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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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5. THE DUTCH EAST INDIES AND MALACCA (1763-1825)
THE DEVELOPMENT OF A UNIQUE, RITUAL MATERIAL CULTURE



Fig. 5.1a: Map of the Dutch East Indies, indicating the location of lodges in the 18th and early 19th centuries.
 Reproduced from: Gaasta 2002, p. 42 (altered by the author).

5.1. Parallel histories

◆ **Freemasonry and the VOC in the Dutch East Indies**

In the late 16th century, when the Dutch started to explore the trade with the East Indian Archipelago, expeditions landed at Bantam, Northwest Java, where the Portuguese had not yet settled. From there, other islands were explored. The VOC aimed to acquire a strategic position where it could have its own jurisdiction and warehouses, but for several years this could not be realised. Jan Pietersz Coen (1587-1629), director general of Bantam since 1613, successfully defended Jakatra (old spelling, later Jakarta), a nearby smaller settlement, against attacks by the English and local rulers in 1618.¹ This would now become the long desired stronghold of the Dutch in the Archipelago, and its name was changed into Batavia. It marked the start of a slow expansion of power through negotiations and conflicts throughout the island group, constantly trying to ward off competition. Batavia became the hub of all VOC activities, where ships from Europe arrived and left; where trade goods were unloaded, exchanged and stored; and where the *Kasteel* or fort was built, housing the new governing powers representing the Republic. It would develop into the largest settlement of Europeans in the region.

As Ulbe Bosma and Remco Raben point out in *Being 'Dutch' in the Indies: a history of creolisation and empire, 1500-1920* (2008), 'Hybridity was part and parcel of Asian society, particularly in the many towns and cities of the coastal regions'.² When the Dutch arrived on the isle of Java in 1615-1619 they found a society shaped by previous waves of migration, resulting in a population of varied backgrounds and religions. Cities along the northern coast of Java were populated by Javanese and Indian Hindus, Buddhist and Confusian Chinese, as well as Arab and Indian Muslims, mainly as a result of trade relationships.³ The lines between such groups were relatively flexible, until colonial politics defined more distinct ethnic separations. The VOC had a strict administrative structure which demanded defining specific groups, in order to be able to give them specific laws and duties - such as tax paying. It also propagated a Christian morality through Protestant ministers and later the Dutch Reformed Church in Batavia.

Although most of this chapter only concerns developments on Java, the VOC also had settlements on nearby islands Banda, Ambonia (= Ambon), Ternate, Tidore, Halmahera (= Moluccan Islands), and southern

Celebes (= Sulawesi). Around 1700, some 3.400 European and Eurasian people were living in Batavia, with an additional 3.000 soldiers and other military stationed there.⁴ This was the majority of the circa 20.000 employees of the VOC that would be stationed throughout Asia in the 18th century. Towards the end of the century, as VOC trade started to dwindle, so the steady influx of people from the Netherlands also died down. It would not restore to its former level during the 19th century.

Most Dutchmen came to the East Indies in service of the VOC, and their status in society directly depended on their Company rank. If they did not acquire a fortune from salaries, permits and bribes in a Company position, the other means to do so were by landownership or investing in international shipping. Bosma and Raben point out that although there was a European community to which one was assumed to belong if one's last name sounded 'right', there were important subgroups: the elite, the military and the urban poor. Within the strict hierarchies and formalities that the VOC had brought to life in the trade posts, people of mixed ethnic backgrounds and descendants of freed slaves had a tough time navigating through society.

In 1843 Johan Schill, Past Master of Lodge De Ster in het Oosten in Batavia and author of the first historical overview of Dutch freemasonry on Java, opened his *Gedenk-Boek voor de Javasche Broederschap der Orde van de Vrij Metselaren* with the words:

The history of the lodges in the East of Batavia, from their foundation onwards, can in a way be considered as partially a history of the [East] Indies itself. After all, one discovers largely from it the circumstances and spirit of the time, and one learns from it mostly the prosperity and adversity which was experienced, and the means, used to keep the holy fire and the Temple of the Order from extinguishing.⁵

Luckily, the archives of the lodges in the Dutch East Indies survived more intact than those from other parts of Asia and now cover more than 5 meters of archive material in the CMC collection (not counting the in- and outgoing correspondence in the archive of the Grand Lodge itself) (see table 5.A). These indeed provide a valuable insight in the events in the region and the daily life of Europeans in the trade posts. For practical reasons, this chapter will explore these in the years between 1763, the founding of the first lodge in the Dutch East Indies, and 1837, when two major lodges in Batavia merged. Not only does the bulk of surviving archive material significantly increase after 1837, previous authors like Stevens and Van de Veur have already focussed on developments in the second half the 19th century.⁶ Instead, the early years and relevant primary sources will be explored below.⁷ Original documents are frequently quoted, to allow add nuance and contemporary tone of voice to events already touched upon by other authors. The overview below summarizes the founding, founding members and closing of each lodge. Their daily routine, some remarkable events and members are also touched upon briefly. This provides a necessary context to the unique material culture acquired by these lodges.

Dutch colonial interiors and applied arts have been highlighted recently in exhibition catalogues such as Titus Eliëns' *Silver in Batavia* (2012) and Jack Veenendaal's *Asian Art and Dutch taste* (2014).⁸ Despite the wide interest of scholars, collectors and museum visitors in the subject, the interiors of Freemasons' Halls in the Dutch East Indies have never before been considered as an integral part of that same colonial material culture. The main purpose of the following chapter therefore is to provide an introduction into these interiors and make unpublished sources on the subject accessible. Below, the acquisition of lodge buildings is discussed as part of the lodge histories and, where possible, the surviving inventories of those buildings are reproduced. The second half of this chapter explores the inventories thematically and in more detail. It will become clear both the exterior and interior of these buildings, as well as the furniture and objects used within, all projected certain ideals to the visitor through symbolism in their decorations and/or shapes, meanwhile following contemporary fashions. Although the lodges on Java tried to follow masonic traditions from in the Netherlands (at the time strongly influenced by French developments), they often made use of local craftsmen, artists and materials. This allowed for a subtle mixing of European and Asian influences, also seen in 'profane' Dutch colonial interiors of the 18th and 19th centuries.

Although there are some gaps, especially in the 18th century material, inventories of the two main lodges in Batavia, La Fidèle Sincérité and La Vertueuse, have survived from the years 1775-1837, as did their financial records from 1777-1837. Cross referencing these sources illustrates the development of a

unique material culture with both a practical, decorative and ritual function. They also provide an insight into the wealth of the lodges, the commissions given to artists and craftsmen, the contact between the lodges and the local community, the lodges' role in the local economy and their overall consumption patterns. Yet art historical research seems to have overlooked the fascinating variety of masonic objects that developed within this socio-economical context.

Too many documents have survived to reproduce them all here. Instead, a selection of inventories from successive lodge buildings is provided. These illustrate how - besides ambulant props for the ritual and table lodge - rich furnishings and fixtures were acquired for a variety of non-ritual functions. To get a grip on the material, the discussion in the second half of this chapter will explore the lodge buildings from the exterior to the interior. Firstly, the acquisition of various properties, the investments and people involved, and the general division of spaces will be discussed. As information on the exterior is limited, the interior will be the main focus: wall and ceiling decorations, furniture and ritual objects, as well as the regalia stored in the lodge. The overview will end with the necessities for the table lodge and post-ritual gatherings. Not every single candlestick, which would also appear in normal residencies in Batavia, deserves a mention. For practical reasons, the focus will have to be limited to the most remarkable categories of ritual and precious objects, their purchase and makers. When payments are noted, where available their original currencies are given: Dutch guilders (noted as: fl), Ducats (gold: 5 guilders, silver: 2½ guilders), *Rijksdaalders* (2½ guilders, noted as: Rds) or *Stuivers* (1/20th guilder or 5 cents, noted as: St), Spanish dollars (Spd⁹), Portuguese real or *Indisch geld* (East Indies' money). (NB: the Dutch use a decimal comma rather than a point, so fl. 1.000,- = one thousand guilders.)

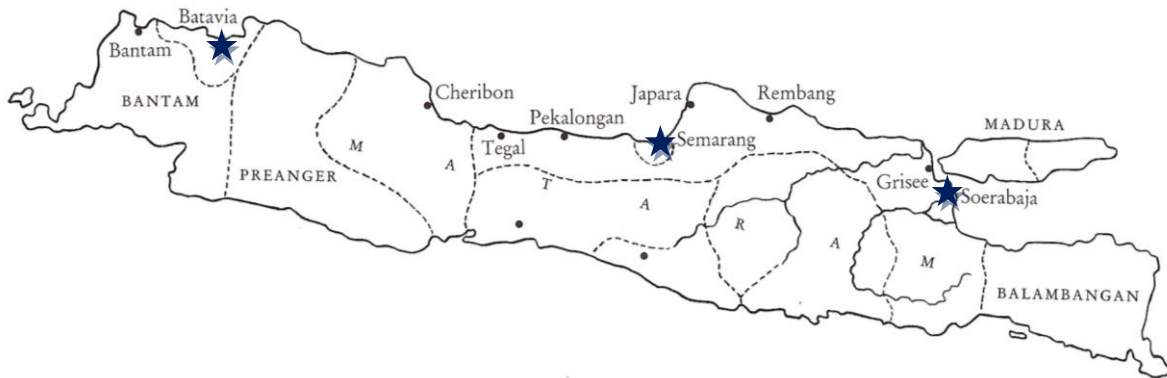


Fig. 5.1b: Map of Java, indicating the location of lodges in the 18th century.
Reproduced from: Gaasta 2002, p. 63 (altered by the author).

5.2. Lodges and their masonic halls: Java, Sumatra and Malacca (1763-1837)

◆ Provincial Grand Lodge La Choisie in Batavia (1763-1769)

As Batavia was an important stopover on the route to India, Japan and China, it was a likely spot for travelling freemasons to meet up informally. As Grand Lodge representatives Van Schevichaven, De Labat and Tissot Grenus were involved in the foundation of a first Dutch lodge in nearby India around 1758 (see chapter 4, we may assume Dutch freemasons started to come across one another in Batavia around the same time.¹⁰ Hageman attributed the foundation of the first Dutch lodge in this port to the large presence of British freemasons, using Batavia as a stopover on their way to other parts of Asia in 1762-1763.¹¹ British freemasons had already experienced the convenience for travellers of having lodges in India since 1730, and - combined with ambitions of the Grand Lodge in The Hague to expand - this may have well inspired their Dutch counterparts to follow suit. Van Scheevikhaven stopped over in Batavia on his way to Bengal in 1762 and may have been involved in some preparations.¹² However, the initiative to found the first Dutch lodge on Java is usually attributed to Jacob Cornelis Mattheus Radermacher (1741-1784, fig. 5.3), son of the Dutch Grand Master, who was in Batavia in service of the VOC. Radermacher is thought to have instigated the founding of a lodge around 1762, subsequently established under the name of La Choisie (= The Chosen One) in 1763.¹³ That same year Radermacher travelled back to The Hague, where he was appointed Grand Secretary. This gave him the opportunity to request a Constitution for his own lodge, which was formally approved during the yearly meeting of Dutch lodges in 1764. The concept-constitution for La Choisie survived and is dated 23-12-1764 (fig. 5.4.).¹⁴

Grand Secretary Radermacher sent the definitive constitution to Batavia in January 1765, together with a letter full of instructions:

As the Book of Law states, that Brethren [...] below 25 Years are allowed to be received, without having obtained a special freedom, of which all regular lodges supply themselves yearly, We have thought in necessary to include one here, and whereby this and no other Dispensation is provided.¹⁵

It was stipulated that the lodge had to pay the Grand Lodge 1 Ducat for every Master made, a further 10 Ducats for the letter of Constitution, as well as a *don gratuit* (gift or donation) for the founding of the lodge. Towards the latter, Radermacher subtly hinted 'which everyone does according to the state of his Lodge; and of which the Brothers of Bengal have exceeded both nobly and liberally with One Hundred Ducats'.¹⁶ Radermacher further used his time in The Hague to elevate La Choisie from just another lodge to the status of Provincial Grand Lodge for the Dutch East Indies. On 30-9-1765 he wrote a letter to lodge Salomon in Bengal, which had previously held the title of Provincial Grand Lodge for the whole of the Dutch overseas territories in Asia:



Fig. 5.2: I. van Ryne, mirrored print of The city of Batavia in the island of Java and Capital of the Dutch factories & settlements in the East Indies [...] (London 1754). Collection: KITLV, Leiden, inv.no. 51C7. Reproduced from: media-kitlv.nl.



Fig. 5.3: Portrait of Jacob Cornelis Radermacher (1741- 1784). Reproduced from: Indische Letteren 6 (1991) 4, p. 16.

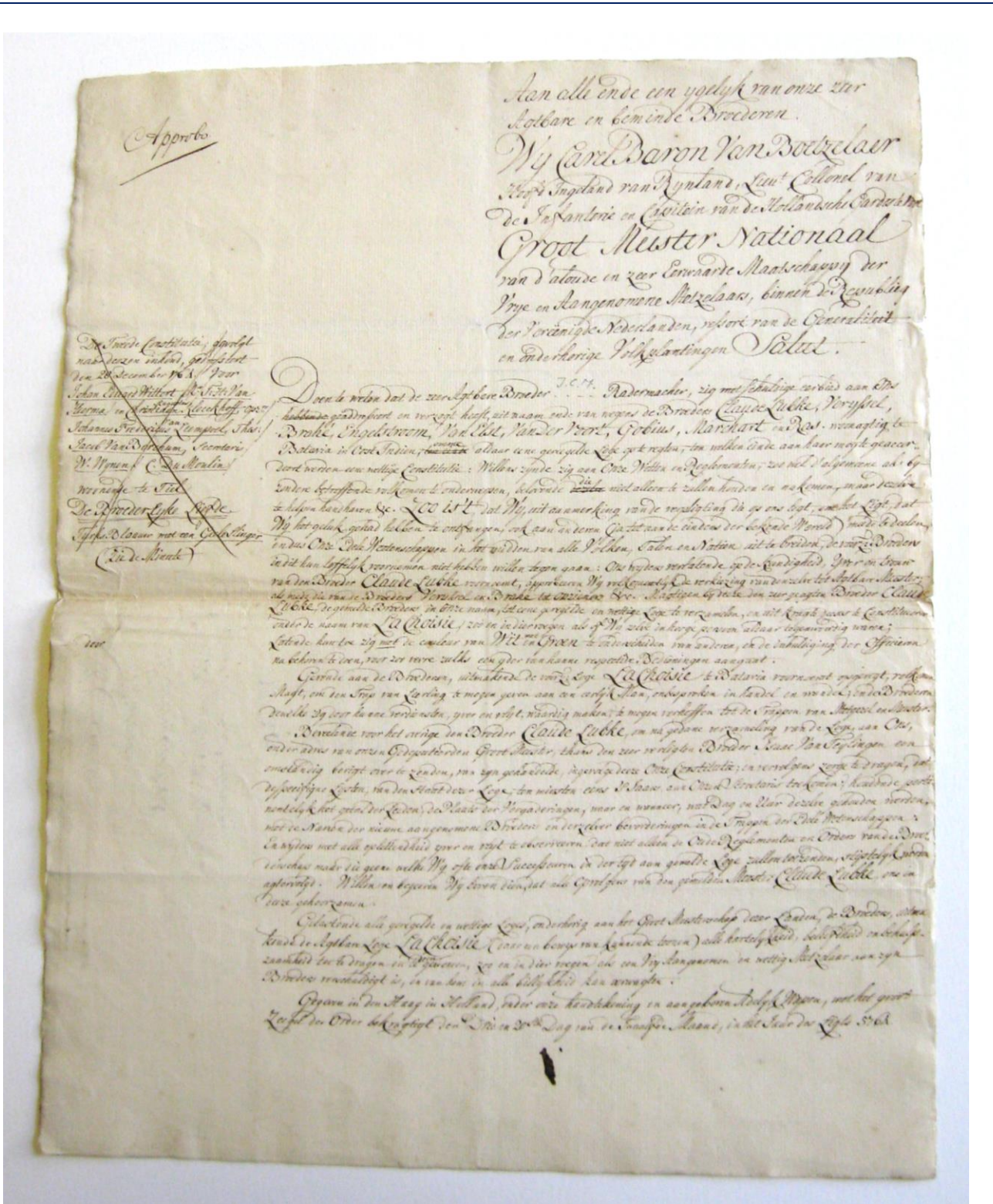


Fig. 5.4: Constitution of lodge La Choisie in Batavia, dated 20-12-1764. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 2402. Photograph: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

Table 5.A: Lodges in the Dutch East Indies, founded before 1853

Java

Batavia

Provincial Grand Lodge La Choisie	1763-1769
La Fidèle Sincérité	1767-1837 (merged with La Vertueuse into De Ster in het Oosten)
La Vertueuse	1768-1837 (merged with La Fidèle Sincérité into De Ster in het Oosten)
De Militaire Broederschap	1814-1823 (ambulant military lodge, merged with La Vertueuse)
Flora Lodge	1814-1815 (illegal British lodge)
De Ster in het Oosten	1837-1959 (moved to Bilthoven, the Netherlands, 1960-present)

Surabaya

Loge Provisoire	1799 (French military lodge from Mauritius/Isle de France)
De Vriendschap	1809-1959 (moved to The Hague, the Netherlands, 1960-present)

Semarang

De Goede Hoop	1798 (ambulant lodge)
La Constante et Fidèle	1801-1960

Buitenzorg

Virtutis et Artis Amici	1813-1815
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Sumatra

Padang

N.N.	1772-1774
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Malacca

La Constance	ca. 1770-after 1776
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Though as we, this year, in the aforementioned Capital of the Dutch Indies, having founded a new Lodge, under the Name of La Choisie, which members could also want a similar privilege [...] are of the opinion it would be more useful in such a case [...] if would be brought under Batavia, the Easterly, and under Bengal, the Westerly Quarters, as being very wide and faraway of each other; so that the Worshipful Lodge Solomon, apart from the Mongol and Persian Empires, across the Coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, as well as the island Ceylon; similarly the Worshipful lodge La Choisie, over Java, Sumatra, Malacca, Makassar, Ternate, Ambonia, Banda &c would each independently have to chief rule, with this dignity annex to the body of the Lodge and no longer to the Person, of the current Master himself'.¹⁷

In other words, he replaced the Provincial Grand Master with a Provincial Grand Lodge, and halved the area of its jurisdiction for the benefit of La Choisie. It is possible he anticipated a push for expansion by the Grand Lodge in both regions, or that he simply wanted to do his Brothers this great favour.

The constitution listed as the other founding members: Claude A[nthony] van [der] Leupken (died 1767), major in the artillery and later *Heemraad* (Dike Board), and in the absence of Radermacher appointed Worshipful Master of the new lodge; Johannes Cornelis Verijssel (1743-1765), 2nd *Confrontist* of the Administrative books in Batavia; Wolphert Abraham Brahe (1715-1770), 1st Carga of the Masquet trade; Frederik Andries Christiaan Engelstroom (died 1772), captain lieutenant of artillery; Robbert van Elst (circa 1728-1766), bookkeeper of ships wages; Pieter Godofridus van der Voort (1734-1780), second Secretary to the High Government; mr. Jacobus Gobius (1721-1765), Secretary of *boedelmeesters* (office dealing with legates); Jan Marchart (1715-1778), sergeant of the Eastside *Burgerij* (civil military or reserve) and lastly Mr. Pieter Ras (1736-1781), the Resident of Grisée.¹⁸

What little is left of the correspondence between La Choisie and the Grand Lodge gives us some idea how the members faired. Van der Voort confirmed the receipt of the constitution to the Grand Lodge on 10-1-1766, in a letter which also noted a first sign of trouble:

[...] the earlier and still prevalent disease of the gentleman major Van Leupken [= the Worshipful Master], as well as the monsoon rains and other hindrances, are the reason that until now not only no arrangements have been made how to best organize to erect [the lodge] [...] as well as to remit the charged costs.¹⁹

So the lodge was not yet active and had therefore not yet collected or paid any contributions. Van der Voort indicated that the members had made arrangements to do so soon, as they were charged by The Grand Lodge for activities from the date of the constitution onwards, even if they did would be unable to convene until much later.²⁰ On 17-5-1766 a 'consultation lodge' took place, probably a household meeting, in which Leubken resigned as Worshipful Master due to his ill health.²¹

A letter by Grand Secretary Radermacher dated 27-5-1766 was delivered to La Choisie by George Steendekker, first mate of the ship Jerusalem, on his way to Bengal with other Grand Lodge correspondence.²² Radermacher reminded the lodge of the outstanding debt and repeated the warning he had also given lodge Salomon in Bengal: to only admit freemasons in possession of a membership certificate. On 4-9-1766 La Choisie informed the Grand Lodge informing that Leonard van Heijs, former captain of the *Burgerij* and barman of Het Heerenlogement, had been made a member.²³ Hageman explained that as Van Heijs position was a statutory appointment by the Dutch government, he was under its auspices. As such he had a monopoly on providing lodgings for travelling Europeans stopping at Batavia. By involving him in the lodge activities, the members were ensured of secrecy and a suitable premises for their meetings.²⁴ The letter was signed by the aforementioned Van der Voort, Leubken, Van der Elst and two new members: Alexander Cornabe (circa 1737-after 1797), a merchant and later governor of Ternate, and Hendrik August Rossel (died 1785), also a merchant at the *logievisitiekantoor* (visitor registration office).²⁵

The foundation of La Choisie was viewed as a brave move by later masonic historians. Der Kinderen wrote in 1864 that it was:

Not just a beautiful, but a courageous work; for in those times those who held the governance of this area in their hands, no less than the governors of the motherland, were very hostile towards Freemasonry, and especially the clergy was always busy to use its so powerful influence, to paint those who called themselves the children of Light, as dangerous beings, who were threatening State and Church with the largest of dangers.²⁶

Hageman emphasized that in 18th century Batavia there were no public European societies or meetings, other than church services. Even the theatre in Batavia was closed in 1768, so lodge meetings provided a welcome divertissement. Muslim, Hindi and Chinese religions were allowed and regulated by laws, while Christian religion was limited to meetings of the Calvinist and Lutheran churches, and Catholic services were prohibited.²⁷ As the lodge was active under the rule of the reformed governor-general Petrus Albertus van der Parra (1761-1775), a protector of the Church, meetings were held in secret.²⁸ Even so, Hageman stated that despite the large number of religious 'teachers' in the area between 1764 and 1799, he never found any evidence of conflict between supporters of the church and members of the order until well into the 19th century.²⁹ The fact that no public protests were made, was according to Hageman easily explained by the number of influential government figures among the lodge members.³⁰

La Choisie had a short existence. Masonic historians agreed that the lodge must have stopped its activities around 1767, while the reason for its demise remained a matter of speculation.³¹ They may have overlooked correspondence between La Choisie and the Grand Lodge, explaining the circumstances. The Grand Lodge received a letter by 'Some Brethren in Batavia', dated 18-11-1767, who requested permission to form a new lodge under the name La Fidèle Sincérité:

As they understand that the Lodge [La Choisie] which is present there [Batavia], can be considered erased as it has not convened for a Year and a Day, and therefore its Constitution is annulled, according to the laws of the Gr[and] Lodge Chapter 4, Article 4, page 66.³²

This implies La Choisie had been inactive since October 1766, a month after initiating Van Heijs. The Grand Lodge completely ignored the request, even though its letters to La Choisie dated January 1765 and 27-5-1766 had remained unanswered, and no contributions had been received.³³ Radermacher returned to Batavia in August 1768, but apparently took his time in informing the Grand Lodge about the status of La Choisie. He did not write to The Hague until 10-1-1769, revealing that another illness, this time of the new

Worshipful Master Van der Voort, had again prohibited the transfer of contributions. Radermacher covered the debt out of his own pocket, sending a money order for 100 Ducats.³⁴

His letter must have crossed that of Grand Secretary Du Bois, who sent a reminder to La Choisie on 30-3-1769:

We had well expected that the Brother Radermacher aforementioned our former Grand Secretary, on his return to Batavia would have informed us of the one and other, but probably this brother has been hindered in doing so by private occupations, or is staying somewhere other than Batavia. [...] And although we have heard of that side, that the Brother Claude Lubke has died, and therefore the chair [of the Worshipful Master] became vacant, were are confident that this place will be filled again by a knowledgeable Brother.³⁵

The aforementioned Steendekker had in the meanwhile been promoted to captain of the ship Lycochton and had also been appointed 'foreign Deputy Grand Master' by the Grand Lodge.³⁶ Still unaware of Radermacher's letter in transit, Steendekker was commissioned by the Grand Lodge on 13-5-1769 to found a lodge at the Cape and then move on to Batavia, where he was to deliver a new constitution to La Choisie, now appointed Provincial Grand Lodge.³⁷ Of course he also had to collect its debts.

When eventually Radermacher's letter reached The Hague, the Grand Lodge replied on 15-8-1769:

We had already flattered ourselves that this would be the case, all the more because we hoped, that Your Honour's presence, as Member in the Lodge La Choisie and having been a Grand Officer, among us, would have had a better effect, and that we mainly would have been informed of the State of it [the lodge]; although we have until now not seen a List of members, yes even often have become doubtful whether this [lodge] substantiated or not, and it seems us that even more cause thereto, gave the receipt of Two subsequent Messages, from some Brethren on Batavia, aforementioned [intended] to found under the name La Fidele Sincerite, however, those Letter having come to hand very late, through an unusual channel, we have, awaiting for Your Worshipful tidings, not granted that request but would much rather see that those Brethren would apply as members to La Choisie.

However, we were not well able to refuse, to another part of gathered Brethren (of which some are members of lodges in The Hague) on the same Request and Remittance, to grant a Constitution to the founding of a Lodge in Batavia aforementioned, under the name of La Vertueuse, of which we promise ourselves much good, for its zeal to work and good directorship.

We wish that this Lodge will congregate with La Choisie, and that the same, in good understanding, will visit amongst each other; and hope still, that this will not mean a fading amongst the Brethren of the latter, but that these will become all the more zealous, and will annually please us with its Letters, Lists and Don Gratuits, as supporters of the good Order.³⁸

As will become clear below, the new lodge La Fidèle Sincérité proceeded with its activities anyway. In September 1770 the Grand Lodge wrote to Radermacher for the last time, thanking him for the money transfer and erasing the debt:

With us in time placed in hand very well, Your Honour's very pleasant Message of 15th October 1769 with the enclosed Money Order, on account of the Gentlemen F. De Wilde and Groen, in Amsterdam, [...] but how much We on the one hand are glad, in that Remise, we are on the other hand saddened to here, from the aforementioned Message, that the Honourable Lodge Loge La Choisie, by weakening of members, would be erased, and that We would lose that sister. We hope and wish that this well before long, by the expansion of a good number of capable People, may restore itself and once again come to a State, of which we are confident, by Your Honour, by then, we will receive communications.³⁹

Masonic historians have assumed, that a conflict within La Choisie led to its demise and the founding of two other lodges in Batavia, La Fidèle Sincérité en La Vertueuse.⁴⁰ From what little documents remain, it seems La Choisie mostly existed on paper and only because of Radermacher's personal involvement. He was in the position to deal with both the formalities and the high costs, but the successive Worshipful Masters were too ill to perform their duties and Radermacher may not have been the only lodge member to be called away in Company service. By 1769 others in Batavia were taken similar initiatives and Radermacher must have concluded that it was useless to keep advancing costs for a lodge that would have to be reorganized



Fig. 5.5: The harbour canal in Batavia with the City Inn on the right, ca. 1867. Photo by Woodbury & Page, Batavia, 19 x 24 cm. Collection: KITLV, Leiden, inv.no. 87396. Reproduced from: media-kitlv.nl.

from scratch while he lacked the time to do so. The surviving correspondence does not suggest a conflict; that mainly came from (later) letters of La Vertueuse to the Grand lodge, strategically written to discredit La Fidèle Sincérité and support its own bid for the title of Provincial Grand Lodge, discussed below.

Even so, La Choisie was not formally erased until 18-4-1773, when it was clear to the Grand Lodge that it would never be resurrected.⁴¹ According to the *Gedenkboek* (1917), a memorial publication, the archive remained 'in profane hands' after the demise of the lodge. It was retrieved but 'lost again and now for good'.⁴² Those cryptic words mark the end of the first, short-lived Dutch lodge in Batavia.

Just as in the Netherlands, freemasons in the Dutch East Indies started out with renting rooms in local inns and other communal spaces, while the lodge furniture had an ambulant character. Lodge La Choisie mentioned the Heerenlogement in a letter to the Grand Lodge in The Hague on 4-9-1766 as an inn 'where meanwhile a suitable [meeting] place has been allocated [...] as such has since [the foundation] taken place and will be continued'.⁴³ Governor-general Jacob Mossel (1704-1761) had instated this Heerenlogement in 1754. He obliged VOC employees as well as strangers to stay here, as a means of controlling the comings and goings in the main port of the colony.⁴⁴ From 1757 onwards this inn, located at the Moorsegracht, also functioned as a theatre.⁴⁵ By the time its successor, the Stadsherberg, was built at the harbour canal in 1849 (fig. 5.5), the three earliest lodges in Batavia had ceased to exist. Even so, later authors mistakenly named the Stadsherberg as their earliest meeting place.⁴⁶ La Choisie was too short-lived to ever acquire its own building. The other lodges on Java, however, would eventually build and decorate genuine Freemasons' Halls.

◆ *Lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia (1767-1837)*

In Radermacher's absence, other freemasons in Batavia had taken the initiative to form a lodge, named La Fidèle Sincérité. Its exact foundation date and circumstances remain unclear. According to Hageman, the founding took place at a meeting in July 1767 and the lodge formally convened for the first time with 13 members in Het Heerenlogement in Batavia in September of the same year.⁴⁷ Indeed 'A book of Resolutions, bound in red leather, starting Anno 1767' (now lost) was mentioned in later records by the lodge's archivist.⁴⁸ Five former members of La Choisie were supposedly among the founding members of La Fidèle Sincérité, but only Cornabe, Van Heijs and Marchand could be identified as such.⁴⁹ It does however explain how the constitution of La Choisie came to be in possession of La Fidèle Sincérité, according to its archive inventories, and suggests the new lodge was most likely a 'reboot' of La Choisie under a new name.⁵⁰ Other sources place the founding of La Fidèle Sincérité in November 1767 (possibly due to the masonic calendar) and also list different men as founders: Johan Ulrich Schneider, a captain-lieutenant; Paulus Rohrborn, also a capitain-lieutenant; J[oh]an Martin [Marten] Re[e]mer, captain of the Eastside *Burgerij*; Jacob van der Wijck (1726-1790), Extraordinary Council of Justice; Arnoldus Musquetier (1743-1815), assistant; Jean George Daniel Hasselaer (1745-1774), Second administrator at the Grain Warehouse, and Hendrik van Stockum (1739-1793), merchant.⁵¹ Schneider acted as Worshipful Master, followed by Remer in 1768.⁵² Hageman identified most of the later lodge members as seamen, (travelling) military, civilians and 'strangers', including the men on the French ship *Boudeuse* of captain Louis-Antoine de Bougainville (in Batavia between 28-9 and 16-1-1768) and that of Jean-Marie Francois de Surville (in Batavia in 1769).⁵³

The coming few years would be marked by a bitter rivalry between La Fidèle Sincérité and the third lodge to be founded in Batavia, La Vertueuse. The animosity between them was largely fuelled by the Grand Lodge in The Hague, who denied La Fidèle Sincérité a constitution for a long time and favored La Vertueuse.⁵⁴ La Vertueuse had more means to its disposal and did not only unjustly get to boast seniority, it also attracted more members (and therefore even more means) while La Fidèle Sincérité unsuccessfully struggled for recognition. Previously unpublished letters provide some insight into the motivation of the Grand Lodge.

The petition for a constitution by La Fidèle Sincérité was first noted in the Register of letters received by the Grand Lodge on 18-11-1767.⁵⁵ The fact that the Grand Lodge chose to ignore the request, while it was trying to expand its powers overseas, was unusual. An explanation for this decision was not provided until 15-8-1769 in a letter to co-founder of La Fidèle Sincérité Van der Wijck, by then acting as its Worshipful Master:

It was last June [1769] that We, through an unknown delay, very late; and in a singular manner and by a third hand, became aware, that Letters to the Grand Master and other Grand Officers, had been sent by Your Honour to the Count Obdam, under Con[venant] of the gentleman Houtman; these Letters, however old their date, however only came to hand, after We had already granted a new Constitution, to the founding of a Lodge, under the name of La Vertueuse.

Whatever the reason may be, that the aforementioned Letters, dated 27 November 1767 and 10 January 1768 were thus addressed to this Gentlemen, who was never a Grand Master, we will not investigate now; but only remark that Your Honour and the Brethren agreeing with Your Honour to apply for a Constitution, for the founding of a Lodge, under the name of La Fidele Sincerite, were not well informed of the National Organisation.

On the other hand it seemed questionable to us, that the Brethren were not included to join La Choisie, which has already been active in Batavia for over five years, and of which We have recently received Letters that it is working, knowing full well that this Lodge was active over there.

And how should We, Dear Brothers, comply with this request? As the Law dictates us, Page 64 of the 1^{ste} Art. of the 4th Chapter 'That no Constitution can be given, if there is already a Lodge present locally, than to those who already have a number of Ten applicants'. So contrary to the fundamental Law Your Honour's Letters were signed by but a few Brethren.

Moreover We see, with amazement, that the request extends to a Provincial [Grand] Lodge [...] We flatter ourselves, that the Brethren will agree with us, that if a Provincial Act were necessary, and was required on good grounds, that the Eldest, or first constituted Lodge, would sooner have the right to it.

And We think the Brethren too judicious, to require from us, that We [...] would make an infraction upon the same. So We are unable to meet with this request. We hope, that the Brethren who We deem worthy Members, will be willing to be incorporated with La Choisie, or La Vertueuse, as there is much there and will possibly soon be able to join in the running of things; [...]

Furthermore it seems to us, that Three Lodges in Batavia would be too much, so We advise the Brethren of La Fidele Sincerite, to join one of the aforementioned lodges; if they were unable to do so, for good reasons, and would rather address us once more, when We can validate those reasons, and would be assured of the state and number of the Members, as well as the yearly Contributions of Brethren, [We] will agree the requested Constitution.⁵⁶

That wording was strategic and seems to contradict the receipt of correspondence as noted in the Grand Lodge's own correspondence register.⁵⁷ While assuring Van Wijck that La Choisie was active, the Grand Lodge actually wrote to Radermacher. on the same day, expressing doubts whether La Choisie had ever materialised. In a third letter written on the same date, this time to Provincial Grand Master Steendekker, the Grand Lodge revealed more details:

Then We received a request and Remittance from some gathering Brethren in Batavia, including some, who are past Members of Lodge in The Hague, for a Constitution, to found a Lodge under the name of La Vertueuse; of which Brother Van Der Vorm is [Worshipful] Master; to that Request we gave a positive fiat, and supplied those Brethren with the necessary Patent as they did not only make up a good number, of which the most part is known to us, but apart from sending the payment for the Constitution in advance, [they] have also promised to yearly transfer a Don Gratuit, of the same amount, if not more.⁵⁸

So the strict interpretation of masonic law may in this case have been helped by the fact that the applicants of the third lodge were well known and

wealthy enough to advance all costs and make promises in advance. By coincidence the original letters from La Fidèle Sincérité went 'missing', as noted in the side-line of correspondence register of the Grand Lodge, making it impossible for anyone to check the number of original applicants as basis for an objection.

The members of La Fidèle Sincérité persisted. Provincial Grand Master Steendekker sent a 'report on the State of the Lodges in Batavia', received by the Grand Lodge on 22-5-1770.⁵⁹ It must have been accompanied by a new request by La Fidèle Sincérité for a Constitution as a Provincial Grand Lodge, as such was registered on the same date.⁶⁰ The lodge was now granted a constitution on 9-6-1770, but only in the form of a temporary document - as the required payment had not yet been received - and not for a provincial Grand Lodge. A little wry was that the lodge, by then ruled by Worshipful Master Johannes

Table 5.B: Worshipful Masters of lodge La Fidèle Sincérité before 1837

1767-1768 Johan Ulrich Schneider
1768 Johan Martin Remer
1769-1770 Jacob van der Wijck
1770 Johannes Jaggie
1771 Johannes Gabriel van Gehren
1773 Johan Martin Remer
1774 Johannes Christian Balthasar Remer
1775 Jan Willem van Blijdenberg
1776 Christiaan Hendrik von Erath
1780-1782 Nicolaas Maas
1784 Pieter Aneas de Win
1785-1786 Nicolaas Maas
1786-1787 Jan Greeve
1787-1788 Nicolaas Maas
1788 Pieter Aneas de Win
1788-1790 Jan Daniel Beijnon
1790 Mr. P. Enger[t/s]
1792-1793 Carel Kuvel
1793-1797 Nicolaas Maas
1797-1800 Carel August Remer
1800 A.M. von Schenck
1801 Jan Stave
1802 Nicolaas Maas
1802-1803 Jan Stave
1803-1806 Nicolaas Maas
1806 Pieter Simon Maurisse
1808 Wijnand Lucas Baggers
1808-1809 Nicolaas Maas
1809 Wijnand Lucas Baggers
1810 F.E. Turr
1816 Oltman George van der Keer
1817 S.I. Turr
1818 Willem Lamberger
1820 Wijnand Lucas Baggers
1821 J. Schill
1823 Pieter Simon Maurisse
1825 J. Schill
1833 Willem Adriaan Keuchenius
1834 Diederik Popkens
1835 A.A. Vinju
1836 J. Schill
1837 A.A. Vinju (acting Worshipful Master during the merger of the lodges)

Jaggie, a doctor, had to cough up even more money than the handful of members had expected. According to masonic law, the first (officially recognized) lodge in any town could be constituted by seven brothers, who each had to pay ten Ducats, while the second lodge in any town could only be constituted by ten brethren, who each had to pay 20 Ducats.⁶¹

None the less, a money order by Steendekker for a 100 Ducats was received in in August 1771.⁶² The Grand Lodge was apparently now satisfied enough that more would follow to finally send a permanent constitution, dated 20-9-1771.⁶³ In the accompanying letter Grand Secretary Dubois again refused a request for 'anciennity' or any Provincial status. La Fidèle Sincérité had informed him how the dispute had caused an estrangement between the members of both lodges involved, but he dismissed this as 'unmasonic' behaviour and advised the lodge to simply submit to La Vertueuse:

Are you not all children of the same Mother? Are you not all Members of the same Society? Does the Rank give you a greater, more right? Does the Mother Lodge make a difference between the eldest or the youngest? What then can spur You on to claim this Rank? Nothing but wrong thoughts. [...] If Your Honour's Letter had come on time, You would without dispute have been sitting above La Vertueuse in our National Meeting. Coincidentally that Letter is missing, and therefore La Vertueuse became a Constitution predating Yours, and which privilege has the same begotten through that? Indeed nothing substantial.⁶⁴

The only consolation was that the request for the Provincial status was refused to La Vertueuse as well, as Steendekker's function meant there was no need: 'And maybe it is better to never grant such a Diploma to one particular Lodge, as the same often causes to much envy'.⁶⁵ Dubois wrote to Provincial Grand Master Steendekker on the same day:

We have very well received, Your Honour's very pleasant Letters of November 1770 and January 1771, from which We, with joy have gathered, the progression which Your Honour has made in the Eastern parts of the Dutch Indies, and thank Your Honour for all the applied vigilance; agreeing Your Honours actions towards both la Vertueuse and la Fidele Sincerite; to the latter We sent the Constitution in *amplissima forma* at this occasion, through Abraham Van Der Weijde.

But concerning the Provincial [Grand Lodge], We cannot yet go there, and we have consented to grant it to neither of them. We would much like to see and hear, that there would be more unity and true Brotherly Love between those two Lodges, although we do not doubt Your Honour's good preparation and intervention.⁶⁶

On 20-7-1771 the Grand Lodge also informed La Vertueuse on the constitution of La Fidèle Sincérité. Both lodges kept filing requests for a Provincial status for years to come, and eventually the Grand Lodge would consent to let them chose a Provincial Grand Master from their midst.⁶⁷

As usual, the Constitution listed the first members of La Fidèle Sincérité as the aforementioned Jaggie and Remer, as well as Johannes Christian Balthazar Re[e]mer, civilian officer and probably a relative of the Johan Martin. Several others were military men: Arnold Boone (died 1772), a sergeant; Charles Louis Colmond, a colonel and Hermanus Laurens Discher (1717-1771), a lieutenant (see fig. 5.6⁶⁸). The law was represented by Johannes Gabriel Van Gehren, (died 1784), a lawyer and Ordinary Council of the Indies; Jacob Samuel De Raaf, the later Secretary of Police in Padang; and Johannes Nicolaas Bestbier, a notary. Jan van Eysden (died 1773) was a ship's captain, Bernhardus Daniel ter Herbrugge (died 1771), a (former) sailor and Ysbrand van Stamhorst remains to be identified further.⁶⁹ Hageman noted that 'Although the lodge barely counted enough members, in order to appoint the various dignitaries, his lodge too was characterised by [...] the utmost caution in accepting and admitting new members.'⁷⁰ Indeed the earliest membership list included only 6 Masters among the 17 members, but by 1772 there were already 12 among 23.⁷¹

The minute books of the lodge up until 1796 are missing, so events in the earliest years have to be constructed from remaining correspondence and other sources. Flooding prevented the planned celebration of St. John on 27-12-1771. The feast was postponed until 2-1-1772 at which occasion the well-known artist Johannes Rach (1720-1783) and the captain Cornelis Jacob van der Lijn, a member of lodge La Bien Aimee in Amsterdam, were proposed. Rach was born in Copenhagen and had come to Asia in a military function. He was accepted as an Apprentice on 13-4-1772 and later held the function of lodge



Fig. 5.6: Commemorative plate with a family crest, commissioned by Harmannus Laurens Discher, long before he became a member of lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia. The crest depicts a pelican feeding its young with its own blood. This was an existing Christian symbol of self-sacrifice which in the 18th century within freemasonry also became part of the iconography of the Rose Croix degrees. Around the crest is the tekst: TER GEDAGTENIS VAN HARMANNUS LAURENTS DISCHER HOOFT VAN COMMISSARISSEN EN PRAUW VOERDERS OP BATAVIA A: 1749 (In memory of Harmannus Laurens Discher, Head of Commissioners and Praauw Captains in Batavia, anno 1749). Chinese export porcelain, polychrome colours and gilt, diam. 22.9 cm. Collection: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv.no. NG-1979-158. Reproduced from: rijksmuseum.nl.

Architect, and is mentioned in lodge records until 1778.⁷² As an artist Rach is known for his many views of Java, made by him and his assistants during those years, to which we will come back later. After the meeting followed a procession. The evening was closed with the usual table lodge, at which Worshipful Master Van Gehren drank too much, causing an incident. It was decided he was to be replaced by Past Worshipful Master J.M. Remer, who would repatriate the following year and be succeeded by his relative J.C.B. Remer.

The aforementioned Van der Weijde, who functioned as courier of correspondence for the Grand Lodge, replaced Steendekker as Provincial Grand Master (for the Dutch East Indies) during the latter's stay in Bengal.⁷³ In 1772 Van der Weijde delivered the Constitution to La Fidèle Sincérité, as well as some parchments and books ordered from the Grand Lodge.⁷⁴ On 24-6-1772 Van der Weijde was received in La Fidèle Sincérité, probably to formally install the lodge, as the Constitution was read out at this occasion.⁷⁵

In February 1773 the Grand Lodge received a (second) money transfer of 100 Ducats via Van der Lijn.⁷⁶ In September 1773 Grand Secretary Dubois informed the lodge that Van der Weijde had died on the Cape and, although a letter and the contributions had reached their destination, the oral messages meant to be conveyed through him had not reached the home front. Referring to the Van Gehren incident, Dubois warned the lodge 'not to be uncaring' in their choice of officers and members, and 'not to let the needs of the till go above honour in Society'. Dubois again refused to provide the requested title of Provincial Grand Master, referring to his earlier decision on 20-9-1771, emphasising that the function could not coincide with the Officers function of a lodge.⁷⁷ A *don gratuit* of 20 Ducats and a letter dated 16-10-1774 were personally delivered to the Grand Lodge by J.M. Reemer, who had repatriated. The Grand Secretary replied on 28-11-1775, thanking the lodge for the fees paid and again refusing the repeated request for the Provincial status.⁷⁸

The lodge established a set of domestic laws in 1775, of which a copy survived.⁷⁹ Men of low birth, slaves, and those with a bad reputation were barred from becoming members. Initiation fees for the 1st, 2nd and 3rd degree were set at 50, 20 and 30 Rds, further limiting the membership to a certain level of income. An Apprentice would have to wait three months before he was eligible to become a Fellow, and then had to wait another year before he could become Master - without exception for seafaring members. Visitors who called on the lodge more than once, would be invited as members. Other rules managed the proceedings during the ritual and regalia. No one was allowed to talk to a candidate during his ritual 'journey', etc. A substantial part of the rules dealt with the behaviour of the members. If any rule was broken, such as being absent or going on a journey without prior notice, not attending or being late at a celebration like St. John, a fine of up to 3 Ducats or Rds would have to be paid. As fines made up a substantial part of the lodges income, the list of prohibitions was long, including: addressing the Worshipful Master without permission or interrupting him, cursing or using improper language, having a disagreement with another member or causing a disturbance, etc. If a conflict did arise and the brethren were not able to solve it between them, the Worshipful Master would have to be informed of the problem and his judgement in the matter followed up.

Between 1775 and 1777 Jeremias van Riemsdijk (1712-1777) was governor-general of Batavia. He has not been identified as a freemason, but he did not oppose the lodges either and, as will become clear below, his son would eventually help solve a housing problem.

■ *Rented gardens (1767-1775)*

According to Hageman, La Fidèle Sincérité convened in Het Heerenlogement between 1767 and 1770.⁸⁰ He also noted that the lodge first celebrated St. John's Day in this inn on 9-4-1770.⁸¹ However, this celebration accompanied by music and fireworks was the 'cause and occasion' to move the lodge to a different location.⁸² Perhaps the central location had attracted too much attention or criticism? From that moment, the lodge met in the 'garden' of one of the members, usually the Worshipful Master. The word 'garden' should not be taken literally here, it was used at the time for a plot of land including the stately houses built upon it.⁸³ As in the Netherlands, lodges often met in the house of a well-to-do member, who possessed a property large enough to temporarily furnish a room as a lodge and had enough means and staff to host a table lodge. It helped if he also had a prominent status which would uplift and protect the image of the lodge in local society. The appointment of a Worshipful Master was probably influenced by his capability to provide for the lodge. Although rent was usually paid for the use of a garden and such costs were covered by contributions, the lodge archives suggest that it was common for the Worshipful Master (and the main officers) to cover any remaining deficit from their own pockets.

From October 1770 onwards, La Fidèle Sincérité rented 'the garden of Brother De Lopez', later identified as a house in the western outskirts of the city.⁸⁴ This may have belonged to Gerrit de Lopes, listed as a Fellow on the membership list of that year, or J[ohannes Esiaias] de Lopez, listed as *Maître d'Hotel* (best translated as Steward) on the 1772 membership list.⁸⁵ The minutes of 24-6-1772 recorded:

Furthermore the Worshipful Master⁸⁶ proposed the necessity of finding another location for our [lodge], as the Owner of this place had cancelled the rent[,] also the worshipful master proposed to buy a certain garden across the street for a sum of 2500 rds and offered therefore to give 2000 of that [sum himself] and if the Brethren agreed to supplement the remaining 500[,] in that case the Worshipful Master would oblige to rent

Table 5.C: Inventory lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia, 1775.

** All that is indicated in red Such stands above in the Lodge [...]*

House furniture in Sort

36 pieces * Chairs in Sort painted blue
 4 * Spittoon stands “ “
 13 * Candle sticks in Sort “ “
 4 * Playing tables “ “
 6 * Round Stands “ “
 1 * Throne Table “ “
 1 * Play or Writing table “ “
 1 * Ballot Box “ “
 21 * Chairs in Sort “ black
 1 * Throne Table “ “
 1 * Writing ditto “ “
 1 * Coffin and Bier “ “
 12 * Candle Stands “ “
 3 * Three sided Benches “ “
 4 * Carpets in Sort
 1 * Chest with some books and papers
 1 * Set of Blue Curtains to the Master Lodge
 1 * Led pump and its bucket
 1 * Iron Chain
 8 * Winding Stairs
 1 * Plank with Thorns
 1 Chest with copper fittings
 1 red Drawer for Aprons
 ps Leather Gloves
 8 ps ornaments in Sort
 1 Metal almoner box
 1 * great Chest with clutter
 15 Chinese Chairs painted blue
 10 Large ditto all unfit
 4 Bell glass stands

Silver and Plate work

6 ps. * Silver Three sided candle holders
 1 “ Trays
 1 “ compasses
 1 “ Square
 8 * plated Candles

Glass Works in Sort

1 ps * glass Crown

4 * Glass wall shades
 4 * Hanging lamps
 4 * round Oval Mirrors
 10 * Gilded beer glasses as lamps
 4 Shade stands
 50 Free masons' glasses
 12 Water Carafes
 4 Dozen beer glasses
 1 “ wine ditto

Linen wares

27 ps Napkins
 2 Table covers

Copper Goods

27 Three Sided Sconces

Various goods kept in the [Lodge] La Fidelle Sincerite belonging to The Well Honourable Gentleman Nicolaas Maas

7 ps glass wall shades
 3 large copper hanging lanterns
 1 Set Dinner table in 5 pieces
 picked up on 13 Nov.

Various goods kept in the [Loge] La Fidelle Sincerite belonging to the Free Citizen Boudewijn Van Duyveland

30 ps Chairs in 2 Sorts
 2 Playing tables covered in green Cloth
 3 ditto ordinary
 1 large Mirror
 12 paintings in Sort
 1 glass corner closet
 6 copper hanging lanterns in Sort
 12 lamp glasses
 1 Set Dinner tables in 12 pieces
 1 Serving “
 2 Round “
 2 Provision “
 2 Kitchen “
 1 Lacquered drinks cellar
 1 Glass Crown
 1 Japanese Water pot [=Martavaan]
 1 Bantam ditto
 4 Lacquered serving trays
 1 Carrying vessel
 1 Lamp Ladder

the same to us for the time of three years and for nothing in rent[,] besides kept up by his people and furthermore let keep him [= them] in our service in the same way as such present[,] this according to survey and previous deliberations was agreed upon.⁸⁷

This particular plot must have belonged to J.M. Re[e]mer, Worshipful Master around that time.⁸⁸ By 26-10-1774 La Fidèle Sincérité had apparently moved to ‘the House of the Brother Jan Gijsbertij Hodenpijl being a garden just outside the Rotterdamse Poort’.⁸⁹ According to the membership list of that year rent was paid to Steward Hodenpijl. Meetings continued there until December 1775.⁹⁰

The earliest surviving lodge inventory from La Fidèle Sincérité dates from the same year (table 5.C and fig. 5.7).⁹¹ The list of objects shows that, as the lodge still had a semi-ambulant character, its rooms were modestly decorated, but well equipped for both ritual and social functions. A room on the second floor probably served as a temple, as important props for the ritual were stored there. Much of the furniture was either coloured or geometrically shaped according to masonic symbolism. All of these items

will be discussed in more detail below. The number of napkins and glasses indicates that there was room for about 25 members at the table lodge, while the number of ornaments suggests there were eight officers. The playing tables and bar equipment indicate that a room functioned as a gentlemen's club after formal meetings had finished. Imported goods, such as Chinese furniture, as well as Japanese lacquer and porcelain were used, but not yet in large quantities. As larger furniture, such as dining tables and paintings, were loaned from lodge members, the high contributions to the Grand Lodge probably left no room for major purchases in those early years. We will come back to La Fidèle Sincérité later, but first explore the founding of other lodges in the region.

♦ *Lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia (1768-1837)*

As already briefly indicated, a third lodge was founded in Batavia. The circumstances of its foundation are unclear, but Hageman suggests a split within La Fidèle Sincérité was the cause:

[...] in this first meeting of the second lodge the seed was already planted for the third. The Brethren Musquetier, Hasselaer en Van Stockum separated [from La Fidèle Sincérité], and formed, together with thirteen others, an association of their own in the year 1768, under the name '*La Vertueuse*'.⁹²

Since the publication of Hageman's lodge histories in the 19th century, later authors have automatically assumed that conflict was at the root, considering rivalry immediately broke out between La Fidèle Sincérité and La Vertueuse. However, that rivalry was fuelled by actions of the Grand Lodge. It is possible that, like in Bengal (see chapter 4), different insights on degrees or regalia, personal ambition or perceived difference in status could have been a reason to found a third lodge. But it is equally possible that the lodge room was simply too small to accommodate all (potential) members or that the travel distance was considered too long by some. We simply don't know.

Schill's *Gedenkboek* (1843) claimed a request for a constitution was made as early as 1767-1768, but the documents were lost with an unfortunate ship.⁹³ The founding in 1768 can now be confirmed, as a later inventory of the lodge archive clearly lists 'A bunch of Resolutions [= minutes] and attachments belonging to the Lodge La Vertueuse from 1768 until 24 June 1770' (now lost).⁹⁴ The earliest surviving request for a constitution however, was dated 12-1-1769. It was signed by the the aforementioned Hasselaer, Musquetier and Van Stokkum, as well as Adriaan Boesses (1742-1808), a shopkeeper; junior merchants Anthony van Helsdingen (1740-1774), J.G. Visscher van Gaesbeek (1751-1781)⁹⁵ and Floris Foeyt (the latter also a Sworn Clerk at the General Secretary); George Christoffel Hartz (died 1775), a ship's captain; Lieve Nicolaas Meybaum (1735-1783), an alderman; J.C. van der Veen (1728-1770), an infantry captain; Pieter Cornelis Cras (1745-1769), lawyer; and Petrus van der Vorm (born 1731), Extraordinary Council of the Indies.⁹⁶

The request was carried to the Netherlands by Meybaum and another freemason, Arnoldus Adrianus van Tets (1738-1792), *Gecommitteerde over den inlander* (Commissioner on the Natives).⁹⁷ The surviving Constitution provided by the Grand Lodge is dated 1-8-1769 and lists the same men as founders.⁹⁸ The document was sent to Batavia on 15-8-1769, again carried by a ship's captain.⁹⁹ The correspondence register also lists a second letter, sent to La Vertueuse on 30-9-1769, requesting 'a reply and remittance' (= money).¹⁰⁰ Apart from the founders, Schill's *Gedenkboek* (1843) names several other men as earliest members: the aforementioned Brahé of La Choisie, Carel Jan Boers, a junior merchant; Joan Werner van der Velden, *dagregisterhouder* (keeper of the daily records) at the General Secretary in Batavia and a member of lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam; Arend Willem Feith (1745-1782), the later opperhoofd at Dejima in Japan (see chapter 6); as well as two men identified by surname only: Carpenter and Van Randwijk.¹⁰¹ Only Boers and Feith would also be included in the earliest surviving membership list of 1770.¹⁰² Hageman noted that Radermacher, who remained in Batavia until 1783, did not play an active part in either of the two new lodges.¹⁰³ His name is not included in membership lists until 1774, and in 1782-1783 he would become Worshipful Master of La Vertueuse shortly before he repatriated.

Meanwhile, Deputy Grand Master Steendekker arrived in Batavia in 1770. He learned of the requested constitution and - not knowing it was already on its way from the Netherlands - provided one to La Vertueuse on his own accord, even though he technically had not been commissioned to do so, and also formally installed the lodge on 24-2-1770. In a meeting at the house of lodge member Reynier van

Vlissingen on 24-5-1770 it was then revealed that the document sent by the Grand Lodge had finally arrived.¹⁰⁴ The Secretary of La Vertueuse wrote a quick thank you note to the Grand lodge on 22-5-1770.¹⁰⁵ He promised a more detailed report and contribution transfers.

Because their correspondence kept crossing each other, the Grand Secretary, who had just received La Vertueuse's letter of 12-1-1770, sent a duplicate and a triplicate constitution to Batavia on 30-9-1770.¹⁰⁶ The Grand Secretary expressed his hope that Brother van der Wijck (and the members of the by then still unrecognized lodge La Fidèle Sincérité) had by now joined La Vertueuse as new members. The Grand Lodge received letters from La Vertueuse on 24-10 and 4-11-1770.¹⁰⁷ The latter contained a request by La Vertueuse 'to be commissioned with the power to demand the obligation to pay Contributions from the lodge to be newly founded, under the name La Fidèle Sincérité &ca'.¹⁰⁸ The following year a money transfer was also received by the Grand Lodge.¹⁰⁹

As Dutch lodges were allowed to choose a lodge colour for their regalia, La Vertueuse opted for 'lemon yellow'. A later commemorative publication remarked that this decision was based on the fact that yellow was associated with the elite in Java, and that it therefore had a local character:

This dress, which the brethren had in common with the canaries, existed, perhaps because of that, not for long.¹¹⁰

It was later decided the interior of the lodge would also be decorated in this color.¹¹¹

The next few years, La Vertueuse would keep repeating its request to the Grand Lodge for the title of Provincial Grand Lodge. Afraid this coveted title might instead go to La Fidèle Sincérité, which at the time was still waiting for a constitution, La Vertueuse did everything in its power to describe the other lodge as unfit. For instance, in 1770 the secretary of La Vertueuse wrote to the Grand Lodge to announce that Reynier van Vlissingen, Second chief merchant at the Castle, was now its Worshipful Master. Past Master Van der Vorm no longer visited the lodge, 'for unknown reasons'. With regards to the requested title, he described lodge La Fidèle Sincérité as 'in our minds being here unqualified and consisting from a mixed Sort of people'.¹¹² In a letter of 18-1-1771, this unfavourable description was not only repeated, but extended:

[La Fidèle Sincerite] Erred itself by [...] accept[ing] all kinds of Scabrous people and in their behaviour being of not undisputed doings, no doubt to make it appear as a Seemingly well sported Lodge for Your High enlightened and Grand Worshipful, or also to show, how they are industrious in the propagation of our royal art, in recruiting people, whom we would at the most deem unworthy of being in our presence, and who also beforehand know they would be rejected by us, and so we insist again, to if Your Worshipful is none the less inclined to grant a Constitution to the same [La Fidèle Sincérité] to yet grant us the favour of being considered a provincial Lodge and to ratify, and to mark those persons as a subordinate Lodge, in order to not only have the reigns to some extent, but also to prevent that the general esteem of our Noble science here [in Batavia], would not be wholly shattered.¹¹³

Table 5.D: Worshipful Masters of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia before 1837

1767-1769	Jean George Daniel Hasselaer
1769-1770	Petrus van der Vorm
1770-1771	Reynier van Vlissingen
1771	Petrus van der Vorm
1771	J.G.W. Massau
1771-1774	Jean George Daniel Hasselaer
1774	Hendrik van Stockum
1775-1781	Isaac Titsingh
1779	H.A. Rossel (acting Worshipful Master in Titsings absence)
1781-1783	Gerhardus van Groll
1782-1783	Jacob Cornelis Mattheus Radermacher
1783-1790	Pieter Gerardus van Overstraten
1790-1791	Jan Reynier Coortsen
1791	V. van de Weerth
1795	Gotfried Christiaan Fetmenger (acting Worshipful Master)
1796-1801	Nicolaus Engelhard
1801	Johan Hendrik Holle
1801	Wijnand van Stoesen
1810	Andries Hartsinck
1811	Willem Jacob Cransen
1815	Nicolaus Engelhard
1815	Jan Michael van Beusechem
1816	Willem Jacob Cransen
1819	Jan Michael van Beusichem
1821-1825	Hendrik Merkus de Kock
1825-1830	Jan Michael van Beusichem (acting Worshipful Master during De Kock's absence)
1831-1834	Jan Michael van Beusichem
1834-1836	J. Penning Nieuwland
1836	Jan Isaac van Sevenhoven
1837	J. Penning Nieuwland

A similar request was made in October of the same year.¹¹⁴ Deputy Grand Master Steendekker elucidated on the departure of Van der Vorm in his own letter to the Grand Lodge on 16-1-1771:

[Van der Vorm] quit the Lodge and resigned, by conflicts, which have taken place among the brethren there. In the Lodge [La Vertueuse] are Persons who have money and sometimes think to have a glory, to sit on a golden Throne, and do not exercise the truth of freemasonry, I have tried my best to bring those brothers in a good harmony according to the laws of masonry, but it was impossible for me, while there are persons among them who are not Mason but Profane or even Worse.¹¹⁵

Steendekker argued that he had been given insufficient authority by the Grand Lodge to be able to provide a temporary constitution to La Fidèle Sincérité, who he'd rather be of service than La Vertueuse because 'these People better adhere to the laws than the latter'.¹¹⁶ Steendekker advised the Grand Lodge that to grant La Vertueuse the title of Provincial Grand Lodge would be unwise:

[..] this would repress the other Lodge while those two at first will not accept each other, but will over time if they remain Equal, but if one becomes bigger than the other there will never be unity. La Vertueuse has not held lodge in three months therefore members have left as you will see in your List.¹¹⁷

Steendekker asked the Grand Lodge to bestow him with more power, so he could bring things to a harmonious end. He announced a *don gratuit* of 100 Ducats as founding fee for La Vertueuse had been transferred to the [Grand?] orator Cornelis Jacobus van der Lijn in Amsterdam, and promised more would follow.

The Grand Secretary wrote to La Vertueuse on 20-9-1771, acknowledging the receipt of letters dated 4-11-1770 and 18-1-1771, as well as a money transfer of fl. 292,-. He added, almost apologetic:

We have also well received the repeated request, from the Brethren, belonging to the Lodge La Findele Sicerite as well as the necessary elucidation of our worthy foreign Deputy Grand Master, Brother Steendecker, in order to grant that long desired Constitution; and as there were no sufficient grounds against it, We were unable to refuse it.¹¹⁸

The Grand Secretary reprimanded La Vertueuse to build a good relationship with the other lodge, because discord between freemasons would bring shame to the Order. The coveted Provincial title was once again denied. Unaware, the lodge repeated its request and informed the Grand Lodge on 1-9-1771 that the aforementioned Hasselaer, earlier a member of La Fidèle Sincérité, had now been chosen as Worshipful Master of La Vertueuse, as Van Vlissingen had been appointed governor of the Coromandel Coast¹¹⁹ Another letter to the Grand Lodge followed in 1772, the tone much like before:

Furthermore we cannot omit to reply that we have not so much distanced ourselves from the Lodge La Fidele Sincerite as for certain Members of the same, with whom one in this country cannot but to ones disadvantage, have common dealings, because one is used to accepting such [persons] there, who have no other credit than the counting of the Sum paid for the reception there, while their behaviour is not at all after the example of Persons of good birth and proper education, who by virtuous behaviour and other qualities from the First of the Country [= governor-general] aim to make [themselves] liked and pleasant.¹²⁰

Further correspondence was registered in the Grand Lodge accounts, but the originals lost.¹²¹ Steendekker asked La Vertueuse for a copy of all Grand Lodge correspondence and an overview of receptions and members on 8-1-1772.¹²²

Grand Secretary Du Bois thanked La Vertueuse in September 1773 for letters and contributions sent, and explained - probably as a means of deterring further pleas - that if anyone had a right to the Provincial title, it would be La Fidèle Sincérité whose earlier request was received with delay. In order not to disadvantage anyone, both lodges had been refused the honor, but the Grand Lodge was now willing to name appoint an independent Provincial Grand Master.¹²³ On 19-1-1775 La Vertueuse replied:

We are not completely elucidated, while some among us who when the Lodge La Choisie was run down, set themselves to the foundation of La Vertueuse, know that after us, la Fidele Sincerite was founded, and that this separation of La Choisie originated from conflicts between the members, caused by different persons from which that society existed. And while we have directly after this incident addressed ourselves to Your Worshipful for a Constitution, it seems strange, that the aforementioned brothers would have beaten us to it unless they also made a spelling mistake in the date.¹²⁴

It is possible that the founders of La Fidèle Sincérité in 1767 simply decided to keep its request for a constitution to the Grand Lodge a secret, until it they would have all the necessary papers in hand and no one could intervene. If the founders of La Vertueuse had a disagreement with (former) members of La Choisie in 1768 and were prompted to do the same, it would explain why the latter was so convinced it had applied first. Fact remains that a difference in social status was a factor here, and that La Vertueuse tried to discredit La Fidèle Sincérité, while the other lodge did not stoop to the same level.

The following letters by the Grand Lodge mainly dealt with administrative matters. On 19-4-1775 Dubois wrote that he suspected Steendekker had been shipwrecked on his way to Bengal.¹²⁵ The Grand Lodge made clear on 28-11-1775 how the appointment of a Provincial Grand Master was to work: the joint Brethren in Batavia have to form an election, after which the chosen candidate was to be approved by The Hague.¹²⁶ The candidate had to live in Batavia, had to be independent and could therefore not hold an Officer's position in any lodge. For the formal certificate granting the Provincial Grand Master his powers, he would have to pay a fee of 20 Ducats. The Grand Lodge pointed out that, following a change in the rules of the British Grand Lodge, the Dutch would follow suit and 'revoke and destroy all accidentally granted Patents as Provincial Grand Lodges'.¹²⁷ Correspondence was then taken over by the next Grand Secretary, Jan Pieter van der Haer, government Secretary of The Hague.¹²⁸

Now La Vertueuse got cold feet, as is clear from a letter from 2-11-1776. Suddenly the lodge did not want to rule over others (or be overruled), and argued a Provincial Grand Master would not be able to stay in one location for any amount of time. There were now two lodges existing without conflict between them and they would abide the Dutch laws, so this measure was not necessary.¹²⁹

■ *Rented gardens (1769-1778)*

Masonic commemorative publications emphasize that the first meetings of lodge La Vertueuse were held in members' homes, in order to maintain secrecy.¹³⁰ The manuscript for Schill's *Gedenkboek* (1843) noted:

The 1st celebration in the Lodge, was made ready on the 24 June 1769 [= St. John's Day] in the garden of the Gentleman David du feau de la Longue [...] this garden must have been located near the Pising estate, whereby Brother Arendtz was initiated.¹³¹

Du Fau de la Longue was former *weesmeester* (civil servant dealing with legates) and Elder of the Reformed Church of Batavia. Hageman noted a meeting in August 1769 in the garden of Worshipful Master Petrus van der Vorm, Extraordinary Member of the Council of the East Indies.¹³² A second meeting took place in Van der Vorm's house in October of the same year.¹³³ Other meetings are thought to have taken place in 1769 in the Heerenlogement, although this proved difficult to verify.¹³⁴ As with La Fidèle Sincérité, meeting places were formally recorded in the membership lists sent to the Grand Lodge, which have survived from 1770 onwards. So what is certain, is that from 1770-1771 meetings took place 'at the House of the Brother van Vlissingen in the adjacent'.¹³⁵ Reynier van Vlissingen was the Worshipful Master at the time, as were the men whose houses were used in subsequent years. That of Jan Georg Daniel Hasselaer, administrator of the grain warehouse, in 1772¹³⁶, and that of Hendrick van Stockum, a member of the Council of the East Indies, from 1774 onwards.¹³⁷ All these hosts did receive some reimbursement for their expenses, in the form of (real or symbolic) rent. The latter property was depicted around that time by the aforementioned artist and freemason Johannes Rach (fig. 5.9) and, as we will see later, it would not be the only lodge building depicted by him. The network relationships he made within the lodge may have played a part in his artistic activities in Batavia, which deserve to be explored further.

