerd zijn [...] daar Wij thans op kunnen berigten dat dezelve [...] aan ons betaald zijn. [...] Broeder Van der Weijde, voerende het schip De Paauw, over Batavia naar China gedestineert; met dewelke, als UwEd[edele] hem mogt aantreffen, UwEd[edele] in alle veiligheid communicatief kan handelen, alzo hij door ons gequalificeerd is, omme bij absentie van UwEd[ele] de Indiaasche Loges te visiteeren en zaken te beregten; gelijk hij daarin almede geslaagt is, met het Constitueeren eener Loge, op de Kaap de Goede Hoop [...] Dus zijn wij al meede ten deezen opzigte daar in gevordert, dat die zaak [de oprichting van een loge aan de Kaap] waartoe UwEde[le] Comissie meede speciaal ingerigt, zijn volle beslag gekreegen heeft [...]'. The letter was sent via brother Jan Balthasar Krauth onder Captain Verkerk on the ship Juno for the Chamber of Rotterdam to Batavia; duplicate via brother Frans de Wilde. See also copy in CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76+77 II-A-1+2 La Vertueuse 1st degree 1) Minutes 13/2 1791 – 13/3 1792 1791-1795 and 2) Attachments Incoming and Outgoing letters.

[70] CMC, Box 2004, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge, no. 749-1: 'Actens en Commissien voor Buitenlandse Gedeputeerde en Provinciale Groot Meesters'.

[71] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 639: 'tegen een genoodschap, dat, onder anderen, de menschen, in het burgerlijke, gelijk zogt te maken en alle secten admitteerden'.

[72] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 639. CMC, Box 2403, Constitution file lodge De Getrouwigheid, no. 642-2.

[73] CMC, U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2, pp. 190-191: 'nopens hun Apologie tegens zekere Predicatie, en hun verzoek om zulks met den druk gemeen te maken […] Hernhutters en Moravische Broeders'.

[74] CMC, Box 2403, Constitution file lodge De Getrouwigheid, no. 642-1: 'Verders hebben wij d'Eere Uw Hoog Achtb[are[te bedeelen, wij tans ons vergaderingen binne Chinsurat houden, en de thuijn Concordia verlate, zoo om de verre afgelegentheijd, als de sware ongelden'.

[75] CMC, membership lists, lodge Salomon, 11-1-1772: 'Binne 't Dorp Chinsurat'. Of the earlier members, Hardy, Humbert, Lindstedt, Reijnard, Verspijk, Hoff, Roghe, Eilbracht, Gerrein, Thoth, Bogaard, Fix and Willekes, as well as Breuijs, Ross, Herklotz (all three in Cassimbar), Falck and Haugwitz (both in Pattena), were still included.
[76] Lutter/Christiaans 1994, p. 105.
[77] Lutter/Christiaans 1994, pp. 101, 105 and 114-118.
[78] NA/VOC.
[79] CMC, Box 2402, Constitution file lodge Salomon, no. 652-3: 'ons toegezonden twaelf orders in 't zilver met denzelve Linten en het kistje met boeken en certificaeten zijn ons zeer wel geworden en volkomen naer onze smaek [...] Wij zijn UweEdele zeer verpligt voor de ons toegezonden Juweelen hier boven gemeld maer hadden gaerne gezien dezelve ieder genommerd waren geweest om te kunnen weeten aen welke Officieren ze behooren, en verzoeken dierhalven ons dezelve nogmaels in teekening uit te willen zenden en elk apart te nommeren om ons in de uitdeeling derzelve niet te vergissen.'
[80] Lutter/Christiaans 1994, p. 117.
[81] Lutter/Christiaans 1994, p. 104.
[82] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 650-2: 'tot aller leedwezen voorgevallen opschudding, veroorzaakt door neegen Broederen, die uit een ongehoorden afgunst teegen eenige onzer voornaamste leeden, dewelke eene hoogere Trap [= graad] in onze Koninklijke order als die van M[eeste]r bereikt hebbende'.
[83] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 650-1: 'een voorval, zo ongehoort als onaangenaam, gebeurt op den laatsten dag van St. Jan Baptist, en berokkent door de br[oeder]s die zig Schotten noemen [...]'.
[84] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 650-1: 'Dit ging zo ver dat men den 19e Junij onzen Groot Meester verzogt om een bijeenkomst te willen beleggen'.
[85] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 650-1: 'gevolg was, dat het voorgenomen bal geheel afraakte'.
[86] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 650-1: 'zij [= de leden van de Schotse graden] ons hoe langer hoe insolenter begosten te bejeegenen, en zelfs hun animositeit in particuliere zaaken uitstrekke'.
[87] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 650-1. See also no. 650-3: letter of Reijnard to Duval, Van de Kastelen and Van Laak: 'The private letter of Brother van Laak has reached me, which will hopefully take a good turn, and especially if de vereeniging would be affected' ('De particuliere brief van Br[oeder] van Laak is mij geworden, welke hoope een goed gevolg zal neeme, en wel inzonderdheid als de vereeniging getroffen werd').
[88] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 664-71: draft- or duplicate letter Augustus 1773 from the Grand Lodge to Verspijck; CMC, U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2: 'Wij zullen egter tonen niet te varieren omtrent het geene wij bevorens wegens de zoogenaamde Schotze en andere zig distinguerende broeders gemeld hebben [...] dat in de drie Eerste Graden der Orde het pit en kern der Vrij Metzelarij gelegen is, en de andere Graden vooral uitgedagt zijn, ten einde door de meerdere kosten, die men ter verkrijging derzelve genoodzaakt is, te maaken, zig te kunnen afzonderen van slegte Broeders, wier opvoeding evenredig is aan hunne geboorte, en wiers gedrag weinig eer aan onze Orde doed. Aan de andere zijde egter, Waarde broeders, doet het er weinig toe, of men Roode dan Blaauwe Bandelieren draagd en de Vrij Metzelarij bestaat niet uit Ornamenten maar uit daden.' A second letter of the same date underlined this point of view: 'Wij hebben [...] met leetwezen [...] vernomen de verregaende verwijderingen tusschen verscheide Leeden der provinciale Loge Salomon, in Bengalen; en dat wel over het gering voorwerp van het al of niet verschijnen met Schotsche eerteekens. [...] Wij zijn egter genoodzaakt aan Uwe Agtbare te herinneren, het geen wij bij Missieve in dato 30 Maart 1769 aan UwelEd[elen] omtrent de Schotse en andere Ordens gemeld hebben [...] en de Vrij Metzelarij behoorde niet uit Ornamenten'.
[89] CMC, Box 2403, Constitution file De Standvastigheid, no. 659-2. 'Wij konnen met even soo groote Blijdschap, als onze Herten toenmaals met smerten bekneld waaren, Uw Hoog Edelens bedeelen, dat dit verschil tot innerlijk genoegen en Eere der Bengaalsche, en zoo wij in onze Herten Versekerd zijn, het geheele Broederschap bijgelegt is, zijnde er uijt eene Loge, door de vermeerdering der leeden, twee opgeregt, en door ons Uijt hoofde van de aan ons verleende magt, aan een volkomen getal Broeders, eene wettige Constitutie tot het opregten eener werkende Loge, onder de naam van de Standvastigheid verleent'.
[90] CMC, Box 2403, Constitution file De Standvastigheid, no. 659-1.
[91] CMC, Box 2403, Constitution file De Standvastigheid, no. 659-1. 'We betuigen mede onze verplichting voor de gedane presentatie voor de bezorging van Tabelliers [= schootsvellen] van de groot officieren; en verzoeken Uit hoofde van dien, ons ses stuks zoals de Eerste Groot Officieren dezelve draagen gelieven te laaten toekomen met nog 20 andere zonder goud of zilver.'
[92] CMC, Box 2403, Constitution file De Standvastigheid, no. 659-3. 'die separatie [tussen de oude en nieuwe loge] heeft er niet veel toe gedaan, vermids wij in t geheel bij den andere niet kwamen, maar wel in zonderheijd de slegte tijde die wij thans beleeve, Ja soo slegt met alles men meer agteruit dan voorwaardts teerd, en hier een duuren plaats in alles is [...] aangaande 't p.n. het doek is aanbesteed dog niet klaar. […] Want als omtrend klaar is, sijn de wevers er geen meesters van uit reede de Engel[an]d, die in Decca sterk sijn, en alles onder hun gezag hebben, arrestere, en zeggen of ordoneere aan niemand als haar aftelegge of sware straffe dog aanstaand Jaar hop t zal kunnen bezorgen maar aangaande Groene aapies sijn hier niet aangaande omstandigheid, der disputte, & installeere der nieuwe loge kan onzen waarden br[oeder] Joosten die brenger der brieven is UEd meede deele sijn Ed is een zeer waardig broeder, indien UwEd denzelve van pluijzier kunt zijn, zal dat mij lief wezen'.
[93] This degree was 'exported' in 1742 by the Italian painter Jacopo Fabris (ca. 1689-1761) from London to Berlin. See Bodgan/Snoek 2014, p. 21-22. It was later incorporated unto the Strikt Observance, the Swedish Rite, the Rectified Scottish Rite and others. The priviliges granted to members of this specific degree, later copied by the Rose Croix degree, caused resistance in lodges of the basic degrees form 1743 onwards.
[94] CMC 108E, Register of in- and outgoing correspondence of the Grand Lodge 26-6-1747 until 17-4-1823, Vol. I: 'een verzoek [...] om den voorrang te mogen hebben boven de Loge La Fidelle Sincerite op Batavia tot het aanstellen eener Provintiale Loge &c'.
[95] ANRI, duplicate of an undated letter [ca. 1773] by Grand Secretary Dubois to lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia. Transcript kindly made available by Diederick Kortlang, National Archive, The Hague.
[96] CMC, membership lists, lodge Salomon, 10-1-1773.
[97] Lutter/Christiaans 1994, p. 112.
[98] ANRI, letter 31-1-1774 by Provincial Grand Secretary J.W. Guering to lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia. Transcript kindly made available by Diederick Kortlang, National Archive, The Hague.
[99] CMC, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 670-2, money transfer 10-1-1774 from J.F. Lindstedt to Henrik Nieuwland and Jan & Carel Hasselgreen in Amsterdam, to be paid out to Rutgerus van der Laak: 'alles hier eeven in verval is'.
[100] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 699-2.
[101] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 699-2: 'een Frans boekje is uitgekomen, schrijvende over de Orden die der Ecoisse, Elu, Chevalier d'Epee &c',
[102] CMC, membership lists, lodge Salomon, 10-1-1774: 'In 't Buitenhof, Concordia'.
[103] Ferminger 1906, p. 15.

[104] Ferminger 1906, p. 15. Invitations were sent to ladies, specifying 'those who are sisters and do not receive blue ribbons, would send intimation thereof, so they may be sent'.
[105] Ferminger 1906, pp. 16-17. As will become clear in the chapter on the Dutch East Indies, the ribbons were probably hung around the neck to carry a small masonic jewel. A band worn around the upper arm is also a possibility
[106] CMC, membership lists, lodge Salomon, 10-1-1775.
[107] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 699-1, 'Origineele Missieve van Bengalen 11 January 1775 met Bijlagen A-B-C-D'.
[108] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 699-1, 'Origineele Missieve van Bengalen 11 January 1775 met Bijlagen A-B-C-D': 'in die qualiteit te continueren gedurende zijn verblijf in Bengalen, in navolging der Engelsche'.
[109] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 699-1, 'Zakelijke inhoud der Brieven van Bengallen in dato 11 Januarij 1775': '[...] [zo men] er iets uit reserveren wil. Waarom anders kost een Receptie in de Indien tot 100 Ropijen, die in 't Vaderland voor 8, 10 of 12 Ducaten gedaan word. Even zo is het met de Jaarlijkse Don Gratuiten [= contributie aan de Grootloge]'.
[110] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 699-1, 'Zakelijke inhoud der Brieven van Bengallen in dato 11 Januarij 1775': 'Klagten over die [loges] van Nagapatnam [= De Langgewenschte] en Ceylon [= De Getrouwigheid en/of De Opregtheid], dat dezelve de Prov[inciaal] Gr[oot] M[eeste]r niet erkennen, en verzoeken gemaintineert te worden'.
[111] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 670-3: money transfer 10-1-1774 by J.F. Lindstedt to Henrik Nieuwland and Jan & Carel Hasselgreen in Amsterdam, to be paid to Isaac van Teylingen.
[112] CMC, U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2, pp. 285-289: 'Nogtans willen Wij wel avoueeren, dat het van de Cijlonsche Broeders niet vriendelijk gehandelt is geweest, wanneer zij eerst UweAgtb[are] om een Constitutie verzogt hebben, en op bekomen admissie niet gerescribeert, zonder ons bij hun Request iets daar van te melden. Maar het wondert ons teffens, door UweAgtb[are] indertijd geen kennis er van te hebben bekomen; om op die verleende Constitutie de nodige Ratificatie te requireeren; dus Wij dezelve Cijlonsche Broeders, indertijd aengemerkt hebben als geheel ignorant, nopens het Provinciaalschap van Bengalen; En dat ons nog meer verwondert, is hun stilzwijgen zonder overmaking van Contributien, (welverstaande die van Kolombo [= De Getrouwigheid]) waar over Wij hun bij deeze gelegendheid zullen onderhouden'.
[113] CMC, U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2, pp. 326-334: 'Door den Broeder Olke Andringa is ons ter hand gesteld Uwer Agtb[are] Missive van den 11 Januarij dezes Jaar met daarbij de Bijlagen en Wissel, groot f 873,5 - uit welke aan den Broeder R. Van Laak betaald zal worden f 400,- voor gedane leverantien [...] Nevens de bezwaren in de voorz[egde] Missive vervat en de verzogte elucidatie deswegens, zullen Wij deze Articulen beantwoorden, en dadelijk een begin maken met aan te toonen wat een Nationale of Provintiale Groote Loge is, en hoe de behandeling in het aenstellen van derzelver Amptenaren dient te geschieden [...]'.
[114] CMC, U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2: '[...] en dan is het legaal, maar geenszints als een bijzondere Loge, onder de benaming van Provintiaale, over haar zelve en andere zoude willen heerschen, 't geen tegen de natuur der zaken zelfs strijdig is. Wel is waar dat men in vorige tijden anders van begrip is geweest, en dat Wij ook dien volgens Uwe Agtb[are] tot een Provintiale Groote Loge verheven hebben; edog de zaak nader ingezien hebbende, zijn Wij met de Groote Loge van Engeland volkomen overtuigd, dat zulks een abuis is, gelijk Uwe Agtbare zelve zullen moeten bekennen, of reeds gedaan hebben bij de voorgenomene Electie van een Provintiaal Groot Meester aan ons ter aggreatie gezonden, [...] voor een Acte thans gevestigd op de Persoon van Jacob Eilbracht tot kennelijk wederzeggen toe, Twintig Ducaten moet worden betaald. – Welverstaande dat die verleende Magt de persoon, als representant van den Hoog Edele Groot Meester, en niet aan eenige Loge gegeven word [...]'.
[115] CMC, U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2: Betreffende de Ceylonsche Broeders, namenlijk die van Colombo, willen Wij zeer gaarne bekennen, dat dezelve zeer irregulier handelen, zo ten onzen als ten Uwen opzigte. Waarover Wij hun, op een serieuze wijze onze gevoeligheid te kennen hebben gegeven dat het ons zeer vreemd voorkomt, na Vijf Jaren geleden, zedert dezelve door ons geconstitueerd zijn, geen taal nog teken van hunne existentie, veel minder de jaarlijksche Contributien bekomen te hebben. Waar omme Wij dezelve vermaant hebben, het 3de en 4de Art van het 4de Hoofdstuk, Pag 66, in het oog te houden, Vermits Wij anders de Wet ter executie zouden moeten leggen, en dezelve voor vervallen verklaren; […] Ten opzichte van het verbinden der leden aan de Loges, omme dezelve niet te verlaten als met consent, en te verlangen dat geen Meester Metzelaer ontslag kan bekomen, dan na alvorens Opziender of Agtbare Meester geweest te zijn, is zulks een al te strenge Bij Wet, die zulks met het 3de Art. Hoofd. 7. Pag. 84 der Grond Wet niet onstaan kan; En de redenen van zodanig verzoek om ontslag billijk zijnde, mag zulks geenzins geweigert worden; want de Vrije Metzelarij moet in der daad Vrij zijn, en geen dwingelaardij uitmaken. Even zo is het gesteld met het verleenen van de 3de Graad, waar omtrent niet altoos dezelve Resolutie kan gehouden wordeninzonderheid wanneer zommige Personen niet lang op eene plaats kunnen blijven, en men zomtijds genootzaakt is, de Drie Trappen op eenen Dag te confereeren. Om welke reden men hier te Lande jaarlijks aan de respectieve Loges een Dispense geeft, volgens het 1ste Art. van het 5de Hoofdstuk Pag. 70 hoeveel dien aangaande alle mogelijke procautien dienen genomen te worden. […], blijft ons niet meer over, dan Uwen Agtb: te recommendeeren de goede verstandhouding aan te kweeken, en het gezag van den hoog Edelen Groot Meester te erkennen en te bewaren in de persoon van den Broeder Jacob Eilbracht, als deszelfs Representant en Gemagtigde, met de nodige eerbewijzing denzelve in die qualiteit competeerende'.
[116] Boerenbeker 1979, p. 142, notes that the appointment of Eilbracht with an 'Acte van Provintiaal Groot Meester te Bengalen' was announced in the Grand Lodge on 19-5-1776. See also Maarschalk 1872, p. 364; Schultink 1987, p. 147.
[117] CMC, Box 2402, Constitution file lodge Salomon in Bengal, no. 715.
[118] Ferminger 1906, p. 29.
[119] Krikhaar 1996, p. 8.
[120] CMC, Box 2004, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1771-1781, no. 754: 'Het verval van onze Loge, waar voor op St. Jan, nu jongst gepasseerd, final gevreesd is, de verklaring die de Gr[oot]M[eeste]r Jacob Eilbracht gedaan heeft in onze vergadering van Primo deZer, waar van de executie staande gevolg te neemen [...] Thans alleen noteerende, dat er geduurende de Jongst gepasseerde twee Jaaren geene Receptien of andere inmoksten, waar van wij Reekenschap zouden moeten doen, geweest zijn'.
[121] CMC, Box 2004, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1771-1781, no. 754: 'breedvoerig [is] gesprooken over den tegenwoordigen toestand der Metselarije in Bengale, en in 't bijzonder over die deeser Loge, met de weijnige hartelijkheid die veele der Broederen voor dezelve scheenen te bezitten, en dat door het gering aantal van Leeden dezer Logie men vreezen moest dat dezelve erlange niet meer in staat zoude zijn, haare gewoone bezigheeden te verrigten [...] om alle welke reedenen zijn Hoog Achtb[are] den Broederen voorstelde, of het niet het beste zoude zijn de Logie in 't geheel te sluijten en de Constitutie van dezelve weder terug te zenden naar Europa, aan de Nationaale Logie in 's Hage'.
[122] CMC, Box 2004, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1771-1781: no. 754. 'Laatstelijk nam de Hoog Achtb[are]Grootmeester Aan, om het geld, dat deze Logie van de Schotse Broeders staat te ontfangen, voor haar aandeel in het verkogte huis Concordia, op obligatie onder zig te houden en daar van de rente van ses prosento aan de Loge goed te doen'.
[123] CMC, Box 2004, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1771-1781, no. 754-1, 'Extract uit de brief van Bengalen in dato 15 November 1777, Leden van de [loge] Salomon'.

[124] CMC, Box 2004, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1777-1781, no. 755-1: 'Broeder Ross betuigde mij, successive dat zijn wensch zig daar toe uitstrekte, dat de Broederschap in bengalen als voor heen mogte floreeren, en dat zijn Edele zig konde conformeeren met mijne propositien; maar dat de gemoederen van anderen zo gemakkelijk niet te buigen waren. De gebeurtenis van 1772 lag nog te diep in het geheugen, en de weinige satisfactie die men den Schots meesteren gegeeven had en vrij important was verwagt geworden, met het gevoelen dat ik de man moest zijn, die voor de neegen Broederen van Salomons Tempel, mij te dier tijd, het sterkst hadde g'emporteert, dit alles makte geduurig de animositeit teegen mij gaande, wanneer er maar van deeze zaak gehandelt wierd; eindelijk kwam in het laatste van october het besluit daar op uit, dat men zig wilde bij de Loge voegen, mits dat door mij afstand wierde gedaan van het Grootmeesterschap, en dat het werd afgedragen aan gem[elde] Broeder Ross, die men verkoos als GrootM[eeste]r Provintiaal'. See also the accompanying letter by Eilbracht to Ross, 1-10-1777.
[125] CMC, Box 2004, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1771-1781, no. 754, extract from the minutes 1-11-1777: 'voor de nieuwe Gr[oot]M[eeste]r te laten vervaardigen een schootsvel en juweel, naar model dat door sijn Hoog Achtb[are] thans werd gebeezigt'.
[126] Lutter/Christiaans 1994, pp. 101-102.
[127] CMC, Box 2004, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1777-1781, no. 755.
[128] CMC 123E59 (new inv.no. 59B), *Afscheidsreeden van Jacob Eilbracht Gepasseerd Grootmeester Provinciaal van de Provinciale Loge Salomon te Hoogly in Bengalen gedaan te Batavia op den 1 februari 1783 in den wettig vergaderde loge La Fidèle Sincérité.*
[129] Maarschalk 1872, p. 364.
[130] CMC 4F58, *Vry-metzelaars Almanach*, Rotterdam 1808, p. 44: '8 Salomon, Bengale […] Buiten tyding',
[131] Kwaadgras 2003, p. 32.
[132] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], 1770-97 No. 20 Outgoing correspondence and attachments to the Grand Lodge, undated letter between documents from 1788.
[133] CMC, membership list lodge La Vertueuse for the higher degrees, 16-12-1785.
[134] Gould 1951, IV, p. 53, no source provided: 'The Provincial Grand Lodge of England seems to have worked in perfect harmony with a similar body under Holland, "The Grand Lodge of Salomon at Chinsura" (Dutch settlement) and the officers and members of the two Societies exchanged visits and walked together in processions'.
[135] Harland-Jacobs 2007, p. 55.
[136] CMC, Box 2008, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1802-1804, no. 1341.
[137] Hageman 1867 A, p. 99: '5773. Hoogly of Chinsurah. Bengalen'. 'De loges onder het Grootoosten der Nederlanden', *Jaarboekje voor Nederlandsche Vrijmetselaren*, Amsterdam 1917, p. 53, provides the founding date as 11-1-1773.
[138] CMC, Box 2403, Constitution file De Standvastigheid, no. 658-1. Schultink 1987, p. 149; Kwaadgras 2003, p. 58; Boerenbeker 1979, pp. 133 and 136, footnote 5, mentions the announcement in the Grand Lodge meeting of 17-4-1774. Hageman 1866, p. 48 mistakenly noted the founding date as 1773 in relation to Steendekker's journey from Batavia to Bengal.
[139] CMC, 108E, Register of in- and outgoing correspondence of the Grand Lodge 26-6-1747 until 17-4-1823, Vol. I, letter received by the Grand Lodge 27-12-1772.
[140] CMC, Box 2403, Constitution file De Standvastigheid, no. 658-1: 'Voorts tot op weder opzeggens toe, voor Contributie penningen aan ons te doen ter Handstellen vijf achtste gedeelte van Receptiën van Meesters, en boetens, en een quart van die van Leerling en Gezel'.
[141] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 699-1, 'Origineele Missieve van Bengalen 11 January 1775 met Bijlagen A-B-C-D'.
[142] See also CMC, Constitution file De Standvastigheid, no. 658-3, undated, later signed in pencil '1772?': 'Aanmerkingen op den inhoud der Bengaalsche brieven en wel inzonderdheid, over hunne manier van Constitueeren': 'De verleende Constitutie tot het opregten eener Loge onder de naam van de Standvastigheid, schoon zij dezelve bepaalen alleen binnen het District en onder hun oog te mogen werken, schijnt met een uitsluitende magt, zonder Ratificatie van de Nationale Groot Meester gegeven te zijn; dat gans niet strookt met de intentie. *te imporberen de wijze, waerop de standvastigheid is geconstitueert, speciaal ook de accorden* Hoe zal men nu hier de Ratificatie geeven met de bepaling van een Jaarlijks Don Gratuit, daar reeds in die gegeeven Constitutie gefixeerd is, dat die Loge [De Standvastigheid] aan de Loge Salomon zal moeten uitkeeren 5/8 der Receptien van Meesters en Boetens 1/4 van die van Leerling en Gezel Behalven die nieuwigheid (of Pruisische manier van reekenen) raakt men buiten de termen van de Wet, die uitdrukkelijk dicteert dat een Constitutie voor een plaats daar reeds eene Loge is, 20 Ducaten moet kosten. *Dit moet absolut geannuleert worden* [...] Door deze despotique magt vervalt die van den Nationale Grootmeester, dewelke dusdanig kragteloos gemaakt zijnde, de Wetten ontfangt in plaats van die te geeven. Het schijnt of de Bengaalsche Broeders dit expedient, om die nieuwe loge te constitueeren, uitgedagt hebben om de wond van de scheuring te heelen, dewelke door de Schotze Orde, daar zij zeer enthousiast op zijn, (vermits een Meester Receptie 100 Roppijen kost) veroorzaakt was, en warom zij zig gedeeltelijk gesepareert hadden. En dus een zifting gemaakt hebbende, wie tot de Schotze zou behoren en wie niet, is denkelijk die nieuwe Loge ingerigt om te bestaan uit zodanige Leeden dewelke de 3 Ordinaire Graden geeven kunnen. En als die Broeders, tot de Schotze orde gehorende, een aparte Cas houden, waar van de inkomsten zeer important moeten zijn, als een Meesters Receptie Honderd Daalders Hollands kost, dan moeten Don Gratuit aan de Nationale Groote Loge van f 600,- hun niet veel krenken. De zwarigheid om Remisen te doen, is ligt uit den weg te ruimen, want als er al niemand gevonden word, die zig daar meede chargeeren will, kan het gelt in Comp[agn]ies Cas gelegd worden. Mits betalende dan het daar toe staande, zonder egter aan een uitstel van een Jaar of meer onderhevig te zijn'.
[143] CMC, U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2: 'Nadat Wij ons antwoord reeds vervaerdigd hadden [...] zijn Wij ten uitersten veraengenaamt geworden, door den inhoud van Uwer Agtb[are] laatste Misive, in dato 10 Januarij 1773, waar bij Wij verneemen dat de oneenigheden een einde genomen hebben, en de rust thans onder ULieden heerscht. [...]. Door Die zelve Brieven zijn Wij ontwaar geworden dat UweAgtb[are] hebben kunnen goedvinden een Constitutie te verleenen, ter opregting eener Loge, onder de naam van De Standvastigheid, en daarbij te bepalen 5/8 gedeelte van Meester Receptiën en Boetens; mitsgaders 1/4 van de Leerling en Gezels Receptiën, ten behoeven Uwer Casse; en bovendien aan die Broeders te accordeeren, dat dezelve zig mogen distinguereeren door de Ligt Blaauwe Couleur. Waarlijk Broeders, een handelwijze regelregt strijdig met onze Wetten, en geenzings overeenkomstig den inhoud Uwer Constitutie, in dato 23 October 1765. Hadden UweAgtb[are] die ingezien, zouden dezelve ten deezen opzigte zig zo niet mistast hebben; om contrarie de intentie van den hoog Edelen Groot Meester te handelen. Dus kunnen Wij niet dan improberen de wijze, waarop die Loge is Geconstitueert; met verzoek dat gegeven Diploma in te trekken, en het hier nevens gaande, als onze Ratificatie, op het door Uwen Agtb[are] gehandelde, aan die Broeders te suppediteeren. [...] En aengaande de Ligt of Hemelsblauwe Couleur competeerd dezelve alleen aan de Groot Officieren der Nationale Groote Loge; met deeze verandering nogtans, voor de Provinciale Groot Meesters, dewelke zig door een Witte Ster kenbaar maken'.
[144] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 699-3, financial overview of money owed to the Grand Lodge, 11-1-1775.
[145] Kwaadgras 2003, p. 58. See also CMC, Box 2403, Constitution file De Standvastigheid, no. 658-2, draft Constitution August 1773.
[146] CMC membership card register.

[147] ANRI, letter 31-1-1774 by Verspijck and other to lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia, mentioning his function. Transcript kindly made available by Diederick Kortlang, National Archive, The Hague.
[148] Lutter/Christiaans 1994, p. 123. Considering the inconsistencies in spelling at the time, Wilke could be the aforementioned Willekes of lodge Salomon or a relative.
[149] CMC, membership lists, lodge De Standvastigheid, 31-12-1772.
[150] Lutter/Christiaans 1994, pp. 100-101, 112-115, 119-120.
[151] CMC, membership lists, lodge De Standvastigheid, 1772-1775.
[152] ANRI, letter 31-1-1774 by Verspijck and others to lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia: '[...] de loge die ons geconstitueerd heeft [= Salomon] hier ter plaatse en dus superieur is, competeert ons, of de onderhoorige, geen correspondentie met andere logien, als dan met speciale vergunning'. Transcript kindly made available by Diederick Kortlang, National Archive.
[153] Schultink 1987, p. 150.
[154] CMC, Box 4506, Folder 256:1, Cash register of foreign bills of exchange of the Grand Lodge,: 'De Provinciale [Loge] Salomon in Bengalen gedebitteerd; wegens Een Constitutie op parkement voor de [loge] De Standvastigheid te Hoogly f 105'.
[155] CMC, 'Voorzieninge tot weringe van het te digte verval der Twee Loges te Bengalen bij Resolutie van 13 July 1774'.
[156] Lutter/Christiaans 1994, pp. 102-103, 110, 112-113 and 121-123.
[157] CMC, Box 4354, Visitor book of Lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam.
[158] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 699-1, 'Origineele Missieve van Bengalen 11 January 1775 met Bijlagen A-B-C-D'.
[159] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 699-1, 'Zakelijke inhoud der Brieven van Bengallen in dato 11 Januarij 1775': 'rang en zitting zoude hebben immediaat na de Prov[ovinciaal] Ged[eputeerd] Gr[oot] M[eeste]r en dus boven de Prov[inciaal] Groot Opzienders'.
[160] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 699-1, 'Zakelijke inhoud der Brieven van Bengallen in dato 11 Januarij 1775'. See CMC 123E59, *Afscheidsrede van Jacob Eilbracht, gepasseert Grootmeester Provinciaal van de Prov. Loge Salomo te Hoegli in Bengalen, gedaan te Batavia op 1 Febr. 1783 in de wettig vergaderde Loge La Fidelle Sincérité*. See also (not referenced further here) Irene Jacobs, *Dienaar van de Vereenigde OostIndische Compagnie in Bengalen en Coromandel: werk en levensloop van Jacob Eilbracht (1738-1804)*, (unpublished doctoraalscriptie Universiteit Leiden) Leiden 1991, copy in Maritime Museum Rotterdam.
[161] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 699-1, 'Origineele Missieve van Bengalen 11 January 1775 met Bijlagen A-B-C-D': 'insteede van onderworpen te weezen, de heele Loge te willen onderwerpen'.
[162] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 699-1, 'Origineele Missieve van Bengalen 11 January 1775 met Bijlagen A-B-C-D': 'op een alleraanstootelijkste wijze in een volle Loge heeft vergrepen'.
[163] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 699-1, 'Zakelijke inhoud der Brieven van Bengalen in dat 11 January 1775': 'dewelke [...] zig niet zoude ontzien hebben, schoon geweezene Opziener, in 't openbaar te spotten over de genomene maatregelen, en bij ongeweide zig te glorieeren dat hij een gedeporteerd Vrijmetzelaar is. Over welke irregulariteiten de genomene Resolutie van Seclusie in dato 24-10-1774 aan de Provinciale Engelsche Loge te Bengalen is gecommuniceert, met verzoek daar van verslag te doen aan alle de Loges onder dezelve ressoteerende; verzoekende die Sententie in t Nationale Grootmeesterschap te confirmeren, en den voornoemden Broeder J.W. van den Velde alom te weren van acces'.
[164] CMC, 'Nopens het wangedrag van den Broeder Johan Warner van den Velde, vooronderstellen Wij, dat Uwe Agtb[are] wel en teregt gevonnist hebben, ingevolge het 4^{e} Art[ikel] van het 7de Hoofdstuk, Pag 86. Vergeleken met het 2de en 6de Art der Pligten, Pag 16 en 20, en nemen zulks voor Notificatie. [...] Wijders gelet hebbende op de ernstige procedures dier Broeder aengaende, om zelfs buiten onze limiten te gaan, en dan de Engelsche Prov[inciaal] Groot Meester in Bengalen te verzoeken om aan alle Loges, onder deszelfs District, aanschrijven te doen, ten einde den voorzegde Broeder Van Den Velde te weeren en buiten acces te houden, geeft ons wel te kennen dat Uwe Agtb[are] met die gezag hebber in goede verstandhouding leven, het welke Wij voor zo verre ook wel willen approbeeren, maar kunnen niet ontveinsen Uwe Agtb[are] deswegens onze verwondering te betuigen, over het appui dat dezelve bij vreemde zoeken, daar de conformatie en zelfs het onderzoek der grieven, volgens het 4de Art van het 1ste Hoofdstuk Pag 30 aan ons alleen competeert'.
[165] Lutter/Christiaans 1994, pp. 119-120: 'uit zijn ambt gesuspendeerd, om bij gelegenheid naar Batavia gezonden te worden'.
[166] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 699-1, 'Origineele Missieve van Bengalen 11 January 1775 met Bijlagen A-B-C-D'.
[167] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 699-1, 'Zakelijke inhoud der Brieven van Bengallen in dato 11 Januarij 1775'.
[168] CMC, Box 3148, Folder XVII, Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek voor de Javasche Broederschap der Orde van de Vrij Metselaren', 1843, n. pag.; Van der Linden 1870, p. 30: Schill's G*edenkboek* (1843) stated: Both before as after the war in 1796 lodge La Vertueuse [in Batavia] was in regular correspondence with various [lodges] in India, as [...] De Standvastigheid in Chinsura [...] There was with all those a kind of affiliation, so that the Members of the same when they got there and with special recommandation were received with all access ('Zowel voor als na den oorlog in 1796 is La Vertueuse in gestadig correspondentie geweest met onderscheidene [Loges] in India, als [...] De Standvastigheid te Chinsura [...] Er bestond met alle die [Loges] een soort van affiliation, zoodat de Leden van dezelve bij herwaarts komst en speciale reccomendatie met alle acceuil werden ontvangen'.) But this was a statement about the whole region, making it unclear if it was based on a particular source. The incomplete archives of La Vertueuse do not suggest there was any such contact by that time. Hageman 1867 A, p. 99, considered the lodge erased since 1796, probably following Schill. Maarschalk 1872, p. 364 suggested the lodge was not closed until 1782, around the time the Dutch possesions in the region were taken over by the British. As Maarschalk too drew one conclusion for all lodges in the region, he may not have acted on specific information on De Standvastigheid either. Kwaadgras 2003, p. 58, notes De Standvastigheid as 'no news' since 1815.
[169] CMC, Box 2008, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1802-1804, no. 1341.
[170] CMC, Box 2008, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1802-1804, no. 1341: 'Geene hoegenaamd opgave hoeveel achterlijk zijn'.
[171] CMC, Box 3148, Folder XVII, Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek voor de Javasche Broederschap der Orde van de Vrij Metselaren', 1843, n. pag.: 'bij gelegenheid van een afscheidmaal aan de B[roeder] Faure bij vertrek naar Bengalen'. CMC membership card register lists several men with this surname, including: A. Faure (1805-1809 member of La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam) and A. Faure (De Visser Smits 1931, appendix with names freemasons in the Dutch East Indies, list him in 1801, probably the same as the former), and B.V. Faure (De Visser Smits 1931, appendix with names freemasons in the Dutch East Indies, lists him in 1769).
[172] Lequin 1982, p. 458.
[173] Ferminger 1906, p. 50.
[174] Hageman 1866, p. 55. The membership card register in the CMC lists many of his relatives: Adriaan Arend Titsing (1755-1818), working for the VOC Chamber in Amsterdam: accepted as Apprentice on 18-8-1755 in the County of Cornwal, UK, attest signed by Provincial Grand Secretary M. Allison. He was a visitor in lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam on 17-12-1756, where he obtained the Fellow-Craft and Master's degrees. Listed in

the same lodge in 1758, resigned in 1759; Otto Christiaan Titsingh (1744-?), member of lodge La Charité in Amsterdam in 1777, later travelled to Batavia; Abraham Titsingh, member of lodge La Charité in Amsterdam in 1801-1804; Jacob Titsingh, member of lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam in 1803-1808. The Titsingh family name also appears in lodge records throughout the 19th century. A relative of Titsingh, who remains to be identified, was initiated into lodge La Vertueuse on 19-2-1791. The lodge minutes recorded how 'the profane Titsingh who has so far been in the dark Chamber of Reflection, was brought upstairs and after being submitted to all the usual at the reception he was shown the Light of our Royal Art'. CMC, Box 3064, Folder 'Box 76 +77 II-A-1+2 La Vertueuse 1) l.[eerling] Comp[arities. Notulen 13/2 1791 – 13/3 1792 1791-1795 met 2) Bijlagen Ink. + Uitg Brieven': 'vervolgens wierd den profaan Titsingh die tot dus verre is de donkere Kamer ter overdenking heeft gezeten, boven gebragt en hem na het ondergaan van alle gebruikelijkheeden bij de receptie waargenomen werdende het Ligt van onze Koninklijke Konst vertoont.' This cannot have been Titsingh's son William, who was born in 1790. Perhaps it was Otto Christiaan Titsingh?

[175] See Lequin 1990/1992 and 2002.

[176] Ferminger 1906, p. 52; Karpiel 2001, p. 1, mentions that Titsingh often visited the lodges in Calcutta, where he met the governor general of India, Lord Charles Cornwallis, without providing a source.

[177] Ferminger 1906, p. 97.

[178] Lequin 2002, p. 141.

[179] Gould 1951 (1958), IV, p. 58.

[180] Lequin 2002, p. 136: 'den koopman Eilbracht is door de Regeering tot Gesaghebber op de Cust [van Coromonadel] benoemd, de geheele Colonie dankt God van zulk een pest der zamenleeving te zijn ontslaage. Alleen blijft zijn broeder [Caspar Eilbracht] over, die het meede noodzakelijk is van her te verwijderen, zal rust en eendracht ten eenemaal hersteld zijn'.

[181] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76+77 II-A-1+2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1791-1795 1802-1805, Minutes 1791-1795': 'daar uit te vinden het kosten van eenig Tafelgoed vanderwaarts te ontbieden eenen quote van het benodige waar van daar den Br Titsingh aan gedagten Br van Citters zal worden gesuppeliteerd'; see also 17-3-1795 'Craaij heeft de 400 piaster ontfangen en zoo daarvan aan van Citters afgegeven, die daar van Tafelgoed te laate aan maaken, en zoo overig piaster ontfangen'.

[182] Zeeuws Archief in Middelburg, Van Citters family archive, no. 2. I am grateful to A.F. Franken of the Zeeuws Archief, for bringing this to my attention. See also Lutter/Christiaans 1994, pp. 124-125; Lequin 2002, p. 142.

[183] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 +77 II-A-1+2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1791-1795 1802-1805', 'Minutes 1791-1795': 'en zoo daarvan aan van Citters afgegeven, die daar van Tafelgoed te laate aan maaken, en zoo overig piaster ontfangen'.

[184] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 +77 II-A-1+2 La Vertueuse 1) 1st degree Minutes 13/2 1791 – 13/3 1792 1791-1795 and 2) Attachments incoming and outgoing correspondence: 'de Achtb[are] [Loge] Salomon die te Chinsura in Bengale met dezen titul [= Provinciale Grootloge] was begunstigd geheel is vervallen, ondanks men gepoogd heeft Haar onder den naam van Salomon Hersteld weder optegrigten, en er wezentlijk geen uitzicht meer overig is, dat die plaats voor ons vaderland immer van eenig belang zal kunnen weezen'. The lodge is not included in the first list of suspended lodges in CMC 4F56, *Vry-metzelaars Almanach*, Rotterdam 1807, pp. 48-50. CMC, 4F58, *Vry-metzelaars Almanach*, Rotterdam 1808, p. 44, and later editions list the lodge as 'buiten tijding'. CMC, Box 3148, Folder XVII, Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek voor de Javasche Broederschap der Orde van de Vrij Metselaren', 1843, n. pag., however, claims lodge La Vertueuse corresponded with the lodge before and after the war of 1796 ('Zowel voor als na den oorlog in 1796 is La Vertueuse in gestadig correspondentie geweest met onderscheidene [Loges] in India, als [...] Salomo Bengalen.'). Hageman 1867 A, p. 97, noted Salomon as 'onbek[end] sinds 5790'. See also Van der Linden 1870, p. 30.

[185] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 +77 II-A-1+2 Minutes La Vertueuse 1791-1795 1802-1805, 'Nr 5 Aantekeningen gehouden in de L[oge] La vertueuse van den 5+der5*5802 tot den 6+ der 4* des Jaars 5803': 'den A[chtbare] M[eester] exhibeerd een brief door een zogenoemende B[roeder] Imbert te bengalen geschreeven dewelke geleezen zijnde is men van gevoelen dat daar bij de nodige verificatie ontbreekt, om gen[oemde] Imbert als B[roeder] te erkennen, en is daarom verstaan voor als nog op dit inhoude geen reflectie te slaan voor en al een den A[chtbare] M[eester] aan den B[roeder] Bruer particulier daar over zal gecorrespondeert hebben'. CMC, membership card register lists a C. Imbert as a member of lodge La Paix in Amsterdam in 1784, which may have been Carel Imbert, who died in Chandernagore in 1824, and Willem Frans Imbert de Martines from the same lodge in 1770-1772. The latter was in Batavia in 1775-1777 according to VOC/NA. It may have also been a relative of either freemason with knowledge of the lodge, but not a member himself.

[186] See Jan A.M. Snoek, 'Burckhardt, Johan Christiaan, (1772-1848)', in: Porset/Révauger 2013, pp. 582-584, especially 583.

[187] Ferminger 1906, p. 131. The lodge was sanctioned by Moira but never received a warrant from the English Grand Lodge and as such does not appear in *Lane's Masonic Records* 1717-1798.

[188] CMC, Box 3070, Folder 83-84-85 IIB7 La Vertueuse Correspondence 1812-1815, 2/1812-15, [No] 38 various letters 5812-5815.

[189] CMC, Box 3066, Folder 79 La Vertueuse 1st degree Minutes 1815/1818, 2 1815-1818, No 9 Minutes 4*5815-5818. See also a thank you note dated 6-6-1816.

[190] CMC, E1, certificate 6-5-1814.

[191] CMC, Box 3070, Folder 83-84-85 IIB7 La Vertueuse Correspondence 1812-1815, 2/1812-15, [No] 38 various letters 5812-5815.

[192] Hageman 1866, pp. 59-60; Christiaans 1994 A, p. 148.

[193] Schultink 1987, p. 150; Christiaans 1994 A, pp. 148-149; Kwaadgras 2003, p. 59. Mentioned in CMC 4F17, *Almanach des Francs-Macons*, 1780, p. 19 and later editions: '38 La Desiree, Nagapatnam, C. de Chorom., 1773'. CMC 4F34, *De Nederlandse Vry-metzelaars Almanach*,'s-Gravenhage 1781, p. 18, lists 1774 as the founding year. Hageman 1867 A, p. 99, notes '5772 begin'.

[194] CMC, Box 2403, Constitution file De Langgewenschte, no. 652-1: 'Den Opperbouwmeester van dit gansch geheel al, heeft het eijndelijk na zijne groote goedertierendheijt behaagd, ons met zijn glansrijk Ligt te bestraalen, en ons is staat te stellen een bekwaame Loge op te rigten, hetgeen wij begonnen hebben onder gunstige toestemming van de Hoogheijt deeser landen [...]'.

[195] CMC, Box 2403, Constitution file De Langgewenschte, no. 652-2; CMC, 108E, Register of in- and outgoing correspondence of the Grand Lodge 26-6-1747 until 17-4-1823, Vol. I, notes the dispatchement of the Constitution on 9-11-1773. Maarschalk 1872, p. 364; Schultink 1987, p. 150. Kwaadgras 2003, p. 59 provides the constitution date both as 1773 and 1774. Boerenbeker 1979, p. 133, p. 136, footnote 6, notes the announcement of the founding in the Grand Lodge on 17-4-1774. 'De loges onder het Grootoosten der Nederlanden', *Jaarboekje voor Nederlandsche Vrijmetselaren*, Amsterdam 1917, p. 53, sees 17-4-1774 as the founding date.

[196] Christiaans 1994 A, pp. 148-149.

[197] CMC, Box 4506, Folder 256:1, Cash register of foreign bills of exchange of the Grand Lodge: 'Sept 1772 Geremitteerd voor de [loge] De Lang Gewenschte te Nagapatnam op de Kust van Coromandel per den Br[oeder] Jan van Eijsden een somma van f 480,- omme daar mede te voldoen alle de kosten voor dezelve en dus gedebitteert

Voor Een Constitutie op Parkement		f 105
Zeegelen en Teek van 25 Certificaten		f 35
		f 120 Gr[ootloge]
|18 ingen	a 50 S	45
24 Lire Maconne -|6 fr band	a 65 S	19,20

24 Code Macon 8 ing	a 40 S	48	
25 Vellen Parkement	a 12 S	15	
Voor den Kist		2,10	
			f 130 Van Laak
Restant als Don Gratuit geconsidereert			f 230
		Dus	f 480.

Sept 1773 Welke somma door den voorn[oemde] Br Jan van Eijsden dienen overgebragt te worden, ofte bij fonte van dien te remplaceren door de Br[oeder]s van de Langegewenschte'.

[198] CMC, U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2: '[...] ontfangen Wij een Misssive en Supplicatie van Broeders te Negapatnam, op de Kust van Coromandel, ten einde een Constitutie aan dezelve te leeveren tot het opregten van eener wettige Loge aldaar, onder de naam van de Lang Gewenschte, zijnde de [loge-]Couleur Wit met Groen, en onder approbatie van derzelver Regeering. Zuls alleszins goed voorkomende, hebben Wij niet gedraalt dezelve te accordeeren [...]'.

[199] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 699-1, 'Origineele Missieve van Bengalen 11 January 1775 met Bijlagen A-B-C-D': 'Slegts op een indifferente manier alleen hebben gerecommandeert eenige door hun gerecipieerde Broeders'.

[200] CMC, U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2: 'Hoezeer Wij de expeditie van dit Diploma zouden hebben kunnen uitstellen, tot dat Uwer Agtb[are] origineele Missive, met de gezonden f 480 ons inhandigt waren, zijn wij van gedagten; dat als de Broeder Jan Van Eijsden niet op komt dagen. En die Penningen, dewelke Uwe Agtb[are[aan hem toevertrouwd hebben, om aan Ons te remitteren, niet ter goeder destinatie komen, Uwe Agtb[are] in zulk onveropopt geval dat montant wel zullen willen remplaceeren, zijnde geinformeet, dat gemelde Jan Van Eijsden aan De Caap de Goede Hoop ziek is blijven leggen, zonder dat men weet of hij levend of dood is. Middelerwijl hebben Wij door deeze, Uwe Agtb[are] wel willen in staat stellen, om het Maconnique werk voort te zetten [...]'.

[201] CMC, U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2, no. 251: 'Instructie voor den Broeder Joh[an] Snijders, Capitein van het Schip De Paauw, voor de Kamer Delft na Batavia gedestineert […] Aan de Kaap de Goede Hoop komende, te informeeren waar den Broeder Jan Van Eijsden, dewelke met het Schip Alkemade repatriëren moest, gebleven is? Of denzelve, aldaar ter plaatse ziek geweest zijnde gestorven is, dan wel of hij op een ander schip is overgegaan, dat vermist word! Als mede of er niemand is, die eenige kundschap heeft, of onderregting zou kunnen geven, waar de aan hem toevertrouwde [...] Penningen [...] gebleven zijn? Het zij dat die fourni, bij zijn overleiden op de Kaap de Goede Hoop, in bewarender hand zouden kunnen gesteld zijn; [...] het zij dat zulks uit zijn nalatenschap van zijn Famille of andere vertrouwden moet gevorden worden'.

[202] NA/VOC.

[203] CMC, Box 2403, Constitution file De Langgewenschte, no. 687.

[204] CMC, Box 2403, Constitution file De Langgewenschte, no. 687: '[...] dog wij hebben van Cabo de Goede Hoop van gem[elde] onsen Broeder van Eijsden schrijven ontvangen, dat [hij] wederom gesont van daar stond te vertrekken met het schip Duijnenburg, welke kiel volgens berigten behouden g'arriveert is. Wij zullen bij eerstkomende geleegendheijd meede ons belend maaken aan de Loge in Bengalen [= Salomon] gelijk reeds geschied was, zoo niet onse letteren terug gekomen waaren'.

[205] CMC, membership lists, lodge De Langgewenste, 12-10-1774.

[206] CMC, membership lists, lodge De Langgewenste, 12-10-1774: 'in een Eijgen huijs aan het strand te Nagapatnam'.

[207] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 699-5 and duplicate. The money transfer was addressed to the messrs Swart and Lunge, merchants in Amsterdam.

[208] CMC, U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2, p. 290.

[209] CMC, Box 2004, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1771-1781, no. 716-2.

[210] CMC, membership lists, lodge De Langgewenste, 11-1-1776.

[211] CMC, Box 2004, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1771-1781, no. 752-3.

[212] CMC, membership lists, lodge De Langgewenste, 15-10-1778.

[213] Hageman 1866, pp. 59-60.

[214] Hageman 1867 A, p. 99, suggests 1782, followed by Maarschalk 1872, p. 364. Kwaadgras 2003, p. 59, lists the lodge as out of communication after 1788.

[215] CMC, Box 2008, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1802-1804, no. 1341: 'Geene hoegenaamd opgave hoeveel achterlijk zijn'. CMC 4F60, *Vry-metzelaars Almanach*, Rotterdam 1809, pp. 46-47: 'Buiten tyding'. The lodge is not included in the list of suspended lodges in the edition of 1807. CMC 4F58, *Vry-metzelaars Almanach*, Rotterdam 1808, pp. 44 -45 first lists the location of lodges, and that of De lang Gewenschte as 'Eigen Huis'.

[216] CMC E1, membership certificate 23-8-1803.

[217] CMC 78-19, membership certificate 16-7-1802. Van Waardhuizen 1996, p. 21.

[218] Hageman 1866, p. 65. Idem, p. 66, wondered if this was the same as lodge La Concorde [= Chapter Concordia] in Hoogly. According to Carpentier Alting 1884, p. 284, the lodge was founded by Amsterdam or military lodges.

[219] The date is noted as 1-1-5774 according to the masonic calendar on the certificate itself. Zeeuws Archief, 98.1 Snouck Hurgonje family archive, inv.no. 122. I am grateful to drs. Lennart Bes, National Archive, The Hague, for bringing this document to my attention. The almanac of 1777 noted the announcement at the Grand Lodge of 19 May that year about the founding of three new lodges, including '42. St. Jean de la Concorde, a Suratte' (CMC, inv. no. 4F14: *Almanach des Francs-Macons*, 1777, p. 44). Editions after 1780 noted the founding year as 1776, which the certificate of Van Citters disproves (CMC, inv. no. 4F17: *Almanach des Francs-Macons*, 1780, p. 19). Hageman 1867 A, p. 98, mentioned the founding year as 1773, but Hageman 1869, p. 66, changed this to 1775, which is not correct either. 'De loges onder het Grootoosten der Nederlanden', *Jaarboekje voor Nederlandsche Vrijmetselaren*, Amsterdam 1917, p. 53, noted the founding date as 19-5-1776.

[220] ZA, Van Citters family archive, no. 2. Thanks to A.F. Franken of the Zeeuws Archief, for bringing this to my attention. See also Lutter/Christiaans 1994, pp. 124-125.

[221] Several members of the Blain des Cormiers family from Nantes/Ile de France were in service of the East India Company. A 'Blain, Luit de vaisseau' was mentioned as a Chevalier d'Orient in lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia on 28-12-1796.

[222] Christiaans 1994 A, pp. 150-151.

[223] CMC, Box 3148, Folder XVII, Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek voor de Javasche Broederschap der Orde van de Vrij Metselaren', 1843, n. pag.: 'In 1774 werd door den Z[eer] V[erlichte] M[eester] Nicolaas Holmberg lid van de Loge La Concorde te Suratte een zeker verzoek schrift om hulp en assistentie overgebragt, hetwelk door den A[chtbare] M[eester] van la Vertueuse [te Batavia] toenmaals H. van Stockum [...] werd beantwoord en benevens hem door den Secretaris J.A. Abbeleven ondertekend'.

[224] CMC, Box 3067, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], '1770-97 No. 20 Outgoing correspondence and attachments to the Grand Lodge, undated draft letter with calculations: 'de Beantwoording van 't schrijven uwer Hoog In antwoord op… [uw] schrijvens al weder uijstellende het vertrek der retourschepen in Januarij, laaten wij dezes dienen ter gelijde van den broeder

Nicolaas Holmberg, die geduurende sijn aansijn alhier ons de sterkste preuve gegeeven heeft van iever voor onze Edele wetenschap, & sig seer fervlijtige sal om van … [u] te verwerven & diploma voor de opgeregte Loge tot Souratte genaams St Jean la Concorde waarvan dezes broeder & waardig lid is. De arbeid die … [zij] sig geeven is de uijtbreijding van onse koninklijke kunst, dog ons geensins twijffels aan de erlanging der soo seer geerde Constitutie voor die broeders, ons versoek bij t hunne voegen niet[?], waar omtrent wij hoopen [?]uwagts dat uwe … bij gebrek van directe gelegendheid versending na der Waart, ons al gelieve te emplouijeren de voorschikking van die papieren Wij wenschen uw …'

[225] Christiaans 1994 A, pp. 150-151.

[226] CMC, Box 2403, Constitution file St. Jean de la Concorde, no. 711-1. Kwaadgras 2003, p. 62.

[227] CMC, Box 2403, Constitution file St. Jean de la Concorde, no. 711-1; see also Kwaadgras 2003, p. 62. The Constitution dated 1-11-1775 is in the collection of the Zeeuws Archief, 98.1 Snouck Hurgonje family archive, inv.no. 121. I am grateful to drs. Lennart Bes, National Archive, The Hague, for bringing this document to my attention. Boerenbeker 1979, pp. 143, 149, footnote 3, mentions the announcement of the founding at the Grand Lodge on 9-5-1776.

[228] CMC, U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2: pp. 324-325, November 1775: 'Op het instantig verzoek van den Broeder Nicolaas Holmberg, dewelke het Request in ULieder naam geteekent heeft; en de gunstige recommandatie der Broederen van de Agtbare Loge La Vertueuse te Batavia [...] zijn Wij toegestreeden met een gunstig fiat daarop te verleenen; en Uwe Agtb[are] het verzogte Diploma, dat hier nevens gaat te doen geworden'.

[229] CMC, Box 3068, Folder 81 Correspondence with the Grand Master National and the lodge La Constante et Fidèle 1777-1812: '[...] het voordele gehad hebbende deezen jaare uijt Nederland van de Agtbare Groote Logie te 's Hage te ontfangen onze wettige constitutie ter installeertinge der Vrije Metselaars Logie alhier onder den Naam van St. Jean La Concorde'.

[230] Hageman 1866, p. 65.

[231] CMC, Box 2008, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1802-1804, no. 1341.

[232] CMC 4F58, *Vry-metzelaars Almanach*, Rotterdam 1808, pp. 44-45: '27 St. Jean de la Concorde, Souratte, 1776 Buiten tyding'.

[233] CMC, Box 3148, Folder XVII, Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek voor de Javasche Broederschap der Orde van de Vrij Metselaren', 1843, n. pag.; Van der Linden 1870, p. 30: 'Zowel voor als na den oorlog in 1796 is La Vertueuse in gestadig correspondentie geweest met onderscheidene [Loges] in India, als [...] St. Jean La Concorde te Suratte [...]'.

[234] Hageman 1867 A, p. 99.

[235] Kwaadgras 2003, p. 62.

[236] Hageman 1866, p. 61.

[237] Bradley 1921, p. 179; Kwaadgras 2003, p. 88.

[238] CMC, Box 2006, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge, no. 1078: 'De Achtbare Groot Meester Provinciaal over alle de Logien om de West van Indien en het Eiland Ceilon, mijnen Zeer hoog beminden Broeder Jacob Eilbracht, voorneemens zijnde naar het vaderland over te gaan, en, bij het neemen van afscheid, mij interim in voors[egde] waardigheeden hebbende g'installeert [...] zo neeme ik de eerbiedige vrijheid U Hoogverl[ichte] en Hoogachtb[are] te solliciteeren om derzelver confirmatie, en om daarvan te mogen hebben een diploma in forma, ad vitam; daar bij bepaalende om uijt hoofde van de Hooge graaden die ik bekleede, in alle oorden van Indien dezelve waardigheeden te kunnen blijven houden en oeffenen, over al Logien te kunnen oprigten, zo in oude als moderne Metselarij, en te kunnen verleenen alle de graaden die in de Broederschap bekend zijn, tot Ridder van 't Roode Kruijs in de moderne, en tot 't Royal Arch Capittel en Ridder van Jerusalem of Knight Templar in de oude Constitutie toe; [...] PS verzoeke ook bij De diplomas te willen zenden de nodige juweelen der onderscheijde hooge graden, de daartoe gehoorende bandeliers en Tabliers'.

[239] Krikhaar 1996, pp. 43-44; Lutter/Christiaans 1994 A, p. 105.

[240] CMC, Box 4390, Visitor book of lodge La Charité in Amsterdam, signed from 1798 onwards.

[241] CMC, Box 3065, Folder 77A La Vertueuse 1st degree Minutes 1808-1810, 2/1808-10 No. 5 5808-5809-5810: 'Meester in de Ancienne en Moderne Loges […] Ik bied uw Hoog Achtb[are] voor af mij te excuseeren, indien de benaming van de Loges teegenwoordig is verandert [...] in een Derthien Jaarige krijgsgevangenschap met ene kleijn of ontoereikende substancie maandelijks op een plaets daer een magtige duurte heerscht aen levenmiddelen ontstaan door de binnenlandse oorlog van de Verschillende Inlandse Vorsten op deeze Kust Een familie en Huijsgezin met een prangende honger bijna tot versmagtens toe met goede oogen te moeten zien Zukkelen! [...]'.

[242] Gaastre 2002, p. 52. For an overview of the Dutch rule on Ceylon, see the standard work Meilink-Toelofsz 1976, pp. 14-63, and for the current view on cultural mediation processes in this area Kaufmann/North 2014, pp. 140-176.

[243] Dashwood 1950, pp. 78-79; Schultink 1987, pp. 151-152.

[244] Dashwood 1948, p. 137.

[245] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 644-5, letter to the Grand Lodge 26-1-1772: 'In den Jaare 1768 door de komste onzer broederen Frederick Dankwaard, Johan Leonard Remmers, Frans Lodewijk Bergman en Johan Godlob Prenzel ons in staet bevonden hebbende eene ordentelijke Loge ten dezen Eijlande aanteleggen, hebben wij geen tijd willen verzuimen handen aen 't werk te slaan en onse [loge] behoorlijk t' openen, wij zijn ook zoo gelukkig geweest bij onse eerste bijeenkomste nieuw Broeders aanteneemen, en wanneer wij ons voor de tweede keer van 't zelfde jaar vergaedert hadden zijn de jongste nieuw aangenomenen Broederen tot gezellen, twee gezellen tot meesters,en weeder twee Leerlingen aangenoomen geworden, dus ware onse Loge reets in een reedelijke florisante staet en wij zelfs met 't vertrek van ons bovengen[oemde vier] Broederen sterk genoeg ons werk te kunnen voortzetten [...]'. Duplicate in CMC, Constitution file De Getrouwigheid, no. 644-2. See also Schultink 1987, p. 148.

[246] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 644-4, letter to the Grand Lodge 27-1-1772. CMC, U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2, however, notes the receipt of the first request, dated 15-12-1768 according to the masonic calendar. The lodge wrote its second letter to the Grand Lodge in September 1769. The lodge is mentioned in Dutch masonic almanacs from 1772 onwards. CMC 4F9, *Almanach des Francs-Massons*, 1772, p. 25, recorded the founding year as 1771. However, CMC 4F44, *De Nederlandse Vry-metzelaars Almanach*, 's-Gravenhage 1793), p. 26, and later editions list the founding year as 1767. This was corrected in the 1802 edition to 1770. Hageman 1867 A, p. 98; Hageman 1869, p. 66, also names 1770; while according to Maarschalk 1872, p. 365, the lodge was opened on 20-11-1770.

[247] As listed in CMC membership card register.

[248] CMC, U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2, letter by the Grand Secretary to the lodge 29-11-1770. CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 644-5, letter by the lodge to the Grand Lodge 26-1-1772. De Visser Smits 1931, appendix with names freemasons in the Dutch East Indies, mentions a D.O. de Frein in 1767. CMC membership card register lists Gabriel, Jean and Pierre Durege as members of lodge La Paix te Amsterdam in 1756-1757.

[249] See Treffers 2014.

[250] CMC, U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2. The letter was carried by skipper Pieter van Proijen on the ship De Ridderkerk, left from Amsterdam for Batavia on 2-10-1769. A duplicate was sent with skipper Van Brattem on the ship Erf Prins, sailed from Delft to Batavia on 2-10-1769.

[251] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 644-5, letter to the Grand Lodge 26-1-1772. Duplicate in CMC, Constitution file De Getrouwigheid, no. 644-2: '[...] in 't jaar 1769 waeren wij niet minder gelukkig, vermits ons broeder de Freine ons desselfs opper en onder stuurman zoo kragtdaedig heeft voortgedraagen dat wij niet hebben kunnen onderlaeten in dit verzoek te condescendeeren en die beide menschen tot Broeders op en aanteneemen, kort daar op eijgentlijk wanneer wij ons in 't jaar 1769 voor de tweede keer vergadert hebben, hebben wij weeder nae voor af verkreegen goede getuigenissen nog in ons broederschap ingelijfd 1 opperstuurman, 1 onderstuur man en Extra ordinaire vuurwerker, in voegen onse Loge van dag tot dag begon toetteneemen ook 't jaar 1770. was ons voordeelig vermits wij onder de scheepelingen eenige vrienden die ons blijken gegeeven hebben van eenen bijzonder zugt voor den order te hebben, en die ook nae dat wij ons nae derselven gedrag genauw g'informeert en dezelve bevonden hadden waardig te zijn aen ons geluk deel te hebben meede den order in gelijfd hebben, dog 't jaar 1771 was ons gants niet gunstig, vermits niet alleen een in 't jaar 1770 aangenoomen broeder 't tijdelijke teegens 't Eeuwige verwisselt heeft, maar ook om reeden wij weegens de quaade naespraeke der Prophanen onze bij een komsten hebben moeten staeken tot dat wij Eindelijk 't uitmuntende geluk gehad hebben Brieven van Constitutie t'erlangen, waer door de Broederen die reets begaende te twijffelen en te waggelen, weeder nieuwe moet schepten, en zig bij ons voegen. [...] hebben wij de Eere te bedeele dat wij als nog geen vaste bepaelde plaets, en dag hebben, dog dat de uure 's avonds ten 6 uuren gefideerd is [...]'.

[252] CMC, membership lists, lodge De Getrouwigheid in Colombo, 1770.

[253] Christiaans 1994 A, pp. 143-144.

[254] CMC, 108E, Register of in- and outgoing correspondence of the Grand Lodge 26-6-1747 until 17-4-1823, Vol. I, p. 75: '1770 26 Dec [ontvangen] Eene Missive inhoudende kennisgeving aan Verscheide B[roeders] V[rij] M[etselaren] dewelke genegen waren Een Loge aldaar op te regten [= loge De Getrouwigheid] als dat zij verkeerd en tegen alle billijkheid gehandeld hadden om zich aan den Gr[oot] Loge in Nederland te addresseren, Dewijl deze Loge [Salomon] als Eene provintiale Loge de magt gegeven was, om Constitutien te geven aan iedere Loge die zich in dat gewest zich zoude willen Etabiliseren &ca'. The Register only provides a summary of the letter; with pencil is added in the sideline that the original is missing.

[255] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 644-5, letter to the Grand Lodge 26-1-1772. Duplicate in CMC, Constitution file De Getrouwigheid, no. 644-2: '[...] dit Indirect in de principaele oorzaeke waerome 't zeedert dien tijd [ontvangst van de brief van Salomon in januari 1771] geen bij een komste is gehouden worden, dus verhoopen wij dat deeze nalaetigheid ons niet toegereekend zal worden, te meer wij 't jongst verweeken jaar geen de minste Europische officieren ontfangen hebben, en wij verwagten nu ook bij eerster geleegendheijd eene Constitutie van Bengale, dog vermits wij met die van UwEd[el] Agtb[are] ons vereert zien zoo verhoopen wij geenszins aan een ander als de Loge van UwEd[edel] Agt[bare] gesubmitteert te zullen zijn, maer wel dat wij als de Hoofd Loge van dit Eijland zullen aangemerkt en dus gemagtigd worden aan alle de Broeders die Eene nieuwe Loge tragten aanteleggen magt en vermoogen daar toe verleenen [...]'.

[256] CMC, U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2: '[...] hebben wij ons veraangenaamt gevonden, met het verzoek van Captein Siereveld, brenger deezes, door ofte van weegens Uw Agtb[ae] gelast, beneven Captein De Frein, omme andermaal sollicitatie, door Broeder Durege in den jaar 1769 gedaan, bij ons te vernieuwen, ten einde het verzogten Diploma, ter oprigting Uwer Agtb[are] [Loge] [...] en thans vernomen hebbende, dat Uwe Agtb[are] door het verongelukken van het Schip, waar meede onze Eerste provisionele Rescriptie is afgezonden, ook ook gepriveerd zijn geweest van onze Resolutie der aangaande [...]'. CMC, membership lists, lodge De Getrouwigheid, 1770 and 27-1-1772.

[257] CMC membership register, as Johannis Siervel[d/t], member of La Compagnie Durable in 1771.

[258] Boerenbeker 1979, pp. 115, 118, footnote 4, mentions the announcement of the founding in the Grand Lodge meeting of 14-4-1771; Schultink 1987, p. 148; Kwaadgras 2003, p. 54. Maarschalk 1872, p. 365, provides the opening date of the lodge as 20-11-1770; Christiaans 1994 A, p. 142 names this as founding date. CMC, U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2, no. 306, letter by the Grand Lodge to La Vertueuse in Batavia: 'per couvert van den Broeder Jan Siereveld met de overbrenging der Ceijlonsche Constitutie gechargeert'.

[259] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 606 (last page missing): 'En dewijl wij in Ervaringe zijn gekomen, dat ten Eilande Ceylon een Loge van Vrije Metselaaren was opgericht [= De Getrouwigheid], hebben wij in onze Bijeenkomst op den 19e December A[nn]o passato beslooten, hun inzodanige termen aan te schrijven, als nevensgaande Copia aantoond'.

[260] CMC, U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2, pp. 148-151: 'Wij hopen niet dat Uwe Agtb[are] eenige misverstand of kwalijk geplaatste duiding zullen geeven aan onse goede intentie en regte wijze van denken, met het Constitueeren eener Loge te Ceijlon [= De Getrouwigheid]. [...] Wij geloven ook niet, dat hun verzoek aan ons gedaan, met een minagting voor Uwe Agtb[are] Loge, maar veel eer uit onkunde zal geschied zijn. [...] Zulks belet nogtans niet, dat die Broeders, in de nabijheid zijnde en onder Uwe Agtb[are] Provinciale Loge ressorteerende, zig voortaan bij Uwe Agtb[are] kunnen aanmelden, ter bezorging van het gans dezelve aan ons te zenden hebben [...]'.

[261] CMC, U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2. A duplicate was sent via Brother Frans De Wilde, bookkeeper at the *soldijcomptoir* (wages office) in Amsterdam.

[262] CMC, Box 2403, Constitution file lodge De Getrouwigheid, no. 642-1.

[263] CMC, Box 2403, Constitution file lodge De Getrouwigheid, no. 644-3: 'Hoe aangenaam het ons ook is, wanneer wij mogen verneemen den ijver den Broederen Vrije Metzelaeren, in het voort zette onzer koninklijke konste, zoo zeer was het ons egter onaengenaam te hooren, dat UwEd[elens] waare overgegaen tot het opregt eenen Loge, en het oefenen van zoo danige actien, als alleenlijk vrijstaande aan wettige geconstitueerde Loges, waaren 't meer daar door onstigt alzoo wij ons verbeelde het UwEd[ele]s niet onbewust konde zijn dat aan de alhier in Bengalen geconstitueerde Groot Loge Salomon alleen, die privelegien vergunt was, tot het toelaaten van mindere Logies, in alle bezittingen van de Nederlandsche Compagnien gelegen, om de West van Indie &c het dus van dezelver was UwEd[ele]s prealabel verlof hadde moeten verzoeken, alvorens met hunn werk voort te gaan. Wij hadden ook reeds voor genomen UwEd[ele]s daar over bij gelegentheid in op volgeing onzer Plicht Creprocheerde wanneer wij jongst tot onzer vreugde onderregt werden, door den Broeder Christiaan Wi[f/s?]t, dat UwEd[elen]s mislassing in deze, niet uijt moet wil maar aan onbewustheidt wijten was, ons tot een bewijs daar van alle geerde dat UwEd[elen]s hem bij het verlaaten van Uwe verplaats, gelast hadden, op Batavia aan de Provintiale Loge [= La Choisie?] verzoek te doen om eene Constitutien ons teffens te kenne gevende, den quade misslag van sijn aanzoek aldaar, en zijne vuurige begeerte om van ons zodanig eene diploma voor UwEd[elen]s te verwerven. Wij zouden aangesien, wij daar toe de magt hebben ten opzigten van UwEd[elens] IJland dit verzoek in consideratie genomen hebben, waaren wij intusschen door eene andere weg niet g'informeerd, als dat UwEd[elens] zich reeds in A[nn]o 1768 naar Europa hadden g'adresseerd, dog alzoo wij reedene hebben aan een goed succes van desen uwe pooginge te twijffelen, hebben wij UwEd[elens] den weg tot het optineere van het gewenst wel willen openen, met UwEd[elens] bij de zen onder regten, van de magt die bij ons resideert om aan de UwEd[e[lens] begeerte te voldoen, en dus te konne contribueeren tot de voortzettinge onser koninklijke order. Terwijl wij aan een andere kant niet konne nalaten UwEd[elen]s te intediceeren alle zulke handelingen als aan een ongeconstitueerde Loge niet toekomen, tot teijd en wijl UwEd[elens] daartoe, door ons ofte Groote Loge in Holland zullen geregtig weezen'.

[264] Kwaadgras 2003, p. 54; Christiaans 1994 A, p. 142.

[265] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 644-4. Duplicate in CMC, Constitution file De Getrouwigheid, no. 644-1: '[...] Wij twijffelen reets ganselijk aan de Bestellinge onser brieven, te meer wij UwEd[el] Agtb[are] origineele rescriptie op d'onse van de 16 oc[to]ber 1768 niet ontfangen hebben en 't duplicaat daar van eerst in de maand septemb[er] J[ongst] Leeden, dog dies triplicaat door onse zeer

Beminde Broeder Siereveld ons is besteld geworden, zijnde ons teffens een duplicaat van Een briev door onsen Eerw[aarde] Broeder R [van] Laak die ook van 1 september 1769 gedateerd was, meede nu Eerst in de J[ongst] gepasseerde maand september met 't onder de Mallabaarse kuste verongelukte Schip Schollenberg, 't welk van Batavia naar herwaarts op reijze en gecommandeert was, bij den schipper N. N. Ide, die een Broeder is en den opperstuurman Lourens Buis die een Egt kind [= lid] is van onse geregelde [loge] aangebragt geworden [...]'.

[266] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 644-4. Duplicate in CMC, Constitution file De Getrouwigheid, no. 644-1: Voorts moogen wij, niet onderlaeten UwEd[el] agtb[are] in Eerbied ter kennisse te brengen dat zig te Gale eenige Broeders verzamelt en eene Loge [= De Opregtheid] aangelegd, zonder dat se sig tot nog bij ons g'adresseert hebben, hoewel hun volkoomen bewust is, dat onse [loge] nae d'ordre door UwEd[el] Agtb[are] geconstitueert is, wij verzoeken door omme ons zoo wel als de Gaalse Broederen met ordres te voorzien hoe wij ons omtrent hun en zij zig omtrent onse Loge zig zullen te gedragen hebben, of wij naemeltlijk communicatief met hun zullen te werk gaen en ofse aan de [loge De] getrouwigheid onderworpen zijn dan niet, om welk Laest art[icul] wij egter op 't instandigst insteeren, dat voortaan alle de Broederen dewelke ten deezen eilande een Loge willen aanleggen zig ter Eerster instantie bij ons adresseren en van hunne handelingen d' op ende voortgang der Loge, de toestand der Broederen Etca aan ons verslag doen moeten, zoo en in diervoegen gelijk onse gehoudenissen teegens UwEd[el] agtb[are] meede brengt'.

[267] CMC, membership lists, lodge De Getrouwigheid, 27-1-1772.

[268] CMC, U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2: 'De Brief van de Provinciale Grootloge Salomon, te Bengalen, van den 26ste December 1770, is amicaal en Broederlijk geschreven [...]. Wij beveelen U dan gemelde Loge Salomon, als onze Provinciale Loge aan te merken, dezelve in zaken die spoed vereischen te consuleeren, zonder egter van dezelve afhankelijk te zijn. Zijnde eene Provinciale Loge niets anders dan de Eerste Loge in Rang, aan wie vergunt is, namens den Hoog Edelen Groot Meester Constitutien te verleenen [...]. Wat de Broeders te Gale betreft, de welke volgens ULieder voorgeeven, clandestin vergaderen [...] dient tot antwoord, dat het beter ware, vermits dezelve onder ons ressort gehoren, dien Broeders zig op eene behoorlijke wijze aan Ons adresseerde, tot het bekoomen van een Diploma; en [...] Wij geen zwarigheid, U Lieden als de oudste van dat Eijland te qualificeeren (ongeprejudiceert nogtans het regt der Provinciale Loge Salomon te Bengalen) Broeders den weg te banen en provisioneel te accredeeren, om op een gereegelde wijze te kunnen werken [...]'.

[269] CMC, Box 2403, Constitution file De Standvastigheid, no. 659-1: 'Betreffende de aan de Broeders te Ceilon verleende Constitutie zijn wij wel van eene meening met Uw Hoog Edelens, dat dezelve daar toe de magt toekomt, wanneer zij zig aan Uw Hoog Edelens addresseerde, edog wij kunnen niet naleten, onse sustenue voor te dragen, dat zoodanige directe verleening eener Constitutie aan die Broederen een inbreuk schijnt te kunnen veroorzaken in het Previlegie aan onze Provintiale Loge Salomon, tot het Constituere van Loges om de geheele West van India verleend /: wij noemen dit alleen een sustenue:/ waar in we zoo veel meer egter bevestigd zijn geworden door het gehoude gedrag dier Broederen, in te voorleed Jaar, want alhoewel wij op hun gedaane schriftelijk aanzoek, ten eersten eene Constitutie hebben verleend, en hen meede de nodige Wetboeken en gezang boeken toegezonden, hebben zij niet te min nagelaaten die ontfangst ons te melden, maar ook van de aan hen door UHoog Edelens verleende Constitutie kennis te gevem, zulx wij evenwel vermeenen, hunnen pligt te zijn geweest, en waar in wij zoo veel meer bevestigd worden door de favorable Uijtdrukking van UHoog Edelen van hen te zullen onderregten dat zij ongeacht gemelde aan hen direct verleende diploma, onder onze Provint[ial]e Loge assorteeren, en aan ons zig addresseren moeten tot bezorging van t geene zij aan UHoog Edelens zoude hebben te zende wij verzoeken [...] dat die Broederen die mogelijk in een ander denkbeelt van onafhankelijkheijd mogten komen, van hunne Pligt mogten werden onderrgt, ten minste eene behoorlijke correspondentie met ons te houden [...]'.

[270] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 699-1, 'Origineele Missieve van Bengalen 11 January 1775 met Bijlagen A-B-C-D'.

[271] CMC, U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2, pp. 285-289. 'En dat ons nog meer verwondert, is hun stilzwijgen zonder overmaking van Contributien, (welverstaande die van Kolombo [= De Getrouwigheid]) waar over Wij hun bij deeze gelegendheid zullen onderhouden'.

[272] CMC, U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2: pp. 312-314: ´Niet zonder bevreemding en met de uiterste verwondering beschouwen Wij Uwe Agtb[are] gedrag ten onzen opzigte, en hoe onregelmatig derzelve werken en bestieren in de huishoudelijke zaken der Loge toegaan, zonder in agt te nemen het geen de Wet dicteert; en zonder ons rekenschap te geven van de staat uwer zaken. [...] Zedert Vijf Jaren, dat het Diploma verleent is, geen taal nog teken te geven van hun doen en denken!'

[273] Dubois 1761, Chapt. 4, art. 3 and 4, p. 66.

[274] CMC, U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2: 'Met leedwezen zijn ons almede ingekomen de Klagten van de Provintiale Groot Meester te Bengalen; dat Uwe Agtb[are] zig niet verwaerdigen den zelve te kennen [...]. Veel min ons Ons te communiceeren, dat ULieder verzoek deswegens te Bengalen gedaan, niet was afgeslagen, maar eenige aenmerkingen op het zelve waren gevallen.'

[275] Not included in the list of suspened lodges in CMC 4F56, *Vry-metzelaars Almanach*, Rotterdam 1807.

[276] Hageman 1867 A, p. 98.

[277] CMC, Box 2008, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1802-1804, no. 1341.

[278] CMC 4F58, *Vry-metzelaars Almanach*, Rotterdam 1808, p. 44-45: '15 De Getrouwigheid, Colombo op Ceylon, [1770] Buiten Tyding'.

[279] Kwaadgras 2003, p. 54.

[280] Dashwood 1948, p. 130.

[281] Hageman 1867 A, p. 98. Lodge La Sincérité is listed in CMC 4F12, *Almanach des Francs-Massons,* 1775, p. 19, and a later edition with the founding year 1773 and location Ceylon. Editions from 1780 onwards state the location as Punto Gale. The Dutch edition, CMC 4F33, *De Nederlandse Vry-metzelaars Almanach* 1780, p. 18, translates the name as De Opregtheid and provides the founding year as 1772.

[282] Christiaans 1994 A, p. 146.

[283] CMC, Box 2403, Constitution file De Opregtheid, no. 645-1: 'Alzoo zig alhier zedert een geruijmen tijd, verscheide Broederen Vrije Metzelaaren hebben bevonden, die steets tragteden, om waare het moogelijk een loge te stigten, maar zig te wijnig daartoe bevindende [= minder dan 7 Meester-vrijmetselaars], hadden ze het geluk, dat in den Verleedenen Jaare [= 1771] eenige Broederen zig op de scheepen bevonden en wierden als toe in staat gesteld een Loge te houden om de zig aan gediende Candidaaten te recipieeren, het welk voortgang had op den 12 febr. 1771.' See also Schultink 1987; Kwaadgras 2003, p. 57.

[284] CMC, Box 2403, Constitution file De Opregtheid, no. 645-1: 'die zedert 21 a 22 jaaren in de groote loges in 's haage is aangenomen en vervolgens te Antwerpen tot den trap van meester gestegen'. This implies he was initiated circa 1749-1750, from which date little records survive.

[285] Christiaans 1994 A, p. 145; Dashwood 1948, p. 131.

[286] Christiaans 1994 A, pp. 145-146.

[287] CMC, Box 2403, Constitution file De Opregtheid, no. 645-1: 'Den 21 Junij hadden we het geluk van onsen veel geliefd en gebieder den welEdelen Achtbaaren Heer Commandeur Arnoldus de Lij te recipieeren als leerling en knegt en op den dag van onsen beschermer St. Jan [= ca. 24 Juni] tot meester, als meede bovengem[elde] Broederen le Blanq, Scheede, Guinnot,en Bussing. [...] en zijn Achtbaare den Heer Commandeur tot onsen Protecteur verkooren en ook bij zijn Achtbaare geaccepteert. Zedert zijn nog verschijde waardige candidaten aangenoomen, te lang om die alle aan te haalen [...]'. Dashwood 1948, p. 131, provides a transcript.

[288] Christiaans 1994 A, p. 147.
[289] CMC, U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2: 'Nadat wij reeds door de Broeders gehorende tot de Agtbare Loge De Getrouwigheid, te Kolombo, geïnformeerd waren, van den ijver waar mede Uwe Agtba[are] al zedert een geruimen tijd, tot het voortplanten, onze Edele Wetenschappen werkende zijn geweest, hoewel zonder wettige Constitutie, en dezelve ons geraadpleegd heeft hoedanig zij ULieden zouden considereeren hebben wij geen zwarigheid gemaakt, die Broeders te qualificeeren tot het verleenen van een provisioneele Acte [...] en zeedert die rescriptie Uwe Agtb[bare] Missieven p[ri]mo Feb[ruari] deezes Jaars, door den Broeder Captein Sierevelt aangebragt, ontfangen hebbende, zijn te rade geworden, ULieden verzoek met een gunstig antwoord te vereeren'.
[290] CMC, Constitution file De Opregtheid, no. 645-2; Kwaadgras 2003, p. 57; Boerenbeker 1979, pp. 123, 131, footnote 3. 'De loges onder het Grootoosten der Nederlanden', *Jaarboekje voor Nederlandsche Vrijmetselaren*, Amsterdam 1917, p. 53, noted the founding date as 18-4-1773, but Schultink 1987, p. 149 provides the same date for the announcement of the foundation at the yearly Grand Lodge meeting.
[291] Schultink 1987, p. 149; Kwaadgras 2003, p. 57.
[292] CMC, Box 4506, Folder 256:1 Cash register of foreign bills of exchange of the Grand Lodge: 'Van De Loge d'Opregtheid te Punto Gale op Ceylon door Capitein Jan Sierevelt gezonden Een Don Gratuit voor de Casse der Nationale Groote Loge en in voldoeninge van de gezondene Constitutie deezer Loge f 250'
[293] CMC, Box 2403, Constitution file De Opregtheid, no. 673.
[294] CMC, Box 2403, Constitution file De Opregtheid, no. 673: 'De weinige overige Recipianten, die wij zedert voorgemelde Datum [31-1-1772] gehad hebben zijn geweest passanten en Scheepelingen'.
[295] CMC, membership lists, lodge d'Opregtheid, 30-1-1774.
[296] CMC, membership lists, lodge d'Opregtheid, 30-1-1774: 'ten Buitenhuise'. Could this be the house *Nooit Gedacht* at Unawatuna originally built in 1735 for the Dutch commander of Galle? A house associated with the Dutch commander is located at Queen Street in the city center, but that does not seem to fit the term, indicating a house away from the city.
[297] CMC, Moskou 9128, undated: 'Reeguls waar na zig den Grootmeester, eerste en tweede Opziender, Broeder terrible Broeder Spreeker, Secretaris, en alle andere Broeders zig [ze]ll[v]e moeten gedragen, zoo bij het oopenen van de Lodge als ook bij de aanneeming van een nieuwe broeder, in de Loge de Opregtheid te Galle'.
[298] CMC, 126-1, certificate 24-1-1775. Dashwood 1948, pp. 132-133 provides a transcript of the letter.
[299] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 699-1, 'Zakelijke inhoud der Brieven van Bengallen in dato 11 Januarij 1775': 'Klagten over die [loges] van Nagapatnam en Ceylon, dat dezelve de Prov[inciaal] Gr[oot] M[eester] niet erkennen, en verzoeken gemaintineert te worden'.
[300] CMC, Box 4354, Visitor book of Lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam 1765-1782.
[301] CMC, Box 4354, Visitor book of Lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam 1765-1782.
[302] CMC, archive inventory card register, 'La Sincérité, Point de Galle'. Noted on the back: '31-10-1979 niet aangetroffen'.
[303] See for instance CMC 4F12, *Almanach des Francs-Massons* 1775, p. 17:
[304] CMC, former inv.no. 26I18 (new inv.no. AA.2.1), Archive Chancelery of Higher Degrees (Kanselarij der Hoge Graden).
[305] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 75 Inventories of the lodge archive 1782-1832, inventory 1820, lists an undated diploma from lodge 'Opregtheid te Ceilon', issued to P. Hoyer for these higher degrees.
[306] CMC, membership lists, lodge d'Opregtheid, 31-11-1789.
[307] Impey/Jörg 2005, p. 222, ill. 538, shows a Japanese lacquer sewing table inscribed J.L. Kloprogge.
[308] CMC, membership lists, lodge d'Opregtheid, 31-11-1789.
[309] CMC, membership lists, lodge d'Opregtheid, 31-11-1789: 'geen vaste plaats', 'dag en uur onbepaald'.
[310] CMC 126-3, certificate 28-8-1789.
[311] It is worth noting a copy recently surfaced in Pakistan, see freemasons-freemasonry.com/Francken-Manuscript.html.
[312] Dashwood 1948, p. 130, refers to Maarschalk.
[313] Hageman 1859, p. 77; Hageman 1866, p. 58; Schultink 1987, p. 149; Kwaadgras 2003, p. 57.
[314] CMC 126-2, certificate 28-11-1790.
[315] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], 1770-97 No. 20 Outgoing correspondence and attachments to the Grand Lodge, letter by lodge De Opregtheid 24-5-1791 to lodge La Verteusue: 'niet alleen 't getal der Leeden daegelijks zien toeneemen [...]. Om niet in de noodzakelijkheid te zijn onze vergadering telkens te verplaetzen, hebben wij een huijs en dies erf binnen deeze Stad Gale gekogt; wij vinden ons intusschen verleegen hoedanig daervan een eigendomsbewijs te verkrijgen waer door wij verzekers zijn niet teegen de wetten van den Souverain te Sondigen en tevens geen Chikane [= gedoe] deswegens te moeten ondergaan; [...]'.
[316] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76+77 II-A-1+2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1791-1795 1802-1805, minutes 27-12-1791.
[317] CMC, Box 3148, Folder XVII, Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek voor de Javasche Broederschap der Orde van de Vrij Metselaren', 1843, n. pag.: 'Zowel voor als na den oorlog in 1796 is La Vertueuse in gestadig correspondentie geweest met onderscheidene [Loges] in India, als [...] De Opregtheid Punto gale [...]'. Van der Linden 1870, p. 30.
[318] CMC, former inv.no. 123E29/new inv.no. 59B: 'Reeguls waar naar Zig de Grootmeester, Eerste en tweede opziender, Broeder Terrible en Alle Anderen Broeders Zig zullen moeten gedraagen, zoo bij 't openen van de Loge als ook bij de aanneming van Een Nieuwen Broeder in de Loge de Opregtigheid', in which 'Catechismus der Knegt en Leerlingen' and note at the back 'Oude Instructie voor alle officieren van de Loge La Fidèle Sincérité N32 N28'. Probably the same document as CMC Moskou 9128 mentioned above, which may have been renumbered.
[319] I am grateful to drs. Lennart Bes, National Archive, The Hague, for bringing this document to my attention. See NA, 2.21.165 Uhlenbeck family archive, inv.no. 11.
[320] CMC, 4390, Visitor book of lodge La Charité in Amsterdam, signed from 1798 onwards; CMC, Box 4354, Visitor book of Lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam 1765-1782.
[321] CMC, 4390, Visitor book of lodge La Charité in Amsterdam, signed from 1798 onwards.
[322] Dashwood 1948, p. 134, provides a description of the document. The original was not found in the documents consulted for this project in the CMC collection.
[323] Boerenbeker 1991a, pp. 144-145, p. 162, footnote 2.
[324] CMC, membership list lodge De Opregtheid in Galle, 11-8-1804.
[325] CMC, membership list lodge De Opregtheid in Galle, 11-8-1804.
[326] A Hallwachs is listed on the summary of the transport, see: safrika.org/Wuerttemberg_en.html
[327] Not included in the list of erased lodges in CMC 4F56, *Vry-metzelaars Almanach*, Rotterdam 1807, pp. 48-50 and later editions.
[328] Hageman 1867 A, p. 101: 'Sinds 5790 opgelost', '5794. heropende [...] [en] Sinds 5806 ontbonden'. However, he states on p. 102: '5804? Sedert nimmer berigt'.
[329] Dashwood 1948, p. 130, refers to Maarschalk.

[330] CMC 4F58, *Vry-metzelaars Almanach*, Rotterdam 1808, pp. 44-45: '20 De Opregtheid, Punto Gale, Ceylon, [1772] Buiten tyding'. Kwaadgras 2003, p. 58.
[331] CMC, Box 3132, Outgoing correspondence 1807-1815, attached to a membership list dated 12-7-1808 and in the same handwriting.
[332] Dashwood 1948, p. 134, describes the document. The original was not found in the documents consulted for this project in the CMC collection.
[333] Dashwood 1948, p. 130.
[334] Dashwood 1962, p. 10.
[335] I am grateful to Roland Kaehr, curator of the Musée d'Ethnographie in Neuchâtel, for providing me with information on De Meuron from his own research.
[336] De Meuron 1982, p. 27 (no source given): 'De retour a Rochefort, Meuron s'affilie a la franc-maconnerie ou il parviendra plus tard a de hautes dignites'.
[337] De Meuron 1982, p. 51; see also Le Bihan 1967, p. 301.
[338] Quoted here from Beaurepaire 1998, pp. 209-210: 'Le zèle ardent et sincère que nous avons toujours manifeste dans les orients dont nous avons été membres, ainsi qu'il se constate par les certificats de nos travaux dans l'Art Maçonnique, et le désir que nous avons de porter dans les contrées les plus reculées la Royalle - L'Art Royal en fait -, nous engage à vous adresser cette planche pour vous demander la faveur, comme l'orient le plus éclaire, de nous authoriser a nous constituer une loge particuliere pour notre Régiment et en même tems le pouvoir d'en etablir d'autres dans les lieux ou nous allons, pour répandre la Maconnerie dans les Cantons que nous allons habiter. Voicy le fait. Le Régiment Suisse de Meuron au service de la Noble Compagnie des Indes Orientales d'Hollande – jusque-la au service de France, il était stationné a Saint-Pierre [Isle] d'Oléron-, duquel nous sommes officiers, est sur son départ pour l'Isle de Ceylan; nous souhaiterions avoir le faculté d'établir une loge suivant notre bon plaisir et légalement formée. Voudriez-vous, nos très chers et respectables frères, nous donner une réponse là-dessus, ainsi que vos directions dans un objet aussi essentiel?' Beaurepaire refers to Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Manuscrits, Loges Militaires, Ancien Régime, Vol. M, Loge du Choix Helvetique, regiment de Meuron, no. 7, 19-8-1782. See also Kaehr 2000, p. 113, footnote 32; Meuron 1981, pp. 50-51.
[339] Quoted here from Beaurepaire 1998, p. 211: 'La loge du Choix Helvétique, jalouse d'être liée particulièrement au Grand Orient de France, désire ardemment obtenir les lettres de constitution qu'elle sollicitées des mois de février; elle veut emporter avec la protection que le Roi de France accorde a la Hollande, celles de fraterniser avec les plus dignes maçons de l'Europe, et je suis charge de remettre en vos mains l'intérêt d'un atelier vraiment zèle et qui se flatte de réunir a l'activité maconnique le dévouement du sang pour la Patrie … C'est a Ceylan, sur la Cote de Coromandel en Asie, ou nous espérerons édifier un Temple maçonnique, sous les auspices du Révérend Grand Orient de France. La très cher frère, nous n'oublierons jamais des faveurs que vous nous accorderes et le souvenir de vos démarches se rapellera chaque jour parmi nous'.
[340] Quoted here from Beaurepaire 1998, p. 211, footnote 139.
[341] De Meuron 1982, p. 51.
[342] Kaehr 2000, p. 39.
[343] [Brinkworth] 1982, n. pag. Dashwood 1948, p. 134, places the arrival in Ceylon in 1786 or 1787.
[344] Kaehr 2000 describes the forming of the collection. See museum website: men.ch.
[345] CMC, membership list lodge d'Opregtheid in Galle 'sinds november 1788', 31-11-1789.
[346] CMC, Box 2404, Constitution file La Réunion Neuchatelloise, no. 995. See also Maarschalk 1872, p. 365; Schultink 1987, pp. 149-150; Christiaans 1994 A, pp. 151-152, Kwaadgras 2003, p. 83 and Huyghebaert 2001.
[347] CMC, Box 2404, Constitution file La Réunion Neuchatelloise, no. 995: '& autres, tous offciers au dit Regiment'; Kaehr 2000, pp. 41 (footnote 12), 62 and 67. C.D. de Meuron corresponded with a François Simon Renaud de Coquillard in Middelburg, see Kaehr 2000, p. 1. Jequier may have been added posthumously, according the membership records of De Opregtheid he had already died in 1788. See for more members' names also: ceylondatabase.net/military.html#DeMeuron.
[348] CMC, Box 2404, Constitution file La Réunion Neuchatelloise, note 425 letter no. 995: 'Frere Maitre Franc-Macon [...] tous ajant le Susdit grade, acquis dans une Loge bien et legitimemenet constitute'
[349] CMC, Box 2404, Constitution file La Réunion Neuchatelloise, brief no. 995: 'niet gegeeven, om rede de kosten niet betaald zijn, dog naderhand geresolveerd dezelve op te maken, en gedaan 13 dag van 12 Maand 1791'. CMC 4F44, *De Nederlandse Vry-metzelaars Almanach*, 's-Gravenhage 1793, pp. 27 and 29-30, mentions the foundation in 1792, the announcement of the founding at the Grand Lodge meeting of 27-5-1792 and lists the location as 'thans te Ceylon'. 'De loges onder het Grootoosten der Nederlanden', *Jaarboekje voor Nederlandsche Vrijmetselaren*, Amsterdam 1917, p. 55, names the date of the announcement as the founding date. According to Kwaadgras 2003, p. 83, the Constitution was signed in 1790; see also: Boerenbeker 1979, pp. 218, 221, footnote 2; Christiaans 1994 A, p. 152.
[350] 'Je vous envoye cy joind l'acte de Constitution pour une loge Hollandaise dans le Reg[imen]t. Il y a deux ans que je l'avois demande la Requette etoit Egaree M[onsieu]r le Gl Baron de Bonstetten vient de me la faire remettre. Je desire quelle vous parvienne & que vous en fassies usage, pour l'utilite & l'agrem[en]t du Reg[imen]t'. Transcript kindly supplied by Roland Kaehr, 9-12-2005 (referring to AEN, Fonds Regiment de Meuron, dossier 44.I, Vol. D, p. [85]).
[351] Hageman 1866, p. 57
[352] [Brinkworth] 1982, n. pag.
[353] Hageman 1866, p. 81; Dashwood 1948, p. 134.
[354] [Brinkworth] 1982, n. pag. The transfer took place under supervision of Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville, Secretary of War and Hugh Cleghron, professor at St. Andrew's University and a friend of C.D. de Meuron. They arranged matters with the VOC, after which almost all 860 men that were left, were transferred to British rule. Prisoners of war at Trinchonomale were released. C.D. de Meuron obtained 4.000 pounds and both he and his brother Pierre were named Generals of the British Army. Cleghorn received 5.000 pounds and the title Crown Secretary of Ceylon, but the soldiers were not paid. Most had to wait years for the wages owed to them. See also Hageman 1866, pp. 15 and 81; Dashwood 1948, p. 134.
[355] Kaehr 2000, p. 19. Schultink 1987, pp. 149-150, mistakenly notes the Regiment travelled to India in 1795 and disbanded in 1796.
[356] Hageman 1867 A, p. 100; Christiaans 1994 A, p. 152, Kwaadgras 2003, p. 82.
[357] CMC, Box 2008, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1802-1804, no. 1341.
[358] CMC 4F58, *Vry-metzelaars Almanach*, Rotterdam 1808, pp. 46-47: 'Thans in Indien'.
[359] CMC, Box 3067, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], 1770-97 No. 20 Letters sent to the Grand Lodge 5770-5797: 'Zedert den 3^{e} dag der 6de maand van het Jaar des Lichts 5792 ons vergadert en met de behoorlijke formaliteiten eene welgeregelde loge gestigt hebbende met overeenkomst en goedkeuring der in het Oosten van Punto Gale wel geconstitueerde Loge de Opregtheid, dogter van de Groote Nationaale Lode der Zeeven Vereenigde Nederlanden onder afwachting van de aan onze hoog achtbaeren grootmeester Nationaal versogte constitutie, kunnen wij deeze gelukkige gelegenheid niet laaten ontglippen om met uw achtbaeren in correspondentie te treeden'. See also Box 3064, Folder 76+77 II-A-1+2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1791-1795 1802-1805', minutes 27-12-1794, recording that lodge member Nederburgh would answer the letter from Colombo. The lodge is first listed in CMC 4F46, *De Nederlandse Vry-metzelaars Almanach*, 's-Gravenhage 1795, p. 34: '68 De Vereeniging, of Virtus nostra Doctrix, Colombo op Ceylon, 1794', which also mentions the announcement of the founding in the Grand Lodge on 8-6-1794 (pp. 36-37).

