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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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Citation

Kroon, A. A. (2015, November 26). *Masonic networks, material culture and international trade : the participation of Dutch Freemasons in the commercial and cultural exchange with Southeast Asia (1735-1853)*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/36561>

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Issue Date: 2015-11-26

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 guilds 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 Matthew 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: britannica.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 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

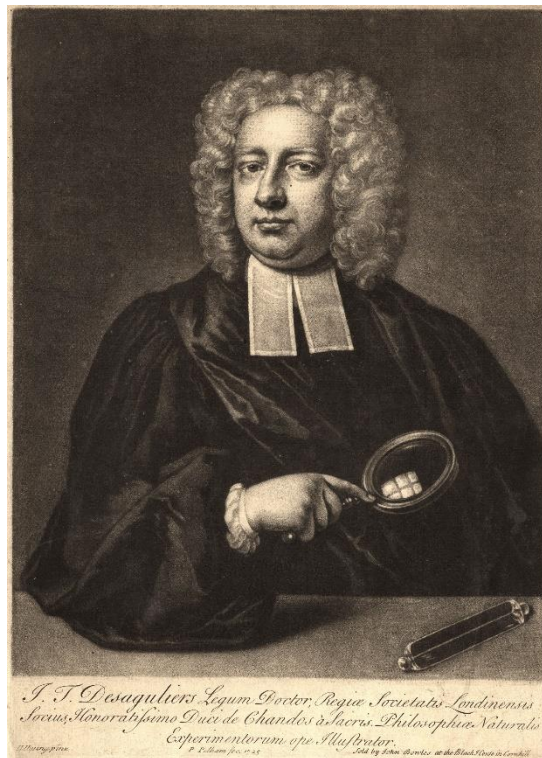


Fig. 2.4: Peter Pelham (1685–1751), portrait of John Theophilus Desaguliers (1683–1744) after a lost painting by Hans Hysing (1678–1752/53), engraving, 1725, 34.7 x 28.4 cm. © National Portrait Gallery, London, inv.no. NPG D10562. Reproduced from: npg.org.uk.

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 successful 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 Dagrán, 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 Dagrán 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 Dagrán, 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 deduced 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 candidates³⁵: 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 city³⁶; 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 Lorraine (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[ui]re; Jn Holtzendorf, Esq[ui]re} Grand Wardens and the other Brethren, viz. Philip Stanhope Earl of *Chesterfield* Lord Ambassador, – Strickland Esq[ui]re; 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 Dagra, 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 Wasseenaar-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 as⁴⁶: 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 2.1⁴⁷). 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 Radermacher [...].⁴⁹

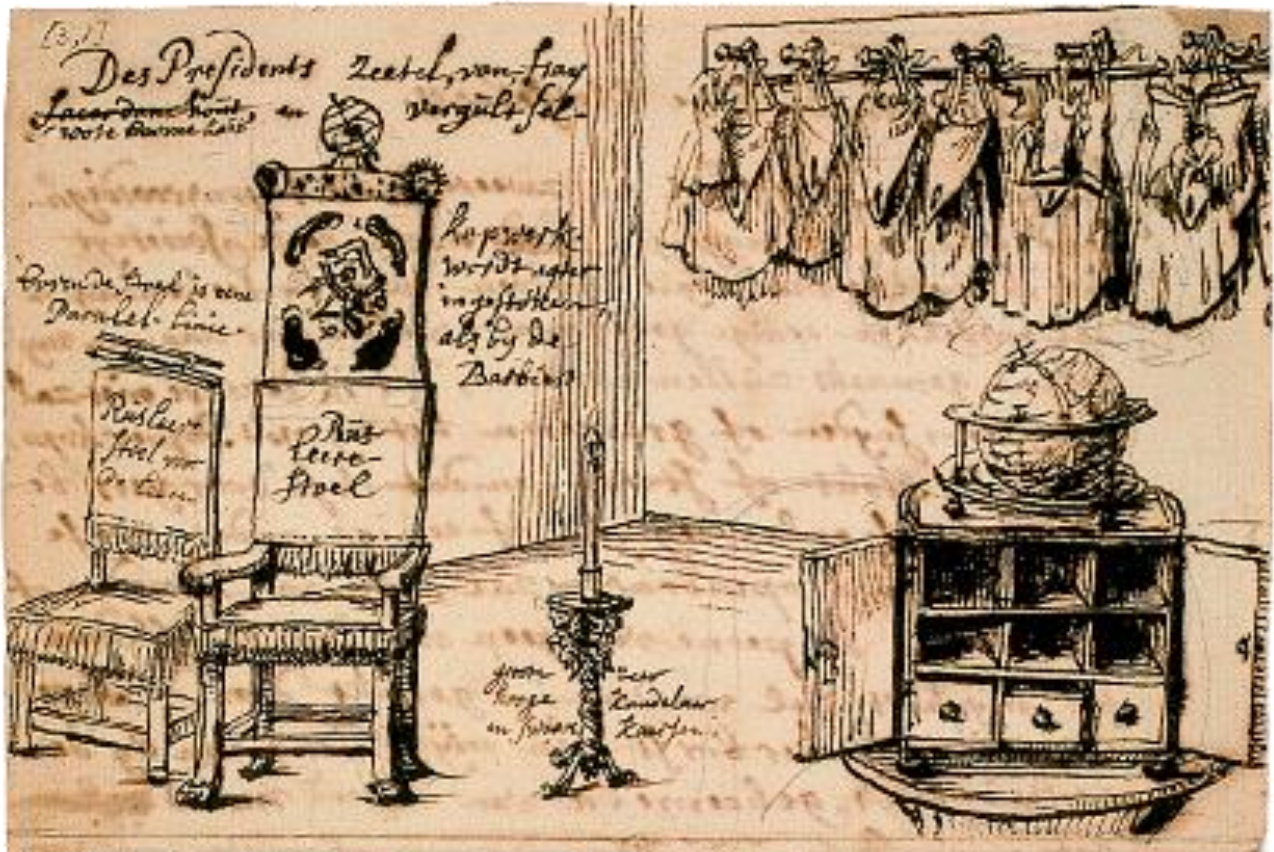
Now that a Grand Lodge had been established, all newly founded Dutch lodges that wished to be acknowledged as 'regular' would receive a formal letter of constitution and pay a yearly contribution to the Grand Lodge. Its first Grand Master, Johan Cornelis Radermacher (1700-1748), had been employed as 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



An^o. 1735. 5. xlv. was Jacobus Maas Dirks Zoon, makelaar; met Jacobus van Dalem, vryfende Gode van de Stadt Haerlem, samen inden Haag Zynde, alsmede de Castellijn van't Logement van Haerlem, met nog gemidd, in dese Doelen, Bincken de Kamer van het Collegie der vrye meetflassos, alwaer een vande leden hen aanwezig en verslag deed vande Meubelmenten indat selve vertrek, het was niet groot, maar per gis 14 a 16 vreden ruimte, aan een der wanden hingen aan een kapstok 10 a 12. vreden schootsvellen, met Cabrette Handschoenen netjes opgestrikt. In de schootsvellen met klappen neerhangende, en knoopgat daer in om boven vast te maaken. in een hoek van't vertrek stond een schabell, in daer op een kasse met schuif laden of in stuck bakjes, in daer in papieren, brieven en andere geschriften etc. boven op het kasse een Globe. En vrots stoelen etc. zoo als by my bedinde en ik hier boven af gebeeld heb. Alles schijnt te zien op wiskunstige oeffeningen, benevens een burgerpraetje. Dit gezelschap vieldt me door de Magiststraat gestoot, gelyk ont t' amsterdam gedaen is, omdat'er onder het volk een gerugt klap als of men onder dien naam godloofdingen pleegde. Als nu men het ligen der papieren, dese genoenden en wie mer, uit Niene Gierigheid dese kamer bekeken, begon ook den toeloop van anderen, Waar om order gegeven vieldt de kamer te sluyten. Het vieldt alle Heiden onrustig ~~maakt~~ door quade praet die nu dit Collegie gins.

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 precursor⁵³: the aforementioned John Crawford and Louis Dagrán, 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 identified⁶⁰: Jean Balguerie, a merchant from Bordeaux⁶¹; 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 Bordeaux⁶². 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.

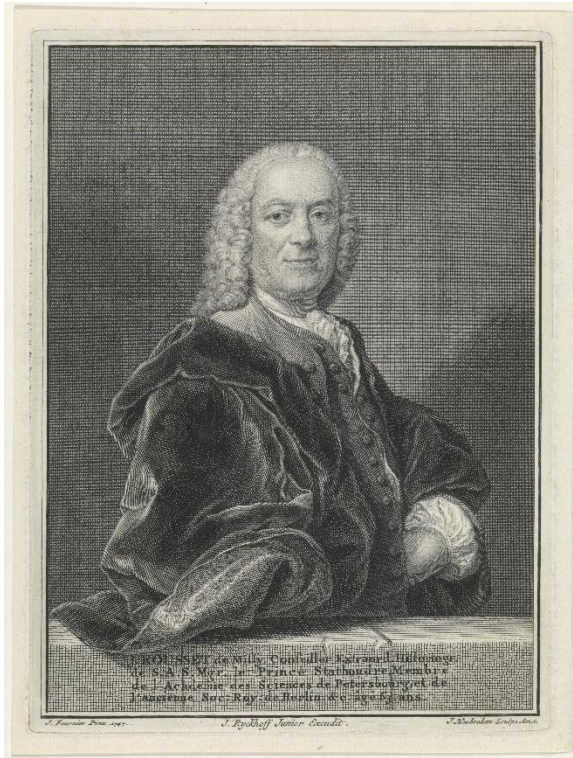


Fig. 2.9: Jacob Houbraken (1698-1780), portrait of Jean Rousset de Missy (1686-1762) after a painting by Jean Fournier (ca. 1703-1754), ca. 1747-1749, engraving, 22 x 16.3 cm. Collection: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Reproduced from: rijksmuseum.nl.

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 Dagrán had made sure that the foundation of Le Véritable Zèle was mentioned in the



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 *Gecommitteerde Raden van Holland*, a government body, issued an inquiry on 7-11-1735. A commission questioned Dagraan 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*. Dagraan's *Annales* record on 23-11-1735 that the lodges were then informed:

[...] by the High Distinguished 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 (*Waarschouwing*) 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 Uitvaart 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 body⁷⁷ (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 *Céramonies et coutumes religieuses 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

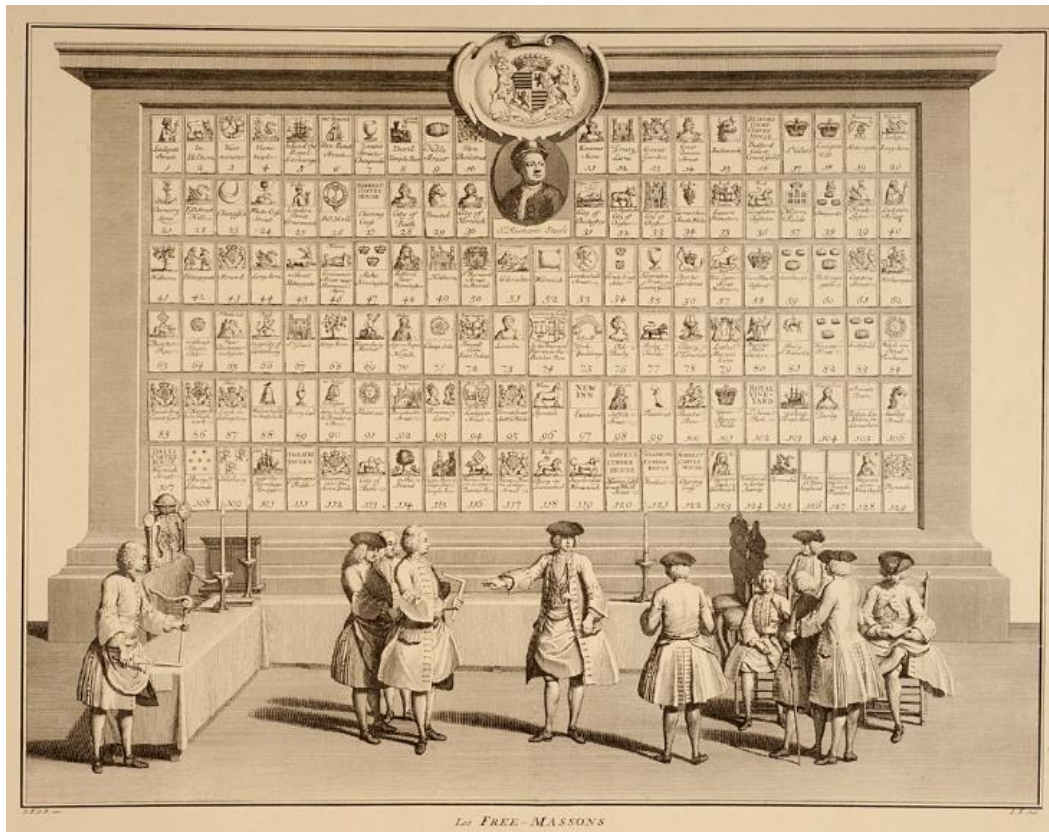


Fig. 2.12: Louis Fabrice Dubourg (1693-1775), *Les Free-Massons*, as published in *Céramonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde, représentées par des figures dessinées de la main de Bernard Picart* (1736). Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 10550. Reproduced from: 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 Uitvaart 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		
○	<i>Leeuwarden:</i>	1734	(temporary?) lodge, possibly named Antiqua Virtute et Fide
▪	Gelderland		
○	<i>Nijmegen:</i>	1751	Sint Lodewijk
▪	Groningen		
▪	Limburg		
○	<i>Maastricht:</i>	1745	La Constance (military lodge, formerly named La Loge Militaire; inactive 1756, reformed 1761)
○	<i>Venlo:</i>	1756	La Concorde (not formally constituted until 1757)
▪	Noord-Brabant		
○			No lodges recorded in this era
▪	Noord-Holland		
○	<i>Amsterdam:</i>	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		
○	<i>Sluis:</i>	1749	L'Harmonie (founded under a French Constitution, transferred to a Dutch constitution in 1749)
▪	Zuid-Holland		
○	<i>The Hague:</i>	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)
○	<i>Leiden:</i>	1756	La Vertu
○	<i>Rotterdam:</i>	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. Dagra'n'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 Dagra'n 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: vrijmetse.larij.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 Wassenaar (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 Wassenaar himself were associated with a financial scandal, which seems to have directly influenced not only Van Wassenaar's decision to resign as Grand Master, but also the decision of the Dutch Grand Lodge to start over, with a clean slate.

Louis Dagrán now became Deputy Grand Master and Grand Master *ad interim*.⁹² This led to an intense debate about the succession of Van Wassenaer. Dagrán 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 Dagrán'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 *Receuil 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 Isaac 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

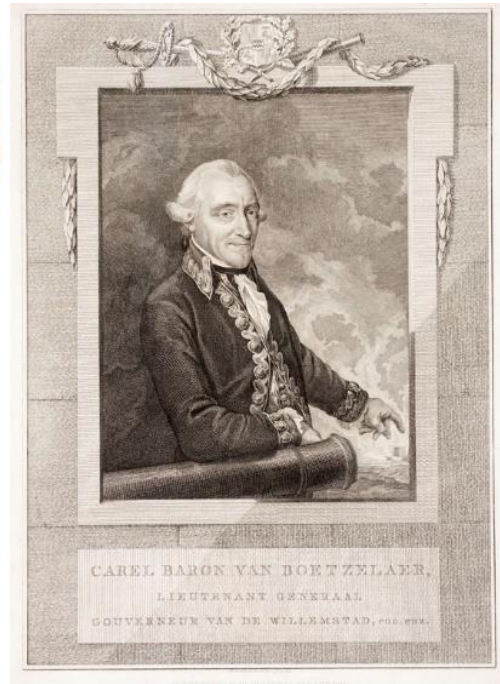


Fig. 2.16: Anonymous, portrait of Christiaan Frederik Anton Willem Carel count Bentinck (1734-1768), 1750-1768, oil on canvas, 75 x 59.5 cm. Collection: Middachten Castle, De Steeg (Rheden), inv.no 86. Reproduced from: rkd.nl.

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 Snoek's *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 lodge)

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	○ <i>Amersfoort:</i>	1800	De Harten door Vriendschap Verenigd (military lodge)
	○ <i>Utrecht:</i>	1760	L'Astrée
		1762	De Goede Trouwe
Zeeland	○ <i>Hulst:</i>	1767	De Harmonie (continuation of lodge De Eendragt in Lillo, Belgium, founded in 1764)
		1787	De Phoenix
	○ <i>Middelburg:</i>	1758	La Philantrope
		1770	La Compagnie Durable
	○ <i>Schoondijke:</i>	1872	L'Amitié sans Fin (relocated from Sluis)
	○ <i>Sluis:</i>	1784	L'Amitié sans Fin
		1785	St. Andreas (military lodge)
	○ <i>Terneuzen:</i>	1875	L'Amitié sans Fin (relocated from Schoondijke)
	○ <i>Tholen:</i>	1783	Le Temple de La Vertu (military lodge)
	○ <i>Veere:</i>	1789	L'Enfant de la Vertu
	○ <i>Vlissingen:</i>	1769	Le Soleil (founded under an English constitution)
		1792	L'Astre de l'Orient
Zuid-Holland	○ <i>Brielle:</i>	1761	L'Aurore
		1783	L'Unanimité (ambulant military lodge)
	○ <i>Den Haag:</i>	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)
	○ <i>Dordrecht:</i>	1789	La Parfaite Union
		1791	L'Union Fraternelle
		1797	L'Union Durable
	○ <i>Gorinchem:</i>	1764	L'Union (ambulant military lodge of the Regiment no. 1 under a Scottish constitution)
		1783	L'Unanimité (ambulant military lodge of a marine regiment)
		1785	St. Andreas (ambulant military lodge of the Regiment Stuart)
	○ <i>Leiden:</i>	1757	L'Age d'Or (continuation of a lodge under a French Constitution)
	○ <i>Rotterdam:</i>	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.

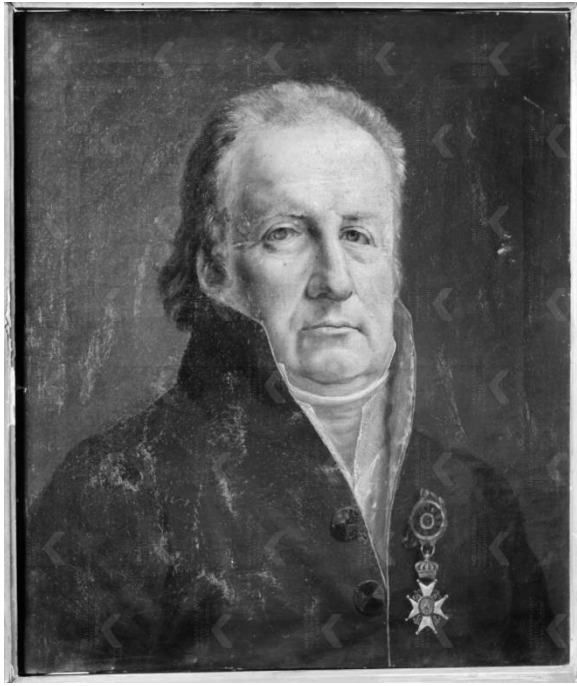


Fig. 2.18: Anonymous, portrait of Mr. Isaac van Teylingen (1736-1813), 1800-1813, pastel, 31 x 25.5 cm. Location unknown (auctioned A.W. Mensing, Amsterdam, 1939-11-29, lot no. 34). Reproduced from: rkd.nl.

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.

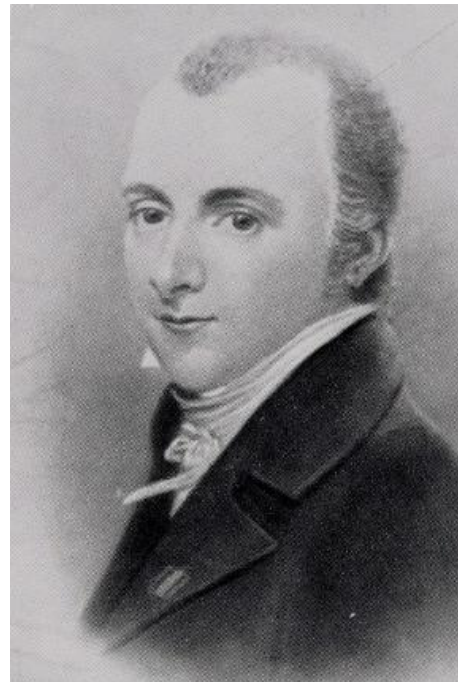


Fig. 2.20: J. van Rossum, portrait of W.Ph. Barnaart (1782-1851), 1848, pencil drawing. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 15801-1 (postcard). Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

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 1812¹¹⁶ (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 visual 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 be 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

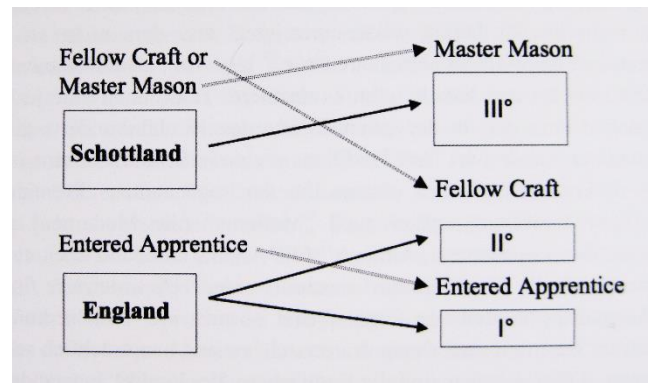


Fig. 2.23: Development of the tri-gradal system, as explained in Bettag/Snoek 2012, p. 124.

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 3^{de} 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

Officer's title (Dutch)	Description	Symbol
<i>Voorzittend Meester:</i>	<i>[Worshipful] Master of the Lodge</i> , acting as Chairman.	Set square (sometimes crossed with a pair of compasses), or a radiant sun ¹²⁸
<i>Gedeputeerd Voorzittend Meester:</i>	<i>Deputy Master of the Lodge</i> , acting as Deputy Chairman.	Similar (simpler or smaller version) of the Worshipful Master's symbol
<i>Secretaris:</i>	<i>Secretary</i> , responsible for lodge correspondence, keeping minutes, membership administration and archives.	Crossed quills
<i>Thesaurier:</i>	<i>Treasurer</i> , responsible for keeping financial administration and collecting contributions.	Crossed keys
<i>1^{ste} Opziener:</i>	<i>Senior Warden</i> , responsible for the instruction of the Fellows of the Craft amongst the lodge members.	Level
<i>2^{de} Opziener:</i>	<i>Junior Warden</i> , responsible for the instruction of the Apprentices amongst the lodge members.	Plumb line
<i>Ceremoniemeester:</i>	<i>Director of Ceremonies</i> , responsible for making sure that the ritual is executed according to regulations. ¹²⁹	Crossed rods
<i>Zwaarddrager:</i>	<i>Sword Bearer</i> , responsible for carrying a ceremonial sword in front of the Worshipful Master in formal processions.	A sword
<i>Terrible:</i>	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
<i>Buitendekker:</i>	<i>Tyler</i> 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
<i>Wachter or dekker:</i>	<i>Inner Guard</i> responsible for guarding the inside entrance of the lodge (symbolically 'armed' with a sword).	Crossed swords
<i>Orateur or Redenaar:</i>	<i>Orator</i> , 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
<i>Kapelmeester or Broeder van Talent:</i>	<i>Master of Music</i> OR <i>Brother of Talent</i> responsible for music in the lodge.	Musical instrument, such as a harp
<i>Hofmeester or Oeconome</i>	<i>Steward</i> , responsible for overseeing the meals for the table lodge, which normally closes each ritual lodge meeting.	Cornucopia
<i>Keldermeester:</i>	<i>Steward</i> , responsible for overseeing the wine cellar and drinks for the table lodge. Sometimes combined with the responsibility for meals as <i>Hof- en Keldermeester</i> .	Bunch of grapes
<i>Aalmoezenier:</i>	<i>Almoner</i> or <i>Charity Steward</i> , 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
<i>Meubelmeester:</i>	<i>Intendant, Inventory Officer</i> or <i>Master of Furniture</i> , 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 <i>Bouwen Meubelmeester</i> .	Column
<i>Architect:</i>	<i>Architect</i> , responsible for the (design of) the lodge building and its maintenance.	The five building orders (Ionic, Doric, Corinthian, Tuscan, Composite)
<i>Zegelbewaarder</i>	<i>Keeper of the Seal</i> , responsible for the seal of the lodge and the authentication of certificates.	Seal
<i>Servant:</i>	<i>Servant</i> , 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 compasses¹³⁴ 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 symbolism¹³⁵ 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 part 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 groups¹⁴³: 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*, 1737¹⁴⁹, 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 Europe¹⁵¹;
- Gabanon (=Travenol) published *La Désolation des Entrepreneurs Modernes du Temple de Jerusalem ou Nouveau Catechisme des Francs-Maçons* (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 Maçons Mis au jour dans toutes ses parties avec sincérité & sans dèguisement* (1751) by T[homas] W[olson].