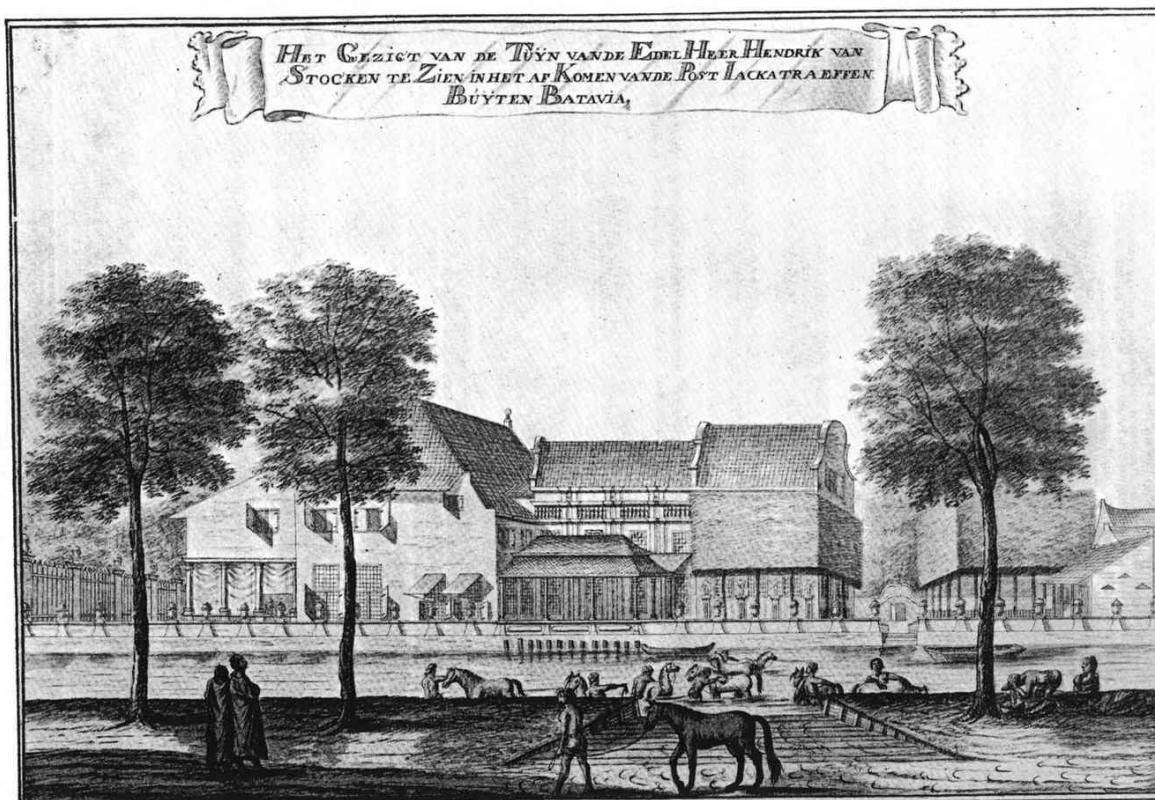


Fig. 5.9: Johannes Rach, View of the Garden of the Noble Gentleman Hendrik van Stocken [sic] seen coming from the Post Jackatra just outside Batavia, 1760-1780, drawing in pen and pencil, 35.5 x 52 cm. Collection: National Library of Indonesia, Jakarta. Reproduced from: atlasofmutualheritage.nl.

The financial records around 1771 give a first impression of the lodge's means and expenses. Amongst the payments listed were the wages of the Servant, amounting to 20 Rds. Also on the payroll was the mandur at 7 ½ Rds per month and '2 slave boys' for the same rate. A table lodge would cost circa 30 Rds per person, while the supply of drinks, candles, pipes and tobacco amounted to 40 Rds per person. The lodge spent about 150 Rds on repairs, and paid a yearly contribution to the Grand Lodge of 330 Rds. Likewise, the contributions of the members amounted to a total of 330 Rds per month, on top of which the initiation as Apprentice cost 30 Rds, as Master 45, and as *Maître Écossais* (Scots Master) or *Élu* (Chosen Master) 150 each.¹³⁸ The high costs obviously limited the number of members who were eligible for the latter degree. Regular reimbursements to Van Stockum for 'expenses made for holding Lodge' were recorded up until 1777.

◦ *Kormandelswijk* (1778-1783)

There is a gap in the lodge archive for about a decade, so developments in the years 1775-1785 are less clear.¹³⁹ Between 1777 and 1780 Reinier de Klerk (1710-1780) was governor-general of the Dutch East Indies. He has not been identified as a freemason, but his daughter was married to Radermacher.¹⁴⁰ It seems the *La Vertueuse* first made use of a house not occupied by the original owner, and therefore wholly decorated as a lodge building, around this time.

An invoice for 162-1778 mentions the costs which Steward Hartsingh advanced the month before:

[...] for a sloping overhang around the outer gallery, and for the galley	35,- [Rds]
to Mrs. Meijer for Servants to clean the house and whitewash it	27,-
for demolishing two walls, and appropriate the Lodge	15,-
[...] to the overseer of the 16 th Jan. Grand Lodge extra	10,-
[...] the 27 th small meeting to the overseer	5,-

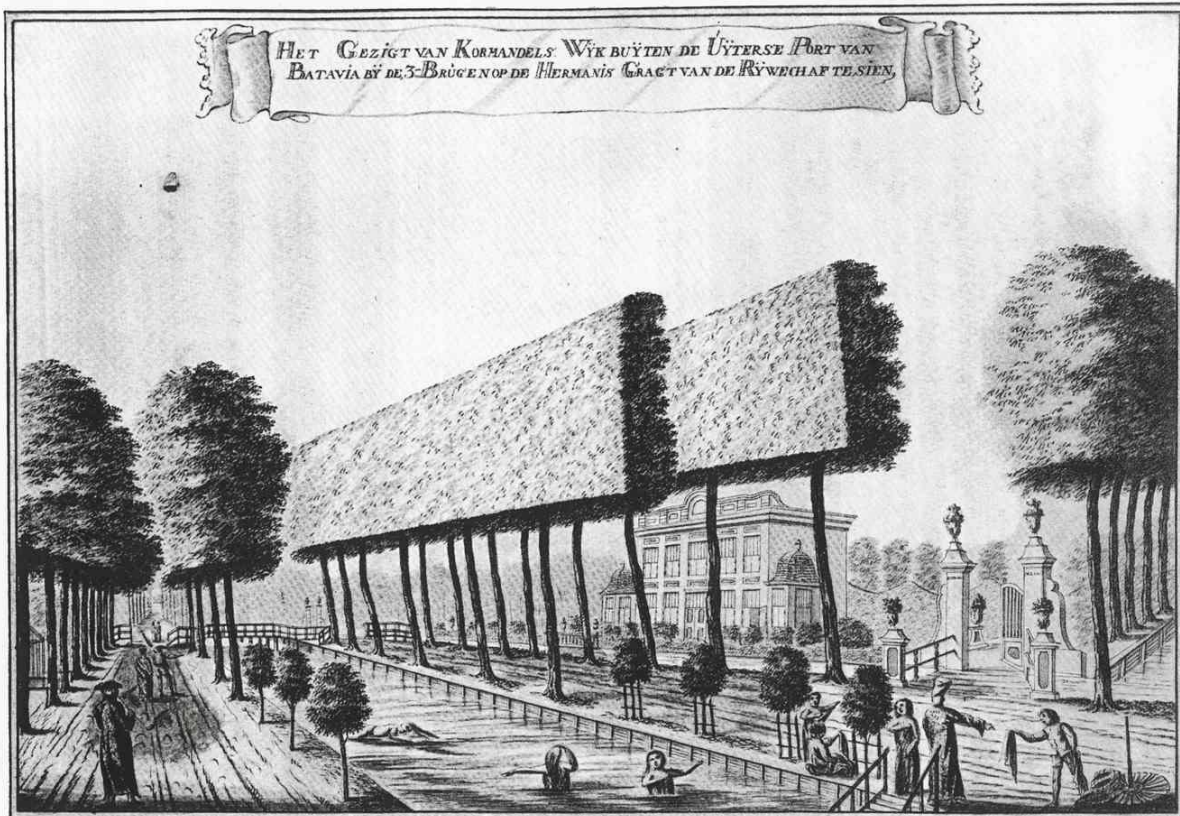


Fig. 5.10: Johannes Rach, View of Kormandels Wyk outside the Uyterse Port of Batavia, at the 3-Bridge on the Hermanis Gracht seen from the Roadside, 1760-1780, drawing in pen and pencil, 35.5 x 52 cm. Collection: National Library of Indonesia, Jakarta. Reproduced from: atlasofmutual heritage.nl.

For the rent of a cook for the month
 For a month's rent of the garden of the brethren

6,24
 25,- [...] ¹⁴¹

It is not clear if the new building was again property of a lodge member or a third party. In the same month another 13 Rds were spent on 'making three door locks, and keys for the security of the lodge; as well as the renewal of the privy of the brethren'.¹⁴² The financial records list the purchase on 30-11-1778 of '10 pots of chalk and requirements for the whitewashing of the new hotel of the brethren' worth 6,12 Rds, and 5 Rds for the boat fees to deliver it all.¹⁴³ In December payments were made to 'the carpenters, and masons Chinese, for the taking care of leakages, repairs to the house, and making galley shelving, and tables according to receipt 42,-'.¹⁴⁴

Such investments all point to the permanent use of a building, or at least an intent to settle there. A receipt from December 1778 then reveals the location of the new lodge building: 'Six months' rent for the land named Cormandelswijk', but it remains unclear to whom rent was paid.¹⁴⁵ The document is signed 'this is the work of the Captain Fota Amat'. This may refer to the house Kormandelswijk, located in the middle of the south side of the 'Hermanisgracht' [= Amanusgracht], also depicted by Johannes Rach (fig. 5.10).

Among the expenses of the lodge in June 1778 were the wages of musicians: 'the playing boys of the Gentlemen Verkloude 11,-'.¹⁴⁶ On behalf of the lodge Worshipful Master Isaac Titsing (see chapter 4) paid the dowager Meijer for the use of her 'slave boys' to carry goods and do other jobs in October 1778 at a rate of 12 Stuivers each per day.¹⁴⁷ The lodge also regularly noted 'the hiring of the garden boys of the gentleman Huijtinga'.¹⁴⁸

The lodge minutes recorded how in 1779 an invoice for Rds 765,- was sent to Steward Hartsingh by merchant Johannes Heim, for:

[...] some furniture, and more other goods, which said Brother steward without any commission or qualification bought from Heim in the name of the Lodge, and after which by similar unqualified and repeatedly committed devious practices of the Brother steward, this Lodge came to have a bad name in batavia's society, and to instigate talk among the enlightened and profane as that the same [brother] made more expenses, than could be paid.¹⁴⁹

The lodge, not the Steward, would be liable if claims were made. La Vertueuse decided to take on the debts provided Hartsingh would hand the goods over to the lodge. He was then relieved of his function.

Worshipful Master Titsingh offered to advance fl. 100,- and other lodge members made similar gestures. The goods in question were listed in the oldest surviving inventory of La Vertueuse, dated 4-2-1779 (table 5.E).¹⁵⁰ The document was signed for approval by Titsingh. It is similar to the first of La Fidèle Sincérité, but does not include any ritual objects or regalia, as Hartsingh simply didn't purchase any. The number of chairs and towels indicates there was room for 40-50 members and visitors, but it is not clear how many of those goods were actually necessary, or rather superfluous. Most items are suitable for use in the table lodge and the social gathering afterwards. Other items are purely meant for decoration, including paintings, and comfort, including cushions. Notes on the use of the building, made on 11-4-1782, reveal it consisted of two stories and rooms with different functions:

The lower house, will only serve as a society room, the upper room and the dark chamber having to remain closed [...] and to cut off all, that may resemble an inn or Drinking house, so all expenses that will be made at these meetings, have to be paid to the Lodge cashbox; though in order to keep this class in place [...] every member of the Lodge will have his monthly contribution raised by only half a rd. per Month, in order to find therefrom the necessary Lamp oil and further salary for the overseer of the Lodge, the so called mandur, whose service, no matter how much every Brother can rely on his accompanying slave, is however at these meetings burdened with the lighting of the lamps, preparing coffee or tea, likewise delivering the milk, and which raise I put at rds. 10 - per month being for rds. 2,24 milk, for rds. 2,24 lamp oil and rds 5. his extra effort.¹⁵¹

The brief mention of slaves here raises all sorts of questions, to which we will come back later. From the records of La Fidèle Sincérité it is clear slaves were used as labourers, but apparently the members could also be accompanied to a lodge meeting by a slave, presumably to wait on them during the table lodge and/or the social gathering afterwards.¹⁵² That implies they too were, by sheer proximity, aware of the nature of such meetings.

Every lodge member had to pay 40 Stuivers upon entry, each time he visited 'the society'. This was registered by the mandur, who handed the money to the Treasurer on the first of each month.

Table 5.E: Inventory of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, 4-2-1779.

Note of such goods as were ceded by the Gentleman Hartingh against the adjacent prices into the possession of Lodge La Vertueuse, remaining under His Worship

42 Javanese Chairs of 2 1/3 Rds each	105:-
4 benches with their long and small [candle] stands	
4 playing tables, 2 with red velvet, 2 covered with green cloth, with 4 playing stands	48:-
2 drawer tables	30:-
6 tea stands, and 1 large stand	18:-
1 corner chest for glasses	25:-
1 long double Pouring table varnished	10:-
2 corner tables varnished	10:-
1 round table varnished	7:-
2 stone tables	20:-
1 tea chest varnished	10:-
1 large dinner table	
2 ditto somewhat smaller	- to be made one 50:-
2 ditto	
<i>Wall decorations</i>	
6 black art [= mezzo tint] nudes	30:-
6 crayoned portraits [= chalk drawings]	30:-
6 oval red art with gold frames	24:-
4 round ditto ditto	16:-
2 ditto with green frames	8:-
4 mirrors from one [sheet of] glass with modern frames	200:-
3 Smooth [glass] Bells	35:-
2 Rough [glass bells] in two rooms	20:-
3 Bells hanging on copper chains	30:-
4 copper lanterns	24:-
2 lanterns for the pantry and galley	8:-
10 copper spittoons	40:-
10 Candle sticks	40:-
<i>Linen wares</i>	
3 blue Chintz couch matrasses	
with their pillows	
ditto chair cushions	
10 Large table cloths	- together 80:-
100 Napkins	
50 towels	
	<i>Sum</i> 976:-

[...] wine, beer, candles, strong liquor, pipes, coffee and tea, which is required during these meetings, will be taken, from the General Pantry of the lodge, [...] while one expects the lovers of a tobacco pipe, to bring their own Tobacco.

[...] some Brethren, who do not hold a table [= have a household = bachelors], [wonder] whereto, they themselves seemly and discretely can go, as late as the hour of half past Nine, to have the evening meal? [...] I think that one needs to leave it to the married and other Brethren, who hold a table [= have a household], to for this purpose invite at Home some of the Brethren, or the company with whom they came to the society, to their own will and choice, - while the ones, who are not so inclined, can have a small evening meal of some oysters, or a cold ham, salad and baked fish, or a sandwich etc prepared by the servants who make the Lodge Table, provided they are separately satisfied [= paid] for it; - the kitchen and table ware of the Lodge, which are under their supervision, can be used to such ends.¹⁵³

In other words, the costs of the table lodge were covered by monthly contributions; that of the bar service by an admittance fee. The lodge now having the use of a kitchen and servants, would provide small meals on the lodge premises to (unmarried) members, provided these were paid for separately, and allow (married) members to request private catering at home for larger parties.

On 6-9-1781 payments made include temporary decorations such as 'rent of black cloth to decorate the Lodge at master Ritual' and 'idem the dark chamber at several reception of Apprentices 60:-'.¹⁵⁴ Yet the financial overview for December 1782 noted more permanent work being done:

For some changes made in the Lodge	[rds] 40,-,
to the chinese painter for painting and gilding the Lodge	[rds] 160 ' . ¹⁵⁵

Despite the investments mentioned above, the lodge had to leave Kormandelswijk. Around 1783 the property of Worshipful Master Gerhardus van Groll was used.¹⁵⁶ La Vertueuse then gathered in a house in the 'garden' of lodge Architect Daniel Kreysman, a captain and chief of the island Onrust, at Molenvliet from 1784 to 1785.¹⁵⁷ Rent was paid at 10 Rds a month.¹⁵⁸ Schill's *Gedenkboek* (1843) noted the next move back to 'the Armanusgragt in a rented garden of the Civilian [A.J.] van Steenberg'.¹⁵⁹ This is thought to have been the same location occupied by La Fidèle Sincérité (see Kormandelswijk above), but that is difficult to verify.¹⁶⁰ A receipt dated 24-10-1785 for a payment to the 'Chinese carpenter' Tan Jaijko, lists work to the lodge building, including 'laying marble outside the door in the Garden on Jacatra [= the old name of Batavia] [...] rds 60,-', 'the chopping of the walls in said Garden', 'bringing black sand in the Garden' and coolie salaries for 4 to 12 men per month.¹⁶¹ We will return to La Vertueuse and its other buildings later.

♦ *Lodge La Constance in Malacca (1770 –1776)*

In a letter dated 5-10-1770, and again on 16-1-1771, Provincial Grand Master Steendekker wrote to the Grand Lodge (fig. 5.17):

My last [letter] to Your High Enlightened was in the month November A[nn]o passato sent from Malacca to the Provincial Lodge Salomon in Bengalen, with the request to send this to Your High Enlightened, on the First leaving ships to the Netherlands hoping under Jehovas precious Blessing under Oversight of the Architect of the Universe [...] having mentioned that I had the Honour and luck during my stay in Malacca to have drafted the Honourable Gentlemen Mr. Thomas Schippers Governor and Director of the aforementioned City and Fortress into our High Enlightened order to the 3rd degree, and request for this brother a Constitution, to there or elsewhere found a Lodge under the name of La Constance be it in Malacca or wherever Else it may be; Sending to the High enlightened brother [Grand] Orator Cornelis Jacobus van der Lijn¹⁶² a don gratuit of 100 gold ducats [...] His Honour will not fail, to do another honourable Present to the grand [Loge] that amounts to more than a hundred Ducats; provided his Honour will be favorited by Your High Enlightened as is his request, with a Constitution and a Patent of the 3rd [degree] as Master, as well as a honourable position pr. Honaer: to the grand [Lodge] the Constitution with which your High enlightened pleases to favour him should read[:] his Honour our Brother Mr Thomas Schippers as Grand Master of the [Lodge] [...].¹⁶³

Thomas Schippers (1720-1780) was governor of Malacca (Melaka, Westcoast of Malaysia) between 1764 and 1771, after which he left for Batavia.¹⁶⁴ The fact that the lodge names La Constance in Malacca and De

Standvastigheid in Bengal refer to the same virtue and were active around the same time (Constance), may indicate there was a relationship between the two.¹⁶⁵

Having received Steendekkers second letter, Grand Secretary Dubois wrote to Schippers on 20-9-1771, acknowledging his request and pointing out:

The law is clear and states, that to the founding of a Lodge, there need to be 7 Brothers locally, including 3 Master Masons, as applicants for a Constitution [...] So that Your Honour might understand, these formalities need to be followed [...]. However We have approved [...] to provisionally grant Your Honour the power and the quality to function, as Worshipful Master, of that Lodge yet to be founded.¹⁶⁶

This is a very different attitude than the one displayed by the Grand Lodge towards the request made by La Fidèle Sincérité, again indicating that an advance of costs was a persuasive argument. Enclosed with the letter was a request for donors of a new charitable fund, and a 'provisional constitution'. At the same time, the Grand Secretary sent a letter to Steendekker, emphasising the temporary character of the document.

The most recent overview of lodges under Dutch jurisdiction, claims it is not clear if La Constance ever received a permanent constitution.¹⁶⁷ But in the register of money transfers of the Grand Lodge, the receipt of the sum of 100 Ducats was registered on 13-1-1771. It was made out by Steendekker and entrusted to Cornelis Jacob van der Lijn, to be drawn on Paulus Lublinck, merchant on the Binnekant in Amsterdam for the sum of fl. 525,-: 'As coming from the Gentleman Johannes Schippers Governor of Malacca, for a constitution'.¹⁶⁸ Not only is the payment recorded, a letter by Dubois [to Steendekker?] dated 30-9-1772 clearly states: 'We hope that [...] the requested Diploma's, for Batavia as for Malacca have reached their destination in good order'.¹⁶⁹ The Grand Lodge normally sent certificates to constituted lodge only, which is another sign she had already formally recognized the lodge in Malacca by that time.

The register of letters of the Grand Lodge contains a last reference to the lodge on 23-2-1776: 'Reply to the members of Lodge La Constance to the former with abolition of the title Provincial Lodge'.¹⁷⁰ Such a reply or *rescription* indicates the lodge must have written to the Grand Lodge about half a year earlier. The question is whether the Grand Lodge informed La Constance of the removal of the title of Provincial Grand Lodge from lodge Salomon in Bengal, or whether this indicates that La Constance (like Salomon and La Choisie) ever applied or received that title for the whole of Malacca?

Documents dated after 1776 relating to this lodge were not found. Dutch masonic almanacs usually listed the founding and erasing of lodges, but La Constance was never included.¹⁷¹

◆ *A nameless lodge in Padang (1772-1774)*

Very little is known about the activities of Dutch freemasons in Padang on Western Sumatra. A few unpublished letters are all that confirms a lodge, which remained nameless, was once active there. La Fidèle Sincérité received a request to help found a new lodge on 28-8-1772.¹⁷² Ten freemasons, the required number to found a lodge, had assembled in Padang. La Fidèle Sincérité did not have the authority to do so, so instead it appealed to the Grand Lodge on 26-10-1773 (fig. 5.11):

We also have the advantage of letting Your Honour know, that we received this Year a letter from the Gentlemen Jacob Samuel de Raaf, and Frans van Kerchem, in Padang on Sumatra's West coast, where by the same informed us of their intention to want to found there aa Lodge of our Royal Order, having gathered already 10 Members. Requesting us to that End, to presently grant a proper Constitution, in order te be able to continue their work in a lawful and seemly manner, and offering us to remit the costs thereof at our instigation, but to our regret we had to send them a declining answer, while we are not qualified for such a permit, and that the Deputy Grand-Master Steendekker who was here at the time, and to whom we have communicated said Request, was not able to agree to comply, for resons that the sum for the costs had not been sent over at the same time: However we have let their Honours know that we would present their desire to Your Honour [...] as we can assure Your Honour concerning the applicants, that they are Veritable Masons and as such for long accepted by us [...].¹⁷³

Three of the applicants were identified. Van Kerchem and De Raaf were members of La Fidèle Sincérité. The original request had also been signed by Anthonij Johannes Leuftink, an accountant in Padang. The

question remains who the other seven could have been.¹⁷⁴ Grand Secretaries Du Bois and J.J. van der Haer sent a reply to *La Fidèle Sincérité* on 19-4-1775:

In answer to Your Honour's latest letter, [received] through Brother Capt[ain] Gerrit Bruijn [...] we have nothing against the constitution; under this provision, that Your Honour will instruct these Newcomers and stimulate the to transfer a Don Gratuit for that Diploma.

Regarding this We will not make a stipulation, when they remember what was remitted by the Brother Steendekker, on account of Your Honour and others, this taxation will be generous. Next to that these Brethren need to be instructed, of their obligation, to send us yearly a Don Gratuit, after the condition of their members, as well as a list of the State of their Lodge.

[...] So we have reached the understanding, to send for speedy expedition a readymade Constitution, in order to allow Your Honour to fill in the blanks spaces with the Names of the Applicants (*), as well as the Name of the Lodge, with the Colour, of which We ask Your Honour to return a Copy in order to properly include in our register, and to incorporate those Brethren, thus belonging to a regular lodge into the body of the National Brotherhood, and make known to the respective Lodges under our resort [...]

(*) at least seven in number to comply with the Art[icle] of the Law.¹⁷⁵

Enclosed with the letter was a 'blank Diploma', that *La Fidèle Sincérité* was to have delivered in Padang.¹⁷⁶ Van Laak, the Order's bookseller, wasted no time and sent an offer to *La Fidèle Sincérité* on the same day as the Grand Lodge: 'I suppose that the new Brethren in Padang, which have been constituted at Your Honour's request, will need books and parchments'.¹⁷⁷ Brother Pieter Dekker, who had come to Java in 1775 as an office rand captain¹⁷⁸, was supposed to have transferred the sum of 100 Ducats to The Hague and deliver the constitution.¹⁷⁹ In a second letter to *La Fidèle Sincérité*, dated 28-11-1775, the Grand Secretary emphasized his hope that 'the constitution sent to the Brethren in Padang' had arrived safely.¹⁸⁰

There are however no other documents relating to the Padang lodge. According to Hageman Van Kerchem left before 1775 (in fact he died) and Leuftink before 1776. It is possible that the departure of two of the founders before the arrival of the constitution meant that the lodge never (formally) functioned. In 1780-1784 political conflict must have prevented any further attempts, but it is thought that a last, unsuccessfull initiative to found a lodge in Padang was taken in 1794.¹⁸¹ Masonic historian Van der Linden thought that the need for a lodge in this region contributed to another initiative: 'thus ripened the idea among members of 'La Vertueuse' to undertake a conversion tour. An excellent opportunity presented itself in the form of a trip by Nederburgh'.¹⁸² This led to the founding of lodge De Goede Hoop, which will be discussed below.

◆ *Lodge buildings in Batavia (I)*

While attempts to found lodges in other parts of Java continued, *La Fidèle Sincérité* and *La Vertueuse* remained the strongest masonic presence in the area for several decades. By 1780 governor-general De Klerk was succeeded by Willem Arnold Alting (1724-1800), who held the office until 1796. Although he himself was not a member of the Order, his son-in-law Johannes Siberg (fig. 5.16) and his 1st Secretary Pieter Gerardus van Overstraten (1755-1801, fig. 5.14) were both freemasons. This may have contributed to the public visibility of the lodges, their acquirement of buildings in prominent places in the city, as well as the government presence at the opening of the new temple of lodge *La Vertueuse* in 1786.¹⁸³

◦ *La Fidèle Sincérité at the Amanusgracht (1775-1801)*

From circa 1775 onwards, *La Fidèle Sincérité* is thought to have met in a building at the A[r]manusgracht.¹⁸⁴ This property belonged to lodge member Nicolaas Maas, who was elected Worshipful Master in 1780, 1785 and 1787.¹⁸⁵ By now, the lodge had its Servant on the payroll. He received 30 Rds salary per six months.¹⁸⁶ The financial files also record payments for services of third parties, such as the *speeljongens* or musicians, who received 25 Rds for their performance on 24-12-1778 (St. John's Day).¹⁸⁷ Like in Europe, they probably played behind a screen of some sort, unable to watch the ritual proceedings and also out of view of the lodge members.

Rent was regularly paid to Maas until circa 1787, later rent payments do not specify the recipient. Receipts from 1792-1793 signed by Maas show instalments were paid by lodge member Carel Kuvel for the

sale of a 'certain garden' for a total sum of 5.000,- Rds. So the lodge building probably changed hands. Its location is described as 'located outside this city's Utrechtse Poort or in the west field of the 7th part of bloc P, north of the housing road along the Amanus gragt, South with the buffalos Curved east of the E. Samuel Noortman [?] & west with Mrs. Meijer'.¹⁸⁸

A second inventory, made up on 10-1-1781, lists the lodge's possessions at the Amanusgracht (table 5.F).¹⁸⁹ Again these include furniture and lightening fixtures, ritual props and regalia, to be discussed in more detail below. A separate inventory was made of the lodge archive, including:

[...] The Minute & Members book
 An incoming letters book
 An [outgoing] letters book
 Ten Sheets of Parchment for Certificates
 Four various Certificates handed over to the lodge
 Some printed Lodge notes [...].¹⁹⁰

A later version would also include a chest with cash, a metal box containing the constitution, and a metal box with drawers containing membership lists, financial records, masonic books and the lodge seal.¹⁹¹

According to Hageman La Fidèle Sincérité and La Vertueuse worked in the same building at the Amanusgracht for some time, but this is difficult to verify.¹⁹² He also noted that around 1784 both lodges became aware that this location away from the city centre was undesirable if they wanted to attract new members. While La Vertueuse decided to move nearer to the city, 'the metals' (= financial power) of La Fidèle Sincérité were not strong enough to allow such a move, nor were members who themselves lived outside the city walls concerned enough to do something about it.¹⁹³ Instead, the lodge invested in the existing building. By 1786 the furniture inventory was still largely unchanged¹⁹⁴, but the ritual ceremonies were adapted and the Chamber of Reflection was refurbished:

[...] so that henceforth at this ceremony, the eye would be fixed on the Ceremonial and Stately, instead of, as it has until now occurred, that [with] which to fill the feeling of an uninitiated with dread and fear, without such being able to work out anything else than the Honourable, to which the Work of the Brotherhood is so dear, to see it ridiculed and offer to the blinded subject the strangest ideas. [...] The Dark Chamber, as it now is, will be undone and cleared of all its horrible decorations and frights.¹⁹⁵

The financial overview of 1786-1787 shows which other investments were made at the Amanusgracht, such as work on a new throne, discussed below.¹⁹⁶ As any man could theoretically one day become a freemason, he should not see the inside of a temple beforehand. So it was preferable to have maintenance done either by men who were already members (but they would have considered such work beneath their status) or by men who were considered ineligible, as the native population still was at the time. A monthly salary of 8,5 Rds was paid to 'the mandur in the garden', a Javanese man functioning as a kind of caretaker or concierge

Table 5.F: Inventory lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia, 10-1-1781.

Inventory of the Following Goods, which are present on This date in the Lodge La fidelle Sincerite in the Garden of the Worshipful Grand Master N. Maas, located on the Amanus Gragt, and in our presence, have been inventoried:

*As 6 pieces Silver Candle holders on stands, belonging to the Worshipful Grand Master N. Maas
 6 Masons Chandeliers
 3 Grand Chairs as for the Grand Master & 2 for the 1st & 2nd Warden Presented to the lodge by the brother de Win
 36 Javanese small armchairs presented to the lodge by brother de Win
 1 lectern for the Orator " " by brother de Win
 4 Tracing Boards in Sorts, also " "
 1 Iron money chest with two hanging locks given to the lodge by brother Arnold*

*So also the following Goods belonging to the Lodge
 As: 1 Silver Pair of Compasses
 1 ditto Set Square
 6 Glass candle stands with arms
 2 ditto Crowns [= Chandeliers]
 8 white, and blue decorated Angels
 4 Mirrors
 1 Bible in folio
 1 Latch closet, with books & papers
 8 large Chairs
 16 round "
 15 long "
 2 benches
 4 Playing Tables
 5 Tables for the Table Lodge
 4 Arm chairs
 23 Stands
 1 Ballot Box
 3 Ornaments, As, 1 for the Greater [= Grand Master] and, 2 for the 1st & 2nd Wardens in their own possession
 1 ornament for the Treasurer of Zouwas
 1 ditto " Orator The same gilt [silver]
 1 ditto " Secretary ditto ditto
 1 ditto " Architect ditto ditto
 1 ditto " Fiscal ditto ditto
 1 ditto " Master of Ceremonies Ebony with Silver fittings*

Table 5.G: Inventory lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia, May 1798.

Inventory of such lose Goods belonging to the Lodge La Fidele Sincerite as by us, the undersigned, at the listing on the May 1798 have been found in true being, consisting of one and other as follows:

Two large copper Lanterns
 Two " copper Lanterns
 One " copper Lantern
 Two small copper Lanterns
 Four " copper Lanterns of which one Broken
 Four glass Shades with their Stands
 Eight glass wall Shades of which one Broken
 Four small Lustres with blue frames
 A glass Crown [= chandelier]
 Two oval Mirrors with Gilded Frames
 Four Paintings with Gilded Frames
 Two wall Shades with copper branches
 Four wall Shades with copper branches
 An oval Mirror with Gilded Frames
 A large glass crown [= chandelier]
 Three hanging shades
 Two glass hanging shades
 Four English patent Lamps with two branches
 A large chest with copper fittings
 A chest with four drawers with copper fittings
 One Settee
 One ditto
 One large round stand
 Fourteen round blue chairs
 Eighteen " brown chairs
 Six playing tables in Sorts
 Twelve round brown chairs
 A cooling table
 A round table
 Six round small stands
 Two spittoon stands
 A corner closet
 An old mirror and six paintings
 A bible with copper fittings
 A large chair painted blue
 Thirty-five blue painted chairs
 A large Silver Star
 Three large stands with Silver candle holders triangular
 Three small stands with Silver candle holders triangular
 Four stands with copper candle holders triangular
 One Orator's lectern
 A square table covered with white satin
 A white satin drapery with gold fringe ditto
 A blue "
 A large alcatij[[f]] [= silk carpet]
 A Black Varnished and Silver plated Master's Throne and A Chair covered in Black Satin with silver fringe ditto
 Twenty-four Black Varnished and Silver plated chairs
 Five large ditto
 A lot of curtains and iron rods
 A floor cloth
 A chest containing some images and figures
 A Tracing Board
 A Ditto
 A Ditto

A Ditto
 A Ditto
 Fifteen Long Chairs Some stands and clutter
 A coffin and cover
 One ditto
 Thirteen copper and Some Lead candle holders triangular
 Two Small tables
 A triangular Lantern and two hourglasses
 Six triangular stands
 A small chest containing Some printed books
 Fifteen Lamp glasses in Sorts
 Eighty-four wine glasses
 Four chalices
 Twenty-four beer glasses
 Fifteen water carafes
 Three liquor bottles
 Four lacquered trays
 Twenty-four bottle coasters
 Three copper tobacco chafing dishes
 Twelve large copper spittoons
 A large copper coffee pot
 A copper ham kettle
 A copper water kettle and An iron pot
 Four pans a la minute and five iron taatjes [= tatjoes]
 A copper ewer with dish
 Two " broeder and a poffertjes pan
 A stone water pot
 One ditto
 Three soup tureens
 Sixty dishes
 A hundred twenty flat plates
 Four sauce boats |
 Four Salt cellars and |
 Four Pepper pots | - white porcelain
 Four butter pots |
 Forty-three rice dishes |
 Twenty eight hollow plates |
 Sixty flat plates |
 Two Salt cellars |
 Two Sauce boats | - Blue porcelain
 Two Salad dishes |
 Twenty-four dishes is Sorts |
 Three butter pots |
 Thirty-four large rice dishes |
 Thirty-six rice dishes
 Fourteen cup and saucers
 Twenty-four ditto
 Two Water basins and bowls
 One Teapot with milk jug
 One plated oil and vinegar service
 Thirty-six Silver spoons and Thirty-four ditto forks
 Two Silver Soup ladles
 Thirty-four knives with black hilts
 Three dozen forks with brown hilts
 Five hollow Chirandoles [= candelabras]
 Nine " Candlesticks
 Three snuffers iron and ditto copper
 A Silver cup
 Two small swords with silver hilts
 A small Silver sheet in which the building orders are engraved
 A Silver Compass
 One " Rule gilded

Two " Quills
 A black ornament with silver fittings gilded
 A Silver rod gilded
 A " book "
 One " Skull "
 One " Square
 Three " triangular ornaments
 Three Elu aprons
 One Master apron
 Three Scots aprons white
 Six apprentice ditto
 Three pairs of goat's leather man's gloves
 Six " ditto female ditto
 Five Scots aprons blue
 Eleven light blue ribbons and rosettes
 Two heads
 A role of Chinese paper
 Ten table cloths as Seven small and three large
 One hundred Napkins
 Twelf Song books
 Four Patjoes [= Javanese ploughs]
 Three grass knives
 A Rake
 Two dung forks

for the building.¹⁹⁷ Later records show that the upkeep of the building and much of the decoration work was trusted to craftsmen from the Chinese community on Java. For instance, in 1794-1796 payments were made to 'the Chinese carpenter' and the *schilderchinesees* (= Chinese painter), while more specifically 92.24 Rds was paid in 1796 to 'the Chinese carpenter for the Chamber of Reflection'.¹⁹⁸ Through their frequent employment, such local workmen must have acquired intimate knowledge of the lodge building and its ritual spaces, even if they were not informed of their precise purpose.

An inventory from May 1798 shows the lodge had now invested in furnishings (table 5.G).¹⁹⁹ Although the list does not clearly distinguish between ritual and domestic objects, we can make out the different furniture for the temple, the table lodge, as well as a bar- and playroom. There are seats for 35 members of the basic degrees in the temple. The furniture and regalia were further specified for use in basic and higher degrees. An increase of triangular objects was noted, as more

and more effort was made to have the interior as a whole harmoniously reflect masonic symbolism. The lodge archive slowly expanded, now including ritual and song books. Compared to previous inventories, many additions concerned goods for the table lodge. The mention of assorted pans and kettles indicates that the meals for the table lodge now came from the lodge's own kitchen. The inclusion of a rake and dung forks in the inventory further illustrate that the lodge had the surrounding plot to upkeep, while the lodge minutes from these years mention a stable for the horses and carts of the members.

On 5-7-1800 a further overview was drawn up of the dinner and tea services used by the Stewards J.S. Weestenbergh and J. Aron[d] in order to inventory broken objects to be repaired or replaced.²⁰⁰ In 1801, a series of improvements to the building was proposed, including repainting the lodge, adding lights to the outside gallery and blinds to the back gallery, renovating the kitchen, repairing the Chamber of Reflection and making some smaller repairs to furniture.²⁰¹ The full inventory of that year still differed little from the previous one and is therefore not reproduced.²⁰²

After 1801 there was a substantial gap in the inventories until 1819, so we will leave La Fidèle Sincérité for a while to explore what happened to its rival.

■ *Building a masonic hall for La Vertueuse (1778-1786)*

In the Dutch masonic almanac of 1780 a speech was published, given some years earlier by the Worshipful Master of lodge La Vertueuse, Isaac Titsingh.²⁰³ On 28-12- 1778 (St. John's Day) he modestly declared after his re-election:

How much I had wanted to be relieved of this considerable burden, not so much because of the weight of the labour attached to it, but because of my own realisation of not having the necessary capacities to fulfil it accordingly, I will however not withdraw myself from the choice of my Brethren.²⁰⁴

In his speech, Titsingh referred to the ideals of the Order and founding of the *Bataviaasch Genoodschap der Konsten en Wetenschappen* (the Batavian Academy for Arts and Sciences), of which a further report in the same almanac report noted:

Now we can attest to the reader, that from the 28 members of the Venerable Lodge La Vertueuse, according to the last Lists of the year 1778 sent there [to the Grand Lodge], no less that 22 can be counted as the

praiseworthy Founders of the Bataviaasch Genoodschap der Konsten and Wetenschappen &c, founded here, on 24th April of the same year, under the Motto For the Greater Good.²⁰⁵

Indeed the relationship between the Order and the Academy has already been explored by authors Van der Veur, Gelman Taylor and more recently by Hans Groot, who view lodges as part of the popular public sociability of the 18th century and as a means of maintaining a distinct European identity within a colonial society.²⁰⁶

La Vertueuse wrote to the Grand Lodge once again concerning the Provincial title on 16-12-1785, emphasizing a Grand Lodge was to be preferred over de Grand Master, because it would allow the founding of lodge in *Buitencomptoir*en or outposts of which there was little knowledge, and the constitutions sent from the Netherlands would only go missing.²⁰⁷ The lodge claimed its location was 'the most splendid and also the oldest'.²⁰⁸

Masonic historian Hageman described the circumstances of La Vertueuse as follows:

Already by 1784 one had conceived to bring the workplace - the temple - nearer to the more populated areas of the town, to accommodate the upcoming labourers [= future members]. [...] the Members of La Vertueuse, whose houses or country villas were usually outside the city walls, in the southern and southeast suburbs, and the surrounding areas, and whose metals [= financial situation] was usually better [than that of La Fidèle Sincérité], - felt more need, necessity and opportunity, to bring the workplace to that side also, to benefit the turnout and participation to normal work.²⁰⁹

Especially Worshipful Master Van Overstraten lobbied for the purchase of a lodge building of their own.²¹⁰ This was eventually financed by the members by means of a *tontine*, a joint purchase of shares in the building. A first call for subscribers dated from 31-1-1786.²¹¹ By giving out 48 shares of 250 Rds against a 6% interest, a capital of 12.000 Rds was raised. The list of subscribers²¹² and the conditions for participation also survived.²¹³

According to the purchase contract dated 11-1-1786, a piece of land was acquired from the VOC without payment but for a 'donation' of 1330 Rds. The deal was signed by Anthony Boodts on behalf of the Auctioneers and Fredrik August Heilman, 'overseer of the stonemasons and -sculptors in the company's Craft Quarter', on behalf of the lodge.²¹⁴ The contract specifies the location of the lodge as: 'garden land on which presently the moorish²¹⁵ Hospital with its stone buildings [...] stands and its located a half hour going outside this city, in the eastern field the 22nd [part] of the block L sub no. 13 marked 1.a A en B'.²¹⁶

The plot was defined on the southeast side by the 'Chinese graves', meaning the Chinese cemetery. From the purchase papers it is clear that not the whole lodge, but only Nicolaus Engelhard (fig. 5.15, to whom we'll come back later), Pieter Gerardus van Overstraten, Gerlach Cornelis Johannes van Massau, Daniel Kreysman, Willem Adriaan Willems, Philippus de Elwijk, Samuel van Hoesen and Johan Hendrik Holle, together with Dirk van Hoogendorp and Frans Hakker (the latter by then deceased) were registered as formal owners of the plot.²¹⁷ As buyers they were bound to keep any roads and bridges on the grounds in a good condition and pay for the upkeep. The old hospital was torn down, in order to build a Freemasons' Hall.²¹⁸ The building work was overseen by Heilman, who was to be rewarded for his services with the Apprentice degree.²¹⁹ Unfortunately the building plans did not survive in the lodge archive and the exact location of the building was never properly identified. Hageman tried to find out what was preserved of this and other lodge locations in 1861-1865, but did not succeed in locating it.

The contract between Heilman and La Vertueuse, dated 8-2-1786, describes the building in detail.²²⁰ The first inventory of the new Freemasons' Hall, dated 27-12-1786, is very detailed, as it includes both a valuation of the work done to the building as well as the normal overview of goods owned by La Vertueuse (table 5.H).²²¹ Visitors approached the lodge via a bridge over the quay, and passed through a gate in the fence surrounding the plot. The way to the entrance was lit in the evenings by 21 lanterns on poles. The building itself measured 106 x 25 feet, was 36 feet high and had a tiled roof of an additional 13 feet. It covered two stories, and both the back and the front entrance were raised on a set of seven steps. The walls of the building were to include 34 sliding windows, those on the lower floor with shutters and those on the top floor with 'English hanging blinds'. The facade of the building would be decorated with 'Channeled pilasters or *Leseenen*' and that of the window above the door with 'two modern *oitas* in the

Fig. 5.H: Inventory of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, 27-12-1787.

General State and Inventory of the Lodge La vertueuse such as the same was recorded and made in order by the undersigned, following decision of the 6 October Last, on This day The 27' December anno 1787, being:

A newly erected beautiful Building, standing on the road next to the post Jacatra, with all its belongings, so for Convenience outside, as Jewel inside, is valued the following, being:

Purchase of the Plot, on which the same is founded	1300:-
For assignment Land measurers knowledge	107:6:-
The building of the Building alone, is done as agreed	7500
32 roeden [= length measure] Quay walls with a Breastwork at rds 48. per roede	1536:-:-
70 ditto Fences, at rds 10.	700
for the Fence with its Gate	300
" Making the Bridge	300
" the Polishing, and plastering of the front	400
" the Kitchen, pantry and two back rooms	800
" Making the Dark Chamber, and all its Belongings	250
ditto of a portal, and 2 Columns	80
ditto " Two vases on the Portal	20
ditto " Two corner cabinets, and various Small changes costing	87
" the painting of ex- and interior	225
" varnishing the Throne and the Portal, and the delivered gold-varnish	286
Coolie-pay, for the felling of Trees, and the necessary Sand for Levelling	285
21 Poles as Lanterns	44
7 ordinary and 4 large Lanterns to the same	150
For the making of the Throne	
Woodworks	300
For decorating the same [...]	

Thus appears the building with all its belongings in total costing 16040:14 rd.

Though only valuating the such as 12500 rd

Silver works and Ornaments for daily use, without valuing these, being:

22 Silver Spoons	
21 ditto forks	
22 Knives with Silver Hilts	
2 silver plated oil, and vinegar-sets	
3 " candle sticks	

Various Ornaments for the Grand Master

A diamond Cross	
A gold Sun	
A ditto Pair of Compasses with a Star within for the Senior Warden	
A Silver Set Square for the Junior Warden	
A Silver gilt Plumb Line	

for the Secretary
Two Silver gilt Quills
for the Treasurer
Two Silver gilt Keys
for the Orator
A Silver gilt paper Scroll
for the Architect
A Silver gilt plate
for the Master of Ceremonies
An Ebony ornament with Silver-gilt fixtures

Various

A gold and Silver Saint Andrew on the Cross,
Two Sawasa Triangles, with the Letter G within, for the Brothers Scots
Three Silver Pokers with Ebony Hilts, for the Brothers Elú

Furniture

A large Cristal crown			
Two smaller ditto ditto	- costing	rd	180:-
Two even smaller ditto ditto ditto			90:-
A Glass Crown			
Fourteen Hanging-Bell shades	-	ditto	182:-
Ten Wall Bell shades			
Seven large Lanterns			
Four large, and			
Six Small Glass Lustres	-	ditto	75:-
Eight Mirrors			
Eight Lustres			160:-
Four wooden wall candle holders with Copper arms			
Four Copper wall candle holders			
A grand master's Chair			
Two Chairs for the wardens			
An Orator's lectern			
48 round man's chairs			
46 Long ditto ditto			
A square Table on the Throne			
Two Triangular Tables			
all three with their covers of white armozijn			
A Pedestal with ditto Cover, and A pillow of yellow Velvet			
12 square Dinner Tables			
2 Head-Pieces			
2 Ambon Wooden playing tables		Costing 25:-	
2 Ceylon's ditto ditto		ditto	22:-
2 Playing Tables of ordinary Java wood			
2 Corner cabinets			
2 Drawer-tables			
10 Long, and			
4 Short Stands			
26 porcelain spittoons			
16 lacquered Candle sticks		Costing 95:-	
14 Copper ditto			

To which furniture, with, and without Costs being known, valued at 2500

Various Goods, being:

An Letter of Constitution by the grand Lodge National in The Hague Issued on the First Day of the Eight month of the Year of Light 5769, to erect this Lodge under the name of La Vertueuse.
A Law Book
20 Song Books

2 Ivory, and
 3 Wooden Hammers
 32 Pillows of yellow Silk
 The dress of The brother Terrible
 9 Scots Master Aprons
 One grand master Apron
 7 Different Aprons
 15 Rolls Narrow, and |
 5 ditto broad | - yellow Ribbon
 Some Pieces, and rolls Ribbon-paper &
 2 Curtains of the old Throne

 Various Table-Kitchen-Goods, Glass works, Porcelain,
 Drinks Etc.
 Three Table cloths
 100 Napkins
 12 Towels
 A Roasting spit with its belongings
 2 iron Grills
 A Copper Rice Kettle
 A Ham Kettle
 4 Kastrolls
 10 Iron Tatjos [= pans]
 One Roasting-pan
 A Copper milk jug
 A Japanese Coffee Kettle
 A Chocolate Pot
 2 Japanese Tea Kettles with their Stove
 2 ditto ditto ditto without ditto
 3 Cooks Tables
 4 Water vats

 Glass works
 14 Beer glasses with gilt rims

60 “ not gilt
 30 Wine and Water Glasses
 140 Wine Glasses
 32 Decanters

 Porcelain
 A damaged Table service, consisting of
 3 Soup Tureens
 14 Long Dishes in Sort
 19 Round ditto deep
 14 ditto ditto flat
 96 flat Plates
 24 deep ditto
 32 Rice dishes
 2 Fish-Dishes with their covers
 4 Sauce Boats
 6 Salt cellars
 2 Mustard pots, and
 5 Butter pots A Ewer with its bowl
 A Sambal Bowl
 A punch Bowl
 2 Tea pots
 A Milk Jug
 14 Chocolate, and
 9 Coffee Cups
 24 Saucers

 [...] All these Table, and Kitchen Goods, Glass works,
 Porcelains, Drinks and more Small Trifles, belonging with,
 and to the House, which are not especially mentioned
 here, Valued Together at 800

 Transporting 15800 rd. total [...].

back façade as rustic work'. Above the facade would be a balustrade beneath the fronton, carrying a wooden statue.

Inside, the entrance would lead to a reception hall, looking out onto *portes brisées* [= double doors] leading to four separate rooms, two to the left and two to the right. Above the *portes brisées* were windows, decorated with 'stars or flowers', probably meaning the glass was covered with woodwork screens with cut out patterns. Later inventories suggest that two of the downstairs rooms were used as a lounge or bar area and a dining room. From the hall, also described as the 'inner portal', stairs led to the upper floor, while a pantry and storage space were located beneath the stairs, near the room used as a kitchen. The inventories also mention an 'outer portal' where a *gemak stelletje* or privy was located.²²² On the top floor, the stairs gave access to a long corridor, decorated with 'two vases' and leading to (at least) two rooms. One was a Chamber of Reflection and the other, accessed through a *porte brisée* (this time without windows), was the Forecourt to the temple. From this Forecourt, in which the columns J and B were placed, a last *porte brisée* led to the temple, the major space in the building. A storage space was located in the temple behind the throne of the Worshipful Master. On this floor was also a larger dining room, used for the table lodges.

The agreed price for the work done by Heilman was 7.500 Rds, of which he received a third in advance. Another third would follow when the building was 'under a roof' and the last instalment after its completion.²²³ The laying of the first stone took place on 18-3-1786 (fig. 5.12). The stone was:

[...] firstly covered with a sheet of clean paper, than a cloth of yellow armozijn [= silk], in a solid box of hammered red copper the size of 10 thumbs long, and 6 thumbs wide, which box as then after having been wrapped another time in a cloth of yellow armozijn, sized a good Ell [= measure] square, was solemnly deposited in the thereto especially made and deeply cut Memorial stone, high circa 1 ¼ long 2 and wide 1 ¼



Fig. 5.12: Founding stone of the Freemasons' Hall of lodge La Vertueuse, 1786. Reproduced from: 100 jaren 1937, opposite p. 72.

feet, with the year 1786 written therein in the middle, which was immediately put into a therefore appropriated and neatly fitting marble stone.²²⁴

A membership list and a document commemorating the event were enclosed with the stone. It was laid 'just under the threshold of the entrance of the lodge, deeply buried in the Foundation'.²²⁵ The ceremony was carried out by the aforementioned lodge members Kreysman and Hakker, as well as Jacob Hacker (partially due to the absence of Van Hogendorp, Holle en De Elwijk).²²⁶ All lodge members were dressed in their finest regalia for the occasion:

Kreysman [...] from private funds distributed 25 rds for the Chinese to hold a wayang play on that evening, 12 ½ rijksdaalders for the Coolies or Javanese for the slaughter of an Ox and four Ducats as a Douceur for the Master's servant.²²⁷

Wayang kulit is a type of shadow puppet theatre, typical for the Dutch East Indies and often performed to mark festivities.²²⁸ If work started as soon as Heilman was contracted on 8-2-1786, the building was finished within six months. During that time, the lodge is thought to have met in the house of Engelhard, then holding the office of Orator, 'on Molenvliet'.²²⁹ On 16-8-1786 the inauguration ceremony was publicly celebrated, in the presence of governor-general Willem Arnold Alting and other government representatives, as well as their wives.²³⁰ The lodge was now firmly embedded in local society. Several members and former members sent gifts to the lodge to mark the occasion, including:

[...] from the Brother Past Master Isaak Titsingh in Bengal received a precious carpet
 [...] as likewise the tracing board being Satin embellished with gold is a gift of Brother Romberg in Japan
 [...] chests for the storage of the Ornaments
 From Welgevaren promptly a fine silver collection box
 Hartsingh masonic tools in silver
 Van Braam from China mother of pearl seal²³¹

These gifts are discussed in more detail in further paragraphs. The first full lodge inventory dates from 27-12-1787 and shows the costs of the building work, the decorations and furniture, the whole valued after completion at 12.500 Rds (almost € 280.000,- today).²³² This inventory, also discussed in more detail below, makes clear how the financial position of La Vertueuse differed from that of La Fidèle Sincérité: crystal, silver, gold and even diamonds are mentioned (table 5.H).²³³ The inventory was accompanied by a report from lodge members Van Son and Pieter van de Weert (died 1795), which recommends certain purchases. They conclude:

Lastly [...] whether it would not be necessary, also to prevent the inconveniences that may occur at the death of Brethren Officers, that all which belongs to the Lodge, and the Ornaments listed in the Inventory, as well as all Books, and Papers, in this building, would be kept in therefore constructed Safes and no Ornaments or Papers would be allowed to stay at the House of Brethren.²³⁴

Indeed on 7-2-1788 Heijlman was commissioned to:

[...] make two cabinets according to the tidiness and cleanliness of our lodge La vertueuse to be placed within and provided with a safe in the middle, this to store all the Papers and other belongings of the lodge, which otherwise would be kept with the secretary or another brother, in a Cash box, that upon a death would be in danger of falling in the wrong hands to [cause] substantial prejudice of our royal art.²³⁵

These were probably the two ‘yellow painted corner cabinets’ placed in the main hall, which appear on later inventories.

◦ *La Vertueuse at the Moorish Hospital Grounds (1788-1800)*

The building on the Moorish Hospital grounds would be used by La Vertueuse until 1829 and is well documented. The 1788 inventory recorded little changes.²³⁶ Among the regular expenses were the hiring of musicians from the local gentlemen Calewander (also spelled Calbander or Kalomandro).²³⁷ A payment of 15 Rds provides an insight into the means of communication within the lodges: ‘to the wagon hire Wolferium, for the rent of Eight wagons, for the bringing round of the [convocation] notes to the Brethren by the Servant Crauts, counted outside two for a whole and the rest for half a day’.²³⁸

The financial records of La Vertueuse show similar investments in upkeep, repairs and extensions of the Freemasons’ Hall, as those of La Fidèle Sincérité. This lodge also drew its labourers and service providers from the Chinese community in Batavia. While there isn’t enough space to do so here, it is possible to name almost every workman involved, the materials he used, the costs of his supplies, the time he took to finish the job and the reimbursement for his labour. These records illustrate how the lodge contributed to local economy, because La Vertueuse was able to spend and did so.

The lodge had barely taken up use of the building, or the first renovations started.²³⁹ For instance, on 12-7-1789 two lodge members were reimbursed:

Brother Wilgevaar In restitution of the by him advanced building of the New Kitchen, the Making of iron grills, placing the fence & according to receipt	530:-:-
Brother Pilon For the making and repairing of the Roof of The Lodge after reducing the provision of the purchased Lead, according to receipt	202:-:
Brother Pilon For 18 pieces wooden Window Blinds	145:-:- ²⁴⁰

J.B. Pilon was a military engineer and the lodge Architect. A receipt dated 17-12-1789 for 580 Rds was given to ‘the chinese Lileeng for making a New Kitchen, with an iron Grill, moving the back fence, and making in order two apartments as pantries, as well as other repairs’.²⁴¹ A back gallery, which rested on 17 turned wooden columns²⁴², was added to the building. The costs were apparently advanced by lodge members Hendrik Isaac Guitard and Pieter van de Weert.²⁴³ The stairs had to be painted because ‘as it now is, they cannot be kept clean’.²⁴⁴

Several inventories were drawn up in 1789 by Van der Weert and others, and although little changes were recorded these documents now gave an overview of furniture per room, making it easier to identify individual objects.²⁴⁵ The same year some superfluous kitchenware was sold²⁴⁶ and by 1790 the earlier renovations were valued as follows:

In the year 1789 was spent on this [Lodge] for A new Kitchen [and] making the old in order as a storage for Drinks and Provisions, moving the back fence	580
changing the roof, after subtracting what the Lead fetched	202
18 Blinds	145
Painting repairs of the less important & valuing such until now at only	200
o the Building and its rooms are now worth	17167:14 ²⁴⁷

It was not all serious and symbolic labour in the lodges. One of the British lodges in Calcutta organized a lottery, for which the members of La Vertueuse apparently regularly bought tickets. On 24-6-1791 the news came that war had prevented the lottery from taking place, but on 13-3-1792 it was announced the lottery was reinstated.²⁴⁸ On 1-5-1792 it was decided to buy 45 tickets at 40 Rds.²⁴⁹ At another meeting on 28-8-1792 the Orator made ‘an Elegant speech’ to Titsingh, who would soon be leaving on a diplomatic mission to China, was then handed ‘the lottery plan with subscriptions’ for delivery in Bengal.²⁵⁰

Almost all inventories between 1790 and 1797 survived, with too little variation between them to fully reproduce them here.²⁵¹ The 1790 version even included the window blinds, as well as ‘glass curtains’ (presumably bead curtains to keep out insects), one in the outer portal and twelve each in the temple.²⁵² Most interesting is the 1793 version, which provided a valuation of each individual item (table 5.I).²⁵³ There is also an indication that some changes had been recently made to the division of rooms in the building. Apart from the temple, the contents of a separate room for the ‘Master Lodge’ was added, and a (storage) space behind the throne was also mentioned.

Financial records also give an impression of changes made on the lodge plot. A receipt dated 10-5-1793 was given to a Chinese workman ‘for the building of a new Wagon House, for the parking of 12 coaches’.²⁵⁴ The total costs amounted to 649,42, but lodge member Carel van Naerssen coldly noted ‘The Chinese can be pleased with the payment of rds Six Hundred’.²⁵⁵ A further invoice recorded ‘to the Chinese carpenter for extending the Kitchen rd 86’.²⁵⁶ The floor of the downstairs rooms could be finished thanks to a contribution by Hartsink.²⁵⁷ The lodge minutes further noted that the new wagon house had been blown down by a storm and had to be rebuilt.²⁵⁸ In 1796 a new Chamber of Reflection was installed under supervision of lodge Architect Cornelis Josi,²⁵⁹ and work was done on the throne.

Several receipts from 1797 mention the use of ‘coral stones’ in work done for the lodge.²⁶⁰ Perhaps these were used to decorate a sand footpath or a mosaic? In the same year, glass windows and a glass door were installed.²⁶¹ The ‘inner courtyard’, doors and windows were painted green.²⁶² The 1797 inventory is the last in a series to provide an insight into the lodge’s possessions, before a gap in the overviews occurs until 1807. There are several versions, reproduced here is the one with handwritten notes in the side-lines (table 5.J).²⁶³ Between ca 1796 and 1807 musicians were hired from ‘Master Juliani’.²⁶⁴ A report by Josi dated 18-3-1799 reveals the monthly wages of other men employed by the lodge:

2 Mandurs and 4 Coolies Being:

Jadjong of Manga Bazaar

Aliman “ ditto

Tarima “ Manga Doea

Darapa “ ditto

Which 4 Coolies monthly enjoy Six Rupees Silver money or together Rds 15,-

The Mandurs have [...] since the death of the Mandur Bidien Charged Monthly for themselves and the aforementioned 4 Coolies Rds 36,-. [...] [of which] 30 Stuivers were for moving a Praauw, to bring good for = the Table [lodge] from the City.

Said deceased mandur in the beginning had [...] no more than 8 rds, because of his many Years of good service in this temple, he was granted a raise of 4 rds. I have on approbation of Your Honour and You my honourable Brethren, made the following Arrangement,

to the 2 Mandurs, (if two are considered necessary)

each	rds	6
and to each of the four Coolies	Rds	3,36
as well as monthly for a <i>Praauw</i> [= boat]		-:30
Making Together per Month	Rds	<u>27:30</u>
2 Coolies more on Lodge day		-:24
the 2 Mandurs and 4 Coolies each for		
the purchase of 3 <i>ganting</i> [= measure] rice		
at 30 stuivers		<u>3:36</u>
then Together monthly	Rijksdaalders	31:42 ²⁶⁵

We will leave La Vertueuse here again for now, as there were other developments elsewhere on Java.

Table 5.1: Inventory of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, February 1793.

Report on the valuation of the Lodge La Vertueuse with its separate goods [...]

The Plot with its building, outbuildings and other structures &c, which in the Inventory of the 27 Xber 1790 was valued at Rds 12000,- now on Rds 10000,-

*Furniture,
In the upper:*

Some Decorations belonging to the Throne	50:-
Three Cristal Crowns,	250:-
Two glass ditto,	25:-
2 Air Lamps	75:-
Fourteen Wall bell shades,	70:-
Two Lustres,	2:-
One grand Master's Chair,	1- 30:-
Two chairs for the Wardens, (damaged) J	
24 chairs for the brethren,	24:-
9 long candle stands,	3:-
3 tables as 1 square on the Throne and two triangular below the same as well as a wooden altar and a bench with covers and pillows	25:-
1 Extra fine bengal Carpet,	100:-
1 floor Tracing Board, embroidered in Japan,	50:-
1 Painting ditto lacquered,	50:-
9 canvas covers for the gliding windows,	5:-

In the Apartment behind the Throne

2 hanging Bell shades	20:-
1 Wall Lantern	10:-
1 chest with mourning wares	1:-
1 Piece Black floor cloth	5:-
4 different tracing boards	5:-
27 pieces triangular metal candle holders	10:-
1 wooden Air pipe	1:-
1 board with some spikes	1:-

In the front Portal

8 pieces wooden candle holders, each with 1 branch	2:-
2 Locquet cabinets	15:-

In the Portal near the stairs

1 glass crown with 6 branches	10:-
1 ditto Bell shade	15:-
1 wooden ladder and some steps	5:-
1 ballot box with its beans	1:-
2 Drawer tables	10:-

In the Dining Room

1 large Crown	50:-
2 small ditto	50:-
12 glass wall lanterns with garlands	100:-
1 large Mirror	5:-
24 Chairs	24:-
1 Stone table	5:-
8 Dining tables	8:-
2 Corner cabinets	16:-

In the Master's Lodge

1 large triangular candle stand	1:-
---------------------------------	-----

6 small " "	2:-
3 wooden candle holders, each with 3 branches	1:-
1 master tracing board	5:-

In the downstairs Room

1 glass crown	20:-
10 hanging Bell shades	200:-
12 wall ditto	60:-
4 large Mirror with gilt frames	20:-
8 small ditto " 2 branches	80:-
45 Chairs	45:-
6 Long candle stands	4:-
16 small ditto	6:-
12 Playing tables in Sort	50:-
24 pieces Porcelain spittoons	20:-

In the back Gallery

3 glass Crown	50:-
2 " Bell shades	25:-
4 Wall Lanterns	60:-
20 Chairs	20:-
1 Pouring table	15:-

Jewels, Gold and Silver wares

1 ornament with brilliants for the Grand Master	300:-
1 gold ornament for the Architect weighing 2 ½ real	25:-
2 small gold ornaments, weighing ¼ real	5:-
1 Silver Pair of Compasses, weighing 2 ¼ real	3:-
1 ditto triangle Weighing 2 5/8 real	3:-
1 ditto Set Square Weighing 2 ¾ real	3:-
1 ditto Trowel, with its wooden handle Weighing 12 real	10:-
1 ditto gilt ornament for the Architect weighing 2 ¼ real	3:-
1 ditto ditto for the Orator weighing 1 ¼ real	2:-
1 ditto ditto " " d[it]o " 1 ¼ "	2:-
1 Silver gilt ornament for the Grand Master weighing ¾ real	1:-
1 ditto St. Andrews Cross weighing 3/8 real	1:-
22 " Spoons, weighing 51 real	60:-
21 " Forks, " 46 ½ ditto	55:-
2 " Soup Ladles weighing 14 real	20:-
6 Jam Spoons & 6 ditto forks weighing 7 ¼ real	10:-
1 Silver tray, weighing 5 ½ real	10:-
2 " Commemorative plates " 57 real	65:-
1 ornament on a blue stone for the Almoner	10:-
1 ditto on a blue stone, Being a Pair of Compasses	10:-
1 ditto on a blue stone, for the Secretary	10:-
1 ditto on a blue stone, for the Senior Warden, Being a Level	10:-
1 d[it]o on a blue stone, for the Junior Warden, Being a Set Square	10:-
1 ditto on a blue stone, Being a Plumb Line	10:-
1 Silver Collection Box weighing 30 real	45:-
1 ornament on a blue stone for the Almoner	10:-

Porcelain and Glass wares

1 blue table Service	25:-
1 red " "	25:-
2 Tea Services	15:-
4 Porcelain bowls in wooden bowls, for washing hands	2:-
10 beer glasses, with gilt rims	2:-

35 ditto	Without	3:-
35 masons wine glasses, with “ “		6:-
87 wine glasses		8:-
21 large Carafes		15:-
5 Small ditto		2:-
1 Sloopjes [= Liquor] Cellar with 12 Bottles		5:-
3 Sloopjes [= Liquor] bottles		1:-
30 Lamp glasses		15:-
<u>Various Goods</u>		
2 Plated Oil and Vinegar Sets		12:-
1 ditto Coffee Pot		5:-
3 “ Candle sticks		2:-
47 table knives with ivory hilts		7:-
24 dessert ditto		3:-
<i>In a Drawer Table in the front Portal to the stairs</i>		
18 pieces Hats		20:-
18 “ cloaks		50:-
6 Pieces broad Black Ribbon		20:-
2 ditto “ red ditto		5:-
4 ditto “ yellow ditto		7:-
<i>In another Drawer Table Are</i>		
26 pieces bands for various degrees		15:-
29 various Aprons		5:-
63 pairs women’s gloves		10:-
2 “ men’s ditto	-	1:-
Some red ribbon		
100 new Napkins		25:-
32 old ditto		10:-
3 new Table cloths		25:-
1 old ditto		3:-
1 Black cover cloth		10:-
Some muse maçonne		
1 law book	-	2:-
1 Bible		
36 Decks of cards (fine)		2:-
20 decks of cards (2 nd sort)		1:-
2 ivory and		
9 wooden	- hammers	3:-
42 pieces new Lire Maçonnes [= song books]		10:-
16 old ditto		2:-
<i>In the Chamber of Reflection</i>		
1 chest in which a Skeleton		40:-
<i>In the Pantry</i>		
16 lacquered and	- candle sticks	15:-
14 Copper		
5 Lacquered Commemorative plates		2:-
5 wooden ditto in sorts		1:-
3 Tables		3:-
1 Chest with spermaceti candles		4:-
6 Bunches wax candles		15:-
<u>Kitchen Wares</u>		
2 large Japanese martavans		10:-
1 Roasting Spit with Its belongings		5:-
1 large and		
Small	- iron grill	2:-
2 Water kettles		3:-
2 Skillets		2:-
4 Copper kastrols		5:-
7 Tjatjoes [= pans]		3:-
2 roasting pans		2:-

Table 5.J: Inventory of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, 11-9-1797 [with notes, here in blue].