[360] Maarschalk 1872, p. 365; Boerenbeker 1979, p. 228; Kwaadgras 2003, pp. 87-88. Christiaans 1994 A, p. 152, concludes the closing of lodge De Getrouwigheid was the reason for the founding of this new lodge.
[361] Schultink 1987, p. 151.
[362] CMC membership card register: members of lodges in The Hague and Kampen have the surname Cuijlenburg in the 18th century. A Von Winkelman was raised as Master in lodge La Constante et Fidèle in Batavia in 1837.
[363] CMC, Box 3067, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], 1770-97 No. 20 Letters sent to the Grand Lodge 5770-5797: letter 30-4-1794;
[364] CMC, former inv.no. 123C60 (new inv.no. 56H): 'Redevoering op St. Jansdag den 24 Junij 1795 gehouden door Br[oeder] Or[ateur] V[on].W[inkelman] in de Loge De Vereeniging te Kolumbo'.
[365] CMC, Box 3067, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], 1770-97 No. 20 Letters sent to the Grand Lodge 5770-5797: 'Nadermaal wij zedert het afgaan onzer brieven van den 1 November 1792 en 8 Januarij 1793 aan de Hoog Achtbaaren en zeer verlichte Nationale Groote Loge in de vrije ver-eenigde Nederlanden, waar bij om onze constitutie Eerbiedig hebben verzogt, tot heeden geen antwoord hebben bekomen, en wij niet zeeker weeten, wanneer dit is toe te schrijven, zoo word den waarden en beminden broeder Pieter Mutz bij deezen door ons plegtig versogt en uit ons midden als orateur onze Loge gedeputeerd, om bij desselfs aankomst in Europa, alle desselfs welbekende ijver en vaardigheid te willen bekleeden, op dat wij bij de eerste goede gelegenheid, onze beide contituties mogen bekomen, geevende daarom aan denzelven alle magt, om daarover voorstellingen te doen en schikkingen te maaken, wat aan een Gedeputeerde, kan en mag gegeven worden'.
[366] I am grateful to drs. Lennart Bes, National Archive, The Hague, for bringing this document to my attention. See NA, 2.21.165 Uhlenbeck family archive, inv.no. 11.
[367] CMC, former inv.no. 123C59 / new inv.no. 56H, 'Redevoering gehouden in de Loge De Vereeniging te Columbo op den Gedagtenis van St. Jan den 24 Junij 1800 Over de eigentlijke Waarde van 't Menschelijke Leven'.
[368] Dashwood 1948, p. 134.
[369] Dashwood 1948, p. 135, refers to Percival 1803. Could the location of the lodge with a botanical garden refer to the later Cinnamon Gardens?
[370] Cordiner 1807, p. 37.
[371] CMC 4F58, *Vry-metzelaars Almanach*, Rotterdam 1808, pp. 46-47: '47 De Vereeniging, of Virtus nostra Doctrix, Colombo op Ceylon, 1794 Buiten tyding'. Hageman 1867 A, pp. 101-102, concludes 'Sinds 5806 ontbonden', and names the lodge a second time under the title Virtus Nostra Doctrix '5806. Colombo. Sedert nimmer berigt'. According Volgens Kwaadgras 2003, p. 88, the lodge was 'buiten tijding' in 1801 and erased in 1806.
[372] Dashwood 1948, pp. 130 and 135, Dashwood 1950, p. 80; Dashwood 1962, p. 3. Schultink 1987, p. 152, also suggested a connection between De Vereeniging and these two lodges, as well as the English lodge St. Andrew's Union.
[373] Dashwood 1962, p. 3.
[374] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76+77 II-A-1+2 La Vertueuse 1) Minutes 1805-1810 2) Booklet with statements of members requesting acception; 3rd degree Minutes 1806-1809: 'den Meester en de Leden van de [Loge] de vereeniging te Columbo, gedagtekend aldaar den 20+ der 10* van het jaar 5806, strekkende tot aanbeveling der naar herwaarts vertrokken B[roeders] A.W. Mottan, P. Hoijer, B.P.C. de Haart, A.L. Fransz en C.A.E. Boone'.
[375] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 31 Incoming and outgoing correspondence 1817-1820, no. 33.
[376] Dashwood 1950, p. 82.
[377] CMC, Box 3071, Folder (unnumbered) Letters received by La Vertueuse 1822-1824, Attechments 1821-24 including incoming correspondence, no. 31.
[378] CMC, Box 3071, Folder (unnumbered) Letters received by La Vertueuse 1822-1824, Attechments 1821-24 including incoming correspondence.
[379] See Dashwood 1948, pp. 80 and 185, comment by T.M. Jaeger, referring to Collin 1871. Jaeger provided a transcript of the Rask certificate in the collection of the Nationaal Historisch Museum in Frederiksborg, Denmark. Dashwood 1962 provides a summary of Rask's diary from Jaeger's notes.
[380] Dashwood 1952, p. 13.
[381] Information kindly supplied by Erik Westengaard, Nationalhistoriske Museum på Frederiksborg, Hillerød, Denmark.
[382] Dashwood 1962, p. 23.
[383] Dashwood 1950, p. 82; Dashwood 1962, pp. 23-24.
[384] Dashwood 1982, p. 15.
[385] Dashwood 1950, p. 79, refers to Rebold, *Histoire des Trois Grandes Loges*, who provides a 19th century overview of French lodges. Dashwood concludes that Schneider probably travelled to Paris in 1820-1821 to ask for a Constitution, but found no evidence to support his theory. See also Dashwood 1962, pp. 17-19, for the use of different degrees from different rites by the Chapter of Union Lodge.
[386] Dashwood 1962, p. 13, refers to Edgar 1871. He noted that newspapers mentioned that the passenger's possessions had been retrieved unharmed and that Rask left in June instead of August.
[387] CMC, Box 3071, Folder 88 La Vertueuse incoming correspondence and visitor lists 1824-1826, no. 30: '[...] heeft de Achtbare Groot Meester van de Vrij Metzelaars Loge De Vereeniging uit menschlievendheid, mij een huisje pro deo ter woon gegeven, te meer omdat ik een oud vrijmetselaar, en door mijn vlijt en ijver met de Sublime Graad van Souverain Prince Rose Croix gehonoreerd ben [...] Dan dewijl de Vrijmetzelaars van de Loge van Ceylon behoeftig zijn, neem ik mijn toevlugt tot Uw Hoog Verlichte en Agtbaarens'.
[388] CMC, Box 3071, Folder 88 La Vertueuse incoming correspondence and visitor lists 1824-1826, no. 30: 'Wij ondergetekenden, Groot Meester, Opziender en Secretaris van de Loge De VerEeniging in het Oosten van Columbo, op het Eyland Ceylon certificeren bij deezen dat den inhoud van dezen Brief met betrekking tot onzeren Broeder Johannes Camp, de waarheid behelsd, en dat Hij mededoogen en de ondersteuning van alle waarde Broederen Vrijmetselaren verdient'.
[389] CMC, Box 3150, Folder 180 Chapter La Vertueuse Incoming and outgoing correspondence 1815-1839: 'in aanmerking nemende en uit hoofde dat haar Man zo een ede Regent van de doorluchtigen order der Vrije-Metzelaren en Groot Meester [= Voorzittend Meester] geweest is van de Achtb[are] Loge de Vereeniging in het O[o]sten van Colombo op het Eijland Ceylon'.
[390] CMC, Box 3150, Folder 180 Chapter La Vertueuse Incoming and outgoing correspondence 1815-1839: 'afgegeven door de Heeren Mailame Watson & Camp alhier op den Heer Jj van der Spar te Point de Galle'.
[391] Dashwood 1948, p. 136, Dashwood 1962, p. 10, refers to a report in the *Colombo Observer* of the same date.
[392] Here quoted from Dashwood 1962, pp. 10-11
[393] From the 1740s dispensation was needed to hold a masonic procession. See Wade 2009.
[394] Dashwood 1962, p. 12.
[395] Dashwood 1962, p. 3. The Grand Orient was recognized by the Grand Lodge of England until 1877, so mentioning this was not yet a problem. Kind advice by dr. Jan Snoek, Heidelberg University.
[396] Not listed in CMC membership card register.
[397] Dashwood, p. 4.
[398] Dashwood 1948, p. 136; Dashwood 1962, pp. 24-25, provides a transcript of the Constitution.

[399] Dashwood 1962, p. 5, remarks that only Gregory was an 'English Mason', initiated according to English customs, so all others had to pay to obtain an English membership certificate.
[400] Dashwood 1962, p. 29, provides a report from the *Colombo Observer*, 4-3-1841.
[401] Dashwood 1962, p. 31.
[402] Dashwood 1948, p. 180.
[403] The history of the lodge between 1838 and the early 20th century is described in Dashwood 1962.
[404] CMC membership card register.
[405] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76+77 II-A-1+2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1791-1795 1802-1805, minutes 25-6-1795: 'voor te houden dat hij qualijk heeft gedaan zich op Ceijlon te laten recipieeren d.a. hij hem hier was geproponeerd'.
[406] Langendijk 1992 includes a photo reproduction of the full list; here p. 138: 'A[pprentif] C[ompagnon] M[aître] aang[enomen] op Ceilon; geacc[epteerd als lid in l'Astre de l'Orient] 19 Dec[ember] 1801'.
[407] Dashwood 1948, p. 142.
[408] Bosma/Raben 2008, p. 16.
[409] Kaufmann/North 2014, p. 150.
[410] Lequin 1982, appendix 7: 'Who's Who' in Bengalen I.
[411] Lequin 1982, p. 128.
[412] The CMC collection includes a membership card register of the Orde van Vrijmetselaren onder het Grootoosten der Nederlanden and its predecessors, from ca. 1756 onward. The card register is searchable by name and includes circa 70.000 members that joined before 1900, taken from membership lists and minute books, but there are some notable omissions. Although lodges were oblidged to send a yearly overview of members to the Dutch Grand Lodge, the number of such lists surviving from the years 1756-1775 is fragmentary and incomplete for the years 1775-1800. Only after 1800 the lists have less gaps between them. The fact that a name is not included, is by no means proof that a person was not a freemason, only that he can't be easily traced. The number of Dutch freemasons was simply larger that the CMC membership card register suggests. For persons after 1904, the archives of mixed and irregular Dutch Orders should also be consulted. An overview of masonic archives in public and private collections can be found on the website of the OVN Foundation: stichtingovn.nl/archiefwijzer.
[413] NA/VOC.
[414] An overview of members of the lodges in the Dutch East Indies before 1800 is forthcoming.
[415] See: tanap.net. I am grateful to Diederick Kortlang, involved in the Tanap project on behalf of the National Archive in The Hague, for making transcripts of masonic leters from Batavia in the ANRI collection available to me.

Notes to chapter 5

[1] Gaastra 2002, pp. 39-45.
[2] Bosma/Raben 2008, p. 6.
[3] Bosma/Raben 2008, p. 7.
[4] Bosma/Raben 2008, p. 16.
[5] CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek voor de Javasche Broederschap [...] 1843: 'De geschiedenis der in 't Oosten van Batavia gevestigde Loges, van derzelver vestiging af aan, kan, in zeker opzigt, beschouwd worden gedeeltelijk eene geschiedenis van Indie zelve te zijn. Immers ontwaart men grootelijks uit dezelve, de omstandigheden en de geest van den tijd, en leert men daaruit veelal den voor- en tegenspoed kennen, welke is ondervonden, de middelen, welke zijn aangewend om het heilig vuur, en den tempel der Orde, voor uitdooving te bewaren'.
[6] Van de Veur 1976; Stevens 1994. Neither author seems to have extensively researched the archives, instead exploring secundary sources, as is clear from inaccuracies repeated after 19th century authors.
[7] The misplacing of documents due to various changes in the registration of the CMC may account for some unintended oversights. The archives of the lodges in the Dutch East Indies in the collection of the Order of Freemasons under the Grand East of the Netherlands were inventoried by Ton Lutter in the early 1990s. However, the inventory numbers listed by Lutter changed after the move of the collection to the CMC in 1996, and shortly thereafter the archive of lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia was inventoried by Maud van Waardhuizen. I was able to consult both inventories in the 1990s and made notes. By 2015, both inventories were missing or mislaid in the CMC and although staff made an effort, it also proved impossible to trace some of the documents listed by Lutter in the new computer registration. For instance, Lutter mentions inv.no IIIA10 as including, amongst others, correspondence of La Fidèle Sincérité for the years 1773-1777. The same was listed by Van Waardhuizen, referring to the new 'Folder no. 2' in the archive of La Fidèle Sincérité. According to the cross-reference list of old and new inventory numbers of the CMC, the contents of this folder should now be present in 'Box 3080'. However, the documents were not pressent in this box when consulted in 2015.
[8] See also Veenendaal 1985; Voskuil-Groenewegen e.a. 1998; Eliëns 2002. Less well known, but very insightfull concerning techniques, identification and conservation is *Meeting of East and West* 2002.
[9] In Dutch: *Spaanse matten*, a silver coin with a worth of eight Real. Also called a *Real Batu* in the Dutch East Indies.
[10] Maarschalk 1872, p. 365; Lutter/Christiaans 1994, p. 127
[11] Hageman 1866, pp. 89 and 35.
[12] Hageman 1866, pp. 87-88; Hageman 1867 B, p. 135; Gedenkboek 1917, p. 155.
[13] Hageman 1867 B, transcript of a letter by La Choisie to the Dutch Grand Lodge, dated 4-9-1766, stating that the lodge was now active for three years. See also Hageman 1866, p. 86; Maarschalk 1872, p. 366; Gedenkboek 1917, p. 155.
[14] CMC, Box 2402, Constitution file lodge La Choisie in Batavia, no. 347.
[15] CMC, inv.no. U1, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 17-9-1745 until 6-9-1767, Vol. 1, no. 256: 'Overmits het Wetboek zegt, dat de Broeders ... beneden de 25 Jaren mogen ontfangen worden, zonder van een speciale vrijdom verkregen hebben, waarvan alle geregelde Loges zig jaarlijks voorzien, hebben Wij nodig geagt er hier eene bij te voegen, en waar bij nog deze en geenen andere Dispenses gegeven worden'.
[16] CMC, inv.no. U1, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 17-9-1745 until 6-9-1767, Vol. 1.
[17] CMC, inv.no. U1, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 17-9-1745 until 6-9-1767, Vol. 1: '[…] Dog vermits wij, dit Jaar, in de gemelde Hoofdstad van Neerlands Indien, eene nieuwe Loge, onder den Naam van La Choisie, opgeregt hebben, welkers Leeden een diergelijk voorregt ook zoude mogen begeeren [...] meenen in zulk een geval veel nuttiger te zijn [...] tot onder Batavia, de Oostelijke, en onder Bengalen de Westelijke Quartieren, als zijnde zeer uitgestrekt en verre van malkander, gebragt wierden; des dat de Agtbare Loge Salomon, behalve de Mogolsche en Persiaansche Keijzer Reiken, over de Kusten van Choromandel, en Malabar, mitsgaders het Eijland Ceijlon; gelijk de Agtbare Loge La Choisie, over Java, Sumatra, Malakka, Makassar, Ternate, Ambonia, Banda &c het opperbewind, elk afzonderlijk zoude voeren, met deze waardigheid annex aan het lichaam der Loge en niet meer aan den Persoon, van den actueelen Meester derzelve [...]'. The letter was sent in triplo, one with the ship of Van der Vorm and Van Ghere over Batavia, one over England with the Deputy Grand Master and the last with the constitution on the ship De Oranje Zaal, all dated. 1-12-1765. See also: CMC, Box 2002, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1763-1769, no. 370, 'Extract, rakende de verdeeling van het Provinciaalschap over Neederlands Indien', 30-9-1765. CMC, Box 2402, no. 347-2, contains a concept-Constitution for both Salomon and La Choisie as Provincial Grand Lodges dated 23-10-1765.
[18] CMC, Box 2402, Constitution file lodge La Choisie in Batavia, no. 347. Kwaadgras 2003, p. 42; Boerenbeker 1979, pp. 74-75 and note 9; De Neve 1994, pp. 132-135.
[19] CMC, Constitution file lodge La Choisie in Batavia, no. 395: 'maar de doenmalige en thans nog aanhoudende ziekte van den heer majoor Van Leupken, zo wel als de regen mousson en andere beletselen, zijn oorzake geweest niet alleen dat tot heden nog geen schickinge heeft kunnen gemaakt worden inhoedanigen voegen de erectie [van de loge] […] best te reguleeren, mar ook om de ons inreeckening gebragte ongelden te remitteren'. Kwaadgras 2003, pp. 42-43; Boerenbeker 1979, p. 75, footnote 9.
[20] CMC, inv.no. U1, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 17-9-1745 until 6-9-1767, Vol. 1, as mentioned in a letter by Grand Secretary Dubois to lodge Salomon, 30-3-1769. Hageman 1867 B, p. 135.
[21] Hageman 1867 B, p. 135.
[22] CMC, inv.no. U1, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 17-9-1745 until 6-9-1767, Vol. 1.
[23] *Naam-boekje* 1771, p.33. Hageman 1866, p. 88; *Gedenkboek* 1917, p. 156; Stevens 1994, p. 30. *175 jaren* 1931, p. 52, states he was a Servant in the lodge.
[24] Hageman 1866, pp. 39-40, refers to 'Bataviasche Statuten, Cap. 't Heeren of Stadslogement'.
[25] Hageman 1867 B, provides a transcript of the letter. See also Hageman 1866, p. 86; Maarschalk 1872, p. 366; *Gedenkboek* 1917, p. 155.
[26] Der Kinderen 1864, p. 208: 'niet alleen een schoon, maar vooral ook een moedig werk; want in dien tijd waren zij die in deze gewesten het bestuur in handen hadden, niet minder dan de regeerders in het moederland, zeer vijandig gezind jegens de Vrijmetselarij, en vooral de geestelijkheid bezigde voortdurend haren dikwijls zoo vermogenden invloed, om hen die zich de kinderen des Lichts noemen, af te schilderen als gevaarlijke wezens, die Staat en Kerk bedreigen met de grootste gevaren'
[27] Hageman 1866, pp. 20-21.
[28] Hageman 1866, pp. 33-35.
[29] Hageman 1866, pp. 98 and 103: 'Mij is nimmer eenig conflict bekend geworden, tusschen de voorstanders van de westelijke kerkleer, en de leden of corporatien van de V[rij] M[etselaars] Loges, - voor zoo veel de beschrevene en openbaar bekend gewordene zaken aangaat, ten minste tot 1821'. CMC, Box 8083, Folder 75, Inventories of the lodge archive 1782-1832, inventory 1820, mentions 'Vertoog of aantoning van de

ongegrondheid der lasteringen de orde der vrije metselaren ten onregte aangewreven' (1764) by Cornelis Jacob van der Lijn, Orator of Lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam.

[30] Hageman 1866, pp. 98 and 103.

[31] See *Verslag* 1848, pp. 92-93; Hageman 1857, p. 230; Hageman 1866, p. 88; Der Kinderen 1864, p. 208; Maarschalk 1872, p. 366; Pieren 1901/1902, p. 214. These authors all assume that the lodge was closed in 1767, ca. three years after its assumed foundation. Hageman 1866, pp. 36-37, point out La Choisie is still listed in Du Bois 1773, p. 114, based on news received from the East Indies until 1772, but concludes the lodge cannot have been active anymore by 1773. Hageman 1867 A, p. 98 corrects this into 'dissolved 5767'. Various authors suggest the lodge was closed before the constitution arrived. See CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek voor de Javasche Broederschap [...] 1843, n. pag.; *Verslag* 1848, pp. 92-93; Pieren 1901/1902, p. 214; 'De loges onder het Grootoosten der Nederlanden', *Jaarboekje voor Nederlandse Vrijmetselaren*, Amsterdam 1917, p. 53; Kwaadgras 2003, p. 30. This is incorrect, as Van der Voort affirmed the receipt of the constitution on 10-1-1766 in the aforementioned letter and confirms the intention to open the lodge. See also Hageman 1867 B, p. 135, Boerenbeker 1979, p. 75, footnote 9; De Neve 1994, p. 131; Kwaadgras 2003, pp. 42-43.

[32] CMC, 108E, Register of incoming and outgoing correspondence of the Grand Lodge 26-6-1747 until 17-4-1823, Vol. 1, p. 55: 'vermits zijl[ieden] begrijpen dat de Loge [La Choisie] die zich aldaar bevind, vervallen kan verklaard worden door dien er in geen Jaar en dag Loge gehouden is, en dus hunnen Constitutie vervallen is, volgens de wetten van de Gr[oote] Loge Hoofd[stuk] 4, Art. 4, pag 66.' The Register only summarizes the contents of the letter. In the margin is a pencil note stating the original document is missing from the archive.

[33] As is clear from CMC, inv.no. U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2.

[34] As is clear from CMC, inv.no. U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2: accompagnying letter to the constitution, sent with captain Pieter van Proijen of the ship De Ridderkerk, left from Amsterdam for Batavia 2-10-1769, and a duplicate with captain Van Bratten of the ship Erf prins, left from Delft for Batavia 2-10-1769.

[35] CMC, inv.no. U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2, no. 22: 'Wij hadden wel verwacht dat den Broeder Radermacher voorn[oemde] onze geweeze Grootsecretaris, bij zijn retour te Batavia ons van het een en andere zoude geïnformeerd hebben, maar denkelijk is dien broeder daar in belet geweest door particuliere bezigheeden, ofte dat zijn verblijf elders als te Batavia is. [...] En ofschoon wij van ter zijde vernomen hebben, dat den Broeder Claude Lubke overleeden, en dus de stoel [van de Voorzittend Meester] vacant geraakt is, vertrouwen wij egter dat die plaats werderom door een kundige Broeder vervult zal zijn'.

[36] CMC, inv.no. U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2, no. 24, 'Instructie voor den Broeder George Steendekker', 13-5-1769.

[37] CMC, inv.no. U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2, 2de deel, 'Instructie voor den Broeder George Steendekker', 13-5-1769.

[38] CMC, inv.no. U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2, no. 30: 'Wij hadden ons gevleid dat zulks al zoude geschied zijn, te meer omdat Wij hoopten, dat Uwer Agtb[are] tegenwoordigheid, als Lid in de Loge La Choisie en geweest zijnde Groot Officier, onder ons, beeter uitwerking zoude te weeg gebragt hebben, en dat Wij vooral, van den Staat derzelve jaarlijks zoude geinformeert geworden zijn; schoon wij tot hier toe nog geen Lijst van leeden gezien hebben, ja zelfs dikwils inbedenkelijkheid zijn geraakt of dezelve subsisteerde dan niet, en het gunt ons nog meerder aanleiding daar toe gegeeven heeft, was den ontfangst van Twee op elkander gevolgden Missives, van eenige Broeders te Batavia, behelzende een verzoek om een Constitutie te mogen hebben, ten einde eene Loge, op Batavia, voor[oem]t te stigten, onder de naam van La Fidele Sincerite, edog, die Brieven ons zeer laat, door een buiten gewoon canaal, ter hand zijnde gekomen, hebben Wij,alwagtende op Uwer Agtb[are] tijding, dat verzoek niet ingewilligd maar zagen veel liever dat die Broeders zig als Leeden van La Choisie aanmelden. Egter hebben wij niet wel kunnen weigeren, aan een ander gedeelte 't zaam gekomen Broeders (waar van eenige Leeden van haagsche loges zijn) op derzelver Request en Remise, een Constitutie te verleenen, tot opregting eener Loge te Batavia voornoemt, onder de naam van La Vertueuse, waar van Wij ons veel goeds beloven, om derzelver ijver tot werkzaamheid en goede directie. Wij wensen dat deeze Loge gemeenschap zal houden met La Choisie, en dat dezelve, in goede verstandhouding, zig onderling bezoeken zullen; en hopen nogtans, dat dit geen verflaauwing, onder de Broeders der laatstgenoemde zal veroorzaken, maar dat dezelve des te ijveriger zullen worden, en ons jaarlijks zullen veraangenamen met derzelver Misives, Lijste en Don Gratuiten, als voorstander der goede Order.'

[39] CMC, inv.no. U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2, no. 118: 'Bij ons is op zijn tijd zeer wel inhandigt, UwEd[eles] zeer aangename Missieve van den 15de October 1769 met de inleggende Wissel, ten lasten d'Heeren F. De Wilde en Groen, te Amsterdam, [...] maar hoe zeer Wij aan de eene kant verblijd zijn, in die Remise, doet het ons egter aan de andere kant leed te verneemen, uit de voorz[egde] Missieve, dat de Agtbare Loge La Choisie, door verzwakking van leeden, vernietigd zoude zijn, en dat Wij die zuster verliesen. Wij hopen en enschen dat dezelve eerlang, door den aanwas van een goed aantal waardige Lieden, zig moge herstelen en weeder in Staat kome, waar van Wij vertrouwen, door UwelEdelen, als dan, de communicatie te zullen ontfangen'.

[40] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], '1770-97 No. 20' outgoing correspondence and attachments to the Grand Lodge, letter by La Vertueuse to the Grand Lodge, 19-1-1775, seems to confirm this assumption: '[our members] at the time of the undoing of Lodge La Choisie, gave themselves to the founding of la Vertueuse; known is that after us, la Fidele Sincérité was founded, and that this separation of La Choisie resulted from differences amongst the members, caused by different persons of which that late society consisted ('[...] ten tijde der te niet Looping van de Logie La Choisie, sig begaven tot de opregting van la Vertueuse, bekend is dat na ons, la Fidele Sincerite is opgeregt, en dat dese scheijding van La Choisie ontstaan is door oneenigheeden tussen de Leeden, veroorsaakt door differente persoonen waar wijl die sociteit bestond.' Original in CMC, Box 2002, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge, no. 701. Although this letter was part of strongly colored correspondence to the Grand Lodge, sent by La Vertueuse in its bid for the title of Provincial Grand Lodge, discussed below, it was probably what later authors repeated, see: CMC, Box 3148, Folder XVII, [J. Schill], Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek voor de Javasche Broederschap der Orde van de Vrij Metselaren', 1843: '[...] edoch de tijd scheen tot zulk eene gewigtige onderneming nog niet rijp – zij leverde geene kentekenen noch op van eene eensgezindheid, waarin de Loge zich lange konde verheugen. – de denkbeelden van ware gelijkheid en Broederliefde heerschte noch zeer flauw in het donker, onder de B[roeders] want spoedig na de stichting en voor dat de constitutie verkregen was, werd de Loge door onderscheidene omstandigheden, voornamelijke veroorzaakt door onderscheid van stand, geloofsleer als anderszins gedissolveerd'. Hageman 1866, p. 45: 'De eigenaardigde geest van afzondering leidde weldra tot het oprigten van een eigene Loge-vereeniging, en afscheiding voor de Comp. Politieke dienaren'; idem, p. 88: 'Uit nadere aanteekeningen is op te maken [...] dat het verschil van wereldsch beroep en individuele denkwijs, verschil van meening deed onstaan, die tot de dekking, ontbinding of scheiding leidde [...]'. According to Van der Linden 1870, p. 16, the cause for the closure should be sought 'in a meek resistance that the brethren suffered from both from governmental and the at the time very justicious clergy' ('in eene lijdzame tegenkanting die de b[roeders] zoowel van regeringswege als van de zijde der destijds uiterst rechtzinnige geestelijkheid zouden te lijden hebben gehad').

[41] CMC, Box 2402, Constitution file La Choisie, vervaldatum als zodanig aangetekend op de Constitutiebrief, no. 347. De Neve 1994, p. 141.

[42] Gedenkboek 1917, p. 155; *175 jaren* 1931, p. 54.

[43] Hageman 1867 B, p. 135, transcript of a letter by lodge La Choisie to the Grand Lodge, 4-9-1766: '[…] gelijk zulks ook zedert plaats heeft gevonden en gecontinueerd zal worden […]'. According to Hageman, the first formal lodge meeting in Batavia took place here on 1-8-1766, and later historians have copied this statement. Hageman 1866, p.39-40, 87, 113; Hageman 1867 B, p. 135; *100 Jaren* 1937, p.89; Stevens 1994, p. 30.
[44] 'Het Heeren-logement te Batavia onder Jacob Mossel', *Java-bode: nieuws, handels- en advertentieblad voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1-9-1860. It was situated in 'het Vierkant, blok L', according to 'De Bataviasche Logementen in de vorige Eeuw', *Bataviaasch handelsblad*, 25-06-1891.
[45] Adriënne Zuiderweg, 'Een verblijfplaats voor onsterfelijken. Een impressie van het culturele en literaire leven op Batavia (1619-1811)', *Literatuur* 17 (2000), pp. 137. Zuiderweg briefly mentions freemasonry and in doing so makes several incorrect statements, such as 'Only VOC-people could become members of the Batavia Society and the masonic lodges' ('Alleen VOC-ers konden lid worden van het Bataviaasch Genootschap en van de vrijmetselaarsloges'). Not referenced further here.
[46] De Visser Smits 1930. p. 155. Stevens 1994, p. 30, refers to *Gedenkboek* 1917, p. 156.
[47] Hageman 1866, p. 89; *Gedenkboek* 1917, p. 157 and De Neve 1994, p. 131 emphasize that La Choisie was still active.
[48] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 75, Inventories of the lodge archive 1782-1832, inventory 7-2-1783: 'Een resolution boek, in rood leer gebonden, beginnende Anno 1767 tot 1772'.
[49] Van der Linden 1870, p. 16.
[50] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 'Folder 75, Inventories of the lodge archive 1782-1832: 'Receuil van alle zoodanige Archieven, Documenten & adere Stukken als er op den 10 Juny 1820 […]'. See also CMC, Box 3078, Folder 20 Minutes and attachments 1821-1822, inventory 1-13-1822 (added to letter 13-1-1822), which explicity lists 'three Constitutions of *this* lodge' (emphasis mine).
[51] Hageman 1857, p. 231; Hageman 1866, p. 45; Kwaadgras 2003, p. 51. Gedenkboek 1917, p. 157 mentions a meeting in September 1767 (difference due to the masonic calendar). These authors ommitted other members, listed in Hageman 1866, p. 90: 'Maar in deze eerste bijeenkomst voor de tweede werkplaats ontstond reeds de kiem voor de derde. De B[roeders] Musquetier, Hasselaer en Van Stockum scheidden zich af, en vormden, met nog dertien bijgekomenen, eene eigen vereeniging in het 5768, onder den naam *"La Vertueuse"*'.
[52] CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, n. pag.: 'Bijlage H [Voorzittend] Meesters van La Fidele Sincerite'.
[53] Hageman 1866, p. 45 and 112.
[54] Hageman 1866, p. 47; Van der Linden 1870, p. 17.
[55] CMC, inv.no. 108E, Register of incoming and outgoing correspondence of the Grand Lodge 26-6-1747 until 17-4-1823, Vol. 1, p. 55. The register only summarizes the letter, in the sideline is added in pencil that the document is missing.
[56] CMC, inv.no. U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2, p. 32-34, letter by the Grand Lodge to Van Wijck, 15-8-1769: 'Het was in Juny jongstleden, dat Wij, door een onbekent retardement, zeer laat; een een singuliere manier en door de derde hand, ontwaar zijn geworden, dat er Brieven, voor den Groot Meester en verdere Groot Officieren, door UwelEdele, aan de Graaf Obdam, zijn gezonden, onder Couv[enan]t van de heer Houtman; welke Missives ons, hoe oud van datum ook, egter ter hand zijn gekomen, nadat Wij reeds een nieuwe Constitutie hadden verleent, tot d'opregting, eener Loge, onder de naam van La Vertueuse. Wat de reeden mag zijn, dat de voorz[egde] Missieves, in dato 27 November 1767 en 10 January 1768 dus aan dien Heer geaddresseert waren, die nooit Grootmeester geweest is, zullen Wij thans niet onderzoeken; maar alleen remarqueeren dat UwelEdele, en de broeders, de welke het met UwelEdele eens geweest zijn, omme een Constitutie te verzoeken, tot opregting eener Loge, onder de naam van La Fidele Sincerite, niet veel geinformeert zijn geweest van de Nat[ionale] Huishouding. Aan de andere kant is het ons bedenkelijk voorgekomen, dat de Broeders zich niet geinclineert hebben, zig als Leeden te vervoegen bij die van La Choisie, dewelke reeds zeedert circa vijf Jaren te Batavia opgeregt is, en waar van Wij nog onlangs Brieven bekomen hebben, dat dezelve werkende is, wel weetende dat die Loge aldaar subsisteerd. En hoe zouden Wij, Waarde broeders, aan dat verzoek kunnen voldoen? Daar de Wet ons dicteert, Pag. 64 het 1ste Art. van het 4de Hoofdstuk "Dat geen Constitutie kan gegegeven worden, ter plaatse daar reeds eene Loge is, als aan dezulke, die bereids Tien verzoekers in getal uitmaken". Dus strijdig tegens de fundamenteele Wet zijn UwelEdelens voorz[egde] Missives maar door eenige weinig Broeders geteekent. Daar boven zien Wij, met verwondering, dat zig het verzoek extendeert tot eene Provinciale Loge [...] Wij flatteren ons, dat de Broeders met ons wel zullen willen begrijpen, als er al een Provinciale Acte nodig was, en op goede gronden gerequireert wierd, dat daartoe veel eer de Oudste, of eerst geconstitueerde Loge, het regt zoude hebben. En Wij agten de Broeders al te judicieus, om van ons te vergen, dat Wij [...] infractien aan dezelve zouden maken. Dus zijn Wij buiten staat aan dat verzoek te voldoen. Wij hopen, dat de Broeders die Wij als waardige Leeden aanmerken, zig wel zulen gelieven in te lijven bij La Choisie, of La Vertueuse, daar dezelve veel ligt en mogelijk ras, in het bewind van zaken zullen kunnen toedreden; [...] Het komt ons wijders voor, dat Drie Loges te Batavia te veel zoude zijn, dus raden Wij de Broeders van La fidele Sincerite, zig bij eene der voornoemde Loges te voegen; ten ware dezelve, om goede reedenen, zulks niet konden doen, en liefst verkozen zig andermaal aan ons te addresseren, wanneer Wij die reeden valide gevinden hebbende, en van den staat en het getal der Leeden, als meede van de jaarlijksche Contributien der Broeders, verzeekert zijnde, de verzogt Constitutie zullen accordeeren.' The letter was sent via captain Pieter van Proijen of the ship De Ridderkerk left from Amsterdam for Batavia on 2-10-1769; duplicate via Van Brattem on the ship Den Erf Prins left from Delft for Batavia 2-10-1769.
[57] CMC, 108E, Register of incoming and outgoing correspondence of the Grand Lodge 26-6-1747 until 17-4-1823, Vol. 1, p. 55, only provides a summary. In pencil is noted in the sideline that the document is missing.
[58] CMC, inv.no. U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2, 15-8-1769: 'Eenige weeken na UwEd[eles] vertrek zijn ons te laat in handen gekomen, Twee Missives, van den Broeder Jacob Van Der Wijck, cum suis, (Raad van Justitie, zoo men zegt) te Batavia; dewelke aan de Graaf Obdam, alhier geadresseerd waren, die egter nooit Groot Meester geweest is; en ofschoon van oude Datum, hebben Wij niet te min daar op gerescribeert. Dezelve behelzen een verzoek omme een Constitutie te obtineeren, ten einde te Batavia, eene Loge op te regten, onder de naam van La Fidele Sincerite; ja zelfs als een Provinciale Loge geconsidereert te zijn. Wij hebben die Broeders, door onze Missive doen begrijpen, de onmogelijkheid daar van, want in de eerste plaats zijn de verzoekers geen Tien in getal, dat strijdig tegen de Wet is, en aan de andere kant, zou dat regt van preferentie, om Provinciaal te worden, veel eer aan de Loge La Choisie, als de oudste toekomen. Dus hebben wij dien Broeders geraden zig aldaar als Leeden te vervoegen.Te meer, naar dien Wij begrijpen, dat dezelve werkende is; zeedert der onfangst eener Missieve van den Broeder Radermacher, in dato 10 Jan 1769. dewelke meld, dat den Broeder Van Der Voort, thans Meester van La Choisie, door ziekte belet is geworden aan ons te zenden, Een Hondert Ducaten, voor de generale Casse der Groote Loge, die, zoo hij voorgeeft, vast in October aanstaande vertrekken zullen Vervolgens hebben Wij nog een aanzoek en Remise gekregen van eenige t'zaam gekomen Broeders te Batavia, waar onder sommige, die geweezene Leeden van Haagsche Loges zijn, omme een Constitutie te hebben, ter opregting eener Loge, onder de naam van La Vertueuse; waar van den Broeder Van Der Vorm Meester is; op dat Request hebben wij een gunstig fiat verleent, en die Broeders met het nodige Patent voorzien naardien dezelve niet alleen een goed getal uitmaken, waar van ons het meerder gedeelte bekent is, maar behalven het zenden van de betaling der Constitutie in voorraat, beloven dezelve jaarlijks, een Don Gratuit, van gelijke somme, zoo het niet meer is, te zullen overmaken. Wij verzoeken Uwe Agtb[are] ten deezen opzigte een waken oog te houden, en, in qualiteit als buitenlandsche Gedeputeerde Groot Meester, die beide Loges te bezoeken; dezelve steeds aan te moedigen, tot maintien van goede orde, opdat Wij jaarlijks, zoo van de eene als andere, derzelver Missives, Don Gratuiten en Lijsten van den Staat hunnen Leeden regulier ontfangen, en de

onderlinge goede verstandhouding meer en meer te doen standgrijpen. Een wijder, met den Broeder Jacob Van Wijck, cum suis, te aboucheren, om die Broeders aan te raden, en is 't mogelijk te doen resolveeren, zig als Leeden aan te melden en te vervoegen in de Loges La Choisie of La Vertueuse; want wij begrijpen dat Drie Loges, op Batavia, te veel zoude zijn; ten ware dezelve valide reedenen hadden zulks niet te doen en bleeven persisteeren bij derzelver voorneemen, om, het koste wat het wilde, als nog een Constitutie aan ons te verzoeken. Mits, als dan, die reeden bij Request of Missieve aan ons voor te dragen; en dezelve wettig bevonden hebbende, zullen Wij hun in Staat stellen aan die begeertens te voldoen. En als den Broeder Radermacher; de beloofde Hondert Ducaten, op den ontfangst deezer, nog niet mogte hebben overgemaakt, dan verzoeke zijn hoog Edele daar toe aan te moedigen'.

[59] CMC, 108E, Register of incoming and outgoing correspondence of the Grand Lodge 26-6-1747 until 17-4-1823, Vol. 1, p. 72: 'Een missieve inhoudende verslag Wegens de Staat der Loges te Batavia &ca'. The register only summarizes the letter, on p. 75 is added that the document is missing.

[60] CMC, 108E, Register of incoming and outgoing correspondence of the Grand Lodge 26-6-1747 until 17-4-1823, Vol. 1, p. 72: 'Eenen Constitutie waar uit blijkt dat dezen Loge als eene provintiale Loge verklaard word &ca'. The register only summarizes the letter, on p. 75 is added that the document is missing.

[61] Pieren 1902/1903, p. 313: 'volgens de Algemeene Statuten in eenig O[osten] [= plaats] een 1e Loge kon worden opgericht en eene constitutie brief worden uitgereikt op verzoek van 7 Br[oeder]s tegen betaling van 10 ducaten, terwijl een constitutie voor een 2e Loge ter zelfde plaatse eerst werd gegeven op verzoek van 10 Br[oeder]s en tegen betaling van 20 ducaten'.

[62] CMC, Box 4506, 256:1 Register of foreign money transfers and claims on the Grand Lodge, 31-5-1770, registered August 1771: 'Paulus Lublinck koopman in ijzer op de Binnekant te Amsterdam, f 525 aan de ordre van Cornelis Jacob van der Lijn ontfangen door Jan Martin Reemer'.

[63] CMC, Box 4613, Valette archive, copy 'Contents Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol 2: '1771 20 Sept. Rescriptie aan die van La fidele Sincerite te Batavia, met de verzogte Constitutie en Project van inschrijving wegens Fundatie'. On 20-9-1771 Grand Secretary Dubois wrote to Provincial Grand Master Steendekker that there was a problem with the money transfer of 100 Ducats from La Fidèle Sincérité. CMC, inv.no. U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2, no. 158: 'ten lasten d'Heer Lublink te Amsterdam [...] vermits dien Heer zegt; geen betaling te kunnen doen, voor aleer hij van het nodige Fonds zal voorzien zijn, heeft hij geweigert, dezelve te accepteeren; belovende egter, zoodra UwelEdele hem in staat zal gesteld hebben daar aan te zullen voldoen; hetgeen ons ten uitersten surpreneert [...]'.

[64] CMC, inv.no. U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2, no. 137, dated 20-9-1771: 'Zijt gij niet alle kinderen van dezelve Moeder? Zijt gij niet alle Leeden van hetzelve Genootschap? Geeft de Rang een grooter, een meerder regt? Maakt de Moeder Loge onderscheid tusschen de oudste of Jongste? Wat kan ULieden dan aanporren om deeze Rang te vorderen? Niets dan verkeerde gedagten. [...] Was Uwed Brief tijdige gekomen Gijlieden zoud buiten tegenspraak in onze Nationale Vergaderingen boven La Vertueuse gezeten hebben. Toevallig is die Brief vermist, daar door heeft La Vertueuse eene Constitutie, gedateert voor de Uwe, en welk voorregt heeft dezelve daar door bekkomen? Immers niets weezentlijks'.

[65] CMC, inv.no. U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2, no. 137: '[...] daarbij is zulks onnodig zoolang wij onze Eerw[aarden] Br[oeder] Georges Steendecker, als Provinciale Gedeputeerde GrootMeester in Indien hebben. En misschien is het beter nimmer zodanig een Diploma aan eene particuliere Loge te vergunnen, vermits hetzelve dikwerf al te grooten naijver verwekt [...] Dat gijlieden den Casteleijn, bij wier de Loge gehouden word, macon gemaakt heb, is geenszins te misprijsen. Integendeel, is zulks nootzakelijk, om meer zeekerheid van gedekt te zijn, te hebben '.

[66] CMC, inv.no. U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2, no. 158: 'Wij hebben zeer wel ontfangen, UweEdelens zeer aangenamen Missives van November 1770 en Januarij 1771, waar uit Wij, met blijdschap vernemen hebben, de progressie welke UWelEdele, in de Oostelijke gedeeltens van Nederlandsch Indien gemaakt heb, en bedanken UwEd[ele] voor alle betoonde vigilantie; approbeerende UwEd[ele] gehandelde zoo ten opzigte van la Vertueuse, als met die van la Fidele Sincerite; aan welke laatste Wij de Constitutie in amplissima forma bij deeze geleegenheid; door Abraham Van Der Weijde toezonden. Maar aangaande het Provinciaalschap, kunnen Wij; vooralsnog daar niet intreeden, en hebben wij goedgevonden, zulks aan geen van beide te accordeeren. Wij hadden gaarne gezien en vernomen, dat de eensgezindheid en ware Broederliefde, tusschen die beide Loges meer plaats had gevonden, schoon Wij niet twijfelen aan UwEd[elens] goede bewerking en tusschen komst.' The letter was sent via captain Abraham van der Wijde, with duplicate via Frans de Wilde in Amsterdam 20-9-1771.

[67] Hageman 1866, p. 96.

[68] See Kroes 2007, pp. 272-273.

[69] Hageman 1858, p. 90; Hageman 1866, pp. 44-45; Boerenbeker 1979, p. 119, p. 122 footnote 4; Kwaadgras 2003, pp. 51-52. Hageman 1857, p. 233 mentions 22-9-1771 for the receipt of the constitution, while *Gedenkboek* 1843 names 20-9-1771. Der Kinderen 1864, p. 216 places the constitution in June 1772. Maarschalk 1872, p. 367 notes the confusion about the date. *Gedenkboek* 1917 then suggests constitution on 9-6-1770 or 22-11-1771, and installation in Juli 1772. Maarschalk 1872, p. 367 names J.V. instead of J.N. Bestbier and G. instead of Y. van Stamhorst, and left out Terbrugge.

[70] 'Ofschoon nauwelijks genoeg leden tellende, om de verschillende ambten te doen bekleeden, kenmerkte zich nogtans ook deze Loge [...] door de uiterste voorzigtigheid in het aannemen en toelaten van nieuwe leden'. Verslag 1848, p. 98; Hageman 1857, p. 238.

[71] CMC membership lists 24-10-1770, 13-4-1772.

[72] CMC, membership lists of lodge La Fidèle Sincérité; Box 3084, Folder 77, La Fidèle Sincérité financial administration 1777-1787.

[73] CMC, Box 4613, Valette archive, copy of 'Contents Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol 2': '1771 20 Sept. Qualificatie, voor Capt. Abr. Van der Weijde met het Schip de Paauw over Batavia naar China, tot het overbrengen der brieven &a'.

[74] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], '1770-97 No. 20' outgoing correspondence and attachments to the Grand Lodge, letter 1772 by La Vertueuse to the Grand Lodge. See also Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 649-1. CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], '1770-97 No. 20' Outgoing correspondence and attachments to the Grand Lodge 5770-5797, letter 1772 of La Vertueuse to the Grand Lodge, mentions two visitors after Van der Weijde had announced the constitution: 'nadat ons door broeder van der Weijde was bekend gemaakt dat gezegde Constitutie reeds had overhandigd'.

[75] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], '1770-97 No. 20' outgoing correspondence and attachments to the Grand Lodge: 'Ter gelegentheit van bezoek der Loge La Vertueuse door de Broederen en Leden van la fidelle Sincerite beide op Batavia', '7 wijnmaand 1772', which may be a report of this occasion. See also a copy in Box 3067 [II A 6-7], Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], '1770-97 No. 20'. According to 'De loges onder het Grootoosten der Nederlanden', *Jaarboekje voor Nederlandsche Vrijmetselaren*, Amsterdam 1917, p. 52, the lodge was founded in 1767, closed, and then reopened on 26-4-1772. Kwaadgras 2003, p. 52 names 5-5-1772 as installation date; see also Hageman 1857, p. 233; Hageman 1858, p. 90. According to Hageman 1866, p. 44, this was in June, while Verslag 1848, p. 98, and Maarschalk 1872, p. 367, mention July.

[76] CMC, Box 4506, 256:1 Register of foreign money transfers and claims on the Grand Lodge: 'Deeze somme als een Don Gratuit geconsidereert zijnde, van de [loge] La Fidele Sincerite te Batavia is dezelve na der Gedebitteert voor de Constitutie Parkementen &c'. See also later undated transfers in the same.
[77] ANRI, undated duplicate letter [ca. 1773] by Grand Secretary Dubois to lodge La Fidèle Sincérité. Transcript kindly supplied by Diederick Korlang, Nationaal Archief. See copy in: CMC, inv.no. U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2, no. 235.
[78] CMC, inv.no. U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2, no. 319.
[79] CMC 123C64: *Huishoudelyk wetboek by 'La fidelle sincérité' gemanifesteerd in Anni lucis 5775*, Batavia [1775].
[80] Verslag 1848, p. 98; Hageman 1857, p. 233; Der Kinderen 1864, p. 217; Hageman 1866, pp. 89 and 104; Maarschalk 1872, p. 367; Pieren 1901/1902, p. 222; *100 Jaren* 1937, p. 89; Stevens 1994, p. 30. *Gedenkboek* 1917, p. 157, and De Neve 1994, p. 131, emphasize that lodge La Choisie was still active.
[81] Hageman 1866, p. 114 (considering the masonic calendar, perhaps Winter St. John is meant?). According to Pieren 1902/1903, p. 312, ladies were present at this celebration.
[82] Hageman 1866, p. 114: 'oorzaak en aanleiding'.
[83] Pieren 1902/1903, p. 311: 'Omtrent deze tuinen nabij Batavia zegt de heer S. Kalff in een der laatse afleveringen van Elseviers maandschrift: "Door Valentijn en andere weten wij, dar de Bataviaasche Notabelen reeds vroeg op verschillende punten buiten de hoofdplaats hunne thuynen hadden, waar zij naar vaderlandsche wijs van het buitenleven plachten te geneiten en van een andere omgeving dan welke de perceelen op de Amanus en Tijgersgracht hun konden verschaffen. Men moet zich, zegt de oude schrijver, schoon wij dat met den gemeenen Bataviaschen naam maar thuynen noemen, niet verbeelden dat het maar thuynen zijn, want men heeft er de schoonste huizen bij, die men wenschen kan en die de fraaiste in de stad niet behoeven te wijken"'.
[84] *Verslag* 1848, p. 98; Der Kinderen 1864, p. 217; Pieren 1901/1902, p. 222. *100 Jaren* 1937, p. 89 mentions a 'garden house' ('tuinhuis'). Hageman 1857, p. 233 states 1771 as the year for the move to the garden of De Lopez; in 1866, p. 104 this is corrected to October 1770. Maarschalk 1872, p. 367 places this event in December 1770.
[85] CMC, membership lists of lodge La Fidèle Sincérité, 24-10-1770. Hageman 1866, p. 104 names as possible owner of the house: H.C. de Lopez and Johanes Esiaias de Lopez; according to the same, p. 104 and p. 113 the lodge moved after the death of H.C. de Lopez in 1773 to the Amanusgracht, but this date does not correspond with the location provided in the membership lists. CMC, Box 3148, Folder XVII, [J. Schill], 'Naamlijst [...]', 1843, also mentions a Cornelis de Lopes as a member in 1770.
[86] The Dutch term used here and in following quotes is *Hoog Achtbare* (High Worshipful) after the French *Trés Venerable*, which in itself was a translation of the respectfull title 'Worshipful Master'. It therefore makes more sense to use the latter than to provide literal translations.
[87] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 649-1: 'Verders stelde den hoog agtbaaren voor de noodsaakelijkheijd om Een ander verblijff voor onse [loge] te soeken, alsoo den Eijgenaar deeser plaatse de huur opgesegd hadde teffens proponeerde sijn Hoog agtbaaren zeekers thuijn te koopen aan de overkant staande voor een somma van 2500 rds en presenteerde daar toe 2000 van te geeven en wanneer het goedvinden der Broeders was de resteerende 500 bij te leggen dat dan Hoog agtbaaren sig verbinden werde om den selven aan ons geduurende den tijd van drie jaar en voor niet in huur teffens door sijn volk in staat en verders hem op die Eijge voet ten onsen dienst te laten houden als deesen tegenwoordigen dat almeede naar Rondvrage en voor afgegaene deliberatie wierd g'accordeert'.
[88] CMC, membership lists of lodge La Fidèle Sincérité, 31-10-1772 and 26-10-1773 note the meeting place as 'the Garden of the [Worshipful] Master'. According to Maarschalk 1872, p. 367 meetings from 1773 onwards were held in a house on the Amanusgracht, but that seems to contradict the location provided on the membership lists, unless the houses of these members were all along this canal.
[89] CMC, membership lists of lodge La Fidèle Sincérité, 26-10-1774: 'ten Huijze van: den Br[oeder] Jan Gijsbertij Hodenpijl zijnde een thuijn eeven buijten de Rotterdammer Poort'.
[90] CMC, membership lists of lodge La Fidèle Sincérité, 12-1775; Box 8083, Folder 75, Inventories of the lodge archive 1782-1832, inventory 1820, lists a 1774 rent agreement for a building outside the Rotterdam gate ('Huurconditie […] buiten de Rotterdammer poort').
[91] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 73 No. 37 Master of Furniture 1775-1801, 'Inventaris van de [Loge] La Fidelle Sincerite':
'A[nn]o 1775 * Al wat met rood …(?) aangetekent is Zulks Staat Boven in de [Loge]. Inventaris Van Diverse Goederen Gehoorende tot de [Loge] La Fidele Sincerite Als Huijsmeubelen in Zoort

36 ps * Stoelen in Zoort		blaauw geschilderd
4 * Quispedoors Knaapen		" "
13 * Kandelaars in Zoort		" "
4 * Speeltafels		" "
6 * Ronde Knaapen		" "
1 * Troon Tafel		" "
1 * Speel of Schrijftafel		" "
1 * Baalotatie Kassis		" "
21 * Stoelen in Zoort	zwart	"
1 * Troon Tafel		" "
1 * Schrijf dito		" "
1 * Kist en Bhaar		" "
12 * Kandelaars Knaapen		" "
3 * Drie Kante Bankies		" "

4 * Tapijten in Zoort
1 * Kast met eenigen boeken en papieren
1 * Stel Blaauwe Gordijne tot de M[eeste]r. [Loge]
1 * Loode pomp met dies Bak
1 * IJzere Ketting
8 * Wentel Trappen
1 * Doorn planck
1 Kist met Koperen beslag
1 rood Laadtie voor Tabeljees
ps Zeemleren Handschoenen
8 ps ornamente in Zoort
1 Blikken armbos

1 * groote Kist met rommeling
15 Chineesen Stoelen blaauw geschilderd
10 Grooten dito alle ombequaam
4 stolp Knaapen
Zilver en Plaatwerk
6 ps. * Zilvere Drie Kante Blaakers
1 " Schenkpiering
1 " passer
1 " Winkelhaak
8 * pleete Kandelaars
Glas Werke in Zoort
1 ps * glaasen Kroon
4 * Muur Stolpen
4 *Illusters
4 * ronde Ovaal Spiegels
10 * Vergulde bier glaasen tot lampen
4 Knaap Stolpen
50 Vrij maisons glaasen
12 Water Caraffen
4 Doz[ijn] bier glaasen
1 " wijn dito
Linne goed
27 ps Zervette
2 Tafellakens
Koper Goed
27 Drie Kante Blaaken
Diverse goederen berustende in de [Loge] La Fidelle Sincerite gehoorende Den Well[e]d[ele] Achtbaaren Heer Nicolaas Maas
7 ps glaasen muurstolpen
3 groote koperen Hanglantharens
1 Stel Etenstafel van 5 stukken afgehaald den 13 Nov.
Diverse goederen berustende in de [Loge] La Fidelle Sincerite gehoorenden den Vrij Burger Boudewijn Van Duyveland
30 ps Stoelen in 2 Zoorten
2 Speeltafels met groen Laaken bekleed
3 dito ordinair
1 groote Spiegel
12 schilderijen in Zoort
1 glaase hoekkast
6 Kopere hanglantharens in Zoort
12 lamp glaasen
1 Stel Etenstafels van 12 Stukken
1 Schenk "
2 Ronden "
2 dispens "
2 Combuijs "
1 Lacquer Keldertie
1 Glaasen Kroon
1 Japansen Waterpot
1 Bantamse dito
4 Verlackte Schenk pierings
1 Draag Balie
1 Lamp Trap

[92] Hageman 1866, p. 90: 'Maar in deze eerste bijeenkomst voor de tweede werkplaats ontstond reeds de kiem voor de derde. De B[roeders] Musquetier, Hasselaer en Van Stockum scheidden zich af, en vormden, met nog dertien bijgekomenen, eene eigen vereeniging in het 5768, onder den naam *"La Vertueuse"*'. Hageman 1866, p. 45: 'De eigenaardigde geest van afzondering leidde weldra tot het oprigten van een eigene Loge-vereeniging, en afscheiding voor de Comp. Politieke dienaren'

[93] CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, n. pag.: 'het bleek dat het verzoek door La Vertueuse reeds in het laat van a. 1767 bij hare oprichting gedaan om eene constitutie uit Europa, door het verongelukken van het schip Azia niet teregt gekomen was'. While Schill referred to the ship Azia, Hageman 1866, p. 90, mentions the ship Ariel and Pieren 1902/1903, p. 312 names the ships Lycochtrion and Aria. Only the ships Azie and Lycochton are listed in the NA/VOC database, but the ship Azie was already lost in the 17th century.

[94] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse Inventories 1789-1901 [=1801], '1709-1801 No. 10', inventory of the lodge archive 27-12-1789: 'Een bundel Resoll[uties = Notulen] en Bijlagen gehoorende de Loge La Vertueuse van 1768 tot den 24 junij 1770'.

[95] Visscher did not arrive until 1770; so it is not clear how was he added.

[96] Kwaadgras 2003, p. 49. *Verslag* 1848, p. 93, claims most of the 12 founders came from La Fidèle Sincérité, but in fact there were only three (25%). Hageman 1857, p. 234 identified them as VOC servants. De Neve 1994, p. 131 gives the date of the constitution request as 21-1-1769. CMC, inv.no. U1, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 17-9-1745 until 6-9-1767, Vol. 1, lists a letter dated 10-1-1769 and a report of the installation dated 24-2-1769 ('rapport wegens de installatie'). According to Hageman 1866, p. 90/92 the following men were involved in the founding in 1767-1768: Werner, Van Stockum, van der Velden, Brakel, Charpentier, Randwijk. Der Kinderen 1864, p. 208, names Van der Voren instead of Van der Vorm en Foest instead of Foeyt; Maarschalk 1872, p. 369, left out Van Stockum and Cras.

[97] Hageman 1866, p. 90. CMC membership card register lists Van Tets as a member in Batavia in 1769 referring to De Visser Smits.

[98] Hageman 1866, p. 17, 46; Kwaadgras 2003, p. 49. Van der Linden 1870, p. 18 en Maarschalk 1872, p. 369, mention 1-10-1769 due to the masonic calendar. Boerenbeker 1979, p. 105, p. 107 footnote 2, notes the announcement in the Grand Lodge. Gedenkboek 1917, p. 160-162 provides a

transcript of the constition; see copy in CMC, Box 3067 [II A 6-7], Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], '1770-97 No. 20'.

[99] CMC, inv.no. U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2: letter accompanying the constitution, sent via captain Pieter van Proijen of the ship Ridderkerk, left 2-10-1769 from Amsterdam for Batavia; duplicate via captain Van Bratten on the ship Erf prins, left 2-10-1769 from Delft to Batavia. Original in CMC, Box 3067, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse correspondence 1769 1778-1788, letter by Grootsecretaris Du Bois 15-8-1769, responding to letter 12-1-1769.

[100] CMC, Box 4613, Valette archive, copy 'Contents Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol 2: 'Aan die van La Vertueuse te Batavia, om antwoord en Remisen'.

[101] CMC, inv.no. U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2: letter from the Grand Lodge La Vertueuse, 15-8-1769, confirming receipt of the request dated 12-1-1769. See also Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, n. pag.

[102] CMC, membership lists, 22-5-1770.

[103] Hageman 1866, p. 42.

[104] CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, n. pag.: 'den 24 Februarij 1770 werd in een buitengewone bijeenkomst plegtstatig gerecipieerd den Hoogverlichte Br[oeder] George Steendekker aangekomen met het oostIn[isch] Compp[agnie] schip Lychosthon waarover Z[ijne] ed[ele] het bevel voerde- Z[ijne] Ed[ele] was door de groote Loge Nationaal in 's Hage in Commissie gesteld tot buitenlands gedeputeerde grootmeester Nationaal en was op grond van zijne volle magt om naar voorkomende omstandigheden te handelen genegen om de Loge La Vertueuse eene [voorlopige] constitutie te verleenen, hoezeer zijn lastbrief slechts bepaaldelijk van eene nieuw opterigtene Loge aan Cabo de Goede Hoop en van de Loge La Choisie melding maakte, - het bleek dat het verzoek door La Vertueuse reeds in het laat van a. 1767 bij hare oprichting gedaan om eene constitutie uit Europa, door het verongelukken van het schip Azia niet teregt gekomen was en dat de later met de B[roeders] Meijbaum en Tets overgezonden stukken noch niet in Europa ontvangen waren zoodat de groote Loge van de sedert plaats gehad hebbende omstandigheden wegens de silloutie van La Choisie & de nieuwe oprigting van twee andere [Loges] geenen kennis konden dragen - staande de uitreiking eener Constitutie door den Z[eer] V[erlichte] Br[oeder] George Steendekker waaromtrent de bestaande zwarigheden waren uit den weg geruimd werd in eene convocatie Loge op den 24 Meij 1770 gehouden ten huize van den B[roeder] R[eynier] van Vlissingen door den A[chtbare] M[eester] van der Vorm, aan de vergaderende B[broeders] communicatie gedaan van de directe ontvangst uit Nederland eener constitutie verleend door den HV groot M Nationaal […] 'Vervolgens wende den A[chtbare] M[eester] zich tot den in de Loge tenenwoordige Z[eer] V[erlichte] B[roeder] Ged[eputeerd] G[root] M[eester] N[ationaal] Steendekker om Z[ijn] Ed[ele] dank te betuigen voor de bij provisie verleende magt brief'. Hageman 1858, p. 17, *Verslag* 1848, p. 94 and Der Kinderen 1864, p. 209 all mention the late reception of the constitution after the installation by Steendekker. According to Hageman 1866, p. 92 the installation took place on 24-4-1769, but Hageman 1866, p. 17, 46 and 90 mention 24-3-1770 instead. Van der Linden 1870, pp. 27-28, names 24-6 as the first celebration ('feestdag'); Pieren 1901/1902, p. 214, mentions 24-5.

[105] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], '1770-97 No. 20' outgoing correspondence and attachments to the Grand Lodge, letter 22-5-1770 from La Vertueuse to the Grand Lodge.

[106] CMC, inv.no. U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2, no. 306. The letters were sent via brother Jan Siereveld, on his way to Ceylon, and via captain Van Bratten, on the ship Erf Prins.

[107] CMC, 108E, Register of incoming and outgoing correspondence of the Grand Lodge 26-6-1747 until 17-4-1823, Vol. 1, p. 74. The register only provides a summary of the letter dated 24-10-1770, and on p. 75 it is noted in pencil that the document is missing.

[108] CMC, 108E, Register of incoming and outgoing correspondence of the Grand Lodge 26-6-1747 until 17-4-1823, Vol. 1, p. 75: 'verzoeken [de leden van La Vertuese] aangesteld te worden met de macht om de verplichtinge tot het betalen der Contibutien aftevorderen van de Nieuwe op te regte Loge, onder de naam La Fidele Sincerite &ca'. The register only provides a summary of the letter and it is noted in pencil in the sideline that the document is missing.

[109] CMC, Box 4506, 256:1 Register of foreign money transfers and claims on the Grand Lodge, ingeschreven August 1771. Made out on November 1770 for fl. 292,- at the expense of Mr. Jan Jacob Hartsinck, charter and requestmaster at the College of Admiralty, and Mr. Pieter Hartsinck Alderman and Council, director of the VCOC in Amsterdam. It was accepted on 17-7-1771 by the Grand Lodge. See also other money transfers registered in September 1771, October 1771, (undated) 1773 and 8-1-1774.

[110] Van der Linden 1870, p. 27: 'zijnen oorsprong vinden in de omstandigheid dat geel de geliefde kleur van Java's grooten is, en zij aldus een plaatselijk karakter had, bijna zouden wij vragen of de vooruitziende geest van een' Radermacher in die keuze is te herkennen', 'Deze dosch, die de bb. Met de kanarie-vogels gemeen hadden, bestond, welligt daarom, niet lang'.

[111] CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, n. pag., claims this decision was made in 1784.

[112] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], '1770-97 No. 20' outgoing correspondence and attachments to the Grand Lodge, undated letter [1770] by La vertueuse to the Grand Lodge. Ingeboden tussen stukken uit 1769 en 1771: 'Wij hebben egter reeden ons te mogen vlijen op de getuijgenisse van den bij Uw Hoogverligte Groot Agtbare bijzonder voordeelig bekend zijnde Broeder Radermacher dat nopens het laatste articul van onze zijde geen reeden gegeeven is, en wij bij dezen met hoop van een goed succes, mogte imploreere de hooge gunst van als een provintiale loge bij Uw Hoogverligte en Groot achtbare geconsidereerd & bevestigt te worden, om wanneer Uw Hoog Verligte en Groot Agtbare mogte inclineren een Constitutie te verleenen, aan de, volgens onze gedagte hier ongequalificeert gefrequenteert waardend en uijt een gemengelde Soort van persoonen bestaande loge. Het als dan, uijt hoofde van anciennieteit die schriftelijk magt aan ons mag gezonden worden en wij gequalificeert niet alleen om dezelve af te geeven maar ook met de magt om de verpligte Contributie aan Uw Hoog verligten Groot Agtb[are] Nationale loge uit te vorderen en op te brengen'.

[113] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775. Duplicate in CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], '1770-97 No. 20' outgoing correspondence and attachments to the Grand Lodge: 'Bij deeze gelegenheid hebben wij niet kunnen af zijn of Uw Hoog verligte en Groot Agtbare teffens ter geeerde kennisse te brengen, hoe bij aanhoudendheid de hier gevestigde ongequalificeerde en gelijk bereets bij onze voorige beschreven uit een gemengeld soort van perzonen bestaande Loge, Zig verstouten om contrarie bij Uw Hoog Verligte en Groot Agtbaare gereverendeerde missieve van den 15 Aug[ustus] 1769 ter neer gestelde recommendatie, om geen andere als waardige Leden te ontvangen, allerlei Scabreuse en veeltijds in hun gedrag van niet weinig besprokken handel en wandel zijnde perzoonen anneemen, om ongetwijfeld alzoo met een Schijnbaar wel gepronkte Loge voor Uw Hoog verligte en Groot Agtbare te verscheinen, of wel om ook te doen zien, hoe zij zig beeiveren tot de voortplanting onze koninklijke kunst, in volk te werven, die wij ten hoogsten zouden agten onwaardig te zijn in onze tegenwoordigheid, en die ook voorshands weeten door ons van de hand gewezen zouden worden, en dus insteeren wij nogmaal, om wanneer niet tegenstaande dat Uw hoog verligte en Groot Agtbaare mogte inclineren aan dezelve eene Constitutie te verleenen ons dog de gunst te bewijzen als een provintiale Loge te konsidereren en te ratificeren, en zij lieden daar en tegen als een gesubordineerde Loge aan te merken, om alzoo niet alleen meer en min den teugel in handen te hebben, maar ook ter preventie dat de agting in het algemeen onze Edele wetenschap alhier, niet geheel en al den bodem ingeslagen worde'.

[114] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], '1770-97 No. 20' outgoing correspondence and attachments to the Grand Lodge, letter 31-10-1771 by La vertueuse to the Grand Lodge.
[115] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 608-1. Duplicate in CMC, Box 2403, Constitution file La Constance, no. 608-2: 'Verder zal [ik] de eere hebben uw Hoogverligten te melden aangaande de Loge hier ten Batavia voornaamlijk van die La Vertueuse die thans bestierd als Grootmeester de Heer Reijnier van Vlissingen Tweede opperkoopman des Casteels; den Raad van Justitie Mr. Pieter van der Vorm, heeft die Loge gequitteert en bedankt, door oneenigheijd, die daar onder de broeders is voorgevallen. in de Loge zijn luijden die gelt hebben en zomtijds denke een glorie te hebben, om op een gouden Troon te zetten, en niet betragten het waare der vrij metzelaarij, ik hebbe mijn best egedaan om die broeders in een goede harmonie volgens de wetten der mazonerij te brengen, maar het is mijn onmooglijk geweest wijl daar onder luijden zijn niet als Metzelaar maar Profane en nog Erger, En mijn Patent is bij haar niet voldoende, doordien daar in mijn geen magt genoeg ist gegeven, om een provisioneele Constittie te verleenen, omdat ik het zoo veel aan La fidele Sincerite een provisioneele Constitutie verleen als aan La Vertueuse omdat ik gesien dat die Luijden zoo wel en beter aan de wette voldoen als die laast genoemde; twijffele niet of uw Hoogverligten zal aan mijn verzoek aan mijn verzoek voldoen, en die Loge La fidelle Sincertite zoo veel een constitutie met haar toebehooren te verleenen als die van la Vertueuse waar voor ik hier hondert goude ducaten ontfangen en deselve per wissel aan den orateur De Heer Cornelis Jacobus van der Lijn a Amsterdam, overgemaakte [...] ook geeven die broeders waare beloften om jaarlijks een dongratuit van 100 goude ducaten over te maaken aan de cas van de groote Loge, dat zij konnen beter doen als de ander doordien sij soo sterk, en thans ruijm zoo groote luijden van rang en aansien als in La Vertueuse, Verders zoo hebbe verstaan dat La Vertueuse aan uw Hoogverligten verzoekschriften afgesonden, om Provinciale Loge geconsidereert te zijn, zoo uw Hoogverligten daarin gelieft te Constitueeren voor het eerst dan onder drukken men de andere Loge wijl die Twee Loge voor eerst nog niet met malkander zullen accordeeren, maar door den tijd wel als zij Even groot blijven; maar zoo de enne grooter als de ander dan gaat het ooit in eenigheijd toe. La Vertueuse heeft in geen drie maanden [loge] gehouden dien halven zijn al leeden daar vandaan gegaan na de ander gelijk uw in Lijste zal sien. Voorts is mijn versoek aan uw Hoogverligten om mijn als buijtenlands gedeputeert groot meester, meer magt en authoriteijt te geeven, om in uw Hoogverligten naam te agreeren volgens uw hoogverligten instructie twijffele niet of zal als dan, wel onheijlen uijt de weg ruijmen en de Cas van de Groote Loge jaarlijks wel hondert goude ducaten voordeel zijn, daar is hier een sterker man aan uw Hoog verligten wel bekend, die maakt hier meester in de Camer of zijn Eijgen hand, en hij maak Schotte en Elus en Eses Elu Profil &c en wat meer is, die maar is wel Eer in de La Choisie geweest, hier zijn nog verschijden graaden, die van zoo genaamt Baron van Schonneck hier ingevoegt Egter niet na het waargelijken der Maconnerij. Zoo uw Hoog verligten mijn gelieft te begunstigen met meerder magt om in uw naam te agreeren zal die Luijden die geen waar mazon zijn, en onder ooge daartoe verheeven van eenen geen magt hebben, daar zulke uijt de welgeregeleerde Logis te houden [...] hoewel ik hier van eenige broeders niet veel vriendschap geniet, zoo als het wel zijn moest dog ben daarom zeer wel tevreeden wijl ik daar buijten kan en niemand van haar van doen hebbe. Ik zoude allang hebben daar buijten gebleeven, als ik niet getragt om aan uw Hoogverligten Intentie te voldoen om dat ik het hebben aangenoomen om met glorie ten uijtvoer te brengen [...]'.
[116] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 608-1. Duplicaat in CMC, Box 2403, Constitution file La Constance, no. 608-2.
[117] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 608-1. Duplicate in CMC, Box 2403, Constitution file La Constance, no. 608-2.
[118] CMC, inv.no. U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2: 'Ook is ons wel geworden het herhaalde verzoek, van de Broeders, gehorende tot de Loge La Findele Sicerite als meede de nodige elucidatie van onzen waardigen buitenlandsche Gedeputeerde Groot Meester, Broeder Steendecker, ten einde die voor lang verzogte Constitutie te verleenen; en vermits geen genoegzame gronden daartegen waren, hebben Wij dezelve niet kunnen weigeren'. CMC, inv.no. U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2, no. 195, letter by Grand Secretary Dubois dated September 1772 acknowledgeing receipt of a money transfer of fl. 303,- at the expense of Foeyt as well as a membership list and lodge's letter dated 31-10-1771, via couries Balthasar Krauth on the ship De Juno for the Chamber of Rotterdam.
[119] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 638-2, including a money transfer by Hasselaar at the expense of former Warden Floris Foeyt and an overview of initiations and contributions; see also no. 638, duplicate 31-10-1771, noting the money transfer was sent 'ter accept' on 16-6-1772 to J.v.d. Heij Jacobz.
[120] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], '1770-97 No. 20' outgoing correspondence and attachments to the Grand Lodge: letter 1772 by La Vertueuse to the Grand Lodge: 'Voorts kunnen wij niet voor bij us antwoord te dienen dat wij ons soo seer niet hebben verwijderd van de Loge la Fidele Sincerite als wel van sommige Leeden derselve, met wien men in dit land niet dan ten nadeele van sig selven, gemeensamene ommegang houden kan, want men plag[t] daar sodanige aan te neemen, die geene andere verdienstens bezaaten dan de tellinge van de aldaar voor de receptie betaalde Som, terwijl hun gedrag gansch niet geregeld was na het voorbeeld van Lieden van goede geboorte en deftige opvoedinge, die sig door een deugdsaam gedrag en andere goede hoedanigheeden bij de Eerste des Lands soeken bemind en aangenaam te maken. Ten opzigte van ons versoek om den rang van provinciale Loge vermeenden wij vrijheijd tot het selve te mogen hebben boven la fidele Sincerite van dat ons door uw H.V. & G.A. eerst een diploma was verleend en er meer Exemplen van zijn [...] terwijl het voor ons niet aangenaam soude weesen indien de andere Loge dien rang kwam te erlangen.
[121] CMC, Box 4613, Valette archive, copy 'Contents Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol 2: replies to La Vertueuse, 10-9-1772 concerning remittance and ditto to Steendekker considering the 200 Ducts he sent; 18-9-1773 concerning remittance and the Provincial title.
[122] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 'Box 76 +77 II-A-1+2' La Vertueuse 1) 1ste degree Minutes 13-2-1791 until 13-3-1792 1791-1795 with 2) Attachments Incoming and outgoing correspondence.
[123] CMC, inv.no. U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2, no. 239, in which Dubois acknowledges a letter of October 1772, a don gratuit of fl. 210,- and fl. 45,- for Master receptions. He regrets the lodge decided not to contribute to a Dutch charity.
[124] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], '1770-97 No. 20' outgoing correspondence and attachments to the Grand Lodge, letter 19-1-1775 by La Vertueuse to the Grand lodge: 'de genome positie door Uw Hoog Agtb[are] omtrend het provinciaalschap alhier [...] vinde ons genoodsaakt te betyuigen dat ten opzigte van 't geschreevene Dat, dit regt, na de datum den Resolutie genoomen, de Broeders van La Fidele Sincerite soude competeeren, vermits deselve als Eerste versoekers geweest sijn maar dat hunne brieven schipbreuk geleden hebbende, door een verkeerd canaal seer laat aan Uw Hoog Agtbare toegekomen sijn, waarom men daarop geen reguard heeft kunnen neemen, Wij ons niet volkomen gelucideerd bevinden, dewijl eenige order ons die ten tijde der te niet Looping van de Logie La Choisie, sig begaven tot de opregting van la Vertueuse, bekend is dat na ons, la Fidele Sincerite is opgeregt, en dat dese scheijding van La Choisie ontstaan is door oneenigheeden tussen de Leeden, veroorsaakt door differente persoonen waar wijl die sociteit bestond. Endewijl wij ons direct na dit voorval hebben geadresseerd bij Uwe Hoog Agtbare ter verkrijging eener Constitutie, komt het vreemd voor, dat voormelde broeders ons daar in sijn voor geweest sonder teffens te hebben begaan Een schrijffout in 't stelle der dagteekening'. See also Register of incoming and outgoing correspondence of the Grand Lodge 26-6-1747 until 17-4-1823, Vol. 1: 'hunne verwondering te kunnen geven dat de BB der Loge La Fidelle

Sincerite hun voorgeweest zijn ter verkrijging eener Constitutie als prov. Loge &c'

[125] CMC, inv.no. U2, R Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2, letter by the Grand Lodge 19-4-1775, acknowledgeing receipt of a letter dated 18-1-1774 and money transfer of fl. 424 at the expense of Cornelis van der Oudermeulen, Frederik van Collen and Mattheis Temminck in Amsterdam, from which an invoice by Van Laak ad fl 139 had been settles. CMC, Box 3064, Folder 'Box 76 +77 II-A-1+2' La Vertueuse 1) 1ste degree Minutes 13-2-1791 until 13-3-1792 1791-1795 with 2) Attachments Incoming and outgoing correspondence. Copy in CMC, inv.no. U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2, no. 279, letter by Dubois 19-4-1775 accompanied by a letter by Van Laak of the same date, regarding payments and Steendekker's shipwreck.

[126] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 'Box 76 +77 II-A-1+2' La Vertueuse 1) 1ste degree Minutes 13-2-1791 until 13-3-1792 1791-1795 with 2) Attachments Incoming and outgoing correspondence: 'betuigen dat het ons zeer onverschillig is, wie der batavischen Broeders den voorrang hebbe, in het evrzoek om als Provintiaal geconstisteert te zijn. Wij volgen de Letter van den Wet in den Rang der respective Loges [...] Maar verkiesen UwEdelens een opperhoofd, of Provintiaal Grootmeester, als Representant van den Hoog Edelen Groot Meester, dan wenschen wij dat de gezamentlijke Broeders te Batavia een electie formeeren [...] om dezelve alhier goed te keuren.'

[127] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 +77 II-A-1+2La Vertueuse 1) 1ste degree Minutes 13-2-1791 until 13-3-1792 1791-1795 with 2) Attachments Incoming and outgoing correspondence: 'bij abuis verleende Patenten als Provintiale Grootloges ten eenenmaal zullen worden gerevoceert en vernietigd worden'.

[128] CMC, inv.no. U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2, no. 316, letter by new Grand Secretary J.P. van Haer 28-11-1775, acknowledgeing a money transfer of f 350 at the expense of mister Swaan and mister Swart in Amsterdam, from which an invoice by Van Laak of fl. 105 was settled. Van Haer emphasised the Grand Lodge did not care which candidate would be proposed. See also letter by Van Laak 28-11-1775, regarding Steendekkers shipwreck, and CMC, Box 3067 [II A 6-7], Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], '1770-97 No. 20', letter 2-11-1176 regarding a claim on the Steendekker legate.

[129] CMC, Box3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], '1770-97 No. 20' outgoing correspondence and attachments to the Grand Lodge, letter 2-11-1776 by La Vertueuse to the Grand Lodge.

[130] Hageman 1866, p.48; Hageman 1857, p.234 overgenomen in *Verslag* 1848, p.93: 'De eerste zamenkomsten der Broeders in hunne eigene woningen, hadden plaats onder de strikste geheimhouding voor het publiek, en alle mogelijk voorzorg werd zelfs noodig geacht; een maatregel, ten volle geregtvaardigd door den heerschenden geest des toenmaligen tijds, een geest van onverdraagzaamheid en vooroordeel [...]'. CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, n. pag.: ´De eerste bijeenkomsten werden gehouden bij BB aan huis, onder de grootste geheimhouding voor het publiek´.

[131] CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, n. pag.: 'De 1e feestdag in de Loge [= St. Jan], werd op den 24 Junij 1769 gereedgemaakt in de tuin van den Heer David du feau de la Longue* [...] *kanttekening deze tuin moet gelegen hebben bij het landgoed Pising, waarbij B[roeder] Arendtz werd ingewijd'. According to Hageman 1866, p. 92 this took place on 24-4-1769. Van der Linden 1870, p. 27-28 the same date (24-6-1769 according to the masonic calendar); Pieren 1901/1902, p. 214 however mentions 24-5. Gedenkboek 1917, p. 163 mentions the 'Pesing' estate. According to Schill's Gedenkboek (1843), a farewell meal for lodge member Faure, about to leave for Bengal, was held in the house of the governor-general in Weltevreden in 1769 ('bij gelegenheid van een afscheidmaal aan de B[roeder] Faure bij vertrek naar Bengalen, dien B[roeder] liet zich verschonene door dien hij door zijn H[oog] E[edele] de G[ouverneur] G[eneraal] verzocht was om een laatste maal den avond op Hoogdesselfs Landgoed Weltevreden te passeren* […] * kanttekening tot eind 1795 was Weltevreden nog een particulier Landgoed, toen het onder de Regering van den Gouv[erneur] Generaal van Overstraten door het Gouv[ernement] werd aangekocht voor het campment der militairen'.

[132] Hageman 1866, p.93, 121. He noted that parts of the house were still standing in 1861.

[133] CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, n. pag., mentions the farewell meal for visitor Silvester that month, to which we will come back later'.

[134] *100 Jaren* 1937, p. 90.

[135] CMC, membership lists of lodge La Vertueuse, 22-5-1770, 18-1-1771 (I): 'ten Huise van den Broeder van Vlissingen in den aanstaande'.

[136] CMC, membership lists of lodge La Vertueuse, 26-8-1772: 'ten Huise van den Meester'.

[137] CMC, membership lists La Vertueuse 8-1-1774, 19-1-1775. See also CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse Financial records 1775-1780 and 1779-1784, No. 34 attachments 1775-1780, payments to Van Stockum for 'onkosten bij 't houden der L[oge]' and 'ten Huise van den Agt[bare] M[eeste]r [= Van Stockum]'.

[138] CMC, Box 3072 [II C 3-4], Folder 90 La Vertueuse various lists and receipts 1781?-1798, 1774-1798, No. 14 various list and receipts [= 1771-1798, not in chronological order].

[139] CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, n. pag.

[140] Gelman Taylor 1983, appendix 3.

[141] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse Financial records 1775-1780 and 1779-1784:

'[...] voor een atappe aftak rondom de buiten gallerij, en voor de combuijs	35,- Rijxd
aan Mevr. Meijer voor Coelijs om het huis schoon te maaken en te witten	27,-
voor het afbreeken der twee muuren, en het appropieeren der [Loge]	15,-
[...] aan de [op]passer der 16 Jan Groot [loge] extra	10,-
[...] den 27 klijne vergadering naar de [op]passer	5,-
voor huur van de kok s maands	6,24
voor een maand huur van de thuin der broeders	25,-[...].

The costs of wine, beer and butter are also specified.

[142] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse Financial records 1775-1780 and 1779-1784, No. 34 Attachments 1775-1780, financial overview February 1778: 'voor het maaken van drie deur slooten, en sleutels tot securiteit van de loge; benevens het vernieuwen van het secreet der broederen'.

[143] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse Financial records 1775-1780 and 1779-1784, No. 34 Attachments 1775-1780: 'aan 10 potten kalk en toebehoren tot het witten van het nieuwe hottel der broeders 6,12 aan prauw gelden 5,-'.

[144] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse Financial records 1775-1780 and 1779-1784, No. 34 Attachments 1775-1780: 'aan de timmer, en metzelchineesen, voor het bezorgen van lekkatien, reparaties in het huis, en 't maaken van Combuis planken, en tafels volgens quitantie 42,-'.

[145] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse Financial records 1775-1780 and 1779-1784, No. 34 Attachments 1775-1780: 'Ses maanden huur van het land genaamt Cormandelswijk'. The receipt is signed in Arabic [?], underneath 'dit is het werk van den Capitain Fota Amat'.

[146] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse Financial records 1775-1780 and 1779-1784, No. 34 Attachments 1775-1780: 'aan de speeljongens van d'Heer Verklocke 11,-'.

[147] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse Financial records 1775-1780 and 1779-1784, No. 34 Attachments 1775-1780: 'Óntfangen van d'Heer A. Isaac Titsing [...] 20 Ober a 8 slaven Jongens tot 8/d of tot den 7 deeser a 12 Sts ider 's dags komt rds 16,-', '28 Ocber 8 Slaven Jongens om goet te dragen 6,24' door [onleesbaar] Douaiere Meijer'.
[148] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse Financial records 1775-1780 and 1779-1784, No. 34 Attachments 1775-1780, Expenses for April 1779: 'huur van de thuinjongens van de heer Huijtenga 10,-', which is often repeated.
[149] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse Financial records 1775-1780 and 1779-1784, No. 34 Attachments 1775-1780, 'Extract uit het register der Resolutien van de L[oge] La V[ertueuse]', 28-5-5779: 'eenige meubilen, en andere goederen meer, die gemelden Br. oeconome zonder eenige de minste last of qualificatie op de naam van de L[oge] van Heim zoude hebben ingekogt, en na dien door diergelijke ongequalificeerde en bij herhaaling gepleegde slinksche practijken van hem Br. oeconome, deze L[oge] bij de bataviaasche waereld in een kwaaden reuk kwaam, en tot ontstigting van verligten en profanen de spraak gaat als of deselve meerder depenses maakte, dan betaald konde worden, daar bij teffens in aanmerking kwaam, dat den boedel van hem Heim gesaiseerden geseequestreerd zijnde'.
[150] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse Financial records 1775-1780 and 1779-1784, No. 34 Attachments 1775-1780: 'Notitie van zoodanige goederen als voor de Heer Hartingh teegen de nevenstaande prijzen aan de Loge La Vertueuse in eigendom zijn gesedeerd, en onder ZEd berusten'

			Rds:St
42 Javasche Stoelen a 2 1/3 Rds ijder			105:-
4 bankken met deszelfs langen en klijnen knapen			58:-
4 speeltafels, 2 met rood fluweel, 2 met groen laaken bekleet,			
met 4 speelknaapen			48:-
2 laadetafels			30:-
6 theeknaapen, en 1 groote knaap			18:-
1 hoekkas voor glaasen			25:-
1 lange dubbelde Schenktafel vernist			10:-
2 hoektafels vernist			10:-
1 ronde tafel vernist			7:-
2 steene tafeltjes			20:-
1 theekastje vernist			10:-
1 groote etenstafel	|		
2 dito wat klijnder	|- tot een te maken		50:-
2 dito	|		
wandtmeubelen			
6 swarte kunst naaktheden			30:-
6 gecraijonneerde portretten			30:-
6 ovale roode kunst met goude lijsten			24:-
4 ronde dito dito			16:-
2 dito met groene lijsten			8:-
4 spiegels uit een glas met moderne lijsten			200:-
3 Egaalen Stolpen			35:-
2 Onegalen in twee kaemers			20:-
3 Stolpen hangende aan koopere kettings			30:-
4 koopere lantarens			24:-
2 lantarens voor de dispens en combuijs			8:-
10 koopere quispedoors			40:-
10 Kandelaars			40:-
Linnegoed			
3 blauwe Citze bankmatrassen met dezelfs kussens		|	
30 dito stoel kussens		|	
10 Groote tafellakens		|- saame	80:-
100 Servetten		|	
50 handdoeken		|	
		Somma	976:-'.

Added was the original invoice from Heim to Hartsingh, 4-2-1779, listed several other goods, not mentioned here:

'1 Large mirror	90,-
2 Stone tables with their 2 statues	160,-
4 large paintings	80,-
12 round lanterns	265,-
1 ½ Tjaingo [?] padij	45.,-
1 calf	10,-
2 sheep	16,-
2 goats	24,-
2 desks of rosewood with copper fixtures	75,- [...]
1 Grote spiegel	90,-
2 Steene tafels met dies 2 beelden	160,-
4 grote schilderijen	80,-
12 ronde lanthaarns	265,-
1 ½ Tjaingo [?] padij	45.,-
1 kalf	10,-
2 schapen	16,-
2 kapaters	24,-
2 bureaus van rosenhout met koper beslag	75,- [...]'

[151] Pieren 1901/1902, p. 220, quoting the lodge minutes of 12-4-1782.

[152] In 18th century France, a gentleman could be accompanied by a servant, who was initited just like the lodge's Servant, and had similar tasks. There is no mention of the initiation of slaves in the lodge records, or at least no initiations recognizable as such.
[153] Pieren 1901/1902, p. 220-222, quoting the lodge minutes of 12-4-1782.
[154] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse Financial records 1775-1780 and 1779-1784, 1779-1784 [Rekening Courant]:
'voor de troon betaald vide quitantie 60:--:-
aan de passementier Hanke voor 12 @gouden franjes 60:--:-
de Chinees voor 32 @ goud galon van 12 96:--:-
voor 272 @ gewaterd mhoor
102 sonal goudpassement 46:--:-[...]
huur van swart goed tot het bekleeden der Logie bij meester R[itueel]
item de donkere kamer bij verscheijde recepties van L[eerlingen] 60:--:-[...]'.
[155] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse Financial records 1775-1780 and 1779-1784, 1779-1784 [Rekening Courant]': 'Voor eenige gemaakte verandering in de Logie [rds] 40,-, aan de verfchinees voor het verwen en vergulden der Logie [rds] 160 '.
[156] CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII, Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek voor de Javasche Broederschap der Orde van de Vrij Metselaren', 1843, n. pag., between 1781-1783: '[...] welke eerst ten zijnen huize [Gerrit van Groll]'. Considering the data listed above, it is more likely Van Grolls house was used after 1782'. CMC, membership lists of lodge La Vertueuse, 8-1-1783; CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], '1770-97 No. 20' outgoing correspondence and attachments to the Grand Lodge, membership list pf lodge La Vertueuse, 21-7-1783: 'ten Huise van den Agtbaare Meester Gerhardus van Groll'.
[157] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse lists and receipts 1781?-1798, '1774-98 No. 14', receipt by Van Overstraten to G. Wrens [?, unreadable], 8-5-1784, for various drinks, to be delivered in the garden of Kreygsman, suggesting the lodge met there at the time. CMC, Box 3148, Folder ' XVII, Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek voor de Javasche Broederschap der Orde van de Vrij Metselaren', 1843, z.p, between 1781-1783: '[...] gevestigd was in eene tuin op Molenvliet toebehorende aan den Br. Kreijsman. ZijnEd had het meesterschap overgenomen van Mr Isaac Titsingh'. Der Kinderen 1864, p. 209, mentions meeting between 1780-1783 in the garden of Kreysman on 'Molenvliet' in the southern suburb (= later the canal road to Rijswijk). Hageman 1866, p. 104 states this took place after 1783; but on p. 115 he states this started in 1780; on p. 121 he mentions that lodge member Jan Daniel Beynon (a relative of the later painter of the same name?) later lived in the house on Molenvliet. Maarschalk 1872, p. 370, and Pieren 1901/1902, p. 216, think the garden and house of Kreysman were in use until 1785. *100 Jaren* 1937, p. 90, believes this was the case between 1780 and 1782 and notes that the property in 1865 still stood on 'de kanaalweg, die van de stenen stad naar Rijswijk loopt'.
[158] CMC Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse lists and receipts 1781?-1798, '1774-98 No, 14': the accounts for 1784 list repeatedly in August and October 'aan faure plane voo 3/m huur' at 30 Rds.
[159] CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, n. pag.: 'In het laatst van 1785 is de Loge van Molenvliet uit de tuin van Br[oeder] Kreygsman verplaatst naar de Armanusgragt in eene gehuurde tuin van de Burger van Steenbergen'. *100 Jaren* 1937, p. 90 specifies: 'westervoorstad, over de rivier, de grachten en muurpoorten en bruggen'. CMC, membership lists of lodge La Vertueuse, 16-12-1785 confirms this: 'in de thuijn van voorn[oemde] Loge, liggende op de Armanusgracht'. A.J. van Steenbergen is mentioned in an addendum to *Rapport van den Fiscaal bij den Raed der Aziatische Bezittingen in de zaak van Dirk van Hogendorp* of 18-6-1800. He bought a plot on the Amanusgracht, which was coveted by a high ranking neighbour, supposedly leading to Van Steenbergen's arrest. See (not referenced further here): *De Gids* Vol. 54 (1890).
[160] Der Kinderen 1864, p. 209; Hageman 1866, p. 104 and 116; *100 Jaren* 1937, p. 90 mentions this was in use until October 1786. De Visser Smits 1930, p. 156 claims the lodge met in a 'Private residence' on the Tijgersgracht, befor building a new masonic Hall. This cannot be verified.
[161] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse various lists and receipts 1781?-1798, 1774-1798, No. 14 various lists and receipts [= 1771-1798, not in chronological order]:
'voor 't marmeeren buiten den deur in den Thuin op Jacatra volgens mondeling accoord rds 60,-
voor 't afkappen van de muuren in gen[oemde] Thuin aan de [coe]lij loon als
1:2 September daags 6 man ieder 30 St daags 7,24
3:- d[it]o d[it]o 4 " 30 " 2,24
12,13, 14 d[it]o " 6 " 30 " 11,12
15, 16, 17, 18, 19 d[it]o 12 " 30 " 37,24
20, 21, 22, 23 " 8 " 30 " 20,-
voor 25 p praauwen die zwart zand in de Thuin gebragt hebben a ieder 12 St 6,12
1 p vorm om kleedtjes te schilderen op order van mejuff[rouw] uwe beminden
volgens accoord 3,16
1 p bank om 13 p lampglazen in tezetten 1,24
rds 149,40
Daarop in mindering ontvangen in twee Keeren op den 15 Sept rds 50,-; en
13 october Deese Jaars wederom rds 50,- dus te samen 100,--
Resteerd 49,40'.
[162] CMC membership card register: Van der lijn became a member of lodge La Bien Aimee in Amsterdam in 1762 until 1781. He was also Grand Orator from 1767 onwards.
[163] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 608-1. Duplicate in CMC, Box 2403, Constitutie Dossier La Constance, nr, 608-2. Kwaadgras 2003, p. 53; Christiaans 1994 A, p. 142. 'Mijn laaste [brief] aan Uw Hoog verligten was in de maand November A[nn]o passato van Malacca afgezonden aan de Provinciale Logis Salomon a Bengalen, met versoek deselve aan uw hoog verligten, met de Eerst vertrekken scheepen na Nederland derwaarts te senden hoope onder Jehovas dierbare Zeegen onder de Bestiering van den Bouwmeester van t'geheel Al [...] hebbe gemeld dat ik de Eere en het geluk gehad bij mijn verblijf op Malacca den welEdelen Gestr[enge] Heere Mr. Thomas Schippers Gouverneur en Directeur ten Stad en Fortresse voorn[oemd] in onse Hoog verligte order tot de 3de graad hebbe ingelijfd, en versoek voor dien broeder een Constitutie, om aldaar een Logis of Elders op te regten onder den naam van La Constance het zij tot Malacca of Elders waar het ook mag wesen; Zende aan de Hoog verligte broeder [Groot]orateur Cornelis Jacobus van der Lijn[163] een dongratuit van 100 goude ducaten met verzoek aan zijn Hoogverligten, om die Constitutie en het Patent van Uw Hoogverligten te ontfangen [...] Zijn WelEd[ele] Gestr[enge] zal bij den ontfangst van de Consitutie niet manqueren, om nog een honorable Present aan de groote [Loge] doen dat nog meer als hondert Ducaten bedraagd; mits Zijn WelEd[ele] Gestr[enge] word begunstigt van Uw Hoogverligten zoo als zijn verzoek is, om een Constitutie en een Patent van de 3de tot meester, als meede een honorable ampt pr. Honaer: aan de groote [Loge] waarmede uw Hoog verligten hem gelieft te begunstigen Constitutie moet Luijden, dat zijn WelEd[ele] Gestr[enge] onse br[oeder] Mr Thomas Schippers als Grootmeester van de [Loge] [...]'.
[164] Christiaans 1994 A, p. 142.

[165] Schultink 1987, pp. 145.
[166] CMC, inv.no. U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2: 'Uit de Brieven en Relasen van den zeer ijverigen Broeder George Steendekker, onze buitenlandsche Gedeputeerde, hebben Wij met genoegen vernomen dat UwelEdele Gestrenge verlangde, met een wettige Constitutie voorzien te worden, ten einde te Malacca ofte elders, een geregelde Loge op te regten; en daar provisioneel hadde gedestineerd en in zijn handen gesteld Een Hondert Ducaten, omme dezelve aan te doen geworden. [...] De Wet is klaar en zegt, dat tot het opregten eener Loge, ter plaatse 7 Broeders, waar onder 3 Meesters Metzelaers dienen te zijn, als verzoekers, om een Constitutie te vragen. [...] Zoo dat UwelEdele Gestr[enge] ligtelijk begrijpt, deeze formaliteiten dienen gevolgd te worden [...]. Egter hebben Wij [...] goedgevonden, UwEd[ele] Gestr[enge] provisioneel te verleenen de magt en qualiteit, als Agtbare Meester, van die nog op te regtene Loge te fungeeren'.
[167] Kwaadgras 2003, p. 53.
[168] CMC, Box 4506, 256:1 Register of foreign money transfers and claims on the Grand Lodge, registered August 1771.
[169] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 'Box 76 +77 II-A-1+2' La Vertueuse 1) 1ste degree Minutes 13-2-1791 until 13-3-1792 1791-1795 with 2) Attachments Incoming and outgoing correspondence: 'Wij hopen, dat [...] de verzogte Diploma's, zoo voor Batavia als Malacca ter goeder destinatie zullen gekomen zijn'.
[170] CMC, Box 4613, Valette archive, copy 'Contents Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol 2: 1776 23 febr. Rescriptie aan de Leden v.d. L[oge] La Constance op het voorz[egde] met afschaffing der benaming Prov[inciale] Loge'.
[171] Haffner 1977, p. 397 refers to Elopura Lodge no. 430, later founded in North Borneo (now Malaysia) and Sandakhan Lodge no. 454, no date specified.
[172] Hageman 1866, p. 74; *Loge 'Mata Hari'* 1934, p. 3; Stevens 1994, p. 64.
[173] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, 668-1: 'Teevens hebben wij het voordeel Uw HoogEd[el] en HoogEerw[aarde] tebedeelen, dat wij in deezen Jaare een brief ontfangen hebben van d'Heeren Jacob Samuel de Raaf, en Frans van Kerchem, te Padang op Sumatra's Westkust, waar door dezelven ons berigten, hun voorneemen om aldaar een Loge onzer Koninklijke Ordres tewillen opregten, hebben daar toe alreede 10 Leeden tezaamen gebragt. Versoekende ons toe dat Einde, om heeden Een behoorlijke Constitutie te verleenen, ten einde op een wettige en betamelijke, wijze hunne arbeid tekunnen voort zetten, ons aanbiedende het kostende daar voor op onze aanmaaninge tezullen remitteeren, dan tot ons leedweezen hebben wij hun een afslaand antwoord moeten toe zenden, wijl wij tot zulk een vergunning niet gequalifiveert waaren, en dat den Gedeputeerde Groot-meester Steendekker die ter dier tijd zig hier bevond, en aan wien wij gedagte Versoek meededeelde, niet heeft kunnen goedvinden daar aan te voldoen, om reedenen dat het montant voor de kosten niet tegelijk waaren overgesonden: Egter hebben wij hun Ed[elen] bericht dat wij hunnne begeerte aan Uw HoogEd[el] HoogEerw[aarde] zouden voordraagen [...] want wij kunnen uw HoogEd[el] en HoogEerw[aarde] ten opzigten der verzoekers verseekeren, dat zij Veritable Macons en als zoodanige, overlang bij ons zijn aangenoomen [...].' CMC, Box 3083, Folder 75, inventories of the lodge archive 1782-1832, inventory 1812: 'een bundel correspondentien met loge te Padang'. The inventory of the archive 1820 further specifies the documents date from 1772 and 1774.
[174] Hageman 1866, p. 72, 75. Hageman figured that among the small Dutch community in the region at the time, only 16 men could have been potential lodge members. These included: Johan Anthony Thierens, administrator and a member of La Vertueuse in 1770, Johannes Siberg, *opperhoofd* and a member of La Vertueuse in 1771, Christiaan Hendrik von Erath, *opperhoofd* and a member of La Fidèle Sincérité in 1771.
[175] ANRI, letter 19-4-1775 by Grand Secretary Van der Haen to La Fidèle Sincérité: 'In antwoord op Uwer Agt[bare] laatste missive, per Broeder Capt. Gerrit Bruijn, in dato 26 October 1773, diend, dat, voor zo verre Uwe Agt[bare] repondenten blijven, en voor de betaling, en wegens de personen, der Broederen te Padang, op Sumatras Weskust; omme aldaar eene wettige Loge op te regten, wij tegen het constitueeren derzelve niets hebben; onder die mits, dat Uwe Agtb die Nieuwelingen onderregt en disponert, tot het overmaken van een Don Gratuit voor dat Diploma. Wij hebben Uwe Agtb[are] des aengaande geen bepaling te maken, wanner dezelven zig herinneren wat daarvoor door den Broeder Steendekker, zo voor rekening van Uwe Agtb als anderen is geremitteerd, zal die taxatie genereus zijn. Behalven dat die Broeders dienen onderregt te worden, van hunne verplichting, om aan ons jaarlijks een Don Gratuit te zenden, na de gesteldheid hunner leeden, benevens de lijsten van de Staat hunner Loge. Wij twijffelen niet of Uwe Agtb[are] de welke reeds door die Broeders verzogt zijn, om hunne sollicitatien bij ons te appuieeren, zullen ook wel als onze Gemagtigdens in dezee zig door ons wel willen laten mployeeren. Dus zijn wij te raden geworden, om spoedige expeditie een opgemaakte Constitutie hiernevens te zenden, ten einde de opene plaatsen door Uwe Agtb kunnen ingevult worden, met de Namen der Verzoekers (*), zowel als de Naam van de Loge, met de Couleur; waar van Wij Uwe Agtb[are] verzoeken een Copie te renvoyeeren ten einde onze registers behoorlijk aan te schriven, en die Broeders, alt tot een gereegelde loge behorende, in het lichaam der Nationale Broederschap in te lijven, en aan de respective Loges onder ons ressort bekent te maken. [...] (*) ten minsten zeeven in getal om te voldoen aan het Art: van de Wet'. Transcript kindly provided by Diederick Kortlang, Nationaal Archief. See also CMC, inv.no. U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2.
[176] CMC, inv.no. U2, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2, no. 283; CMC, Box 4613, Valette archive, copy 'Contents Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol 2: '1775 19 April Rescriptie aan de L[oge] La fidele Sincerite te Batavia, wegens Rem[ise], Sup[erieure] Gr[aden] en Const[itutie] van een L[oge] te Padang op Sumatras W[est] K[ust], ten gel[eide] eener Const[itutie] in blanco'.
[177] ANRI, letter 19-4-1775 by R. van Laak to La Fidèle Sincérité. Transcript kindly provided by Diederick Kortlang, Nationaal Archief.
[178] Hageman 1866, p. 75.
[179] Hageman 1866, p. 74; De Visser Smits 1931, p. 177; *Loge 'Mata Hari'* 1934, p. 3.
[180] CMC, inv.no. U2, no. 319.
[181] Stevens 1994, p. 30, refers to De Geus 1917, p. 180.
[182] Van der Linden 1870, pp. 30-31: 'zoo rijpte het denkbeeld onder leden van "La Vertueuse" om eenen bekeeringstocht te ondernemen. Daartoe deed zich eene uitnemende gelegenheid aan' in de vorm van de reis van Nederburgh'.
[183] Pieren 1902/1903, p. 313.
[184] Der Kinderen 1864, p. 217; Pieren 1901/1902, p.222; *100 Jaren* 1937, p.89. According to Hageman 1866, p. 114, this building was already lost by 1866.
[185] CMC, membership lists of the lodge La Fidèle Sincérité, 7-11-1785: 'ten huijse van den Achtbaren M[eester] Nicolaas Maas in de Thuijn op de Armanus Gragt'. CMC, Box 3081, Folder 56 't/m 1815', undated membership list, ca. July 1784, has a similar wording.
[186] CMC, Box 3084, Folder 77, No. 17 La Fidèle Sincérité Financial records 1777-1786, 'Rekening van ontvangst en uitgaaf' 27-12-1777: 'servant 6 maande salaris […] rds 30;-'.
[187] CMC, Box 3084, Folder 77, No. 17 La Fidèle Sincérité Financial records 1777-1786, 'Cassa Reekening van d'Agtb[are] [loge] L.F.S.' 31-12-1779, made out to the Worshipful Master: 'voor de gehuurde Speel jongens den 24 xber 1778 rd 25,-'
[188] CMC, Box 3084, Folder 78, No. 21 belonging to financiaal accounts No. 20 1787-1796, receipt 3-5-1792 for an installment of 3000,- Rds paid by Carel Kuvel towards a total of 5000,- Rds for the sale of 'Zeekere thuijn geleegen buijten deese stasd Utrechts poort of in ' t westeveld het 7de deel

van ’t blok P. ten noorden met de huis weg langs de Amanus gragt te Zuijds met de buffels Zwier te oosten met de E Samuel Noortman [?] & ten westen met mevr Meijer’.