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 available¹⁵³, 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 1744¹⁵⁵, 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 sincèrement 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 Fracs-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 Fracs-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'.

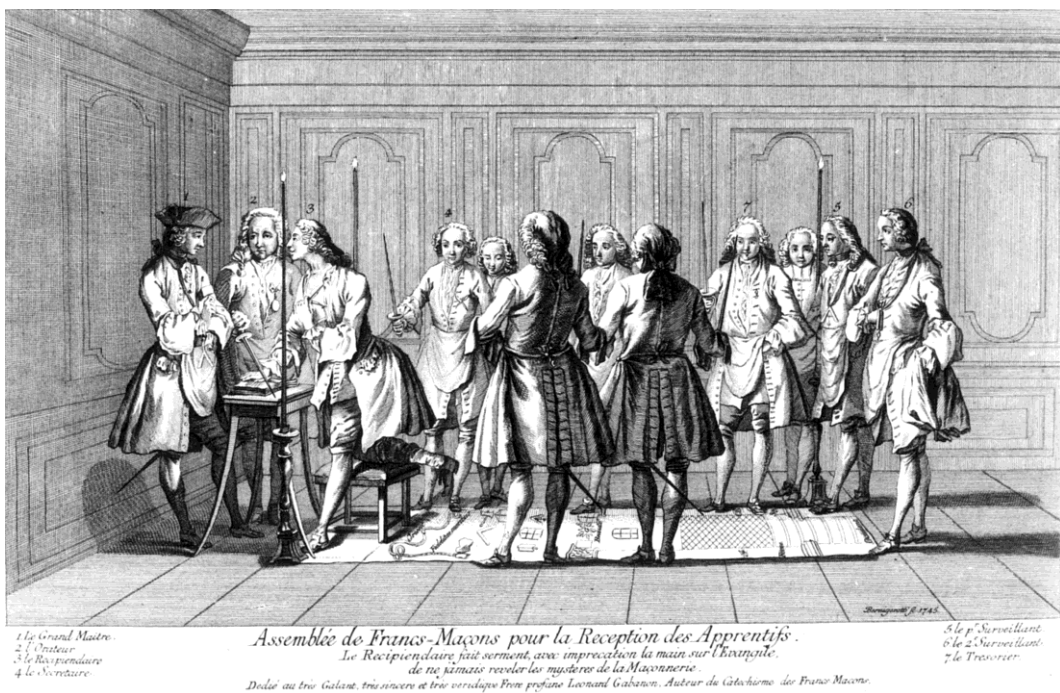


Fig. 2.25: Johann Martin Bernigeroth (1713-1767), *Assemblée des Fracs-Maçons pour la Reception des Apprentifs* from the series *Les coutumes des fracs-maçons*, Leipzig 1745. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 10512. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl. The caption reads: 'The candidate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

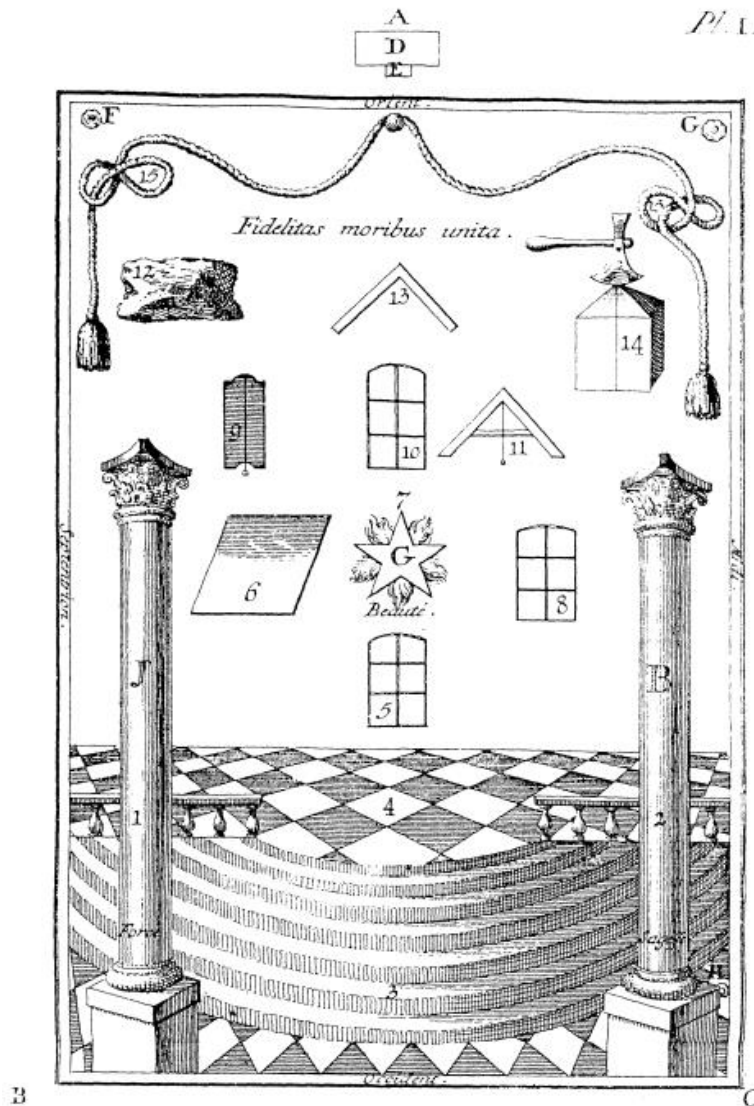


Fig. 2.26: Tracing board for the degrees of Apprentice and Fellow-Craft, frontispiece of Louis Calabre Perau, *De geheimen der vrijmetselaars en der Mopsen geopenbaart*, Amsterdam 1745. Reproduced from facsimile edition: Thoth 21 (1970) II-III.

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) Hiram stage (circa 1725-1800), and the revised Hiram 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 pronunciation of the name of God.¹⁶⁵ However, the original Hiram 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 Hiram 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 Hiram 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 Freres-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

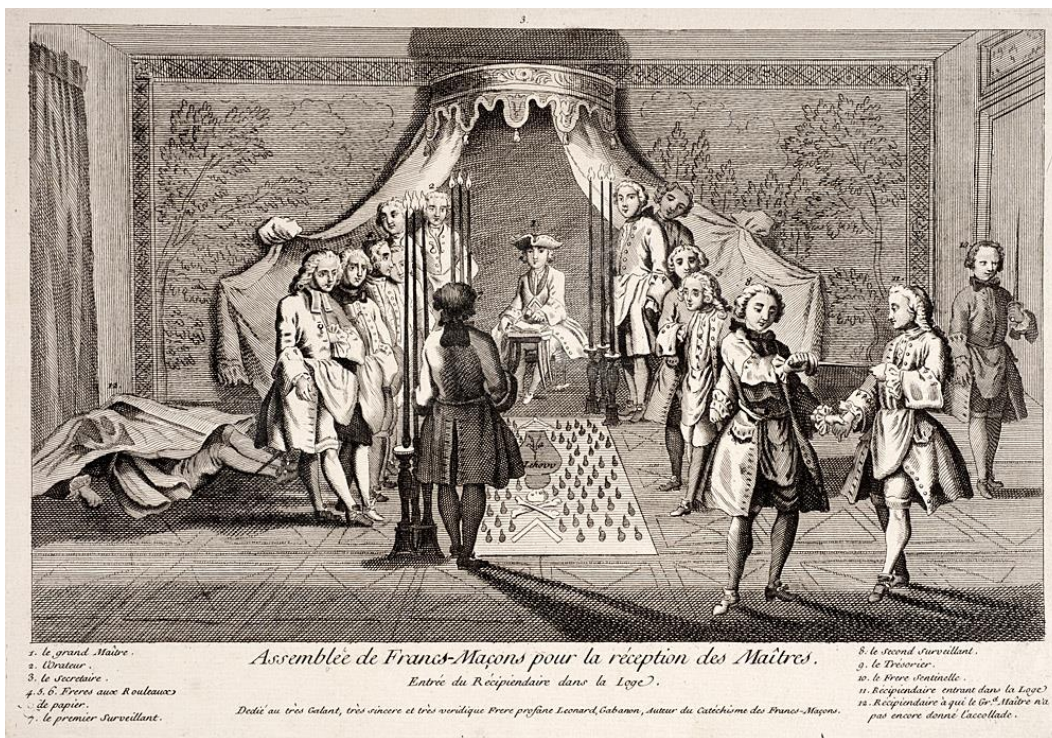


Fig. 2.28: Assemblée des Freres-Maçons pour la Reception des Maîtres, Paris 1744. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv. no. 16008-004. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl. The caption reads: 'The candidate enters the lodge'.¹⁷² To the right the candidate is led by the Junior Warden. The presence 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 Fracs-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 Fracs-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 Hiram 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, Bath 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, inv.no. T2-023. Reproduced from: glmf-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. Collection Musée de la Maison des Maçons, Paris, inv.no. T2-013. Reproduced from: glmf-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), 18th-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.

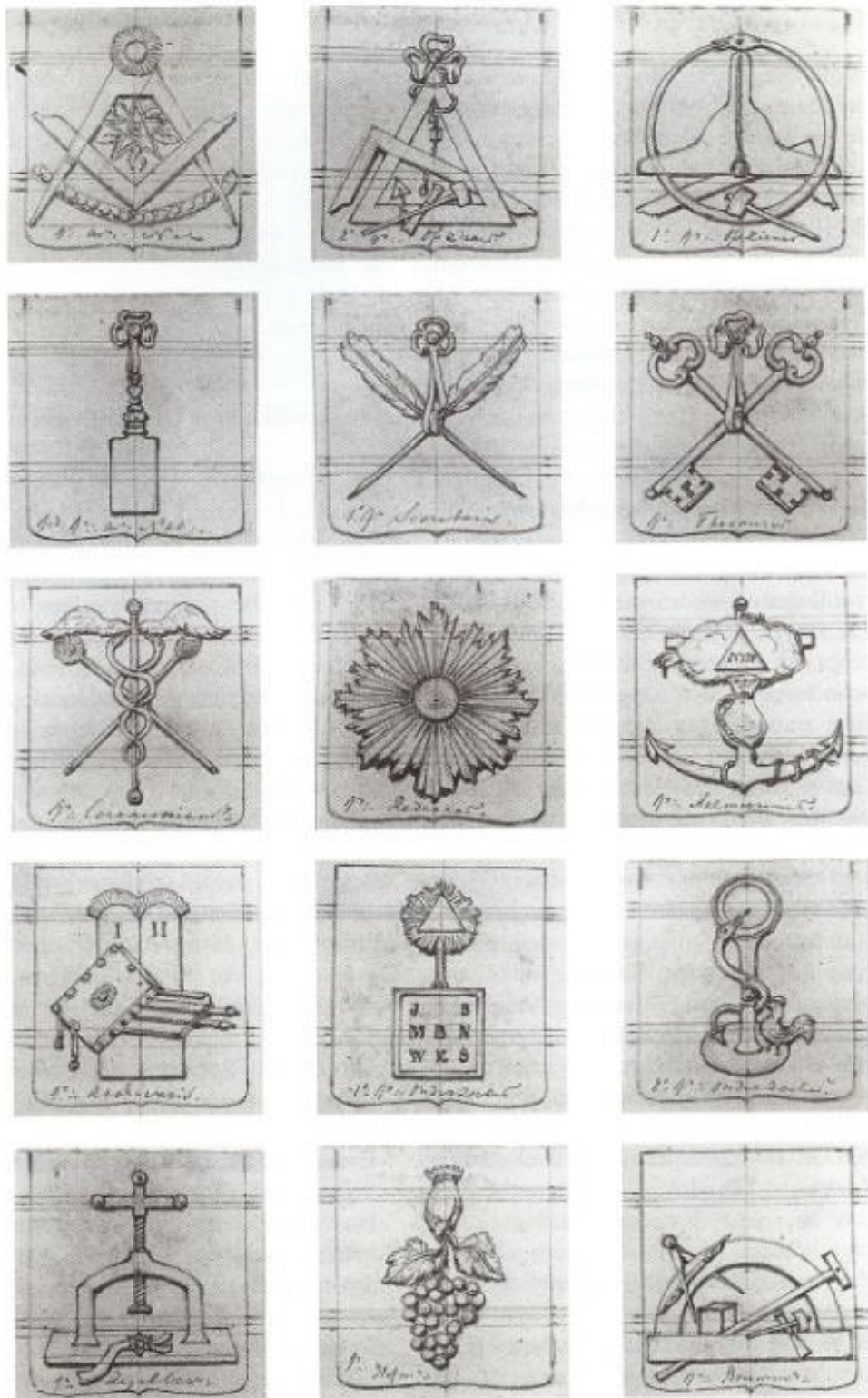


Fig. 2.36: Series of designs for Grand Lodge officers' jewels, ca. 1825. Collection CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Reproduced from: Kroon 2001, p. 208.

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

The evolution 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. Étienne 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 establishment 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 degrees 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 Prussien* (Noachite or Prussian Knight).¹⁸⁶ The building of the Temple of Solomon is central to the Master's

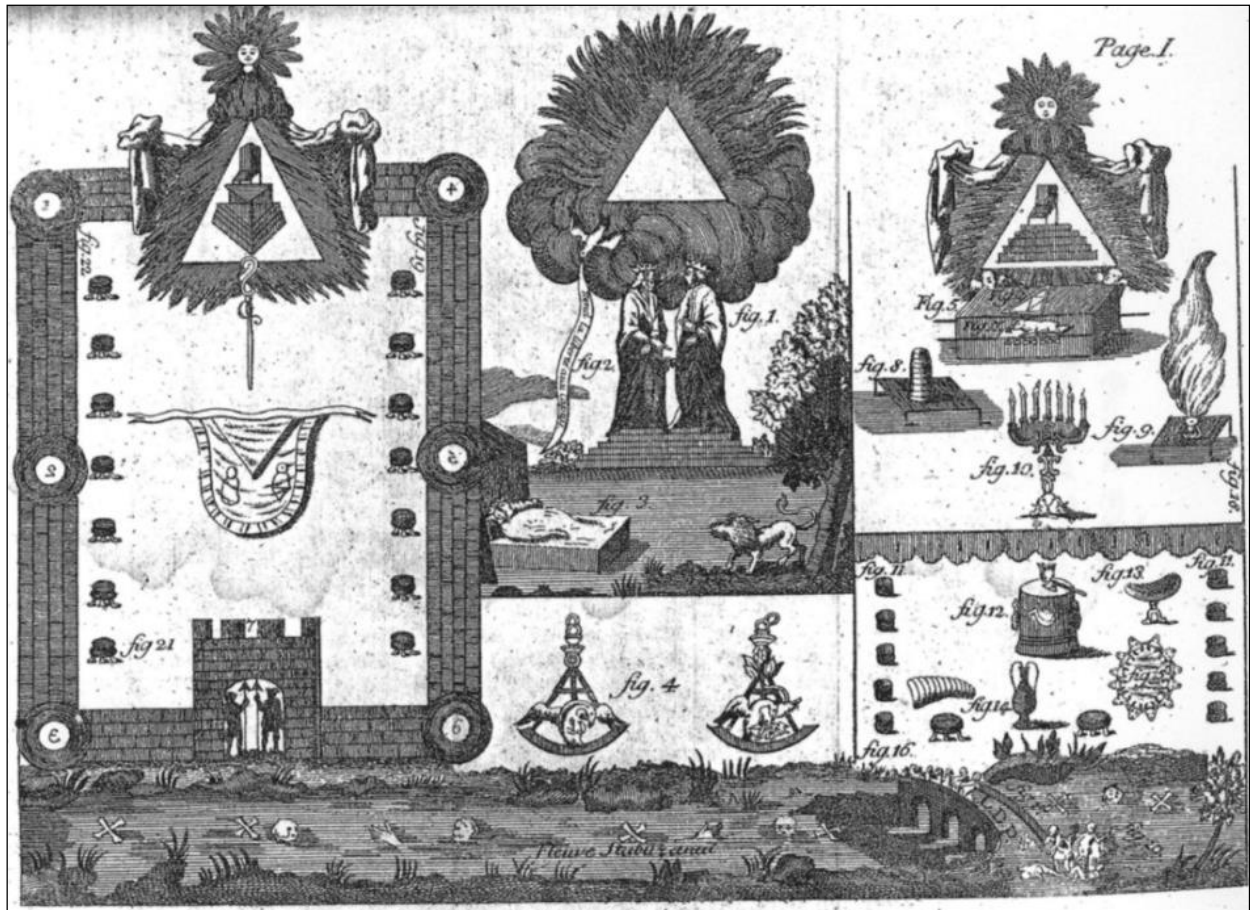


Fig. 2.37: Illustration in *Les plus secrets mystères des hauts grades de la maçonnerie dévoilés, ou le vrai rose-croix [...]* suivi du noachite (Paris 1766; Dutch ed. 1786). Reproduced from: Kroon 2001, p. 235.

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'Épée 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 Metzelay, 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 degrees, 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 Maçonique 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 symbols¹⁹²; while the *Receuil de Maçonnerie Contenant Les 33 Grades du Rit Écossais 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-maçonnerie 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'Écossisme du Rit Ancien et Accepté, suivi du Tuileur des Trois Grades Symboliques Écossais, tels qu'ils sont pratiqués dans la Grande Loge d'Écosse, à Edimbourg* (Paris 1819)¹⁹⁶; *Thuileur des trente-trois degrés de l'Écossisme 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 Rites¹⁹⁸; 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'Écosse, 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 Écossais* (Scots Master's degrees), *Chevalier d'Orient/d'Épée* (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

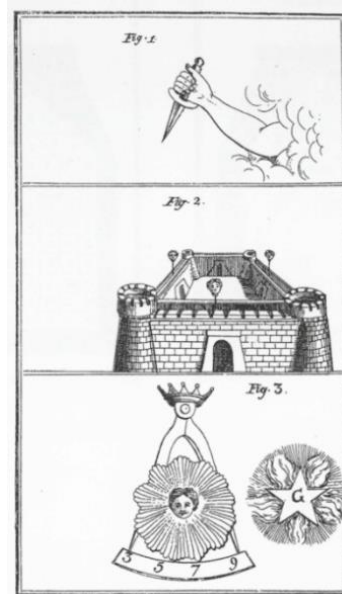
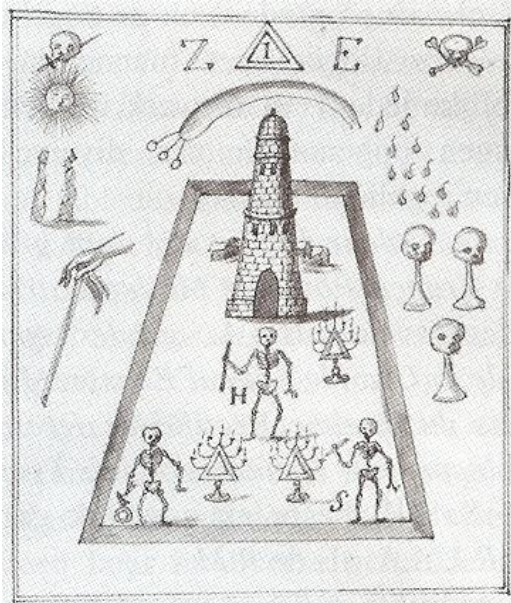


Fig. 2.38: Tracing board for the degree of Élu des neuf (Chosen Master of Nine), as illustrated in *Collection de 84 tableaux* (1784). Collection CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Reproduced from: Kroon 2001, p. 240.

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: glmf-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 *Élu* 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

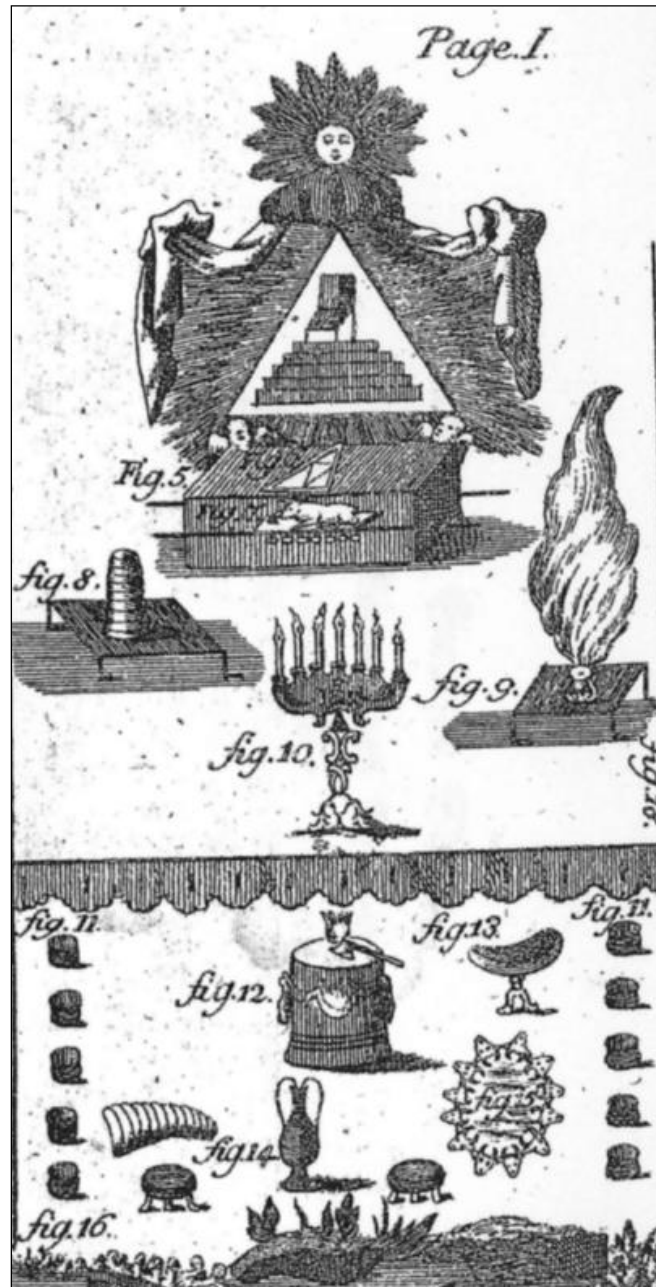


Fig. 2.42: Detail from the illustration in *Les plus secrets mystères* (Paris 1766/Dutch ed. 1786), showing the lodge lay out and various symbols for the Scots degrees. Reproduced from: Kroon 2001, p. 235.