Report of the ‘Committee on taking inventory of all Such Furniture and other goods [...]

in the Lodge Upstairs

Some Throne Decorations

1 grand Master’s Chair, painted yellow and Gilt
 1 Table with its white silk cover Embroidered with gold and ditto fringe
 1 Canvas cover
 3 pairs glass Crowns
 1 wooden Altar with a Bench and two pillows with their white silk embroidered covers laid with gold fringe
 2 copper patent Lamps, each with 2 branches and their belongings
 2 Japanese Lacquered Tracing Boards
 1 print and Gilt Frame in glass, representing the portrait of the Worshipful Grand Master National van Boetzelaar
 2 triangular Tables with their White Silk Covers, laid with gold fringe
 2 triangular Tin Ink stands
 1 large Bengal floor Carpet, and a leftover piece ditto
 1 Canvas Floor cloth *used for the Fellows*
 1 Japanese silk embroidered floor Tracing board in a chest
 1 New |
 1 Old | - canvas painted floor Tracing board
 2 wardens Chairs, yellow painted and gilt
 9 candle stands, ditto ditto ditto
 12 large Emblems or Allegorical Paintings nailed to the Wall
 1 Metal Orator’s Lectern
 2 copper Lustres on the Columns of the Temple door
 28 48 yellow painted Chairs, Gilt
 48 chair pillows of yellow silk, *NB worn*
 16 pieces glass wall Bell shades
 9 Canvas Covers, For the Windows

In the apartment behind the Throne

1 Hanging bell shade
 1 wooden Air Pipe
 A board or thorny path
 Two ditto or Seesaw bridges
 an iron pan and belongings
 an earthenware pot with its Stove
 a Lamp post with a copper plate behind the Blazing star
 a Wooden Stairs with 2 Steps
 a Lamp Stairs
 ditto Bible

in the Forecourt

1 Hanging bell shade
 1 Long Wooden Ladder
 4 yellow painted Stairs
 2 yellow painted Chest of which 1 with papers and documents under care of the Brother Secretary and 1 in which the following goods, being
 12 25 New lire maçons
 16 old ditto ditto 34 High german
 1 Law Book
 1 Bible
 1 Jar with Quicksilver

1 bottle " ditto ditto
1 iron Seal
1 velvet eye cover
1 Metal Tray
1 ditto Funnel
Some books containing the duties of Free Masons
N 2 ½ 11 dozen Playing Cards
1 iron Shackle with its copper cuffs
2 copper Hand cuffs with Chains
1 old painted Sun
2 ivory Hammers

9 Wooden Hammers of which 3 Gilt
3 large and 2 Small Linen Table cloths
13 Towels
100 St: 71 oud 60 Napkins
1 leftover Piece yellow Trijp, Long 1,5 @
1 Japanese embroidered and 1 ditto painted small Tracing board

1 Lacquered chest in which the following Ornaments:
1 Silver Trowel
1 ditto Pair of Compasses
1 ditto Set Square
1 ditto Triangle
1 gold and 1 Silver Gilt plate with the 5 Building Orders engraved
2 turned wooden ornaments with Silver Gilt fixtures
1 ditto Rod with sawassa fixtures
1 enamelled cross covered with small stones
2 Silver gilt ornaments for the Brethren Architects
1 pair of compasses with a quarter Circle on blue Stone surrounded with small Stones
1 Set square on blue stone surrounded with small Stones
1 Plumb Line " ditto ditto " ditto
2 Quills " ditto ditto " ditto
1 Key " ditto ditto " ditto
1 Level " ditto ditto " ditto
1 Collection box " ditto ditto " ditto
1 velvet Bag with ballot Beans

is not there 1 Master ornament covered with small Stones
1 ditto silver ornament
1 Silver Gilt Plumb Line
1 Small Silver Trowel gilt
1 Master ornament partially gilt
3 pairs White Goats Leather Women's Gloves
+ 32 9 ditto " Men's ditto
not - 1 bunch Black painted Wax Candles
is not there 1 triangular Copper Lustre
3 plated Small Candle sticks
2 ditto large Candle snuffs
1 metal pipe to convey the Light
1 Writing drawer with different Masonic Papers
An old Ballot box
A wooden Playing Table

in the portal near the stairs

1 Glass Crown 2 chests for the Elu

under the Stairs

1 Pouring Table with Lead
1 Chair with iron hooks
1 Square Table
1 Smaller ditto

in the Downstairs Room

1 glass crown
10 hanging Bell shades
14 Wall bell shades with belongings, of which 1 damaged
4 Mirrors with Gilt frames
8 ditto Lustres with ditto and branches
9 Playing Tables in sort
39 brown Varnished Chairs, of which some damaged
6 ditto ditto Gueridons [= stands or side tables]
15 ditto ditto Short Candle stands

in the Chamber of Reflection

1 Chest with a Skeleton
1 long metal Caller
1 wooden Seesaw bridge
1 Lectern and some Trifles
missing 1 glass bell shade

in the back Gallery

1 broken 2 3 glass Crowns
3 2 ditto hanging bell shades
8 ditto Wall Lanterns
upstairs 1 large Dinner Table with 2 tops and 6 Supports

in the back Room

19 Round Men's chairs
1 large Square Table
is not there 1 old Playing ditto
4 porcelain gorgelets 1 damaged

in the back Room beneath the Masters' Lodge

1 old Playing Table
14 wooden Tables in Sorts 1 upstairs 2 back 2 outside
1 ditto Lamp Stairs
1 Old Orator's Lectern
21 porcelain spittoons 1 damaged

Pantry

16 Lacquered Candle sticks
13 copper ditto
Some incomplete Table porcelains, red with white
A ditto ditto service, white with blue borders
A ditto ditto ditto, blue with white
Some ditto different Tea porcelains, totally damaged
6 Beer glasses with Gilt Rims
62 ditto plain
51 Wine glasses with Gilt Rims
77 ditto ditto plain
20 cut glass Lamps
55 glass Carafes in sort
3 Small hanging bell shades belonging above the Throne
20 Lamp glasses
8 12 Wine and Water glasses
81 ribbed Wine glasses
7 pieces 6 wooden triangular lustres

1 red 1 blue Robe for the Elu

2 Drawer tables, containing

16 18 Black Silk Cloaks
1 ditto ditto garment for the Brother Terrible
11 Master breastplates
1 old 26 pieces 2 new Aprons of this Lodge
7 pieces Master ditto
2 4 rolls broad Black Ribbon 1 roll red Colour
3 ditto and a leftover yellow ditto 1 leftover

old 3 ditto covered with Black crape
 not 28 pairs Women's Goats Leather Gloves
 18- 22 Silk bands of the order of different Colours
 7- 8 " old Black Aprons in Sort
 are not there 2 rolls yellow Small ribbon
 some Silk Cords
 A Copper Trowel 20 Fellows Aprons
 A Small plate 6 C:O:O
 2 yellow painted corner Cabinets in the Dining room
 1 in which 7 ps Fellow bands
 14 pieces triangular Lamps 6 Pokers for ditto
 1 in which the following goods, being
 43 large Table knives with ivory hilts and Silver
 fixtures In the Dining Room
 23 Small ditto with ditto ditto 1 large Mirror
 19 21 Silver Spoons 12 Lanterns with barlok
 18 21 ditto Forks 7 Black Tables
 2 ditto large Soup Ladles 2 New or writing
 4 5 ditto Jam Spoons 2 Old " ditto
 6 ditto forks
 1 ditto cooling tray
 2 ditto Commemorative plates
 2 plated Oil and Vinegar Sets, each with 5 bottles
 1 ditto large Coffee pot
 A table with a Marble stone top and Gilt Foot

in the Masters' Lodge
 1 grand Master's chair, Black painted and Silver plated
 2 Warden's Chairs, ditto dito " ditto
 1 Black painted wooden altar
 2 ditto ditto Triangular Tables
 12 ditto large and 4 Small Triangular Candle stands
 15 ditto Candle sticks
 4 Emblems or Allegorical Paintings
 1 wooden Lustres with 3 Copper Branches
 2 metal boxes with various Clutter
 1 Black Satin Cloth embroidered with Silver
 1 ditto ditto Table cloth and ditto Pillow, with Silver
 1 ditto painted and embroidered with Silver Table cloth
 1 Black Table cloth

3 ditto New Pillow Covers
 15 18 pieces Round Hats

Behind the Masters' Lodge
 2 Lustres with their glass Branches
 1 Metal Bell
 1 Wooden Stairs
 1 Canvas painted Master Tracing board
 1 Table with a wooden tray
 1 Cellar with 12 Bottles of which 1 broken
 4 wooden Varnished Tea Bowls
 5 Lacquered Metal ditto
 2 wooden large ditto
 5 iron pans and three broken
 3 Copper Kastrolls with lids
 2 ditto Skillets
 1 ditto roasting pan
 2 ditto Braising pans
 1 ditto Water Kettle
 2 wooden bowls for Lamps
 1 ditto vat with Copper hoops
 3 ditto with iron hoops damaged
 1 Japanese chamber pot
 1 ditto adjar tray NB the wooden coaster Broken

in the Kitchen
 2 Large Iron Grills
 1 Roasting spit with 2 Stands
 2 Kitchen Tables
 1 carrying Vat

For the back Rooms
 2 Japanese Martavaans

in the Room of the Mandur
 1 large chest with Candles
 1 pair of pistols
 2 Snaaphanen [= guns] [...]

◆ **Ambulant lodge De Goede Hoop (1798)**

During the 18th century, Semarang became the second most important port for business intended for the lands on central Java behind it, or across the water to Sumatra and Malacca. As discussed in chapter 4, the German Regiment Württemberg was in service of the VOC and stationed at the Cape in the end of the 18th century. In 1790 the Regiment was divided up and a large section was sent to the East Indies, where troops were stationed in Semarang, Surabaya and Ambonia until 1808.²⁶⁶ Inevitably, some freemasons were among the ranks.

In 1798 lodge member Nicolaus Engelhard (1761-1831), 'always thinking & working to expand the knowledge of the order'²⁶⁷, became aware that a group of government officials would undertake a business trip to Semarang, led by commissioner general mr. Sebastiaan Cornelis Nederburgh (1762-1811, fig. 5.13). At a meeting of the *Rose Croix* Chapter (= lodge for the higher degrees) of La Vertueuse on 5-2-1798, over which Engelhard presided, he asked the members to consider that their Brother Willem Jacob Cranssen (1762-1821), a senior merchant, would be joining this official company:

[...] moved by a brotherly feeling of remembrance, friendship and loyalty on behalf of several Brethren workers and members of this [lodge] who are loving in Semarang [...] So proposed [...] Engelhard, that the Sovereign Chapter could please and approve to bestow upon said R[uling?] Brother Cranssen the satisfactory power and authority, so that his Honour may elevate all to the degree of Chevalier d'orient the Brother Scots



Fig. 5.13: Cornelis de Cock, portrait of Sebastiaan Cornelis Nederburgh (1762-1811), 1862. Oil on cardboard, 80.5 x 65 cm. Collection: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv.no. SK-A-3786. Reproduced from: rijksmuseum.nl.

Master van Rheede tot de Parkeler and to Elu the Brethren Masters and members of our [lodge] that are living in Semarang and who could request for it [...].

Furthermore that to said commission would be granted permission to take the name of the Travelling [lodge] and Sovereign Chapter De Goede Hoop in the East of Semarang and under that name to be allowed to receive and chose the Brethren living in Semarang'.²⁶⁸

The proposal was approved within the Chapter on 6-2-1798 and then put to the La Vertueuse on 10-2-1798²⁶⁹: 'for this occasion the High Enlightened Worshipful Brother Cranssen Rose Croix accompanied by the High Enlightened Brethren [C.J.] Prediger and [A.] van Boekholtz Élus des Neuf would undertake a journey thereto'.²⁷⁰ And so the lodge De Goede Hoop was founded under auspices of La Vertueuse, with Cranssen acting as Worshipful Master, and Mr. Christianus Prediger (1768-1801; a lawyer and later Extraordinary Council of the East Indies) and François van Boekholtz (died ca 1802; former commander at Banda) acting as Junior and Senior Wardens.²⁷¹ The lodge travelled aboard the ship De Hertog van Brunswijk, carrying a group of government officials under Nederburgh's command on a business trip to Semarang. The ship left on 12-4-1798 from Batavia to the North-East Coast of Java, passing Cheribon, Semarang, Japara, Grisee, Surabaya, Passuruan and Madura.²⁷² Because the minutes of the lodge survived, we can get a clear view of its short-lived activities.²⁷³ Several meetings were held on the journey to Semarang. On 16-4-1798 members J. Welters and Filtz were balloted and initiated. The next day, members Van Boekholtz, Prediger and Johan Willem Bartholomeus Wardenaar (1784-1869; an ensign and draughtsman) were initiated as *Élu seconde* and *Élu de Quinze*. On 18-4-1798, commissioner general Nederburgh was initiated as Apprentice and, immediately afterwards, also as Fellow.²⁷⁴

Having arrived in Semarang, the minutes note on 5-5-1798 that lodge member Waterloo was prepared to furnish a lodge room. Johan Frederik baron van R[h]eede tot de Parkeler (1757-1802), Council Extraordinaire of the East Indies and governor-director of Java's North East Coast, made his residence available for this purpose and offered to host a table lodge. All this would take some ten days to arrange. That morning the ballot and initiation of a mister Boers and the new Servant J.G. Hamilton took place at

Table 5.K: Accounts of lodge De Goede Hoop

General Account for bringing in order the travelling lodge De Goede Hoop, now shining East of Batavia [...]

For delivered Woodwork both in the Apprentice as in the Masters Lodge used	rds	53:10:-
5 Pieces white linen, of which the throne was covered, all tables were covered and the Tracing Board in the Master Lodge was made &c a rds 10 each	rd	50: -:-
2 ditto yellow armozijn used for the throne Tables &c at rds 11 each		22: -:-
9 ditto ordinary yellow painted Javanese linen at rd 1 ½ each Piece		11:12:-
4 ½ ditto Black garZay [= karsaai] long each Piece 32 Ell at 30 rds per Ell		90: -:-
From this were made 6 Pieces Black cloaks, &c cover for the tables and the Masters Lodge, also for the Tabello, and further necessities, in the chamber of reflection		
For the painting of the Apprentice Tracing Board, and other work, both in the Apprentice and the Masters Lodge		30: -:-
For wages to the Carpenters		37:24:-
Ditto " " " Smiths		10: -:-
For the delivery of 3 large Chairs		1:42:-
14 days 20 Javanese who cleaned and whitewashed the rooms &c each 7 ½ Stuivers per day		45:40:-
For chalk, blueing, and other of that kind of necessities		7:24:-
16 days 1 mandur who has seen the work and people		10: -:-
For covering of the throne &c on wages		15: -:-
" the tools on the Master's table		3:36:-
For bringing in order the chamber of reflection		<u>12:24:-</u>
	Rds	400:28
3 Pieces of Apprentice aprons, for embroidering and manufacture wages to the tailor each rds 5	Rds	15: -:-
4 ditto Master aprons, for embroidering and manufacture wages to the tailor each rds 3		12: -:-
2 ditto Elu aprons, for painting and manufacture wages to the taylor each rds 3		8: -:-
9 Ell black, white and yellow silk at 2 rd per Ell		18: -:-
For black and yellow silk ribbons		1:24:-
5 ditto white lining linen		2:24:-
3 Pieces silver Master ornaments with Bands each at rds 1:32	5: -:-	
10 pairs of white men's gloves at rds 1:32 the pair		16:32
10 ditto women's ditto " " 1:32 the pair		16:32:-
For rent of 3 cloaks that were lacking when holding the Master's Reception Lodge at each 1 rds		<u>3: -:-</u>
	Rds	96:16:-

09.00 hours. A second meeting was held at 11.00 hours, when Christiaan Gotlieb Fisscher, a senior merchant and head administrator, Abraham van Luchtenburgh a junior merchant and bookkeeper of wages, Jacobus Albertus van Middelkoop (1771-1822), a sworn clerck of police, and Johannes Knops (1761-1814), junior merchant and secretary of police, were proposed as new members.

Another two meetings took place on 8-5-1798. At 18.00 hours it was discussed that Van Reede tot de Parkeler possessed the degree of *Écossois*, and as such had the highest masonic authority in the area. He was about to be initiated into the even higher degree of *Chevalier d'Orient*. Because of this seniority and the fact that he had made his residence and table available to the lodge, it was decided to thank him by granting him the title *Passé Maître*, normally reserved for Past Worshipful Masters. The lodge then continued with the initiation of Fisscher, as well as the initiation 'by communication' of Luchtenburgh, Middelkoop and Knops. Proposed were Johan [Henrich] Wilhelm Ludwig, a former lieutenant and commander at Salatiga; Johannes Rubenkoning, a fiscal; and Karl Freiherr von Wolzogen (1764-1808), a captain who came to Java as a member of the Regiment Württemberg. They received the degree of Fellow at a second meeting at 22.00 that evening.²⁷⁵

The coming few days passed in the same manner. On 12-5-1798 Wolzogen, Rubenkoning and Ludwig were raised as Masters. On 19-5-1798 the ballot and initiation of *equipagemeester* (equipment master) Joseph Bossotiel, sollicitor Johannes Weijdig, clerk Johan Frederik George Heyser, F.G. Akkerman and H.

Buyss took place. Only Bassotiel underwent the actual ceremony, the rest was only initiated by communication. Filz and Welters were proposed as Fellows.²⁷⁶

Some confusion arose on 21-5-1798. It became apparent that Van Reede tot de Parkeler had accidentally received the degree of *Écossois*, without having first passed through the required *Élu*-degrees. So it was decided to initiate him into those degrees, before the promised initiation as *Chevalier d'Orient*. (The fact that the honorary title of *Passé Maître* had been based on his wrongly assumed seniority, was 'covered with the trowel of love'.)

Commissioner general Nederburgh requested to be raised as Master on 22-6-1798, which was not actually allowed without Engelhard's prior permission, but the lodge proceeded with the initiation anyway. The next day, the ballot of sworn clerk Johannes Jacobus Nederburgh (1767-1801), brother of the commissioner general, and administrator Willem Beekman as Apprentices took place at 10.00 hours. The title of *Passé Maître* was now also bestowed on S.C. Nederburgh. The members then continued with the ballot of Welters, Filz, Knops, J.J. Nederburgh en Beekman as Fellows. At 18.00 hours it was announced that the lodge would soon leave for the return journey to Batavia. The initiation of the balloted members took place on 25-6-1798.

There is a gap in the minutes until a month later, possibly because the members had to conduct VOC-business and/or could not find a suitable place to meet. On 20-7-1798 the initiation of Fisscher, Bossotiel, Weydig, Middelkoop and Heijser as Fellows was recorded. According to Hageman a total of 29 men were initiated in De Goede Hoop.²⁷⁷ The lodge was then formally closed on 31-7-1798 by Van Reede tot de Parkeler, who was 'proposed' at this occasion, presumably as Worshipful Master for a new lodge. On 9-2-1799 he sent a rapport on the activities De Goede Hoop to La Vertueuse, accompanied by a membership list.²⁷⁸

The short existence of lodge De Goede Hoop is well documented, as are its finances. Van Reede tot de Parkeler himself covered costs of the decoration of a complete lodge, which worked in both basic and higher degrees. From the financial administration, it becomes clear that Van Reede tot de Parkeler had several rooms cleared and whitewashed by servants (table 5.K).²⁷⁹ These were then furnished in white and yellow, the distinguishing colour of its motherlodge La Vertueuse. The props for the Master's lodge were black. The accounts are interesting, because they show that a throne, officer's chairs and tracing boards were still all that was needed to be able to hold a basic lodge. The second half of this chapter will discuss similar items in more detail. The costs amounted to 400:28 Rds, the equivalent of circa € 8.750,- today.²⁸⁰ Not included was another 96:16 Rds (circa € 850,-) for regalia (aprons, gloves and ornaments), paid for by candidates themselves. Van Reede tot de Parkeler himself had covered costs up to 460 Rds.²⁸¹

It was decided to make a gift of half of the collected contributions paid to the poor.²⁸² The total sum which would benefit La Vertueuse amounted to Rds 2.869.22, making the activities of De Goede Hoop a lucrative exercise.²⁸³ As a result of this trip, there was now a sufficient number of freemasons present in Semarang to found a lodge of their own, which would be named *La Constante et Fidèle* (discussed below).²⁸⁴

♦ *French lodge Provisoire (1799)*

In 1798 admiral Pierre César Charles de Sercey (1753-1836), previously engaged in fighting the British near Mauritius and in the Indian Ocean, travelled to the Dutch East Indies with his remaining two ships to patrol the Chinese seas in cooperation with the Spanish. In April 1799 the French corvette *Brûle Gueule* and the frigate *Le Preneuse* were harboured at Surabaya.²⁸⁵ Jean François Bruneau le Souchais, captain of the *Brûle Gueule*, was a member of lodge *Le Royale Esperance* in Isle de France. He had the *Rose Croix* degree and possessed a proxy from the *Grand Orient de France*, dated 5-7-1785, which gave him the power to found a lodge overseas. This 'Loge Provisoire' (Provisional Lodge) worked in Surabaya and is thought to have made seven initiations between 11 and 13 February 1799.²⁸⁶ According to Hageman, the work of the lodge greatly contributed to the popularity of the higher degrees in the East Indies.²⁸⁷

The French were received in the Dutch lodges with a special ceremony, at which occasion the French explicitly thanked the Dutch for the help and support the Dutch lodges had in the past shown to the French prisoners of war (see the discussion of the *La Pérouse* expedition below).²⁸⁸ The members of the Loge Provisoire later applied for membership of La Vertueuse:

And after examination of the received documents & on considerations gathered & the advice of the thereto committed Brethren Hartsinck, Roger & Engelhard [...] it was decided to utterly approve the work of Brother Bruneau in Surabaya and to recognize the Brothers Freemasons received there provided the stipulated reception fees are met according to the limitations set by this lodge with the inning of which were troubled the Brother Beukman Resident of Paccalonging as well as to take care of such means have been gathered in Sourabaya for the needy by the aforementioned temporary lodge.²⁸⁹

Apart from the captain, who acted as Worshipful Master, and the aforementioned visitors to La Vertueuse, the membership list names 19 other men, including a few Dutch civilians (table 5.L). (Upon their return to Mauritius, the members of this lodge would arrange a constitution for a Chapter for La Vertueuse from the *Grand Chapitre General* in Paris, discussed in more detail below.) The history of this lodge is closely linked to that of the fleet of admiral Sercey and the captains Bruneau le Souchais and L’Hermite, which was adventurous to say the least. This story deserves to be further explored by cross-referencing documents in French masonic collections, as it is also exemplary of military lodges travelling internationally at the time.

◆ **Provincial Grand Master Engelhard (1798-1809)**

In 1796, Past Master of La Vertueuse Van Overstraten was chosen as Alting’s successor as governor-general. He held the position until his death in 1801 (fig. 5.14). On 3-2-1797 lodge La Vertueuse wrote to the Grand Lodge, that it had been out of contact since 1794 as a result of the war. The lodge noted the passing of several members and the election of Gotfried Christiaan Fetmenger as Worshipful Master, and dared to request to be recognized as Provincial Grand Lodge as lodge Salomon in Bengal was no longer active as such (see chapter 4).²⁹⁰

The Grand Lodge must have gotten tired of the endless nagging. On 1-10-1798 it informed La Vertueuse of its decision to install a Provincial Grand Master.²⁹¹ As years earlier the lodges had passed the opportunity to do so themselves, the Grand Lodge now picked its own candidate. The choice fell on the aforementioned Nicolaus Engelhard, the Venerable Master of La Vertueuse, who received the title ‘Deputy Grand Master for the Eastern and Western parts of Batavian India’.²⁹² However, Engelhard’s appointment as Provincial Grand Master may have also had something to do with the increasing popularity of higher degrees in the Dutch East Indies. A draft letter in the lodge archive suggests that as a result of war, the lodges were visited by French freemasons in the 1790s, who possessed higher degrees and ‘not only desired large privileges, but as a result thereof tried to introduce some novelties among us this way’.²⁹³ La Vertueuse sought advice from the Grand Lodge, who responded with appointing Engelhard to preside not only over the lodges of the basic but also those of the higher degrees.²⁹⁴

Table 5.L: Members of the French lodge Provisoire, 1799

- Willem Beekman, administrator in Surabaya, a member of lodge De Goede Hoop;
- N.N. Blaix, member of lodge Le Royale Esperance, Isle de France, E.O, Orateur ;
- N.N. Boulonnière (geb. ca 1773), Ens[eign?];
- Jean Francois Bruneau le Souchais, captain of the Brûle Gueule, member of lodge Le Royale Esperance, Isle de France, now Venerable Master;
- N.N. Castaings (geb. ca. 1773), Ens[eign?];
- Pierre Guillaume Joseph Bernard de Chasteauvieux, captain commander of the Militia in East Java;
- Carl von Franquemont (ca 1770-?), captain of the Württemberg Cape Regiment in Surabaya;
- N.N. Graffie, officer, initiated as Chevalier d’Orient elsewhere;
- Jean-Marthe-Adrien L’Hermite (1766-1826), captain of the fregat Le Preneuse, initiated as Elu elsewhere, member of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia 1796;
- N.N. Du Houlber, member and Elu of lodge La Paix, Isle de France;
- N.N. La Marchand, member of lodge La Paix, Isle de France; now chosen as Junior Warden ;
- N.N. Morin, member and Elu in lodge Vingt-un, Isle de France; now Master of Cermonies ;
- N.N. Petit, French Marine officer, member of lodge La Paix, Isle de France; now Senior Warden ;
- N.N. La Poussiqain (ca 1770- ?), Enseign ;
- N.N. Rivière, member of lodge La Triple Esperance, Mauritius; now Tyler;
- N.N. Rose (1760-?), merchant;
- N.N. Schild, member and Chevalier d’Orient of Le Royale Esperance, Isle de France; now Secretary;
- G.M.P Trelaut of Trelo (?-ca 1766), ships Lieutenant;
- N.N. La Vionnais, a member of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia;
- N.N. Virro[g/y], ships Lieutenant.



Fig. 5.14: Adriaan de Lelie (1755-1820) (attributed), portrait of Pieter Gerardus van Overstraten (1755-1801), governor-general and member of lodge La Vertueuse, 1800-1820. Oil on copper, 106.5 × 91.5 cm. Collection: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv.no. SK-A-3787. Reproduced from: rijksmuseum.nl.



Fig. 5.15: Portrait of Nicolaus Engelhard, painted miniature. Reproduced from: Lequin 2002, p. 151.

Engelhard had arrived in the East Indies in service of the VOC in 1776²⁹⁵, had strong family relations within the Company and had made a speedy career. He was a member of La Vertueuse since circa 1783 and acting as Worshipful Master since 1796. In daily life he was appointed Council of Indie in 1798 and soon after he would become governor of Java's East Coast (in office 1801-1808). The Grand Lodge may have lived to regret its choice. Engelhard's style of governing the lodges was both negligent and inflexible. He constantly got into conflicts with the local lodges, but seems to have favoured his own, La Vertueuse. He brought La Fidèle Sincérité to the brink of financial ruin, and much annoyed the Grand Lodge by failing to submit promised reports and payments.²⁹⁶



Fig. 5.16: Anonymous, portrait of Johannes Siberg (1740-1817), governor-general and member of lodge La Vertueuse. Oil on copper, 107 x 90 cm. Collection: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv.no. SK-A-3788. Reproduced from: rijksmuseum.nl.

Engelhard's inaugural address did not take place until 27-12-1800.²⁹⁷ In his speech, Engelhard declared:

During this, both persistent, and disastrous war [...] our Temples have uninterruptedly been visited by Brethren, from Strange Places, [who practised] among them such elevated degrees, that although [these degrees were] unknown according to our Constitution, it none the less forced us to take note of them and to show such enlightend Persons, according to their wishes, the honour and respect which their elevated dignity and progress made in our Order, deserved, according to instructions received - meanwhile by following this duty, we were repeatedly pulled away from regular practice, and the cases were prevalent in your Temples, that the Throne was climbed by strange Brethren.²⁹⁸

Engelhard himself was initiated into the (French) higher degrees also practised in Europe, so this particular remark may well refer to the (British) higher and side degrees. It is unclear if a particular 'strange' Worshipful Master was referenced here.

By the time Engelhard came to power, the demise of the East India Company was already a fact. In 1795 the Batavia Republic was founded, which meant that VOC-assets and debts were nationalized. It would take until 1800 to formally dissolve the company and make new administrative arrangements. The *Raad van Aziatische Bezittingen en Etablissements* (Council of Asian Possessions and Establishments) took over trade in the region. Van Overstraten, who had to deal with this transition, died in 1801 and was succeeded by another freemason, Johannes Siberg (1740-1817), a member of La Vertueuse since 1771 and Past Master by the time of his appointment.

Engelhard's particular style of ruling over the lodges can be illustrated by his dealings with the new lodge that sprung from his own initiative, the travelling lodge De Goede Hoop.

◆ *Lodge La Constante et Fidèle (1798-1960)*

According to masonic historians, by 1765 several Dutch freemasons were already living and working in Semarang.²⁹⁹ They must have been too few in total or transferring on VOC business too frequently to be

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Hooch Gebooren en
Zeer Hoogverlichte Grootmeester en
Verder Leven uijt maakende de Grooten
Nationaal Loge der vereenigde Nederlanden
e. e. e.

Mijn Laatte aan Uw Hoogverlichten was in de maand
November 1771. Postato van Malacca affgezonden aan
De Provinciale Logie. Salomon à Bengalen; met
verzoek deselve aan Uw Hoogverlichten, met de last van
trekken Schepen na Nederland berwaardt te senten
hoopje onder Schoot van baaren Zeegen onder de
Bestuering vanden Souwmeester van't geried M,
dat de missive bij Uw Hoogverlichten in tenen vol
„maakten welstand zijn ingeloopten, als mede mijn
voorige missive van Batavia waar van ik Uw Hoog
verlichten van allen copia toekend,
In mijn Laatte missive van Malacca waar in
Uw Hoogverlichten hebbe gemeld dat ik de kere en het
geluk gehad bij mijn verblijft op Malacca den welken

Geste.

Fig. 5.17: Letter by George Steendekker to the Grand Lodge in The Hague, concerning the foundation of lodge La Constance in Malacca, 16-1-1771. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

able to found a lodge of their own. It seems the activities of the aforementioned lodge De Goede Hoop in the area in 1798 were specifically aimed at initiating a surplus of local men to ensure enough continuity in membership for any new lodge. When De Goede Hoop was formally closed on 31-7-1798 by Van Reede tot de Parkeler, the minutes mention that he was 'proposed', probably as Worshipful Master for the intended new lodge.³⁰⁰ The founding date of that lodge, to be named La Constante et Fidèle, is unclear. Later masonic authors agreed, that the decision to found the lodge was taken on 15-7-1798 after a meeting of De Goede Hoop, but minutes of this meeting were not found when consulting the lodge archive.³⁰¹ However, the founding date is clearly mentioned in a letter by Engelhard notifying the Grand Lodge of the fact, as the '15th Day of the 7th Month of the Year of True Light 5798'. This should translate as 15-5-1798, well before De Goede Hoop stopped its activities, but perhaps Engelhard or later authors did not take the masonic calendar into account. Bylaws of La Constante et Fidèle in the lodge archive, however, are dated as early as

1-3-1798.³⁰² The earliest surviving membership list is dated 11-9-1798 and closely overlaps with the names of the initiates recorded in De Goede Hoop.³⁰³

In any case, the formal request to the Grand Lodge for a constitution was signed on 15-11-1798.³⁰⁴ All founders listed were former members of De Goede Hoop: Van Reede tot de Parkeler, Bassotiel, Cantzleiter, Fisscher, Heyser, Ludwig, Van Lugtenburg, Van Middelkoop, junior merchant Huibert Palm, Rubenkoning, Weydig and Von Wolzogen. The only one not mentioned in the records of De Goede Hoop was junior merchant Johannes Hendrik Kistler.³⁰⁵ The request remained unanswered by the Grand Lodge and was therefore repeated unsuccessfully on 28-4-1799.³⁰⁶ A third attempt was made on 3-11-1800, now enclosing a large advance to cover the costs and contributions. As usual, that worked. Although the Grand Lodge still did not reply, it did give Provincial Grand Master Engelhard leave to install the new Lodge as he saw fit.³⁰⁷ It seems the relationship between Worshipful Master Van Reede and Engelhard was strained from the very beginning:

Immediately after the founding troubles arose between the Lodge and Deputy Grand Master National Engelhard, such even, that an intervention by the Grand Lodge in The Netherlands was called for.³⁰⁸

Not until 10-5-1801 did Engelhard write to La Constante et Fidèle, explaining that Company business had prevented him from fulfilling his duties earlier.³⁰⁹ He enclosed a constitution dated 3-10-1801, no less than two-and-a-half years after the first request made by the lodge.³¹⁰ The letter suggests that lodge La Vertueuse had refused to acknowledge La Constante et Fidèle or any of its members during the years awaiting the constitution. Of course Engelhard, originally a member of La Vertueuse, though this was a just course of action. Furthermore, he announced that he would leave the installation ceremony of the lodge to Van Boekholtz, and requested that La Constante and Fidèle would give Van Boekholtz the title of Past Master as a token of gratitude. This caused a conflict, resulting in the suspension of the lodge. Stevens attributed this to career rivalry and differences in social status between Van Reede, Engelhard and Van Boekholtz.³¹¹ After all, shortly thereafter Engelhard succeeded Van Reede as governor and director of Java's northeast coast. This may very well have played a part, but a letter dated 28-3-1801 also provides another insight.

Boekholtz was former Senior Warden of La Constante et Fidèle and still a frequent visitor.³¹² At some point he so severely offended the lodge, that its board had informed Engelhard of the incident and pleaded with him to never select Boekholtz for any commissions relating to the lodge.³¹³ Despite Engelhard's promise to respect this wish, he now commissioned him for the installation, thereby 'insulting the entire brotherhood'.³¹⁴ La Constante et Fidèle sent Engelhard copies of his earlier promise, and a transcript of lodge minutes of 28-3-1801, recording how member after member decided to quit, as soon as it became clear who would be conducting the installation ceremony. After deliberations, the members unanimously decided to close La Constante et Fidèle and return the constitution unused.

From a letter written on 5-9-1801 to inform La Vertueuse of the situation, it is clear that Engelhard took great offense to the return of the document. He instructed the other lodges to ban former members of La Constante et Fidèle as visitors and also refuse to initiate them (again) as proper members.³¹⁵ He also informed Nicolaas Maas, Worshipful Master of La Fidèle Sincérité, and the Grand Lodge about his point of view.³¹⁶ La Constante et Fidèle complained to the Grand Lodge about Engelhard's behaviour on 28-5-1801, announcing they'd wait for the judgement of the Grand Officers.³¹⁷ A letter from Engelhard to Reede tot de Parkeler dated 22-1-1802 shows exactly how deep the animosity ran:

[...] concerning you're your Honourable's complaint to the Grand Lodge National, I cannot, and will not stop it. Never Sir van Reede could you justify your behaviour shown in this questionable case as everything shows that your Honourable have given yourself over to the whims of a fickle Frenchman, and that your hatred and animosity against the Gentleman van Boekholtz from bias and your power as Governor, has hurt the right of an Order, which until now, had been untainted. I declare you, that in the history of Masonry no example can be found, which compares with this and yet I cannot look upon those chaps that have assisted you in this piece so masterly, than with contempt [...] However, I did not start the case and you have your Honour's Honourable self and your harmful followers to thank, because these instead of trying to stop Honourable in this [matter] they have strengthened you in it and what will in the order of Masonry be your Honourable and their wages [...] the Brothers and Members of the order, who know the duties of a Mason, and who are



Fig. 5.18: Doodle of a bird (dodo?) in the minute book of lodge *La Constante et Fidèle* in Semarang, 1815. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

aware of how *La Constante et Fidèle* had behaved here before and after its dissolution, should contempt the order, and curse the hour that they have participated if the events pass unpunished. And if I reflect on the publicity the Matter has gotten, as the whole city of Semarang had to know, which trick had been played to me thereby, as the officers on the *Paradeplaats van de Triumph* [= a square in Semarang] had to be informed by me and the Gentleman van Boeckholtz, than your Honourable and all who have been involved in it, should be erased for all those actions forever from the tracing board of Masons, who knows the circumstances first-hand could never again work in a Lodge with your Honourable and the same.³¹⁸

Engelhard's reference to the *Paradeplaats* may indicate, that a public ceremony had been planned and had to be cancelled. Curiously, although Engelhard indicated he would not try to stop it, the Grand Lodge did not receive Van Reede tot de Parkeler's complaint. It did receive Engelhard's letter dated 29-6-1802, referring to an earlier 'full report' on the events of July 1801, which - like most of Engelhard's promised reports - had somehow not arrived.³¹⁹ Of 29-3-1803 dates a reminder from *La Constante et Fidèle* to the Grand Lodge, restating its earlier complaints about Engelhard's policies.³²⁰ The response of the Grand Lodge was typical: it forwarded the letter to Engelhard and asked him to submit his earlier rapport.³²¹

After several years of slumbering conflict, some lodge members must have gotten tired of the situation and bowed to Engelhard's wishes in order to be able to resume their activities. On 17-12-1804 Engelhard informed *La Vertueuse* which members of *La Constante et Fidèle* had formally apologized to him, and were therefore eligible for readmission in other lodges: founders Bassotiel, Kistler, Ludwig, Middelkoop, Rubenkoning, Weydig and Wolzogen, as well as captain August Philip Michaelis, military officer Albert Hendriks, head administrator Herman Johan August Sack (1766-1834), and marine officer Meindert Swaal. A second list comprised the names of members who remained 'resistant' and therefore banned: government secretary Daniel François van Alphen (1774-1840), 'Brauwer' [= I.G. Bauer?], C.J.A. van Dommelen, sea captains C. Jacobzon (died 1820) and Dirk Varkevisser, F. Roesler, J. Schmaltz and civilian George Frederik Smit.³²² *La Fidèle Sincérité* had intended to admit Smit in an upcoming Adoption lodge (a phenomenon to which we will come back later). When *La Vertueuse* was informed of this intention, predictably it objected to any deviation from Engelhard's decree and decided on 15-9-1804 to inform him of the matter.³²³

Not until 1805, after Van Reede's death, was Engelhard willing to reinstate the lodge, but even then he demanded to know what had happened to the lodge's valuables.³²⁴ By then Albertus Henricus Wiese (1761-1810) was appointed the next governor-general, a position he would keep until 1808. The lodge is thought to have been finally installed on 7-7-1805.³²⁵ At the Grand Lodge meeting of 1806, Engelhard's

letters of 1804-1805 concerning the conflict and the reinstatement of La Constante et Fidèle were discussed. Engelhard had asked to ban Schmaltz from the Order as his attitude remained 'resistant'. The Grand Lodge approved his request, but also took measures and informed him of the commission Elout-Parvé, to which we will come back later.³²⁶

Lodge life resumed as before.³²⁷ Engelhard conveniently forgot or failed to make explicit to the other lodges on Java that the former 'instigators' of the conflict (Van Alphen, Brouwer, Van Dommelen, Jacobson, Schmaltz, Smit, Roesler en Varkevisser) were now also rehabilitated. So these lodges kept banning them unnecessarily. His omission only came to light when La Fidèle Sincérité re-requested the readmission of Smit (an earlier request from 1804 had remained unanswered).³²⁸ Engelhard wrote to La Fidèle Sincérité on 2-8-1811 to acknowledge the status of La Constante et Fidèle,³²⁹ and this was repeated on 5-6-1812, now by Engelhard and Parvé acting together as Provincial Grand Masters. La Vertueuse was also formally informed on 8-7-1812, seven years after the event.³³⁰ Friendly contacts were briefly resumed, but more trouble was on the way.

In 1812, the lodge got into trouble again after an incident involving the British lieutenant governor Raffles (discussed below), which resulted in a (second) suspension of their lodge and Chapter by Engelhard in 1813, discussed in more detail below. The lodge members defied Engelhard's decision. With the help of other lodges on Java, they appealed to the Grand Lodge for guidance and meanwhile remained working under direction of its former Warden, sea captain Willem Lamberger (died 1817).³³¹ On 4-11-1813 the lodge was reopened at the express permission of the Grand Lodge.³³² Lamberger was then formally instated as acting Worshipful Master by Engelhard, who did not risk going against the Grand Lodge.³³³

Part of the lodge archive would be lost in 1829, which is why information on early developments partially relies on secondary sources.³³⁴ Because of these circumstances, the lodge would also receive a new letter of Constitution in 1829.³³⁵

■ Meeting places of La Constante et Fidèle (1801-1810)

On 5-2-1798 the temporary lodge De Goede Hoop met in the 'governor's house within the city of Semarang'.³³⁶ This was the *Gouvernementshuis* (government building) in the city.³³⁷ The governor's house is also described as the place where lodge La Constante et Fidèle was to have its first meetings. Other early locations used by the lodge were mentioned in a speech by A.H. Clignett, President of the *Weeskamer* (office dealing with legates) in 1845. The lodge moved in 1801 from the palace of Worshipful Master van Reede tot de Parkeler, where it was founded, to a building in the city, named *Het Paviljoen*, 'where the Head of the local board here resides'.³³⁸ A second move was then made to the *Grote Zaal* or Grand Room of the City Hall or *Gouvernementshuis* in Semarang.³³⁹ However, on 12-7-1808 the lodge wrote to Provincial Grand Master Engelhard:

As the unfortunate death of our worthy Grand [= Worshipful] Master Carel von Wollzogen, left this Brotherhood not only without a leader, but also the use that the government general made of the so called government's House here, wherein our workplace was founded, uncovering us wholly of the place in which we could regularly work, ontblooten ons volstrekt van het local in het welk wij gereegeld konde werken'.³⁴⁰

(This contradicts Clignett and suggests the lodge worked in the *Gouvernementshuis* since all along.) The lodge had to stop its work until Knops was installed as the Worshipful Master and a room for 'provisional use' was found. What happened after that, is unclear, as accounts are contradictory. At some point, the lodge moved to a private house or *toko* of Mrs. De Vries on the Bodjong Road.³⁴¹

The lodge minutes of 14-5-1810 recorded how the members decided to look for rooms 'more suitable for the labour'.³⁴² Architect Holtzhausen and Master of Ceremonies Beer were given the task to find such a space. On 28-6-1810 several suitable locations were discussed: the garden of the widow Kamerling, the plot and house of mister van Affelen, and the garden of lodge member H. Muller, of which the latter was chosen. The lodge, however, miscalculated the costs, and had to ask Muller to undo the sale.³⁴³ He wanted to be compensated 1.500 Rds for the inconvenience, as the grounds had already been prepared, and was offered an unused plot of land in Bodjong, owned by the lodge. However, some members wanted to persevere. It was decided to keep Muller's plot and built a masonic hall as soon as funds allowed it. We will come back to La Constante et Fidèle later.



Fig. 5.19: Military hospital on the Bodjong Road in Semarang, photographed ca. 1885-1908 (postcard detail).
Collection: KITLV, Leiden, inv.no. 1405006. Reproduced from: media-kitlv.nl.

◆ *Lodge De Vriendschap in Surabaya*

In 1798 travelling lodge De Goede Hoop, which had been so successful in propagating freemasonry in Semarang, also stopped over in Surabaya, but found too little potential Dutch members there to stimulate the founding of a lodge. A change came around 1808, when governor-general Herman Willem Daendels (1762-1818, fig. 5.24), former member of lodge Le Profond Silence in Kampen, reorganised the civil service in the East Indies. He divided the former directorship over the Northeast Coast of Java into five separate Prefectures (later: *Landdrost-ambten*), one of which was Surabaya. This brought more Dutch civil servants to the area and more traffic to the harbour. J.A. Middelkoop, one of the founders of lodge La Constante et Fidèle, was appointed in 1809 as Prefect and later became *Landdrost* and Head Administrator of East Java. It is thought he was one of the initiators of a new lodge in the area.³⁴⁴

According to a later commemorative publication, preparations started in May 1809.³⁴⁵ The formal decision to found a lodge was taken on 27-10-1809 by former members of La Constante et Fidèle Middelkoop and Sack, as well as a number of civil servants: fiscal Hendrik Andreas van den Broek, administrator Hendrik Jacobus van Cattenburgh (died 1811), secretary J.F. van 't Wout, as well as Council of Justice Johan Anthony Zwikkert and his colleagues at the Justice Department Jacobus de Bruin and Klaas Meinders. The other founders were military men: major of engineers and artist Hermanus Christiaan Cornelius (1774-1833), captain Johannes de Frees, brigadier-general Carl Friedrich Gaupp, colonel Nicolas Dominique Chevreux la Grevisse, captain-lieutenant Pieter Jansen (1775-1821), surgeon-major Nicolaas van Meeverden, luitenant-colonel Alexander van Ostheim (former member of the Regiment Württemberg), luitenant-colonel Gerard Arnold Reinking, captain Jacob Rijk and marine officer J.F. Roos; as well as merchant Louis Constantijn Pielat.³⁴⁶ However, the constitution which was granted on 28-11-1809 does not mention Gaupp, van Osthei, Roos, Sack or Van 't Woud as founders.³⁴⁷ Middelkoop was appointed Worshipful Master, De Bruin as Secretary, Van Cattenburgh and Van den Broek as Wardens, and Jansen as Treasurer.³⁴⁸ The lodge already started its activities on 11-10-1810³⁴⁹, but the formal installation did not take place until 27-10-1810.³⁵⁰ This festive occasion was supervised by Klaas Heynis Pieterszoon, notary and First Commissioner at the General Secretary in Batavia, acting on behalf of Engelhard en Parvé.³⁵¹

Most of the archive of De Vriendschap is missing up until the 1820s, so most information on its early days comes from secondary sources. Hageman recorded that 'The codification and *ritualia* seem to have been subject to contemplation, but not strictly followed [...] At first the receptions took place by communication'.³⁵² Although the lodge had received a bible and a book of law for the installation, 'a ritual of legal origins [was] not mentioned'. The lodge kept to itself and would make little effort to keep in



Fig. 5.20: The government offices at the Roode Brug in Surabaya, ca. 1865. Collection: KITLV, Leiden, inv.no. 155224. Reproduced from: media-kitlv.nl.

Fig. 5.21: The Heerenstraat in Surabaya, ca. 1870, photograph by W.J. Olland. Collection: KITLV, Leiden, inv.no. 100919. Reproduced from: media-kitlv.nl.



Fig. 5.22: Freemasons' Hall of lodge De Vriendschap in Surabaya, built in 1811, photographed ca. 1925. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 21014. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

contact with the other lodges on Java in the first decade of its existence. Hageman noted it worked 'according to a stiff, arrogant Company style'.³⁵³ The contact between De Vriendschap and Engelhard certainly seemed distant. He rarely informed the lodge about relevant decisions or events. Sometimes one



Fig. 5.23: Grave monument of H.J. van Cattenburgh on the grounds of lodge De Vriendschap in Surabaya, photographed ca. 1925. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv. no. 21014-15. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

of the other lodges on Java took the trouble too informing De Vriendschap directly, but the lodge seems to have thrived without taking much notice of affairs outside its own building. Friendly contact was kept by La Constante et Fidèle³⁵⁴, but it would take until 3-7-1822 for La Vertueuse to request a regular correspondence.³⁵⁵

■ *Lodge buildings of De Vriendschap*

According to a later commemorative publication, preparations to found lodge De Vriendschap took place in governmental building or City Hall, which founder Van Middelkoop had to his disposal, in the centre of town near de Roode Brug (fig. 5.20).³⁵⁶ On 17-4-1811 the lodge decided to undertake a building project for a Freemasons' Hall, to which each member had to contribute a stake of 100 Rds in 'Probolingo Paper' (creditnotes with the land Probolingo as collateral)³⁵⁷ Meanwhile, the upper floor of the house of the widow Barbier in the Heerenstraat, next to the former house of the Administrator, was rented until april 1813 (fig. 5.21).³⁵⁸

Founding member Van Cattenburgh owned a plot of land 'in the southern suburb of Surabaya, in the district Simpang, about half an hour away from the city centre, an estate, Tandjongan, also called Petundjungan, 1494 square *roeden* [= surface measure] large.' He kindly ceded some 600 square *roeden* [= measure] as a loan to the lodge, by a notarial deed of 12 July 1811, for the duration of a hundred years.³⁵⁹ Cattenburgh died on 29-11-1811, and was buried on the grounds of the lodge (fig. 5.23).³⁶⁰ His widow then sold the entire 1494 square *roeden* to the lodge in 1812 for the sum of fl. 1.069,-, which was partially advanced, partially gifted by some of the lodge members. This meant the lodge could start the building works.

The foundation stone was laid on 20-2-1812. A colonel in British service, acted as overseer of the works, probably Colin Mackenzie (1754-1821), earlier member of lodge La Constante et Fidèle in Semarang. He was succeeded by the aforementioned J.W.B. Wardenaar, now a captain of the British military and architect/draftsman in service of lieutenant-governor Raffles.³⁶¹ The Brother of Talent, cadet H. Coolen, also supervised the works. The design for the building consisted of an 'oval structure, resting on columns, to which two elegant wings were joined'.³⁶² The costs were covered by contributions and a loan for the sum of 4.700,- Rds. The members had also been raising money since the plan was first approved on 27-7-1809.³⁶³

The moment that the new Freemasons' Hall could be inaugurated came on 31-5-1813 (fig. 5.22). For this occasion a procession of torchbearers was organised:

[...] on foot, each carrying the ornament assigned to him, light, decoration, banier, rough or cubic stone, tracing board or other masonic symbol, along a road an hour long, through districts populated by Javanese, Chinese and other nations³⁶⁴

The address of the lodge was later recorded as Tundjungan 80, across the Oranje-hotel in Surabaya.³⁶⁵ Hageman remarked, that this 'openess of the Surabayan Brethren at the time' was unheard of in the Netherlands.³⁶⁶ The British occupying forces on the other hand, were used to such public masonic processions and their membership of the De Vriendschap may have influenced this one. The inauguration of the building was again carried out by notary Klaas Heynis as representative of the Grand Lodge.³⁶⁷ A bronze memorial plaque was installed to commemorate Van Cattenburg as benefactor of the lodge building. After 1813 several improvements were made, which included adding forecourts, stables and a wall around the property, as well as the furnishment of a clubroom and other facilities to improve the level of comfort.³⁶⁸

◆ *Lodge buildings in Batavia (II)*

Meanwhile, lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia had to deal with maintenance of its building at the Moorish Hospital grounds. The lodge inventories again provide a valuable insight, as changes in the furniture and props reflected the changes in the membership body, wealth of the lodges and the rituals they practised.

Table 5.M: Inventory of the Steward of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, 30-11-1801.

[...] Silver wares

Two pieces Commemorative plates

Two pieces Oil and Vinegar sets

Two pieces Soup Ladles

Nineteen pieces Spoons

Eighteen pieces forks

Four pieces Tea Spoons

Six pieces ditto forks

One piece Plated Tea Vase [= Teapot]

One piece plated Tobacco box

Table wares

12 pieces wooden Tables

5 pieces Table Cloths

120 pieces Napkins

18 pieces copper candle sticks

16 pieces japanese ditto

65 pieces knives with ivory hilts large and small

12 pieces Tea Bowls in Sorts

A Table Service consisting of

6 pieces Soup Tureens

4 Lettuce Dishes

11 Butter Pots

7 salt cellars

11 mustard pots

3 Sauce boats

75 Dishes Large and Small

80 Deep Plates

300 flat ditto

147 Rice ditto

9 Vegetable Dishes

38 fruit ditto

13 Spoons

Furthermore Table Porcelain of Different Sorts

Six Soup Tureens

3 Fish Dishes

2 Butter Pots

3 Tea Pots

2 coffee jars

2 milk jars

3 gorgelets

4 sugar saucers

7 atjar Bowls

43 Dishes

27 deep plates

39 flat plates

6 poached Fish Dishes

7 Salad Dishes

23 fish bone Saucers

Glass works

53 carafes in sorts

207 Wine goblets, of which 71 with gold rims

2 beer glasses of which 6 with gold rims

6 wine and water glasses

6 wine and water glasses

40 Lamp glasses in sorts

Kitchen wares

11 pieces copper Castrolls and pans in sorts

1 piece copper kettle

2 pieces japanese martavaans

Maintenance was carried out in 1801-1804 by the Chinese overseer Lie Tjoeko.³⁶⁹ A new pantry was added to the building and the bridge was repaired.³⁷⁰ An inventory dating from 1801 provides the most detailed insight into porcelain and other table wares so far (table 5.M).³⁷¹ Apparently it was also necessary to amend the purchase contract of the lodge building, as the minutes of 10-10-1802 noted this task was given to the members Engelhard, Francois van Braam (1770-1810), a cousin of Van Braam Houckgeest (see chapter 7) and Pieter Veeris, who worked as secretary at the bank.³⁷² The Freemasons' Hall was still valued at 12.000 Rds around 1805.³⁷³ At a meeting on 3 December of that year lodge Architect Johannes Jongkind listed the necessary repairs to the temple, including paintwork, gilding and new upholstery for the throne, discussed in more detail below. The costs were estimated at 3.641,10 Rds, which had to be paid from both the Treasurer's and Almoner's budget, and even then supplemented by donations of lodge members, as La Vertueuse also had a debt in contributions to the Grand Lodge to pay. A subscription list shows that members made pledges for 50 to 200 Rds.³⁷⁴ On 3-12-1805 La Vertueuse wrote to Engelhard, formally to inform him but actually being a covert request for contribution.³⁷⁵

The finances of La Vertueuse remained problematic. On 2-12-1806 the purchase of new silver wares for the table and costs of paintwork were again financed by subscription of members.³⁷⁶ On 6-2-1807 a more overt request was made to Engelhard to contribute, after which he pledged 150 Rds.³⁷⁷ That same year, the lodge also bought 150 'coastal stones', probably for use in the garden.³⁷⁸ The next inventory was made up in 1807 (table 5.N), of which the 1808-1809 versions differ very little.³⁷⁹

The tropical climate had a profound effect on the lifespan of houses and goods, and insects could also be a problem. The lodge minutes list the effects of tropical storms and floods on the accessibility of roads, sometimes causing meetings to be postponed. On 27-8-1809 the members discussed how the presence of 'white ants' (= termites) had chewed through the wooden floor of one of the front rooms, which had to be replaced by a stone floor. Lodge Architect Jongkind wrote on 11-9-1809 to Wijnand van

Table 5.N: Inventory of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, 9-7-1807.

[...] In the Lodge Upstairs

Some Throne decorations

- 1 Grand Master's Chair painted yellow and gilt
- 1 Table with its White Silk Cover embroidered with gold and ditto fringe
- 1 Canvas cover
- 3 pairs of glass crowns
- 2 copper patent Lamps each with 2 branches and their belongings
- 1 wooden Altar with a Bench and two pillows with their White Silk embroidered covers laid with gold fringe
- 2 Japanese Tracing Boards
- 2 triangular Tables with their White Silk covers laid with gold fringe
- 2 ditto Tin Ink stands
- 1 large Bengal floor carpet and a leftover piece
- 1 Canvas floor cloth
- 1 Japanese Silk embroidered tracing board in a chest
- 1 New, and |
- 1 Old | - Canvas painted floor tracing board
- 12 large Emblems or Allegorical Paintings
- 1 metal orator's Lectern, damaged
- 2 copper Lustres on the Columns of the Temple door
- 48 yellow painted Chairs
- 32 half worn chair cushions of yellow Silk
- 2 new | - yellow painted and gilt wardens chairs
- 2 old |
- 1 Painting representing the former Grand Master National Van Boetzelaar in a gilt frame
- 9 Canvas Covers for the Windows
- 16 Wall bell shades glass, some with the lids missing
- 29 old Chair cushions

In the apartment behind the Throne

- 1 Hanging bell shade glass
- 1 wooden air pipe
- A board or Thorny path
- 3 boards or Thorny Seesaw bridges, broken
- 1 iron pan and its ditto Spoon
- 1 Lamp post with a copper plate behind the Blazing star
- 1 wooden stairs with 2 Steps
- 2 pieces glass crowns of which one broken

in the Forecourt

- 1 Glass hanging bell shade
- 1 Long wooden Ladder
- 4 yellow painted small stairs
- 2 yellow ditto Cabinets of which 1 with papers and Documents under care of the Brother Secretary
- 1 in which the following goods, being
 - 25 New lire maçons
 - 16 old ditto ditto
 - 1 new |
 - 1 old | - Law Book
 - 1 large |
 - 1 small | - Bible
 - 19 High german song books
- 1 jar with quicksilver
 - 1 bottle ditto
 - 1 iron Seal

- 1 fascia with the Snippet
- 1 velvet eye cover, damaged
- 2 New of yellow silk
- 1 metal funnel
- 1 ditto Tray
- some books containing the duties of Free Masons
- a lot of Playing cards
- 1 iron Shackle with its copper handcuffs
- 2 copper cuffs with chains
- 2 ivory Hammers
- 9 wooden ditto, of which 3 gilt
- 7 large Linen table cloths, new and
- 4 old, damaged
- 18 towels, damaged
- 58 Napkins
- 2 small Silver swords
- 1 velvet Bag with Ballot beans
- 1 proposition Bag

1 lacquered chest in which the following ornaments:

- 1 master ornament covered with brilliants
- 2 Silver Trowels
- 2 ditto pairs of compasses
- 2 ditto Set Squares
- 3 ditto Triangles
- 1 gold and 1 Silver gilt plate with the 5 building orders
- 2 turned wooden ornaments with Silver gilt fixtures
- 2 Silver gilt ornaments for the Brethren Architects
- 1 Silver Gilt Scroll for the Brother Orator
- 1 Set square on blue Stone surrounded with small stones
- 1 Plumb Line on ditto ditto ditto
- 1 with 2 quills ditto ditto with ditto ditto (in the hands of the Brother Secretary)
- 1 Key ditto ditto
- 1 Level ditto ditto
- 1 collection box
- 1 Silver double triangle with G

2 plated Candle snuffs

3 ditto candle sticks

in the Portal near the Stairs

- 1 Glass crown
- 1 Lamp stairs
- 6 wooden triangular lustres
- 2 Drawer tables containing
 - 1 Black Silk garment for the Brother Terrible
 - 12 round hats
 - 15 Silk Cloaks
 - 3 Rolls Black ribbon
 - 2 rolls yellow ribbon
 - 3 rolls covered with Black crape
 - 12 pairs Goats leather gloves for women
 - 12 ditto ditto ditto ditto men
 - 26 Silk bands of the order of different colours
 - 15 new Black Aprons
 - 5 ditto ditto bands of the order
 - 20 old Silk Aprons with different colours
 - 13 yellow New of this Temple
 - 6 ditto ditto Master bands

In the Dining room

- 1 Large glass crown
- 2 small glass crown

12 wall lanterns with glasses and garlands
 1 large Mirror
 1 Marble table with gilt foot
 2 new dinner tables with their 6 wooden Supports
 12 brown varnished dinner tables
 2 yellow painted corner cabinets, in one of which are kept
 107 Silver spoons of which | Of which 72
 1 piece broken | - dozen recently
 106 silver forks | bought
 38 table knives with ivory hilts
 20 dessert ditto ditto ditto
 2 Silver soup ladles
 6 ditto Jam forks
 2 ditto Commemorative plates
 2 plated oil and vinegar Services each with 5
 bottles
 1 ditto tobacco box
 15 triangular metal Candle holders
 1 Black varnished gilt old Master's Chair

In the Masters' Lodge

3 wooden Lustres with 3 copper branches
 2 ditto ditto " 2 ditto ditto, damaged
 1 Tracing board painted on Canvas
 4 Emblems or Allegorical Paintings
 1 grand Master's chair Black painted and Gilt
 2 wardens ditto ditto ditto
 1 Black painted Altar
 2 ditto ditto triangular tables
 12 ditto ditto large |
 2 ditto ditto small | - candle stands
 12 ditto ditto wooden candle sticks
 1 ditto Satin cover embroidered with silver
 1 ditto ditto tablecloth and ditto cushions with Silver for
 the Altar
 1 ditto painted and embroidered with Silver Table cloth for
 the Master's Table
 3 ditto new pillow covers

Behind the Masters' Lodge

1 iron sloe Branch
 2 wooden stairs
 1 metal bell
 8 glass bell shades belonging to the crowns in the
 downstairs room
 23 ditto covers different

Under the Stairs

1 pouring table covered with Lead and its tin cooling tray
 1 cooling vat with copper hoops
 1 chair with iron hooks
 1 lacquered table
 1 ditto ditto smaller
 1 old orator's Lectern

In the downstairs Room

1 large glass crown
 8 hanging bell shades of which one broken
 14 Wall ditto with their belongings, of which 1 broken
 4 mirrors with gilt frames
 8 ditto " ditto ditto and ditto branches
 8 playing tables in sorts

37 brown Varnished chairs of which 4 broken
 6 ditto ditto gueridons [= stands or side tables]
 15 ditto ditto short candle stands
 14 Japanese porcelain spittoons
 40 new chairs for the table, recently bought

In the chamber of reflection

1 chest with a Skeleton
 2 wooden skeletons
 1 long metal caller
 1 Lectern as well as some trifles

In the back Gallery

5 Hanging bell shades glass
 8 Wall lanterns glass
 1 square table with a hole
 1 old playing table
 19 round men's chairs, all unfit

In the Pantry

16 lacquered candle sticks
 13 copper ditto
 some incomplete table porcelain red with white
 ditto ditto ditto ditto white with blue borders
 2 Beer glasses with gilt rims
 19 ditto plain
 95 wine goblets with masonic emblems
 55 ditto plain
 20 cut glass lamps
 35 glass carafes, the damaged ones being 8 pieces broken
 2 small hanging bell shades belonging above the Throne
 13 Lamp glasses
 25 ribbed Wine goblets
 3 porcelain jugs with their wooden bowls
 5 iron varnished Tea bowls and 3 wooden
 3 copper Castrolls
 2 ditto skillets
 1 ditto roasting pan
 2 ditto stewing pans
 1 ditto water kettle
 2 wooden benches for the Lamp glasses
 1 ditto mill to climb on, damaged
 7 iron pans damaged

In the Kitchen

2 iron grills
 1 roasting spit with its stand, damaged
 2 Kitchen tables
 2 buckets
 1 large vat
 3 water vats

In the apartment of the Mandur

2 Rifles
 2 pistols
 2 Japanese Martavaans buried in the ground
 2 Japanese chamber pots [...]

Table 5.0: Inventory of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, July 1816 [with notes, below in blue].

Inventory of Furniture Goods which on this date were under administration of the Brother Master of Furniture in the Temple la Vertueuse

In the Lodge Upstairs

Some Throne decorations

- 1 Grand Master's chair, painted yellow and gilt
- 1 Table with its Silk cover embroidered with gold and ditto fringe / NB of which ~~the white silk should be replaced~~ everything was renewed
- 1 Canvas cover
- 3 Pairs Glass Crowns
- 2 copper Patent Lamps with their belongings
- 1 Wooden Altar with a Bench and two cushions, covered with their white silk embroidered cover, with gold fringe ~~NB of which the white silk needs to be renewed~~
- 2 triangular tables with their silk covered laid with gold fringes ~~of which the silk covered need to be replaced all new~~
- 2 Tin Ink stands
- 1 Large Bengal Floor carpet
- 1 Canvas Floor Carpet, unfit
- 1 Japanese Silk embroidered tracing board in A chest
- 3 old Canvas painted floor Tracing boards
- 12 large Emblems or Allegorical Paintings
- 1 Metal orator's Lectern, unfit
- 2 Coper Lustres on the Columns of the Temple door
- 48 Yellow painted Chairs
- 32 half worn Chair pillows of yellow Silk
- 2 Yellow painted and gilt wardens chairs
- 1 Painting, the old Grand Master National van Boetzelaar
- 7 Canvas Covers for the windows, 2 unfit
- 16 Glass wall bell shades Some missing the lids
- 29 old Chair cushions
- 2 Large foot Stools

In the apartment behind the Throne

- 1 Glass Hanging bell shade broken
- 1 board or thorny path
- 1 Lamp post with a copper plate behind the Blazing Star
- 2 pieces broken small glass crowns *lapsed*

In the front Portal

- 1 Glass Hanging bell shade
- 1 Long wooden ladder
- 4 Yellow painted Stairs
- 2 ~ cabinets of which
 - 1 with papers and Documents under guard of the Brother secretary
 - 1 in which the following goods being
 - 15 New Lire Maçonnes
 - 25 old ditto ditto
 - 1 New |
 - 1 old | - law Book
 - 1 Large Bible
 - ~~27~~ 3 High German song Books
 - 1 Empty jar in which used to be quicksilver
 - 1 bottle quicksilver empty
 - 1 iron Seal

- 1 velvet eye cover, unfit
- 2 Half worn ditto of yellow silk
- 1 Metal tray
- 24 ~~Speel~~ Playing cards left 4 decks
- 1 iron Shackle with its copper hand cuffs
- 2 Copper Hand cuffs with chains
- 2 ivory Hammers
- 8 ~~9~~ wooden ditto of which 3 gilt
- 6 Large Linen table cloths all unfit
- 3 Towels
- 100 Napkins ~~unfit~~
- 2 Small Silver swords
- 1 velvet Bag with Ballot beans
- 1 Proposition Bag
- 1 Lacquered Chest in which the following ornaments
 - 1 Master ornament surrounded with Brilliants under guard of the Brother Grand Master
 - 2 Silver trowels
 - 2 " Hammers
 - 2 " Triangles
 - 1 gold and 1 Silver gilt Plate with the 5 building orders
 - 1 turned Wooden ornament with Silver gilt fixtures
 - 1 Silver gilt ornaments for the Brethren architects
 - 2 Set squares
 - 2 Silver Pairs of Compasses
 - 1 set square on a blue Stone covered with small stones *To Brother Engel*
 - 1 plumb line on
 - 1 with 2 quills
 - 1 key ditto
 - 1 set square ditto
 - 1 Collection box
 - 1 Silver double triangle with G
 - 1 Silver ornament in triangle
 - 2 Plated Candle snuffs
 - 3 ditto candle sticks
 - 17 Small Trowels

In the Portal near the stairs

- 1 Glass crown
- 1 Lamp Stairs
- 8 wooden triangular Lustres 1 Broken
- 2 Drawer Tables containing
 - 1 Black Silk garment for the Brother Terrible
- 11 round hats *old and almost unfit*
- 35 Silk cloaks in Sort *Idem Yes even rotting*
- 1 ornament for the Terrible
- 1 ditto Orator

In the Dining Room

- 1 Large glass crown
- 2 small crowns
- 12 Wall lanterns with Glasses and garlands
- 1 Large Mirror
- 1 marble Table with gilt foot
- 2 New Dinner table with its 3 wooden supports given by the Worshipful Master to Villeneuve
- 12 Brown and varnished Dinner tables
- 2 Yellow painted corner cabinets; in one of which are

106 Silver Spoons
 103 ditto ditto forks
 36 Table knives with ivory hilts
 21 dessert " " " "
 118 Dozen pieces new knives missing 6
 10 ditto forks
 2 Silver Soup Ladles
 6 ditto Jam forks
 2 Silver Commemorative plates
 2 Plated oil and vinegar Sets, each with 5 bottles
 1 ditto Tobacco box
 1 ditto incense vat
 15 triangular metal Candle holders
 1 Black painted gilt old Master's Chair

In the Masters' Lodge

1 Wooden Table newly made
 3 ditto Lustres with 3 copper branches |
 2 ditto ditto " 2 ditto ditto |- unfit
 4 Emblems or Allegorical Paintings
 1 Grand Master's chair Painted black and Gilt
 2 wardens Chairs painted black
 1 black Painted Altar
 2 ditto ditto triangular tables
 2 Satin covers or cloaks Embroidered with Gold
 12 Black painted large candle stands
 2 ditto ditto small ditto
 14 ditto ditto Wooden candle sticks
 1 Black Satin cloth Embroidered with Silver
 1 ditto ditto Table cloth and ditto pillow with Silver for the Altar
 1 ditto Painted and with silver Embroidered Table cloth for the Master's Table
 3 ditto New pillow covers
 20 new [Lire] maçons of which one with the Brother Servant Dankanoietz

Behind the Masters' Lodge

1 Iron Sloe Branch
 2 Wooden stairs
 1 Metal Bell
 6 Glass bells hades belonging to the crowns Lapsed
 23 ditto Lids different

Under de Stairs

1 Pouring Table covered with lead and its tin Cooling tray
 1 Cooling vat with copper hoops
 1 chair with iron hooks

In the downstairs Room

1 Large glass crown
 6 Hanging bell shades
 14 Wall ditto with their belongings, of which 4 broken
 4 Mirrors with gilt Frames
 8 Mirrors with ditto and ditto branches
 6 playing tables in sorts of which 2 broken
 26 ~~32~~ Brown varnished chairs " 4 broken

6 ditto ditto gueridons [= stands or side tables]
 12 ditto ditto short candle stands of which 1 broken
 8 ~~11~~ Japanese porcelain spittoons
 60 New Chairs for the Table 26 broken 34 unfit

In the chamber of reflection

1 Empty closet
 1 chest with a wooden Skeleton handed over to Lievaart
 2 wooden Skeletons
 1 Long metal caller
 1 Lectern, as well as some Trifles
 1 Wooden cross
 3 Yellow Painted plumes
 1 reception window with 2 doors
 1 Coffin
 1 Guillotine
 2 iron Shovels

In the back Gallery

5 Glass Hanging Bell shades
 8 " wall Lanterns
 10 round men's Chairs, all broken
 1 Billiard table with its belongings, including the balls remaining 5 4 handed over to Vingers

In the Pantry

16 lacquered Candles
 13 copper ditto ditto
 Some Incomplete table Porcelain red with white
 Some ditto " ditto white with blue
 165 Beer glasses in Sorts |
 66 ditto ordinary |- missing 66 Pieces
 55 wine goblets with masonic Emblems
 12 Cut Glass lamps
 27 Glass Carafes
 2 small Hanging bell shades belonging above the Throne
 14 Lamp Glasses
 3 Large
 56 wine goblets plain and ribbed
 1 pair Pieces porcelain jugs, with their wooden bowls
 2 varnishes iron Tea bowls & 4 of wood

In the Kitchen

1 Large Iron Grill
 1 Roasting Spit with its Stand broken
 1 Water kettle
 4 Tatjoes [= pans] not found
 2 Wooden Benches for Lamp Glasses
 2 Kitchen tables
 1 Bucket unfit
 1 Large Vat
 1 Carrying Vat unfit

In the apartment of the Mandur

2 Rifles handed to the Brother Servant
 2 Japanese Martavaans Buried in the Ground
 2 ditto Chamber pots unfit lapsed

Hoesen, Extraordinary Council of the Dutch possessions at the Cape and a freemason, to request the necessary materials.³⁸⁰ A list of names of the Chinese workmen employed to lay the floor has survived, as have their contracts.³⁸¹

In 1811, a bamboo bridge was constructed on the lodge premises by Abdul Karien, and in 1813 Chinese workmen repaired a roof of one of the outbuildings.³⁸² A 'Name list of the Coolies of Lodge La Vertueuse' from 1814 also lists their wages:

Mandur Abizel Jala		rds 30
Boenjang	Soerat	15
-	Jayuman	15
-	Noeram	15
-	Mayumoeder	15
-	Maydeer	15
The monthly wages		rds 105. ³⁸³

A receipt dated 18-6-1813 for Abdul Jalal mentions the service of men 'for the making in order with leaves and laying of seeds for the Labyrinth'. From 10 to 17 June some eight mandurs and 186 coolies worked on this garden project, presumably to provide (European style) entertainment for the celebration of St. John's Day.³⁸⁴

The last inventories of the lodge to survive are those of 1812, 1814 and 1816, the last of which is reproduced here (table 5.O).³⁸⁵ After that date, information on the lodge building can still be found in the financial records and minutes, but these are less detailed.