[189] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 73 No. 37 Master of Furniture 1775-1801. There are several versions of this inventory, all dated 10-1-1781, some containing notes and addenda. Here the most elaborate listing was used:

> ‘Inventaris van de Ondervolgende Goederen, die zig op dato Deezer in de [Loge] La fidelle Sincerite in de Thuijn van den Agtbaren Groot Meester N. Maas, leggende op de Amanus Gragt bevonde, en in ons bijzijn, zijn geïnventariseerd:

Als 6 ps Zilvere Knaap blaakers, toebehoorende aan den Agtb[are] Gr[oot] M[eester] N. Maas
6 Macons Illusters
3 Groote Stoele als voor den Groot M[eester] & 2 voor d[e] 1e & 2e Surveiljant
door den broeder de Win aan d’Loge present gedaan
36 Javaasche kleine armstoelen door d’broeder de Win aan d’Loge present gedaan
1 lessenaar voor de Orateur door d’broeder de Win “
4 Tableaus in Z[oo]r[t], meeden “ “
1 Eijzer geldkistje met 2 hangslooten door broeder Arnold aan de Loge gegeeven
Zo ook de volgende aan de [Loge] aan de [Loge] toebehoorende Goedere
Als: 1 Zilvere Passer
1 d[it]o Winkelhaak
6 Glaaze Armblaakers
2 d[it]o Kroonen
8 wit, en blaauw gesierde Engeltjes
4 Spiegels
1 Bijbel in folio
1 Loquet Kast, met boeken & papieren
8 groote Stoelen
16 ronde “
15 lange “
2 banken
4 Speel Tafels
5 tafels voor de tafel [Loge]
4 Armstoelen
23 Knaapen
1 Balloteer Kast
3 Ornamente, Als, 1 voor den Grooter, en 2 voor d’ 1e & 2e Surveiljants onder hun eigen berusting
1 ornament voor den Tresorier van Zouwas
1 d[it]o “ Orateur Selven verguld
1 d[it]o “ Secretaris d[it]o d[it]o
1 d[it]o “ Architect d[it]o d[it]o
1 d[it]o “ Fiscaal d[it]o d[it]o
1 d[it]o “ Ceremonie Meester Ebbenhoud Met Silver beslag
Batavia, in de [Loge] La Fidelle Sincerite, den 10 Januarij A[nn]o 5781 ten Onsen bij Zijn
[handtekening] A.Voetelen [handtekening] Levien’

[190] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 75, Inventories of the lodge archive 1782-1832, letter by E.H. Fuchs, 9-1-1782:
‘T Notul & Ledenboek
Een aankomende brieve boek
Een b’aan~~LD~~ breve boek
Tien Vellen Perkamente tot Certificaten
Vier diverse Certificaten *aan de loge afgegegeven*
Eenige gedrukte [Loge] briefjes’.

[191] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 75, Inventories of the lodge archive 1782-1832, 10-1-1786. Archive inventories will not be discussed further, as the surviving documents themselves are frequently quoted.

[192] See Hageman 1859, p.77; Hageman 1866, p. 96, 115-116, suggesting this was the case from circa 1782 onwards. However, La Vertueuse did not move to the Amanusgracht until 1785-1786, and this may have been a different building on the same canal.

[193] Hageman 1866, p. 117: ‘Reeds sinds 1784 was men er [in loge La Vertueuse] op bedacht geworden, de werkplaats, -de tempel, - meer nabij de meer bewoonde delen der stad overtebrengen, om den opkomenden arbeiders te gemoet te komen. De mindere metall[ieke = financiele] krachten van La F[idele] S[incerite] lieten niet toe, dat men daartoe overging. De noodzaak was voor hen ook minder dringend, want hun prof[ane] arbeid, woon- en verblijfplaats was grootendeels in de steenen stad en binnen de muren.’

[194] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 73 No. 37, Master of Furniture 1775-1801: ‘Inventaris van de ondervolgende Goederen die zig op dato deezer in de [loge] La Fidelle Sincerite in de Thuijn van den Agtbaaren Groot Meester N. Maas leggende op de Amanus Gragt; bevonde, en in ons bijzijn zijn geïnventariseerd […]’, 10-1-1786.

[195] CMC, Box 3089, Folder 105A, Chamber of Reflection La Vertueuse [= La Fidèle Sincérité] 1786’, ‘N ~~42~~ 38 Toestel wegens een kamer obscur en der zelver decoratien’, 6-2-1786: ‘opdat voortaan bij deze plegtigheid, het oog op het Ceremoniele en Statige zoude gevestigd blijven, dan welk om, zoals het nogtoe is geschied, het gevoel eens ongewijde met schrik en vreese te vervullen, zonder dat zulks nogtans iets anders in staat is uit te werken, dan het Eerwaardige, waaraan het Werk der Broederschap zozeer verknogt is, beschimt te zien en aan het verblind sujet de vreemdste denkbeelden te verschaffen. […] De Duistere Kamer, zo als die tans is, van alle zijne akelige decoratien en schrikbeelden ganselijk ontdaan en geruimd zal worden’. Van der Linden 1870, p. 22-23, refers to this same text in relation to lodge De Ster in het Oosten.

[196] CMC, Box 3084, Folder 78, No. 22 belonging to the account book No. 20, 1787-96:
‘1787 13 junij [...] Aan de Timmerman betaald vor ’t maaken van de Troon 320,-
Aan de Schilder betaald 100,-
Thuijn huur voor twaalf maande 360,-
Divers uijt gaave voor d’ kap van de Troon 103,-’.

[197] See for instance CMC, Box 3084, Folder 78 No. 20 La Fidèle Sincérité Financial records 5787-5796, 1787-96, Augustus 1793.

[198] CMC, Box 3084, Folder 78 No. 20 La Fidèle Sincérité Financial records 5787-5796, 1787-1796, 'Cassa Reekening van d'Agtb[are] [loge] L.F.S. en den ondergeteekende Thesaurier' 1796: '7ber aan de chinees timmerman voor de Chambre Obscure 92,24'.

[199] CMC, Box 3084, 3083, Folder 73 No. 37 Master of Furniture 1775-1801:

'Inventaris van alle zodanige Losse Goederen toebehoorende aan de [Loge] La Fidele Sincerite als er door ons ondergeteekenden, bij den opneem op den Meij 1798 in waare weezen zijn bevonden bestaande het Een en ander in 't ondervolgende als

Twee groote kopere Lanthaarns
Twee " kopere Lanthaarns
Een " kopere Lanthaarn
Twee Kleijne kopere Lanthaarns
Vier " kopere Lanthaarns waar van Een Defect
Vier glase Stolpen met dies Knaapen
Agt glaase muur Stolpen waar van Een Defect
Vier Kleijne Illusters met blaauwe lijsten
Een glaase Kroon
Twee ovale Spiegels met Vergulde Lijsten
Vier Schilderijen met Vergulde Lijsten
Twee muur Stolpen met kopere armen
Vier muur Stolpen met kopere armen
Een ovale Spiegel met Vergulde Lijsten
Een groote glaase kroon
Drie hang Stolpen
Twee glaase hang stolpen
Vier blikke Engelsche patent Lampen met twee armen
Een groote kist met koper beslag
Een kist met vier laaden met koper beslag
Een Canape
Een dito
Een groote ronde knaap
Viertien ronde blauwe stoelen
Agtien " Bruijne stoelen
Zes speel tafels in Zoort
Twaalf ronde bruijne Stoelen
Een koel tafel
Een ronde tafel
Zes ronde kleijne knaapen
Twee quispedoors knaapen
Een hoek kastje
Een oude spiegel en zes schilderijen
Een bijbel met koper beslag
Een groote stoel blauw geschildert
Vijfendertig blauw geschilderde stoelen
Een groote Zilvere Star
Drie groote knaapen met Zilvere blakertjes driehoeksgewijs
Drie kleine knaapen met Zilvere blakertjes driehoeksgewijs
Vier knaapen met kopere blaakertjes met driehoeksgewijs
Een Orateurs lessenaar
Een vierkant tafeltje met wit satijn behangen
Een wit satijn behangsel met goude franjes dito
Een blauw "
Een groote alcatij
Een Swart Verniste en Verzilverde M[eeste]r. Troon en Een Stoel met Swart Satijn behangen met zilver franjes dito
Vierentwintig Swart Verniste en Verzilverde stoelen
Vijf groote dito
Een parthij gordijnen en ijzeren roeden
Een grond kleed
Een kist daar in eenige beelden en figuuren
Een Tableau
Een Dito
Een Dito
Een Dito
Een Dito
Vijftien Lange stoelen Eenige knaapen en rommeling
Een dood kist en roef
Een dito
Dertien kopere en Eenige Lode blakertjes driehoeksgewijs
Twee Kleijne tafeltjes
Een Driehoekige Lanthaarn en twee zandloopers
Ses driekante knaapen
Een klein kastje daar in Eenige gedrukte boeken
Vijftien Lamp glaasen in Zoort
Vierentagtig wijn glasen

Vier kelken
Vierentwintig bier glaasen
Vijftien water caraffen
Drie liqueur flessen
Vier verlakte schenkblaadjes
Vier en twintig bottel bakjes
Drie kopere tabaks confoiren
Twaalf groote kopere quispedoors
Een groote kopere coffijkan
Een kopere ham keetel
Een kopere water keetel en Een ijzere pot
Vier pannetjes a la minute en vijf ijzere taatjes
Een koper lampet en kan
Twee " broeder en een poffertjes pan
Een steene water pot
Een dito
Drie soup terrines
Sestig schootels
Een Hondert Twintig flakke borden
Vier Sous kommen |
Vier Sout Vaatjes en Vier Peper busjes |- wit porcelijn
Vier boter potjes |
Drie en Veertig rijst pierings |
Agt en Twintig holle borden |
Sestig flakke borden |
twee Zoutvaatjes |
twee Souskommen |- Blauw porcelijn
twee Slaa Schotels |
Vier en twintig Schotels in Zoort |
Drie boter potjes |
Vier en dertig groote rijst pierings |
Ses en dertig rijst Pierings
Veertien kopjes en Schoteltjes
Vier en Twintig dito
Twee Water bekken en kommen
Een Theepot met melk kan
Een pleete olij en azijn Servies
Zes en dertig Zilvere leepels en Vier en Dertig dito forken
Twee Zilvere Soup leepels
Vier en dertig messen met swarte heften
Drie douzijn vorken met bruijne heften
Vijf Holle Chirandoles
Negen " Kandelaars
Drie snuijters ijzere en d[it]o koper
Een Zilveren beeker
Twee kleijne deegens met zilvere gevesten
Een kleijn zilver blaadje waar in de bouwordens gegraveert is
Een Zilvere Passer
Een " Duimstok verguld
Twee " Pennen
Een Swart ornament met Zilver beslag verguld
Een Zilver roede Verguld
Een " boek "
Een " dood kop "
Een " winkelhaak
Drie " driehoekje ornamenten
Drie Elu Tabeljees
Een M[eeste]rs tabeljees
Drie Schots tabeljees witte
Zes leerl[ing] d[it]o
Drie paaren cabritleere mans handschoenen
Ses " d[it]o Vrouws d[it]o
Vijf Schots tabeljees blauw
Elf ligt blauwe linten en roosen
Twee hoofden
Een rol Chinees papier
Tien tafellakens als Seven klijn en drie groot
Een hondert Servetten
Twaalf Liede boeken
Vier Patjoes
Drie grasmessen

Een Hark
Twee mest forken

[200] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 73 No. 37 Master of Furniture 1775-1801:

'Inventaris van Sodanige Goederen als Zig in de Loge Lavidelle Sinceritte bevinden, en door ons ondergeteekende Comissarissen aan de Br[oeder] Ekonomisten J.S. Weestenberg en Jr Aronds, op heeden overgegeeven Seijn, te weeten

Twee Zilvere Soep Leepels
Vier en dertig " Leepels
Drie en dertig " vorken
Vijf Pleete Chirandols
Acht ronde en
Een vierkante pleete kandelaars
Dertig messen met swarte heften
Sesendertig vorken " "
Twee pleete olij en azijn Seltjes
Drie koopere Coffee kannen
Een kooperen Ham keetel en deksel
Een " water keetel |
Een ijzere Rijst " |
Een kooperen Poffertjes Pan |
Twee " braad Pannen |- onbruijkbaar en moet vertimmer[ert] werden
Een ijzere Rooster |
Vier Taatjes in Zoort |
Vier blikke Almenieten |
Neegen dozijn en 3: pers holle Borden
Dertig " witte Borden
Agt, Twintig " Schotels
Sesendertig " Holle d[it]o
Vier en dertig " rijst Pierings
Drie soepkommen, & 3. schootels
Twee blauwe Pastij Comme
Vier mosterd Potjes
Vier Sout Vaetjes
Vier Peper Bossen
Twee Booter Potjes
Agtien Blauwe Rijst pierings
Seventien Copjes & 18. Schooteltjes
Die Sous Commen
Twee Soep Commen /gebr[oken?]/
Twee blauwe Lampetten
Een " melk kan
Twee witte Slae Bakken
In de Looge Lavidelle Sinceritte den 5e Julij 1800
voor den ontvangst [handtekening]Wustenberg
voor de Overgaaf [handtekening] N. Maarschalk [handtekening] J.H. Roode [handtekening] J. Aronds
deeze bovenstaande Goederen zijn door de br[oeders] Westenberg en Arons opgenomen sub verso voorm[eld]:
thans werden opgenomen, door en br[oeders] van der Linde, Buggen en Lugtie ten vertimmeren, van een br[oeder] Secondant
en bevonden, van het aardw[erk] en porcelijn welk een wijnig gebrooken waar van een nadere lijst zelf werden geformeert.'

[201] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 73 No. 37, Master of Furniture 1775-1801, 'Rapport wegens den opneem in Aug[ustus] –5801-': 'Rapport voor de Commissie, involdoening aan het bestuur, der deze bij ne volutie van den 7 Augustus 5801 ten einde van Generaalen opneem te doen van alle zodanige goederen als er zig op houden en aan de loge la fidelle Sincerite behooren en Waare Dezen bevinden, en van diens Gesteldheid te daenen van rapport Zoo geeve de ondergetekende Commissanten Uw Hoog Eerw[aarde] in allen eerbied te kennen, dat de [Loge] behoorlijk is opgenomen en van dienst bevinding geformeert een hier bij gaande inventaris, zo meende in dezen geïnteresseerd hebben eene gedetailleerde opgave van zodanige benodegingen en defectennes ons zijn voorgekomen daar inne te moeten weder voorzien als

1. 4 ps muurstolpers, voor de buyten galdete moogen noemenrij en te kopen
Star zokk[?] 2. voor de agter galderij zijldoeksche klappen te maaken
repar. 3. den Kamer obscur van een nodige reparatien te voorzien
accordeert 4. den [loge] te werden geschildert
accord 5. de Combuijs goederen te vertimmeren
~~6~~. het altaar, ten gebruijke van een leerl. [loge] te werden bekleed
akkoord 7. de tafel van een br[oeder] secretaris te repareren
acc. 8. eindelijk all derdeze kleine benodigingen te voorzien

Hier meede hebben wij het voorstel onzer Commissie te hebben volbracht en Uw Hoog eerw[aarde]
Uw gehoorz[ame] meede broederen Ten overstaande van mij [handtekening] C. van Aart
[Handtekening] W. Linden, 1e Opziender, [handtekening] J.A. Jugles, [handtekening] W.L. Baggers'

[202] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 73 No. 37, Master of Furniture 1775-1801, 'Inventaris van de [loge] la Fidèle Sincérité Aug[ustus] 5801'.

[203] 'Extract' 1780. Hageman 1866, p. 48, refers to the oldest report of St. Johns Day celebrations dated 1778 in CMC; *Gedenkboek* 1917, p. 163, notes there was also a report in the Grand Lodge archive.

[204] 'Extract' 1780, pp. 26-27: 'Hoe zeer ik gewenscht had om van dezen aanzienlyke lastpost ontslagen te zyn, niet zo zeer om de wichtigheid van den arbeid daaraan verbonden, als uit eige bewustheid van de vereischte vermogens niet te bezitten om dien na behoren te volvoeren, zal ik my egter de keize myner Broederen niet onttreken [...]'

[205] 'Extract' 1780, pp. 35-36: 'Nu kunnen wy de lezer betuigen, dat van 28 leden der Agt[bare] Loge La Vertueuse, volgens de laatste Lysten van 't jaar 1778 herwaarts gezonden, niet minder als 22 geteld worden onder de gelofwaardige Stigters van het Bataviaasch Genoodschap der Konsten en Wetenschappen &c, aldaar opgericht, den 24 april van 't zelve jaar, ondert de Zinspreuk Ten Nutte Van Het Algemeen.'
[206] Gelman Taylor 1983; see also Van der Veur 1973 and Groot 2009.
[207] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse correspondence 1769 1778-1788: 'wij zijn thans naar rijp beraad [...] van begrip [...], dat het niet wijnig tot uitbreijding van onze Koninklijke Kunst en 't vermeederend geluk van 't Menschdom zoude kunnen bijbrengen of strekken, wanneer zig in deeze Gewesten eene Provinciale Loge /: verre te prefereren boven een Provinciaal Grootmeester, wiens leeftijd en verblijf hier meer dan ergens elders aan eene schielijke omwenteling onderworpen is :/ bevond'.
[208] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse correspondence 1769 1778-1788: 'de luijsterrijkse en tevens de oudste is'.
[209] Hageman 1866, p. 117: 'Reeds sinds 1784 was men er op bedacht geworden, de werkplaats, -de tempel,- meer nabij de meer bewoonde delen der stad overtebrengen, om den opkomenden arbeiders [= leden] te gemoet te komen. […] de Leden van La V[ertueuse], wier woningen of buitenwoningen meestal buiten de stadsmuren lagen, in de zuider- en zuidooster voorsteden, en in het ommeland aan die zijde, en wier met[alen] omstandigheden [= financien] over het algemeen ruimer waren [dan die van de leden van La Fidele Sincerite], - gevoelden meer behoefte, - noodzaak en mogelijkheid, om de werkplaats ook naar die zijde overtebrengen, ten behoeve van de opkomst en deelneming aan de gewone arbeid'.
[210] *Verslag* 1848, p. 94; Maarschalk 1872, p. 370.
[211] CMC, Box 3067 [II A 6-7], Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], '1770-97 No. 20', letter to members of La Vertueuse 31-1-1786, concerning *tontine* (distrubution of shares) for a new building.
[212] CMC, Box 3067, Folder 81 Correspondence with the Grand Master and La Constante et Fidèle 1777-1812. CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, n. pag., bijlage 1A: 'Acte voor den Grondsteen van den Tempel La Vertueuse'. This names as subscribers: van Overstraten, Hakker, Van Hogendorp, Van Massau, Van Hoesen, Kreijsman, Engelhard, Boessies, Siberg, Romberg, Coortsen, Guitard, Aanzorgh, Schmidt (each 500 Rds); De Elwijk, Holle, Willems, Titsingh, Bestbier, Rolff, Fetmenger, Van Rheede tot de Parkeler, Hacker, Van Basel, Garisson, Abegg, Idzinga (each 250 Rds).
[213] CMC, Box 3149, Folder 179 La Vertueuse documents concerning the purchase, building and shares of the lodge building 1786, including concept and signed versions of 'Conditien van Tontine' (conditions for subscription), 24-6-1786. In the same folder are also no. 5716, 'Acte van Cessie' (agreement with the subscribers, stating that their claims ceases upon death) and no. 802 (Obligation by Lochman, Heijlman and Coortsen for 4000,- Rds). See also *Verslag* 1848, p. 95. CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, n. pag., notes that by 1808 the last living members, Engelhard and Van Hogendorp, laid down their calims ('pretenties'). But according to Pieren 1902/1903, p. 314, the building was already lodge property by 1803, free of any debts, as members had died and others bestowed their shares upon the lodge.
[214] CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, n. pag.: 'opziener van de steen & beeldhouwers winkel in 'comp[agnies] ambachts kwartier'.
[215] Moors was a term applied to Muslims, in Batavia often of Tamil origin, immigrants from southern Asia. Kaufmann/North 2014, p. 112.
[216] CMC, Box 3149, Folder 179 La Vertueuse documents concerning the purchase, building and shares of the lodge building 1786, 'Koopbrieff van D.E. Fredrik August Heilman' 11-1-1786, p. 393: '[...] en thuijnland waar op thans t moorse Hospitaal met derselve steene gebouwen, voor den binnen regent en de Zieken, met haer combuijs en item eenige houte opstallen waar onder paarde stallingen en wagenhuijs, alle met pannen gedekt, staande ende gelegen een half uur gaans buijten dese stad, in t oosterveld t 22e [deel] van 't blok L sub no. 13 gem[erkt] 1.a A en B. [...] belend ten Zuijd oosten met de heere [… ?] Chineese graeven ten noordwesten met SE Comps land toebehoordende tot de […?] ten oosten met de Gr[o/]te Z[u?]ijder weg, en ten Zuijdoosten met het perceeltje gemerkt [… ?] zijnde breedt langs de Chinese graeven, oost 39 ½ gr Zuijden Een en Dertig roeden, en langs de groote Zuijderweg, noorden 13 gr west agtendertig roeden, Ses voeten, mitgss diep Zuijden 34 gr wrest aan de noord, westz: negenentwintig roeden Moeten aan de oostz met de heele aan de noordwestzijde met halve, en aan de Zuijdwestzijde sonder de sloot; het tweede perceel zijnde de scherpe hoek aan de Zuijdoostz Gem La B belend ten noordwesten met het perceel La A bovengen; en voorts als boven breed langs de Chineese graeven oost 39 ½ gr Zuijden drie roeden, negen voeten, en agter langs de Zuijderweg ses roeden, mitsgs diep aan de nioordwestz Zuijden 18gr west vier roeden Ses voeten, en aan de Zuijdoosthoek loopt het scherp toe, voorts zoo t zelve ter plaatSe voorsij: gelegen mitsgs bovengen Eo geoctroijeerde oostindische Comp uijt kragte van eene acte van overschr van den 4 April 1770 gep pag 645 toebehoordende geweest.' The letter of purchase was co-signed by *Scheepenen* Carel Hendrik Specht and Abdias Eliza Velingius. Hageman 1857, p.235, listed the old names of the area as *Acatra*, *Dja-karta* of *Djaya-karta*. Hageman 1866, p. 122 refers to the *Bataviasche Courant*, 22-3-1822: 'van uit het zuiden […] eerst over de passarlama, (oude-bazaar); vervolgens langs den weg Goenoeg Sari genaamd, tot aan het begin de oostelijke Chinese graven; - aldaar regts in, tot aan het gebouw La Vertueuse; vervolgens langs den weg van Jakarta naar de stad Batavia'.
[217] CMC, Box 3149, Folder 179 La Vertueuse documents concerning the purchase, building and shares of the lodge building 1786. The act further stated that the plot was bought by these men as a group and that shares could not be part of an inheritance after their deaths, that the house could not be sold or demolished without their permission, in which cases they had a right to equal shares of the profits. Witnesses were Coortsen and Van de Weerth.
[218] Pieren 1901/1902, p. 216-217.
[219] CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, n. pag., bijlage 1A: 'Acte voor den Grondsteen van den Tempel La Vertueuse'.
[220] CMC, Box 3149, Folder 179 La Vertueuse documents concerning the purchase, building and shares of the lodge building 1786, contract between the lodge and Heilman, 8-2-1786: '1 Dat ik dit gebouw ten mijne kosten zal extrueeren, conform het door mij hier van &vaardigd plan en daar toe niet dan goede en deugdzaame materiaalen zal emploieeren. 2 Dat het zelve zal worden gemaakt lang binnen werk 106 en breed 25 voeten en in het geheel hoog 36 voeten voorsien van een hegt en sterk pannen dak hoog 13 voeten. 3 Dat de fundamenten van het zelve zullen worden gelegd diep in de grond 4 voet en breet 5 v[oe]t en daar op gesteld zullen worden muuren van een en een halve steen dikte tot aan de boven etage waar deselve & volgens van een steen zullen worden opgetrokken. 4 Dat dit Gebouw zal liggen drie voet uit de Grond zodat vmen zoo van vooren als van Agteren met zeven treeden in het zelve zal moeTen koomen. 5 dat het zelve bestaan zal in een beneden en een boven zo al waarvan de eert gem: de hoogte zal hebben van 16 en de tweede van 14 v[oe]ten beide van boven gebflatoneerd met planken &beel dende gedrukte swulven [?] en ider lang 75 voeten en belegd met houte vloeren van goede planken van 5 quartier d[…?]. 6 Dat in de benedenste Zaal aan t Einde van de luiken Zijde /:bij den ingang:/ twee kamers ieder van een schuifraam zullen worden gemaakt lang ... v[oe]t afgescheiden van malkander en de Zaal met een halv Steens muur waar in in het midden een porte brisee, waardoor men met eene deur in de eene, en met de anderen in den anderen kamer zal in gaan. 7 Dat aan het Einde van Gem Zaal aan de Regter Zijde 21 v[oe]t van de binne muur Mede een halv Steens muur zal worden Geplaats waar in een J gelijk brisee als Die voor boven gem twee kaamers. 8 Dat egter een trap met twee opgang zal worden geset, om in de boven itagie te koomen ieder breet 6 v[oe]ten en beneeden deesen trappen een dispens voorzien van de nodigen Latten en planken ter berging van dranken en anderen goederen dien met een deur zal afgeslooten kunnen worden. 9 Dat op de boven etage boven aan de trap er zal weesen een portaal lang 6 v[oe]ten alwaar een halve steens muur zal worden gesteld om door een porte brisee in een kaamer te koomen

lang 12 vten welke kamer insgelijks met een halve steens muur afgescheiden zal weesen van de boven zaal en waar insgelijks een porte briesee om in de zaal te koomen. 10 Dat alle de gem portes brisee zes in getal breet zullen zijn 6 ½ vt en hoog tot aan het kap[?] 9 voet voorsien met boven ligte hoog 4 vt waar in staaren[?] of bloemen, except die om in de boven zaal te koomen, waar in geen bovenlicht zal weesen. 11 Dat wijders in dit geheel gebouw zullen komen 34 schuifraamen hoog circa 12 breet 5 v[oe]ten 1 ½ dm de benedenste behoorlijk voorsien van blinden om van buiden van Engelsche hangende jaloesien zo nogtans dat deese laatste meede voor de boven raamen zullen kunnen worden gebruikt waartoe aan deselven het nodigen Eiser en houtwerk zal worden gemaakt. 12 Dat de schuifraamen zonder lood zullen weesenen in elkander in schuifen en dat tot deselve geleeverd zullen worden houten raamtjes met rottings om op geschooven zijn de daar te kunnen plaatsen, terwijl i[..?] in de bovenste ruiten van gemelde raamen geene glaasen zullen worden geplaatst maar gevlogt koperdraat. 13 Dat &volgens het hoofd front van de Gebouw volgens plan &sierde zal werden met gem Canaleerde pilasters of Leseenen en die van het vengster boven de deur met twee moderne oitas in het agter front als rustique. 14 dat boven op het front van het selve gesteld zal worden een ballustrade hoog 3 ½ voet ende daar teegens aan leggende goot voorzien zal worden met Goed Loot, dog de drie anderen Gooten alleen van geteerde planken. 15 en Dat in het frontispies geplaats zal worden een houte beeld, naar proportie &beeldende De Stilswijgendheid. Al het Geen ik aanneem en beloof goed en deugdsaam te zullen &vaardige met alle de ornamenten en het verdere bijwerk die schoon hier niet gespecificeert bij het neergemelde plan bekend staan voor een Zomma van seevenduisenden vijfhonderd onder deese Conditie nog thans, dat al het Geen de te emplooieeren de Glaasen tot de schuifraamen meer mogten komen te staan, dan vijftien Stuivers het stuk, zulks mij bovendien zal worden uitgekeerd.[...]'. On 7-2-1788 the debt to Heijlman was redeemed. Members Massau, Kreijgsman, Weijerman, Welgevaren en Van de Weert all donated 600 rds each, on top of the 1000 Rds raised by *tontines*. See also Box 4506, Folder '269: 1 was eerst 326'.

[221] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], '1709-1801 No. 10', 'Generaale Staat en Inventaris van de Loge La Vertueuse…', 27-12-1789.

[222] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], '1709-1801 No. 10': 'Bericht en Inventaris der Goederen gehorende aan de Logie La Vertueuse 27 december 1789'.

[223] CMC, Box 3149, Folder 179 La Vertueuse documents concerning the purchase, building and shares of the lodge building 1786.

[224] CMC, Box 3149, Folder 179 La Vertueuse documents concerning the purchase, building and shares of the lodge building 1786: report of the event by the organizing committee, 1-4-1786: 'eerstelijk omkleed met een vell schoon papier, vervolgens met een kleed van geel armozijn, in een uit massiv rood koper geslagene doos ter groote van circa 10 duim lengte, en 6 duim breedte, welke doos als toen na nogmaals ingewikkeld te zijn in een kleed van geel zijde armozijn, ter grootte van ruim een Ell in 't vierkant, plegtig gedeponeert wierd in een expres daartoe vervaardigde en diep uitgekapte Gedenksteen, hoog circa 1 ¼ lang 2 en breed 1 ¼ voet, met het daarin vermelde jaargetal 1786 in 't midden, de welke immediaaat met een daartoe geapproprieerde en nett in dies opening passende marmor steen wierd gestoken'. See also the attached letter to the Grand Master and mebers of La Vertueuse, 1-4-1786.

[225] Pieren 1901/1902, p. 217-219 quotes a report of the laying of the first stone on 18-3-1786, and on p. 276 mentions that an apprentice apron was included with the copper box. Hageman 1866, p.118 gives the same date (18-1-1786 according to the masonic calendar). Der Kinderen 1864, p. 210, and Maarschalk 1872, p. 370 mention a public ceremony.

[226] CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, n. pag., bijlage 1A: 'Acte voor den Grondsteen van den Tempel La Vertueuse'.

[227] Pieren 1901/1902, p. 217-219, quotes a report of the laying of the first stone on 18-3-1786: '[...] uit prive beurs heeft gedistibueert 25 rds. voor de Chineesen tot het houden van een waaijang op dien avond, 12 ½ rijksd[aalders] voor de Coelys of Javaanen tot het slagten van een Buffel en vier Ducaten tot een Douceur voor den meesterknegt'.

[228] *Wayang wong* is a play with actors. It is not clear which of the two is meant here, but *wajang kulit* seems more likely.

[229] CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, n. pag. Hageman 1866, p. 125, claims the building was demolished in 1823; *100 Jaren* 1937, p. 91.

[230] Hageman 1866, p. 119: '[...] de plegtigheid […] schijnt te zijn aangewend; tot geruststellende vleijerij aan de profane magthebbers; want de Leden der Regering werden erbij uitgenoodigd, […], zoo ook vele andere voorname ingezeten, en zelfs hunnen vrouwen'. See also *Verslag* 1848, p.94; Pieren 1901/1902, p. 219. CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, z.p, mentions 14-10-1786 as the date the building was taken into use; Der Kinderen 1864, p. 210, Maarschalk 1872, p. 370 and *100 Jaren* 1937 however mention 16-10-1786. CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, n. pag.: 'Als stukken dezer [Loge] zijn in het Eigendoms bewijs gesteld deworden de namen van de volgende Br[oeders]': Van Overstraten, Van Massau, Kreijsman, Van Hogendorp, Engelhard, Willems, Hakker, De Elwijk, van Hoesen, Holle.

[231] CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, n. pag., lists these gifts in (crossed out) notes by the author in the sideline of the manuscript:

'[...] van den B Passe M Isaak Titsingh te Bengalen ontvangen een kostbaar tapijt
[...] zoals ook het tableau zijnde Zatijn met goud uitgewerkt een geschenk is van den B Romberg te Japan
[...] kistjes tot berging van de Ornamenten
Van Welgevaren promt eene fraaje zilvere armbos
Hartsingh mac[onnie] gereed[schap?] in zilver
Van Braam van China perle d'amour cachet'.

[232] IISG/Value of the guilder.

[233] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801] 1709-1801, No. 10 inventories, 'Generaale Staat en Inventaris van de Loge La Vertueuse…':

> Generaale Staat en Inventaris van de Logie La vertueuse zodanig als dezelve opgenomen en in ordre gebragt is door de ondergeteekendens, ingevolge besluit van den 6 october Jongstl[eden], op Heeden Den 27' December anno 1787, als:

Een nieuw opgerigt prachtig Gebouw, staande op de weg naast aan de post Jacatra, met al het daar bij toebehoorende, zoo tot Gemak van buiten, als Cieraad van binnen, is bekostigd het volgende, als:

Inkoop van ´t Erf, waar op het zelve is gestigt	1300:-
Voor opdragt Landmeeters kennis	107:6:-
´t opbouwen van het Gebouw alleen, is volgens accoord voldaan	7500
32 roeden Caaijmuur met een Borstweering a rds 48. de roede	1536:-:-
70 dito Hekwerk, a rds 10.	700
het voor Hek met dies Deuren	300
" Vervaardige der Brug	300
" het Polijsten, en pleisteren van ´t voorfront	400
" de Combuis, dispens en twee agter vertrekken	800

" Vervaardige der Chambre obscuur, en al het daartoe benodigde 250
dito van een portaal, en 2 Colommen 80
dito " Twee vaasen op het Portaal 20
dito " Twee hoekkassen, en diverse Kleine veranderingen bekostigd 87
" het schilderen van binnen en buiten 225
" vernissen den Throon en het Portaal, en het geleverd goud-vernis 286
Coelie-loon, voor ´t omkappen van Boomen, en het benodigde Zandt tot Applaneering 285
21 Paalen tot Lanthaarns 44
7 ordinaire en 4 groote Lanthaarns tot dezelven 150
Voor het maken van de Throon aan Houtwerk 300
Tot verciering dezelve
35 Ellen goud-Gaas 106:24
13 once groote Lovertjes 69
9 " Kleine " 24
14 Ellen goude Koort 14:24
Een Roll geele Pangsie 8
10 Rollen wit Mantelstof 260
10 Strengen Gouddraat 30
10 Bladen goude-Foelij 23:16
19 Ellen goude Franjes 95
4 pees Goude Kwasten 20
35 Ellen goud-Gallon 29:8
2 ½ Rolle wit Armozijn 60
voor diverse Kleinigheeden 30:32
" maakloon aan Juffrouw Cra[r/n]casta 500
" het fijn Schilderen der Zon 100
Dus blijkt dat het gebouw met al dies toebehooren in ´t geheel Kost 16040:14 rd.
Dog Stelle Zulks met den anderen maar Waardig 12500 rd.

Zilverwerken en Ornamenten tot dagelijks gebruik, Stelle zonder Geldsom binnens zijns, als:

22 Zilvere Leepels
21 d[ito] vorken
22 Messen met Zilvere Hegten
2 verzilverde olij, en azijn-zetjes
3 " kandelaars
Diverse Ornamenten voor de Grootmeester
Een diamant Kruijs
Een goude Son
Een d[ito] Passer met een Star daar in
voor de Eerste Opziender
Een Zilver Winkelhaak
voor de tweede Opziender
Een Zilver verguld Schiet-Loodt
voor de Secretaris
Twee Zilver vergulde Penne
voor de Thesaurier
Twee Zilver vergulde Sleutels
voor de Orateur
Een Zilver vergulde Roll-papier
voor de Architect
Een Zilver vergulde plaat
voor de CeremonieMeester
Een Ebbenhoute met Zilver-verguld beslage ornament
Diverse
Een goude en Zilvere 'S[int] Andries op het Kruijs,
Twee Sawasse drie Hoeke, met L[etter] G. daarin, voor de
Broeders Schotten
Drie Zilvere Poken met Ebben Houte hegten, voor de
Broeders Elú

Huijsmeubelen

Een groote Cristalle kroon |
Twee kleinder d[ito] d[ito] |- kosten rd 180:-
Twee nog kleinder d[ito]d[ito] d[ito] 90:-
Een Glaaze Kroon |
Veertien Hang-Stolpen |- d[ito] 182:-
Tien Muurstolpen
Zeven groote Lanthaarns
Vier groote, en |
Zes Kleine Glaze Illusters |- d[ito] 75:-
Acht Spiegels
Acht Illusters 160:-
Vier Houte muurblakers met Kopere armen

Vier Kopere muurblakers
Een groot meesters Stoel
Twee Stoelen voor de opzienders
Een Orateurs gestoelte
48 ronde mansstoelen
46 Lange d[ito] d[ito]
Een vierkante Tafel op de Throon
Twee drie Hoeks Tafeltjes alle drie met dies dekkleden van wit armozijn
Een Piedestal met d[ito] Dekkleed, en Een kussen van geel Trijp
12 vierkante Eetens Tafels
2 Hoofd-Stukken
2 Ambons Houte speeltafels Kosten 25:-
2 Ceilons d[ito] d[ito] d[ito] 22:-
2 Speel Tafels van gemeen Javashout
2 Hoekkassen
2 Laa-tafels
10 Lange, en 4 Korte Knaapen
26 porcelaine Kwispedoors
16 verlakte Kandelaars Kosten 95:-
14 Koopere dito
Alle welke Huismeubelen, met, en zonder Geldsom bekend staande, stelle waardig 2500

Diverse Goederen, als:

Een Acte van Constitutie door de groote Loge Nationaal in S'Hage op den Eersten Dag van de Agsten maand uit 't Jaar des Ligts 5769 Verleend, om deze Loge onder de naam van La Vertueuse opterigten.
Een Wet Boek
20 Liede Boeken
2 ijvoore, en
3 Houte Hamers
32 Kussens van geele Zijde
Het kleed van Le frere Terrible
9 Schots Tabiljees
Een grootmeester Tabilje
7 Differente Tabiljees
15 Rollen Smal, en |
5 d[ito] breedt |- geel-Lint
Eenige Stukken, en rollen Lint-papier &
2 Gordijnen van de oude Throon

Diverse Tafel-Keuken-Goederen, Glaswerken, Porcelainen, Dranken Enz.

Drie Tafellakens
100 Servetten
12 Handoeken
Een Braadspit met zijn toebehooren
2 ijzere Roosters
Een Kopere Rijst-Keetel
Een Ham-Keetel
4 Kastrollen
10 IJzere Tatjos
Een Braad-pannetje
Een Koper melk-Keteltje
Een Japanse Koffi-Keetel
Een Chocolaad-Kan
2 Japanse Thee Keetels met dies Confooren
2 d[ito] d[ito] d[ito] zonder d[ito]
3 Koks Tafels
4 WaterBalies

Glaswerken

14 Bierglazen met vergulde randen
60 " onverguld
30 Wijn en Water Glazen
140 Wijn Glaazen
32 Karaffen

Porcelainen

Een defect Tafelservies, bestaande in

3 Soep Terrines
14 Lange Schotels in Zoort
19 Ronde d[ito] diepe
14 d[ito] d[ito] platte
96 platte Borden
24 diepe d[ito]
32 Rijst-piernigs
2 Visch-Schotels met dies platen

4 Sous Kommen
6 Zout-vaatjes
2 Mostertpotjes, en
5 Boter-potjes
Een Lampet met dies Kan
Een Sambal Bakje
Een pons-Kom
2 Trek-potten
Een Melk-Kan
14 Chocolaad, en
9 Koffi-Kopies
24 Schoteltjes
Dranken
Twee vaten bier, nog onafgetapt
222 Bottels Zwaar Bier | afgetapt in
190 d[ito] ligt d[ito] |- Septembr. 1787
372 d[ito] Roodewijn
78 d[ito] Zwaar Bier
62 d[ito] Ligt Bier
benevens Eenige Weinige Zoete-Wijn, en Liqueren
Alle deeze Tafel, en Keuken Goederen, Glaswerken, Porcelains, Dranken en meer Kleinigheden, bij, en tot t' huis behoorende, de wel ke in deze niet speciaal genoemd zijn, Stelle door Elkander waardig 800
Transportere 15800 rd. Totaal
[…] [Handtekening] H. v. Son [handtekening] Van de weert'
See also CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 inventories 1781?-1798, '1774-98 No. 14', undated inventory, almost identical to the one quoted here (perhaps the inventory from ca. 1787, which the committee used to make notes on?).

[234] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], No. 10 inventories, 'Verslag van de commissie belast met de inventarisatie' 27-12-1787: 'Eindelijk [...] of het alsmede ter voorkoming van alle ongelegendheeden die bij sterfgevallen der Broederen Officiers, kunnen plaats hebben, niet noodzakelijk waare, dat alle tot de Loge behoorende, en op de Inventaris vermelde Ornamenten, mitsgaders alle de Boeken, en Papieren, in dit gebouw, in daartoe te vervaardige Kassen wierden bewaart en geen Ornamenten of Papieren meer aan het Huis den Broederen mogten verblijven.'

[235] CMC, Box 4506, Folder '269: 1 was eerst 326': 'tot het maaken van twee kasten evenredig met de netheid en zindelijkheid van onse [loge] La vertueuse ter plaatzing in dezelve en voorzien den een kastje in der midden, en sulks tot berging van alle de Papieren en verdere benodigdheeden de [loge] toebehoorende, die anderszints bij den secretaris of een andere br berustende, in Cas, van sterfgeval gevaar liepen in verkeerde hande te vallen tot merkelijke prejuditie van onse koninklijke kunst'.

[236] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], No. 10 inventories, 'Staat en Inventaris van de Loge La Vertueuse onder dato 27 December Anno 1788'; idem: 'Berigt Weegens de Examinatie der Cassa Rekening d'anno 1788'.

[237] CMC, Box 3071, Folder 89 La Vertueuse receipts 1788-1789 [= 1787-1789], No. 21 receipts 1788. For instance 13-3-1788: '1 set musicians delivered rds 20 ('1 stel mussikanten geleeverd rds 20,-'), signed 'this is the mark of Calewander' ('dit is [ff] 't merk van Calewander').

[238] CMC, Box 3071, Folder 89 La Vertueuse receipts 1788-1789 [= 1787-1789], No. 22 receipts 1789-1790: 'aan de wagen verhuurder Wolferium, voor het huuren van Agt wagens, tot het rondbrengen van de briefjes bij de BB door frere Servant Crauts, gereekend buijten twee voor een heele en de rest voor een halve dag 15'.

[239] CMC, Box 4506, Folder '269: 1 was eerst 326', 3-5-1788: 'in aenmerking gekomen zijnde de noodzaakelijkheid dat onse L[oge] ten heelemaal geschildert en de buiten hekwerken geteerd moeten worden. Zo is verstaan zulx den eersten ten uit voer te doen brengen'. See also Box 3071, Folder 89 La Vertueuse receipts 1788-1789 [= 1787-1789], No. 22 receipts 1789-1790: 12-3-1789, payment to mandur and coolies, costs sand, the new kitchen, wood, etc amounting to 26,34 Rds; various invoices for building materials and firewood; 20-8-1789 to Lie Acko 'voor 't vernist van [...] 2 vensters, Een deur met dies bladen en 3 houte balken pilaren in de thuijn omtrent bij de poort Jaccatra 7'; 24-10-1789 to Lie Stienko, 'timmerbaas […] voor het vermaken, repareeren van het huis op Jacatra met en benevens de in 't zelfde huis verstrekte materialen, ijzer werken etc etc zo mede Coelies metzelaaren en timmerlieden te zaam rds 250,-'; receipt 1789, concerning deductions for sales of lead from demolition; receipt 1789 to Chinese carpenter for: 'het maken van 18 peet houte raamen te zamen Rds 145,-'. See further Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801] 1709-1801, No. 10 inventories, 'Rekening per Kassa van Ontvangst en Uitgaaf ten behoeve van de Loge La Vertueuse' (1789), 1-1-21789: 'Br[oeder] van Overstraten in reestitutie van de door Zijn Ed[ele] op ordonnantie genoten goederen te behoeve van La Vertueuse als
2 vaten Theer
6 p[aar] Theer quasten
8 Tatij dingen
10 ed halve aamshoepen
1 Stuk Evendoek lang 80 Ellen
2 ed Zeilgaren
2 halve aamen Lijnolie
300 ed wit lood
15 " geel oker
4 " roode menij
alles te zamen 142:32:-'.

[240] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801] 1709-1801, No. 10 inventories, 'Rekening per Kassa van Ontvangst en Uitgaaf ten behoeve van de Loge La Vertueuse' (1789):
'Br[oeder] Wilgevaar In restitutie van 't door zijn betaalde voor opbouw van de Nieuw Combuis, 't Aanmaken van ijzere roosters, van plaatzen van 't hekwerk & volgens quitantie 530:-:-
Br[oeder] Pilon Voor het vermaken en repareren van 't Dak Der L[oge] na aftrek van het provennie van 't door Afgenomen Lood, blijkens quitantie 202:-:-
Br[oeder] PilonVoor 18. pees houte Jalousien Raamen 145:-:-'.

[241] CMC, Box 3071, Folder 89 La Vertueuse receipts 1788-1789 [= 1787-1789], No. 22 receipts 1789-1790: 'den chinees Lileeng voor het aanmaken van een Nieuwe Combuijs, met een ijseren Rooster, het verplaatsen van het agterhek, en het approprieeren van twee appartementen tot dispensen, tevens eenige verdere reparatien'. See also receipt 22-5-1790 to Sie Ako:
'Voor 't vernist van 18 p rotting raamen
geel in de thuijn op jaccatra a rd 1 rds18
voor 't vernist van 4 vensters a 24 stv 2,-
voor 't vernist van 4 kopere tot de blakkers lamp 2,24'. Furthermore two receipts on 30-6-1790 to Giu Tjeung, one for an instalment of 2000 rds on a larger sum for 'aangenomen werk' and another instalment of 1500 rds 'van 't te bouwen la Vertueuse', probably relating to the new back gallery.
[242] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse receipts 1793, 2/1793 No. 40 various receipts 1793, receipt 24-5-1793 for delivery on 7-1-1793 of: '17 ps Huisbalken a ¼ rds, tot het draaien van Colommen rds 21,12'.
[243] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse various lists and receipts 1781?-1798, 1774–1798, No. 14 [= 1771-1798, no chronological order], undated inventory ca. 1790 including lists of debitors/creditors: 'Guitard, van de weert zo veel hun Ed[delen] ingevolge besluit van den hebben aangeboden tot de opbouw van de Gallerij a rds 1000 ieder meerde resterende a ¼ ps maands 2000'. The inventory is almost identical to that of 27-12-1789. See also Folder 90 La Vertueuse receipt and account books 1791, 2/1791 No. 39 account book of the Treasurer 1791, payment on 1-1-1791: 'aan den aanneemer der galderij' 1000,-'; Folder 90 La Vertueuse various receipts 1793, 2/1793 No. 40 various receipts 1793, 26-12-1790, due bill or obligation by the lodge to Guitard for a loan of fl. 1000 for the 'aangebouwde Gallerij'.
[244] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801] 1709-1801, No. 10 inventories, report by the inventory committee 28-12-1789: 'Tans achten wij nodig, Uw Hoog Achtb[are] voor te stellen het laten Schilderen van de trap waar mede men naar de bovenzaal gaat, wijl die zoo als ze tans is, niet wel schoon kan gehouden worden, neemende den Eerst geteekende op zich zulks met believens van Uw Hoog Achtb[are] zoo menagieus mogelijk te laten doen'.
[245] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801] 1709-1801, No. 10 inventories: 'Rekening per Kassa van Ontvangst en Uitgaaf ten behoeve van de L[oge] La Vertueuse' 1789; 'Generaale Staat en Inventaris van de Logie La Vertueuse onder dato 27 December 1788' 27-12-1789; 'Bericht en Inventaris der Goederen gehorende aan de Logie La Vertueuse 27 december 1789'; reports by the inventory committee 28-12-1789, 7-5-1789 and May 1789;
[246] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801] 1709-1801, No. 10 inventories, 'Notitie van zodanige Goederen als ten behoeve van de Logie la Vertueuse per publieke vendutie en uit de hand verkogt zijn', 24-12-1789.
[247] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801] 1709-1801, No. 10 inventories, 'Generale Staat: reekening van La vertueuse Item Reek[enin]g Courant van den Ontvangst en Uitgaaf gedurende het Jaar 1790':
'In den Jaar 1789 is daar aan bekostigd voor Een nieuwe Combuis in 't aproprieeren van de oude tot een vertrek ter berging van Dranken en Provisien, 't verplaatsen van 't achter Hek 580
't vermaken van het dak, na aftrek van 't geen 't daar van genomen Lood heeft gerendeert 202
18 Jalousies Raamen 145
't Schilderen repareratie van 't mindere aan belang & Stelle maar tot heeden op 200
Dus het Gebouw met dies bij vertrekken thans reeds kost 17167:14'.
[248] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 'Box 76 +77 II-A-1+2' La Vertueuse 1) 1ste degree Minutes 13-2-1791 until 13-3-1792 1791-1795 with 2) Attachments Incoming and outgoing correspondence, including an overview of the number of tickets bought per lodge member.
[249] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 +77 II-A-1+2La Vertueuse Minutes 1791-1795 1802-1805, Minutes 1791-1795.
[250] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 +77 II-A-1+2La Vertueuse Minutes 1791-1795 1802-1805, Minutes 1791-1795: 'Br Orateur doed een Cierlijk aanspraak aan Br Titsingh, t Loterij plan met de intekening Br Titsingh in te handigen'.
[251] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801] 1709-1801, No. 10 inventories, reports by the inventory committee 29-12-1792, 23-12-1794 and 11-9-1797; report by the financial commission March 1793; 'Inventaris geformeerd in 1794'; 'Berigt van den gedanen opneem in la Vertueuse op den 9e Maart 1796'.
[252] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801] 1709-1801, No. 10 inventories, 'Berigt van B.B. Verclocke en Reigersman, van den opneem der L[oge] La vertueuse in dato 24 xber 1790', with notes in pencil, here in italics:
'Inventaris van alle zodanige Meubilaire, zilver goederen, Maçonnique Ornamenten, mitsgaders porceleinen, keuken gereedschappen, dranken en provisien, etc., etc., als behorende tot de Loge La Vertueuse; en door ons Ondergeteekendens opgenoomen & in waare weezen bevonden zijn, als

Meubilaire Goederen,

In de beneeden Zaal:

Een glase Kroon,
Thien hang stolpen,
Vier Spiegels,
Agt Ilusters,
Twaalf muur stolpen,
44 stoelen,
6 Ambons houte Speeltafels,
2 Ceilons houte dito,
8 lange Knaapen,
16 korte dito,
Een Schenktafel met lood,
24 porceleine quispeldoors,

In het buiten portaal:

Een glase Kroon,
Twee houte muurblakers met koopere armen,
Veerthien stukken Eetenstafels,
Twee La tafels,
Een jaloesie raam,
Een glas gordijn,

In het binnen portaal:

Een hang stolp,
Twee houte muurblakers met koopere armen,

Twee houte hoekkasten,
Een arm stoel,
Vier trapjes,
In de booven zaal:
Een groote Cristalle Kroon,
Twee Kleinder dito,
Twee nog kleinder dito,
Veerthien Muur Stolpen,
Twee Ilusters,
Twee hangstolpen,
Een groot meesters Stoel,
Twee stoelen voor de Opzienders, ~~(defect)~~
48 ronde mans stolpen,
7 lange knaapen,
Een vier kante tafel, |- met behangzels & Kussens
Twee drie hoeks ~~tafels~~, | van wit armozijn & goud belegt
Een piedestal, met een voet bankje,
Een groot Tapijt, met een daar over gehoorend zeil,
Een Tableau op zijde met goud & zilver,
Een Tableau op doek geschildert,
12 jaloesie raamen,
12 glas gordijnen,
28 geele Kussens & 3 trijp Kussens,
In de booven Eetenszaal:
Drie Cristalle Kroonen,
Twintig muur Stolpen of Lanthaarens,
Een groote Spiegel,
In de agter galderij:
Een Kleine cristalle Kroon,
Twee peer Stolpen,
20 ronde Stoelen,
2 mahonie houte speeltafels,
Zilver Goed
22 leepels, (een meer, als er op de vorige inventaris bekend staat)
21 forken,
48 tafel messen, met ijvoire hegten & zilvere bandjes
24 desert " " " "
Twee zilvere Soepleepels,
Ses dito leepeltjes,
Ses dito forkjes,
Een dito koel vatje,
Een dito Arm Busch,
Een groote pleete Koffij Kan,
Twee dito olij en azijn Zetjes,
Drie dito Klijne Kandelaaren,
Veerthien Koopere Kandelaaren,
Sestien dito verlakte,
Vijf verlakte Schenkborden,
Ses houte blaadjes (een defect),
Maconnieke Ornamenten
in een verlakt Kistje
voor den Groot-Meester,
Een kruis met brillanten omzet,
Een passer met de voetmaat op een blauwe steen met steentjes.
voor den 1ste Opziender,
Een winkelhaak op een blauwe steen, als boven
voor den 2de Opziender,
Een schietlood op een blauwe steen,
voor den Secrecretaris,
Twee penne schagten op een blauwe steen,
voor den Thesaurier,
Een Sleutel op een blauwe steen,
voor de Orateur,
Een Zilver vergulde machine, een rol papier verbeeldende
voor den Ceremonie Meester,
Twee ebbenhoute met zilver vergulde ornamenten,
voor den BouwKundige,
Een waterpas op een blauwe steen,
Een goude dito,
Een zilver vergulde plaat verbeeldende de 5 bouwordens,
voor den Fiscaal,

Een roede met een Sawas bandje,
voor den Aalmoezenier,
Een Sawas armbusje,
Diverse ter waar loo,
Een goude en zilvere St. Andries op ´t Kruis,
Twee Zilvere pooken met ebbenhout,
Twee Kasten, geschikt tot berging van de papieren aan de Loge gehoorende,
Een Kas met een Schelet,
Porceleinen & Glaswerken
Een rood defect tafel servies,
Een blauw dito maar incompleet,
Een dubbeld thee servies,
Vier porc[eleine] beekers met houte bakken,
Ses nagtspiegels,
11 bier glasen met vergulde randen,
36 masons glasen,
27 karaffen,
7 water en wijn glasen,
49 bier glasen,
3 soopjes flessen,
90 masons glasen,
32 bruikbaare lamp glasen,
Tafel goed
3 tafel lakens,
60 Servetten,
1 hand doek,
Combuis goed
Een braad Spit met zijn toebehooren,
Twee ijzere roosters,
Vier Koopere Kastrollen,
Zeeven tatjoes,
Twee braad pannen,
Twee panne Koeks pannen,
Twee water Keetels,
Drie Kokstafels,
Drie lange & drie ronde water balies,
Twee japansche waterpotten,
in de opgeschreeve Latafels
Een Groot Meesters Tabeljé,
Thien meesters Tabeljes & 7 differente anderen,
Thien p[aa]r manshandschoenen & 56 p[aa]r vrouwe dito,
Agthien hoeden, & Agthien mantels,
Een kleed voor de frere terrible (zeer Slegt),
Een Bijbel,
Een Wetboek,
14 Lire Masons,
Dranken en provisien
270 bottels roode wijn,
75 dito madera wijn,
7 dito rijnsche wijn,
20 kannen spa water,
631 bottels beleegen ligt bier,
55 dito " zwaar bier,
33 bosschen waxkaarsen,
Een doos met Tabak,
Een kelder jenever,
5 halve bottels anijs,
Van de aanwezigheid van all het boovenstaande, op datum deezes- verZeekeren wij met onze handtekeningen In de Loge La Vertueuse; Den 24 December 1790
[Handtekening] J.J. Verklocke [handtekening] C.P. Reigersman'. See also 'Generale Staat: reekening van La vertueuse Item Reek[enin]g Courant van den Ontvangst en Uitgaaf gedurende het Jaar 1790', report by the inventory committee 24-12-1790.

[253] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801] 1709-1801, No. 10 inventories:
'Berigt wegens de taxatie van de L[oge] La Vertueuse met dies losse goederen Februarij 1793
[...] Het Erv met dies gebouw, bijgebouwen en verdere opstallen &c, het welk bij de Inventaris van den 27 Xber 1790 getaxeerd staat op Rds. 12000,-, thans op Rds. 10000,-
Meubilaire Goederen
In de boven

Eenige Vercierzels tot den Throon gehoorende	50:-
3 Christalle Kroonen	250:-
2 glaazen d[it]o	25:-
2 Luchtlampen	75:-

14 Muur Stolpen 70:-
2 Illusters 2:-
1 Stoel voor den Groot Meester |- 30:-
2 Stoelen " de beide Surveillants |
24 stoelen voor de broederen 24:-
9 Lange knaapen 3:-
3 tafels, als 1 vierkante op den Throon,
en 2 driekante beneeden den Zelven nevens
een hout Althaar en een bankje met overkleedzels en kussens 25:-
1 Extra fraaij bengaals Tapijt 100:-
1 vloer Tableau, in Japan geborduurd 50:-
1 Schilderij d[it]o " " verlakt 50:-
9 Zeildoekse klappen voor de Schuifraamen 5:-

In het Apartement achter de Throon

2 hang Stolpen 20:-
1 Muur Lanthaarn 10:-
1 kist met rouw-goed 1:-
1 Stuk Zwart vloer kleed 5:-
4 differente tableaus 5:-
27 ps. driekante blikke blakers 10:-
1 houte Luchtkooker 1:-
1 plank met eenige Spitze houtjes 1:-

In het voor Portaal

8 ps. houte blakers, ieder met 1 arm 2:-
2 Locquet kasten 15:-

In het Portaal bij de trap

1 glaaze kroon met 6 armen 10:-
1 d[ito] Stolp 15:-
1 houte ladder en eenige bankjes 5:-
1 baloteur bus met dies boontjes 1:-
2 Laa-tafels 10:-

In de Eet-Zaal

1 groote Kroon 50:-
2 kleine d[ito] 50:-
12 glaaze muurlanthaarns met
gierlandes 100:-
1 groote Spiegel 5:-
24 Stoelen 24:-
1 Steene tafel 5:-
8 Eet tafels 8:-
2 Hoekkasten 16:-

In de Meesters L[oge]

1 groote driekante knaap 1:-
6 kleine " " 2:-
3 houte blaakers, ieder met 3 armen 1:-
1 meesters tableau 5:-

In de beneeden Zaal

1 glaaze kroon 20:-
10 hang Stolpen 200:-
12 muur d[it]o 60:-
4 groote Spiegels met vergulde lijsten 20:-
8 kleine d[it]o " 2 armen 80:-
45 Stoelen 45:-
6 Lange knaapen 4:-
16 kleine d[it]o 6:-
12 Speel tafels in Zoort 50:-
24 ps. Porcelaine quispedoors 20:-

In de achter Gaanderij

3 glaaze Kroonen 50:-
2 " Stolpen 25:-
4 Muur Lanthaarns 60:-
20 Stoelen 20:-
1 Schenck tafel 15:-

Juweelen, Goud en Zilverwerken

1 ornament met brillanten voor de Gr[oot] M[eester] 300:-
1 goud ornam[ent] voor de Architect wegende
2 ½ reaal 25:-
2 kleine goude ornamenten, weg[ende] ¼ reaal 5:-
1 Zilvere Passer, wegende 2 ¼ reaal 3:-
1 d[it]o drie hoek Weeg[ende] 2 5/8 reaal 3:-
1 d[it]o Winkelhaak Weeg[ende] 2 ¾ reaal 3:-

1 d[it]o Troffel, met dies houte Steel
Wegende 12 reaalen 10:-
1 d[it]o verguld ornament voor de Ar
chitect wegende 2 ¼ reaal 3:-
1 d[it]o d[it]o voor de Orateur weg[ende] 1 ¼ reaal 2:-
1 d[it]o d[it]o " " d[it]o " 1 ¼ " 2:-
1 Zilver verguld ornament voor de Groot Meester weg[ende] ¾ reaal 1:-
1 d[it]o St. Andries Kruis weg[ende] 3/8 reaal 1:-
22 " Leepels, weg[ende] 51 reaalen 60:-
21 " Vorken, " 46 ½ d[it]o 55:-
2 " Soup-Leepels weg[ende] 14 reaal 20:-
6 Confituur Leepels & 6 d[it]o vorken weg[ende] 7 ¼ reaal 10:-
1 Zilver bakje, weg[ende] 5 ½ reaal 10:-
2 " Schenkblaaden " 57 reaal 65:-
1 ornament op een blauwe steen voor de Almoezenier 10:-
1 d[it]o op een blauwe steen, Zijnde een Passer 10:-
1 d[it]o op een blauwe steen, voor den Secretaris 10:-
1 d[it]o op een blauwe steen voor den 1ste Opziender, Zijnde een Waterpas 10:-
1 d[it]o op een blauwe steen, voor den 2 Opziender, Zijnde een Winkelhaak 10:-
1 d[it]o op een blauwe steen, Zijnde een Schietlood 10:-
1 Zilver Armbus weg[ende] 30 reaalen 45:-
1 ornament op een blauwe steen voor de Almoezenier 10:-
Porcelain en Glaswerk
1 blauw tafel Servies 25:-
1 rood " " 25:-
2 Thee Serviesen 15:-
4 Porcelaine kommen in houte bakken,om de handen in te wasschen 2:-
10 bierglazen, met vergulde randen 2:-
35 d[it]o Zonder 3:-
35 macons wijn glaazen, met " " 6:-
87 wijn glaazen 8:-
21 groote Karaffen 15:-
5 Kleine d[it]o 2:-
1 Soopjes Keldertje met 12 Flessen 5:-
3 Soopjes flessen 1:-
30 Lamp glaazen 15:-
Diverse Goederen
2 Plaite Olij en Azijn Zetjes 12:-
1 d[it]o Koffij Kan 5:-
3 " Kandelaaren 2:-
47 tafelmessen met yvoire heften 7:-
24 desert d[it]o 3:-
In een La-Tafel in het voor-Portaal bij de trap
18 ps. Hoeden 20:-
18 " mantels 50:-
6 Stukken breed Zwart Lindt 20:-
2 d[it]o " rood d[it]o 5:-
4 d[it]o " geel d[it]o 7:-
In een andere La-Tafel Zijn
26 ps banden voor diverse graden 15:-
29 diverse Taballiers 5:-
63 paaren vrouw- handschoenen 10:-
2 " mans d[it]o |- 1:-
Eenig rood koord |
100 nieuwe Servetten 25:-
32 oude d[it]o 10:-
3 nieuwe Tafel lakens 25:-
1 oud d[it]o 3:-
1 Swart dek kleed 10:-
Eenige muse maconne |
1 wet boek |- 2:-
1 Bijbel |
36 Spellen kaarten /fijne/ 2:-
20 spellen kaarten 2e soort/ 1:-
2 ijvoire en |
9 houte |- hamers 3:-
42 ps. nieuwe Lire Maçonnes 10:-
16 oude d[it]o 2:-
In de Chambre Obscuur
1 kastje waarin Een Schelet 40:-
In de Dispens

16 verlakte en |- kandelaaren 15:-
14 Kopere |
5 Verlakte Schenkblaadjes 2:-
5 houte d[it]o in soort 1:-
3 Tafels 3:-
1 Kistje met spermacetie kaarssen 4:-
6 Bossen waxkaarssen 15:-
Combuis Goederen
2 groote Japanse martavaanen 10:-
1 Braad-Spit met Zijn toebehoren 5:-
1 groote en |
1 Kleine |- ijzere rooster 2:-
2 Water keetels 3;-
2 Koeke pannen 2:-
4 Koopere kastrollen 5:-
7 Tjatjoes 3;-
2 braad-pannen 2:-
Diverse dranken
168 Bottels ligt bier a 5 st de bottel 17:24
421 halve d[it]o d[it]o " 3 " " 26:15
443 heele bottels zwaar bier a 5 st de bottel 46:7
74 bottels roode wijn a 5 st de bottel 7:34
7 " Rhinse wijn |
5 kannen Hollandsch water |- 3:-
7 Kelder flessen met Genever |
Off te Saamen Rds 12925:32
Dranken die verkogt moet worden,
600 bottels Ligt en |- bier
200 " Zwaar |
31 " Madera wijn [...]'.

[254] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse receipts 1793, 2/1793 No. 40 various receipts 1793: 'Voor 't maaken van Een Nieuwe Waegen Loots tot 't bergen van 12 waegens, met de daar van g'Emploijeerd, alle benodigd van materialen en arbeiden, dog zonder houten volgens Accoord rds 400,-
27 ps Balken Ambon, lang 23 a 24 voeten a 3 rds ieder kt 81,-
57 " " TanJong a rds 1 1/8 ieder, voor 't gebr aan koeda koeda 64,6
128 "Moole Rippen "30 Stsps kt 80,-
11 bossen " Latten " 2 ¼ rd ieder bos, komt 24,36'.

[255] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse receipts 1793, 2/1793 No. 40 various receipts 1793'.

[256] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse approved receipts and financial records 1792, 2/1792 No. 25 approved receipts 1792, 30-6-1794: 'aen de Chinees timmerman voor het verlengen van de Combuis rd 86'.

[257] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 +77 II-A-1+2La Vertueuse Minutes 1791-1795 1802-1805, Minutes 1791-1795, 12-8-1794.

[258] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 +77 II-A-1+2La Vertueuse Minutes 1791-1795 1802-1805, Minutes 1791-1795, 12-8-1794. The word used was *rukwind*, best translated as a sudden blast of wind.

[259] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse receipts 1798 and Financial records for 1799, 2/1796-98 No. 28 Receipts 1797, undated receipt ca. 1796 for reimbursement to Josi:
'1. voor het afbreken en weder in ordr brengen van de chambre obscure, en opkamer, als
6000 ps vaderl[andse] Mop[?]en a 10 rds p Mille 60,-
voor Metzel –Timmer- en Coelie-loon 95,-
Kalk en Zand 30,-
Zwarte Plijsters kalk en spijkers 14,-
6 cheribonse balken en 8 Rolplanken a 1 dm -
[...] 1,-
4. Eenige Plijstering aan de [loge] 10, [...]'.

[260] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse receipts 1798 and financial records for 1799, 2/1796-98 No 28 Receipts 1797, 4-5-1797:
'drie gantings witte zand a 10 St rd -, 30
2 p kwasten -, 30
spijkers en voltings -,20
300 p coraale steene ---'.
See also receipt 20-5-1797 to mandur Biedien: 'driehondert pees korale steene a rds 1,32 d' hondert rds 5'.

[261] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse receipts 1798 and financial account for 1799, 2/1796-98 No 28 Receipts 1797, 24-3-1797 to Giu Tjeeuwka: 'voor t maken van een glase deur met dies Engelsche slotwerk en arbeids Loonen rds 52'; idem, receipt September 1797 to Tja Sieuw d'voor 't gront verwen van de Logie La vertueuse rd 130,- voor t inzetten van 4 p glazen 2,24'; idem 28-4-1797 'aan timmerman Lie Tjoeko voor diverse planken, spijkers ed.' Rds 600,23.
CMC, Box 3073, Folder 90 La Vertueuse receipts paid 1798-1799, 2/1798-99 No. 12 receipts paid 1798 & 1799, No. 24, 23-10-1794 to Jassoij:
'Augustus 20 paar Glaaze Ruiten a Rij 1:, 6 St Rij 22:-24:-…
44 "" 40 st " Rij 36:-32:-
October de Reekening van den Timmer-Chinees Lie Tsjoeko voor de benoodigde reparaties 879:-8:-
De Reekening van den Scxhilder Chinees Vie Tjangu 70:-:-
Voor Kalik Witt-Kwasten, eene Ladder en andere Kleenigheden 8:-22:- [...]'; idem '16-3-1798 den Chin. Timmerman 8:16' and '11-8-1798 'benoodigde reparaties aan onzen Tempel' to Jassoij no. 11 fl. 400,-.

CMC, Box 3073, Folder 90 La Vertueuse receipts paid 1800-1801, 2/1800 No. 43 receipts paid 1800-1801, no. 52, 8-5-1801 'een ps Balk Ankerstok rijks 22:30' to Siberg, 28-4-1801 'uit voorraad compagnie'[…] balken en ankerstokken ad rds 158,33'.

[262] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse receipts 1798 and financial account for 1799, 2/1796-98 No 28 Receipts 1797, 20-7-1797 to Sie Tiuwko: 'voor 't vernist van d'Binnen thuin van VM met groene verf' at 70 rds; idem 2/1798-99 No. 12 receipts paid 1798 & 1799, no. 24, 15-10-1798 to Sie Tjang: 'Voor 't groen verniste van 2 deuren en 17 vensters van de Metzelarij Loosje 8:70'.

[263] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801] 1709-1801, No. 10 inventories, report by the inventory committee 11-9-1797 with notes:

'[...] in de L[oge] Boven
Eenige Throon Verciercels
1 groot Meester Stoel, geel geschilderd en Verguld
1 Tafel met dies wit zijde kleed met goud Geborduurd en d[it]o franjes
1 Zijldoeks voorhangsel
3 paar glaase Kroonen
1 houte Altaar met een Bankje en twee kussens met dies wit zijde geborduurde kleeden belegd met goude franjes
2 kopere patent Lampen, ieder met 2 armen en dies toebehoren
2 Japanse Verlakte Tableaus
1 prent en Vergulde Lijst in glas, voorstellende het pourtrait van den Achtb[are] G[root] M[eester] N. van Boetzelaar
2 driekante Tafeltjes met dies Witte Zijde Kleede, belegd met goude franjes
2 driekante Tinne Inkt kokers
1 groot Bengaals vloer Tapijt, en een restant stuk dito
gebruikt voor de G.G. 1 Zeijldoeks Vloerkleed
1 Japans zijde geborduurd vloer Tableau in een kist
1 Nieuw |
1 Oud |- zeijldoeks geschilderd vloer Tableau
2 opsienders Stoelen, geel geschilderd en verguld
9 kaars knapen, d[it]o d[it]o dito
12 groote Emblemes of Zinnebeeldige Schilderijen aan
de muur Vastgespijkerd
1 Metaale Orateurs Lessenaar
2 kopere Lustres aan de Collommen van de Tempeldeur
28 48 geel geschilderde Stoelen, Verguld
48 stoelkussens van geele zijde, NB afgesleeten
16 ps glase muur Stolpen
9 Zijldoekse Schutzels, Voor de Vengsters
In het appartement agter de Throon
1 Hang stolp
1 houte Lugt Koker
Een plank of doorne pad
Twee d[it]o of Wip bruggen
een ijzere pan en toebehoren
een aarde pot met dies Convoor
een Lamp paal met een kopere plaat agter de Vlam mende ster
een Houte Trap met 2 Treeden
een Lamp Trap
d[it]o Bijbel
in het Voorportaal
1 Hangstolp
1 Lange Houte Ladder
4 geele geschilderde Trapjes
2 geel geschilderde Kasten waarvan 1 met papieren en documenten onder bewaring van den B[roeder] Secret[aris] en 1 waar in de volgende goederen, als
12 25 Nieuwe lire macons
16 oude d[it]o d[it]o *34 Hoogduitsche*
1 Wet Boek
1 Bijbel
1 Kruijk met Kwikzilver
1 flesje " d[it]o d[it]o
1 ijzer Zegel
1 fluweel oog dekking
1 Blik Bakje
1 d[it]o Tregter
Eenige boeken behelsende de plichten der V[rije] M[etselaars]
N 2 ½ 11 douzain Spellen Kaarten
1 ijzere Beugel met dies kopere hand boeijens
2 kopere Hand boeijens met Kettingen
1 oude geschilderde Zon
2 ijvoire Hamers
9 Houte Hamers waar van 3 Verguld
3 groote en 2 Klijne Linne Tafellakens
13 Handdoeken
100 St: 71 oud 60 Servetten

1 restant Stuk geel Trijp, Lang 1,5 @
1 Japans geborduurd en 1 dito geschilderd klijn Tableau
1 Verlakt kisje waar in de natemeldene Orna
menten:
1 Zilvere Troffel
1 d[it]o Passer
1 d[it]o Winkelhaak
1 d[it]o drie Hoek
1 goude en 1 Zilvere *V[er]gulde* plaat met de 5 Bouw ordens gegraveerd
2 houte gedraaide ornamenten met Zilver Verguld Beslag
1 dito Roede met sawas beslag
1 g´amailleerd met steentjes bezet Kruijs
2 Zilver vergulde ornamenten voor de Br[oeders] Architecten
1 passer met een quart Circel op blaauwe Steen met Steentjes omzet
1 Winkelhaak op blaauw steen met steentjes omzet
1 Schietlood " d[it]o d[it]o " d[it]o
2 Pennen " d[it]o d[it]o " d[it]o
1 Sleutel" d[it]o d[it]o " d[it]o
1 Waterpas " d[it]o d[it]o " d[it]o
1 Armbus " d[it]o d[it]o " d[it]o
1 fluweel Zakje met balotteer Boontjes
is er niet 1 Meesters ornament met Steentjes bezet
1 d[it]o Zilver *ornament*
1 Zilver Verguld Schietlood
1 Klijn Zilver Troffeltje *&guld*
1 Meesters orn: gedeeltelijk &guld
3 paar Wit Cabret Leeren Vrouwe Handschoenen
+ 32 9 dito " Mans dito
niet - 1 bos Swart geverwde Wasch Kaarsen
is er niet 1 drie kante Kopere Luster
3 plaeted Kleijne Kandelaars
2 dito groote Snuijters
1 blikke pijp tot mededeling van ´t Licht
1 Schrijf laadje met differente Maconique Papieren
Een oud Balotteer kasje
Een houte Speel Tafel
in het portaal bij de trap
1 Glase Kroon
7 ps 6 houte drie kante lusters
2 Laatafels, inhoudende
16 18 Swarte Zijde Mantels
1 d[it]o d[it]o kleed voor de B[roeder] T[errible]
1 oude 26 ps ~~2~~ nieuwe Tabliers van deze L[oge]
2 4 rollen breed Swart Lind
3 d[it]o en ~~een Restant geel dito~~
oud 3 d[it]o met Swart floers overtrokken
niet ~~28~~ pr Vrouwe Cabret Leere Handschoenen
18- 22 Zijde ordens banden van differente Couleuren
7- 8 " oude Swarte Tabliers in Soorten
is er niet ~~2~~ rollen geel Smal lint
eenige Zijden Koorden
Een Kopere Troffel
Een Klijn plaatje
2 kassen voor de E:E
1 rood 1 blaauwe Mant
voor de E:E
11 Mr borstlappen
7 ps Mr d[it]o
1 rol roode Couleur
1 restant
20 GG Tabliers
6 C:O:O
2 geel geschilderde hoek Kassen, *in de Eetzaal*
1 waar in 14 st. driekante Lampjes,
7 ps Nieuwe GG banden
6 Pooken voor d[it]o
1 waar in de te meldende goederen, als
43 groote Tafelmessen met ijvoore hegten en Zilver beslag
23 Klijne dito met dito dito
19 21 Zilvere Lepels
18 21 d[it]o Vorken
2 d[it]o groote Soup Leepels
4 5 d[it]o Confituur Lepeltjes
6 d[it]o forkjes
1 d[it]o koelbakje
2 d[it]o Schenkbladen
2 plaeted Olij en Azijn Servies, ieder met 5 flesjes
1 d[it]o groote Coffij urne
In de Eetzaal
1 groote Spiegel
12 Lanth met barlok
7 Swarte Tafels
2 Nieuwe of schr[?]
2 Oude " d[it]o
Een tafel met Marmersteene blad en Vergulde Voet
in de M[eester] Loge

1 groot Meester stoel, Zwart geschildert en Versilverd
2 Surveillant Stoelen, d[it]o d[it]o " d[it]o
1 Swart geschilderd houte autaar
2 d[it]o d[it]o 3 Kante Tafels
12 d[it]o groote en 4 Klijne 3 Kante Knapen
15 d[i]to Kandelaars
4 Emblemes of Zinnebeeldige Schilderijen
1 houte Luster met 3 Kopere Armen
2 blikke doosen met differente Rommeling
1 Swart Satijn Kleed met Zilver geborduurd
1 d[it]o d[it]o Tafel kleed en d[it]o Kussen, met Zilver
1 d[it]o geschilderd en met Zilver geborduurd Tafel kleed
1 Swart Tafelkleed
3 d[it]o Nieuwe Kussen Sloopen
15 18 ps Ronde Hoeden
agter de M[eester] Loge
2 Lusters met dies glaze Armen
1 Metale Schel
1 Houte Trap
1 Zeijldoeks geschilderd M[eester] Tableau
1 Tavel met een houte bak
onder de Trap
1 Schenk Tafel met Lood
1 Stoel met ijzere haaken
1 Vierkante Tafel
1 Klijne d[it]o
in de Beneeden Zaal
1 glaase kroon
10 hang Stolpen
14 Muur stolpen met toebehooren, Waar Van 1 deffect
4 Spiegels met Vergulde lijsten
8 d[it]o Lusters met d[it]o en branches
9 Speel Tafels in zoort
39 bruijn Verniste Stoelen, waar van sommige deffect
6 d[it]o d[it]o Guerridons
15 d[it]o d[it]o Korte Knaapen
in de Chambre Obscure
1 Kas met een Scelet
1 lange blikke Roeper
1 houte Wip brug
1 Lessenaar en eenige Kleijnigheeden
manq ~~1~~ glaase stolp
in de agter Galderij
1 gebrooken 2 3 glaase Kroonen
3 2 d[it]o hangstolpen
8 d[it]o Muur Lanthaarns
boven ~~1~~ groote Eetens Tafel met 2 bladen en 6 Schragen
in de agter Kamer
19 Ronde Mans stoelen
1 groote Vierkante Tafel
is er niet ~~1~~ oude Speel d[it]o
4 porcelaine gorgelets *1 def*
in de agter Kamer onder de M[eester] L[oge]
1 oude Speel Tafel
14 houte Tafels in Soort *1 boven 2 agter 2 buiten*
1 d[it]o Lamp Trap
1 Oude Orateurs Catheter
21 porcelaine quispedoors *1 defect*
Dispens
16 Verlakte Kandelaars
13 kopere d[it]o
Eenige in Compleete Tafel porcelaine, rood met wit
Een d[it]o d[it]o servies, wit met blaauwe randen
Een d[it]o d[it]o d[it]o, blauw met wit
Eenige d[it]o differente Thee porcelaine, geheel deffect
6 Bierglasen met Vergulde Randen
62 d[it]o effen
51 Wijnglasen met Vergulde Randen
77 d[it]o d[it]o effen
20 gesleepen glase Lampen
55 glase Karaffen in soort

3 Klijne hang Stolpen gehorende boven de Throon
20 Lampglasen
8 ~~12~~ Wijn en Waterglasen
81 geribde Wijn glasen
1 Keldertje met 12 Flesjes waar van 1 gebroken
4 houte Verniste Thee Bakken
5 Verlakte Blikke d[it]o
2 houte groote d[it]o
5 ijzere pannen en drie deffect
3 Kopere Castrollen met deksels
2 d[it]o Koekepannen
1 d[it]o braadpan
2 d[it]o Smoorpannen
1 d[it]o Water Ketel
2 houte bakken tot Lampen
1 d[it]o balij met Koopere hoepels
3 d[it]o met ijzere hoepels defect
1 Japanse kamerpot
1 d[it]o adjar bakje NB het houte blaadje deffect
in de Combuijs
2 Groote IJzere Roosters
1 Braadspit met 2 Standers
2 Combuijs Tafels
1 draag Balies
Voor de agter Vertrekken
2 Japanse Marthavanen
in het Vertrek van de Mandadoor
1 groote kist met Kaarsen
1 paar pistoolen
2 Snaphanen'.

[264] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse Financial records 1795-1796, 2/1795-96 No. 27 receipts 1796; CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse Financial records 1807-1816 A.B.C.D., 1810-14 No. 31 Financial records 18010/11, 11/12, 12/13, 13/14.

[265] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801] 1709-1801, No. 10 inventories:
'2 Mandadoors en 4 Coelies Zijnde:
Jadjong van Manga Bazaar
Aliman " d[it]o
Tarima " Manga Doea
Darapa " d[it]o
Welke 4 Coelijs maandelijks genieten Ses Ropijen Zilvergeld of met hun alle Rds 15,-
De Mandadoors hebben /zoo ik het wel hebben/ reeds zedert den doord van den Mandadoor Bidien Maandeljks voor hun en gem. 4 Coelijs Rds 36,- in reek. Gebragt, daar den overledenen nooit meer dan Rds 27:30 heeft ontfangen, Zijnde rds 15,- voor Coelijs, en 12 rds voor hem. –ende overige 30 St waren ter inhuizing van een Praauw, om de goederen voor de Tavel van de Stad te brengen. Gem. overledene mandadoor heeft in den beginnen /zoo ik vermeen/ niet meer dan 8 rds gehad, dan om zijne lang-Jarige goede diensten bij deeze tempel, is aan hem een verhoging van 4 rds toegevoegd.
Ik heb op apporbatie van Uw Agtb en Uw mijn waarde Broederen, de volgende Schikkingen gemaakt, aan de 2 Mandadoors, /indien het nodig geoordeeld word van twee/ ieder rds 6

en aan ieder der vier Coelijs Rijxd	3,36
als meede maandelijks tot een Praauw	-:30
Makende te Zamen des Maands Rds	27:30
2 Coelijs extra op Logie dag	-:24
de 2 Mandadoors en 4 Coelijs ieder	
tot den inkoop van 3 ganting rijst 30 sts	3:36
dan met te Zaamen maandelijks Rijxdaalds	31:42'.

[266] Hageman 1866, p. 81. See: safrika.org/Wuerttemberg_en.html.

[267] CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, n. pag.; 'Engelhard altijd bedacht & werkzaam om de kennis der orde uittebreiden [...] is eijgenlijk de geen geweest die op het denkbeeld hier van gekomen is bij gelegenheid dat eenige BB V ill de hooge Commissie van zijn HoogEdelheid Nederburgh naar Java vergezelden'. Van der Linden 1870, p. 30.

[268] CMC, Box 4506, Folder '269: 1 was eerst 326', copy and translation 'Extract Resolutien 4e order SPRC' Chapter La Vertueuse, 5-2-1798. 'bewoogen door een broederlijke gevoel van aandenken, vriendschap en trouwhartigheid ten voordeele van verscheidene B[oeders] arbeiders en leeden dezer [loge] die te Semarang woonagtig zijn [...] Zo proponeererde [...] [Engelhard], dat de S[oeverein] C[apittel] behage en goed keure moge om gemelde RB Cranssen met de genoegzame magt en authoriteit te bekleeden, ten einde zijn Ed[elen] allen tot de graad van Ch[evalier] do[rient] mag verheffen den Br [oeder] Schots M[eeste]r van Rheede tot de Parkeler en tot Elu de b[roeders] M[eeste]r[s] en leeden onzer [loge] die te Semarang woonagtig zijn en die er om verzoek mogte doen [...] Voorts dat aan gemelde commissie permissie worden verleend om de naam te voeren van de Reijsende [loge] en S[oeverein] C[apittel] de goede hoop in het O[osten] van Semarang en onder die naam te mogen recipieren en verkiesen de b[roeders] die op Semarang woonagtig [zijn]'. With duplicate and translation of the commission to do so.

[269] Hageman 1866, p. 133; according to p. 134 Pieter Engelhard, Kessman, Jassey and Veeris were against the proposal.

[270] CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVI.A.1 Doos 178' Ambulant Lodge De Goede Hoop 1798, No. 16 Papers regarding De Goede Hoop, Extract Apprentice and Fellow-Craft Minutes of La Vertueuse 10-2-1798: ´steld dan den B[roeder]s voor gelegenheid daar den H[oog] Verl[ichte] A[achtbare] Br[broeder] Cranssen R+C [= Rozekruisgraad] in gezelschap der Z[eer] Verl[ichte] Br[oeder]s Preduger en van Boekholtz [met de graad van] Elus de Neuf een springtogtjen derwaards doen [...]'. See transcript in *Gedenkboek* 1917, pp. 183-185.

[271] Christiaans 1994 B contains genealogical information on the founders.

[272] Der Kinderen 1864, p. 211; Hageman 1866, p. 84, 133; Van der Linden 1870, p. 31; 'Historische mededeeling' 1900/1901, p. 129. Kwaadgras 2003, p. 90 names Cranssen, Prediger and Boekholtz as decision makers rather than Engelhard.
[273] CMC, Box 3148, 'XVI.A.1 Doos 178' Ambulant Lodge De Goede Hoop 1798, No. 16 Papers regarding De Goede Hoop. There is some confusion of dates and masonic calendar used. Hageman 1866, p. 84 mentions meetings on 21-7-1798 and 8-8-1798 in Semarang, notes the lodge is back in Batavia in Augustus 1798 and that by then 12 initiations took place.[273] Hageman 1866, p. 135-136 mentiones meetings 5-3-1798 until 31-5-1798 at the home of Van Reede in Semarang. Van der Linden 1870, p. 31 mentions initiations on 5, 8, 12, 19, 21 May, 22-23 June.
[274] Der Kinderen 1864, p. 211 states Nederburgh was initiated on the 18th; whereas Hageman 1866, p. 134 mentions the 17th regarding the higher degrees.
[275] CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVI.A.1 Doos 178' Ambulant Lodge De Goede Hoop 1798, No. 16 Papers regarding De Goede Hoop. See transcript of the minutes 8-5-1798 in *Gedenkboek* 1917, pp. 185-188 and De Visser Smits 1925/1926, p. 325-329.
[276] Buys later visisted lodge La Charité in Amsterdam on 8-5-1799 and (as a member of La Vertueuse) again in 1801. CMC 4393, visitor book 1798 and further.
[277] Hageman 1866, p. 136.
[278] CMC, Box 3067, Folder 81 Correspondence with the Grand Master and lodge La Constante et Fidèle 1777-1812.
[279] CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVI.A.1 Doos 178' Ambulant Lodge De Goede Hoop 1798, No. 16 Papers regarding De Goede Hoop. See transcript of the minutes 5-9-1798 in *Gedenkboek* 1917, p. 181-183 (here p. 183), see also p. 211.
[280] IISG/Value of the guilder.
[281] CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVI.A.1 Doos 178' Ambulant Lodge De Goede Hoop 1798, No. 16 Papers regarding De Goede Hoop. See transcript of the minutes 5-9-1798 in *Gedenkboek* 1917, p. 181-183 (here p. 183), see also p. 211.
[282] CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVI.A.1 Doos 178' Ambulant Lodge De Goede Hoop 1798, No. 16 Papers regarding De Goede Hoop. See transcript in *Gedenkboek* 1917, pp. 189-190 and De Visser Smits 1925/1926, p. 329-331. CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVI.A.1 Doos 178' Ambulant Lodge De Goede Hoop 1798, No. 16 Papers regarding De Goede Hoop', notes the lodge was closed in Semarang on 31-5-1798.
[283] CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, n. pag.; Van der Linden 1870, p. 30.
[284] Kwaadgras 2003, p. 90.
[285] Mistakenly identified by previous authors as 'Bruneau de Souhaise' and 'La Precieuze'.
[286] Hageman 1866, pp. 138-139; Van der Linden 1870, pp. 30-32; 175 jaren 1931, p. 62. CMC, Box 3068, Folder 81 La Vertueuse outgoing correspondence to the Grand Lodge 1797-1798, letter 3-2-1797 explaining the relationship with the French.
[287] Hageman 1866 p. 131.
[288] CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, n. pag.: 'Vele Fransche BB zijnde in het bezit van Hooge graden, werd een ceremonieel tot derzelve ontvangst bepaald, bij die gelegenheid werd door de Fransche BB scpeciaal bedankt voor de hulp & ondersteuning die er vroeger door de [loge] aan Fransche krijgsgevangenen was bewezen'. Hageman 1866 p. 131.
[289] CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, n. pag.: 'In 1799 kreeg deze [loge = La Vertueuse] officieel berigt van Sourabaya dat aldaar [loges] waren gehouden en aanemingen geschiedt door eene zich aldaar opgerigt hebbende [loge] onder de auspiecien van La Vertueuse, bestaande uit Fransche Marine officieren & eenige ingezetenen B[roeders], voorgezeten wordende door den Br[oeder] Bruneau la Souhais[e] behorende tot het aldaar aanwezige Fransche Esqader een die volgens ontvangene schriftelijke qualificatie van het G[root] O[oosten] (denkelijk van Frankrijk) reeds dan den jare 1785 de authoriteit bezat om ongeweiden het licht te schenken en in de orde op te nemen. En na examinatie van de daarvan ontvangen stukken & op de ingewonnene consideratien & het advies van de daartoe gecommiteerde B[roeders] Hartsinck, Roger & Engelhard werd [...] besloten het verrechte door B[roeder] Bruneau te Soerabaya volkomen goed te keuren en de de aldaar aangenomen B[roeders] V[rijmetselaren] te erkennen mits de bepaalde receptiegelden volgens de gemaakte beperkingen aan deze [loge] worden voldaan met welke inning werd belast aan B[roeder] Beukman Resident te Paccalonging alsmede te zorgen voor zoodanige penn als te Sourabaya voor noodlijdenden door voorn[oemde] temporaire [loge] zijn bij een gebragt geworden'.
[290] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 'Box 76 +77 II-A-1+2' La Vertueuse 1) 1st degree Minutes 13-2-1791 until 13-3-1792 1791-1795 with 2) Attachments Incoming and outgoing correspondence.
[291] CMC, Box 3067, Folder 81 Correspondence by Grand Master Van Teylingen to La Vertueuse 1798-. The letter was carried by Menco van Diepen.
[292] CMC, Box 3067, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], '1770-97 No. 20', copy of Engehards appointment 1-10-1798.
[293] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 'Box 76 +77 II-A-1+2' La Vertueuse 1) 1ste degree Minutes 13-2-1791 until 13-3-1792 1791-1795 with 2) Attachments Incoming and outgoing correspondence: 'niet alleen grooten voorrechten verlangende maar als een gevolg daar van eenige nieuwigheeden langs dezen weg onder ons trachten te introduceren'.
[294] CMC, Box 3067, Folder 81 Correspondence with the Grand Master and La Constante et Fidèle 1777-1812, letter 10-5-1801 by Engelhard to La Constante et Fidèle regarding the higher degrees, suggesting La Vertueuse wrote to the Grand Lodge for advice who responded by appointing Engelhard. Mentions 'op handen zijnd vertrek Holle als gedeputeerde'.
[295] NA/VOC. Hageman 1867 B, p. 139, incorrectly dates his arrival around 1782.
[296] Engelhard was very much involved in the affairs of lodges under his jurisdiction. By comparison Provincial Grand Masters of the United Grand Lodge of England frequently took little active part in freemasonry. Kind suggestion by prof. Andrew Prescott, University of Glasgow. See (not referenced further here): Aubrey Newman, 'The Contribution of the Provinces in English Freemasonry', *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* 117 (2004), pp 68-82.
[297] Pieren 1902/1903, p. 316, attributes this to the blockade of the port of Batavia by the English in 1800.
[298] CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, n. pag., attachment ~~D~~.B., copy of Engelhards speech 27-12-1800: 'Geduurende den loop van deeze, zo hardnekkige, als rampzalige oorlog [...] zijn onze Tempels onafgebroken bezogt door Broederen, uit Vreemde Oorden, en daar onder van zulke verheevene graden, dewelke, of schoon volgens onze constitutie onbekend, evenwel ons verpligtede deselve te erkennen en aan zulke verligten Perzoon na der zelver verlangen, die hulde en eerbied te bewijzen, die hunnen verheven waardigehid en gemaakte vordering in onze orde, volgens ontvangen onderrigting, vorderde – onderwijl dat met het betragten van deeze pligt, wij herhaald afgetrokken wierden van onze reguliere wijze van werken, en de gevallen niet zelden in uwen tempel voorvielen, dat deeze Throon, door vreemde Broedersen bekommen wierd'.
[299] *175 jaren* 1931, pp. 57-58: 'Reeds in 1765 vindt men vrijmetselaren verspreid over Midden en Oost-Java en stellig te Semarang, waar de voornaamste ambtenaren bescheiden waren, waar het grootste deel van 's Compagnies krijgsmacht gelegerd was binnen de muurde stad'. De Visser Smits 1931, p. 163.
[300] CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVI.A.1 Doos 178' Ambulant Lodge De Goede Hoop 1798, No. 16 Papers regarding De Goede Hoop. See transcript in Gedenkboek 1917, pp. 189-190, and De Visser Smits 1925/1926, pp. 329-331.

[301] Hageman 1866, p. 137; Maarschalk 1872, p. 382; 'Historische mededeeling' 1900/1901, p. 130. Kwaadgras 2003, p. 97, gives 1-11-1798 as founding dat of 'maconnieke societeit' La Constante et Fidèle.
[302] CMC, Box 3124, Folder 150 La Constante et Fidèle 1) Domestic laws 1895 2) Bylaws 1798-1844.
[303] CMC, membership lists, 11-9-1798.
[304] Stevens 1994, p. 92, wonders why the lodge did not contact Engelhard instead.
[305] Boerenbeker 1991a, p. 57, p. 70, footnote 4; Kwaadgras 2003, p. 97. *Verslag* 1851, p. 30, gives 1800 as the year of foundin by Van Reede tot de Parkeler; Hageman 1857, p. 244, and Maarschalk 1872, p. 382, added as founders: Francois van Boekholtz, August Philip Micheles, Matthijs van Waterloo en Johannes Knops. Possibly they don't mean founders (those signing the request for the constitution), but members listed on the constitution or present at the installation. *Verslag* 1851, p. 19, mentions as founders 'dat Zeventiental edele zielen' so includes them; *Verslag* 1851, p. 21, states the lodge did not count more than 20 members 'Bij den aanvang'; p. 51 lists as such only: Van Boeckholtz, Contzleiter [= Cantzleiter], Rubenkoning, Wolzogen, Bassotiel, Van Lugtenburg, Van Middelkoop, Ludwig, Micheles, Palm, Weijdig, Kistler, Heijser, Waterloo, Knops, Fischher. 'Historische mededeeling' 1900/1901, p. 130.
[306] Kwaadgras 2003, p. 97.
[307] *175 jaren* 1931, p. 59: 'Noch op het eerste verzoek, nog op een tweede, vergezeld van een bijdrage van f 1100,- wordt door den toenmalige Grootmeester Isaac van Teylingen, rechtstreeks geantwoord. Deze geeft echter aan br[oeder] N[icolaas] Engelhard, sedert 1798 Gedeputeerd Grootmeester, verlof de nieuwe Loge naar haar wens te installeeren'.
[308] Maarschalk 1872, p. 383; De Visser Smits 1925/1926, p. 335. 'Reeds dadelijk na hare oprichting rezen er moeilijkheden tusschen de Loge en den Gedeputeerd-Grootmeester National Engelhard, zoo zelfs, dat daarvoor de tusschenkomst van het Hoofdbestuur in Nederland werd ingeroepen'.
[309] CMC, Box 3123, Folder 148 La Constante et Fidèle correspondence 1799-1805, No. 41 Various papers 5801, letter by Engelhard 10-5-1801, referring to a letter by the lodge 17-11-1800, enquiring after the constitution; answer by the lodge 28-3-1801, signed by all members; letters by Van Boekholtz 1-6-1801 to Engelhard enclosing the constitution and 29-6-1801 to La Constante et Fidèle. See also De Visser Smits 1925/1926, pp. 332-335. Hageman 1857, p. 244.
[310] Transcript constitution in *Gedenkboek* 1917, pp. 209-210, which mentions 15-7-1798 as the founding date; mentions 15-9-1798 and 2-9-1800 as dates of requests to the Gran Lodge; names as founders Van Reede, Van Boekholtz, Canzleiter, Rubenkoning, Von Wollzogen, Bossotiel, Van Lugtenburgh, Van Middelkoop, Ludwig, Michelis, Palm, Weydig, Kistler, Heyser, Waterloo, Knops and Fisscher. Kwaadgras 2003, p. 97. *Verslag* 1851, p. 30 en Hageman 1857, p. 244 take 1800 as the funding year. Maarschalk 1872 and Christiaans 1994 B, p. 157 suggest 5-5-1801; 'Historische mededeeling' 1900/1901 suggests 10-5-1801. Boerenbeker p. 70, footnote 4 refers to a copy of the constitution dated 10-3-1801. See also Indisch Maçonniek Tijdschrift 1932/1933 p. 549, and Stevens pp. 89-95.
[311] Stevens 1994, pp. 91-92.
[312] CMC, Box 3067, Folder 81 Correspondence with the Grand Master and La Constante et Fidèle 1777-1812.
[313] CMC, Box 3123, Folder 148 La Constante et Fidèle correspondence 1799-1805, No. 41 Various papers 5801, undated 'Verhaal weegens het voorgevallene bij en omtrend het desolveren der Loge La Constante et Fidele': Van Boekholtz had called a Master meeting because he wante to show papers concerning Engelhards appointment and new rules by the Grand Lodge. The lodge blamed him for not turning up and he blamed Van Reede for first postponing the date and then informing him too late. See also the following correspondence between the lodge and Engelhard, which suggests that Van Reede had provided higher degrees to W.H. van IJsseldijk, government commissioner in Semarang, but refused the same to Van Boekholtz, who Engelhard considered more qualified.
[314] CMC, Box 3067, Folder 81 Correspondence with the Grand Master and La Constante et Fidèle 1777-1812: 'de gehele broederschaar voor het hoofd stiet'. Includes copy of a letter by Engelhard to the Grand Lodge in 1800 requesting not to assign Boeckholtz and copy answerd 24-12-1800, as well as reply by Van Reede 16-1-1801.
[315] CMC, Box 3067, Folder 81 Correspondence with the Grand Master and La Constante et Fidèle 1777-1812.
[316] Boerenbeker 1991a, pp. 77-78, pp. 92-93, footnote 4-5.
[317] Boerenbeker 1991a, pp. 77-78, pp. 92-93, footnote 4-5. 'de uitspraak van Groot officieren zouden inwagten over hunne klagten op en tegens de handelwijze van den Gedeputeerd Groot Meester [= Engelhard]'.
[318] CMC, Box 3123, Folder 148 La Constante et Fidèle correspondence 1799-1805, No. 41 Various papers 5801: 'Mijn uitgevaardigde ordre aan de beide Loges begreept uwEd Gestr Zeer Kwalijk een briev die op heeden af gaat aan denzelven gerigt, Zal UwEd Gestr van alle verkende begrippen dien aangaande diverteren, en wat uwEd Gestr beklag aan de Groote Nationaale Loge betreft, daarin kan, nog wil ik denzelve niet teegengaan. Nimmer Heer van Reede kond gij uw gedrag in de questieuse zaak gehoude regtvaardigen dan alles blijkt dat uwelEdele Gestr zig aan de grillen van eene wispeltuurige Fransman hebt overgegeeven, en dat gij uw haat en vijandschap teegens de Heer van Boeckholtz uit parthijschap en uit hoofde van uwe magt als Gouverneur, de regten van eene Ordre geschonden, die tot nog toe, onbesmet gebleven was. Ik verklaare uw, dat in de oudheid van de Maconnerie geen voorbeeld is te vinden, dat daarmeede evenaard en nog kan ik die sujetten die uw in dat stuk zo meesterlijk hebben geholpen, niet anders als met minagting in de Maconnerie beschouwen [...] Enfin, ik heb de zaak niet begonnen en gij hebt dit aan uwelEd Gestr zelve en uwe schadelijke adherente te danken, want deeze in steede van UwelEdele Gestr in dezelve bedreiven teegen te gaan, hebben uwelEd Gestr daarinne gesteift en wat zal in de ordre van de Maconnerie uwelEdGestr en hun loon zijn [...] de Broeders en Leeden van de ordre, die de plichten van een Metzelaar kennen, en die bewust zijn hoe het zig alhier in La Constante et Fidele voor en na de dissolutie heeft toegedragen, zouden de ordre moeten veragten, en het uur moeten verfoeien dat zij daar aan deel genoomen hebben indien het gebeurde straffeloos wierd gepasseert. En reflecteer ik op de publiciteit die deeze Zaak verkreegen heeft., daar de ganse stad Samarang heeft moeten weeten, wat trek [vrek?] mij daar door gespeeld was, daar de officieren op de Paradeplaats van de Triumph van mij en de Heer van Boeckholtz behaald kennisse hebben moeten draagen, dan moet uwelEd Gestr en all de zulke die deel hebben gehad, aan alle die handelingen voor altoos van het tableau der Metselaaren uitgewischt worden; want geen waar Metselaar, die de zaaken van nabij kend kan immermeer in eene Logie met uwelEd Gestr en derzelver meede genooten werken.' See also the Register of incoming correspondence at the Grand Lodge for: letter to the Grand Lodge 25-11-1801, letter by Ludwig to Grand Lodge 9-3-1802, letter on 'slegte caracter' 1-2-1804.
[319] See transcript of this letter in *Gedenkboek* 1917, p. 213.
[320] See transcript of this letter in *Gedenkboek* 1917, p. 213.
[321] See transcript of this letter in *Gedenkboek* 1917, p. 213.
[322] CMC, Box 3067, Folder 81 Correspondence with the Grand Master and La Constante et Fidèle 1777-1812: 'weerspannig'
[323] CMC, Box 3064, Folder Folder 76 +77 II-A-1+2La Vertueuse Minutes 1791-1795 1802-1805, No. 5 Minutes 5+5*5802 until 6+4*5803, 15-9-1804. See also letter La Constante et Fidèle 4-3-1805.
[324] CMC, Box 3067, Folder 81 Correspondence with the Grand Master and La Constante et Fidèle 1777-1812. On 24-2-1805 and 28-3-1805 La Constante et Fidèle formally informed La Vertueuse that its ban had finally been lifted. CMC, Box 3123, Folder 148 La Constante et Fidèle correspondence 1799-1805, No. 41 Various papers 5801: undated draft letter by Engelhard to La Constante et Fidèle, demanding to know what had happened to the cash, jewels and other possessions of the lodge; answer by the lodge 11-2-1805 referring to Engelhards letter 6-2-1805, stating

that Van Reede took over all possessions and the profits were handed to widows and charities; letter by the lodge 17-2-1805 in answer to a letter by Engelhard 14-2-1805, suggesting he reclaim all goods that Van Reede had purchased and would be restituted in natura, after which Engelhard dropped the claim.