'H.S.O.' (the initials of Hiram's 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*,

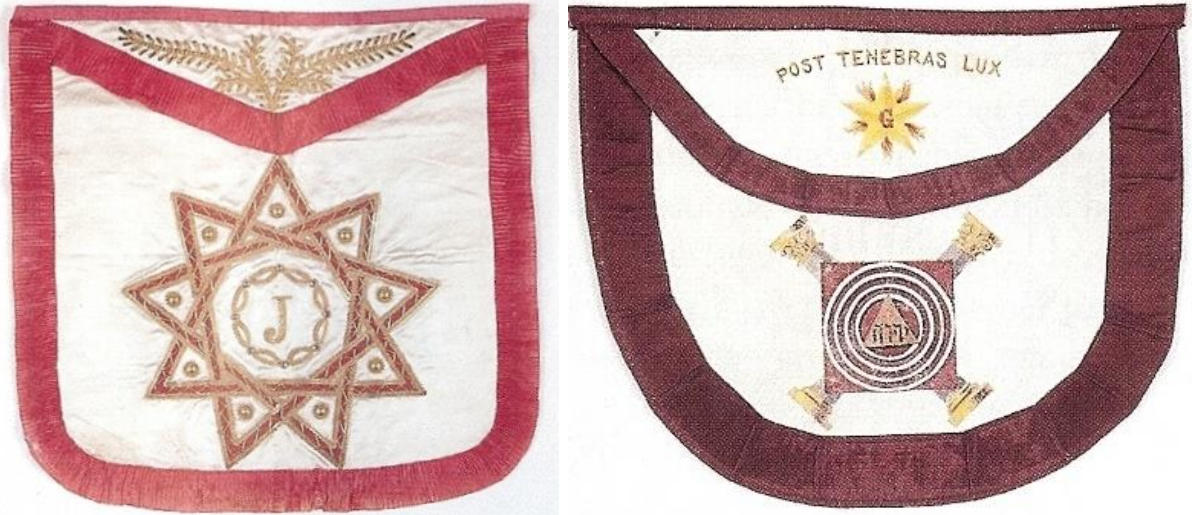


Fig. 2.43: Apron for the Ecosias de trois J (Ordre du Secret Royale), depicting a nine-pointed star made of three interlaced triangles, the letter J (surrounded by a crown of thorns?) and acacia sprigs, ca. 1825, silk, embroidered with silk and gold threads. Collection CMC 'Prins Frederik' in The Hague, 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.

... was
 say of the funeral in the King
 ten examen'd the Form, the con-
 letters on it, Ludwig, pyramid
 executed, he cried out in extasy
 in ext. All the brethren answer'd
 Amen, amen, Amen
 to Master.

... that enclosed the two
 other.




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 showbread (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'Épée 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.

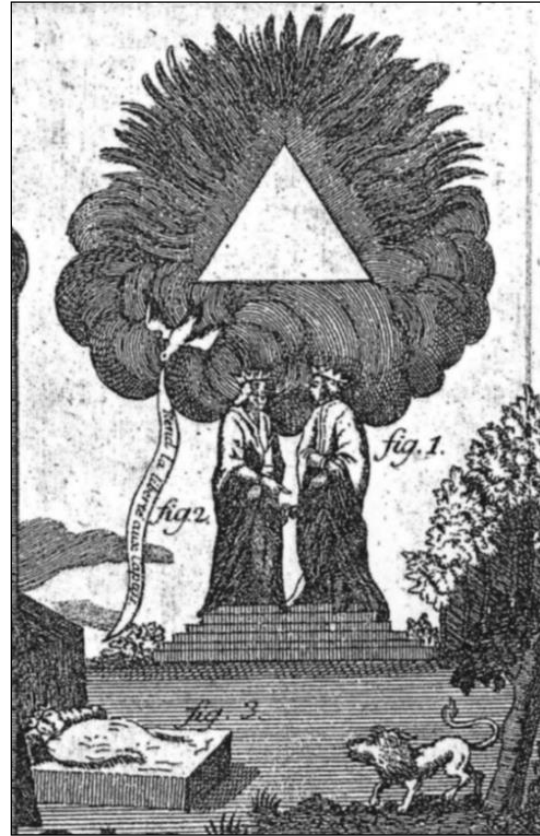
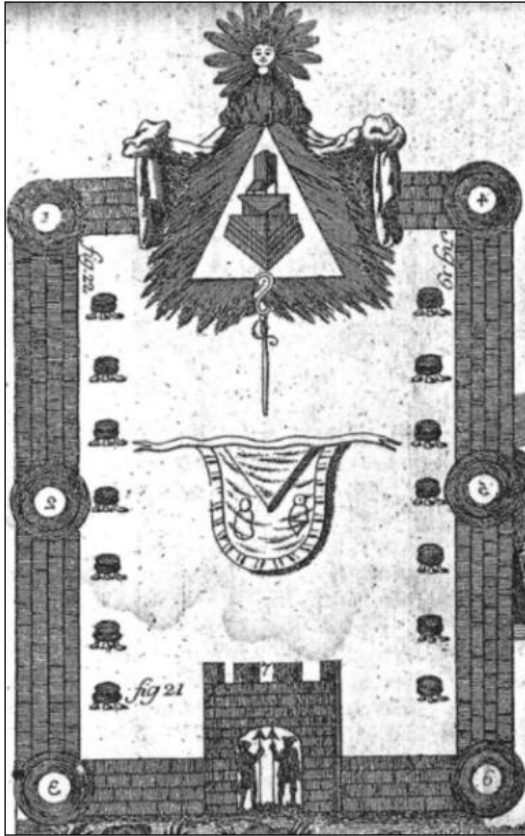


Fig. 2.46a-d: Details from the illustration in *Les plus secrets mystères* (Paris 1766/Dutch ed. 1786), relating to the degrees of Knight of the East and/or the Sword. Top left: The lodge for the degree of Chevalier de l'Épée et de Rose Croix. Top right: The dream of King Cyrus. Middle: The battle on 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).

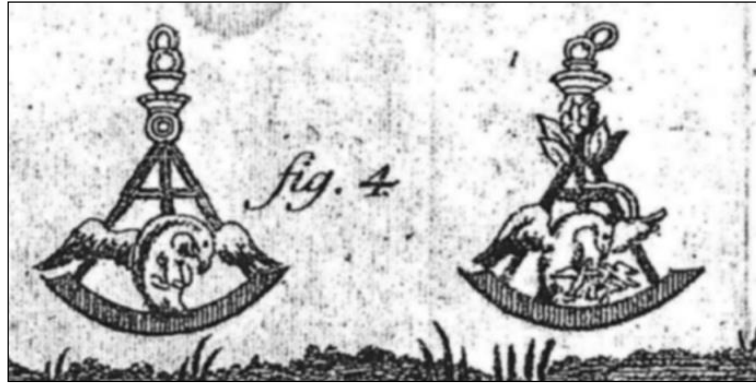


Fig. 2.51: Detail from the illustration in *Les plus secrets mystères* (Paris 1766/Dutch ed. 1786), showing the jewel of the Grand Maître. Reproduced from: Kroon 2001, p. 235.

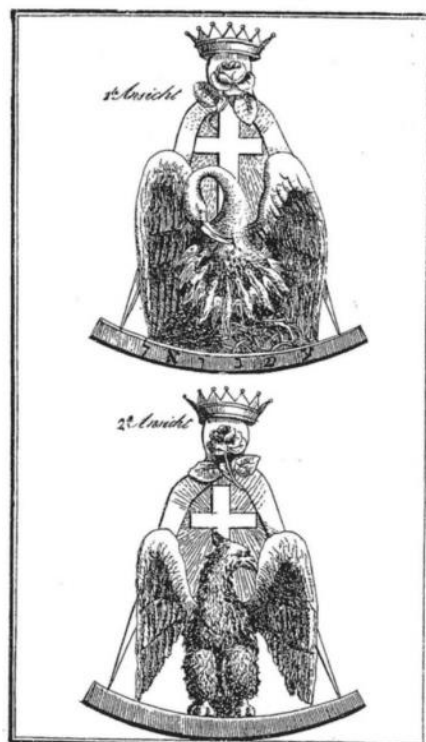


Fig. 2.52: Jewel for the Souverain Prince Rose Croix, as illustrated in the *Manuel Maçonnique* (1820), Planche XII. Reproduced from: Kroon 2001, p. 255.

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. (*Jesus 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 *Souverain 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.



AFBEELDING van een TAFEL LOGE.

1. de GROOTMEESTER.
2. De eerste OPPASSER.
3. De tweede OPPASSER.
4. De KNEGTs en de BAAZEN.
5. STIELEN voor *Absenten* BROEDERS.

6. Op de TAFEL staan, behalven de SCHOOLTELS met SPYZEN, voor de GROOTMEESTER, naast ieder BORD staat aan ieder zyde een drie KAARZEN, naast dezelve een KLYN TROMMELTJE met een STOK, op 't midden van de andere met WYN.

TAFEL staat een (*) NAAKEND BEELDJE by een COLOM van dezelve hoogte; verbeeldende het BEELDJE de VRYHEID. en de COLOM de STAATS GELYKHEID. aan wederzyde staat een klyn TROMMELTJE met eene STOK. de verdeerde KAARZEN staan alle driehoekig op de TAFEL.

(*) Het zelve is gemeenlyk twee voet.

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

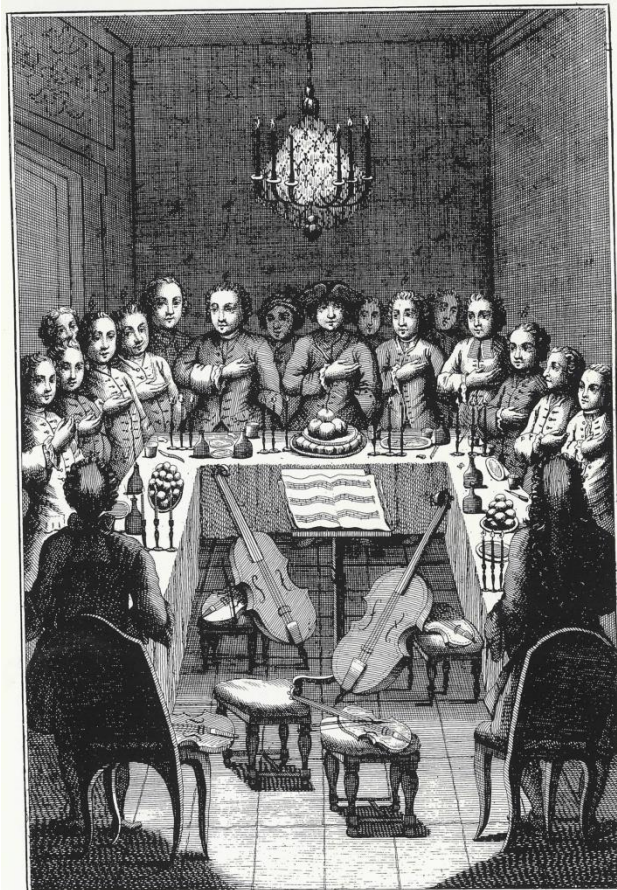
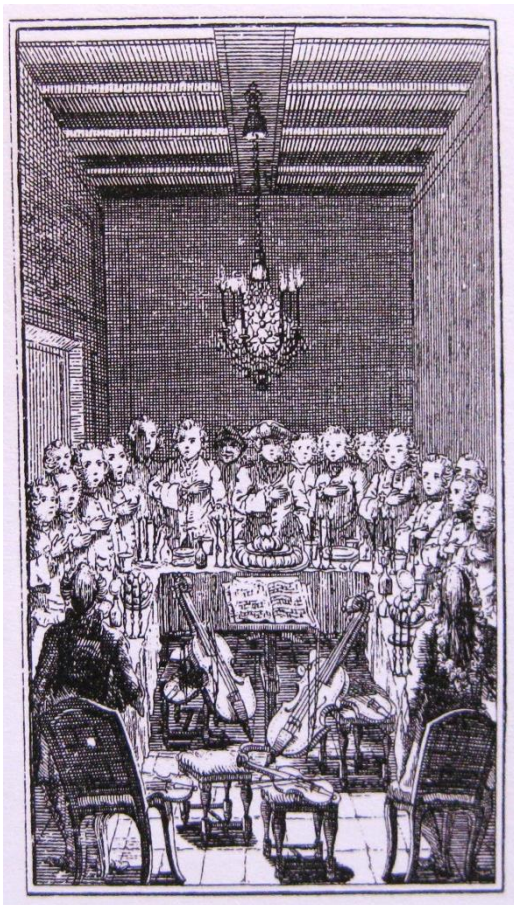


Fig. 2.56: Table lodge as illustrated in *Nouveau Catéchisme des Francs-Maçons*, 1749, copper engraving.
 Reproduced from: Lindner 1976, p. 79.

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 ontomd* 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 Sueur 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 freemason 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 accompanying 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 surprising 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 Surpriz'd, or the Secret Discover'd..., published by T. Wilkins, Rupert Street, London, 1754. Reproduced from: MacNulty 1991, p. 82.

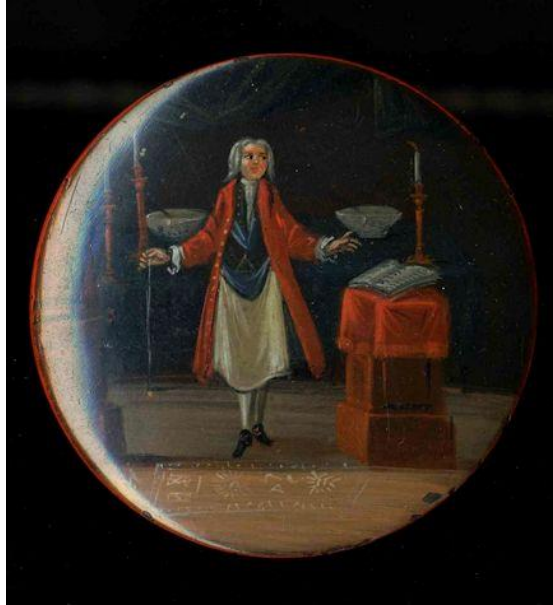


Fig. 2.62: Circular box with a masonic decoration, ca. 1750-1775, lacquer or papier maché technique, height 2.4 cm, diam. 7.3 cm. Collection and photograph: Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, inv.no. M1969/280.

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 Grievs 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 Alessandro 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. Humphrey 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) probably first drew the attention of art historians to the subject²⁵¹, 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-Maçons* (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.

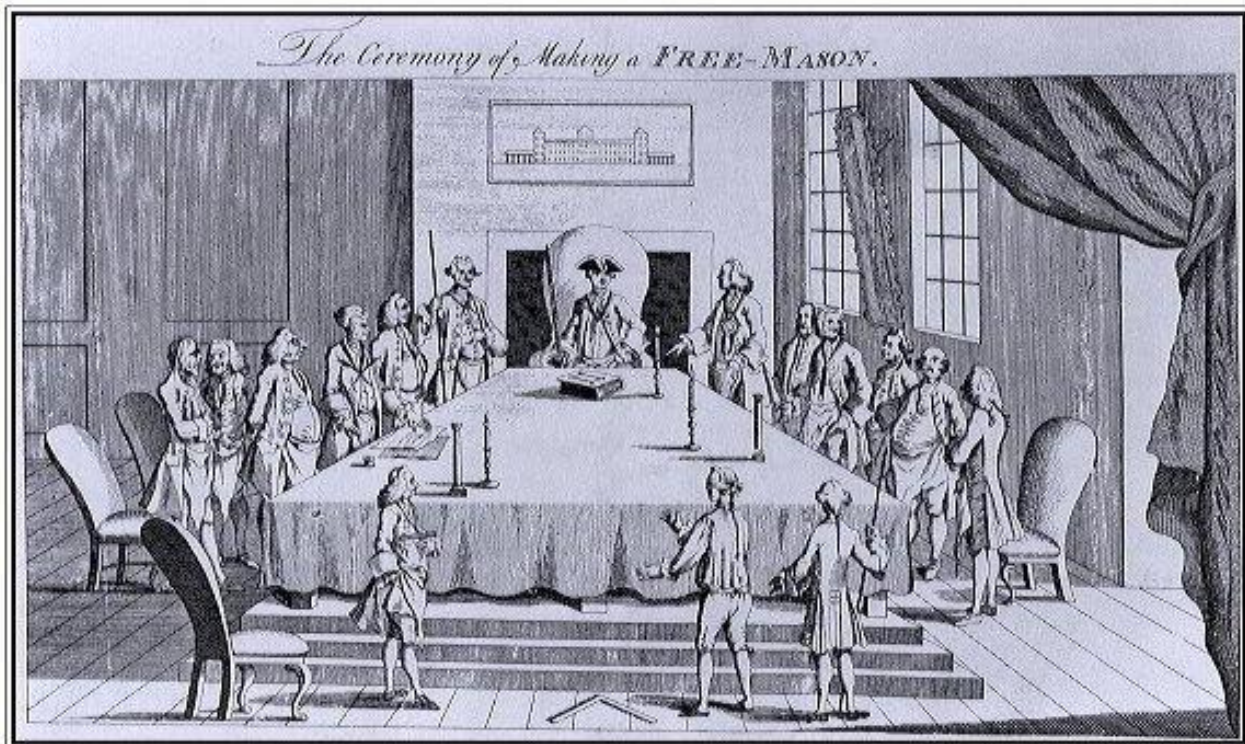


Fig. 2.64: The Ceremony of Making a FREE-MASON, engraving in *Hiram: or the Grand Master-Key* (2nd ed. 1766).
Reproduced from: loge-driehoek.nl.

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

	<i>A dialogue between Simon & Philip (ca. 1725)</i>	<i>Prichard, Masonry Dissected (1730)</i>	<i>Prichard, Het collegie der Vrye Metselaars ontleedt (Utrecht 1735)</i>	<i>Perau, Le Secret des Francs maçons (1744)</i>
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? <i>Mosaick</i> Pavement, the Ground Floor of the Lodge, [with a] Blazing Star the Centre, and Indented Tarsel the Border round about it’	‘Mosaic 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 <i>Jakhin</i> , & that on the left, <i>Boaz</i> ’
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 (<i>fauteuil</i>) 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’

	<i>A dialogue between Simon & Philip</i> (ca. 1725)	Prichard, <i>Masonry Dissected</i> (1730)	Prichard, <i>Het collegie der Vrye Metselaars ontleedt</i> (Utrecht 1735)	Perau, <i>Le Secret des Francs maçons</i> (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

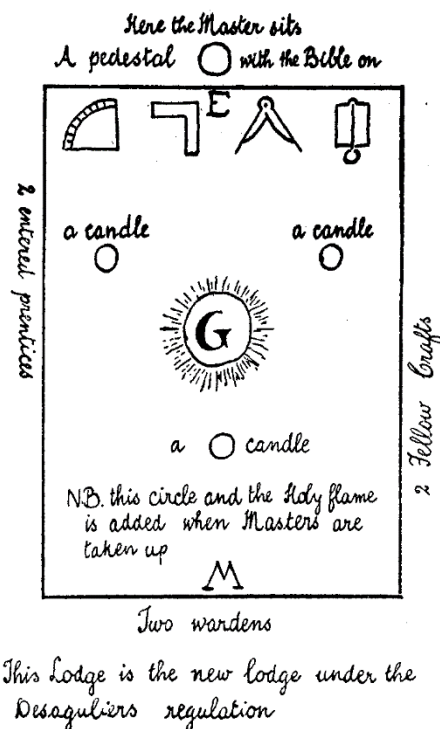
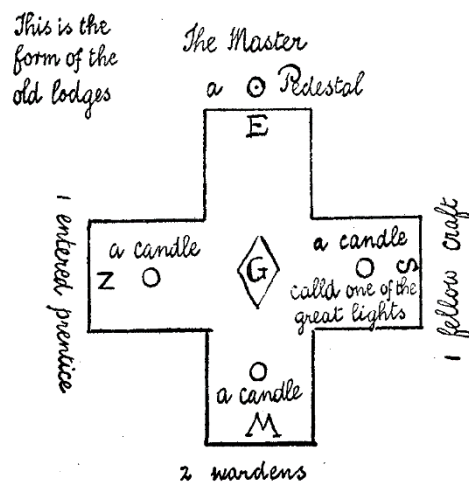


Fig. 2.65: 'Old' and 'new' Lodge plans as depicted in A dialogue between Simon & Philip (ca. 1725).
Reproduced from: Knoop/Jones/Hamer 1943, pp. 180-181.

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, probably 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 ‘Geomity’.

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 tassel' 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 Wisdom²⁷⁹, 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 démasqué* (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.

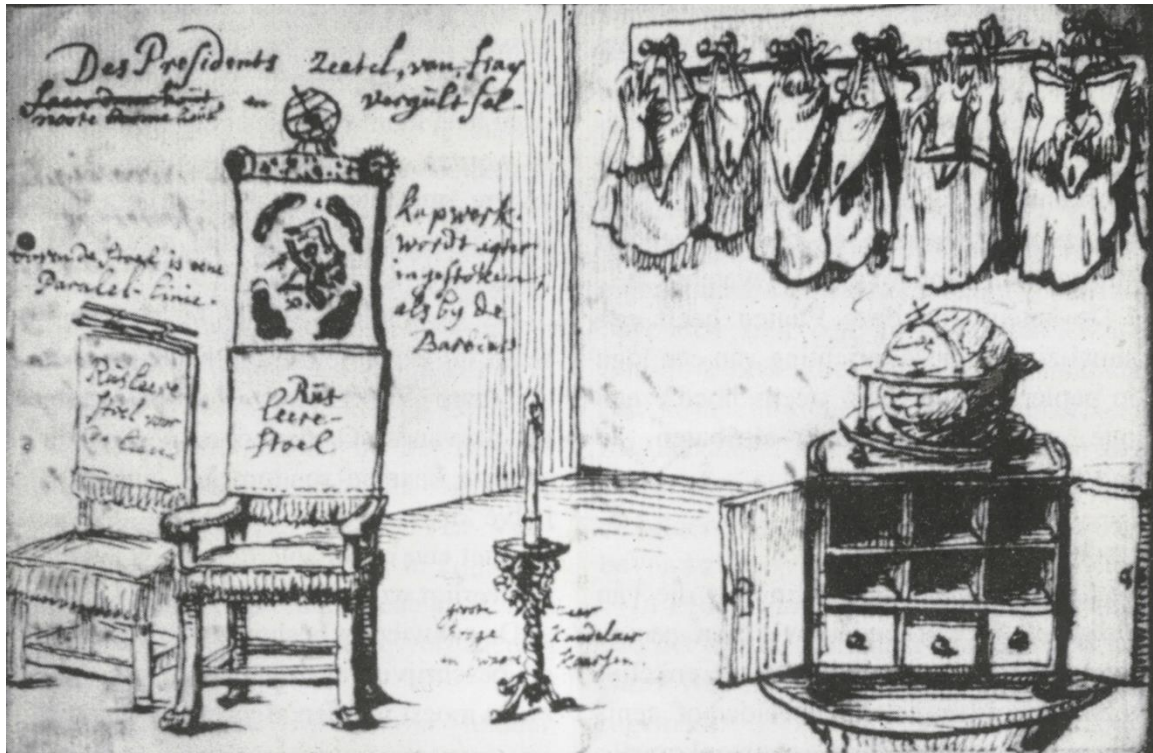


Fig. 2.67 (detail of fig. 2.8): Jacob Maas Dirks Zoon, Notes and drawing of the interior of lodge Le Véritable Zèle in The Hague, 1735. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Reproduced from: Thoth (1995) 3, p. 89.