◆ *Commissioners Engelhard and Parvé (1809-1813)*

Although the Order formally did not engage in politics, many freemasons were engaged in politics in daily life, meaning government commissions were often intertwined with masonic commissions. Just like captains of VOC ships were used as couriers by the Grand Lodge, political envoys often have a double role as representatives of the Grand Lodge. Cornelis Gerrit Bijleveld, Grand Master between 1804 and 1809, aimed to stimulate the expansion of the Order in the Dutch East Indies, while at the same time in daily politics *Raadpensionaris van de Republiek* (Pensionary of the Council of the Republic), R.J.

Schimmelpenninck (1761-1825), appointed a commission to implement a new system of government, justice and trade. In 1805 the task was given to a committee consisting of Carolus Henricus van Grasveld (1766-1841), an envoy and commissioned minister, and Mr. Cornelis Theodorus Elout (1767-1841), the attorney general. Meanwhile Bijleveld appointed a masonic commission to the East Indies, consisting of Elout, who was a member of lodge Vicit Vim Virtus in Haarlem³⁸⁶, mr. Herman Adriaan Parvé, a member of lodge La Vertu in Leiden and member of the Council in Haarlem³⁸⁷, and Hendrik Merkus de Kock (1779-1845), initiated in lodge l'Astre de l'Orient in Vlissingen and chief of the General Staff.³⁸⁸

It is quite likely that Bijleveld's commission was a response to letters by Provincial Grand Master Engelhard dating from 2-1-1804 and 20-2-1805 regarding the conflict with lodge La Constante & Fidèle (discussed above), which were brought into the Grand Lodge meeting of 1806. The Grand Officers must have been unhappy with Engelhard's style of government over the lodges and general lack of communication. The Grand Lodge simply informed Engelhard about the appointment of Elout and Parvé as its new representatives.³⁸⁹ They were given the power to constitute and install lodges, and oversee the activities of the existing ones, effectively side-tracking Engelhard without dismissing him.

Things did not go to plan. The government commissioners were called back before they reached their destination, due to political developments back home. The Netherlands were under French rule and Lodewijk Napoleon had appointed Daendels as governor-general of the Dutch East Indies in 1807. As a result, Elout en Grasveld had to return home, while De Kock and Parvé travelled on to Java.³⁹⁰ Once there, De Kock concentrated on military business³⁹¹, but Parvé wrote to the Grand Lodge on 20-8-1808 and 20-3-1809, that he had taken up his duties diplomatically: 'together with and besides [...] Engelhard'.³⁹² They would now jointly operate as 'Commissioners of the Grand Lodge of the symbolic degrees and the Grand Chapter of the Highest Degrees'.³⁹³

The appointment of Daendels as governor-general marked the start of a difficult period for freemasonry in the East-Indies, even though he was a freemason himself.³⁹⁴ As the Netherlands were under French rule from 1795 until 1813, this made them enemies of the British, who in the beginning of the 19th century were trying to take over French and Dutch colonies in the West and East Indies. Arriving in Batavia



Fig. 5.24: Raden Sarief Bastaman Saleh (ca. 1810-1880), posthumous portrait of Herman Willem Daendels (1762-1818), governor-general and member of lodge Le Profond Silence in Kampen. Oil on canvas, 119 × 98 cm. Collection: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv.no. SK-A-3790. Reproduced from: rijksmuseum.nl.

in 1808, Daendels task was to protect the colony against the British and also carry out some governmental reforms, which meant the conservative elite in Batavia would lose some of its power. One of the officials forced out of power was Engelhard, who lost his position as governor of Java in 1808. Parvé on the other hand, was promoted to Council-Extraordinaire of the East-Indies on 30-8-1808.³⁹⁵ Daendels forced Engelhard to lend 35.000 Rds, which according to Hageman contributed to his sympathy for the British.³⁹⁶

This political reform was echoed in the reform of authority over the lodges, where Engelhard was also sidetracked. The formal installation of the new commissioners Parvé and Engelhard was to be celebrated in La Vertueuse on 16-1-1809, for which occasion La Fidèle Sincérité was to be invited and the building was 'illuminated' (a public spectacle to which we will come back later).³⁹⁷ The organisers proposed to invite governor-general Daendels as a guest, which was approved.³⁹⁸ Daendels was indeed invited, but apparently declined. The program for the installation ceremony is now in the CMC collection.³⁹⁹ On the night itself, speeches were given by Engelhard, Worshipful Master Van Stockum of La Vertueuse, Past Master Maurisse of La Fidèle Sincérité, and the Orators of both lodges, Van Sevenhoven & Schonenberg. In a letter to Grand Master National Bijleveld dated 14-7-1809, Engelhard described what happened next:

[...] that the Lawyer Fiscal of the East Indies Heukevlugt, also being a Member of La Vertueuse and present at the Installation, demanded on behalf of his Excellence the Marshall Daendels the original of the speech from my lips made because of the commission, and that of the Brother Maurisse, because some to this High board had indicated, that we had made insulting expressions relating to this Character – that especially by me had been made a, for his Excellence, very degrading parable, between the same and the former Commissioner General Mr. C.F. Elout – and to which requisite, by both discourses, us shortly after submitting [them], again handed back by the Secretary general Muntinghe, we have been successful, to demand Satisfaction for this accusation and [injustice?] suffered - the complainant himself remained hidden to us, despite the enquiries we have made about this despicable subject - The joint Commissioner Parvé, after this incident having gone to Java, and being there having the Beakons on the Lodge remained in status quo, and the wait is for his Noble

return, to take the matter up, and act thereon, as it should and the circumstances of time will come to suggest.⁴⁰⁰

Later masonic historians explained that as the British were trying to take over the Dutch possessions, someone had on purpose alerted Daendels to the possible pro-British orientation of some of the speakers, including Engelhard.⁴⁰¹ Both Commissioners suspected La Vertueuse was guilty of submitting a transcript of the speeches behind their backs, and demanded that each member made a written statement declaring their innocence. The lodge was highly offended and some members plainly refused, which in turn the Commissioners did not take kindly.⁴⁰² However, on 26-3-1813 the Commissioners wrote to La Vertueuse that they 'considered it communicated' that lodge members Meijer, Van Panhuijs, Beijvank, Engel and Van Sprenger 'had declared on their word as Mason that they were innocent of divulging the contents of the discours', thus 'restoring harmony'.⁴⁰³ Perhaps it is not a wholly coincidental that Heukevlugt, who had demanded the speeches on behalf of Daendels, was dismissed from both government service and the membership of the lodge in 1810?⁴⁰⁴

◆ *British occupation and the Flora Lodge*

The British forces, under command of Robert Rollo Gillespie (1766-1814, fig. 5.27), gained control over Java in 1811 when governor-general Jan Willem Janssens (1762-1838), who had only just taken over from Daendels, capitulated. These political developments had little effect on the activities of the lodges, as there were many freemasons under the occupying forces. Dutch and British freemasons in Southeast Asia had already been aware, if not visitors of each others lodges since the 1750s. The laws of the Order prohibited discussion of politics and - sticking to the system of recognition of legitimate masonic lodges and their members - British visitors were still welcomed as Brothers. So this was freemasonry brought into practice: both parties to some extent ignored their government's position in order to let the bonds of Brotherhood prevail. The welcoming of the British must have paved the way for 'foreign' elements to sneak into the Dutch ritual practise on the island. On 4-2-1814 La Fidèle Sincérité sent a letter to the new governor-general of British India, Lord Moira (past Acting Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England), congratulating him with his arrival in the East Indies and expressing faith in his rule, and asking to be put under his protection.⁴⁰⁵ The British lieutenant-governor Raffles, who had an interest in becoming a freemason, caused a commotion at one of the St. John's Day celebrations, which will be discussed in more detail below.

During the British occupation of Java, an illegal, military British lodge is thought to have been active in Weltevreden.⁴⁰⁶ The minutes of lodge La Vertueuse noted on 2-2-1814 that one of its members, J. Barre Sloane, had attended a meeting of the 'Flora Lodge', presided by a Grand Master Josten. Sloane claimed to have been initiated in a lodge of the Antients Grand Lodge, which contradicted his recent initiation as Apprentice in La Vertueuse. The lodge members concluded that he had misled them.⁴⁰⁷ La Vertueuse then wrote to Provincial Grand Master Engelhard on 5-3-1815 about:

[...] the presence of an unlawful gathering of free masons under the name Flora Lodge in which a Doctor Titler acts as Grand Master [= Worshipful Master] without letters of Constitution [...] that in these meeting secrets were discovered by the profane Heele[,], Lieutenant in the Artillery.⁴⁰⁸

The commemorative publication on the lodges in the East Indies of 1848 further elaborates:

In 1814 the discovery was made among the English officers of a Clandestine and without Constitution working [lodge] in Weltevreden under the name of The Horn lodge and the [lodge] governed by a Dr Titler, the member of La Vertueuse. J.B. Sloane on the received prohibition not to frequent this [lodge] and having however shown to have been disobedient & resistant, was therefore denied the membership.⁴⁰⁹

The [Old] Horn Lodge was named after the Horn Tavern in London, but changed its name after a merger in 1774 and can therefore not have been the mother lodge to Flora lodge, if that is what is implied here. The lodge is not listed in *Lane's Masonic Records* and nothing else is known about its activities. In any case, they

must have ended with the retreat of the British occupiers in 1815, soon after La Vertueuse discovered its existence.

◆ *Lodge Virtus et Artis Amici and the Raffles incident*

Engelhard, who had lost his position under the new regime of Daendels in 1808, at first continued to live as a private citizen in Batavia.⁴¹⁰ The governmental residence Buitenzorg and the surrounding lands Tjawie and Pondok Gedeh (fig. 5.25) had been handed down from governor-general to governor-general, until Daendels decided to sell the lands to make a profit. Engelhard was one of the main buyers and retreated to Buitenzorg, after he had been briefly detained in 1811, together with others accused of sympathising with the British.⁴¹¹

When the British occupied the Dutch colonies in 1811 the governor of Bengal, Gilbert Elliot-Murray-Kynynmound, the 1st Earl of Minto (1751-1814), appointed Thomas Stamford Raffles (1781-1826, fig. 5.26) as lieutenant-governor of Java.⁴¹² Raffles had worked for the British East India Company as a secretary and translator in Penang, which meant he could speak Malay, the language that was also commonly spoken on Java. He had been involved in the planning of the acquisition of Java, which the British considered a blow against the French as well as their Dutch trade competitors, because the Netherlands was under Napoleon rule at the time. During the occupation, Engelhard continued to live in Buitenzorg and refused all offers to take on government positions for the Brits.⁴¹³ Like Daendels, the new government also decided to sell lands to private owners. Together with Raffles, Thomas Macquoid, a friend of Raffles and chairman of the land sale committee, and Andries de Wilde, a member of La Fidèle Sincérité, Engelhard acquired the land Soekaboemi in Preanger for fl. 58.000 in 1813.⁴¹⁴ When the British left, the land came fully into his possession, but in 1823 Engelhard was forced to sell it to the government for fl. 800.000,-.⁴¹⁵ Minto and the commander of the British forces, Gillespie, were both freemasons and may have encouraged Raffles to become one.⁴¹⁶

The minutes of lodge La Constante et Fidèle recorded on 3-5-1812:

Furthermore it was proposed by the Worshipful Master [Knops], having understood from that side that if the Lieutenant-Governor [Raffles] would be invited to our celebration [of St. John's Day], [he] would very much like to make an appearance. However not knowing if the Honourable Lieutenant-Governor was a freemason; though finds such as to change our table [lodge] into a celebration with the Sisters; whereafter by the joint Brethren it was decided to celebrate the occasion with the Sisters; with or without his Excellence.⁴¹⁷

On 7-5-1812 then came the news that Raffles was not a freemason but none the less intended to attend – accompanied by his wife. Worshipful Johannes Knops (1761-1814, in daily life the administrator of forests), asked if the celebration with Sisters (Adaption lodge) should be changed into a profane occasion, which was approved by the majority of members. The Senior Warden, William Lamberger, and several lodge members opposed, because St. John's Day was simply not a profane occasion. A proposal to postpone the banquet for 14 days, so it would no longer take place on St. John's Day, was also voted down. Instead Lamberger proposed to give Raffles the 1st and 2nd degree by communication, like they would a traveller.⁴¹⁸ It is not clear what happened next, as the last entry in the minute book concerns the installation of Officers on 8-5-1812, but was left empty after that, probably as a result of the events to follow.

La Constante et Fidèle had somehow neglected to inform the other lodges which would also partake in the occasion. These were highly surprised when on the night itself Raffles walked in, who was not just accompanied by his wife, but had simply taken the liberty to ask his 'aide de camps' to accompany him, as well as a group of men and women who were his houseguests at the time.⁴¹⁹ Although the presence of so many uninvited profanes must have embarrassed La Constante et Fidèle, of course no one dared to refuse them admittance. Immediately afterwards, Lamberger and several other members made a complaint to Engelhard about the way Knops had handled the matter, and requested his replacement (as a Senior Warden, Lamberger himself would be the most obvious choice).⁴²⁰

True to Engelhard's style, they had to wait for a reply for eight months, after which the lodge received a coldly written letter, requesting they return their constitution.⁴²¹ Instead of replacing Knops as they had expected, Engelhard pointed out that they had not made sufficient efforts to resolve the problem.⁴²² Why had the lodge not simply consented to postpone and make it a profane celebration? For

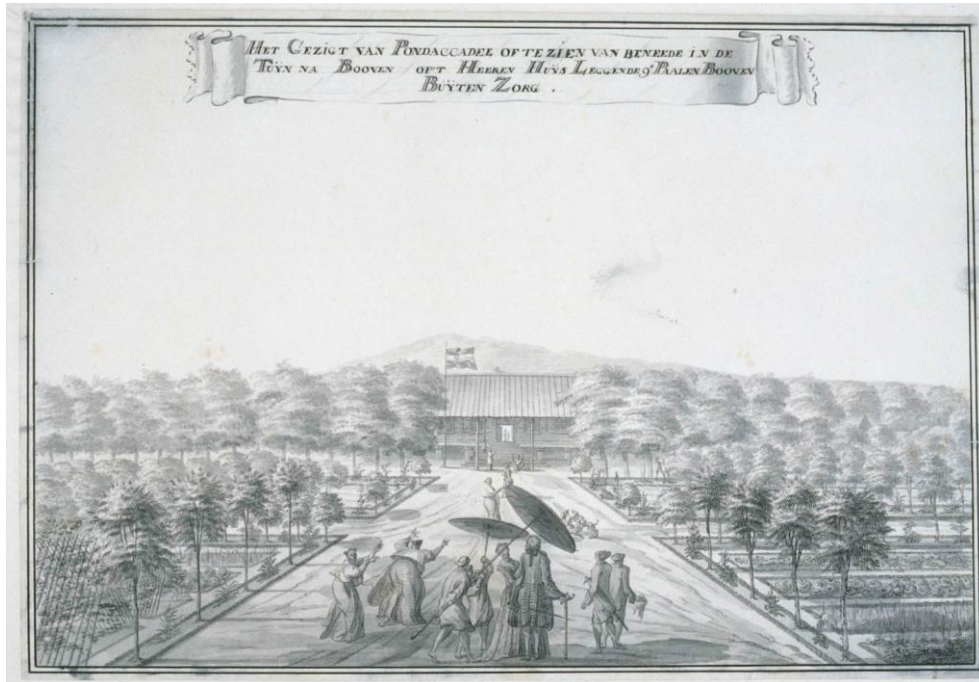


Fig. 5.25: Johannes Rach, View of Pondaccadee [= Pondok Gedeh], 1771. Collection: National Library of Indonesia. Reproduced from: atlasmutualheritage.nl.



Fig. 5.26: Portrait of Sir Thomas Stamford Bingley Raffles, 1817. Oil on canvas, 139.7 x 109.2 cm. © National Portrait Gallery, London (gift by W.C. Raffles Flint, 1859). Reproduced from: npg.org.uk.
 Fig. 5.27: Henry R. Cook (attributed), portrait of Sir Robert Rollo Gillespie (1766-1814) in uniform after a miniature by William Haines (1778-1848), published by I.C. Barrington, London, 1-8-1814. Collection: National Library of Ireland, Dublin. Reproduced from: catalogue.nli.ie.

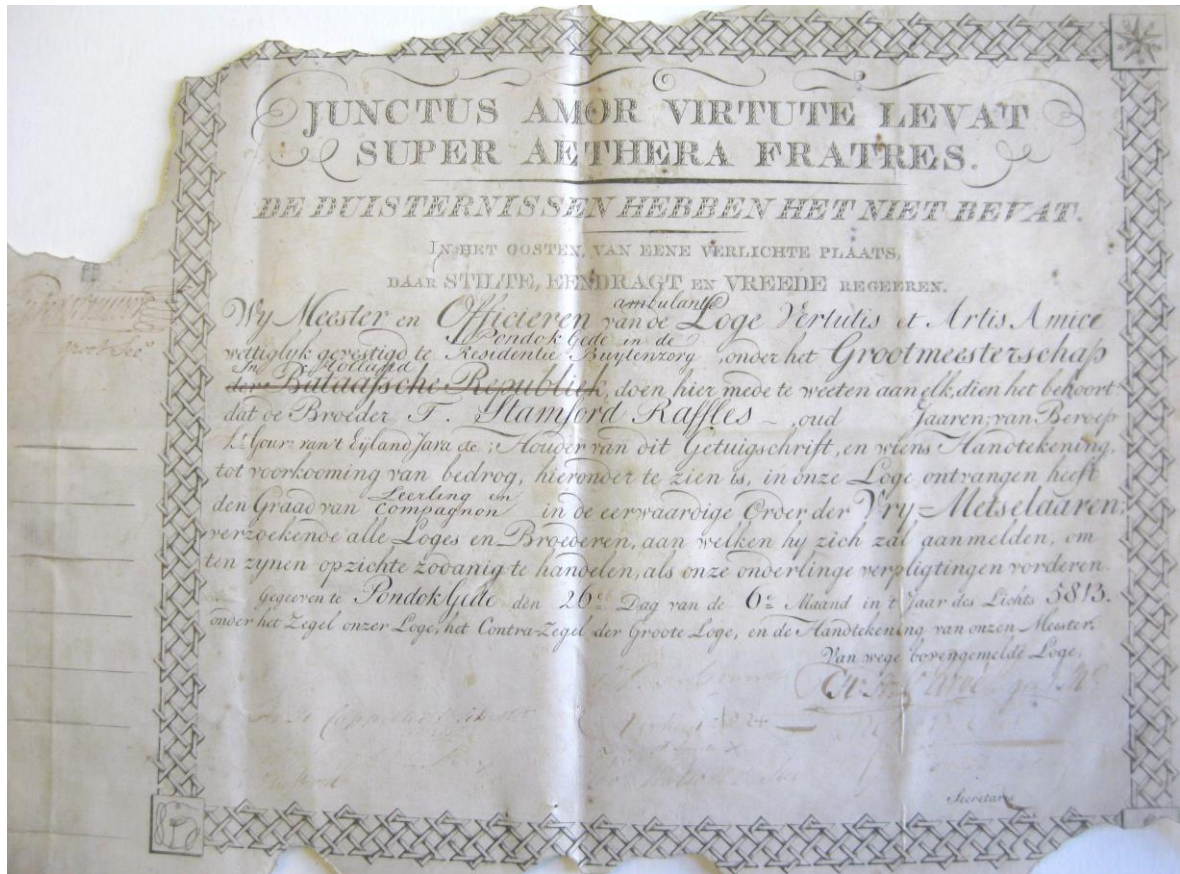


Fig. 5.28: Certificate for the degrees of Apprentice and Fellow, issued to Thomas Stamford Raffles by lodge Virtus et Virtutis Amici on 26-6-5813 (= 26-4-1813). Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 107-1.

1816.		Crediet	
October	Het Saldo der vorige rekening over	Apr. 1902	—
November	Nader ontvangen		
	Van B. Raffles blvd.		75. —
	" " " " blvd. Roriond		100. —
	Van B. Macquoin blvd.		75. —
	" " " " blvd. Roriond		100. —
	Van het ornemens van B. Raffles		
	by vorige rekening over		25. —
		<hr/>	
		Samen Apr. 2203 —	

Fig. 5.29: Financial records showing payments by Raffles for his initiations in the Chapter of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, 1816. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Photograph: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

their unwilling attitude they were now punished with the (second) suspension of their lodge and Chapter, which would last until Knop's death in 1814.

Shortly after the incident, on 5-3-1813, a lodge was erected by the commissionaires of the Grand Lodge, Parvé and Engelhard, known as Virtus et Virtutis Amici. Parvé was elected Worshipful Master.⁴²³ On 26-4-1813 a meeting of this new lodge was held on Engelhard's estate to initiate Raffles into the 1st and 2nd degrees. Guests at this occasion were Lord Minto, Gillespy and Mr. Herman Warner Muntinghe (1773-1823), a member of the Council of the East Indies and advisor to Raffles.⁴²⁴ Raffles' certificate (fig. 5.28) reveals some of the other members, as it was signed by Parvé and Engelhard, and W.J. Cranssen from La Vertueuse and J.F.van Boekholtz from La Fidèle Sincérité, as well as H. Kappelhof (perhaps Pieter van Heemstede Cappelhof, also of La Fidèle Sincérité). They must have been the other lodge officers, together with the three guests barely covering the minimum number required to found a lodge.

A later commemorative publication, noted that Engelhard founded Virtus et Virtutis Amici with like-minded men who thought the other lodges were not sufficiently resisting Daendels' politics.⁴²⁵ But it is more likely, that this was nothing more than an occasional lodge, founded for the sole purpose of elegantly smoothing over the Raffles incident. This idea is supported by a letter from Parvé and Engelhard, formally informing lodge De Vriendschap in Surabaya about the founding and recognition of Virtus et Virtutis Amici 'in the Residence of the Preanger Lands' on 5-7-1813. They requested that Raffles would be raised as a Master in De Vriendschap that same evening, because he would leave Surabaya the next day.⁴²⁶ Indeed Raffles was raised as a Master that evening at 20.00 hours, albeit 'by communication'.⁴²⁷ Lodge La Vertueuse was not formally notified of these events until the end of 1813.⁴²⁸

According to Hageman lodge Virtus et Virtutis Amici was closed again in 1815, but the exact date is unknown and it is not sure if the lodge ever convened more than once.⁴²⁹ There are no surviving minutes or membership lists documenting the years 1813-1815.

Raffles' masonic career was not yet ended. On 12-8-1813 Raffles and his friend William Robinson were balloted and accepted as new members by lodge La Vertueuse.⁴³⁰ The financial records of 1813 show that he was due 10,- [Rds] per month in contribution and had not yet any fines to his name.⁴³¹ On 5-2-1814 he paid 150,- Spd for his 'Admission as Member', probably covering a year's contribution and the costs of regalia.⁴³² Engelhard and Raffles both held speeches on the occasion of the election of new Officers on 22-4-1814.⁴³³ Raffles then went on to acquire several higher degrees in the Chapter of La Vertueuse, as is clear from the financial administration of the lodge.

In April 1815, Raffles paid 75,- Spd for his reception as *Schots Meester [en Ridder van St. Andries]* (Scots Master [and Knight of St. Andrew]).⁴³⁴ He briefly returned to England, but by March 1816 he was back and paid another 150,- Spd for his initiation into the *Rose Croix* degree.⁴³⁵ The initiation itself took place on or circa 25-4-1816, when Raffles was 'perfected' by communication as *Sovereign Prince Rose Croix*. The aforementioned Mcquoid and several other, mainly British men were also initiated by communication at this same occasion, including Charles Assey, the Secretary to the British Government; J. van Boekholst, agent of the Salt Department, Western Division; J.D. Papet; Captain W. Macdonald, Collector General of Customs; J. Dalgaerns, member of the Revenu Committee; Petrus Theodorus Couperus (1787-1823), Deputy Collector of Customs and Revenue (grandfather of the famous Dutch author Louis Couperus); Ths. Watson, assistant at the Secretary's Office, and W.S. Davidson.⁴³⁶

These initiations were probably a gesture of friendship to the British, who were about to hand the rule over the island back to the Dutch. In March, Raffles had already been replaced as lieutenant-governor of Batavia by John Fendall (1762-1825) and in May Godert Alexander Gerard Philip baron van der Capellen (1778-1848) had arrived with the Dutch fleet, ready to assume his role as governor-general. The latter was a member of lodges La Paix in Amsterdam and Vicit Vim Virtus in Haarlem.⁴³⁷ On 29-5-1816 a farewell lodge was held for the British brethren in La Vertueuse⁴³⁸, and in August 1816 Java was formally handed back to the Dutch. On 20-10-1816, several months after Raffles had left, the payment of 75,- Spd for 'the ornament for Brother Raffles' was noted in the accounts of La Vertueuse (fig. 5.29).⁴³⁹ Lastly, in November 1816 the accounts noted 'To be received [...] from Brother Raffles Elu 75,- [...] Chevalier de L'Orient 100,- [...]', indicating he had left without settling such financial affairs, to which the treasurer added 'For the ornament of Brother Raffles in the last invoice [paid] to much 25,- [Spd]'.⁴⁴⁰

Van der Capellen would stay in office until 1826. Raffles would famously go on to build up the British presence in Singapore, before returning to England in 1823.

◆ *The housing debacle of La Fidèle Sincérité*

From 1816 dates a 'Report concerning the Purchase and sale of A House and Plot on Jacatra Having been intended for a New Lodge [Building]'. It was written by lodge member Pieter de Bruin Vermeer, 'in order to serve as a remembrance for our descendants to be kept with the archives of this lodge'.⁴⁴¹ The report summarized the perils which La Fidèle Sincérité experienced during the British occupation. Together with the correspondence from these years, it suggests some mismanagement and naivety on the part of La Fidèle Sincérité, as well as the usual harsh stance by Provincial Grand Master Engelhard.

De Bruin Vermeer recalled how the building on the Amanusgracht was in a dire state by 1813, so much so that at several meetings supports had to be placed under the beams to prevent a collapse. La Fidèle Sincérité then learned that 'the garden and house standing on the road to Jacatra and belonging to the estate of the late widow Ginkel Van Haak' was about to be publicly auctioned.⁴⁴² The Worshipful Master and several brethren decided to buy it privately and resell it to the lodge against favourable conditions, covering the costs for the renovation of the new building by selling the old one on the Armanusgracht. The members had assembled a sum of 9.000-9.250,- Spd for this fine purpose, but at the auction a 'brother from another East' (= a lodge in another town) outbid them. La Fidèle Sincérité was surprised and a little offended to receive a letter on 19-5-1813 by its own member Diederik Popkens, who had acquired the property for the sum of 10.550,- Spd and now offered to resell it to the lodge without profit.⁴⁴³ The members refused, because they could not raise that amount of money.

To help out, Provincial Grand Master Engelhard bought the plot and on 22-5-1813 generously offered it to La Fidèle Sincérité for the lower sum of 9.550,- Spd on the condition of a loan. He also advised the lodge to approach the newly appointed British lieutenant-governor Raffles for a second loan, so it could afford to build a new Freemasons' Hall on the Van Haak plot. La Fidèle Sincérité accepted Engelhard's offer. The lodge raised its membership fees in order to meet some of the estimated costs. Lodge Architect Eeckhardt was asked to have a design and the necessary drawings made (which did not survive). The plan for the new Freemasons' Hall was presented to the members on 10-7-1813 and approved. The costs of the project were estimated at 33.945,33 Spd. A large number of Chinese overseers was allowed to submit offers for the building commission (fig. 5.30).⁴⁴⁴ On 7-8-1813 La Fidèle Sincérité chose between bids ranging from 14.000,- to 50.000,- Spd, and predictably signed a deal with the lowest bidder: the Chinese contractor J. Adjiet.

The new Freemasons' Hall in Batavia was to measure 112 x 88 feet, would be two stories high and have a front facade consisting of columns supporting a balustrade, separated by a fronton. The ground floor would be reserved for meeting rooms and storage facilities, leaving the upper floor to house a temple.⁴⁴⁵ A calculation for the costs of building materials and manpower mentions a 'front gallery inside the walls of 108 foot long and 24 wide', 'a back gallery or room ad idem', 'a side wing with upper and lower [stories], the second ditto only upper', 'in the centre the dome' and finally 'an attic'.⁴⁴⁶ Unfortunately the only information given about the decoration of 'the interior of all rooms' was that these would consist of 'panels as according to Architecture to be specified later'.⁴⁴⁷ The work was to be carried out by 30 Chinese workers and 30 *coolies* (labourers) during 16 months.⁴⁴⁸ Next to the fee for Adjiet, the estimate for painting and various facilities amounted to an extra 23.550,- Spd, while there was also the debt to Engelhard to consider. In other words, La Fidèle Sincérité involved itself in a project costing over 80.000,- Spd, while the members had initially gone to auction with 9.250,- Spd as a maximum budget...

As advised by Engelhard, La Fidèle Sincérité appealed to Raffles on 2-9-1813, requesting a mortgage loan of 24.000,- Spd, to be paid in instalments of 1.000,- Spd a year without interest.⁴⁴⁹ Contrary to their expectations, a government loan was granted for the lesser sum of 20.000,- Spd, to be paid in much higher instalments of 250,- Spd per month against 6% interest. This would plunge the lodge into serious debt and leave no room for the upkeep of the new building. La Fidèle Sincérité therefore politely declined Raffles offer on 10-10-1813, and suspended work on the plot.

Engelhard gave his view on the process in a letter to Past Master Wijnand Lucas Baggers, a former ship's captain, now presenting his brotherly gesture in a different light. He claimed to have taken a 'loss' of 1000,- Spd by reselling the plot to the lodge, because:

*Intekening Lijst van Verdragge Chinese
 waarden tot den opbouw de Bruuw Loge.*

	<i>Waar woonzellig</i>	<i>Wage</i>
<i>J. Meent</i>	<i>op de Zand Zee</i>	<i>18000</i>
<i>Tja Kaelke</i>	<i>" " Hoestlaar</i>	<i>19000</i>
<i>Lem Anke</i>	<i>" " Pidoeng Joesjen</i>	<i>17500</i>
<i>Tja Svanke</i>	<i>" " Antjeel</i>	<i>17000</i>
<i>Lem de in</i>	<i>" " Westpoort</i>	<i>16000</i>
<i>Lem de in</i>	<i>" " Al. Boca Malacca</i>	<i>15000</i>
<i>Lem de in</i>	<i>" " Klinting</i>	<i>14200</i>
<i>Lem de in</i>	<i>" " Oetoe de poort</i>	<i>13500</i>
<i>Lem de in</i>	<i>" " Water plaats</i>	<i>12500</i>
<i>C. Kuyke</i>	<i>" " Westpoort</i>	<i>11000</i>
<i>Lem de in</i>	<i>" " Land Zee</i>	<i>10000</i>
<i>To Lene</i>	<i>" " Westpoort</i>	<i>9000</i>
<i>Tja Soeke</i>	<i>" " Puloekau</i>	<i>8000</i>
<i>Lem de in</i>	<i>" " Compang Lene</i>	<i>7900</i>
<i>Tjong de in</i>	<i>" " Japenbung</i>	<i>7500</i>
<i>Lem de in</i>	<i>" " Pinang dea</i>	<i>7000</i>
<i>Lem de in</i>	<i>" " Lieve Westpoort</i>	<i>6000</i>
<i>Tjong de in</i>	<i>" " Westpoort</i>	<i>5700</i>

Batavia den 27 September 1813.

J. Meent
Lem de in

Fig. 5.30: 'List of such Chinese bosses that have signed in for the building of a new lodge', listing the commissioned overseers, their addresses and wages, 27- 9-1813. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

[...] to the public road of Jacatra would be made a substantial embellishment, but my Garden lying next to that Plot, thereby would desire an increase of value, so the sacrifice [...] would have meant nothing to me compared to the advantages [...].⁴⁵⁰

Having to comply with unfavourable government measures regarding loans made him 'suffer' an even higher loss. Engelhard felt that La Fidèle Sincérité, disadvantaged by the same government measures, had 'wrongly' decided to stop the building work. He implied the lodge only had itself to blame and should have made a 'less complicated' request to Raffles. Engelhard coldly announced that he would sell the plot and expected the lodge to be present at the Magistrates on 16-1 [1814?] to arrange a transfer. Moreover, he demanded that La Fidèle Sincérité immediately pay him back his 9.550,- Spd.⁴⁵¹ It meant the lodge had to cough up money it did not have for a plot it could not afford to build on, while its old building remained derelict.

La Fidèle Sincérité tried to find a solution. On 30-9-1813 it decided to offer the grounds back to Engelhard at a value of 1550,- Spd in reduction of the debt.⁴⁵² However, he would only accept a value of 1000,- Spd for the grounds, consenting the lodge could rebuy it for that sum later if desired. The only way the lodge could pay Engelhard the remainder was by selling the house standing on the Van Haak plot against demolition value, for which they had already struck a deal with Adjiet worth 8.000,- Spd. This still left La Fidèle Sincérité with a loss of 500,- Spd on the venture and no lodge building to meet in. On 7-12-1813 the revised agreement with Engelhard was approved. The lodge was recognized as buyer of the Van Haak house without obligation towards the surrounding grounds. Engelhard received an obligation worth 8.550,- Spd, to be paid in two instalments against 0.75 % interest before the deadline of 9-12-1814.⁴⁵³

Their troubles were far from over. From 1816 dates a second report by De Bruin Vermeer, in which he describes what disastrous consequences the contract with Adjiet had for La Fidèle Sincérité.⁴⁵⁴ The lodge had made itself depended of Adjiet, who was to make payments for materials taken from the demolition of the Van Haak building, due on 9-8 and 9-12-1814.⁴⁵⁵ If Adjiet failed to meet the terms of the agreement, the lodge couldn't reimburse Engelhard, and Engelhard couldn't pay off his creditors.⁴⁵⁶ Of course that is precisely what happened. The lodge threatened Adjiet with a court case, to which he simply replied that he wouldn't be able to work from prison in which case La Fidèle Sincérité would never see the money. Engelhard wrote increasingly angry reminders, and in turn threatened La Fidèle Sincérité with a court case. The lodge finally got a little over 2000,- Spd from Adjiet and quickly tried to raise more capital, but it wasn't good enough for Engelhard.⁴⁵⁷ On 1-4-1815 he had the High Court of Justice confiscate the building on the Amanusgracht. The bailiff accompanied the Master of Furniture in order to evacuate the building, about which De Bruin Vermeer later wrote:

We all remember that moment that buildings and Furniture of La Fidele Sincerite were exposed in the most guiltless way to public auction by means of execution and we remained unsure where we would further carry out our masonic Work.⁴⁵⁸

Remarkable is that, despite all the financial problems experienced during these years, the lodge never stopped making regular donations to the widows of lodge members and to others who depended on such support. Just when the need was the greatest, two solutions presented themselves. The lodge was offered a house on the Spinhuijsgracht, but did not have to make use of this offer, because another opportunity presented itself.

Among the work of the aforementioned artist and freemasons Johannes Rach is a *View of the Tijgersgracht with its living and Playhouse of the Noble Gentleman Jeremias van Riemsdijk, First Council and Director General of the Dutch East Indies* (fig. 5.31). The house depicted by Rach was inherited by Wilhelm [Vincent] Helvetius van Riemsdijk (1752-1818), son of governor-general Jeremias van Riemsdijk and one of the richest people on the island.⁴⁵⁹ As far as we know Wilhelm van Riemsdijk was not a member, but through lodge member A. Maarschalk the brethren learned on 8-1-1815 that he generously offered them the free use this building.⁴⁶⁰ The lodge struck a deal with Engelhard, agreeing that the building on the Armanusgracht would be sold at public auction, but not the lodge furniture (most of which Engelhard could not have allowed to pass into profane hands anyway).⁴⁶¹ The sale lessened the debt by another 2.528,44 Spd⁴⁶², but Engelhard



Fig. 5.31: Johannes Rach, View of the Tijgersgracht with its living and Playhouse of the Noble Gentleman Jeremias van Riemsdijk, First Council and Director General of the Dutch East Indies, 1772. View from the south side of the canal. The occupants of the carriage are linked to the Van Riemsdijk family. The Van Riemsdijk residence, later used as a lodge building, was situated alongside the playhouse on the canal. Drawing, 35.5 x 52 cm. Collection: National Library of Indonesia, Jakarta.
Reproduced from: atlasofmutualheritage.nl.

kept up the pressure. By the end of the year he demanded the remaining sum, stating 'I myself am put in the highest inconvenience'.⁴⁶³ Engelhard claimed that, with interest, the debt had accumulated to 9.692,02 Spd, meaning a third still had to be paid off.⁴⁶⁴ With a further 2.083,33 Spd payment from Adjiet and a private donation by Past Master Baggars of 482,- Spd, La Fidèle Sincérité was left to reimburse Engelhard 443,- Spd.⁴⁶⁵ It was not until 1817 that the matter was completely resolved.⁴⁶⁶

On 1-2-1815 La Fidèle Sincérité informed both La Vertueuse and Provincial Grand Master Engelhard about its permanent move to the 'East side of the Tijgersgracht in Batavia'. Not just the bad condition of the old building, also 'the difficulty of the distance and the road leading there' was given as a formal reason.⁴⁶⁷ The letter included an invitation to the moving ceremony, which was to take place on 5-2-1815.⁴⁶⁸ In a public procession the bible, constitution and law book of La Fidèle Sincérité were transferred from the Amanusgracht to the Tijgersgracht.⁴⁶⁹ A list of subscribers dated 7-1-1817, naming all members who contributed towards the renovation of the building for its new masonic function, has survived.⁴⁷⁰

The financial overview for 1814-1815 notes 'for the transfer of the New Lodge [...] Spd 238, 21 [...] except for the payment to the Brethren van der Keer and Maarschalk for painting the Lodge Blue', the colour of the Order.⁴⁷¹ There is little other information on the new interior, as no inventories from this building survived. The financial records list reimbursements to lodge members, but mostly without specifying the items purchased or their suppliers.

◆ Ambulant lodge De Militaire Broederschap

N. Gorter and J.A. Kluppel, the Worshipful Master and Treasurer of lodge De Noordstar in Alkmaar, the Netherlands, applied to the Grand Lodge on 29-1-1815 for a constitution for an ambulant lodge, named De Militaire Broederschap (The Military Brotherhood). The lodge would consist of members of the 19th

bataillon of the *Oost Indische Troepen* (East Indies Troupes), about to leave for Batavia in 1816.⁴⁷² Once having arrived at that destination, the lodge was formally affiliated to La Vertueuse on 8-4-1818 (table 5.P).⁴⁷³ De Militaire Broederschap was then installed on 20-4-1818, again by the members of La Vertueuse but with those of La Fidèle Sincérité as guests.⁴⁷⁴ Luitenant Colonel Otto George Veltman Munthinge was appointed Worshipful Master.⁴⁷⁵

Because there was a large in- and outflow of members, the government of the lodge was left to the board of La Vertueuse, while the members of De Militaire Broederschap were also considered members of La Vertueuse. However, they were not allowed to be appointed to the office of Worshipful Master, Warden, Secretary or Treasurer, although they were allowed to take other offices. They were given the same voting rights and obligations (such as paying contribution) as normal lodge members, but it was stipulated that they were not allowed to lay any claim on possessions of La Vertueuse, should their paths separate again in future.⁴⁷⁶

A report of the summer St. John's Day celebration of the joint lodges in 1818 was published in the Dutch masonic almanac of 1819, and a song for the same occasion appeared in the edition of 1827.⁴⁷⁷ In 1821 the members of La Vertueuse were called to a meeting to discuss a merger between the two lodges and electing a new board.⁴⁷⁸ However, the merger did not take place at that time, and when on 29-1-1824 a meeting was postponed, it was noted to inform the members of De Militaire Broederschap, suggesting the lodges were still separate entities.⁴⁷⁹

On 10-3-1829 it was noted in the minutes that members of De Militaire Broederschap could be accepted as members of La Vertueuse without ballot.⁴⁸⁰ That moment can probably be regarded as the definitive closing of the ambulant lodge.

♦ **Engelhard's second term (1816-1822)**

When Parvé travelled to Batavia for business, he was also given the task to collect the unpaid lodge contributions. In the Grand Lodge meeting on 2-4-1816 it was mentioned that he had arrived, but Grand Master Izaak Busquet had later given notice that Parvé would be unable to fulfil his duties due to an injury.⁴⁸¹ So from 1816 onwards, the role of Provincial Grand Master was again fulfilled by Engelhard alone. It would now become clear that he had neglected to collect or forward contributions of the lodges in the Dutch East Indies to the Grand Lodge. The lodges must have been shocked to receive a letter by Engelhard, dated 18-9-1820, requesting them to smooth over the accounts going back to 1797 - in other words: to cough up 23 years of debt, and soon.

Each lodge handled the situation differently. La Fidèle Sincérité replied on 9-10-1820 that it would oblige, provided the sum it had already paid up until 1813 was deducted. Engelhard then requested the lodge to send in a financial overview of its payments made so far (suggesting he did not keep his own administration), to which the lodge agreed.⁴⁸² The lodge also pointed out that circumstances would prevent the sum being transferred any time soon. A particular obstacle for La Fidèle Sincérité was, that at some

Table 5.P: Members of lodge De Militaire Broederschap, 1818

NB: the transcribed document does not include first names

- *Achenbach, captain*
- *Bolling, lieutenant*
- *Cleerens, lieutenant colonel*
- *Du Cloux, kapiein*
- *De Colonie, surgeon 2nd class*
- *Dibbetz, captain*
- *Fritz, lieutenant*
- *Van Gent, captain*
- *George, captain*
- *Izeffz, lieutenant colonel*
- *Jerie, lieutenant*
- *Jestermann, lieutenant*
- *De Kock van Leeuwen, captain*
- *Koster, adjunct captain*
- *Luneau, surgeon major*
- *Meier, captain*
- *Mess, lieutenant*
- *Mulder, captain*
- *Muller, major,*
- *Van Raalten, surgeon 2nd class*
- *De Raet, lieutenant*
- *Riesz, captain*
- *Rikkers, adjunct captain*
- *Rismuller, lieutenant*
- *Rochemont, captain*
- *Schneiders, captain*
- *Tierlam, major*
- *Otto George Veldtman [Muntinghe], lieutenant colonel*
- *Verboom, lieutenant*
- *Zeldenrijk, staff surgeon*
- *Ziemhagen, surgeon 2nd class*

point the lodge had taken a loan of 5.000,- Spd from Heukevlugt, which after his death the debt had passed on to C.H. Specht, who had also died.⁴⁸³ The lodge still owed about 3.000,- to the *Weeskamer* presiding over loans, and now had to ask for a postponement in paying the required instalments. The *Weeskamer* demanded security, so La Fidèle Sincérité had to prove it owned worth at least 2.2000,-, or the full loan would be claimed by the end of August 1820.⁴⁸⁴ The lodge replied on 9-8-1820 that it was awaiting a valuation of its possessions, and asked the *Weeskamer* to wait.⁴⁸⁵ The lodge prioritised collecting overdue contributions and other payments from its own members, and made failure to pay up punishable by expulsion from the lodge.⁴⁸⁶

On 24-4-1820 Engelhard informed La Fidèle Sincérité that its outstanding debt to the Grand Lodge amounted to fl. 1998,10, which he generously offered to halve to fl. 1000,-.⁴⁸⁷ The lodge was of course unable to pay anyway, and applied for a second postponement to the *Weeskamer*. La Fidèle Sincérité struggled to collect the fees from its members, who refused to be held responsible for debts of their predecessors long since departed or deceased, and simply quit their membership to avoid having to contribute. Eventually the sum would be raised and paid by 1821.⁴⁸⁸

Lodge De Vriendschap experienced less discomfort, but had to cancel the St. John's Day celebration of 1820 in order to be able to pay the debt. According to Hageman, the lodges 'considered, according to contemporary custom, direct communication with the Grand East of the Netherlands as subject to insurmountable trouble and objections'.⁴⁸⁹ In the matter of contributions however, the lodge tellingly chose not to communicate through the Provincial Grand Master. Instead, on 20-9-1822 the contacted the Grand Lodge through mediation of lodge Concordia Vinxit Animos in Amsterdam to arrange a payment. De Vriendschap added a charitable bonus of 700 *Indisch* currency, suggesting the lodge had little financial troubles.⁴⁹⁰ The Grand Lodge recorded the receipt of fl. 834,75 on 10-5-1824.

La Constante et Fidèle simply denied that its debt went to its (re)constitution in 1809, as several members (including Lamberger, Klein and Beer) remembered having transferred payments. The lodge was prepared to pay for the years 1817-1820.⁴⁹¹

Engelhard was repeatedly reprimanded for the lack of communication by the Grand Lodge in the years 1820-1822, and urged to send membership lists and unpaid contributions.⁴⁹² His response was usually to do just enough to keep from being relieved from his position. For instance, on 10-3-1821 the Grand Lodge received a letter from Engelhard, expressing congratulations with Prince Frederik's appointment as Grand Master National and announcing a payment of fl. 2.000,- by money transfer via a captain Azon on 10-1-1821.⁴⁹³ But by 26-3-1822 the Grand Lodge meeting again recorded that no communications had been received from the Dutch East Indies.⁴⁹⁴

In a letter dated 18-12-1822, Engelhard announced his intended departure for the Netherlands on 20-12-1822 to the lodges in the East Indies.⁴⁹⁵ Although he had been lenient towards La Vertueuse, before his leave, he wrote a reminder that the lodge still owed the Grand Lodge 1.792,- Spd.⁴⁹⁶ He then left his successor to deal with the matter.⁴⁹⁷ Engelhard arrived back in the Netherlands in July 1823, but it was not until 2-11-1823 that he found the time to provide the Grand Lodge with some insight into the state of affairs in the East Indies. A debt of circa fl. 5.000 of overdue contributions remained, including an unspecified sum owed by the Chapters.⁴⁹⁸

◆ *Verhuell's initiation in De Vriendschap*

The memoirs of Quirijn Maurits Rudolf VerHuell provide an 'outsiders' view on being introduced into a lodge and its building in 1818.⁴⁹⁹ At the time Verhuell was captain of the ship Evertsen, which harboured in Surabaya for technical servicing. He spent some leisure time ashore, during which he came into contact with local lodge members. During a dinner at the house of Resident A.M.Th. Baron de Salis esq. (1817-1822) in Simpang, VerHuell was urged to become a member himself. He mocked 'the secrets of the order and the ridiculous trials, which a newcomer was to endure', but when he was made out to be a coward, he challenged those attending 'now I defy You all, [to see] if there is a possibility, to scare me with all your tests! I will become a Freemason, the sooner the better'.⁵⁰⁰ A few days later Verhuell received an invitation to make his way to the lodge building '*pakejan deftig*' (suited up). When at the initiation his blindfold was taken off, he saw a 'beautiful Temple with Corinthian Columns', a blue ceiling with golden stars and the lodge members, carrying their swords and regalia.⁵⁰¹ That night he received his own regalia, including a

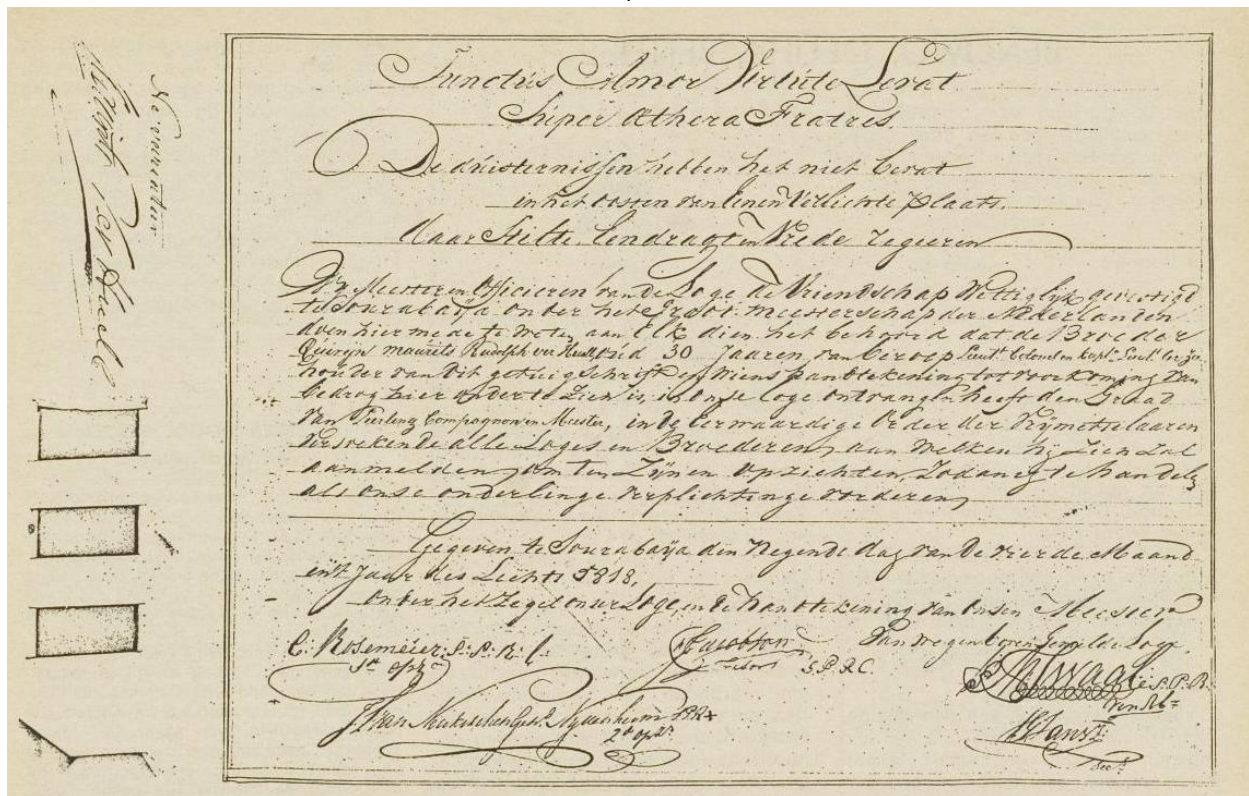


Fig. 5.32: Diploma for Q.R.M. Verhuell, issued by van lodge De Vriendschap on 9-4-5818 (= 9-2-1818).
Reproduced from: De Graaf 1973, p. 9.

silver triangle on a green ribbon, before he joined the table lodge.⁵⁰² Verhuell's diploma, issued on 9-2-1818 survived and shows he received all three degrees (fig. 5.32).⁵⁰³

Verhuell also recalled the celebration of St. John on 14-10-1818, which was celebrated with 'sisters', following a ceremony especially designed for the occasion.⁵⁰⁴ In his memoires Verhuell described how the lodge building was covered in Chinese lanterns, and that the public watched the procession of the lodge members, carrying a banner and incense.⁵⁰⁵ This took place before a party at the house of the Worshipful Master, where the ladies were presented with a small silver triangle on a green ribbon, similar to the lodge jewel.

◆ Lodge buildings in Batavia (III)

Lodge La Fidèle Sincérité had barely settled on the Tijgersgracht, when Van Riemsdijk died. The lodge now had to choose between buying the building or evicting it.⁵⁰⁶ The main estate was valued at 18.000 Rupees, and even though the adjoining buildings had some demolition value, the lodge decided not to buy.⁵⁰⁷ Instead, they asked the executor of the estate, lodge member Pieter van Heemstede Cappelhof, to allow them some time to clear the premises.⁵⁰⁸ The lodge then appealed to La Vertueuse on 31-1-1818, explaining their predicament, and asking if it could use its rooms 'on such conditions as Fairness demands from both parties'.⁵⁰⁹ La Vertueuse consented, an indication that the relationship between the lodges had somewhat improved.⁵¹⁰ Overly formal, as was usual at the time, a committee was instated to organize the transfer. It proposed a temporary arrangement, stipulating that La Fidèle Sincérité was not allowed to bring its own furniture or jewels, nor change anything else inside the temple.⁵¹¹ On 28-3-1818 La Fidèle Sincérité kindly declined the offer, being unable to accept these conditions.⁵¹²

On 19-6-1818 Cappelhof informed La Fidèle Sincérité that the Tijgersgracht building had been sold to Sech Matam Taliep for demolition, now making the move of the lodge more urgent.⁵¹³ Past Master Willem Lamberger then proposed to buy the 'garden' of new lodge member Levinius Heukevlugt:

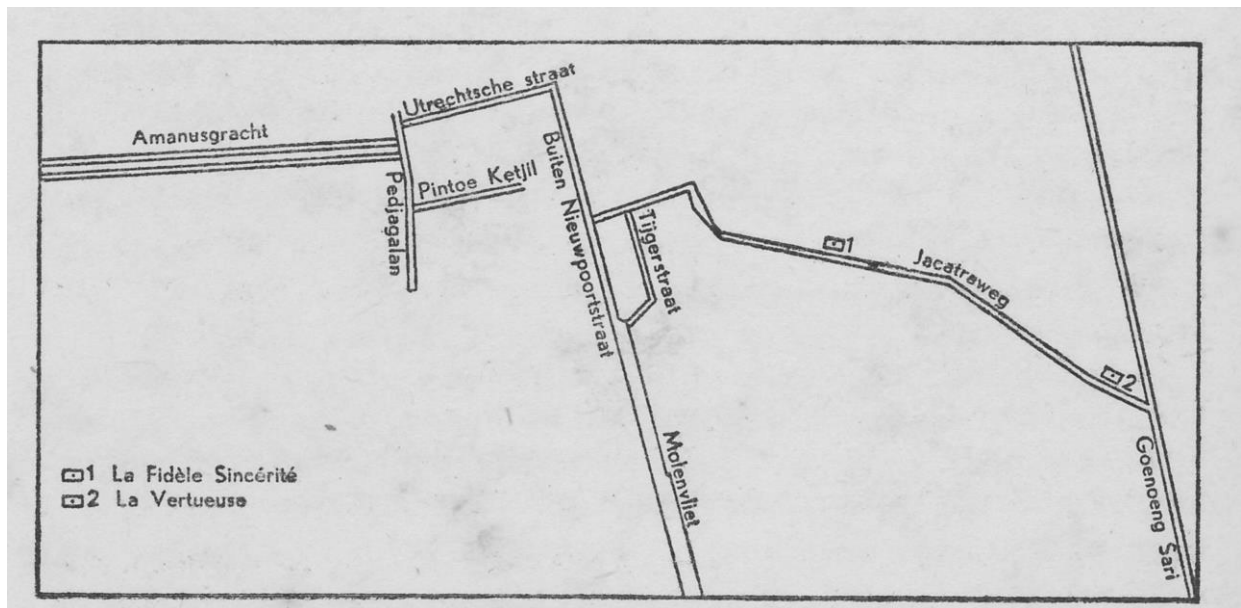


Fig. 5.33: Map of Batavia marking the location of the buildings used by the lodges in Batavia by the end of the 18th century. Reproduced from: 100 jaren 1937, p. 88.

[the house] [...] only being a little small [...], and needing on the one side a Portal and on the other A Throne to be added from the outside, the ceiling being too low needing to be raised and vaulted, the stairs relocated painted etc; And as such being altered could be used for a Lodge.⁵¹⁴

On 4-5-1818 La Fidèle Sincérité formally informed Engelhard that it had indeed moved from the Tijgersgracht to Heukevlugt's plot.⁵¹⁵ The lodge received a gift of 1000,- Spd from its Chapter on 13-5-1818 towards improvements necessary for a new temple interior.⁵¹⁶ The sum was instead used as a down payment towards buying the building. On 14-6-1818 Lamberger acted on behalf of the lodge and signed an agreement with Heukevlugt for purchase of 'his garden on Jacatra on the North side' for the sum of 8.000,- Spd. Another 5.000,- was given as deposit by the lodge members as a loan to La Fidèle Sincérité against 0,75 % interest, with the remaining 2.000,- to be paid as soon as possible, against the same interest.⁵¹⁷

Again a design (which did not survive) was made to adapt a private residence to the function and needs of a lodge building.⁵¹⁸ The Heukevlugt plot was described as 'on Jacatra', later interpreted as along the Jacatra Road (fig. 5.33). Other documents relating to the renovation show that the lodge again employed the Chinese community in Batavia. For instance, the list of the Chinese overseers subscribing for the commission of the renovation works, drawn up on 10-8-1818, survived.⁵¹⁹

A detailed description of the temple can be found in the 'Covenant of Commission' drawn up between Past Master Baggery and 'master carpenter' J. Atjeh on 26-9-1818.⁵²⁰ (This is probably the aforementioned Adjiet, as the phonetic spelling of Chinese names in Dutch documents varies.) The parties agreed 'some capital repairs and improvements', including the demolition of a front gallery and the roofs until the second floor, and a projecting back room up until a back gallery. The contract specifies digging and masonry works to build an extension to the existing house. The lodge would be plastered white and have 'walls with pilasters and cornices', according to drawings made by lodge member Johan Hendrik Horst. He was in government service as Architect of Civil Buildings and would later be responsible for the Willemskerk, a church in Batavia, which until now was believed to be the only design of his hand.⁵²¹ The existing attic beams would be changed to fit a new roof, providing more attic space, and new stairs would lead to the upper floors. One of the existing back rooms would be changed to a Chamber of Reflection. When doors, panels, blinds and window glass would be ready for installation, 'especially the blinds had to be worked so carefully that when closed not the least possible opening would be left between them', ensuring secrecy.⁵²²

The ceilings, chandeliers, panelling and other decorations were to be specified at a later stage. The front room of the second floor must have been allocated as temple, because a throne was to be specified later here, and later documents show it had a series of 12 niches in the walls. The contract further stipulated the building of a stable and two blocks of 'slave houses', one and two stories high.⁵²³ Again one of the demands made to Adjieh, was that as much as possible of the necessary materials would be sourced from the demolition. The lodge paid him in regular instalments via Voorman or Horst, the last instalment to be given after the completion and inspection of the work.⁵²⁴ Lists were drawn up, to see which furniture needed replacement and which surplus goods could be sold to raise funds.⁵²⁵

As most of the building was still unsuitable for use, on 27-5-1819 the lodge arranged with innkeeper De Groot that the table lodge for St. John's Day was to take place in De Harmonie in Batavia (a gentlemen's club of which the membership at the time significantly overlapped with that of the Order).⁵²⁶ Several widows of former members were hired to take care of the catering.⁵²⁷ An inventory of table wares was made up by Steward H. Brithoff after this occasion (table 5.Q).⁵²⁸ Another inventory dated 10-8-1819 by Hendrik Boekhoff shows which additions were made to the furniture (table 5.R), will also be discussed in more detail in the second half of this chapter.

The inauguration of the new lodge building finally took place on 24-6-1819.⁵²⁹ The Master of Furniture then was assigned on 16-8-1820 to have *koekoeken* (= ventilation grates, typical for the Dutch East Indies) made on the front of the windows.⁵³⁰ According to the minutes of 20-12-1819, the lodge asked *landmeester* Eerhardt, (county master), to value the finished building.⁵³¹

◆ **A nameless lodge in Makassar (1823)**

A commemorative publication mentions correspondence dating from 1823 between Baron van Lawick van Pabst and the Deputy Grand Master [Engelhard?] concerning the foundation of a lodge in Makassar on the isle of Celebes. It seems nothing came of the plan and a lodge would not be founded in the area until the end of the 19th century.⁵³²

◆ **Provincial Grand Master Merkus de Kock**

On 18-12-1822 the Grand Lodge announced that the aforementioned Hendrik Merkus de Kock had been appointed as Provincial Grand Master (fig. 5.34).⁵³³ He had been initiated as a freemason at the start of his career as a military navy officer in lodge L'Astre de l'Orient in Vlissingen in 1804. De Kock was sent to the East Indies in 1807 and quickly gained commanding positions. He was involved in campaigns against the English and squashed local uprisings against the Dutch regime, which furthered his career. He arrived in

Table 5.Q: Inventory lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia, 1-4-[1819].

Inventory of such goods belonging to the Lodge La Fidèle Sincérité as on this date are under the supervision of the undersigned in the aforementioned lodge

Silver works

- 1, a Coffee pot
- 2, two Chirandoles, both with a double arm lighter of which a cap is missing
- 1, a Sugar vase, to which belong:
 - 18 eighteen Sugar spoons and
 - 2 two Sugar thongs,
 - 48 forty-eight Eating spoons,
 - 2, two Soup ladles,

Plate and Steel wares

- 4 Candles in sorts, of which two large and two smaller
- 4, eight ditto of a different kind
- 2, two ditto a third kind
- 5, five different arm lighters, to be used on the aforementioned Candles
- 13, thirteen different caps belonging to the candles and arm lighters
- 3, three Steel Forks
- 37, thirty-seven Table knives
- 34, thirty-four desert Forks
- 34, thirty-four desert knives
- 3, three Cutting knives
- 3, three ditto Forks

Glass works

- 136, one hundred and thirty-six masonic Wine glasses
- 98, ninety-eight ditto Beer glasses
- 38, thirty-eight ditto Decanters

Ceramics

- A small lot of mostly damaged plates, saucers and soup bowls, unfit for any use in the Lodge

Linen wares

- 15, fifteen Table cloths half laken [= woven, worked wool]
- 105, One hundred and five Napkins ditto

11 playing Tables
 1 large coffee stand
 1 large Carpet
 1 Javanese Floor carpet
 1 Flask with a quantity of quicksilver
 1 Apprentice Tracing Board
 1 Master's ditto
 1 Elu's ditto
 1 Scots' ditto
 1 Knight's ditto
 2 Bibles, of which one Damaged
 2 Law books
 1 Lire Macon [= song book] green
 1 ditto red
 1 lot old Lire maçons [= song books]
 1 black and white bag with the beans for the Ballot
 3 small sitting stands
 5 ditto coffee and tea stands
 1 Blowpipe
 2 hammer stands for the Wardens
 1 Silk Curtain for the Throne of the Grand Master with its belongings
 1 iron lamp for the Dark Chamber
 1 Chair for the Orator with its copper candlestick
 18 wooden black candlestick stands
 8 iron Rods for the Master Lodge
 1 Led Fountain with its Block for the Highest Degrees
 1 black Master's floor carpet
 1 black Master's Chair, old
 4 iron chains
 8 wooden falling sheets |
 1 board with pins | - for the hollow road
 1 small Step |
 2 blocks |
 Some old Sails
 1 chest with clutter
 2 hanging locks with the Keys in the Pantry
 2 hanging bells
 2 gilt Sceptres, with two sticks for the Elu Lodge
 2 coffins with hood
 2 black Linen doors for the Master Lodge
 1 wooden Head
 2 Hourglasses
 2 hanging Locks, and 2 Keys, in the Dark Chamber
 2 big Machetes
 2 porcelain night Lamps, or Shades
 1 Dining Table, consisting of 26 Pieces, of which 2 broken
 1 Chest for glasses
 3 tables in the Dark Chamber
 13 white curtains for the Windows
 3 Kitchen Tables broken
 1 Rinsing Bowl
 1 Lamp Stairs broken
 1 Japanese Martavaan
 1 Javanese Water Pot
 Garden tools
 2 rakes
 2 weed shovels
 4 Patjols [= Javanese plows]
 2 watering cans
 1 Garden Scissors
 2 Axes
 2 Pruning Knives

Table 5.R: Inventory Lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia, 1-4-[1819].

Inventory Of all such Goods as are present on this date in the Lodge La Fidele Sincerite, and under supervision of the undersigned; namely

8 Master Bands with Ornaments
 1 silver Trowel
 1 silver Compass
 1 silver Square
 1 Grand Master's [= Worshipful Master's] ornament
 1 Master of Ceremonies' ditto
 1 Treasurer's ditto
 1 Orator's ditto
 1 Brother Terrible's ditto
 1 Secretary's ditto
 1 Fiscal's ditto
 1 Senior Warden's ditto
 1 junior ditto ditto
 1 Masonic silver tray
 1 silver collecting box
 1 silver drinking cup
 5 silver Masonic candle holders on stands
 2 swords with silver hilts
 1 silver dagger with silver scabbard for the junior warden
 2 copper pokers
 7 Apprentice Aprons
 7 Master ditto
 19 metal Candle Holders
 3 covered clubs
 16 copper Candle Holders, of which 2 without pipes
 3 Masonic Tin Ink Stands
 4 ditto candle snuffs with metal coasters
 1 Japanese [= Chinese] porcelain masonic Punch bowl
 1 Blue Archive chest, contents unknown
 1 ditto large calf's leather chest
 9 wooden Hammers
 1 copper Bell
 1 copper Fire chest [= safe]
 1 Metal Lantern defect
 4 diplomas for the highest degrees
 12 Blue carpets for the master Lodge
 1 wooden chest with four drawers
 91 pairs ladies gloves
 60 pairs mans ditto
 1 Metal Lamp behind the Throne
 1 Thunder metal
 1 Metal collection box
 12 Copper spittoons
 5 different glass crowns
 20 double plated wall shades with their spools
 12 Single ditto ditto of which one torn
 15 ditto copper ditto with cooper branches and wooden spools, of which one torn
 37 different hanging shades with copper fittings
 54 hooks for shades and crowns
 47 Lamp glasses
 1 grand master's Table |
 1 Secretary ditto | - with their Silk
 1 Treasurer's ditto | Covers and Pillows
 1 wooden altar |
 3 distinctive Chairs
 195 Chairs of which 6 stools



Fig. 5.34: Cornelis Kruseman (1797-1857), *Portret van Hendrik Merkus Baron de Kock (1779-1845), military commander and Deputy Grand Master for the East Indies, 1826-1845*. Oil on canvas, 106 × 90 cm. Collection: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv.no. SK-A-3796. Reproduced from: rijksmuseum.nl.

Java in 1816 and was appointed governor of the Moluccas. He became a member and Worshipful Master of lodge La Vertueuse in 1821.

Merkus de Kock contacted the lodges on the late contribution matter, and learned that La Vertueuse still owed fl. 1873;7;8 which would soon be paid. He wrote to De Vriendschap on 1-6-1823, explaining that Engelhard had been distracted by the loss of his wife and several friends, preventing him from properly transferring his affairs as Provincial Grand Master to his successor. He also explained Engelhard had not left any funds behind for his successor to manage.⁵³⁴

In contrast to Engelhard, De Kock was largely an absent Provincial Grand Master. His government business kept him away so much that he had to delegate much of his task. On 5-4-1823 Senior Warden of La Fidèle Sincérité, Ernst Frederik Fischer already had to temporarily take over as Provincial Grand Master.⁵³⁵ De Kock's formal installation did not take place until 27-12-1824 in the temple of La Fidèle Sincérité, with members of other lodges attending as guests. The program for the occasion survived.⁵³⁶ De Kock wished to remain Worshipful Master of La Vertueuse, but had to be replaced by Van Beusichem as interim on 24-6-1825, when he was called away to deal with the Java War. De Kock gained much credit with the Dutch government when he captured Diponegoro (Raden Mas Ontowiryo, 1785-1855), the leader of the uprising. He was appointed interim governor-general in 1826, until Leonard Pierre Joseph viscount du Bus de Gisignies (1780-1849) was installed as such late that year. Until 1830 De Kock was yearly re-elected as Worshipful Master of the lodge, while he remained absent most of the time.⁵³⁷

Under Merkus de Kock contact with the Grand Lodge did proceed to run more smoothly.⁵³⁸ Engelhard returned to Batavia in 1824 to deal with private affairs, and although he no longer acted in any official masonic capacity, he did manage to end the contribution debacle. In March 1825 he sent a money transfer for fl. 7.398,- to The Hague via the firm Bagman and Son in Amsterdam, including fl. 2.400,- from the various Chapters.