[325] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 +77 II-A-1+2La Vertueuse Minutes 1805-1808 1805-1809, 1st degree minutes 24-6-1805 until 25-6-1808, 18-1-1806 noting receipt of a letter by La Constante et Fidèle 27-10-1805, announcing the (re)installation on 7-7-1805. Engelhard gave permission 7-6-1805 after Van Reede died. Hageman 1867 A, p. 101, mentions the lodges as suspended: '5801-5805 [in] rust'. Kwaadgras 2003, p. 97, however, claims the lodges was installed on 14-2-1804.

[326] Boerenbeker 1991a, pp 153-154, p. 163 footnote 16-18. Engelhards letters of 2-1-1804 and 20-2-1805 were discussed.

[327] *Gedenkboek* 1917, p. 227 notes a pause in the meetings in 1808.

[328] CMC, Box 3078, Folder 26, incoming and outgoing correspondence 1812.

[329] CMC, Box 3078, Folder 27, incoming and outgoing correspondence 1811-1813.

[330] CMC, Box 3069, Folder 83 La Vertueuse correspondence with Deputy Grand Master Engelhard 1809-1821 and membership lists [= 1805].

[331] CMC, Box 4491, Folder 142:2 La Fidèle Sincérité correspondence and attachments minutes 1814-1836, 1813-1836; Box 3070, Folder 83-84-85 IIB7 La Vertueuse correspondence 1812-1815, 2/1812-15 No. 38 correspondence 5812-5815, 31-3-1813 announcement by La Constante and Fidèle to La Vertueuse that it has resumed meetings. CMC, Box 3078, Folder 27 incoming and outgoing correspondence 1813, letter 16-4-1813 from W. Lamberger to La Fidèle Sincérité. Hageman 1857, p. 246; Maarschalk 1872, p. 384.

[332] Hageman 1857, p. 244.

[333] Hageman 1857, p. 244.

[334] Stevens 1994, p. 94, refers to Van Dijck 1917, p. 211. Indeed the earliest minute book of the lodge in the CMC collection has a note, explaining it was rediscovered in 1851: 'Dit notulenboek werd in 1851 door br Wermuth terugontvangen uit het geheel zoekgeraakte oud archief door tusschenkomst van den profaan WH v Affelen van Saemesfoort'.

[335] *Gedenkboek* 1917, p. 211.

[336] CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVI.A.1 Doos 178' Ambulant Lodge De Goede Hoop 1798, No. 16 Papers regarding De Goede Hoop: 'Gouverneurs woning binnen de stad Samarang'. Hageman 1866, p. 135; *Gedenkboek* 1917, p. 211; 'Historische mededeeling' 1900/1901, p. 130.

[337] Hageman 1857, p. 244: 'De eerste bijeenkomsten der broeders vonden plaats in het paleis van de gouverneur [= Rheede tot de Parkeler] te Bodjong, nabij Samarang'. However, *Zigtrijk*, Van Reede tot de Parkeler's home in Bodjong near Semarang was mentioned as possible location in *Gedenkboek* 1917, p. 225; 175-jaren 1931, p. 59. De Visser Smits 1925/1926, pp. 321-322, notes the location cannot be retraced and explains Bodjong means peninsula, probably located between Kali Semarang and Kali Boeloe.

[338] *Gedenkboek* 1917, p. 225, transcript of speech by H. Clignett at the inauguration of the Freemasons's Hall at the Boebaan in 1845; 'Historische mededeeling' 1900/1901, p. 130. In general, masonic literature remains vague when it comes to dates, and successive locations are often mixed up. The membership lists of the lodge, which normally provide its location, left that information out in the early years.

[339] *Gedenkboek* 1917, p. 225. Hageman 1857, pp. 244-245: '[...] de werkpl[aats] tot in 5829 [=1829] nog was in het Gouvernements-gebouw, ofschoon wij niet kunnen opgeven, of zij reeds voor dien tijd naar elders overgbragt en weder teruggevoerd [was]'; Maarschalk 1872, p. 382; Maarschalk 1872, pp. 382-383, suggests the City Hall was used until 1812.

[340] CMC, Box 3122, Folder 147 La Constante et Fidèle A incoming correspondence 1807-1815 B outgoing correspondence 1807-1815, No. 42 incoming correspondence A 5808-5815: 'Daar het ongelukkig afsterven van onze waardigen GM Carel von Wollzogen, liet deeze Broeder schaar niet alleen zonder voorganger, maar ook het gebruik dat het gouvernement generaal van 't zogenaamde gouvernements Huys alhier maakte, waar binnen onze werk plaats opgerigt was, ontblooten ons volstrekt van het locaal in het welk wij gereegeld konde werken'. *175 jaren* 1931, p. 60, suggested that the location may have been abondened when Engelhard was deposed by Daendels in 1808, and the lodges could count less on government protection.

[341] *Gedenkboek* 1917, p. 223. Later that building belongs to Mr. O'Herne.

[342] CMC, Box 3121, Folder 144 La Constante et Fidèle Minutes 1809/12, 1st degree Minutes 1809-1812.

[343] CMC, Box 3121, Folder 144 La Constante et Fidèle Minutes 1809/12, 1st degree Minutes 1809-1812. On 29-6-1810 it was discussed that the plot and building materials would cost 6.000 Rds, of which 2.000 Rds in cash and 4.000 Rds by mortgage. The mandur would be kept on for 5 Rds per month. The plan was executed and on 7-7-1810 it was decided to sell an unused piece of land 'located behind the road to Bodjong ('stukje land gelegen achter de weg na Bodjong'). On 4-8-1810 it was reported the building works would cost 16.888:8:- Rds silver excluding paint and wages estimated at ca. 1000,- Rds. But as temples for the basic and higher degrees would also have to be furnished, the total came to 27.000 Rds while the budget was 6.000 Rds, needed for the purchase of Muller's plot. The lodge plot in Bodjong was sold to the highest bidder, lodge member Beer, on 2-1-1811 for 800 Rds copper money.

[344] *175 jaren* 1931, p. 63; Loge 'De Vriendschap' 1934, pp. 15-16.

[345] Loge 'De Vriendschap' 1934, p. 17.

[346] Hageman 1857, p. 250; Loge 'De Vriendschap' 1934, p. 17; Kwaadgras 2003, p. 104.

[347] Maarschalk 1872, p. 385; Loge 'De Vriendschap' 1934, p. 17; Kwaadgras 2003, p. 104. Boerenbeker 1991b, p. 108 footnote 16, provides the constitution date as 28-9-1809 (due to the masonic calendar). See transcript constitution in De Bode 1908/1909, pp. 501-503, giving the masonic date 28-9-5809.

[348] Hageman 1857, p. 250, and transcript constitution pp. 249-252.

[349] Loge 'De Vriendschap' 1934, p. 17.

[350] Maarschalk 1872, p. 385; Kwaadgras 2003, p. 104. Hageman 1857, p. 252 states formal meetings started on 11-8-1810. Boerenbeker 1991b, p. 108 footnote 16, provides 27-8-1810 as the installation date (masonic calendar). See also CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...]' 1843, n. pag., mentioning a letter 30-12-1810 to La Vertueuse concerning the planned constitution of De Vriendschap and installation by Engelhard and Parvé on 27-12-1810.

[351] Hageman 1857, pp. 250 and 254.

[352] Hageman 1857, pp. 259-260: 'De codificatie en de ritualia schijnen wel onderwerpen van overweging te hebben uitgemaakt, maar niet stipt te zijn opgevolgd. [...] Aanvankelijk hadden de receptien plaats bij communicatie […] [van een] rituaal van legalen oorspong [werd] geen gewag gemaakt'. 'De inkomsten bestonden uit Receptiegelden (f 80, f 40 en f 100); contributien, aanvankelijk 12, later 8 rijksdaalders per maand, entre's f 25- f 50- en boeten. Bepaalde instructien waren niet nodig geacht. Het logegebouw stond open voor prof[ane] feesten van officeelen aard.'

[353] Hageman 1857, p. 257.

[354] Hageman 1857, p. 257 and 262.

[355] CMC, Box 3071, Folder 85 Correspondence received by La Vertueuse 1822-1824, no 11. The moving or passing away of older lodge members was blamed for the lack of contact, which had leaft the new generation unaware of existing relations.

[356] *Loge 'De Vriendschap'* [1934], p. 16: The Brethren could meet in the hall of the Judicial Council, which had been made suited to this purpose by the members and some private persons. The hall for an initiation had to be decorated every time and taken down again. The house of the Landdrost [Van Middelkoop] however had been allocated during the journey by GG Daendels over Java to serve as an inn or Town Hall; the chance to have to leave this building as well as the rising number of members made the Lodge board already decide to move room in 1810. ('De Broeders konden vergaderen in de zittingzaal van den Raad van Justitie, die door de leden en enkele particulieren voor dit doel geschikt was gemaakt. De der zaal voor een inwijding moest steeds opnieuw worden aangebract en weer worden verwijderd. Het huis van den Landdrost [Van Middelkoop] was echter tijdens den reis van den GG Daendels over Java aangewezen om te dienen voor herberg of Raadhuis; de kans om dit gebouw te moeten evrlaten alsmede de toenemning van het aantal logeleden deden het Logebestuur reeds in 1810 besluiten te verhuizen'). Hageman 1857, p. 249 suggests 'Paleis van Van Middelkoop' in the town, which according to Hageman did not become the Government office until 1857 when the room used by the lodge became the meeting room of the Justice Council. On p. 252 he suggests 'Raadhuis' in the middle of town, also described as 'Stadshuis' and 'Gouvernementshuis'. *Loge 'De Vriendschap'* [1934], p. 16, suggests 'het thans verdwenen gebouw bij de roode Brug'.

[357] *Loge 'De Vriendschap'* [1934], pp. 19-20, mentions amusing objections against the project.

[358] Hageman 1857, p. 252; Maarschalk 1872, p. 385; *Loge 'De Vriendschap'* [1934], p. 19. For the installation of the lodge, the members met in 'a rented building in de Heerenstraat, next to the house of the military Commander' ('de installatie der Loge vindt plaats in een gehuurd huis in het midden der stad, naast de woning van den militairen Kommandant in de Heerenstraat'). Rent was 90 Rds per month.

[359] Hageman 1857, p. 253: 'in de zuider-voorstad van Soerabaija, in de wijk Simpang, op ongeveer een half uur afstands van de centrale stad, een landgoed had, Tandjongan, ook wel Petoendjoengan genaamd, groot 1494 vierkante roeden'. This piece of land, 'on the road to Passaroewan' was still in use by 1857 according to Hageman. Maarschalk 1872, p. 385.

[360] *Loge 'De Vriendschap' [*1934], p. 21.

[361] De Graaf 1981, p. 97, notes that Wardenaar also designed the mosque of Kemajoran.

[362] De Graaf 1981, p. 97: 'ovale, op kolommen rustende bouw, waarbij zich twee sierlijke vleugels aansloten'.

[363] Hageman 1857, p. 254; *Loge 'De Vriendschap'* [1934], p.21 names the price asked by widow Cattenburgh as 419,- Spd. The size of the land was '1 morgen, 294 vierkante roeden, 72 vierkante voeten'; p. 23, gives the dates for the collection as 27-9-1809 and laying of the first stone as 20-4-1812.

[364] Hageman 1857, pp. 254-255: 'te voet, ieder dragende 't hem aangewezene ornament, licht, decoratie, banier, ruwen of gehouwen steen, tekenplank of ander maconniek zinnebeeld, langs een weg van een uur gaan, door met Javaan, Chinezen en andere natoen bewoonde wijken.' Maarschalk 1872, p. 385, and *Loge 'De Vriendschap'* [1934], p. 22, suggest July (masonic calendar).

[365] Bolger 1963, n. pag. [p.48].

[366] Hageman 1857, p. 255: 'Als men nagaat, wat onder anderen, de A[chtbare] L[oge l'Union Royale in 5809 [=1809] te strijden had over een dergelijke zaak, waarover drie deelen memorien zijn in de wereld gekomen, dan moet men zich over de openbaarheid der Soerabayaasche Broederen destijds, verwonderen. Evenwel er bestonder voorbeelden, en navolging.'

[367] *Loge 'De Vriendschap'* [1934], p. 23.

[368] Hageman 1857, p. 258.

[369] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 90 La Vertueuse receipts paid 1800-1801, 2/1800 No. 43 receipts paid 1800-1801, no. 56, 1-6-1801 to Lie Tjoeko:

'20 Tonnen Metzelkalk rds 16
1500 ps Metzelsteen 10,24
aan Metzel zand 1,24
1 ps Notjes 10
ijzer anker en spijkers 6
voor 't draaien van 2 pilaaren 12
Voor 't maken der fondament 2
32 dagen Metzelaar a 36 St 24
56 " Coelij arbeidsloon " 24 28
238 "dagen Timmerman "30 148,36'. See also receipt no. 16, to 18-8-1801 Lie Tianko:

'Voor 't schilrene an Een vrijmetselaar Thuijn rds 70
Voor Elf puten [?] glaaze raamen, voor te opzetten a 16 St 3,32
3 bossen Frans lijnen d rds 2 ieder 6
2 koppen chineese koeljo a rds 40 st ieder s dags 3,36'. Receipt 3-9-1801 notes unspecified repairs to Sie Tjieuwko) at 300 rds; receipt no. 40, 16-11-1801 to Lie Tjoeko: 'Voor t maken 15 roeden beshoeing van steen aan de rivirkant a 47 rds de roede rds 705
1 steene rivier trap met kikje deur 20'; no. 7, receipt 15-7-1802 to Lie Tjanko 'Voor de Vengster schuif raam of bossen tromlijnen, deksels venster spijkers timmerman en glaze ruiten' 26:28 Rds. See also Folder 90 La Vertueuse Invoices and receipts 1803-1804 1804-1805, 2/1804-5 No. 45 invoices and receipts 1804/5, no. 1, 1-5-1804 to Lie Tjoeko for various repairs Rds 726:-.

[370] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 90 La Vertueuse Invoices and receipts 1803-1804 1804-1805, 1803-1804 No. 25 Various invoices and receipts etc bills paid 1803-1804, no. 26, receipt 17-11-1803, to a Chinese craftsman: 'voor t maaken van een Dispens in de Thuijn leggende naast de post Jackatra rds 85,12'. See also Box 3064, Folder 76 +77 II-A-1+2La Vertueuse Minutes 1791-1795 1802-1805, No. 5 Minutes 5+5*5802 until 6+4*5803, 6-12-1803, decision to repair the bridge at Rds 702,45.

[371] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801] 1709-1801, No. 10 inventories:

'Lijst van zoodanige Goederen als onder Berusten van den Br[oeder] Oeconome zijn Onder Dato A. 30 November 1801

Zilver goed

Twee pees Schenk borden
Twee ps Olij en Azijn setjes
Twee ps Soep Leepels
Negentoien ps Leepels
Agt Tien ps forken
Vier ps Thee Leepeltjes
Ses ps dito forken
Een ps Plettie Thee Vaas
Een ps plettie Tabaks doos

Taafel goed

12 ps houte Taafels
5 ps Taafel Laakens
120 ps Servetten

18 ps koopere kandelaaren
16 ps japansche dito
65 ps messen met ijvoren hegten groot en kleijn
12 ps Thee Bakjes in Zoort
Een Taafel Servies bestaan uijt
6 ps Soep Terrines
4 Slaa Schotels
11 Boter Potjes
7 zout vaatjes
11 mostert potjes
3 Sous kommen
75 Schootels Groot en Klijn
80 Diepe Borden
300 flakken dito
147 Rijst dito
9 Groente Schootels
38 fruijt dito
13 Leepeltjes
Verder nog Taafel Porcelijn van Differnte Zoort
Ses Soep Terrines
3 Visch Schootels
2 Booter Potjes
3 Thee Potjes
2 koffij kannen
2 melk kannen
3 gorgeletten
4 zuijker schooteltjes
7 atjar Bakjes
43 Schootels
27 diepe borden
39 flakke dito
6 gestoofsch Visch Schootels
7 Slaa Schotels
23 graat Schooteltjes
Glaswerken
53 karaffen in zoort
207 Wijn kelken, waaronder 71 met goud randjes
2 bierglaasen waaronder 6 met goud randjes
6 wijn en water glaasen
40 Lamp glaasen in zoort
Combuijs goed
11 ps koopere Castrollen en pannen in soort
1 ps koopere keetel
2 ps japaansch martafaanen'.

[372] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 'Box 76 +77 II-A-1+2' La Vertueuse 1) 1st degree Minutes 13-2-1791 until 13-3-1792 1791-1795 with 2) Attachments Incoming and outgoing correspondence, extract minutes 10-10-1802: 'het in orde brengen van de leggende koopbrief van het Tempel gebouw en de tot stand brenging van die overschrijving is goedgevonden dezelve te stellen in handen van de B[roeders] F. van Braam, Engelhard en Veeris om daar op te berichten'. See also: Box 3149, Folder 179 La Vertueuse documents concerning the purchase, building and shares of the lodge building 1786, including 'Pag 3s', purchase document by Pieter Gerardus van Overstraten dated 17-9-1802, with 'Request Suppt' by Jan Hendrik Holle; draft purchase document, no. 2283, and signed copy; CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 +77 II-A-1+2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1791-1795 1802-1805, No. 5 Minutes 5+5*5802 until 6+4*5803, 3-1-1803, mentioning that the work by Van Braam and Veeris is done; 26-7-1803, mentioning the purchase is agreed; 9-10-1803 again concerning the purchase.

[373] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 90 La Vertueuse receipts 1805-1806, 9/ 1805-6 No. 46 Invoices and receipts 1805/6, no. 23, 20-9-1805 payment of 90 Rds for valuation by the Heemraad of the lodge at 12.000 Rds.

[374] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 +77 II-A-1+2La Vertueuse Minutes 1805-1808 1805-1809, 1st degree Minutes 24-6-1805 until 25-6-1808.

[375] CMC, Box 3067, Folder 81 Correspondence with the Grand Master and La Constante et Fidèle 1777-1812.

[376] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 +77 II-A-1+2La Vertueuse Minutes 1805-1808 1805-1809, 1st degree Minutes 24-6-1805 until 25-6-1808.

[377] CMC, Box 3067, Folder 81 Correspondence with the Grand Master and La Constante et Fidèle 1777-1812.

[378] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse Invoices 1807/1816 A.B.C.D., 2/1807-1808 No. 47 Invoices 1807/8, no. 169, 1-12-1807 to Jassoij rds 75 or '150 pees Kuststeenen'.

[379] CMC, Box 3065, Folder 77 La Vertueuse 1st degree Minutes 1807-1808, report by the inventory committee, 9-7-1807:

'In de L[oge] Boven
Eenige Throon vercierzels
1 Groot Meesters Stoel geel geschildert en verguld
1 Tafel met dies Witte Zijde Kleed met goud geborduurd en d[it]o franjes
1 Zeildoekse voorhangsel
3 paaren glaaze kroonen
2 kopere patent Lampen ider met 2 armen en dies toebehooren
1 houte Altaar met een Bankje en twee kussens met dies Witte Zijde geborduurde kleed belegd met goude franjes
2 Japanse Tableaux
2 driekante tafeltjes met dies Witte Zijden kleeden belegd met goude franjes

2 d[it]o Tinne Inctkokers
1 groote Bengaalse vloer tapijt en een restant stukje
1 Zeildoekse vloerkleed
1 Japanse Zijde geborduurde tableau in een kist
1 Nieuw, en |
1 Oud |- Zeildoekse geschilderde vloer tableau
12 groote Emblemes of Zinnebeeldige Schilderijen
1 metaale orateurs Lessenaar, onbequaam
2 kopere Lustres aan de Colommen van de Tempeldeur
48 geel geschilderde Stoelen
32 half versleete stoelkussens van geele Zijde
2 nieuwe |
2 oude |- geel geschilderde en vergulde opzienders Stoelen
1 Schilderij den oud Groot-Meester Nationaal Van Boetzelaar voorstellende in een vergulde lijst
9 Zeildoekse Schutzels voor de Vengsters
16 Muurstolpen glaaze, mankeerende aan zommige de dekzels
29 oude Stoelkussens

In ’t appartement achter de Throon

1 Hangstolp glaaze
1 Houte lucht koker
1 plank of Doorne pad
3 planken of Doorne Wipbruggen, onbequaam
1 ijzere pan met dies d[it]o Lepel
1 Lamp paal met een kopere plaat achter de Vlammende Sterre
1 houte trap met twee treeden
2 ps. kleine glaaze kroonen waar van een stukkende

In het voor Portaal

1 Glaaze hangstolp
1 Lange houte Ladder
4 geel geschilderde trapjes
2 geel d[it]o kasten waar van

1 met papieren en Documenten onder bewaaring van den B[roeder] Secretaris
1 waarin de navolgende goederen als:

25 Nieuwe Lire Maçonnes
16 oude d[it]o d[it]o
1 nieuw |
1 oud | - Wetboek
1 groote |
1 kleine |- Bijbel
19 Hoogduitsche gezang boeken
1 kruik met kwikzilver
1 flesje d[it]o
1 ijzere Zegel
1 Laatband [= fascia] met ‘t Snipper
1 fluweele oog dekzel, onbequaam
2 Nieuwe van geele zijde
1 blikke tregter
1 d[it]o Bakje
eenige Boeken behelzende de plichten der V.M.
een partij Speel kaarten
1 ijzere Beugel met dies kopere handboeiens
2 kopere boeiens met kettingen
2 ijvoore Hamers
9 houte d[it]o, waar van 3 verguld
7 grote Linne tafellakens, nieuwe en 4 oude, onbequaam
18 handdoeken onbequaam
58 Servetten
2 kleine Zilvere deegens
1 fluweel Zakje met Ballotteer boontjes
1 propositie Zakje

1 verlakt kistje waarin de natemeldene ornamenten:

1 meesters ornament met brillanten omzet
2 Zilvere troffels
2 d[it]o passers
2 d[it]o Winkelhaaken
2 d[it]o Driehoeken
1 goude en 1 Zilvere vergulde plaat met de 5 bouwordens
2 houte gedraaide ornamenten metZilver verguld beslag
2 Zilvere vergulde ornamenten voorde Broeders] architecten
1 Zilvere Vergulde Rol voor de B[roeder] orateur
1 Winkelhaak op blaauwe Steen met steentjes bezet

1 Schietlood op d[it]o d[it]o met d[it]o d[it]o
1 met 2 pennen d[it]o d[it]o met d[it]o d[it]o (in handen van den Br[oeder] Secretaris)
1 Sleutel d[it]o d[it]o
1 Waterpas d[it]o d[it]o
1 armbus
1 Zilvere dubb[ele] driehoek met C [G?]
2 plated Snuiters
3 d[it]o kandelaars
In 't Portaal bij de Trap
1 Glaaze kroon
1 Lamp trap
6 houte driekante Lustres
2 Laa-tafels inhoudende
1 Zwarte Zijde kleed voor den B[roeder] T[errible]
12 ronde hoeden
15 Zijde Mantels
3 Rollen Zwart lint
2 d[it]o geele d[it]o
1 rol Rood d[it]o
3 rollen met Zwart vloers overtrokken
12 paaren Cabret leere handschoenen voor vrouwen
12 d[it]o d[it]o d[it]o d[it]o " mannen
26 Zijde ordens banden van verscheide kleuren
15 nieuwe Zwarte Tabliers
5 d[it]o d[it]o ordens banden
20 oude Zijde tabliers met verschillende kleuren
13 geele Nieuwe van deezen Tempel
6 d[it]o d[it]o Meesters banden
In de Eetzaal
1 Groote glaaze kroon
2 kleine glaaze kroonen
12 muurlanthaarns met glaazen en guirlandes
1 groote Spiegel
1 Marmere tafel met vergulde voet
2 nieuwe eetens tafels met dies 6 houte Schragen
12 bruin verniste eetens tafels
2 geel geschilderde hoek kasten, in een van dezelve bevind zig
107 Zilvere leepels waaronder |
1 p gebroken |- Waar onder 72 douz[ijn] onlangs ingekogt
106 zilvere vorken |
38 tafelmessen met ijvoore hechten
20 desert d[it]o d[it]o d[it]o
2 Zilvere soeplepels
6 d[it]o Confituur forkjes
2 d[it]o Schenkblaaden
2 plated olij en azijn Servisen ijder met 5 flesjes
1 d[it]o tabaks doos
15 driekante blikke Blakertjes
1 Zwart geschilderde vergulde oud Meesters Stoel
In de M[eester] L[oge]
3 houte Lustres met 3 kopere armen
2 d[it]o d[it]o " 2 d[it] d[it]o, onbequaam
1 op Zeildoek geschilderde Tableau
4 Emblemes of Zinnebeeldige Schilderijen
1 groot Meesters stoel Zwart geschildert en Verguld
2 opzienders d[it]o d[it]o d[it]o d[it]o
1 Zwart geschildert Authaar
2 d[it]o d[it]o driekante tafels
12 d[it]o d[it]o groote |
2 d[it]o d[it]o kleine |- knaapen
12 d[it]o d[it]o houte kandelaars
1 d[it]o Zatijne kleed met zilver geborduurd
1 d[it]o d[it]o tafelkleed en d[it]o kussens met Zilver voor ´t Authaar
1 d[it]o geschildert en met Zilver geborduurd Tafelkleed voor de M[eeste]rs Tafel
3 d[it]o nieuwe kussen sloopen
Achter de M[eester] Loge
1 ijzere sleepruime Tak
2 houte trappen
1 metaale schel
8 glaaze stolpjes behoorende tot de kroonen in de beneeden zaal
23 d[it]o dekzeltjes differente

Onder de Trap
1 schenktafel met Lood belegd met dies tinne koelbak
1 koel balij met kopere hoepels
1 stoel met ijzere haaken
1 verlakte tafel
1 d[it]o d[it]o kleine
1 oude orateurs Lessenaar
In de beneeden Zaal
1 groote glaaze kroon
8 hangstolpen waar van een onbequaam
14 Muur d[it]o met dies toebehooren, waarvan 1 onbequaam
4 spiegels met vergulde Lijsten
8 d[it]o " d[it]o d[it]o en d[it]o branches
8 speeltafels in zoorten
37 bruin Verniste stoelen waar van 4 onbequaam
6 d[it]o d[it]o gueridons
15 d[it]o d[it]o korte knaapen
14 Japanse porcelaine quispedoors
40 nieuwe stoelen voor de tafel, onlangs ingekogt
In de donkere kamer
1 kas met een Squelet
2 houte squeletten
1 lange blicke roeper
1 Lessenaar beneevens eenige kleinigheeden
In de achter Gaanderij
5 Hang stolpen glaze
8 Muur lanthaarns glaze
1 vierkante tafel met een gat
1 oude speel tafel
19 ronde mans stoelen, alle onbequaam
In de Dispes
16 verlakte kandelaars
13 kopere d[it]o
eenig incompleet tafel porcelain rood met wit
d[it]o d[it]o d[it]o d[it]o wit met blauwe randen
2 Bierglaazen met vergulde randen
19 d[it]o effen
95 wijnkelkjes met maçonique emblemes
55 d[it]o effen
20 gesleepe glaaze Lampen
35 glaaze karaffen, zijnde de mankeerende 8 p gebroken
2 kleine hangstolpjes behoorende boven de Throon
13 Lamp glazen
25 geribde Wijn kelkjes
3 porcelaine kannen met dies houte bakjes
5 ijzere verniste Thee backen en 3 houte
3 kopere Castrollen
2 d[it]o koeke pannen
1 d[it]o braad pan
2 d[it]o smoor pannen
1 d[it]o water ketel
2 houte banken tot de Lampglaazen
1 d[it]o moolen om op te klimmen, onbequaam
7 ijzere pannen, onbequaam
In de Combuis
2 ijzere roosters
1 braad spit met dies stander, onbequaam
2 Combuis tafels
2 putzen [= emmers]
1 groote balij
3 draagbalies
In 't vertrek van de Mandadoor
2 Snaphaanen
2 pistoolen
2 Japanse Martavaanen in de grond gegraven
2 Japanse nachtspiegels […]'.
See also CMC, Box 3065, Folder 77 La Vertueuse 1st degree Minutes 1807-1808, 2/1807-8 Minutes and attachments 24-6-5807 until 25-6-5808, inventory 1807; Folder 77A La Vertueuse 1st degree Minutes 1807-18081808-1810, 2/1808-10 No. 5 Minutes 5808-5809-5810', inventories 6-7-1808 and 4-12-1809.

[380] De Visser Smits 1930 listed Van Hoesen in the East Indies in 1802. He is not listed in CMC membership card register, but a Samuel van Hoesen, probably a relative, was listed as member of La Vertueuse in 1783. CMC, Box 3065, Folder 77A La Vertueuse 1st degree Minutes 1807-18081808-1810, 2/1808-10 No. 5 Minutes 5808-5809-5810': 'de vloer is lang 19 en breed 23,1/2 en diep om op te vullen 16 dm benodigt

T opvullen van 2469 voeten puijnen en aarde	rds	77
1422 Groote Vloerstenenen		426,28
29 ballies kalk		20,14
24 prauwen zand		48,-
T arbeids Loon van		
3 metselaar in 14 dagen		42,-
6 Coelies in 14 dagen		21,-'.

[381] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse Invoices 1807/1816 A.B.C.D., 2/1807-1808 No. 47 Invoices 1807/8, namelist 23-11-1809; see also receipt no. 37, 29-121809 for fl 880,-; '/1810-14 No. 31 Invoices A 18010/11, 11/12, 12/13, 13/14, 4-7-1812 list of coulies employed between 15-6 and 3-7-1812 and the work done.

[382] CMC, Box 3074, Folder 92 La Vertueuse Financial records 1812, No. 32 Financial overview 20-6-5812: '[...] 1811 24 Junij Aan den inlander Abdul Karien voor het maaken van een Bamoes Brug over de Doorgraving Nr 2 112, 8 [in kolom 'in Papier']'. See also Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse Invoices 1807/1816 A.B.C.D., 1810-14 No. 31 Invoices 18010/11, 11/12, 12/13, 13/14, 15-5-1813: to a Chinese workman for 'reparaties van een half dak', 'agter aan de bijgebouwen van de loge', listing materials and coolies, and amounting to 201 Rds.

[383] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1814-1816, 13.13.13 1814-1816, undated note, behind inventory 1814:
'Naamlijst der Coelijs van de loge La Vertueuse

Mandoor	Abizel Jala	rds	30
Boenjang	Soerat		15
-	Jayuman		15
-	Noeram		15
-	Mayumoeder		15
-	Maydeer `		15
De maandelijkse gage		rds	105'.

[384] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse Invoices 1807/1816 A.B.C.D., 1810-14 No. 31 Invoices 18010/11, 11/12, 12/13, 13/14: 'het leveren van de ondervolgende manschappen voor het in order brengen met bladen en het leggen der zooden aan het Doolhof'. Per day 13 to 28 men were working for the sum of Spd 48,20. See also 12-6-1813, concerning work between 24 May-11 June by 19 Bosses, 62 carpenters and 49 Coolies; 14-6-1813, costs for a celebration on which between 24 May-17 June, on which 19 Bosses, 62 carpenters, 8 mandurs and 235 coolies worked, including Tjoelan leafs and other materials for a total of Spd 148,53; 18-6-1813, concerning work on 24 June by 8 mandurs and 215 coolies amounting to Spd 141,2.

[385] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1814-1816, 13.13.13 1814-1816, inventory July 1816, with notes in pencil, here in italics:

'Inventaris der Meubilaire Goederen die zig op dato dezes onder administratie van den B[roeder] M[eubelmeester] in den Tempel la Vertueuse bevonden hebben

<u>In de L[oge] Boven</u>

Eenige Throon vercierzels
1 Groot Meesters stoel, geel geschildert en verguld
1 Tafel met dies witte Zijde kleed met goud geborduurd en d[it]o franjes / NB waarvan ~~de witte zijde dient vernieuwt te worden~~ *alles vernieuwd is*
1 Zijldoekse voorhangsel
3 Paar Glaze Kroonen
2 koopere Patent Lampen met dies toebehooren
1 Houte Altaar met een Bankje en twee kussens, met dies witte zijde geborduurde kleed belegd, met goude franjes ~~NB waarvan het witte zijde dient vernieuwt te worden~~
2 drie Kante tafeltjes met dies witte zijde kleeden belegd met goude franjes ~~waarvan de zijde kleeden dienen vernieuwt te worden~~ *alles vernieuwd*
2 Tinne Inktkokers
1 Groote Bengaalse Floer tapijt
1 Zeijldoekse Floer Kleed, onbequaam]
1 Japanse Zijde geborduurde tableau in Een kist
3 oude Zeijldoekse geschilderde vloer Tableaus
12 groote Emblemes of Zinnebeeldige Schilderijen
1 Metaale orateurs Lessenaar, onbeq[uaam]
2 Kopere Lusters aan de Colommen van de Tempeldeur
48 Geel geschilderde Stoelen
32 half versleete Stoel kussens van geel Zijde
2 Geel geschilderde en vergulde opzienders stoelen
1 Schilderij, den oud Groot Meester Nationaal van Boetzelaar
7 Zeildoekse Schutzels voor de vengsters, 2 onbequaam
16 Glaase muur stolpen mankeerende aan Zommige de dekzels
29 oude Stoel kussens
2 Groote voet Banken

<u>In 't apartement achter de Throon</u>

1 Glaase Hangstolp stukkend
1 plank of doorne pad
1 Lamp paal met een kopere plaat achter de vlammende Sterren
2 pees stukkende kleene glaaze kroonen *vervald*

<u>In het voor Portaal</u>

1 Glaaze Hangstolp
1 Lange houte Ladder
4 Geel geschilderde Trapjes
2 ~ kasten waar van

1 met papieren en Documenten onder bewaaring van B[roeder] secretaris
1 waar in de na volgende goederen als
15 Nieuwe Lire Maçonnes
25 oude d[it]o d[it]o
1 Nieuwe |
1 oude |- wet Boek
1 Groote | Bijbel
~~27~~ *3* Hoog Duijtsche gezang Boeken
1 Ledige kruijk Vlesje waarin een quik zilver geweest is
1 flesje kwik zilver leedig
1 ijzere Zegel
1 fluweel oog dekzel, onbeq[uaam]
2 Half sleten dito van geele zijde
1 Blikke bakje
24 ~~Speel~~ *Spell* kaarten *rest[erende] 4 spel*
1 ijzere Beugel met dies kopere hand boeien
2 Kopere Boeien met kettingen
2 ijvore Hamers
8 ~~9~~ houte dito waar van 3 verguld
6 Grote Linne tafellakens alle onbruikbaar
3 Hand doeken
100 Servetten ~~onbruijkb[aar]~~
2 Kleine Zilvere deegens
1 fluweel Zakje met Balloteer boontjes
1 Propositie Zakje
1 Verlakte Kistje waar in de natemeldene ornamenten
1 Meesters ornament met Brillanten omzet onder bewaaring van B[roeder] G[root] M[eester] [= Voorzittend Meester]
2 Zilvere troffels
2 " Hamers
2 " Drie Hoeken
1 goude en 1 Zilvere vergulde Plaat met de 5 bouwordens
1 Houte gedraaide ornamenten met Zilvere verguld beslag
1 Zilvere vergulde ornamenten voor den B[roeders] architect
2 Winkelhaken
2 Zilvere Passsers
1 winkel haak op blaauwe Steen met steentjes bezet

Aan Broeder Engel

1 schietlood op
1 met 2 pennen
1 sleutel d[it]o
1 waterpas d[it]o
1 Armbus
1 Zilvere dubb[ele] driehoek met C [= G?]
1 Zilvere ornamentjes in drie hoek
2 Plated Snuijters
3 d[it]o kandelaars
17 Kleine Taffeltjes Troffeltjes

<u>In ´t Portaal bij de trap</u>

1 Glaaze kroon
1 Lamp Trap
8 houte drie kanten Lustres 1 Defect
2 Laa Tafeltjes inhoudende
1 Zwaarte Zijde kleed voor den B[roeder] T[errible]
11 ronde hoeden *oud en bijna onbruijkbaar*
35 Zeijde mantels in Zoort *Idem Ja zelfs verrot*
1 ornament voor de Terrible
1 d[it]o Orateur

<u>In de Eetzaal</u>

1 Groot glaase kroon
2 kleine kroonen
12 Muur lantaarns met Glaasen en guirlandes
1 Groote Spiegel
1 marmer Tafel met vergulde voet
2 Nieuwe Eetens tafel met dies 3 houte schragen door de A[chtbare] M[eester] afgegeven aan Villeneuve
12 Bruin en verniste Eetens tafels
2 Geel geschilderde hoek kasten; in een van dezelve bevinden zig
106 Zilvere Leepels
103 d[it]o d[it]o vorken
36 Tafel messen met ijvore hechten
21 dezert " " " "
118 Dozijn pees nieuwe messen *mank[erende] 6*

10 d[it]o vorken
2 Zilvere Soep Lepels
6 d[it]o Confituur vorkjes
2 Zilvere Schenkbladen
2 Plated olij en azijn Setjes, ieder met 5 flesjes
1 d[it]o Tobak doos
1 d[it]o wierookvat
15 drie kante blikke Blakertjes
1 Zwart geschilderde vergulde oud Meesters Stoel

In de M[eester] L[oge]

1 Houte Tafel nieuw aangemaakt
3 dito Lusters met 3 koopere armen |
2 dito d[it]o " 2 d[it]o d[it]o |- onbeq[uaam]
4 Emblemes of Zinnebeeldige Schilderijen
1 Groot Meesters stoel zwart Geschildert en Verguld
2 opzienders Stoelen zwart geschildert
1 zwart Geschildert Authaar
2 d[it]o d[it]o driekante tafels
2 Satijne kleeden of mantels met Goud Geborduurd
12 Zwart geschilderde groote knaapen
2 d[it]o d[it]o kleijne d[it]o
14 d[it]o d[it]o Houte kandelaaren
1 Zwart Satijn kleed met Zilver Geborduurd
1 d[it]o d[it]o Tafel kleed en d[it]o kussens met Zilver voor het Authaar
1 d[it]o Geschildert en met zilvere Geborduurd Tafel kleed voor de M[eester] Tafel
3 d[it]o Nieuwe kussens sloopen
20 nieuwe macons waar van een bij den B[roeder] S[ervant?] Dankanoietz

Achter de M[eester] L[oge]

1 IJzere Sleep ruim Tak
2 Houte trappen
1 Metaal Schel
~~6~~ Glaaze stolpjes behoorende tot de kroonen *Vervald*
23 d[it]o Dekzels differente

Onder de Trap

1 Schenk Tafel met lood belegd met dies tinne Koelbak
1 Koel balij met kopere hoepels
1 stoel met ijzere haaken

In de beneeden Zaal

1 Groote glaaze kroon
6 Hang stolpen
~~14~~ Muur d[it]o met dies toebehooren, waar van 4 onbeq[uaam]
4 Spiegels met vergulde Lijsten
8 d[it]o " " " en d[it]o bran[ches]
6 speeltafels in zoorten waar van 2 gebroken
26 ~~32~~ Bruijn verniste stoelen " 4 onbequaam
6 d[it]o d[ito] gueridons
12 d[it]o d[it]o korte knaapen waar van 1 Gebrooken
8 ~~11~~ Japanse porcelaine quespedoors
60 Nieuwe Stoelen voor de Tafel 26 defect 34 onbeq[uaam]

In de donkere kamer

1 Leedige kast
1 kast met een hout Squelet *afgegeven aan Lievaart*
2 houte Squeletten
1 Lange blikke roeper
1 Lessenaar, beneevens eenige Kleinigheeden
1 Hout kruijs
3 Geel Geschilderde pluijmen
1 receptie ra[a]m met 2 deuren
1 Dood kist
1 Guillotine
2 ijzere Schoppen

In de achter Gaanderij

5 Glaze Hang Stolpen
8 " muur Lanthaarns
~~10 ronde mans Stoelen, alle onbeq[uaam]~~
1 Billard ~~met dies toebehooren, waar onder ballen rest[erende] 5~~
4 afgeeven aan Vingers

In de Dispens

16 verlakteKandelaars
13 koopere d[it]o d[it]o
Eenigen inCompleet tafel Porselainen rood met witt

Eenig d[it]o " d[it]o wit met blauw
165 Bierglaasen in Zoort |
66 d[it]o ordinair | - *mankeeren 66 Pers*
55 wijn kelkjes met maconique Emblemes
12 Gesleepte Glaase lampen
27 Glaase Caraffen
2 kleine Hangstolpjes behoorende booven de Troon
14 Lamp Glaasen
3 Groote
56 wijn kelkjes effene en Geribte
1 ~~paar~~ *Pers* porcelaine kannen, met dies houte bakjes
2 vernist ijzere Thee bakken & 4 van hout
In de Combuijs
1 Groote IJzere Rooster
1 Braad Spit met dies Staander onbeq[uaam]
1 Water keetel
4 Tatjoes *niet gevonden*
2 Houten Banken voor Lamp Glaasen
2 Combuis tafels
1 Emmer *onbekwaam*
1 Grote Balij
1 Draag Balij *onbekwaam*
In ´t vertrek van de Mandoor
2 Snaphaanen *afgegeven aan de Broeder Surv[eillant]*
2 Japanse Martavaanen in de Grond Gegraven
2 d[it]o Nagt spiegels onbeq[uaam] *vervald*
Batavia Julij 1816 [handtekening] J.W. Janssen'.
See also: Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1814-1816, 13.13.13 1814-1816, inventory 14-8-1812; Box 3070, Folder 83-84-85 IIB7 La Vertueuse correspondence 1812-1815, 2/1812-15 No. 38 correspondence 5812-5815, inventory and accompanying letter 6-6-1814.

[386] Not listed in CMC membership register; which does list a Cornelis Pieter Elout.

[387] CMC membership register: initiated in La Vertu 13-3-1784.

[388] CMC membership register: 1st degree in L'Astre de l'Orient in 1804 as *passant*, member of lodges La Philantrope in 1835 and L'Union Royale in The Hague in 1837.

[389] Boerenbeker 1991a, pp. 153-154, p. 163 footnote 16-18.

[390] Hageman 1857, p. 241; Hageman 1858, p. 91, mentions 1806 for the instatement of the commissioners; Maarschalk 1872, p. 373, mentions a leter to the Grand Lodge on the matter 20-4-1806 and suggests 1807 as the year of leave; as well as a report by Elout after his fruitless return 12-11-1807.

[391] *Gedenkboek* 1917, p. 148.

[392] Boerenbeker 1991b, p. 44: 'zig met en benevens [...] Engelhard'.

[393] Hageman 1857, p. 242. 'Commissarissen van het Hoofdbestuur der symbolieke graden en van het Hoofdkapittel der Oppergraden'. *Gedenkboek* 1917, p. 148 uses a different title: 'Commissaris van het Hoofdkapittel der Oppergraden en van het Groot-Oosten van het Koninkrijk Holland' and names their years in power as 1805-1815.

[394] CMC, membership register card lists Daendels as initiated into the 1st and 2nd degree 27-10- 1785 in le Profond Silence. Stevens 1994, p. 84.

[395] CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, n. pag.; Van der Linden 1870, p. 30.

[396] Hageman 1858, p. 93.

[397] CMC, Box 3065, Folder 77 La Vertueuse 1st degree Minutes 1808-1810, 2/1808-10 No. 5 Minutes 5808-5809-5810, minutes of a meeting 27-2-1809 on which the plan was discussed. (Probably according to the masonic calendar. In a letter quoted below, Engelhard and Parvé mention the '16th day of the 3rd month of the Year of True Light 5809', which would come down to 16-1-1809.) See also: 'Project Ceremonieel tot de plegtige receptie van den deputatie van de Grootloge in Holland', 27-2-1809, and second version 9-3-1809; concept for the order in which guest are led inside, 16-3-1809, and guest list, 16-3-1809. From 4-3-1809 dates a request to Engelhard to allow Van Naerssens, who had been suspended, to return as member in order to attend this ceremony, but later correspondence shows this was not granted. See also CMC, Box 3069, Folder 83 La Vertueuse correspondence with Deputy Grand Master Engelhard 1809-1821 and membership lists [= 1805], another version of the 'Ceremonieel', 27-2-1809. There is some confusion about the date of the ceremony. The ceremony drafts refer to 16-3-1809. CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, n. pag.; Der Kinderen 1864, p. 212, refers to 16-5-1809 (masonic calendar); see also Maarschalk 1872, p. 373.

[398] CMC, Box 3065, Folder 77 La Vertueuse 1st degree Minutes 1808-1810, 2/1808-10 No. 5 Minutes 5808-5809-5810, copy of the invitation dated 12-3-1809.

[399] CMC, Box 3089, Folder 105A Programs for the ceremonies of La Fidèle Sincérité and La Vertueuse plus correspondence 1833-1836, 9-3-1809, see also copy with notes in the same folder.

[400] CMC, Box 3068, Correspondence with the Grand Lodge 1809-1814: '[…] de omstandigheden, die hebben plaats gvonden, dat door de Advocaat Fiscaal van Indien Heukevlugt zijnde teevens Lid van Vertueuse en aanwezig bij de installatie van de Commissie, namens zijn Excellentie den Maarschalk Daendels de door mijn mond van weegens de commissie gedaane aanspraak, en die van de Broeder Maurisse in origineel zijn opgeeijscht, uithoofden men aan dit Hooge bestuur had de aangegeven, dat door ons waaren gebeezigd, beleedigende uitdrukkingen betrekkelijk dit Caracter.- dat inzonderheid, door mij zoude getrokken zijn, eene voor zijn Excellentie, zeer declinerende parabel, tusschen Hoogst dezelve en de geweezen Commissaris Generaal Mr CF Elout- en aan welk requisit, door beiden de discoursen, ons korte daagen na afgave, wederom ter hand gesteld door den Secretaris generaal Muntinghe, zonder het ons heeft moogen gelukken, over deeze aanteiging en ondergaane flettrisure [?], eene Satisfactie te erlangen – zelvs is de aanklager voor ons verborgen gebleeven, ongeacht wij navragen waar dit veragtelijk voorwerp gedaan hebben – De meede Commissaris Parvé, staande dit voorval naar java gegaan zijnde, en zig aldaar bevindende, zijn de Baken van de Loge instatuque gebleeven, en het wagten is naar zijn Ed[ele] terugkomst, om de materie op te vatten, en daarinne te handelen, zo als het behoord en de tijds omstandigheeden ons zullen komen aan te raaden'. Engelhard pleaded for protection of Maurisse and Prediger, about to leave for Europe, and

pointed out they were married and of unquestionable behaviour, 'the way in which they are leaving the Colony is pitufull - this is all I may say about it' ('de wijze waarop zij de Colonie verlaaten is pitoijabel - dit is al hetgeen wat ik daarvan mag aanhalen').
[401] CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, n. pag.; Der Kinderen 1864, p. 212; Van der Linden 1770, p. 21.
[402] CMC, Box 3070, Folder IIB Chapter La Vertueuse 1796-1836 1803, Papers and correspondence received 1820-1835 1796-1836, letter by Engelhard to La Vertueuse 13-1-1813. CMC, Box 3069, Folder 83 La Vertueuse correspondence with Deputy Grand Master Engelhard 1809-1821 and membership lists [= 1805], letter by La Vertueuse 17-1-1813 to the Commissioners, and a draft for a declaration of innocence.
[403] CMC, Box 3069, Folder 82 La Vertueuse Minutes and attchments 1812/1813, No. 14 attachments to 1st and 2nd degree minutes 23-6-1812 until 17+4*5813: 'de verklaring hebben afgeligt dat zij zig op hun woord van Macon onschuldig konnen aan het devulgeren van de inhoud van het discours op den 16/d van de 3/m des waare Lichts 5809 in deeze Tempel door den Eerst geteekende, in hoedanigheid van Commissaris gehouden. Terwijl ons ten hoogsten aangenaam is de Harmonie tusschen Commissarissen van het Groot Oosten en nde Lieden van la Vertueuse daar door volkoomen te zijn hersteld'.
[404] CMC, Box 3065, Folder 77 La Vertueuse 1st degree 1808-1810, 2/1808-10 No. 5 Minutes 5808-5809-5810, 20-4-1810 concerning Heukevlugts dismissal; CMC, Box 3069, Folder 83 La Vertueuse correspondence with Deputy Grand Master Engelhard 1809-1821 and membership lists [= 1805], letter by La Vertueuse to Engelhard 24-4-1810 concerning an advert in a newspaper about Heukevlugts dismissal, and his dismissal from the lodge.
[405] CMC, Box 307, Folder 28 incoming and outgoing correspondence 1814. *Verslag* 1848, p. 98-99.
[406] Van der Linden 1870, p. 32.
[407] CMC, Box 3066, Folder 79 La Vertueuse 1st degree Minutes 1813-1815.
[408] CMC, Box 3069, Folder 83 La Vertueuse correspondence with Deputy Grand Master Engelhard 1809-1821 and membership lists [= 1805]: '[...] het aanwezen eenen onwettigen bijeenkomst van vrije metselaren onder de naam van the Flora Lodge waarin eenen Docter Titler fungeert als grootmeester werkende zonder brieven van Constitutie [...] dat in dier bijeenkomsten aan den prophaan Heele L[uitenan]t bij de artillerie de geheimen ondekt zijn'.
[409] CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, n. pag.: 'In 1814 werd de ontdekking gedaan onder de Engelsche officieren van eene Klandestin en zonder Constitutie werkende [loge] te Weltevreden onder de naam van The Horn lodge en het bestuur van eene Dr Titler, het lid van L[a] Vert[ueuse]. J.B. Sloane op ontvangen verbod om deze [loge] niet te frequenteren en daaraan zich echter ongehoorzaam & wederspannig betonende, werd diensvolgens het lidmaatschap ontzegd.'
[410] Hageman 1857, p. 242. He kept the title 'oud provisioeel geeligeerd Eerste Raad en directeur Generaal van Hollandsch Indie'.
[411] *Gedenkboek* 1917, p. 454. *Gedenkboek* 1917, p. 454.
[412] See Wiliam A. Speck, 'Raffles, Sir Thomas Stanford (1781-1826)', in: Porset/Révauger 2013, Vol. III, pp. 2332-2333.
[413] 'Raffles' 1930 provides an overview of information on the initiation by A. de Geus, Deputy Grand Master. I am grateful to Ed Mullan for making a copy available.
[414] Bosma/Raben 2008, p. 97.
[415] Hageman 1858, p. 93.
[416] 'Raffles' 1930 provides an overview of information on the initiation by A. de Geus, Deputy Grand Master. I am grateful to Ed Mullan for making a copy available.
[417] CMC, Box 3121, Folder 144 La Constante et Fidèle Minutes 1809/12, 1st degree Minutes 1809-1812: 'Voorts wierd door den Achtbar Mr voorgebragt, van ter zijde vernomen te hebben dat indien den Lt Gouverneur op onse feest verzogt wierd, daar op gaarne zoude willen verschijnen Edog niet wetenende of den Hr Lt Gouverneur vrijmetselaar was; dog zulks bevindende als dan onze tafel [loge] in eene feest met de Zuster te veranderen; waar op door de gezamentlijke Br beslooten wierd 't feest met de Zusters te vieren; met of zonder zijn Excellentie'.
[418] CMC, Box 3121, Folder 144 La Constante et Fidèle Minutes 1809/12, 1st degree Minutes 1809-1812.
[419] CMC, Box 3078, Folder 26-27 incoming and outgoing correspondence 1812-1813, various documents on the Raffles debacle, including a letter 5-6-1812 by Engelhard and Parvé to La Fidèle Sincérité. CMC, Box 3068, Correspondence with the Grand Lodge 1809-1814, undated letter on the Raffles debacle. See also CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, n. pag.
[420] CMC, Box 3122, Folder 147 La Constante et Fidèle A incoming correspondence 1807-1815 B outgoing correspondence 1807-1815, No. 43 incoming correspondence A 5809-5814, copy of an undated letter to Knops, referring to a letter 18-5-1812 by Lamberger, who had submitted a copy of the minutes concerning trespasses of the law regarding profanes ('overtreeden zijn de wetten opzigtelijk de Profanen'). From this correspondence it appears that Lamberger had proposed to give Raffles two degrees, and as Raffles had not responded, Knops proposal to have a profane style celebration seemed a safer option.
[421] CMC, Box 3070, Folder 83-84-85 IIB7 La Vertueuse correspondence 1812-1815, 2/1812-15 No. 38 correspondence 5812-5815, letter 23-3-1813 by Lamberger to La Vertueuse.
[422] CMC, Box 3070, Folder 83-84-85 IIB7 La Vertueuse correspondence 1812-1815, 2/1812-15 No. 38 correspondence 5812-5815, undated letter by Engelhard to La Verteuse, referring to the complaint of the members by La Constante et Fidèle dated 30-5-1812: 'de Leeden van de Hooge Regeering en hunne vrouwen, als onderscheiden andere aanzienlijke Heeren en Daemes op dat feest verzogt zijn'. See also Folder II B Chapter La Vertueuse 1796-1836 1803, Chapter papers and correspondence 1820-1835 1796-1836, letter by Engelhard and Parvé to La Vertueuse regarding the suspention of the lodge and Chapter of La Constante et Fidèle.
[423] Hageman 1857, p. 243; Maarschalk 1872, p. 375. Christiaans 1994 B, p. 172, mentions 5-5-1813.
[424] 'Raffles' 1930, p. 38. Muntinghe is mentioned as present in a letter by Parvé and Engelhard to lodge De Vriendschap, dated 5-7-1813, see: *The Pentagram*, Vol. XVIII (1928), pp. 17-18. I am grateful to Ed Mullan for making a copy available. See also Hageman 1857, p. 256. CMC membership card register: 'volgens Gulden Boek van de A.L. De Vriendschap te Soerabaija: 5-7-1813 2de [...] [en] 3de [graad]'. In other words, the certificate was provided after the initiantion. CMC membership register card: Raffles proposed in 1812 in La Constante and Fidèle 'is niet doorgegaan', 12-8-1813 member of La Vertueuse. Pentagram 1928, Vol. XVIII, p. 16 has an illustration of the lodge room.
[425] *Gedenkboek* 1917, p. 454.
[426] CMC, Box 3078, Folder 27. Transcript of the lodge minutes in *The Pentagram*, Vol. XVIII (1928), pp. 17-18. *Loge 'De Vriendschap'* [1934], p. 27 mentions September in stead of July for the request and initiation (masonic calendar).
[427] *The Pentagram* Vol. XVIII (1928), pp. 17-18 provides a transcript of the minutes of *De Vriendschap* 5-7-1813. I am grateful to Ed Mullan for making a copy available. See also Hageman 1857, p. 256; *Loge 'De Vriendschap'* [1934], p. 27, thank you letter by Engelhard 4-11-1813.
[428] CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, n. pag. CMC, Box 3069, Folder 83 La Vertueuse correspondence with Deputy Grand Master Engelhard 1809-1821 and membership lists [= 1805], letter by La Vertueuse to Engelhard regarding the announcement of the founding.
[429] Hageman 1857, p. 243; Hageman 1867 A, p. 103; Maarschalk 1872, p. 375. *Verslag* 1848, p. 96: 'onder het Meesterschap van H.A. Parvé in het jaar 1813, of vroeger reeds en weldra weer ontbonden'.

[430] CMC, Box 3066, Folder 79 La Vertueuse 1st degree Minutes 1813-1815.
[431] CMC, Box 3074, Folder 92 La Vertueuse and Chapter various financial records 1813-1817, List of contributions owed July-December 1813: 'Tho Raffles van medio oct [contributie] 10,- [boetes: geen]'.
[432] CMC, Box 3074, Folder 92 La Vertueuse and Chapter various financial records 1813-1817, Financial overviews 1813/4, overview of contributions 'Thesauriers Kassa van la Vertueuse' 1814: 'Raffles Entree als Lid'. According to other accounts in the same folder Raffles paid contribution on 31-12-1814 (for 2 ½ months at 4;10 Spd) and 30-9-1815 (4;48 Spd).
[433] CMC, Box 3066, Folder 79 La Vertueuse 1st degree Minutes 1813-1815.
[434] CMC, Box 3074, Folder 92 La Vertueuse and Chapter various financial records 1813-1817, Financial accounts Chapter.
[435] CMC, Box 3074, Folder 92 La Vertueuse and Chapter various financial records 1813-1817, Financial accounts Chapter.
[436] 'Raffles' 1931 provides a transcript of a letter by A.H. van Ophuijsen, 'WMS of the Batavia Rose Croix Chapter', to J.S. Jenkins, in which this information is provided. I am grateful to Ed Mullan for making a copy available. The article explains that in 1803 the Grand Chapter in the Netherlands had decided that the 18th degree could only be provided 'by communication'. The decision was reversed in 1806 and Chapters were allowed to decide for themselves.
[437] CMC membership card register: 1st and 2nd degree in lodge La Paix in Amsterdam 2-1-1793. Registered in lodge Vicit Vim Virtus in Haarlem 12-1-1793, left the lodge 16-2-1803.
[438] CMC, Box 3066, Folder 79 La Vertueuse 1st degree Minutes 1815/1818, 2 1815-1818 No. 9 Minutes 4*5815-5818. CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, n. pag., provides the date as August 1816.
[439] CMC, Box 3074, Folder 92 La Vertueuse and Chapter various financial records 1813-1817, Financial accounts Chapter: 'dito het ornament aan Br Raffels 75,-', 'voor hunne receptie als Schots meesters [..] Raffles Spm 75,-', 'Br Raffles voor de receptie als S.P.R.C 150,-'.
[440] CMC, Box 3074, Folder Folder 92 La Vertueuse and Chapter various financial records 1813-1817, Financial accounts Chapter, 4-11-1816.
[441] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 71, P. de Bruin Vermeer, 'Rapport omtrent den Koop en verkoop van Een Huijs en Erf op Jacatra geprojecteerd geweest Zijnde voor eene Nieuwe Loge', 15-12-1816: 'ten einde ter nagedachtenis voor onze nakomelingen bij de archieven van deeze loge bewaard te blijven'. This is a report following the resolution of 28-12-1814 in order to document events following the decision to build a new lodge.
[442] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 71, P de Bruin Vermeer, 'Rapport omtrent den Koop en verkoop van Een Huijs en Erf op Jacatra geprojecteerd geweest Zijnde voor eene Nieuwe Loge', 15-12-1816: 'De thuin en huisinge staande aan de weg van Jacatra en toebehorende aan de boedel van wijlen de wed Ginkel van Haak'.
[443] CMC, Box 3078, Folder 27 incoming and outgoing correspondence1811-1813, letter 18-5-1813 by Popkens.
[444] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 71, 'Inteekening Lijst van Zodanige Chineesen baazen tot den opbouw de Nieuwe Loge', 27- 9-1813, with addresses and wages specified.
[445] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 71, 'Conditieen tusschen leeden van de loge La Fidelle Sincerite en den aannemer tot den opbouw Eene Loge', 7-8-1813: '[…] Beschrijving van het Gebouw: Een gebouw van Twee verdiepingen waar van de onderste bestemd tot Zaalen en andere bergplaatsen van dienen Zien en Verdeeling al op de plattegrond tekening opstand en profill in het hier bijgevoegde Plan L.A. is aan gewezen. Dit gebouw is lang 112 voeten diep 88 voeten hoog boven de Horizontaale grond 4 voeten rinlieq [?] werke deselve vloer 18 voeten tot onder de balken en 16 voet tot onder de balken van de vloering. […] boven de lijst der ringmuur […] met de doorbroken balustrade voorzien van een frontispiece […].' Signed by Adjiet, along with his guarantors Abdul Hamied and J. Pokong.
[446] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 71, 'Calculatie berekening tot het afbreeken van de oude gebouwen en opbouwen van de geprojecteerde', 27-9-1813'; 'voorgalderij binnen smuurs 108 v[oet] lang 24 breed […] agter galderij of zaal adiedem […] een zijde vleugel met onder en boven, de 2de dito enkeld boven […] centrum de koepel [..] zoldering'.
[447] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 71, 'Conditieen tusschen leeden van de loge La Fidelle Sincerite en den aannemer tot den opbouw Eene Loge', 7-8-1813: 'De aannemer zal alle vertrekken van binnen met zodanige paneelen in lijst-werk moeten voorzien van als volgens Architecture behoort als nader aangegeven zal worden'.
[448] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 71, 'Calculatie berekening tot het afbreeken van de oude gebouwen en opbouwen van de geprojecteerde', 27-9-1813, which includes the costs of bamboo scaffolding, materials, workmens wages and profit for the builder, together amounting to 19.000,- Spd. The purchase of building materials (timber, chalk, nails, copper, tiles, gutters, bricks, 1500 floor tiles, etc.) amounted to 24.395,33 Spd.
[449] Van der Linden 1870, p. 33 suggested that the political circumstances, the request by the Grand Lodge for late contributions to be paid and other circumstances pressed heavily on the lodge's finances, but sees the request for a loan as 'a forwardness bordering on immodesty' and suggested 'An other allowance for the lodges was the joining of several English brethren' as a compensation ('eene vrijmoedigheid die aan onbescheidenheid gelijkt [...] Een andere tegemoetkoming was voor de loges het toetreden van verschillende Engelse bb. [...]').
[450] CMC, Box 4491, Folder 142:2 La Fidèle Sincérité correspondence and attachments minutes 1814-1836, 1813-1836, letter by Engelhard to Baggers, ?-?-1813: 'aan de publieke weg van Jaccatra eene aanmerkelijke verfraaijing zoude werden toegebragt, maar mijne Tuin allernaast dat Erf geleegen, daardoor eene vermeerdering van waarde erlangen., dus het sacrifice [...] niets beduidende voor mij zoude zijn geweest vergeleken bij de voordeelen [...]', 'vereekening met weesmeesteren en vanwege gouvernementsmaatregelen omtrent de Bank van leening'.
[451] CMC, Box 4491, Folder 142:2 La Fidèle Sincérité correspondence and attachments minutes 1814-1836, 1813-1836, letter by Engelhard to Baggers, 16-1-1815.
[452] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 71, report by M.J. Piener on behalf of the 'commissie ter finale afdoening van de zaken den opbouw van den nieuwen tempel reguarderende', 30+9*5813: On 25 December it was decided to meet with Engelhard on 27 December in the house of brother Reijnst in order to assess wheter a new temple would be built or not. The Worshipful Master explained the pro's and contra's of the loan at the bank proposed by Engelhard, and asked if the members wanted to have the garden put directly in their name. The outcome was: 1. No new temple because of the circumstances at the time; 2. Thank Engelhard for his offer 3. Sell the old building on the plot for demolition at 8000,- Spd; 3. Explain the governor (Raffles) why not; 4. Continue with entry fees to raise capital for repairing the old temple or buying a new one.
[453] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 71, P. de Bruin Vermeer, 'Rapport omtrent den Koop en verkoop van Een Huijs en Erf op Jacatra geprojecteerd geweest Zijnde voor eene Nieuwe Loge', 15-12-1816; report of a committee settling with Engelhard 'betrekkelijk de koop van het Huis, staande op het Erf dat tot een nieuwe loge was geprojecteerd', 7-12-1813; due bill to Engelhard, ?-2-1814, signed for receipt by Engelhard 24-1-1817.
[454] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 71, P. de Bruin Vermeer, 'Verhaal van het voorgevallene met betrekking tot de chinees Atjiet als koper van het logegebouw te Jacatra, het verhaasten van de verkoop van het gebouw op de Armanusgragt en het verplaatsen van de loge', 15-10-1816.
[455] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 71, P. de Bruin Vermeer, 'Verhaal van het voorgevallene met betrekking tot de chinees Atjiet als koper van het logegebouw te Jacatra, het verhaasten van de verkoop van het gebouw op de Armanusgragt en het verplaatsen van de loge', 15-10-1816; see also the agreement between the lodge and Engelhard, 9-2-1814.
[456] Pieren 1901/1902, p. 222: 'In 1814 deed zich het geval voor, dat de Loge [...] van den toenmaligen Ged. Gr. Mr Nicolaus Engelhard een huis had gekocht voor 8850 Spaanse Rds. en [...] in gebreke bleef in de betaling van deze som. De Ged.Gr. Mr. Zelf in geldverlegenheid zijnde, ging na herhaalde aanmaningen er toe over, de zaak in handen van den Hoogen Raad van Justitie te geven; later werd een vergelijk getroffen, zoodat tot

een procedure niet werd overgegaan'. 'Dat de Loge in die dagen gebrek aan b.g. betaalpenningen had, vond daarin vermoedelijk zijn oorzaak, dat aan den Chinees J. Adjiet den 9den Febr. 1814 een of andere bezitting voor 8000 Sp. Rds. was verkocht, welke Chinees aan zijne verplichtingen niet voldeed'.

[457] CMC, Box 3078, Folder 28 incoming and outgoing correspondence1814, letter to Engelhard, 11-8-1814 concerning a money transfer and payment of the debt, in answer to a letter by Engelhard in which he treatened with a court case.

[458] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 71, P. de Bruin Vermeer, 'Rapport omtrent den Koop en verkoop van Een Huijs en Erf op Jacatra geprojecteerd geweest Zijnde voor eene Nieuwe Loge', 15-12-1816: 'Wij alle herinneren ons dat ogenblik dat gebouwen en Meublement van La Fidele Sincerite op de onschuldigste wijse aan publique opveiling bij wegen van executie stond blooot gesteld te werden en wij in 't onseekere verkeerde waar wij al verder onse maconique Werkzaamheden zoude verrichten'.

[459] Geneaology at: http://history.peschfamily.com/2008/01/willem-helvetius-van-riemsdijk.html

[460] CMC, Box 4491, Folder 142:2 La Fidèle Sincérité correspondence and attachments minutes 1814-1836, 1813-1836, letter to Van Riemsdijk, 9-3-1815, in which the lodge acknowledged: […] that it had willingly pleased Your Honour to cede to said Lodge the use of the same Honourable House standing on the Tijgersgracht and this in such a noble fashion […] declaring not only to have been saved by this by Your Honour from a great embarrassment but also having been able to find no better suited location for a Lodge in this city.' ('dat het uwelEd[ele] gestr[enge] gewillige behaagt heeft aan ged[oelde] Loge het gebruik aftestaan van Hoogstdezelfs Huis staande op de Tijgersgragt en dat op een zodanige edelmoedige wijse [...] verklarende door uwelEd[ele] gestr[enge] niet alleen daardoor uit een grote verlegenheid gered te zijn maar ook de stad geen beter locaal voor een Loge geschikt te hebben kunnen vinden.') CMC membership card register does list a Wilhelm Hendrik Helvetius van Riemsdijk as member of lodge La Charité in Amsterdam in 1831.

[461] CMC, Box 3078, Folder 29 incoming and outgoing correspondence1814-1815, extract minutes, 29-1-1815; Box 4491, Folder 142:2 La Fidèle Sincérité correspondence and attachments minutes 1814-1836, 1813-1836, undated letter: 'Het gebouw op de Armanusgragt tot dat einde ter verkoop bestemd zijnde, zo zijn wij zo vrij u Hoogverlichte het aanbod te doen om 't zij dat gebouw bij den rechter te accepteren & door den sequester te laten vendueren dan wel aan de [loge] zelve de vrijheid te laten tot de eigen verkoop van dezelve, en het rendement voor zo verre het strekken zal, als dan in betaling der schuld te willen aanbieden'.

[462] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 71, P. de Bruin Vermeer, 'Rapport omtrent den Koop en verkoop van Een Huijs en Erf op Jacatra geprojecteerd geweest Zijnde voor eene Nieuwe Loge', 15-12-1816.

[463] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 71, 'Res LL comp', 29-11-1815, discussing a reminder of Engelhard: 'ik zelve mij in de grootste ongeleegendheid bevinde'.

[464] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 71, 'Res LL comp', 22-1-1816, with an overview of payments by lodge members.

[465] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 71, P. de Bruin Vermeer, 'Rapport omtrent den Koop en verkoop van Een Huijs en Erf op Jacatra geprojecteerd geweest Zijnde voor eene Nieuwe Loge', 15-12-1816.

[466] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 71, undated report of the debt paid to Engelhard [1817]; 'Contant rekening tusschen de Hoog Verlichte gedeputeerde Groot Meester Nationaal N Engelhard en de loge La Fidelle Sincerite', 1-12-1816, on which the full payment was noted and dated 24-1-1817.

[467] CMC, Box 3078, Folder 29 incoming and outgoing correspondence1814-1815, letter from La Fidèle Sincérité to Engelhard, 1-2-1815; Pieren 1901/1902, p. 223: 'in overweging genomen hebbende de Bouvalligheid der Loge aan de Armanusgracht – alsmeede het moeilijke van den afstand en de weg derwaarts','de plegtigheid deezer verplaatsing [zal] plaats vinden op [...] 4+ 2e* des jaars 5815'.

[468] CMC, Box 3070, Folder 83 La Vertueuse incoming and outgoing correspondence 1814-1837, letter from La Fidèle Sincérité to La Vertueuse, 1-2-1813, including an invitation to attend the inauguration on 5-2-1815; Box 3083, Folder 71, P. de Bruin Vermeer, 'Verhaal van het voorgevallene met betrekking tot de chinees Atjiet als koper van het logegebouw te Jacatra, het verhaasten van de verkoop van het gebouw op de Armanusgragt en het verplaatsen van de loge', 15-10-1816, also mentions the move to the new location on 15-3-1815. Hageman 1859, p. 77, mentions the inauguration on the same date (5-5-1815 according to the masonic calendar). Maarschalk 1872, p. 367; Gedenkboek 1917, p.165, and *100 Jaren* 1937, p. 89 state that the last labour was done in the old building on 5-2-1815.

[469] *Verslag* 1848, p.99; Hageman 1857. p. 233 and 255; Der Kinderen 1864, p. 217; Maarschalk 1872, p. 368.

[470] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 31 No. 83 La Fidèle Sincérité attachments 7+4*5817 until 10+4*5820, no. 84; see also nos. 94-100, 145-146.

[471] CMC, Box 3084, Folder 79, Kasstaten 1810-1815, 'Staat en Reekening van gehouden administratie [...] 1814-1815': '[...] voor 't overbrengen der Nieuwe Loge vide bijlagen [...] sp. 238, 21 [...] behalve het betaalde door de Broeders van der Keer en Maarschalk voor het Blaauw schilderen der Loge'.

[472] Kwaadgras 2003, p. 110. CMC Box 3070, Folder IIB La Vertueuse attachments to the minutes 1838, No. 11 attachments to the minutes 4-5838 until 11-5839 [= 1818-1819], 'Lijst van BB VM der Militaire Broederscha en Leden van La Vertueuse die zich op Weltevreden bevinden'

[473] CMC, Box 3066, Box 79 La Vertueuse 1st degree Minutes 1818/1819, 2/1818-19 No. 10 Minutes 4*5818-4*5819, minutes 19-6-1818. CMC, Box 3070, Folder IIB La Vertueuse attachments to the minutes 1838, No. 11 attachments to the minutes 4-5838 until 11-5839 [= 1818-1819], 'Lijst van BB VM der Militaire Broederschap en Leden van La Vertueuse die zich op Weltevreden bevinden', 1818.

[474] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 31 No. 83 La Fidèle Sincérité attachments 7+4*5817 until 10+4*5820, nr 51. uitnodiging van La Vertueuse aan la Fidèle Sincérité om oprichting bij te wonen 17-4-1818.

[475] Hageman 1866, p. 83; Kwaadgras 2003, p. 110.

[476] CMC, Box 3066, Box 79 La Vertueuse 1st degree Minutes 1818/1819, 2/1818-19 No. 10 Minut 1st degree Minutes 4*5818 until 4*5819. Kwaadgras 2003, p. 111, notes that the lodge was in 1818-1823 taken into La Vertueuse and suspended after 1824.

[477] *Vry-Metselaars Almanak* 1819, pp. 115-116, and 1827, pp. 61-62.

[478] CMC, Box 3071, Folder 85 Correspondence received by La Vertueuse 1822-1824, Attachments 1821-1824 including incoming correspondence.

[479] CMC, Box 3071, Folder 85 Correspondence received by La Vertueuse 1822-1824.

[480] Pieren 1901/1902, p. 272.

[481] Boerenbeker 1991b, pp. 187-188, p.196 footnote 2. Boerenbeker 1995, p. 60. The Grand Lodge had not heard any news by 21-3-1817.

[482] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 32 No. 83 La Fidèle Sincérité attachments 7+4*5817 until 10+4*5820incoming and outgoing correspondence 1820.

[483] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 31 No. 83 La Fidèle Sincérité attachments 7+4*5817 until 10+4*5820, no. 160.

[484] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 32 No. 83 La Fidèle Sincérité attachments 7+4*5817 until 10+4*5820, incoming and outgoing correspondence 1820, no. 7. According to an extract of the minutes of the Weeskamer dated 6-7-1820.

[485] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 32 No. 83 La Fidèle Sincérité attachments 7+4*5817 until 10+4*5820, incoming and outgoing correspondence1820, no. 8.

[486] CMC, Box 3076, Folder 3-6 La Fidèle Sincérité Minutes 4*-12* 5819 and mourning lodge 9-5819 [= minutes 1819-1821]. See also Box 3080, Folder 42-43 Correspondence received 1828-1830, Extract from the Register of the Weeskamer 4-12-1828. A request to the Weeskamer to deduct fl. 1000,- from a total debt of fl. 8.000 concerning the estate of the late Carel Hendrik Specht, and make further payments when capable, was approved.

[487] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 33 No. 83 La Fidèle Sincérité attachments 7+4*5817 until 10+4*5820, incoming and outgoing correspondence1821. Engelhard estimated the debt at fl 3368:10, deducted earlier payments up to fl. 1920, leaving fl. 1448 and an additional sum of fl. 550, accidently overlooked in an earlier stage.
[488] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 33 No. 83 La Fidèle Sincérité attachments 7+4*5817 until 10+4*5820, incoming and outgoing correspondence1821.
[489] Hageman 1857, p. 259: 'men beschouwde, overeenkomstig de toenmalige zeden, regtstreekse gemeenschap met het Gr[oot] O[osten] van Nederland als aan onoverkomelijke moeitens en bezwaren onderhevig'.
[490] Maarschalk 1872, p. 386. Maarschalk 1872, p. 374 notes that De Vriendschap transferred the funds 30-9-1822 via lodge Concordia Vincit Animos.
[491] CMC, Box 3152, Folder 184 Chapter La Constante et Fidèle correspondece to the Grand Master 1820 and 1827, letter 20-2-1820 to Engelhard.
[492] Hageman 1857, p. 262: on 26-3-1822, 20-9-1822 and 8-3-1823 the Grand Lodge. Maarschalk 1872, p. 374, notes the Grand Lodge wrote Engelhard without succes on 24-6-1820, 30-1 and 14-2-1821, 22-5-1822, and 19-11-1822.
[493] Boerenbeker 1995, p. 74, and duplicate captain Brins 14-2-1821. According to Maarschalk 1872, p. 374, paid by Br. Starkenburg Jutting.
[494] Boerenbeker 1995, p. 96.
[495] Box 3070, Folder 83 La Vertueuse incoming and outgoing correspondence 1814-1837.
[496] CMC, Box 3070, Folder 83 La Vertueuse incoming and outgoing correspondence 1814-1837, letter by La Vertueuse 10-5-1822, answer by Engelhard 18-12-1822. See also Box 3071, Folder 85 Correspondence received by La Vertueuse 1822-1824, Attachments 1821-1824 including incoming correspondence, no. 61, letter by Engelhard 18-12-1822 with specifications and other relevant correspondence. Engelhard estimated the lodge owed 1846,4 Spd. According to its own records, La Vertueuse owed 1759,6 Spd. Engelhard then decided on 1792,- Spd.
[497] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse correspondence and attachments 1805, [1815,] 1818-1831, letter to De Kock 2-3-1822 concerning the debt with attachments; Box 3071, Folder 85 Correspondence received by La Vertueuse 1822-1824,no. 8, letter to Provincial Grand Master regarding the debt.
[498] Boerenbeker 1995, p. 124. Maarschalk 1872, p. 375, mentions that Engelhard did not send a report until 31-12-1825, in which information was missing because he had hurridly left without taking his papers. He promised that his representative, Servatius, would transfer the funds owed.
[499] *33 maal 5* 1974, p. 15, and Stevens 1994, p. 98, refer to De Graaf 1973. Q.M.R. VerHuell, *Levensherinneringen 1787-1812,* Westervoort 1996, p. 309, here referenced by De Graaf 1981, p. 97.
[500] Quoted here from De Graaf 1981, p.95: 'de geheimen dier orde en de belanchelijke proeven, die een nieuweling te doorstaan had […] nu tart ik U allen uit, of er een mogelijkheid bestaat, om mij met al je beproevingen vrees aan te jagen! Ik wordt Vrijmetselaar, hoe eerder hoe beter'.
[501] De Graaf 1981, p. 98: 'prachtige Tempel met Korinthische zuilen' en blauw plafond met gouden sterren, als ook de leden in hun regalia en zwaarden'.
[502] De Graaf 1981, p. 95, confuses the degree of Fellow with the function of Servant.
[503] Curiously, according to the membership list of De Vriendschap, Verhuell was initiated on 8-2-1817.
[504] Hageman 1857, p. 255.
[505] De Graaf 1981, p. 98.
[506] CMC, Box 3070, Folder IIB La Vertueuse attachments to the minutes 1838, No. 11 attachments to the minutes 4-5838 until 11-5839 [= 1818-1819]. Letter by La Fidèle Sincérité to La Vertueuse, 31-1-1818, concerning the property and death of Van Riemsdijk.
[507] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 31 No. 83 La Fidèle Sincérité attachments 7+4*5817 until 10+4*5820, no. 41, letter 27-5-1818, describing how the executors of the Van Riemsdijk estate have set the price of 'the large house, standing on the Tijgersgracht, and the adjoining buildings' on 18.000 Roepiers: 'Indien wij nu an der andere kant, dit gebouw [op de Tijgersgracht] weder in aanmerking brengen, waarin reeds alles tot het houden van Loges in Order is, en provisioneel weijnig onkosten te doen zijn, waarvan de prijs ook 18000 Ropij is, zo versekert onze Architect Eerhard [Eeckhardt?] ons, dat voor drie naast dit groote Huijs Staande Gebouwen voor afbraak 6000 Ropij gebode zijn, om onder goed berige binne 6 maande te betaalen, dan schieten er nog 12 over, hiervan moet ook een derde, dat zijn 4000 Ropij binnen korte tijd betaald, en met de overige 8000 zoude men dan moeten een voorstel an Executeur doen om zulks in termijnen binnen 2 of 3 jaar te kunnen afleggen.' See also Box 4491, Folder 142:2 La Fidèle Sincérité correspondence and attachments minutes 1814-1836, 1813-1836, undated, describing the price as 8250,- Spd, of which 1250,- Spd to be paid immediately and the rest against an interest of 630,- Spd per year.
[508] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 31 No. 83 La Fidèle Sincérité attachments 7+4*5817 until 10+4*5820, no. 44, undated note in preparation of a lodge meeting which will discuss the negociations with executor Cappelhof on the purchase of the building.
[509] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 31 No. 83 La Fidèle Sincérité attachments 7+4*5817 until 10+4*5820, no. 36, letter by La Fidèle Sincérité to La Vertueuse, 31-1-1818: 'of het uL. mogt goed dunken ons het gebruik van uL[iedens] Lokaal voor onze werkzaamheden af te staan, op zodaanige voorwaarden als van weder zijden de Billijkheid medebrengt'.
[510] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 31 No. 83 La Fidèle Sincérité attachments 7+4*5817 until 10+4*5820, no. 37, letter by La Fidèle Sincérité to La Vertueuse, 29-2-1818.
[511] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 31 No. 83 La Fidèle Sincérité attachments 7+4*5817 until 10+4*5820, no. 40, report by the committee on the joint use of a lodge building, 21-3-1818: 'geene Meubilairen of cieraden hoegenaamd aldaar kunnen inbrengen + noch Throon, tafels of altaar met hunnen cieraden mogen veranderen'.
[512] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 31 No. 83 La Fidèle Sincérité attachments 7+4*5817 until 10+4*5820, no. 43, letter by La Fidèle Sincérité to La Vertueuse, 28-3-1818.
[513] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 31 No. 83 La Fidèle Sincérité attachments 7+4*5817 until 10+4*5820, no. 52, 19-6-1818. Pieren 1901/1902, p. 223: 'De verhuizing van de Tijgersgracht naar Jaccatra was een gevolg van de omstandigheid, dat de eigenaars van het gebouw het huis voor afbraak verkochten.'
[514] CMC, Box 4491, Folder 142:2 La Fidèle Sincérité correspondence and attachments minutes 1814-1836, 1813-1836, undated: 'eenigst wat klein zijnde [..?] 19 voet breed, en moetende an de eene zijde met een Portaal en an de andere met een Throon van buijten bijgebouwd werden, de zoldering te laag zijnde moet verhoogd en met een Verwerlfsel gemaakt werden, de Trap verplaatst geschildert enz; En aldus verandert zijnde zoude het voor eene Loge kunnen gebruijkt werden'.
[515] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 31 No. 83 La Fidèle Sincérité attachments 7+4*5817 until 10+4*5820, no. 61, letter by La Fidèle Sincérité to Engelhard, 4-5-1818: 'naar het huis van tevooren behorene aan den Heer L. Heukevlucht op Jacatra'. Der Kinderen 1864, p. 217; Maarschalk 1872, p. 368.
[516] CMC, Box 3087, Folder 107 No. 11 Chapter La Fidèle Sincérité Minutes and attachments 1813-1834.
[517] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 31 No. 83 La Fidèle Sincérité attachments 7+4*5817 until 10+4*5820, no. 79, acte of purchase 14-6-1818: 'desselfs thuijn op Jacatra aan de noordzijde'.
[518] CMC, Box 8083, Folder 75, Inventories of the lodge archive 1782-1832, inventory 1820, mentions a design: 'Tekening en plan voor eene Nieuwe loge nader gebouwd op Jacara van het geweezen Huis van den Here l Heukevlugt onder den zinspreuk La Fidele Sincerite'.
[519] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 31 No. 83 La Fidèle Sincérité attachments 7+4*5817 until 10+4*5820, no. 74.
[520] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 72, Papers concerning the contracting for Lodge La Fidèle Sincérité and the invoice by the Chinese J. Atjieh for the extra

work, see also attachment 18+5*5820 No. 167-169 No. 76 No. 7: 'Acte van aanbesteding Tusschen De wel Edele Gestrenge Heeren Willem Lucas Baggers c:s:99 en Den Chinees J. Atjieh', 26-9-1818. The document was drawn up by Abraham Bussingh, public notary of the Dutch government in Batavia, and witnessed by Oltman George van der Keer, Jeremias Schill, Hendrik Voorman, Levinus Heukevlugt and Johan Hendrik Horst on behalf of the lodge. Witnesses for Atjieh were the Nio Gui and Ja Joenko 'from outside this town'. Other witnesses were the clercks Adriaan Eliza Siahijlatu and Ong Hoaseeng. The following was agreed: 'eenige kapitale reparatien en verbeteringen aan de gewezene tuin van den heer Heukevlugt op Jacatra tot eene Loge.' Daarbij afbreken voorgalerij, dak tot 2de verdieping, uitspringende achterzaal tot aan de achtergalerij van het huidige gebouw. Galerij traceren volgens plan, fundamenten uitgraven, hijpalen plaatsen 'bijf voeten lang geplaatst op drie voeten van midden tot midden in de lengte, en in het midden het fundament van zes tot zes voeten aan de beide kanten van het fundament en inde breedte van twee en Een halve voet van midden op midden over de palen langs de kanten van het fundament zullen reggels van vijf of zes duim dikte worden gelegt en ingekeept op de koppen der heijpalen'. Vervolgens fundering aanleggen volgens tekening 'en met gelijke snijding worden opgetrokken tot gelijk met de begane grnd alwaar dezelve eene dikte van een en een halve steen behoud. Dan 'den regtstandigen muuren met hunne pijlasters en kroonlijsten opmetselen, sorgdragende dezelve overal wel in het lood worden gehouden, de steenen wel in het verband gelegd en alvorens verwerkt te worden goed worden nat gemaakt. Alles volgens tekeningen die dhr Horst zal aanleveren. ''De regtstaande muuren van het nieuwe aan te bouwen huis en de tweede verdieping van het tegenwoordige huis aldus opgetrokken zijnde, op de bepaalde hoogte volgens de plattegronden in opstand teekeningen zullen de zolder balken gelegd en veranderd worden op een afstand van twee en een halve voeten van midden op midden en ten wederzijde een voet in de muur.' Daarna kapwerk maken volgens tekening. Nu zolder en vliering planken, vloeren leggen, 'menagerende daarin de openingen voor de trappen'. '[...] van een der achter kamers een Chambre Obscure te maken voglens nader te geven model'. Deuren, paneelen, jalousien en glazen op het inhangen na gereed hebben, 'vooral de jaloesien zoo nauwkeurig bewerkt worden dat gesloten zijnde er niet de kleinst mogelijke opening tusschen beide blijft'. De plafonds, kroon en lambrisering, panelen en verdere versiering conform nog nader te bepalen specificaties uit te voeren. Trap volgens te geven model zo ver afronden dat die met voltooien benedenvloer geplaatst kan worden. Zowel bestaande gebouw als nieuwe deel pleisteren en witten. 'Wijdens zal den aannemer eenen troon moeten maken in de voorzaal van de tweede verdieping volgens nader te geven model, boven de bedwongen aannemings penningen ten somma van Zeven Duizend Indische Guldens Zal aan den aannemer worden afgestaan en door hem worden genooten Een blok Slaaven woningen met twee verdiepingen, Een stal, Een blok Slaaven woningen met een verdieping, Gerekend van de separatie muur aan de oost kant tot aan het wagenhuis, mits bij het wegbreken van de achterkant een muur latende staan ten gelijke hoogte met de tegenwoordige separatiemuur. Zoo ook zal den aannemer de vrije beschikking hebben zoo over den afbraak van de achetr uit springende zaal als over alles at afgebroken word, terwijl aan hem zal zijn geoorloofd alle uit dezen afbraak voortkomende goede materialen weder tot het gebouw van het groote huis te bezigen, echter onder goed keuring van de Heer Horst, zullende alle mankerende materialen, gereedschappen, daggelden en transporten in alles hetgeen verder tot het voltooien van dit werk zal benodigt zijn door den aannemer worden geleverd en bekostigd.' Loge betaald in gelijke termijnen via Voorman of Horst, laatste termijn na oplevering en inspectie.

[521] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 72, Papers concerning the contracting for Lodge La Fidèle Sincérité and the invoice by the Chinese J. Atjieh for the extra work, see also attachment 18+5*5820 No. 167-169 No. 76 No. 7. 'Acte van aanbesteding Tusschen De wel Edele Gestrenge Heeren Willem Lucas Baggers c:s:99 en Den Chinees J. Atjieh', 26-9-1818. See (not reference further here): Peter J.M. Nas (ed.), *The Past in the Present: Architecture in Indonesia*, Rotterdam 2006, p. 102.

[522] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 72, Papers concerning the contracting for Lodge La Fidèle Sincérité and the invoice by the Chinese J. Atjieh for the extra work, see also attachment 18+5*5820 No. 167-169 No. 76 No. 7: 'Acte van aanbesteding Tusschen De wel Edele Gestrenge Heeren Willem Lucas Baggers c:s:99 en Den Chinees J. Atjieh', 26-9-1818.

[523] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 72, Papers concerning the contracting for Lodge La Fidèle Sincérité and the invoice by the Chinese J. Atjieh for the extra work, see also attachment 18+5*5820 No. 167-169 No. 76 No. 7: 'Acte van aanbesteding Tusschen De wel Edele Gestrenge Heeren Willem Lucas Baggers c:s:99 en Den Chinees J. Atjieh', 26-9-1818.

[524] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 72, Papers concerning the contracting for Lodge La Fidèle Sincérité and the invoice by the Chinese J. Atjieh for the extra work, see also attachment 18+5*5820 No. 167-169 No. 76 No. 7, 'Acte van aanbesteding Tusschen De wel Edele Gestrenge Heeren Willem Lucas Baggers c:s:99 en Den Chinees J. Atjieh', 26-9-1818.

[525] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 31 No. 83 La Fidèle Sincérité attachments 7+4*5817 until 10+4*5820, no. 124. See also overview of the income from the sale of the old inventory, 10-4-1819; list of goods broken during meals etc, 1-4-18[xx].

[526] See for instance the *Java Almanac* 1815, in which the members of De Harmonie are listed.

[527] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 31 No. 83 La Fidèle Sincérité attachments 7+4*5817 until 10+4*5820, no. 107. See also no. 138, 1-5-1819, notice that the meal went over budget, but request to pay widow Laak anyway.

[528] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 31 No. 83 La Fidèle Sincérité attachments 7+4*5817 until 10+4*5820, no. 125, inventory 1-4-[1819]:

'Inventaris[528] van zodanigen goederen behorende aan de Loge La Fidele Sincerite als op dato dezes onder het toeverzigt van den ondergetekenden in voornoemde loge zijn berustenden

Zilverwerken

1, een Koffijkan
2, twee Gerandoles, ieder met een dubbelde armligter van welke een dopje ontbreekt.
1, een Suikervaas, waarbij behorend:
18 agtien Suikerlepeltjes en
2 Twee Suikertangen,
48 agt-en-veertig Eetlepels,
2, Twee Soeplepels,

Pleet en Staalwerken

4 Kandelaars van een zoort, waar van twee groten en twee kleineren
4, agt dito een ander zoort
2, twee dito een derden zoort
5, vijf differente armligters, ten gebruiken op voorschaceveren Kandelaars
13, dertien differente Dopjes tot de kandelaars en armligters behorenden
3, drie Stalen Vorken
34, zeven- en dertig Tafel messen
34 vier- en dertig desert Vorken
34, vier-en-dertig dessert messen
3, drie Trancheer messen
3, drie ditoVorken

Glaswerken

136, een-hondert zes-en-dertig maconnieke Wijnglazen
98, agt-en-negentig dito Bierglazen
38, agt-en-dertig dito Karaffen
Aardewerken
Een kleine parthij meest l defecten borden, schotels en soepkommen, niet geschikt tot eenig gebruik voor de Loge
Lijnwaad
15, vijftien Tafellakens halfslaken
105, Een-hondert en vijf Servetten dito
Batavia den 1+ van de 4* [handtekening] H. Brithoff Oeconome

[529] Hageman 1857, p. 255 states the temple was consecrated in 1818.

[530] CMC, Box 3076, Folder 3-6 La Fidèle Sincérité Minutes 4*-12* 5819 and mourning lodge 9-5819' [= minutes 1819-1821]. On 3+6*1819 the Secretary noted that improvements suggested by the Master of Furniture had been approved.

[531] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 31 No. 83 La Fidèle Sincérité attachments 7+4*5817 until 10+4*5820, no. 161.

[532] De Visser Smits 1931, p. 167.

[533] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 34 La Fidèle Sincérité attachments to the minutes 18+4*5822 until 12+4*5824, no. 33. See also cat. Nijmegen 1913, p. 147, no.16, letter 17-7-1824 formally instating De Kock, Worshipful Master of La Verteuse and its Chapter, as deputy Grand Master.

[534] Maarschalk 1872, 374. 'Het scheen echter dat Br Engelhard in den laatsten tijd van zijn verblijf te Batavia smartelijke verliezen had geleden, die hem debzaken der Orde minder deden behartigen.'

[535] CMC, Box 3076, Folder 7 No. 98 1822-1824 Draft resolutions No. 14 N 87, Minutes 1822-1824.

[536] CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, n. pag. See also Box 3071, Folder 88 La Vertueuse correspondence received and visitor lists 1824-1826', no. 18, invitation by La Fidèle Sincérité to La Vertueuse 17-10-1824 regarding the installation on 27-10-1824, with program; see also no. 5, song for Merkus de Kock performed at St. John's Day 1824.

[537] CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, n. pag.

[538] Boerenbeker 1995, pp. 140-141. Maarschalk 1872, p. 375. Boerenbeker 1995, p. 125. Meanwhile, Merkus de Kock promptly sent fl. 500,- from La Vertueuse, fl. 51,50 from De Vriendschap, via Bagman ad Son in Amsterdam.

[539] *Loge 'De Vriendschap'* [1934], p. 23.

[540] Hageman 1857, p. 260: 'de vereischte gebouwen, kameren en noodwendigheden [...] het kaarslicht werd door eene moderne verlichting vervangen'

[541] CMC, Box 3111, Folder 132 De Vriendschap Documents of the Treasurer 1822-1824.

[542] Hageman 1857, pp. 260-261.

[543] Hageman 1857, p. 263.

[544] Boerenbeker 1995, pp. 123-124, p. 133 footnote 3.

[545] Hageman 1857, p. 264. CMC 124B113, *Bywet voor de Loge de Vriendschap, wettiglyk gevestigd in het O. van Sourabaya*, Soerabaia [1824].

[546] Hageman 1857, p. 270; '[...] dat het zeer dikwijls genoeg was te betalen, om toegang te krijgen tot het eervolst genootschap, hetwelk daardoor spoedig ontaardde, en door de weinige nog welgezinde Vrijmetselaren verlaten werd. Door gebrek aan wettig aangenomen ritualen, waren de werkzaamheden veeltijds beneden de waardigheid van 't redelijk denkvermogen gedaald.' Maarschalk 1872, p. 387 provides the rest of the quote omitted by Hageman and considers this letter typical for the situation: 'de Leerlings-receptien tot eene bespottelijke snakerij gemaakt; die van gezel een vertelkseltje, somtijds onder vier oogen en de Meester-receptie een de geest ledig latend ceremonieel geworden'] Door het stichten van Kapittels der op zich-zelf eerbiedwaardige Oppergraden, werd de verheven M[eester]Gr[aad] geacht en beschouwd als het begin der Vrijmetselarij, terwijl die haar doeleinde bevat, - doen er door dit alles ook hier vele WOLSON'S geboren zijn. De vrijmetselarij vordert deugdzame B[roeders] en de Loge talrijkheid der Leden, om de werkzaamheden luister en wezenlijkheid bij te zetten. Dit laatste (talrijkheid) is ook hier moeijelijk te erlangen, zonder strafwaardige toegevendheid omtrent de eerste (deugdzaamhedi). Soerabaya telt 100 macons, en de loge *De Vriendschap* 30 leden. De oude staat van zaken wijkt ook hier allengkens voor den invloed van de Gr[ote] Loge van bestuur, inzonderheid sedert de aanvaarding van het Opperbestuur door den Z[eer] V[erheven] B[roeder] De Kock, wiens voorbeeld elk regtschapen Vrijmetselaar tot navolging wekt.'

[547] Maarschalk 1872, p. 388, refers to a letter by De Kock to the Grand Lodge 9-11-1823. When they did continue to visit the Chapter of De Vriendschap, Provinciaal Grand Master Merkus de Kock intervened and made them give up their membership to the higher degrees as well.

[548] CMC 125C12-4, *Loge de Vriendschap. Soerabaya: Rituaal voor den graad van Meester-vrijmetselaar [*alsmede bespreking voorstellen voor rituaalherziening]. 5825 Surabaya (1825); *Loge de Vriendschap. Soerabaya: Rituaal voor den graad van gezel-vrijmetselaar* [alsmede bespreking voorstellen rituaalherz.] 5825, Surabaya (1825); - *Loge de Vriendschap. Soerabaya: Rituaal voor den graad van leerling-vrijmetselaar* [alsmede bespreking voorstellen voor rituaalherziening]. 5825, Surabaya (1825); CMC 76B19. *Rituaal voor den leerling vrijmetselaar: Loge de Vriendschap in het O. van Soerabaya*, [Surabaya] [1825].

[549] Hageman 1857, p. 268.

[550] CMC, Box 3111, Folder 132 De Vriendschap 1) documents of the Treasurer 1822/24 2) Annual financial reports 1883-1892, Various documents 5822: 'Estimatief Project…', 10*11+1823.

[551] Hageman 1857, p. 266: 'zware veranderingen en verbeteringen nodig. In 1825 bedroegen de uitgaven daarvoor f 1639:- in 5831-32 zelfs f 5250.'. Hageman 1858, p. 80: 'De gebouwen en gronden kan men schatten op eene waarde van f 20,000. Zij hebben echter verreweg meer aan opbouw en onderhoud gekost. De T[empel]vloer van Chinees marmer kostte f 1600, de moderne prof[ane] verlichting f 1300. See also *Loge 'De Vriendschap'* [1934], p. 25.

[552] CMC, Box 3080, Folder 43, correspondence received 1828-1830, letter 25-12-1830 announcing that La Constante et Fidèle was closed since 1825 but resumed work ca. 9 months back because a 'group of Brethren' had arrived. Hageman 1857, p. 247; Boerenbeker 1995, p. 258.

[553] Maarschalk 1872, p. 388; Boerenbeker 1995, p. 258, notes that De Kock on arrival in the Netherlands suggested De Vriendschap had worked continously during the Java War, contrary to the other lodges on Java.

[554] Hageman 1858, pp. 74-75.

[555] Hageman 1857, pp. 266-267; Maarschalk 1872, p. 388.

[556] Hageman 1858, p. 68. CMC, Box 3070, Folder 83 La Vertueuse incoming and outgoing correspondence 1814-1837, letter 12-5-1831 by De Vriendschap informing La Vertueuse of Mooijaart's expulsion.

[557] De Visser Smits 1931, p.167. Other authors suggest the City Hall or Government building was used from 1812-1823. See Maarschalk 1872, p. 383. 'Historische mededeeling' 1900/1901, p. 130. Perhaps different locations were used for household and lodge meetings?

[558] CMC, Box 3089, Folder 105A Programs for the ceremonies of La Fidèle Sincérité and La Vertueuse plus correspondence 1833-1836.

[559] 'Historische mededeeling' 1900/1901, p. 130, in turn suggests the military school was a military hospital around 1900.