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:

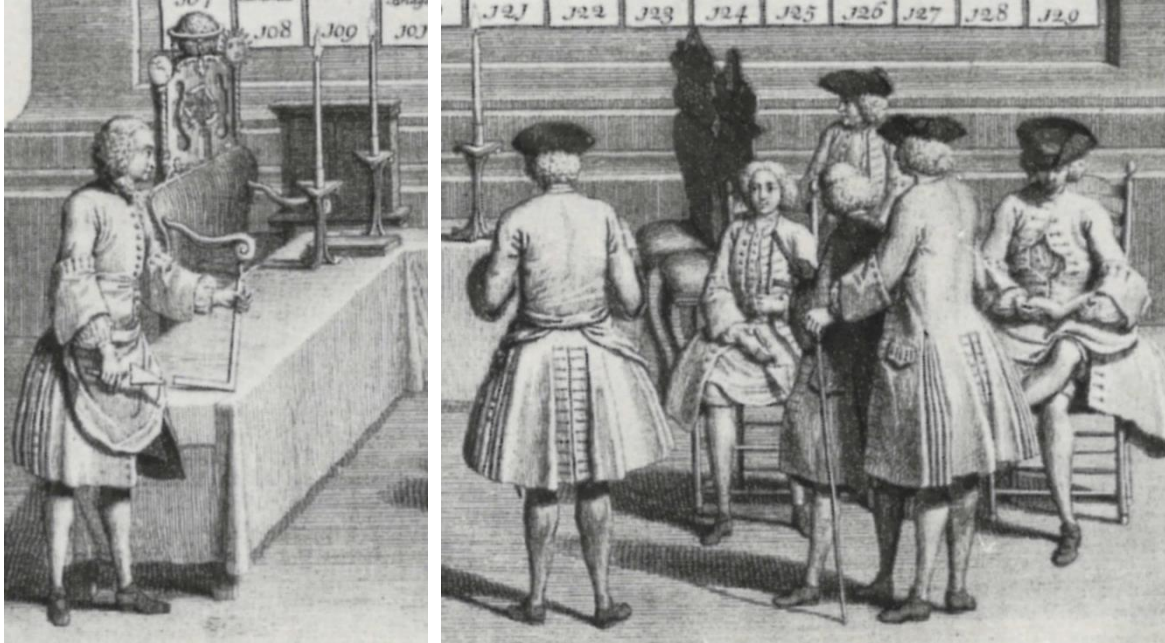
It was not large, but on estimation 14 to 16 feet wide. 10 to 12 aprons hung on coat hooks on one of the walls, neatly tied up with goat's leather gloves. And the aprons hung with their flaps down, with a hole in the flap to tie it upward.

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 candles²⁹⁴

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 *Céramonies et coutumes religieuses 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'Observatoire* 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

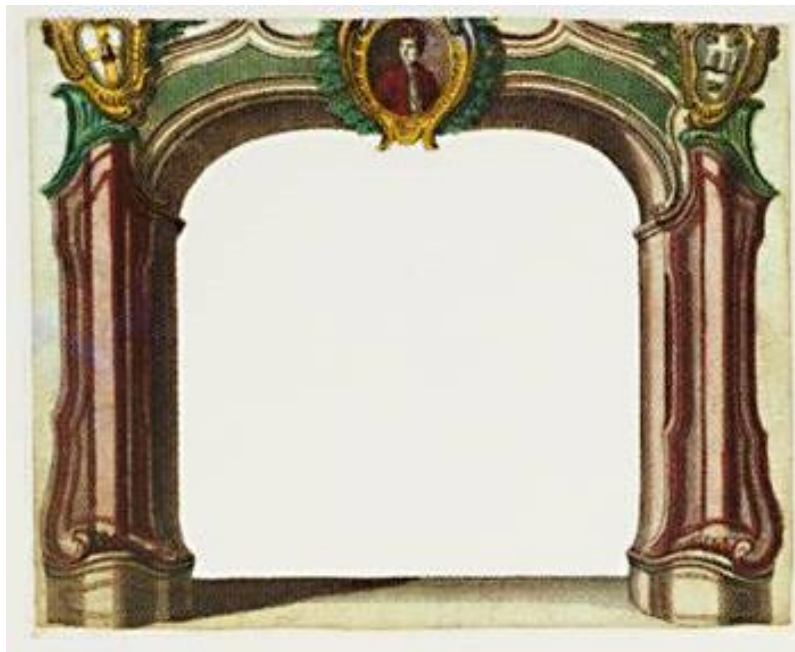


Fig. 2.70: Jeremias Wachsmuth (1711-1771), set piece of a miniature theatre, engraving with watercolours, ca. 1750. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague (postcard). Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

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-Maçons/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.

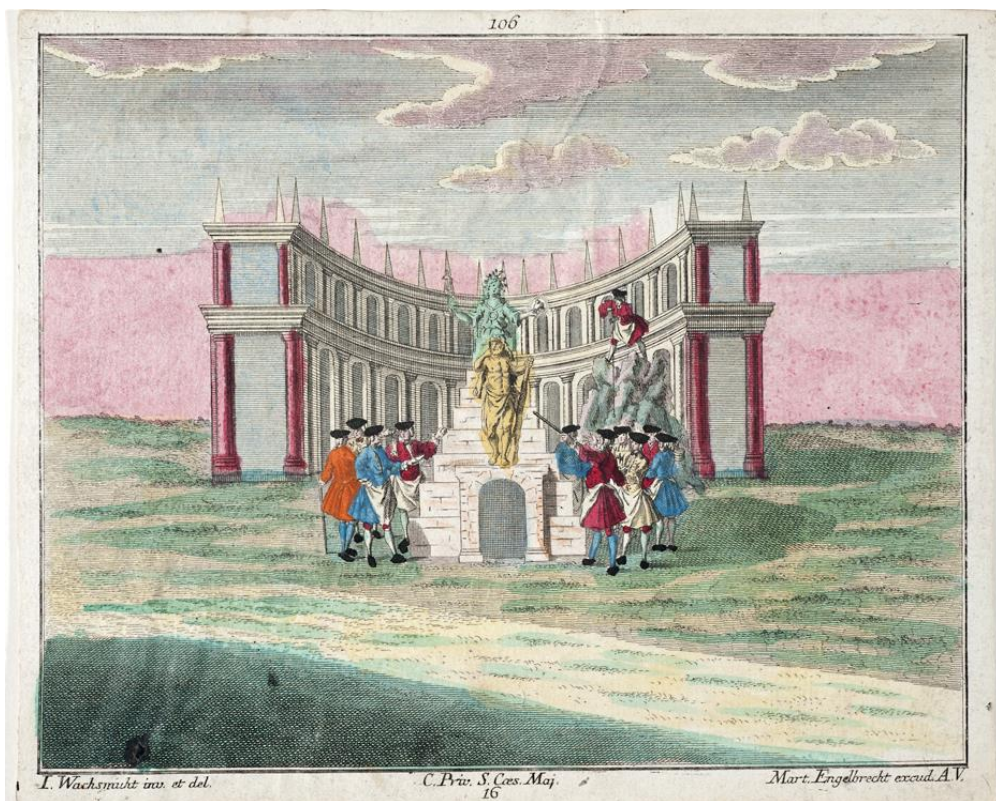


Fig. 2.75: Jeremias Wachsmuth (1711-1771), set piece of a miniature theatre (no. 106), showing freemasons in conversation, engraving with watercolours, ca. 1750. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 10043.06. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

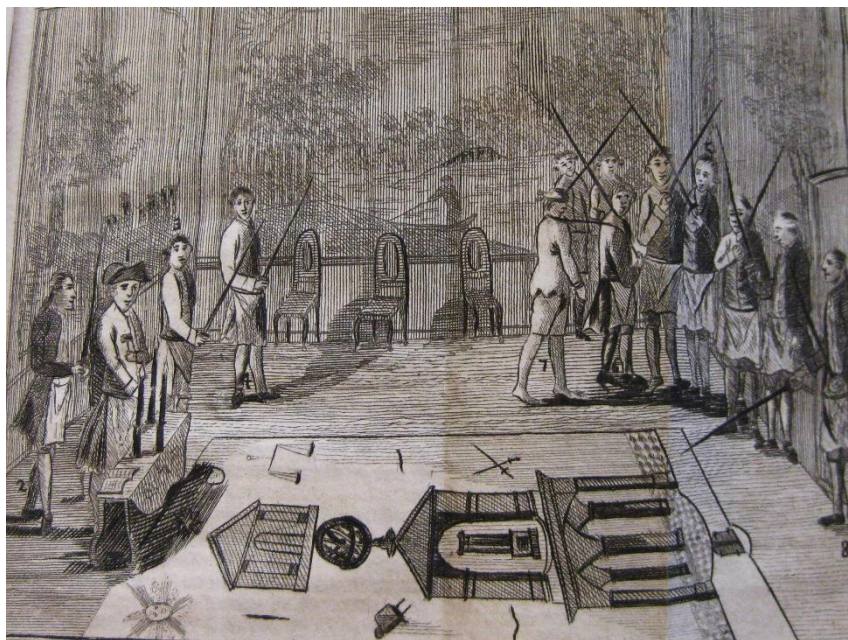


Fig. 2.76: Illustration in the Almanach der Vrye Metzelaren, 1782, p. 21. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 4F33-4F43. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

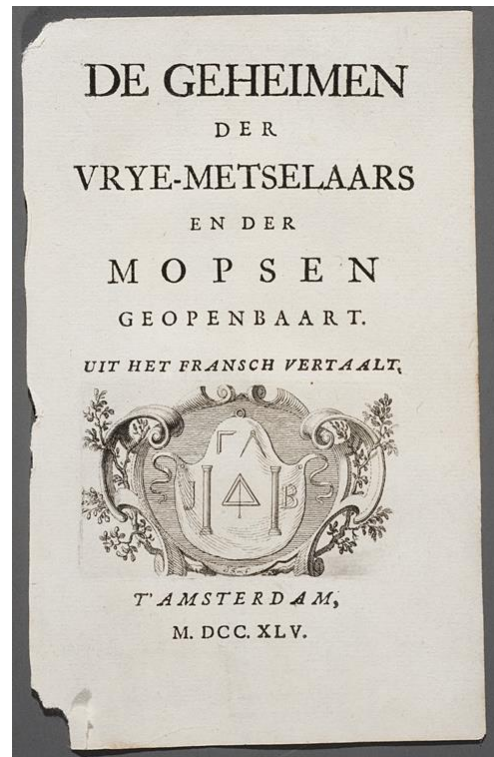
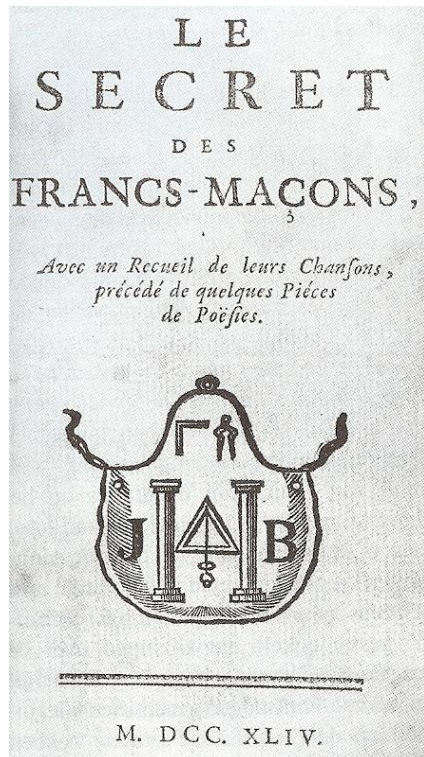


Fig. 2.77: Title page of *Le Secret des Francs-Maçons* (1744). Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 209A36. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

Fig. 2.78: Simon Fokke (1712-1784), title page of *De Geheimen der Vrye-Metseelaars 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.

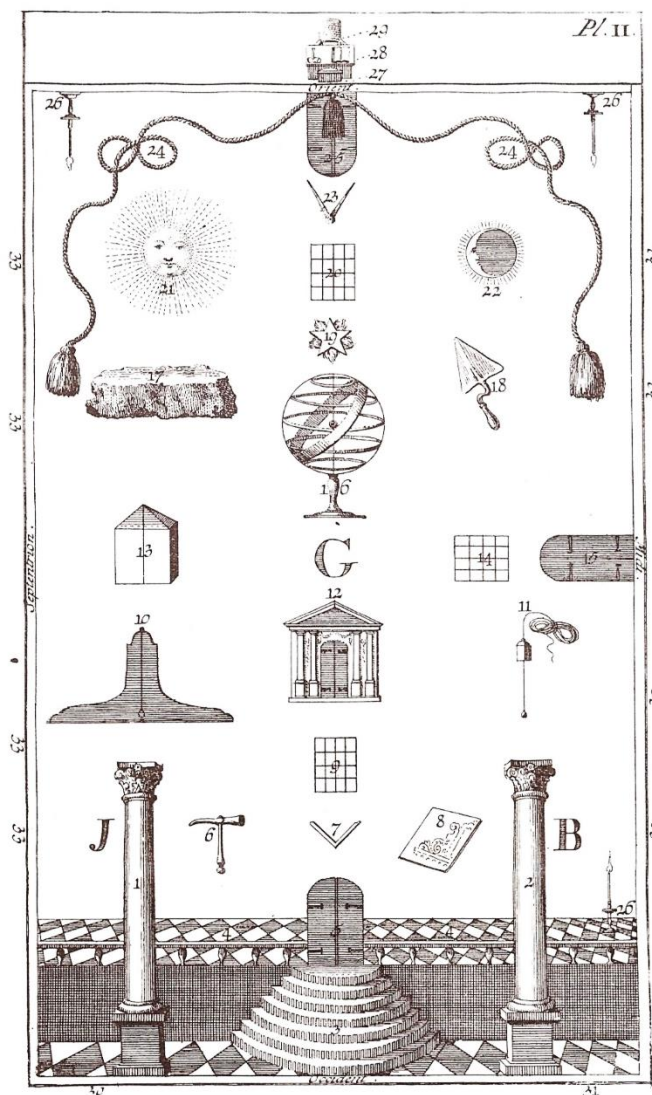
Answ.: Mosaic work (Inlaid with Stone, metal, glas, shells, etc, laid out as Bows and Flowers, so skilfully that everything seems to belong to one piece). A Tail-Star and cloth embroidered with gold.

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

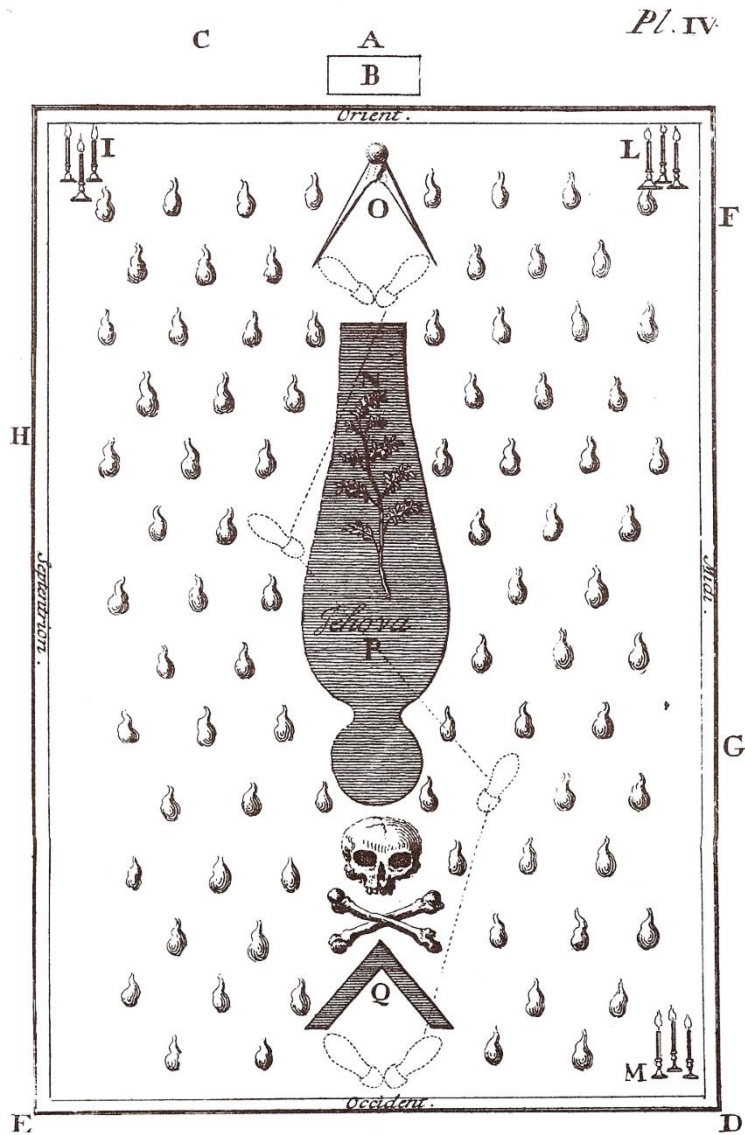
The ban on freemasonry prohibited official lodge activity between 1735 and circa 1744, after which *De Geheimen der Vrye-Metzelaars* was published in 1745.³¹⁴ It was possibly published by Jean Rousset de Missy (1686-1762), a well-known publicist and the first Worshipful Master of lodge La Paix in Amsterdam.³¹⁵ 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. | 13. Vierkante Steen; van | 27. Tabouret. |
| 2. De Kolom Boaz. | boven spits. | 28. Tafel. |
| 3. De 7 treden om naar | 14. Zuider-Venfter. | 29. Armfoel van den |
| den Tempel op te | 15. Zuider-Poort. | Groot-Meeſter. |
| klimmen. | 16. De Spheer. | 30. Plaats van den eerſten |
| 4. De Molaiſche Vloer. | 17. De Ruuwe Steen. | Opzigtcr. |
| 5. Weſter-Poort. | 18. De Troffel. | 31. Plaats van den twee- |
| 6. De Hamer. | 19. De vlammenſte Sterre. | den Opzigtcr. |
| 7. De Winkelhaak. | 20. Oofter-Venfter. | 32. 32. 32. Plaats van de |
| 8. Plank om op te te- | 21. De Zon. | Meeſters. |
| kenen. | 22. De Maan. | 33. 33. 33. Plaats der |
| 9. Weſter-Venfter. | 23. De Paſſer. | Leerling - Gezellen , |
| 10. Waterpas. | 24. De Kwaif. | uitgezondert den |
| 11. Pasloodt. | 25. Oofter-Poort. | laaitit-aangenomenen, |
| 12. Portaal van de Binne-
Kamer, | 26. 26. 26. De drie Lich-
ten. | |

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 *Tooth 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. | I. Ooſter-Lichten. |
| B. Altaar. | L. Zuider-Lichten. |
| C. Plaats van den Orateur. | M. Weſter-Lichten. |
| D. Plaats van den eerſten Opzigter. | N. Tak van Acacia. |
| E. Plaats van den tweeden Opzigter. | O. Paſſer. |
| F. G. H. Plaatſen van de drie Broe-
ders met de papiere rol. | 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 versions³¹⁷, 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

Tab. 1.

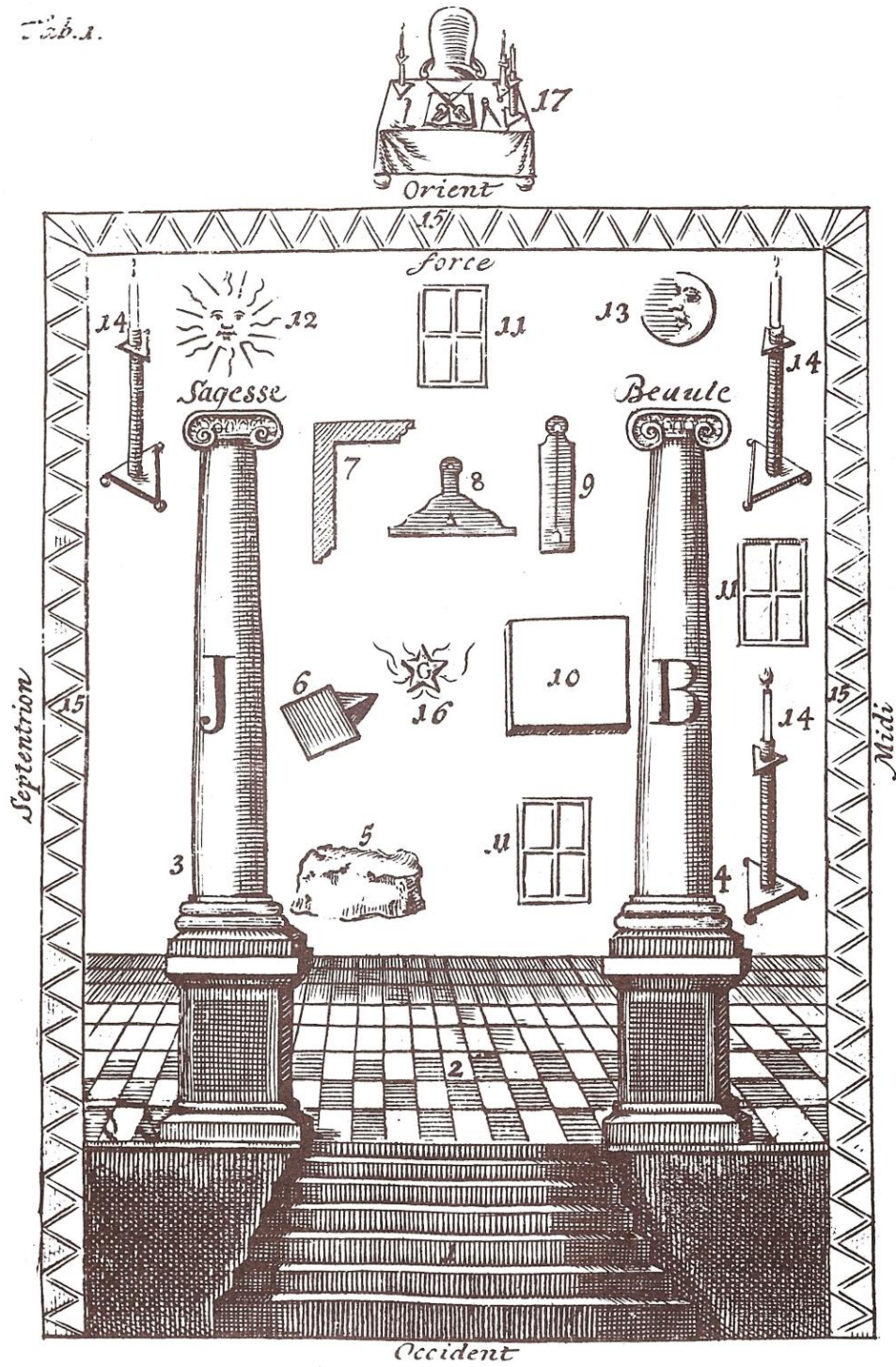


Fig. 2.82: Tracing board for the joint and Fellow-Craft degrees as illustrated in *De Metselaar ontmond of het recht geheim der Vrij Metselaaren ontdekt* (1753). Reproduced from: Thoth 23 (1972) Mr II-III, n. pag.