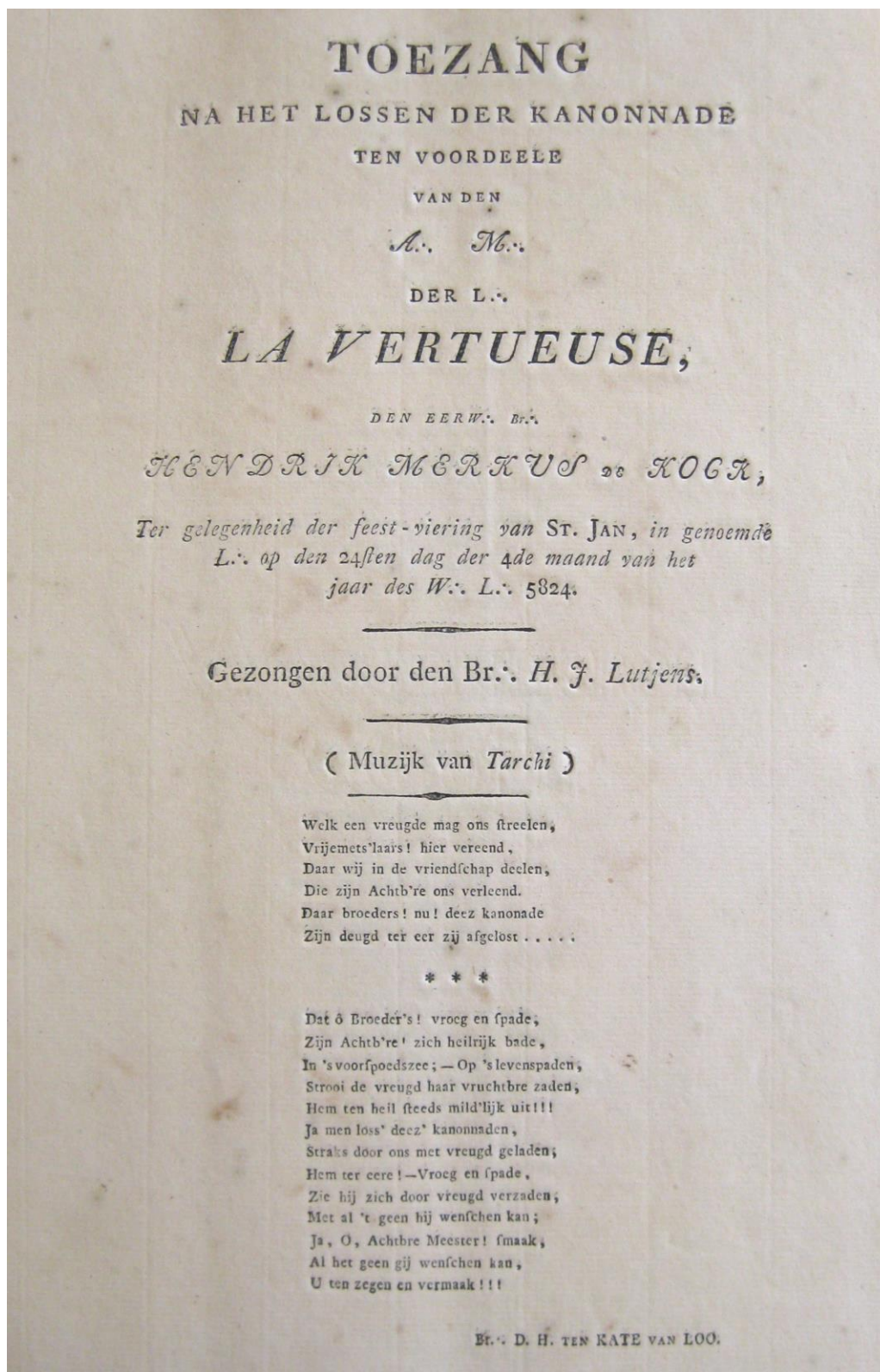


Fig. 5.35: Song in honor of Hendrik Merkus de Kock performed at St. John's Day (24-4-5824 [= 24-2-1824]).
Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

How did some of the lodges fare under Merkus de Kock? In 1819 the material possessions of lodge De Vriendschap in Surabaya were valued at fl. 12.000,-.⁵³⁹ The lodge building was extended after 1822 under direction of J. Penning Nieuwland, Worshipful Master between 1822-1825 and 1827-1832. He ran the lodge more tightly than his predecessor Van Middelkoop.⁵⁴⁰ By the 1820s De Vriendschap charged fl. 80,-, fl. 40,- and fl. 100,- for receptions in the 1st-3rd degrees, as well as contributions between fl. 4,- and fl. 12,- per month, admission fees of fl. 25,- fl. 50,-, and a fee for certificates of fl. 16,-.⁵⁴¹

According to Hageman, the rituals practised by De Vriendschap were initially reviewed according to Etienne François Bazot's *Manuel du Franc-Maçon* (1817).⁵⁴² De Vriendschap then requested the Grand Lodge to send Dutch rituals for the three basic degrees. The Grand Lodge recorded the receipt of this request on 15-3-1823 and sent copies of the law book (ed. 1818), rituals and blank membership certificates, not directly, but via the Amsterdam lodge Concordia Vincit Animos.⁵⁴³ At the same time the Grand Lodge requested more regular correspondence. The goods arrived in Surabaya on 8-9-1823 on the ship 'Vrouw Maria'.⁵⁴⁴ This prompted another review of the rituals and laws used by De Vriendschap.⁵⁴⁵ Penning Nieuwland explained his motivation to the lodge in a speech on 18-10-1824:

[...] it was very often enough to pay, to gain access to the most honourable society, which therefore soon degenerated, and was left by the few well-intentioned members.

By a lack of legally approved rituals, the work was often below the dignity of a reasonable mind [...] the Apprentice-reception being made into a ridiculous farce, that of fellow a fable, sometimes under four eyes and the Master-reception a ceremony which left the mind blank.

By the founding of a Chapter of the in themselves honourable Higher degrees, the raised Master Degree was considered and viewed as the beginning of Freemasonry, while this contains its goal, - by all of which here too many WOLSONS were born.

Freemasonry claims virtuous Brethren and the Lodge numerous members, to give glory and substance to the work. The latter (numerousness) is here too difficult to desire, without punishable indulgence concerning the first (virtuousness). Surabaya counts 100 masons, and lodge *De Vriendschap* 30 members. The old state of affairs is here too is gradually making place for the influence of the Grand Lodge of administration, especially since the accepting of the High office by the High Enlightened Brother De Kock, whose example inspires every righteous Freemason to follow it.⁵⁴⁶

Some members of De Vriendschap did not approve of Penning-Nieuwlands style and quit their membership of the lodge in 1823.⁵⁴⁷ Handwritten rituals used in the lodge from 1825 onwards have been preserved in the collection of the CMC.⁵⁴⁸ These include watercolours of tracing boards, to which we will come back later (figs. 5.55-5.57).

In 1824 a sum of fl. 875,- was spent to improve the interior of the temple.⁵⁴⁹ A wooden floor was laid and painted 'in a moziac fashion', the throne was latered, a backroom was created and the whole building was painted inside and out.⁵⁵⁰ 'Heavy alterations and improvements' amounted to costs of fl. 1639,- in 1825 and fl. 5.230,- in 1831-1832.⁵⁵¹ In 1832-34 candlelight would be replaced by modern lighting fixtures. While *La Constante et Fidèle* was *in ruste*, meaning suspended, between 1824-1829⁵⁵², De Vriendschap's relative isolation meant that it was hindered less by international and local conflicts than the lodges elsewhere.⁵⁵³ The lodge would again have very little contact with the Grand Lodge in The Hague, this time until 1836.⁵⁵⁴ Due to the large number of members deployed as military and seafaring officers however, there were times when too many members were absent. As a result, visitors were encouraged and by 1826 their admission fees were abolished. Later, contributions were suspended altogether.⁵⁵⁵ In 1831 the lodge Secretary G. Mooijaart was expelled because he had failed to keep minutes over a year and had given parts of the lodge archive in profane hands.⁵⁵⁶ That might explain why much of the early material of the lodge remains missing. Mooijaart must have repented, because his name is listed again in later lodge records.

Between 27-3-1815 and 1822 the lodge *La Constante et Fidèle* met in the building of the former military school in Semarang.⁵⁵⁷ The program of the inauguration of the new temple survives.⁵⁵⁸ In 1822 Worshipful Master Cornelius, the director of the school, repatriated and the lodge had to move yet again. The military school was later a military hospital (or apothecary?), photographed in the end of the 19th century (fig. 5.19).⁵⁵⁹

La Constante et Fidèle may have temporarily worked in members houses, including that of H.J. Domis, Worshipful Master.⁵⁶⁰ In 1829 suitable rooms were found above Sociëteit de Vereeniging, in the Kerkstraat.⁵⁶¹ While the membership list of 1830 still mentioned 'Sociëteit De Vereeniging' as location, those of 1833-1834 list 'Sociëteit La Constante et Fidèle', suggesting the lodge became owner of the premises.⁵⁶² When in 1920 the Indische Handelscompagnie renovated the building, wall paintings were discovered. One of these depicted *Silence*, suggesting there may have been a decoration scheme representing masonic virtues.⁵⁶³

♦ *Lodge buildings in Batavia (IV)*

Let's return to the housing of lodge La Fidèle Sincérité. Its Freemasons' Hall at the Jacatraweg was renovated and extended several times. Despite the problems experienced with Adjiet earlier, he must have eventually delivered good work, because the lodge loyally kept using his services. This allowed for a new conflict, however, this time concerning repairs made to the building. Adjiet made more changes than instructed and demanded more than 3.600,- Rupees extra pay for the extra work.⁵⁶⁴ In March 1820 a committee was instated to consider compensation provided Adjiet had acted 'in good faith and fairly on oral instruction [...] making such Capital changes or repairs, as to which he was not obliged'.⁵⁶⁵

Typical maintenance had much to do with the climate in the Archipelago, and no doubt the earthquakes in the region also regularly caused some damage. In 1820 the lead behind the fronton of the building had melted away by the sun's heat, causing the covering material to split and leakages to appear inside. Tears in walls had to be repaired and the bridge and gate were up for renewal.⁵⁶⁶ The name of a Chinese carpenter, spelled Tjing Lean or Tjung Liun, regularly appears in the financial records between 1821 and 1825.⁵⁶⁷ In December 1822 several bamboo houses were built on the lodge premises, to permanently house the mandur and *boejangs* (workmen) employed by the lodge.⁵⁶⁸ Musicians were now hired from the 'gentleman Michiels'. This must be the pensioned major Augustijn Michiels (1769-1833), whose large household included four orchestra's made up of his employees and slaves of various nationalities.⁵⁶⁹ They played European, military, Chinese and gamelan music. These musicians represent yet another group of Asian men, who had access to the lodge without actually being members. Michiels himself does not appear on the membership lists.

An inventory was drawn up again in 1822 by lodge members P. Meyer, J. Boekhoff and P.J. Kamphuis (table 5.S).⁵⁷⁰ The most notable acquisitions were Japanese lacquer items (a tracing board and a name list), which are discussed in detail in chapter 6. On 21-3-1823 the lodge minutes noted that Boekhoff had advanced the costs of some repairs. The lodge needed to make some changes to the throne to prepare for the upcoming celebration of St. John. As funds were low, it was decided to start chasing unpaid contributions and sell all unnecessary goods.⁵⁷¹ None the less, it was decided to lower the costs for initiations, so there would be less difference with those of lodge La Vertueuse. The fee for the 2nd degree was lowered from fl. 30,- to fl. 55,-, and that of Master from fl. 80,- to fl. 60,-. As La Vertueuse charge fl. 100,- for the 1st degree, whilst La Fidèle Sincérité charged fl. 220,-, that fee was cut to fl. 100,-. The one off membership fee was set at fl. 150,- and the monthly contribution at fl. 10,-, while further payments had to be made: fl. 4,- towards the charity box, fl. 11,- towards the servants' wages, fl. 8,- for a song book.⁵⁷²

From the outside, the lodge building would not have stood out from other Dutch buildings in Batavia. The walls were chalked white, the window shutters were painted black on the outside in 1823⁵⁷³ (changed to green in 1824) and 'grey or pearl' on the inside.⁵⁷⁴ Major repairs costing fl. 1.450,- were made in September 1824, including repairs to the roof, chalking of the walls, repairing locks and fixtures, and painting the woodwork.⁵⁷⁵ On 6-2-1824 the property of the lodge, now described as a garden in 'Block L, 26th part, no. 30' was valued for tax purposes at fl. 18.000,- (almost € 200.000,- today).⁵⁷⁶ A inventory dated 24-10-1824 provides an overview of furniture and other goods lent to the lodge by Boekhoff.⁵⁷⁷ As he was leaving Batavia, he requested that these would be taken on by the lodge.

The next inventory came from the hand of Master of Furniture P.J. Alix, and was signed by Deputy Secretary H. Strauch. It dates from 1825 and is almost identical to the earlier version.⁵⁷⁸ Objects damaged or broken account for small differences. However, it is a little more detailed on the contents of several chests, revealing those to contain regalia, and describing the song books (table 5.T). Alix also noted that some wall shades had been stolen in a burglary. Presumably these were from the exterior of the building, as nothing else seems to have gone missing. From 1825 onwards, the care for the inventory would

Table 5.S: Inventory lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia, 13+1*1822.

Inventory of Such Furniture and Goods belonging to the Lodge La Fidele Sincerite in Batavia as by us the undersigned have Been found and under supervision of the Master of Furniture. - being -

5 Glass Crowns
 37 Hanging Shades with their lamp glasses and iron hooks
 2 Alabaster hanging shades
 26 Wall shades /in Cellar/ with their Spools
 20 ditto ditto Double
 136 Chairs in Sort
 1 Dinner table consisting of 22 separate pieces
 3 Tables of the Master Treasurer and Secretary with their silk cloths
 1 Altar with its Silk Cloth and Pillow
 9 Ventilation grates
 1 Lectern
 1 Closet for the Archives of the Lodge in a chest
 1 Closet for the Master of Furniture
 7 Wooden Hammers
 3 Tin Ink stands
 2 Books of Law
 2 Bibles of which One is old and Thorns
 3 Chests /large/
 1 Silver Collection Box
 5 ditto Candle holders
 2 ditto Swords
 1 ditto Poker
 1 ditto Pair of Compasses
 1 ditto Square
 1 ditto Trowel
 1 ditto Tray
 2 ditto Chirandoles
 2 ditto Candlesticks
 1 Fire chest [= safe]
 12 Plate Candlesticks
 5 Tracing Boards
 1 Japanese [lacquer] Apprentice Tracing Board in Painting
 1 Portrait of the Grand Master National in the Netherlands

1 Japanese [lacquer] Name list of the subscribers for the building of this Lodge
 1 Japanese Porcelain Bowl with Masonic figures
 3 Constitutions of this Lodge of which one in a Gilt Frame
 1 Copper Sword
 2 Ballot Bags
 13 Copper Candle holders
 12 ditto Spittoons
 4 Steel Candle snuffs with coasters
 40 Round and Candle Stands in Sort of which 4 with glass shades
 11 Playing Tables
 1 Large round stand
 1 Metal Lamp behind the Throne
 7 Boards for the Bumpy road
 1 Board with nails
 1 Iron Lamp
 2 Hour glasses
 2 Cleavers
 2 Coffins and lids
 2 Chains
 1 Metal blowpipe
 1 Thunder metal
 9 Ornaments for the Officers of the Lodge
 1 Curtain for the Throne, blue Silk cloth
 1 Blue Floor Cloth in the Lodge
 1 Floor Carpet " " ditto
 13 White Curtains
 A lot of old song books
 81 New ditto ditto
 4 Apprentice Aprons
 2 ½ dozen Men's gloves
 7 ditto Women's ditto
 1 Copper Collection box for the Master's Lodge
 9 Black Candle Stands and 9 ditto Wooden Candle stands
 9 Clubs for the Master's Lodge
 2 Master's Bands
 1 ditto Aprons
 2 Lamp Stairs
 1 Glass Corner Closet
 1 Rinsing Bowl
 4 Candle holders

be clearly divided between the Steward, responsible for the table lodge, kitchen, provisions and wine cellar, and the Master of Furniture, dealing with the furniture for the temple and the regalia. In that same year, Tjing Lean was again hired to carry out substantial repairs and paint 'the Back Upper Room, in the Newly Made Back Gallery'.⁵⁷⁹

The lodge minutes of 21-8-1826 recorded a proposal to fire two of the four boejangs employed by the lodge 'because in future when a majority of the servants is needed at a reception Lodge or otherwise, one can just as well hire the same for that evening or replace them by servants of the Brothers Members present'.⁵⁸⁰ This is again an indication non-initiates were present at ritual meetings. It was also decided to no longer serve banquets after household meetings.

In 1827, the door to the Chamber of Reflection was altered to contain a hatch.⁵⁸¹ During the ritual, the Candidate is left blindfolded and alone in this room. There are several moments when the officer seeing to his preparation for the ritual speaks to him through the closed door.⁵⁸² Presumably the hatch was to make him more audible. In 1828, a notable addition to the inventory were paintings, discussed in more detail below, by lodge member R. Kimmel.⁵⁸³ The financial records for 1827-1829 list recurring expenses for whitewash, blacking agent, chalk and other materials.⁵⁸⁴ In 1829, the roof required fixing and another inventory was drawn up, but with no notable additions.⁵⁸⁵ In 1830 lodge Architect W.H. Bernhoff was given

Table 5.T: Inventory lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia, 20-27+1*5825 (detail).

[...]
 A Chest containing
 Five Master bands
 A ditto Apron
 An Apprentice ditto
 A ditto ditto
 Thirty & Six parchment Certificates
 A parchment diploma of F.E. Furr
 A Chest containing
 Three green Aprons
 three ditto bands
 four red Aprons
 four ditto bands
 A Chest or Box with the title La Fidelle Sincerite, containing
 Four Aprons white and black
 One band ditto ditto
 Three different Aprons
 Ten ditto ditto in Black
 Two ditto ditto in blue
 [...]
 56 Fifty-six Lire Macons [= song books] (new)
 Some old ditto Dutch & French
 34 Thirty-four High German song books
 [...]

a commission to oversee repairs to the lodge building.⁵⁸⁶ The ‘native captain’ Barodien was paid fl. 100,- for erecting a barrack behind the lodge building.⁵⁸⁷ Repairs to the building itself were carried out by Abdul Hamied, first known to the lodge as a guarantor for Adjiet, between 1829 and 1831.⁵⁸⁸ A note, probably by Beruhoff, reads:

Friend Wattendorff, Please be so good and pay to the [East] Indian Captain Abdul Hamiet the 3rd part of the f 590 which is f 196-66. He has to buy Paint and is making good progress with his work - he is also to get the remaining f 750 in three parts but not before I have seen what he does. Now the building is made in order though it has not been whitewashed in a Year. Please give to the Lazy mandur who has 4 people under his command and does nothing then to work in the garden for the Mister Boekhoff some money to buy chalk. I have asked Boekhoff so many times but the answer is always when a boat arrives from bantam then he will buy chalk.⁵⁸⁹

Hamied was later asked to build bamboo houses for the boejangs and the mandur, again indicating they lived on the lodge premises.⁵⁹⁰ For the St. John’s Day ritual and celebrations, musicians were still

borrowed from Michiels and now paid 50,- in copper money.⁵⁹¹

New inventories were drawn up in 1831, 1833 and 1834. The financial records of La Fidèle Sincérité for 1835 specify the pay of the mandur as fl. 12,- per month, that of the boejangs as fl. 8,-.⁵⁹² Musicians were hired for fl. 25,-, now via the Chinese lieutenant Seneen, the ‘salary runner’ of the lodge Secretary, presumably responsible for distributing payments to the regular employees of the lodge.⁵⁹³ The records also show that members Barend van Tienen, Levinius Heukevlugt and A.A. Vinju lent money to the lodge, running up to as much as fl. 2.000,- in Vinju’s case.⁵⁹⁴

Money clearly remained a problem. In a meeting on 23-4-1835, the Chapter of La Fidèle Sincérité considered and accepted a proposal to buy a quarter share of the lodge building for fl. 1.000,-.⁵⁹⁵ Chalk was finally bought and repair work was commissioned to the Chinese ‘chief carpenter’ Tja Anghy, who employed three carpenters and 35 coolies for the execution of the work.⁵⁹⁶ Prioritising these repairs ran the lodge into trouble, because later that year they received a summons from the bailiff for a failure to pay goods bought at public auction worth fl. 240,29.⁵⁹⁷ The lodge may have solved the problem by selling fl. 300,- worth of copper left over from the building works to captain Baroedien, and reducing it from the fl. 540,- pay still owed to him.⁵⁹⁸ Again and again the juggling of funds is apparent from the financial records. In 1836, the Chinese Laun Tjoedjie was paid for ‘two windows of the devil’s House’, as locals described the lodge building.⁵⁹⁹

■ *Freemasons’ Hall at the Vrijmetselaarsweg*

Meanwhile, lodge La Vertueuse still used the Freemasons’ Hall on the Moorish Hospital grounds. In 1820 an overview of superfluous goods was made.⁶⁰⁰ A sum of 1.000 Rds was paid to Abdul Hamied, also employed by La Fidèle Sincérité, for various repairs on 9-3-1819.⁶⁰¹ Between 1821 and 1824, such work was given to ‘the Chinese boss Nan Tjonko’, who was also responsible for the renovation of the dining room.⁶⁰² Then, after almost 45 years of frequent use, the Freemasons’ Hall on the Moorish Hospital grounds no longer met the needs of La Vertueuse. On 15-7-1829 the building was closed, and the members temporarily met in the building of La Fidèle Sincérité on the Jacatra Road.⁶⁰³ Engelhard relinquished his stock in the building, in order to make it possible to sell the plot and use the money towards a new Freemasons’ Hall.⁶⁰⁴

At a meeting of La Vertueuse on 29-5-1829, held at the request of Senior Warden Johannes Diederik Kruseman (born 1795), the members discussed the possibility to move the lodge:

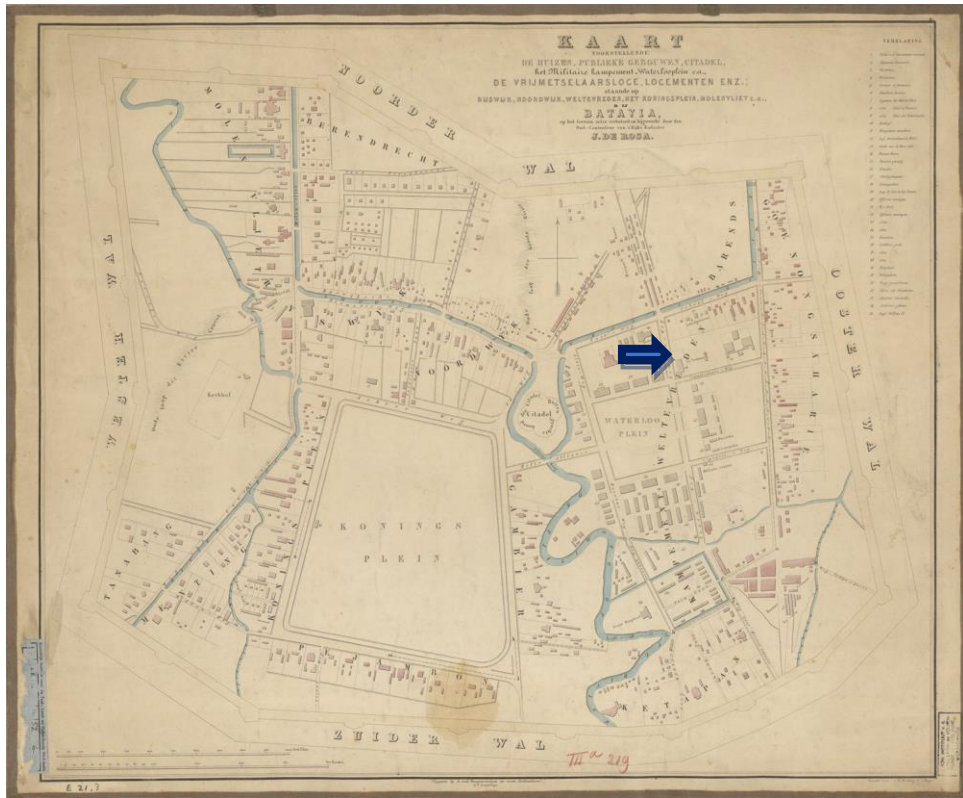


Fig. 5.36 and detail: J. de Rosa, *Map of Batavia*, published by A. van Hoogstraten en Zoon in The Hague, ca. 1860, 55 x 66 cm. The Freemasons' Hall of lodge De Ster in het Oosten (formerly La Vertueuse) at the Vrijmetselaarsweg is clearly indicated as number 19. Collection: KITLV, Leiden, inv.no. E213.



Fig. 5.37: Cornelis Kruseman (1797-1857), Portrait of count Johannes van den Bosch, governor-general of the Dutch East Indies and Minister of Colonies, 1829. Oil on canvas, 87 x 70 cm. Collection: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv.no. SK-A-2166. Reproduced from: rijksmuseum.nl.

[...] to a healthier and for the houses of members more appropriate site, as the reduction in members and the infrequent visits which the lodge now receives are being attributed to the aforementioned causes by changing times, as they lived in the residence of the well to do citizens. Since the coming of the English, everything had taken on another guise largely due to the changes of work & dinner hours as well as the current building now having existed almost half a century and being subject to many defects and major repairs [...].⁶⁰⁵

The government made a plot available to the lodge, as mentioned in the *Javaasche Courant* 6-8-1829:

Powered by the Resolution of the [East] Indies Government, dated 14 July no. 56, the undersigned makes it known, that the Government will make available free of charge, to those who are allowed to wish them, the unbuilt estates, located north of the palace in Weltevreden, under conditions to be announced after. These estates are divided in nine plots, traced from the road of Gunung-saharie until the large southern road, and divided as follows [...] Plot no. III. Broad along the south side 15, and along the back 13 *roeden* [= length measures]; deep along the west side 55, and along the east side 55 *roeden*.⁶⁰⁶

Plot no. III was located alongside the public road, which would later be called the *Vrijmetselaarsweg* or Freemasons' Road, at the corner of the *Comediebuurt* (fig. 5.36).⁶⁰⁷ The building plan for the new Freemasons' Hall was made by lodge Architect J. Tromp, who in daily life was Head Engineer of Water Management and Buildings.⁶⁰⁸ The demolition of the old building and the building of the new were commissioned for fl. 12.500,-, and another fl. 4000,- was reserved for other costs. A description of the building plan reads as follows:

[...] the main building in the front and back facade would measure a width of 60 feet and a depth of 137 feet, the division would be in three large rooms of 90 feet long, one of which the Throne room and 6 chambers. The throne room would measure a height of 4 feet above the other rooms and stick out with its roof above the other roofs and receive its light from above [= have a skylight].

[...] the costs were estimated at f 9000 silver or f 12000 copper, for which the old building would be demolished and the new with the materials from the demolition, as far as usable, would be built up, provided that the contractor would receive the empty plot on Jacatra and the unused building materials.’⁶⁰⁹

The costs were covered by the members for a total of fl. 9.750,- by a joint loan, later made a gift to the lodge.⁶¹⁰ Provincial Grand Master Hendrik Merkus de Kock contributed fl. 4.000,-; Jan Michael van Beusechem, Joost Carel van Romswinkel and [J.C.L.] Splenger fl. 1000,- each; C.J. Smulders, J. Tromp, J.J. Nolthenius, Frederik van Teutum and A. Gevers fl. 500,- each; and lastly A.H.W. Baron de Kock (son of the Provincial Grand Master) fl. 250,-.

The ceremony for the laying of the first stone took place on 15-2-1830, at night by torchlight. For the occasion guests were welcomed in the Palace on Weltevreden of governor-general Van den Bosch (fig. 5.37), which indicates the close ties between the lodge and the government.⁶¹¹ From there, a procession carrying the lodge banner, bible and masonic tools walked to the new building for the laying of the stone ceremony, and afterwards only the freemasons present were invited into the old building, to formally ‘extinguish the lights’. The occasion also served as an opportunity to welcome back from the Java War the Deputy Grand Master (also Worshipful Master) Hendrik Merkus de Kock, who led the ceremony.⁶¹² The program of the celebration has survived (fig. 5.38).⁶¹³

The formal inauguration of the Freemasons’ Hall then took place on 27-6-1831, St. John’s Day, and was led by Worshipful Master Jan Michael van Beusechem.⁶¹⁴ Members of La Fidèle Sincérité and even the Past Grand Master National Isaac Bousquet, now Council of the East Indies, were also present.⁶¹⁵ The ceremony had been announced in the newspaper, inviting freemasons on Java to be present (fig. 5.39).⁶¹⁶ After welcoming the guests and the formal opening, a procession made its way three times around the building, carrying a rough stone, compasses & square, the lodge banner and various other symbols. The first stone of the 1786 building was transported to the new, but the contents were found to have perished.⁶¹⁷

Unfortunately, there are no inventories of La Vertueuse of the years spent in this second Freemasons’ Hall, and financial records are less detailed. No significant changes were made in the years leading up to the lodge merger. On 4-9-1833 it was decided to take a loan or mortgage on the building of fl. 7.000,- silver and redeem the previous loan of fl. 6.600,-.⁶¹⁸ The entry fee was put at fl. 30,- for visitors and fl. 20,- for members. In 1835 some of the floors had sagged and needed to be repaired.⁶¹⁹

◆ *Towards unity*

When Merkus de Kock left for the Netherlands in 1830, Van Beusichem was appointed Deputy Grand Master *ad interim*. By that time, all the outstanding debts of the lodges to the Grand Lodge had finally been resolved.⁶²⁰ As successor of De Kock the Grand Lodge then appointed Jan Isaak van Sevenhoven (1782-1841) in 1831.⁶²¹ He had come to the East Indies as a bookkeeper in 1801.⁶²² Van Sevenhoven held several government offices and was *Directeur van Kultures* by the time he was appointed Deputy Grand Master.⁶²³ Shortly after, he was appointed Council of the Dutch East Indies. In 1830, the next governor-general was also a freemason: Johannes van den Bosch (1780-1844), initiated in lodge La Vertueuse in 1801. Van den Bosch was replaced in 1833 by Jean Chrétien Baud (1789-1859), a member of lodge St. Napoleon in Amsterdam of 1811.

Since the founding of the first lodges in Asia in the 18th century, they had not been formally represented in the yearly Grand Lodge meeting in The Hague. On 26-3-1833 Penning Nieuwland tried to be registered as a representative of De Vriendschap, but was not admitted.⁶²⁴ The next year, lodge La Bien Aimée in Amsterdam proposed to have the participation of representatives of the lodges overseas approved, because the contact with the West- and East Indies was so difficult.⁶²⁵ This proposal was accepted in 1835.⁶²⁶

Through the mediation of Van Sevenhoven during the years 1831-1837, the lodges La Vertueuse and La Fidèle Sincérité finally became closer. The coming together of both parties may have been:

[...] only appearance and not reality [...] not the result of a stimulated wish, to continue the great work with force, but on the contrary was caused by an undeniable fading and inactivity, and the merger was nothing less, than a palliative for a ‘sudden death’.⁶²⁷

PROGRAMMA van het ceremonieel bij de plegtige legging van den eersten steen, van het nieuwe Tempelgebouw, op maandag den 15den february 1830.

1. De BB.: Leden van de Loge *La Vertueuse* vergaderen, tegen zes ure des avonds, in een der zalen van het Paleis, op Weltevrede.
2. De BB.: Leden van de Zuster-Loge *La Fidèle Sincérité* en de oud Gedept.: Groot-Meester Nationaal worden uitgenoodigd, dit feest bij te wonen, en ten dien einde tegen het bovengemeld uur insgelijks op het Paleis bij elkander te komen.
3. De overige alhier aanwezige BB.: worden door middel van de *courant* tot hetzelfde einde uitgenoodigd.
4. De Gedept.: Meester ontvangt met de Leden van *La Vertueuse*, alzoo den Meester en de Leden van de Zuster-Loge, den oud Gedept.: Gr.: Mr.: Nationaal en alle andere BB.: Bezoekeren.
5. De beide BB.: Opziens, benevens de Br.: Sekretaris, begeven zich gezamenlijk, om half zeven uur, naar het Hôtel van den Achtb.: Meester op Rijswijk, en noodigen denzelven uit, zich met hun naar de bereids verzamelde BB.: op het Paleis te begeven.
6. Zoodra het rijtuig van den Achtb.: Meester op Weltevrede in het gezicht van het Paleis komt, plaatst zich de Gedept.: Meester aan het hoofd van alle de aldaar verzamelde BB.: en ontvangt den Achtb.: Meester boven aan de middeldeur van de zaal. Alle de BB.: zijn te voren bereids Mac.: gekleed: het kostuum is zwart.
7. Men wijst den Achtb.: Mr.: eene gedistingeerde plaats aan in het O.: van de zaal. Na een oogenblik toevens vraagt de Gedept.: Mr.: den Zeer Achtb.: en Hoogverl.: Gedept.: Groot-Meester Nationaal, of het zijn wensch is, dat de ceremonie eenen aanvang neme.
8. De Gedept.: Mr.: noodigt daarop de gezamenlijke BB.: zich in twee rijen achter den Achtb.: Meester te scharen, met hem in processie te gaan en denzelven in den arbeid te helpen.

Fig. 5.38: Program for the ceremony of the laying of the first stone of the Freemasons' Hall of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, 15-2-1830. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

—De Loge la Vertueuse maakt hiermede bekend, dat zij uitnoodigt van tusschenkomsten te omstandigheden, het feest van *St. Jan*, dit jaar, eerst op maandag den 27sten dezer, zal vieren. Tezamen zal de inwijding van haar nieuw lokaal op Weltevreden plaats hebben. Zij noodigt mitsdien alle daartoe regthebbenden uit, deze plegtigheid te komen bijwonen, zullende de werkzaamheden in het voornoemde lokaal, 's avonds te half zeven ure, precies beginnen.

Namens de loge voornoemd.
De Secretaris,
HENDRIK BETH.

Batavia,
17 junij 1831.

Fig. 5.39: Advertisement in the Javaasche Courant, 21-6-1831, announcing the inauguration of the new Freemasons' Hall of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia. Collection: National Library, The Hague. Reproduced from: delpher.nl.

Table 5.U: Freemasons' Halls in Batavia

Lodge	Location	Data	Architect
<i>La Choisie</i>	Heerenlogement	1763-1769	
<i>La Fidèle Sincérité</i>	Rented gardens	1767-1775	
	Amanusgracht	1775-1815	
	Tijgersgracht	1815-1818	
	Jacatraweg	1818-1837	J.H. Horst
<i>La Vertueuse</i>	Rented gardens	1769-1778	
	Kormandelswijk	1778-1783	
	Rented gardens	1783-1785	
	Moorish Hospital grounds	1786-1829	F.A. Heilman
<i>De Ster in het Oosten</i>	Vrijmetselaarsweg (I)	1829-1837	J. Tromp
	Vrijmetselaarsweg (I)	1837-1855	J. Tromp
	Vrijmetselaarsweg (II)	1856-1934	D. Maarschalk
	Bisschopsplein	1934-1960	ir. N.E. Burhoven Jaspers

Indeed, on 22-4-1837 Van Sevenhoven pointed to the 'fading interest, which the Lodges in this East experienced during their work', and the fact that the number of freemasons in Batavia was no longer large enough to sustain two lodges.⁶²⁸ Van Sevenhoven therefore called a meeting on 29-4-1837, to discuss a solution.⁶²⁹ Eventually a committee was formed to prepare a merger to take place in 1837.⁶³⁰ For the members of *La Fidèle Sincérité*, the distance between the members' homes and the current lodge building was a problem. They also had little funds and less members as a result of both the Java War and the investment in the new building. Although in case of a merger they would not give up their lodge colour and dispute the anciennity of *La Vertueuse*, in principle the members were not opposed to the plan. Having learned something from the persistent rivalry of the past, it was decided not to dissolve one lodge for the benefit of the other, but instead to have them both dissolve and found a new lodge, under the name *De Ster in het Oosten* (The Star in the East). Whereas in the past it had been fashionable to give lodges French names, after the end of the French rule over the Netherlands, new lodges were given Dutch names.⁶³¹

◆ *Lodge De Ster in het Oosten (1837-present)*

The Constitution of the new lodge *De Ster in het Oosten* which would now count 87 members, was dated 19-6-1837.⁶³² Van Sevenhoven installed the new lodge on the same day, also the celebration of St. John's Day.⁶³³ Penning Nieuwland was the Worshipful Master of the new lodge until 1839. A speech given on this occasion by Orator Frederik van Teutem (1786-1842) was published in the Dutch masonic yearbook of 1839, and is remarkable because it acknowledged - after 70 years of disagreement on the subject - the founding of *La Fidèle Sincérité* in 1767.⁶³⁴ This must have been a gesture towards the members of that lodge, in order to smooth over whatever animosity may have remained. It seems the lodges elsewhere in the Dutch East Indies were not formally informed of the merger until 30-4-1838.⁶³⁵ Dominique Jacques de Eerens (1781-1840), governor-general between 1836 and 1840, would also become a member of the lodge.

Between 1839 and 1841 Worshipful Master of the lodge was Johan Schill (died 1852). In 1843 he wrote down the history of freemasonry in the Dutch East Indies up until 1837 in the manuscript *Gedenkboek voor de Javasche Broederschap der Orde*, which included an appendix with an overview of all the members since the foundation of *La Choisie*.⁶³⁶ His manuscript was edited by [Johan?] De Waal in 1852-1853, but never got published as intended.⁶³⁷ It would however be used by many later masonic historians as the basis of commemorative publications. It also provides a fitting end to the overview of lodge histories for this chapter.

■ *Freemasons' Hall at the Bisschopsplein*

By 1837, *La Fidèle Sincérité* was preparing to merge with *La Vertueuse*. It was decided that all the possessions of both lodges would become property of the new lodge *De Ster in het Oosten*, and any surplus would be sold. The building of *La Vertueuse* at the *Vrijmetselaarsweg* was valued again in order to settle the accounts between the two lodges. *La Fidèle Sincérité* would now own half of the total estate, valued at



Fig. 5.40: W.J. Olland, photograph of the Freemasons' Hall of lodge De Ster in het Oosten in Batavia, ca. 1870. The statue of Silence is clearly visible in the gallery. Collection: KITLV, Leiden, inv.no. 100898. Reproduced from: media-kitlv.nl.

fl 8.000,-.⁶³⁸ The building of La Vertueuse would continue to be used by the new lodge, De Ster in het Oosten. By 1845 the temple, which had been in use since 1831, was found to be in a bad condition, and needed to be renovated.⁶³⁹

Ten years later, the building was pulled down, in favor of a new Freemasons' Hall (fig. 5.40), probably designed by David Maarschalk (1829-1886), the later inspecteur-general of railways.⁶⁴⁰ The first stone was laid at the Vrijmetselaarsweg on 19-12-1856, but the formal consecration did not take place until 24-6-1858.⁶⁴¹ During the building works, the lodge met in a bamboo barrack on the plot.⁶⁴² The foundation stone of the 1786 building was once more transported and relaid, this time covered with a commemorative plate.⁶⁴³ This new Freemasons' Hall would be used until 26-2-1934. It is now the Kimia Farma Apotik building on the Jalan Budi Utomo.

5.3. The material culture of the lodges on Java explored



Fig. 5.41: Simon Fokke, engraving of Silence, frontispiece of the *Almanach des Francs-Maçons* (ed. 1769). Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Photograph: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

Fig. 5.42: Statue of *De Stilzwijgendheid* from the Freemasons' Hall in Batavia, bronze, ca. 1856. Reproduced from: 100 jaren 1937, n. pag.

In the former paragraphs, the building of masonic halls and their inventories were introduced. The material culture of the lodges on Java, in particular the main two on Batavia, now deserves to be explored in more detail. This can be done like a walk through a lodge building, from the exterior to the interior. This furnishment of the building then be will be discussed per category: wall and ceiling decorations, furniture and ritual objects, as well as the regalia stored in the lodge. Lastly, we will look at objects reserved for the higher degrees, as well as the necessities for the table lodge and post-ritual gatherings.

◆ Exterior decorations

There is no information on sculpture or other permanent decoration on the exterior of buildings used by La Fidèle Sincérité. The Freemasons' Hall built by La Vertueuse did have at least one permanently visible masonic symbol incorporated in its exterior design. The frontispiece of the building on the Moorish Hospital grounds erected in 1786, carried 'a wooden statue, after proportion & depicting The Silence'. The aforementioned Heilman, responsible for the execution of the building and overseer of the stonemasons' and sculptors' workplace, may well have been responsible for this too.

As lodges met in secret, Silence was one of the masonic virtues. In fact, the motto of the Dutch Order to which La Vertueuse belonged was *Silentio et Fide* (Silence and Fidelity). From 1769 onwards, several editions of Dutch masonic almanacs had a depiction of Silence as a frontispiece (fig. 4.41). The first is signed 'La Bien Aimée inv[entit]' and 'R.G. Robart Del[eneavit]', suggesting the original design was made by Georg Remi Robart, a member of and/or commissioned by the Amsterdam lodge La Bien Aimée. The plate for the almanacs was made by the well-known Dutch engraver S[imon] Fokke (1712-1784).⁶⁴⁴ As the wooden statue was lost, it's not clear if it may have been inspired by this print, well known among Dutch freemasons. The statue was replaced after the merger of the lodges into De Ster in het Oosten (1837). A bronze statue depicting Silence was kept on the front gallery of the Freemasons' Hall on the

Vrijmetselaarsweg, and later transported to the inner yard of that on the Bisschopsplein (fig. 4.42).⁶⁴⁵ The building of lodge De Ster in het Oosten would carry a five-pointed star in the tympanum of the facade, as a reference to its name.

Both La Fidèle Sincérité and La Vertueuse were known to put up temporary decorations on the facade of their buildings for specific festive occasions. For instance, the description of an Adoption lodge held on 23-11-1804 by La Fidèle Sincérité mentions that the building on the Amanusgracht was 'illuminated', decorated with masonic symbols that were lit up for dramatic effect. Receipts show that, by the time the lodge had moved to the Jacatraweg, workmen were hired to prepare these decorations. On 26-2-1821: 'the Native Borame [for] the Illumination on St. John's Day f 240,-'⁶⁴⁶, and on 17-8-1823: 'to the Native Bozarhan for the making of the illumination and delivering oil for the same on the St. John's festival', fl. 451,-.⁶⁴⁷ Similarly in 1825: 'to the native Jahvedien for delivered oil, Bamboo, Coolies &c at the illumination of the 24 June 1825 f 481,5'.⁶⁴⁸ (Judging by the names, these were not the usual Chinese employed by the lodge, perhaps members of the Muslim community on Java?)

From such short notes, which occur in the financial records yearly or even twice yearly around summer and/or winter St. John's Day, it is clear that the illumination was made of bamboo and oil lamps, quite worrying by modern safety standards. A receipt from 1-7-1827 mentions '3 Sheets Metal f 2' and 'For the engraving or Cutting of Letters in the Same f 6'⁶⁴⁹, suggesting these letters were used to spell the name of the lodge or a masonic motto.⁶⁵⁰ In 1828 a man called Barodien was paid for arranging the illumination, about which the receipt provides some details:

for making in order the Lodge of St. John's Day	
Coolie Salary for [moving] Chairs Benches Bell Shades	
Paintings Crowns and Carpet and hanging of the same with garlands	f 74
Nails, chain, agal agal for the garlands[,] hanging Mirrors and Paintings	16
For the Renting of A wagon on 26 June 1828	f 7 ⁶⁵¹

By the 1830s, the spectacle seems to also have included some painted and other elements. For instance, on 25-6-1832 a payment of fl. 20,- in copper money was made 'for a Sasinet [= window blind] in the Illumination of St. John and the Borrowing of three Niches'⁶⁵², while for the illumination itself another fl. 289,- was spent.⁶⁵³

La Vertueuse also regularly organised illuminations of its Freemasons' Halls on special occasions. The financial records show similar expenses for these highly flammable features. For instance, on 26-6-1805 the overseer Tjoa Kulks received a receipt for 'the Illumination of the yellow Lodge' on the Moorish Hospital grounds, covering expenses for:

600 Bamboos	30 rds
10 Bunches Cane	6
11 Tin oil Cans	15
600 earthenware Lamps	18
Lamp wicks	10
Adap [= leaf roof covers]	2
50 <i>Catjes</i> [= measures] Small candles	30
40 <i>Takkars</i> [= measures] Lamp oil	105
37 Coconut Falkens [= fakkels = torches?]	4
For Coolie wages of 339 at 1 rds per day	250 ⁶⁵⁴

For the celebration of St. John's Day in July 1813, necessities were hired or borrowed by La Vertueuse. The financial records mention the costs for the hiring of wagons and transporting a table service from a Miss Lutgouw, cleaning it and returning it.⁶⁵⁵ Also listed was the transport of furniture borrowed from La Fidèle Sincérité, and silver wares from the house of Van Romswinkel. Other expenses included the hiring of servants, including 10 coolies who had to serve at night, and replacing broken dishes and missing napkins. From 9 until 26 June, a total of 120,48 Spd was paid for another 19 days work by mandurs and 531 days by coolies, some at night.⁶⁵⁶ Two Chinese painters were hired for 3,- Spd. Receipts for '2 wooden stars A Lamp

and Two front peaks Sp 4,-', as well as '800 bamboo and 15 rotting [= a type of rattan] ad 39½ Spd' to lieutenant Taban Arab were presumably for decoration of the lodge or another illumination.⁶⁵⁷

Although this was a frequently repeated summer event, there are frustratingly few descriptions of these spectacles. On 24-6-1815 St. John's Day was celebrated together with La Fidèle Sincérité, at which occasion 'the building was to be illuminated on the outside, and decorated in masonic fashion on the inside in such a way, as the space and the [yellow] colour of the Lodge would permit'.⁶⁵⁸ For St. John's Day on 24-6-1818, again celebrated together with La Fidèle Sincérité, it was decided: 'Just within the Fence, a gate with its wings, of bamboo, will be erected and illuminated after a design to be made by the Brother Architect Barthold'.⁶⁵⁹

The tradition of providing illuminations was continued until well into the middle of the 19th century. The most detailed description remaining, dates after the merger of the two lodges. The 75th anniversary of freemasonry in the Dutch East Indies was celebrated in lodge De Ster in het Oosten at the Vrijmetselaarsweg on 16-11-1844 in a grand fashion:

The front of the building was illuminated, and in the frontispiece glistened the allegorical depiction of the celebrated feast: two acacia sprigs entwined with immortelles [= a type of aster], bound together at the stem and joined on the end, forming a circle, depicting the two lodges la Vertueuse en la Fidele Sincerite, which have become constituted to one workplace; within that circle a shining star, referring to de Ster in het Oosten [...], and the middle of the star was adorned with the number 75. The whole was radiant and strewn with masonic symbols.⁶⁶⁰

From the 18th century onwards, these illuminations were conscious public displays, which would draw the attention of the local population. It shows that the lodge was a clearly visible presence in the community and that the maintained secrecy mainly concerned the rituals and the interior of the temple. Although the indigenous population was not (yet) allowed regular membership of the lodge, the members clearly had no problem with showing them the design with masonic symbols prior to the execution of these illuminations.⁶⁶¹

◆ Interior decorations

Unfortunately, there is little, if any, visual documentation on the lodge buildings described above, and most of their contents were lost. That makes it difficult to give visual reference points for the following discussion of lodge interiors and inventories. Non-masonic furniture can be compared to contemporary illustrations, such as the work of Jan Brandes (1743-1808, a preacher who stayed in Batavia between 1779-1785), and contemporary pieces from Dutch museum collections. For the masonic furniture, useful reference points are the aforementioned illustrations of manuscripts such as *Maçonnerie des Hommes* (circa 1782-1792), *Rite Écossais Ancien et Accepté. Décorations et Costumes* (circa 1804-1815), both from the Kloss collection (see chapter 2), as well as a *tailleur* for the *Rite Français et Rite Écossais* (1850-1875) in the Amsterdam Museum.⁶⁶² Together they illustrate the curious combinations of functional, ritual and decorative elements that must have marked masonic interiors in the Dutch East Indies.

When convening in members' houses, the lodges had to make due with whatever space was provided to them. The room used as a temple could be used for initiations as well as for the table lodge. But when the lodges acquired their own buildings, the number of separate rooms with different functions (ritual, social and/or administrative), quickly grew. This also allowed for permanent decorations. Symbolical or allegorical scenes were most fitting for the space used as temple, but overall decorative schemes would follow existing fashions and non-ritual spaces would look very similar to other, 'normal' colonial interiors.

■ Wall and ceiling decorations

According to the 1775 inventory of La Fidèle Sincérité, lodge member Van Duyveland loaned '12 paintings in Sorts' to his brethren.⁶⁶³ The 1781 version of the *Amanusgracht* omits these items and instead mentions '8 white, and blue decorated [gilded] Angels'.⁶⁶⁴ These have no masonic connotation, so perhaps these were simply sculpted decorative putti, painted in the Order's colours. The 1798 inventory includes 'Four Paintings with Gilded Frames' and another 'six paintings'.⁶⁶⁵ Only the first four recur up until 1801, and there is no further clue as to their representation. For the temple the 1775 inventory lists '1* Set of Blue



Fig. 5.43: Lodge interior for the degree of Compagnon Écossais, as illustrated in a watercolour in *Maçonnerie des Hommes* (1775-1792). Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 10500-3. Reproduced from: *vrijmetselarij.nl*.

Curtains for the Master's Lodge'.⁶⁶⁶ Colour symbolism played an important part in freemasonry, and the simplest way to give the temple colour, was by using curtains or wall hangings. These drapes would be blue for the basic degrees and could be switched to other colours for a particular part of the ritual, or for rituals of the higher degrees (compare figs. 2.92-2.96, 5.43, 5.48, 5.50).

In the inventory of 1798, 'a set of curtains with iron rods' are still listed.⁶⁶⁷ But as the lodges prospered, drapes were substituted by or combined with wall and ceiling paintings. Between 1821 and 1824, and again between 1833 and 1837, *La Fidèle Sincérité* commissioned the artist J[ean] Giraud (also spelled Giroud, Geroud or Chiro) to decorate its temple at the Jacatraweg. A first payment was made on 17-8-1821: 'to the painter Giraud for painting 6 Sculptures f 240'.⁶⁶⁸ A receipt shows that this commission concerned six wooden, painted sculptures, to be placed in niches in the temple.⁶⁶⁹ On 11-5-1823 Giraud was paid fl. 274,- for 'various Paintworks in the Lodge'.⁶⁷⁰ In the accounts for the St. John's Day celebration of 1823, another payment to Giraud for fl. 100,- was not specified further.⁶⁷¹ By 1824 alterations to the throne were made, to be discussed below. A receipt of March 1824, signed by Giraud, mentions '2 Sasinetten painted on Linen at the side of the Throne and at the side of the Doors of the Lodge at f 50 each f 200'.⁶⁷² *Sasinettes* are blinds, made from cloth stretched over a wooden frame, usually covering windows to provide shade. Again there is no clue as to their decoration. As these items are not mentioned in the later inventories, they must have been permanent parts of the wall decoration or considered as such. Unfortunately, it was not possible to further identify the artist Giraud, but we will come back to him later.⁶⁷³

In 1825 'seven pair white curtains old', 'Some old Silver ribbons & fringe' and 'One Old Black drape' were still listed in the inventory⁶⁷⁴, while the 1828 version mentions its replacements:

White Curtains	7
1828 January 1 Newly made	27
Black Wall Hangings (old)	1

1828 January 1 Newly made curtains	14 ⁶⁷⁵
Pieces of Canvas or Flemish linen	8
1828 March 3 for the Masters' lodge (used)	1
June 7 for Niches to have painted and	
A Large Door for the Masters' Lodge (used)	1
Niches for the Apprentice and Masters' Lodge	
1828 march 3 Had painted by the Brother Kimmel	12
Large Window of Canvas	
1828 June 7 Had painted by the Brother Kimmel	1 ⁶⁷⁶

These accounts suggest that the niches with sculptures by Giraud were either given background paintings, or replaced by paintings altogether. *Trompe l'oeuil* images or personifications of masonic virtues for instance, would have fitted very well in the decorative scheme of a lodge in this era. The 'door for the Master's Lodge' may be a ritual prop, rather than a decorative element, such as a tracing board for the Master's degree, depicting the door to the Temple. The curtains and niche paintings recur on inventories until the lodge merger in 1837.⁶⁷⁷ The painter, R. Kimmel, was a member of La Fidèle Sincérité from 1817 onwards, but could not be identified further.⁶⁷⁸

What about the wall decorations of lodge La Vertueuse? A receipt from 3-4-1784 for a payment made 'to Baerssen', lists:

1 roll white Satin	32:28 [Rds]
19 ditto Lemon yellow Lustring	386:30
5 ditto Peking [= silk]	93:24
2 white ditto	37:19
20 Pieces Lemon yellow Ribbon narrow	49:13
5 ditto wide	14:3 ⁶⁷⁹

As mentioned earlier, lemon yellow was the distinguishing colour of the lodge, and was in the temple decoration combined with white, rather than the traditional blue of the Order, which must have given the lodge interior a very bright and sunny character. Satin and silk, ribbons and bullion were used for the drapes in the temple (as well as the upholstery of the throne and the members' regalia). Most textiles would have been imported from nearby China and India. A series of receipts in 1788-1789 for payments to Rhei Tjien Tjoean for 'varnishing the Lodge' on the Moorish Hospital grounds and other paintworks mention red, vermilion and dark red paints.⁶⁸⁰ Combined with the yellow lodge colour this either suggests a very vivid decorative colour scheme, or work done specifically for the higher degrees, such as the *Écossais* lodge.

Around the same time, Daniel Adriaan Beeckman (1747-1796?), former merchant and 1st Administrator of the Westside Warehouses and lodge Almoner, was about to leave for the Netherlands, where he would give the Grand Lodge a report on developments within La Vertueuse. The minutes of 4-9-1788 recorded how Beeckman:

[...] to show his appreciation to the Lodge had generously offered at his arrival in the Netherlands, for his own account, to have made as an ornament to the Lodge the necessary wall hangings between the windows of our Temple building; nothing was handed to him that would [direct] the size and description in which way and taste he must have these painted, so it was communicated, to the making of one and other committed, and to request the Brethren Coortsen and Heijleman and Fetmenger and to command them while forming of the drawing to be mindful, that the same will have to consist of Masonic Emblems in order to be given to Brother Beeckman.⁶⁸¹

A report of the committee instated for this purpose, noted that the temple measured a height of 16 foot and 6 thumbs, and that the walls were covered in wainscoting, 2 feet high, from the floor until the window sills. In total, 16 pendants of 10 feet high and different widths would have to be made. The committee suggested: 'if it would not be right, to ask the brother Beeckman, to have trophies, or festoons painted in these fields in the [distinguishing] colour of this Lodge being a white ground with yellow'.⁶⁸² La Vertueuse sent Beeckman, who had already left, a letter with a design and measures on 15-9-1788 with the ship De

Goede Verwachting under captain Tijmen de Sweet, emphasizing 'We will not decide how we will want these painted, but will leave such utterly to Your choice and approval'.⁶⁸³ But the members changed their mind, so on 19-2-1789 a duplicate letter with a 'more improved plan' was sent after Beeckman with the warship De Beschermers through the gentleman B. Treijkenius. This plan now included 'by the Brother Heijlman made ready, the enclosed drawing of the Lodge, showing in which manner, the hangings should be painted'.⁶⁸⁴ The design did not survive. Beeckman either never received the letters or was unable to make good on his promise, because La Vertueuse never heard from him again.

Meanwhile, the financial records of La Vertueuse noted a payment on 1-12-1789 'For the buying of 22 Pieces of Chinese Linen and Painting Black of the Masters' Lodge' for 66 Rds.⁶⁸⁵ In 1790 'twelve curtains for the Lodge' were ordered from the widow Crana[ch?] for 30 Rds.⁶⁸⁶ According to the minutes of 19-2-1791 the members agreed 'for a sum of Rd 350,- to have the lodge painted inside, and outside'.⁶⁸⁷ A receipt dated 9-6-1791 records a payment to Gyt Aig Sie Ako for 'varnishing and gilding the garden on the road to Jaccatra', which lists both white and purple paints, as well as gilding, again suggesting vivid decorations.⁶⁸⁸ Another 150 Rds was spent on 3-12-1791 for 'painting the Master Lodge'.⁶⁸⁹ Such brief descriptions are difficult to interpret. This either concerns very frequent upkeep (the lodge had just been painted black in 1789) or the word 'lodge' should here be interpreted as 'tracing board', which would make the involvement of Chinese painters all the more interesting.

La Vertueuse contacted the Grand Lodge in The Hague between 1792 and 1794, asking Grand Court Master Carel Jacobus Mohr to look into the Beeckman affair.⁶⁹⁰ Mohr replied on 19-5-1794, stating he knew nothing of Beeckman, but offering to take care of the paintings himself if La Vertueuse would send him the design and information on their budget.⁶⁹¹ He suggested:

If Your Honourable would be inclined to buy a fine painting as an ornament to Your Honourable Lodge, there is an opportunity to buy a very fine piece being a Vanitas and Lamplight by one of the famous Masters for a reasonable price, a hundred daalders were asked for it, but it would be obtainable for fifty Rijksdaalders [...].⁶⁹²

La Vertueuse did not respond to his offer. As their first attempt had only resulted in a six year delay to the finishing of the temple decorations, the lodge now wisely contacted a local painter. The lodge commissioned 'the able French painter named Piron' to make twelve 'emblematic paintings'.⁶⁹³ Their subjects were recorded in the lodge minutes of 19-5-1795:

In the first three fields La Sagesse, la Force, la beaute et la Vertu
in the two middle fields La Charite et la Concorde
The three next La Prudence, l'Esperance, la Justice & la Paix
Besides the door; La Vertu, le silence Ou la mystere, le sevot [savant?]
[...] the Grand Master Communicates to have had Mediation for Piron
And having given him 200 spanish dollars.⁶⁹⁴

In other words, these were a series of masonic virtues: Wisdom, Strength, Beauty and Virtue; Charity and Concord; Prudence, Hope, Justice and Peace; Virtue (in a double role) and Silence.⁶⁹⁵ Receipts dated 29-8 and 2-10-1795 list payments for 'the cameo shields 158,8 paper money', which probably relates to Piron's commission, and 'the chinese painter 141,24 paper money', which may relate to more general maintenance.⁶⁹⁶ The 1796 inventory listed more newly acquired decorations: 'In the Masters' Lodge [...] 4 large Emblems or Allegorical paintings'.⁶⁹⁷ It seems likely these too were made by Piron, together matching the total of 16 fields as originally pointed out to Beeckman. They are included in all later inventories.

The painter Jean (also known as Nicolas) Piron was from Belgian descent and came to the East Indies as part of a French scientific rescue expedition.⁶⁹⁸ In 1791 the ships La Recherche and L'Espérance were deployed to Asia to find the missing explorer Jean-François de la Pérouse (1741-1788?), but their journey was without success. A later report on the expedition by J.-J. H de Labillardière, *Atlas pour servir à la relation du voyage a la recherche de la Perouse [...]* (Paris 1800), included Piron's drawings of landscapes and local flora.⁶⁹⁹ By September 1793 the French ships landed in Batavia and learned of the Revolution and wars in Europe, causing unrest between the monarchists and the republicans aboard. The Dutch disarmed the ships, capturing the French republicans, including Piron. There are indications that freemasons among

them, members of the lodges Des Quinze Artistes, La Triple Esperance, La Paix and Les Vingt-Un in Mauritius, appealed to the lodges in Batavia for support.⁷⁰⁰ This may have worked, because after some time, the prisoners of war were allowed to reside in Semarang and some were even employed by the Dutch government. Piron was privately commissioned by commissioner general Nederburgh to paint the landscapes of Java for him, starting on 15-9-1794 for 100 Rds per month.⁷⁰¹ It was contractually agreed that Piron would not work for others and he was given papers to freely travel around, but it remains unclear what the results of this commission were. During his stay on Java, Piron probably painted portraits of Engelhard and his wife.⁷⁰²

The records of La Vertueuse show Piron worked for the lodge about half a year after his commission by Nederburgh. Perhaps his contractual obligation had already finished, they had parted ways for some other reason, or an exception was made to allow this work for the lodge. Lodge member Carel van Naersen made costs on 26-7-1795 for 'housing of Piron at Molenvliet of La Vertueuse'.⁷⁰³ By the end of 1795 Piron had left Batavia for Manilla and Canton, as is apparent from his correspondence with fellow lodge member Isaac Titsingh, by then stationed in China as a diplomat.⁷⁰⁴ Nederburgh himself would be initiated as freemason in 1798 (see lodge De Goede Hoop discussed above).

Piron's masonic paintings were in use for a long time. They occur in lodge inventories from 1796 onwards, later specified as 'nailed to the wall'.⁷⁰⁵ When La Vertueuse moved to the Vrijmetselaarsweg on 27-6-1831, the paintings were also transferred. Even after the merger of the two lodges into De Ster in het Oosten in 1837 the members wanted to hold on to them. Schill's *Gedenkboek* (1843) noted how 'these scenes on windows of canvas, currently hang in the two downstairs rooms of the Lodge and are still admired as Masterpieces of Art'.⁷⁰⁶ Likewise, Hageman noted in 1866 that they were in good condition⁷⁰⁷, and the *Gedenkboek* (1917) noted they were 'partially still present'.⁷⁰⁸ It is not clear if any of them survived beyond the Second World War.

Financial records provide little information on decorations in later years. A receipt dated 1-7-1805 notes a payment to the 'Chinese painter' Sie Entang, for repairs and paintworks to 'the Yellow Lodge', mentioning that the ceiling of the lodge building was painted blue.⁷⁰⁹ A further clue to the colour scheme is provided in the minutes of 18-1-1806. The members decided:

[...] both below, as above will be wholly painted, after the adopted Colour of this [lodge] [= yellow], and the border-work gilt; Furthermore the doors, Window Sills etc; green on the outside and the ceiling of the downstairs apartments sky blue.⁷¹⁰

This corresponds with a receipt dated 13-3-1806 by VOC cashier Barends to 'overseer of Carpentry and repairs' Johannis Jongkind (the lodge Architect) for paints bought from the Company's store, the *Kleine winkel*:

800 lb Lead White at	f 8 t lb	rds	161,30
40 Spanish green	2,5		45,22
100 King's yellow	17,12		44,40
50 Red Primer	3,4		4,5
6 Berlin blue	4,12		13,45'. ⁷¹¹

A receipt for 210 Rds, dated 26-1-1813, 'for the painting of the ceiling boards' and 'black painting of a canvas' was signed by 'Tjoa Tongsong'.⁷¹² A 'Memo on Goods for the Furnishing and Decoration of the Lodge At the occasion of the St. John's festival and otherwise, which have been given into Custody of the undersigned brother Steward and stored in His House to prevent Damage', dated 31-8-1816, lists:

2 Large Yellow *Talabelaars* brought Together from three people's Yellow Carsay
 88 ell Fringe belonging to the Talabelaars
 220 " bees yellow ditto ditto ditto
 30 white tassels ditto ditto ditto
 30 pieces white Chinese linen making 12 Pieces Curtains For the Glasses
 120 Ell Fringe belonging to the Curtains⁷¹³



Fig. 5.44: Detail of a lodge banner, marking the names and dates of the four lodges in Batavia, 1837. Silk embroidered with metal thread. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 5653. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

Carsay or *karsaai* was a type of twilled woollen cloth. The word *talbelaars* may be a misspelling of *tabliers* or aprons. Perhaps oversized aprons were used as banners? Banners were regularly displayed in lodges and in the 19th century photographs often show them placed near the throne of the Worshipful Master. Banners were also carried in masonic processions, like the ones described above at the inauguration of the lodge building. Little other changes to the interior decoration scheme were recorded until the merger of the lodges in 1837. The lodge banner made that year, listing the names and successive founding years of La Choisie, La Fidèle Sincérité, La Vertueuse and De Ster in het Oosten, survives in the collection of the CMC, albeit in a poor condition (fig. 5.44).

◆ *Throne and officers' furniture*

As discussed in chapter 2, the chair of the Worshipful Master was one of the most important pieces of furniture in the lodge, both serving a ritual purpose and being a symbol of authority, and would therefore be given the richest decoration. Early masonic illustrations show that in Europe ceremonial chairs with detachable headpieces were used after British examples. Later in the 18th century, the Worshipful Master's seat was elevated and came to rest on a podium or set of steps, and was to be crowned with a dais or canopy in order to resemble a (royal) throne. The chairs of the most important officers, such as the Wardens, would also be visibly distinguished of those of regular members in either colour, form or decoration. Lodge inventories list the officers' furniture as more elaborately upholstered than those of other members, often in combination with cushions or table covers. The seats of regular members were often painted in the lodge colour or the symbolic colour of the degree in which they worked.

The 1775 inventory of La Fidèle Sincérité lists the furniture used in the building at the Amanusgracht. These include 36 and 21 'chairs in sort' for members and officers (reflecting the number of members and regular visitors), as well as tables, candle-stands (*torchères*, fig. 5.52) and chests for storage.⁷¹⁴ Just as the decorative drapes, most furniture was painted blue for the basic degrees or black for the Master and/or the *Élu* degrees. 'Three sided Benches' are the first of many triangular objects appearing in the inventories, as geometric symbolism was common in lodge interiors. It is, however, not always clear which furniture was meant for the temple and which for the table lodge (discussed below), as in this early stage one room could have combined both functions.



Fig. 5.45: Jan Brandes, *Tea visit in a European house in Batavia, 1779-1785*. The women are sitting on round-back chairs typical for the East Indies, a tea stand between them, with a spittoon on the floor to the left. Watercolour over pencil drawing, 15.5 x 19.5 cm. Collection: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, NG-1985-7-2-15. Reproduced from: rijksmuseum.nl



Fig. 5.46: Armchair. Batavia, 1775-1800. Satinwood and cane, height 96.5 x width 59 x depth 57 cm. Reproduced from: Röell/Viljoen 2013 A, no. 31.



Fig. 5.47: Round back chair, Batavia, 18th century. Teak and tamarind, cane, height 87 x width 63 x depth 63 cm. Reproduced from: Röell/Viljoen 2011, no. 24.



Fig. 5.48: Lodge for the Élu des Quinze (10th degree), as illustrated in the manuscript *Rite Écossais Ancien et Accepté, Décorations et Costumes*, ca. 1804-1815. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 16107. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

While a 'throne table painted blue' and a 'throne table painted black' were already mentioned in the inventory of 1775, the Master's seat must have been counted among the many unspecified chairs.⁷¹⁵ This changed in the 1781 inventory, of which several annotated versions exist. These mention presents to the lodge by Pieter Aneas de Win, who became a member in 1771 and in daily life held the office of Vice President of the College of Orphan Masters (*Weesmeesteren*). His gifts to La Fidèle Sincérité included:

- A Throne for the worshipful Master
- 3 Grand Chairs as for the Grand Master & 2 for the 1st & 2nd Warden
- 36 Javanese small armchairs
- 1 lectern for the Orator⁷¹⁶

The financial account of the lodge dated 28-12-1784, however, mentions a payment to De Win 'for the throne 153,24' Rds, meaning either the throne as a whole or the chair placed upon it.⁷¹⁷ This suggests a discount rather than a present. From 1781 onwards, the inventories mention a range of chairs - Chinese, round, long, armchairs and men's chairs, some varnished - which must have been similar to those used in family homes in Batavia and were probably used for other rooms than the temple (see for examples figs. 5.45-5.46).

The financial records show that the upholstery of the throne was regularly renewed or adapted. On 13-6-1787 the account mentions:

- To the Carpenter paid for the making of the Throne 320,-
- To the Painter paid 100,-
- [...] Various expenses for the roof of the Throne 103,-.⁷¹⁸

Here it is indicated for the first time that the throne had a 'roof', a canopy or dais, in the form of drapes supported by a raised wooden frame. Such an investment usually marked the transition from ambulant furniture to a permanent temple with fixed elements (compare figs. 2.89, 2.92-2.96, 5.43, 5.48, 5.50).

Unfortunately, data for the next decade are missing. The inventory of 1798 listed ‘A large chair painted blue’, as well as a ‘A Black varnished and Silver Master’s Throne and a Chair covered with Black Satin and silver fringe’.⁷¹⁹ The same inventory mentions ‘a square table covered in white satin’ most likely the Worshipful Master’s table. In 1801 these items are repeated, adding ‘two wall shades for the Grand [= Worshipful] Master, of which one damaged’ and ‘five cushions in sort’. The ‘three large blue chairs with Cushions’ no doubt refer to the officers’ seats. The use of satin and padding shows that the furnishings were getting more comfortable and luxurious. In 1798, ‘A large silver star’ was also added to the inventory.⁷²⁰ This was possibly a decoration for the throne, placed above the Master’s chair on the canopy or on the wall above it (compare figs. 2.93 and 5.43). There is another gap in the data until 1819, when tables for the Treasurer and Secretary were added to the same set of officers’ furniture, as well as ‘1 Silk Curtain for the Throne of the Grand Master with its belongings’.⁷²¹ From the same year dates a ritual for a mourning lodge, in memory of Past Master Lamberger. The plan for the ceremony includes a description of the temple, which was covered in black and black candles were used for this occasion.⁷²²

During a meeting on 13-6-1822 lodge member Boekhoff proposed that a number of chairs in the Portal were ‘unseatable’.⁷²³ He was permitted to purchase four dozen chairs at 6,- per piece, as well as four ‘distinctive’ chairs.⁷²⁴ A receipt dated 19-10-1822 lists what is probably the upholstery of the Wardens’ chairs:

For the making in order of 2 chairs	
For the covering and embroidering of the same	14,-
3 Ell Dark Blue Satin	6,-
5 Ell Light “ “	15,-
Silver Sequins and Silver thread	3,-
Copper Nails	6,-
17 Ell Silver Lacing at 1 Spanish Dollar	f 37,12 ⁷²⁵

On 5-1-1823 the Master of Furniture was reimbursed fl. 108,- for the painting and gilding of the six dozen other chairs.⁷²⁶ Minutes of the meeting on 21-3-1823 mention preparations for the celebration of St. John’s Day and the fact that ‘the Worshipful Master [Maurisse] has because of his own offer been qualified to have such changes made to the Throne as [he] will see fit’.⁷²⁷ This must have concerned the employment of the aforementioned painted Giraud, as a financial overview of 7-2-1824 mentions a payment to him for ‘the making of Satin Curtains for the Throne’.⁷²⁸ The accompanying receipt notes a payment for ‘the head piece’, costing fl. 150,-.⁷²⁹ It suggests the Worshipful Master’s chair (still) had a detachable decoration, as seen on early images of lodge interiors (see chapter 2). At that time, the lodge had financial problems and put pressure on members late with their contributions, in order to cover the costs.