[560] Hageman 1857, p. 245: 'Onder deze [de Residenten van Samarang] vindt men verscheidene B[roeders] die hunne woning voor de uitoefening der Koninklijke Kunst openstelden, en daaronder vooral de A[chtbare] B[roeder] H.J. Domis, Regerend Meester, in volgorde de zesde'.
[561] *Bataviaasch nieuwsblad*, 29-03-1926, suggests this was later the bicycle factory fa. Barendse, as do Hageman 1857, p.244, Gedenkboek 1917, p. 223. The factory was later the office of the Indische Handelsmij, followed by Hillebrands Vendukantoor. De Visser Smits 1931, p. 167, however, suggests the military school was later the bicycle factory.
[562] 'Historische mededeeling' 1900/1901, p. 130, also states the lodge acquired its own building in 1830 [ca. 1900 the Barendse factory]: 'Dit gebouw voldeed echter niet en wat mij wel wat vreemd toeschijnt, de stand werd niet goed geacht. Het werd daarom in 1845 verkocht, echter onder voorwaarde, dat het gedurende bepaalden tijd zou dienen als societeit'. This cannot be correct, as CMC, Box 3070, Folder 83 La Vertueuse incoming and outgoing correspondence, membership list of La Constante et Fidèle 1830, confirms the lodge met in the upper rooms of Sociëteit de Vereeniging.
[563] De Visser Smits 1931, pp. 167 and 223.
[564] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 31, No. 83 La Fidèle Sincérité attachments 7+4*5817 until 10+4*-5820, no. 165, attachment 168, see also 177; Box 3083, Folder 72, Papers concerning the contracting for Lodge La Fidèle Sincérité and the invoice by the Chinese J. Atjieh for the extra work, see also attachment 18+5*5820 No. 167-169 No. 76 No. 7, 'De meerdere gedane Arbeid Aan de Vrijmetzelaars Logie op Jacatra', undated.
[565] CMC, Box 4491, Folder142:2 La Fidèle Sincérité correspondence and attachments minutes 1814-1836, 1813-1836: 'schadeloosstelling welke door den Baas Timmerman Adjiet voor meerder aan de Loge gedane werken dan bij contract aangenomen': 'te goeder trouw en eerlijk op mondelinge order [...] zulke Capitale veranderingen of herstellingen gemaakt heeft, als waartoe hij niet verplicht was'.
[566] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 72: documents concerning repairs to the building, painting of woodwork and the bridge, 9-8-1820. Includes an estimate for costs, materials and wages of 489,25 Spd?.
[567] CMC, Box 3084, Folder 80 Financial records 1821, 'Specifieke Staat en Rekening [...]' 1820-1821: no. 21, 1-11-1820, 'Aan den Chinees Tjing Lean in voorschot voor reparatie aan de Loge' fl. 150,-; no. 41, 2-2-1821 'de Chinees Timmerman voor het maken van Koekoeken voor de vengsters' fl. 113,15; no. 64, 26-2-1821, 'de Chinees Tjing Lean het restant zijner tegoed hebbende wegens gedane reparatien' fl. 290,-. See also Box 3076, Folder 3-6 La Fidèle Sincérité Minutes 4*-12* 5819 and mourning lodge 9-5819' [= minutes 1819-1821], letter by lodge member Horst 14-4-1821 with invoice of Tjean Lien concerning repairs; Box 3084, Folder 84 La Fidèle Sincérité financial accounyt 1825-1829, 5-7-1825: 'aan den chinees Tung Lian voor reparaties logegebouw f 225'.
[568] CMC, Box 3084, Folder 81 La Fidèle Sincérité statement of finances 1-7 until 31-12-1822', 'Nota Der betaalde gelden [...]' 1822, 16-12-1822: 'Aanneemer voor 't uitdiepen der slooten, het aanmaken van bamboes woningen'. Receipt no. 26, 20-11-1822, confirms that it concerns housing for 'mandoers en boejangs' at fl. 210,-.
[569] See (not referenced further here) Bart Barendregt /Els Bogaerts (eds.), *Recollecting Resonances: Indonesian-Dutch Musical Encounters*, Leiden 2013, p. 90.
[570] CMC, Box 3078, Folder 20 extract minutes and attachments 1821-1822, inventory 1-13-1822, attachted to letter 13-1-1822:

> 'Inventaris van Zodanige Meubelementen en Goederen behorende aan de Loge La Fidèle Sincérité te Batavia als door ons ondergetekenden bevonden Zijn en onderbewaring van de Meubelmeester. – als –

5 Glazen Kronen
37 Hang Stolpen met dies Lampglazen en ijzere haken
2 Albaster hangstolpen
26 Muurstolpen /in Kelder/ met dies Klossen
20 d[it]o d[it]o Dubbelde
136 Stoelen in Zoort
1 Etens tafel bestaande uit 22 aparte stukken
3 Tafels van de Meester Thesorier en Secretaris met dies Zijde Kleeden
1 Altaar met dies Zijde Kleed en Kussen
9 Koekoeken
1 Spreek Stoel
1 Kast voor de Archieven van de Loge in een Kistje
1 Kast ten dienste van de Meubelmeester
7 Houte Hamers
3 Tinne Inktkokers
2 Wetboeken
2 Bijbels waarvan Een oud en Verscheurd is
3 Kisten /grooten/
1 Zilver Armbusch
5 d[it]o Blakerjes
2 d[it]o Degens
1 d[it]o Pook
1 d[it]o Passer
1 d[it]o Winkelhaak
1 d[it]o Truffel
1 d[it]o Schenkblaadje
2 d[it]o Chirandoles
2 d[it]o Kandelaaren
1 Brand Cachet
12 Plated Kandelaren
5 Tableaux
1 Japansche Leerlings Tableau in Schilderij
1 Portrait van de nationale Grootmeester in Nederland
1 Japansche Naamlijst der intekenarenter opbouw van deze Loge
1 Japansche Porceleine Com met Maconnieke figuurtjes
3 Constitutien van deze Loge waar van een in Vergulde Leijst
1 Kopere Degen
2 Balloteer Zakjes

13 Kopere Blakertjes
12 d[it]o Kwispedoren
4 Stale Snuiters met bakjes
40 Ronde en Kandelaar Knapen in Zoort waarbij 4 met glaze Stolpen
11 Speel Tafel
1 Grote ronde knaap
1 Blikke Lamp agter de Troon
7 Planken voor de Hobbeligen weg
1 Penne Plank
1 Ijzere Lamp
2 Zand Lopers
2 Kapmessen
2 Doodkisten en een roef
2 Kettings
1 Blikke blaaspijp
1 Weerlicht blik
9 Ornamenten Voor de Officieren der Loge
1 Gordijn van de Throon, blauw Zijde stof
1 Blauw Vloer Kleed in de Loge
1 Vloer Tapijt " " d[it]o
13 Witte Gordijnen
Een parthij oude gezang boeken
81 Nieuwe d[it]o d[it]o
4 Lerlings Tabellies
2 ½ douzijn Mans handschoenen
7 d[it]o Vrouwe d[ito]
1 Kopere Armbusch voor de M[eeste]r Loge
9 Zwarte Kandelaren Knapen en 9 dito Houten Kandelaren
9 Knotzen voorde M[eeste]r Loge
2 M[eeste]r Banden
1 d[it]o Tabbielies
2 Lamp Trappen
1 Glaze Hoekkast
1 Spoel Bak
4 knapen
Aldus opgenomen en Geinventariseerd de Loge la Fidele Sincerite te batavia der 13 x der 1 * 5822
[handtekening] P.M. Meijer [handtekening] Kamphuis
[In de kantlijn] Voor de overgave [handtekening] P.M. Meijer [handtekening] J. Boekhoff voor de overnaam [handtekening] Kamphuis'

[571] CMC, Box 3076, Folder 7, 'N. 98 1822-1824 Draft Minutes N 14 N 87', Minutes 1822-1824. CMC, Box 3079, Folder 34 Attachments to the minutes of La Fidele Sincérité 18+4*5822 un1til 12+4*5824, no. 23.

[572] CMC, Box 4491, Folder 142:2 La Fidèle Sincérité correspondence and attachments minutes 1814-1836, 1813-1836.

[573] CMC, Box 3084, Folder 83 Account by the Treasurer of La Fidele Sincérité 1-7-1823 until 30-6-1824, account of payments made 1823-1824. Receipt no. 26, December 1823: 'het late schilderen van 9 Luijken voor de Raamen Zwart f 18,-', 'Kalk om te witten f 56'.

[574] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 72: Budget for repairs to the building, 19-9-1824, with accompanying note:'van buiten groen en van binnen grijs of paerl kleur, en de trap bruin'.

[575] CMC, Box 3076, Folder 8 Minutes 1824-1825, 16-7-1824 and 4-9-1824 concerning approval of repairs to the building. Total costs including wages amounted to fl. 1450,-.

[576] IISG/Value of the guilder. CMC, Box 3084, Folder 83 Account by the Treasurer of La Fidèle Sincérité 1-7-1823 until 30-6-1824, account of payments made 1823-1824. Receipt no. 23 ½, 6-2-1824: Taxes for Register No. 6153 were set at fl. 90,- or ½ % of fl. 18.000 for 'een thuin blok L 26^{e} deel No 30' in 1823.

[577] CMC, Box 3076, Folder 8 Minutes 1824-1825.

[578] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 73 inventory 20-7-1825:

' Inventaris van zodanige Meubilaire en andere goederen Als door de ondergetekenden Zijn bevonden in de Loge La Fidelle Sincerite Te Batavia & welke onder Bewaring van den Meubel Meester zijn gesteld

[…]Een Kistje Inhoudende
| Vijf meester banden
| Een d[it]o Tablier
| Een Leerlings d[it]o
Een d[it]o d[it]o
| Zes & dertig pergamenten Certificaten
| Een pergamenten deploma van F.E. Furr
| drie groene Tabliers
| drie d[it]o banden
Een Kistje Inhoudende
| vier roode Tabliers
| vier d[it]o banden
| vier Tabliers wit met Zwart
| Een band d[it]o d[it]o
Een Kistje of Trommel
| Drie diverse Tableirs Met 't opschrift, inhoudende La Fidelle Sincerite
| Tien d[it]o d[it]o met Zwart

| Twee d[it]o d[it]o met blauw
Een houte doos, Inhoudende eenige gedrukte en geschreven papieren
1 Een Kast, voor de archieven der Loge
1 Een d[it]o " Meubelmeester
2 Twee Groote Kisten waar van een met Laden
1 Een Kistje
[…] 56 Zes en vijftig Lire Macons /nieuw/
Eenige oude d[it]o Hollandsch & Fransch
34 Vier en dertig Hoog Duitsche gezangboeken […]'.

[579] CMC, Box 3085, Folder 87 La Fidèle Sincérité paid invoices July 1825 until June 1826, receipt no. 1, undated 1825, for repairs to the lodge fl. 975,- to Tjung Liun, including 'voor het bijschildere der Achter Boven Zaal, in de Nieuwe Gemaakte Achter Gaanderij' at fl. 50,-. CMC, Box 3080, Folder 38/40/41 Correspondence received 1826-1828, letter 3-1-1827, discussing the necessity of dealing with a backlog of repairs.

[580] CMC, Box 3085, Folder 87, Minutes 1826-1827: 'wijl in de vervolge wanneer een meerderheid der bediendens bij een receptie L[oge] als andersinds vereischt werden, men deselve voor dien avond zoud kunnen huren of door bedienden der daar bij presente B.B. Leden kunnen worden vervangen'.

[581] CMC, Box 3085, Folder 89, Receipts 1827-1829, no. 7, 1-7-1827: '[...] Voor het maken van een gat in de Deur der Kamer van overdenking En Een Plank in dezelve 3 [...]'.

[582] According to the 'Rituaal-1820'.

[583] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 73, 'Loge La Fidele Sincerite Meubelmeester 1827-1829':
'Witte Gordijnen 7
1828 Januari 1 Nieuw aangemaakt 27
Zwarte Behangsels /oud/ 1
1828 Januari 1
Nieuw aangemaakt gordijnen 14
Stikken Zeildoek of flaams linnen 8
1828 Maart 3 voor de Meesters loge [verbruikt] 1
Junij 7 voor Nessen te laten schilderen en
Een Groote Deur voor de M[eester] L[oge] [verbruikt] 1
Nessen voor de L[eerling] L[oge en Meetsers L[oge]
1828 maart 3 Door den Br[oeder] Kimmel laten schilderen 12
Groote Raam van Zeildoek
1828 Junij 7 door den Br[oeder] Kimmel Laten Schilderen 1'

[584] CMC, Box 3085, Folder 89, Receipts, 1827-1829; Folder 90-91, Receipts 1829.

[585] CMC, Box 3085, Folder 90-91, Receipts 1829, no. 36, 23-1-1829, for roof repairs,-12. CMC, Box 3083, Folder 73:
'Inventaris van zoodanige Meubilaire en andere Goederen als door Ons Ondergeteekenden zijn bevonden in de Loge La Fidelle Sincirite te Batavia en onder bewaring van den Meubel Meester zijn gesteld
1 Een hang Lamp met vier pitten
4 Vier Glase kroonen
1 Een d[it]o defect in Een kist
36 Zes en Dertig Hangstolpen met Lampe Glazen en IJzere Haken *waar van Een gebarsten*
2 Twee albaste Hangstolpen
25 Vijf en twintig Enkele muurstolpen met klossen
12 Twaalf Dubbelde Dito met Dito
121 Honderd Een en Twintig Stoelen, blauwe
72 Twee en Zeventig Dito Bruine
1 Een Tafel voor den Grootmeester |
1 Een Dito " Thesaurier |- met zijde bekleedsels
1 Een Dito " Secretaris |
1 Een altaar met zijde bekleedsel en kussen
1 Een Stoel voor den Meester
2 Twee Dito " " Opzieners
2 Twee distinctie Stoelen
1 Een Spreek Stoel
2 Twee paar Gordijnen aan den Troon; blauwe zijde Stof
1 Een Blauwe vloer kleed in de Loge
1 Een Vloer Tapijt
1 Een Leerlings Tableau en Schilderij
4 Vier Tableaux /Oude/
7 Zeven Paren Witte Gordijnen /Oude/
1 Een plaat met Lijst en Glas /zijnde portrait van den Gr[oot] M[eeste]r Nationale in Nederland/
1 Een Japans Verlakte Naamlijst der tekenaren voor den Opbouw der Loge
3 Drie Constitutien voor de Loge waar van een met Vergulde lijst
9 Negen Ornementen voor de Officieren der Loge
1 Een Zilvere Arm bus
1 Een Dito beker
3 Vijf Dito blakertjes
2 twee Degens met Zilver gevest
1 Een Zilvere pook
1 Een Dito Dito met Schede
1 Een Dito passer
1 Een Dito Winkelhaak

1 Een Dito Truffel
1 Een Dito Schenkblaadtje
2 Twee Dito Girandoles met dies kandelaars
1 Een Dito Kandelaars
12 Twaalf pleete Dito en vijf Girandoles
3 Drie Tinne Inkt Kokers
1 Een Koper brand Cachet
1 Een Dito Degen
14 Veertien Dito blakertjes defect
12 Dito Kwispeldooren
4 Vier Stale Snuiters met bakjes /diverse/
1 Een Kopere Arm bus
1 Een Dito Schel
Een Kistje Inhoudende
| Drie Groene Tabliers
| Drie Dito banden
| Vier roode Tabliers
| Vier roode banden
Een kistje of trommel met het Opschrift La Fidelle Sincerite
| Vier tabliers Wit met Zwart
| Een Band Dito Dito
| Drie diverse Tablier
| Tien Dito Dito met Zwart
| twee Dito Dit o " blauw
1 Een kast, voor de archieven der Loge
1 Een Dito " Meubelmeester
2 Twee Groote Kisten waar van Een met Laden
9 Negen Koekoeken
1 Een Wets Boek
1 Een Bijbel
1 Een Dito Oud en gescheurd
Eenige Lire Macons /nieuw/
Eenige oude Dito Hollandsch & Fransch
38 Acht en Dertig paren vrouwe handschoenen
4 Vier Dito Mans dito
8 Acht Planken voor de hobbelige Weg
1 Een pennen plank
1 Een Zand Loper
1 Een Blikke Lamp
1 Een IJzere Dito
1 Een Blik Lamptaarntje in Een Blikke bus
2 Twee Baloteer Zakjes met Steelen
2 Twee Dito Dito zonder Dito
6 Zes Houte Hamers
9 Negen Zwarte kandelaars knapen
9 Negen houte kandelaars
35 Vijf en Dertig ronde Kandelaar & knapen in Soorten waar onder vier met Stolpen
1 Een Groote Ronde Knaap
1 Een Groote Etens Tafel Vijf & twintig Stukken
11 Elf Speel tafels
Eenig Oud Zilver Passement & Franjes
1 Een Oud Zwart behangsel
3 Drie knodsen
1 Een Blikke blaaspijp
1 Een Weerlichts Blik
8 Acht Stukken Nieuw Zeildoek
2 Twee IJzere Kettings
2 Twee Dood Kisten
1 Een Roef
In de Loge La Fidelle Sincerite te Batavia den 27x der 1*5827
Ten onze overstaan [handtekening] J.L. Wey…….[?]
Overgegeven door den afgetreden Meubelm[eeste]r [handtekening] P.J. Alix
Overgenomen [handtekening] H. Boekhoff Meubelmeester'

[586] CMC, Box 3080, Folder 42-43 Correspondence received 1828-1830, letter by Architect W.H. Beruhof, 27-10-1830; Folder 44 Correspondence received 1831, letters by Beruhof, 24-2-1831 and 22-4-1831.

[587] CMC, Box 3085, Folder 90-91, Receipts 1829, receipt 13-5-1830 to 'Inlander Kapitein Barodien […] tot het maken van een eet loots agter de Loge', fl. 100. See also no. 56, specification of costs.

[588] CMC, Box 3085, Folder 90-91, Receipts 1829, no. 32, 19-11-1830, advance for repairs to Abdul Hamiet, fl. 150,- of a total of fl. 300,-.

[589] CMC, Box 3085, Folder 92, La Fidèle Sincérité paid invoices 1831-1832, no. 24, ?-?-1831: 'Vriend Wattendorff, Wees zo goed en betaal aan de Indsche Kapitein Abdul Hamiet het 3de gedeelte van de f 590 het welk is f 196-66. Hij moet verf Kopen en gaat goed et zijn werk voort – de overige f 750 moet hij ook in 3e krijgen maar niet eer voor dat ik zie wat hij doet. Nu wordt het gebouw in orde gemaakt doch het is in geen Jaar gewit. Geef

tog aan die Luije mandoer die 4 mensche onder zig heeft en niets doen dan voor de H Boekhoff in de tuin werken eenig geld om Kalk te koopen. Ik heb het Boekhoff zo menigmaal gevraagd maar het antwoord is altoos als er eens een prauw van bantam komt dan zal hij kalk kopen Ondertussen heeft [part of the document is missing]'.

[590] CMC, Box 3085, Folder 92, La Fidèle Sincérité paid invoices 1831-1832, nos. 25, 29 and 33, 1832, concerning building a bamboe house for the mandoor by Hamiet for fl. 75,-.

[591] CMC, Box 3085, Folder 92, La Fidèle Sincérité paid invoices 1831-1832, no. 75, 1832.

[592] CMC, Box 3086, Folder 94, Financial records and receipts 1835-1837, various receipts signed by Boekhoff for wages.

[593] CMC, Box 3086, Folder 94, Financial records and receipts 1835-1837, no. 5, 27-6-1835.

[594] CMC, Box 3086, Folder 94, Financial records and receipts 1835-1837, due bills for loans, nos. 66, 75 and 87.

[595] CMC, Box 3087, Folder 107 No. 7 Chapter La Fidèle Sincérité Minutes and attachments 7835-7838.

[596] CMC, Box 3085, Folder 86, Financiele Stukken 1835, receipt December 1834 for '3 balken a f 16'; Receipt no. 1, 14-2-1835 'voor den Inkoop van 50 Potten Bantamse Kalk Zilver f 14'; Box 3086, Folder 94, Financial records and receipts 1835-1837, no. 41, 15-4-1835:

'[...] Aan den chinees Baas Timmerman als voor het doen Repareren van Een Huis de Blauwe Loge + andere kleinigheden [...]

15 Tonnen Kalk	f 11,-
3 Trossen Lijnen voor vensters	6,-
1 Praauw met Zand	1,-
2 Hengzels voor de vensters	1,-
1 grendel	-,50
Spijkers	-,50
2 ½ Kattjes Zwartzel	2,50
23 dagen metzelaars	34,50
3 d[ito] Timmerman	4,50
35 d[ito] koelies	26,-
Somma	f 87,50 [...] [Handtekening] Tja Anghy [...]';

No. 47, 23-7-1836 :

'[...] 33 Potten kalk	f 11,-
Zwartzel	5,-
Blauwzel	2,-
Kwasten	5,- [...]'

[597] CMC, Box 3087, Folder 107 No. 11 Chapter La Fidèle Sincérité Minutes and attachments 1813-1834, 14-11-1835.

[598] CMC, Box 3086, Folder 94, Financial records and receipts 1835-1837, no. 1, 26-7-1836: 'aan Baroedien f 300 koper in mindering op aangenomen werkzaamheden voor f 540'.

[599] CMC, Box 3086, Folder 94, Financial records and receipts 1835-1837, no. 25, 20-7-1836: 'de heer Bootman debet aan Laun Tjioedjie voor twee ramen aan het duivels Huis f 15,-'.

[600] CMC, Box 3070, Folder IIB9-10 La Vertueuse attachments to incoming and outgoing correspondence 1820-1821, La Vertueuse attachments received 1820-1821, '13 Memorie van onbruikbare goederen door Meubelmeester', April 1820.

[601] CMC, Box 3066, Folder 79 La Vertueuse 1st degree Minutes 1818-1819, 2/1818-19 No. 10 1st degree Minutes 4-5818 until 4-5819.

[602] CMC, Box 3071, Folder 85 Correspondence received by La Vertueuse 1822-1824, attachments 1821-1824 including correspondence received, no. 12, contract 17-11-1821 between lodge member J. Tromp and Chinese boss Nau Tjonko concerning repairs; Box 3071, Folder 88 La Vertueuse correspondence received and visitor lists 1824-1826, no. 2, account of income and expenses 1-5-1824, including fl. 100,- for small repairs and fl. 10,- for the Chinese boss Nan Tjonko still outstanding for making changes to the dining room ('witten en kleine reparatien aan 't Gebouw', 'voor een aangenomen verandering aan de Eetzaal'); no. 19, 'Staat van Ontvangsten en Uitgaven', 1-11-1824, again including fl. 150 for repairs; no. 37, regarding twee glass windows sold to the lodge by C.J. Smulders for fl. 5,- ('twee glazen ruiten groot 33 a 24 duim').

[603] Hageman 1866, pp. 120-121. Hageman claims to have sought all the former lodge buildings in 1861 and 1865, and did not succeed in locating it. See also *100 Jaren* 1937, p. 91.

[604] CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, n. pag.

[605] CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, n. pag. See Der Kinderen 1864, p. 214; Maarschalk 1872, p. 377: '[...] in een gezonder en voor de woningen der leden beter gelegen oord te verplaatsen, als wordende de vermindering der leden en het weinig bezoek dat de [loge] meer ontvangt aan de voornoemde oorzaken toegeschrevenen door de veranderde tijdsomstandigheden, leefden ze in woonplaats der gegoede ingezetenen Sedert de komst der Engelschen had dat alles eene andere gedaante aangenomen voornamelijk toeteschrijven aan de verandering van werk & etens uren als ook het tegenswoordige locaal nu al bijna een halve eeuw bestaan hebbende aan vele defecten en gewichtige reparatien onderhevig raakte'. Pieren 1901/1902, p. 273 names substantial repairs needed for the roof as a reason for Krusemans suggestion; according to Tromp these would amount to 800-900 guilders.

[606] *Javaasche Courant* no, 92, dated 6-8-1829: 'Krachtens de Resolutie der Indische Regering, dat 14 julij no. 56, maakt de ondergeteekende bekend, dat door het Gouvernement aan de zoodanigen die zulks mogen verlangen, gratis zullen worden afgestaan de onbebouwde erven, gelegen benoorden het paleis te Weltevreden, onder de nader te meldene voorwaarden. Deze erven zijn verdeeld in negen percelen, loopend van den weg van Goenoeng-saharie tot aan den groote zuiderweg, en afgemeten als volgt […] Perceel no. III. Breed voor langs de zuidzijde 15, en achter 13 roeden; diep langs de westzijde 55, en langs de oostzijde 55 roeden'. Pieren 1901/1902, p. 275 provides a transcript of the donation document provided by general secretary Du Puy, dated 22-10-1829, mentioning the gift of plot no. 3 to the lodge and nos. 8-9 to Maas for the building of the municipal theatre. See also CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, n. pag. 'Bij besluit van het gouv. 2 octb. 1829 n.1 werd aan de leden van de [loge] la Vertueuse gratuit afgestaan het perceel grond nr 3^{E} 36 roeden lang & 20 roeden brd benoorden het paleis te Weltevreden, om te worden bebouwd met eene nieuwe steenen loge overeenkomstig het plan daarvan overlegd'. Der Kinderen 1864, p. 214; Maarschalk 1872, p. 377.

[607] *Verslag* 1848, p. 97: 'In het jaar 1829 [...] door gunstige beschikking des Gouvernements, werd gratis een perceel, gelegen op Weltevreden, afgestaan'. Hageman 1857, p. 235, mentions the building was still there in 1857. Der Kinderen 1864, p. 214, mentions 2-10-1829 as the date. Pieren 1901/1902, pp. 274-275: 'perceel no. 3, waarvan werd gezegd, dat het aan beide zijden een openbaren weg zoude hebben, welke niet waarschijnlijk ooit zoude worden betimmerd'. See *100 Jaren* 1937, pp. 92-93: 'Ten Noorden van het Paleis, thans Departement van Financien, aan twee zijden van den openbaren weg, thans zijnde de hoek Comedie-buurt en Vrijmetselaarsweg'.

[608] Der Kinderen 1864, p. 214; Maarschalk 1872, p. 377.

[609] Pieren 1901/1902, p. 275: 'volgens welk het hoofdgebouw in het voor- en achterfront een breedte zoude bestaan van 69 voet en een diepte van 137 voet, de indeeling zoude zijn in 3 groote vertrekken van 90 voet lengte, waarvan 1 de troonzaal en 6 kamers. De troonzaal zoude een hoogte

van 4 voet boven de andere vertrekken hebben en met deszelfs dak boven de andere daken uitsteken en haar licht van boven ontvangen. [...] de kosten schatte [Tromp] op f 9000 zilver of f 12000 koper, waarvoor het oude gebouw zoude worden afgebroken en het nieuwe gebouw met de van de afbraak afkomstige materialen, voor zovere bruikbaar, zoude worden opgebouwd, mits aan den aanemer het ledige stuk grond op Jaccatra en de niet verbruikt wordende bouwstoffen werden afgestaan.' CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, n. pag. mentions slightly different numbers: 'Het schoone plan tot het nieuw gebouw der [loge] was vervaardigd door den Mr bouwmeester der [loge] Tromp, tevens architect tot het gouv – hetwelk de algemeene goedkeuring wegdroeg, werdende het afbreken van den ouden & opbouwen der nieuwe tempel uitbesteed voor eene som van f 12500 koper ongereekend andere ongelden die mede nog ruim f 4000 bedragen hebben'.

[610] *Verslag* 1848, p. 97: 'H. Merkus de Kock, die f 4000, J.M. van Beusechem, J.C. Roomswinckel, en [J.C.L.] … Splenger, die ieder f 1000, C.J. Smulders, J. Tromp, J.J. Nolthenius, F. van Teutum, en A Gevers, die ieder f 500 en A.H.W. de Kock, die f 250 daartoe bijeenbragten – dekten de kosten ten bedrage van f 9750 door eene onderlinge leening (naderhand edelmoediglijk door hen aan de loge geschonken)'. Der Kinderen 1864, p. 214, mentions a later mortgage; Hageman 1857, p. 236; Maarschalk 1872, p. 377.

[611] CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...]' 1843, n. pag.

[612] *Verslag* 1848, p. 97; Der Kinderen 1864, pp. 214-215; Maarschalk 1872, p. 377, Pieren 1901/1902, p. 276. Hageman 1857, p. 235, mentions 15-12-1829 as the date for for the laying of the first stone.

[613] CMC, Box 3089, Folder 105A Programs for the ceremonies of La Fidèle Sincérité and La Vertueuse plus correspondence 1833-1836: Printwork with copy in typescript. See also the masonic almanac of 1831 and Pieren 1901/1902, pp. 277-278.

[614] *Verslag* 1848, p. 97; Der Kinderen 1864, pp. 214-215; Maarschalk 1872, p. 377, Pieren 1901/1902, p. 276. CMC, Box 3089, Folder 105A Programs for the ceremonies of La Fidèle Sincérité and La Vertueuse plus correspondence 1833-1836: 'Programma nieuwe tempel La Vertueuse op weltevreden' 27-7-1831. CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, n. pag., mentions the first formeel meeting in the building by La Fidèle Sincérité on 27-7-1830, a farewell to Merkus de Kock who was about to leave for the Netherlands on the corvet Nehallenia, under command of Julius Constantijn de Rijk, honorary member of La Vertueuse.

[615] CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, n. pag.

[616] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse correspondence and attachments 1805, [1815], 1818-1831.

[617] CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek [...] 1843, n. pag.

[618] CMC, Box 3067, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse 2nd degree Minutes 1834/1835, Register of Actions and decisions in La Vertueuse 14-11-5832 until 9-4-5834 by Secretary Van Starkenburgh Jutting, 1st degree Minutes 5832-5834: 'besloten eene belening op het gebouw [van La Vertueuse] te maken van f 7000,- [zilvergeld] en de vorige belening van f6600 [bij dhr Van Riemsdijk] af te lossen'.

[619] CMC, Box 3067, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse 2nd degree Minutes 1834/1835, 1st degree Minutes 5834-5837.

[620] Boerenbeker 1995, pp. 257-258.

[621] Hageman 1858, p. 95.

[622] De Waal 1842, pp. 84-87.

[623] This meant he was involved in the *cultuurstelsel*, a government scheme that forced the people of the Dutch East Indies to use 20% of their lands for the cultivation of products to be sold by the *Nederlandse Handel-Maatschappij*.

[624] Boerenbeker 1995, p. 290.

[625] Boerenbeker 1995, p. 316, records of the Grand Lodge meeting 28-3-1834.

[626] Boerenbeker 1995, p. 326, records of the Grand Lodge meeting 7-4-1835.

[627] Van der Linden 1870, p. 34: 'slechts schijn en geene werkelijkheid [...] niet het gevolg was van opgewekten lust, om het groote werk met kracht voort te zetten, maar zij daarentegen onwederlegbaar verflauwing en lusteloosheid tot oorzaken had, en de vereeniging niets anders was, dan een palliatief voor een'plotselingen dood'. Somber words in difficult times.

[628] Pieren 1901/1902, p. 278. Pieren 1902/1903, pp. 321-323 provides a transcript of a copy of the letter, which is in Schill's Gedenkboek 1843.

[629] CMC 122E48, letter concerning the merger.

[630] Der Kinderen 1864, p. 216'; Maarschalk 1872, p. 378 states that it would not have been possible without Penning Nieuwland. He quit in 1836 because he could not unite the lodges, after which Van Sevenhoven took over and also steered them towards unification.

[631] For the naming of lodges, see Van Peype 1978.

[632] Hageman 1858, pp. 82-84 and Pieren 1902/1903, pp. 323-325, provide a transcript of the constitution. Hageman 1858, p. 84: A new lodge would normally come last in the anciennity ranking in the list of all Dutch lodges, but De Ster in het Oosten was granted a position according to the formal Constitution date of Constitution of *La Fidele Sincérité*: of 1-8-1769. Kwaadgras 2003, p. 49. Maarschalk 1872, p. 379 gives 19-8-1837 as date for the constitution and celebration of the installation (masonic calendar). Kwaadgras names the merger date for La Vertueuse on the same page as 19-6-1837. Der Kinderen 1864, p. 218 mentions 87 members, probably based on CMC, Box 3014, Register and notes 1837-1838, membership list 1837-1838. This includes an additional 9 honorary members, some living in the Netherlands.

[633] *Vry-Metselaars Almanak* 1839, p. 51, names 19-8- 1838 '(g.s.)'; Kwaadgras 2003, p. 52, lists 19-6-1837.

[634] *Vry-Metselaars Almanak* 1838, pp. 50-63. The Grand Lodge however, would never acknowledge the fact.

[635] Hageman 1858, p. 84. See CMC, inv.no. 122 E 48, 'Teekenplank en 9 Bijlagen', 24-3-1838: 'Van de Gedep. Gr. M. Nat. voor de V.M. in Neerl. Indiäë aan de Z. V. Br. Br. J.I. Voute te Amsterdam en W.F. Barnaart te Haarlem als Correspondenten [...] Handelende over de tot stand gekomen vereeniging tussen de loges La Vertueuse en La Fidelle Sincérité in eene Loge, genaamd de Ster in het Oosten, met de blauwe kleur, te Batavia'.

[636] CMC, Box 3148, Folder 'XVII doos 178' [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek voor de Javasche Broederschap [...] 1843. The manuscript explains that the memories of a Brother in the East Indies have been collectiod and that the author lend his pen to them, but that the 'building blocks' were delivered by J. Schill, Venerable Master of De Ster in Het Oosten. Use was made of 'Extrait de l'appel du globe (une ?e publie par une societe de Macons) a tous les ateliers macons [...] de France et de L'Etranger [...] la publication de leur histoire' (partially unreadable). The preserved is probably an edited version by De Waal, but seems to be written in more than one hand. Gedenkboek 1917, pp. 153-154, mentions that the original was lost.

[637] Hageman 1866, p. 89. Half a century later A. Pieren used the manuscript by De Waal as a basis for a series of articles in the *Indisch Maçonniek Tijdschrift*. Stevens 1994, p. 4 states that the version of De Waal was published and served as basis for Pieren 1902/1903, while Pieren himself claimed it was not published, see pp. 308-309. *Gedenkboek* 1917, p. 154, refers to Th. Jutting, *Historisch Overzicht*, printed in 1844 by Bataviaasch Genootschap.

[638] CMC, Box 3086, Folder 94, Financial records and receipts 1835-1837, no. 86, 16-12-1837: 'in voldoening van de helft der getaxeerde waarde van het gebouw der voormalige Loge La Vertueuse thans in eigendom afgestaan aan de ZA Loge de Ster in het Oosten'

[639] Der Kinderen 1864, p. 220.

[640] Der Kinderen 1864, p. 221, mentions 1856 in stead of 1855.

[641] Maarschalk 1872, p. 380. In masonic literature, the architect is listed as D. Maarschalk but not identified further.

[642] *100 jaren* 1937, p. 93.

[643] *100 jaren* 1937, opposite p. 72. According to Pieren 1901/1902, p. 276, this stone was later, presumably in the building used from1934 onwards, kept 'under the altar in the middle of the workplace'.
[644] Scheen 1981, p. 151.
[645] *100 jaren* 1937, n. pag. (opposite list of illustrations). The artist responsible for the statue is not reveiled.
[646] CMC, Box 3084, Folder 80 Financial records 1821, 'Specifieke Staat en Rekening [...]' 1820-1821, receipt no. 63: 'den Inl[ander] Borame voor de Illuminatie op St. Jan' at fl. 240,-.
[647] CMC, Box 3084, Folder 83 La Fidèle Sincérité account by the Treasurer 1-7-1823 until 30-1-1824, Nota Der Betaalde Gelden [...] 1823-1824, receipt no. 7: 'aan den Inlander Bozarhan voor het maken der illuminatie en het leveren van olie voor dezelve op het feest van St Jan' at fl. 451.
[648] CMC, Box 3084, Folder 84 La Fidèle Sincérité financial records 1825-1829: 'aan den Inlander Jahvedien voor verstrekte olij, Bamboes, Coelijs &c bij de iluminatie van den 24 Junij 1825 f 481,5'.
[649] CMC, Box 3085, Folder 89 Receipts 1827-1829, receipt no. 7, 1-7-1827: '3 Bladen Blik f 2 Voor het graveen of in Snijden van Letters in de Zelve f 6'.
[650] Alternatively, they could have been used for ketters on the tracing board or the letters J and B on the columns.
[651] CMC, Box 3085, Folder 89 Receipts 1827-1829, receipt no. 75, 28-6-1828: 'voor het in order brengen der Loge van St Jan Koelie Loon voor Stoelen Banken Stolpen Schilderijen Kroonen en Tapijt en ophangen van de Zelve met guirlandes f 74
Spijkers, ketting, agal agal voor de guirlandes Spiegels en Schilderijen op te hangen 16
Voor het Huuren van Een wagen op den 26 Junij 1828 f 7'. See also receipt no. 77, 16-7-1828, and receipt no. 69, 28-6-1828 to Barodien: 'advance for the Illumination f 164,-'; Box 3084, Folder 84, La Fidèle Sincérité financial records 1825-1829, 28-6-1828: to Baroedien for 'Illumination', fl. 264,-.
[652] CMC, Box 3085, Folder 92 La Fidèle Sincérité paid invoices 1831-1832, no 74: 'voor een Sasinet in de Eluminatie van St. Jan en het Leene van 3 Nessen'.
[653] CMC, Box 3085, Folder 92 La Fidèle Sincérité paid invoices 1831-1832, no 76.
[654] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 'Doos 90' La Vertueuse receipts 1805-1806, 9/1805-6 No. 46 Accounts and receipts 1805-1806, no. 3, 26-6-1805 to Tjoa Kulks: 'Voor de Illuminatie aan de gale Logie [...]

600 Bamboesen	rd 30
10 Bossen Rottings	6
11 Blikke olie Kannen	15
600 aarde Lampjes	18
Lampe pitten	10
Adapen	2
50 Catjes Klijne Kaarsen	30
40 Talkars Lamp olie	105
37 Klapper Falkens	4
Voor Colie loon van 339 a 1 rds per dag	250'.

The bill amounted to 500 rds in copper money, but a note was made that 560 paper money had been paid.
[655] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse financial records 1807/1816 A.B.C.D., /1810-14 No. 31 accounts 18010/11, 11/12, 12/13, 13/14, no. 23.
[656] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse financial records 1807/1816 A.B.C.D., /1810-14 No. 31 accounts 18010/11, 11/12, 12/13, 13/14, receipt 27-6-1813.
[657] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse financial records 1807/1816 A.B.C.D., /1810-14 No. 31 accounts 18010/11, 11/12, 12/13, 13/14, undated receipt 1813 to Lie Tjoeko; receipt 13-7-1813 to 'Luijtenant taban arab'.
[658] CMC, Box 3069, Folder 83 La Vertueuse correspondence with Deputy Grand Master Nicolaas Engelhard 1809-1821 plus membership lists [= 1805]: 'het gebouw van buiten geillumineerd, en van binnen zodanig maconnicq versierd worde, als het locaal en de kleur der Loge toelaten'.
[659] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse correspondence and attachments 1805, [1815,] 1818-1831: 'Even binnen het Hek, zal een poort met dies vleugels, van bamboe, naar een door den Br Architect Barthold te maken afteekening opgerigt en geillumineerd worden'.
[660] *Verslag* 1844, pp. 7-8: 'De voorgevel was verlicht, en in het frontispiece glinsterde de zinnebeeldige voorstelling van het feest dt gevierd werd: twee acacia-takken doorvlochten met immortelles, aan de steelen te zamen gebonden en aan het einde vereenigd, vormden een rond, voorstellende de twee loges la Vertueuse en la Fidele Sincerite, die tot eene werkplaats zijn geconstitueerd geworden; binnen dat rond schitterende eene ster, bij toespeling op de Ster in het Oosten [...], en in het midden der ster prijkte het cijfer 75. Het geheel was omstraald en als bezaaid met maconnieke zinnebeelden.'
[661] There are accounts of similar illuminations of buildings in the Netherlands, though not of lodge buildings. In the Amsterdam City Archive are several designs and photographs of the phenomenon, views are accessible through the online image bank. Hanou 1989 does point to an interesting display in the shape of a 'Lodge of Free Masons' (= tracing board) and the 'Temple of Solomon', executed by fireworker 'Sr. Pieter Moretti' in Amsterdam in 1751.
[662] The latter is an (incomplete) manuscript in French, probably of Dutch origins, dating circa 1850-1875. It describes the degrees of the Rite Écossais Ancien et Accepté, but also includes English side degrees of the Royal Arch, Royal Order of Scotland, Knights Templar and Knights of Malta. One of the few Dutch freemasons active in these degrees was Jacob van Lennep (1802-1868), Worshipful Master of lodge Willem Frederik circa 1850. Kind advice by dr. Jan Snoek, Heidelberg University. Furthermore, the regalia illustrated in the manuscript resembles surviving examples in the CMC collection very closely, giving the impression the author had access to the museum collection of the Order of Freemasons under the Grand East of the Netherlands (or the collection of the Amsterdamse Vrijmetselaars Stichting that was gifted to the museum).
[663] See Table 5.C.
[664] See Table 5.F.
[665] See Table 5.G.
[666] See Table 5.C.
[667] See Table 5.G.
[668] CMC, Box 3084, Folder 83 Overview of accounts paid [...] 1823-1824: 'aan den schilder Giraud voor het schilderen van 6 Beelden f 240'.
[669] CMC, Box 3084, Folder 83 Overview of accounts paid [...] 1823-1824, no. 9.
[670] CMC, Box 3084, Folder 83 La Fidèle Sincérité account by the Treasurer 1-7-1823 until 30-1-1824, Nota Der Betaalde Gelden [...] 1823-1824, receipt no. 42: 'diverse Schilderwerk in de Loge'.
[671] CMC, Box 3084, Folder 83 La Fidèle Sincérité account by the Treasurer 1-7-1823 until 30-1-1824, receipt no. 2, 24-6-1823.

[672] CMC, Box 3084, Folder 83 La Fidèle Sincérité account by the Treasurer 1-7-1823 until 30-1-1824, Nota Der Betaalde Gelden [...] 1823-1824: 'voor 2 Sasinetten op Linnen geschildert op zijde van de Troon en op zijde van de Deuren der Loge a f 50 ieder f 200'.
[673] This Giraud is not listed in the RKD artists' database (rkd.nl). The CMC membership card register only lists two Girauds: a member of lodge La Perseverance in Maastricht in 1763 and a man, born Langres 7-3-1766, who on 27-10-1811 became a member of lodge St. Napoleon in Amsterdam. The CMC registration of membership certificates includes a Laurent Giraud, member of lodge St. François d'Asisse in Paris, dated 26-3-1788. Men with the surname Giraud were part of the Regiment de Meuron, which was active in Asia in the end of the 18th century (VOC/NA). Scheen 1981, p. 167 names the artist A.P. Giraud (1798-1863). Payments by the lodge in the 1830s are signed by J.P. instead of J.C. Giraud, perhaps his son or firm?
[674] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 73 inventories 1785-1828: 'Inventaris van zodanige Meubilaire en andere goederen Als door de ondergetekenden Zijn bevonden in de Loge La Fidelle Sincerite Te Batavia & welke onder Bewaring van den Meubel Meester zijn gesteld […] 20x27x der 1*5825':
'[…] 7 Zeven paren witte gordijnen (oude)
[…] Eenig oud Zilver passement & Franjes
1 Een Oud Zwart behangsel'.
[675] This corresponds with CMC, Box 3085, Folder 89 Receipts 1827-1829, receipt no. 35, 20-12-1827 for '11 pieces of Blue Linen for the Lodge f 66' and '20 ditto for white Linen for Curtains f 120', as well as the 'maker's salary 26 pieces f 52'.
('11 stukken Blauw Linnen voor de [Loge] f 66
20 " wit Linnen voor gordijnen f 120
[…] maakloon 26 stuks f 52'.)
[676] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 73 inventories 1785-1828: 'Loge La Fidele Sincerite Meubelmeester 1827-1829':
'Witte Gordijnen 7
1828 Januari 1 Nieuw aangemaakt 27
Zwarte Behangsels /oud/ 1
1828 Januari 1 Nieuw aangemaakt gordijnen 14
Stikken Zeildoek of flaams linnen 8
1828 Maart 3 voor de Meesters loge [verbruikt] 1
Junij 7 voor Nessen te laten schilderen en
Een Groote Deur voor de M[eester] L[oge] [verbruikt] 1
Nessen voor de L[eerling] L[oge en Meetsers L[oge]
1828 maart 3 Door den Br[oeder] Kimmel laten schilderen 12
Groote Raam van Zeildoek
1828 Junij 7 door den Br[oeder] Kimmel Laten Schilderen 1'.
[677] 'Eight pieces of New Canvas' were kept in stock in 1827, the old drapes and fringe destroyed in 1829. In 1832 the canvas was given to the Chapter, 'belonging there'.
[678] CMC, Box 3148, Folder XVII, [J. Schill], 'Naamlijst [...]', 1843. He is not included in membership lists of the lodge, however, and CMC, membership card register does not provide further data. He is not listed in the RKD artists database (State Department of Art Historical Documentation) at rkd.nl.
[679] CMC, Box 3072, Folder La Vertueuse various lists and receipts (1774-1798):
'1 rol wit Satijn 32:28
19 dito Citroengeel Lustring 386:30
5 dito Peking 93:24
2 wit dito 37:19
20 Stukken Citroengeel Lint smal 49:13
5 dito breed 14:3'.
[680] CMC, Box 3071, Folder 89 La Vertueuse receipts 1788-1789 [= 1787-1789], No. 21 receipts 1788, receipt 29-8-1788: 'for 20 liters vermiljon rds 20,-' and '11 ½ [dito] [rds] 12,18' signed by Thei Tjien Tjoean (also spelled Tie Teeng Tjoan); receipt 16-10-1788 in his name:
'voor 't Vernisten van 't Logement rds 130
en van 18 ll Roode verff 18
4 " ½ donkerrood 5,1
2 " Swartsel 1,12
3 " Loodwit -,21
voor 't vernisten van 't Logement
Lijste en Goeden planken 11,-'.
[681] CMC, Box 4506, Folder '269: 1 was eerst 326': 'hoe Edelmoedig ged. B[roeder] Beeckman ter betooning van zijn erkentelijkheid aen de Loge gulhartig aengeboden had bij zijn arrivement in Nederland, voor zijn eijgen reekening, om tot cieraad van de Loge te laaten aenmaaken de nodige behangzels voor de tusschen de vensters van ons Tempel gebouw; niets dat hem de maat en opgave wierd ter hand gesteld op wat wijze de smaak hij deselve zal moeten laaten schilderen, zo is vertaan, tot het vervaardigen van het een en andere committeeren, en te versoeken de B[roeders] Coortsen en Heijleman en Fetmenger en hen op te dragen bij het formeeren van de teekening indagtig te willen zijn, dat dezelve zal moeten bestaan in Macconnique Sinnebeelden ten eijnde B[roeder] Beeckman meede gegeeven te worden'. Added was a transcript of the letter for the Grand Lodge given to Beeckman as courier. La Vertueuse ordered parchment and seals and explained not to have been able to pay contribution as a result of the 'unhappy situation in which the Republic finds itself, therefore being ignorant how the national [grand] lodge is doing' ('door de ongelukkige situatie waer in zich de Republicq bevindt, ten eenemaalen ignorant zijn hoedanig het thans met de loge nationaal gesteld is'). La Vertueuse first wanted a reply, before it would attempt to transfer funds again. Beekman may have been related to the Beeckmans in the Radermacher family.
[682] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, report by the inventory committee 9-11-1788 signed by Fetmenger and Heilman: 'Ter Voldoening aan de Commissie, door de gezamentlijke broeders deeser L[oge] den ondergeteekenden opgedraagen, om namentlijk accuraat opteneemen de hoogte en breete der Penanten, ten eijnde den naar Neederland Vertrokkenen broeder Beeckman Volkomen in Staat te Stellen, om de door hem zo genereus aangeboodene geschilderde Vakken ter Verciering van deezen Tempel, te doen vervaardigen; Zo hebben Zij Zulks Volbragt en is door den broeder meede Architek[t] Heilman geformeert het hier bijgevoegt plan, duijdelijk aantoonende 1. Een Plattegrond van de L[oge] of bovenste verdieping 2. het Profil of doorsnijding, na de lijn L.ra AABB Uijt welk plan vervolgens al meede consteert 1. dat de hoogte der L. gereekent van de planken vloer tot aan het plafond is 16 vt.6 Duijm 2. dat de Lambriseering hoog is 2 Voet Van de Vloer, loopende onder de beneeden drempel van de Vengster Coussijns 3. dat de hoogte van de Lambriseering tot aan de bovenlijst, loopende langs den bovendrempel Van de Vengster Coussijns, hoog is 10 v[oe]t 11d[uij]m., volgens welke hoogte eigentlijk de vakken moeten worden geteekend 4. dat er in het geheel moeten worden geschildert 16 penanten van 5 onderschillene breetens, bij het plan van L.ra A tot E

aangeweezen Verders agten de ondergeteekende Zig Verpligt om de broeders in bedenking te geeven, of het niet best was, om den broeder Beeckman te verzoeken, van in de vakken trophees, of festons volgens de couleur deezer L[oge] zijnde een witte grond met geel te doen schilderen.'

[683] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse correspondence 1769 1778-1788: 'Hiernevens laten wij u toekomen een berigt met een plan, aantoonende de hoogte breedte en lengte van de Penanten van ons tempel la Vertueuse, ten eijnde u de volkoomen in staat te stellen, om volgende de u gedaane genereuse presentatie, voor dezelve geschilderde behangsels in Europa te laaten vervaardigen. Wij zullen ons niet bepaalen hoedanig wij dezelve geschilderd willen hebben, maar laaten zulks volkoomen aan U keuse en goedkeuring over'.

[684] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse correspondence 1769 1778-1788: 'P.S. Zedert het afgaan van ons opgem[elde] schrijvens aan UwelEdele, door den Br[oeder] Heijlman in gereedheijd gebragt zijnde, de nevenstaande teekening van de Logie, aantoonende op welke wijse, de behangsels diende geschildert te worden, zo hebben wij daarin genoegen genoomen, en Laaten UwelEd[ele] dezelve toekomen, met verzoek om zo die nog niet in de maak of bereeds aanbesteed zijn, de goedheijd te willen hebben, zodanig te laaten aanmaaken en schilderen als de gem[elde] teekening aanwijst'.

[685] CMC, Box 3071, Folder 89 La Vertueuse receipts 1788-1789 [= 1787-1789], No. 22 receipts 1789-1790: 'Voor het koopen van 22 Stuks Chineesche Linnen en Swaart Ferven voor de M[eester] L[oge] vide quitantie 66,-'.

[686] CMC, Box 3071, Folder 89 La Vertueuse receipts 1788-1789 [= 1787-1789], No. 22 receipts 1789-1790, 17-4-1790: 'voor 't maaken van twaalf gordijnen voor Loosie van de vrij Metselaar en voorgeleverde touwen blok te zaamen rd 30'.

[687] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 +77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse 1) 1st degree Minutes 13-2-1791 until 13-3-1792 1791-1795 and 2) attachments correspondence: 'voor een somma van Rd 350,- den Loge van binnen, en van buiten te laten schilderen'. See also minutes 7-5-1791, noting that lodge Architect Pilon was reimbursed 424,36 Rds for repairs made. It was also discussed that canvas was needed for the new back gallery and tar for the fence. CMC, Box 3072, Folder La Vertueuse various lists and receipts (1774-1798), 1-6-1791 recorded a payment of 500 rds to an unspecified painter.

[688] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse receipt books and account books 1791, 2/1791 No. 24A receipt book 1791: 'voor 't vernist en verguld van d thuijn gelegen aen de weg naer Jaccatra item daere toe geleverd 't volgende als,

450 l witte verf	rd 72
2 ½ vatjes olij verf	112,24
1 ½ kistje verguldsel	100,-
50 # gul verf	20,-
70 " purper "	10,-
AerbijtsLoon van Eenige Coelies	200,-'.

CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse approved receipts and accounts 1792, 2 /1792, No. 25 approved receipts 1792, receipt 6-6-1792: 'aan Sie Ako voor zwarte verf rds 5,-'.

[689] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse receipt books and account books 1791, 2/1791, No. 39 Accounts of income and expenses of the Treasurer 1791: 'voor 't schilderen der Meesters Loge 150,-' without mention of the painter. See also Box 3064, Folder 76-77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1791-1795 1802-1805, Minutes 1791-1795, 27-12-1791: decision to send Van Overstraten, in Semarang at the time, a design of the new Masters lodge and back gallery ('een aftekening te zenden van de nieuwen Me[e]sters l[oge] en ~~nieuwe~~ agtergallerij').

[690] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 +77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse 1) 1st degree Minutes 13-2-1791 until 13-3-1792 1791-1795 and 2) attachments correspondence, draft of a letter to the Grand Lodge 31-1-1792: 'Wij verzoeken wijders de Br[oeder] Mohr ook om van Item aftevorderen de Item in 1789 toegezonden afreekening van ons Tempel gebouw, waar bij aangetoond is op welke wijze de behangsels die Hij ons uit eigen motief beloofd had te zullen laten gereed maken, geschilderd moeten worden. Wij doen dit, om dat gen[oemde] Br. Beeckman, ons zeedert zijn aankomst in Neederland noch met een enkeld woord, noch van het een noch van het ander gemeld heeft, en dewijl ons de wel aan de voldoening der Gelden als aan de bezorging van de behangsels, zeer veel geleegen legt'. See also the attachment, containing a request by Herklots to take a letter, which was dictated on the back of that request: 'Deze kans weder de beste gelegenheid zijnde, waar van wij zederd 't vertrek van onzen waarden Comp[agnon] Br[oeder] Jan Berkhout die in de maand April dezes Jaars met het schip Christiaans harr [?] naar Coppenhagen stevende, hebben kunne gebruik maken'. In November 1794 the lodge wrote to the Grand Lodge again including copies of earlier letters, implying these had not yet been answered. See also draft letter 11-1794 by the lodge to C.J. Mohr, 'Hoofd Gaarder van s'Lands recht op het Gemaal, woonagtig op het hof Spuij in sHage', referring to a letter from 1792 to Jan Greeve, Extraordinary Council of India and former governor of Java's Northeast coast, regarding wall decorations, which had also remained unanswered.

[691] Mohr notes that this was his second communication attempt, as the first ship he gave a letter to was captured by the French. He mentions that he had received the letter by the lodge, dated 31-10-1792, in June 1793.

[692] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 +77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse 1) 1st degree Minutes 13-2-1791 until 13-3-1792 1791-1795 and 2) attachments correspondence, letter 6-3-1794 by Mohr to the lodge: 'Indien U[w] A[chtbare] mogt inclinereeren om een fraaij schilderstuk tot Cieraad in U[w] A[chtbare] Loge te kopen, is er geleegenheid om een zeer fraaij stuk zijn de een Vanitas en Lampligt door een der beroemde Meesters tot eene matige prijs te kopen, er werd honderd daalders voor gevraagd, maar zoude voor vijftig Rijksdaalders te koopen zijn'.

[693] CMC, Box 3148, Folder XVII, [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek […] 1843, n.pag.

[694] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 +77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1791-1795 1802-1805, Minutes 1791-1795: 'In den drie eerste vakken La Sagesse, la Force, la beaute et la Vertu in de twee middelste vakken La Charite et la Concorde De drie volgenden La Prudence, l'Esperenace, la Justice & la Paix Naast de deur; La Vertu, le silence Ou la mystere, le sevat [...] de G[rootmeester] Comun[ic]eert [Be]Middeling voor Piron te hebben Gehad En hem 200 sp[aanse matten] te hebben afgegeven'.

[695] Hageman 1866, p. 120.

[696] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse financial accounts 1795-1796, 2/1795 No. 48 1795: 'de Cameese schilden 158,8 papiergeld'; 'oct 2 de chineese schilder 141,24 papiergeld'.

[697] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, 'Berigt van den gedanen opneem in La Vertueuse op den 9e Maart 1796': 'In de M[eester] Loge [...] 4 groote Emblemes of Zinne beeldige schilderijen'.

[698] Duyker 2005. Hageman 1866, p. 120, could not identify Piron and mentioned a Jean Baptist Pilon, officer of the Engineers, in 1772 a member of La Fidèle Sincérité; and Van Piron, sworn clerck at the government Secretary. The painter Piron is not listed in the CMC membership card register.

[699] De Loos-Haaxman 1968, p.18, p. 116 note 15-16.

[700] See CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76-77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1791-1795 1802-1805, Minutes 1791-1795. On 20-3-1794 La Vertueuse received a request from freemasons 'who as prisoners of war were aboard the French ships taken by the English and now lying in the docks here their resolution L[odge] le Vengeur [du peuple], containing a request to be allowed to be assisted by this Lodge with the advance of 400 Piasters, and a promise to redeem this sum at their return to Isle de France' ('zich als krijgsgevangenen bevinden aan boord van de door den Engelschen genoomen

en thans alhier ter rhede liggende fransche scheepen hun resolutie L le Vengeur, houdende een versoek om van weegens deezen Loge te moogen worden geadsisteerd met den voorschieting van 400 stuks Piasters, en eene belofte om dien som bij hun retour op l'Isle de France ten spoedigsten te zullen restitueren'). On St. John's Day 12-8-1794 (= probably 12-6 due to the masonic calendar) the lodge discussed a letter from the French prisoners of war, requesting mediation from the Lodge in order to obtain 'more freedom, or a speedy transfer to the West of the East Indies [= Batavia]' ('eene meerder vrijheid, dan wel een spoedig transport na den West van Indien te moogen erlangen'). CMC, Box 3068, Folder 81 La Vertueuse correspondence to the Grand Lodge 1797-1798, letter by La Vertueuse to the Grand Lodge, 3-2-1797: ''A small with the English, in the passed year 1794, united Sea force took a French ship, among which prisoners forced by the times and by poverty some Brethren became known to us. After exchange with a Cartel having returned to Mauritius, they have informed their respective lodges Des Quinze Artistes, La Triple Esperance, La Paix and Les 21 Amis de la Republique Francaise of the Brotherly love' ('Eene kleine met de Engelschen, in het verweken jaar 1794, vereenigde Zeemagt nam een Fransch scheepje, onder welker krijgsgevangenen door den tijd en door armeiden egdrongen ons eenige BB bekend wirden. Na uitwisseling met een Cartel weder te Maritius aangekomen, hebben zij zich in hunne repsectieve loges des quize Artistes, La Triple Esperance, La Paix en les 21 Amis de la Republique Francaise van de blijken van B min kennis gegeven […]').

[701] Leupe 1877, pp. 190-191 provides a transcript of the agreement dated 24-9-1794. Piron's contract specified the assignment as: 'Le principale butte de cette entreprise étant de notre part de faire une collection plus beaux paysages et des plus belles vues, qu'offrent les pays ou nous pourrions nous trouver dans l'Inde, et particulièrement l'Isle de Java [...] de se rendre a Buytenzorg et dans tels autres endroits du Royaume de Jacatra, et des Provinces avoisines [...] jusqu'aux limites de Cheribon [...] des Maissons de plaicance du Gouverneur-General a Bytenzorg, Tjieeroea, Pondok Geedee et Tjipannas, comme aussie la negorie principale de chaque Provence: la vallee qui se trouve a cote de la maison du commandant a Buytenzorg [...] Les belles Cascades [...] il tachera de découvrir celles qui ce trouvent dans les montanges'. No signature confirming the commissioner.

[702] De Loos-Haaxman 1968, p. 18, p. 116, footnotes 15-16.

[703] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse Receipts 1798 and financial account 1799, letter 10-6-1798, in which van Naerssen disputes a backlog in his payments to the lodge and provides an overview of costs made on behalf of the lodge in previous years,

[704] Leupe 1877, p. 189. De Loos-Haaxman 1968 emphasises that Prion cannot have been in Batavia for more than one or two years, as a letter from Titsingh in Canton to Nederburgh, dated 15-3-1796, shows that Titsingh had received a letter from Piron on 15-1-1796. The letter had been delivered by the private ship De Soroaster from Manilla to Canton on or circa 4-12-1795. See also Titsingh's correspondence in Lequin 1990, Vol. I, pp. 314, 357 and 365.

[705] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, Verslag van de 'Commissie ter inventarisatie van alle Zodanige Meubilaire als andere goederen', 11-9-1797.

[706] CMC, Box 3148, Folder XVII, [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek […] 1843, n.pag.: 'deze tableaus in ramen op zeildoek geschilderd, hangen thans in de twee beneden zalen der [Loge] en worden nog als Meesterstukken der Kunst bewonderd'.

[707] Hageman 1866, p. 120.

[708] *Gedenkboek* 1917, p. 165.

[709] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 90 La Vertueuse receipts 1805-1806, 9/1805-1806 No. 46 Invoices and receipts 1805/6, no. 33: 'Voor t Repareeren en schilderen der Raamen aan de Gele Logie bestaande in

1 Stoel verguld en vernist	rds 8
9 raamen gerepareerd	15
1 deur vernist	10
de nieuwe planke van de soldering brauw geschildert	5
9 glas ruiten van 9 a 11 dm..	5,30'.

[710] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76+77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1805-1808 1805-1809, 1st degree minutes 24-6-1805 until 25-6-1808: 'zo wel beneeden, als boven van binnen geheel zal worden geverwd, na de aangenomene Kleur van deze [loge = geel], en het Lijst-Werk verguld; Voorts de deuren, Vengster Cosijnen enz: van buiten groen en de zoldering van de beneden apartementen hemels blauw'.

[711] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 'Doos 90' La Vertueuse receipts 1805-1806, 9/1805-6 No. 46 Accounts and receipts 1805-1806, no. 56:

'800 ld Lood Witt a f 8 t ld		rds 161,30
40 Spaens groen	2,5	45,22
100 Konings geel	17,12	44,40
50 Rood Meni	3,4	4,5
6 Berlijns blauw	4,12	13,45'.

[712] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 'Doos 91' La Vertueuse financial records 1807/1816 A.B.C.D., /1810-14 No. 31 accounts 18010/11, 11/12, 12/13, 13/14: 'voor 't schildere van solder planken' and 'zwart geschilder van een zijldoek'.

[713] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1814-1816, La 13.13.13 1814-1816, 31-8-1816: 'Notitie der Goederen diende tot Ameublement en Versiering der Loge Bij geleegendheid van Feeste Vieringe Op St. Jan als anders sints, dewelke onder Bewaaring zijn gesteld van den ondergeteeKende broeder Econome en geborgen ten Zijnen Huijsen ter voorkoming van Beschaadiging

2 Groote Geele Talbelaars te Saamen gebragt uit 3 pers Geel Carsay
88 elle Franjes behoordende tot de Talbelaars
220 "belegeel [?] d[it]o d[it]o d[it]o
30 witte quas[t]en d[it]o d[it]o d[it]o
30 pees witte Chinees linnen uijtmaakende 12 Pees Gordijnen
Voor de Glaasen
120 Ellen Franjes behoorende tot de Gordijnen
[…] Batavia Ultimo Augustus 1816'.

[714] See Table 5.C.

[715] See Table 5.C.

[716] See Table 5.F.

[717] CMC, Box 3084, Folder 77, No. 7 La Fidèle Sincérité Account book 1777-1786.

[718] CMC, Box 3084, Folder 78 No. 22 Belonging to Account book No. 20, 1787-1796: '1787 13 junij [...]

Aan de Timmerman betaald vor 't maaken van de Troon	320,-	
Aan de Schilder betaald	100,-	
Thuijn huur voor twaalf maande		360,-
Divers uijt gaave voor d' kap van de Troon	103,-'.	

[719] See Table 5.G. The inventory of 11-8-1801 only lists '1 a Throne with a hanging and further belongings' ('1 een Throon met een behangsel en verdere toebehoren').
[720] See Table 5.G.
[721] See Table 5.R.
[722] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 31 No. 83 La Fidèle Sincérité attachments 7+4*5817 until 10+4*5820 [= 1817-1820], no. 157, 11-9-1819; Box 4491, Folder 142: 2 La Fidèle Sincérité 1814-1836, correspondence and attachments to the minutes 1813-1836, 11-9-1819.
[723] CMC, Box 3076, Folder 7 No. 98 1822-1824 Draft minutes No. 14 No. 87, Minutes 1822-1824: 'onzitbaar'.
[724] CMC, Box 3084, Folder 81 La Fidèle Sincérité financial administration 1-7 until 31-12-1822, 'Nota Der betaalde gelden [...]' 1822, no. 27. See also receipt 16-12-1822: 'inkoop van 6 douzijn Stoelen' at fl. 288.
[725] CMC, Box 3084, Folder 81 La Fidèle Sincérité financial administration 1-7 until 31-12-1822, 'Nota Der betaalde gelden [...]' 1822, receipt no. 20, 19-10-1822, to Boekhoff:
'voor het in order brenge van 2 stoelen
voor het bekleede en Borduuren van de zelve 14,-
3 Elle Donker Blaauw Zatijn 6,-
5 Elle Ligt " " 15,-
Zilvere Lovertjes en Zilverdraad 3,-
Kopere Spijkers 6,-
17 Elle Zilver Galon a 1 Spaanse Mat f 37,12'.
[726] CMC, Box 3084, Folder 83 No. 108 Financial accounts, documents and receipts 1823, 'Nota der betaalde Gelden [...]'. That the chairs were gilt is clear from the accompanying receipt.
[727] CMC, Box 3076, Folder 7 No. 98 1822-1824 Draft minutes No. 14 No. 87', Minutes 1822-1824: 'Den Achtb[are] M[eeste]r ingevolge zijn eigen aanbod gekwalificeerd tot het laten maken van zodanige veranderingen aan den Troon als hij Achtb[are] M[eeste]r zal nodig oordelen'.
[728] CMC, Box 3084, Folder 83 La Fidèle Sincérité account by the Treasurer 1-7-1823 until 30-1-1824, 'Nota Der Betaalde Gelden [...] 1823-1824': 'aan den Schilder Giraud voor het maken van Satijns Gordijnen aan den Troon'. See also CMC, Box 3083, Folder 73 inventories 1785-1828, inventory 20-27-1-1825: '2 Een paar Gordijnen aan den troon; blauwe zijde Stof'.
[729] CMC, Box 3084, Folder 83 La Fidèle Sincérité Account by the Treasurer 1-7-1823 until 30-1-1824, 'Nota Der Betaalde Gelden [...] 1823-1824', receipt no. 24: 'het hoofd stuk'.
[730] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 73 inventories 1785-1828, **'**Inventaris van zodanige Meubilaire en andere goederen Als door de ondergetekendenZijn bevonden in de Loge La Fidelle Sincerite Te Batavia & welke onderBewaring van den MeubelMeester zijn gesteld**',** 20x27x der 1*5825:
'1 Een tafel voor den Grootmeester |
1 Een d[it]o " Thesaurier |- met zijde bekleedsels
1 Een d[it]o " Secretaris |
1 Een altaar met zijde bekleedsel en Kussen
1 Een Stoel voor den Meester
2 Twee d[it]o voor den Opzieners
2 Twee distinctie Stoelen
1 Een Spreek Stoel
2 Een paar Gordijnen aan den troon; blauwe zijde Stof'.
[731] CMC, Box 3086, Folder 94 accounts and receipts 1835-1837, no. 44 to J.P. G[i]roud (= son?]. 'Kunnen wij dit betalen? En kan ik dit fiatteren?'
[732] CMC, Box 3086, Folder 94 accounts and receipts 1835-1837, between receipts no. 45 and 47 a note card, marked 'St Jan 1836':
'3 Stukken vlaams Linnen voor de Zijde van de Troon en van van binnen 60.-
voor het Schilderen van 2 Saginetten op Zijde de Troon Hercules en de Tijd 100.-
aangenomen werk ter order brengen van de Niewe Troon
het verhogen van het Blaffon
en schilderen volgens het opgegeven plan geaccordeerd voor 852.-
voor Transport van Eenige goederen voor de Partij van St. Jan 8.-'.
[733] CMC, Box 3086, Folder 94 accounts and receipts 1835-1837, no. 20, signed by Giroud:
'13 Banc a f 15 argent somas f 195
3 Livres de petit Clous pour Clonie la Toille 7,50
13 Journee pour peindres 4 C[l]onie la Toille 6,50'.
[734] CMC, Box 3086, Folder 94 accounts and receipts 1835-1837, no. 22:
'het bekleeden van 67 Stoelen met grijn a 50 Cents 33,50
5 Pakjes kopere spijkertjes a f 5,- 25,-
2 tatjes Kleine Eijzeren Spijkers a f 4 het tatje 8,-
voor het Schilderen vernissen en vergulden
van 3 distinctie Stoelen 100 Stuks d[ito] f 1 103,-
voor het bekleeden van de Mr Secretaris
Een TresauriersTafel & het altaar met
Deszelfs Kussens a f 8 32,-'.
[735] CMC, Box 3086, Folder 94 accounts and receipts 1835-1837, no. 18: '[...] het schilderen en bekleden van de stoelen van gemelde Loge'.
[736] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse various lists and receipts 1781?-1798, 1774-1798 No. 14 [= 1771-1798]: 'heb ik, ondergetekende [Li Ongko] gemaakt en geleverd, als.-
12 [?] Stoelen, daarbij vernist en verguld rds 104,-
1 groot raam breet 8 lang 10 voeten 3,24
1 hout Kasje -,24'.
[737] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 Various financial documents 1775-1780 and account book 1779-1784, No. 34 attachments 1775-1780, 'rekening courant': 'voor 12 rood verniste en vergulde stoelen ten gebruijke van de L[oge]' at Rds 77,-; Box 3069, Folder 91 Attachments, account books 1775-1780 1779-1784, 'Cassa Reekening van de Loge La Vertueuse', 10-9-1783: again: 'het vernissen en vergulden van 12 stoelen 48:--:-'.
[738] See Table 5.E.
[739] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse Various financial documents 1775-1780 and account book 1779-1784, 1779-1784 [financial statement]:
'voor de troon betaald vide quitantie 60:--:-

aan de passementier Hanke voor 12 @gouden franjes 60:--:-
de Chinees voor 32 @ goud galon van 12 96:--:-
voor 272 @ gewaterd mhoor
102 sonal goudpassement 46:--:-[...]
huur van swart goed tot het bekleeden der Logie bij meester R[itueel]
item de donkere kamer bij verscheijde recepties van L[eerlingen] 60:--:-'.

[740] CMC, Box 3069, Folder 91 Attachments, account books 1775-1780 1779-1784, 'Cassa Reekening van de Loge La Vertueuse': 'het bekleeden der Logie met swart goed, swarte stoelen en linten'.

[741] CMC, Box 3069, Folder 91 Attachments, account books 1775-1780 1779-1784, 'Cassa Reekening van de Loge La Vertueuse': '3 Engelsche Kandelaars op de Troon 18:--:-'.

[742] CMC, Box 3069, Folder La Vertueuse various lists and receipts (1774-1798): 'Adam kesk voor 24 Stoelen 40:-', 'Steenbergen voor Huijsmeubelen 150:-'; Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse various lists and receipts 1781?-1798, 1774-1798 No. 14 [= 1771-1798], 3-9-1785: again 'Steenbergen voor Huijsmeubelen 150,-'.

[743] See Table 5.H. CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, 'Berigt van den gedanen opneem in La Vertueuse op den 9e Maart 1796'.

[744] See Table 5.H.

[745] *VOC-Glossarium* 2000.

[746] '1 oude geschilderde Zon' is included in inventories up until 1797.

[747] See Table 5.H.

[748] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, inventory 7-5-1789 with notes by the inventory committee: '[...] voorts vernemen wij ook, dat het noodzakelijk is, dat voor de opgang van de throon ~~tot Consentie van derzelve d[...]~~ een Zeildoekse klap dient gemaakt te worden ten einde het gouddraad voor de Sterkte der lugt en de throon in 't generaal voor bederf bewaard blijven'; Report by the inventory committee 27-12-1789, consisting of H. van Son and P. van de Weert: '3. That the 32 Pillows of yellow-silk need to be covered again and the Curtain of the old Throne destroyed, while the Pillows are old, and the Curtain by the long lying down will spoil more and more over time; 4. That some Woodworks of the old Throne, need to be used, while they are taking up much spacce'. ('3. Dat de 32 Kussens van geele-zijde opnieuw dienen overtrokken en het Gordijn van de oude Throon vernietigd te worden, wijl de Kussens oud zijn, en het Gordijn door het langer leggen van tijd tot tijd meer bederven zal; 4. Dat enige Houtwerken van de oude Throon, alsmeede dienen geemployeerd te worden, wijl die veel plaats beslaan, en tans van geen dienst zijn'). See also report by the inventory committee 23-12-1794: '9 Zeildoekse klappen voor de schuifraamen, drie die meerder waren zouden volgens opgave van den mandoor met eenig Zeildoek gebruikt zijn, tot een voorhangsel voor den troon'; Report by the inventory committee 28-12-1789, noted by Van de Weert: 'Terwijl wij verder noteren, dat de bij ons rapport van de maand meij deezes Jaars voorgestelde aanmaking van een Zeildoekse Klap voor de Throon tot preservatie van dezelve, en andere geringere vorstellen van nodige Klampjes & nog niet gemaakt zijn'; 'Rekening per Kassa van Ontvangst en Uitgaaf ten behoeve van de Loge La Vertueuse' (1789), 5-10-1789: 'Schilder voor het vernissen den Stoelen & 42:30:-'.

[749] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, report by the inventory committee 29-12-1792.

[750] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, 'Berigt van den gedanen opneem in La Vertueuse op den 9e Maart 1796'.

[751] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, report by the inventory committee 23-12-1794: 'De Throon en haare verciersels met drie ornamenten meerder aan de meester stoel'.

[752] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, report by the inventory committee 23-12-1794: 'een Staande of reeverbeere of verlichtende machine met 7 lampen'.

[753] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76-77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1791-1795 1802-1805, Minutes 1791-1795.

[754] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, 'Berigt van den gedanen opneem in La Vertueuse op den 9e Maart 1796': 'In de L[oge] booven
Eenige Throon Verzierzels
1 groot Meesters stoel, geel geschildert en verguld
1 Tafel met dies witte zijde kleed met goud geborduurde en d[it]o franjes
1 Zeildoekse voorhangsel [...]
2 Klijne hangstolpen, gehorende boven de throon'.

[755] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse Receipts 1798 and financial account 1799, 2/1796-98 No. 28 receipts until 1797: '2. voor het Zwart verwen der oude Gordijnen van den troon der L[oge], tot gebruik deze Throon in de M[eeste]rs [loge] 20,-
aan lint, zijde, spijkers en Maakloon of douceur 14,12
[...] 6. voor het vergulde van een Zon en het verzilvere van een Lanthaarn 10,- '. The sun could be an officer's jewel, but considering the rest is work on the throne, perhaps this part of the bill relates to that too. A sun with 13 rays was used in the degree of Chevalier d'Orient, representing the twelve tribes plus king Zerubabel. (Kind advice by dr. Jan Snoek, Heidelberg University.)

[756] See Table 5.J.

[757] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 +77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1805-1808 1805-1809, 1st degree minutes 24-6-1805 until 25-6-1808: 'de Throon in het locaal van de Leerlings [loge] te laaten vernieuwen'.

[758] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 +77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1805-1808 1805-1809, 1st degree minutes 24-6-1805 until 25-6-1808, 'minutes 27-10-1806: 'vernieuwing van de Stoffagie voor den Throon'.

[759] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 +77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1805-1808 1805-1809, 1st degree minutes 24-6-1805 until 25-6-1808.

[760] See Table 5.N.

[761] CMC, Box 3065, Folder 77A La Vertueuse 1st degree Minutes and resolutions 1808-1810, 'Inventaris der meubiLaire goederen die bij Overgave van den Eersten aan den Twee den Teekenaar zig in den Tempel la Vertueuse bevonden hebben' 4-12-1809: 'twee grote voetbanken'.

[762] See Table 5.O.

[763] CMC, Box 3066, Minutes 1818-1819, report by the inventory committee 7-5-1818.

[764] See Table 5.C.

[765] See Table 5.F.

[766] CMC, Box 3084, Folder 77, No. 7 La Fidèle Sincérité Account book 1777-1786: 'Ses Pees Zilvere Illusters'.

[767] Specified as such in the 5-7-1800 inventory for the Steward.

[768] Metal triangular lanters were also used in the Swedish Rite in an Elu degree, but with at least four in number. Kind advice by dr. Jan Snoek, Heidelberg University.

[769] CMC, Box 3084, Folder 79 La Fidelse Sincérité financial accounts 1810-1815, 7-1810 until 6-1811: '1810 [...] 18 Juli voor 2 Zilveren kandelaaren 2 d[ito] Chirandoles [kwitantie] N 111 600 [...]'.
[770] See Table 5.R.
[771] CMC, Box 3076, Folder 3-6 La Fidèle Sincérité Resolutions 4th-12th months 5819 as well as the mourning lodge 9th month 5819' [= minutes 1819-1821.
[772] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 31 No. 83 La Fidèle Sincérité attachments 7+4*5817 until 10+4*5820 [= 1817-1820], no. 165, extract of the minutes.
[773] CMC, Box 3084, Folder 81 La Fidèle Sincérité financial administration 1-7 until 31-12-1822, 'Nota Der betaalde gelden [...]' 1822, receipt no 9:
'2 Stuks Kronen van leder 8 ligten a f 10,- ieder f 20
1 Stuk fijn Kroone met 12 Kaarsen 19
voor deszelfs draat 4
2 Stuks witte Lampen aan de Zwarte Kamer 7
2 Kroonen in de onder galderijen 19
voor deszelfs draat 4
Egter heeft den Schoonmaker 6 stuks steene aan de groote kroon gemaakt – welke niet in rekening zijn gebracht a f 3,-'.
[774] CMC, Box 3085, Folder 92 La Fidèle Sincérité paid invoices 1831-1832, no 9: 'Estralie gebrande Lamp met armen /sinds Jann geleend/ zilver f 40 […] benodigd voor de troon - vermits ik anders bij geen ander licht meer zien kan -'; Box 3085, Folder 93, Kwitanties 1832-1833, no. 12, 9-10-1832: 'new English Lamp with glasses behind the Throne f 13 Copper'.
[775] CMC, Box 3086, Folder 94 accounts and receipts 1835-1837, no. 57, 3-2-1837.
[776] See Table 5.E.
[777] CMC, Box 3069, Folder 82 La Vertueuse Attachments to the account books 1775-1780 1779-1784, 6-6-1779 to W. van Grol, curator in the estate of Johannes Heim: '12 ronde Lantharns 265:-'.
CMC, Box 3069, Folder 91 Attachments, account books 1775-1780 1779-1784, 'Cassa Reekening van de Loge La Vertueuse', 10-9-1783: 'inkoop van 12 Lusters 240:--:-'; Box 3072, Folder La Vertueuse various lists and receipts (1774-1798), 28-6-1784 to Onfried: 'voor lampies vide reeck. 9:18'.
[778] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse various lists and receipts 1781?-1798, 1774-1798 No. 14 [= 1771-1798], 2-4-1784: 'voor 10 ps. kandelaars volgens quit 52:- voor 4 dito blikken en een glazen 5:-'; Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse various lists and receipts 1781?-1798, 1774-1798 No. 14 [= 1771-1798], 2-4-1784: '10 per Kantlers vor rd 52,-'.
[779] See Table 5.H.
[780] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, 'Generaale Staat en Inventaris van de Loge La Vertueuse', 27-12-1789. They were kept despite the fact that it was decided that copper and lacquered candle sticks should be sold and replaced with plated ones. See also 'Berigt van B.B. Verclocke en Reigersman, van den opneem der L[oge] La vertueuse in dato 24 xber 1790'.
[781] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, 'Generaale Staat en Inventaris van de Loge La Vertueuse…', 27-12-1789, attached report 27-12-1789 by H. van Son and Pieter Van de Weert: '5. Dat de Agt oude Spiegels en Zeven pees Lanthaarns tot deeze Loge behoorende, konden verkogt worden, daar de ondergetekendens in staede van de Spiegels, met voorkennis van den Groot Achtbaare Meester, benevens hebben ingekogt, Twaalf muurstolpen, voor een zeer modicque prijs'; Report by the inventory committee 28-12-1789 by Van der Weert: 'dat van de tans nog zijnde meubelen konden verkogt worden de 4: groote Spiegels die in de beneden Zaal hangen, als zijnde zeer gevlekt. waarvoor dan andere dienen aangekogt te worden dat onzes bedenkens de twee glaze Ilusters die in de bovenzaal aan weerszijden van den ingang hangen, konden verkogt worden en in die plaats g'employ eerd worden, vier door den laatst geteekende bij provisie ingekogte muurstolpen, om een meerder equaliteit te bekomen, en wijl de Ilusters defect zijn.''; Berigt van B.B. Verclocke en Reigersman, van den opneem der L[oge] La vertueuse in dato 24 xber 1790' with notes in pencil, here in italics:
'Voor de nieuw geboude Eetenszaal, hebben Broeder Thesaurier, en den eersten onderteekenaar kortdaegs ingekogt
Drie groote cristalle Kroonen, en Twintig Muur Lanthaarns;
[…] Voor de agter galderij, hebben gen[oemde] Broeders nog ingekogt-
de dispositie Een kleine cristalle Kroon,
uitstellen Een paar stolpen, […]
-dient nogEen paar stolpen met vier Kleine ilusters
Spiegels.'
See also **'**Notitie van zodanige Goederen als ten behoeve van de Logie La Vertueuse per publieke vendutie en uit de hand verkogt zijn'**,** 24-9-1789 with a list of buyers:

'4 Mirrors with gilt frames	J.O. Keengko rds	25:-
4 ditto with Lusters	Contant	14:24
4 Copper Lusters	Sia Hiocko	10:24
1 ditto Lantern	D.E. Idsinga	21:-
3 ditto ditto	Idem	97:-
[…] 7 Candle holders	Barends	1:30
[…] 2 Lusters [and other items]	Amier	4:24'.

Lastly, see Box 3071, Folder 89 La Vertueuse receipts 1788-1789 [= 1787-1789], No. 21 receipts 1788, 27-12-1787: 'voor 12 stolpen a 'Rd 10:- Rd 120:-';
[782] CMC, Box 3071, Folder 89 La Vertueuse receipts 1788-1789 [= 1787-1789], No. 22 receipts 1789-1790; Box 3072, Folder La Vertueuse various lists and receipts (1774-1798); Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse various lists and receipts 1781?-1798, 1774-1798 No. 14 [= 1771-1798]: 'April 3 [...] voor Een glaze Kroon 63:--:-'.
[783]CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse approved receipts and accounts 1792, 2 /1792 No. 25 approved receipts 1792:
'gekogt voor dezelve 2 kandelaar ieder met 3 spruijte 4 [rds]
voor Lumen tot de Cop gekogt 1
voor Een nieuwe Cop te maaken 5'.
CMC, Box 3072, Folder La Vertueuse various lists and receipts (1774-1798), 15-4-1792: '12 ps Lamp glaasen door den ondergeteekende in 1790 geleevert 15:-'.
[784] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, report by the inventory committee 29-12-1792. Compare to report by the inventory committee 23-12-1794 and 'Berigt van den gedanen opneem in La Vertueuse op den 9e Maart 1796'.
[785] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, report by the inventory committee 29-12-1792: 'twee Lucht Lampen' '1 muur Lanthaarn' '22 ps. driekante blikke blaakertjes; 5 ps. mancquiere', '8 ps houte blaakers, met een arm'; '1 glazen Kroon met 6 armen' '1 groote driekante en 6 kleine Knaapen' and '3 houte blaakers, ider met 3 armen'.

[786] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, report by the inventory committee 23-12-1794.
[787] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 'La Vertueuse financial accounts 1795-1796, 2/1795 No. 48 1795, 'Casse Reekening' 20-3-1795: 'Vendumeester wegens verkoop van 5 Spiegels rds 74,46'.
[788] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, report by the inventory committee 23-12-1794: '2 Patent Lampen'.
[789] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, report by the inventory committee, 11-9-1797.
[790] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 +77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1805-1808 1805-1809, 1st degree minutes 24-6-1805 until 25-6-1808: 'Vermits de Spiegels en Spiegel glazen in de deuren van dezer Tempel, door het verlies van foelij, een onaanzienlijk oog hebben verkreegen'
[791] See Table 5.N.
[792] CMC, Box 3067, Folder 80+80A La Vertueuse 2nd degree Minutes 1834-1835, Register resolutions 14+11*5832 until 9+4*5834 Secretary Van Starkenburgh Jutting [1st degree Minutes 5832-5834], 14-11-1832: 'Een paar Spiegels voor f 96 gekogt geapprobeerd', of which the gift by the Deputy Worshipful Master is noted on 13-3-1833.
[793] See Table 5.C.
[794] See Table 5.F.
[795] See Table 5.G.
[796] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 73 inventories 1785-1828, **'**Inventaris van zodanige Meubilaire en andere goederen Als door de ondergetekenden Zijn bevonden in de Loge La Fidelle Sincerite Te Batavia & welke onder Bewaring van den Meubel Meester zijn gesteld**',** 20+27+1*5825: '1 Een blauw vloerkleed in de loge'.
[797] Kind advice by dr. Jan Snoek, Heidelberg University.
[798] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 74.
[799] CMC, Box 3069, Folder 82 La Vertueuse Attachments to the account books 1775-1780 1779-1784, 'Cassa Reekening van de Loge La Vertueuse'', 6-9-1781: '[aan] de Chinees [...]
voor het schilderen van een nieuwe tableau 30:-
voor dito wat opgeheldert 5:- 35:--:-'.
[800] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, report by the inventory commission 7-5-1789.
[801] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, 'Generale Staat: reekening van La vertueuse Item Reek[enin]g Courant van den Ontvangst en Uitgaaf gedurende het Jaar 1790': 'Een Tableau op doek geschilderd'.
[802] CMC, Box 3148, Folder XVII, [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek […] 1843, n.pag.: '[…] tableau zijnde Zatijn met goud uitgewerkt'. See also Der Kinderen 1864, p. 210; Hageman 1866, p. 199; Maarschalk 1872, p. 371; *Gedenkboek* 1917, p. 165. It is not listed in the inventories until 1790. The embroidered tracing board was in use until at least 1812, and probably repaired in 1818. See also CMC, Box 3072 Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1814-1816, La 13.13.13 1814-1816, inventory 14-8-1812; Box 3066, Folder 79 La Vertueuse 1st degree Minutes 1818-1819, 2/1818-19 No. 10 1st degree Minutes 4*5818 until 4*5819.
[803] CMC, Box 4506, Folder '269: 1 was eerst 326': 'Nog door den Agtb[are] [Meester] te kennen gegeeven zijnde, den inhoud van een uit Bengale ontfangene brief van den Hoogverligten B[roeder] Passe Maitre Titsing verzeld van een tapijt voor de L[oge] dat gem[elde] B[roeder] op ons verzoek ginter heeft laaten vervaardigen, den dienste van onse L[oge] met verzoek om ged[acht] Tapijt als een aendenken van gem[elde] B[roeder] te willen ontfangen in het nodig gebruik maken. Dat zijn Agtb[are] hier op de B[roeders] voorstelde of het niet billijk was gem[elde] B[roeder] Titsing voor zo een aanzienlijke en kostbare present dat tot cieraad van de gansche L[oge] verstrekkende bedanken uit naam van alle de B[roeders] van la vertueuse, so is verstaan, zulks bij de eerste geleegendheid te laaten doen in gepaste Macconicque termen onder verssekering dat wij dezelve als een waardig aendenken van ons Hoogverligten B[roeder] toegezinden in hooge waarde in ons harte zal behouden'.
[804] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse correspondence 1769 1778-1788: ~~'verzeld van een aanzienlijk tapijt voor onse Loge La Vertueuse, onder bedenking dat niet het inweven van het tableau en den getande rand geen plaats heeft kunnen hebben, en dat het zelve als een gering aandenken mag geaccepteerd worden~~
nevens het lang gewenste Tapijt voor La Vertueuse. Wij hebben het gedenkstuk aanstonds in het Oosten doen uijtspreijden, terwijl het zelve de verwondering en algemeene goedkeuring der broeders heeft na zig getrokken; als zijnde niet alleen in fraaijheid onverbeeterlijk, maar ook in lengte en breedte evenredig aan de vloer onzes tempels'.
[805] CMC, Box 4506, Folder '269: 1 was eerst 326': 'dat het ander daags ontvangenen tapijt van Bengale voor de [Loge] met veel moeijte over de Zaal van ons Tempel gespreijd was, en zo als een ieder der B[roeders] bekennen moet tot groot cieraad verstrekte, bij het houden van de Tafel Logie, een overdek of kleed van vlaams linnen had moeten laaten maaken om bij zo een geleegendheid over gem[eld] tapijt heen gespreijd te worden'.
[806] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, report by the inventory committee 23-12-1794.
[807] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 +77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse 1) 1st degree Minutes 13-2-1791 until 13-3-1792 1791-1795 and 2) attachments correspondence: 'Door Br[oeder] Romberg van Japan meede gebragt zijnde Een fraaije verlakte Tableau ~~dewelke hem aldaar heeft gekost een somma van Rd 150~~ en dezelve voor de inkoopwaarde aan deeze L[oge] aangeboden werdende zoo wierd goedgevonden gemelde Tableau voor die prijs van Ged[oelde] Broeder over te neemen'. The accompagning draft of these minutes explicitly mentions the fact that Romberg had the tracing board fashioned in Japan for the lodge: 'op Japan voor de Loge [heeft] laten maken'.
[808] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, report by the inventory committee 29-12-1792: '4 differente Tableaux, waarvan 2 in blikke kookers' and [...] 1 meesters tableau'.
[809] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, report by the inventory committee 23-12-1794: '1 in 't koper opgewerkt hang tableau'.
[810] CMC, Box 3065, Folder 77A La Vertueuse 1st degree Minutes and resolutions 1808-1810, 2/1808-10 No. 5 Minutes 5808-5809-5810: ' [de] meubelmeester te verzoeken en te qualificeren het dagelijksch Tableau der Cieraaden van den Tempel het welk aldaar is verspreid; op nieuw te doen schilderen'.
[811] CMC, Box 3066, Minutes 1818-1819, report of the inventory commitee 7-5-1818.
[812] CMC, Box 3067, Folder 80+8 A La vertueuse 2nd degree Minutes 1834-1835, 1st degree Minutes 5834-5837': 'De Bouwmeester J. Tromp, zich heeft beijverd tot het doen vervaardigen van afzonderlijke tableaux voor elke der drie graden, alsmede tot het plaatsen der initiale letters I[achin] en B[oaz] aan de Zuider & Noorder kollommen'.
[813] See Table 5.C.
[814] See Table 5.F.
[815] CMC, Box 3089, Folder 105A, La Vertueuse [= La Fidèle Sincérité] Chamber of Reflection 1786, 'N ~~42~~ 38 Toestel wegens een kamer obscur en der zelver decoratien', 6-2-1786: 'opdat voortaan bij deze plegtigheid, het oog op het Ceremoniele en Statige zoude gevestigd blijven, dan welkom, zoals het nogtoe is geschied, het gevoel eens ongewijde met schrik en vreese te vervullen, zonder dat zulks nogtans iets anders in staat is uit te werken, dan het Eerwaardige, waaraan het Werk der Broederschap zozeer verknogt is, beschimt te zien en aan het verblind sujet de vreemdste

denkbeelden te verschaffen. […] De Duistere Kamer, zo als die tans is, van alle zijne akelige decoratien en schrikbeelden ganselijk ontdaan en geruimd zal worden'. Van der Linden 1870, pp. 22-23, refers to this text in relation to lodge De Ster in het Oosten.
[816] See Table 5.G.
[817] In some versions of the Master's degree, three Brethren strike the candidate with a roll of paper, imitating the strikes that killed Hiram. In the Royal Arch degree which the lodge unlikely practised, a roll of parchment with a biblical tekst is used, which for lack of parchment could be replaced by paper. Kind advice by dr. Jan Snoek, University of Heidelberg.
[818] See Table 5.R.
[819] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 73 inventories 1785-1828, **'**Inventaris van zodanige Meubilaire en andere goederen Als door de ondergetekenden Zijn bevonden in de Loge La Fidelle Sincerite Te Batavia & welke onder Bewaring van den Meubel Meester zijn gesteld**'**, 20+27+1*5825:
'3 Drie Knodsen
1 Een blikke blaaspijp'.
[820] This was probably copied from French or German late 18th century rituals, in which the Candidate comes into contact with the four elements. This theme was introduced after the succes of Mozart's *Zauberflöte* (first performed in 1791). Kind advice by dr. Jan Snoek, Heidelberg University.
[821] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 73 inventories 1785-1828, 'Loge La Fidele Sincerite Meubelmeester 1827-1829'.
[822] CMC, Box 3071, Folder 89 La Vertueuse receipts 1788-1789 [= 1787-1789], No. 21 receipts 1788, 31-8-1788: 'ontvangen van de Heer M.C. Weijerman als den 28 August voor een geraamte rds 60'; Box 4506, Folder '269: 1 was eerst 326', 4-9-1788 'het aenmaken van een hout kas, daertoe eijnde op een goed en drooge plaats in een der vertrekken geplaatst te worden'.
[823] Kind advice by dr. Jan Snoek, Heidelberg University.
[824] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, 'Berigt van den gedanen opneem in La Vertueuse op den 9e Maart 1796':
'1 Laatband [= fascia] met 't Snipper
1 fluweele oog dekzel, onbequaam
2 Nieuwe van geele zijde
1 blikke tregter
1 d[it]o Bakje
1 d[it]o bakje'.
[825] See Table 5.J.
[826] CMC, Box 3065, Folder 77A La Vertueuse 1st degree Minutes and resolutions 1808-1810, inventory 6-7-1808:
'1 Ledige kast
1 kas met een Squelet hout
2 houte Squeletten
1 lange blicke roeper
1 Lessenaar beneevens eenige Kleinigheeden
3 geel geschilderde peluwe [pilume?]
1 Hout kruijs
1 Receptie raam met 2 deuren
1 doodkist
1 guillotiene
2 ijzere Schoppen'.
[827] See Table 5.C.
[828] See Table 5.F.
[829] See Table 5.G.
[830] CMC, 'Rapport voor de Commissie, involdoening aan het bestuur, der deze bij ne volutie van den 7 Augustus 5801 ten einde van Generaalen opneem te doen van alle zodanige goederen als er zig op houden en aan de loge la fidelle Sincerite behooren en Waare Dezen bevinden, en van diens Gesteldheid te daenen van rapport
Zoo geeve de ondergetekende Commissanten Uw Hoog Eerw[aarde] in allen eerbied te kennen, dat de [Loge] behoorlijk is opgenomen en van dienst bevinding geformeert een hier bij gaande inventaris, zo meende in dezen geïnteresseerd hebben eene gedetailleerde opgave van zodanige benodegingen en defectennes ons zijn voorgekomen daar inne te moeten weder voorzien als

1. 4 ps muurstolpers, voor de buyten galdete moogen noemenrij en te kopen

Star zokk[?] 2. voor de agter galderij zijldoeksche klappen te maaken
repar. 3. den Kamer obscur van een nodige reparatien te voorzien
accordeert 4. den [loge] te werden geschildert
accord 5. de Combuijs goederen te vertimmeren

~~6~~. het altaar, ten gebruijke van een leerl. [loge] te werden bekleed

akkoord 7. de tafel van een br[oeder] secretaris te repareren
acc. 8. eindelijk all derdeze kleine benodigingen te voorzien

Hier meede hebben wij het voorstel onzer Commissie te hebben volbracht en Uw Hoog eerw[aarde]
Uw gehoorz[ame] meede broederen
Ten overstaande van mij [handtekening] C. van Aart
[Handtekening] W. Linden, 1e Opziender, J.A. Jugles, W.L. Baggers'.
[831] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 73 inventories 1785-1828, **'**Inventaris van zodanige Meubilaire en andere goederen Als door de ondergetekenden Zijn gevonden in de Loge La Fidelle Sincerite Te Batavia & welke onder Bewaring van den Meubel Meester zijn gesteld**'**, 20+27+1*5825: '1 Een altaar met zijde bekleedsel en Kussen'.
[832] See Table 5.H.
[833] CMC, '1 hout althaar met een bankje en twee Kussens'
[834] See Table 5.J.
[835] The work of the Apprentice is working the rough stone into a perfect stone for the building of the temple. In British freemasonry, this was a perfect ashlar, not a cubic stone, as the latter would not form joints. However, on the Continent, especially in France, the symbolism of the building block was interpreted as the (cubic) cornerstone, which is Christ (Eph. 2:20). So there the perfect ashlar developed into the cubic stone, which is mentioned in Dutch rituals.

[836] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 73 inventories 1785-1828, **'**Inventaris van zodanige Meubilaire en andere goederen Als door de ondergetekenden Zijn bevonden in de Loge La Fidelle Sincerite Te Batavia & welke onder Bewaring van den Meubel Meester zijn gesteld**',** 20+27+1*5825: '1 Een d[it]o Truffel […] 8 Acht houte hamers'.
[837] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 74 La Fidèle Sincérité Account of the Master of Furniture/Oeconome 24-6-1832 until 24-6-1833, 30-4-1833: 'Gouden Troffel 1 door den A[chtbare] M[eester] W.M. Keuchenius aan de Loge geschonken 10 Junij 1833'.
[838] See Table 5.H.
[839] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, report by the inventory committee 29-12-1792.
[840] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, report by the inventory committee 23-12-1794.
[841] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, 'Berigt van den gedanen opneem in La Vertueuse op den 9e Maart 1796'. Het 'Berigt van den gedanen opneem in La Vertueuse op den 9e Maart 1796'
[842] CMC, Box 3148, Folder XVII, [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek […] 1843, n.pag., vermeldt deze voorwerpen in de (doorgestreepte) aantekeningen van de auteur in de kantlijn van de tekst. Hartsingh maç[onniek] gereed[schap] in zilver'.
[843] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 +77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse 1) 1st degree Minutes 13-2-1791 until 13-3-1792 1791-1795 and 2) attachments correspondence. 'dat B[roeder] Hartzink aan deeze L[oge] heeft verEert Een Zilvere Troffel Een dito winkelhaak Een dito Driehoek & een dito passer'.
[844] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, 'Berigt van B.B. Verclocke en Reigersman, van den opneem der L[oge] La vertueuse in dato 24 xber 1790'.
[845] See Table 5.I.
[846] *VOC-Glossarium* 2000.
[847] See Table 5.J.
[848] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76-77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1791-1795 1802-1805, No. 5 Minutes 5+5*5802 until 6+4*5803. 'aan deeze L[oge] verEerd heeft het woord Jehorab de Sleepruijme tak, en het doodshoofd alles in Zilver en geschikt voor eene M[eeste]r L[oge]'.
[849] In the oldest version of the Hiram myth (Prichard's *Masonry Dissected*, 1730) the word *cassia* is used; in French rituals the word became *acacia*, either as a translation mistake, or because of an intended reference to the Arc of the Convenant, the Cross of Christ, etc. Within freemasonry several plants were used to depict the acacia. The sloe (*Prunus spinosa L.*) is of the Rosaceae family, while what in Dutch is considered an acacia (*Robinia pseudoacacia L.*) is of the Papilionaceae family. What the Dutch call Mimosa (*Acacia dealbata*) is of the *Mimosaceae* family. Kind advice by dr. J.A.M. Snoek, Heidelberg University.
[850] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76-77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1791-1795 1802-1805, No. 5 Minutes 5+5*5802 until 6+4*5803:
'[...] 1 Zilvere winkelhaak
1 d[ito] passer
1 d[ito] Enkelde driehoek
1 d[ito] dubbelde d[ito]
1 d[ito] Troffel'.
[851] CMC, Box 3066, Folder 79 La Vertueuse 1st degree Minutes 1818-1819, 2/1818-19 No. 10 1st degree Minutes 4*5818 until 4*5819: 'De Broeder Tresorier Barends communiceert al nu het voordeel te hebben van te produceeren drie nieuwe Silvere Inktkokers, aangemaakt van de ondervolgende onbruikbare Zilverwerken als:
1 zilvere plaat met het oude Meesters Woord
1 dito Sleepruime Tak
1 dito dubbelde driehoek
1 dito plaats als een doodhoofd
1 dito wierook vaatje en 13 Zilvere troffeltjes wegende te samen 53 ½ Reaalen, waarvoor aan maakloon betaald is Spd 24'. See also the reports of the inventory commission 7-5-1818 (suggesting to make tea spoons in stead of ink wells from the melted silver) and 4-8-1818.
[852] Voskuil-Groenewegen e.a. 1998, p. 185; Eliëns 2012, p. 170: Aron Barends (born Amsterdam/died 10-11-1815) was working as a jeweller in Batavia from 1788.
[853] CMC, Box 3067, Folder 80+8 A La vertueuse 2nd degree Minutes 1834-1835, 1st degree Minutes 5834-5837': 'De Br[oeder] Oeconome en Meubelmeester G. Gijsing geeft kennis dat hij uit handen van den A[chtbare] M[eester] heeft overgenomen de volgende Zilverwerken en andere benoodigd; als
[...] 2 Zilveren dito Troffels
2 Twee dito Winkelhaken
2 Twee dito Driehoeken
2 Twee dito Passers
2 Twee dito Kleine degens
1 Een dito Armbus
[...] 1 Een Japansch kistje met officiers ornamenten'.[853]
[854] In the CMC collection these are termed *functieteken* (officer's jewel), *graadteke*n (degree jewel) or *logeteken* (lodge or membership jewel).
[855] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 641: 'Extract Uijt het Resolutieboek der Loge La Fidelle Sincerite relative het voorvallen van den geweesenen GM van Gehren': 2-1-1772 '[...] totdat onze kostelijke rust en onschuldige vergnoegingen door den Gr[oot]meester [= Voorzittend Meester] van Gehren gestoort en onderbrooken wierden welke niet willende luijsteren op de vriend- en broederlijke waarschuwingen van onzen waarden en dierbaaren Maitre Passe Remer om den overmaatigen gebruijk van drank te vermijden en op de nog overige tijd des daags bedagt te zijn. de Tafel Loge zonder dezelve behoorlijk geslooten te hebben op een driftige en Een eijgene maier verliet, en naar buijten ging waar op der Br Eersten Surveilant van Stammhorst de Loge sloot en zoo wel hij als alle vergaaderende Br alle moeijte gebruijkten den zonder reeden opgebragten grootmeester van Gehren te bedaaren maar dezelve nog wijzelijk voorstellingen nog verzoekingen willende aanneemen vattede den Br Eersten Surveillant de noodige en welloverlegte Resolutie ter stond een extra ordinaire Leerlings Loge te beleggen om dienvoegen de tusschen den Grmeester en Maitre Passé geweesene verschillen te doen staaken maar hij van Gehren wilde ook in deeze onze gehijligde werck steede onzer geheimen van geene geneegentkeijd tot verdrag en vreede weeten maar lijde op een onbetaamlijke manier het gewijde Teeken der Grmeester van zijn borst af en verliet de Loge bevoor dezelve volgens de wetten onzer Koninklijke Konst geeijndigt was toonende daar na nog een grootsere laagheijd des geests vermits hij, de opkosten der Loge gereegt gemaakte Provisie van Eetwaaren ter stond wegte brengen ordre gaf en daarna zelfs niettegenstaande het zwaare weer en overstroomde weg onder de oogen der profaanen wereld onze vergaderings plaats en ons verliet'.
[856] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 641: 'Extract Uijt het Resolutieboek der Loge La Fidelle Sincerite relative het voorvallen van den geweesenen GM van Gehren': 2-1-1772.