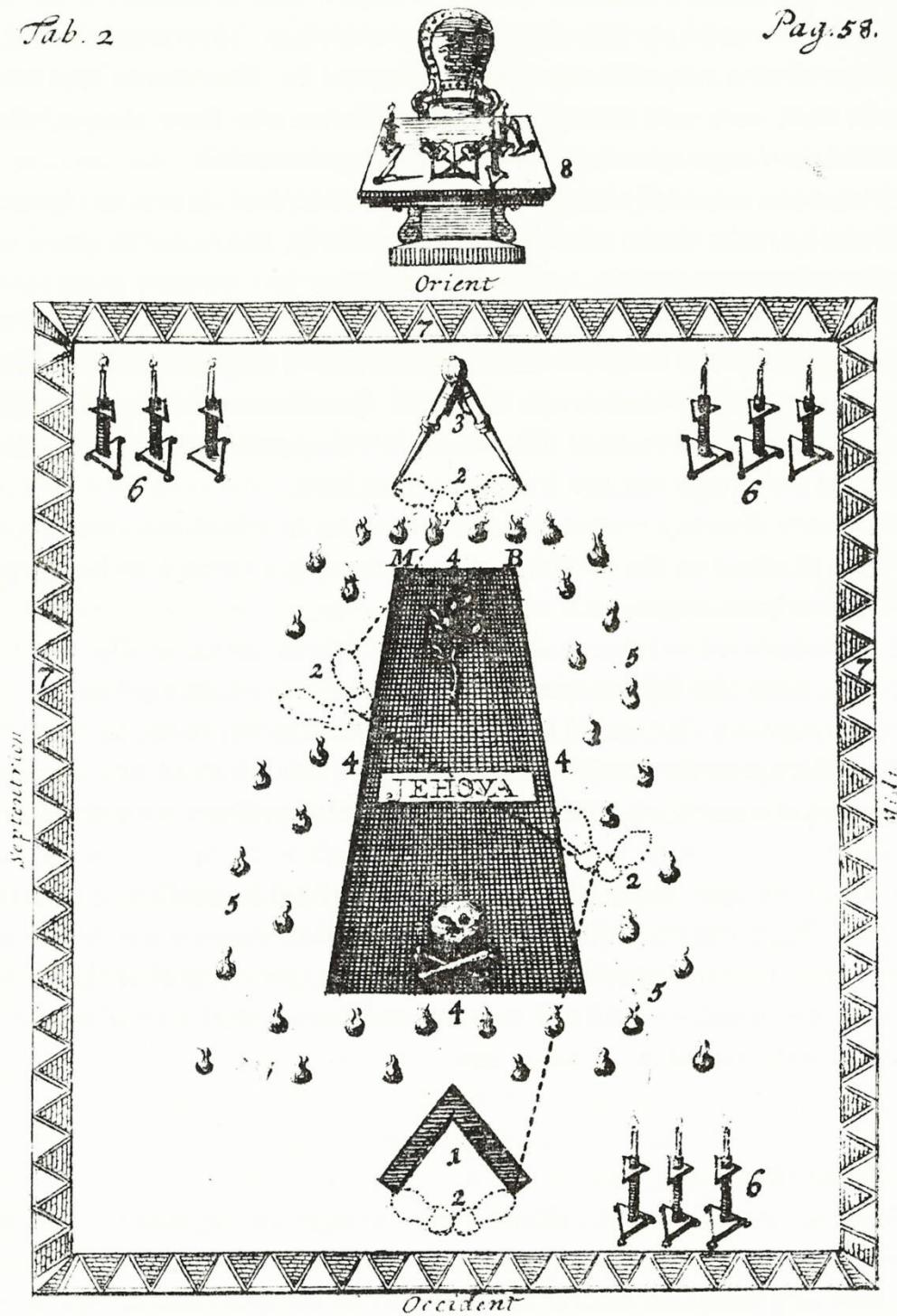


Fig. 2.83: Tracing Board for the Master's degree, as illustrated in *De Metselaar ontmond of het recht geheim der Vrij Metselaaren ontdekt* (1753). Reproduced from: Thoth 23 (1972) Mr. II-III, n. pag.

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 Glory³³³ 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 [= acacia³³⁵ 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]

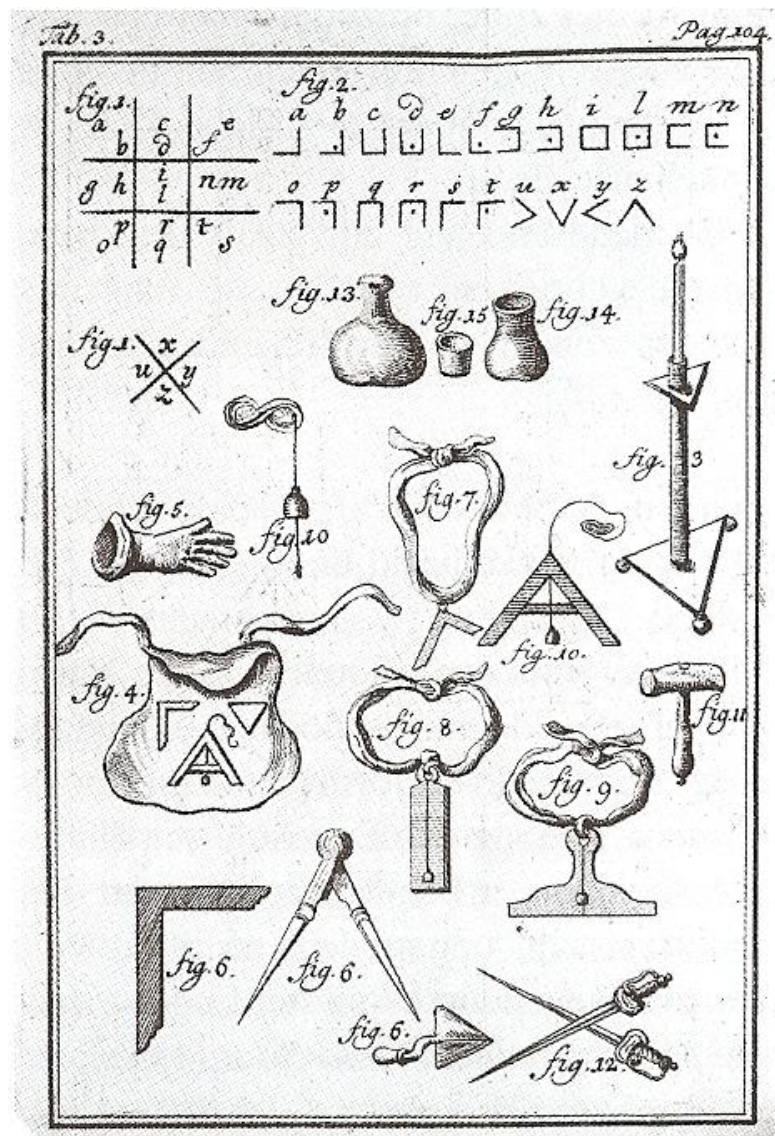


Fig. 2.84: The furniture of a lodge ('huisraad der loge'), as illustrated in *De Metselaar ontmond of het recht geheim der Vrij Metselaaren ontdekt* (1753). Reproduced from: Thoth 23 (1972) Mr. II-III, n. pag.

[...] 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 explanation.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-Bibliothèque de la Grande Loge de France, Paris. Reproduced from: Van de Sande 1995, p. 96.

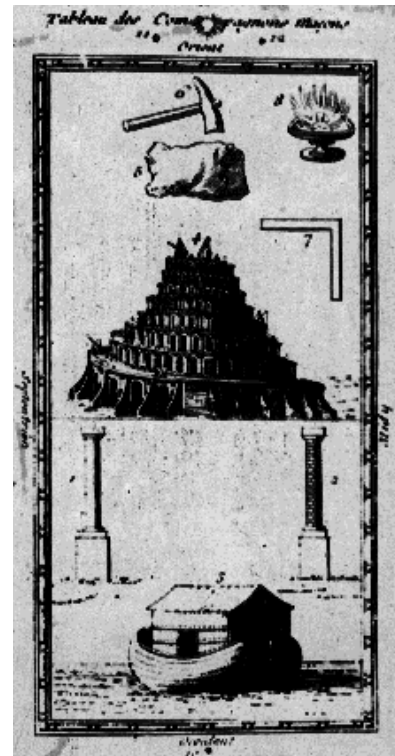


Fig. 2.87: Seal of the La Bien Aimée, 1755. Reproduced from: Robbmond 1985, p. 28.

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 canopy³⁴⁴; 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 Lustres at f16:- 30:--:--
And from Christ: Freijsler for 3 Cristal crowns [= chandeliers] 101:10:--³⁴⁸

Daniel Houzel 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 box of 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 ¼ 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 Gavel	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 Gavel 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 1770³⁵⁹:

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.

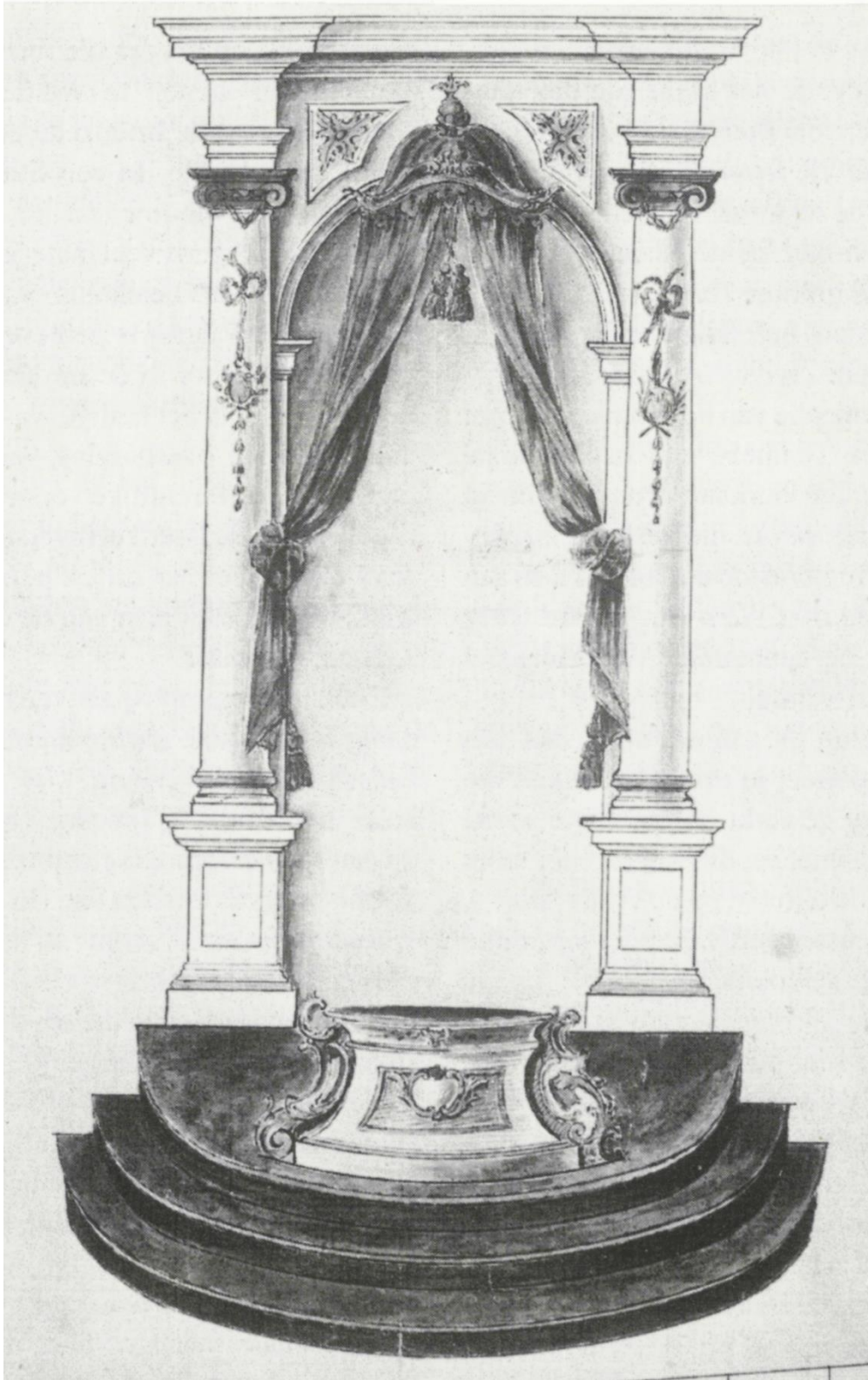


Fig. 2.89: Design for a throne for lodge La Vertu in Leiden, ca. 1769, pencil drawing. Archive of lodge La Vertu, Leiden. Reproduced from: Pott 1957, p. 143.

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 profound 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 Hooegeven 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 La Vertu
 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

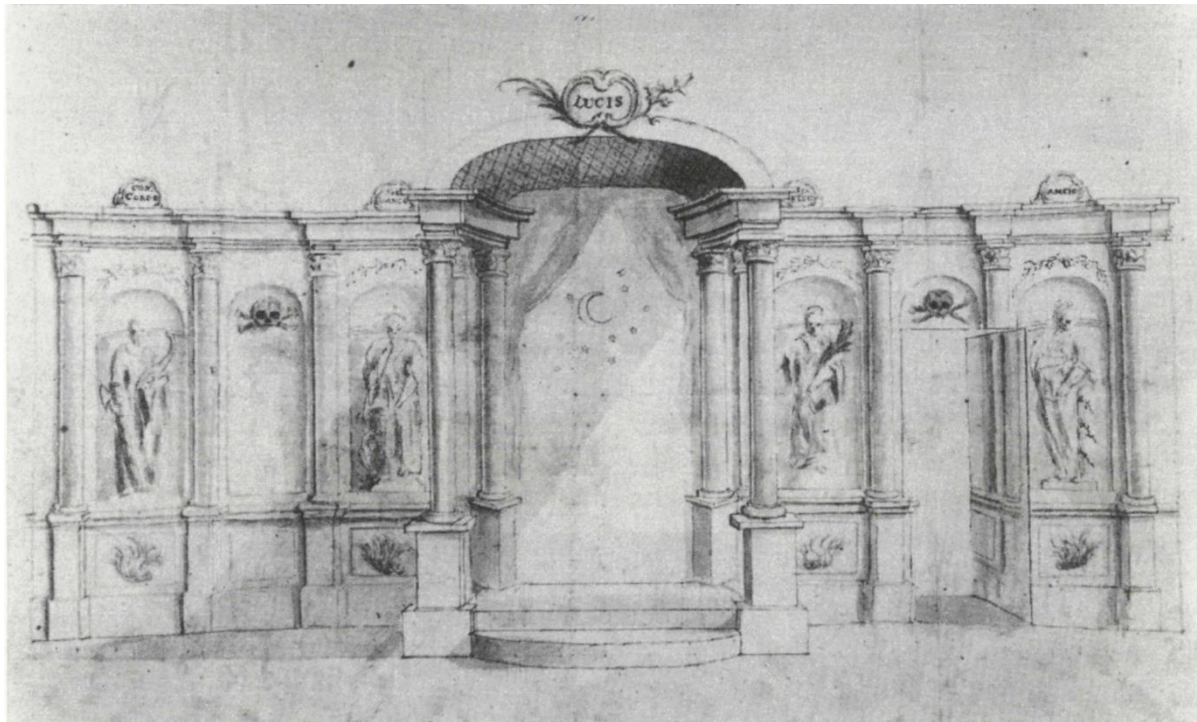


Fig. 2.90: Design for a throne of lodge La Vertu in Leiden, ca. 1775, pencil drawing. Archive of lodge La Vertu, on loan to the Leiden City Archive. Reproduced from: Pott 1961 B, p. 153.

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;

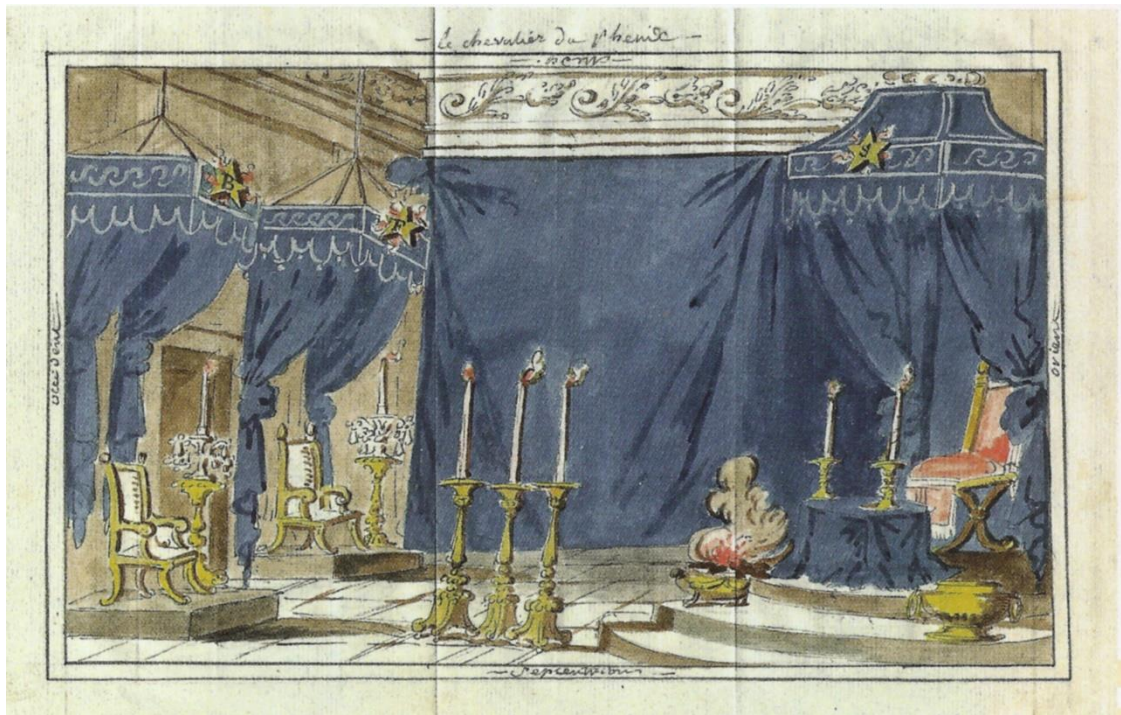
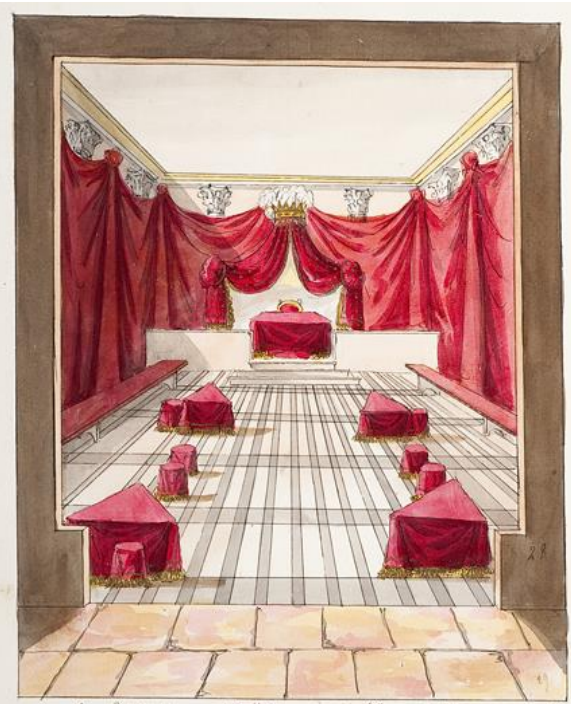
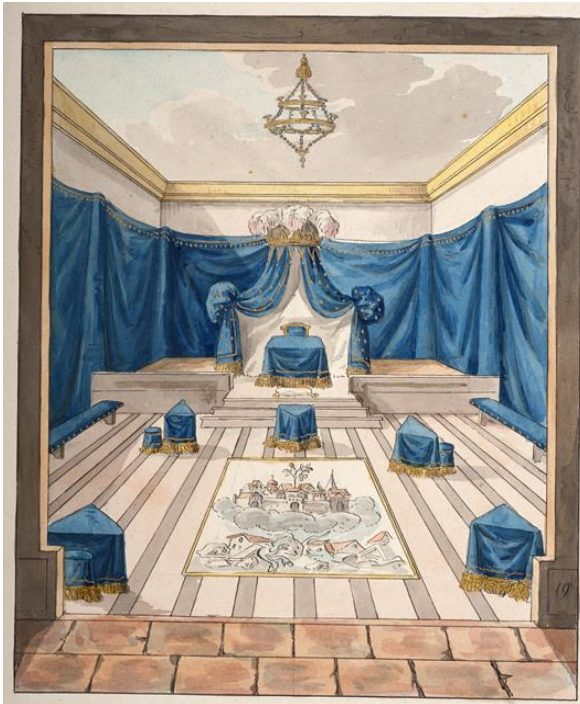


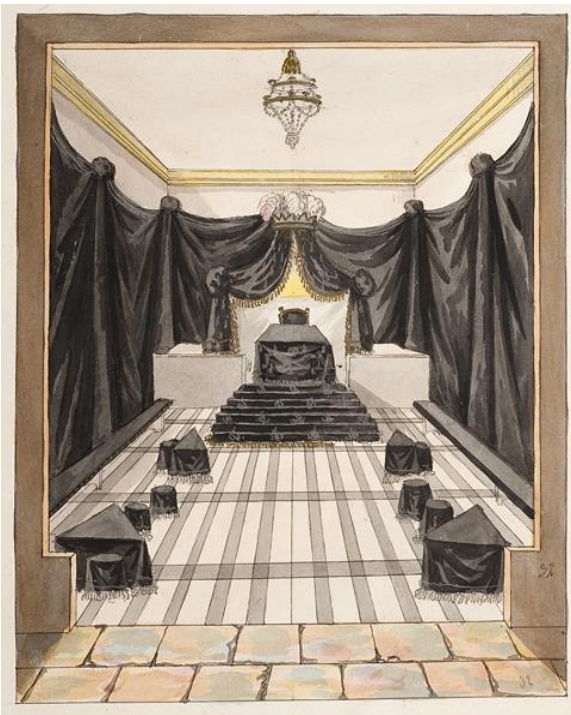
Fig. 2.93: Lodge for the degree of Chevalier du Phenix as illustrated in *Maçonnerie des Hommes*, ca. 1782-1792, watercolour. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 10500. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.



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 arm³⁸⁴;
- 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 Prussische 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.