By 1825, the list of officers’ furniture was as follows:

1 One table for the Grand Master	
1 One ditto “ Treasurer	- with silk coverings
1 One ditto “ Secretary	
[...] 1 One Chair for the Master	
2 Two ditto for the Wardens	
2 Two distinction Chairs	
1 Lectern	
2 One pair of Curtains for the throne; blue silk Cloth ⁷³⁰	

After a break of nine years Giraud would be employed again in 1833, this time by the Chapter of La Fidèle Sincérité, discussed below. On 28-5-1835 he was hired again by the lodge of the basic degrees, as is clear from an advance of fl. 600,- silver for ‘work accepted’ by him. This was a large sum for a lodge that at the time had little means. On one of the receipts is a scribble in pencil, probably made by the worried Treasurer: ‘Can we afford this? And can I approve this?’⁷³¹ Again Giraud delivered the decoration and upholstery for a new throne. From this we can deduce that he was probably more of an interior decorator than an artist, and that some of the work may have been carried out by assistants. The bill included:

[...] 3 Pieces flemish Linen for the sides of the Throne and within	60.-
for the Painting of 2 Saginetten on Side of the Throne Hercules and Time	100.-
accepted work to bring the New Throne in order	
the raising of the Ceiling	
and painting according to the supplied design agreed for	852.- ⁷³²

The choice of such mythological and allegorical subjects would have fitted equally well in masonic temples in Europe at the time. In a masonic context, Hercules could represent Strength, while Time could represent Wisdom, leaving another element in the lodge interior to represent Beauty. A last receipt to Giraud, dated 18-7-1836, mentions:

[...] 13 Benches at f 15 silver together	f 195
3 boxes of small Nails for stretching the Canvas	7,50
13 Days for painting the Stretched Canvas	6,50 [...]. ⁷³³

This indicates he also delivered the benches to seat the lodge members 'in the Columns'. On 22-4-1835 the lodge wrote a receipt for:

The covering of 67 Chairs with grijn at 50 Cents	33,50
5 Packs copper nails at f 5,-	25,-
2 tatjes [= measure] Small Iron Nails at a f 4 per tatje	8,-
For the Painting varnishing and gilding of three distinctive Chairs 100 Pieces ditto f 1	103,-
For the covering of the Master's[,] Secretary[s and] A Treasurer's Table & the altar with Its Cushions a f 8	32,- ⁷³⁴

Grijn was a particular type of worked woollen cloth, often striped. The receipt suggest the upholstery of the throne, officers furniture and altar was now clearly coordinated as a set. On 4-8-1835 an advance was again paid 'for the painting and covering of the chairs of said Lodge'.⁷³⁵

The financial records of La Vertueuse give information about its throne, predating its inventories. The earliest receipt dates from 29-6-1771 and was made out by lodge member D. Hasselaar to the Chinese Li Ongko for '12 [...] Chairs, whereby varnished and gilt rds 104,-'.⁷³⁶ The financial records of 18-9-1777 show a reimbursement of 77 Rds to member Van Stockum 'for 12 red varnished and gilt chairs for use of the Lodge'.⁷³⁷ The 1779 inventory showed the purchase of '42 Javanese Chairs at 2 1/3 rd each', '3 blue Chintz bench mattresses with their cushions' and '30 ditto chair cushions'.⁷³⁸ *Chintz* was a painted type of cotton, exported from India (see for example fig. 5.49) and so desirable it was copied by European factories. The number of chairs again gives some indication of the capacity of the lodge to welcome members and visitors.

On 6-9-1781, the following payments were made for meetings, presumably in the house Kormandelswijk:

For the throne paid according to receipt	60:--:-
to the haberdasher Hanke for 12 @ golden fringes	60:--:-
the Chinese for 32 @ gold bullion of 12	96:--:-
for 272 @ watered moiré [= silk]	
102 sonal [= measure?] gold bullion	46:--:-
[...] rent of black cloth to decorate the Lodge at master Ritual	
idem the chamber of reflection at several reception of Apprentices	60:--:-. ⁷³⁹

On 24-5-1783 a payment was made for 'covering the Lodge with black cloth, black chairs and ribbons'.⁷⁴⁰ Another overview dated 9-3-1784 lists: '3 English Candlesticks on the Throne [Rds] 18:--:-'.⁷⁴¹ The financial records noted on 3-9-1784 'Adam kesk for 24 Chairs 40:-' and 'Steenbergen for House furniture [Rds] 150:'.⁷⁴²

'A Grand Master's Chair' is first mentioned in the 1787 inventory of La Vertueuse, later specified as 'painted yellow and gilded'.⁷⁴³ For the new Freemasons' Hall on the Moorish Hospital grounds, inaugurated



Fig. 5.49: Part of a palempore (ornately decorated textile or bed cover) with a pattern of flowers and birds. India, 1750. Printed cotton, 270 x 184 cm. Collection: Textielmuseum, Tilburg, inv.no. 00101. Reproduced from: textielmuseum.nl.

in the same year, a brand new throne was made. The inventory dated 27-12-1787 provides a detailed description of the investment made in materials and labour:

Varnishing the Throne and the Portal, and the delivered gold-varnish	[Rds] 286
[...] For the making of the Throne the Woodwork	300
For decoration of the same	
35 Ell gold-Gauze	106:24
13 ounce large Sequins	69
9 " Small "	24
14 Ell gold Cord	14:24
A Roll yellow Pangsie	8
10 Rolls white Cloak cloth	260
10 Strings Gold thread	30
10 Leaves gold-Foil	23:16
19 Ell gold Fringe	95
4 pieces Gold Tassels	20
35 Ell gold-Braid	29:8
2 ½ Rolls white Armozijn	60
for various Trifles	30:32
" labour to Miss Cra[n]casta	500
" the fine Painting of the Sun	100
[...] An Orator's chair	
[...] A square Table on the Throne	
Two triangular tables [for the Wardens]	
All three with their covers of white armozijn	
[...] 2 Curtains of the old Throne [...]. ⁷⁴⁴	

Pangsie was a type of Chinese silk.⁷⁴⁵ Here too, the throne had a canopy, with white and yellow drapes (reflecting the lodge colour, instead of the traditional blue) and gold accents. In the French Rite practised by the Dutch, it was common to paint the sun and moon on the wall on both sides of the throne, as can still be seen on the first photographs of lodge interiors in Batavia (figs. 5.143 and 5.147). Less common was the depiction of a sun above the Worshipful Master's seat on the canopy or on the cloth hanging down from his

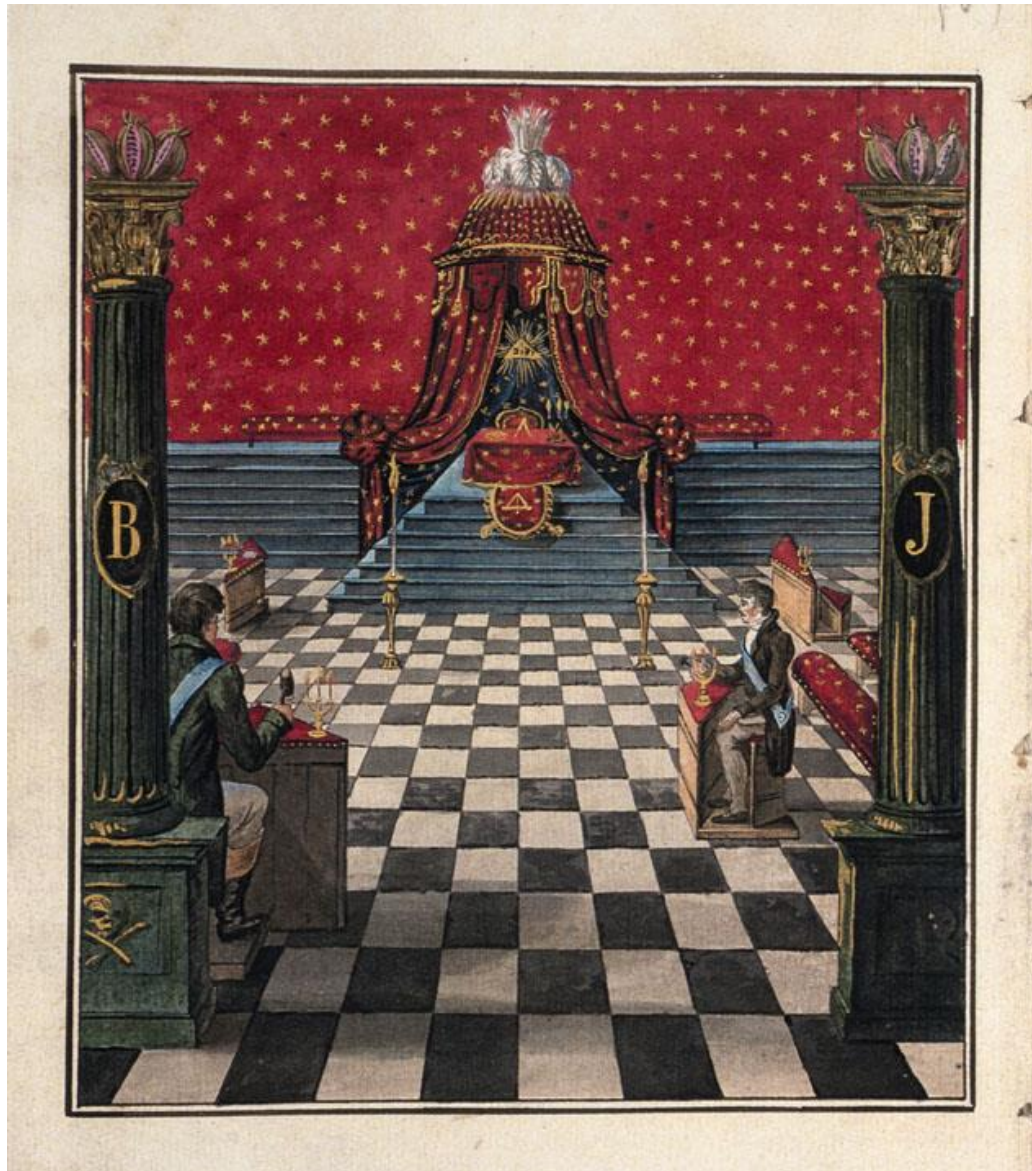


Fig. 5.50: Lodge for the Grade d'Apprentif, 1er du Rite Écossais ancien et accepté, ca. 1800-1810. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no 16152. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

table.⁷⁴⁶ The 1787 inventory also included '48 round men's chairs', '46 Long ditto' and '32 Cushions of yellow Silk' for officers, members and visitors.⁷⁴⁷ Separate chairs for the Wardens were not mentioned until the 1790 version. Most of this and other furniture was painted yellow and gilded.

La Vertueuse regularly appointed committees to undertake repairs and purchases. A report by such a committee dated 7-5-1789 notes: 'that it is necessary, for the rise to the throne a Canvas flap has to be made in order to protect the goldthread for the Strength of the air [= rust] and the throne in general for decay'.⁷⁴⁸ A year later, the cushions needed replacing. In 1792 it was noted that the Orator's chair 'could be sold and another machine of less complexity could be made', as was indeed done.⁷⁴⁹ This was later specified as a 'Metal Orator's lectern'.⁷⁵⁰

The inventory of La Vertueuse of 1794 mentions only 'The Throne and its decorations', but 'with three ornaments more on the master's chair'.⁷⁵¹ This is reminiscent of the headpieces depicted in early drawings of lodge interiors, such as that of Nicolaas Maas (see fig. 2.67). It also lists a 'Standing or reverberating or lighting machine with 7 lamps', kept behind the throne.⁷⁵² On 27-12-1794 Worshipful Master Van de Weerth proposed to have the upholstery replaced, because the bullion had oxidized and the

size of the throne [canopy] had an adverse effect on the acoustics.⁷⁵³ Lodge Architect Josi and member Reinst were commissioned to oversee the work.

The inventory of 1796 added '[...] 2 Small hanging bell shades, belonging above the throne'.⁷⁵⁴ An undated receipt from the same time noted 'For painting Black the old Curtains of the throne of the Lodge, for use of this Throne in the Masters' Lodge 20,- [Rds]', a further 14,12 Rds for silk, ribbons, nails and wages, as well as 'for the gilding of a Sun and the silver plating of a Lantern 10,- [Rds]'.⁷⁵⁵

From 1792 onwards, the inventories describe a space as the 'Masters' lodge' as well as the regular temple. It is not until 1797, that a substantial amount of furniture for this Masters' lodge was described, including:

- 1 large Master's chair, painted Black and Silverplated
- 2 Wardens Chairs, ditto ditto ditto
- [...] 2 wooden black painted Triangular Tables
- [...] 1 Black Satin Cloth embroidered with Silver
- [...] 3 ditto New Pillow Covers⁷⁵⁶

This shows it in fact concerned a second temple, entirely decorated in black and silver, which suggests it could be used by both the third and the *Élu* degrees.

Later inventories provide little new information. On 3-9-1806 the lodge minutes recorded another proposal to 'have the Throne in the room of the Apprentice Lodge renewed' and the reservation of a large budget of 1000 Rds.⁷⁵⁷ The minutes of 27 October show that members Zwekkert and Gerlach saw to the 'renewal of the upholstery'.⁷⁵⁸ Lodge Architect Jongkind had hired an 'Inland Christian' for 25 Rds to make sure 'no paint was stolen' during the work.⁷⁵⁹ By 1807, 'two new yellow painted and gilded warden's chairs' replaced the old ones⁷⁶⁰, and in 1809 'two large footstools' were added for comfort.⁷⁶¹ By 1816, all the table covers were renewed.⁷⁶² In 1818 it was decided '1 Metal Orator's Lectern' and 26 chairs should be sold, while 200 new chairs would be needed.⁷⁶³ No other notable changes were recorded.

◆ *Lighting scheme*

The inventories show a large amount of light fixtures, ranging from crowns or chandeliers, to silver candlestands, candle holders and candle sticks, as well as glass lamp shades. Mirrors were not only decorative objects, but also part of the lighting scheme as they reflected the candle flames (see for example of this use in a colonial interior fig. 5.51). In a lodge, however, lamps were not only necessary because activities took place in the evenings in the era before electricity, and because blinds had to close perfectly even in daytime in order to maintain secrecy. They were also essential to create the required solemn moods and dramatic effects during the ritual, in which transformation from darkness to light and the 'seeing of the light' by the candidate played such an important part. Two types of candles were used: beeswax candles and the cheaper *spermaceti* candles, made of the waxy secretion of a particular organ in the cranium of sperm whales.

It is difficult to tell from inventory descriptions, which light fixtures had masonic significance and which could be found in every interior in Batavia. The 1775 inventory of the building on the Amanusgracht, occupied by La Fidèle Sincérité, included items stored 'upstairs in the Lodge', probably referring to the temple, marked with an asterisk:

- 6 pieces.* Silver Triangular candle holders
- [...] 10 * Gilded beer glasses as lamps
- [...] 27 Triangular [copper] candle holders⁷⁶⁴

The 'triangular' candle holders (literally described as 'three sided') reflect the masonic symbolism, seen before (figs. 2.92-2.96, 5.43, 5.48, 5.50). The silver ones may have been placed on or near the officers' tables. Interesting are the gilded beer glasses, serving as lamps. Drinking glasses for use in a lodge were often engraved with masonic symbols, the engravings then highlighted with gilding. The three large candlesticks one would expect to be placed around the tracing board, cannot be identified clearly in this inventory.

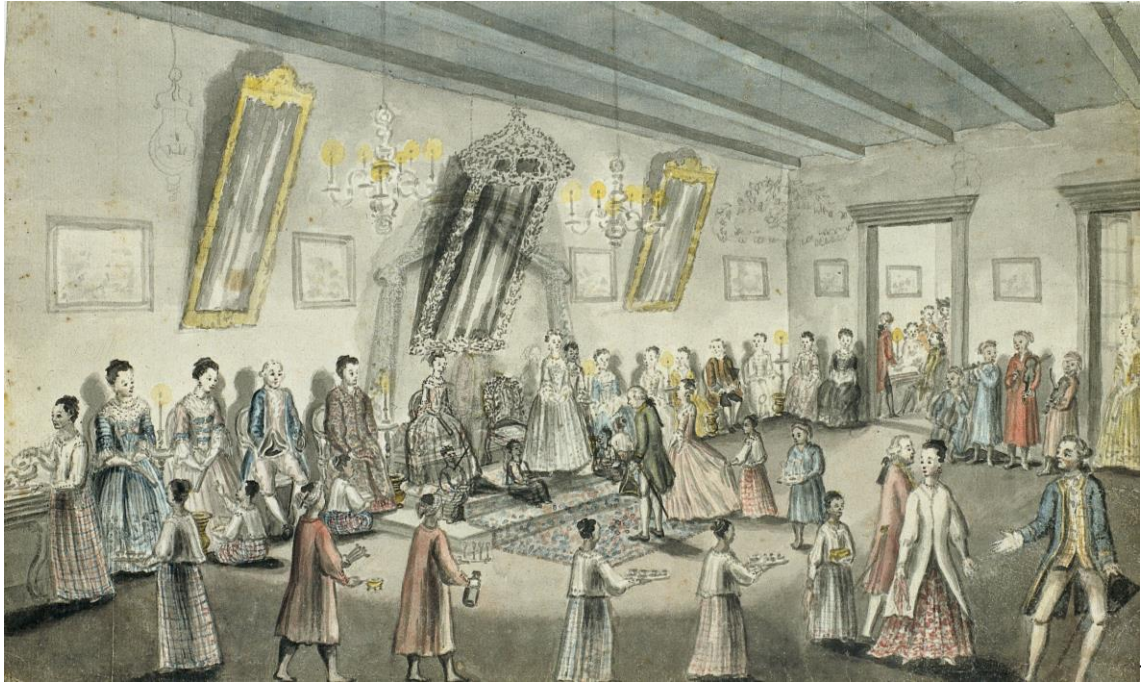


Fig. 5.51: Jan Brandes, Dutch wedding party in Batavia, 1779-1785, The room is lit with light crowns, the candlelight reflected in large mirrors. Watercolour, 20.1 x 33 cm. Collection: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv.no. NG-369. Reproduced from: rijksmuseum.nl.



Fig. 5.52: Candle-stand, Batavia, 18th century. Padouk (wood), lacquered and gilded, height 105.5 cm, diam. cup 21 cm. Reproduced from: Röell/Viljoen 2012, no.26.

Fig. 5.53: Candle-stand, Dutch East Indies, early 18th century. Djati wood, a brass bowl and red lacquer, height 73 cm. Reproduced from: Röell/Viljoen 2013 B, no.21.

The inventory for 1781, of which several versions exist, mentioned substantially less light fixtures, with twelve silver candle holders being loans from lodge members Danroth and Maas.⁷⁶⁵ A receipt dated 15-3-1782 shows that the lodge was reimbursed by Maas for fl. 315,42 when 'Six Pieces Silver Lustres' (= mirrors with side-lights) were returned to him.⁷⁶⁶ By 1786, the loan from Danroth was scrapped and replaced by 'six Masons Lustres', not specified further (perhaps triangular or made of the same beer glasses as mentioned above?).

While lamps are perhaps not the most exciting objects on the inventories, they illustrate the progress of technique very well and show how the lodges went along with the changing times. The inventory for 1798 again lists a large amount of light fixtures, including copper lanterns of different sizes, candle holders and stands, copper and steel candle snuffs, glass bell shades and wall shades, as well as 'four metal English patent Lamps with two branches' showing a significant investment was made to brighten things up. For the table lodge were added 'Nine hollow Candlesticks' (eight round and one square) and 'Five hollow Chirandoles' (= candelabras, table candlesticks with branches), probably meaning plated ones.⁷⁶⁷ The items with masonic significance are:

Four small Lustres with blue frames
 [...] Three large stands with Silver candle holders triangular
 Three small stands with Silver candle holders triangular
 Four stands with copper candle holders triangular
 [...] Thirteen copper and Some Lead candle holders triangular
 [...] A [metal] triangular Lantern and two hourglasses [...]
 Six triangular stands

Here, the three large stands with silver candle holders may well be those placed around the tracing board. The addition 'triangular' probably refers to the shape of the foot or that of the dripping bowl for the candle. The triangular lantern may have been intended for the Chamber of Reflection, as it is mentioned in combination with hourglasses, a symbol of fleeting time, which would be a regular prop for that room.⁷⁶⁸ The 1801 version shows many of the same items. Added are '2 alabaster hanging bell shades', while more of the simple light fixtures are now mentioned as having a blue colour.

There is a gap in the inventories of nearly two decades, but the financial records noted the purchase of '2 Silver candle sticks' and '2 ditto Chirandoles' for Rds 600,- on 18-7-1810.⁷⁶⁹ The 1819 versions of the inventory at the Tijgersgracht includes the following items with masonic significance:

5 silver Masonic candle holders on stands
 [...] 4 masonic candle snuffs with metal coasters
 [...] 1 Metal Lamp behind the Throne
 [...] 1 iron lamp for the Dark Chamber
 [...] 18 wooden black candlestick stands⁷⁷⁰

It would have been interesting to have a better description of the silver 'masonic' candle holders and candle snuffs, but perhaps they were simply triangular. The black candlesticks were used in the Master or *Élu* degrees. Furthermore, the inventories show that lamps with hooks and spools to raise, lower or move them now allowed for more flexible lighting of the rooms. And by now the table lodge had its own, more elaborate set of candle sticks. The financial records noted that on 2-9-1819 '8 glass crowns' were purchased for 1100 Rupees⁷⁷¹, while on 14-12-1819 mirrors were bought from the estate of the late Worshipful Master Willem Lamberger for fl. 75.⁷⁷² A receipt dated 3-9-1822 survived, listing costs made for the cleaning of the lamps:

2 Pieces Crowns of 8 lights each at f 10,- per piece	f 20
1 Piece fine Crown with 12 candles	19
for its thread	4
2 Pieces of white Lamps in the Black Room	7
2 Crowns under the galleries	19
For their thread	4 [...]

However, the Cleaner has repaired 6 pieces stones to the large crown – which have not been billed at f 3,-⁷⁷³

A second receipt shows that this concerned 'English' glass chandeliers with white lamps.

Little significant changes were recorded in years leading to the merger in 1837, only fluctuations in numbers as items were broken and replaced. However, the later inventories describe the candle snuffs as metal, not silver, and the accompanying metal coasters as 'lacquered'. It is unclear if that should be

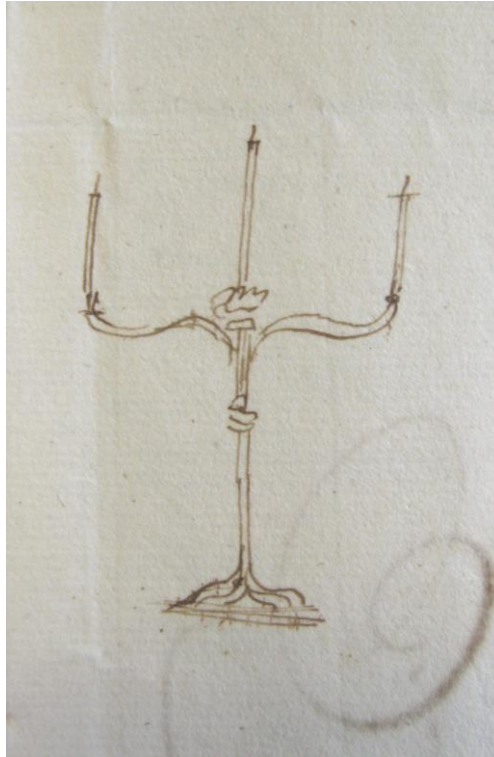


Fig.5.54: Doodle of a candlestick in the minutes of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, 3-11-1818. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

interpreted as a European or Asian style 'varnish' or actual Asian lacquer. On 17-8-1831 the purchase of another lamp was noted: 'Estralie burned Lamp with arms / borrowed since January / silver f 40', to which the Worshipful Master added 'needed for the throne - as I can no longer see by any other light'.⁷⁷⁴ *Estralie* is a misspelling of the Dutch *astraal*, meaning a so-called astral or star lamp. This was a type of oil (table) lamp, popular because it burned brighter and lit a larger surface than earlier ones. A last receipt dated 3-2-1837 named Koan Boe Eko as a local craftsman, who repaired a lamp for fl. 9,50.⁷⁷⁵

The 1779 inventory of La Vertueuse, including purchases only, lists light fixtures without particular masonic significance, including mirrors, glass bell shades, lanterns and candle sticks.⁷⁷⁶ The list does not cover what may have been already present in the lodge building, at that time the house Kormandelswijk. The financial records mention purchases of '12 round lanterns' for 265,- Rds from the estate of Johannes Heim in the same year and the purchase of '12 Lustres' for 240,- Rds in 1783.⁷⁷⁷ Likewise, in 1784 '10 pieces of candle sticks' were bought for 52 Rds from Adam Keskel, and '4 ditto metal and one glass' for the lesser sum of 5 Rds.⁷⁷⁸

The 1787 version for the Freemasons' Hall on the Moorish Hospital grounds shows crystal chandeliers, lustres and bell shades were prominent features, but again no items of masonic significance were mentioned.⁷⁷⁹ In later years, the numbers varied but the type of lamps used remained similar. The 1788 version added '16 Lacquered Candle sticks', valued at 95,- Rds, which appear on all later inventories.⁷⁸⁰ Again it is unclear whether this should be considered as varnished or lacquered, European or Asian. In 1789 a committee overseeing the inventory noted 'that the Eight old Mirrors and Seven pieces of Lanterns [...] can be sold, as the undersigned [...] have purchased 12 wall [bell] shades, for a very modest price', being 120 Rds.⁷⁸¹ A glass crown was also acquired for 63 Rds.⁷⁸² By 1790 light fixtures were listed per room, which provides a better insight into the overall lighting scheme, but still no masonic items are included. That does not mean any symbolism was absent, just that the inventory maker did not think to remark on it.

A receipt dated 30-4-1792 mentions work done for the lodge, as well 10 Rds per month as wages for one of the hired workmen:

costs for the same 2 candle sticks with each 3 sprouts	4 [Rds]
for Light to the Head costs	1
for making a new Head	5 ⁷⁸³

In the same year, 'two Air Lamps' (an early use of gaslight?) appear in the bar area of the inventory. Later these were described as 'patent lamps, each with two arms and their belongings'.⁷⁸⁴ '12 Wall Lanterns with garlands' were present in the dining room. This overview also lists items kept in the space behind the throne, including '1 wall Lantern', and the Masters' Lodge, including '1 large triangular and 6 small Candle stands' and '3 wooden candle stands, each with three branches'.⁷⁸⁵ The latter are the three lights around the tracing board, with three branches being customary for the Master's degree. '27 triangular candle holders' were stored in the apartment behind the throne from 1794 onwards.⁷⁸⁶ So La Vertueuse did follow the same pattern as La Fidèle Sincérité what its choice of ceremonial lights was concerned.

The lodge sold five of its mirrors in 1795 at public auction, fetching 74,46 Rds.⁷⁸⁷ By 1796 '2 copper Lustres on the Columns of the Temple door' and '6 wooden triangular Lustres' in the portal near the stairs were specified in the inventory.⁷⁸⁸ In the same year, two lamp ladders or stairs, presumably for lighting or cleaning the light fixtures were added, and it was noted that candle stands of various sizes in the second temple or Masters' lodge were painted black.⁷⁸⁹

On 3-9-1806 the lodge minutes recorded that Architect Jongkind was to arrange replacements 'As the Mirrors and Mirror glasses in the doors of this Temple, by loss of foil, have become an unattractive sight'.⁷⁹⁰ '15 triangular metal candle holders' were present in the dining room from 1807 onwards.⁷⁹¹ There were no significant additions in the inventories up until 1816. Later data are scarce, as only the names of members to be reimbursed were noted, not the purchases themselves. Lastly, the Deputy Grand Master presented La Vertueuse with a pair of mirrors worth fl. 96 to the lodge in 1833.⁷⁹²

◆ *Ritual objects*

Apart from practical furniture, a lodge would include several objects with a ritual or ceremonial function. As discussed in chapter 2, the most important pieces for the Dutch rite, usually kept in the temple itself, are: a tracing board, the three lights placed around it, an altar carrying the bible and the masonic tools placed upon it, as well as props to enhance the candidate's journey and, by the 19th century, a coffin was added for the Master's degree.

■ *Tracing boards*

The tracing board is an essential ritual object, as it depicts the most important symbols of the particular degree being worked in during a ritual, and it is placed on the floor in the centre of the lodge while the candidate's 'journey' takes place around it. While originally drawn upon the floor and erased at each occasion (see chapter 2), by the middle of the 18th century tracing boards had taken a solid form in the shape of a painted panel, an embroidered or painted cloth, and later a woven floor carpet.

The 1775 inventory of La Fidèle Sincérité for the Amanusgracht mentioned '4 Carpets in Sort', probably tracing boards.⁷⁹³ The 1781 inventory indeed specified '4 Tracing Boards in Sort, also a present to the lodge by the Brother [Pieter Aeneas] de Win'.⁷⁹⁴ From 1798 onwards five were listed, along with 'One floor cloth', which may have been a normal carpet.⁷⁹⁵ This begs the question for which degrees these tracing boards were used, basic and/or higher degrees. Sometimes the 1st and 2nd degree together used but one tracing board, and on other occasions a lodge had two design variations of a tracing board for one single degree, or both a painted and a carpet version. The fact that there are more than three can also indicate that higher degrees were being practised, which seems most likely. It was not until 1819 that the degrees of the tracing boards were specified in the overview, the ones for the higher degrees discussed below. After the move of La Fidèle Sincérité to the Jacatraweg four tracing boards appear on the inventories from 1822 onwards, as well as one specified as made of Japanese lacquer, discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

From 1825 onwards, 'a blue floor cloth for the lodge' was added to the existing floor cloth, reflecting the Order's colour.⁷⁹⁶ This could be a carpet covering the whole room, or a blue Apprentice tracing board. Around this time the notion developed, that the main colour of the tracing board for the first degree should be blue, that for the second degree yellow and that for the third degree black.⁷⁹⁷ The tracing boards were by then considered 'old'. The 1831-1833 inventories specify that the four tracing boards were 'painted on canvas'.⁷⁹⁸ These may have been made by the aforementioned Giraud, who in 1833 did similar paintwork for the Chapter, discussed below.

There are no data on tracing boards used by lodge La Vertueuse before 1781, by which time the lodge had moved to Kormandelswijk. The financial records of that year recorded the following payment:

[to] the Chinese [...] for the painting of a new tracing board	30:-
for the same somewhat brightened	5:- ⁷⁹⁹

The newly made tracing board was listed on an inventory of 1789⁸⁰⁰, later specified as 'painted on cloth'.⁸⁰¹ It is interesting that the making of a masonic design would have been left to a local Chinese artist or craftsmen, who remained anonymous. And this would not be the only occasion. Among the gifts La Vertueuse received for the inauguration of the Freemasons' Hall on the Moorish Hospital grounds in 1786, was 'a tracing board being Satin with gold well detailed', sent by lodge member Romberg from Dejima, Japan.⁸⁰² It was still listed in the last inventory of 1816.

Past Master Titsingh, stationed in Bengal, wrote to Van Overstraten, Worshipful Master of La Vertueuse, on 17-2-1788. The minutes of 15-4-1788 recorded his message:

Furthermore noted by the Worshipful Master, the contents of a letter received from Bengal by the High Enlightened Brother Past Master Titsing accompanied by a carpet for the Lodge which said Brother had made at our request, in service of our Lodge with the request to accept said Carpet as a souvenir of the aforementioned Brother [and] to make the necessary use of it.

Then his Worshipful hereafter proposed to the Brethren if it would not be reasonable to thank Brother Titsing for such a substantial and precious gift that would be an ornament for the whole Lodge in the name of all the Brethren of la vertueuse, such was agreed, to have this done at the first opportunity in fitting Masonic terms under assurance that we will keep the same as a worthy souvenir of our High Enlightened Brother in our hearts.⁸⁰³

A draft for a thank-you letter to Titsingh was partially crossed out:

~~[...] accompanied by a formidable carpet for our Lodge La Vertueuse, considering that the weaving of the tracing board and the indented border could not take place, and that the same can be accepted as a minor souvenir~~

besides the long awaited Carpet for La Vertueuse. We quickly had the commemorative piece spread out in the East [= in the temple], while it drew the surprise and general approval of the brethren as being not only in beauty unsurpassable, but also in length and width evenly proportioned to the floor of our temple.⁸⁰⁴

From the crossed out lines it is clear, that the lodge had originally commissioned Titsingh to have a tracing board incorporated in the design of the Bengal tapestry, and that there was now some disappointment at his failure to do so - which was of course courteously concealed. Just as Titsingh may have decided to make a gift of the carpet to avoid discussion about the success of his commission and/or the costs. The lodge minutes of 3-5-1788 noted:

[...] that the carpet received the other day from Bengal for the Lodge was with great effort spread across the Room of our Temple, and as each of the Brethren has to admit was a great ornament, when holding the Table Lodge, a cover or cloth of Flemish linen will have to be made in order to be spread at such an occasion over the aforementioned carpet.⁸⁰⁵

This implies the table lodge still took place in the temple, not yet a separate dining room. The carpet is listed in inventories from 1789 onwards, but by 1794 it had already been 'damaged by Moths here and there'.⁸⁰⁶ It was repaired in 1808 and occurs in inventories up until 1812.

As the lodge still wanted a tracing board, Romberg stepped in to help. He offered to have one made in Japan, which arrived in 1791, being made of lacquer instead of textile.⁸⁰⁷ If that was not remarkable enough, later inventories included various other lacquer tracing boards, which are discussed in more detail in chapter 6. Apart from lacquer versions, the 1792 inventory of La Verteuse also included '4 different Tracing Boards, of which 2 in metal tubes' and '1 master tracing board' later specified as 'painted on canvas'.⁸⁰⁸ That makes five in total, probably accounting for at least one higher degree. Only in 1794, the inventory notes: '1 embossed copper hanging tableau'.⁸⁰⁹ It is unclear if a tracing board or a *tableau* in the sense of a decorative scene is meant here.

In later years, the number of tracing boards would be reduced again to four by 1807. On 4-8-1808 the lodge decided 'to request and qualify the Master of Furniture to have the daily Tracing Board of Jewels of the Temple which is spread there; painted again'.⁸¹⁰ Interesting is that the minutes of 7-5-1818 mention 'the sale of the old worn tracing board'.⁸¹¹ It was customary to burn or destroy such items, rather than have them fall into profane hands. A sale to a lodge member would be ok, but who would pay for such a worn-out item?

On 4-6-1834 a last reference is found in the minutes of La Vertueuse at the Freemasons' Hall on the Vrijmetselaarsweg: 'The Architect J. Tromp, had endeavoured himself to have separate tracing boards made for each of the three degrees, as well as to place the initials J and B on the Southern and Northern Columns'.⁸¹²

■ *Various ritual props*

The initiation of a new candidate had the character of a 'journey with obstacles' through the lodge room. In the 18th century, all kinds of theatrical props and effects were used to enhance the impact of the experience for the candidate. The 1775 inventory of La Fidèle Sincérité listed:

- 1 * Coffin and Bier painted black
- [...] 1 * Led pump and its bucket
- 1 * Iron Chain
- 8 * Winding Stairs
- 1 * Board with Thorns⁸¹³

As discussed in chapter 2, before the candidate entered the temple, he would spend some time in the Chamber of Reflection. The coffin was probably placed there as around this time in Europe it was not yet a standard prop that it would become in the 19th century for the Master's degree, as reference to Hiram's death. It appeared on all La Fidèle Sincérité's inventories until the lodges' merger. The pump and bucket, as well as the iron chain may have been used for sound effects (such as running water and rain), while the board with thorns is a symbolical obstacles on the candidate's journey. The candidate was asked to jump onto the thorns as a sign of trust in his brethren. It was a trick: when he landed on the board, the thorns disappeared instead of wounding him. The winding stairs seem to be a British element: the stairs which the candidate has to climb in the English 2nd degree ritual to gain access to the middle Chamber of the Temple (1 Kings 6:8).

The 1781 inventory listed 'the decorations for the Brethren & 2 Columns'.⁸¹⁴ This indicates that the columns had already 'materialized' from symbols on the tracing board to movable props or pieces of furniture (see chapter 2). They are not mentioned in later inventories, probably because they became fixed parts of the temple interior.

The contents of the Chamber of Reflection were not specified in the inventories of La Fidèle Sincérité until 1786. By then this room at the Amanusgracht contained a coffin, as well as a square table or altar, covered with a white linen cloth with a black border, on which a bible with seven locks, an hourglass, a naked sword and skull with bones were placed.⁸¹⁵

In the 1798 version, a second coffin with cover was added, while none of the earlier other 'obstacles' were listed. For the first time a 'Silver Cup' was mentioned either the 'cup of bitterness' to be

drunk by the candidate during his initiation as Apprentice, or the cup with water, placed in the Chamber of Reflection with bread and a lit candle to symbolize life.⁸¹⁶ It remained present on all further inventories. Other additions were a 'chest containing several images and figures', and 'a roll of Chinese paper' of which the purpose is unclear.⁸¹⁷

In 1801 'one Dark Chamber and belongings' were listed. The description gives the impression that the Chamber of Reflection was not a room outside the temple, as would become the standard in lodge buildings, but rather a small constructed space, like a large, ready-to-assemble box. After 1801, there is a gap in the data until 1819, after the move to the Jacatraweg. By then, new props included a 'thunder metal', probably a thin sheet, shaken to produce the sound effect of rolling thunder. Other additions were:

8 wooden falling sheets	
1 board with pins	- for the hollow road
1 small Step	
2 blocks	⁸¹⁸

The 'hollow road' should probably translate as some sort of tunnel (comparable to the covered walkway on a bridge), again one of the obstacles on the candidate's journey. By 1825, 'One metal blowpipe' and 'Three clubs' were added.⁸¹⁹ The blowpipe was not a weapon, but a prop used to blow air against the candidate's face, or a version of the Lycopodium lamp used in the Netherlands to have a candidate literally 'see the light'.⁸²⁰ The clubs were symbolical weapons, again referring to the central theme of the Master's degree: the murder of Hiram Abiff. These props were later described as 'covered clubs', presumably padded to soften their symbolical blow.⁸²¹

The inventories of lodge La Vertueuse are a little easier to interpret, as they sum up in which rooms various ritual props were kept. A description is given of the Chamber of Reflection, which includes (a chest with) a skeleton as *memento mori*, first mentioned in the 1788-1789 inventories. This had been purchased for 60 Rds, and Heilman had been ordered to make for it 'a wooden chest, in order to be placed on a good and dry place'.⁸²²

To the contents of the temple an 'air pipe' (similar to the blowpipe of La Fidèle Sincérité) and 'one board with many spiked wooden blocks', later described as 'the thorny path', were added in 1792. A year later 'two bottles of quicksilver and a machine belonging with them', later described as a tray, as well as 'the shackles' and 'the stairs going up and down' (a seesaw) also appear on the list. (The use of quicksilver is not immediately clear, this may be an alchemical reference, perhaps placed in the Chamber of Reflection along with sulphur and salt.⁸²³) In 1796 some of these were kept in the apartment behind the throne, as were 'an iron pan with its spoon' (for a sound effect?), and 'an earthenware pot and its candle warmer stand' (an incense burner?). Stored in the Chamber of Reflection were 'a metal caller' (probably a horn to enhance the voice of the *Terrible* (the officer preparing the candidtae) speaking to the candidate), a lectern and 'other trifles'. A yellow cabinet in the 'front portal' contained the quicksilver and:

- 1 fascia with a snippet
- 1 velvet eye mask
- 1 tin funnel
- 1 tin tray⁸²⁴

The eye mask was obviously the candidate's blindfold, in 1807 replaced by two yellow silk ones. The tin funnel and tray may have been used for the quicksilver. The use of the fascia is less clear, but all appear in the overviews until 1816. 'A Lamp post with a copper plate behind the Blazing star' was included in inventories from 1797 onwards, as was 'a metal pipe for conveying the Light' to the candidate, probably a lycopodium lamp.⁸²⁵

After a substantial gap in the data, the 1808 inventory for the Chamber of Reflection included:

- 1 Empty closet
- 1 chest with a skeleton wood
- 2 wooden Skeletons

- 1 long metal caller
- 1 Lectern and some trifles
- 3 yellow painted plumes
- 1 Wooden cross
- 1 Reception window with 2 doors
- 1 coffin
- 1 guillotine
- 2 iron Shovels⁸²⁶

The plumes may have been ornamental, or quills in the distinguishing colour of the lodge. During the initiation the candidate could be asked to write the answer to a question or even his testament. The shovels may have been accessories to the chest with the skeleton. The guillotine was probably, like the thorny path, fake and meant as a harmless test of faith for the candidate. It was only stored in the Chamber of Reflection, to be taken out for use in the ritual. The same goes for the 'Reception window', possibly a tracing board. This list remained mostly unchanged until 1816.

In the beginning of the 19th century, Worshipful Master Penning Nieuwland of lodge De Vriendschap in Surabaya, revised the lodge rituals. In the CMC collection are several ritual manuscripts from that time, containing tracing boards for the Apprentice, Fellow-Craft and Master's degree. Their design uses familiar elements, but in an unusual composition and colour scheme. The tracing board for the first degree depicts the rough stone, various tools and the letter 'W' for *Wijsheid* or Wisdom, as well as a black cloth, possibly representing the blindfold of the candidate (fig. 5.55). That for the second degree shows the cubic stone and masonic tools upon a brightly coloured mosaic pavement, the five-pointed star with the letter G, and the letter 'K' for *Kracht* or Strength (fig. 5.56). The Tracing board for the third degree depicts the altar in front of the steps, leading to the seat of the Worshipful Master under a canopy (5.57). It is flanked by the columns J and B. To the left is a banner depicting an ouroberos and the words *Ik Ben* (= I am). Surrounding the scene are symbols such as the three windows, a circle, an oil lamp, a tracing board with the Greek text, an acacia sprig and a coffin. The whole is topped by a sun and moon flanking the letter 'S' for *Schoonheid* or Beauty. The sun is in fact a radiant all-seeing eye, with precisely 13 rays. These can represent Christ and the apostles, but also have a second layer of meaning in the higher degree of *Chevalier d'Orient*, discussed below.

■ Altar

A crucial moment in the initiation of new members was the swearing of the oath (later promise) of secrecy on the bible. We know from early descriptions of rituals, that the bible at first lay on the Worshipful Master's table, and later got its own table in between the throne and the tracing board, which in turn developed into an actual altar (see chapter 2). The 1775 inventory of La Fidèle Sincérité listed '1 Throne table painted blue' and '1 Throne table painted black', as well as '1 Silver Pair of Compasses' and '1 ditto Set Square' to be placed on the bible.⁸²⁷ The bible itself was omitted, but could have been among unspecified books. The symbolical tools listed among the silver and plate works, are easily confused with the officers' ornaments, also listed in the inventories. Although it is possible such ritual objects were purchased and imported from The Hague, it seems more practical that they were commissioned from a local silversmith in Batavia.

The 1781 inventory did specify 'One Bible in Folio'⁸²⁸, which according to the 1798 version had 'copper fittings'. The 1798 version also mentioned 'A white satin drape with gold fringe' and 'A blue satin drape with gold fringe', which may be covers for the Master's table.⁸²⁹ The word 'altar' was used for the first time in the 1801 inventory, and a report on repairs to be made that year noted: 'the altar, for use of an Apprentice lodge is to be covered'.⁸³⁰ By 1825, the altar was indeed described as having 'a silk cover and pillow'.⁸³¹ 'One Bible', presumably new, was accompanied by another, 'old and torn'. While the old one was discarded, the listing of the altar with its belongings remained unchanged until the merger of the lodges in 1837.



Fig.5.55: Tracing board for the degree of Apprentice, as illustrated in: *Loge De Vriendschap, Soerabaya: Rituelen voor de leerlings-, gezel en- Meestergraden als gespecificeerd, Surabaya [1825]. Water colour. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 122 C 1-2. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.*



Fig. 5.56: Tracing board for the degree of Fellow-Craft, as illustrated in: Loge De Vriendschap, Soerabaya: Ritualen voor de leerlings-, gezel en- Meestergraden als gespecificeerd, Surabaya [1825]. Water colour. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 122 C 1-2. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.



Fig. 5.57: Tracing board for the degrees of Master, as illustrated in: Loge De Vriendschap, Soerabaya: Rituelen voor de leerlings-, gezel en- Meestergraden als gespecificeerd, Surabaya [1825]. Water colour. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 122 C 1-2. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

La Vertueuse listed 'A Pedestal with white armozijn Cover, and a pillow of yellow velvet' from the 1787 inventory onwards.⁸³² In 1790 a footstool was added, to make the kneeling candidates more comfortable. Not until 1792 was it explicitly described as '1 wooden altar with a bench and two pillows'.⁸³³ The altar, with its cover of white silk and gold fringe, is included in all later inventories, although it was noted in 1814 that the silk needed replacing.

A bible was not listed in the inventories until 1790, but here too may have been included between unspecified books. From 1792 onwards the furniture of the second temple, the Masters' Lodge, was described. From 1797 this also included '1 Black painted wooden altar' with its 'Black Satin Table Cloth and ditto Pillow, in Silver'.⁸³⁴

■ *Ceremonial tools*

Apart from the compasses and square discussed above, there were other ceremonial tools mentioned in the inventories of La Fidèle Sincérité. Various types of hammers remind a freemason of his symbolical labour: the working of a rough stone into a cubic stone⁸³⁵ for the building of the temple. In 1801, 'three wooden hammers' were listed. The Dutch word *hamer* literally translates as (carpenter's) hammer. The tools used here were more likely to be chairman's gavels or stonemasons' mauls, probably belonging to the Worshipful Master and Wardens as a sign of authority. Blows of the gavel were used to mark the opening and closing of meetings, as well as decisions made.

From 1825 onwards, a 'Silver Trowel' was listed, along with 'Eight wooden hammers'.⁸³⁶ In 18th century freemasonry the trowel was closely associated with the ritual of the Adoption lodges, but as will come clear below, in the lodges in the East Indies trowels were also associated with special occasions and gifts. The trowel listed here, for instance, may have been used in the ceremony of laying the foundation stone for the Freemasons' Hall at the Jacatraweg in 1819. The number of hammers listed here, suggests some were for the lodge officers and others may have been used in the ritual or the instruction of newly initiated members into masonic symbolism. By 1827, their number was reduced to six.

One of the last inventories noted 'Golden Trowel 1, by the Worshipful Master W.M. Keuchenius presented to the Lodge 10 June 1833', when he stepped down.⁸³⁷ The 1834 inventory however, added it was 'found to be silver, gilt'.

Likewise, the inventories of La Vertueuse listed various ceremonial tools. Hammers were first mentioned in the 1787 version: '2 ivory, and 3 Wooden Hammers'.⁸³⁸ Presumably the ivory ones were used by the Worshipful Master and Wardens, the wooden versions for ritual purposes or instruction. By 1792 their number rose to six,⁸³⁹ and by 1794 there were nine.⁸⁴⁰ Later it was specified that three of them were gilded.⁸⁴¹

Most other ceremonial tools used by La Vertueuse, however, were made of silver, such as those received for the inauguration of the Freemasons' Hall on the Moorish Hospital grounds in 1786 from lodge member Andries (or Andreas) Hartsingh.⁸⁴² On 7-5-1791 the minutes of the lodge noted for a second time 'that Brother Hartzink has honoured this Lodge with A Silver Trowel A ditto set square A ditto Triangle & a ditto pair of compasses'.⁸⁴³ Later inventories shows that these were kept in their own 'lacquered box' in one of the cabinets.⁸⁴⁴ The 1793 inventory specified their weight and value:

1 Silver Pair of Compasses, weighing 2 ¼ real	3:-
1 ditto triangle Weighing 2 5/8 real	3:-
1 ditto Set square Weighing 2 ¾ real	3:-
1 ditto Trowel, with its wooden handle Weighing 12 real	10:- ⁸⁴⁵

The weight measure, a *real*, was a Spanish-Portuguese coin or *real*, worth 6 Dutch Stuivers.⁸⁴⁶ The silver tools are mentioned in inventories up until 1834. The 1797 version added 'A Copper Trowel' and 'A Small [metal] sheet' (probably engraved with the Hebrew letters 'JHWH', discussed below), but neither appear on later inventories.⁸⁴⁷

The minutes for 23-3-1805 noted another gift. Pieter Walbeek, who quit his membership on 6-3-1805, probably because he was about to move away, 'honoured this Lodge with the word Jehorab the Sloe branch and the skull all in Silver and suitable for a Masters' Lodge'.⁸⁴⁸ These were several props, related to

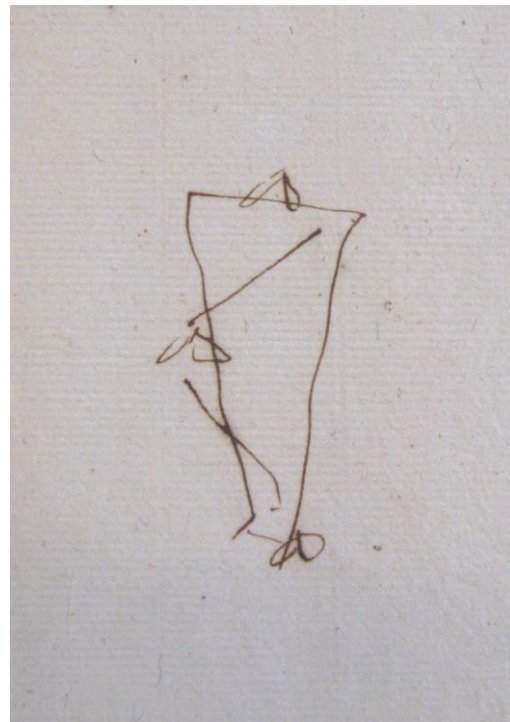
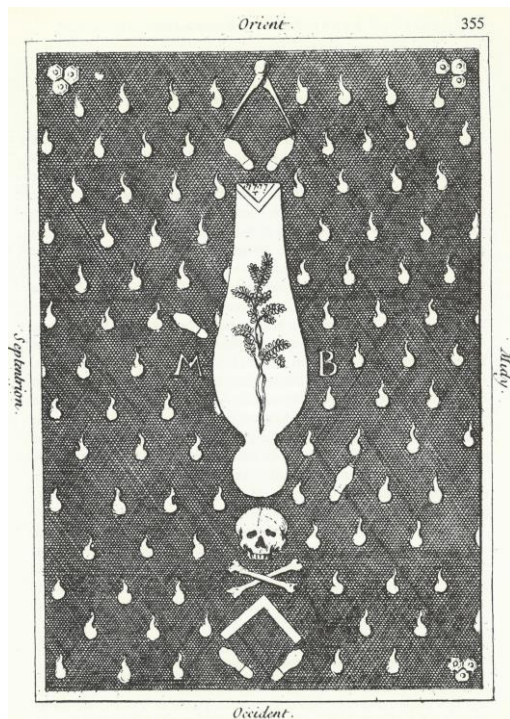


Fig. 5.58: Tracing board for the Master's degree, as depicted in Leonard Gabanon's *La Désolation des entrepreneurs modernes du Temple de Jerusalem, ou Nouveau catechism des Francs-Maçons* (1747). The triangle, branch and skull-and-bones are all represented here. Reproduced from: Carr 1971, p. 355.

Fig. 5.59: Doodle in the 1822-1824 minute book of *La Fidèle Sincérité* in Batavia, representing the steps on the tracing board of the 3rd degree. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 3076. Photograph: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

the myth of Hiram Abiff in the Master ritual (see chapter 2, compare figs. 2.81, 2.83 and 5.58). The word *Jehorab* most likely refers to 'Jehovah'. Ritual manuals and illustrations of tracing boards show that the word was usually written as the Hebrew letters 'JHWH' on a golden triangle. This was placed on the tracing board during the ritual, symbolizing the grave of Hiram Abiff (compare figs. 2.81, 2.83 and 5.58). In the 18th century the word was sometimes written on the coffin, sometimes in a triangle. Here, the minutes probably refer to a triangular, engraved silver plate.

The sloe branch was meant to be an acacia sprig, which according to masonic myth marks the grave of Hiram Abiff.⁸⁴⁹ This too was placed on the tracing board, on or beside the mount of earth, representing the first, temporary grave of Hiram. The same goes for the skull (usually a skull-and-bones), which was usually placed or depicted on the coffin. 'An iron sloe branch' was already mentioned in inventories of *La Vertueuse* between 1796 and 1812. A 'silver skull with ditto branch' was listed in the years 1808-1812.

The minutes of 26-10-1804 recorded a second gift by Walbeek, which included:

- 2 Hammers with Silver fixtures
- 1 Silver set square
- 1 ditto pair of compasses
- 1 ditto Single Triangle
- 1 ditto double ditto [carrying the letter 'G', for the *Écossois* degree, discussed below]
- 1 ditto Trowel⁸⁵⁰

So the lodge now owned a double set of silver ceremonial tools, which were included in the overviews until 1816. Some of this silverware would eventually be melted down, as the lodge minutes recorded on 3-11-1818:

The Brother Treasurer communicates to have already had the benefit of producing three new Silver Ink stands, made from the next unusable Silverworks as:

1 silver plate with the old Master Word [1st gift from Walbeek]
 1 ditto Sloe branch [1st gift from Walbeek]
 1 ditto double triangle [2nd gift from Walbeek]
 1 ditto plate as a skull [1st gift from Walbeek]
 1 ditto incense vessel and 13 Silver trowels [for the *Chevalier d'Orient* degree, discussed below]
 weighing together 53 ½ Real, for which in wages has been paid Spd 24⁸⁵¹

Treasurer at the time was [Barend] Jacob Barends, brother of the jeweller Aron Barends (?-1815), also a lodge member.⁸⁵² Finally, the lodge minutes of 4-6-1834 recorded:

The Brother Steward and Master of Furniture G. Gijsing acknowledges that he received from the hands of the Worshipful Master the following Silver wares and other necessities; being
 [...] 2 Silver gilt Trowels
 2 Two ditto Set Squares
 2 Two ditto Triangles
 2 Two ditto Pairs of Compasses⁸⁵³

◆ *Regalia*

As discussed in chapter 2, a member's regalia could consist of one or more aprons (decorated with the colour of the lodge and the symbols of his initiation level or officer's function), and a pair of white gloves, as well as one or more jewels (also marking his affiliation to the lodge, initiation level and/or officer's function⁸⁵⁴) and a ceremonial accessory (such as a sword or a staff, appropriate for his function in the lodge or place in the ritual). The officer's regalia were often kept in the lodge building and listed in inventories. There was also as a small supply of aprons and gloves for newly initiated members and visitors. The cost of these was either covered by the initiation fee or paid for separately.

■ *Officers' jewels*

The most precious objects on any lodge inventory are usually the officers' jewels. This is illustrated by an incident, which occurred in La Fidèle Sincérité on St. John's Day, celebrated on 2-1-1772. The meeting was closed with the usual table lodge:

[...] until our precious rest and innocent joy were disturbed and interrupted by the Grand Master [= Worshipful Master] van Gehren who, not wanting to listen to the friend- and brotherly warnings of our beloved Past Master Remer to avoid the excessive use of alcohol and mind what was left of the day, left the Table Lodge without having properly closed it in an agitated and singular manner, and went outside upon which the Brother Senior Warden van Stammhorst closed the lodge.⁸⁵⁵

The members tried to calm Van Gehren, who 'in an unseemly fashion led the sacred Sign of Grand Master from his chest'. He then ordered the uneaten meal to be cleared and left the premises 'under the eyes of 'the profane'.⁸⁵⁶ Some days later, lodge officers tried to reason with Van Gehren, to no avail. At a meeting in the house of lodge member De Lopes, a location chosen because of the bad weather on 7-1-1771, it was decided that he would be relieved from his office and replaced by J.M. Reemer. Van Gehren would only be allowed access to the lodge after a written apology. However, he showed no remorse but instead demanded that he be restituted his contribution to the high costs of the table lodge, using the three officers' jewels he still had in his possession as leverage. The lodge was heavily offended, but in a letter dated 10-1-1772 did agree to pay him in exchange for the jewels, as these precious items had previously been funded by Reemer and De Lopez.

La Fidèle Sincérité's inventory of 1775 mentioned '8 pieces ornaments in Sort'⁸⁵⁷ which are specified further in the 1781 version, by then counting nine items:

3 Ornaments, As, 1 for the Greater [= Grand Master] and, 2 for the 1st & 2nd Wardens in their own possession
 1 ornament for the Treasurer of Zouwas
 1 ditto " Orator The same gilt [silver]
 1 ditto " Secretary ditto ditto
 1 ditto " Architect ditto ditto



Fig. 5.60: Sawasa tobacco box, the top decorated in relief with a Chinese landscape, the gilded interior inscribed 'J. vd. Bank', 18th century. Gilt and lacquered metal, length 11.8 cm. Displayed at Christies, Amsterdam, 2-11-2004, sale 2637, lot 462. © Christie's Images Limited, 2015.

- 1 ditto " Fiscal ditto ditto
- 1 ditto " Master of Ceremonies Ebony with Silver fittings⁸⁵⁸

Remarkable is that, next to silver and gilding, the term *zouwas* is used, meaning *sawasa*. Objects made using this copper alloy, had a surface consisting of relief of gilt parts contrasting with brown-black lacquer (for an example of the technique, see fig. 5.60).⁸⁵⁹ The complex decorative technique was practised in Japan since the end of the 17th century. Objects made from sawasa were a part of the private trade of VOC employees, and were rarely mentioned in official VOC orders. From the archives of local silversmiths it is clear that sawasa was also made or worked in Batavia by the end of the 18th century.⁸⁶⁰ The wearing of sawasa jewellery was something only a small, rich elite could afford. Although La Fidèle Sincérité was less wealthy than La Vertueuse, it still owned a few precious items like this.

According to the 1786 inventory, the jewels were kept in '1 Iron money-box with 2 hanging locks by brother Arnold presented to the Lodge'. In 1798, a jewel was added for the Tyler, bringing the total to ten. Like in the Netherlands, each jewel had a shape or symbol referring to the officer's function in the lodge (see chapter 2). The various symbols were not detailed until the 1798 inventory, while the 1801 version linked them to particular officers, as indicated between brackets below:

- A small Silver sheet in which the building orders are engraved [= Architect]
- [...] One " Rule gilded [= Junior Warden]
- Two " Quills [= Secretary]
- A black ornament with silver fittings gilded [= Master of Ceremonies]
- A Silver rod gilded [= Fiscal]
- A " book " [= Orator]
- One " Skull " [= Tyler]

[...] Three “ triangular ornaments

[= a triangle for the Worshipful Master, a water vat for the Senior Warden, and two keys for the Treasurer]⁸⁶¹

Most of the jewels listed compare well to examples from Dutch lodges from the same era, discussed earlier (compare figs. 5.35-5.36). For instance, the description of the Architect’s jewel as plate or sheet engraved with the building orders (Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, Tuscan and Composite) fits examples in the CMC and other masonic museums (figs. 5.61-5.63). Only the jewels for the Junior and Senior Warden mentioned are unusual, normally having the shape of a plumb line and a level, but here a ruler and - not specified until 1801 - ‘a water vat’.⁸⁶² That inconsistency may simply be down to a mistake or inexperience by the writer of the inventories. The three ‘triangular ornaments’ are from 1801 onwards described as made of gilded silver rather than silver. These were probably miniature tools or symbols fastened on a triangular base or fitted in a triangular frame, of which there are many examples in masonic collections (fig. 5.64). In those designs the function of the triangle was not merely symbolic, it also formed a support structure for the more delicate parts of the jewel.

Between 1825 and 1831 the inventories again list ‘nine ornaments for the officers of the lodge’, suggesting one was lost or kept at home, or an officer’s function had been scrapped.⁸⁶³ In 1831 two new jewels were added to the inventory.⁸⁶⁴ The 1834 version mentions:

Ornaments for the [Worshipful] Master and Officers	11
1833 made on 24 June for the Master of Ceremonies	1
1834 “ 26 “ “ the Preparer	1 ⁸⁶⁵

It is the first time a replacement of a jewel (for the Master of Ceremonies) is mentioned, suggesting the same collection of officers’ jewels had by then been used for well over 50 years. The Preparer mentioned here, is probably the Tyler doubling as *Terrible*. He symbolizes death, who comes to collect the candidate so he may be reborn as a freemason, and is also the officer who prepares the candidate for his initiation up until the door of the lodge, where a Warden takes over.⁸⁶⁶ This officer can therefore wear a jewel depicting either a skull-and-bones or an hourglass, or both.

A new custom was introduced in La Fidèle Sincérité in 1835. A receipt dated 27 June mentions: ‘for the having made of the following as on 26 June 1835 Silver gilt set square for M[aitre] P[assé]. 11,-’.⁸⁶⁷ This refers to the Past Master, which at the time was Diederick Popkens. It is still common for a Past Master to receive a jewel when they step down, to mark their service to a lodge.

The first inventory of La Vertueuse to include a list of officers’ jewels, was that of 27-12-1787. The following items were worn:

- Various Ornaments for the Grand Master
- A diamond Cross
- A gold Sun
- A ditto Pair of Compasses with a Star within
for the Senior Warden
- A Silver Set Square
for the Junior Warden
- A Silver gilt Plumb Line
for the Secretary
- Two Silver gilt Quills
for the Treasurer
- Two Silver gilt Keys
for the Orator
- A Silver gilt paper Scroll
for the Architect
- A Silver gilt plate
for the Master of Ceremonies
- An Ebony ornament with Silver-gilt fixtures⁸⁶⁸



Fig. 5.61: The five building orders, as depicted in G. Barozzi da Vignola, *Regola delli Cinque Ordini d'Architettura* (1607).
 Reproduced from: MacNulty 1991, p. 78.

Fig. 5.62: Jewel for an Architect, engraved gold coloured metal, 19th century, 5 cm. Collection: Musée du Grand Orient de France, Paris, inv.no. not listed. Reproduced in: *Freemasonry Museum* 2000, p. 68, no. 74. Photograph: Elie Bernager.



Fig. 5.63: Jewel for an Architect, engraved silver coloured metal, end of the 18th century. CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no 7145. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

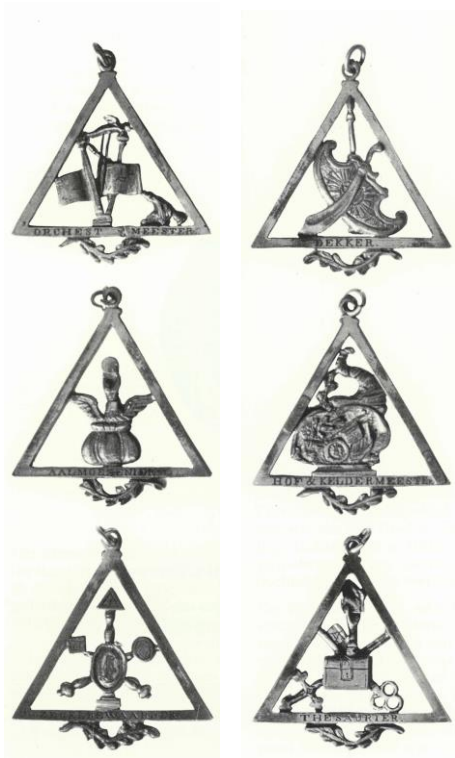


Fig. 5.64: Series of officer's jewels with a triangular base, belonging to lodge Orde en Vlijt in Gorinchem and lodge Aurora in Sliedrecht (1845-1929), 1815- ca. 1850. Collection: lodge Orde en Vlijt, Gorinchem. Reproduced from: Hoed en Rand 1990, pp. 41-42. Photo: W. van der Poel.



Fig. 5.65: Jewel for the Rose Croix degree, consisting of a crowned Latin cross, the centre carrying the image of a pelican. Early 19th century, silver with enamel, white and green stones, size not listed. Collection: Musée de la Maison des Maçons, Paris, inv.no. B2-753. Reproduced from: glmf-musee.fr.

Somewhat unusual was that not the Worshipful Master, but the Senior Warden carried the set square. The jewels listed for the Worshipful Master made from gold and diamonds must have been extremely precious for their time. The diamond cross may have been a *Rose Croix* degree jewel, as surviving examples (from French Rite) can have the shape of a (radiant) cross (compare fig. 5.65). This was probably one of the highest degrees practised in the Dutch East Indies at the time, and it was customary for the Worshipful Master to have such a high rank.

Between 1788 and 1798 La Vertueuse regularly made use of the services of gold- and silversmith Martin Wyszinsky (also spelled Wijszjnsckij), not listed as a lodge member. He worked in Batavia between 1780 and 1785 as *ijkmeester* (judge) of measures and weights, and between 1785 and 1802 as *keurmeester* (a similar judge) of gold and silver.⁸⁶⁹ A financial overview of 10-7-1788 first mentions a payment to this artist:

29 April for a Sawassa Box	rd 10
A Cross gilded and the 4 Silver gilded	
For heads new pins welded on	
And the gold finished, and made white	5
3 Majj the Sawassa Box melted and made triangular	
with a Lock wages thereof	6
3 June A gold plate / square / with Pillars	
Weighing 2 real 24 ½ Stuivers Each real 22	rds 55,11 ⁸⁷⁰

The triangular sawassa box was a function jewel for the Almoner in the shape of a collection box.⁸⁷¹ The 'plate with pillars' was the jewel for the second Architect.⁸⁷² The crosses are more of a puzzle. The only ones featured in later inventories are those of the Worshipful Master and two St. Andrews crosses for the *Écossais* degrees, discussed below.⁸⁷³ That brings the total to three. One may have been a function jewel for a second Master of Ceremonies consisting of two crossed ceremonial staffs or rods, of which two are listed in the 1789 inventory as 'Two Ebony ornaments with Silver gilt fixtures'.⁸⁷⁴ These staffs may have had new pins welded to the silver end pieces or 'heads', but it is also possible that 'heads' should be interpreted as 'skulls' for the *Terrible* (or the *Élu* degrees, discussed below). The purpose of the last cross remains unclear. Around this time a jewel for the Fiscal was added, but this consisted of only one 'rod with a Sawassa band'. Other commissions were given to Wyszinsky for larger objects, to which we will come back later.

On 3-3-1789 the financial records mention the following purchase:

For 6 ornaments	rds	390:-
by 15 p.j. Agis		58:24 ⁸⁷⁵

On 14-3-1789 lodge member Dirk van Hogendorp (1761-1822) signed for the payment of 'six hundred, twenty-four Rupees, for Six masonic Ornaments'.⁸⁷⁶ None of these seem to be listed in the inventories, so we may conclude that the old set of officers' jewels was replaced. Indeed, a committee was instated to oversee the replacement of goods that had become unusable after 24-12-1788. A report by member Pieter van der Weert dated 28-12-1789 mentions: 'of the ornaments most of the old ones have been sold to Brother [A.W.A. van] Idsinga, and the revenue answered for to the Brother Treasurer'.⁸⁷⁷ The new set officers' jewels was included in the inventory of 27-12-1789, while the 1793 version listed the weight and value of each piece, as added between brackets below:

For the Grand [= Worshipful] Master	
A cross surrounded by brilliants	[300:- Rds]
A pair of compasses with the leg measure on a blue Stone decorated with small stones	[10:-]
[1 Silver gilt ornament] [¾ real]	[1:-]
for the Senior Warden	
[1 silver gilt ornament on a blue stone being a Level]	[10:-]
for the Junior Warden	
A Plumb line on a Blue Stone	[10:-]

A set square on a blue Stone as above for the Secretary		[10:-]
Two pens also inlaid on a blue stone for the Treasurer		[10:-]
A Key inlaid on a blue Stone for the Orator		
A silver gilt machine representing A Paper scroll	[1 ¼ real]	[2:-]
[1 silver gilt ornament] For the Architect	[1 ¼ real]	[2:-]
A [silver gilt] level on a blue Stone as above	[2 ½ real]	[25:-]
A gold, and		
A silver gilt plate in which are engraved the 5 building orders for the Master of Ceremonies	[2 ¼ real]	[3:-]
Two [turned] Ebony ornaments with silver fixtures for the Fiscal		
A [turned wooden] rod with a Sawassa band For the Almoner		
[2 ornaments on a blue stone]		[10:- each] ⁸⁷⁸

The cross of the Worshipful Master was later specified as ‘enamelled’ (compare fig. 5.65), while all jewels on a blue stone are described as surrounded by smaller stones, probably meaning rhinestones.⁸⁷⁹ By 1793 the sawassa collection box of the Almoner had been replaced by 2 other ornaments, one of which was specified in 1797 as a ‘collection box on a blue stone’.⁸⁸⁰ The Senior Warden now carried an ornament consisting of a level, while the added Orator’s ornament was not specified. It is likely that ‘2 small gold ornaments, weighing ¼ real [valued] 5:-’ also listed in 1793 were those of the two Masters of Ceremonies, Architect or Fiscal.⁸⁸¹ However, as the inventory does not specify which of the listed silver tools are jewels and which are larger ceremonial objects, these categories are easily mixed up.