[857] See Table 5.C.
[858] See Table 5.F.
[859] Peter Hallebeek, 'Scientific analysis of metal alloys and surface layers of Sawasa objects by the Netherlands Institute fot Cultural Heritage Amsterdam', in: De Bruijn 1998, pp. 33-35.
[860] Max de Bruijn/Bas Kist, 'Sawasa', in: De Bruijn e.a. 1998, p. 28.
[861] See Table 5.G.
[862] CMC, Box 3083, Folder '73: N. 37, meubelmeester, 1775-1801', 'Inventaris van de [loge] la Fidele Sincerite [11] Aug[ustus] 5801'.
[863] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 73 inventories 1785-1828, **'**Inventaris van zodanige Meubilaire en andere goederen Als door de ondergetekenden Zijn bevonden in de Loge La Fidelle Sincerite Te Batavia & welke onder Bewaring van den Meubel Meester zijn gesteld'**,** 20+27+1*5825.
[864] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 74, undated inventory in 'Folia Oeconome en Meubelmeester 1831'. From the list of objects it is clear that these were taken on from the former Master of Furniture on 21 June 1831.
[865] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 74: 'Inventaris van Goederen & dranken behoorende tot de Loge La Fidele Sincerite 1833 1834', 30-7-1834:
'Ornementen voor M[eester] en of[ficieren] 11
1833 aangemaakt op 24 juni voor den Ceremonie Meester 1
1834 " 26 " " den Voorbereider 1'.
[866] According to the 'Rituaal 1820'.
[867] CMC, Box 3086, Folder 94 accounts and receipts 1835-1837, no. 3: 'voor het laten gereedmaken van het ondervolgende als op 26 Juny 1835 Zilver vergulde winkelhaak voor M[aitre] P[asse] 11,-'.
[868] See Table 5.H.
[869] Voskuil-Groenewegen e.a. 1998, p.189; Eliëns 2012, pp. 52 and 174. Not listed in CMC membership card register.
[870] CMC, Box 3071, Folder 89 La Vertueuse receipts 1788-1789 [= 1787-1789], No. 21 receipts 1788:
'29 April voor een Sowassen Buss rd 10
Een Kreutz vergoldt en de 4 Silverde vergoldt
Voor hoofden nieuwe stiften aangesoldeert
En het gold af, en wit gemaakt 5
3 Maij de Sawassen Buss omgesmolten en driekantig gemaakt met een Slootke daarvoor werkloon 6
3 Juni Een gouden plaat /vierkande/ met Pilaaren
Weg[en]t 2 reaal 24 ½ St[ui]v[er] Ijder reaal 22 rds 55,11'.
[871] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, 'Generaale Staat en Inventaris van de Logie La Vertueuse zodanig als dezelve den 27 December A. 1787 door de Broederen Jan Constantijn van Son en Pieter van de Weert, ingevolge besluit van den 5 October benevens is opgemaakt, en waarbij gevoegd is, de in deezen Jaare 1788 gedaane Inkoop van Huismeubelen, Porcelainen & mitsgaders aangetoond den waaren staat deezen Logie op Heeden den 27 December A. 5788 [...]': 'for the Brother Almoner A Collection Box Sawassa'.
[872] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse various lists and receipts 1781?-1798, 1774-1798 No. 14, undated inventory ca. 1788: 'voor de Architect 1 Zilver vergulde plaat, en Een Goude weg[en]d[e] 2 reaal 24 ½ Stuijver [...]'. This is mentioned in inventories from 1788 onwards
[873] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, 'Bericht en Inventaris der Goederen gehorende aan de Logie La Vertueuse 27 december 1789'.
[874] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, 'Bericht en Inventaris der Goederen gehorende aan de Logie La Vertueuse 27 december 1789'.
[875] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse various lists and receipts 1781?-1798, 1774-1798 No. 14, undated inventory ca. 1788; see also Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, 'Rekening per Kassa van Ontvangst en Uitgaaf ten behoeve van de Loge La Vertueuse' (1789), 18-3-1789:
'voor 6 ornam[en]ten rds 390:-
bij 15 p.j. Agis 58:24 448:24'.
[876] CMC, Box 3071, Folder 89 La Vertueuse receipts 1788-1789 [= 1787-1789], No. 22 receipts 1789-1790: 'ses honderd, vierentwintig Roppijen, voor Ses maconnieque Ornamenten'.
[877] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, report by the inventory committee 28-12-1789: 'van de ornamenten zijn de meeste oude aan de Br[oeder] [A.W.A. van] Idsinga verkogt, en het provenue daar van aan de Br[oeder] Thesaurier verantwoord.'
[878] See figs. J and K.
[879] CMC, A report on the inventory dated 11-9-1797.
[880] See figs. K and L.
[881] See Table 5.I.
[882] Maarschalk 1872, p. 373: 'Het teeken zijner waardigheid was van goud, hangende aan een lichtblauw lint, met een zilveren ster op het juweel. Ook droeg hij een schootsvel van blauwe zijde met zilveren sterren en gouden franje'.
[883] See Table 5.O.
[884] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse various lists and receipts 1781?-1798, 1774-1798 No. 14, undated inventory ca. 1788: 'van Br[oeder] Idsinga voor Goud-werken'; Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, 'Rekening per Kassa van Ontvangst en Uitgaaf ten behoeve van de Loge La Vertueuse' (1789): 'Br[oeder] Josinger ver diverse Goudwerken voor zijn E[dele?] overgenomen 50:-:-'.
[885] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, 'Rekening per Kassa van Ontvangst en Uitgaaf ten behoeve van de Loge La Vertueuse' (1789): 'De navolgende Br[oeders] officieren volgens besluit van dezen voor dit loopende Jaar voor de door hun Br[roeders] gedragen wordende Ornamente, als [...] [de namen van 6 officieren] [...] 10:-:-'.
[886] There are many examples of payments for ornaments, for instance CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse receipt and account book 1791, 2/1791 No. 39 Treasurer's account book 1791. On 13-12-1791 the overview of contributions received includes: 'van der weert; voor een ornament 40 Rds', being 30 contribution plus 10 for the ornament. See also in the same: 2/1791 No. 23 financial statement 28-8 until 31-12-1791' [copy of the former], 'het ontvangene van natemeldenen B[roeder]s voor hunne ornamenten van de Weert, Holle, Wijerman, Barends ieder 10,-'; and 15-12-1791, under contributions a payment by Barends: 'voor 1 ornament 10,-'.
[887] CMC, Box 3148, Folder XVII, [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek […] 1843, n.pag. 'in october 1769 werd aan een voornaam B[roeder] visiteur Silvester een afscheidsmaal gegeven in een Loge belegd in de tuin van den achtb[are] M[eester] bij die gelegenheid werden ook twee vertrekkende B[roeders] leden met goude troffels omhangen waarop de naam van de loge is gegraveerd'.

[888] Voskuil-Groenewegen e.a. 1998, p.187; Eliëns 2012, p. 172.
[889] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse invoices 1807-1816 A.B.C.D., 1815-1816 paid accounts, 20-6-1815 until 20-6-1816: 'voor t maaken Een Zilver kop met verguld zilver met go[u]d Ducat aan maakloon spm 15,-'.
[890] CMC, Box 3067, Folder 80+8 A La Vertueuse 2nd degree Minutes 1834-1835, 1st degree Minutes 5834-5837'.
[891] CMC, Box 3148, Folder XVII, [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek […] 1843, n.pag..
[892] CMC, Box 3067, Folder 80+8 A La vertueuse 2nd degree Minutes 1834-1835, 1st degree Minutes 5834-5837': 'van den Br[oeder] J.M. van Beusichem was vervaardigd'.
[893] See Table 5.C.
[894] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 73 inventories 1785-1828: 'N. 37, meubelmeester, 1775-1801', 'Inventaris Van Diverse Goederen Gehoorende tot de [Loge] La Fidele Sincerite, dated 1771: 'rood Laadtie voor Tabeljees', 'ps Zeemleren Handschoenen'.
[895] CMC, Box 3084, Folder 77, No. 7 La Fidèle Sincérité Account book 1777-1786. 'Cassa Rekening van de Agtb[are] [loge] L.F.S.', 27-12-1778 to the former Venerble Master: '1778 19 october: aan Rach voor 't schilderen van twee Tabiles rd 64;24,-'.
[896] See Table 5.G.
[897] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 73 inventories 1785-1828: 'N. 37, meubelmeester, 1775-1801', 'Inventaris van de [loge] la Fidele Sincerite Aug[ustus] 5801'. 'Inventaris van alle zodanige losse goederen toebehoorende aan de Acht[bare] [Loge] la FideleSincerite, als er door onsondergetekende, bij een opneem op den elfden Augustus 5801 in waare wezen zijn bevonden'.
[898] See Table 5.T.
[899] CMC, Box 3085, Folder 90-91, Kwitanties 1829. no. 1, 3-6-1829: '9 blauw gewaterde officiers banden a f 6 zilver'.
[900] CMC, Box 3085, Folder 92 La Fidèle Sincérité accounts paid 1831-1832, no. 72, 25-6-1832: 'voor het laten aanmaken van '8 Ceremoniemeesters banden zilver f 8 voor het St Jansfeest van 23 Junij'.
[901] CMC, Box 3086, Folder 94 accounts and receipts 1835-1837:
'[...] 12 Leerlings Tabeljees a f 5 60,-
12 paar Manshandschoen " 1 ½ 18,-
12 vrouwen handschoenen " 2 24,- [...] Wed. Dekker'
[902] CMC, Box 3086, Folder 94 accounts and receipts 1835-1837:
'6 Leerlings Tabeljees a f 5 30,-
6 Paar vrouwe Handschoen 2 12
6 Paar Mans d[ito] f 1,50 9,-'.
[903] CMC, Box 3086, Folder 94 accounts and receipts 1835-1837: '12 Meester Banden a f 5 f 60', '12 d[ito] Tabiljees 5 f 60'.[903]
[904] CMC, Box 3086, Folder 94 accounts and receipts 1835-1837, no. 73: 'voor Een Zilver ornement met een Blaauwe gewateerde Band f 17,-'.
[905] CMC, Box 3086, Folder 94 accounts and receipts 1835-1837, no 14: 'Verschotten tot het maken van 30 Jongens Baatjes [...] met wit linnen banden en voering, blauw en wit garen en knopen'.
[906] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], 1770-1797 No. 20 correspondence to the Grand Lodge 5770-5797, 'Redevoering gehouden in de Loge la Vertueuse op Batavia bij de viering van 't St Jans feest in de Winter den 27 Decbr verscheenen, op den 29 daarvan volges om wettige redenen uijtegesprken door de Broeder F.H.M[uller] 1772': 'na veel verzukkelens gevaaren'.
[907] CMC, Box 3067 [II A 6-7], Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], 1770-1797 No. 20 correspondence to the Grand Lodge 5770-5797, Redevoering gehouden in de Loge la Vertueuse op Batavia bij de viering van 't St Jans feest in de Winter den 27 Decbr verscheenen, op den 29 daarvan volges om wettige redenen uijtgesproken door de Broeder F.H.M[uller] 1772': 'dood, die Soo Min den Koning als den Bedelaar [spaa]rt'.
[908] CMC, Box 3069, Folder 91 Attachments, account books 1775-1780 1779-1784.
[909] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse Various financial documents 1775-1780 and account book 1779-1784, 1779-1784 [financial statement]:
'5:- ps voor Leerling, wit satijn met geel armozijn sonder lint a rds 32 ider 17:24:-
15:- Meester, wit satijn met geel armozijn en geel lint a rds 42 ider 67:24:-
16:- Schots Meester groen mantelstof met roode lint a rds 42 ider 72:--:-
22:- Meester L: wit satijn met swart armozijnen swart lint a rds 42 ider 99:--:-
256:--:-'.
[910] CMC, Box 3069, Folder 91 Attachments, account books 1775-1780 1779-1784, 'Cassa Reekening van de Loge La Vertueuse': 'voor gebruyk van 20 hoeden met sleepende rouwbanden'.
[911] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse various lists and receipts 1781?-1798, 1774-1798 No. 14 [= 1771-1798], receipt 9-7-1784 to W.G. Durand: 'voor 9 ps dubbelde ofte 18 enkelde Stukken Rouwkleeden en 18 Paer Wit Cabret Leere Handschoenen te Samen 200:-'. This corresponds with Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse Various financial documents 1775-1780 and account book 1779-1784, 1779-1784 [financial statement], 10-8-1784 'aan wed Durand voor huur van 18 rouw mantels en 13 pr witte kabret leere handschoenen 200', and 10-8-1784 'to widow Durand for rent of 18 mourning cloaks and 13 pairs white goats leather gloves 200'.
[912] CMC, Box 3069, Folder 91 Attachments, account books 1775-1780 1779-1784, 'Cassa Reekening van de Loge La Vertueuse', 1-6-1782, 'inkoop van 8 paare witte cabretleere mans en 11: dito vrouwe handschoenen'. See also Folder La Vertueuse various lists and receipts (1774-1798), 12-3-1784, receipt for Philippus d'Elwijk: '6 paar Leer handschoenen a rds 1.32 10:-'; 25-6-1784 to the same '12 paaren handschoenen rds 12:-'; and 18-9-1784:
'aan Arnold 12 ps handschoenen 12:-
De win 3 stukken lint 32:-
6 ps. handschoenen 10:-'.
[913] CMC, Box 3069, Folder 91 Attachments, account books 1775-1780 1779-1784, 'Cassa Reekening van de Loge La Vertueuse':
'1 rol wit Satijn 45:--:-
aan mejuffr. de wed: Meuns betaald
voor 40 tabellies met Zeij 160:--:-
6 met goud 72:--:-
Armozijn tot voering 30:--:-
126 Ellen Lint 13:--:-
wit Satijn 7:24:-
NB: 1 tabelle met goud kost nade deese bereekening rds 13:30:-
1 dito met Zijde 6: 6:-[...]

This corresponds with Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse various lists and receipts 1781?-1798, 1774-1798 No. 14 [= 1771-1798], 29-11-1783, receipt to W.G van de Graaff widow Meurs. See also 11-5-1784 to the same 'voor het nayen van 7 Tabiljees a rds 4 het pees rds 28:-'.

[914] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse various lists and receipts 1781?-1798, 1774-1798 No. 14 [= 1771-1798]: '1 p vorm om kleedtjes te schilderen op order van mejuff[rouw] uwe beminden volgens accoord 3,16'.

[915] See Table 5.H.

[916] CMC, Box 3071, Folder 89 La Vertueuse receipts 1788-1789 [= 1787-1789], No. 22 receipts 1789-1790: '1 stuk lakenras 49,30, 2 rollen zwarte mantelstof 48,-, maakloon mantels 32,-'. This corresponds with Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse Inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, 'Rekening per Kassa van Ontvangst en Uitgaaf ten behoeve van de Loge La Vertueuse' (1789), 7-12-[1789], reimbursment to Weijerman and Hakker ('aan de Br[oeder]s. Weijerman en Hakker voor de M[eester] L[oge] [...] 2 rollen Zwart mantelstof 48:--:- maakloon van 18 mantels 32:--:-'). Other purchases that year are listed in Box 3072, Folder La Vertueuse various lists and receipts (1774-1798), 3-4-1789: 'handschoenen 10:-'; Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse various lists and receipts 1781?-1798, 1774-1798 No. 14 [= 1771-1798], 3-4-1789 'Aan Br. Hakker voor ps. Handschoenen 10:--:-'.

[917] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 +77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse 1) 1st degree Minutes 13-2-1791 until 13-3-1792 1791-1795 and 2) attachments correspondence. A chest with an 'old mourning cloth', later 'damaged by moths' was kept in the space behind the throne for some years to come.

[918] See Table 5.J.

[919] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse receipts 1798 and financial account 1799, 2/1796-98 No. 28 receipts until 1797. See also October 1797 and June 1798 for orders of embroidered aprons.

[920] See Cat. Nijmegen 1913, p. 72, no. 7: 'Tablier van wit satijn, afkomstig van Br. S (O. van Batavia) met blauwe punten binnenwaarts en versierd met passer en winkelhaak'.

[921] See Table 5.C.

[922] CMC, 123 C 64, *Huishoudelyk wetboek by 'La fidelle sincérité' gemanifesteerd in Anni lucis 5775*, Batavia [1775].

[923] See Table 5.F.

[924] See Table 5.G.

[925] See Table 5.R.

[926] See Table 5.S.

[927] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 73 inventories 1785-1828, **'**Inventaris van zodanige Meubilaire en andere goederen Als door de ondergetekenden Zijn bevonden in de Loge La Fidelle Sincerite Te Batavia & welke onder Bewaring van den Meubel Meester zijn gesteld'**,** 20+27+1*5825:
'2 Twee balloteer Zakjes met Steelen
2 Twee d[it]o d[it]o zonder d[it]o
2 Twee Rood Laken Zakken'.

[928] CMC, Box 3148, Folder XVII, [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek […] 1843, n.pag., lists these objects in the notes by the author in the sideline of the text: 'Van Welgevaren promt eene fraaje zilvere armbos'.

[929] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse' Receipts 1798 and Financial statement 1799, 2/1796-98 No. 28 receipts 1797: 'voor het L[everen] van Een driekante Silverne Bus, Een Silveren Schutzel gemaakt en angesoldeert met dobbele Silverne Palisaden om dat die duijten daaruit niet deserteren Können Rds 15'.

[930] See Table 5.N.

[931] See Table 5.E.

[932] See Table 5.H.

[933] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse various lists and receipts 1781?-1798, 1774-1798 No. 14 [= 1771-1798], 24-12-1790, to Leeren 'Een Tafel Met Een marmel Blad Rijds 35,-'; in 'Cassa Rekening' 1792 also listed as paid to Jacob Leever'; Box 3072, Folder La Vertueuse various lists and receipts (1774-1798), receipt 3-1-1791 to Van der Weert: ' 1790 dn 24 Decembr. Een Tafel Met Een marmel Blad Rijds 35:-'.

[934] See Table 5.C.

[935] See Table 5.G.

[936] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 73 inventories 1785-1828: 'No. 37, meubelmeester, 1775-1801', 'Inventaris van de [loge] la Fidele Sincerite [11] Aug[ustus] 5801'.

[937] See Table 5.Q.

[938] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 73 inventories 1785-1828, 'Inventaris van zoodanige Goederen Dranken &ca als door ons ondergeteekende zijn bevonden in de Loge La Fidelle Sincirete te Batavia welke zijn gesteld onder bewaring en ter verantwoording van den Ecrinome', 27+1*5825.

[939] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 74, undated inventory in 'Folia Oeconome en Meubelmeester 1831': 'Bier Glaazen 139 1832 23 July Ingekocht bij de Heer Hellerman 100'.

[940] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 74 La Fidèle Sincérité Account of the Master of Furniture/Oeconome 24-6-1832 until 24-6-1833: 'Water Karaffen 16 1833 August[us] 17 ingekogt op vendutie 50'.

[941] CMC, Box 3069, Folder 82 La Vertueuse attachments to the account books 1775-1780 1779-1784: 'voor 22 Canons ten behoeve van de L[oge] 2:24:-'.

[942] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91La Vertueuse various financial documents 1775-1780 and account book 1779-1784, 1779-1784' [Rekening Courant], 'Cassa rekening' juni 1782'aan de heer Walkert voor 26 ps massons glasen' at 13 Rds.

[943] CMC, Box 3069, Folder 82 La Vertueuse attachments to the account books 1775-1780 1779-1784, 'Cassa Reekening van de Loge La Vertueuse': '[De heer] wolf voor 4 dozijn vrijmets[elaars] glazen 24:--:-'.

[944] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse various lists and receipts 1781?-1798, 1774-1798 No. 14, undated inventory ca. 1788: 'Diverse Glaswerken als

8 douzijn wijnkelken	rds	20
2 d[it]o wijn en water glazen		30
2 d[it]o karaffen		
5 d[it]o bier glazen		30'.

[945] See Table 5.H.

[946] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, inventory 7-5-1787 with notes by the inventory committee: 'van deeze Glaswerken zooude bij gelegenheid de 95 Stuks wijn Glazen wijl de voetjes daar van wat klein zijn; kunnen verkocht & daar voor andere wat Steviger in de plaats aangekogt worden'.

[947] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, 'Generale Staat: reekening van La vertueuse Item Reek[enin]g Courant van den Ontvangst en Uitgaaf gedurende het Jaar 1790'.

[948] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, report by the inventory committee 29-12-1792.

[949] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, 'Berigt van den gedanen opneem in La Vertueuse op den 9e Maart 1796': '50 geribde wijn glaasen'.
[950] CMC, Box 3065, Folder 77A La Vertueuse 1st degree Minutes and resolutions 1808-1810, Inventory 6-7-1808: '93 wijnkelkjes met maconique emblemes'.
[951] See Table 5.C.
[952] CMC, Box 3084, Folder 78 No. 22 Belonging to Account book No. 20, 1787-1796, financial overview for 1786-1787: 13-6-1787 'voor 200 platte borde 20,-'.
[953] See Table 5.G.
[954] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 73 inventories 1785-1828: 'N. 37, meubelmeester, 1775-1801', 'Inventaris van de [loge] la Fidele Sincerite Aug[ustus] 5801'.
[955] See Table 5.Q.
[956] See Table 5.S.
[957] CMC, Box 3078, Folder 20 extract minutes and attachments 1821-1822), attachment to letter 13-1-1822: 'Een parthij Hollandsch wit porcelein'. Also sold were 192 empty jugs, 300 different bottles and some green glasses ('192 Ledige kruiken', '300 Diferente Bottels', 'Eenige Groene Glazen').
[958] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 73 inventories 1785-1828, 'Inventaris van zoodanige Goederen Dranken &ca als door ons ondergeteekende zijn bevonden in de Loge La Fidelle Sincirete te Batavia welke zijn gesteld onder bewaring en ter verantwoording van den Ecrinome', 27e+der 1*5825:
'56 Zes & vijftig Koppen
48 Acht & Veertig Schoteltjes
[…] 2 Twee water martavanen waarvan een beschadigd
1 Een Spoel bak'.
[959] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 73 inventories 1785-1828, 'Loge La Fidele Sincerite Euconome 1827-1829':
'1829 Junij 2 op vendutie van Tornenton een Partij
" " " witte Schootels ps. 72'.
[960] CMC, Box 3085, Folder 90-91 Receipts 1829, no. 21.
[961] CMC, Box 3085, Folder 90-91 Receipts 1829, no. 36.
[962] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 74: 'Loge La Fidele Sincerite Euconome 1829-1830',
'1829 September op de Vendutie van Wijlen Torrenthon 12 dozijn witte borden 144 [...]
1829 October 16 Ingekocht
Een Thee of trek Pot
" Zuiker "
" Melk Kan
" Spoel Kan'.
[963] CMC, Box 3085, Folder 90-91 Receipts 1829, no. 23.
[964] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 74: 'Inventaris van Goederen & dranken behoorende tot de Loge La Fidele Sincerite 1833 1834':
'[...] Schotels 72
1833 ingekocht 24 October /voor de sla en aardappelen met dekzels/ 8
[...] Martevaan Water 1
1835 september 6 g indies, van Veldman Leconge & Co, voor f 12 zilveren 6'.
[965] See Table 5.Q.
[966] See Table 5.E.
[967] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 Various financial documents 1775-1780 + account book 1779-1784, No. 34 attachments 1775-1780: 'Een blauw porcelijn tafel servies Rds 38,-'; receipt 30-12-1780 '1781 Primo Januarij Áan Br Bestbier weegens het bekostigen in anno 1778 item voor 't blauw porcelain servies rds 150'.
[968] CMC, Box 3069, Folder 82 La Vertueuse Attachments to the account books 1775-1780 1779-1784, 'Cassa Reekening van de Loge La Vertueuse', 9-3-1784: 'Een fraaij verguld Chinees Tavel Servies bestaande uit 398 stukken bij Memorie der restanten onderredigen datum g'Entendeert kostende [Rds] 110:--:-'.
[969] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse various lists and receipts 1781?-1798, 1774-1798 No. 14, undated inventory ca. 1788, undated inventory: 'Een defect Tafelservies, rode bloemen witte grond'.
[970] See Table 5.H.
[971] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, inventory 7-5-1787 with notes by the inventory committee.
[972] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, 'Berigt wegens de taxatie van de L[oge] La Vertueuse met dies losse goederen Februarij 1793', 1-2-1793; Box 3065, Folder 77 La Vertueuse 1st degree Minutes and resolutions 1807-1808, inventory 9-7-1807.
[973] The leaves of the *Piper betle* (*Piperaceae* family) are used a stimulant and medicinal plant. The chewing produces a red liquid, which like chewing tobacco required a spittoon.
[974] CMC, Box 3071, Folder 89 La Vertueuse receipts 1788 en 1789' [= 1787-1789], No. 21 receipts 1788, receipt signed by J. Hacker: 'voor een gelevert Servies blaauw & wit groot 330 stukken Rs 100'.
See also Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, 'Berigt van den gedanen opneem in La Vertueuse op den 9e Maart 1796', inventories of 1796 and 1809 describing the service as 'wit met blauwe randen'.
[975] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, 'Rekening per Kassa van Ontvangst en Uitgaaf ten behoeve van de Loge La Vertueuse' (1789), 17-12-1789: 'Br[oeder] Van Massau voor Een blauw TafelServies 200:-'.
CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10', 'Berigt wegens de taxatie van de L[oge] La Vertueuse met dies losse goederen Februarij 1793' 1-2-1793.
[976] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse various lists and receipts 1781?-1798, 1774-1798 No. 14, undated inventory ca. 1788, receipt 3- 4-1789: 'twee setjes Theegoed'.
[977] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, 'Bericht en Inventaris der Goederen gehorende aan de Logie La Vertueuse 27 december 1789':
'Een defect rood Tafel & Thee Servies
Een blauw Tafel Servies in Compleet
Een dubbeld Thee Servies

Vier porcelaine beekers, en
Vier houte Bakken tot het handwas water
Twee porcelaine wasbekkens
Zes nagt Spiegels'.
[978] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse various lists and receipts 1781?-1798, 1774-1798 No. 14, undated inventory ca. 1788, receipt 10- 5-1789: 'voor 4 water bekers en houte kommens 9:- [...]'.
[979] See Table 5.I.
[980] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, 'Berigt van B.B. Verclocke en Reigersman, van den opneem der L[oge] La vertueuse in dato 24 xber 1790'.
[981] See Table 5.J.
[982] CMC, Box 3065, Folder 77A La Vertueuse 1st degree Minutes and resolutions 1808-1810, inventory 6-7-1808.
[983] See Table 5.J.
[984] See Table 5.M.
[985] See Table 5.N.
[986] CMC, Box 3066, Minutes 1818-1819, report by the inventory committee, 7-5-1818.
[987] CMC, Box 3066, Minutes 1818-1819, report by the inventory committee, 4-8-1818.
[988] See Table 5.C. Sometimes *schenkpiering* is translated as salver, but usually a salver is a tray on small feet.
[989] Voskuil-Groenewegen ea 1998 and Eliëns 2012 discuss several examples of *schenkpierings* in detail.
[990] See Table 5.G.
[991] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 73 inventories 1785-1828: 'N. 37, meubelmeester, 1775-1801', inventory 5-7-1800.
[992] See Table 5.Q.
[993] See Table 5.R.
[994] See Table 5.R.
[995] See Table 5.S.
[996] CMC, Box 3078, Folder 20 extract minutes and attachments 1821-1822), inventory 13-1-1822, attachment to a letter 13-1-1822; see also Box 8083, Folder 75, Inventories 1782-1832, inventory 1820: 'Een groot Bord waarin eene naamlijst der leden der loge'.
[997] CMC, Box 3084, Folder 81 La Fidèle Sincérité financial administration 1-7 until 31-12-1822, 'Nota Der betaalde gelden' 1822, no. 20: 'Voor het in Staven Smelte van een Zilver Koffij Kan van de Loge f 9,-'.
[998] CMC, Box 3084, Folder 83 No. 108 Financial accounts, documents and receipts 1823: 'Verantwoording wegens de gehouden administratie', 20-4-1823.
[999] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 73 inventories 1785-1828, inventory 20-7-1825.
[1000] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 73 inventories 1785-1828, 20+ 8*5828 'Proces Verbaal'; idem, 'Loge La Fidele Sincerite Euconome 1827 – 1829'.
[1001] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 73 inventories 1785-1828, 'Loge La Fidele Sincerite Euconome 1827 – 1829'; see also Box 3085, Folder 89, Kwitanties, 1827-1829, Receipt nos. 118-121, 1828.
[1002] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse Various financial documents 1775-1780 and account book 1779-1784, 1779-1784 [financial statement]': 'Aan de Silver Smit van Campen voor geleverde 2 Silvere Schenkborden waar in gegraveert staat ten gedachtenis van La Vertueuse kostende blijkens quitantie [rds] 115:--:-'.
[1003] See Table 5.H.
[1004] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, 28-12-1789, report by the inventory committee:
'[...] dat een der messen met Zilvere hegten is verloren gemaakt
[...] dat een Zilvere Leepel Sedert ontvreemd geworden is
Terwijl wij voorstellen den verkoop van de 21 messen met Zilvere hegten, wijl die oud en afgesleten zijn, en tans in dies plaats met voorkennis van Uw Hoog Acht[bare] door den laatst geteekende ingekogt zijn
4 douzijn Tafel en 2 d[ito] desert messen met ijvoore hegten
voorts zijnde de zilverwerken vermeerdert met 2 Zilvere Soeplepels, die volgens de bij besluit van den g'arresteerde qualificatie ingekogt zijn. mitsgaders met een plaete vaas voor Koffie, die den laatstgeteekende verzoekt, dat La Vertueuse ten zijnen gedagtenis gelieve te accepteren'.
[1005] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse various lists and receipts 1781?-1798, 1774-1798 No. 14, undated inventory with notes by the committee from 1789.
[1006] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, 'Generale Staat: reekening van La vertueuse Item Reek[enin]g Courant van den Ontvangst en Uitgaaf gedurende het Jaar 1790'.
[1007] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse various lists and receipts 1781?-1798, 1774-1798 No. 14, undated inventory ca. 1788: 'Aug voor 2 zilvere Soeplepels WR 14:6 a 96 St' and '28.12 Novemb 6 dozijn Tafelmessen met ijvoore Hegten 72,-'. CMC, Box 3071, Folder 89 La Vertueuse receipts 1788-1789 [= 1787-1789], No. 22 receipts 1789-1790. See als Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse various lists and receipts 1781?-1798, 1774-1798 No. 14, undated inventory ca. 1788, 3-8-1789: 'voor [kwitantie] N 38 Twee Silvere Soeplepels w[egende] realen 14.6 a 96 st[uiv[ers] rds 28,12'.
[1008] CMC, Box 3071, Folder 89 La Vertueuse receipts 1788-1789 [= 1787-1789], No. 22 receipts 1789-1790, 29-5-1790, Extract from auction book by Mr Johannes Christoffel Schultz, Jacob van Heemskerck and Izaak Cornelis Domis, publicly bought in the garden of Pieter Gerardus van Overstaten by Pieter van de Werth for Expense of La Vertueuse: '3 casterollen Jh weeber rd 43,-' and '24 messen met Silver hegten Contant 74'.
[1009] CMC, Box 3071, Folder 89 La Vertueuse receipts 1788-1789 [= 1787-1789], No. 22 receipts 1789-1790:

'Voor 6 pers[onen] Silveren lepeltjes en	|- a 1. rd 32	|- rds	20
6 pers[onen] [dito] vorkjes	| het pers[oon]	|	
Een Silver Koelbakje weg[en]t. 9 R[ealen]			26
Inkoops			10,-'.

[1010] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 +77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse 1) 1st degree Minutes 13-2-1791 until 13-3-1792 1791-1795 and 2) attachments correspondence: 'dat B[roeder] Hacker voor reekening deezer L[oge] uijt de Boedel van wijlen B[roeder] Elwijk per publique vendutie had gekogt, twee zilvere schenkborden, dewelke gen[oemde] B[roeder] Elwijk had laaten maaken om aan deeze l[oge] te verEeren dog door zijn Subite overlijden zulks niet heeft kunnen doen'.
[1011] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse various lists and receipts 1781?-1798, 1774-1798 No. 14 [= 1771-1798], Cassa Reekening 1792: 'Twee ps zilvere Schenk Pieringen weegenden 57 realen a 84 st[uivers] rds 99,36'.
[1012] See Table 5.J.
[1013] See Table 5.M.

[1014] CMC, Box 3069, Folder 83 La Vertueuse correspondence with Deputy Grand Master Nicolaas Engelhard 1809 [= 1805]-1821 and membership lists.
[1015] Voskuil-Groenewegen e.a. 1998, p. 189; Eliëns 2012, p. 174.
[1016] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 +77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1805-1808 1805-1809, 1st degree minutes 24-6-1805 until 25-6-1808: '[...] zes douzijnen zilvere lepels en vorken, en om op de gem[elde] lepels en vorken, zo wel als op die, welke thans bij deze [loge] in gebruik zijn, de letter L.V. te laaten slaan'.
[1017] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 +77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1805-1808 1805-1809, 1st degree minutes 24-6-1805 until 25-6-1808'.
[1018] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse financial records 1807/1816 A.B.C.D., /1810-14 No. 31 accounts 18010/11, 11/12, 12/13, 13/14'.
[1019] CMC, Box 3066, Minutes 1818-1819, 7-5-1818, report by the inventory committee: '3 Het verkopen van [...] 2 zilvere truffels, 2 dito drie hoeken, 17 dito truffeltjes, 1 zilver ornament voor het Meester Tableau, 1 dito dubbelde driehoek, 1 ster met Zilvere plaat, [...]'.
[1020] CMC, Box 3066, Minutes 1818-1819, 7-5-1818, report by the inventory committee: 'zich te willen verkeringen tot het doen verkopen van zodanige, als zonder eenige aanmerkingen aan profanen kunnen worden verkocht, daar de zilvere onbruikbare stukken, kunnen worden versmolten en daarvan eenige zilveren Theelepeltjes gemaakt'.
[1021] CMC, Box 3067, Folder 80+80 A La vertueuse 2nd degree Minutes 1834-1835, 1st degree Minutes 5834-5837: '100 Een Honderd Zilveren lepels
100 Een Honderd dito vorken
12 Twaalf dito Theelepels
[…] 2 Twee dito Schenkblaadjes'.
[1022] See Table 5.C. Here, the term *schenkpiering* may probably be translated as serving trays, as Japanese lacquer equivalents of the silver schenkpierings or commemorative trays discussed above, are unknown. Kind advice by prof.dr. Christiaan Jörg, Leiden University.
[1023] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 73 inventories 1785-1828, 'Loge La Fidele Sincerite Meubelmeester 1827-1829': 'Verlakte Insecten Bakjes'.
[1024] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, 28-12-1789, report by the inventory committee: 'Omtrend de Glaswerken en wat daar toe behoort, noteren wij, dat de Japanse verlakte Theeblaadjes die bij de Inventaris voortlopen, geheel stukkend en onbruikbaar zijn, en wij verzoeken dus qualificatie, tot den Inkoop van nog 4 a 5 koper verlakte blaadjes als duurzamer zijnde, hebbende den laatst getekende bij provisie tot gebruik reeds 5 stuks ingekogt voor rd. 10:-'. See also 'Rekening per Kassa van Ontvangst en Uitgaaf ten behoeve van de Loge La Vertueuse' (1789), November 1789: '5 verlakte Schenkblaadjes 10:--:-'.
[1025] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, 23-12-1794, report by the inventory committee.
[1026] See Table 5.J.
[1027] See Table 5.N.
[1028] See Table 5.C.
[1029] See Table 5.Q.
[1030] CMC, Box 3085, Folder 89 Receipts 1827-1829, receipt 1-9-1827.
[1031] See Table 5.E.
[1032] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse various financial documents 1775-1780 and account book 1779-1784, 1779-1784: 'voor 60 servetten, 14 tafellakens en 12 handdoeken 150' Rds; Folder 'Doos 82, Bijlagen gehoorende tot de Loge La Vertueuse, Kasboeken 1775-1780 en 1779 1784, 'Cassa Reekening van de Loge La Vertueuse', January 1783: 'voor 60 servetten, 14 taffellakens en 12 handdoeken 150:--:-'
[1033] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse receipt books and account books 1791, 2/1791 No. 24A receipt book 1791.
[1034] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, 'Berigt van B.B. Verclocke en Reigersman, van den opneem der L[oge] La vertueuse in dato 24 xber 1790': De Br[oeder] servant Hein de bekrompendheid van het Tafel goed vertoonende, -zijn twee stukken guinees benodigd tot aanmaaking van Servetten & handdoeken'.
[1035] *VOC-Glossarium* 2000.
[1036] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76-77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1791-1795 1802-1805, Minutes 1791-1795: 'Op vriendelijke offerte van den Br visiteur Crap om van Bengalen voor deeze L meede te brengen, Lijwaet voor Tafellakens en Servietten, zoo wierd, in, aanmelring genome zijnde dat de Lijwatten aldaar beter te koop te bekomen zijn als alhier'.
[1037] *VOC-Glossarium* 2000.
[1038] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76-77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1791-1795 1802-1805, Minutes 1791-1795.
[1039] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 90 La Vertueuse receipts paid 1798-1799, 2/1798-99 No. 12 receipts paid 1798-1799', no. 14, 31-8-1798: '3 stukken witte Guinces daar uijt gemaakt 120 p servetten en 4 groote tafellakens voor rds 60,-'.
[1040] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76-77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1791-1795 1802-1805, No. 5 Minutes 5+5*5802 until 6+4*5803, minutes 19-9-1804 and 20-10-1804.
[1041] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 90 La Vertueuse accounts and receipts 1803-1804 1804-1805, 2/1804-5 No. 45 accounts and receipts 1804-1906=55', no. 30, March 1805, 'voor Lijwaaten tafellakens, servetten en handdoeken en maakloon rds 516,12'.
[1042] CMC, Box 3067, Folder 80+8 A La vertueuse 2nd degree Minutes 1834-1835, 1st degree Minutes 5834-5837', minutes 4-6-1834: 'De A[chtbare] M[eester] heeft hierna den Br[oeder] Gijsing verzocht te willen zorgen voor den aankoop van een blaauw linnen tafel kleed om te dienen bij de comparitien; hetwelk door dien Br met bereidwilligheid is aangenoomen'.
[1043] CMC, Box 3085, Folder 89 Receipts 1827-1829, receipts nos. 118-121, various purchases in 1828 from 'Venduhuis JJ Dominicus'.
[1044] CMC, Box 3069, Folder 91 Attachments, account books 1775-1780 1779-1784: 'voor 't maaken van 4 groote bruinverniste etenstafel, tot de tafel looge om met 32 broeders te kunnnen aansitten [...] 36:--:-'; see also Box 3069, Folder 82 La Vertueuse Attachments to the account books 1775-1780 1779-1784.
[1044] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 Various financial documents 1775-1780 and account book 1779-1784, No. 34 attachments 1775-1780', Expenses for July 1778: 'voor 't maaken van 4 groote bruinverniste etenstafel, tot de tafel looge om met 32 broeders te kunnen aansitten a 9 Rijx ijder tafel'.
[1045] See Table 5.H.
[1046] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, 'Notitie van zodanige Goede ren als ten behoeve van de Logie La Vertueuse per publieke vendutie en uit de hand verkogt z**ijn** 24 September 1789'.
[1047] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 90 La Vertueuse receipts and Almoner's accounts 1802, 2/1801-2 No. 44 accounts pais 1801-1802, no. 59: 'voor t vertinnen van 15 stuks combuisgoed rd 13,-'
[1048] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse financial records 1807/1816 A.B.C.D., /1810-14 No. 31 accounts 18010/11, 11/12, 12/13, 13/14:
'60 Pees kualies voor de Combuijs
12 Konfoor
30 Leepels van klappers
20 Rotting Lekaars of Schootels
Tezamen 16 matten'.

[1049] See Table 5.C.
[1050] See Table 5.G.
[1051] See Table 5.C.
[1052] See Table 5.E.
[1053] See Table 5.H.
[1054] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, report of the inventory committee 23-12-1794: '1 draiende kap en 1 musiek tafel'.
[1055] See Table 5.O.
[1056] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 73: 'N. 37, meubelmeester, 1775-1801', 'Inventaris van de [loge] la Fidele Sincerite [11] Aug[ustus] 5801':
'1 een gavelzegel of Stempel in het Zilver uitgedankt onder berusting van de br[oeder] gr[oot] Zegelbewaarder
1 een klein Zegel of Stempel in het Zilver uitgedank en onder berusting van de br[oeder] Secretaris'.
[1057] CMC, Box 8083, Folder 75 Inventories of the lodge archive 1782-1832.
[1058] See Table 5.R.
[1059] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 73 inventories 1785-1828, **'**Inventaris van zodanige Meubilaire en andere goederen Als door de ondergetekenden Zijn bevonden in de Loge La Fidelle Sincerite Te Batavia & welke onder Bewaring van den Meubel Meester zijn gesteld'**,** 20+27+1*5825:
'1 Een Kast, voor de archieven der Loge
1 Een d[it]o " Meubelmeester'.
[1060] CMC, Box3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse receipts 1798 and financial statement 1799, 2/1796-98 No. 28 receipts until 1797: 'voor t leveren van een Silv[eren] stempel rds 10,-'.
[1061] CMC, Box3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse various lists and receipts 1781?-1798, 1774-1798 No. 14, undated inventory ca. 1788: 'de Stempel Snijden 40,-'.
[1062] CMC, Box3067, Folder 80+8 A La vertueuse 2nd degree Minutes 1834-1835, 1st degree Minutes 5834-5837'. '3 drie dito Inktkokers, en toebehoren'
[1063] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, 'Rekening per Kassa van Ontvangst en Uitgaaf ten behoeve van de Loge La Vertueuse' [1789]: '20 zilvere doosen tot diverse gexpedieerde actens 90:--:-
4 vergulde Doosen dito 34:--:-'.
[1064] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse financial administration 1795-1796, 2/1795-96 N 27 receipts 1796. See also Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse various lists and receipts 1781?-1798, 1774-1798 No. 14, undated inventory ca. 1788, 20-2-1796: '6 ps Sil[vere] vrijmetz[e]laars doosen'.
[1065] CMC, 'dertig stuks silvere doosjes naar 't nevenstaande monster'.
[1066] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse' Receipts 1798 and Financial statement 1799, 2/1796-98 No. 28 receipts 1797:
'30 paar zilvere doosen wegen[de] 62 7/3 reaal (a 80 ..) rds 104,38
werkloon voor het pees rds 2 ¾ 82,24'.
[1067] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse' Receipts 1798 and Financial statement 1799, 2/1796-98 No. 28 receipts 1797.
[1068] CMC, Box 3073, Folder '90 La Vertueuse accounts and receipts 1802-1803, 2/1802-3 No. 29, no. 35': 'voor maakloon van 12 ps cachett doosjes en 2 daartoe geleverd zilver a 5 ½ rds pp rds 66,-'; Folder 90 La Vertueuse financial administration 1795-1796, 2/1795 No. 48: receipt 19-2-1795 for '28,27 papiergeld' to Meppert.
[1069] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse invoices 1807-1816 A.B.C.D., 2/1807-1808 No. 47, no. 128, 3-7-1807 'voor 12 pees silverdoospene a 5 rds 't pees rds 60', receipt 18-12-1811.
[1070] CMC, Box 3066, Folder 79 La Vertueuse 1st degree Minutes 1813-1815: 'twaalf Zilveren doosjes geschikt om het Zegel deser Loge in te bergen welke aan ieder Certificaat gehecht word van een vertrekkende broeder en welke doosjes ieder kosten 2 ½ Sp.m.'.[1070]
[1071] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse invoices 1807-1816 A.B.C.D., /1810-14 No. 31 accounts 1810/11, 11/12, 12/13, 13/14, no. 41; and Folder 91 La Vertueuse invoices 1807-1816 A.B.C.D., 1815-1916 paid accounts 20-6-1815 until 20-6-1816. In February 1813 it concerned an order of 12 seal boxes for 22,- Spd. The invoices are signed in Chinese letters. On 28-6-1815 16,- Spd were paid for 'silver works' to Oeij Tianko.
[1072] CMC, inv.no. U1, Register of outgoing correspondence and documents of the Grand Lodge 17-9-1745 until 6-9-1767, Vol. 1, no. 256: 'Overmits het Wetboek zegt, dat de Broeders ... beneden de 25 Jaren mogen ontfangen worden, zonder van een speciale vrijdom verkregen hebben, waarvan alle geregelde Loges zig jaarlijks voorzien, hebben Wij nodig geagt er hier eene bij te voegen, en waar bij nog deze en geenen andere Dispenses gegeven worden'.
[1073] See Davies 2005.
[1074] CMC, Box 4491, Folder 142: 1. The costs, including two years contribution, amounted to fl 298,5. He also wrote the lodge would be needing a copy of the resolutions of the Grand Lodge, 200 pages for fl 80,-.
[1075] ANRI, letter by R. van Laak to lodge La Fidèle Sincerite in Batavia, 18-9-1773. I am grateful to Diederick Kortlang, National Archive/Tanap Project, for providing a transcript. The *Code Macons* were delivered via 'brother [Jacob] van Houten', bootswain on the ship Hoolwerf. According to NA/VOC, he left the Netherlands 9-04-1773, arrived in Batavia 28-11-1773; repatriated on the ship Slot ter Hoge 6-11-1783, and arrived back in the Netherlands 16-06-1784. The *Muse Maconnique* were delivered via 'captain Beukelaer', Thomas Beukelaar of the ship Eendragt. He departed 7-10-1773, arrived in Batavia 18-06-1774, and repatriated on the same ship on 18-02-1778, which perished. On 26-10-1774 the lodge replied to the Grand Lodge, thanking for another letter dated 16-9-1773, also received through De Beukelaar.
[1076] ANRI, letter by R. van Laak to lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia, 18-9-1773. I am grateful to Diederick Kortlang, National Archive/Tanap Project, for providing a transcript. The only Johannes Sneijders listed in NA/VOC died in 1768. This is probably Johannes Snijders, captain of the ship Pauw, who sailed in 1774.
[1077] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 75 Inventories of the lodge archive 1782-1832, inventory 7-2-1783: 'Een resolution boek, in rood leer gebonden, beginnende Anno 1767 tot 1772'.
[1078] See Table 5.F.
[1079] See Table 5.G.
[1080] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 31 No. 83 La Fidèle Sincérité attachments 7+4*5817 until 10+4*5820 [= 1817-1820], no. 149.
[1081] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 31 No. 83 La Fidèle Sincérité attachments 7+4*5817 until 10+4*5820 [= 1817-1820], no 150, 10-8-1819, see also no. 151.
[1082] See Table 5.S.
[1083] CMC, Box 3076, Folder 3-6 La Fidèle Sincérité Resolutions 4th-12th months 5819 as well as the mourning lodge 9th month 5819' [= minutes 1819-1821: 'voor het kostenden overtenemen, van de onlangs met het schip Het Schoon Verbond gevoerd door den kapitein en breder Wegener, mede gebragte afbeeldingen van zijn koninklijke Hoogheid den prins Frederik, Grootmeester Nationaal van de order der vrijmetselaren, om tot Cieraad van de Loge te doen dienen en dezelven te hangen, vlak voor den troon dezer tempel'.
[1084] Scheen 1981, p. 304; CMC membership card register does not list Sluyter.

[1085] CMC, Box 3076, Folder 3-6 La Fidèle Sincérité Resolutions 4t[h]-12[th] months 5819 as well as the mourning lodge 9[th] month 5819' [= minutes 1819-1821.
[1086] See Table 5.S.
[1087] See Table 5.S.
[1088] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 34 La Fidèle Sincérité attachments to the minutes 18+4*5822 until 12+4*5824, no. 34, see also various documents regarding this transfer in Folder 36.
[1089] CMC 6 D 19, *Bemoediging* [1825] and *Lierzang* [1825].
[1090] CMC, Box 3084, Folder 83 La Fidèle Sincérité Account by the Treasurer 1-7-1823 until 30-1-1824 Nota Der Betaalde Gelden [...] 1823-1824, 17-8-1823. This also includes payments to the 'Landsdrukkerij' (National print works) for print work and an advert amounting to fl. 99,-. See also Box 3085, Folder 90-91 Receipts 1829, no. 12, 20-6-1830 for an advert in the *Javaasche Courant* no. 71; Box 3085, Folder 93 Receipts 1832-1833, no. 11, 19-6-1832 for an advert in the *Javaasche Courant* no. 72; Box 3086, Folder 94 accounts and receipts 1835-1837, receipts signed by Boekhoff, for print works including invitations, and adverts in the *Javaansche Courant* (no 23, 16-7-1836; no. 57; no.78, 1-7-1837; no. 52; no. 83, 9-8-1837; no. 63). This illustrates the visibility of the lodge for non-members.
[1091] CMC, Box 3084, Folder 83 No. 108 Financial accounts, documents and receipts 1823, 'Nota der betaalde Gelden [...]', 19-3-1823.
[1092] CMC, Box 3076, Folder 7 No. 98 1822-1824 Draft minutes No. 14 No. 87', Minutes 1822-1824. CMC, Box 3084, Folder 83 No. 108 Financial accounts, documents and receipts 1823, including the costs of song books.
[1093] CMC, Box 3085, Folder 90-91 Receipts 1829, no. 25: 'vergulde Lijst met glas zilver f 21'.
[1094] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 74: 'inventaris van de Meubelmeester 1829-1830': 'Schilderijen een vaas 1 13 mei 1830 ingenomen'. CMC, Box 3083, Folder 74, undated inventory in 'Folia Oeconome en Meubelmeester 1831': 'Verguld Schilderij verbeeldde een Masonike vaas'.
[1095] CMC, Box 3087, Folder 107 No. 11 Chapter La Fidèle Sincérité resolutions and attachments 1813-1834. 'Den Broederlijken dank zeggen wij U[w] Z[eer] E[edele] toe voor den ontvangen afdruk der Vaas aan den H[oog?] E[dele] aangeboden, zij prijkt met een fraaie Lijst omzet, als een blijvend aandenken, in onze tempel'.
[1096] CMC, Box 3086, Folder 94 accounts and receipts 1835-1837, no. 72, 16-6-1837 to the Chinese Oei Kwando:
'[...] verguld van 1 grote schilderij f 6
d[ito] van 1 Kleine d[ito] 4
bezet van Een grote schilderij glas 4
d[ito] van een kleine d[ito] 1
maken van 1 grote schilderij lijst 3
d[ito] d[ito] 1 kleine d[ito] 2
bezet van 4 ringen bij de schilderij 1[...]'.
[1097] CMC, Box 3086, Folder 94 accounts and receipts 1835-1837, no. 58: 'van uw vrouw ontvangen een stukje blaauwe moiree lint dienende tot in onderbrenging van diverse diploma van nieuw aangenomene leden 10 ellen a 2 Gulden Zilver'.
[1098] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80 A Correspondence La Vertueuse 1769 1778-1788. The letter was sent via captain Pieter van Proyen of the ship Ridderkerk from Amsterdam. See also CMC, Box 3069, Folder 82 La Constante et Fidèle Instruction Protocols of the Secretary ca. 1799, order by La Vertueuse dated 1-9-1769, later used as a template by La Constante et Fidèle.
[1099] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76+77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse 1) 1st degree Minutes 13-2-1791 until 13-3-1792 1791-1795 with 2) Attachments incoming and outgoing correspondence.
[1100] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 Various financial documents 1775-1780 and account book 1779-1784, No. 34 attachments 1775-1780.
[1101] See Table 5.E.
[1102] CMC, Box 3069, Folder 91 Attachments, account books 1775-1780 1779-1784, 'Cassa Reekening van de Loge La Vertueuse': 'voor het inbinden van de Lire masons 25:--:-'.
[1103] CMC, Box 3069, Folder 82 La Vertueuse Attachments to the account books 1775-1780 1779-1784, 'Cassa Reekening van de Loge La Vertueuse': 'Domenicus voor 't drukken van 160 Lideren in 4 versen groot 4 pagonas 16:--:- voor drukloon van 80 redevoeringen groot 16 paginans item inbinden in citroen geel papier 36:32:-'.
[1104] See Table 5.H.
[1105] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse receipts 1798 and financial account 1799, '2/1796-98 No. 28 receipts until 1797, undated 1796: '[...] aan den Br[oeder] Serv[ant] Langeweg voor het maken van een Lijstje tot het Pourtret van den G[root]M[eester] N[ationaal]van Boetzelaar 35,- voor een Glas voor d[it]o 1,-'.
[1106] See Table 5.J.
[1107] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse financial administration 1795-1796, 2/1795-96 N 27 receipts 1796.
[1108] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 +77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse 1) 1st degree Minutes 13-2-1791 until 13-3-1792 1791-1795 and 2) attachments correspondence: 'vijftig Lire Macons als de vorige met rood dan wel groen Maroes leeren en den Naam van La Vertueuse', as well as cerifitiicares and seals; Box 3069, Folder 83 La Vertueuse correspondence with the Deputy Grand Master Nicolaas Engelhard 1809-1821 plus membership lists [= 1805], financial account 27-1-2-1798 referring to Lires; Box 3073, Folder 90 La Vertueuse receipts paid 1798-1799, 2/1798-99 No. 12 receipts paid 1798-1799, financial account for 1797, various costs, for printwork, writing and lacquer for seals.
[1109] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 +77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1805-1808 1805-1809, 1st degree minutes 24-6-1805 until 25-6-1808, 27-10-1806: 'gebonden in een Fransche band, verguld op sneede en met goudene Letteren beschreven: La Vertueuse'. See also Box 3067, Folder 81 Correspondence with the Grand Master and La Constante et Fidèle 1777-1812, letter by La Fidèle Sincérité to Holtrop 8-1-1807; Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse invoices 1807-1816 A.B.C.D., 2/1807-1808 No. 47 Invoices 1807/8, no. 57, receipt '23 Louwmaand' [= January] 1810' for books taken over from the Holle estate: '100 Gezangen voor Vrij metzelaaren in heele fransche banden verguld op sneede in plat met naam 4 stempels f 7,5 f 725'.
[1110] CMC, Box 3065, Folder 77 La Vertueuse 1st degree Minutes and resolutions 1807-1808, report of the inventory committee, 9-7-1807.
[1111] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 + 77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1805-1808 1805-1809, 1st degree minutes 24-6-1805 until 25-6-1808', 7-1-1808; Box 3065, Folder 77 La Vertueuse 1st degree Minutes and resolutions 1807-1808, 2/1807-8 1st degree Minutes and attachments 24-6-5807 until 25-6-5808': 'Nota van 't ontfangenen uijt den Boedel van wijlen Br Jassoy […] Eenige Maconnique boeken en Papieren'.
[1112] CMC, Box 3066, Folder 79 La Vertueuse 1st egree Minutes 1818-1819, 1st degree Minutes 1820-1821: '[…] inhoudende Kennisgave dat hij van den Hoogverlichte Grootmeester nationaal der Vereenigde Nederlanden onderhorige kolonieen en Landen gepatenteerd is tot het aleen uitgeven van deszelfs Portrait en geleidende Kopy van dit Patent door den Achtbare Meester van de Loge Concordia Vincit Animos in 't Oosten van Amsterdam gecontrasigneerd is […] [door de loge wordt] besloten tot den Aankoop van Een Exemplaar van de bij deeze missieve bedoelde Portraitten voor de Som van f 22 zegge tweentwintig guldens'.

[1113] CMC, Box 3070, Folder 83 La Vertueuse incoming and outgoing correspondence 1814-1837: '[…] een afdruk [zend] van de zilvere Vaas, waar van reeds een exemplaar door mij aan [Uwe] Z[eer]E[dele] was bevorderd door [het schip] de Harmonie met mijne teekenplank [= brief] dato 29 Juny welke Bodem egter een der 15 augustus na zee gegaan is'. CMC membership card register. This may concern E.S. Voute, in 1824 member of La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam and in 1834 of La Constante et Fidèle in Semarang; or J.J. Voute (1775-1850), also a member of La Bien Aimée in 1824.
[1114] Cat. Nijmegen 1912, p. 6: Cat. Nijmegen 1913, p. 31, no. 43. 'Ledenlijst van de Loge "De Vriendschap"in het O. van Soerabaia van den 27+ 8* 5845 (27 Oct. 1845) gedrukt op Oranje zijde en gevat in eikenhouten lijst'. In the reading room copy of the catalogue, curator Beitj Croiset van Uchelen drew a circle around the numbers of objects which had been returned after WW2, including no. 43.
[1115] CMC, 6D19, De Waal [1840] A.
[1116] CMC, 76E18, 197B92, De Waal [1840] B.
[1117] CMC, Box 3089, Folder 105A Programs of ceremonies La Fidèle Sincérité and La Vertueuse plus correspondence 1833-1836.
[1118] CMC 76E19, Loman/De Waal 1841.
[1119] CMC 76E27, Verslag 1849.
[1120] CMC 6D19, Ritter 1840 and De Waal [1840] C.
[1121] *Jaarboekje voor Nederlandsche Vrijmetselaren*, Amsterdam 1844.
[1122] *Jaarboekje voor Nederlandsche Vrijmetselaren*, Amsterdam 1847.
[1123] CMC, Box 3074 [new inv.no 4086.7], Folder 'Adoptieloge A.L. "La Vertueuse"' [1783]. Undated, but because the seats and names of members are included, it is clear Van Overstraten was Worshipful Master and Radermacher was present. That means the document can be attributed to the Adoption lodge in 1783.
[1124] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments: 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798]', '1770-97 No. 20 correspondence and attachments to the Grand Lodge 5770-5797, membership list 21-7-1783 lists him as Architect. Hageman 1866, p. 109, suggests this may have been a farewell party for Radermacher, about to repatriate in November. Hageman and Van der Linden 1870, p. 28, both refer to a report of the celebration in a letter to the Grand Lodge.
[1125] CMC 4F38, [Van] [Overstraaten] 1785, CMC 4F39, 'Tafel-Lied' 1786.
[1126] CMC, Box 3148, Folder XVII, [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek […] 1843, z.p: 'bij welke gelegenheid de Dames met een V[rij] M[etselaars] versierzel aan een citroenkleurig lint [werden] omhangen'. The bill for the costs of the jewels also the purchase of black ribbon ('inkoop van 't rol breed Swart Lint [Rds] 13,24').
[1127] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse various financial documents 1775-1780 and account book 1779-1784, 1779-1784 [financial statement]: 'bij het houden van Een Logie de adoption [...] aan der Zilver Smit voor 20 goude ornamentjes met een winkelhaak en passer weg[ende] 2 r[ijks]d[aalders] en 40 st[uivers] 91:--:-'.
[1128]Box 3070, Folder 83-84-85 IIB7 La Vertueuse various correspondence 1812-1815, 2/1812-15 No. 38 5812-5815, undated letter by Engelhard to La Verteuse, referring to the complint against La Constante et Fidèle 30-5-1812. 'de Leeden van de Hooge Regeering en hunne vrouwen, als onderscheiden andere aanzienlijke Heeren en Daemes op dat feest verzogt zijn'. See in the same Folder Box IIB Chapter Kapittel La Vertueuse 1796-1836 1803, papers and letters received from the Grand Chapter 1820-1835 1796-1836, letter by Engelhard and Parvé to La Vertueuse concerning the suspention of Chapter and lodge of La Constante et Fidèle.
[1129] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse' Receipts 1798 and financial statement 1799, 2/1796-98 No. 28 receipts 1797: 'twee dames Echarpes'. Also included in this order were 4 rolls of white satin and a roll of yellow armozijn, together for 408:- Rds.
[1130] Pieren 1901/1902, p. 268: 'De zusters zullen gelieven (desverkiezende) hunne ongehuwde dogters mede te brengen mits den ouderdom van veertien jaaren hebbende bereikt'. CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76-77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1791-1795 1802-1805, No. 5 Minutes 5+5*5802 until 6+4*5803', 19-9-1804, invitation to La Fidèle Sincérité requesting 'meede brenging der zusters en een hunne dochters boven de 14 Jaaren'.
[1131] Gelman Taylor 1983.
[1132] Pieren 1901/1902, p. 268-271: 'Des avonds voor zes uuren zal de Loge zo binnen als buiten, op het pragtigste geillumineerd zijn [...] De wagens zullen allen binnenrijden door het groote hek, komen vervolgends over de houte brug op het naast gelegen stuk lands en zullen langs een bamboesen brug, over de noksloot weder op den heerenweg rijden. NB: Ten dien einde zal den Mandoor moeten gereed staan, om den koetsiers den weg aan te wijzen [...] De voorkamer zal met het groote tapijt uit de Loge belegd worden, alwaar de zusters zullen worden ontvangen [...] De binnengaanderij zal mede met een tapijt voorzien worden, tot den ontvangst der Brr [...] Er zal een maconnique Aria door de Musicanten gespeeld worden gedurende de Entree en den optogt naar de Loge [...]'.
[1133] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 31 No. 83 La Fidèle Sincérité attachments 7+4*5817 until 10+4*5820 [= 1817-1820], no. 118, 10-4-1819 invitation by La Fidèle Sincérité to La Vertueuse for the inauguration of the new building; no. 135 description of the ceremony; no. 136 1 welcome to the guests; no. 37 list of music to be played. See also *Verslag* 1848, p. 99; Hageman 1857, p. 233.
[1134] CMC, Box 3086, Folder 94 accounts and receipts 1835-1837, no. 13: '30 spaanse matten a f 2,55 en vijftig gulden zilver voor het maken van 120 truffeltjes'.
[1135] *Vry-Metselaars Almanak*, 1838, p. 116: 'Vervolgens werd deze aanzienlijke Vrouwenschaar, tot aandenken aan dezen dag, met linten, waaraan daartoe expres vervaardigde truffels, omhangen'. *Verslag* 1848, p. 99; Hageman 1858, p. 255 refers to a celebration with ladies in La Fidèle Sincérité in 1836 on the occasion of Schill's return. Der Kinderen 1864, p. 216, refers to a joint St. John's Day celebration of both lodges with ladies, at which De Eerens was present. It is unclear if he is referring to the same occasion. CMC, Box 4491, Folder 142: 2 La Fidèle Sincérité 1814-1836, correspondence and attachments to the minutes 1813-1836, contains a poem dated 11-7-1836 which may well have been read at this occasion: 'Bij mijne aanneming in de Orde der Vrijmetselaren' ('On my initiation as a freemason').
[1136] CMC, Box 3086, Folder 94 accounts and receipts 1835-1837, no. 26: 'pour Dix truelles en or, et Vingt en argent […] B. Pont''pour Dix truelles en or, et Vingt en argent'.
[1137] See, amongst others, Davies 2007, Heidle/Snoek 2008; Révauger/Lemaire 2010, as well as the entries on 'Bourbon – Louise Marie Thérèse Bathilde d'Orléans, duchesse de, puis princesse de Condé (1750-1822)', 'Chartres, Louise Marie Adélaïde de Bourbon-Penthièvre, duchesse d'Orleans, duchesse de (1753-1821)' and 'Seignelay, Catherine-Pauline de Béthune Sully, marquise de (1752-1795)' in Porset/Révauger 2013, and earlier works not referenced further here: Margaret Jacob, 'Freemasonry, Women, and the Paradox of the Enlightenment', in: Eleanor S. Riemer, *Women and the Enlightenment*, (Women & History 9) New York 1984, pp. 69-93; Janet M. Burke, 'Freemasonry, Friendship and Noblewomen: The Role of the Secret Society in Bringing Enlightenment Thought to Pre-Revolutionary Women Elites', *History of European Ideas* 10 (1989) 3, pp. 283-94; Gisèle/Yves Hivert-Messeca, *Comment la Franc-Maçonnerie vint aux femmes. Deux siècles de Franc-Maçonnerie d'adoption féminine et mixte en France 1740-1940*, Paris 1997.
[1138] CMC, Box 3148, Folder XVII, [J. Schill] Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek […] 1843, n.pag. Hageman 1866, p. 93 notes Brahé was later recorded as a visitor in La Vertueuse. De Visser Smits 1931, p. 162. These events may have been recorded in early documents in the lodge archive, that were lost in WW2 or have been missing or mislaid since the Ton Lutter inventory was drawn up.

[1139] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 608-1. Duplicaat in CMC, Box 2403, Constitution file La Constance, no. 608-2: 'daar is hier een seeker man aan uw Hoog verligten wel bekend, die maakt hier meester in de camer of Zijn Eijgen hand, en hij maakt Schotten en Elús en E[cossoi]ses. Elu Profet: &c en wat meer is, die maan [= man] is welEer in de [loge] La Choisie geweest, hier zijn nog verscheijden graaden, die dan [= den] Zoo genaamt Baron van Schonneck hier in gevoegt [= ingevoerd heeft] Egter niet na het waar gelijken der Maconnerij'.
[1140] CMC, inv.no. U2, Register of outgoing correspondence of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2.
[1141] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachmens 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], 1770-97 No. 20 outgoing correspondence and attachments to the Grand Lodge 5770-5797, letter 2-11-1776 by La Vertueuse to the Grand Lodge: 'grootendeels heeft hier inne geíjverd den overleden Broeder Vernet, geweesene Directeur in Bengale, den broeder Architect Metterton, en meer andere'.
[1142] De Visser Smits 1931, p. 260.
[1143] CMC, Box 4491, Folder 142-2.
[1144] Kind advice by dr. Jan Snoek, Heidelberg University.
[1145] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 75 Inventories of the archive 1782-1832, 'Receuil van alle zoodanige Archieven, Documenten & andere Stukken als er op den 10 Juny 1820 […]'.
[1146] CMC, Box 3068, correspondence to the Grand Lodge 1809-1814, letter by Engelhard (higher degrees committee) to the Grand Lodge, 20-10-1809, in which the constitution is referenced. See also CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76+77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse 1) 1st degree Minutes 13-2-1791 until 13-3-1792 1791-1795 with 2) Attachments incoming and outgoing correspondence, draft for letter to the Grand Lodge 31-1-1792, in which the request for a constitution in 1784 is referenced. See also CMC, Box 3068, Correspondence to the Grand Lodge 1809-1814, letter by La Vertueuse to the Committee on the higher degrees 24-4-1809, claiming never to have received a Chapter constitution despite requests in 1794, 1797 and 1798. Second letter 2-5-181? that the constitution had turned up in the papers of deceased Worshipful Master Holle.
[1147] See copy of the constitution in CMC, Box 3067, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], 1770-97 No. 20 outgoing correspondence and attachments to the Grand Lodge 5770-5797. See also CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76+77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse 1) 1st degree Minutes 13-2-1791 until 13-3-1792 1791-1795 with 2) Attachments incoming and outgoing correspondence, draft for letter to the Grand Lodge 31-1-1792, attached request to lodge member Herklots to carry the letter personally to the Grand Lodge, with on the back: 'Deze kans weder de beste gelegenheid zijnde, waar van wij zederd t vertrek van onzen waarden Comp Br Jan Berkhout die in de maand April dezes Jaars met het schip Christiaans harr [?] naar Coppenhagen stervende, hebben kunne gebruik maken'.However, *Gedenkboek* 1917, p. 147 claims that the foundation took place in 1796, was unofficial and the (temporary?) constitution was lost.
[1148] CMC, Box 3064, Folder Box 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondenc and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], 1770-97 No. 20 outgoing correspondence and attachments to the Grand Lodge 5770-5797, letter by La Vertueuse to the French Grande Chapitre General in Paris, 22+7*1796. CMC, Box 3068, Folder 81 La Vertueuse correspondence to the Grand Lodge 1797-1798, letter by La Verteuse to the Grand Lodge, 3-2-1797. CMC, Box 3064, Folder Box 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondenc and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], 1770-97 No. 20 outgoing correspondence and attachments to the Grand Lodge 5770-5797, undated letter. This mentions the Provincial Grand Lodge and five lodges under Dutch jurisdiction in 'Les Indes orientales'.
[1149] *Gedenkboek* 1917, p. 147, claims La Vertueuse refused an offer by the French to constitute it under the Grand Orient de France and requested a constitution from the Netherlands, which arrived on on 25-10-1798.
[1150] CMC, Box 3068, Folder 81 La Vertueuse correspondence to the Grand Lodge 1797-1798, letter by La Verteuse to the Grand Lodge, 3-2-1797.
[1151] CMC, Box 3070, Folder IIB Chapter La Vertueuse 1796-1836 1803, Papers and letter to lodge La Vertueuse 1820-1835 1796-1836. See also CMC, Box 3069, Folder Box 82 La Constante et Fidèle Instruction Protocols of the Secretary ± 1799, copy of a document from the Chapter of La Vertueuse 22-2-1799, clearly stating it was constituted under the Grand Chapitre General de France.
[1152] CMC, Box 3507, IIB13 (large format storage, also numbered as 158b and 229).
[1153] *Gedenkboek* 1917, pp. 146-147: 'Dit voorval gaf zelfs aanleiding tot eenig geschil tusschen de Loges "La Vertueuse" en "La Fidele Sincerite". De laatste meende, dat de Fransche broeders, als niet behoorende tot de Nederlandse Vrijmetselarij, het recht misten de hoogere graden te verleenen en daarin te recipieeren. De Leden van "La Vertueuse" erkenden dit recht wel, doch sloegen het aanbod van de Fransche broeders om een kapittel te constitueren onder het Groot Oosten van Frankrijk op hoffelijke wijze van de hand. Zij besloten zich daartoe te wenden tot den Grootmeester Nationaal in Nederland'.
[1154] CMC, Box 3087, Folder 106 Chapter minutes 1797: 'de graad van Ely de Quize niet naar behoren en volgens onze Constitutie ontvangen hadden'.
[1155] CMC, Box 3087, Folder 106 Chapter minutes 1787.
[1156] CMC, Box 3068, Folder 81 La Vertueuse correspondence to the Grand Lodge 1797-1798, letter by La Vertueuse to the Grand Lodge, 3-2-1797: 'Na uitwisseling met een Cartel weder te Maritius aangekomen, hebben zij zich in hunne respectieve loges des quize Artistes, La Triple Esperance, La Paix en les 21 Amis de la Republique Francaise van de blijken van B[rioeder]min kennis gegeven […] hunne aanbieding / onder overzending van tafreelen / der B[roederen] dien L[oge] om ons met hen te vereenigen. Onkundig van deze plegtigehid hebben wij dat voorstel, op dien voet, zoo aangenomen en ingevolge hunne verlangens hun geantwoord tot de komst van het onlangs van hier vertorkken Fransche Esquader onder bevel van den Acht[are] Br[oeder] En Contre Admiraal Serceij. De onderhandelingen met de daarmeede hier over gekomene Commissarissen en verdere BB gehouden […] met deze Eludatie dat zijj bewust van de wijze hunner receptie in La Vertueuse ons aangeboden hadden om ermits er een behoorlijk getal SPRC onder hun hier waren, van het Schotsche Kapitel aan un Oppermagtige Graad een Request te rpesenteeren ter verkrijging der verheven trappen van Chevallier du L Orient en Souverain prince Rose Croix. Daar wij n, door den nog heerschenden oorloog, wie weet hoe lange [wij] verstoken kunnen blijven, van eenig narigte uwere Hoog Verliche te ontvangen […] hebben wij deze gunstige gelegenheid […] niet willen laaten ontslippen'. See also the letters by the French attached tot his file.
[1157] De Visser Smits 1925/1926, pp. 332-335, transcript of a letter 10-5-1801 from Engelhard to La Constante et Fidèle. In his letter Engelhard referred to members with higher degrees on the membership list of La Constante et Fidèle, including the degree of *Elu de Quinze*, 'for which Your Honour expects the diploma's from Mauritius. Engelhard enclosed a constitution dated 3-10-1801, also valid for a Chapter, of which the installation date remains unclear. See Gedenkboek 1917, p. 149. Hageman 1857, p. 244.
[1158] *Gedenkboek* 1917, p. 151.
[1159] Hageman 1857, p. 242: 'Commissarissen van het Hoofdbestuur der symbolieke graden en van het Hoofdkapittel der Oppergraden'. *Gedenkboek* 1917, p.148 uses a different title: 'Commissaris van het Hoofdkapittel der Oppergraden en van het Groot-Oosten van het Koninkrijk Holland' and names their joint years in power as 1805-1815.
[1160] CMC, Box 3068, Folder Correspondence to the Grand Lodge 1809-1814. They had also received a request from lodge La Constante & Fidèle to found a chapter for those four degrees.
[1161] CMC, Box 3068, Folder Correspondence to the Grand Lodge 1809-1814. There was also a discussion of belated payment of Rds 2000,- to the Grand Lodge, caused by the contribution of the higher degrees being transferred by mistake to the cash register of the basic degrees pf La Vertueuse by Worshipful Master Holle. See a letter by Engelhard dated 8-3-1809 on a debt of 854 Rds by the Chevaliers d'Epees and 181 Rds by the

Princes Rose Croix. La Vertueuse answered on 24-4-1809 that payment would be a problem because its Chapter building and furniture were borrowed and money was needed for repairs. *Gedenkboek* 1917, pp. 148-149, points out that the withdrawing of constitutions caused a conflict with the lodges, which would last until a new Grand Chapter constitution arrived in 1813.

[1162] CMC, Box 3068, Folder Correspondence to the Grand Lodge 1809-1814.

[1163] CMC, Box 3088, Folder 110 La Fidèle Sincérité, No. 12 attachments to the Chapter minutes La Fidèle Sincérité 1813-1831, letter 15-1-1810 by La Fidèle Sincérité to Engelhard and Parve, noting the constitution date of its Chapter for the Ecossais and Elu degrees on 8-3-1809. At the time, the Chapter practiced among others the degrees of *Élu de Neuf* and *Élu de Perignac*. On 15-1-1810 La Fidèle Sincérité requested Engelhard and Parve to also constitute a Chapter for the Chevalier d'Orient and Rose Croix degrees, while on 2-4-1810 the lodge, now having figured out it needed permission, asked to be allowed to practice the degree of Écossais and three Élu degrees. CMC, Box 3068, Folder Correspondence to the Grand Lodge 1809-1814., letter by La Vertueuse to the Committee for the higher degrees, stating they chose the officers for their Chapter, CMC, Box 3069, Folder 83 La Vertueuse correspondence with the Deputy Grand Master Nicolaas Engelhard 1809-1821 and membership lists [is 1805], extract minutes 17-4-1813 on the behavior of lodge member Doornick at the installation of the Chapter on '18^{e} jl' [= 18 March] and his subsequent dismissal. See also Box 3070, Folder IIB Chapter La Vertueuse 1796-1836 1803, report by the Committee on the higher degrees 31-11-1813, regarding the Chapter and its relation to the lodges of the basic degrees.

[1164] CMC, Box 3122, Folder 147 La Constante et Fidèle A) correspondence received 1807-1815. B) outgoing correspondence 1807-1815, No. 43 A 5809-5814, Letter by Engelhard 30-5-1809: 'hetzelfde emport in Rijksdaalders dat de Wet in guldens bepaald […] Chevaliers dÉpee rijksd 100 en SPRC 150 zilverde specie of te saamen 250 rijksd. Met een weinig overleg konnen de Broeders dadelijk een Boete Cassa formeeren, alg is het zij de geheele receptie bepaalen op 200 of 150 te weeten 80 of 50 voor Chevalier de Lorias en 120 of 100 voor die van SPRC allles in zilver. Het is goed dat de prijs wat hoog gesteld word, anders vallen de sollicitatien lastig, en als de eerste Stigtrs van deeze Tempel, daarinnen met een goed exemple voorgaan, hebben de volgende Broeders die in die graade verzoeke opgenomen te worden, niets te zeggen, zij zijn te Sublim om daar maar zo de but en blanc aan te koomen'. See also letter by Grand Master Van Bijleveld 30-3-1809 regarding a request for a Grand Chapter.

[1165] CMC, Box 3089, Folder 105A Programs of ceremonies La Fidèle Sincérité and La Vertueuse plus correspondence 1833-1836.

[1166] *Gedenkboek* 1917, p. 149.

[1167] CMC, Box 4491, Folder 142:2 La Fidèle Sincérité 1814-1836, correspondence and attachments to the minutes 1813-1836.

[1168] CMC, Box 3088, Folder 110 No. 12 La Fidèle Sincérité attachments to the resolutions 1813-1831, correspondence on the conflict, including a letter 28-9-1813 by George van der Keer to La Fidèle Sincérité. See also Box 4491, Folder 142: 2 La Fidèle Sincérité 1814-1836, correspondence and attachments to the minutes 1813-1836, letter 28-9-1813 on a report by the committee.

[1169] CMC, Box 4491, Folder 142: 2 La Fidèle Sincérité 1814-1836, correspondence and attachments to the minutes 1813-1836. A request was made to give Sack the *Rose Croix* degree.

[1170] *Gedenkboek* 1917, pp. 216-217, transcript of the constitution 24-5-1833, referring to the earlier Chapter constitution of 1809; Box 3122, Folder 147 La Constante et Fidèle A) correspondence received 1807-1815. B) outgoing correspondence 1807-1815, No. 42 correspondence received A 5808-5815', request by La Constante et Fidèle 22-12-1814 to the Commissioners Engelhard/Parvé, suggesting a Chapter for the Ecossois degree had been active since 1811, now requesting a Chapter for the Ecossois and Chevalier d'Orient degrees; Box 3247, 75:1 Chapter Constante Fidèle correspondence 1812-1816, report and correspondence concerning conflict between the Chapter and Engelhard 1813-1814; Box 3088, Folder 110 No. 12 La Fidèle Sincérité attachments to the resolutions 1813-1831, letter 4-1-1815 from La Constante et Fidèle to lodge concerning establishing Chapter La Constante et Fidèle on 25ste jl [= 25-12-1814].

[1171] CMC, Box 3088, Folder 110 No. 12 La Fidèle Sincérité attachments to the resolutions 1813-1831, letter Grand Chapter about the constitution of the Chapter of De Vriendschap, 8-6-1814. Hageman 1857, p. 258, and *Gedenkboek* 1917, p. 148, name the date as [16-]5-1814.

[1172] Hageman 1857, p. 268.

[1173] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 31 No. 83 La Fidèle Sincérité attachments 7+4*5817 until 10+4*5820 [= 1817-1820], no. 163-164.

[1174] Cool 1925/1926, p. 111.

[1175] Van Loo 1953.

[1176] Gedenkboek 1917, pp. 149-150. See also De Visser-Smits 1921/1922.

[1177] Hageman 1857, p.269. CMC, Box 3088, Folder 110 No. 12 La Fidèle Sincérité attachments to the resolutions 1813-1831, 25-1-1826: 'Rapport in de Zaak der Hooge graden, uitgebragt in Vergadering van SSPPR+ in het Eerwaarde Kapittel gevestigd in de ZA Loge de Vriendschap werkende in het O van Sourabaija'.

[1178] CMC, Box 3089, Folder 107, Chapter inventory 24-6-1833; Folder 108, Chapter inventory 23-8-1835. See also Box 3087, Folder 107, No. 7. Chapter La Fidèle Sincérité resolutions and attachments 7835-7838, 23-8-1835, a list of the wine cellar and other consumptions of the Chapter.[1178]

[1179] They did not apply for permission to merge until 12-4-1813, which was approved on 13-4. CMC card register lists a copy date 5-12 1838 of the permission granted on 13-4-1813 for the merger of the Chapters of La Fidèle Sincérité and La Vertueuse into that of De Ster in het Oosten.

[1180] *Gedenkboek* 1917, p.150, 171; De Visser Smits 1931, p. 260.

[1181] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76+77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse 1) 1st degree Minutes 13-2-1791 until 13-3-1792 1791-1795 with 2) Attachments incoming and outgoing correspondence, 28-11-1775.

[1182] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 73: 'No. 37, meubelmeester, 1775-1801', inventory [11]-8-1801: '[...] 8 agt Zilvere driehoeken met de L[etter] G [...]'.

[1183] CMC, Box 3087, Folder 107 No. 11 Chapter La Fidèle Sincérité resolutions and attachments 1813-1834: 'Br[oeder] Boekhof wierden presente gegeven de ornamenten tot dese graad [= Chevalier d'Orient] behoorende uit den boedel van Wijlen de Br[oeder] Eekhout, en zulks in erkentenis voor de door denzelve aan de [loge] geschonkene Venster gordijnen'.

[1184] This tradition was not abandoned until the second half of the 20th century, when the commercial trade in masonic antiques took flight. Declining membership meant the tradition of passing items from father to son within one family was less likely to happen. Precious, handcrafted regalia had been replaced by cheaper, mass produced versions, making lodges less keen to preserve the regalia of every single former member. Lodges and masonic museums lacked the means now necessary to compete with traders and collectors for the more valuable and historical items.

[1185] CMC, Box 3085, Folder 89 Receipts 1827-1829, receipt no. 3, 1-6-1827: '6 Meesters Banden met Zilvere Driehoeken f 18', as well as aprons. See also receipt 39, also mentioning triangles.

[1186] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 74, 'inventaris meubelmeester 1829-1830': 'Zilveren G's voor de M[eester] banden 16 [stuks] 7 mei 1830 in voorraad genomen (Ulrichs)'.

[1187] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse Various financial documents 1775-1780 and account book 1779-1784, 1779-1784 [financial statement]', 28-2-1784: '[...] het betaalde aan de Silversmit van Campen, voor het volgende het geen door de broeders die deselve genoten hebben onder ultimo April aanstaande nog moet betaald worden

3 Silvere pooken 21:--:-

10 " ornamentjes verguld met de L[ette]re G in 't midden 33:--:-.

[1188] Voskuil-Groenewegen e.a. 1998, p.178; Eliëns 2012, p. 169. Zijn naam komt niet voor in kaartenbak ledenbestand CMC.

[1189] See Table 5.H.
[1190] The various degrees referring to St. Andrew had very similar names, but their rituals were different. See Snoek 1991.
[1191] See Table 5.I.
[1192] There were three members of La Fidèle Sincérité with the same last name, to whom he may have been related.
[1193] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76+77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse 1) 1st degree Minutes 13-2-1791 until 13-3-1792 1791-1795 with 2) attachments correspondence: '[...] alverder wierd goedgevonden den Br[oeder] Welgevare op zijne aanbieding te kwalificeren om voor rekkening van deeze L[oge] Een ornament van juweelen verbeeldende het St. Andrieskruis te laten aanmaken ten einde hetzelve den Br[oeder] passe maitre [P.G.] van Overstraten bij gelegenheid dat hoogst dezelve afscheid van deeze L[oge] neemt, tot een gedagtenis aan te bieden'.
[1194] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse receipt books and account books 1791, 2/1791 No. 24A receipt book 1791':
'Voor geleverde 203 ps Hollandsche roosjes tot Een Orden, a rd 1:32 't ps bedraagt rds 338:16
't goud daartoe gebruikt 24,-'.
See also Folder 90 La Vertueuse receipts and account book 1791, 2/1791 No. 39 account book of the Treasurer 1791, 3-12-1791: 'den Juwelier Reemer voor geleverde Juweelen & goud tot een ornament voor Br[oeder] [Van] Overstraaten 362:16'.
[1195] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 +77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1791-1795 1802-1805, Minutes 1791-1795.
[1196] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 +77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1791-1795 1802-1805, Minutes 1791-1795. 'dat gen[oemde] Juwelier daar niets voor begeerde'.
[1197] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 +77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1805-1808 1805-1809, 1st degree Minutes 24-6-1805 until 25-6-1808: 'Door den fungeerend Meester overgegeeven zijnde, zeker ornament het welk de Loge La Vertueuse in der tijd tot een geschenk heeft gegeeven aan wijlen B[roeder] M[eester] Pieter Gerardus van Overstraten en als nu door de Gemalinne van den gerepatrieerde Gouverneur Generaal wiese als geweesen douariere van gemelde B[roeder] van Overstraten, bij haar vertrek van Hier weder aan deze [Loge] wierd gerestitueerd, als betuigende geene Precosa's op de reise te hebben medegenomen'.
[1198] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse financial administration 1795-1796, 2/1795-96 N 27 receipts 1796: '20 ps goude M[eeste]rs ornamenten a rds 15 't ps bedraagd rds 300,-'.
[1199] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse' Receipts 1798 and Financial statement 1799, 2/1796-98 No. 28 receipts 1797.
[1200] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse' Receipts 1798 and Financial statement 1799, 2/1796-98 No. 28 receipts 1797.
[1201] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse various lists and receipts 1781?-1798, 1774-1798 No. 14 [= 1771-1798].'
[1202] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse' Receipts 1798 and Financial statement 1799, 2/1796-98 No. 28 receipts 1797.
[1203] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse' Receipts 1798 and Financial statement 1799, 2/1796-98 No. 28 receipts 1797.
[1204] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76+77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1791-1795 1802-1805, No. 5 Minutes 5+5*5802 until 6+4*5803: 'de Br Jassoij Leijd over twee zilvere deegentjes voor rd 20 bij hem ingekogt en is verslaan dien inkoop goed te keuren'. See also: CMC, Box 3073, Folder 90 La Vertueuse accounts and receipts 1802-1803, 2/1802-3 No. 29, no. 26, 28-12-1802, receipt to Jassoij for amongst others '2 zilvere degens' at 20 Rds.
[1205] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse invoices 1807-1816 A.B.C.D., 2/1807-1808 No. 47 Invoices 1807/8, no. 170: 'voor t maeken van Zes Zilvere ponjaards'.
[1206] Voskuil-Groenewegen e.a. 1998, p. 184.
[1207] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 90 La Vertueuse accounts and receipts 1802-1803, 2/1802-3 No. 29, no. 50: 'voor 12 Pees Silver vergulde 3Eck met Lettere G a 5 rds 60 rds'.
[1208] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 90 La Vertueuse accounts and receipts 1803-1804 1804-1805, 2/1804-5 No. 45 accounts and receipts 1804-1805, no. 37: 'Voor 10 Pees dubbelde silver vergulde 3hoek met lettere G'.
[1209] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse invoices 1807-1816 A.B.C.D., 2/1807-1808 No. 47 Invoices 1807/8, no. 9.
[1210] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse invoices 1807-1816 A.B.C.D., 2/1807-1808 No. 47 Invoices 1807/8, no. 54. The date is given as the 16th of 'sprokkelmaand' = February.
[1211] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 'Doos 91' La Vertueuse financial records 1807/1816 A.B.C.D., /1810-14 No. 31 accounts 18010/11, 11/12, 12/13, 13/14'. See also Box 3074, Folder 92 La Vertueuse account book 812', No. 32 financial statements 20-6-5812: '[...] 1812 1 Janua[ri] Aan Br[oeder] Iges voor 4 Pers Meesters ornamenten Nr 17 [rds] 45'. '4 p Meester ornementen Zilver verguld'.
[1212] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 'Doos 91' La Vertueuse financial records 1807/1816 A.B.C.D., /1810-14 No. 31 accounts 18010/11, 11/12, 12/13, 13/14'.
[1213] CMC, Box 3074, Folder 92 Chapter and lodge La Vertueuse financial administration 1813-1817', accounts from 1813 onwards, accounts between the Chapter and the basic lodge of La Vertueuse.
[1214] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse financial records 1807/1816 A.B.C.D., /1810-14 No. 31 accounts 18010/11, 11/12, 12/13, 13/14': 'Voor het maken van 24 zilvere met goud vergulde ornamenten'.
[1215] CMC, Box 3089, Folder 105A La Vertueuse [= La Fidèle Sincérité] Chamber of Reflection 1786, No. ~~42~~ 38 'Toestel wegens een kamer obscur en der zelver decoratien', 6-2-1786: 'De Duistere Kamer dus ingerigt zijnde, zal den Verschrikkende Broeder voortaan - in functie zijnde - meede gekleed zijnde in een Eerwaardig Priesterlijk gewaad van wit Cattoen met een borstlap van swart fluweel, waar op de Winkelhaak, Passer en Schietlood in t Zilver geborduurd staat; hebbende op zijn Hoofd een groote Tulband, aan zijn voeten een paar moorsche muijlen, en vermomd zijn aangezicht door een masque en grijsharige lange baard.'
[1216] See Table 5.G.
[1217] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 73 inventories 1785-1828, 'N. 37, meubelmeester, 1775-1801', 'Inventaris van de [loge] la Fidele Sincerite Aug[ustus] 5801', Inventaris van alle zodanige losse goederen toebehoorende aan de Acht[bare] [Loge] la Fidele Sincerite, als er door ons ondergetekende, bij een opneem op den elfden Augustus 5801 in waare wezen zijn bevonden'.
[1218] A breastplate could be part of the regalia of the High Priest in the Royal Arch, or the Knight degrees according to the Strikt Observance in an 18th century Chapter in The Hague (not the Knight of the East practiced in Batavia). Kind advice by dr. Jan Snoek, Heidelberg University.
[1219] CMC, Box 4491, Folder 142: 2 La Fidele Sincerite 1814-1836', correspondence and attachments to the minutes 1813-1836, 18-8-1815.
[1220] CMC, Box 3084, Folder 80 Financial administration 1821.
[1221] CMC, Box 3084, Folder 83 La Fidèle Sincérité, account by the Treasurer 1-7-1823 until 30-1-1824, Nota Der Betaalde Gelden [...] 1823-1824', 7-2-1824, receipt 23a for higher degree aprons. See also 27-1-2-1823 for eleven 'Souverijne' coljees at fl. 11,- and aprons fl. 12,-; 'Sevaljees' [= Chevaliers] bands fl. 15 and aprons fl. 12,-; 'Schots bant met ornement' at fl. 20,-, without ornament fl. 8 and aprons fl. 6,-.
[1222] CMC, Box 3085, Folder 89 Receipts 1827-1829, receipt no. 13, 20-8-1827: ' voor het laten aanmaken van een gewaterde zwarte Elus band met zilveren doodshoofden, Letters, Pook en Franjes f 30'.
[1223] CMC, Box 3069, Folder 82 La Constante et Fidèle Instruction Protocols of the Secretary ± 1799': order by La Vertueuse, used by La Constante and Fidèle as a template: 'lint en bandelier voor Roosen orden'.
[1224] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse Various financial documents 1775-1780 and account book 1779-1784, 1779-1784 [financial statement]:
'5:- ps voor Leerling, wit satijn met geel armozijn sonder lint a rds 32 ider 17:24:-

15:-	Meester, wit satijn met geel armozijn en geel lint a rds 42 ider	67:24:-
16:-	Schots Meester groen mantelstof met roode lint a rds 42 ider	72:--:-
22:-	Meester L: wit satijn met swart armozijnen swart lint a rds 42 ider	99:--:-
		256:--:-‘.

[1225] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76+77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse 1) 1st degree Minutes 13-2-1791 until 13-3-1792 1791-1795 with 2) Attachments incoming and outgoing correspondence: ‘kan ik dezelve bezorgen voor de beide graden a tien ducaten, het Elu geborduurt’.
[1226] See Table 5.J.
[1227] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse various lists and receipts 1781?-1798, 1774-1798 No. 14 [= 1771-1798]’: ‘Debet en Kassa Rekening van ’t Capp[ittel] van E.E[lus]’, 10-4-1798: ‘Br Barends 2 rol wit satijn 180:- [...] 18-6-1798 mej. van de Weert voor tabeljes 156:-‘; Idem, ‘Debet en Kassa Rekening van ’t Capp[ittel] C[hevalier] d[e] Lo[rient], 10-4-1798: ‘Br Barends voor 2 groene Echarpes 16’, and 18-6-1798: ‘Mej van de Weert voor borduuren 60’. See also Box 3072, Folder La Vertueuse various lists and receipts (1774-1798), 18-6-1798: ‘mej. van de Weert voor tabeljes 120:-‘, and 18-6-1798: ‘Mej van de Weert voor banden & 110;-‘; Box 3072, Folder Box 90 La Vertueuse receipts 1798 and financial statement 1799, 2/1796-98 No. 28 receipts until 1797: ‘voor zwart, rood en geel lint 102,16’ to Van der Weert.
[1228] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse’ Receipts 1798 and Financial statement 1799, 2/1796-98 No. 28 receipts 1797, October 1797. See also: Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse receipts 1798 and financial statement 1799, June 1798. Van der Weert delivered white satin aprons embroidered with black and silver for the Élu degrees, as well as embroidered collars, red with gold for the Rose Croix degree, green with gold and silver for the Knight of the East, black with gold and small stones for the Écossais, and green aprons with red ribbons for the same, for a total of 446 Rds; Folder Box 90 La Vertueuse receipts 1798 and financial statement 1799, 2/1796-98 No. 28 receipts until 1797, 6-4-1797 reimbursement to lodge member Age Iges for red and blue ribbon for the Rose Croix degree, for a total of 6,24 Rds.
[1229] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse invoices 1807-1816 A.B.C.D., 2/1807-1808 No. 47 Invoices 1807/8, no. 133: ‘vier Elu banden met 3 kop’; see also no. 160.
[1230] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse invoices 1807-1816 A.B.C.D., 2/1807-1808 No. 47 Invoices 1807/8. No 5; Folder 90 La Vertueuse financial administration 1795-1796, 2/1795-96 No. 27 1796 receipts, receipt 19-7-1796: ’13 pees tabeljes a 8 rds’.
[1231] CMC, Box 3065, Folder 77 La Vertueuse 1st degree Minutes and resolutions 1807-1808, 2/1807-8 1st degree Minutes 24-6-5807 until 25-6-5808, extract from Jassoy’s testament and list of goods transferred from his estate to the lodge:
‘Nota van ’t ontfangenen uijt den Boedel van wijlen Br Jassoy
SM 4 tabiljees
3 banden
2 ornamenten
de Zijde koorde, betr. aand[? illegible]
EE 5 tabiljees
4 banden
3 driehoeken
3 p handschoenen
3 ponjaards
Mr 5 tabiljees
5 ornamenten en ..2 L…. [illegible]
L 4 tabiljees
Eenige Maconnique boeken en Papieren’.
[1232] CMC, Box 3065, Folder 78 La Vertueuse Minutes and resolutions 1810-1811, No. 6 1st degree Minutes 3+4*5810 until 1+5*5811: ‘Is verstaan de Achtbare Meester te verzoeken voor het kostenden van China te willen ontbeiden 50 Ellen rood en 50 Ellen zwart gewaterd Lint voor de decoratien van de Leeden deezer Tempel’.
[1233] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1814-1816, La 13.13.13 1814-1816, inventory 14-8-1812 with notes in pencil.
[1234] CMC, Box 3074, Folder 92 Chapter La Vertueuse financial administration 1813-1817,‘Cassa Rekening van het Hoge Kapittel van de Loge La Vertueuse’, June 1813.
[1235] CMC, Box 3074, Folder 92 Chapter La Vertueuse financial administration 1813-1817,‘Cassa Rekening van het Hoge Kapittel van de Loge La Vertueuse’.
[1236] See Table 5.R.
[1237] See Table 5.S.
[1238] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 73 inventories 1785-1828, inventory of the Master of Furniture, 20-7-1825:
‘[...] 2 Twee degens met Zilver gevest
1 Een Zilvere pook
1 een d[it]o d[it]o met schede […]’.
[1239] CMC, Box 3087, Folder 107, No. 11 Chapter La Fidèle Sincérité resolutions and attachements 1813-1834: ‘En maken van een gefigureerd Hoofd […] En een Schepter […] Voor Twee Satijne Blauw en Rode mantels met vergulde Guirlandes En Twee Kroonen’.
[1240] See fig, H.
[1241] See Table 5.J.
[1242] I was unable to find a clear definition, but the word *pandelot* is associated with earrings. It may be a drop-shaped pendant or cut stone.
[1243] CMC, Box 3065, Folder 77 La Vertueuse 1st degree Minutes and resolutions 1807-1808: ‘Specificatie van Zodanige Juweelen en Edelgesteenten die in de kroon van Salomon vervat zijn en de Loge La Vertueuse toebehooren, berustende in handen van den Achtb. Groot-Meester J.H.Holle, als:

In de 1e driehoek	een groot topas in ´t goud gezet omringd met een bloemwerk waarin 24 diamanten.
	een roos met 21 diamanten en 24 granaaten
	een roos met een saphier en 8 paarlen in ´t goud gezet
	drie roosen met 29 diamanten
In de 2e driehoek	een takje bezet met 13 Diamanten
	een pandelot met een g’emailleerde roos met 7 saphieren en
	2 roosen met 18 diamanten
In de 3e driehoek	een roos met 11 diamanten en 48 granaten
	twee duifjes en twee roosen met 29 diamanten
In de 4e driehoek	een takje met 21 diamanten
	twee roosen met 18 diamanten

twee bloemen met diverse edelgesteenten
In de 5e driehoek drie bloemen met 47 diamanten en 7 edelgesteenten
In de 6e driehoek een takje met 24 diaManten
twee roosen en twee bloemen met een robijn, een saphir en 17 diamanten
In de 7e driehoek een roos met een entourage
en een pandelot bezet met 40 diamanten en 25 granaten
twee roosen met 18 diamanten
In de 8e driehoek een roos bezet met diverse Steenen
een roos met 19 diamanten
twee roosen met 18 diamanten en
een g'emailleerd bloempje met een saphir
In de 9e driehoek twee bloemen met een robijn, ses saphieren en 17 diamanten
drie roosen met 30 diamanten
In de 10e driehoek een takje, twee g'emailleerde bloemen en twee roosen, tezamen met 38 diamanten en 2 saphiren
In de 11e driehoek een takje, een bloem, twee roosen en een duifje, bezet met 46 diamanten en 7 granaaten
In de 12e driehoek een takje, een pandelot, twee roosen en een duifje, tezamen met 27 diamanten en 6 saphiren
De waarde van de kroon met ´t fatsoen van ruim 700 edelgesteenten RDs 1330,-
De scepter wegende aan goud ruim 5 reale n 100,-
Aan de Heer Wyzynsky betaald voor reekening van de V[rijmetselaars] [Loge]
voor de twee kroonen 120,-
tezamen RDs 1550,-'. On the back dated 'den 9 july 1807'.

[1244] Snoek 1998 B, p. 167.

[1245] His formal appointment dates of 27-6-1798, but that such an officer would be elected may have been known earlier. CMC, Box 3067, Folder 81 La Vertueuse correspondence received from Grand Master Isaac van Teylingen 1798.