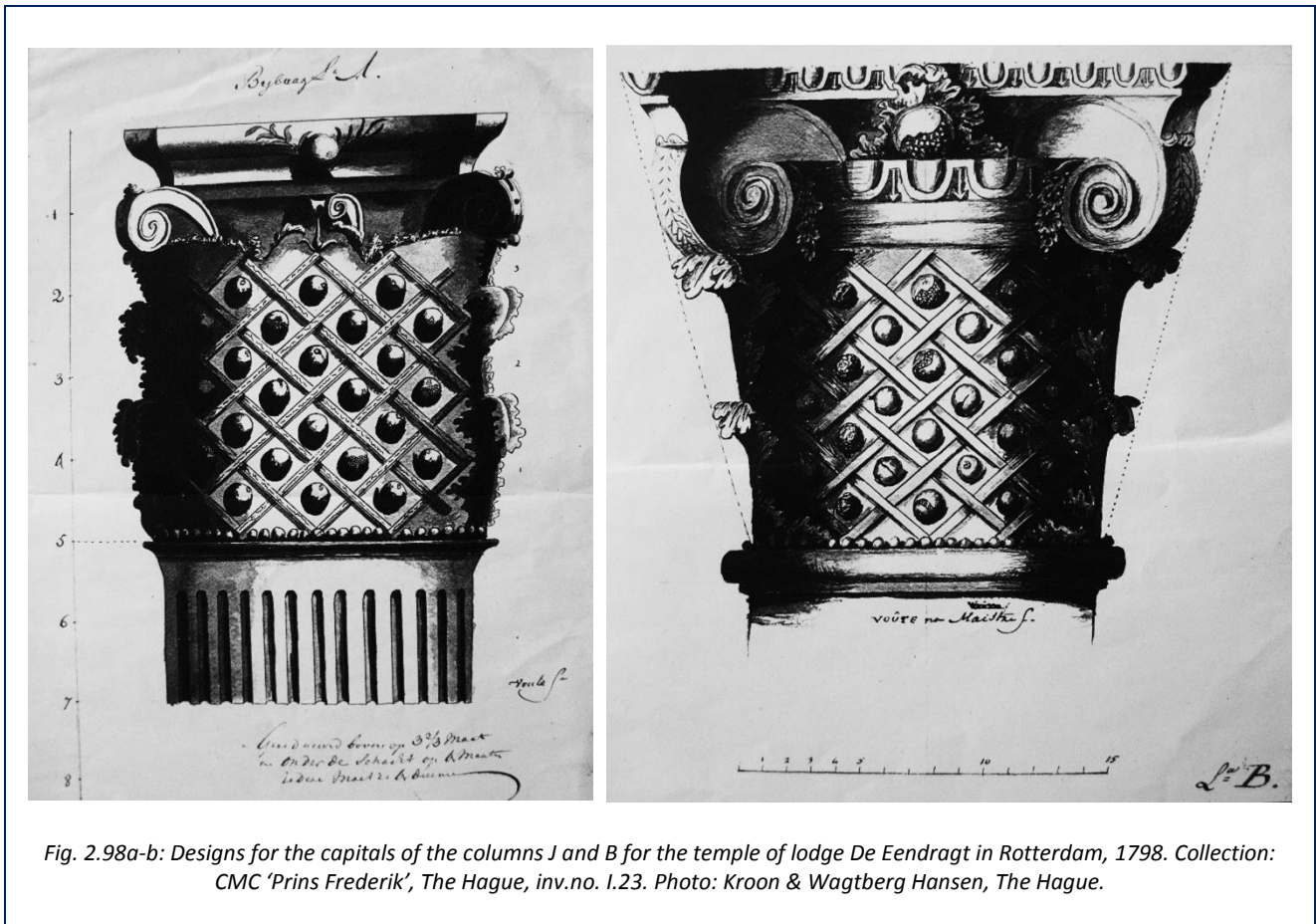


Fig. 2.98a-b: Designs for the capitals of the columns J and B for the temple of lodge De Eendragt in Rotterdam, 1798. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 1.23. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

[...] 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 Zaubrerflöte', 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, staves 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 gold 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 3rd degree
 - 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 2.1: 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 Worshipful 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	<u>15.15.</u>
Amounting all these invoices together to	f 1207. 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.--

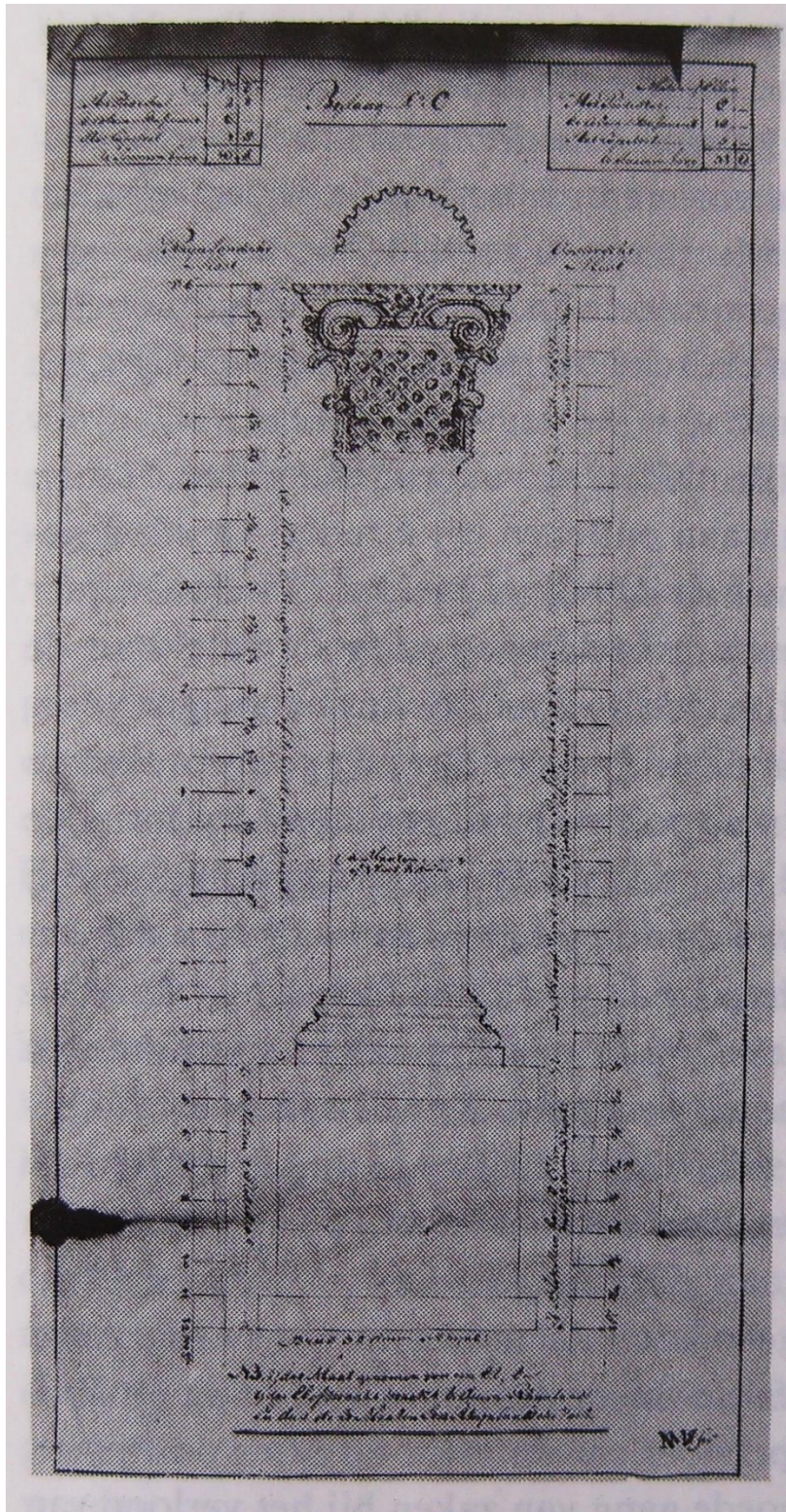


Fig. 2.99: Design for the columns J and B for the temple of lodge De Eendragt in Rotterdam, 1798. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. I.23. Reproduced from: Thoth 35 (184) III, p. 69.

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 gates⁴⁰⁵, 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. 1.23. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

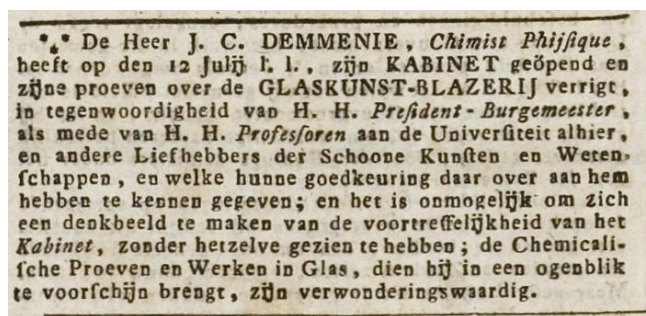


Fig. 2.100b: Announcement of the work of J.C. Demmenie, chemist and glass artist, in the *Leydse Courant*, 21-7-1820.
Collection: Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, Leiden. Reproduced from: leiden.courant.nu.

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 & Wagberg 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 interpreted 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 loosely.

■ *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 darkness [= 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 darkness, 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, saffron 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 and 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.

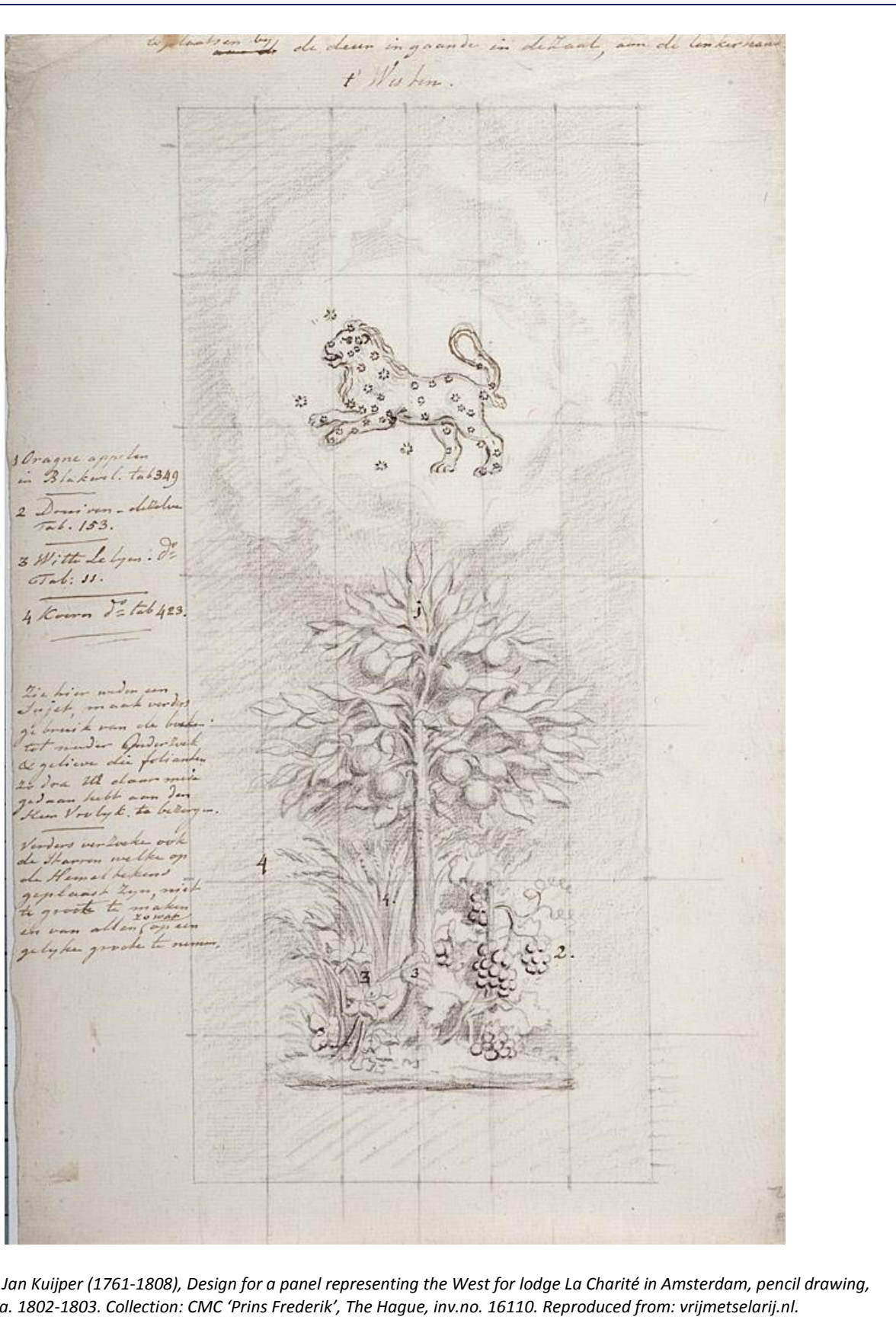


Fig. 2.103: Jan Kuijper (1761-1808), Design for a panel representing the West for lodge La Charité in Amsterdam, pencil drawing, ca. 1802-1803. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 16110. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

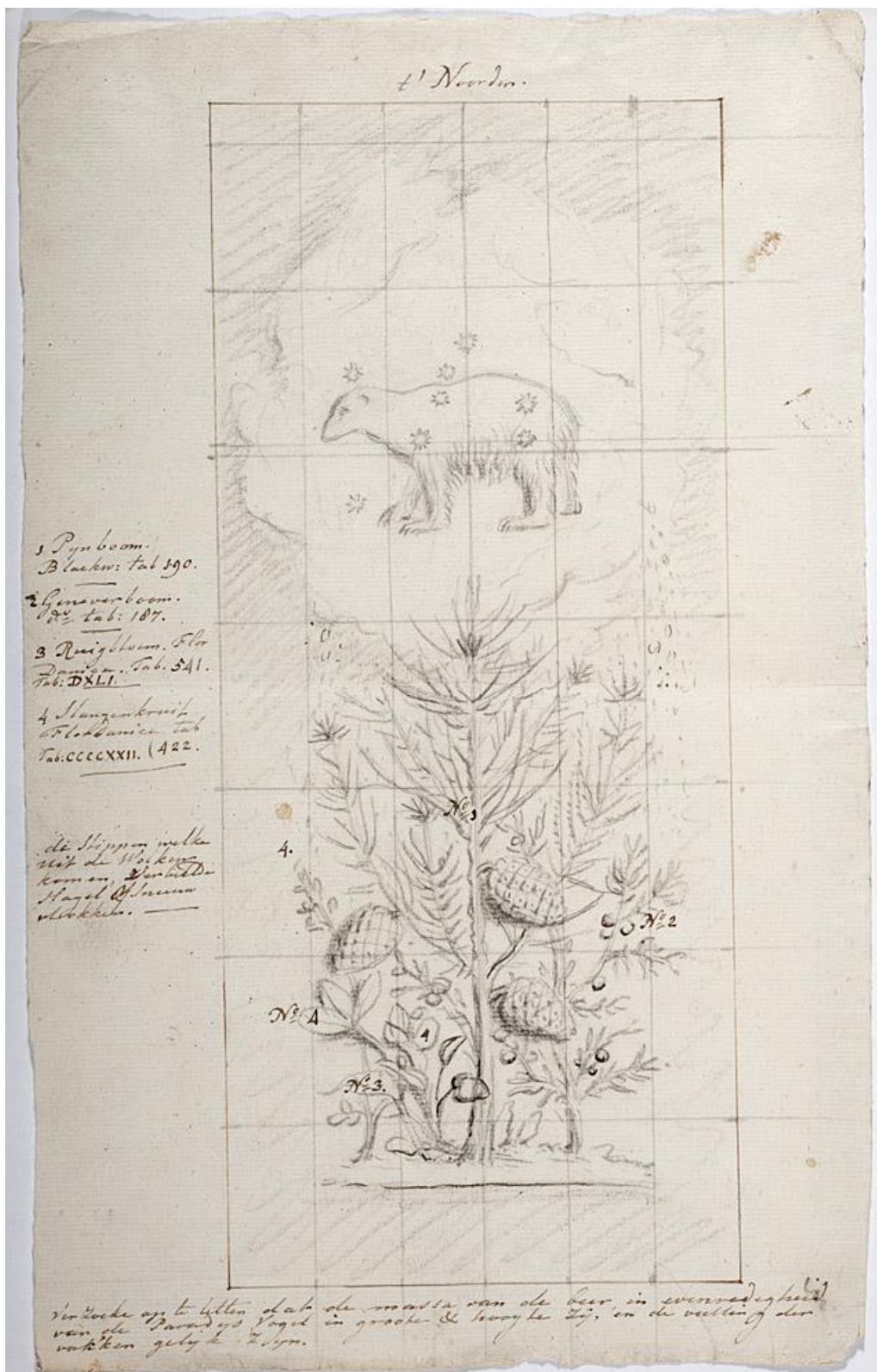


Fig. 2.104: Jan Kuijper (1761-1808), Design for a panel representing the North for lodge La Charité in Amsterdam, pencil drawing, ca. 1802-1803. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 16110. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.



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.

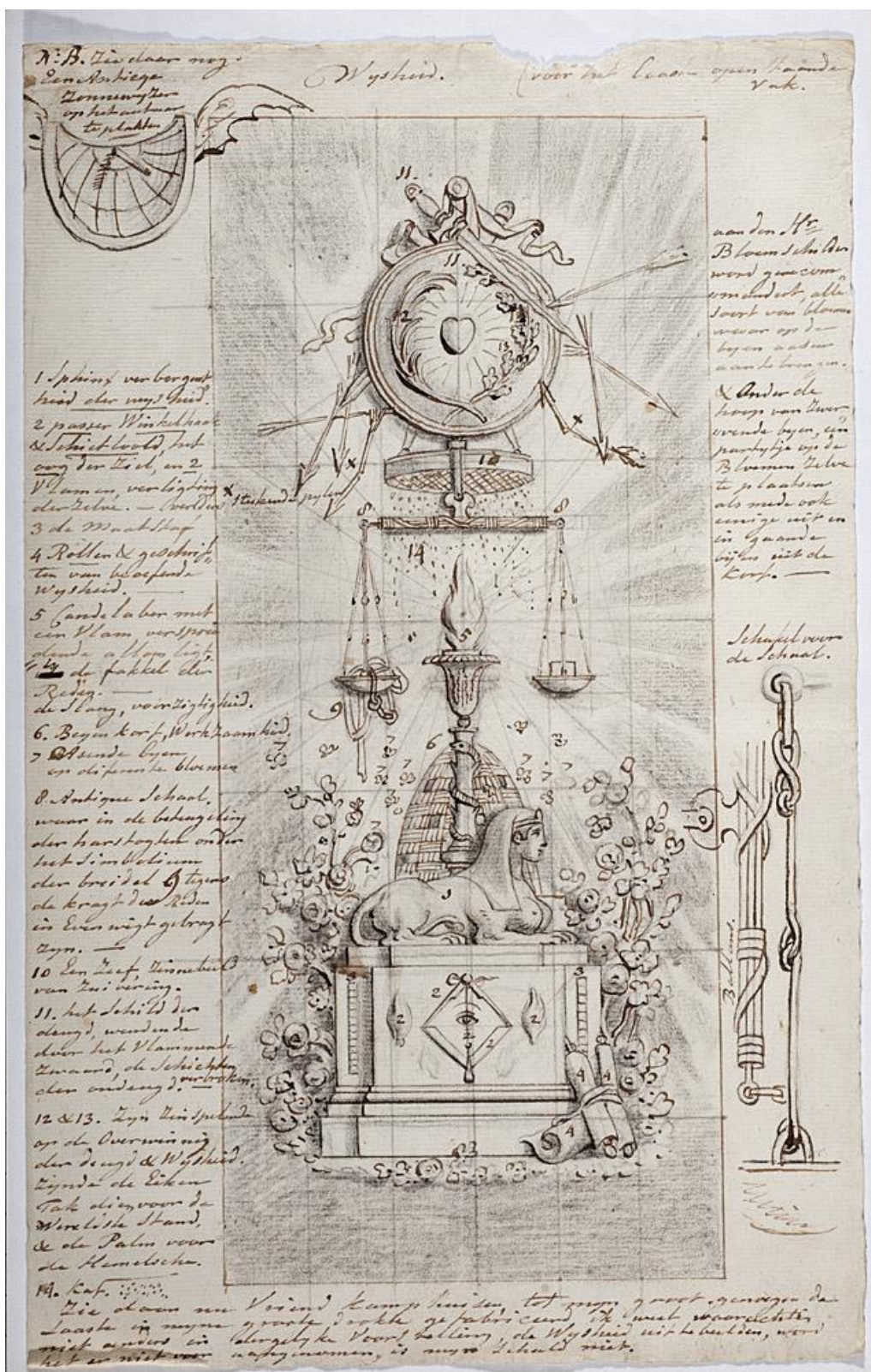


Fig. 2.106: Jan Kuijper (1761-1808), Design for a panel representing Wisdom for lodge La Charité in Amsterdam, pencil drawing, ca. 1802-1803. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 16110. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

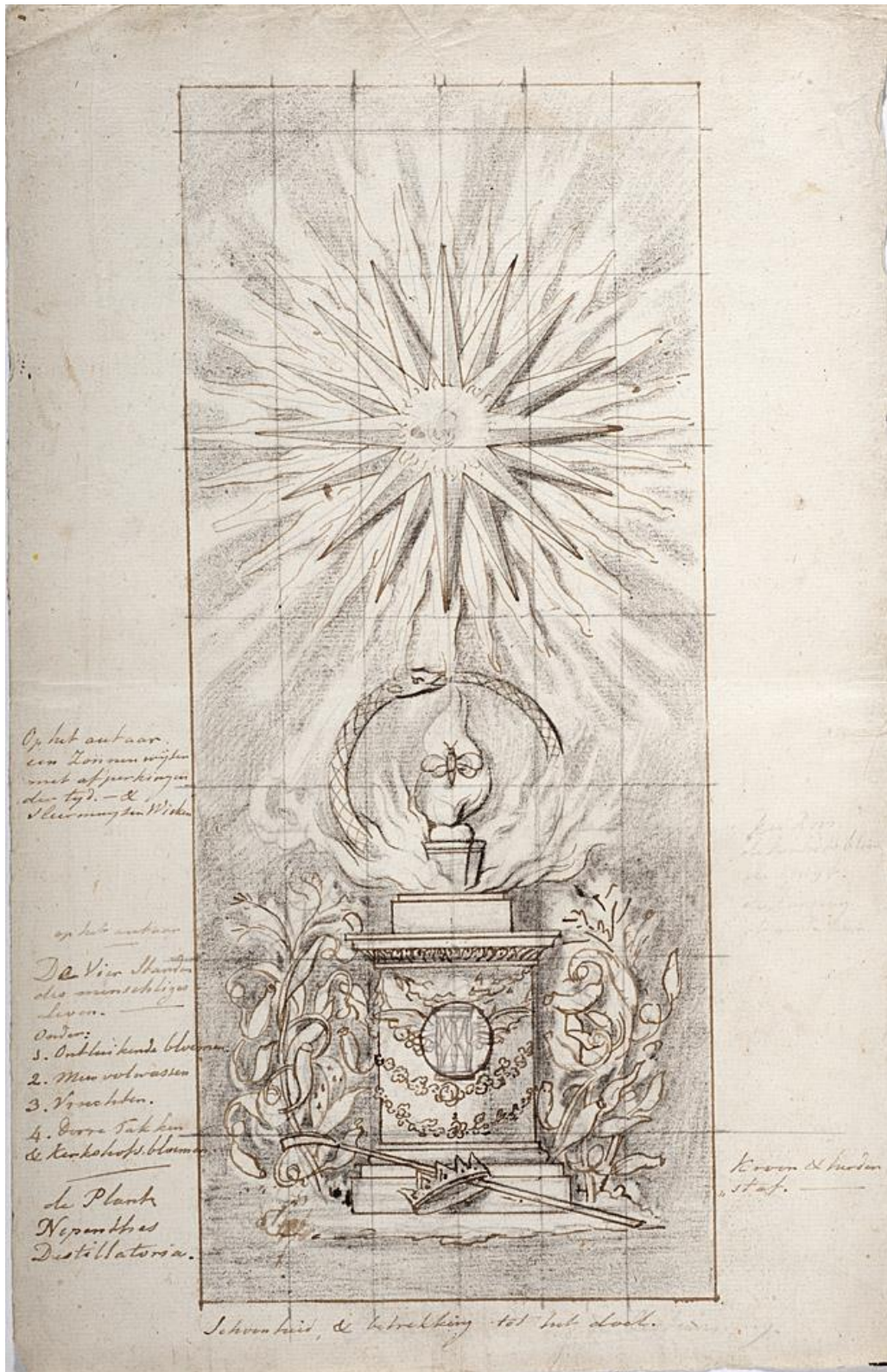


Fig. 2.107: Jan Kuijper (1761-1808), Design for a panel representing Beauty for lodge La Charité in Amsterdam, pencil drawing, ca. 1802-1803. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 16110. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.