Masonic historian Maarschalk described the jewel worn by Engelhard, probably in his capacity as Provincial Grand Master between 1798 and 1823 as follows:

The sign of his dignity was made of gold, hanging from a light blue ribbon, with a silver star on the jewel. He also wore an apron of blue silk with silver stars and gold fringe.⁸⁸²

In 1808 the blue stone in the Worshipful Master’s diamond cross was broken. The jewels of the second Master of Ceremonies and the second Architect were both omitted from the inventory of 1812. The overview remained unchanged, until the 1816 version added ‘1 ornament for the Terrible’ and ‘1 ditto Orator’, not specified further.⁸⁸³

■ *Membership jewels*

Just as Dutch lodges were free to choose a distinguishing colour for their apron and ribbons, it became popular to choose a jewel with a particular colour, form or symbol that all its brethren could wear as a mark of membership of that particular lodge. The financial records of both lodges in Batavia provide overviews of contributions and initiation fees paid, which often include the price of such regalia. For instance, an overview of contributions and other payments of lodge La Vertueuse dated 10-11-1789 mentions: ‘from Brother Idsinga for Gold-works 50,-’ and ‘Brother Josinger for various Gold works by his Honourable taken over 50:-’.⁸⁸⁴ And on 1-12-1789 the records noted: ‘The following Brethren officers according to decision on this for the following year for the Ornaments worn by the Brethren, being [the names of 6 officers] 10:-’.⁸⁸⁵ In other words, the normal members purchased their membership and degree jewels after which they became owners, while the officers paid a fee (or rent) for their function jewels, which remained property of the lodge.⁸⁸⁶

Some lodges chose to combine the lodge colour with general masonic symbolism, other used the lodge name, or a symbol referring to the lodge name in their jewelry. For instance, membership jewels of lodge De Vriendschap in Surabaya in the CMC collection combine the colour green in the form of a ribbon or rosette with a jewel in the shape of a triangle, encompassing a pair of clasped hands as reference to



Fig.5.66: Detail of a faded green sash with a lodge jewel attached, attributed to lodge De Vriendschap, 1830-1860, silk and silver coloured metal, 56 x 6.5 cm. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 4513.

Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

Fig.5.67: Lodge jewel on a green rosette, attributed to lodge De Vriendschap, 19th century, satin and silver coloured metal, 18.5 x 12 cm. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 2136. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.



Fig.5.68: Jewel of lodge De Vriendschap, 19th century, silver plated metal, 4.5 x 4.5 cm.

Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 2190. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

Fig. 5.69: Jewel of lodge De Vriendschap, 1875-1945, silver coloured metal, 4.2 x 4 cm.

Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 6717. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

friendship (5.66-5.70). Unfortunately, the financial administration of the early years of this lodge is missing, which means virtually no information on the prince or maker of the lodge jewels is available.

After the merger of La Fidèle Sincérité and La Vertueuse, the new lodge De Ster in het Oosten adopted a star as a symbol, referring to its name. Examples of jewels in the CMC collection consist of designs with both five- and seven-pointed stars within a triangle, or placed within a circle within a triangle (fig. 5.70a-c).



Fig. 5.70a-c. Various membership jewels, worn in lodge De Ster in het Oosten, 19th century, size npt listed. Metal and (faded) blue silk and cotton. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, (clockwise from top left) inv.nos. 2082, 2085, 6639. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

■ *Special commissions*

Schill's *Gedenkboek* (1843) mentions some of the earliest jewels of lodge La Vertueuse:

[...] in october 1769 a farewell meal was given for a prominent Brother visitor Silvester in a Lodge held in the garden of the worshipful Master [= Van der Vorm] at which occasion also two leaving Brethren members [including Lieve Nicolaas Meybaum] were hung with gold trowels in which the name of the lodge is engraved.⁸⁸⁷

In 1815 the lodge employed silversmith Willem Cornelis Jacobs. He was working in Batavia and appointed *keurmeester* of gold and silver in the years 1803-1804, 1806-1808 and 1810.⁸⁸⁸ On 24-6-1815 La Vertueuse made a payment to Jacobs 'for the making of A Silver *kop* with gilt silver with gold Ducat in wages Spd 15,-'.⁸⁸⁹ As the Dutch word *kop* translates as both 'head' and 'cup', it is unclear whether this was a jewel in the form of a skull (for the *Terrible*) or a drinking cup, but considering the price it must have been a relatively small object.

La Vertueuse decided to honour its Past Master, Jan Isaac Van Sevenhoven, who now had the function of Deputy Grand Master, by presenting him with a jewel. The lodge minutes of 24-5-1834 noted that the object had been completed.⁸⁹⁰ It had the shape of a golden triangle, engraved with the text 'the

Lodge La Vertueuse to Br. J.I. van Sevenhoven'.⁸⁹¹ The jewel was then presented to Van Sevenhoven on 4-6-1834, mentioning that it 'had been made by the Brother J.M. van Beusichem'.⁸⁹² However, it is unlikely he forged it himself, this probably refers to him making the design, overseeing the commission to a goldsmith or paying for this present.

■ *Aprons, gloves and sashes*

The domestic laws of La Fidèle Sincérité, drawn up in 1775, stipulated that only officers were allowed to wear jewels and all aprons had to be 'equal' with the usual colours blue and white.⁸⁹³ In the same year, the lodge's first inventory listed '1 red Drawer for Aprons' and 'Shammy leather Gloves'.⁸⁹⁴ It is unclear if these belonged to the officers and were kept in the lodge like their jewels, or rather a supply for new members. Some years later, the financial records of the same lodge noted an interesting commission: '1778 19 October: to Rach for the painting of two Aprons rd 64;24,-'.⁸⁹⁵ Until now, it was not known that the artist Johannes Rach was ever commissioned by a lodge. There is unfortunately no indication that any masonic design by his hand survived.

The 1798 version first mentioned aprons and related items for the *Écossais* and *Élu* degrees, discussed below, as well as:

One Master apron
 [...] Six apprentice ditto
 Three pairs of goats leather men's gloves
 Six " ditto women's ditto⁸⁹⁶

In all later inventories similar regalia are mentioned. The overview of 1801 showed regalia for the basic and two higher degrees were kept in a 'chest with ten drawers and copper fittings'.⁸⁹⁷

Before 1800 the difference between regalia for the basic and higher degrees was mainly indicated by the use of colour. After 1800, regalia in general quickly became more elaborately decorated, while each lodge and each degree often had its own distinctive combination of colours and symbols. The distribution of *tuileurs* or masonic manuals with illustrations of regalia stimulated this development. While in Europe painted, printed and embroidered textiles were used, in the Dutch East Indies painted and embroidered items seem to have been more popular. There is no mention of printed items. Unfortunately the specific symbols used on Master aprons are not specified either, although we know from surviving examples in masonic collections that these could be very elaborate.

After 1801 there was a substantial gap in the inventories. The 1825 inventory specified a chest and a box with the aforementioned types of regalia, including '59 Fifty nine pairs of women's gloves' and '9 Nine pairs of men's ditto'.⁸⁹⁸ The significant difference between them may simply be down to a recent order of stock, although the accounts in the years 1825-1831 do show a high turnaround of women's gloves. A new member was supposed to present a pair to the woman he held most dear, and as there were more Dutch men than women in Batavia, many a pair will have been sent to someone back in the Netherlands. The gloves ran out in 1829 and some old aprons were destroyed in 1830. An invoice dated 3-6-1829 listed '9 blue watered officers' bands at f 6 silver'.⁸⁹⁹ Bands here probably means sashes, and indeed most surviving sashes and cordons from 19th century lodges are made of 'watered silk' or *moiré*. On 25-6-1832 a special commission was made for '8 Master of Ceremony bands silver f 8 for the celebration of St Johns day of 23 June'.⁹⁰⁰

Not only lodge members were often commissioned to deliver goods, their wives and especially widows were regular suppliers of textiles, including regalia. Between circa 1827 and 1836, the widow Dekker (also spelled Decker) was often mentioned in financial records, for instance:

Receipt no. 8, 19-7-1836 [...]
 12 Apprentice Aprons at f 5 60,-
 12 pairs Men's gloves " 1 ½ 18,-
 12 women's gloves " 2 24,-
 [...] Widow Dekker⁹⁰¹



Fig. 5.71: Apron for the Master's degree and/or mourning lodge (here shown with the flap pulled back), probably from the Dutch East Indies, 1800-1825. Embroidered silk, 40.5 x 36.5 cm. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 755. Reproduced from: Kroon 2001, p. 222.

Receipt no. 54,. 17-11-1836 [...] to widow Dekker [...]		
6 Apprentice Aprons	at f 5	30,-
6 Pairs women's Gloves	2	12
6 Pairs Men's ditto	f 1,50	9 [...]. ⁹⁰²

Receipt no. 61,. 12-3-1837 [...] to widow Dekker [...]		
12 Master Bands [= sashes]	a f 5	f 60
12 ditto Aprons	5	f 60 [...]. ⁹⁰³

A last receipt dated 22-7-1837, mentioned the payment to widow Dekker for: 'One Silver ornament with a Blue watered [moiré] Band f 17,-'.⁹⁰⁴ It is unlikely the widow made the ornament herself, so this indicates she acted as a go-between for the lodge.

Curious is an undated invoice among the documents of circa 1836 for an 'Advance for making 30 Boys *Baadjes*' for fl. 64.⁹⁰⁵ A *baadje* is a typical Dutch East Indies' type of blouse, according to this invoice made with white linen bands (sashes or ribbons?) and lining, blue and white thread and buttons. Such a large order of what seem to be boys uniforms points to a special occasion, but not necessarily a masonic one. It is possible the lodge supported a local orphanage or school and this was a donation of uniforms.

In 1772 Orator Frederik Herman Muller held a speech in La Verteuse, to celebrate both St. Johns Day and the return of Deputy Grand Master Steendekker and lodge member Feit 'after many floundering dangers'.⁹⁰⁶ In his speech he referred to 'death, who spares the King no more than the Beggar', as all are equal in the face of death.⁹⁰⁷ A rare apron in the CMC collection expresses this very concept (fig. 5.71). The white silk apron is embroidered with two skull-and-bones, asking the viewer to decide 'who was king' and 'who was beggar', which of course is impossible. The subject matter indicates it may be a Master and/or a mourning apron. A wide band along the edge of an apron is considered typical for examples from the Dutch East Indies, although the red colour chosen here does not help to attribute it to a specific lodge.

The inventories of La Vertueuse provide an insight into the manufacture of regalia. In this lodge too, members were often reimbursed for purchases of regalia made on behalf of the lodge. The financial records for 21-9-1776 noted:

Ad idem [Van Stockum], for silk ribbon and what's more	
for the making of 3 aprons	9:--:-
ditto 6 men's and 6 women's Goats Leather gloves	18:24:- ⁹⁰⁸

On 6-9-1781 the wages for the production of aprons were specified:

5:-	pieces for Apprentice, white satin with yellow armozijn without ribbon at rds 32 each	17:24:-
15:-	Master, white satin with yellow armozijn and yellow ribbon at rds 42 each	67:24:-
[...]22:-	Master Lodge: white satin with black armozijn and black ribbon at rds 42 each	99:-:- ⁹⁰⁹

The fact that the Apprentice wore an apron without ribbon, and the Master with ribbon, indicates a British influence. In the Netherlands, the position of the flap of the apron was used to indicate the degree, in England this was done by the absence or presence of a ribbon around the edge of the apron.

Mourning symbolism was important to the Master ritual, and apparently the lodge used real funeral outfits. This is evident from payments on 24-5-1783 'for the use of 20 hats with trailing mourning bands'⁹¹⁰ and on 9-7-1784 to the widow W.G. Durand 'for 9 pieces double or 18 single Pieces Mourning dress and 18 Pairs White Goats Leather Gloves together 200:-'.⁹¹¹ Such symbolical attire was also worn in actual mourning lodges, held to commemorate members that had passed away.

Gloves were obtained through lodge member and merchant Philippus d'Elwijk for 1,32 Rds per pair.⁹¹² The aforementioned widow Durand was one of the regular suppliers of La Vertueuse, as was the widow Meurs. For example, on 9-3-1784 the financial records mention:

The payment to the gentleman von Erath:		
	1 roll white Satin	45:--:-
To miss the widow Meurs paid:		
for	40 aprons with Silk	160:--:-
	6 " with gold	72:--:-
	Armozijn as lining	30:--:-
	126 Ell Ribbon	13:--:-
	white Satin	7:24:-
NB:	1 apron with gold costs after this account rds	13:30:-
	1 ditto with Silk	6: 6:- ⁹¹³

A receipt dated 24-10-1785 for a payment to the aforementioned 'Chinese carpenter' Tan Jaijko, which could be translated as '1 piece template to paint garments on order of the lady your beloved as agreed 3,16'.⁹¹⁴ Does this mean the Chinese craftsman made a template for the wife of a lodge member to use on aprons? Or was this work for an Adoption lodge, as discussed below? The 1787 inventory then listed the following regalia:

The dress of Le frere Terrible
 [...] One grand master Apron
 7 Different Aprons⁹¹⁵

This shows that the Grand Master had his own distinct apron, the other '7 different aprons' either belonging to the officers or being a supply for new candidates. This and later inventories also include a supply of ribbons in various colours, as well as gloves.

By 1789, the lodge no longer hired mourning clothing. A receipt dated 18-11-1789 to J. Hacker notes the purchase of '1 piece *lakenras* 49,30' and '2 rolls black robe cloth 48,-', as well as the 'wages for making cloaks 32,-'.⁹¹⁶ *Lakenras* was a particular type of cloth, made of w

oven and shaven wool. Indeed

the 1789 inventory lists '20 Black hats and 18 ditto cloaks' made of this cloth. Such regalia were now kept in two drawer tables in the 'outside portal' of the lodge building. The purchase proved unsuccessful. On 27-1-1791 it was discussed that at the recent St. John's Day Celebration the cloaks for the Master lodge had been found too small, and new ones needed to be ordered.⁹¹⁷

By 1796, the outfit for the *Terrible* was replaced by a new one of 'black silk', while '3 new silk painted aprons' were added to the stock kept in the lodge. The 1797 inventory provides an overview of regalia with some notes by the Master of Furniture in pencil. Interesting is the mention of 'Aprons of this lodge' and 'Master ditto', indicating that the lodge probably used a specific design for all its Apprentice and



Fig. 5.72: Sash and jewel of the lodge La Constante et Fidèle in Semarang, belonging to a member of the Holmberg de Beckfelt family, 19th century. Embroidered silk, silvercoloured metal, 98 x 11 cm. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 4876-4877. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.



Fig. 5.73: Master apron belonging to the lodge La Constante et Fidèle in Semarang, 19th century. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 101. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.



Fig. 5.74: Apron from lodge De Ster in het Oosten, decorated as a mourning apron on the back, ca. 1837-1875. Embroidered silk with metal fringe. Private collection. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.



Fig. 5.75: Apron for the Master's degree, worn in lodge De Ster in het Oosten, ca. 1837-1855. Embroidered silk with metal fringe. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 665. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.



Fig. 5.76: Apron, worn in lodge De Ster in het Oosten from a member of the Holmberg de Beckfelt family, ca. 1837-1875. Faded blue and white silk, 33.5 x 30 cm. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 5531.

Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

Fig. 6.77: Apron, worn in lodge De Ster in het Oosten, ca. 1837-1875. Blue and white silk. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 1355 (Dozy legate). Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

Master aprons.⁹¹⁸ Many lodges in the Netherlands did so too, often incorporating the lodge name or a symbol resembling the lodge name, into the regalia design. The use of mourning crape, a black see-through, veil-like cloth, covering aprons and bands [= sashes] was now noted.⁹¹⁹

A few pieces examples of regalia also survive from other lodges in the Dutch East Indies, although little information is known about them. For instance, in the CMC collection is a blue silk sash, embroidered with the lodge name 'La Constante et Fidèle' in silver and trimmed with silver fringe. The sash carries a jewel, consisting of a triangle with the letter 'G' of the type discussed above (fig. 5.72). From the same lodge, a silk apron was preserved (fig. 5.73). It has the shape of a heraldic shield, and is modestly embroidered with a pair of compasses crossed with a set square on a bow. On either side are the letter 'MB', referring to the Master word and identifying it as a Master apron. Below the tools are crossed acacia sprigs, and above them the sun and moon are depicted. On the flap is a blazing star with the letter 'G'. The whole is lined with silk and edged with a metal fringe.

After the merger of the lodges, De Ster in het Oosten had to decide on new regalia. Several aprons belonging to De Ster in het Oosten in the CMC collection, show a variety of designs. In the 19th century, there was still much diversity in the decoration and execution of aprons. Fig 5.74 shows a fringed apron, carrying the lodge name and a radiant star on the red flap. The white field of the apron is embroidered with various tools (pair of compasses, square, ruler, level, plumb rule, trowel and hammer) and an acacia sprig in the background. The reverse of the apron is black and the underside of the flap is embroidered with a skull-and-bones, so it could be worn in the Master's degree as well.

Another apron, worn in the same lodge, is embroidered with a (French style) design of a temple between the columns J and B, around which acacia sprigs are winding (fig. 5.75). The whole is topped with crossed compasses and square (holding the letter 'M' as a reference to the Master word), as well as the sun, moon and stars. On the flap is a radiant, five-pointed star with the letter 'G'. Aprons of this type were also worn in Europe. Later more standardised aprons consisting of a simple design would be used: crossed compasses and square in blue on a white field, with a blue and white indented border (figs. 5.76-5.77).⁹²⁰

■ *Other attributes*

Not part of the regalia are some attributes that clearly did belong to a specific lodge officer. A metal collection box for instance, was mentioned in the 1775 inventory of La Fidèle Sincérité for the Amanusgracht.⁹²¹ The box was included in later inventories until 1801 and would have been used by the Almoner, collecting funds at each meeting for widows and orphans of lodge members, as well as other charitable goals.

As the *Assemblée des Francs-maçons* series of engravings illustrated (figs. 2.24-2.25, 2.27-2.30) it was common in the 18th century for not just the military, but also for civilian men to wear a sword as part of their formal dress, also in lodge meetings. The swords mentioned in the inventories, however, are ceremonial accessories. A sword was part of the regalia of the Wardens and the Tyler, the symbolical guard of the lodge, carried a sword to ward off intruders. According to the domestic laws of La Fidèle Sincérité of 1775, the youngest lodge member would have to be on watch with a sword during initiations.⁹²² A sword was also one of the items displayed in the Chamber of Reflection, while a sword on a pillow, often carried in masonic processions, symbolized the sovereignty of the lodge (see chapter 2). Therefore three or four swords would normally appear on lodge inventories. The fact that they were not mentioned in early versions, might simply mean the officers of La Fidèle Sincérité kept theirs at home or used their own ones.

The 1781 and 1786 inventories of La Fidèle Sincérité mentioned '1 Ballot chest', a ballot box for the voting on newly proposed members, which did not appear on later inventories.⁹²³ The Master of Ceremonies, or another officer chosen by the Worshipful Master, passed it round. The 1798 inventory of the Amanusgracht building listed 'Two small swords with silver hilts', probably belonging to the Wardens.⁹²⁴

In 1819 'One Silver Collection Box' was named together with 'One Copper Collection Box'.⁹²⁵ The silver one seems to have belonged to the basic degrees of La Fidèle Sincérité, the copper one to the Chapter. Both objects were listed until the Chapter inventory became separate in 1833, after which the silver one remained until the lodge merger in 1837. In 1822, '2 Ballot bags' were listed⁹²⁶, and by 1825 another two 'with handles' were added, along with 'Two Red Linen Bags' which may have been meant for the Chapter degrees.⁹²⁷ These were in use until the lodge merger.

At the inauguration of its new Freemasons' Hall on the Moorish Hospital grounds in 1786, one of the gifts received by La Vertueuse was: 'Van Welgevaren prompt a fine silver collection box'.⁹²⁸ It was kept in the dining room according to the 1792 inventory. Later the aforementioned silversmith Wyszinsky was asked



Fig. 5.78: Collection box of the lodge La Constante et Fidèle in Semarang, after 1801, hammered and engraved silver, 15.6 x 12.5 cm. Collection: C.M.C. Prins Frederik, The Hague. inv.no. 6354. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

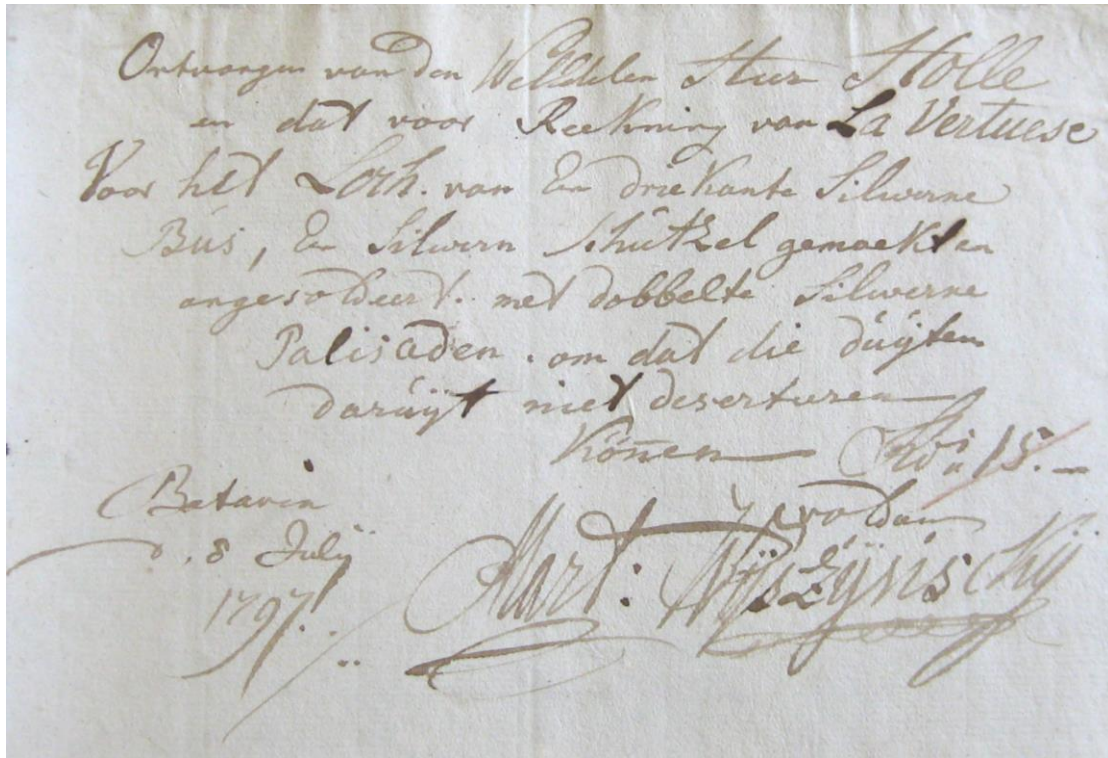


Fig. 5.79: Receipt signed by silversmith Martin Wysynsky in Batavia, 8-7-1797. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

to repair a collection box, probably the same one. It might indicate he was also the original maker. A receipt dated 8-7-1797 reads (fig. 5.79):

For the delivery of A Triangular Silver Box, A Silver lid made and welded on with double Silver Palisades so that the coins cannot escape Rds 15⁹²⁹

The box did not survive, but there is another example of a silver triangular collection box. It belonged to lodge La Constante et Fidèle in Semarang, dating from the beginning of the 19th century (fig. 5.78). The lid has a simple engraving consisting of a pair of compasses, set square, level and star, while the name of the lodge is engraved on the side. All visible surfaces have a decorative (indented) border.

In 1792 a 'ballot box and its beans' were added to the inventory. From 1796 onwards, a velvet bag was used for voting on new members and in 1807 a 'proposal bag' was used for submitting new names (and/or officers' elections).⁹³⁰ From 1793 onwards, La Vertueuse's seal (stamp) was included in the inventories, later specified as made of iron.

◆ *Necessities for the table lodge*

As described in chapter 2, a communal meal or table lodge was the last part of a ritual meeting. From the 1775 inventory onwards, dinner tables and chairs, as well as pouring, pantry and kitchen tables in various shapes and numbers appeared on the inventories of La Fidèle Sincérité. Much of this furniture was painted blue, the colour of the Order and the basic degrees. At first dinner and other tables were loaned from lodge members Maas and Van Duijveland, but from 1781 onwards the lodge owned its own, and in 1798 a cooling table was added. The number of glasses, cutlery and dinner services, as well as the expanding range of pots and pans illustrate how the *combuijs* or kitchen became more and more equipped to deal with large parties.

The records of lodge La Vertueuse show a similar pattern. The first inventory of 1779 illustrated the purchase of a corner cabinet for glassware, a pouring table (later specified as 'with lead and its tin cooling



Fig. 5.80: A freemasons' glass on a firm base, or so called 'canon', one of a set of six originally belonging to Hendrik Veuger (see chapter 7). The symbolic decoration includes masonic tools grouped around a triangle, topped by a sun, a moon and a sixpointed star, the whole embraced by crossed acacia branches. Fired glass, engraved and gilded, early 19th century. Private collection. Reproduced with kind permission of Gerrit Bloothoof from: hum.uu.nl/medewerkers/g.bloothoof/Veuger.

tray') and several sizes of dining tables.⁹³¹ The 1787 version listed '12 square Dinner tables' with '2 Head-Pieces'.⁹³² From 1796 onwards, 'a marble table with a gilt base' was kept in the dining room (possibly the 'stone table' already appearing in earlier versions).⁹³³ Similar items appear in all later records.

■ Glass wares

The earliest inventory of La Fidèle Sincérité from 1775 mentioned beer and wine glasses, water carafes and '50 Free masons glasses' in stock at the Amanusgracht.⁹³⁴ These glasses were probably the so-called 'canons', cone shaped wineglasses on a thick, round base, firm enough to be slammed on the table. It was common to make toasts during the meal, using such canons and specific (military) terminology and (see chapter 2). Surviving examples from the 18th century are often engraved and gilt with masonic symbols (figs. 2.58 and 5.80).

Glass wares were not included in the overviews until 1798, by which time the stock was somewhat larger, but no masonic items were specified. Added were 'Three liqueur bottles'.⁹³⁵ By 1801 the glass service was kept in a corner closet, including 132 beer glasses, 40 water carafes and 'eighty-six wine glasses with the Free Masons' mark'.⁹³⁶ Perhaps the lodge wanted to be equipped to host joint meetings with La Vertueuse.

After a gap of some years, the 1819 version mentions no less than 136 masonic wine glasses kept in the building on the Jacatraweg⁹³⁷, while in later inventories the specification as masonic is left out again. The supply kept growing along with the membership and the expanding choice of beverages. A highpoint was reached in 1825, when a total of 420 wine glasses and 90 beer glasses was kept ready for thirsty



Fig. 5.81: Masonic wineglass, ca 1810-1820. Decorated on one side with a medaillon on a bow, encompassing masonic tools, columns, sun, moon and stars, and a Jacob's ladder. The reverse carries the name 'J. Anthony' above decorative foliage. Lead glass, engraved, diam rim 9.7 cm. Collection: Museum Rotterdam. Reproduced from: museumrotterdam.nl.

brethren.⁹³⁸ Other glass types were no longer mentioned. In 1832, 139 new beer glasses were 'bought from the gentleman Hellerman'⁹³⁹, and in 1833 '16 water carafes' were bought at auction.⁹⁴⁰ The financial records of lodge La Vertueuse listed glass wares shortly before these appear on its inventories. The earliest mention, dated 12-8-1776, concerned a purchase 'for 22 Canons on behalf of the Lodge [Rds] 2:24:-'.⁹⁴¹ These were definitely the characteristic freemasons' glasses with a sturdy base. A second purchase, for 12 Rds, was made in June 1782 after the move to the Kormandelswijk property, noting a reimbursement 'to the gentleman Walkert for 26 pieces masons' glasses'.⁹⁴² On 10-9-1783 a larger set was acquired from the gentleman Wolf: '4 dozen freemasons' glasses 24:--:-'.⁹⁴³ A whole glass service was purchased several years later when the Freemasons' Hall on the Moorish Hospital grounds was completed, as is clear from a receipt dated 7-12-1787, listing:

8 dozen wine goblets	rds 20
2 ditto wine and water glasses	30
2 ditto decanters	
5 ditto beer glasses	30 ⁹⁴⁴

The inventory of 27-12-1787 then recorded the overall supply of glass wares as follows:

- 14 Beer glasses with gilt rims
- 60 " ungilded
- 30 Wine and Water Glasses
- 140 Wine Glasses
- 32 Decanters⁹⁴⁵

Though the numbers vary, the same types of glassware are included in later inventories, while masonic glasses are not always specified, but probably still present. In 1789 a committee on the purchase of goods for the lodge reported: 'of these Glass wares on occasion 95 Pieces of wine Glasses as the feet are a little small; could be sold & some more Sturdy bought in their place'.⁹⁴⁶ This again illustrates the particular use of canons, which had to withstand a firm strike on the table. In 1790 an addition to the regular items were '3 Soopjes bottles', a *soopje* referring to a sip, usually of strong liquor.⁹⁴⁷ The 1792 version further added '1 Soopjes Cellar with 2 bottles'.⁹⁴⁸ By 1793 only the cellar was left, which was listed until 1807.

The 1796 inventory first mentioned '50 ribbed wine glasses'⁹⁴⁹, described in later overviews as 'ribbed wine goblets', their number peaking at 81 and eventually lowering to 21 by 1809. The inventory of 6-7-1808 includes '93 wine goblets with masonic emblems'⁹⁵⁰, recurring until the last inventory of 1816.

■ *Porcelain and other ceramics*

Lodge member Van Duijveland lent one Japanese and one Bantam water pot to La Fidèle Sincérité, according to the 1775 inventory for the Amanusgracht.⁹⁵¹ Presumably these were earthenware objects, similar to the *martavaan* type listed on later inventories: large, often egg-shaped storage vats for water or pickled vegetables. Other ceramics were not mentioned in the 1781 and 1786 versions. The financial overview listed a purchase: '1787 13 June [...] for 200 flat plates Rds 20,-'.⁹⁵² The word 'porcelain' first appeared in inventories in 1798, after which dinner services and individual pieces were mentioned frequently, but unfortunately their materials or provenance were rarely specified.

The 1798 inventory listed flat and deep plates, rice and salad dishes, tureens, sauce boats, salt cellars, butter and pepper pots, as well as a teapot, milk jug and cups and saucers among the items for the table lodge.⁹⁵³ Most of these are specified as belonging to a blue dinner service, most likely made of Chinese porcelain, and a white service, which as we will see shortly was of Dutch make. Their many individual parts suggest that full meals were being served.

By 1801 another *martavaan* had been added, most of the blue service had been broken, and most remaining items were now specified as white porcelain, with some mustard pots, salad and pastry bowls also being specified.⁹⁵⁴ Because the words used to describe the individual parts and the level of detail provided by successive authors varies greatly, it is difficult to tell which is which. A 'soup tureen' became a 'soup bowl with dish' in a later version, a 'water basin with bowl' became a 'ewer', etc. The overall impression is that La Fidèle Sincérité had to be frugal, because it kept using the same services even when these became more and more incomplete.

There was a gap in the inventories until 1819, when the new overview for the building on the Jacatraweg included 'A small lot of mostly damaged plates, saucers and soup bowls, unfit for any use in the Lodge', as well as a Japanese and a Javanese water pot or *martavaans*.⁹⁵⁵ The inventory of the Steward of 1822 mentioned 'Some blue porcelain or a damaged tea Service'.⁹⁵⁶ A list of goods to be sold from the same year, mentioned 'A lot of Dutch white porcelain'.⁹⁵⁷ By 1825, the Steward was responsible for:

56 Six & Fifty Cups
48 Eight & Forty Saucers
[...] 2 Two Water Martavaans of which One damaged
A Rinsing bowl⁹⁵⁸

The cups and saucers were part of a tea service and reappeared until the 1834 version, though numbers varied. From 1829 onwards, they were accompanied by 'round tea stands'.

The inventories of the Steward in the years 1827-1833 recorded various purchases. On 2-6-1829, a 'table service' was acquired at auction, later specified as 'white porcelain'.⁹⁵⁹ This can be matched with receipts of the same date 2-6-1829 to the trade office or *negotiehuis* Thompson Roberts & Co for '6 dozen low dishes'⁹⁶⁰ and to *negotiehuis* Thornton & Mist for '12 dozen white plates at f 3,50 the dozen', together amounting to fl. 44,56⁹⁶¹ On 16 October of the same year were bought: 'a tea or *trekpot*', 'sugar pot', 'milk jug' and 'rinsing jug'.⁹⁶² This matches a receipt of the same date for 'purchase of a blue Tea service [...] f 10 copper'.⁹⁶³ No less than 72 'dishes (...) for the salad and potatoes with covers were bought on 24-10-1833, and on 5 September of the same year, another '*martavaan* [for] water' was purchased at Veldman, Leconge & Co, 'for 12 silver'.⁹⁶⁴

From 1819 onwards, a 'bowl with masonic figures' appears on the inventories of the Freemasons' Hall on the Jacatraweg.⁹⁶⁵ This is most likely a Chinese punch bowl and therefore discussed further in chapter 7, dealing with export porcelain. Although meals could be prepared on the premises of La Fidèle Sincérité, the catering was often provided by a third party, such as a widow of a brother or a professional cook, and festive meetings with larger parties sometimes took place at another venue, such as De Harmonie in Batavia. The caterer may have supplied some of the dinnerware the food was served in, which would explain why La Fidèle Sincérité only owned basic dinner and tea services.

Among the purchases La Vertueuse made in 1779, was a 'lacquered tea cabinet', presumably for its tea service.⁹⁶⁶ The earliest mention of porcelain, however, dates from 1780, when the lodge still occupied the Kormandelswijk property. Lodge member Bestbier was reimbursed for 'A blue porcelain table service', bought on behalf of the lodge in 1778 for 188 Rds', elsewhere described as an English service, 'white with a blue border'.⁹⁶⁷ In 1784 'A fair gilded Chinese Table Service consisting of 398 pieces' was acquired for 110 Rds.⁹⁶⁸ its decoration elsewhere described as 'red flowers [on a] white ground'.⁹⁶⁹ Both of these are specified in inventories for the Freemasons' Hall on the Moorish Hospital grounds from 1787 onwards, showing the Chinese service consisting of flat and deep plates, flat and deep dishes, covered fish dishes, soup tureens, sauce boats, salt cellars, mustard and butter pots. The English service included a tea, coffee and chocolate service. Also listed were a punch bowl and a 'sambal bowl'.⁹⁷⁰ *Sambal* is a hot, spicy condiment, typical for the East Indies' kitchen. Included in the same inventory were '12 porcelain spittoons', which number later doubled.⁹⁷¹ They were valued at 20 Rds and specified as Japanese porcelain.⁹⁷² By 1816, eight remained. Spittoons were necessary because betel-leaf chewing was popular.⁹⁷³

In 1789 a committee suggested replacing both services, and indeed replacements were acquired: a 'Service blue & white large 330 pieces Rs 100', bought by lodge member and merchant Jacon Hacker⁹⁷⁴, and 'One blue Table Service 200:-', bought by lodge member Van Massau on 17-12-1789.⁹⁷⁵ A further 10,- was spent on '2 sets of Tea wares'.⁹⁷⁶ All these items appear on the 1789 inventory, along with other additions:

Four porcelain cups, and
Four wooden Bowls for the hand washing water
Two porcelain washing basins
Six chamber pots⁹⁷⁷

The cups with bowls for hand washing cost 9,- according to their receipt, were later specified as Chinese and recurred in inventories up until 1796, although described as jugs rather than cups.⁹⁷⁸ The water pots were included in later inventories as 'large Japanese martavaans', valued in 1793 at '10 Rds' because of a notable crack.⁹⁷⁹ They remained in the kitchen at first, were then kept in the back rooms and the mandur's quarters, after which they were buried in the ground in 1807. The washing basins were omitted as soon as 1790, the chamber pots broken by 1792.⁹⁸⁰ Perhaps they were replaced by an outhouse on the premises? The lodge now possessed a total of four table and tea services, all listed as incomplete on later inventories up until 1809.

The 1797 inventory listed '4 porcelain gorgelets', small water jugs with a long neck, 'in the back room'.⁹⁸¹ They were not included in later versions, while the 1808 inventory did include '3 porcelain jugs with their wooden bowls'.⁹⁸² Perhaps these are all the same items? In any case by 1809 only one was left. The same 1797 inventory listed as additions to the pantry 'a Japanese chamber pot' and '1 ditto adjar bowl, the wooden coaster incomplete'.⁹⁸³ *Atjar* is a pickled vegetable condiment, typical for the East Indies' kitchen.

The 1801 inventory included a detailed listings of the individual components of the four services. Besides the various plates, dishes etc., already mentioned above, now salad and vegetable dishes, fruit dishes with their spoons, sugar saucers, steamed fish dishes and fish bone saucers were also specified.⁹⁸⁴ Unfortunately it remains unclear from the inventories which items belong to which service. By 1807, only the red and white, and the white with blue border services remained, no tea services. In the room of the Mandur were two Japanese chamber pots.⁹⁸⁵

The lodge minutes of 7-5-1818 recorded several suggestions made by a committee dealing with the inventory:

[...] buying some goods needed by the Brethren Master of Furniture & Economist, being [...]

1 Tea Service

1 Table Service

[...] To consider in the purchase of some necessary goods, such as a number of Beerglasses borrowed by the Brother Velthuisen for the last illumination taken place, As well as of the borrowed Porcelain table service, which is just the same as the one belonging to this temple [...].⁹⁸⁶

From later minutes it is clear, that this concerns a 'white with blue border British Table Service'.⁹⁸⁷

The proposal was approved and no other significant changes were noted.

■ *Silver and plated wares*

The 1775 inventory of La Fidèle Sincérité for the Amanusgracht listed '1 Silver *schenkpiering*', best translated as commemorative or presentation plate or tray.⁹⁸⁸ The word *schengen* is Dutch for bestowing or presenting, and *piring* is Malaysian for plate.⁹⁸⁹ Commemorative trays of hammered or engraved silver are typical for the Dutch East Indies and had a decorative function (see for non-masonic examples fig. 5.82-5.83). Although 17th century examples exist, most were made in the 18th century. The elegant engraving was usually a text, marking a special occasion, person or event, such as a birth, marriage, jubilee or death, and could be combined with a family crest. One can imagine this particular example might have marked the foundation of La Fidèle Sincérité or the reign of a particular Worshipful Master. However, it does not appear on later inventories.

Regular table wares were not listed until the 1798 inventory, which included a copper coffee pot, a (silver) plated oil and vinegar set, soup ladles and spoons, knives and forks.⁹⁹⁰ By 1800 a few pieces of cutlery were broken or missing, while another oil & vinegar set and 'Three copper Coffee pots' were acquired.⁹⁹¹ There is a gap in the documents, until in 1819 the Steward provided a new overview, the only notable additions of silver works being 'a sugar vase' with its spoons and thongs, as well as (silver) plated dessert forks and knives, and carving knives and forks.⁹⁹² The overview of the Master of Furniture for the same year listed accompanying items, such as '1 Large Coffee stand' and '5 small coffee and tea stands'.⁹⁹³

By 1819 '1 Masonic silver presentation tray' was listed at the Jacatraweg, the first mention of such an object with masonic significance.⁹⁹⁴ It was likely engraved with masonic symbols and/or triangular in shape. The tray was included in all inventories from 1822 onwards, but always without the masonic element being specified.⁹⁹⁵ By 1822 La Fidèle Sincérité apparently needed cash.⁹⁹⁶ A receipt dated 19-10-1822 to Boekhoff noted: 'For Melting into Bars of a Silver Coffee Pot of the Lodge f 9,-'.⁹⁹⁷ The specification 'of the lodge' was normally used for items with the lodge name or emblem, such as aprons, suggesting the coffeepot may have also had some masonic engraving or design. Another coffeepot weighing 224 3/8 real was sold at public auction for fl. 338,-.⁹⁹⁸

Between 1825 and 1834, the list remained largely unchanged.⁹⁹⁹ In 1828, on 21 July a silver spoon was reported stolen, and a week later 24 forks and knives were also stolen.¹⁰⁰⁰ A 'Plated Coffee Pot' was bought at auction house JJ Dominicus from the estate of the late Dominicus in 1829.¹⁰⁰¹ The last additions, a 'Plated teapot' and a 'Plated Chocolate Pot', the latter bought at auction, were made in 1831.

For lodge La Vertueuse, there is luckily a little more information on the makers of the silver wares. The lodge's financial records of 9-3-1784 recorded another commission to the aforementioned Abraham van Campen:

To the Silver Smith van Campen for delivered 2 Silver Schenkpiering [= commemorative plates] in which is engraved in memory of La Vertueuse according to receipt [Rds] 115:--:'.¹⁰⁰²

However, these commemorative plates were not included in the following inventories. This may indicate a gift as a souvenir to a parting lodge member or (less likely) that they were melted down before the next inventory was made. The 1787 inventory for the Freemasons' Hall on the Moorish Hospital grounds did include silver spoons and forks, knives with silver hilts, silver-plated oil and vinegar sets (later specified as 'each with 5 bottles', and a copper milk jug, as well as some Japanese coffee, chocolate and tea kettles with their warmer stands.¹⁰⁰³ The next year, a committee concerned with the inventory remarked:



Fig. 5.82: Elias Albertus Meiszner, schenkpiering or commemorative platter, Batavia, 1751. The centre is engraved with a crowned coat of arms surrounded by palm leaves. The reverse is engraved with a text, commemorating Maria Giliana Gerlag, wife of Reinier Harmensz (merchant, 2nd Administrator and Bookkeeper of the Medicin Shop), who died in Batavia on 6-11-1751 at the age of 24. Engraved silver, maker's mark 'EM' and mark of Batavia, 32 x 32 cm. Reproduced from: Röell/Viljoen 2012, no.24.

Fig. 5.83: Schenkpiering or commemorative platter, Batavia, circa 1734. The centre is engraved with a circular inscription, commemorating Adriaan Oostwalt (First Council and Director of the Dutch East Indies) who died 29-12-1734 at the age of 60, and enclosing a Javanese inscription. The reverse is also inscribed in Javanese, noting the names of former owners. Engraved silver, with the mark 'BI' attributed to Barent Jacobz, mark for Batavia and later Dutch duty mark, diam. 34.5 cm. Reproduced from: Röell/Viljoen 2011, no. 29.

[...] that one of the knives with Silver hilts was lost

[...] that a Silver Spoon has since been stolen

While we propose the sale of the 21 knives with Silver hilts, as these are old and worn, and now in their place with foreknowledge of Your High Worshipful have been bought by the undersigned

4 dozen Table and 2 ditto desert knives with ivory hilts

Furthermore the silver works have been increased with 2 Silver Soup ladles [...].

Together with a plated vase for Coffee, which the undersigned [Pieter van der Weert] requests, that La Vertueuse will please to accept in his memory.¹⁰⁰⁴

All cutlery was kept in a corner cabinet in the inner portal according to the 1789 inventory, but the Japanese coffee, tea and chocolate kettles were sold.¹⁰⁰⁵ The dessert *couverts* were later specified as 'with ivory hilts with silver bands'.¹⁰⁰⁶ The financial records listed their price as 28,12 Rds for the spoons and 72 Rds for the knives.¹⁰⁰⁷ The receipt was signed by dowager Vermeulen, indicating this was a purchase of second hand wares from an estate. The old knives were sold at public auction in the garden of Worshipful Master Van Overstraten for 74 Rds.¹⁰⁰⁸

Another order from the aforementioned silversmith Martin Wyszinsky, dated 27-1-1790, concerned:

For 6 persons Silver spoons and	- at 1 rd 32 per person	rds	20
6 persons ditto forks			
A Silver Cooling tray weiging 9 Real			26
Purchase [materials]			10,-. ¹⁰⁰⁹

These forks and spoons were listed in the inventories as *confituur* or jam spoons and forks. The cooling tray was also described as a cooling vessel. Although the numbers vary as items were broken and replaced, the

same types of silver cutlery were included in all later inventories. The lodge minutes of 7-5-1791 recorded another acquisition:

Brother [Jacob] Hacker bought on the expense of this Lodge from the Estate of late Brother [Phillipus d']Elwijk from public auction, two silver schenkpierings, which said Brother Elwijk had made to honour this lodge but which by his Sudden passing was unable to present.¹⁰¹⁰

On 20-2-1792 a similar purchase of 'Two pieces silver Schenk Pierings weighing 57 real at 84 stuivers rds 99,36' was made from the Estate of the late lodge member Jan Reynier Coortsen.¹⁰¹¹ However, only two of those four schenkpierings are included in the 1792 inventory. By 1797, '2 Japanese kettles' were added once more, but not repeated in later versions.¹⁰¹² From 1801, '1 [silver]plated Tobacco box' was also included in the inventories, kept in the dining room so the members could enjoy a smoke after their meal.¹⁰¹³

The silversmith Johan Anthony Zwekkert (died 1819), born in Jaffnapatnam (Ceylon), became a member of La Vertueuse around 1803.¹⁰¹⁴ He was appointed Assayer and Mint Master in Surabaya, and also worked as merchant for the VOC.¹⁰¹⁵ It is not clear if he ever made silver wares for the lodge himself, but on 2-12-1806 Zwekkert was, in his position of Master of Furniture, asked to supply various goods. These included 'six dozen silver spoons and forks', and the lodge asked to 'have hammered in those, as well as those currently used by the lodge, the letters L.V.'¹⁰¹⁶ The minutes of a meeting on 2-1-1807 recorded the costs of this silver, as well as 100 table chairs, amounting to 1800 Rds, which sum was raised by a subscription among the members.¹⁰¹⁷

In 1807, the plated coffee pot was listed missing. The purchase for ten dozen knives and forks, worth 70 Rds, was reimbursed to lodge member Johan Adriaan Doorninck on 22-9-1812.¹⁰¹⁸ An addition to the inventory from 1814 onwards, was '1 Silver incense vessel', kept in the dining room. This is one of the subtle signs of the lodge adapting to local customs. The lodge minutes of 7-5-1818 again included a report of a committee, concerned with the inventory. It was proposed 'To sell [...] 2 silver trowels, 2 ditto triangles, 17 ditto trowels [for the *Chevalier d'Orient*, discussed below], 1 silver ornament for the Master Tracing Board, 1 ditto double triangle, 1 star with Silver plate'.¹⁰¹⁹ This was approved and temporary Master of Furniture Barends was requested 'to ensure to sell such, as without comment can be sold to profane, as the silver unusable pieces, can be melted and some silver Teaspoons made thereof'.¹⁰²⁰ These, however, do not appear on the next inventories.

Lastly, the lodge minutes of 4-6-1834 recorded that Gijsing, the aforementioned Master of Furniture for the Freemasons' Hall on the Vrijmetselaarsweg, received 'from the hands of the Worshipful Master':

100 One Hundred Silver spoons
100 One Hundred ditto forks
12 Twelve ditto Tea spoons
[...] 2 Two ditto Schenkpierings¹⁰²¹

■ *Lacquer wares*

The 1775 version La Fidèle Sincérité's inventory listed '4 lacquered serving trays' and '1 lacquer Cellar', with drink bottles given in loan by lodge member Van Duyveland for the building at the Amanusgracht.¹⁰²² The trays must have been a gift to the lodge, because they appear on inventories until 1798, the drinks cellar does not. By 1801, only three trays were left, and 'two dozen lacquered coasters' were added. Only in 1827 'lacquered insect boxes' were listed on the inventory¹⁰²³, perhaps referring to the *kekeldoosjes*, small cages to keep fighting beetles (for gambling), cicades and other pet insects in? It is not clear whether any of the aforementioned items were made of varnished wood, or Asian lacquer. Other objects more clearly specified as Japanese, will be discussed in chapter 6.

Lodge La Vertueuse possessed more Japanese lacquer wares than La Fidèle Sincérité in general, including tracing boards to which we will come back later. The committee dealing with the inventory noted in December 1789:

[...] that the Japanese lacquered Tea trays continued in the inventory, are totally broken and unusable, and we request the qualification, to the Purchase of another 4 or 5 copper lacquered trays as being more durable, having the undersigned by provision for use already bought 5 pieces for rd. 10:-¹⁰²⁴

These were omitted again in 1796. The 1794 version notes '1 Pouring table now in 't *verlaecktje* under the stairs'.¹⁰²⁵ The Dutch term used, 't *verlaecktje* (*literally*: the lacquered), suggests a varnished or lacquered or cabinet or closet of some sort. By 1797, other additions were made:

4 wooden Varnished Tea Bowls
5 Lacquered Metal ditto
2 wooden large ditto¹⁰²⁶

By 1816, only 2 'iron' and four wooden were left. In 1807, '1 [square] lacquered table' and '1 ditto ditto smaller' were kept under the stairs, and reoccur up until 1814.¹⁰²⁷ Again these descriptions are vague, but considering Batavia was a main trade post for all kinds of export wares, it is likely that Asian lacquer furniture was part of the lodge inventory.

■ *Linen wares*

The first inventory of La Fidèle Sincérité made mention of '27 pieces Napkins' and '2 Tablecoths' as linen wares for the table lodge at the Amanusgracht in 1775.¹⁰²⁸ By 1798 their numbers were respectively 100 and 10, showing the capacity of the lodge for hospitality was extended. After the move to the Jacatraweg, by 1819 these numbers were 105 and 15, with the textile specified as 'half linen'.¹⁰²⁹ An invoice dated 1-9-1827 mentioned the purchase of linen for napkins and dishcloths¹⁰³⁰, while the 1829 inventory mentioned purchase of the same from lodge member Wattendorf. In later inventories, the same, unremarkable items are listed with little variations in numbers.

Records are a little more detailed for lodge La Vertueuse. The first inventory of 1779 listed a purchase of table cloths, napkins and towels.¹⁰³¹ The financial records for the building at Kormandelswijk included a payment on 1-1-1783 'for 60 napkins, 14 table clothes and 12 towels [at] 150 rds'.¹⁰³² Numbers varied, but the same types of linen wares recur in all later inventories and accounts. Those of the Freemasons' Hall on the Moorish Hospital grounds for the years 1790-1791 mentioned that wages for the washing of linen wares were made out to H. van Gaalen¹⁰³³, but in 1794 the Worshipful Master Van de Weerth took the washing home for his servants to deal with.

The records also provide some information on the type of cloth used. In 1790, the committee dealing with the inventory noted:

The Brother servant Hein showing the shortage of the Table wares, thus two pieces of *guinees* are necessary to make Napkins & towels.¹⁰³⁴

The *guinees* mentioned here was a rough, chequered cotton cloth, exported from India.¹⁰³⁵ Similarly, on 23-8-1791 the lodge minutes recorded:

Upon a friendly offer by the Brother visitor Crap, it was agreed to bring *Lijwaet* from Bengal for this Lodge, for Table cloths and Napkins, taking into account that the Lijwats there are easier to come by then here.¹⁰³⁶

Lijwaet or *Lijnwaad* was a more general name for coloured or chequered textiles, exported from Asia.¹⁰³⁷ However, on 7-2-1792 the lodge members decided to have napkins and table cloths made of 'Chinese Linen'.¹⁰³⁸ Such orders were made through the VOC channels at the lodge's disposal.

Later years showed the same pattern. The purchase of '3 pieces white Guinees from which [can be] made 120 pieces napkins and 4 large table cloths for 60 rds' was arranged by brother Meijer on 31-8-1798.¹⁰³⁹ In 1804 the lodge took inventory and decided another 10 table cloths, 120 napkins and 24 towels were needed.¹⁰⁴⁰ J.A. Garisson-van Nimwegen was asked to supply these goods in 1805 for 516,12 Rds.¹⁰⁴¹ Lastly, in 1834 the lodge minutes recorded that the Worshipful Master proposed 'the purchase of a blue linen table cloth for use in the *compartien* [= non-ritual meetings]' at the Vrijmetselaarsweg.¹⁰⁴² (Dutch

freemasons made a difference between ritual meetings and non-ritual lodge meetings, called *comparitie*, which does not translate well). Again this was a choice for a symbolic colour.

■ *Kitchen equipment*

Prior to 1798, La Fidèle Sincérité probably did not have its own kitchen equipment. The inventory of that year lists a modest range of copper and iron water and ham kettles, frying pans, as well as *broeder-* and *poffertjes* pans. The latter two were used to make two types of small yeast pancakes, a sweet dish typical for the Dutch kitchen. By 1800 the lodge was still housed at the Amanusgracht, where an 'iron Rice kettle', 'two copper roasting pans', an 'iron grill' and 'four metal *Almenieten*' had been added, of which the latter could not be identified. This kitchen equipment does not appear in later inventories, perhaps because the lodge made use of a caterer who brought his own.

An invoice of 1828, by which time the lodge resided at the Jacatraweg, shows that, amongst other table wares, a new ham kettle and a *broeder*-pan were obtained from the auction house of J.J. Dominicus.¹⁰⁴³ In 1829 new purchases were made: a 'copper ham kettle' and a 'copper kastrol' (a large type of roasting or simmering pot with a lid) were bought at auction from 'the gentleman Jans', while a second castrol and a 'copper cake pan' were bought from the auction house Dominicus. No other additions were listed in the later inventories.

Similarly, the financial records of La Vertueuse note on 31-6-1778 'for the making of 4 large brown varnished dinner tables, for the table lodge to be seated with 32 brethren 36:--:'.¹⁰⁴⁴ The kitchen equipment listed in its 1787 inventory for the Moorish Hospital grounds included a roasting spit, iron grills, rice and ham kettles, simmering and roasting pans, tables and water vats.¹⁰⁴⁵ While their numbers vary, similar items appear on the later inventories. In 1789 '2 pancake pans' and '2 water kettles' were added, while the lodge sold several superfluous items, including copper kettles, copper *broedertjes* pans and a 'grease pan' by public auction.¹⁰⁴⁶

A receipt dated 21-1-1802 'for tin-plating 5 pieces of kitchen utensils' for 13,- Rds was made out to Tan Fieko.¹⁰⁴⁷ By 1812, most of the pans were considered damaged and taken off the list. The financial records of 22-6-1813 show purchases from a Chinese supplier for 16,- Spd:

60 Pieces *kualies* for the Kitchen
12 Konfoor [= candle warmer stands]
30 Spoons of coconut [shell]
20 Cane *Lekaars* or Dishes¹⁰⁴⁸

There were no other notable additions in later years.

■ *Bar furniture*

After the ritual, the meeting often continued on a purely social level, and over time the lodge would also function as a gentlemen's club, where one could play a game, smoke and drink. As one might expect of any bar in those days, a number of 'spittoon stands' is listed on the 1775 inventory of La Fidèle Sincérité for the Amanusgracht.¹⁰⁴⁹ The 1798 and 1801 versions also included '12 copper spittoons' (compare fig. 5.45) and 'three copper tobacco *confoirs*' (= warmer stand, in this case: a stand with hot coals, used to relight pipes), but they were no longer mentioned in later overviews.¹⁰⁵⁰ In 1775, Van Duijveland first made '2 Playing tables covered with green Cloth' and '2 ditto ordinary' available to La Fidèle Sincérité.¹⁰⁵¹ They became property of the lodge and their number rose to six by 1798, and to eleven by 1825. By then, the lodge was housed at the Jacatraweg, and the tables had been replaced by a 'large oak table, consisting of five and twenty pieces'. The lodge even kept its own supply of tobacco and new card decks. Socializing would likewise take place after meetings of the higher degrees.

The inventories of La Vertueuse included very similar items: '10 copper spittoons' were acquired in 1779, along with '6 tea stands' (compare fig. 5.45), '4 playing tables, 2 with red velvet, 2 covered with green laken, with 4 playing candle stands'.¹⁰⁵² The 1787 version specified six, in pairs made of Ambonese, Ceylon and Javanese wood (compare fig. 5.84).¹⁰⁵³ In 1788 two more, made of Ambonese wood 'with lacquer', were added. All were kept in the 'lower room' of the Freemasons' Hall on the Moorish Hospital grounds and their number kept steadily rising. In 1792 English mahogany and djatie wooden playing tables were



Fig. 5.84: Games table, Batavia, first half of the 18th century, the removable top enclosing a backgammon board. Sono keling, amboyna, ebony and kayu pelet, 70 x 116 x 59 cm. Reproduced from: Röell/Viljoen 2013A, no. 45.

added, others were broken or sold. By 1807 there were eight, by 1816 six of which 2 broken. This lodge too kept its own supply of 'fine' and 'second type' playing cards, as well as tobacco.

In 1796 '21 dozen half *Cabale* [?] pipes' were kept in storage. 'Under responsibility of the Mandur' were '1 revolving hood and one music table'.¹⁰⁵⁴ La Vertueuse also boasted another luxury: between 1809 and 1816, the inventories included '1 Billiard with its belongings, including ten balls'.¹⁰⁵⁵

■ *Seals and certificates*

The inventory of La Fidèle Sincérité for the year 1801 mentioned:

5 ink wells in sort

[...] 1 one gavel seal or Stamp moulded in Silver under care of the brother Grand Seal bearer

1 one small Seal or Stamp moulded in Silver and under care of the brother Secretary¹⁰⁵⁶

The grand seal was used for authenticating diplomas, the responsibility of the Seal Bearer. Lacquer seals were either applied directly onto the paper, or set in a metal box, attached to documents with a ribbon in the lodge colour. The small seal was used by the Secretary for closing letters. The seals were not included in later inventories, probably because they were not the responsibility of the Master of Furniture.

Although much of the lodge archive survived, most of the red lacquer seals have melted, broken or been cut away from documents. As a result, imprints of the early lodge seals are now rare. One is found on



Fig. 5.85 (and detail below left): Écossais certificate issued by the Lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia to Nicolaas van Eijck on 20-8-1784. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. N1. Photograph: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.



Fig. 5.86 (right): Imprint of the seal of the Lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia on a membership certificate issued to Jacob Arends on 3-6-1802. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. N1. Photograph: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

an Écossais certificate dated 20-8-1784, issued by La Fidèle Sincérité to its member Nicolaas van Eijck. It shows the seal to have been round, consisting of a central composition of masonic tools: a pair of compasses, a set square and a level. These are topped by clouds in which a radiant sun, a five-pointed star and a moon appear. Around the seal is the motto of the Dutch Order, *Silentio et Fide*, and the lodge name. Although the text is half melted away, the word 'Fidelle' is still recognizable (fig 5.85). Normally a



Fig. 5.87: Imprint of a seal on a certificate issued by lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia to Isaak Gerardus Hartman, 22-2-1819. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no 82. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

Fig. 5.88: Imprint of the seal of lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, as used in 1798-1837. Here reproduced from a letter by lodge member Musquetier in 1832. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.



Fig. 5.89 (and detail): Seal of lodge De Ster in het Oosten, into which symbols from the former seals of La Vertueuse and La Fidèle Sincérité have been incorporated. Red lacquer in a metal box with silk ribbon, 19th century. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 4240. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

certificate would also bear the Grand Lodge seal, so as explanation for presence of the lodge seals only, the text 'By lack of stamps of the Grand Lodge' was simply written under one of the imprints.

Either the basic degrees of La Fidèle Sincérité used another seal, or the lodge changed the design sometime after 1784. A membership certificate dated 3-6-1802, issued by the lodge to Jacob Arends, bears an imprint of more elaborate design (fig. 5.86). It consists of a (simplified) tracing board, enclosed in a circle. Two columns and steps represent the temple. Between the columns are crossed acacia sprigs with a skull-and-bones below them (representing Hiram's grave), an all-seeing eye in a radiant triangle in between the sprigs and a five-pointed star with the letter G above them. The scene is surrounded by building tools,

including a set square, pair of compasses, level, plumb line, hammer and trowel. Above the columns are the sun and the moon. Along the edge of the circle, letters spell the name of the lodge.

By 1811 an inventory of the lodge archive was made, and it was discussed in a meeting that the archive was in a poor state, with many documents already missing.¹⁰⁵⁷ The 1819 inventory of the building on the Jacatraweg listed '3 Masonic Tin Ink stands', suggesting a symbolic shape or decoration.¹⁰⁵⁸ These were included in all later inventories, as was a 'fire chest' or safe, in which important documents could be stored. From 1825 onwards, separate cabinets for use of the Secretary (or Archivist) and the Master of Furniture were mentioned.¹⁰⁵⁹

On 11-6-1798 the financial records of La Vertueuse recorded a payment to J. Iszaaksz: 'for delivering a Silver seal rds 10,-'.¹⁰⁶⁰ On 12-6-1798 the costs for 'cutting the Seal 40,-' were added.¹⁰⁶¹ Again, little imprints of these seals have survived. A seal on an Apprentice certificate for Isaak Gerardus Hartman from 1819, shows a round seal with a radiant all-seeing eye (fig. 5.87), but not depicting the typical lodge seal. This is best preserved on a letter by lodge member Musquetier in 1832 and shows a more elaborate design (fig. 5.88). Its consists of a triangle, in which a set square, pair of compasses and a ruler are set against an arch on two pillars. The triangle is framed by scrollwork below and to the left, and by a branch to the right, probably representing an acacia. The whole is topped with a sun, on both sides of which the name of the lodge can just be made out. This design was used by La Vertueuse between circa 1798 and 1837.

The 1796 inventory included '3 triangular tin ink stands'. Lastly, the lodge minutes of 4-6-1834 record that the aforementioned Master of Furniture Gijsing received 'from the hands of the Worshipful Master':

[...] 3 Three silver Ink stands, and belongings
[...] 1 Ivory Seal, of which the Seal [surface] is cut from mother of pearl.¹⁰⁶²

Could this still be the mother of pearl seal (stamp), received from Van Braam in 1786? This could only have been used for (embossed) paper seals, as hot lacquer would have probably damaged the mother of pearl. The financial records of La Vertueuse recorded an order from Brother De Elwijk on 7-12-1789:

20 silver boxes for various expedited acts 90:--:-
4 gilt Boxes ditto 34:--:-'.¹⁰⁶³

A receipt dated 15-2-1796 also recorded the purchase of '6 pieces Silver freemasons' boxes', this time for 66 Rds.¹⁰⁶⁴ These were either covers for certificates or the boxes protecting the seals, which hung on ribbons from certificates. At the request of lodge member Herklotz the aforementioned silversmith Wyszynsky produced 'thirty pieces silver boxes according to the enclosed example'.¹⁰⁶⁵ The prototype was lost, but the invoice for his work dated 25-1-1797 provided more details:

30 pairs silver boxes weighing 62 7/3 real (at 80..) rds 104,38
wages per piece rds 2 ¾ 82,24'¹⁰⁶⁶

On 2-6-1798 another 20 were ordered for Rds 145,30.¹⁰⁶⁷ Later records also regularly mention orders for seal boxes. On 28-2-1802 a payment to a gentlemen Meppert was recorded as 'for wages for the making of 12 pieces seal boxes and 2 thereof delivered silver at 5 ½ Rds per piece rds 66,-'.¹⁰⁶⁸ A receipt dated 3-7-1807 'for 12 pieces silver boxes at 5 rds the piece' was made out to Dirks, probably the silversmith M.M. Dirksz, to whom we will come back later. Another last receipt in his name dates from 18-12-1811 and also concerned an order of five silver seal boxes, this time for 50 Rds.¹⁰⁶⁹

On 1-1-1813 a payment was made for 'twelve Silver boxes fit for containing the Seal of the Lodge which is attached to each Certificate of a brother leaving and which boxes each cost 2½ Spd'.¹⁰⁷⁰ Between 1813 and 1815 four payments were made to a 'Chinese silversmith', including orders for silver and gilded seal boxes. In all four cases this is probably Oeij Tianko, whose name is specified once.¹⁰⁷¹

After the merger of the lodges in 1837, the new seal of lodge De Ster in het Oosten incorporated symbols from both earlier ones (fig. 5.89). Surviving examples show a round design, consisting of two pillars on a set of steps, with between them a pair of crossed acacia branches holding a triangle with an all seeing

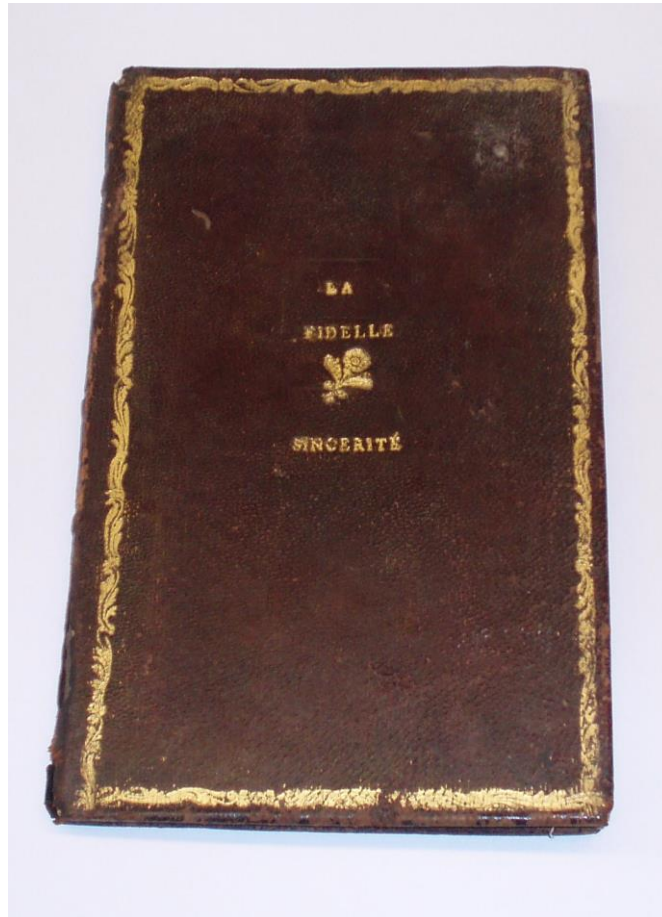


Fig. 5.90: *Vrije Metselaars gezangen*, song book with gold-stamped binding dedicated to lodge *La Fidèle Sincérité* in Batavia, ca. 1820. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 6C8. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

eye. The scene is topped by a five-pointed star carrying the letter 'G'. Below the steps are a trowel, pair of compasses crossed with a set square and hammer, and beside the pillars are a plumb and level. The whole is framed in a circle formed by the lodge name.

◆ *Books and prints*

Books were one of the first things mentioned in the correspondence between the Grand Lodge and the lodges in the Dutch East Indies. Along with the constitution for lodge *La Choisie*, Grand Secretary Radermacher jr sent a *tabellie* (an overview of regular Dutch lodges), two copies of *La lire maçonne ou recueil de chansons des Francs-Maçons* and a dozen copies of *De Plichten, wetten of algemeene reglementen der Vrye metzelaaren*, along with a bill amounting to fl. 75,15 to Batavia in January 1765.¹⁰⁷² Later, masonic song- and law books were regularly ordered from the Netherlands by all the lodges in the region. For a long time these were distributed by Rutgerus van Laak, the official bookseller of the Order. While the need for a book of rules and laws of a society is evident, songbooks were also essential to the daily lodge life. Solemn music and singing was used to enhance the mood of the rituals, while more humorous (drinking) songs livened up the table lodge.¹⁰⁷³

The Grand Secretary sent *La Fidèle Sincérité* its (definite) constitution on 20-9-1771, along with 50 sheets of pre-sealed parchment, lawbooks, a list of lodges and a *kasje* or till, as well as some *Lire maçonne*s in 'French bindings'.¹⁰⁷⁴ Later correspondence provides some insight into the use of international courriers by the Grand Lodge. In 1773 Van Laak had 50 copies of *La code maçonne et la muse maçonne [...]* and

50 copies of *La muse maçonne ou recueil de poésies diverses [...] delivered by ships captains to La Fidèle Sincérité*.¹⁰⁷⁵ Van Laak promised to send the Resolutions of the Grand Lodge later on, via 'brother Johannes Sneijders', who can be identified as captain of the ship Pauw.¹⁰⁷⁶

The lodge kept inventories of its furniture separate from those of its archive. The latter fell under responsibility of the Secretary. His overviews include 'A book of Resolutions, bound in red leather, starting Anno 1767'.¹⁰⁷⁷ The lodge inventory of 1781 for the Amanusgracht mentioned a 'Loquet Kast', a type of filing cabinet divided into compartments, 'with books and papers'.¹⁰⁷⁸ In 1798 'Twelve Song books' were mentioned separately¹⁰⁷⁹, and in 1801 '40 song books or lire macons high german' are added.