[1246] IISG/Value of the guilder.

[1247] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse' Receipts 1798 and Financial statement 1799, 2/1796-98 No. 28 receipts 1797, receipt 8-6-1798 to Wijszijdskij:
'Voor Een El[u] Kroon bezet met diverse Edelgesteentens rds 1330,-
Een Scepter weg[ende] aan goud ruim vijf realen 100,-
Het betaalde aan den Zilversmid Wijszijnskij voor 't maken van de Twee Kroonen 120,-'. See also Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse various lists and receipts 1781?-1798, 1774-1798 No. 14, undated inventory ca. 1788, payment to Reemer 8-6-1798, and 'Cassa Reekening' 24-6-1798: '1798 Junij 18 […] Heer Wijszijnskij rds 145,30', not identified further.

[1248] See Table 5.N.

[1249] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76+77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1805-1808 1805-1809, 1st degree minutes 24-6-1805 until 25-6-1808, 4-2-1808, proposal the Terrible buy two guns. Box 3065, Folder 77 La Vertueuse 1st degree Minutes and resolutions 1807-1808 [II A 1], 2/1807-8 1st degree Minutes and attachments 24-6-5807 until 25-6-5808, 4-2-1808 proposal approved.

[1250] See Table 5.J.

[1251] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, 'Berigt van den gedanen opneem in La Vertueuse op den 9e Maart 1796':
'[..] 1 ijzere beugel met dies kopere handboeijens
2 kopere handboeijens met kettingen
1 oude geschilderde Zon'.

[1252] CMC, Box 3072, Folder Box 90 La Vertueuse receipts 1798 and financial statement 1799, 2/1796-98 No. 28 receipts until 1797, s.a.: 'voor 't maken van een lampraam met dertien blakers en een blikke bak'.

[1253] Kind advice by dr. Jan Snoek, Heidelberg University.

[1254] See figure L.

[1255] Kind advice by dr. Jan Snoek, Heidelberg University.

[1256] CMC, 'voor 3 ps papier beonsoeka rds 12', 'of nagemnaakte koppen voor de E.L. in La Vertueuse'.

[1257] See Table 5.G. A chalice was/is used in the (early) Rosecroix degree and also in the Swedish rite. A large Chapter would often have more than one, so it would not take too long to pass the chalice. Kind advice by dr. Jan Snoek, Heidelberg University.

[1258] CMC, Box 3087, Folder 106 Chapter minutes 1807: 'terwijl de receptie van Br Brandel word uijtgesteld tot dat door den zelven zal zijn voldaan aan zijne verpligting, om binnen den tempel de nodige decoratien in de daar toe openstaande vakken te Schilderen'

[1259] See Table 5.R.

[1260] See Table 5.R.

[1261] CMC, Box 3087, Folder 107 No. 11 Chapter La Fidèle Sincérité resolutions and attachments 1813-1834: 'voor het laaten maken van Een Vergulden Lijst in Glas zijnde bestemdt voor een Teekenplank [= brief] van het Kapittel der Oppergraden van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden zilver f 9,-'.

[1262] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 74.

[1263] CMC, Box 3087, Folder 107 No. 11 Chapter La Fidèle Sincérité resolutions and attachments 1813-1834: 'Voor het maken en schilderen van een nieuwe Elus Loge
Het schilderen van het Tableau
En maken van een gefigureerd Hoofd Zilver[geld]
En een Schepter 533
Voor Twee Satijne Blauw en
Rode mantels met vergulde
Guirlandes En Twee Kroonen 168'. Ondertekend door J.P. Giraud [= son?] Het bedrag werd in twee delen voldaan, blijkens een receipt 12-3-1833 'aan de schilder Chiro' [= Giraud], en een vermelding in een rekeningoverzicht 18-3-1833 'Geroud [= Giraud] voor de Elus loge'.

[1264] See fig. H.

[1265] CMC, Box 3086, Folder 94 accounts and receipts 1835-1837, no. 9: '[...] zestig gulden zilver voor 't leveren en graveren van een groote zilver cachet Meester Kornelen [...]'.
[1266] Listed in Voskuil-Groenewegen e.a. 1998, but no longer listed in Eliëns 2012.
[1267] See fig. H.
[1268] CMC, Box 3084, Folder 77, No. 7 La Fidèle Sincérité Account book 1777-1786, 'Cassa Rekening van de Agtb[are] [loge] L.F.S.', 27-12-1778: to the old Worshipful Master 'Seeven keeren ordinaire Tafel 105,-', 'de tafel op de daagen van St. Jan Batist en Evangelist 120,-'.
[1269] CMC, Box 3084, Cassaboeken 1787-1796.
[1270] CMC, Box 3071, Folder 89 La Vertueuse receipts 1788-1789 [= 1787-1789]. Unfortunately the number of items ordered was illegible as these disappeared into the binding of the account book.
[1271] CMC, Box 4506, Folder '269:1 was eerst 326'.
[1272] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse various financial documents 1775-1780 and account book 1779-1784, No. 34 attachments 1775-1780: 'den 29 proefloge van den fransche kok en afschijd voor Broeder Cornabe' at 15,- Rds. A regular cook was also paid 6:24 Rds. CMC, Box 3073, Folder 90 La Vertueuse accounts paid 1798-1799, 2/1798-99 No. 12 receipts paid 1798-1799, no. 35, lists the menu in French.
[1273] CMC, Box 3073, Folder Folder 90 La Vertueuse accounts paid 1798-1799, 2/1798-99 No. 12 receipts paid 1798-1799.
[1274] CMC, Box 3073, Folder Folder 90 La Vertueuse accounts paid 1800 en 1801', 2/1800 No. 43 receipts paid 1800-1801; Box 3073, Folder 90 La Vertueuse receipts 1801-1802 and Almoner's account 1802, 2/1801-2 No. 44 paid accounts 1801-1802.
[1275] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse financial records 1807/1816 A.B.C.D. /1810-14 No. 31 accounts 18010/11, 11/12, 12/13, 13/14, 31-3-1813': '1 Edam cheese 3,-'.
[1276] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse financial records 1807/1816 A.B.C.D., /1810-14 No. 31 accounts 18010/11, 11/12, 12/13, 13/14': 'een quart Catje Vogel Nessen 10,-'. The ingredients for the whole meal cost 175,- Spd, and the bill for the cooking and serving amounted to 158,- Rds.
[1277] CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse financial records 1807/1816 A.B.C.D., /1810-14 No. 31 accounts 18010/11, 11/12, 12/13, 13/14, 31 July 1813': 'Voor Een Witte Kann Japanse zooya Spm 2 1/2'.
[1278] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76+77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1805-1808 1805-1809, 1st degree Minutes 24-6-1805 until 25-6-1808, 2-9-1807; Box 3065, Folder 77 La Vertueuse 1st degree Minutes and resolutions 1807-1808 [II A 1], 2/1807-8 1st degree Minutes and attrachments 24-6-5807 until 25-6-5808'.
[1279] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76+77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1805-1808 1805-1809, 1st degree Minutes 24-6-1805 until 25-6-1808.
[1280] CMC, Box 3086, Folder 102 Receipts 1832-1833, invoice 24-10-1809.
[1281] IISG/Value of the guilder.
[1282] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 31 No. 83 La Fidèle Sincérité attachments 7+4*5817 until 10+4*5820 [= 1817-1820], no. 45, extract minutes 25-9-1817.
[1283] CMC 3074, Folder 92 La Vertueuse Financial administration 1818 and further, 30-6-1818
[1284] CMC, Box 3066, Folder 79 La Vertueuse 1st degree Minutes 1818-1819, 1st degree Minutes 1820-18'21.
[1285] CMC, Box 3066, Folder 79 La Vertueuse 1st degree Minutes 1818-1819, 1st degree Minutes 1820-18'21.
[1286] CMC, Box 3070, 'Doos II B 9 + 10 La Vertueuse Bijlagen Uit en Ink 1820-1821', 'La Vertueuse Bijlagen 1820-'21 Ingekomen [II B 10]', no 19.
[1287] CMC, Box 3078, Folder 20 extract minutes and attachments 1821-1822), inventory by the Steward 13-1-1822, attachment to letter 13-1-1822; Box 3083, Folder 73 inventories 1785-1828, 20x27x der 1*5825.
[1288] CMC, Box 3086, Folder 94 accounts and receipts 1835-1837, various receipts signed by Boekhoff.
[1289] CMC, Box 3086, Folder 94 accounts and receipts 1835-1837, no. 64, 13-3-1837
[1290] CMC, Box 3086, Folder 94 accounts and receipts 1835-1837, no. 62, 14-3-1837:
'aan wed. Dekker [...] voor het laten gereedmaken van Een Tafel van 31 Personen op den 13 dezer als

2 Blikken Stoom Zalm	f 12	
2 " Sardijntjes op olij	f 12	
½ Zoete melkse kaas	f 5	
1 pitje ansjovis	f 4	
1 Ham	f 8	
2 gezoute Tongen	f 8	
Spek voor Biefstuk	f 4	
1 Kalkoen	f 6	
1 Bronswijker worst	f 10	
aardappelen	f 2	
Boter	f 6	
1 Vles augurken	f 3	
Olij Peper azijn mostert en Hout	f 3	
Salade en Biet	f 2	
Brood	f 3	
Banket en Zuijker werk	f 35	
Kok en bediening	f 10	f 133'.

[1291] Bosma/rabens 2008, p. 46.
[1292] Bosma/rabens 2008, p. 46 point out that there are no numbers available for slave ownership in Batavia, but that is was probably comparable to other settlements in the region. By 1694, 70% of slaves on Columbo, Ceylon, were owned by European with as many as 11 per household; for Ambon this was 59% and 5 per household.
[1293] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76-77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1791-1795 1802-1805, No. 5 Minutes 5+5*5802 until 6+4*5803.
[1294] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76-77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1791-1795 1802-1805, No. 5 Minutes 5+5*5802 until 6+4*5803.
[1295] CMC, Box 3065, Folder 77A La Vertueuse 1st degree Minutes and resolutions 1808-1810, 2/1808-10 No. 5 Minutes 5808-5809-5810: 'onbillijke behandeling aan haar en haare slaven bij de laatsgehoudende grote Logie door den Br Servant Dankanowitz aangedaan, als niet alleen haar met diverse scheldwoorden begroet hebbenden maar twee haarer beste jongens deerlijk in het aangezigt geslagen dat het bloed er na volgden en zoo meede twee haarer slavinnen den een tegen den muur en den andere tegen den grond gesmeten hadden dat die huilend haar beklag aan haar gedaan hadden'
[1296] Van der Linden 1870, p. 28.
[1297] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 72: 'Papiere betrekking hebbende de aanbesteding der Loge La Fidele Sincirite als mede de Nota van de Chineesch J. Atjieh voor de medere gedaan werkzaamheden aan gen[oemde] Loge niet begrepen in voorn[oemd] Contract, zie verder de bijlagen van den 18de + der 5e * 5820 N. 167, 168 en 169. N. 76. N. 7.': 'Acte van aanbesteding Tusschen De wel Edele Gestrenge Heeren Willem Lucas Baggers c:s:99 en

Den Chinees J. Atjieh', 26-9-1818.
[1298] Hageman 1858, pp. 79-80: 'te midden van de Javaanse wereld is het beoefenen der K[oninklijke] K[unst] in alle hare onderdelen buiten eenige opspraak of hindernis hoegenaamd. De eenvoudige Javaan noemt (…) de Werkplaats en haare omgeving 'Gedong Setan' (het Duivelshuis), maar de negentien Javaanse huisgezinnen op den eigendomgrond, ondervinden nimmer het alerminste van datgene, wat de bijgeloovige en toch beschaafde Europeaan in zijn vaderland, in eende dergelijke omstandigheid, zoude ontmoeten. Deze negentien huisgezinnen, of ongeveer 130 zielen, wonen geheel kosteloos, en bewaken en bedienen alleen de gebouwen en de B[roeders]'.
[1299] Hageman 1866, pp. 61-62; Van der Linden 1870, p. 29; De Visser Smits 1931, p. 81; Jessica Harland Jacobs, 'Umdat-ul-Umrah, Bhadur (? -?)', in: Porset/Révauger 2013, Vol. III, pp. 2701-2702.
[1300] Harland-Jacobs 2007, p. 78, and Bogdan/Snoek 2014, p. 161, place it between 1773 and 1776 in lodge Perfect Uninimity in Madras, quoting Gould and others. According to Lane's masonic records 1717-1894, this lodge was not warranted until 1786.
[1301] dglofmadras.com/Au_Historyof_DGLM_Chronology_1752-1898.html, accessed in 2015.
[1302] L&MF, GBR 1991 LA 1/1/1, transcript available online at freemasonry.london.museum.
[1303] *De Nederlandse Vry-metzelaars Almanach*, 's-Gravenhage 1793, pp. 57-62: 'Op de Vierendeeljaars-Vergadering in de Groote Vrymetzelaars Halle te Londen, op woensdag den 5 February 1777, gaf de Broeder Gahagen, van Trichinopoly Loge, onder Madras, kennis, dat zyne Hoogheid Omdit Omrah Bahaudre, oudste zoon van den Nadab van Carnatica, als Meester was aangenomen geworden te Trichinopoly'.
[1304] His brother, Ameeu-ul-Umrah Bahadur, would be initiated in lodge Perfect Unanimity in 1786. Deschamps 2014, p. 179.
[1305] De Neve/Prins 2002, pp. 62-63.
[1306] Bosma/Raben 2008, p. 9.
[1307] CMC 123 C 64, *Huishoudelyk wetboek by 'La fidelle sincérité' gemanifesteerd in Anni lucis 5775*, Batavia [1775]: 'Men zal niemand van geringen staat, dat is, van Ergerlijk Wandel of in onegt of Slavernij gebooren, tot deze Koninklijke order of broederschap mogen voorstellen, veel minder aannemen'.
[1308] Gelman Taylor 1983, p. 88.
[1309] Kind advice by dr. Jan Snoek, Heidelberg University.
[1310] Debernardi 2004, note 16 refers to R.A. Dix, 'Extracts from Old Minute Books, Penang and Singapore', *Pentagram (*1933) 23, pp. 157-167.
[1311] See drs. P.G. Pulle, 'Raden Saleh. De eerste Javaanse vrijmetselaar', *Thoth* 39 (1988) 1, pp. 33-35.
[1312] In the Netherlands, such forms of address as *raden* (for men) and *ajoe* (for women) were sometimes mistaken for a first name, especially by those who had not travelled to the East Indies themselves. Civil servants, already having trouble spelling Malaysian names, often muttled up the registration of these men and women in birth and death registers.
[1313] See the bibliography in De Loos-Haaxman 1968, pp. 54-74.
[1314] Stevens 1994, p. 39, refers to Van der Veur 1976, p. 14.
[1315] CMC, membership list of lodge De Vriendschap, 19-7-1845.
[1316] Stevens 1994, p. 39, refers to *Gedenkboek* 1917, p. 361. He could not identify Boachi and assumed he was a black soldier. See: archief-delft.nl/inventarissen/pdf/0476.pdf
[1317] Van de Veur 1976, pp. 14-15.
[1318] Van de Veur 1976, pp. 14-15; Debernardi 2002, n. pag.
[1319] Van de Veur 1976, p. 15. The Chinese Ko Ho Sing was initiated in lodge Mataram in Yogyakarta in 1871, because he 'not only mastered the teachings of Confucius but also applied them both in and outside the Masonic Temple'.
[1320] See (not referende further here): Cécile Révauger, *Prince Hall Au Xviii Siecle Aux Etats-unis ; Noirs Et Franc-macons*, Paris 2012; *Noirs et francs-maçons: Comment la ségrégation raciale s'est installée chez les frères américains*, Paris 2014; *Black Freemasonry: From Prince Hall to the Giants of Jazz* (forthcoming).
[1321] *Verslag* 1844, of which a shorter version was published as *Verslag* 1848, pp. 84-105. The celebration committee of De Ster in het Oosten consisted of members Plate, Ardesch, Jutting, Schill, Embrechts, Hofmeijer (*Verslag* 1844, p. 6), as well as Hofmeijr and Loman of lodge De Vriendschap (p. 10). The celebration should have taken place on 1-10-1844, but absence of Orator Jutting caused the rescheduling to 16-11-1844 (p. 7). Hageman 1858, p. 86, provides the date as 16-9-1844, and suggests Jutting is the author of *Verslag* 1848.
[1322] *Verslag* 1844, pp. 7-8: 'De voorgevel was verlicht, en in het frontispiece glinsterde de zinnebeeldige voorstelling van het feest dt gevierd werd: twee acacia-takken doorvlochten met immortelles, aan de steelen te zamen gebonden en aan het einde vereenigd, vormden een rond, voorstellende de twee loges la Vertueuse en la Fidele Sincerite, die tot eene werkplaats zijn geconstitueerd geworden; binnen dat rond schitterende eene ster, bij toespeling op de Ster in het Oosten [...], en in het midden der ster prijkte het cijfer 75. Het geheel was omstraald en als bezaaid met maconnieke zinnebeelden.'
[1323] *Verslag* 1844, p. 25, described on p. 26 as 'gewijde eerzuil'.
[1324] Maarschalk 1872, p. 379, provides a description. Cat. Nijmegen 1913, p. 54, no. 9, mentions this medal in silver, p. 87, no. 33 in silver and bronze; cat. 's-Gravenhage 1894, p. 6 no. 9, mentions one copy for the legate of Prins Frederik.
[1325] Cat. 's-Gravenhage 1894, pp. 25-27.
[1326] A search on lodge buildings in the newspaper database of the National Library, may 2015, reveils that lectures on science, social reform and esoteric thought were hosted in these buildings by the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. See also Kroon/Wagtberg Hansen 2011.
[1327] Hageman 1857, p.244. Historische mededeeling 1900/1901, p. 131; Gedenkboek 1917, p. 225. *Bataviaasch nieuwsblad*, 29-03-1926.
[1328] Historische mededeeling 1900/1901, p. 131. In 1845 much had to be altered, which created a debt not paid off until 1861.
[1329] *Verslag* 1851. The title of this report notes the date according to the masonic calendar as 28-4-1851. See also *Gedenkboek* 1917, p. 235.
[1330] *Verslag* 1851, p. 17: 'gedenkstuk [dat] bestaat in een zilveren truweel met vergulden steel, waar aan een lint, van de kleur der Loge [= hemelsblauw, waar op dat moment wit aan toe gevoegd wordt], is bevestigd, ten einde het versiersel in [Loge] naast het lidsteken te kunnen dragen. Aan de binnenzijde is de volgende inscriptie gegraveerd: *50 jarig bestaan der Z.A. Loge "La Constante et Fidele", 1851*.'
[1331] *Verslag* 1851, pp. 16, 18 and 45: 'geleiden den jubel-standaard voor den T. waar dezelve onder het blazen der proclamatie en het ontvlammen van eene, op het altaar aangebragte feest-vaas, door den R.M. plegtiglijk wordt bewierookt'. *Verslag* 1851, p. 18 and 45. All members received a diploma and a llst of members was hung in the temple. The walls were decorated with flower wreaths and garlands, and a portrait of the Grand Master National.
[1332] Kind advice by dr. Jan Snoek, Heidelberg University.
[1333] Stevens 1994, p. 128.
[1334] *Loge 'De Vriendschap'* [1934], p.29-30, pp. 54-55, refers to charter no. 129, 10-7-1838.
[1335] Hageman 1857, p. 260.
[1336] Hageman 1858, p.71. On pp. 77-78 he provides an overview of expenses for 1849-1854: 'oeconoom f 11502, bouwmeester f 4213, servant 4786, secretaris f 2272, bibliothecaris f 1891, kapelmeester f 1000'.

[1337] CMC collection database at vrijmetselarij.nl dates the album 1898; Stordiau 2009, p. 39, dates it 1908. It is possible that at the time, new and olders sets of images were combined into the album.
[1338] The tempel interior of 1918-1933 is illustrated in *Loge 'De Vriendschap'* [1934], pp. 11, 17, 23, 29, 35, 41, 47. *Gedenkboek* 1917 includes an undated illustration and *33 maal 5* 1974 shows the facade ca. 1930 and the interior after 1925.
[1339] Little information on him in the Dutch artists database at rkd.nl, but he is listed as 'hof goud- en zilversmid' (the court's gold and silversmith) in the *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 24-05-1861.
[1340] *Kunstkronijk*, Leiden 1860 p. 46-47: 'EEN NIEUW KUNSTWERK. Niet langen tijd geleden waren wij in de gelegenheid bij den heer p. De Meijer te dezer stede een door hem ontworpen en vervaardigd kunstwerk te bezigtigen, waarvan wij het afbeeldsel hierbij voegen en dat een nadere vermelding overwaardig is. was een zilveren beker of vaas door de vrijmetselaars-loge "de Ster in het Oosten" te Batavia aan een harer leden als blijk van hulde aangeboden. Die orde, welke zich ten doel stelt tot de verbetering des menschdoms mede te werken, heeft hiermede hare erkentelijkheid getoond jegens een harer verdienstelijkste leden die hare pogingen om dit doel te bereiken ijverig had ondersteund. De vrijmetselaars-loge "de Ster in het Oosten" heeft hare dankbaarheid door een zigtbaar blijk willen staven. De voet des bekers, gelijk men ziet, bestaat uit een naar drie zijden oprijzenden trap waarop de looper kunstmatig is geincrustreerd. Het vlak, waar de trappen te zamen komen, vormt een mozaïke vloer, op welken zich drie gegoten beelden verheffen, hol en zonder naden bewerkt, Verstand, Schoonheid en Sterkte voorstellende, om het denkbeeld uit te drukken, dat de mensch, wien God verstand heeft gegeven om het goede te onderscheiden van het kwaad, en zedelijke kracht om deugd en waarheid te doen zegevieren op zonde en logen, zich tot de hoogst mogelijke schoonheid, op zedelijk gebied, moet trachten te verheffen. De drie beelden zijn gegroepeerd rondom een acaciaboom, en op dezen rust de kom des bekers. Die kom is in drie vakken verdeeld, op eene van welke maconieke zinnebeelden zijn uitgedreven, waaronder passer, winkelhaak en truffel de eerste plaats bekleeden, terwijl die vakken door drie sfinxbusten als karyatiden gescheiden zijn. De sfinx, men weet het, is het zinnebeeld der stilzwijgendheid. Maar al moge de orde haren leden het stilzwijgen opleggen omtrent de vormen en symbolen, waarmede zij haar eenvoudige menschelijke leer omhult, toch ligt het niet in hare bedoeling om haar licht te verschuilen onder een korenmate, maar wil zij het in tegendeel doen schitteren aan alle hoeken der aarde. Door daad en voorbeeld wil zij de zuiverheid aantoonen harer stellingen en waar ongelukkigen te helpen, groote daden te beloonen, of edele pogingen te ondersteunen vielen, is zij nimmer achterlijk gebleven. Op den deksel bevindt zich in den driehoek eene ster, zinnebeeld zoowel van de loge te Batavia, als van de verhevene gedachten welke dat lichtend en hope kweekend hemelverschijnsel in het menschelijk harte opwekt. Op een ander der drie vakken des bekers bevindt zich een toepasselijk opschrift, den naam van den man vermeldende, wien zijne broederen een zoodanig blijk van hulde waardig hebben gekeurd. Terwijl de voet des bekers den kunstenaar bond aan de symbolen die hij moest bezigen, zoo kon deze voor het overige den stijl volgen die hem het meest gepast voorkwam: daartoe koos hij den renaissance stijl, waarin de kom en deksel, de lijsten en banden, zoowel als de verdere ornamenten zijn vervaardigd. Het geheel is in fraaije afwisseling van mat en blank zilver bewerkt. Dit weinige zij voldoende om onzen lezers te doen zien dat hier een kunstwerk is geleverd dat den naam handhaaft van den reeds meermalen, in het schoone en voorheen zoo roemrijke vak der Cellini's en Vianen's, bekroonden ontwerper en vervaardiger, den heer De Meijer. 's Hage, Julij 1859'
[1341] *Bataviaasch nieuwsblad*, 13-10-1933.
[1342] *Adhuc stat* is the motto of the first degree of the Strict Observanz (and the Rectified Scottish Rite influenced thereby). It refers to the fundament of the Temple of Jerusalem, and is often depiected as the lower halfs of the columns J and B, or one of them. Kind advice by dr. Jan Snoek, Heidelberg University.
[1343] *Outline* 1993, pp. 19,31, 37-38. See also (not referenced further here): *Gedenkboek ter gelegenheid van het vijftigjarig bestaan van de Internationale Orde der gemengde vrijmetselarij 'Le droit Humain' 1899 - 11 mei 1949*, s.l. [1949]; Ank Engel, *Broeders en Zusters: Honderd jaar Gemengde Vrijmetselarij*, Zoetermeer 2004, pp. 113-128; Jan A.M. Snoek, 'De Ritualen van de Nederlandse Federatie van Le Droit Humain', *Dialoog & Perspectief* 50 (1996) 2, pp. 38-46 (reprinted in *Nieuw Perspectief* 4 (2006) 13, pp. 8-15. As the archives of Le Droit Humain are incomplete, the years of acivity of some lodges is unknown. The number of affiliated lodges may well have been higher.
[1344] The masonic hall in Surabaya passed into ownership of he Indonesian lodge Pamitran around 1960, which lodge was then suspended, but continued to exist as a (non-masonic) foundation. In the beginning of the 21st century, a notice was put up in front of the building, explaining it has the status of monument.The grave of Van Cattenburg was removed from the lodge premises and transferred to a cementry. Information kindly provided by Theo Spierenburg, Den Haag, who visited the site before 2015.
[1345] Soekarno prohibited the masculine Order, Co-masonry was allowed to continue its activities due to intervention by Hussein Mutahar, a high ranking official in the Ministery of Foreign and a member of Le Droit Humain. There remained a handfull of members in lodges on Java. Statement by Rien Ipenburg, lodge Le Profond Silence, Kampen, 'Aan het woord', *Ken Uzelve* 58 (2004) 12, p. 34.
[1346] As listed in Kwaadgras 2003 and Kroon 2009 with additional data derived from Dutch newspapers in the database delpher.nl.
[1347] I made a start with the identication process of regalia from the Dutch East Indies, when the move of the collection was announced and the CMC was closed to visitors. Although the staff kindly allowed me to continue to visit the reading room while the collection was packed for transport, services were limited. The computer registration is based on general search terms and many objects lack information on provenance, materials and dates anyway. Identification requires a (manual) search through the regalia collection. As a visitor I did not have access to the depot and under the circumstances it was not possible for staff to unpack, present and repack dozens of items in the hope I'd find some matches.

Notes to chapter 6

[1] For a general overview of the trade relationship, see amongst others Gaastra 2002, Jacobs 2000 (pp. 113-122), Boxer 1977, Meilink-Roelofsz 1976 (pp. 193-236); and specifically for the lacquer trade Impey/Jörg 2005, pp. 21-66.
[2] Impey/Jörg 2005, p. 35.
[3] Jörg 2003, pp. 209-258.
[4] Impey/Jörg 2005, p. 48. Jörg 1993, p. 202; Lequin 1990/1992; Lequin 2002.
[5] An order of a 'Japans tableau' for instance, can have two different meanings. Depending on the context of the order, it can refer to a Japanese scene or landscape or to a tracing board fashioned in Japan, as the Dutch term for 'tracing board' is also 'tableau'. 'Het tableau van de loge' or 'The tracing board of the lodge' in correspondence usually means: the membership list of the lodge. In lodge inventories the context in which the word 'tableau' should be interpreted is usually made clear by the order in which the objects are listed (together with other embroidered or painted tracing boards for different degrees) and their location in the lodge relating to their use (tracing boards for ritual use were kept in the antechamber to the temple or the temple itself).
[6] Haffner 1983 A, pp. 48-49, is often quoted as a source.
[7] *Amsterdamsche Courant*, 10-7-1773.
[8] Leopold Willem Ras (Opperhoofd 1798-1800) became a member of La Vertueuse after his stay in Japan in 1802. Henrik Godfriet [van] Duurkoop (opperhoofd 1776-1777) was not a freemason, but his brother joined lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in 1785. Other members of the Order were assistants Albertus François Domburg, Coenraad Jonas and Jan Stave, bookkeeper Gualterus Petrus Theodorus van Rossum and surgeon Johan August Loth.
[9] '[…] tableau zijnde Zatijn met goud uitgewerkt'. CMC, Box 3148, Folder XVII, Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek voor de Javasche Broederschap der Orde van de Vrij Metselaren', 1843, n. pag. See also Der Kinderen 1864, p. 210; Hageman 1866, p. 199; Maarschalk 1872, p. 371; *Gedenkboek* 1917, p. 165.
[10] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse Inventory of the lodge building 1814-1816, 'La 13.13.13 [?] 1814-1816', inventory 14-8-1812: 'in een kist onrep[arabel]'. CMC, Box 3066, Folder 79 La Vertueuse 1st degree Minutes 1818/1819, '2/1818-19 No. 10 1st degree Minutes 4*5818-4*5819': 'Vervolgens wierd goedgekeurd eene Rekening groot f 173: voor ingekogte zwarte zijde voor het Japansche Tableau'.
[11] CMC, Box 4506, Folder '269: 1 was eerst 326': 'Den onlangs van Japan gereverteerden B[roeder] Romberg aen de [Loge] een present gedaan hebbende, van een Extra fraij verlakt kisje tot berging van alle de kleinodien van den Groot Agtb[are] Meester, en de officieren'.
[12] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1789-1801 No. 10, 'Bericht en Inventaris der Goederen gehorende aan de Logie La Vertueuse 27 december 1789': 'Een Japans verlakt kistje tot berging der ornamenten'; see also Box 3067, Folder 80+80A La Vertueuse 2nd degree Minutes 1834-1835, Minutes 1st degree 1834-1837.
[13] CMC, Box 4506, Folder '269: 1 was eerst 326', Minutes 17-2-1788; Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse correspondence 1769 1778-1788: undated draft letter by Van Overstraten to Titsingh.
[14] 'CMC, Box 4506, Folder '269: 1 was eerst 326': Dat B[roeder] Romberg aengedreeven door een Zwaare Zugt voor Onse koninklijke kunst zig aangebooden had een tableau voor de Logie in Japan te zullen laaten vervaardigen, die evenreedig met de netheid en cierlijkheid van het tapijt over een quam. Dat zijn Agtb[are] Deeze serieuse aanbod van gem[elde] B[roeder] had aengenomen, en verzocht volgens denzelven aenbieding een dusdanigen tableau ginter te willen laaten vervaardigen, naer een model tot gem[elde] B[roeder] ter hand gesteld zal worden. Dat zijn Agtb[are] op de betoonde bereijdwilligheid van B[roeder] Coortsen, ter verzorging van een kundige schilder die deselve accuraat zoude afteekenen, deese presentatie insgelijks had geaccepteerd en beslooten om twee tableaus te laaten maaken ten eijnde een in steede van de tegenswoordige die door langheid des tijds genoegzaam vergaan is ten dienste van de L[oge] te gebruiken en de andere B[roeder] Romberg maede gegeeven te worden, zo is verstaan met deeze schikking genoegen te neemen'.
[15] IISG/Value of the guilder.
[16] CMC, Box 3071, Folder 89 La Vertueuse receipts 1788-1789 [= 1787-1789], No. 21 receipts 1788: 'aan den Chinees Oey Kieko rds veertig voor het schilderen van een tableau voor la vertueuse'; 'aan den Chinees Giu Ki rds veertig voor het schilderen van een tableau voor la vertueuse'; 'aan den schilder Chinees in mindering van zodanige somma als waar voor hij aangenomen heeft la vertueuse te zullen schilderen rds 30'.
[17] Lequin, 1990/1992, Vol. I, p. 138: 'onder vriendelijke bestelling van Negotieboekhouder D'Heer Ulps […] 1 verlakt schilderi verbeeldende het tableau van La Vertueuse, zo als ik het in 't groot heb laaten borduren, swart met goud volgens opgaave van de heer Overstraaten'. Letter from Romberg to Titsingh, erroneously listed as an order by Titsingh in Kroon 2001 A.
[18] He is not listed in the CMC membership card register.
[19] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76+77 II-A-1+2 La Vertueuse 1) 1st degree Minutes 13/2 1791–13/3 1792 1791-1795 with 2) Attachments incoming and outgoing correspondence: 'Door Br[oeder] Romberg van Japan meede gebragt zijnde Een fraaije verlakte Tableau ~~dewelke hem aldaar heeft gekost een somma van Rd 150~~ en dezelve voor de inkoopwaarde aan deeze L[oge] aangeboden werdende zoo wierd goedgevonden gemelde Tableau voor die prijs van Ged[oelde] Broeder over te neemen'. The accompagning draft of these minutes explicitly mentions the fact that Romberg had the tracing board fashioned in Japan for the lodge: 'op Japan voor de Loge [heeft] laten maken'.
[20] IISG/Value of the guilder.
[21] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10 inventories, 'Berigt wegens de taxatie van de L[oge] La Vertueuse met dies losse goederen Februarij 1793', 1-2-1793.
[22] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10 inventories, report of the inventory committee 29-12-1792: 'In de loge booven'. The lodge inventory of 1794 lists them in the antichamber to the Temple: 'een geborduurd en een geschilderd tableau'. CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10 inventories, report of the inventory committee 23-12-1794.
[23] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [= 1801], 1709-1801 No. 10 inventories: '2 Japanse Verlakte Tableaus […] 1 Japanse geborduurde en 1 d[it]o geschilderde kleine Tableau'.
[24] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76+77 II-A-1+2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1791-1795 1802-1805, No. 5 Minutes 5+5*5802-6+4*5803: 'Een Japans verlakt Tableau'.
[25] CMC, Box 3065, Folder 77 La Vertueuse 1st degree Minutes 1807-1808 [II A 1], report of the inventory committee, 9-7-1807.
[26] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 Inventories 1814-1816, Debit to the Master of Furniture, 1815: 'beplakken en in order brengen van het tableau (Japans) 6Spd'.
[27] CMC, Box 3078, Folder 20 Minutes and attachments 1821-1822, inventory 1-13-1822, attached to a letter 13-1-1822: '1 Japansche Leerlings Tableau in Schilderij'. The translation here would be literally 'in [a] painting', but later inventories specify that 'in a frame' is what is meant.
[28] CMC, Box 3078, Folder 20 Minutes and attachments 1821-1822, inventory 1-13-1822, attached to a letter 13-1-1822: '1 Japansche Naamlijst der intekenaren ter opbouw van deze Loge'; Box 3083, Folder 73, 'Inventaris van zodanige Meubilaire en andere goederen Als door de

ondergetekenden Zijn bevonden in de Loge La Fidelle Sincerite te Batavia & welke onder Bewaring van den Meubel Meester zijn gesteld': '1 Een Japans Verlakte Naamlijst der tekenaren voor den opbouw der Loge'.

[29] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 74, 'Inventaris van Goederen & dranken behoorende tot de Loge La Fidèle Sincerite 1833-1834'.

[30] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 74, 'Inventaris van Goederen & dranken behoorende tot de Loge La Fidèle Sincerite 1833-1834'. The list of names may have been transferred to lodge De Ster in het Oosten in 1837, after the merger of La Fidèle Sincerite with La Vertueuse, but the inventories of this lodge did not survive.

[31] Impey/Jörg 2005, p. 210.

[32] Kind advice by Christiaan Jörg, based on the style of pearl inlay for the acacia branches, mail 14-4-2014.

[33] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 73, inventory 20/27-7-1825. Earlier inventories do mention various chests, but without further specification.

[34] I am especially grateful to Ton Lutter, who first made me aware of these lodge minutes in 1993. This paragraph elaborates on previously published research in Kroon 2001 A and Kroon 2003.

[35] Doeff 1833, p. 75.

[36] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse various lists and receipts 1781?-1798, 1774-1798, No. 14 various lists and receipts [= 1771-1798, not in chronological order], and Folder 90 La Vertueuse receipts 1798 + financial statements 1799, '2/1798 A 48 g 1798'. It concerns payments to Iges, possibly because he advanced a payment for the lodge in an official capacity.

[37] Doeff 1833, p. 84.

[38] Doeff 1833, p. 84. Possibly Arnoldus Musquetier (1789-1813), son of Arnoldus Musquetier sr (1743-1815), one of the founders of La Vertueuese in 1769. See De Neve 1994, p.135. However, it could also be Arnoldus Musquetier (1776-1805). A Musquetier is listed in lodge La Paix in Amsterdam, the same lodge as Hendrik Veuger, in 1802.

[39] Doeff 1833, p. 89. CMC, membership card register, lists only Pieter Herbertus Baron Lawick van Pabst (1780-1846), member of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia in 1802. He was also a member of lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia, and is listed in 1811 in lodge La Constante et Fidèle in Semarang. During the years 1822-1842 he was Master of the Lodge De Goede Hoop in Semarang.
The records list a ballot for another Lawick van Pabst on 3-8-1803, which may have been Franciscus Emilius. On 23-3-1804 (this?) Lawick van Pabst was made Fellow-Craft. CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76+77 II-A-1+2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1791-1795 1802-1805, 'No. 5 Minutes 5+5*5802-6+4*5803'.

[40] Not listed in the CMC membership card register, but a Marcus Hooft was a member of Lodge La Paix in Amsterdam, the same lodge as Hendrik Veuger, in 1803-1804. The family names Hoofd and Hooft frequently appear in the NA/VOC database.

[41] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 + 77 II-A-1+2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1805-1808 1805-1809, 1st degree Minutes 24-6-1805 until 25-6-1808: 'In ontzach voor den opperb[ouwmeester] van 't H.A. den 6+ der 11* van het Jaar des waaren Lichts 5805 [=1805]. Maandag, des avonds ten zeven uuren leerlings L[oge] in La Vertueuse [...] De Achtb[are] M[eester] voorts geapprobeerd hebbende een aan zijn achtb. geschreven missive door Marten Mak in dato Ultimo December 1804, waarbij Denzelven in Substantie te kennen geeft, hoe hij in het Jaar 1804 op het Eiland decima in Japan door de des tijds daar aangeweest zijnde F.E. Baron van Lawick van Pabst en de Scheeps Capiteinen Belmer, Musquetier en Hoofd als Leerling in de order der vrije Metselaaren is ontvangen geworden en de hem opgelegde beproevingen heeft doorgestaan, met aflegging der gebruikelijke verbintenis, dat hem daar was gedaan de belofte dat zij lieden bij hunne aankomst alhier, van hunne werken aan Zijn Achtb[are] Zouden Kennis geven en een Constitutie van HoogstDenzelven voor de Loge decima verzoeken, doch dat Hij bij zijn arrivement te Batavia had vernomen dat Zijne ondergaane receptie onwettig en van geen waarde was, mitsdien Zijn Achtb[are] onder toezending van het aan hem uitgegeven diploma en een verleende quitantie van zijn debet aan de Loge Decima, nedrig biddende voor hem te bewerken dat Hij opnieuw zoude mogen worden aangenomen, met verzoek echter om van de receptie verschoond te mogen blijven, als de zelve reeds eenmaal ondergaan hebbende. Waar over gedelibereerd zijnde, is, in de eerste plaats geconsidereerd dat de receptie van den persoon van Marten Mak is een onwettige daad, van geene verbindende kracht en dus vanzelve nul en van onwaarde, dat echter vermits den gem[elde] Mak door aanzoek van eenige B[roeders] Vrij Metzelaaren en alhier geheel buiten zijn schuld, in deze voor hem onaangenaame omstandigheid is gewikkeld geraakt, het voor denzelven eene groote hartigheid zoude wezen de novo te moeten worden gerecipieerd; en dat ook het nuttige, anders in de receptien gelegen en het oogmerk waarom de zelven geschieden, in dit geval zoude moeten wijken voor eene bloote Ceremonie, waarmede den voorn. Mak nu reeds, zo wel als met het geen verder een Leerling toestaat te weeten, ten vollen bekend is geworden. En uit aanmerking hier van bij de meerderheid beslooten dat Hij in eene eerst volgende L[oge] als Leerling zal worden ontvangen en van de gebruikelijke receptie zal blijven verschoond, niet te min dat Hij geblinddoekt zal worden binnen geleid en in dien Staat aan den voet van het altaar zal moeten her haalen den Eed van verbintenis voor alle Vrij Metzelaaren, onder betaaling wijders van de gewoone receptie gelden, tot ondersteuning van de kas van deze L[oge]. Voorts bij examinatie van het voor den meerm[elde] Mak ingezonden diploma daar uit gezien wezende dat het zelve is onderteekend door den B[roeder] F.E. Baron van Lawick van Pabst als Grootmeester [= Voorzittend Meester] en den gewezen dienenden B[roeder] van deze L[oge] Age Iges als Secretaris, aldus onder hunne aantekeningen uitgegeeven den 29+ van de 9* van het jaar des Lichts 1804. Mitsgaders nog gebleeken zijnde dat de door den voorn. Mak aangeboden originale quitantie van zijn Debet aan de Zogenaamde L[oge] Decima, is verleend door den B[roeder] Hendrik Doeff Junior [als Tresaurier?]. Is in achting genomen dat de voorn[oemde] B[roeders] van Lawick van Pabst, Age Iges en Hendrik Doeff Junior allen zijn bij deze L[oge] erkende Macons, die op eene inconstutioneele wijze gewerkt en onder den naam van de L[oge] Decima door de wet verboden vergaderingen en bijeenkomsten hebben gehouden, van welk bedrijf ter plaatse daar het behoord moet worden kennis gegeeven, ingevolge Art. 67. van het algemeen wetboek en mitsdien goedgevonden van de onwettige receptie van Marten Mak, en de inconstitutioneele vestiging der zogenaamde L[oge] Decima bij eerste gelegenheid den Hoog Verlichten Gedeputeerden Grootmeester Nationaal Nicolaas Engelhard, thans aanweezig te Semarang, te informeeren; onder verzending in Copia der missive van Marten Mak en de daar bij gevoegde quitantie mitsgaders in originale het almede daar bij aangeboden Diploma, met verzoek ten dezen zodanig te disponeeren, als zijn Hoog verlichte naar deszelfs wijsheid en overeenkomstig den aart der zaake, zal vermeenen te behooren.'

[42] CMC, Box 3068, Folder 81' Correspondence with the Grand Master National and lodge La Constante et Fidèle in Semarang 1777-1812: 'En door den Eerstgetekenden [= Holle], na lecture van de gen[oemde] missive en tot opheldering van het daar in vervatte, aan ons te kennen gegeven zijnde dat zijn Achtb[are] bij retour der Japansche scheepen in het jaar 1804 wel door den Br. F.E. Baron van Lawick van Pabst was verzocht geworden om eene constitutie voor eene L[oge] te Decima, met informatie van de bereeds aangevangen werkzaamheeden; doch dat vermits ten Eilande Decima ten nauwer nood zeven Hollandsche Dienaaren gevonden wierden, veel min het geregniseerd getal van Zeven B[roeders] vrije Metzelaaren [nodig] om eene L[oge] te Constitueren en daarenboven den voorn[oemde] B[roeder] van Lawick van Pabst niet was voorzien geweest van eenige hoegenaamde papieren, waaruit zijnen qualificatien zouden hebben moeten blijken, zijne Agtb[are] hier op geen regard had kunnen slaan, niettemin niet voorhouding aan den meern[oemde] B[roeder] van Lawick van Pabst van de onwettigheid der onder zijne voortzetting gehouden vergaderingen en gedirigeerde werkzaamheeden en dat wanneer de omstandigheeden hier van op een legaale wijzen mogten komen te blijken, Hij en die verder met hem hadden gewerkt niet zouden kunnen ontgaan in het nadeelig aspect te komen van zich ten hoogsten strafbaar te hebben gemaakt door eene directe overtreeding van het verbod bij het algemeene wetboek tegen het houden of bijwoonen van soortgelijke illegale bijeenkomsten.'

[43] CMC membership card register lists him as a member of La Compagnie Durable in Middelburg 1777-1780, Master of Ceremonies in La Vertueuse in 1785, Junior Warden 1788, Treasurer 1794-1796. He started out as junior merchant in service of the VOC, worked as cashier at the Bank Courant and Bank van Lening in Batavia, and later became a Member of the Council of the Dutch East Indies.
[44] *Gedenkboek* 1917, p. 455, mentions that Doeff (not Lawick Van Pabst) was repeatedly told of the unlawfulness of his actions, amongst others by the officers of La Vertueuse. It also states that the lodge archive was shipwrecked in 1816 (probably meaning Doeff's unfortunate return journey on the ship Admiral Evertsen, shipwrecked in 1819). No further source for this information is provided.
[45] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 + 77 II-A-1+2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1805-1808 1805-1809, 1st degree Minutes 24-6-1805 until 25-6-1808.
[46] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 + 77 II-A-1+2' La Vertueuse 1) Minutes 1805-1810 2) Booklet with statements by candidats, 2nd degree Minutes 1805-1810: 'De in de Zo evene geëindigde Leerlings rec[eptie] als apprentif [= Leerling] gerecipieerde B[roeder] Marten Mak verzocht hebbende om de tweede graad [= Gezel] te mogen ontvangen, zo is, hoe zeer hij zijn tijd als Leerling niet heeft uitgediend, uit Consideratie dat hij een reizende B[roeder] is, goedgevonden in het gem[elde] verzoek te bewilligen.' See also Box 3064, Folder 76+77 II-A-1+2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1805-1808 1805-1809, No. 12 2nd degree Minutes 6+11*5808 until 16+2*5809 [= 1805-1808], 18-1-1806.
[47] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 + 77 II-A-1+2 La Vertueuse 1) Minutes 1805-1810 2) Booklet with statements by candidates, 3rd degree Minutes 1806-1809: 'een reizende B[roeder] is, welke op zijn vertrek staat naar Japan'.
[48] CMC membership card register lists him as a member in the Dutch East Indies without a lodge reference, instead referring to De Visser Smits 1931.
[49] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 + 77 II-A-1+2 La Vertueuse 1) Minutes 1805-1810 2) Booklet with statements by candidates, 3rd degree Minutes 1806-1809.
[50] CMC, Box 3065, Folder 77 La Vertueuse 1st degree Minutes 1807-1808 [IIA1], 2/1807 Minutes and attachments 24-6-5807 until 25-6-5808.
[51] CMC, Box 3074, Folder 92 La Vertueuse Financial administration 1812, No. 32 Financial statements 20-6-5812, see 26-6-1811, November 1811 and February 1812.
[52] CMC, Box 3081, Folder 49-50-51, 'Naamlijst van de B.B. Visiteuren die genodigt zijn in La Fidelle Sincerite, ter Viering van het feest van St Jan Baptist op den 24 + van den 4 * 5812 [=1812]' and 'Naamlijst van de B.B. Visiteuren die genoodigd zijn ter Visitering in La Fidelle Sincerite, bij het vieren van het feest van St Jan Baptist op den 24 + van den 4 * 5814 [=1814]'.
[53] *Java Almanac* 1815, accessed online: sites.google.com/site/sumatraswestkust/java/java-almanac-1, 12-3-2014.
[54] Masonic legend has it that the negotiating officers recognized Doeff as a fellow freemasons and that was the 'real' reason behind his success. The source of this story is unlear.
[55] Blussé/Remmelink/Smits 2000, p. 112
[56] Haffner 1983 A, pp. 50-51. Listed as Carel Huibrecht de Villeneuve and D.H. Burger in La Fidèle Sincerite in 1830, possibly initiated elsewhere.
[57] *The Freemasons' Quarterly Review* 1849, p. 20. The article was repeated elsewhere: 'Daß in Japan Logen sich finden, hat vor einiger Zeit der holländische Gesandtschaftsarzt Sybold mitgetheilt' (Ersch/Gruber 1849, p. 65.
[58] Pott 1966, p. 176 referred to Cat. exhib. München 1966, p. 131, 'Sieboldiana aus dem Siebold-Archiv von Dr. F.K. v. Siebold': '3. Lackschachtel mit Freimaurerzeichen. Geschenk von Ph. F. v. Siebold an seinen Onkel, Dr. med. Damian von Siebold, Direktor des Medizinalkollegiums in Darmstadt, der der dortiger Freimaurerloge 'Johannis der Evangelist' angehörte'.
[59] CMC membership card register: initiated 8-11-1821 into the 1st- 3rd degrees as passing brother ('passant') in La Bien Aimee in Amsterdam, acting as Secretary of La Fidèle Sincérité in 1824-1825. Members of the Strauch family are listed as merchants in lodges in Rotterdam around the same time.
[60] CMC, Box 3080, Folder 38/40/41, Incoming correspondence 1826-1828: 'Pierre van Outeren, geboren te Leijden, oud 25 Jaren, van beroep Scribe en Boekhouder te Japan […] Pieter Willem Verkerk Pistorius, geboren te Rotterdam, oud 21 Jaren, van beroep Ambtenaar te Japan'.
[61] CMC, Box 3087, Folder 107, No. 11 La Fidele Sincerite Chapter Minutes and attachments 1813-1834: 'den Broeder J[ohannes] F. [van] Overmeer Fisscher, reeds lang in de Symbolische Graden begunstigd met den graad van Meester Vrijmetselaar, zich ook, na zijne tijd als Meester Uitgediend te hebben, tot ons vervoegd had om bevordeeld te worden met de Graden van Elu en Schots Meester het welk nog hem ter dier tijd als op zijn vertrek Staande hadden toegestaan, dan door het Spoedig zeilen der Japansche Scheepen met welke gen[oemde] Broeder Fisscher als Amptenaar naar Japan moest Vertrekken toen geen plaats heeft kunnen hebben waarom hij zich opnieuw heeft aangemeld tot verkrijging van gen[oemde] Graden'.
[62] CMC, Box 3087, Folder 107, No. 11 La Fidèle Sincérité Chapter Minutes and attachments 1813-1834.
[63] CMC, Box 3087, Folder 107, No. 11 La Fidèle Sincérité Chapter Minutes and attachments 1813-1834: 'voorgesteld Br A. Manuel als op zijn vertrek naar Japan staande te bevorderen tot Schots Meester'.
[64] IISG/Value of the guilder.
[65] CMC, Box 3087, Folder 107, No. 11 La Fidèle Sincérité Chapter Minutes and attachments 1813-1834, financial records 2-10-1831.
[66] CMC, Box 3087, Folder 107, No. 11 La Fidèle Sincérité Chapter Minutes and attachments 1813-1834: 'verzoek van den Br J. Borger op zijn vertrek staande naar Japan, om bevordert te mogen worden'.
[67] CMC, Box 3080, Folder 47, Incoming correspondence 1834-1837.
[68] Peck 1966, pp. 6-7. See also Van Ginkel/Haffner 1980.
[69] Van Ginkel/Haffner 1980, p. 69.
[70] Blussé/Remmelink/Smits 2000, p. 181.
[71] Wetmore 1981, p. 185 (an extract of *Recollection of Life in the Far East*, Shanghai 1894, pp. 35-43).
[72] It even ended up in America (1776), were two battalions were kept as prisoners of war in 1777-1783. Peck 1966, pp. 6-7, Johnston 1985, pp. 203-205.
[73] A request was made by W. Monk and Charles H. Dallas, previously members of Sphinx lodge. Johnston 1985, p. 204.
[74] *The Freemason*, 8-5-1869.
[75] Johnston 1991, p. 76. These were: O'Tentosama Lodge no. 1265 EC, Yokohama, 1866; Nippon Lodge no. 1344 EC, Tokyo, active 1870-1883; Hiogo and Osaka Lodge no. 498 SC, Kobe, 1870; Rising Sun Lodge no. 1401 EC, Kobe, 1872; Star in the East Lodge no. 640 SC, Yokohama, 1879; Tokio Lodge no 2015 EC, Tokyo, 1883; Nagasaki Lodge no. 710, Nagasaki, 1885-1919; Albion in the Far East Lodge no. 3279 EC, Kobe, 1914. A patent for an English District Grand Lodge was issued in 1873.
[76] Johnston 1991, p. 76. An article in *The Freemasons' Quarterly Review*, 16-2-1895 reported: 'At last week's meeting of the Grand Lodge of Scotland a letter was submitted which had been addressed by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the Grand Master, with reference to freemasonry in Japan. It was in the following terms: "The Earl of Kimberly has had under his consideration your letter, in which you forward a memorial from the Freemasons of Yokohama, explaining that as a law of Japan forbids secret societies the Masonic body in that country apprehend interference with their work, when under the provisions of the treaty recently concluded British subjects become amenable to Japanese jurisdiction. I am directed by his Lordship to state that the new treaty will not come into force for at least five years, by which time the Japanese law quoted in the memorial may be so modified as to not affect meetings of freemasons. When the question becomes a practical one, it may possibly be desirable to make friendly

representations to the Japanese government as to the philanthropic objectives of Freemasonry; but in Lord Kimberly's opinion it is not advisable for Her Majesty's Government to take any steps at present for endeavoring to obtain a modification of the Japanese law. In any case it is not a matter which to his Lordship's view be properly made a subject of stipulation."'

[77] Johnston 1991. p. 77.

[78] CMC, correspondence of the Grand Master (copy kindly supplied by curator Jac. Piepenbrock; inv.no could not be retrieved due to the moving house of the collection in 2015): 'Onder eenige goederen, deezer dagen uit Japan ontvangen, bevinden zich enkele doch weinige dozen, betrekkelijk tot de, over geheel de aarde uitgebreide Instelling der Vrijmetselarij. Ik waag het U Hoog Eerw[aarde] aan het hoofd staande dier, hier ten lande gevestigde orde, deze Box hierbij nederig aan te bieden, met verzoek, dat U Hoog Eerw[aarde] deze kleene oplettendheid gelieve te beschouwen als een blijk van de onbepaalde Hoogachting en den plichtmatigen Eerbied, die U ongeveinsd wordt toegedragen'.

[79] See amongst others Jorissen 1987 and De Veer 1962.

[80] See *Vry-Metselaars Almanak* 1837, pp. 113-115; edition 1839, pp. 70-73, edition 1840, pp. 95-96, all on the ship De Broedertrouw; and edition 1841, pp. 113-114, on the ship Delta.

[81] Pott 1966, as well as an (uninventoried) letter by Pott to an American collector in the photo collection of the CMC.

[82] Perau 1745, pp. 55-56: 'Men moet in acht neeme, dat er in het midden van de kamer van Aanneming een groot perk op de grond afgetekent is, daar men met Kryt twee Kolommen in tekent, overblyfselen van den Tempel van Salomon: aan beide de zyden van dit perk ziet men een groote J en een groote B getekent. […] In 't midden van het perk, en tusschen de getekende Kolommen, zyn drie kandelaars met brandende kaarssen, driehoekig geschikt, of geplaatst.'

[83] ' Afbeelding van de loge tot aanneming van een vrij-metselaars Leerling-Gezel. 1. Kolom Jakin. 2. Kolom Boaz. 3. De 7 treden om naar den Tempel op te klimmen. 4. De Mosaische vloer. 5. Wester Venster.6. Plank om op te tekenen, voor de Meesters. 7. Vlammende Sterre. 8. Zuider Venster. 9. Pasloodt. 10. Ooster Venster. 11. Waterpas. 12. Ruuwe Steen. 13. Winkelhaak. 14. Vierkante Steen, van boven spits. 15. De Kwast. A. Plaats van den Groot-Meester. B. Plaats van den eersten Opzigter. C. Plaats van den tweeden Opzigter. D. Autaar. E. Tabouret. F. G. H. De drie Lichten.'

[84] Pott 1961 B, p. 19.

[85] Iwasaki 1993, p. 222.

[86] Similar are CMC inv.no. 1808 (type 1a), and a box auctioned at Van Spengen, Hilversum, 2004 (type, 1b).

[87] See the annotated reprints in Jackson 1986, pp. 117-177, and Carr 1981, pp. 99-196.

[88] Such oval medals are well represented in British collections, including that of the Museum and Library of Freemasonry in London.

[89] CMC 213B3, *Jachin and Boaz* 1797, n. pag.

[90] Pott 1966, p. 181.

[91] *Leydse Courant*, 2-11-1825.

[92] Similar is CMC inv.no. 17616. The box of this type in the collection of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, inv.no. AK-RBK-1958-10, is incorrectly dated in the museum's registration as ca. 1777-1790, as the copied print only appeared in 1797.

[93] Glerum Auctioneers, see auction cat. 2002b, lot 79, p. 12.

[94] I am gratefull to Mark Tabbart, curator at the National Heritage Museum in Lexington at the time, for a copy of the letter.

[95] Cat. exhib. Lexington 1975, n. pag., no. 114; Cat. exhib. Lexington 1986, p. 53. See also the recent information in the museum's online catalogue at nationalheritagemuseum.org.

[96] The first publication of the rituals of the Antients Grand Lodge was *Three Distinct Knocks* (1760), closely followed by *Jachin and Boaz* (1st ed. 1762), in fact an improved version of the rituals. In America, the rituals of the Moderns Grand Lodge were practiced mainly by English officers and high officials, who returned to Great Britain after the War of Independance. The remaining craftsmen, merchants etc. in America mostly worked with the rituals of the Antients, and therefore would have needed a copy of *Jachin and Boaz*. The publication was so popular that new editions were printed until after 1816 and are not rare today. The influential American publication *The Freemason's Monitor; or Illustrations of Masonry* (1797) published by Thomas Smith Webb (Grand Master for Rhode Island, 1813–1814), was itself influenced by *Jachin and Boaz*. So it is likely that Salem/Massachusetts freemasons indeed had access to the latest, 1797 edition, and the print could have reached Japan in time. Kind advice by Jan Snoek, Heidelberg University.

[97] Information kindly supplied by William R. Sargent, based on his research at the Peabody Essex Museum, and referring to Piemonte 1992, pp. 37-38, 44-45. Snuff or tobacco boxes were not listed in the cargo of the Franklin.

[98] Impey/Jörg 2005, p. 231, footnote 214-215 refers to Earle 2000, p. 66, cat. 101 (box at Chiddingstone Castle), Hidaka 2002, ill. 91, Fukuoka 1995, cat. 74 (with fan-motifs in the decoration). See also Jörg 1993, cat.no. 172 and 174 and Cat. London 1938, p. 27. A similar box is in the collection of the Musée de la Maison des Maçons, Paris.

[99] CMC membership records include many Dutch members of the Scheltema family. Those in the Dutch East Indies are: J. Scheltema (ca. 1825-ca. 1873) became a member of De Vriendschap in 1853; Jan Scheltema (ca. 1815-?), merchant, became a member of La Constante et Fidèle in 1855; Paulus Scheltema Beduin (ca. 1832-?), supercargo, became a member of La Bien Aimée in 1859 and of De Ster in het Oosten in 1858, where his profession is listed as telegraph operator; J. Scheltema became a member of La Bien Aimée in 1877, Mata Hari in 1891 and De Ster in het Oosten in 1900; Jul. Th. Scheltema (ca. 1833-?) became a member of De Vriendschap in 1864; Isaak Scheltema de Heer (1860-?) became a member of the Chapter La Constante et Fidèle in 1907.

[100] Information kindly supplied in 1994 by Mrs. G.N. Houben-Barten (†), the wife of a descendent of Veuger in Heerhugowaard who had the lacquer box in his possesion. The box was auctioned at Sotheby's in Amsterdam, 17-5-1994, lot no. 596.

[101] The CMC membership card register includes Willem Frederik Karel Pijper (born 1873), member of lodge De Vriendschap in 1918, and F. Pijper, member of lodge Ster in het Oosten in 1877.

[102] Similar boxes are in the collection of CMC, inv.no. 1802 (type 2e), the Grand Orient de France, Paris (type 2f, reproduction in*: Images* 2003, p. 85; Cat. exhib. Tours 2002, p. 204), and auctioned at Christie's (sale 8949).

[103] See for instance CMC inv.no. 1808, a similar box in the collection of the Grand Orient de France, Paris (reproduced in *Images* 2003, p. 86.), National Heritage Museum, Lexington, inv.no. 79.9; and at auction: sale 6-3-2011 at cannes-encheres.com; sale 15-1-2013, lot 630 at Amsterdam Curiosa and Art Auctions.

[104] Similar box in the collection of the National Heritage Museum, Lexington, inv.no. 78.20.3.

[105] Pott 1966, p. 181.

[106] An almost identical version is in the collection of the National Heritage Museum in Lexington.

[107] Similar boxes appeared at auction: sale 2433, lot. 208 at Christies.com; Deon Viljoen/Guus Roeell, *Uit verre streken*, cat. March 2015. No 57.

[108] Impey/Jörg 2005, pp. 210 and 275, ill. 564-21.

[109] Similar boxes are in the collection of the Musée de la Maison des Maçons, Paris; Grand Loge de France, Paris, inv.no. MAB 2638-86 (reproduced in Cat. exhib. Tours 2002, p. 204, no. 02.13; Cat. exhib. Tours 1997, p. 172, no. 4/20; Cat. exhib. Vienna 1993, p. 222, cat. 12/33); Freimaurer Museum, Bayreuth (reproduced in Valmy 1991, p. 223); and appeared at auction: sale 11-11-2003 at cannes-encheres.com,

[110] Cat. London 1938, p. 38.
[111] Information kindly supplied by Peter Bijleveld, letter 18-2-2003 and interview 2003. Similar boxes in Auction cat. 1994, lot 518, Auction cat. 1995 B, lot 878.
[112] In the photocollection of the CMC is an image of a similar box in a private collection in Amsterdam.
[113] Calloway 2005.
[114] CMC, uninventoried letter by P.H. Pott to Daniel Brooks (USA), 10-2-1983.
[115] Similar boxes are in the collection of the Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London (reproduced in Hamill/Gilbert 1991, p. 167; see also Cat. London 1938, p. 38); Provincial Library and Museum, Leicester; Grand Loge De France, Paris, inv.no. MAB 2638-87 (reproduced in Cat. exhib. Tours 1997, p. 173, cat.no. 4/21, Cat. exhib. Tours 2002, p. 204, no. 02.14); National Heritage Museum, Lexington; Los Angeles County Museum of Art, inv.no. M.2014.38; and have appeared at auction: sale 25-7-2004 at cannes-encheres.com; sale 2235, lot 1041, and sale 5748, lot 793, both at Christies.com. .see also Jörg 1993, cat. 173; Schrijvers/Thyssens 2003, p. 188.
[116] Similar boxes are in the collection of the National Heritage Museum, Lexington, inv.no. 74.1.1 (reproduced in Hamilton 1994, p. 111, no. 4.20, Cat. exhib. Lexington 1976, no. 116); Grand Orient de France, Paris (reproduced in *Images* 2003, p. 85); Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, inv.no. xm-74-734 (reproduced in: MacNulty 1991, p. 90); Henry W. Coil Library and Museum of Freemasonry, San Francisco, inv.no. 2013.1.1.
[117] Information kindly supplied by Tom Bergroth, 20-3-2003.
[118] Iwasaki 1993.
[119] Pott 1966, p. 178.
[120] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 89 La Vertueuse inventories 1789-1901 [=1801], 1709-1801 No. 10, 'Bericht en Inventaris der Goederen gehorende aan de Logie La Vertueuse 27 december 1789': 'Een Japans verlakt kistje tot berging der ornamenten'. CMC, Box 3067, Folder 80+80 A La Vertueuse 2nd degree Minutes 1834-1835, 1st degree Minutes 5834-5837.
[121] Information kindly supplied in 1994 by Mrs. G.N. Houben-Barten (†).
[122] He is listed in the CMC membership card register as initiated into the 1st degree in lodge De Edelmoedigheid in Den Bosch on 7-9-1820, while he got a diploma for the 1st and 2nd degrees in the same year. He is listed in the Dutch East Indies in 1828 under reference to De Visser Smits 1931.
[123] CMC, Box 3070, Folder 83 La Vertueuse Incoming and outgoing correspondence 1814-1837: 'Het deze almede verzellende Japansch Verlakt Kistje, waarvan de Sleutel hierbij ingesloten is, bevat des Overledenes (na 't mij voorkomt) eige diplomas en Maconnique ornementen, welke ik uw Edelachtbare almede, als voor geenen verkoop vatbaar, hierbij treffende (…) Verzoek mij het Japansch Kistje hetwelk ik bij den Inventaris des boedels heb ingenomen, ledig te willen retourneren'.
[124] CMC, Box 3070, Folder 83 La Vertueuse Incoming and outgoing correspondence 1814-1837: 'Het Japansche kistje niet het eigendom der Loge zijnde, gaat hiermede terug'.
[125] Hamilton 1994, p. 111, cat.no. 4.21; Patrick 1991, p. 15.
[126] Davidson 1952, p. 177: 'Een vierkant Japans kistie met seven silveren ornamenten daarin'. The fake minutes of this supposedly medieval lodge were produced along with the so-called Charter van Keulen, as part of a famous and elaborate hoax in support of ritual reforms by the Dutch Grand Master Prince Frederik in 1816.
[127] '225. Verlakte Box, geschikt tot berging van Maç[onnieke] voorwerpen, toebehoord hebbende aan den Z[eer] A[achtbare] B[roeder] Riesz'. Lijst 1858, p. 9; Noordziek 1859, p. 27; Noordziek 1860, p. 45.
[128] CMC membership card register.
[129] CMC, 28-62 and N2, a certificate for an honorary membership for Riesz dated 9-1-1839.
[130] Noordziek 1860, pp. 45-46: '225. Verlakte Box, geschikt tot berging van Maç[onnieke] voorwerpen, toebehoord hebbende aan den Z[eer] A[chtbare] B[roeder] Riesz. 226. Fraaije groote verlakte Japansche Box, dienende tot bewaring van maçonnieke decoratien en ornamenten, voorzien van boven met eene in goud afgezette afbeelding van het Tableau. 227. Japansch verlakte Tabaksbox, voorzien aan de bovenzijde van eene voorstelling in het Tableau.'
[131] Cat. Nijmegen 1910, p. 4: '9. Een theeblad uit Perle d'Amour gemaakt, voorstellende een maç[onniek] tableau. […] 14. Drie zwart verlakte doozen met maç[onnieke] voorstellingen.' It is unlikely a tray was made from pearlshell, probably 'inlaid with pearlshell' was meant here.
[132] Two things stand out: the floor of the temple is located toward the middle of the box (normally found at the bottom) and there is a triangle in the middle of the decoration. Above it one can just make out a square.
[133] Cat. Nijmegen 1912, p. 7: '55. Zwart verlakte box met maç[onnieke] figuren. 56. Een Japansche verlakte box met maç[onnieke] voorstellingen'.
[134] Cat. Nijmegen 1913, p. 14, no. 14 and p. 32, no. 56: 'Drie Indisch zwart verlakte doozen, met maçonnieke voorstellingen; afkomstig van de B[roeders] J.H. de G. (2 stuks) en een van br[oeder] J.S. Op een (die van br[oeder] de G.) bevindt zich op de binnenzijde van het deksel eene afbeelding van de oude stadsherberg te Batavia. […] Drie Japansche verlakte doozen met maç[onnieke] voorstellingen van de B[roeders] R. en W. en der K.'
[135] Pott 1966, p. 175; CMC membership card register.
[136] Pott 1966, p. 175.
[137] According to Pott 1966, p. 175, the two boxes from 'J.H. de G.' (listed in Cat. Nijmegen 1913) disappeared during World War II.

Notes to chapter 7

[1] For an introduction into the (armorial) export porcelain trade see: Lunsingh Scheurleer 1966 (and later editions), Jörg 1982, Kroes 2007 and the bibliographies therein.
[2] Jörg 1982, p. 17.
[3] Kroes 2007, p. 14.
[4] Stevens 1998, p. 55.
[5] Kroes 2007, p. 93.
[6] Jörg 1982, pp. 27 and 143.
[7] In 1909 the lodge *Hollandia* was founded in Shanghai under jurisdiction of the Grand East of the Netherlands. It would only be active for two years. Kwaadgras 2003, p. 172.
[8] NA/VOC lists him as leaving in 1756 and in service until 1758; CMC, membership card register shows Knibbe was initiated into La Charité in 1757. He then received the 2nd and 3rd degrees in lodge La Bien Aimée in 1760 and 1762, after which he resigned from the lodge.
[9] Jörg 1982, Appendix 2.
[10] Literature on the relationship between freemasonry and the Danish, French and Spanish Factories in China is lacking.
[11] Haffner 1975, n. pag. Around that time, Amoy was not yet a trade centre and the British were not especially involved in the area.
[12] Lane's Masonic Records 1717-1894 lists it as meeting in 'a private room, Canton', later renumbered no. 342 (1770), no. 266 (1780), no. 267 (1781), no. 225 (1792). Considered erased in 1813.
[13] When the research for this book started, the accessibility of the archive of the Grand Lodge of Sweden was limited to (male) members of the Order and I had no knowledge of the Swedish language, which meant these barriers had to be overcome by consulting alternative sources. I am grateful to Scandinavian colleagues Tom Bergroth, Olof P. Berg, dr. Henrik Bogdan and Jonas Andersson MA for their kind assistance in providing me with English summaries. In 2009 I was contacted for information on Dutch lodge members by dr. Andreas Önnerfors, who was also researching the subject of the Canton lodges (see Önnerfors 2012). However, we came to our conclusions independently.
[14] The names of the men involved were verified with the 'Generalmatrikel' of the Grand Lodge of Sweden as published in Önnerfors 2006, the database of SOIC employee records at the university library in Göteborg: ub.gu.se/samlingar/handskrift/ostindie/index.xml (hereafter: GU/OKP) and the database of SOIC ships at: gotheborg.com/project/ships/ships.shtml (hereafter: GS). Very helpful was the genealogical information on SOIC employees at: blog.zaramis.se/serier/ostindiska-kompaniet-2.
[15] Pike Jr is listed in the CMC membership card register as initiated in 1748, referring to Lagerberg 1904, which suggests the original Dutch record did not survive**.** Berg 2000, p. 156, lists him as initiated in 1747, while information kindly supplied by Jonas Andersson MA on 24-5-2005 refers to the year 1746 recorded in the Swedish Grand Lodge archive.
[16] Önnerfors 2006 lists a Pike, first name and year of initiation unknown, as member of the lodge L'Auxiliaire de St. Jean in Stockholm. This was probably Charles Pike (died 1743), a brother of John Pike Sr, who had worked for the Oostendse Compagnie and lived in Amsterdam before he moved to Sweden in 1734 (Müller 2007, p. 152). The birth register in the Amsterdam Municipal Archives list a Charles Pike born in 1732 to parents John Pike and an unknown woman, with witnesses John and Charles Pike. NA/VOC lists a John Pike from Oostende who enlisted as a sailor in 1749. Berg 2000. P. 13 mentions Pike worked as an advisor to the VOC, without specifying Sr or Jr.
[17] CMC, inv.no. 4337, Minutes of lodge La Bien Aimée te Amsterdam 1757-1765, 2-9-1757: '[…] de Tres Venerable [verhaalde] op wat wijse deese Loge met de Tres respectable Groote Loge L'Auxiliaire de St. Jean te Stockholm in correspondentie geraakt was; en welke blijken van waare vriend- en broederschap deselve Groote Loge aan onse Loge betoont heeft, met te vereren aan dese Loge Eene Goude Medaille, met versoek dat deselve aan de borst van de Tres Venerable mogt hangen, ten teeken van Eene Vriend- en Broederlijke Vereeniging tussen deeser bijden Loges'
[18] Kat 1982, p. 419. Mesterton is not listed in the CMC membership card register. See: Stadsarchief Amsterdam, 5072 'Archief van de Commissarissen van de Desolate Boedelkamer', 2602, 1364 Henrij Mesterton and Archibald Mesterton, 13-7-1764.
[19] See Kernkamp 1910; Kat 1982, p. 415; Beaurepaire 2004, p. 47. Lefebure and Grill were acquainted with Emanuel Swedenborg. They were also invited by the aforementioned Mesteron to join meetings of the scientific society Concordia et Libertate. Keith Schuchard 2012 which provides an insight into the political and financial relationships of some of the key players in the Swedish and Amsterdam lodges.
[20] CMC, Box 4008, List of accepted candidates 1769-1816. Klockefeldt was initiated as Apprentice and Fellow on 7-3-1786.
[21] 'Koopman in Porseleijne'. CMC, Box 4008, List of accepted candidates 1769-1816. Martineau was born in 'St. Inge', initiated as Apprentice and Fellow on 3-11-1784 and as Master on 10-11-1784. He advertised as a merchant in English, French and German ceramics and porcelains, as well as tea and coffee, in the *Leidsche, Rotterdamsche* and *Amsterdamsche Courant* between 1779 and 1810.
[22] CMC, Box 4008, List of accepted candidates 1769-1816. Eilbracht was initiated as Apprentice and Fellow on 7-12-1786.
[23] When lodge member Jan Jacob Voûte (ca. 1775-1850) travelled from Holland to Sweden he received a warm welcome. De Eendragt wrote a formal letter of gratitude on 29-4-1812 for this reception and the personal assistance offered to Voûte by Swedish freemason J. Mintenden, in which the Rotterdam freemasons also expressed their wish 'to form a correspondence with the very Respectable [Swedish] Lodge'. A second letter of the same date to the Officers of the Swedish lodge offered friendship and again requested the start of formal correspondence, as well as the regular exchange of membership lists. This request was also made to lodge Friedrich zum Gekronten Hofnung in Copenhagen, Denmark, and lodge Absalon in Hamburg, Germany. See CMC, Box 4008, Outgoing correspondence 1808-1851. Mintenden is not listed in Önnerfors 2006, only a Johan Minten, member of Salomoniska Logen. According to CMC membership card register, Voûte was initiated into the 1st and 2nd degrees in De Eendragt on 4-1-1797, and into the 3rd degree on 29-4-1797, suggesting he was about to travel abroad. He resigned in 1821 and transferred to lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam in 1824. He was chosen for the office of *Groot Bouwmeester* (1824-1835) and *Groot Hofmeester* (1838-1846), and became a member of La Charité in 1839. In 1844 he was named honorary member of lodge Zur Einigkeit in Frankfurt and in 1847 of De Eendragt.
[24] For the international relationships between these men and the European East India Companies, see Müller 2007.
[25] Five members of the König and two of the Sahlgren families are listed in Önnerfors 2006, p. 251. A Dougald Campbell is mentioned below.
[26] Berg 2000, p. 156.
[27] Berg 1998, p. 35. Other categories listed by Berg are officers (117) and other occupations (128).
[28] See for instance the genealogical information on: blog.zaramis.se/serier/ostindiska-kompaniet-2.
[29] Berg 2000, p. 157; Berg 1998, p. 42.
[30] Berg 1998, p. 75.
[31] In a signed minute book two lodge meetings were recorded in Cadiz, while the minute books of Salomoniska Logen provide other information. Haffner 1991, p. 6.
[32] Haffner 1975, n. pag., refers to minutes of two meetings on paper with burned edges and concludes that the other archives have been destroyed by fire.

[33] Haffner 1975, n. pag.; Berg 2000, p. 157.
[34] Lagerberg 1904, p. 36.
[35] Lagerberg 1904, p. 36. Lindberg 1971; Haffner 1975, n. pag.; Berg 1998, p. 44; Berg 2000, p. 157.
[36] L&M F, YSW 166 LOD: 'Lodge Elisabeth at Canton' [manuscript], letter by Harry Lindberg to Christopher Haffner, 5-7-1975. Walter returned to Göteborg as an Apprentice and was registered in the books of Salomoniska Logen on 2-11-1761 (Berg 1998, p. 45).
[37] Haffner relied on (translations of) research by the Swedish Harry Lindberg, provided by Lindberg and his son, such as Lindberg 1971. Haffner published this information in the 1970s/1990s, often reusing and adding to earlier texts. See the original research file in: L&MF, YSW 166 LOD, 'Lodge Elisabeth at Canton' [manuscript], consulted here with kind permission by the author.
[38] Haffner 1975, n. pag.
[39] '[…] since the walls were too thin in the buildings that the East-Indian Company rented'. Information kindly supplied by dr. Henrik Bogdan, University of Göteborg, 2002.
[40] Haffner 1975, n. pag.; Önnerfors 2006, p. 199.
[41] A cup and plate are in the collection of the Musée de la Maison des Maçons, images available at: glnf-musee.fr; bowls are in the collection of the Svenska Frimurare Ordens Museet, Stockholm (reproduced in: Cat. Stockholm 1953, p. 44) and Musée International de Ceramique, Sèvres (reproduced in Hervouët/Bruneau 1986, p. 228).
[42] Kind advice by dr. Henrik Bogdan, University of Göteborg, 5-4-2011.
[43] A similar bowl is in the collection of the Swedish Grand Lodge, illustrated in cat. Stockholm 1953, p. 44.
[44] A similar bowl is in the collection of the Musée National de Céramique in Sevres, reproduced in Hervouët/Bruneau 1986, p. 288. See also a punch bowl in Göteborg Historiska Museet, inv.no. GM 19.128, decorated in similar gold and grisaille with a monogram 'BB' in a heart shaped crest between vines, topped with a cloud, a burning heart and a radiant six-pointed North star. The North or Pole star is a nautical reference, but depending on the perspective of commissioner or buyer it could also allude to a lodge name, such as Zorobabel til Nordstjernen, or the Swedish Order of Riddare af Nordstjarnen.
[45] Berg stated that every season between 1760 and 1779 ca. nine to eleven Swedish freemasons would be present in Canton, although he did not provide their names and assumed that lodge activities were not continued or resumed between 1761 and 1785. Berg 1998, pp. 82 and 88.
[46] They are only listed in the general membership records of the Swedish Grand Lodge, which could indicate that they were either unaware of the lodge in Canton or somehow unable to attend lodge meetings - but their omission may also be down to the incompleteness of surviving records of the Prins Carl's Lodge.
[47] Kroes 2012, p. 84. A letter by Harry Lindberg, quoted by Haffner 1975, n. pag., mentions an anecdote about the loss of a Swedish ship before the coast of Canton in 1761. Supposedly 49 crates of cargo were saved, including one with the mark of a six-pointed star, made up out of interlaced triangles ('Solomon's Seal' in masonic terms, which for instance appears on the altar of lodge Elisabeth, see fig. 6.27). Three freemasons assisted when 48 crates were opened by the Chinese for inspection and detailed rapports were made, but the one with the mark was left untouched. Lindberg concludes this was a sign it may have contained masonic cargo, which the Chinese officers in charge respected. As no source was provided, it wasn't possible to verify this anecdote. It is however unlikely, as the Chinese collected taxes on traded goods. They may have been bribed. Kind suggestion by prof.dr. Christiaan Jörg, Leiden University.
[48] Listed as Claes in Önnerfors 2006, p. 221.
[49] Jörg 1982, Appendix 2. Also listed is assistant J.P.J., P.J. or J.P. Texier. This may be either Pierre Texier, listed in the CMC membership card register as born in Angouleme (France), member of lodges Concorida Vincit Animos and La Charité in Amsterdam in 1757-1758, or Jacques Texier, member of La Charité in Amsterdam in 1757. A Bernard Texier was a member of the same lodge in the same year and was listed in 1776 in a lodge in Suriname (West Indies). Supercargo Jan Stuart may also have been a member of the Prins Carl's lodge: a Stuart is mentioned in lodge De Goede Hoop at the Cape in 1775 (and earlier in St. Eustatius, West Indies). But his family name occurs too frequently in the VOC membership lists to identify him with certainty. The same goes for supercargo Lodewijk Schermer: a Schermer is listed in the correspondence of lodge Astrée in Utrecht in 1762.
[50] Kroes 2012 includes a family tree , p. 90.
[51] For a genealogy, see: Grilliana, 'Avskrift av GRILLIANA. Conceptbok till Grillska släktens historia av J. W. Grill'. The Conradi and Tham families mentioned in this chapter married into the Grill family.
[52] Cat. exhib. Turku 1992, p. 62. He was initiated on 21-12-1756 into the degree of St. Johns Master III (information kindly supplied by Jonas Andersson MA, 24-5-2005).
[53] He was introduced as associated member on 10-9-1756 in lodge La Bien Aimée and accepted on 13-10-1756 (Kat 1982, p. 405). The lodge minutes recorded his previous membership of lodge La Charité (CMC, Box 4337, Minute book La Bien Aimée 1757). He announced leave of absence due to a journey abroad (probably to Nantes) on 28-12-1757. His functions in the lodge included Master of Ceremonies (appointed 27-12-1758) and Master of Ceremonies (appointed 27-12-1759, 27-12-1760 and 27-12-1764) (Kat 1982, pp. 405-406). He was recorded as present at lodge meetings in 1760-1761, 1765-1772 and was listed as Worshipful Master before leaving for Sweden in 1773.
[54] CMC membership card register: Jacob was recorded as a member of La Fidèlité in Amsterdam, according to his signature in the visitor book of La Bien Aimée on 28-4-1758 (Kat 1982, p. 407). Anthoni Antz. was initiated into the 1st and 2nd degrees in La Bien Aimée in 1767, 3rd degree in 1768. He is listed in the lodge records as Worshipful Master from 1770 until 1772, then left for Sweden (with Jacob) in 1773 (Rodermond 1985, p. 52). Jacob had contact with the Swedish traveller Bengt Ferrner, mentioned above.
[55] CMC membership card register: initiated in the Apprentice and Fellow degrees on 11-11-1767, and the Master's degree on 22-3-1768. He is recorded as present at lodge meetings in 1769-1776, and listed as having left the lodge in 1776. Father Antony and son Jacob were involved in the founding of the famous 'Grill's hofje' in the Eerste Weteringdwarsstraat in Amsterdam. See Van Eeghen 1970, which also provides a genealogy.
[56] Grilliana; Kroes 2012.
[57] Hornstrand 2013, pp. 89-90.
[58] Kroes 2012, p. 86.
[59] Little is known about this artist. Could this be the Rime Guillaume Robart, living on the Overtoomseweg and listed as father and husband in the baptism and burial registers in the Amsterdam City Archive in the 1760s?
[60] Cat. Stockholm 1953, p. 67.
[61] Cat. Stockholm 1953, p. 67.
[62] Cat. exhib. Turku 1992, p. 156, states that it belonged to Jean Abraham Grill, Venerble Master (*Logenmeister*) of La Bien Aimée before his return to Sweden in 1773.
[63] GA/NM: Volym 13 Ostindiska affärer efter J. A. Grills hemkomst, Akt 4 Frimureri i Kanton och Macao. Logen St Elisabeth Räkningar 1766.
[64] GS, ship no. 20.

[65] Although the dates of the table lodges are listed as 9 February, 8 March, 22 March, 27 March, 27 November, 13 December and 27 December, the year(s) in which they took place are not provided. Önnerfors 2012, p. 131, suggests dating the meetings from November 1765 onwards, which is unlikely if the ship Stockholms Slott only left Sweden in December 1765 with Grill aboard (GS, ship no. 25; see also table 6.1). All three Dutch members Schartouw, Karsseboom and Van Braam Houckgeest, discussed below, were together in Canton only in the 1766-1767 season. Önnerfors interprets a financial overview dated 'A. 1766' as a reclamation for expenses made after the fact, suggesting the lodge room was decorated in 1766 while meetings were already taking place. All this makes it likely that the table lodges took place between March 1766 and November 1767.
[66] Not identified by Önnerfors 2012, p. 130. Briefly mentioned in Van Dyke 2005, p. 154.
[67] Dumont, Michel and De Robien are listed on a note with names of French ships' crews in Grill's archive. He kept such notes in order to identify trade partners, and possibly to identify fellow freemasons. For instance, from Karsseboom he received a note with names of Dutch captains. De Robien gave him a list of French ships and their captains dated 7-9-1768. (GA/NM: Dokument: 2, Akt: 8, Varia. Listor över franska och holländska fartyg i Kanton. Formulär till bodmerikontrakt. Karta (ritning) av Trialesöarna utanför Java, Indonesien 1736 (2 st) 1760-tal; Volym: 13, Ostindiska affärer efter J. A. Grills hemkomst).
[68] Jörg 1982, Appendix 2, p. 203, included in the list for the year 1766. Schartouw is not listed in the CMC membership card register.
[69] Morse 1929, p. 123. Affairs of the EIC were often managed locally by independent councils, formed by supercargoes.
[70] Morse 1929, p. 123; identified by a mention in Tuck 2000, p. 382.
[71] Identified by a mention in Hardy 1811.
[72] Identified by a mention in *Scots Magazine* 1795, p. 316.
[73] Van Dyke 2005, p. 154. Morse 1929, pp. 161-162, also mentions a Dr. Gordon as the British factory surgeon, who died in 1772.
[74] CMC, membership card register only refers to De Visser Smits 1931, which lists a Fritz in the Dutch East Indies in 1818.
[75] GA/NM: Dokument: 126, Register, liggare personer; Akt: 5, Skeppet Riksens Ständer 1760-62, 1763-64, 1765-66; Volym: 8, Expeditioner.
[76] GA/NM: Dokument: 126, Register, liggare personer; Akt: 5, Skeppet Riksens Ständer 1760-62, 1763-64, 1765-66; Volym: 8, Expeditioner.
[77] According to the *Gazette van Gend*, 1-7-1765, he returned as captain of the ship Crown Prince to Copenhagen from China in June 1765.
[78] Identified by a mention in Yves Lenoir/Nicolas Standaert e.a., *Les danses rituelles chinoises d'après Joseph-Marie Amiot: aux sources de l'ethnochorégraphie*, Namur 2005, p. 66. De Robien brought back illustrated albums on the tea and porcelain manufacture to France, which are now in the Musée des Beaux Arts in Rennes as part of the De Robien collection.
[79] Jörg 1982, Appendix 2, p. 203. Karsseboom was already in Canton in the 1764 season, and with Schartouw in 1765. All three of them were in Canton together in the season 1766-1767 only.
[80] L&MF, YSW 166 LOD: 'Lodge Elisabeth at Canton' [manuscript], letter by Harry Lindberg to Christopher Haffner, 5-7-1975.
[81] Haffner 1975, n. pag. According to the membership records of the Swedish Grand Lodge, Johan Abraham Grill was initiated into Salomoniska Logen on 14-11-1760 into the (3rd) degree of 'St. John's Master' (information kindly supplied by Jonas Andersson MA, 24-5-2005).
[82] Translation quoted here from Önnerfors 2012.
[83] Önnerfors 2012, p. 135.
[84] Black and silver decorations are common in the (French) Elu degrees (see chapter 2), also practiced by Europeans in the Dutch East Indies. Within the Swedish Rite, a (non-revenge based) Elu degree developed into the Andreas degrees. Information kindly provided by dr. Jan Snoek, University Heidelberg. See: Jan Snoek: 'Frühe Verbreitung und Inhalte des IV. Grades', in: Bettag/Snoek 2012, chapter 6, pp. 61-96.
[85] Önnerfors 2012, p. 132.
[86] Jörg 1982, Appendix 2, compared to CMC membership card register.
[87] '8 vrijmetselaarsglazen'. Jörg 1982, p. 63, refers to National Archives of the Netherlands, VOC archive, 4403, letters and papers transferred from China. Van Eijmbeek is not in the CMC membership card register.
[88] Önnerfors 2012, p. 138, considers this a clear sign that the lodge was affiliated to the Swedish Order and Salomoniska Logen.
[89] Lindberg studied the logbooks of SOIC ships that visited Canton in 1759-1787, but did not find any indication of masonic activities. L&MF, YSW 166 LOD: 'Lodge Elisabeth at Canton' [manuscript], letter by Harry Lindberg to Christopher Haffner, 5-7-1975.
[90] That would explain the continued activities of a 'Frimurare Sallskapet' (Freemasons Company) in Canton, as cited by Haffner 1975, n. pag. Berg 2000, p. 158; Önnerfors 2012, p. 141.
[91] Peck 1966, p. 6; Haffner 1975, n. pag.; Haffner 1988, pp. 5-6; Lane's Masonic Records 1717-1894. Önnerfors 2012, p. 129, points out that three lodges under English constitution were founded in Stockholm and Göteborg around the same time.
[92] Berg 1998, p. 63, which does not provide a source.
[93] His siblings were married to the Grubb and Sahlgren families. See genealogy at: blog.zaramis.se/2011/08/06/strom-familj-som-blev-rik-pa-den-ostindiska-handeln.
[94] *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* 31 (1918), p. 105, which also lists him as a visitor to the Royal Lodge in London in 1778 and 1779.
[95] Önnerfors 2012, p. 140.
[96] For an export porcelain tea service for the Tranchell family, see: gotheborg.com/exhibition/exhibit_64-147_armorial.shtml.
[97] For an export porcelain plate ordered by Clason and a jardinière for his family in law, see: gotheborg.com/exhibition/exhibit_64-147_armorial.shtml.
[98] Jörg 1982, Appendix 2.
[99] CMC membership card register lists Boers as member of La Vertu on 19-5-1775, Master of Furniture 1776; then a member of La Vertueuse in Batavia 1783. Uncertain is the membership of Dutch Factory director Jan Elin. J.C. Elin was a member of La Vertu in 1759, followed by an E. Elin in 1767, while the name Elin Modderman is also listed in the CMC membership card register.
[100] Haffner 1975, n. pag.; Berg 2000, p. 158.
[101] Berg 2000, p. 158.
[102] Lagerberg 1904, p. 37; Haffner 1975, n. pag. Lagerberg 1904, p. 118, lists the contents of the surviving lodge archive for the years 1788, 1791-1796.
[103] Berg 1998, p. 83.
[104] Berg 1998, p. 83, suggests that the Grand Master was advised to appoint lodge members Conradi or Clason (discussed below) instead, but decided otherwise.
[105] Lagerberg 1904, p. 37; Haffner 1975, n. pag.
[106] Haffner 1991, p. 8.
[107] Haffner 1975, n. pag.
[108] Berg 1998, pp. 84-85. However, Berg mistakenly concludes that this is proof that the bills in the Grill archive of lodge essentials were not intended for the Canton lodge.
[109] Önnerfors 2012, p. 140.

[110] L&MF, YSW 166 LOD: 'Lodge Elisabeth at Canton' [manuscript], translated extract from the minutes, provided by Bengt Lindman to Christopher Haffner.
[111] A David Marshall is later listed as captain of the ship Edinburg in the service of the EIC, see *The Asiatic Journal* (1836) Vol. 21, p. 196.
[112] Haffner 1991, p. 8.
[113] L&MF, YSW 166 LOD: 'Lodge Elisabeth at Canton' [manuscript], translated extract from the minutes, provided by Bengt Lindman to Christopher Haffner. None of them are listed in Önnerfors 2006, although their family names do appear.
[114] tebelius.se/relatives/skrifter/Silfverhjelm.pdf.
[115] L&MF, YSW 166 LOD: 'Lodge Elisabeth at Canton' [manuscript], translated extract from the minutes, provided by Bengt Lindman to Christopher Haffner.
[116] For an export porcelain plate ordered by Clason and a jardinière for his family in law, see: gotheborg.com/exhibition/exhibit_64-147_armorial.shtml.
[117] Genealogy at: adelsvapen.com/genealogi/Kjerrmansk%C3%B6ld_nr_2023.
[118] L&MF, YSW 166 LOD: 'Lodge Elisabeth at Canton' [manuscript], translated extract from the minutes, provided by Bengt Lindman to Christopher Haffner.
[119] Jörg 1982, Appendix 2. Among the seeds preserved from his collection were those of an acacia (!), recently rediscovered as a forgotten species by the Millennium Seed Bank. See the *Sailing Letters* project and the related television programme 'Brieven boven water': amsingconcepten.nl/projecten_brievenbovenwater.html. CMC membership card register includes J. Bekker Teerling (or Teerlink), initiated in La Bien Aimée 25-12-1784, 2nd degree 12-1-1785, 3rd degree 8-8-1785, and resigned 1786. A Bekker Teerling was also mentioned in lodge Salus Patriae in Rotterdam on 29-12-1785.
[120] Identified by mention in: Hjelt 1893.
[121] L&MF, YSW 166 LOD: 'Lodge Elisabeth at Canton' [manuscript], overview with members' names from the lodge archive, 18-12-1791, translated by Bengt Lindman to Christopher Haffner.
[122] Could this be (a relation of) George Cumin (1745-1804) of Regulas in Scotland, a Writer of the Signet (solicitor)?
[123] For an export porcelain punch bowl and plate for the Gadd family, see: gotheborg.com/exhibition/exhibit_64-147_armorial.shtml.
[124] Berg 1998, p. 86.
[125] Not listed in Önnerfors 2006.
[126] GU/OKP: ship's writer on the ship Finland in 1769, assistant on the ship Stockholms Slott in 1771, 3rd assistant on the ship Adolf Friedrich to Cadix in 1775, 4th assistant on the ship Gustav III the Cape in 1778, supercargo on the ship Louisa Augusta in 1781 and the ship Crown Prins Gustaf in 1784. Önnerfors 2006, p. 184: he was initiated in Salomoniska Logen in 1786.
[127] Haffner 1991, p. 8. Drummond is also mentioned in Kroes 2012, p. 90. His biography can be found on historyofparliamentonline.org.
[128] For a 'palace ware' export service made for Drummond, see: Howard 1997, p. 47, cat.no. 41.
[129] L&MF, YSW 166 LOD: 'Lodge Elisabeth at Canton' [manuscript], translated extract from the minutes, provided by Bengt Lindman to Christopher Haffner.
[130] NA/VOC. Reinier Dozij enlisted as 'servant to the supercarga'. The brothers are not included in the CMC membership card register, but others with this family name are: A.H. Dozy was a member of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia around 1819-1821; in 1823 lodge La Constante et Fidèle initiated a gentleman named d'Ozy, no first name provided.
[131] There are two candidates for these initials. He could be either the chief of the Select Committee of Supercargo's, J.W. Roberts, who died in 1808 or a supercargo John William Roberts who died in Madras in 1813.
[132] GU/OKP: assistant on the ship Sophia Magdalena to Cadix in 1780, 2nd assistant on the Adolf Friedrich to Canton in 1782. Önnerfors 2006, p. 252: he was initiated in Salomoniska Logen in 1787.
[133] Information kindly supplied by Olof P. Berg, letter 1-2-2003.
[134] Haffner 1975, n. pag., notes that his Master certificate survived.
[135] After the closing of the SOIC in 1813, he moved to Macau where he remained until his death. He established a trading company and was appointed Swedish Consul-General to China in 1820. Ljungstedt devoted the last part of his life to study the history of Macau and was the first to devote a scientific study to the topic (not referenced further here): *An historical sketch of the Portuguese settlements in China and of the Roman Catholic Church and Mission in China* (1832).
[136] Langeberg 1904, p. 119; Haffner 1991, p. 10. Chalmers had been initiated in Salomoniska Logen in Göteborg in 1774 (Önnerfors 2006).
[137] Langeberg 1904, p. 119. According to Haffner he did not find any suitable and willing candidates for the officers' positions and thought that working in another language without proper assistance was too difficult a task.
[138] Langeberg 1904, pp. 119-120. Haffner 1975, n. pag.; Haffner 1991, p. 10.
[139] Haffner 1991, p. 8.
[140] Information kindly provided by Olof P. Berg, letter 1-2-2003.
[141] Lagerberg 1904, p. 120. Berg 2000, p. 159, states that the last ship carrying lodge members left Canton in 1805.
[142] Lagerberg 1904, p. 120. Haffner 1975, n. pag.
[143] Haffner 1975, n. pag. Cat. exhib. Turku 1992, p. 147, however, mentions that the lodge was not formally closed until 1826, as it was presumed active by the Grand lodge, even though no communication was received. Nonetheless the lodge was mentioned as 'suspended' in the Swedish lodge register until 1878 (Haffner 1975, n. pag.; Berg 1998, p. 88). Önnerfors 2012, p. 141.
[144] Munson 1896.
[145] The bowl was presented to Hiram Lodge no. 1 in 1891 by Grace Munson Wheeler. It was broken and restored in 1987-1989. Information kindly supplied by John Schatzlein, lodge historian of Hiram Lodge no. 1, mail 3-8-2009.
[146] Quincy 1847, pp. 242-243.
[147] Smith 1984.
[148] Howard/Ayers 1978, Vol 2, p. 489; Brown Klapthor 1999, p. 25.
[149] Barnsley 1989, p. 11. His partner was Isaäc van Helsdingen (1730-1793); possibly a relation to Anthony van Helsdingen, member of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia.
[150] Jörg 1982, Appendix 2, p. 203, included in the list for the year 1766. For biographical information, see: Barnsley 1989.
[151] Van Campen 2000, p. 177.
[152] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 'Doos 76 +77 II-A-1+2' La Vertueuse Minutes 1791-1795 1802-1805, Minutes 1791-1795: 'Daar nu het hoofd doelwit deeser ons bijeenkomst was geweest om noch eenmaale het zuiveren genoegen van het voordeel de belangrijke en aangename tegenswoordigheid van onsen waardigen en hoog verlichten Br[oeder] M[aître] P[assé] Titsingh te moogen smaaken en hem die eerlang naar China staad te vertrekken een plegtig en broederlijk vaarwel te kunnen zeggen, bestemden den Achtb[are] zijnes en de BB teregt gevoeld leedweesen over het aanstaande

gemis van een berlicht en waardig meedelid en voorganger onzer Ordre onder den hartelijkste toewenschingen voor desselfs behoud en gelukkige terugkomst in eene treffende aanspraak aan gedagten B uit, en wierd dezelve op eene niet min treffende wijze door den verlichten B[roeder] M[aître] P[assé] Titsingh beantwoord, wanneer den Orateur opwijsenden de wenschen door den B[roeder] Titsingh aan La Vertueuse toegevoegt wederom in cierlijken en gepaste termen door een fraaij compliment beantworden. Terwijl men inmiddels bezig was alles ter receptie van den Prophaan in gereedheid te brengen, bragt den Acht[bare] ter kennissen van de B[roeders] den ontvangst van een in Perle d'amour gesmeeden Cachet voor het groot Zegel deeze Loges, een hem door den Br van Braam ten geschenke voor de Loges toegezonden, en sloeg voor gedagten B[roeder] uit naam van la Vertueuse te doen bedanken en die commissies aan den Br[oeder] Titsingh op te dragen die het behaagde dezelve met een weilen bereidwilligheid op zich te neemen'.

[153] CMC, Box 3067, Folder 'Doos 80 + 80 A' La vertueuse 2nd degree Minutes 1834-1835, 1st degree Minutes 5834-5837, minutes 4-6-1834: '1 IJvoren Hamer 1 Een dito Zegel, doch waarvan het cachet in paarl d'amour gesneden is'.

[154] First published in French in 1797, translated in Dutch (not referenced further here) in 1804 as: *Reize van het gezantschap der Hollandsche Oostindische Compagnie naar den Keizer van China in den jaare 1794 en 1795: waarin gevonden wordt eene beschrijving van verscheidene, aan de Europeaanen nog onbekende, gedeelten van dat Keizerrijk, getrokken uit het dagboekverhaal van A.E. van Braam Houckgeest, opperhoofd van de Nederlandse directie in China en tweede lid van gemeld gezantschap door M.L.E. Moreau de St. Méry.*

[155] Barnsley 1989, from p. 175 onwards.

[156] It has also been translated as 'Glory and Arms from That', '[Our Union is our] Glory, and [our] Defense against Him' or even 'Glory and Honour Away from Him'. Blussé 2008, p. 90.

[157] Compare Hervouët/Bruneau 1986, p. 288, no. 12.20, a punch bowl with a medallion formed by an ouroboros, and topped by a bow and oak leafs. The medallion contains an image of a sheaf of corn resting on a rock, with an all seeing eye above it. Around the scene is the text 'NDXU INDISSOLUBILI' (a spelling mistake by the artist, meaning *nexu indissolubili* or unbreakable bond) and 'D. IN APRIL MDCCLXXXI' . This symbolism is interpreted by the authors as referring to life and death, the symbolical death and rebirth of the owner during the masonic ritual. Collection Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, inv.no: 64.929, but there listed as European porcelain. Despite the year 1781 given on the bowl, Hervouët dates this piece 1790.

[158] McClure Mudge 1981, Appendix II, p. 260, cites a manuscript in the collection of the Rhode Island Historical Society. Godden 1979, p. 293, provides the same quote.

[159] A punch bowl decorated with the Cholmondeley of Vale Royal coat of arms was auctioned at Byrne's in Saltney. It was probably commissioned to mark the election of Thomas Cholmondeley (1767-1855) as Member of Parliament for Cheshire in 1796, and carries the mottoes *Prosperity to the County of Cheshire* and *Success to the Plough and the Sail*, as well as Syng Chong's signature. *Antiques Trade Gazette*, 14-6-2013.