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 shepherd. 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 *Rituaal 1812* described the lodge for the Apprentice degree⁴³¹, 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. 1810-1813⁴³⁶) 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 Vreedenburch (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

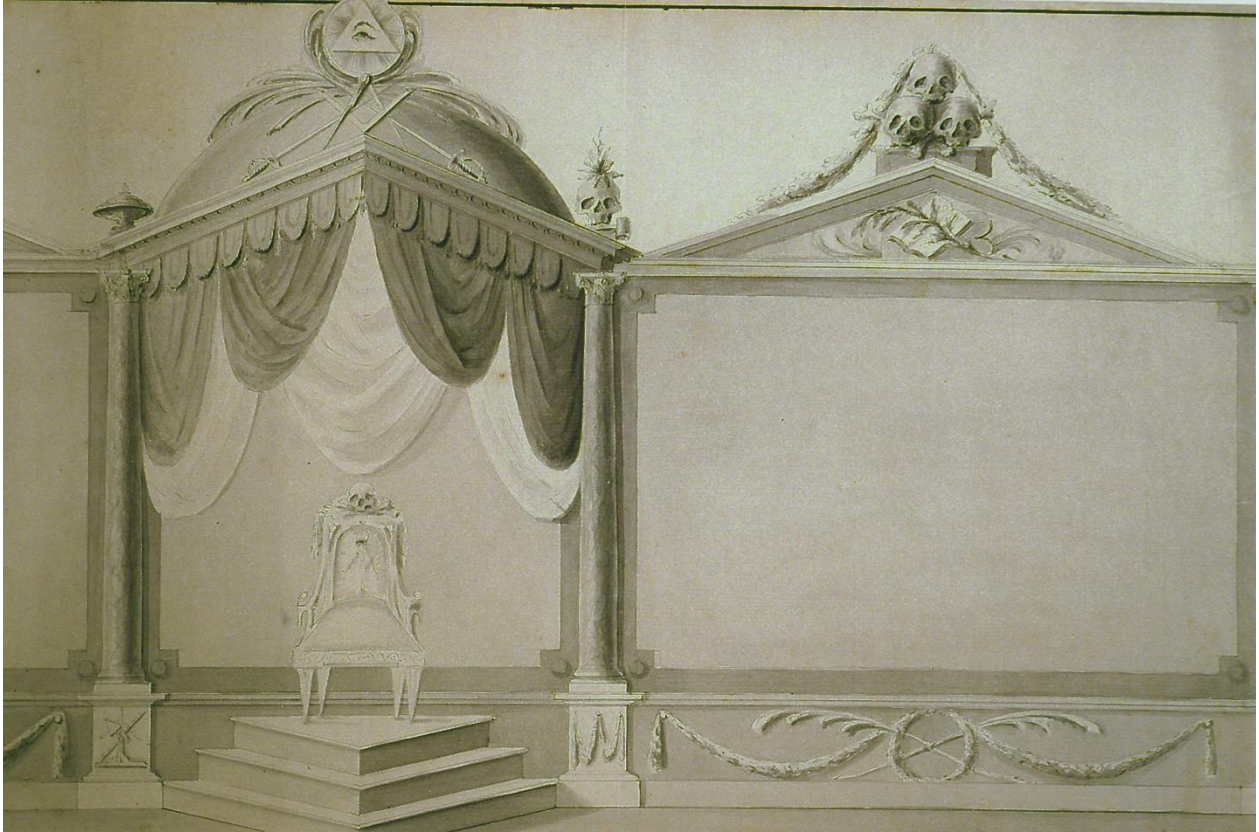


Fig. 2.109: Design for a throne, attributed to lodge Frédéric Royale in Rotterdam, ca. 1813-1838, watercolour. Collection: Stadsarchief Rotterdam, inv.no. XVIII 420.00.02.01. Reproduced from: collecties.stadsarchief.rotterdam.nl.

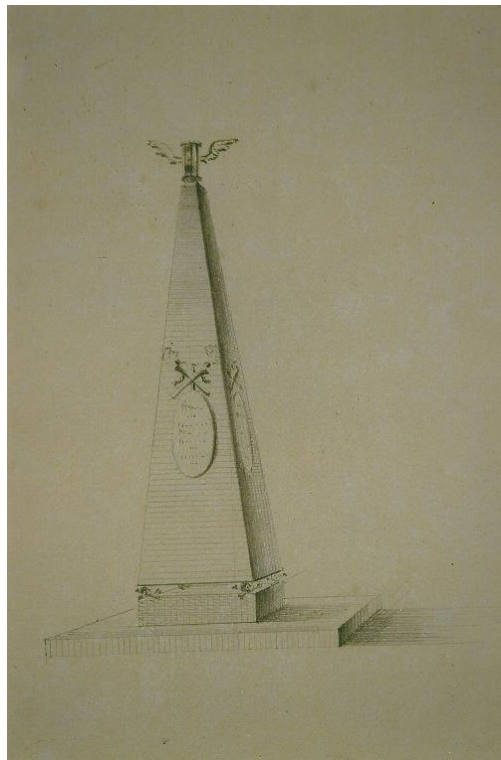


Fig. 2.110: Design for a grave monument, attributed to lodge De Eendragt in Rotterdam, ca. 1813-1838, watercolour. Collection: Stadsarchief Rotterdam, inv.no. XVIII 420.00.02.01. Reproduced from: collecties.stadsarchief.rotterdam.nl.

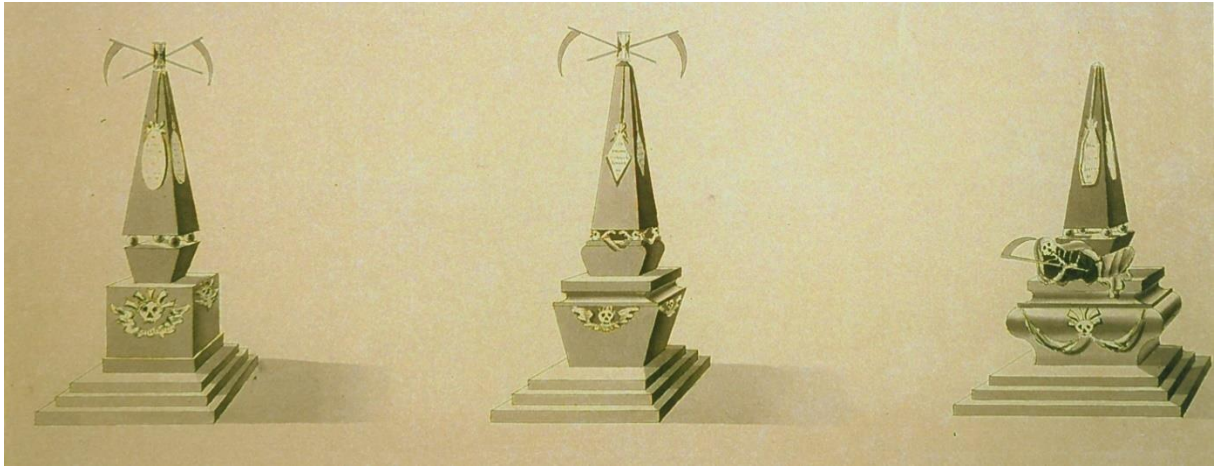


Fig. 2.111: Designs for grave monuments, attributed to lodge De Eendragt in Rotterdam, ca. 1813-1838, watercolour. Collection: Stadsarchief Rotterdam, inv.no. XVIII 420.00.02.01. Reproduced from: collecties.stadsarchief.rotterdam.nl.

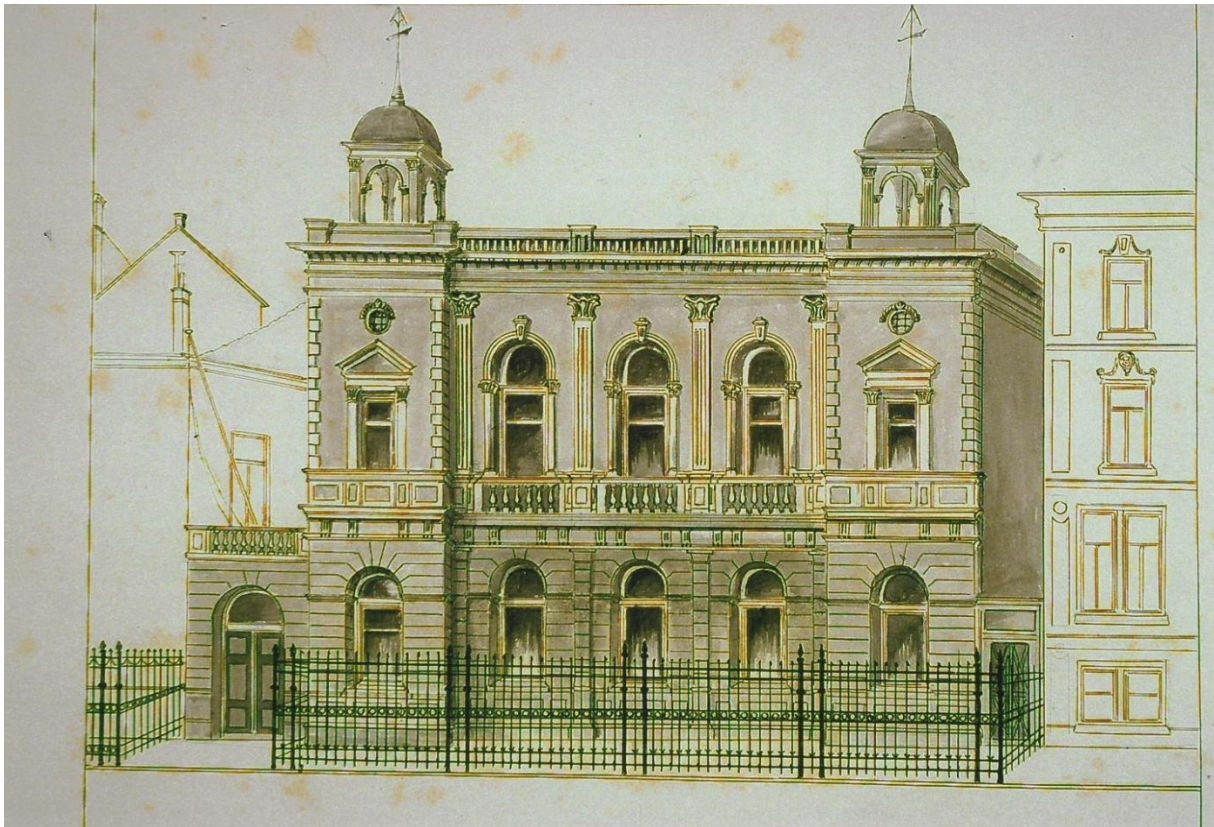
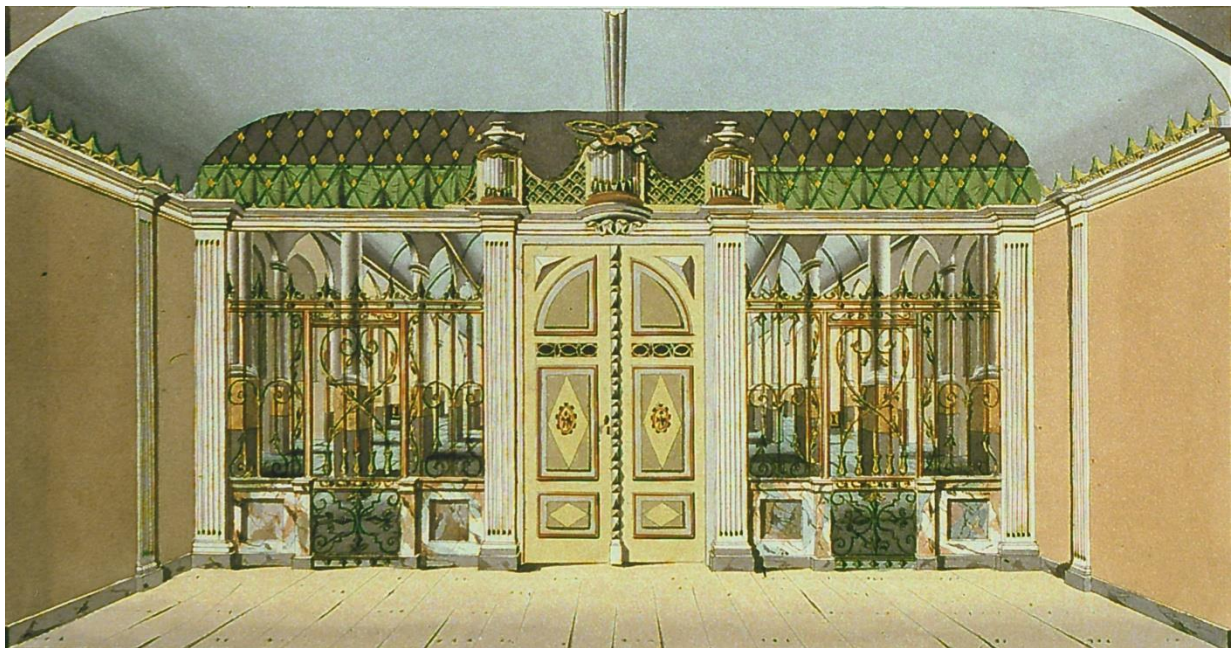


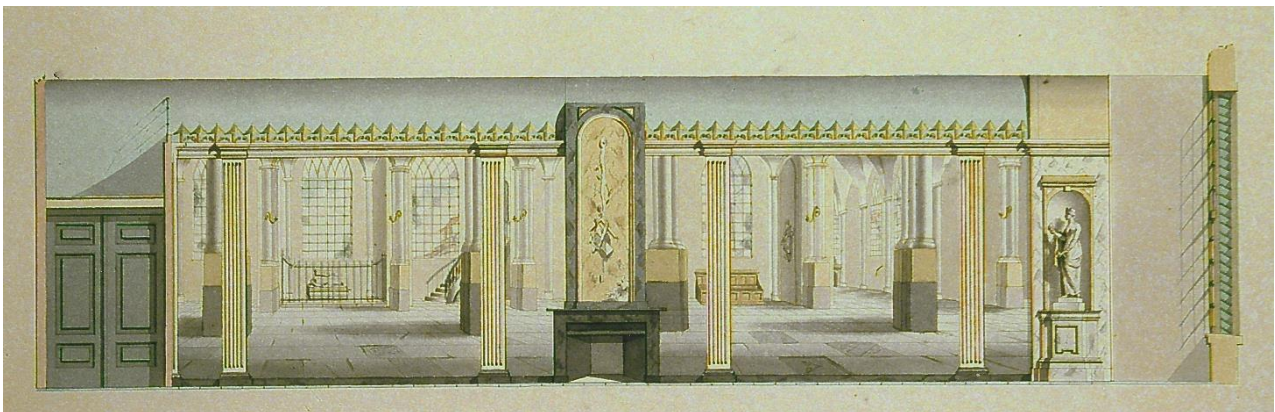
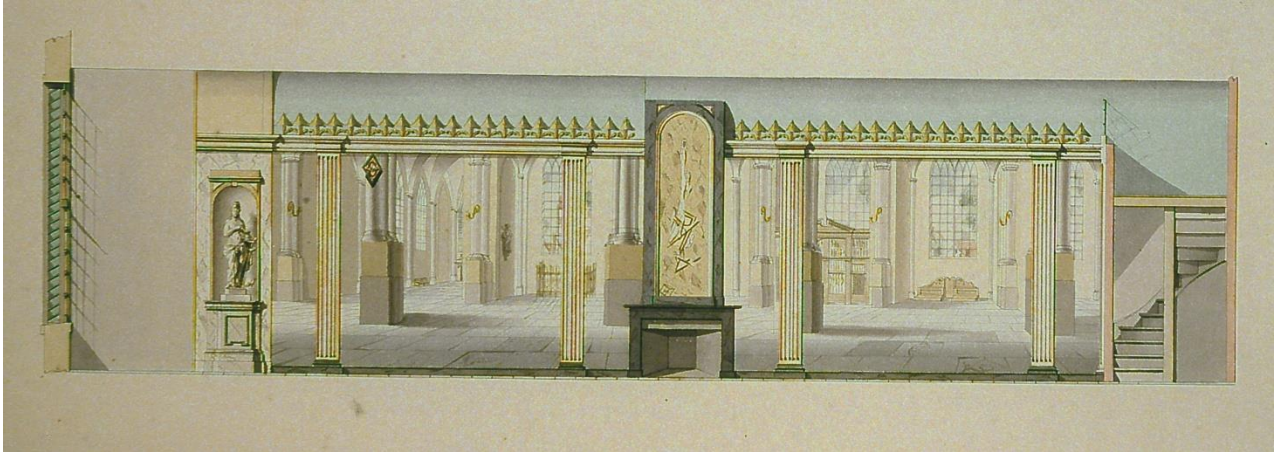
Fig. 2.112: Facade of lodge Frédéric Royale in the Eendrachtstraat in Rotterdam, undated (ca. 1900), watercolour. Collection: Stadsarchief Rotterdam, inv.no. XVIII 420.00.02.01. Reproduced from: collecties.stadsarchief.rotterdam.nl.

section of a wall, suggesting the wall was to be divided by pillars carrying a tympanum. This one is decorated with either a book (bible) or tablets (10 commandments) and a branch, and topped by three 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 Nederlandse 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.

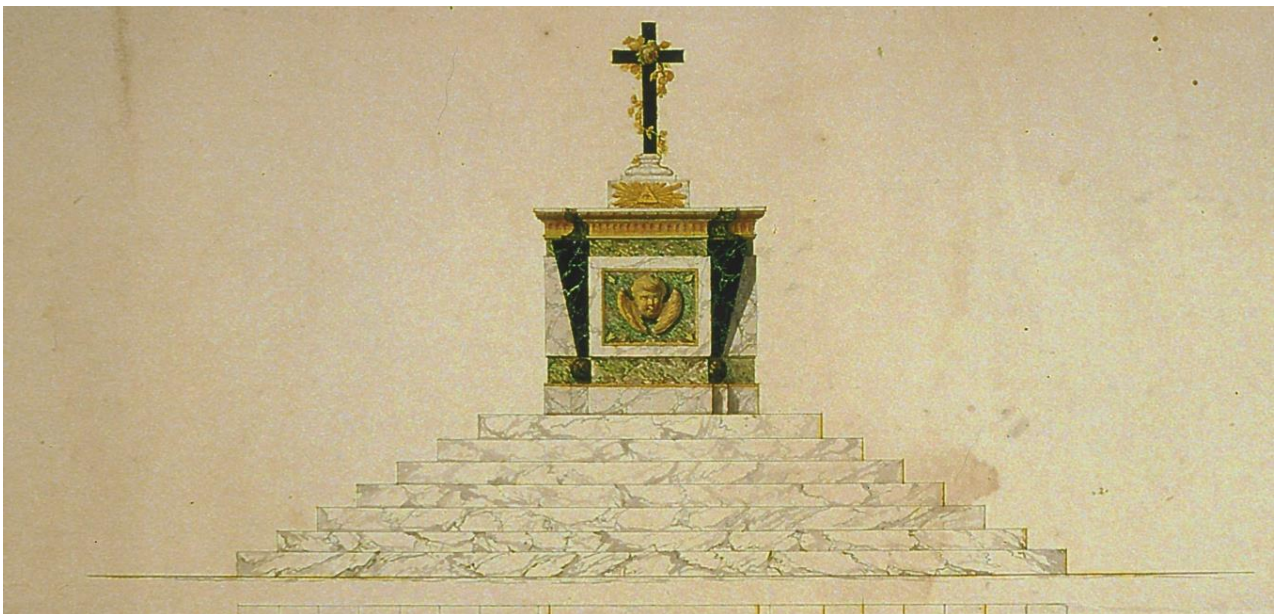


Fig. 2.115 (detail): Design for an altar of the Rose Croix degree, attributed to lodge De Eendragt in Rotterdam, ca. 1820, watercolour. Collection: Stadsarchief Rotterdam, inv.no. XVIII 420.00.02.01. Reproduced from: collecties.stadsarchief.rotterdam.nl.

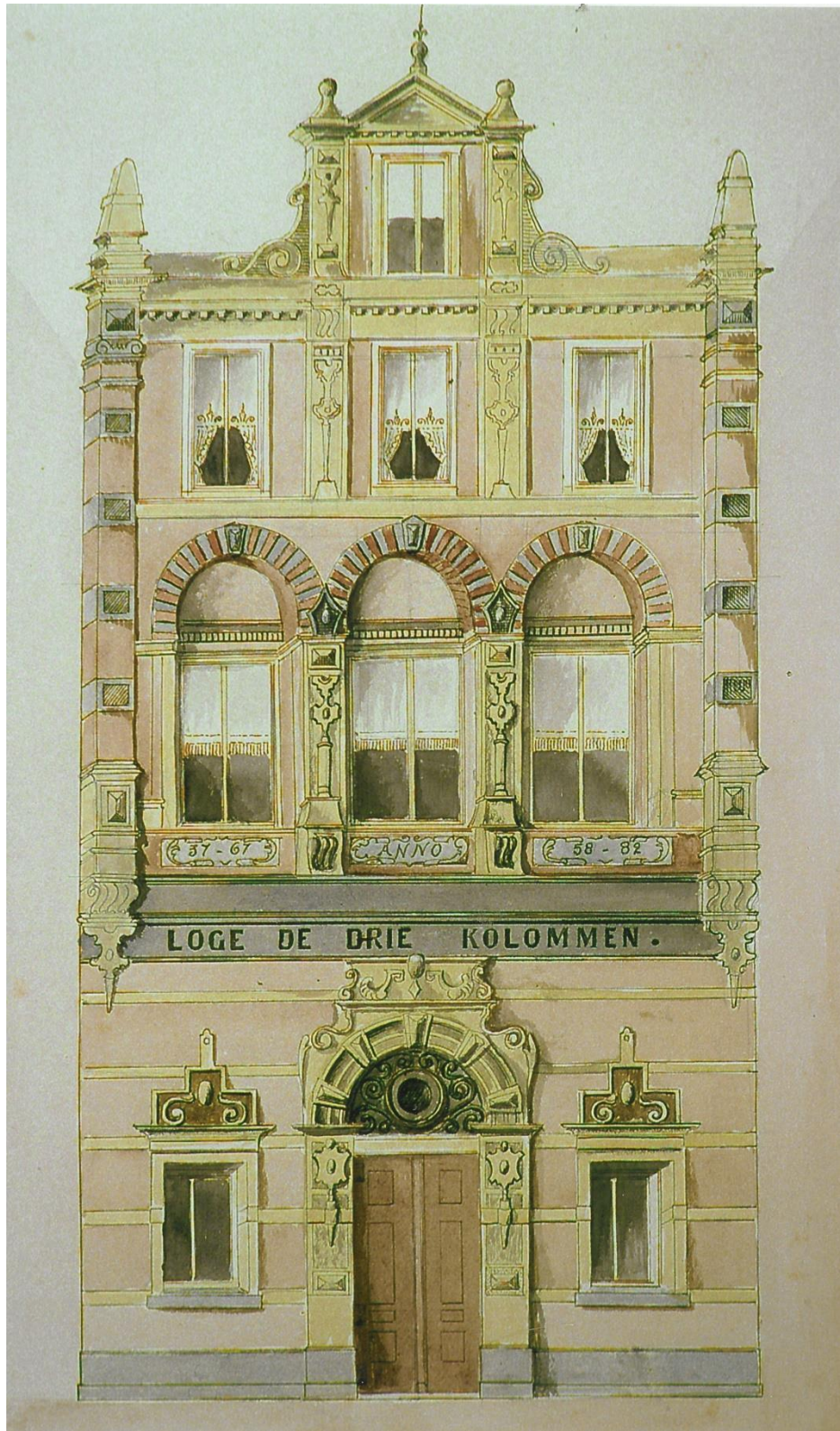
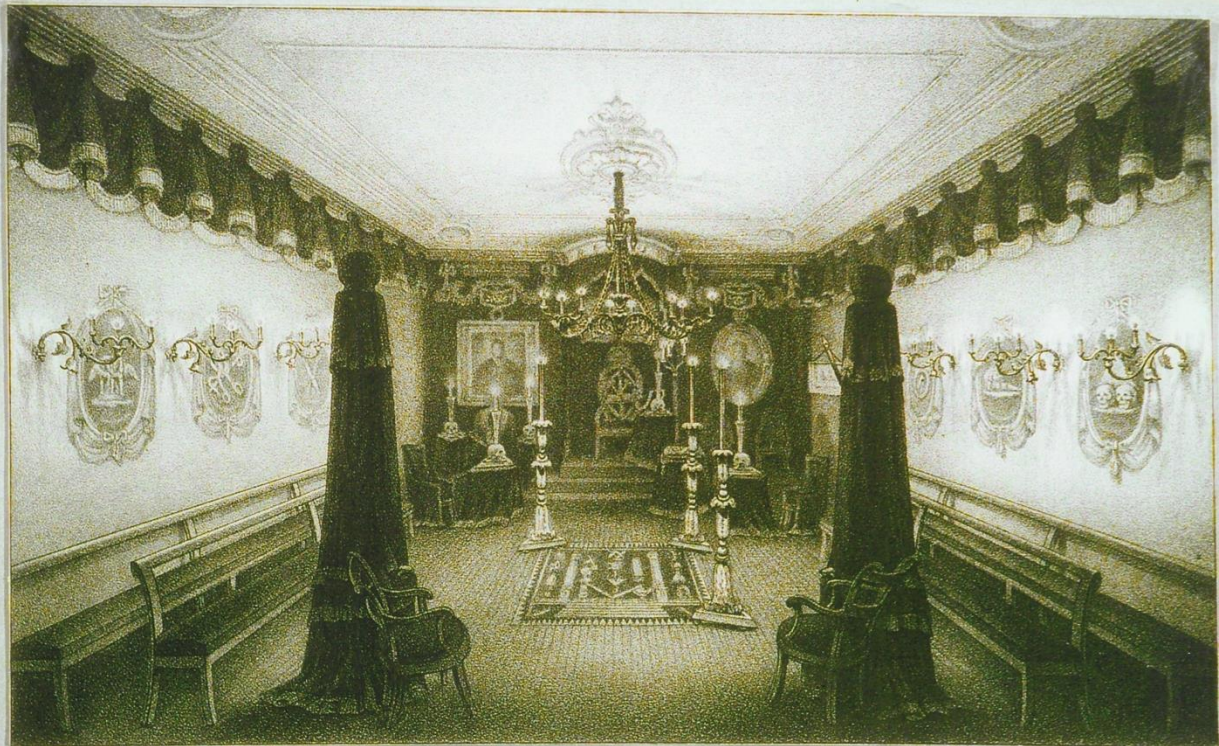


Fig. 2.116: Facade of lodge De Drie Kolommen in Rotterdam, undated (ca. 1900), watercolour. Collection: Stadsarchief Rotterdam, inv.no. XVIII 420.02. Reproduced from: collecties.stadsarchief.rotterdam.nl.



HERINNERING aan wijlen den Zeer Achtbaren Meester van Eer M.A.P. KERDIJK.

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'oeuil* 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'oeuil* 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

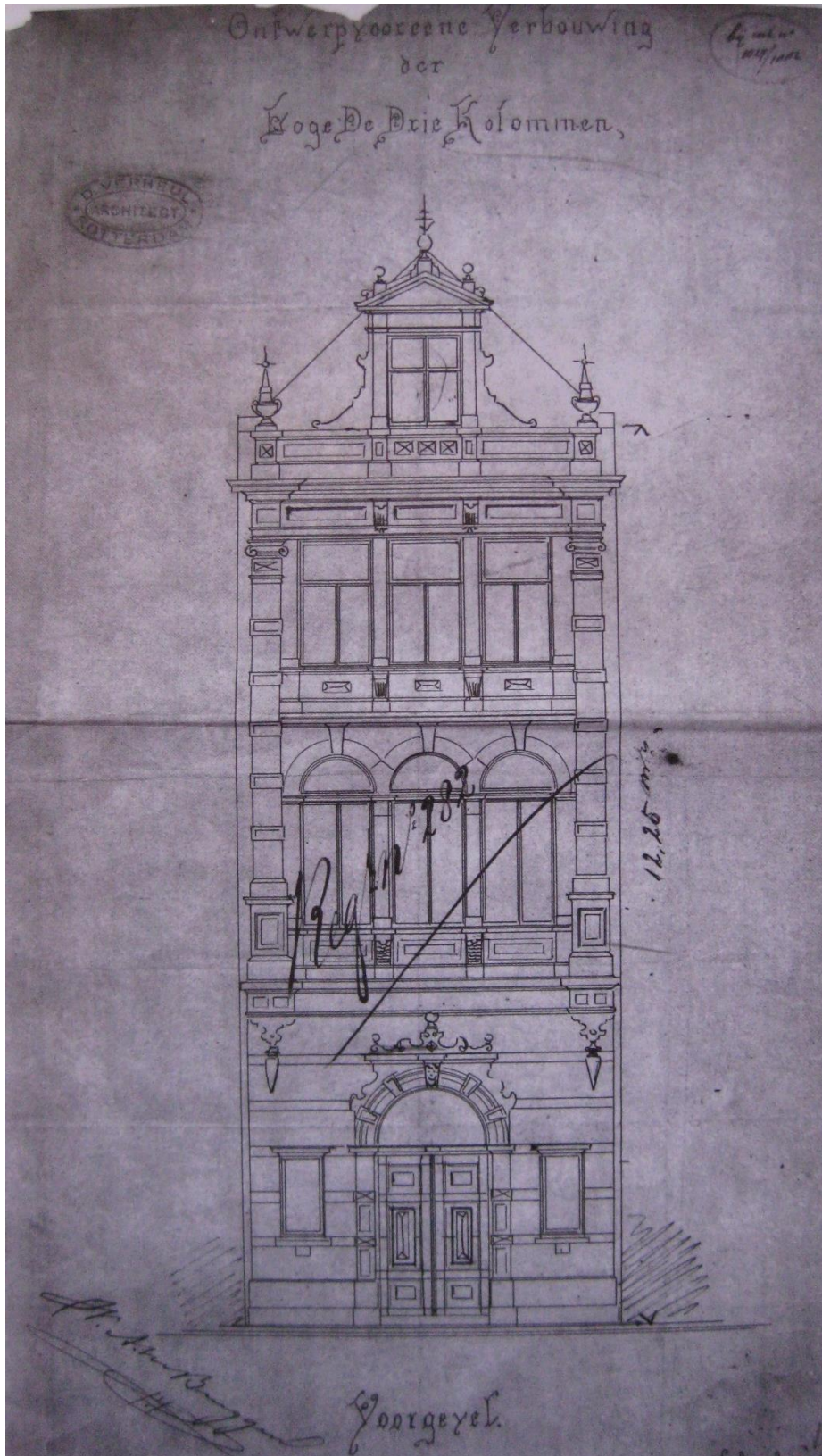


Fig. 2.118: D. Verheul, Facade design for the renovation of Oppert 72 in Rotterdam as lodge building, 1882. Collection: Stadsarchief Rotterdam.



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 from 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

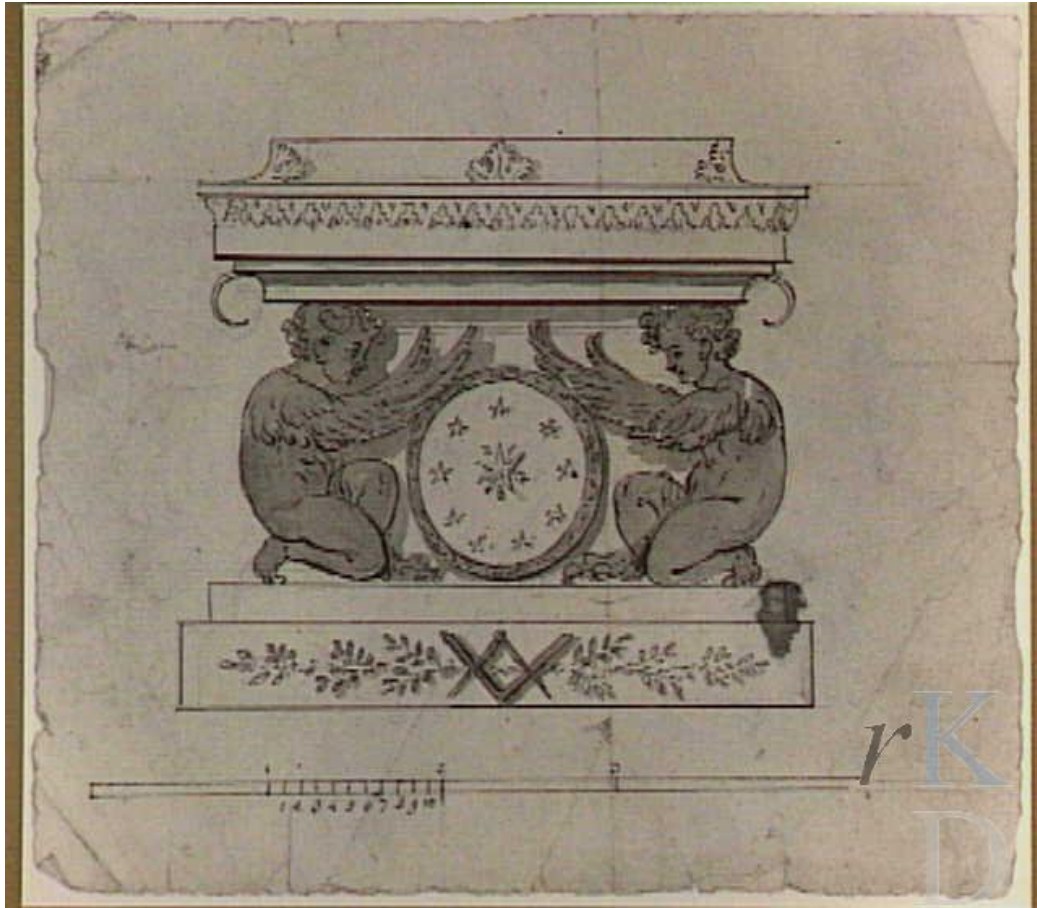


Fig. 2.120: Abraham van der Strij (1753-1826) (attributed), design for lodge La Flamboyante in Dordrecht, ca. 1811-1826. Private collection. Reproduced from: rkd.nl.



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

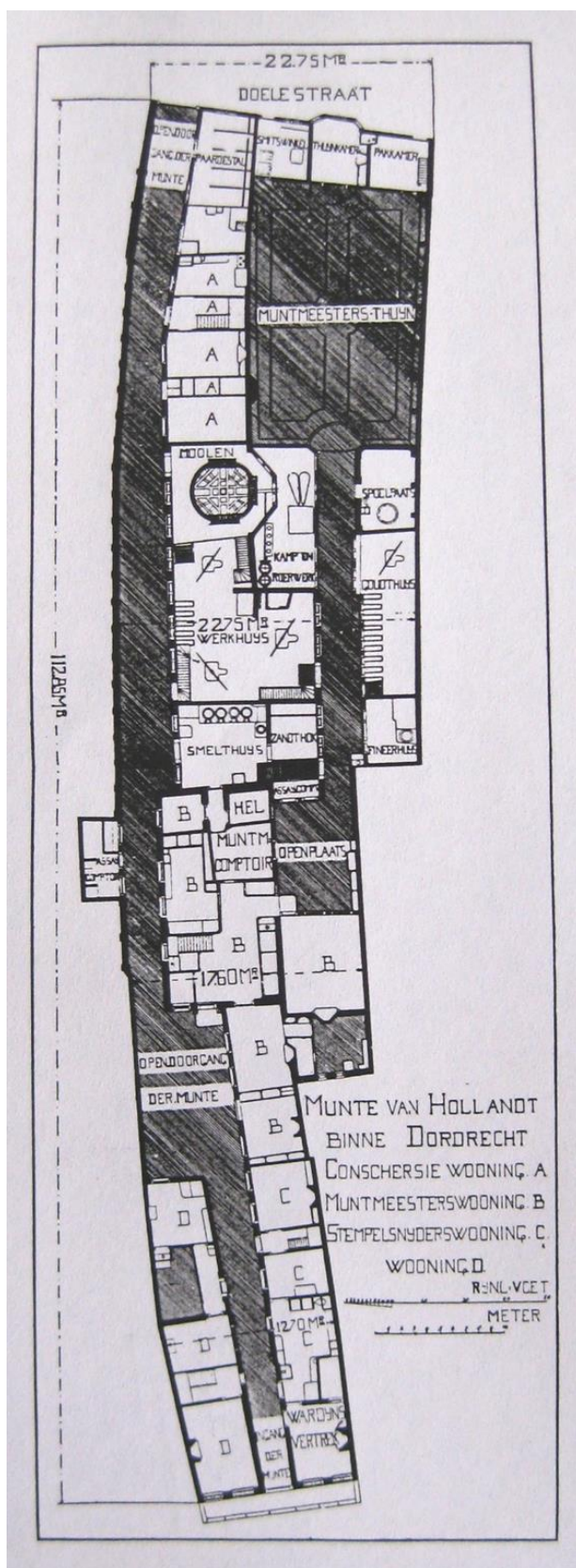
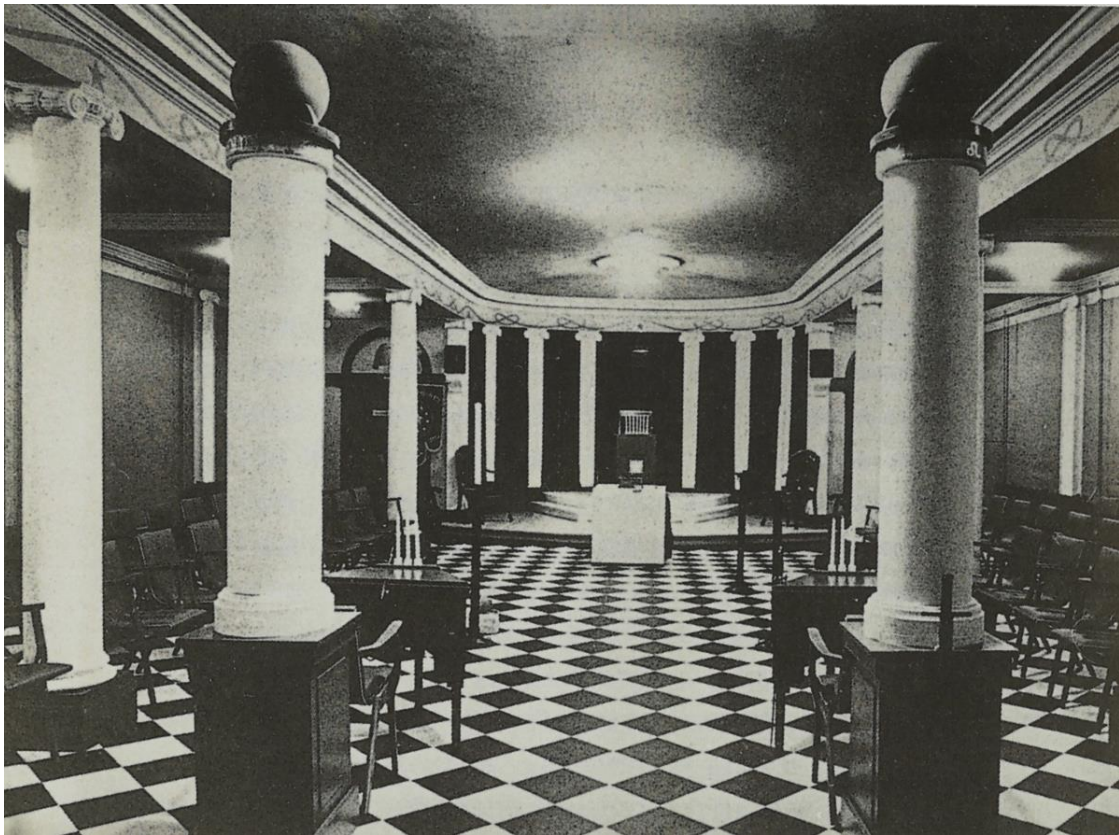
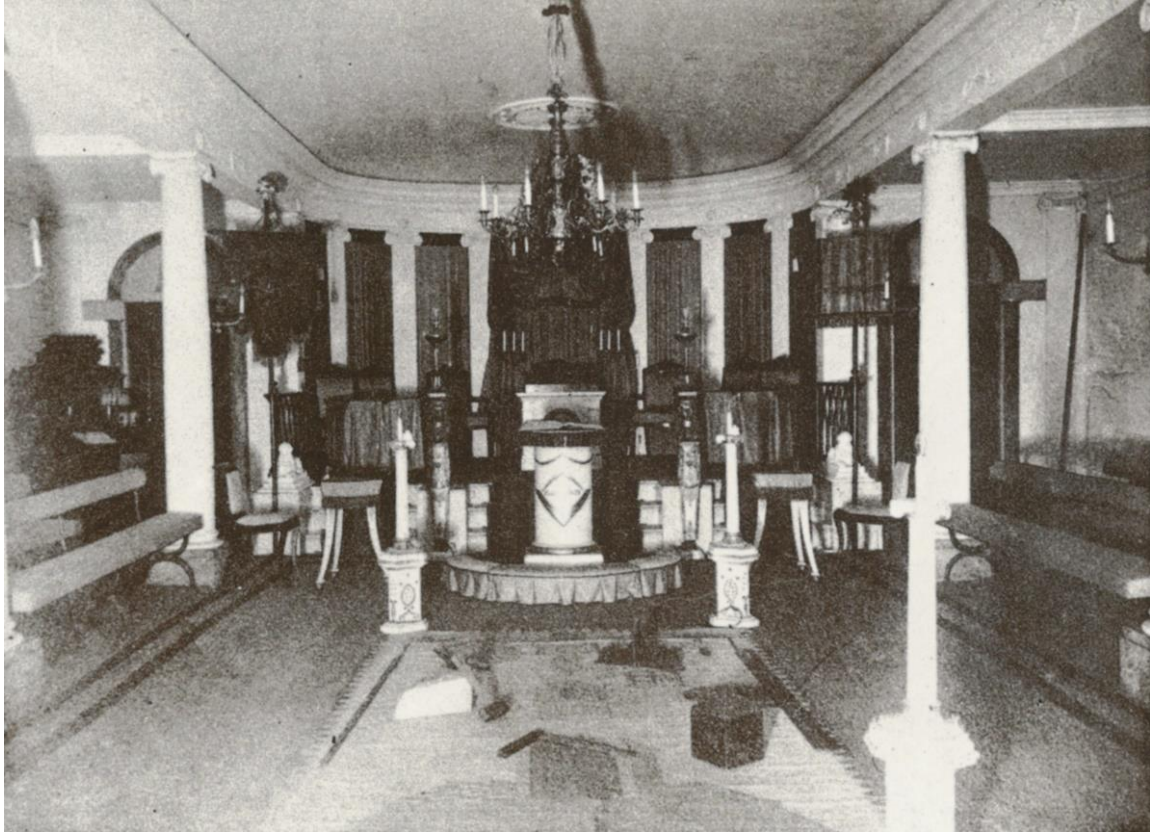


Fig. 2.122: Floorplan of the Mint in Dordrecht around 1814. Reproduced from De Veer [1962], opposite p. 52.



*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.*



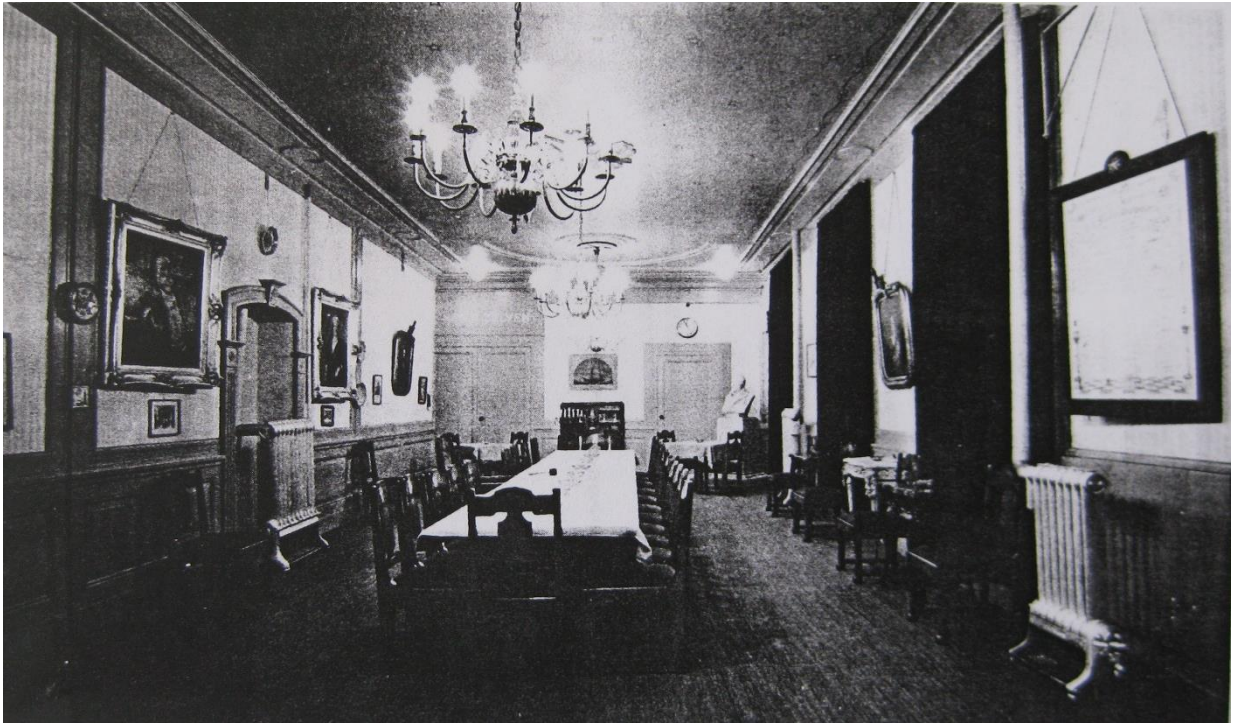
Fig. 2.124a-b: The temple of lodge La Flamboyante in Dordrecht, 20th century. Photograph: Alex in 't Veld. Reproduced from intveldphoto.blogspot.nl (top) / Reproduced from: flamboyante.nl (bottom).



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 *compartie* [= 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.