[160] McClure Mudge 1981, p. 56. See also Picard/Kerneis/Bruneau 1966.

[161] Quincy 1847, p. 198.

[162] GU/OKP, Skeppspredikanten C.C. Ströms papper (arkivnr H 21:1), ub.gu.se/samlingar/handskrift/ostindie/dokument/document.xml?id=120; g722.ub.gu.se/sok/handskrift/arkiv_pdf/213.pdf.

[163] Online provenance record: metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/1984.449. The design for the certificate is thought to have been designed by major Pierre Charles l'Enfant (1754-1825), and executed in 1784 by Paris engraver Jean Jacques Leveau (1729-1785) after a drawing by August le Belle, while an unknown engraver added the central text in America. To the left, an armour-clad warrior holds an American flag with the Great Seal of the United States (adopted 1782) in the centre (replacing the customary stars), while his foot rests on the flags of the British Empire. At his side, an eagle discharges lightning bolts, forcing Britannia and the British lion to retreat into a rowboat. On the right, an angel heralds the American victory and the arrival of the French fleet. Above the scene is a cloud with a radiant eagle. The two sides of the Society's medal are included in the lower corners of the certificate: one side showing Cincinnatus receiving the accoutrements of war from three generals while his wife huddles next to their home, the other side showing Cincinnatus being crowned by fame, with the sun rising over a city with open gates and vessels entering the port.

[164] Henderson 2003.

[165] Howard 1997, no. 169. Above the view of New York is a band with the text 'DRINK DEEP. YOU WILL PRESERVE THE CITY AND ENCOURAGE CANALS.' On the outside is the seal of the city and the presentation inscription: 'PRESENTED BY GENERAL JACOB MORTON TO THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, JULY 4TH, 1812.'

[166] Howard 1997, no. 169.

[167] Identified in: *Reports and Papers* 1809/1813. A Hugh Adams in Calcutta is registered as having a local wife and daughter, see: Ghosh 2006, p. 128.

[168] Connor e.a. 1986, p. 95.

[169] According to the iconography of the Royal Arch, the sun should be placed above the arch, shooting its rays into an opening of the vault underneath the temple, but the Chinese painter may have conceived the arch as the heavens and therefore placed the eye beneath it. Information kindly supplied by dr. Jan Snoek, University of Heidelberg.

[170] A detailed description of these later additions can be found in the online provenance record: freemasonry.london.museum, inv.no. D2009/42.

[171] Recipe provided in the online provenance record at freemasonry.london.museum, inv.no. D2009/42. As Bathgate Soda was imported into Canton in the beginning of the 19th century, this may well be a contemporary recipe.

[172] Haffner 1975, n. pag.; Haffner 1991, pp. 9-10. Although listed in the engraved List of Lodges of the British Grand Lodge for 1768, the usual date of the warrant and day of the week on which meetings took place were left blank. Chronology suggests that the warrant must have been dated between 18 and 24-10-1767. Lodge Amity was included under different numbers in the List of Lodges between 1770 and 1792. It was not until 1813, when the British Grand Lodges of the Antients and Moderns were united, that the lodge was formally erased along with 200 other lodges which had failed to pay their contributions for some time.

[173] Haffner 1988 A, p. 18. *Masonry in China* 1865, no. 2, p. 53, lists the founding members: John Henry Cook, purser and paymaster of the hospital ship HMS 'Minden' and Past Provincial Grand Deputy for Devon; Nicolay Duus (died 1861), a Dutch-Danish merchant of the firm Duus, Rawle & Co and earlier a member of a lodge at the Cape, who later became consul in China for Denmark, Norway and Sweden; James F. Norman, commissariat assistant shopkeeper, formerly Royal Artillery; T. Hemsley; H.B.W. Long; P.U. Spug; J. Wallis; J. Cook; Richard John Viscount Suirdale, private secretary to the governor of Hong Kong; J. Townsend; J[ames] D[utton] Smyth, a lieutenant with the 98th Regiment of Foot; P[eter] Tripp, an ensign with the 98th Regiment of Foot. Haffner 1988, p. 18, further mentions Charles d'Aguilar as founder. D.W. Mackenzie and J. Carpenter acted as Wardens. Smyth and Tripp are listed in *Hart's Annual Army List, Militia List, and Imperial Yeomanry List* (1845).

[174] Lim 2011, pp. 483-484, also mentions lodge members: William Franklin, general storekeeper; John Pope, clerk of works for the government; Alexander Lena, Italian assistant harbour master; and Peter Harrison Spy, paymaster of the HM Wolferine.

[175] *Masonry in China* 1865, no. 2, p. 53.

[176] *Freemason's Quarterly Magazine* (1846), p. 257.

[177] Lim 2011, pp. 483-484.
[178] Peck 1966, p. 6; Haffner 1988, p. 20.
[179] Haffner 1988, pp. 20 and 81.
[180] Stead 2002, n. pag.
[181] Peck 1966, p. 6; Haffner 1988 A, p. 22; Haffner 1988 B, pp. 19 and 82. The various Zetland Halls and their locations have been mixed up in literature on the subject, and it is difficult to acertain which description fits with which location.
[182] Haffner 1988, p. 30.
[183] *Masonry in China* 1865, no. 1, p. 24; Peck 1966, p. 6; Haffner 1988, p. 23; Haffner/Henderson 1978, p. 30. The first Master of the Lodge was Archibald Dunlop, initiated in Mary's Chapel Lodge no. 1 SC and Past Master of Royal Sussex, while the Wardens were Henry Durance Cartwright, member of Zetland Lodge, and Charles Douglas Mackenzie, member of Lodge Sincere Friendship no. 381 in Bengal. Amongst the others were five members of Royal Sussex, three from Homeside Lodges, one of Zetland, one of a Calcutta Lodge and one of a lodge under Irish Constitution.
[184] Gratton 1913, p. 1, in which the history of the lodge buildings, their costs and consecration ceremonies are described in detail.
[185] Haffner 1988, pp. 25 and 29.
[186] Gratton 1913, pp. 4-5.
[187] *Masonry in China* 1865, no. 1, p. 24.
[188] *Masonry in China* 1865, no. 2, p. 54, and no. 3, p. 80.
[189] Haffner 1988, p. 31.
[190] Stead 2002, n. pag.
[191] An overview is provided by Haffner 1988.
[192] Gratton 1913, which describes these ceremonies in great detail.
[193] Haffner 1988, p. 31.
[194] Involved in the foundation of lodge Confucius was W. Reynvaan, probably related to the Dutch firm Reynvaan & Co in Batavia, and/or to H.G.I. Reynvaan, the vice consul for France in Canton. Stead 2002, n. pag.
[195] DeBernardi 2004, p. 62, footnote 16, refers to Pickering 1879, p. 21, for this information. For the Chinese Triads see also DeBernardi 2009.
[196] Van der Veur 1976, p. 15. The Chinese Ko Ho Sing was initiated in lodge Mataram in Yogyakarta in 1871, because he 'not only mastered the teachings of Confucius but also applied them both in and outside the Masonic Temple'.
[197] Haffner 1988, p. 39.
[198] Haffner 1988, p. 72; Stead 2002, n. pag.
[199] Names based on comparison of SOIC employees listed in GS and VOC employees provided by Jörg 1982, Appendix 2, with the membership lists of the Swedish Grand Lodge in Önnerfors 2006 and the CMC membership card register.
[200] collections.vam.ac.uk for inv.no. C.225-1931.
[201] For instance, Cat. exhib. Brussels 1983, p. 94, no. 384. Described a Chinese export punch bowl in the collection of lodge La Parfaite Intelligence et l'Étoile Réunies in Liège (Belgium) is described in an exhibition catalogue as a 'salad bowl' of local faience.
[202] Kroes 2007 provides an insightful introduction into the various border design, which can help date individual pieces. Technique, colour schemes and border decorations on masonic porcelain followed the same fashions as those for non-masonic commissions. These are therefore not discussed in detail in this chapter, instead focussing on the more complex masonic symbolism.
[203] Acquired from Christies New York, sale 20/21-1-2004, no. 1327, lot 439. Information kindly provided by Laura Libert, curator of the Masonic Library and Museum in Pennsylvania at the time.
[204] Kroes 2007, pp. 466-467. NA/VOC lists a soldier Hendrik Lodewijks des Mareets (from Coblenz, Germany), who left in 1728 on the ship De Magdalena from Hoorn, the Netherlands, to Batavia.
[205] Kroon 2005; Kroon/Scholl/Snoek 2006, pp. 10-11.
[206] Grandjean 1965, pp. 73-75; Hervouët/Bruneau 1986, p. 290.
[207] Not listed in Önnerfors 2006. Solling got the rank of captain in 1789, which is probably when he got into the financial and authoritative position to order porcelain.
[208] Hervouët/Bruneau 1986, p. 290. The depiction of the rock on the plinth may refer to an anecdote, which recalls how Solling almost lost his life on the ship Castelet Dansborg on a journey to Tranquebar in 1790-1792. When coming to shore, Solling's boat met another ship which signalled him to immediately drop the anchor. Against the advice of the ship's pilot, Solling and his men stopped the boot which narrowly missed a dangerous rock.
[209] Grandjean 1965, pp. 86-87.
[210] Cat. exhib. Götheborg 2005.
[211] Howard/Ayers 1978, no. 467, notes that the monogram is attributed to Stephen Girard, a Philadelphia merchant, sea captain and Quaker, but at the same time points out there is no proof for this assumption.
[212] See also Herbert/Schiffer 1980, p. 92, illustrating a bowl in the collection of the New Haven Colony Historical Society.
[213] Jörg 1982, Appendix 2. NA/VOC database lists him as accountant in service of the Chinese Commission 1784-1794, aboard the ships Barbestein and Rozenburg, though not Alblasserdam. However, a Pieter Melander is listed as sailor on the ship Alblasserdam in 1785. J.A. de Melander is not listed in the CMC membership card register, but other members of this family are listed in lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam, including an Isaac de Melander who sailed to the West Indies in 1758-1760. A.H. de Melander (1758-1825) was a Worshipful Master of that same lodge for over 25 years. Önnerfors 2006 also lists several Swedish freemasons with this family name, including a Johan Melander, recorded as a member of lodge St. Augustin in Stockholm in 1785.
[214] Jörg 1982, p. 146.
[215] Krahl/Harrison-Hall 1994, pp. 102-103.
[216] Sadler 1906, p. 54, including reproductions of the bowls; Clements 2001, p. 3.
[217] Not illustrated here is: Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, inv.no. M2008/1272 (donated by Lady Collins, 1916).
[218] A similar bowl was displayed at Christie's, sale 1327, 20/21-1-2004, lot 420.
[219] Information kindly provided by Erik Westengaard, Det Nationalhistoriske Museum, Frederiksborg Slot, Denmark, 2005.
[220] Hervouët/Bruneau 1986, p. 289
[221] The symbol refers to the columns J and B, which according to masonic legend were broken and fell in the form of an X-shaped Andreas-cross on top of a chest, carrying a symbol of alternating squares and circles. In the innermost of these circles was a triangle with the Hebrew letters 'JHVH' (the old Master Word). This symbolism was introduced into the Scots Master's degree (London 1733), developed into the Royal Arch degree (Berlin 1742), then transferred into the Swedish Rite and French freemasonry (Maître Parfait degree). See: Bettag/Snoek 2012.
[222] Reproduced in *Freemasonry Museum* 2000, p. 56, no. 44, where it is incorrectly described as a Dutch VOC piece.

[223] I am grateful to dr. Jan Snoek, Heidelberg University, for helping me decipher this puzzle. Although some of the symbols were also used in the AASR (see chapter 2), this Rite was not established in Europe until 1804, later than the date of the porcelain objects. The Royal Order of Scotland therefore seems a more likely source.
[224] Information kindly provided by Laura Libert, independent researcher and former curator of the Masonic Library and Museum of Pennsylvania, 12-12-2007.
[225] I am grateful to Ron W. Fuchs II, curator at the Winterthur Museum, for information and images of this and other masonic items from the collection. Musée-Archives-Bibliothèque de la Grande Loge de France, inv.no. Apo.014.2092.1-2. A similar cup and saucer, dated ca. 1800, were sold at Polly Latham Asian Art, Boston, 2004, item 139993.
[226] For other parts of this service, see Wallis 1911, p. 242; Gordon 1975, p. 11; Musée-Archives-Bibliothèque de la Grande Loge de France, inv.no. Apo.014.2092.1-2 (cup and saucer) and AVa 14.2056 (tea caddy). A similar cup and saucer, dated ca. 1800, were sold at Polly Latham Asian Art, Boston, 2004, item 139993. A mug was displayed at North East Auctions, sale 18/19-8-2012, lot 613.
[227] See also: Mottahedeh colpunch, blection, displayed at Sotheby's New York, sale 5281, 30-1-1985, lot 197.
[228] London Metropolitan Archives, Records of Sun Fire Office**,** MS 11936/381/590124**,** 14-10- 1791, lists a fire insurance for Gloster in 1791.
[229] Haunch 1969, pp. 172-173, classifies this type of certificate as 'The Three Graces'.
[230] Kind advice by dr. Jan Snoek, Heidelberg University.
[231] Hervouët/Bruneau 1986, p. 281. The decoration underneath the spout is also masonic, but not visible in the available images.
[232] Aprons with a distinct shield-shape like the one depicted here, can be found in French and Dutch collections. See Kroon 1996.
[233] A similar dish, but with the monogram 'RCC', is illustrated in Herbert/Schiffer 1980, p. 142.
[234] Cat. exhib. Seattle 1976, p. 42, no. 18. Collection: Sarah Potter Conover Inc.
[235] Cat. exhib. Seattle 1976, p. 42, no. 19.
[236] Possibly a reference to a poem by George Wither (1588-1667), published in *A Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Moderne […]*, London 1635, emblem 21 (illustrated by a skull sprouting wheat): 'Life is no loss, but rather gain, for we by dying life attain' (not further referenced here).
[237] Hervouët/Bruneau 1986, p. 288, identified the monogram as 'DRGB', attributed to former owner Dr. Gordon Bacon, the father of the donor of the bowl. As he lived in the 19th century, he is an unlikely candidate.
[238] Haunch 1969, p. 239.
[239] 'Library and Museum of Freemasonry - acquisitions', *MQ Magazine* (2003) 10, p. 49 (mqmagazine.co.uk).
[240] 'Library and Museum of Freemasonry - acquisitions', *MQ Magazine* (2003) 10, p. 49 (mqmagazine.co.uk).
[241] Compare Howard 2003, p. 553, no. V7 Steuart.
[242] Christie's New York, 20/21-1- 2004, sale 1327, lot 415.
[243] Bogdan/Snoek 2014, pp. 18-19.
[244] Haunch 1969, p. 241.
[245] Howard/Ayers 1978, checklist no. 20, refers to a bowl with the arms of the Antients and the initials 'WWDS', probably intended for William White, Grand Secretary 1780-1813 (not listed in the online museum database). See also Howard/Ayers 1978, checklist no. 21, mug with Grand Lodge seal, probably presented to White and donated by his grandson (possibly referring to M2008/1277?).
[246] Mottahedeh collection, Sotheby's New York, sale 5281, 30-1-1985, lot 200. Also reproduced in Howard/Ayers 178, no. 320.
[247] Hewitt 1967, pp. 159-160.
[248] Kind advice by prof.dr. Christiaan Jörg, Leiden University.
[249] Sotheby's New York, sale 5281, 30-1-1985, lot 198, reproduced in: Howard/Ayers 1978, no. 319; R&G McPherson Antiques, London, stock no. 22485.
[250] See also: [Russell/Harke/Caravatt] 1998. In 1766, the city of New York decided to erect a statue of George III. This statue depicted the king in Roman dress on horseback, modelled after the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius in Rome, and was placed at Bowling Green on 21-8-1770 (the birth date of the King's late father, Prince Frederick). During the American Revolutionary war, on 9-7-1776 American Patriots cut the statue into pieces and used some to make into bullets for use against the British soldiers. They kept the head of the statue aside, which was then stolen and smuggled to England. It showed up a year later in the home of Lord Townshend, as noted in the diary of Thomas Hutchinson, but has not been seen since. The decoration of the bowl could be a reference to historical events, but in existing images of the destruction, the statue of the King carries a crown, which is not the case here.
[251] Compare Howard 2003, p. 619, W5, p. 632, W9.
[252] Cherry 2005, p. 18.
[253] A pair of export porcelain salt cellars with the arms of the Meriton family are in the same collection, inv.nos. M2009/225/1-2. See Howard 1974, p. 729.
[254] Loving cups are oversized cups with two handles, the contents meant to be shared by two or more as a token of love or friendship.
[255] Sadler 1906, p. 173; Howard/Ayers 1978, checklist; Howard 1997, p. 131. Merinton is listed in Horatio Charles Hardy's *Register of ships, employed in the service of the Honorable the United East India Compagny* (1811) as travelling to China on the ship Southampton between 1781 and 1787, to the 'Coast and Bay' on the ship Lord Macartney between 1788 and 1790, 1796 and 1798, and to China on the same ship between 1792 and 1795. He then travelled to Bengal and Bencoolen on the Sir Ste. Lushington in 1799-1800, and to the 'Coast and Bay' in 1801-1802. The India Office Records (British Library, London) holds several files on Meriton, which note he then travelled as commander of the ship Sovereign to Bengal in 1803-1804. His will was made in Canterbury in 1805.
[256] Inv.no. M2009/360 (donated by J. Rochelle Thomas, Jordan Lodge, 1932); see also Christie's London, sale 6587, 8-9-1994, lot 349.
[257] See Jones 1957; Sepers 1993, pp. 77 and 84.
[258] Winterburgh 1957, p. 102.
[259] Kindly identified by Martin Cherry, librarian of The Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, 2-5-2014. I am grateful to Karen Hatzigeorgiou, San Francisco, for identifying Stillson/Hughan 1892 as the published source for this summons, 23-7-2014. The current location of the original summons is unknown, but in 1892 it was in an American collection.
[260] Lane's Masonic Records 1717-1894. In 1774 the Castle Tavern and (part of) the adjoining Bedford Head, were converted into showrooms and a warehouse for William Duesbury and Company, the Derby China Manufacturers. Perhaps that too, has some significance as the bowl dates from around that time. *Henrietta Street* 1970, pp. 230-239. According to Guy 1906, p. 65, a lodge with Scottish members was warranted by the Antients' Grand Lodge on 14-12-1775 and met at the Bedford Head.
[261] Musée-Archives-Bibliothèque de la Grande Loge de France, inv.no. Apo.012.1981.1-2; Mottahedeh collection, Sotheby's New York, sale 5281, lot 199, reproduced in: Howard/Ayers 1978, no. 322.
[262] Howard 1997, p. 131, described the bible as 'tablets with judaic writing'.

[263] In the collection of the National Heritage Museum is an apron with a decoration similar to that on the caddy. Information kindly provided by curator Aimee Newell.
[264] Also reproduced in Jones 1957, but with an incorrect description.
[265] Also reproduced in Jones 1957, but with an incorrect description.
[266] CMC, 6B2. Wale was a historical painter and first professor of perspective at the Royal Academy of Art. See (not referenced further here): M. G. Sullivan, 'Wale, Samuel (1721?–1786)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (online ed., May 2009).
[267] Pollard 1997, pp. 103 and 112.
[268] Here quoted after Jackson 1986, pp. 77-78.
[269] Here quoted after Jackson 1986, p. 106.
[270] Heiron 1921, p. 253.
[271] Kind advice by Diane Clements, Director Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, 12-8-2008.
[272] Heiron 1921, p. 254.
[273] Heiron 1921, pp. 253-254.
[274] Heiron 1921, p. 66.
[275] Heiron 1921, p. 294. Could this be Hugh Inglis (1743-1820) from Edinburgh, merchant in Bengal between 1767 and 1775, later an East India Company director? See the in memoriam in: *Asiatic Journal* 1821, pp. 256-258.
[276] Howard/Ayers 1978, checklist no. 5.
[277] Heiron 1921, p 294.
[278] Heiron 1921, p. 66. The financial records of the lodge provide an insight into the liquids consumed. Between 1768 and 1801 these include rum, 'Hollands geneva' (Dutch *jenever*), liquors, brandy, wine, red port and spirits. Heiron 1921, p. 67.
[279] Heiron 1921, p. 66.
[280] Howard/Ayers 1978, checklist no. 2, refers to a punch bowl of this type in the same collection (not listed in the museum database), depicting a man on horseback (after the sign of the Strong Man Tavern in Smithfield ca. 1755) and the arms of the Premier Grand Lodge.
[281] Sotheby's, sale 2-7-1963, lot 103; Ionides collection, later Mottahedeh collection, Sotheby's New York, sale 3281, lot. 196, reproduced in Howard/Ayers 1978, p. 318; Christie's, sale 9316, lot 275.
[282] Liebman collection (gift Mr. and Mrs. John C. Cleaver), Chazem Museum of Art, Madison USA, reproduced in: Cat. exhib. New York 1985, p. 11.
[283] Christie's, sale 1327, 20/21-1-2004, lot 419. An example from a private collection was reproduced in Hervouët/Bruneau 1986, p. 280.
[284] Kind advice by prof.dr. Christiaan Jörg, Leiden University.
[285] Hervouët/Bruneau 1986, p. 283.
[286] Kind advice by dr. Jan Snoek, Heidelberg University.
[287] Here quoted form Snoek 2006, pp. 157-158.
[288] Simplified versions of Tringham's print have been reproduced on lodge certificates, see Terner 2001, p. 91.
[289] Howard/Ayers 1978, checklist no. 4, refers to the 'Seal of the Guild of Masons'.
[290] Tudor Craig 1938, p. 8, in which the wooden stand is also depicted.
[291] Recent acquisition, probably at Christie's New York, sale 2528, 24-1-2012, lot 153, from the Frelinghuysen Collection.
[292] Pollard 1997, p. 102, visual 8.
[293] Clements 2001, pp. 2-3.
[294] Probably acquired from the Frelinghuysen collection, displayed at Christies New York, sale 2528, 24-1-2012, lot 160.
[295] A similar plate with the same arms and monograms 'MID' from the Mottahedeh collection was displayed at Sotheby's New York, sale 7865, lot 250; see also Sotheby's New York, sale 8053, 22-1-2004, lot. 63.
[296] Musée-Archives-Bibliothèque de la Grande Loge de France, inv.no. Apo 0.14.20981-2; Howard 1974, p. 644, T1; see also Christie's, sale 7-12-1998, lot 319, and sale 9868, lot 543.
[297] Salt and sulphur refer to Alchemy and the transformation process of the Candidate which is about to begin. Salt represents the 'salt of the earth' (Matt.5:13). Sulphur first appeared in the Chamber of Reflection in the *Rite Moderne* (ca. 1786), published in *Régulateur du Macon* 1801.
[298] A building tool used to lift a heavy stone with a crane.
[299] In fact an ear of wheat, but in masonic terminology an ear of corn.
[300] Kind suggestion by drs. Evert Kwaadgras (†), curator of the CMC collection, in 2003.
[301] The symbol of an ouroboros with two crossed torches, complemented by an all-seeing eye, is also present in the New Dining room in the Dutch royal palace Het Loo, in a wall sculpture above the buffet by Daniel Marot. The torches are depicted upright, suggesting the flame of life rather than death as in the cemetery symbolism. There has been speculation in the past that the sculpture represents a masonic symbol, as 19th century concierge P.A.H. Avink mentioned in his notes, that it was a 'reminder of a meeting of freemasons held in this room under H.R.H. William IV' (Tromp 2012, p. 350). In other words, it may have been added later, for instance during the 1790s, when the symbols also appears on the bowls.
[302] According to the myth of the Master degree, Hiram Abiff was killed by blows with clubs. That would add 3rd degree symbolism to the 1st and 2nd degree symbolism in the five masonic motifs. As the crossed clubs form the X-shape of an Andreas-Cross, they could also be seen as a reference to the Scots Master's degrees.
[303] Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, inv.no. M1969/254 (donation 1969); see also saucer inv.no. M2008/1208.
[304] Examples with a blue star border are in the collection of the Winterthur Museum, Wilmington, inv.no. 1956.566; Musée de la Maison des Maçons, Paris, inv.no. MAB 2835-94 (reproduced in Cat. exhib. Tours 2002, p. 238 no 15/13); see also Cat. Stockholm 1953, p. 43, no. 30; Cat. York 1951, p. 13, Christie's New York, sale 1475, 24-1-2005, lot 163; Christie's Amsterdam, sale 2565, 12-11-2002, lot 51. Examples with a scroll and ouroboros border are in the collection of the Library and Museum of Freemasonry, inv.nos. M2009/169, M2009/354, M2009/355, M2009/361, M2009/790, inv.nos. M2008/1276 and D2008/14 (presented in an accompanying case to Royal Jubilee Lodge No. 72, by W. Bro. Charles Roads, 10-1-1843); Marinmuseum, Karlskrona, inv.no. MM 15379; see also Christie's London, sale 5567, 11-11-2005, lot 683. Examples with a vine border are in the collection of the Masonic Library and Museum of Pennsylvania, inv.nos. XM-75-154 and XM-74-755 and XM-74-756; Michigan Masonic Museum and Library; see also Herbert/Schiffer 1980, p. 104 (bowl in the collection of New Haven Colony Historical Society); see also Gordon Lee 1984, p. 208. An example with a neo-classical border are in the collection of the Masonic Library and Museum of Pennsylvania, inv.no. XM 74-761; see also Christie's, sale 23-1-1986, lot 194. For an example with multiple borders, see Christie's New York, sale 2528, 24-1-2012, lot 154.
[305] Grand Lodge of New York (reproduced in Decatur 1940, n. pag.); *Proceedings* 1902, p. 335, lists: '339 Chinese medallion china punch bowl, owned by Washington. Loaned by B. W. Bro. George W. Kendrlck, Jr'. A (non-masonic?) punch bowl, used by Washington to entertain the marquis de Lafayette in 1824, is in the collection of Fredericksburg Masonic Lodge No. 4 (displayed at the Fredericksburg Area Museum, 2003: famcc.com).

[306] See Hamilton 1994, pp. 208 and 215, no. 6.05. A similar, damaged bowl with the text 'P&M Dungan' above the beehive was displayed at groganco.com. See also Princeton University Art Museum, inv.no. Y1929-12 (gift by Max Adler): a punch bowl with the five masonic motifs and the monogram 'OHG'.
[307] Henry Luce III Center for the Study of American Culture, New York Historical Society, inv.no. 1925-28 (gift of Samuel V. Hoffman); Howard1984 p. 96, no. C41.
[308] Cat. Lexington 1975, no. 112, refers to inv.no. X 1940.700.732, punch bowl with the five masonic motifs and a blue and gold star border. This bequest also includes a teapot and tray or saucer with monogram 'TM', inv.no. 1911.5.133A.
[309] Herbert/Schiffer 1980, p. 137, and Gordon Lee 1984, p. 139, include a reproduction of the bowl.
[310] Tudor Craig 1938, p. 9; see also Hamill 2005, p. 10: 'To demonstrate that assurance, on 28 October [1952] Her Majesty paid an informal visit to Freemasons' Hall, spending the greater part of the morning touring the building and viewing the Museum. On her return to her home she selected from the King's personal collection an 18th century Chinese porcelain bowl with Masonic decoration to be presented to the Museum as a permanent memorial of the King and his connection with the Craft'. Winterburgh 1957, p. 102, mentions a bowl in the same collection and a gift by King Edward VII (not listed in the online museum database, possibly referring to M2008/1276). See also: Godden 1979, p. 234, no. 155: punch bowl with the text 'Brother Joseph Elliot' on the bottom.
[311] Howard 2003, p. 642, W12.
[312] Examples with a blue border are in the collection of the Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, inv. nos. M2008/1273, M2008/1275 and M2009/371 (reproduced in Howard 1997, p. 132), M2008/1271, M2009/657/1-2, M2009/656, M2009/49/1 and M2009/49/2, as well as inv. nos. 1956.557 and 1956.581; Freimaurer Museum Rosenau (reproduced in Valmy 1991, p. 215); Grand Lodge of Scotland, Edinburgh; National Heritage Museum, Lexington, inv.no. 77.53.1 (reproduced in Hamilton 1994, p. 216, no. 6.08); Masonic Library and Museum of Pennsylvania (mug with metal replacement handle); Albany Institute for the History of Art, inv.no. U1973.149; see also: Hyde 1936, p. 101, plate XX, no. 81; Cat. Stockholm 1953, p. 43, no. 32; Cat. York 1951, p. 13; Gordon 1975, p. 11; Palmer 1976, p. 119; Engelberts 1986, no. 135 (Collection Welsch, Wemmel); Veiga 1989, p. 8, no. 119; Christie's New York, sale 2261, 21-1-2009, lot 246; Sotheby's London, March 1977, lot 190; Mottahedeh collection, Sotheby's New York, sale 5281, 30-1-1985, lot 201 (also reproduced in Howard/Ayers 1978, no. 321).
[313] Another example is in the Masonic Library and Museum of Pennsylvania, inv.no. XM-74-754, reproduced in Gordon Lee 1984, p. 209.
[314] Examples are in the collections of the Masonic Library and Museum of Pennsylvania and Lodge of St. Andrew, Boston, on loan to the National Heritage Museum, Lexington, inv.no. EL76.001.2 (reproduced in Hamilton 1994, p. 278, no. 6.07; Cat. Lexington 1975, no. 111.)
[315] Hodroff collection, Christie's New York, sale 2261, 21-1-2009, lot 248.
[316] Examples are in the collection of Al Lohman, Wisconsin, reproduced at phoenixmasonry.com; Masonic Library and Museum of Pennsylvania, inv.no. XM-74-757 (reproduced in Gordon Lee 1984, p. 209.), inv.no. XM-74-485 (later painted over under the spout with the text 'Grand Lodge of Penn[sylvani]a by Vaux Lodge Febr[uary]s 22nd 393 AYM 1878').
[317] Examples are in the collection of Daughters of the American Revolution Memorial Continental Hall Museum. Washington, DC, inv.no. DCHD651**;** National Heritage Museum, Lexington (reproduced in Hamilton 1994, p. 215, no. 6.06); Princeton University Art Museum, Trumboll Prime Collection, inv.no. Y1929-399. See also: Gordon 1975, p. 11; Gordon 1978, p. 137, similar jug with the monogram 'JB' on spout, attributed to John Brown (1736-1803), a Providence (Rhode Island) merchant, active in the China trade; Hodroff collection, Christie's New York, sale 1958, 23-1-2008, lot. 437. Displayed at Northeast Auctions in 2005: similar pitcher and a punch bowl, both decorated with the five masonic motifs and the initials 'JG'.
[318] Among his many skills was the making of false dentures. See Hamilton 1994, pp. 215 and 290; Cécile Révauger, 'Revere, Paul (1734-1818)', in: Porset/Révauger 2013, Vol. III, pp. 2365-2371.
[319] Franco 1986, p. 85, no. 137; Hamilton 1994, p. 215, no. 6.04.
[320] Howard 2003 suggests the latest example dates 1785.
[321] Hervouët/Bruneau 1986, p. 280.
[322] Cat. exhib. Brussels 1983, p. 94, no. 384.
[323] A cup and saucer, simply decorated with a set square crossed with a pair of compasses and a monogram 'HCF' in between, appeared at Northeast Auctions.
[324] National Heritage Museum, Lexington, inv.no. 74.001.34, reproduced in Cat. Lexington 1975, no. 109.
[325] Cat. Lexington 1975, no. 113. This appears to be the same service illustrated in Herbert/Schiffer 1975, p. 57, no. 149, and Herbert/Schiffer 1980, p. 141. It is said to have belonged to Jacob Battis (= Bartis) a freemason from Philadelphia. A similar tea service is documented in the Harvard Archives, see: sites.fas.harvard.edu/~hsb41/Tea_Museum/titlepages/026.html.
[326] Herbert Schiffer Antiques, West Chester. Reproduced from: Herbert/Schiffer 1980, p. 141; Christie's New York, sale 1327 20/21-1-2004, lot 414.
[327] Gordon 1975, p. 118. For the role of freemasonry in the Revolutionary war and union, and related imagery, see for instance Tabbert 2005.
[328] Gordon 1975, p. 11, shows a similar decoration on a teacup bowl and saucer with wooden stand.
[329] Sargent 2012, pp. 412-413.
[330] Cat. exhib. Seattle 1976, p. 59.
[331] Williams/Davis 1957, pp. 78-79.
[332] Purchases were often made by members on behalf of the lodge, so the financial records only list the reimbursements of the members and do not disclose from which dealer the purchase was made or to whom a commission was given. While services and other tableware are often mentioned in the lodge inventories, it is usually not specified if it concerns Asian or Dutch wares. See chapter 5.
[333] '1 Japans porcelijne maçon[nieke] Pons kom'. CMC, Box 3079, folder 31: 'N 83 Bijlagen van de Loge la Fidele Sincerite beginnende met de 7 dag der 4 maande des jaars 5817 tot en met de 10 dag der 4 maand des jaars 5820', no. 125, inventory 10-8-1819; Box 3078, Folder 20: 'extract notulen en bijlagen 1821-1822', inventory 13-1-1822 added to letter 13-1-1822.
[334] '1 Een groote porceleine kom met Maçonnique figuren'. CMC, Box 3083, folder 73, 'Inventaris van zodanige Goederen, Dranken &c; als door de ondergetekenden zijn bevonden in de Loge La fidelle Sincerite te Batavia', 20-27-1-1825; Folder 74, 'Eylib 21+7*5829 no. 3 Recylib 16+8*9 no 4, Proces Verbaal', 21-7-1829.
[335] Kroes 2007, p. 14. The height of armorial service orders was in the years 1740-1749, after which numbers decreased; after 1770 the number of orders fell sharply.
[336] Cat. exhib. Seattle 1976, pp. 12-13.
[337] See for instance Cat. Lexington 1975, no. 81; Franco 1986, no. 105. Other relevant paintings are: Carl Fedeler (1837-1897), *The American Ship Molocka in the North Sea off Helgaland*, 1860, oil on canvas, 69.8 x 96.5 x 3.8 cm. Collection: National Heritage Museum, Lexington, inv.no. 97.048; Luigi Renault (1845-ca. 1910), *The Bark Isaac Rich, Livorno, Italy*, 1876. Collection: National Heritage Museum, Lexington, inv.no. 90.14; Unknown Chinese artist, *The American ship Lyra*, inscribed 'Ship Lyra A. Cheever Commander, Hong Kong', ca. 1860, oil on canvas. Collection: Martyn Gregory Gallery, London. Information kindly shared by members of the freemasonry mailing list at ucl.ac.uk.

[338] Kroes 2007, p. 12.
[339] Kroon/Snoek/Schöll 2006, pp. 9, 149-187.
[340] The inaccuracies in the execution, typically made by the Chinese artists depicting western objects and symbols unfamiliar to him, did not affect the appreciation of these objects by freemasons in any way. The status attached to these objects as exotic luxuries, their function as reminder of masonic ideals and means of revealing ones membership clearly outweighed the need for accuracy in the depicted tracing boards. It was probably the same with Japanese masonic lacquer, and the tracing boards, regalia and paintings commissioned from Asian artists by the lodges in Batavia, of which unfortunately no visual sources remain.
[341] Information kindly provided by prof.dr. Christiaan Jörg, Leiden University. See: Stam/Van Blerk 1995.
[342] The Fry, Veuger and Washington aprons puzzled me when I was studying the iconography of masonic aprons in the CMC collection for my MA in art history, see: Kroon 1996, chapter 8.2, 'Een Nederlands schootsvel van Oosterse makelij', pp. 145-146. This paragraph is based on the 1996 paper and earlier publications on the subject, see Kroon 2003 and 2008. I am grateful to Mark Tabbert (director of collections, Washington Masonic Memorial) and Laura Libert (former curator of the Museum of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania) for helping me to obtain information and images from collections in the USA, which I was unable to visit personally.
[343] Franco 1981, p. 108.
[344] As suggested by the following document: *Before the Most Noble and Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of Appeals in prize causes: the [ship] John Jay, John Flagg Fry, master: an appeal from Bermuda: Appendix; Bishop, King's Proctor, for the respondent; Slade, Bedford, and Slade, proctors for the appellant*, s.l. 1806, 'The claim of John Bowers, of the State of Rhode Island ... and supercargo of the ship John Jay, John Flagg Fry, Master, on behalf of Brown and Ives of Rhode Island ... the true, lawful, and sole owners and proprietors of the said ship and her cargo '.
[345] When gold and silver are used in western embroidery, thin metal strips are usually wrapped around a sewing thread in order to create a metallic sewing thread. In oriental embroidery thin metal strips are usually inserted between horizontal stitches, as is the case in parts of the design of the Dutch aprons. Although I did not have the opportunity to personally inspect the apron, the use of metal strips was kindly confirmed by John D. Hamilton, curator of the then Scottish Rite Masonic Museum of our National Heritage in Lexington, Massachusetts, in 1996.
[346] I am grateful to Aimee Newell, curator of the National Heritage Museum in Lexington, for bringing this apron to my attention.
[347] Kroon 2001 and 2003.
[348] Terner 2001, pp. 112, 246-247, no. F-65: certificate issued by lodge La Vertue, Dunkirk. The engraver is unknown, but the design is signed 'Chez le F. Brun, Rue St. Honoré, no 251 à Paris'.
[349] Kind suggestion by dr. Jan Snoek, Heidelberg University. In Prichard's *Masonry Dissected* (1730) mention is made of a temporary grave ('his covering was green Moss and Turf') and a permanent grave ('In the *Sanctum Sanctorum*'). Knoop/Jones/Hamer 1943, pp. 169-170.
[350] Houben family archive.
[351] CMC, [former] inv.no. 39.3, Minutes of lodge La Paix in Amsterdam, 15-12-1816.
[352] CMC, [former] inv.no. 39.3, Minutes of lodge La Paix in Amsterdam, 5-2-1817.
[353] CMC, [former] inv.no. 39.3, Minutes of lodge La Paix in Amsterdam, 26-9-1820.
[354] CMC membership card register.
[355] CMC, [former] inv.no. 39.3, Minutes of lodge La Paix in Amsterdam, 21-3-1823.
[356] Dekker 1966, p. 104.
[357] Houben family archive. According to the death certificate Veuger was still a merchant.
[358] Kind advice by Mrs. Houben, widow of one of Veuger's descendants and owner of the apron and the box, in 1994. The apron was acquired by the CMC, while the box was auctioned.
[359] In 1993, B. Croiset van Uchelen (1925-1997), former CMC curator, kindly alerted me to a possible relative: H. Veuger Kuiper (born ca. 1819), initiated into lodge De Ster in het Oosten in 1849.
[360] His name pops up in several congressional papers of the time.
[361] Ash & Toland are named in litigation against the Hong merchant Consequa in 1809. Grant Jr, p. 249, footnote 50. In 1813 Toland Jr was listed on the muster roll of the first troop of the Philadelphia City Cavalry. Later he became a director of the United States Bank.
[362] Minutes of Union Lodge, Museum of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, kindly transcribed by (former) curator Laura Libert.
[363] Gordon Lee 1984, p. 207.
[364] Compare also to fig. 7.83.
[365] Patrick 1991 first brought the confusion between the Washington aprons to the attention of modern scholars. I discussed the problem in relation to the lacquer box in 'Washington's Apron: Myth or reality', a paper for the academic conference 'The Expression of Freemasonry' organized by the Leiden University in The Hague in 2008. As I did not have access to American collections, necessary to solve the puzzle, this paper called for American colleagues to pick up the subject. In 2011 Mark Tabbert presented his research at the 3rd International Conference on the History of Freemasonry in Lexington and was able to clarify that the Lafayette apron is the one in the Mount Nebo lodge collection. See Tabbert 2011.
[366] Cécile Révauger, 'Washington, George (1732-1799)', in: Porset/Révauger 2013, Vol. III, pp. 2753-2762. Washington was initiated as an Apprentice in Frederiksburg Lodge No. 4 in Virginia on 4-11-1752, passed as a Fellow-Craft on 3 March and was raised as Master on 4 August the following year. He later obtained higher degrees, but it is unclear which degrees and on which dates. On 24-6-1784 he was made an honorary member of Alexandria Lodge No. 22 and appointed Worshipful Master of that lodge on 28-4-1788. At his inauguration as president on 30-4-1789, a bible from St. John's Lodge No. 1 in New York was used. He laid the cornerstone for the Capitol in Washington DC on 18-9-1793 as acting Grand Master, dressed in full masonic regalia. Even his funeral on 18-12-1799 was carried out with masonic as well as church rites. His estate papers, made up at the time of his death in 1799, list two masonic aprons and a jewel, as well as three masonic constitutions amongst his possessions. A timeline can be found on the website of the George Washington Masonic Memorial, which library and collection document his affiliation to the Order: gwmemorial.org.
[367] George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799: Series 4. General Correspondence. 1697-1799; letter by George Washington to Watson & Cassoul, 10-8-1782.
[368] Hamilton 1994, p. 111, cat.no. 4.21; Patrick 1991, pp. 15-16, who notes that the box was estimated to be worth $ 40 according to the inventory of the Washington estate.
[369] Patrick 1991, p. 16, quotes from a document in the Library of Congress concerning the sale of Martha Washington's estate: 'Private sales which took place upstairs among the legatees, to be settled on the final adjustment without interest, July 22, 1802'. Patrick also noted that 'one freemasons apron' and 'one ditto' - of which neither the decoration, nor any association with Lafayette was mentioned - were purchased in 1802 by Ashton and Hammon.
[370] Tabbert 2011, p. 9.

[371] Prof.dr. Christiaan Jörg, Leiden University, specialist on Chinese and Japanese lacquer ware, dates it late 18th century Chinese lacquer, based on the rather severe neo-classical style of the decorative scheme. The box has none of the intricate flower scrolls and scenes with landscapes or figures which would become popular at a later stage. Apart from the masonic motives, the field is left empty.
[372] Information kindly provided by dr. Jan Snoek, Heidelberg University. See for instance similar circles depicted on the flap of aprons, reproduced in Franco 1981, pp. 47 and 80, as well as on the keystones depicted on aprons, reproduced in the same catalogue on pp. 65 and 90.
[373] Cécile Révauger, 'Washington, George (1732-1799)', in: Porset/Révauger 2013, Vol. III, pp. 2753-2762.
[374] Patrick 1991, pp. 15-16, points out that the story of the gift surfaced around 1824-1825, at the time of Lafayette's visit to the USA - long after Washington's death: 'Whilst visiting Alexandria Lodge, Lafayette wore the Watson-Cassoul apron, and through a quirk of reporting, the fact that the apron had belonged to Washington became associated with the notion that Lafayette had given it to him in the first place'. The story was first told in Sidney Hayden's *Washington and his Masonic Companions* (1866). Hayden noted the mix up with the Watson-Cassoul apron, but without fact checking 'simply deduced that the Lafayette apron therefore had to be the one in Pennsylvania' and added the anecdote about Madame Lafayette's involvement without citing a reference. Harris 1998, pp. 4-5, also tried to explain the confusion.
[375] Patrick 1991, p. 16, pointed out that none of the actual documents recording the donation of the apron by the Benevolent Society to the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania mention the association with Lafayette.
[376] Gordon 1977, pp. 125-126 (who quotes Howard M. Chapin of the Rhode Island Historical Society, and wonders if the casually leaning figure in prints of this type might not represent the shipping trade, rather than Hope). See also examples in the collection of the Winterthur Museum, 1956.0038.069 and 1956.0553 A-B (the latter showing a combination of the ship-and-monument motif with hope-and-anchor). In an American context, the personification of Liberty is often shown with the Union flag and an anchor.

Notes to Appendix II

[1] The documents relating to lodge members in India are:

- Provincial Grand lodge Salomon, Hoogly/Chinsura (Bengal): CMC, correspondence to the Grand lodge 8-1-1759, 8-11-1768, 15-11-1777, 30-11-1777; membership lists sent to the Grand lodge ?-2-1764, 31-10-1770, 11-1-1772, 10-1-1773, 10-1-1775; Lutter/Christaans 1994 A.
- lodge De lodge De Standvastigheid / La Constance, Hoogly (Bengal): CMC membership lists sent to the Grand lodge 31-12-1772, 31-12-1773, 27-12-1774; concept Constitution 27-12-1772.
- lodge De Langgewenschte / La [longtemps] Desiree, Negapatnam (Coromandel Coast): CMC, concept Constitution 9-11-1773; membership lists sent to the Grand lodge [ca 1772-73], 12-10-1774, 11-1-1776 and 15-10-1778; correspondence to the Grand lodge 18-9-1774, 11-1-1775, 11-1-1776, 15-10-1777.
- lodge St. Jan Concord / St. Jean [de] la Concorde, Surat: CMC, concept Constitution 1-11-1775; correspondence to the Grand lodge 11-9-1775; memberhships were also reconstructed from the signatures under letters to the lodge La Constante et Fidèle in Batavia 7-4-1777 and under a Master certificate of the lodge 1-1-1774.
- lodge Voorzechtigheid, Pullicat (Coromandel Coast): no membership records available.
- lodge De Getrouwigheid / La Fidelite, Colombo (Ceylon): CMC membership lists sent to the Grand lodge ?-?-1770 and 27-1-1772; correspondence to the Grand lodge 26 and 27-1-1772; correspondence to the Grand lodge 27-1-1772.
- lodge De Opregtheid / La Sincérité / Sincerity / La Candeur, Point de Galle (Ceylon): CMC membership lists sent to the Grand lodge 30-1-1774, 1788, 31-11-1789, 10-10-1800 until 11-8-1804, 11-8-1804+ correspondence to the Grand lodge 7-2-1772, 30-1-1774, concept Constitution 29-11-1772.
- lodge La Réunion Neuchatelloise, Colombo/Ambon: CMC, correspondence to the Grand lodge 16-5-1790; no membership records available.
- lodge De Vereeniging / Virtus Nostra Ductrix / 1827 voortgezet als L'Union / 1838 voortgezet als St. Johns lodge, Colombo (Ceylon): no membership lists available, memberships were reconstructed from the signatures under letters to the lodges in Batavia 30-4-1794, 14-4-1798, 8-12-1816, 18-1-1825, 3-8-1836, and under various Master certificates; as well as membership data provided by Dashwood 1962. As the lodge transferred to an English Constitution in 1838, the membership lists of the years after 1838, consisting mainly of Englishmen, were not included in this appendix.

[2] Particularly valuable were the excellent genealogical studies of the founding members of the lodges in Asia in Lutter/Christiaans 1994 and Christiaans 1994 A, also containing data on marriages, children and siblings which was omitted here. Other sources used were: Kat 1982; Dashwood 1948, 1950 and 1962; Kaehr 2000 and De Meuron 1982.

[3] Lequin 1982.

[4] VOC/NA.

[5] For an explanation of the different functions on a VOC ship, see: vocopvarenden.nationaalarchief.nl/UitlegFunctie.aspx.

[6] CMC, Box 4354, Visitor book lodge La Bien Aimée te Amsterdam, 1765-1782, signed 13-9-1775.

[7] Lagendijk 1992, p. 138, membership list lodge l'Astre de l'Orient in Vlissingen.

[8] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], 1770-97 No. 20 correspondence and attachments to the Grand 5770-5797, signature on letter 24-5-1791 from De Opregtheid.

[9] Conflicting data: according to VOC/NA he repatriated in 1761 on the ship Giessenburg.

[10] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], 1770-97 No. 20 correspondence and attachments to the Grand 5770-5797, undated farewell letter by Andringa [between documents from 1788].

[11] See Pieter Geneer, *Kwartierstraat Christianus Cornelius Uhlenbeck*, wanadoo.nl/pietgenee/kwuhlenbeck.htm.

[12] CMC, Box 2004, Incoming correspondence at the Grand Lodge 1771-1781, no. 754-1: Extract from a letter 15-11-1777 from lodge Salomon.

[13] CMC, Box 3084, Folder 77 La Fidèle Sincérité account book 1777-1787; CMC 3081, Folder 56 'until 1815', 27-12-1781, undated 1782; CMC, Box 3086, Folder 97, lists of contributions paid 1777-1821.

[14] VOC/NA mentions Moismund as place of birth.

[15] CMC, Box 3070, Folder 83-84-85 IIB7 La Vertueuse correspondence 1812-1815, 2/1812-15 No. 38 various letters 5812-5815, letters by C. Assey undated (ca. 1814) and September 1814.

[16] In VOC/NA as Fredrik Axel.

[17] CMC, Box 3148, Folder XVII, [J. Schill], 'Naamlijst [...]', 1843.

[18] CMC, Box 2003, Incoming correspondence of the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 699-2, mentioned in letter by T. Reynard to Van Laak 10-1-1775.

[19] The genealogy of the Bartholomeusz family in Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon, p. 23, suggests that Johannes Mattheus was a magistrate and his son Daniel Anthony a writer in Dutch service: thedutchburgherunion.org/

[20] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 33, no. 33, mentioned in letter by De Vereeniging 5-12-1816; Folder 88 La Vertueuse Correspondence received with visitor lists 1824-1826, no. 30, mentioned in request for assistance.

[21] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], 1770-97 No. 20 correspondence and attachments to the Grand 5770-5797, co-signed letters 30-4-1794 and 14-4-1798 from De Vereeniging.

[22] *Naam-boekje* 1793, p. 85.

[23] CMC, membership card register.

[24] CMC, Box 2003, Incoming correspondence of the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, mentioned in no. 644-5.

[25] Several members of the Blain des Cormiers family from Nantes/Île de France were in service of the East India Company. A 'Blain, Luit de vaisseau' was mentioned as a Chevalier d'Orien in lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia on 28-12-1796.

[26] His grave is registered in the database: dutchcemeterybengal.com/dutch/node/72.

[27] ANRI, mentioned as such in letter 31-1-1774 by Verspijck to lodge La Fidèle Sincérité. I am grateful to Diederik Kortlang, National Archive, The Hague, for providing a transcript.

[28] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76+77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse 1) Minutes 1805-1810 2) book with candidate statements, 3rd degree Minutes 1806-1809.

[29] CMC, Box 3148, Folder XVII, [J. Schill], 'Naamlijst [...]', 1843.

[30] Furber 1997, p. III.

[31] His tomb is included in the database of the Dutch Cemetry in Chinsurah: dutchcemeterybengal.com.

[32] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], 1770-97 No. 20 correspondence and attachments to the Grand 5770-5797, signed letter 14-4-1798 by lodge De Vereeniging.

[33] CMC, Box 3148, Folder XVII, [J. Schill], 'Naamlijst [...]', 1843.

[34] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 33, mentioned as member in no. 33, letter by lodge de Vereeniging in Colombo 5-12-1816.
[35] CMC, Box 3071, Folder 88 La Vertueuse correspondence received with visitor lists 1824-1826, No. 30. Letter by Camp 18-1-1825.
[36] CMC, Box 3150, Folder 180 Chapter La Vertueuse correspondence 1815-1839, letter requesting assistance for the widow Von Meybrink, 5-7-1837.
[37] ZA, family archive Van Citters, inv.no. 2. I'm grateful to A.F. Franken, Zeeuws Archief, for making this information available.
[38] CMC, Box 3068, Folder 81 Correspondendence with the Grand Master and La Constante et Fidèle 1777-1812, signed letter by lodge St. Jean la Concorde to lodge La Vertueuse 7-4-1777.
[39] In VOC/NA as Kolenbach.
[40] CMC, Box 2402, Constitution file Salomon, no. 60, duplicate letter to the Grand lodge concerning the founding 8-1-1759.
[41] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], 1770-97 No. 20 correspondence and attachments to the Grand 5770-5797, signed letter24-5-1791 by lodge De Oprechtheid.
[42] Sri Lankan Burgher Family Genealogy, Van Cuylenburg Family #1030, rootsweb.ancestry.com/~lkawgw/gen1030.html.
[43] Sri Lankan Burgher Family Genealogy, Van Cuylenburg Family #1030, rootsweb.ancestry.com/~lkawgw/gen1030.html.
[44] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], 1770-97 No. 20 correspondence and attachments to the Grand 5770-5797, signed letters 30-4-1794 and 14-4-1798 from De Vereeniging.
[45] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 33, no. 33, mentioned in letter by lodge de Vereeniging 5-12-1816.
[46] CMC, Box 2402, Constitution file Salomon, no. 493-1, letter to the Grand lodge 10-1-1768.
[47] Önnerfors 2007, p. 183, lists a Joachim Fredric Danckwarth, ship's captain, member of lodge Gustav Adolf zu den Drei Strahlen in Strasund.
[48] CMC, Box 2003, Incoming correspondence of the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, mentioned in no. 644-5.
[49] CMC, Box 3065, Folder 77A La Vertueuse 1st degree Minutes 1808-1810, 2/1808-10 No. 5 5808-5809-5810, letter 25-4-1808 with request for assistance.
[50] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 33, no. 33, mentioned as member in letter by lodge De Vereeniging 5-12-1816.
[51] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], 1770-97 No. 20 correspondence and attachments to the Grand 5770-5797, signed letter by lodge De Vereeniging 14-4-1798.
[52] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 33, no. 33, mentioned as member in letter by lodge De Vereeniging in Colombo 5-12-1816.
[53] CMC, inv.no. U2, Register of outgoing correspondence of the Grand Lodge 9-2-1768 until 2-3-1788, Vol. 2, mentioned in letter by the Grand Secretary to the lodge 29-11-1770. CMC membership card register lists Gabriel, Jean en Pierre Durege as members of lodge La Paix in Amsterdam in 1756-1757.
[54] CMC, Box 2402, Constitution file Salomon, no. 60, duplicate letter to the Grand lodge concerning the founding 8-1-1759.
[55] Kat 1982, p. 403, as Jan van Eijssen.
[56] Bradley 1921, p. 179.
[57] See also Flores or Florens Eilbracht in lodge Concordia Vincit Animios in Amsterdam in 1769.
[58] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], 1770-97 No. 20 correspondence and attachments to the Grand 5770-5797, signed letter 24-5-1791 by lodge de Oprechtheid.
[59] Mentioned on an attest by the lodge to C.C. Uhlenbeck as proof of his membership, 18-8-1798. NA, Uhlenbeck family archive, no. 2.21.165, inv.no. 11. I am grateful to Lennart Bes, National Archive, for bringing this document to my attention.
[60] ANRI, letter 31-1-1774 by Provincial Grand Secretary J. W. Guering to lodge La Fidèle Sincérité mentioning his leave. I am grateful to Diederik Kortlang, National Archive, The Hague, for providing a transcript.
[61] His sons Otto Wilhelm Jr and Anton Reinhard became members of the lodges Wilhelm Frederik and La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam.
[62] Lequin 1982, p. 458, Stevens 1998, pp. 92-95.
[63] CMC, Box 2402, Constitution file Salomon, no. 60, duplicate letter to the Grand lodge concerning the founding 8-1-1759.
[64] VOC/NA lists a captain Franken from Workum, travelling on the same ship to Batavia, but has a different death date.
[65] Dashwood 1948, p. 133, refers to an obituary in *Ceylon Gouvernment Gazette* of Johan Harmen Francken (1750-1811), junior merchant.
[66] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 75, Inventories of the archive 1782-1832, inventory 1820 includes a certificate by lodge De Opregtheid in his name.
[67] CMC, Box 3086, Folder 97, contributions paid 1777-1821.
[68] CMC 3081, Folder 56 'until 1815', undated, ca. July 1784 [dated by Maud van Waardhuizen, based on surrounding documents].
[69] CMC, Box 3084, Folder 77 La Fidèle Sincérité account book 1777-1787.
[70] CMC, Box 3148, Folder XVII, [J. Schill], 'Naamlijst [...]', 1843.
[71] CMC, Box 3071, Folder La Vertueuse correspondence received 1822-1824, attachments 1821-1824, no. 31, visitor list, mentions Frans[sen?] as member of lodge 'Vereeniging' in Ceylon.
[72] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 + 77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse 1) Minutes 1805-1810 2) book with candidate statements, 3rd degree Minutes 1806-1809.
[73] CMC, Box 2003, Incoming correspondence of the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 644-5, letter by De Getrouwigheid to the Grand Lodge 26-1-1772. Ship's captains Johannes de Frein and D.O. de Frein were members of lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia. NA/VOC lists a captain Jacobus de Freyn from Rotterdam.
[74] CMC, no. 126-2, certificate issued by lodge De Opregtheid to Fuchs 28-11-1790.
[75] *Journal of the Dutch Burger Union* 47 (1957) 2, p. 67, lists a Johan Adam Gauder from Sengen, Wittemberg, living in Ceylon in 1796-1828.
[76] Could this be Jean Gregoire Gaudin Dutail, (born Montendre 1767), French sugar factory owner, earlier in San Domingo, judge in St. Denis (Mauritius) 1822-1831? Archives Nationales d'Outre Mer, FR ANOM COL D2C 341,anom.archivesnationales.culture.gouv.fr/ark:/61561/tu245nhmllr; Leidelmeijer 1997.
[77] CMC, Box 3070, Folder 83-84-85 IIB7 La Vertueuse various letters 1812-1815, 2/1812-15 No. 38 5812-5815, letter to La Constante et Fidèle 17-9-1814.
[78] CMC, Box 3064, folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], 1770-97 No. 20 correspondence and attachments to the Grand 5770-5797, signed letter 14-4-1798 by lodge De Vereeniging.
[79] Sake Wagenaar, 'De brief uit Surhuizum die nooit aankwam (1779)', online publication at: sakewagenaar.nl.
[80] *Asiatic Journal* 30 (1839), p. 302.
[81] Granville 1830.
[82] CMC, Box 3150, Folder 180 Chapter La Vertueuse correspondence 1815-1839, letter requesting for assistance for widow Von Meybrink, 5-7-1837.
[83] Could this be Jacques Raymond Vicomte De Grenier (born St Pierre, Ile de Martinique 1736/ died 1800), famous French navigator from Mauritius? He was the autjor of *Mémoires de la campagne des découvertes dans les mers de l'Inde, par m. le Chev. Grenier, enseigne de Vaisseau, & de l'Académie Royale de Marine; où il propose une route qui abrege de huit cens lieues la traversée de l'Isle-de-France à la Côte de Coromandel ... en Chine, Brest 1770*; *L' art de la guerre sur mer, ou Tactique navale, assujettiè à de nouveaux principes et à un nouvel ordre de bataille*, Paris 1787.
[84] ANRI, letter 31-1-1774, in which Prov. Grand Secretary J.W. Guérin reports to lodge La Fidèle Sincérité about members of lodge De Standvastigheid who have moved away. I am grateful to Diederik Kortlang, National Archive, The Hague, for providing a transcript.

[85] VOC/NA also lists a Henri Gaillard from Geneva, freeburgher in Ceylon from 1778 onwards.
[86] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76+77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse 1) Minutes 1805-1810 2) book with candidate statements, 3rd degree Minutes 1806-1809.
[87] CMC, Box 4390, Visitor book lodge La Charité in Amsterdam 1798 and further.
[88] CMC, Box 4354, Visitor book lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam, 1783-1800.
[89] NA, Uhlenbeck family archive, no. 2.21.165, inv.no. 11, membership attest issued by the lodge to Uhlenbeck 15-4-1800. I'm grateful to Lennart Bes, National Archive, for bringing this document to my attention.
[90] NA, Uhlenbeck family archive, no. 2.21.165, inv.no. 11, membership attest issued by the lodge to Uhlenbeck 18-8-1798. I'm grateful to Lennart Bes, National Archive, for bringing this document to my attention.
[91] VOC/NA also lists a Paul van Halm from Archangel in the area in 1775-1790.
[92] ANRI, letter 31-1-1774, in which Prov. Grand Secretary J.W. Guérin reports to lodge La Fidèle Sincérité about members of the lodge De Standvastigheid who have moved away. I am grateful to Diederik Kortlang, National Archive, The Hague, for providing a transcript.
[93] CMC, Box 3084, Folder 77 La Fidèle Sincérité account book 1777-1787.
[94] CMC, Box 3086, Folder 97, which includes paid contributions 1777-1821.
[95] *Mercurius* 1778.
[96] ANRI, letter 31-1-1774 in which Prov. Grand Secretary J. W. Guérin reports to lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia, mentioning his leave. I am grateful to Diederik Kortlang, National Archive, The Hague, for providing a transcript.
[97] According to CMC membership card register also founder lodge De Standvastigheid 1772, but this doesn't appear from Constitution.
[98] His grave is included in the database: dutchcemeterybengal.com/dutch/node/170.
[99] According to CMC membership card register also founder lodge De Standvastigheid 1772, but this doesn't appear from Constitution. There are two other members with the same surname in the register: one in 1756-57, 1764 at lodge La Concorde in Venlo, and one 1790 at Opgaande Oranjezon in Sluis.
[100] CMC, Box 2004, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1771-1781, no. 754-1: extract from lodge Salomon 15-11-1777.
[101] CMC, Box 3079, folder 33, no. 33, mentioned as member in letter by lodge de Vereeniging 5-12-1816.
[102] Dashwood 1950, p. 83, suggests this could be J.G. Hillebrand, but puts his birth in 1782 and death in 1844.
[103] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], 1770-97 No. 20 correspondence and attachments to the Grand 5770-5797, signed letters 30-4-1794 and 14-4-1798 from De Vereeniging.
[104] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 33, no. 33, letter by De Vereeniging to lodge La Fidèle Sincérité, 5-12-1816.
[105] CMC, Box 3083, Folder 75, Inventories of the archive 1782-1832, inventory 1820 includes a diploma by De Opregtheid in his name.
[106] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 + 77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse 1) Minutes 1805-1810 2) book with candidate statements, 3rd degree Minutes 1806-1809.
[107] The *Oberst* of the Regiment of the same name died in 1800, so this must be a son or relative, unless he was listed posthumously.
[108] CMC, Box 3064, folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], 1770-97 No. 20 correspondence and attachments to the Grand 5770-5797, signed letters 30-4-1794 and 14-4-1798 from De Vereeniging.
[109] CMC, Box 2402, Constitution file Salomon, no. 60, duplicate letter of the lodge to the Grand Lodge concerning its foundation, 8-1-1759.
[110] CMC, Box 3067, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], 1770-97 No. 20 Letters sent to the Grand Lodge 5770-5797: letter 30-4-1794;
[111] ANRI, mentioned in letter 31-1-1774 by Verspijck e.a. to lodge La Fidèle Sincérité. I am grateful to Diederik Kortlang, National Archive, The Hague, for providing a transcript.
[112] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], 1770-97 No. 20 correspondence and attachments to the Grand 5770-5797, signed letter 30-4-1794 by De Vereeniging.
[113] *Boekzaal* 1761, pp. 372-377.
[114] CMC, Box 3150, Folder 180 Chapter La Vertueuse correspondence 1815-1839, letter requesting for assistance for widow Von Meybrink, 5-7-1837.
[115] Possiblty related to the jeweller of the same name at The Hague?
[116] CMC, Box 3150, Folder 180 Chapter La Vertueuse correspondence 1815-1839, letter requesting for assistance for widow Von Meybrink. 5-7-1837.
[117] De Jong 1990. Possibly a relation of the Holmberg in lodge De Vriendschap in Soerabaya.
[118] CMC 4151/4140, Minutes lodge Concordia Vincit Animos in Amsterdam 1751-1761, Treasurer 3-7-1757. Requests attest 4-12-1757, which was granted.
[119] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 33, no. 33, mentioned as member in letter by lodge de Vereeniging 5-12-1816.
[120] CMC, door 4390, visitor book La Charité 1798 and further, signed 17-7-1800.
[121] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 33, no. 33, mentioned as member in letter by lodge de Vereeniging 5-12-1816.
[122] CMC, Box 3148, Folder XVII, [J. Schill], 'Naamlijst [...]', 1843.
[123] CMC, Box 4337, Register Book of Minutes and Resolutions lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam, 1757-1765, including visitor lists, 12-7-1764.
[124] CMC, Box 3064, folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], 1770-97 No. 20 correspondence and attachments to the Grand 5770-5797, signed letter 24-5-1791 by lodge De Opregtheid.
[125] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], 1770-97 No. 20 correspondence and attachments to the Grand 5770-5797, signed letter 30-4-1794 from lodge De Vereeniging.
[126] CMC, certificate no. 126-3.
[127] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], 1770-97 No. 20 correspondence and attachments to the Grand 5770-5797, signed letter 24-5-1791 by lodge De Opregtheid.
[128] CMC, Box 2003, Incoming correspondence of the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 606, letter by lodge Salomon aan Grand Lodge 1769. Last page is missing.
[129] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80a, La Vertueuse correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], 1770-1797 N20, 'redevoering gehouden in de Lodge la Vertueuse op Batavia bij de viering van t St. Jansfeest in de Winter den 27 Decbr verscheenen, op den 29 daarvan volges om wettige redenen uijtgesproken door de Broeder F. H. M[uller] 1772' mentions his passing.
[130] CMC, Box 3068, Folder 81 Correspondence with the Grand Master and lodge La Constante et Fidèle 1777-1812, signed letter by St. Jean la Concorde to La Vertueuse 7-4-1777.
[131] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 33, no. 33, mentioned as member in letter by lodge De Vereeniging in Colombo 5-12-1816.
[132] F&T.
[133] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76+77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse 1) Minutes 1805-1810 2) book with candidate statements, 3rd degree Minutes 1806-1809.
[134] CMC, Box 3071, Folder 88 La Vertueuse correspondence received with visitor lists 1824-1826, No. 30, mentioned in a request for assistance to a Brother in need.

[135] Serge van Nuijs, 'Genealogie van de takken "van Nuijs" and "Hoogers"', genealogieonline.nl, accessed in 2015.
[136] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 76 +77 IIA1-2 La Vertueuse Minutes 1791-1795 1802-1805, mentioned 25-6-1795.
[137] CMC, Box 3067 Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], 1770-97 No. 20 correspondence and attachments to the Grand 5770-5797, signed letter 14-4-1798 by lodge De Vereeniging.
[138] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], 1770-97 No. 20 correspondence and attachments to the Grand 5770-5797, signed letter 14-4-1798 by lodge De Vereeniging.
[139] VHN and Everaerdt 2004.
[140] CMC, Box 3148, Folder XVII, [J. Schill], 'Naamlijst [...]', 1843.
[141]CMC, certificate no. 126-1.
[142] CMC, Box 4390, visitor book of lodge La Charité in Amsterdam 1798 and further.
[143] CMC, Box 2003, Incoming correspondence of the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 644-5. Johan Godlob Prenzel could be Johann Gotlieb Prentzler, according to CMC membership card register a member of lodge l'Espérance in Amsterdam in 1763.
[144] CMC, Box 3079, folder 33, no. 33, mentioned as member in letter by lodge De Vereeniging in Colombo 5-12-1816.
[145] Is this the same or a relation of H.C. von Prophalow (born Wagern 1762 / died 1822 Groningen), participated in the battle for Blauwberg in South Africa in 1806?
[146] CMC, Box 3064, folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], 1770-97 No. 20 correspondence and attachments to the Grand Lodge 5770-5797, signed letter 24-5-1791 by lodge De Opregtheid.
[147] Dashwood 1962, p. 22, mentions H.A. Reckerman, third Clerk of the warrants in the Audit Office, or W.G. Reckerman, fourth Clerk at the Registrars Ofiice as possible candidates.
[148] CMC, Box 3150, Folder 180 Chapter La Vertueuse correspondence 1815-1839, letter requesting for assistance for widow Von Meybrink, 5-7-1837.
[149] NA, family archive Uhlenbeck, no. 2.21.165, inv.no. 11, attest by lodge *De Opregtheid* in Colombo 18-8-1798, issued to C.C. Uhlenbeck, signed on the back 23+9*5798 by Reckman as Secretary of De Vereeniging. I'm grateful to Lennart Bes, National Archive, for bringing this document to my attention. CMC, Box 3071, Folder 88 La Vertueuse correspondence received with visitor lists 1824-1826, No. 30, mentioned in request for assistance for a Brother in need.
[150] CMC, Box 2004, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1771-1781, no. 754-1: Extract letter from lodge Salomon 15-11-1777.
[151] CMC, Box 2003, Incoming correspondence of the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 644-5. According to CMC membership card register a Johannes Remmers was a member of lodge De Resolutie in Amsterdam in 1762; others with the surname Remmers were members of the Amsterdam lodges De Resolutie, La Paix, La Charité and La Bien Aimée in the 18th century.
[152] DB includes his grave (176).
[153] According to CMC membership card register he was a member of lodge La Zelée in Paramaribo in 1773, but the date of death in Lutter/Christiaan 1994, p. 116, makes that impossible. Could be a relative with the same name.
[154] ANRI, letter 31-1-1774 by Prov. Grand Sceretary J.W. Guering to the lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia, in which his leave is mentioned. I am grateful to Diederik Kortlang, National Archive, The Hague, for providing a transcript.
[155] ANRI, letter 31-1-1774 by Verspijck e.a. to the lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia mentions his function. I am grateful to Diederik Kortlang, National Archive, The Hague, for providing a transcript.
[156] F&T.
[157] NA, Uhlenbeck family archive, no. 2.21.165, inv.no. 11, mentioned in attest by the lodge 18-8-1798, given to C.C. Uhlenbeck as proof of his membership. I'm grateful to Lennart Bes, National Archive, for bringing this document to my attention.
[158] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 33, no. 33, mentioned as member.
[159] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], 1770-97 No. 20 correspondence and attachments to the Grand 5770-5797, signed letter 24-5-1791 by lodge De Opregtheid.
[160] NA, Uhlenbeck family archive, no. 2.21.165, inv.no. 11, mentioned in attest by the lodge 18-8-1798, given to C.C. Uhlenbeck as proof of his membership. I'm grateful to Lennart Bes, National Archive, for bringing this document to my attention.
[161] See 'Levensbericht' 1919.
[162] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 33, no. 33 mentioned as member in letter by lodge De Vereeniging 5-12-1816; CMC, Box 3071, Folder 88 La Vertueuse correspondence received with visitor lists 1824-1826, No. 30, mentioned in a request to support a Brother in need.
[163] CMC, Box 3150, Folder 180 Chapter La Vertueuse correspondence 1815-1839, letter requesting for assistance for widow Von Meybrink, 5-7-1837.
[164] Kind advice prof.dr. Christiaan Jörg, Leiden University.
[165] CMC, Box 4354, Visitor book lodge La Bien Aimeée in Amsterdam, 1765-1782, signed 9-10-1776, 11-12-1776, 12-2-1777, 9-4-1777, 12-11-1777.
[166] Dashwood 1962, p. 22, mentions that the brothers H. and E. Silvat walked along in the procession for the laying of the first stone of the St. Andrew's church in Colombo 26-2-1841.
[167] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], 1770-97 No. 20 correspondence and attachments to the Grand 5770-5797, signed letter 24-5-1791 by lodge De Opregtheid.
[168] Dashwood 1948, p. 134, provides a description of the document. The original was not found in the documents consulted for this project in the CMC collection.
[169] CMC, Box 3148, Folder XVII [J. Schill], 'Naamlijst […]', 1843.
[170] CMC, Box 3068, Folder 81 Correspondence with the Grand Master and La Constante et Fidèle 1777-1812, signed letter by lodge St. Jean la Concorde to lodge La Vertueuse 7-4-1777.
[171] CMC, Box 3079, Folder 33, no. 33, mentioned as member in letter by lodge De Vereeniging in Colombo 5-12-1816.
[172] Hageman 1866, p. 18; De Visser Smits 1931, p. 161; vocsite.nl.
[173] Data on the ship as provided on vocsite.nl.
[174] Data on the ship as provided on vocsite.nl and in DAS database.
[175] CMC, Box 4140, Minutes lodge Concordia Vincit Animos in Amsterdam, 1755-1761, 15-12-1760.
[176] CMC, Box 4390, visitor book lodge La Charité in Amsterdam 1798 and further.
[177] CMC, Box 4337, Register of minutes and resolutions by lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam 1757-1765, including visitor lists, signed 9-1-1761.
[178] IGV, 'Fragmentgenealogie Schröter'.
[179] VOC/NA lists: from 'Morges in 't Canton', travels 19-4-1757 as sergeant on the ship Vrouwe Elisabeth to Batavia, arrival 26-10-1757. Same person?

[180] Boerenbeker, Resolutien Grootlodge 1778, p. 226, mentions 'Alsmede van eene in November 1777 reeds geslotenen Alliantie met het Grootoosten van Vrankrijk, alwaar zijn hoog Edelheid den zeer Eerwaarden Broeder Tissot, tot hoogst deszelfs gedeputeerde benoemd had, om onze Nationale Grootlodge te representeeren'.
[181] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], 1770-97 No. 20 correspondence and attachments to the Grand 5770-5797', letter 2-11-1776 by lodge La Vertueuse to the Grand Lodge, requesting permission to (continue to) practice higher degrees, with membership list.
[182] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], 1770-97 No. 20 correspondence and attachments to the Grand 5770-5797', letter 15-11783 by lodge La Vertueuse to the Grand Lodge 'na de terugkomst van den Agtbaren Broeder Mr Isaac Titsingh van Japan, voorgevallen in 't begin van A. 1781, doch gedurende welks afwezigheid Broeder Hendrik August Rossel het bestier der lodge met veel lof heeft waargenomen'. Maarschalk 1872, p. 369, mentions Titsingh as Worshipful Master 1774-1779, which does not match the membership lists. CMC, Box 3073, Folder 91 La Vertueuse Various financial documents 1775-1780 and account book 1779-1784, No. 34 attachments 1775-1780. Various documents addressed to Titsingh as Worshipful Master, other signed for approval.
[183] CMC, Box 3072, Folder 90 La Vertueuse Various lists and receipts 1781?-1798, 1774–98 No. 14 [= 1771-1798], receptions and contributions.
[184] CMC, Box 3069, Folder 83 La Vertueuse Correspondence with the Deputy Grad Master Nicolaas Engelhard 1809-1821 and membeship lists [= 1805].
[185] F&T.
[186] Piet Geneer, Kwartierstaat Christianus Cornelius Uhlenbeck, home.wanadoo.nl/pietgenee/kwuhlenbeck.htm.
[187] NA, Uhlenbeck family archive, no. 2.21.165, inv.no. 11, mentioned in attest by the lodge 18-8-1798, given to C.C. Uhlenbeck as proof of his membership. I'm grateful to Lennart Bes, National Archive, for bringing this document to my attention.
[188] NA, Uhlenbeck family archive, no. 2.21.165, inv.no. 11, mentioned in attest by the lodge 18-8-1798, given to C.C. Uhlenbeck as proof of his membership. I'm grateful to Lennart Bes, National Archive, for bringing this document to my attention.
[189] Piet Geneer, Kwartierstaat Christianus Cornelius Uhlenbeck, home.wanadoo.nl/pietgenee/kwuhlenbeck.htm.
[190] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], 1770-97 No. 20 correspondence and attachments to the Grand 5770-5797, mentioned in a letter 14-4-1798 by lodge De Vereeniging. NA, Uhlenbeck family archive, no. 2.21.165, inv.no. 11, attest by the lodge 18-8-1798 given to C.C. Uhlenbeck as proof of his membership, signed on the back by Reckman as Secretary of De Vereeniging 23+9*5798 [= 1798]. I'm grateful to Lennart Bes, National Archive, for bringing this document to my attention.
[191] VOC/NA mentions Joseph Vassal, travels 18-01-1790 as sailor on the Unie to Ceylon, arrival 22-7-1790, repatriated on the same ship in 1791.
[192] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], 1770-97 No. 20 correspondence and attachments to the Grand 5770-5797, signed letter 30-4-1794 by lodge De Vereeniging.
[193] ANRI, mentioned in letter 31-1-1774 by Verspijck e.a. to the lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia. I am grateful to Diederik Kortlang, National Archive, The Hague, for providing a transcript.
[194] CMC E1, membership certificate 23-8-1803; CMC, membership certificate 78-19, 16-7-1802. Van Waardhuizen 1996, p. 21.
[195] CMC membership card register mentions a him as member of lodge De Resolutie in Amsterdam in 1762, while he is registered as having left the Netherlands in 1760. See CMC, Box 2002, no. 235, letters 1763 concerning expulsion from De Resolutie for ill behaviour ('verregaand slegt gedrag'); as well as nos. 276 and 288, letters by member R.L. Vatebinder, stating that he and member Van Leent went to Rotterdam to complain to the Grand Master. It shows Verspeijck intended to attend the Grand Lodge meeting. Vatebinder asked the Grand Master not to decide until they were able to explain their behaviour.
[196] ANRI, letter 31-1-1774 by Verspijck e.a. to the lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia mentions his function. I am grateful to Diederik Kortlang, National Archive, The Hague, for providing a transcript.
[197] Hageman 1866, p. 92.
[198] Jurriaanse 1943.
[199] NA, Uhlenbeck family archive, no. 2.21.165, inv.no. 11, mentioned in attest by the lodge 18-8-1798, given to C.C. Uhlenbeck as proof of his membership. I'm grateful to Lennart Bes, National Archive, for bringing this document to my attention.
[200] CMC, Box 3148, Folder XVII, Manuscript 'Gedenk-Boek voor de Javasche Broederschap […] 1843, n. pag.: 'In 1772 kwam uit Nederland ZVB Abraham van der Weijden Kapit ter zee Lid van de Lodge Solomon te Bengalen als vervanger in het GedG Meesterschap voor Indie van den alhier tijdelijk tegenwoordigen ZVB George Steendekker'.
[201] CMC, Box 2003, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1770-1775, no. 649-1.
[202] CMC, Box 3068, Folder 81 Correspondence with the Grand Master and La Constante et Fidèle 1777-1812, signed letter by lodge St. Jean la Concorde to lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia 7-4-1777.
[203] CMC, Box 2004, Correspondence received by the Grand Lodge 1771-1781, no. 754-1: Extract letter from lodge Salomon 15-11-1777.
[204] CMC, Box 3071, Folder (unnumbered): Letters received by La Vertueuse 1822-1824, Attachments 1821-24 including incoming correspondence.
[205] Godée Molsbergen 1932, p. XXVII.
[206] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], 1770-97 No. 20 correspondence and attachments to the Grand 5770-5797, signed letter 30-4-1794 by lodge De Vereeniging in Colombo.
[207] CMC, Box 3064, Folder 80 80A La Vertueuse Correspondence and attachments 1770-1798 [= 1769-1798], 1770-97 No. 20 correspondence and attachments to the Grand 5770-5797, letter 30-4-1794 by lodge De Vereeniging.
[208] AMC, accessed 19-9-2015.
[209] CMC, Box 4354, Visitor book La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam 1765-1782, mentioned as member of lodge De Standvastigheid Bengal 9-11-1774.

SOURCES USED

Below is an overview of collections in the Netherlands and abroad, databases, printed primary sources and secondary literature, consulted for this research project. The abbreviations correspond with those provided in the footnotes.
In the footnotes, references to printed works are given as last name of the author and year of publication, or, where no author is listed, the abbreviated title and year of publication. This system allows for both printed primary sources and secondary literature to be included. Where authors have published more than one work in the same year, these are distinguished as A, B C, etc. Catalogues are listed under their author or editor, or, if none is listed, referred to as 'cat. exhib' or (for collection catalogues) as 'cat.'. For the benefit of the reader, Dutch titles are translated between brackets.

♦ *Archive collections*

ANRI
Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, Jakarta. This archive was not visited by the author, but relevant documents unearthed by the TANAP project, such as (copies of) correspondence of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, were kindly transcribed by Diederik Kortlang (National Archive of the Netherlands).

CMC
Cultureel Maçonniek Centrum 'Prins Frederik' (Cultural Masonic Centre), The Hague, the Netherlands. This collection houses the archives, historical library and museum of the Orde van Vrijmetselaren onder het Grootoosten der Nederlanden (Order of Freemasons under the Grand East of the Netherlands). In particular the following documents were consulted:

- the registers of correspondence and international money orders of the Grand Lodge;
- the archives of the lodges in the Dutch East Indies, in particular inv. nos. 3014, 3018, 3022, 3064-3074, 3076-3081, 3090-3091, 3093, 3095, 3098-3099, 3111, 3114, 3118, 3121-3125, 3148-3150, 3152, 3247, 4086 and 4506;
- the archives of the Provincial Grand Masters, in particular inv. nos. 3034 and 3137;
- the collection of Constitution files;
- the collection membership lists received by the Grand Lodge;
- the collection of membership certificates;
- editions of *Almanach des Francs-Maçons*, *De Nederlandsche Vry Metzelaars Almanach* and *Nederlandsch Jaarboekje voor Vrij Metselaren* (individual articles in the almanacs are listed in the bibliography below).

The library catalogue and image database of the CMC are available online at: vrijmetselarij.nl.

GA/NM
Archive of Jean Abraham Grill relating to his SOIC and personal affairs in the collection of the Nordiska Museets Arkiv, Stockholm, Volym 13 Ostindiska affärer efter J. A. Grills hemkomst, Akt 4 Frimureri i Kanton och Macao: Logen St Elisabeth Räkningar 1766. Available in the online database: ostindiska.nordiskamuseet.se (SE/NMA/35/EA3/EA3f/13/4/4-5).

Grilliana
The Swedish archive of the Grill family, available at: grilliana.wordpress.com.

GU/OKP
Archive of the Svenska Ostindiska Compagniet, hosted by the Göteborg University Library, Sweden, available at: ub.gu.se/samlingar/handskrift/ostindie/people.xml.

KB
Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague (the Netherlands' National Library). In particular the database of historical newspapers was consulted, available at Delpher.nl, which includes *Bataviaasch Handelsblad, Javaasche Courant, Java-bode: nieuws, handels- en advertentieblad voor Nederlandsch-Indië* and other newspapers from the Dutch East Indies.

L&MF
Library and Museum of Freemasonry in London, UK, housing the collection of the Grand Lodge of England, available at: freemasonry.london.museum. In particular the following documents were consulted: Haffner/Lindberg: ref.no. YSW 166 LOD, Christopher Haffner, 'Lodge Elisabeth at Canton' [manuscript, notes and correspondence with Bengt and Harry Lindberg, 1970s], consulted with kind permission of the author.
The database of masonic journals and magazines in the collection at masonicperiodicals.org was also consulted, which includes issues of *The Freemason*, *Freemasons' Quarterly Magazine* and *Freemasons' Quarterly Review*. Individual articles in these periodicals are listed in the bibliography.

OVN
Archive of the OVN, Stichting ter bevordering van wetenschappelijk Onderzoek naar de geschiedenis van de Vrijmetselarij en verwante stromingen in Nederland (Foundation for the advancement of academic research into the history of Freemasonry and related currents in the Netherlands) in The Hague, the Netherlands. An overview of masonic archives and documents in Dutch public and private collections is available online at: stichtingovn.nl/archiefwijzer.

SA
Stadsarchief Amsterdam, a municipal archive. The baptism and burial records were consulted, which are also available on the website: stadsarchief.amsterdam.nl.

ZA
Zeeuws Archief, Middelburg, a provincial archive, see zeeuwsarchief.nl. In particular were consulted:

- Familiy archive Snouck Hurgronje, inv.nos. 120-121;
- Familiy archive Van Citters, inv.no. 2.

♦ *Databases*

AMH
Atlas of Mutual Heritage, library of images related to the VOC, available online at: atlasofmutualheritage.nl.

DAS
Database with information on VOC ships and their journeys: 'Dutch-Asiatic Shipping in the 17th and 18th centuries' of the Huygens Institute, available online at: resources.huygens.knaw.nl/das.

DB
Portal for the project 'The Dutch Cemetery in Chinsurah. A digital exploration of the Dutch influence in colonial Bengal in the 18th and 19th centuries', including an overview of those buried in Chinsurah, available online at: dutchcemeterybengal.com.

F&T
'Founders & Travellers. Dutch East India Company', online publication of genealogical data by Kyle Joustra, available at: ceylondatabase.net/files/Founders.pdf.

GS
Database of SOIC ships by Jan Eric Nilssen, available at: gotheborg.com/ships/index_ships.htm.

GvN
Geheugen van Nederland, the image library of the project the Memory of the Netherlands, available online at: geheugenvannederland.nl.

IGV
Website on genealogie by the editors of the journal *De Indische Navorscher* (Indische Genealogische Vereniging): *'Asal Oesoel, Over Indische Familiegeschiedenis & Genealogie'*, available online at: asaloesoel.igv.nl.

IISG/value of the guilder
Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Amsterdam. An online tool allows for the conversion of the (historical) value of the guilder into the euro (anno 2013): iisg.nl/hpw/calculate-nl.php.

Lane's Masonic Records 1717-1894
Overview of John Lane's annually published list of lodges under jurisdiction of the English Grand Lodge, 1717-1894. Database accessible at: hrionline.ac.uk/lane.

NA/VOC
Database of *monsterrollen* (enlistment records) of the ships' crews of the Dutch East India Company (VOC), available at: vocopvarenden.nationaalarchief.nl. The database is a joint initiative by several Dutch archives (the National Archive of the Netherlands, which hosts the website, and the Municipal Archives of Delft and Rotterdam, the Zeeuws Archive and the Westfries Archive) and the Departments of History of the Universities of Leiden (the Netherlands) and Ghent (Belgium).

RAMC
'British Army Medical Services and the Malta Garrison 1799-1979', website by Walter Bonnici providing an overview of officers, accessible online at: maltaramc.com.

VHN
Website of the 'Visualizing Historical Networks' project by Harvard University, subsection 'Sojourners form the colonies, available online at: fas.harvard.edu/~histecon/visualizing/angouleme/sojourners.html.

♦ *Printed primary sources and secondary literature*

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SUMMARY IN DUTCH

Maçonnieke netwerken, materiële cultuur & internationale handel. De rol van de Nederlandse vrijmetselarij in de culturele & commerciële uitwisseling met Zuidoost-Azië, 1735-1853

De vrijmetselarij is een inwijdingsgenootschap, dat in Groot-Brittannië is ontstaan en zich in het begin van de 18de eeuw uitbreidde naar het vasteland van Europa. Een eerste *loge*, of plaatselijke vereniging, werd gesticht in Den Haag in 1734, gevolgd door een *Grootloge*, of landelijk hoofdbestuur, in 1735. In de loop van de 18de en 19de eeuw werden enkele honderden loges gesticht in Nederlandse steden en overzeese handelsposten. De vrijmetselarij kenmerkte zich door haar rituele praktijk (het inwijden van leden in opeenvolgende *graden* of niveaus) en een mengeling van sociale en intellectuele activiteiten. De archieven, bibliotheek en museale verzameling van de Orde van Vrijmetselaren onder het Grootoosten der Nederlanden, ondergebracht in het Cultureel Maçonniek Centrum 'Prins Frederik' in Den Haag, vormden de basis voor het onderzoek voor dit proefschrift.

De auteur beschrijft de rituele praktijk en materiele cultuur van de vrijmetselarij in Nederland en haar handelsposten in Zuidoost-Azië. De materiële cultuur van de vrijmetselarij omvat onder meer rituele architectuur, interieurdecoraties, rituele en decoratieve voorwerpen, regalia, kunstwerken en drukwerken. Kenmerkend is het gebruik van een decoratieve iconografie, gebaseerd op de symboliek van de inwijdingen. In Nederland en de betreffende handelsposten werden naast de graden van Leerling, Gezel en Meester, ook diverse 'hogere graden' beoefend. De meest relevante voor dit onderzoek zijn de *Élu* of Uitverkoren Meester, *Écossais* of Schots Meester, *Chevalier d'Orient/d'Epée* of Ridder van de Degen en het Oosten, en de *Souverain Prince Rose Croix* of Souverein Prins van het Rozekruis. Vooral de bouw van de Tempel van Salomo en het lot van bouwmeester Hiram Abiff, als ook de vernietiging en wederopbouw van de Tempel spelen hierin een belangrijke rol. Omdat de vrijmetselarij in de periode van haar ontstaan Bijbelse en andere bestaande symboliek in zich op nam, worden in ontwerpen soms onterecht verbanden met de vrijmetselarij verondersteld.

De loges langs de handelsroute naar Azië fungeerden als een sociaal-economisch netwerk, dat reizigers en kooplieden grote voordelen bood. Op vertoon van een lidmaatschapsbewijs werd men in loges aan vreemde kusten als 'Broeder' onthaald, wegwijs gemaakt in de lokale samenleving en (in geval van nood) in financiële of praktische zin ondersteund. Bijeenkomsten in de vertrouwde omgeving van een logegebouw herinnerden aan thuis en brachten nieuwe vriendschappen of zakenrelaties, als ook het genoegen van een gezamenlijke maaltijd en een borrel. Loges verleenden een vroege vorm van sociale zorg aan weduwen en wezen. Bovendien vertrouwde men het transport van geld, correspondentie en koopwaar liever toe aan 'Broeders', dan aan vreemden. Geen wonder dat reizigers zich vaak op de vooravond van hun vertrek nog haastig lieten inwijden, soms zelfs zonder de eigenlijke ceremonie te doorlopen. Het stichten van loges overzee hing niet alleen samen met de wens om maçonnieke idealen te verspreiden: de Grootloge zag hierin ook een mogelijkheid om meer contributie te innen. De status van Provinciale Grootloge of Provinciaal Grootmeester, plaatselijke vertegenwoordiger van de Grootloge, was felbegeerd.

Tussen 1757 en 1837 werden tientallen Nederlandse loges gesticht in India en Ceylon, Java en Maleisië, terwijl Nederlandse vrijmetselaren lid waren van een internationale loge in Kanton, China. Vergelijking van de ledenbestanden met de monsterrollen van de VOC wijst uit, dat in 1757-1800 (minstens) 20-30 % van de VOC-elite lid was van een loge. Het werkelijke aantal zal hoger zijn geweest, omdat ledenbestanden uit deze periode zeer incompleet zijn. De banden tussen vrijmetselarij en VOC werden versterkt door familiebanden tussen vaders en (schoon)zoons. Hoewel zij een Europese identiteit hadden, was een groot deel van de leden in Azië geboren. Vermoedelijk werden Euraziatische mannen al vanaf de oprichting van de eerste loges in het midden van de 18de eeuw toegelaten als lid. Aziatische mannen waren (als dienstverlener, personeel of zelfs als slaaf) al nauw betrokken bij rituele aspecten van het logeleven, lang voordat het lidmaatschap van Aziaten algemeen gebruikelijk werd in de 19de eeuw. Het is niet duidelijk of vrouwen werden ingewijd in de handelsposten, maar vast staat dat echtgenotes en

dochters van leden al in de 18de eeuw (naar Europees voorbeeld) werden uitgenodigd om deel te nemen aan zogeheten 'Adoptieloges'.

Loges waren zichtbaar voor het publiek: ze organiseerden feesten, optochten en lichtspektakels (*illuminations*) op hoogtijdagen. Ze waren kapitaalkrachtig en speelden een rol in de lokale economie als opdrachtgever van lokale dienstverleners, van muzikanten tot cateraars. Ze gaven zowel Europese als Aziatische aannemers, kunstenaars en ambachtslieden opdracht tot het vervaardigen van gebouwen, symbolische interieurdecoraties, rituele voorwerpen en regalia. Aziatische kunstenaars kregen beschikking over Europese voorbeeldprenten met vrijmetselaarssymboliek, maar maakten gebruik van lokale materialen en stijlen. Hierdoor ontstond een bijzondere materiële cultuur waarin westerse en oosterse elementen werden vermengd. In tegenstelling tot andere 'koloniale' interieurs, betreft het hier een bijzondere rituele context. Tot dit gedeelde erfgoed (*shared heritage*) kunnen ook lakwerk, porselein en textiel met maçonnieke decoraties worden gerekend. Dergelijke goederen werden in Dejima en Kanton besteld en waren bestemd voor een brede Europese (en later ook Amerikaanse), op het gebied van mode overwegend conservatieve, vrijmetselaarsmarkt.

Vanaf 1788 werd lakwerk besteld voor loges in Batavia. Het betrof geen decoratieve, maar rituele voorwerpen: zogeheten *tableaus,* symbolische voorstellingen, die het middelpunt van de handeling vormen tijdens een inwijding. Hierna volgden tot ver in de 19de eeuw bestellingen voor lakdozen met maçonnieke decoraties, waarvan vier varianten bekend zijn. Vanaf 1755 werd Chinees porselein met maçonnieke decoraties geproduceerd in veel meer decoratievarianten. Nederlanders waren nauw betrokken bij de lakwerkproductie, terwijl bij de porseleinhandel vooral Scandinavische, Engelse en Amerikaanse vrijmetselaars betrokken waren. Een onbeantwoorde vraag blijft waarom er wel Chinees, maar geen Japans porselein, en wel Japans, maar geen Chinees lakwerk voor de vrijmetselaarsmarkt werd besteld. De makers van deze objecten bleven anoniem; bekend is slechts dat de Chinese handelaar Syng Chong betrokken was bij tenminste één bestelling van maçonniek porselein.

Ledenlijsten tonen aan dat vrijmetselaars in VOC-dienst in Dejima of Canton voor 1800 meestal lid waren van de loges La Fidèle Sincérité of La Vertueuse in Batavia. Deze speelden daarom een cruciale rol in de privéhandel in maçonnieke objecten. Ongeacht de politieke verhoudingen tussen verschillende landen laten visiteurenboeken een voortdurende stroom internationale bezoekers zien, van Franse vrijmetselaren uit Mauritius tot leden van de Engelse bezettingsmacht. Mannen als Mesterton, Titsingh, Romberg, Grill, Van Braam Houckgeest en Schouten vormden belangrijke schakels in het vrijmetselaarsnetwerk tussen Nederland en Zuidoost-Azië. Zij waren in de unieke positie om bestelling, transport en verkoop van maçonnieke en andere goederen met hun internationale 'Broeders' te regelen, ongehinderd door de internationale politiek die wel de VOC-handel beïnvloedde. Een onbeantwoorde vraag blijft, waarom reizigers vlak voor vertrek naar Japan werden ingewijd, wetende dat daar geen Nederlandse loge actief was. Er zijn geen aanwijzingen dat Japanners in Dejima of Chinezen in Kanton ooit bij een loge betrokken werden, maar de regels van de Grootloge werden zo ver van huis niet altijd nageleefd. Zo stichtte Henrik Doeff - zonder toestemming van de grootloge en dus illegaal - een loge in Dejima, Japan, in 1804.

De export verschoof al gauw van rituele naar decoratieve objecten. Reizende vrijmetselaren schonken Chinees porselein aan hun loge als teken van affiliatie en vriendschap. Dit porselein kon worden gebruikt bij de tafelloge, een formeel onderdeel van het ritueel. Tegen het einde van de 18de eeuw werd het in Europa modieus om persoonlijke objecten, zoals bijvoorbeeld een snuifdoos, te voorzien van maçonnieke symbolen, en zo werd ook maçonniek lakwerk en porselein aantrekkelijke commerciële handelswaar. Een punch bowl of lakdoos met een symbolische voorstelling was niet alleen een kostbaar, exotisch en modieus object, waaraan men aanzien ontleende, het vertegenwoordigde ook de intellectuele en sociale status die werd geassocieerd met het vrijmetselaarschap. In 1790-1810 werd exportporselein met het 'five masonic motifs' decoratietype in bulk geproduceerd voor de Amerikaanse markt.
Ver van huis, met een voortdurende instroom van internationale bezoekers, ontwikkelden zich in de loges in Java enigszins 'hybride' rituelen, waarin Nederlandse en andere tradities werden vermengd. Omdat het vrijmetselaarsritueel een theatraal element kent, kunnen verschillende elementen van het logegebouw en -interieur worden vergeleken met decorstukken (wand- en plafonddecoraties), passieve en actieve rekwisieten (meubels en rituele voorwerpen), en kostuums (regalia). Zelfs rekwisieten met een passieve rol, zoals de Troon van de Voorzittend Meester, hebben een belangrijke symbolische betekenis. Een aparte

categorie wordt gevormd door objecten met symbolische decoraties voor gebruik binnen de loge (zoals glazen bij de tafelloge) en in intieme kring (zoals rokersaccessoires). Vooral die laatste lijken geen theatraal element te bevatten, maar niets is minder waar. Net als een maçonnieke lakdoos of punchkom kunnen ze worden gebruikt om (op subtiele of dramatische wijze) het vrijmetselaarschap van de eigenaar te 'onthullen' aan de toeschouwer. Daarnaast herinnerden ze de eigenaar aan zijn 'arbeid' in de loge en aan de maçonnieke deugden die men ook in het profane leven moest nastreven.

Het lidmaatschap van de Orde was wat men nu een 'fully immersive experience' zou noemen. Na de emotionele impact van de inwijding ging een nieuwe belevingswereld voor de kandidaat open. Ook buiten het logegebouw leek plotseling alles in de intellectuele leefomgeving te verwijzen naar de vrijmetselarij en haar idealen. Vrijmetselaarssymboliek was alom aanwezig: in de decoratie van persoonlijke objecten van serviesgoed tot tabakspijpen, in muziek en kunst, in boeken en prenten. Zelfs een wandeling door een tuin bleek achteraf een maçonniek parcours. Na het 'zien van het licht' in de loge ervaarde men steeds een 'aha'-belevenis in het dagelijks leven bij het herkennen van vertrouwde woorden, tekens en symbolen. Bekenden en vreemden deden zich kennen als 'Broeders' door het aanbieden van snuifdoos met een veelzeggende decoratie, of door een zinsnede uit een ritueel in een gesprek te gebruiken. Jezelf op dezelfde subtiele wijze doen kennen aan anderen was bevorderlijk voor je carrière en opende gesloten deuren. Een wereldwijd netwerk stond nu tot je beschikking.

De vrijmetselarij in Zuidoost-Azië heeft een fascinerende materiële cultuur voortgebracht, waarvan de bewaard gebleven objecten niet langer als curiosa kunnen worden aangemerkt. Het zijn voorbeelden van gedeeld erfgoed: een interessante mix van particuliere en publieke, profane en esoterische, oosterse en westerse elementen, die het verdienen om te worden bestudeerd, verzameld, gerestaureerd en geëxposeerd. In India, Ceylon en Nederlands-Indië maakten loges in de tweede helft van de 18de eeuw gebruik van gehuurde locaties, zoals een zaal in een café-restaurant. Ook de kantoren en woonhuizen van Voorzittend Meesters, belangrijke ambtenaren in het dagelijks leven, dienden vaak als plek van bijeenkomst. Tegen het einde van de 18de eeuw beschikten loges over eigen accommodatie, waarin een logeruimte (tempel), eetzaal, keuken en/of bar aanwezig waren. Rond de eeuwwisseling konden de loges op Java investeren in eigen gebouwen, meer zalen met meer functies. Tegen het midden van de 19de eeuw waren logegebouwen uitgegroeid tot 'Freemasons' Halls', multifunctionele complexen waarin kantoren, rituele ruimtes en ruimtes met een sociale functie werden gecombineerd. Overdag werden deze ter beschikking van lokale organisaties gesteld, waardoor deze 'hot spots' van activiteit en kennisuitwisseling binnen de handelsposten werden.

Bewaard gebleven logegebouwen in Nederland en de voormalige handelsposten worden nog niet als zelfstandige categorie erfgoed gezien. Het is onjuist ze te beschouwen als religieus erfgoed, de termen 'westers esoterisch erfgoed' of 'rituele architectuur' zijn meer op hun plaats. Zo'n categorisering is zinvol om de cultuurhistorische waarde van dit type erfgoed vast te stellen en de belangrijkste voorbeelden te kunnen beschermen. Terwijl de studie van de vrijmetselarij inmiddels een erkend vakgebied binnen de Geesteswetenschappen is en academisch onderzoek het belang van de vrijmetselarij voor de Nederlandse geschiedenis heeft uitgewezen, is vrijmetselarij niet vertegenwoordigd in het collectie- of expositiebeleid van musea en andere erfgoedinstellingen. De auteur pleit voor meer interdisciplinaire samenwerking tussen de erfgoedsector, academische experts op het gebied van westerse esoterie en conservatoren van maçonnieke collecties, bijvoorbeeld in een nieuw platform of onderzoekscentrum.

CURRICULUM VITAE OF THE AUTHOR

Andréa A. Kroon was born in The Hague, the Netherlands, in 1968 and studied Art History at the Leiden University in 1990-1996. In 1999 Kroon co-founded *Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen kunsthistorisch projectmanagement*, a bureau specializing in Dutch visual and decorative arts around 1900. She combines working on museum projects and publications, with researching the material culture of freemasonry and western esoteric currents as an independent scholar. She is founder and chairwoman of the *Stichting OVN,* a foundation for the advancement of academic research into freemasonry and related currents in the Netherlands.