There was a gap in the data until 1816, when the lodge resided at the Tijgersgracht and lodge member J. Schill ordered new song books from Europe. These arrived on the ship Vrouw Catharina under captain J. van Dijn, and were stored in the warehouse of J. van Reenen & Co.¹⁰⁸⁰ La Fidèle Sincérité offered copies to La Vertueuse in 1819 for the price of fl. 8,-.¹⁰⁸¹ A copy of *Vrije Metselaars gezangen* in a gold-stamped leather binding dedicated to La Fidèle Sincérité, dating from around this time, survives in the collection of the CMC (fig. 5.90). The inventory of the same year shows the lodge possessed 'A Blue Archive cabinet' or chest. Besides two bibles, two law books and 'a lot of old Lire Maçonnes', the overview included '1 Lire Maçon green' and '1 ditto red', presumably referring to precious *maroquin* or maroccon leather bindings. By 1822, '81 new song books' were in supply, as well as the old ones.¹⁰⁸² The numbers of Dutch, French and German copies kept fluctuating the following years, while a number of chests, drawers and cabinets were listed for storage purposes.

The lodge minutes of 16-8-1820 reveal that La Fidèle Sincérité decided to buy a print of the new Grand Master National, Prince Frederik, which had been brought over by captain Wegener on the ship Het Schoon Verbond 'to be an Ornament of the Lodge and hang it, just in front of the Throne of this temple' at the Jacatraweg.¹⁰⁸³ This must have been the well-known engraving by Dirk Sluyter, portraying the prince in his masonic regalia after a painting by Harmanus Langerveld (1777-1830, also spelled Hermanus Langeveldt) (fig. 5.91). Langerveld first lived and worked in Groningen and then from circa 1809 in Amsterdam. There he was a member of lodge Concordia Vincit Animos in 1810-1812. By 1822 his name was also mentioned in the archives of lodge La Charité in Amsterdam.¹⁰⁸⁴ The engraving by Sluyter appeared after Prince Frederik's appointment as Grand Master in 1816. It was published in a high print run and became very popular among Dutch freemasons. Several later variations were made, copies of which are in the collection of the CMC. On 12-9-1820 Boekhoff was asked to have a frame made for the print for fl 25,-.¹⁰⁸⁵ The framed portrait was listed on all inventories of La Fidèle Sincérité from 1822 onward.¹⁰⁸⁶

(The inventory of 1822 also specifies '3 Constitutions for the Lodge of which one with Gilded frame', as well as '1 Japanese List of Names of the subscribers for the building of this Lodge' to which we will come back in chapter 6.¹⁰⁸⁷)

While in the 18th century most books and certificates were ordered from The Hague by all lodges on Java, in the 19th century these items were more often produced locally. The minutes of La Fidèle Sincérité recorded how on 15-8-1822 permission was given to print poems by lodge member Dirk Hendrik ten Kate van Loo (1792-1828), which was later presented to La Vertueuse, Vriendschap and La Constante et Fidèle.¹⁰⁸⁸ In the CMC collection remains a copy of his poem on freemasonry, as well as a poem on John's the Baptist, published in Batavia 1825 to support a masonic charity in the Netherlands.¹⁰⁸⁹ From the 1820s onwards, financial records show La Fidèle Sincérité made more and more use of the services of printers such as the Landsdrukkerij in Batavia for its convocation letters, certificates etc.¹⁰⁹⁰ In 1823 the printing of 100 certificates cost fl. 36,-.¹⁰⁹¹ The lodge minutes recorded on 21-8-1822 that lodge La Constante et Fidèle in Semarang offered 50 new song books for a price of fl. 8,- per piece, and La Fidèle Sincérité decided to buy 25 copies.¹⁰⁹² Receipts show that the lodge also had adverts placed in the local newspaper, *Javaasche Courant*, announcing its meetings and celebrations (figs. 5.38-5.39). This is another sign that the lodge remained very 'visible' to the local community.

A receipt dated October 1830, made out to lodge member J. Tromp, lists 'gilt Frame with glass silver f 21'.¹⁰⁹³ This corresponds with the inventory of the Master of Furniture for 1829-1830, which notes the acquisition of 'a vase' on 13 May 1830, later specified as 'Gilded Painting representing a Masonic Vase'.¹⁰⁹⁴ Lodge member W.A. Keuchenius wrote on 12-3-1831 on behalf of Worshipful Master J. Schill to the Grand Treasurer of the Grand Chapter in the Netherlands, thanking him for 'the received print of the



Fig. 5.91: Dirk Sluyter, Z.K.H. Prins Frederik, engraving and etching after a painting by Harmanus Langerveld, 1817. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 15432. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

vase offered to the High Noble [Master of the Lodge], it shines enclosed in a lovely Frame, as a permanent memento, in our temple'.¹⁰⁹⁵ Indeed the framed painting was listed on inventories up until 1834.

Several payments for the gilding of frames were made to the Chinese Oei Kwando in 1837.¹⁰⁹⁶ A last receipt dated 28-2-1837 to Boeckhoff mentions 'received from your wife a piece of blue moiré ribbon for use in different diplomas of newly accepted members 10 ell at 2 Guilders Silver.'¹⁰⁹⁷

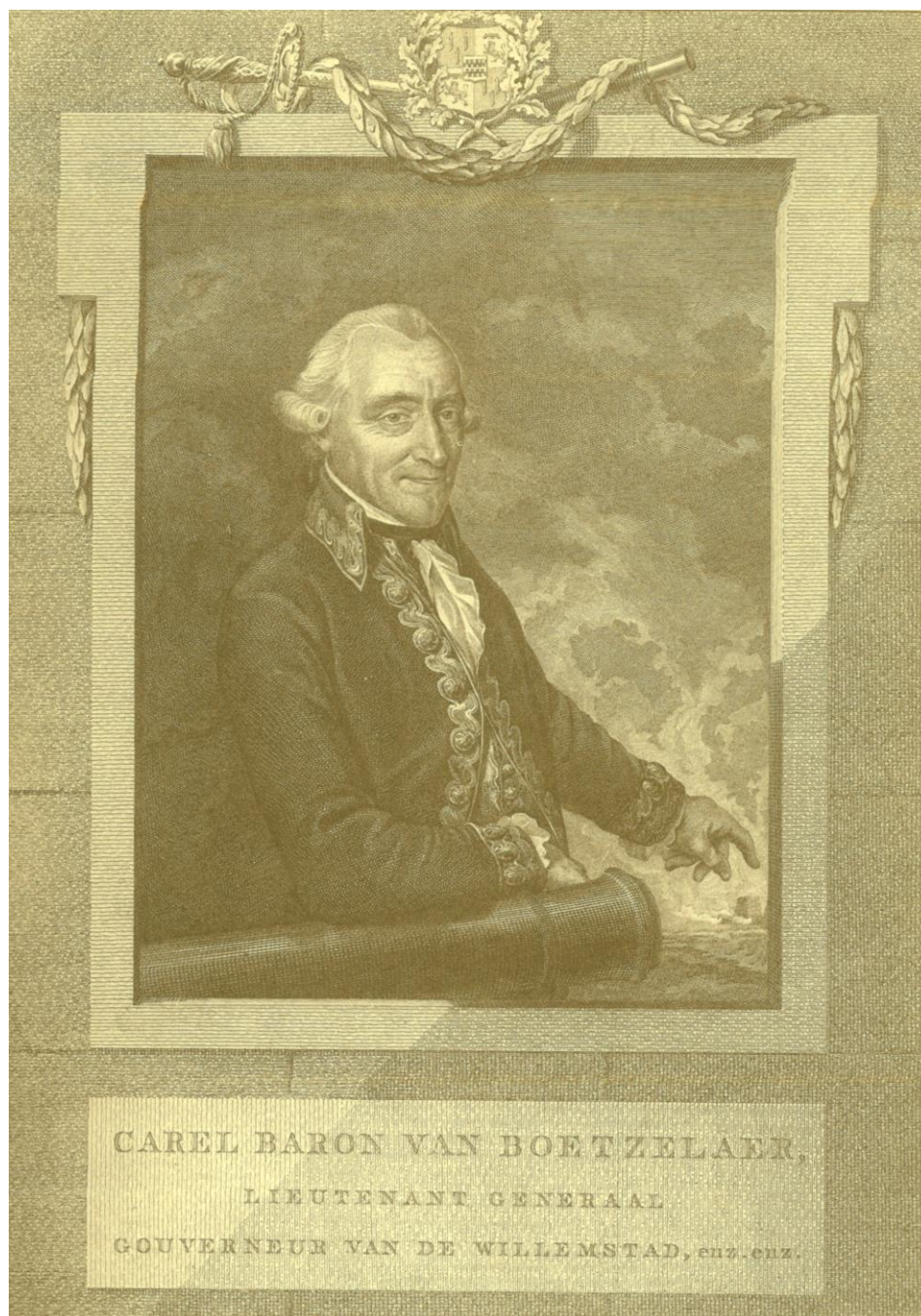


Fig. 5.92: Reinier Vinkeles, portrait of Carel Baron van Boetzelaer, engraving published by Johannes Allart in Amsterdam in 1793. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

La Vertueuse also regularly ordered masonic song and law books from the Netherlands. A letter dated from 1-9-1769 by Van Laak, mentions the delivery of Lire Maconnes, law books and parchment for a total of fl. 75,-.¹⁰⁹⁸ On 3-10-1772 La Vertueuse thanked Deputy Grand Master Steendekker for his letter of 20-5-1771, and the shipment of Lire Maconnes, as well as 50 copies of *Vreugdeklank op de geboorte van den Jongen ErfStadhouder* (*Sounds of Joy at the birth of the young heir-Stadholder*).¹⁰⁹⁹ The financial overviews recorded the purchase by members of 12 *Chansons de table*, as well as poems for the installation, 30 copies of *Vreugdeklanken*, 24 printed lists, 18 law books in 8° and one law book in 4°, all on 17-8-1774.¹¹⁰⁰ The numbers here indicate *octavo* and *quarto*, the format of the paper/book. The purchase of certificates is also frequently mentioned in archive documents.



Fig. 5.93: Cover of J. Holtrop's *Gezangboek voor vrijmetselaren* (Amsterdam 1806), bound especially for lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia. Leather stamped with gilt. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. N78 F7. Photos: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

The earliest inventory of La Vertueuse of 1779 listed mezzotints and chalk drawings, as well as several framed pictures.¹¹⁰¹ Although Worshipful Master Isaac Titsingh signed the list for approval, they were purchased by the Steward Hartsingh without authorisation and are probably not representative of what the lodge normally would have chosen. It is for instance, unlikely the lodge would have invested in mezzo tint nudes of its own accord - but once presented with them the members probably found some decorative use for them. There are inventories for the years 1779-1787, after which these items are no longer included.

La Vertueuse was able to have its own print work done much earlier than La Fidèle Sincérité and also had customized bindings made. The records noted in May 1783 'for the binding of the Lire massons 25:--:'¹¹⁰², and on 10-9-1783:

Domenicus for the printing of 160 Songs in 4 verses size 4 pages 16:--:-
For print costs of 80 speeches size 16 pages idem binding in lemon yellow paper 36:32:¹¹⁰³

The 1787 inventory for the Freemasons' Hall on the Moorish Hospital grounds listed 'A Letter of Constitution', 'One Law Book' and '20 Song Books'.¹¹⁰⁴ The books were kept in the corner cabinets in the inner portal of the lodge building. La Vertueuse also had 'two chests suitable for the storage of the papers belonging to the lodge'.

A receipt from 1796 made out to lodge Architect Josi, noted: 'to the Brother Servant Langeweg for making a frame for the Portrait of the Grand Master National van Boetzelaar 35,- for a Glass for ditto 1,- Rds'.¹¹⁰⁵ The portrait of Carel Baron van Boetzelaar, Grand Master between 1759 and 1798, was included in La Vertueuse's inventories from 1797 onwards (fig. 5.92).¹¹⁰⁶ It was most likely an engraving by Reinier Vinkeles, published in Amsterdam in 1793 and distributed among all Dutch lodges.

In the years 1796-1797 the records included receipts for print work and expenses for paper and writing supplies.¹¹⁰⁷ On 3-2-1797 La Vertueuse sent a letter to the Grand Lodge in The Hague with an order of 'fifty Lire Macons as the previous [order] with red or green Maroes leather and the Name of La Vertueuse', as well as a request for certificates and seals.¹¹⁰⁸ A supply was included in the lodge inventory of that year, as well as 'some patents'.

The Dutch bookseller J[ohannes] Holtrop wrote to La Vertueuse on 24-6-1805 announcing a new song book: *Gezangboek der Vrijmetselaren*. It was to be published in Amsterdam in 1806 by his grandfather, Willem Holtrop, a member of lodge La Charité in the same city. La Vertueuse ordered 'a hundred copies [...] bound in a French binding, with gilt on the cut and the cover embossed with golden letters: La Vertueuse'.¹¹⁰⁹ A copy of this binding is preserved in the CMC collection (fig. 5.93). The lodge inventory of 1806 listed two bibles and two law books, old and new copies of *La Lire Maçonne*, as well as '19 High German song books' and 'some books containing the duties of Free Masons'.¹¹¹⁰ In 1808 lodge member Jassoij died, and 'some ornaments and Papers' as well as 'some Masonic books and Papers' were handed over to the lodge.¹¹¹¹

Just as La Fidèle Sincérité, La Vertueuse was also offered a print of a portrait of Prince Frederik in masonic regalia in 1820. On 9 January of that year, the lodge minutes recorded the receipt of a letter by H. Langerveld, the painter himself, offering the print for 22 guilders per piece.¹¹¹² Although La Vertueuse decided to buy a copy, this is not listed in the later inventories. That was also the case with the print of the aforementioned 'masonic vase', offered by Voute to the Chapter of La Vertueuse in a letter dated 3-9-1828.¹¹¹³

Lodge De Vriendschap celebrated its 25th jubilee in 1835. For this occasion, a membership list was printed on orange silk and set in an oak frame. It was later displayed in the museum room at the Freemason's Hall in The Hague and is still in the CMC collection.¹¹¹⁴

The archive of the lodge De Ster in het Oosten contains several printed documents marking special occasions. By the 1840s it became more common to have the speeches held at mourning lodges distributed among the lodge members as a souvenir. On 18-4-1840 a mourning lodge for D.J. De Eerens took place, of which a speech and poem by orator J.H. de Waal are kept in the collection of the CMC.¹¹¹⁵ De Waal was also responsible for the speech at the mourning lodge for J.C. Goldman on 15-8-1840.¹¹¹⁶ The program for the mourning lodge 15-2-1841 for Van Sevenhoven also survives.¹¹¹⁷ On 18-11-1841 the lodge mourned the passing of no less than three brothers, J. Davidson, W.W. Milar, en L.G.J.G. Schönemarck again in speeches by De Waal.¹¹¹⁸ From 6-7-1849 dates a speech on the occasion of the mourning lodge for Launey.¹¹¹⁹

Not only sad occasions were marked. Poems survive, which were read at the feast of Winter St. John in 1841.¹¹²⁰ Another important occasion was the installation of Penning Nieuwland as Worshipful Master in 1843. The accompanying speech was printed in the Dutch masonic yearbook.¹¹²¹ A few years later an article covering the St. Johns celebrations of 1845 was published in another edition of the yearbook, including a song written to mark the occasion.¹¹²²

◆ Adoption lodges

One of the masonic traditions copied from Europe, and France in particular, was the organizing of Adoption lodges. As discussed in chapter 2, these were lodges with female members, associated to a lodge with male members and with their own rituals. Lodge celebrations at which ladies were invited, were also called Adoption lodges, although no female members were initiated at those occasions. On 10-9-1773 lodge La Vertueuse organised an 'Adoption or sister lodge', inviting the wives of its members. The program for this occasion shows that after all the guests had entered the lodge, there was communal singing and a table lodge, followed by a ball.¹¹²³

Similarly, on 10-9-1783 an Adoption lodge was organised at the house of lodge Architect Daniel Kreysman, probably as a farewell to Worshipful Master Radermacher Jr, who was about to leave for the Netherlands.¹¹²⁴ His speech and a table song, especially written to honour the ladies present at this occasion, were later published in the Dutch masonic almanac (figs. 5.94-5.95).¹¹²⁵ The program for this celebration followed the same pattern as before: the ladies were solemnly escorted into the lodge, where they would participate in singing, a joint meal and a ball, 'at which occasion the Ladies were hung with a

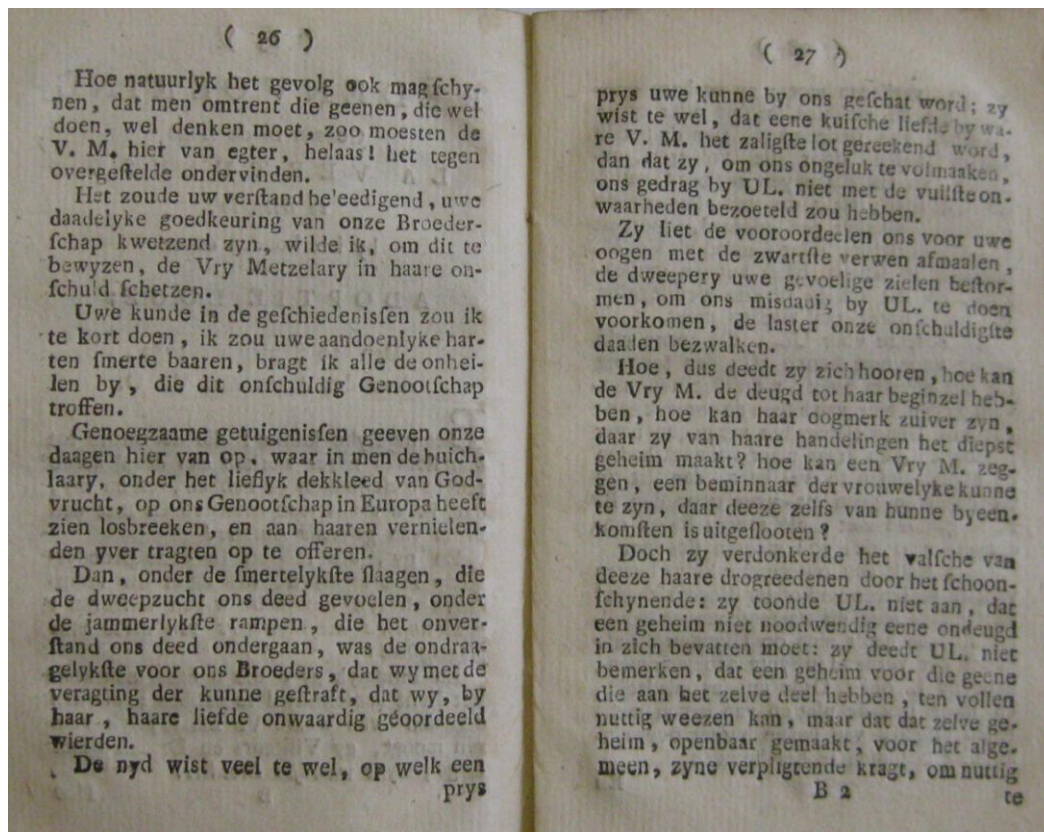
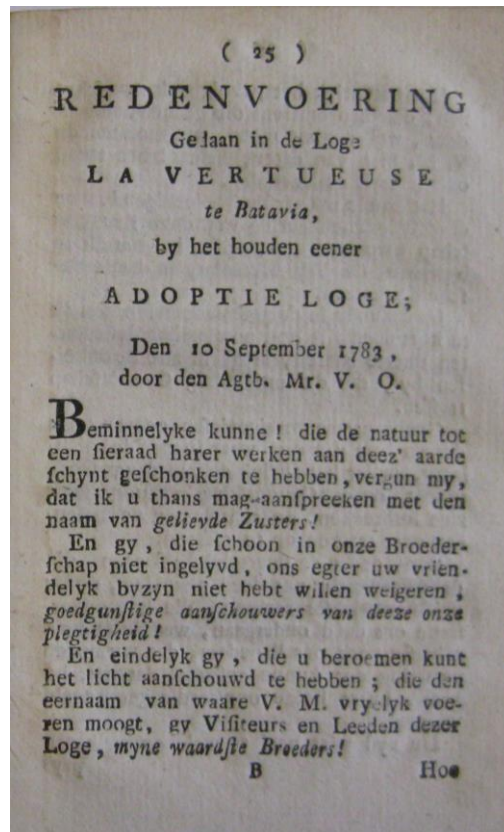


Fig. 5.94: Beginning of the speech by Daniel Kreysman, given at an Adoption Lodge organized in Lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, 10-9-1783, published in De Nederlandsche Vry-metzelaars Almanach ('s-Gravenhage 1785). Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', inv.no. 4F38. Photos: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

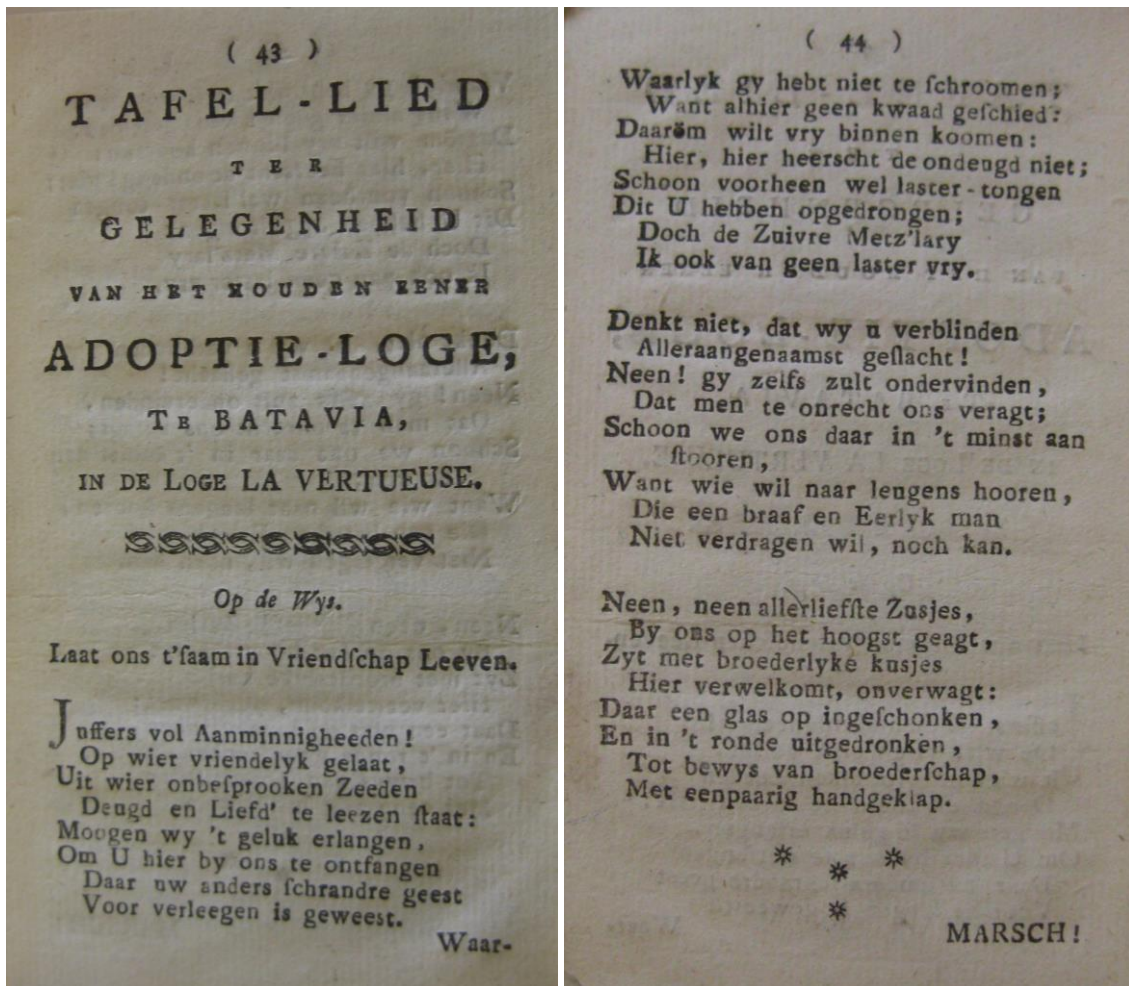


Fig. 5.95: Table song, composed for an Adoption Lodge organized in Lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, 10-9-1783, published in De Nederlandsche Vry-metzelaars Almanach ('s-Gravenhage 1786). Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', inv.no. 4F39. Photos: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

Free Masons decoration on a lemon yellow ribbon'.¹¹²⁶ This corresponds with a payment noted in the financial records of La Vertueuse 10-9-1783:

[...] at the organizing of an adoption Lodge [...]
 to the Silver Smith for 20 gold ornaments

with a set square and pair of compasses weighing 2 rds and 40 stuivers 91:--:-.¹¹²⁷

As the lodge made use of the services of the aforementioned silversmith Van Campen in 1784, these jewels may have also been ordered from him. In 18th century freemasonry the trowel was closely associated with the rituals of the Adoption lodges, but here the jewel consisted of other tools, probably indicating that a non-standard ritual (*gelegenheidsrituaal*) was used.

Apparantly, invitations could sometimes be extended to profanes as well. When Engelhard dealt with the Raffles affair in 1813, he explicitly referred to a precedent: an Adoption lodge held in Batavia in 1786, of which the invitations showed that 'the members of the High Government and their wives, as other distinguished Gentlemen and Ladies were requested to attend that party'.¹¹²⁸

From 1797 onwards, the widows Barends and Van der Weert were employed to supply regalia to La Vertueuse, particularly for the higher degrees. One of the first payments to Barends on 22-4-1797 included 'two ladies' Sashes' for an Adoption lodge.¹¹²⁹



Fig. 5.96: Initiation ceremony in an Adoption lodge, France, 1804-1814, gouache. Collection: Grand Orient de France, Paris. Reproduced from (postcard): vrijmetselarij.nl.



Fig. 5.97: Impression of an Adoption lodge in Hotel de Vilette, 1819, steel engraving, published in: Clavel ed. 1865. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 16092-10. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.



Fig. 5.98a-b: Miniature trowels, presented to ladies present at the century celebrations of the lodges in the Dutch East Indies in 1869. Silver coloured metal, the engraving on the front reading 'Vrijmetselaars Eeuwfeest met Zusters' and on the back 'Batavia 30.11.69'. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 3737. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

An Adoption lodge in La Fidèle Sincérité, held on 23-11-1804, is well documented. For this occasion, the wives of the lodge members of La Fidèle Sincérité, as well as the members of La Vertueuse and their wives were invited. The invitation read as follows:

The sisters will (if they please) bring along their unwed daughters, provided they have reached the age of fourteen years.¹¹³⁰

Although the young age is now considered inappropriate, marriages at fourteen were not uncommon at the time.¹¹³¹ And where else would one find a suitable marriage partner for their daughter, than among the brethren with whom trust and friendship were already formed? The program gives us an impression of the lodge premises:

In the evening before six o'clock the Lodge will be, both inside and out, splendidly illuminated [...] The carriages will all ride in through the large fence, then come over the wooden bridge on the adjoining piece of land and will drive along a bamboo bridge, over the noksloot again drive on the heerenweg.

NB: To this end the Mandur will have to stand ready, to show the carriage drivers the way [...].

The Front room will be covered with the large tapestry from the Lodge [room], where the sisters will be received [...]. The inner court yard will also be fitted with a carpet, for the reception of the Brethren [...]

There will be a masonic Aria played by the Musicians during the Entree and the procession to the Lodge [building] [...].¹¹³²

The program further mentions pieces from the German version of the masonic song book being performed, the dancing of a minuet before the table lodge took place, and more singing, accompanied by soft music, after dinner. The inauguration of the new building on the Jacatraweg in 1819, also had the character of an Adoption lodge or celebration with ladies, according to Hageman.¹¹³³

A receipt dated 15-7-1836 recorded a payment by La Fidèle Sincérité of '30 spanish dollars a f 2,55 and fifty guilders silver for the making of 120 small trowels'.¹¹³⁴ The receipt is signed in Chinese writing, which indicates again that a silversmith from the Chinese community in Batavia was engaged by a lodge. La Fidèle Sincérité and La Vertueuse celebrated St. John's Day together that year. As reported in the Dutch masonic almanac of 1838: 'Then this numerous group of Women, as a reminder of this day, was hung with ribbons, with trowels especially made therefore'.¹¹³⁵ A receipt dated 20-7-1836 recorded that the gentleman B. Pont received fl. 140 silver from the gentleman Ardeecht 'for Ten trowels in gold, and Twenty in silver'.¹¹³⁶ Could those have been meant for the lodge officers or esteemed guests at the same Adoption lodge?

As the miniature trowels in the collection of the CMC rarely have provenance records, no objects were linked to any of the occasions mentioned above. However, the custom can be illustrated with the tiny jewels that were made in 1869, presented as a souvenir to the ladies present at the 'Century feast with sisters' held by the lodges in the Dutch East Indies (fig. 5.98a-b).

Adoption lodges have recently been studied from the perspective of women's and ritual studies, as these allowed women responsible positions of power in the 18th century which society in general still denied them.¹¹³⁷ By the 19th century, Adoption lodges in the Dutch East Indies seem to have been little more than a title for a feast with ladies, occasionally doubling as a reliable marriage market. It would be interesting to find out who actively participated in such lodges in Batavia. The membership lists for the years in which Adoption lodges took place are available in the CMC, so basic genealogical research should be able to reveal the names of their wives and daughters - the women involved.

♦ *Higher degrees and Chapter inventories*

As the higher degrees had developed in France around 1740, members of the new *Écossois* degree were at first given certain privileges and authority. This led to rivalry and was counteracted by the Grand Lodge, but the same thing happened with the *Rose Croix* degree around 1760. The introduction of new degrees, and the implied shift in the balance of knowledge and therefore power, kept leading to grumbling and prejudice towards higher degrees among lodges of the basic degrees and their Grand Lodges.

In 1769 some English freemasons in Batavia, a mister Mesterton (probably Archibald Mesterton of lodge Salomon in Bengal, see chapter 4) and a mister Brahé (former member of La Choisie), are thought to have tried unsuccessfully to gain control over lodge La Fidèle Sincérité. They boasted authority over the other lodge members because they possessed the (British) Royal Arch degree.¹¹³⁸ Deputy Grand Master Steendekker wrote to the The Hague on 16-1-1771:

There is here a stronger man well known to you High enlightened, who makes masters in the Front room or by his Own hand, and he makes Scots and Elus and E[cos]sois [ou] Elu Parfait &c and what is more, but he has been Before in the [lodge] La Choisie, here are severel other degrees, those of soo called Baron van Schonneck here introduced Although not after the true Masonry.¹¹³⁹

This probably referred to Brahé. Steendekker asked the Grand Lodge to grant him more powers, to be able to overrule such men.

On 19-4-1775 the Grand Lodge informed La Vertueuse, that a new Grand Master would be chosen especially for the *Élu* and *Écossois* degrees.¹¹⁴⁰ It seems several successive attempts to found a lodge for the higher degrees on Java were then made before the end of the 18th century. The process started in 1776, when La Vertueuse wrote to the Grand Lodge, that the degrees of *Élu* and *Ecossois* were practised in the East Indies, 'mainly promoted by the deceased Brother Vernet, former Director of Bengal, the brother Architect Mesterton, and more others'.¹¹⁴¹ The lodge wondered if such initiations were legal and if so, wanted to receive a formal document to be allowed to do so. In 1778 the first lodge for the higher degrees in the Dutch East Indies is thought to have been founded by La Fidèle Sincérité.¹¹⁴² At the time the Order in the Netherlands was engaged in the higher degrees of the German *Strikte Observanz* (Strict Observance rite). However, most Dutch freemasons preferred to practice the French higher degrees, which eventually caused the *Strikte Observanz* to be abandoned and a Dutch Order of Higher Degrees to be established in 1803 (see chapter 2). The lodges in the Dutch East Indies also stuck with the French degrees.

The archive of La Fidèle Sincérité contains templates for certificates for the degree of *Écossois* and *Élu* dating from 1778.¹¹⁴³ In 1780, several 'Gabaons receptions' were noted in the financial administration of the lodge. *Gabaon* is the password for the (4th) degree of *Petit Architecte*, as published in *Les Plus Secrets Mystères [...]* (1766) and the *Recueil Précieux de la Maçonnerie Adonhiramite* (ed. 1783).¹¹⁴⁴ As discussed in chapter 2, elements of this (*Écossois*) degree were later incorporated into the (4th) *Schots Meester en Ridder van St. Andries* (Scots Master and Knight of St. Andrew) of the Dutch Order of Higher Degrees. The mention of these initiations in the financial records of a lodge of the basic degrees show that separate archives were not yet kept for the higher degrees.

It is logical that lodges working in a place where so many international travellers stayed over, came into contact with a wide variety of rituals. A later inventory of the lodge archive of La Fidèle Sincérité listed

undated rituals for the *Maître Parfait Anglois*, *Maître Parfait Maçon* and *Maître Écossais*, *Petit and Grand Architecte*, *Maître Illustré ou Chevalier des Deux Aigles*, *Écossais de K.S.* [= Kadosh?] ... *de Paris et de Montpellier* and *Chevalier Anglais*.¹¹⁴⁵

Meanwhile, lodge La Vertueuse had received a constitution for its higher degrees on 9-8-1784, which somehow went missing.¹¹⁴⁶ None the less, the lodge kept working in those degrees. On 6-2-1794 the members made a second attempt to found a lodge for the *Écossais* and *Élu* degrees.¹¹⁴⁷ La Vertueuse entertained friendly correspondence with the French lodges on Mauritius, with whom contact had been established some years earlier, when ships had arrived in search of the French explorer La Pérouse, discussed above. Surviving correspondence suggests that three French visitors - Josef Gaspar Roger de Kerbron, Joseph François Antoine du Gasquet and Pierre Antoine Monneron - possessed the '3e et 4e Ordre' of the Rite Moderne. This meant they practised the *Chevalier de L'Orient* and *Rose Croix* degrees, for which La Vertueuse did not have a Chapter.¹¹⁴⁸ The French had arranged a constitution from their *Grande Chapitre General*, allowing la Vertueuse to work in the highest degrees.¹¹⁴⁹ The members of La Vertueuse who already had the *Écossais* degree - Engelhard, Holle, Naarssen, Hartsinck, Garrisson, Barends, Cranssen, Canter Visscher en Jossi – were initiated as *Chevaliers d'Orient* and the three oldest members - Engelhard, Holle and Naarssen – also received the degree of *Sovereign Prince Rose Croix*.¹¹⁵⁰ A letter to the Grand Chapter in Paris clearly states that the Chapter of La Vertueuse was operating:

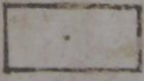
[...] for now under the auspices of the Sovereign Chapter of the royal Lodge St. Jean under the distinctive title of Les 15 artistes in the East of the Isle de France, formed Extraordinarily by the respectable J.G. Roger of the royal Lodge Les 15 artistes J.F.A. Du Gasquet of the royal lodge la triple Esperance and Pierre Monneron of [lodge] la fraternite Cosmopolite, the first two in the East of the Isle de France, the latter from Pondicherry [...].¹¹⁵¹

From 1796 survived a *Livre d'Architecture*, which seems to be a minute book for this Chapter, describing the meetings rituals for the degrees of *Élus*, *Écossais*, *Chevalier d'Orient* and *Rose Croix* practised by La Vertueuse according to the *Rite Moderne / Rite Français* (fig. 5.99a-b)¹¹⁵² Engelhard acted as Worshipful Master, and among others, Siberg and Van Overstraten were mentioned as members, albeit regularly absent.

Of course all of this was cause for yet another argument between La Vertueuse and La Fidèle Sincérité.¹¹⁵³ On 10-7-1797 members of La Fidèle Sincérité complained how visitors from La Vertueuse seemed to have 'received the degree of *Élu de Quinze* not properly and not according to our Constitution'.¹¹⁵⁴ They did not accept the perceived higher rank of the French. What also stung them, is that members, who had received their first *Élu* degree in La Fidèle Sincérité, now turned elsewhere for the successive *Élu* degrees, meaning La Fidèle Sincérité also missed out on the initiation fees.¹¹⁵⁵

Of course, La Vertueuse continued without taking any notice. But when it came to explaining things to the Grand Lodge, La Vertueuse remained vague. It claimed to have accepted only the preparation of a Chapter by the French, not knowing how long a Dutch constitution would be under way.¹¹⁵⁶ La Vertueuse assured the Grand Lodge that it had refused the actual Constitution from the French in favour of one from the Netherlands. However, from correspondence from Engelhard to La Constante et Fidèle in Semarang it is clear, that this lodge too had contact with the French and may have arranged a Chapter constitution from them.¹¹⁵⁷

From 1808 onwards, a yearly meeting of a Grand Chapter for the High Degrees took place in the Netherlands. (The lodges in the Dutch East Indies would not be represented in the Grand Chapter meetings until 1830, nor in the Grand Lodge meetings for the basic degrees until 1844.¹¹⁵⁸) This new Grand Chapter probably considered all existing Chapters in the Dutch East Indies irregular. As discussed earlier, by that time Engelhard had to share his power with Parvé as 'Commissioners of the Grand Lodge for the symbolic and the Grand Chapter of the High Degrees'.¹¹⁵⁹ As such, they wrote to The Hague on 20-10-1809, explaining the four degrees practised in the East Indies (*Élu*, *Schots Meester of Ridder van St. Andries*, *Ridder van de Degen en het Oosten*, *Sovereign Prins Rose Croix*).¹¹⁶⁰ To the dissatisfaction of the Chapters on

LIVRE
 D'ARCHITECTURE
 DE LA 
 LA VERTUEUSE.

Au l'Orion de Batavia le 22^e Jour de l'An 1796
 A la Grosse de G. A. de l'Or.
 Le l'Orion de l'Or. A. de l'Or. A. de l'Or.
 forme extraordinaire et sous le l'Orion de l'Or.
 G. A. de l'Or. A. de l'Or. A. de l'Or.
 Chap. de la V. de l'Or. A. de l'Or. A. de l'Or.
 comme conçoit aux l'Orion de l'Or.
 Le l'Orion de l'Or. A. de l'Or. A. de l'Or.
 G. A. de l'Or. A. de l'Or. A. de l'Or.
 de la V. de l'Or. A. de l'Or. A. de l'Or.
 et l'Orion de l'Or. A. de l'Or. A. de l'Or.
 monopole l'Orion de l'Or. A. de l'Or. A. de l'Or.
 point l'Orion de l'Or. A. de l'Or. A. de l'Or.
 de l'Or. A. de l'Or. A. de l'Or. A. de l'Or.
 l'Orion de l'Or. A. de l'Or. A. de l'Or.

Fig. 5.99a-b: Cover and page of the minutes from the Livre d'Architecture de La [Loge] La Vertueuse in Batavia, 1796-1799. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. IIB13. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

Java, their constitutions were then withdrawn by the commissioners, who set about forming a new Grand Chapter for the Dutch East Indies to preside over them in future.¹¹⁶¹

Meanwhile, La Vertueuse ignored the ban and continued practising the higher degrees, as is clear from a letter of complaint by the commissioners to La Vertueuse dated 10-10-1809. The lodge had initiated the aforementioned Herman Warner Muntinghe as *Élu*, which the Committee declared unlawful.¹¹⁶² Apparently Engelhard and Parvé then did allow the lodges to temporarily work in Chapters with their explicit permission, but they left it unclear that this permission was required for each higher degree separately.¹¹⁶³

The initiation in the higher degrees was expensive, as is clear from a letter by Engelhard to La Constante et Fidèle dated 30-5-1809, suggesting:

[...] the same *emport* in *Rijksdaalders* as the Law states in guilders [...] Chevaliers d'Épée Rds 100 en SPRC 150 silver specie [= money] or together 250 Rds. With a little consultation the Brethren can immediately form a Fines Till, in general the whole reception is decided on 200 or 150 namely 80 or 50 for Chevalier de Lorias [sic] and 120 or 100 for that of SPRC all in silver. It is good if the price is set a little high, otherwise the applications are difficult, and if the first Founders of this Temple, therein set a good example, the next Brothers that request to be admitted into these degrees, have nothing to say, they are to Sublime to arrive there *but en blanc*.¹¹⁶⁴

A ritual for the 'installation' of an *Élu* dating from 1813 survived.¹¹⁶⁵ It probably dates just after the constitution of the Grand Chapter for the Dutch East Indies in the same year.¹¹⁶⁶ As the installation involved Engelhard, it did not run smoothly. He invited two members of La Fidèle Sincérité to share their thoughts about the organisation of the event, which then led to a disagreement about their profane affairs. The Worshipful Master of La Fidèle Sincérité wrote to Engelhard on 8-3-1813, handing in his resignation because things had gotten so out of hand.¹¹⁶⁷

A next step by the Grand Chapter was to agree on standardised initiation fees. Engelhard formed yet another committee to arrange the matter between the lodges, which again caused a conflict leading to some members being banned. Eventually the committee decided on fees of 100,- silver Spd for the *Élu*, 75 for the *Écossais* and the *Chevalier d'Orient*, 125 for the *Rose Croix* degree, as well as 10,- Spd for each diploma and 25,- Spd for that of the *Rose Croix* degree.¹¹⁶⁸ In October 1814 Engelhard wrote to the *Rose Croix* Chapter concerning a request by the *Écossais* for the reinstatement of their Chapter, and apologies offered by banned members Muller, von Winckelman, Middelkoop, Overbeeck and Sack. He agreed with Parvé that there was no objection to let them attend the meetings of the lodges of the basic degrees again.¹¹⁶⁹ Similarly, the Chapter of La Constante et Fidèle, constituted in 1809 but closed after the Raffles debacle, was allowed to reopen on 25-12-1814.¹¹⁷⁰ The constitution of a Chapter of lodge De Vriendschap in Surabaya was dated 8-6-1814.¹¹⁷¹ The successive Worshipful Masters of the lodges would also act as heads of the Chapter.¹¹⁷² However, the workings of the higher degrees were not always clear to the members themselves. In 1819 lodge member Weynmalen, who had been initiated into the *Élu* degrees in La Fidèle Sincérité, requested his certificate for the *Écossais* degree, mixing up the two.¹¹⁷³

By 1817 the situation in the Low Countries (the Netherlands and Belgium now united) had changed: a *Supreme Conseil des Pays Bas* or Grand Chapter for the *Rite Écossais Ancien et Accepté* was founded in Brussels.¹¹⁷⁴ Under Prince Frederik, the new Grand Master National, the Dutch system of higher degrees would be reformed. In 1819 he founded the *Afdeling van de Meestergraad* (Department of the Master Degree). This was meant to offer a Dutch alternative for the popular French higher degrees. As a result, between 1819 and 1835 these operated parallel to each other.¹¹⁷⁵ In the Dutch East Indies, the old practises still continued for some time.¹¹⁷⁶ On 15-2-1826 a letter from the Grand Lodge reached the Chapter of De Vriendschap, announcing the changes made by Prince Frederik. The Chapter decided not to implement the new system and continued to work in the four French higher degrees. The Provincial Grand Master was then informed accordingly.¹¹⁷⁷

By the 1830s, the Chapter of La Fidèle Sincérité became responsible for its own inventory. Its possessions were no longer listed on those the overviews of the basic degrees. Three Chapter inventories, dated from 24-6-1833, 23-7-1834 and 23-8-1835, survived, the latter being most elaborate (Table 5.V).¹¹⁷⁸ As the

Namens den benoemd voorzitter van het *kapittel der oppergraden*, gevestigd in de Loge de *Ster in het Oosten*, noodigt de ondergeteekende alle daartoe geregtigde vrijmetselaren uit, om op maandag den 5den Februarij aanstaande, des avonds te *half zeven ure*, te willen bijwonen, de installatie van genoemd kapittel.

BATAVIA,
den 31sten Jan. 1838. P.: S.:
De benoemd kanselier van het
kapittel voormeld,
P. VAN REES.

Fig. 5.100: Advert for a Chapter meeting of lodge De Ster in het Oosten in Batavia, *Javaasche Courant*, 31-1-1838. Reproduced from: *delpher.nl*.

Chapter also made use of the facilities and furniture of the basic degrees, it did not need to invest in many objects of its own. On 2-10-1834 Worshipful Master Popkens of La Fidèle Sincérité wrote a letter to M. Reijnst, who had obtained an *Élu* degree in La Vertueuse, which shows that the former (still) did not recognize the Chapter of the latter. The Chapters of both lodges continued to work separately for a bit longer, while the lodges of the basic degrees had already merged.¹¹⁷⁹ The foundation of the Chapter of De Ster in het Oosten and its installation did not take place until 5-2-1838¹¹⁸⁰, after a formal announcement of the occasion was made in the *Javaasche Courant* on 31-1-1838 by Chancellor P. van Rees (fig. 5.100). This underlines once again how publicly visible the lodges and even the Chapters operated.

■ Chapter jewels

Never one to waste an opportunity, as soon as a Grand Master for the higher degrees was to be appointed in The Hague in 1775, Van Laak informed lodge La Vertueuse of 'novelties' he could supply for the higher degrees, including black clothing and ornaments for the *Élu* degree, and ribbons and sashes with rosets for the *Écossois*.¹¹⁸¹ Those initiated into one of the higher degrees, could wear a jewel with the colour and symbols of that degree, but only at meetings of that particular degree. As there was no one of 'lower' status to witness it, this was not a sign of a member's seniority or rank, but marked a deeper understanding of masonic labour and symbolism. Although that was the masonic ideal, in practice some members were rather proud of their achievement and tried to display their status by wearing their higher degree jewels in meetings of the basic degrees as well, causing heated arguments on the subject (see chapter 4).

The 1801 inventory of La Fidèle Sincérité listed: '8 eight Silver triangles with the Letter G'.¹¹⁸² These were most likely jewels for the *Écossois*, as will become clear from the records of sister lodge La Vertueuse below. In rare cases only a reference to jewels was mentioned in the minute books. On 22-4-1818 the Chapter of La Fidèle Sincérité discussed how:

Table 5.V: Chapter inventory Lodge La Fidèle Sincérité in Batavia, 23-8-1835.

Furniture belonging to the Chapter of highest degrees established in lodge La Fidèle Sincérité

4: English Lamp crowns with Branches
 4: ditto Hanging Lamps with Balance
 14: ditto Table Lamps
 4: ditto Wall Lamps
 A cave Complete for the Elús Lodge
 2: Silk Cloaks 1
 2: Crowns 1
 1: Sceptre of Wood
 1: Tracing Board for Elú
 1: ditto for Scots Master
 1: ditto for Knight of the east 1
 1: Copper Bell 1
 1: Large Metal Tin
 1: Frame gilt containing a Ma [?]
 1: ditto ditto in which a Name List of Members
 1: chest for the Archive at the grand chancellor
 1: Silver seal " " " "
 2: Mahogany wooden Playing Tables
 8: Painted Brown Lamp stands
 2: Large Mirrors

Brother Boekhof was presented with the ornaments of this degree [= Knight of the East] belonging to the estate of Deceased Brother Eekhout, and such in recognition for the Window curtains donated by him [to the lodge].¹¹⁸³

J.C.M. Wasbeek Eekhout had been the Orator for some years when he died in 1814. It was common for masonic objects in the estate of deceased members to be returned to the lodge, so they might be passed on to a new generation of members. Masonic publications even included a notice specifically asking for them to be returned. Much 18th and 19th century heritage was preserved this way, with objects ending up in masonic museums when a lodge was erased, or the regalia having become outdated. It was unusual for the relatives of the deceased to hold on to such objects, if they were not freemasons themselves.¹¹⁸⁴

An invoice dated 1-6-1827 to the widow Decker, to whom we will come back in the discussion of aprons, listed '6 Master Bands [= sashes] with Silver triangles f 18'.¹¹⁸⁵ The 1829-1830 inventory provided more details: 'Silver G's for the Master ribbons 16 [pieces] 7 May 1830 taken in stock'.¹¹⁸⁶

The financial administration of La Vertueuse also recorded orders for degree jewels. For instance, on 9-3-1784 the overview included:

The payment to the Silversmith van Campen, for the following for which the brethren who have enjoyed the same are still to pay before the last of the following April

3 Silver pokers	21:--:-
10 " ornaments gilt with the Letter G in the middle	33:--:-. ¹¹⁸⁷

The silversmith was most likely Abraham van Campen (died 1796), 'from Tegal' and most active in Batavia between 1772 and 1776.¹¹⁸⁸ The 'poker' refers to the poniard of the *Élu* degrees, in which the revenge for Hiram's murder and a dagger play an important role (see chapter 2). A small dagger-like sword is used both as a jewel and a ritual prop in those degrees (figs. 5.108, 5.110 and 5.115). The lodge inventory of 27-12-1787 further specified the commissioned items as:

A gold and Silver Saint Andrew on the Cross,
Two Sawassa Triangles, with the Letter G within, for the Brothers Scots
Three Silver Pokers with Ebony Hilts, for the Brothers *Élu*.¹¹⁸⁹

An X-shaped cross (saltire) with an image of St. Andrew was also a symbol for the degree of 'Scots Master or Knight of St. Andrew' (see chapter 2 and fig. 5.101).¹¹⁹⁰ The 1793 inventory lists the 'silver gilt' version as weighing 3/8 real and valued at 1:- Rds.¹¹⁹¹ The sawassa triangles were omitted from the inventories from 1789 onwards, the pokers from 1793, the gold St. Andrew's cross from 1796 and finally the silver gilt version from 1797 onwards. Jewels of this degree are represented in the collection of the CMC and give some impression how these pieces may have looked (fig. 5.102 detail).

In the years 1791-1800 La Vertueuse commissioned several pieces from 'the Jeweller Remer', who has not been identified further.¹¹⁹² He may have been related to one of the lodge members with the surname Remer, also spelled as Reemer or Reimer. The minutes of 7-5-1791 recorded:

[...] furthermore it was approved to qualify the Brother Welgevare at his offer to have made at the expense of the Lodge an ornament of jewels representing the St. Andrew's Cross in order to offer the same to the Brother Past Master [P.G.] van Overstraten at the occasion of his Worshipful's farewell to this Lodge, as a souvenir.¹¹⁹³

Van Overstraten was also Master of the *Écossais* lodge of La Vertueuse. A receipt by Remer for the materials used, dates from September of the same year: 'For delivering 203 pieces Dutch roses to One Order, at rd 1:32 per piece amounts to Rds 338:16, The gold used therefore 24,-'.¹¹⁹⁴ 'Dutch roses' are probably rose cut diamonds or other precious stones. The gift was mentioned again in the minutes of 1-11-1791, when the lodge wondered why Remer had not mentioned any wages.¹¹⁹⁵ On 15-11-1791 the reply came 'that said Jeweller did not desire anything for it'.¹¹⁹⁶ When the widow of Van Overstraten repatriated

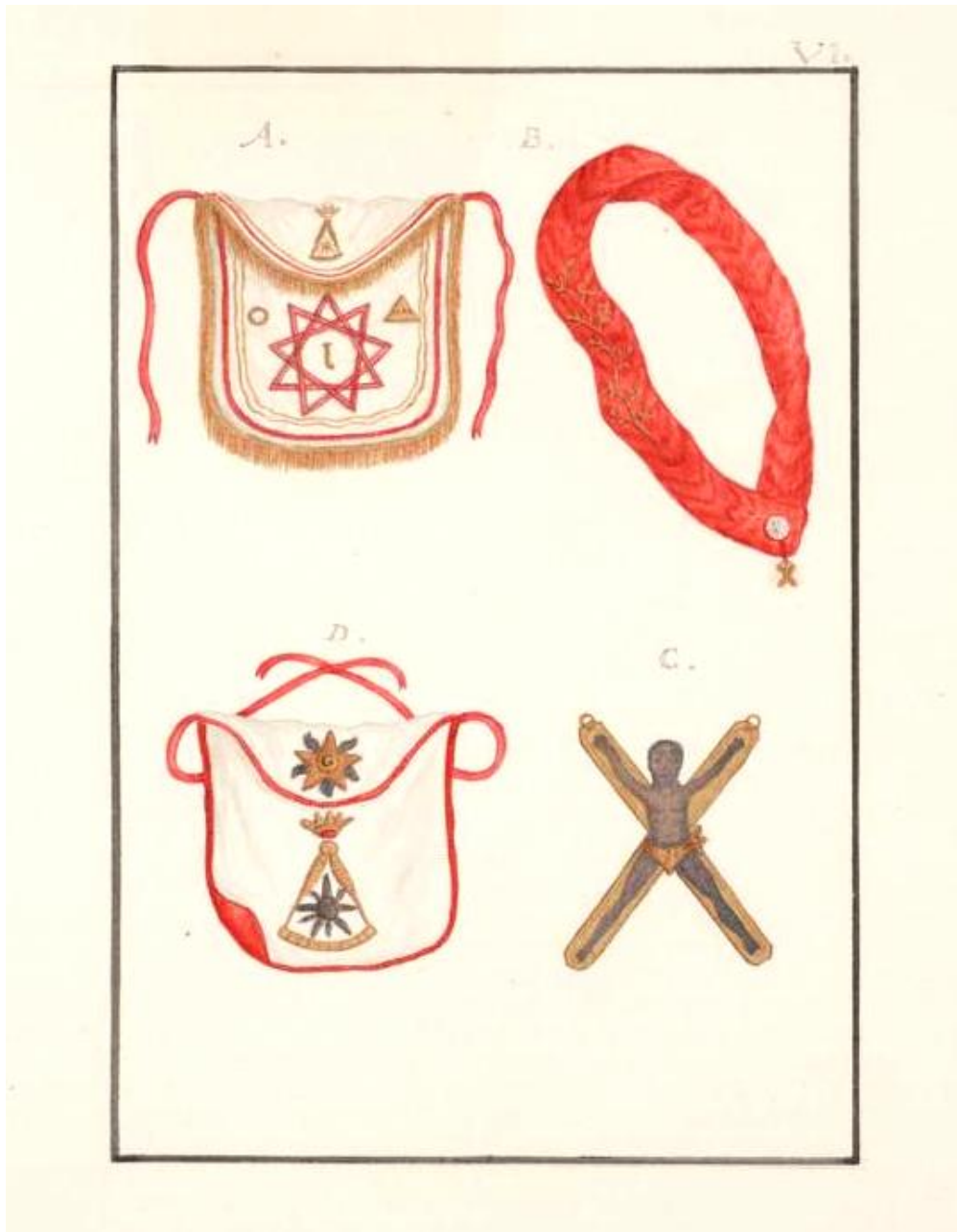


Fig. 5.101: Regalia for the Écossais degrees, as illustrated in a *tailleur* for the Rite Français and Rite Écossais, ca. 1850-1875. Collection: Amsterdam Museum, inv.no. A 16107-189. Reproduced from: am.adlibhosting.com.

years later, she restored the jewel to the lodge, according to the minutes of 13-3-1808 'as professing not having taken any Precosia on the journey'.¹¹⁹⁷

Remer was commissioned again on 25-8-1796, when he was paid for '20 pieces gold Master ornaments at rds 15 the piece amounting to rds 300,-'.¹¹⁹⁸ On 21-6-1797 five more Master ornaments were acquired for the same price¹¹⁹⁹ and in February 1800 another eight were ordered.¹²⁰⁰ Considering the high price, these too must have been *Écossais* jewels rather than 3rd degree jewels. They are not listed in the inventories, because individual members probably kept their regalia at home.

The financial records of the *Élu* Chapter noted another payment on 22-6-1798: 'Brother Reemer for 12 pokers 120:-'.¹²⁰¹ Similar orders were made on 7-6-1798¹²⁰² and February 1800.¹²⁰³ On 10-10-1802 a payment was made to 'Brother Jassoij Leijd about two silver swords for rd 20 bought from him'.¹²⁰⁴



Fig. 5.102 (and detail): Sash of red moiré silk, 19th century, belonging to a member of the Holmberg de Beckfeld family from the East Indies. Jewels for the Écossais degree are attached: a double triangle with the letter 'G' on a green silk rosette and a St. Andrew's cross on a red silk bow. Silk, copper and silvercoloured metal, 95 x 10.5 cm. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.nos. 4873- 4875. Photograph: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.



Fig. 5.103: Jewel attributed to a lodge in the Dutch East Indies, 19th century. Gold coloured plating on silver coloured metal, size not listed. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 2157. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

Fig. 5.104: Jewel attributed to lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, 19th century. Silver coloured metal, size not listed. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 7363. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.



Fig. 5.105: Jewel attributed to lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, 19th century. Silver coloured metal, size not listed. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 7372. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

Fig.5.106: Jewel attributed to lodge La Vertueuse in Batavia, 19th century. Yellow silk (faded) and silver coloured metal, size not listed. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 7375. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

A receipt for 36 Rds was made out on 27-4-1808 to C.J. Adriaans: 'for the making of Six Silver poniards'.¹²⁰⁵ Possibly Adriaans was a relative of the silversmith A.J. Adriaens, working in Batavia some years earlier.¹²⁰⁶

Between 1803 and 1811 the financial records list payments for silver ware to 'M.M. Dirksz', possibly a relative of lodge member Simon Dirksz. The first receipt dated 7-5-1803 concerned the delivery of '12 Pieces Silver gilt Triangle with Letter G at 5 rds 60 rds'.¹²⁰⁷ On 7-1-1805 the sum of 100 Rds was paid 'for 10 Pieces double silver gilt Triangle with letter G'.¹²⁰⁸ The latter should be interpreted as a jewel in the shape of a six-pointed star or Seal of Solomon with the letter G in the middle. Both types of jewel are associated to the *Écossais* degrees, of which similar examples are kept in the CMC collection (figs. 5.103-5.106). The next receipt is dated 16-8-1809 and mentions:

for 4 pieces Silver gilt sculptures at 30 rds	rds 120
for 6 pieces ditto ditto double Triangle with letter G at 20 rds	120,-. ¹²⁰⁹

The 'sculptures' were probably more elaborate, cast jewels, such as St. Andrew on the cross (compare fig 5.102). A last payment of 54 Rds on 16-2-1810 for 6 'triangles with G' was probably also made to Dirksz.¹²¹⁰

In 1811, lodge members Age Iges (see chapter 6) and Johan Adriaan Doornik signed for a payment of 45 Rds for '4 pieces Master ornaments Silver gilt'.¹²¹¹ On 5-8-1812 the widow Van der Linden was reimbursed for delivering various regalia, including '2 silver ornaments 10 rds'.¹²¹² Likewise, the financial records of the Chapter of La Vertueuse of 28-9-1813 noted a payment of 185,- paper money 'To Mrs [Lucia] van PanHuijs for delivered ornaments for the high degrees', who had earlier delivered aprons and other textile regalia.¹²¹³ This shows that the lodge had no problem with women seeing (or overseeing the commission of) regalia, even though the laws of the Order formally prohibited such sharing of 'secrets' with the profane.

Between 1813 and 1815 four payments were made to a 'Chinese silversmith'. This is most likely Oeij Tianko, whose name is mentioned on one of the related receipts. On 20-1-1813 he was paid 36,- Spd 'For the making of 24 silver ornaments gilded with gold'.¹²¹⁴



Fig. 5.107: Jan Luyken (1649-1912), Dress of the high Priest, as illustrated in Petrus Cunaeus, *La republique des Hebreux*, Amsterdam 1705, Vol. I, p. 130. Collection: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv.no. RP-P-OB-44.140. Reproduced from: rijksmuseum.nl

■ Aprons, sashes and other textile regalia

Most remarkable is the description of the garments worn by an officer in *La Fidèle Sincérité* in 1786:

[...] the Brother Terrible will henceforth - when in function - be amongst others clothed in an honourable Priestly dress of white Cotton with a breastplate of black velvet, on which the Square, Compasses and Plumb Line are embroidered in Silver; wearing on his Head a large Turban, on his feet a pair of moorish slippers, and disguising his face by a mask and grey long beard.¹²¹⁵

In total contrast with what was common in the Netherlands at the time, the *Terrible* of *La Fidèle Sincérité* wore an outfit reminiscent of that of a High Priest (fig. 5.107), which formed the basis for the dress of an officer in the (American) Royal Arch degree. However, this degree (derived from the *Écossais* degrees, see chapter 2) was not yet commonly practised by the Dutch at the time. We will come back to other Royal Arch elements in the inventories later.

The 1798 version first mentions aprons and related items for the higher degrees:

Three Elu aprons
 [...] Three Scots aprons white
 [...] Five Scots aprons blue
 Eleven light blue ribbons and rosettes¹²¹⁶

In later inventories, regalia for the same higher degrees are mentioned. Before 1800, these were recognizable by their colour: black and silver for the *Élu*, while the blue listed here for the *Écossais* would be replaced by red and green. The overview of 1801 included the following items:

A chest with ten drawers and copper fittings [containing]
 3 three Elu Aprons of the 1st and 2nd degree
 2 Two “ ” 3rd degree

7 Seven breastplates
3 three black bands¹²¹⁷

Breastplates were an uncommon feature, again related to the Royal Arch degree, but in Batavia associated with the *Écossais* degree, as will become clear from similar items on the inventories of La Vertueuse discussed below.¹²¹⁸ It is an indication that the ritual practice in the Dutch East Indies sometimes deviated from that in the Netherlands. There was a substantial gap in the inventories up until 1819, when the breastplates no longer appeared on the lists. In the years in between, the financial records specify the type of regalia that was made to order for the lodge. A receipt dated 18-8-1815 lists:

6 Elu Bands [= sashes] with Silver Letters and Silver Heads at 30 per Piece	180 [Spd]
6 ditto Aprons at 6 Each	36
[...] 6 Red Embroidered Bands [= sashes] for the Sovereign Prince [Rose Croix] at 15 per Piece	90
6 ditto Cordons at 3 per Piece	18
6 ditto Aprons at 7 per Piece	42
[...] 6 Scots [Master] Aprons at 4 Spd each	24
6 ditto Band at 3 ditto each	18
6 Chevaliers' Bands [= sashes] at 3 Spd each	18
6 ditto Aprons at 4 ditto	24 ¹²¹⁹

The financial records of 1821 show that aprons and bands [= sashes] were acquired through Master of Furniture H. Boekhoff.¹²²⁰ Prices remained steady. A receipt dated 27-1-2-1823 mentions 11 'Sovereign' (= *Rose Croix*) collars for fl. 11,- and aprons for fl. 12,-, 'Chevaliers' bands for fl. 15,-, as well as *Écossais* bands with ornament for fl. 20,- and those without for fl. 8,-, the accompanying aprons for fl. 6,-.¹²²¹ An invoice dated 20-8-1827 'for having made of watered [moiré] black Elu bands [= sashes] with silver skulls, Letters, Poker and Fringe' amounts to fl. 30,- (compare fig. 5.108b).¹²²² By 1831 the Chapter of La Fidèle Sincérité was responsible for its own inventory, so the financial records for the basic degrees no longer included relevant items.

The accounts of lodge La Vertueuse included a mention of 'ribbon and sash for [the] Rose order', requested with supplies from the Netherlands on 1-9-1769.¹²²³ It is not clear if 'rose' should here be interpreted as a flower, and as such a reference to either the Rose Croix degree (which was only just developing in France and used a *cordón* or saltire, not a sash) or to the Adoption lodges, as a rosette (a reference to the *Ecoissois* degrees, which used rosettes in regalia) or as the colour rose (red, also a reference to the *Ecoissois* degrees).

On 6-9-1781 the wages for the production of aprons were specified, including: '16:- Scots Master green cloak cloth with red ribbon at rds 42 each 72:--.'¹²²⁴ The aforementioned Grand Court Master Mohr sent a letter to La Vertueuse on 19-5-1794, asking if the lodge needed regalia for the higher degrees, stating: 'I can deliver the same for both degrees at ten Ducats, that of the Élu embroidered.'¹²²⁵ The 1797 inventory provided an overview of regalia with some notes by the Master of Furniture in pencil. Remarkable is the mention of '11 [Scots] Master breastplates', associated with the Royal Arch degree.¹²²⁶ From 1797 onwards, the widows Barends, Van der Weert and Smit were employed to supply regalia, particularly for the higher degrees.¹²²⁷ In October 1797 the widow Smit delivered:

EE	6 Black bands [= sashes] with 3 skulls and snake at 13 rds Rds	70:-
EE	6 ditto ditto with 1 skull and snake at 15 rds	60:-
EE Mr	ditto apron ditto ditto ditto at 12 "	264:-
SchMr	ditto bandoleer embroidered with gold cross and red at 12 rds	36:-
ditto	3 red band [= sashes] embroidered with gold cross at 5 rds	15:-
Mr	12 yellow aprons at 9 rds	108:-
EE	12 pieces triangular embroidered with heads at 6 rds	72:-
SPRC	12 rose red bows with black roses at 1 rd	12:-
Mr	5 bands of yellow satin at 2 rds	10:- ¹²²⁸

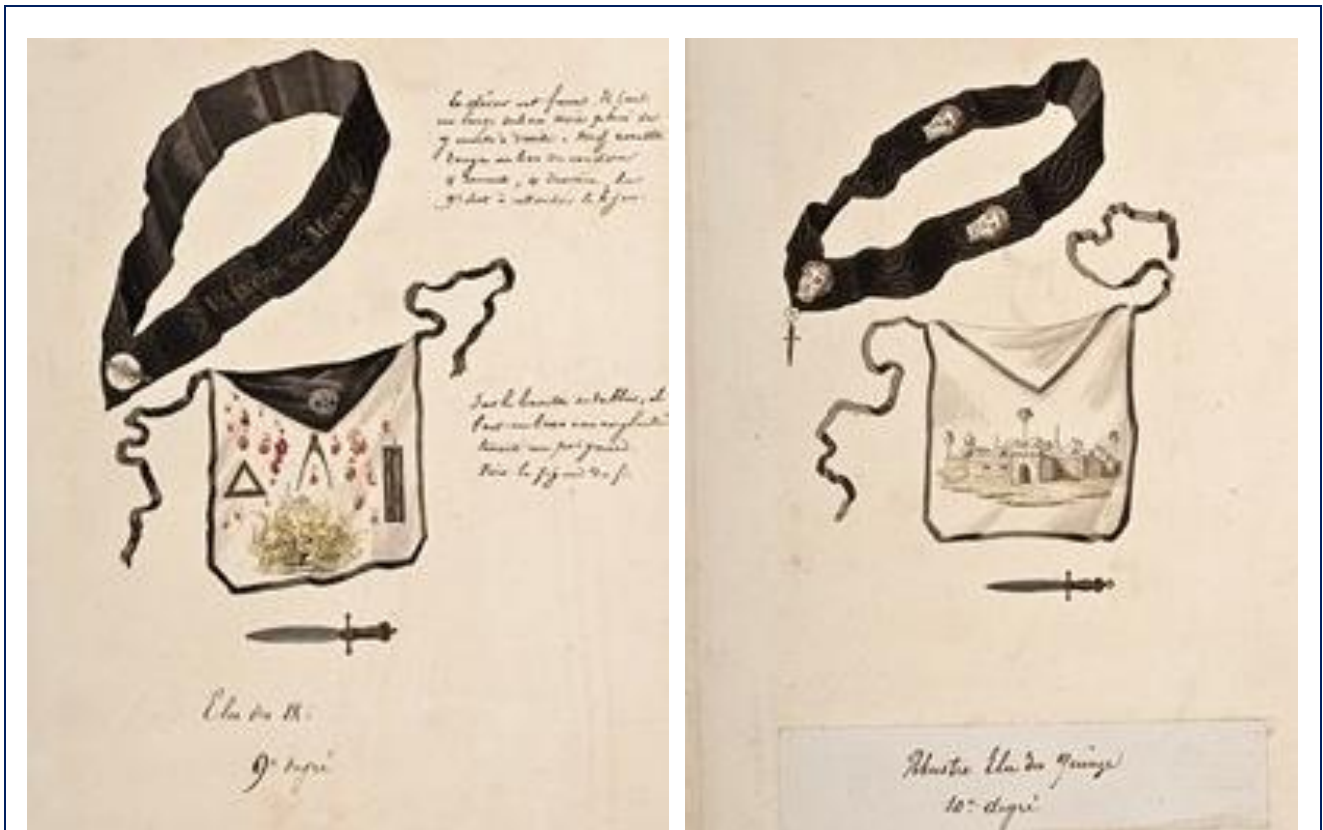


Fig. 5.108a-b: Regalia for the Élu des Neuf and Élu des Quinze (9th-10th degrees), as illustrated in the manuscript *Rite Écossais Ancien et Accepté, Décorations et Costumes* (Vol. I), ca. 1804-1815. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 16107. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

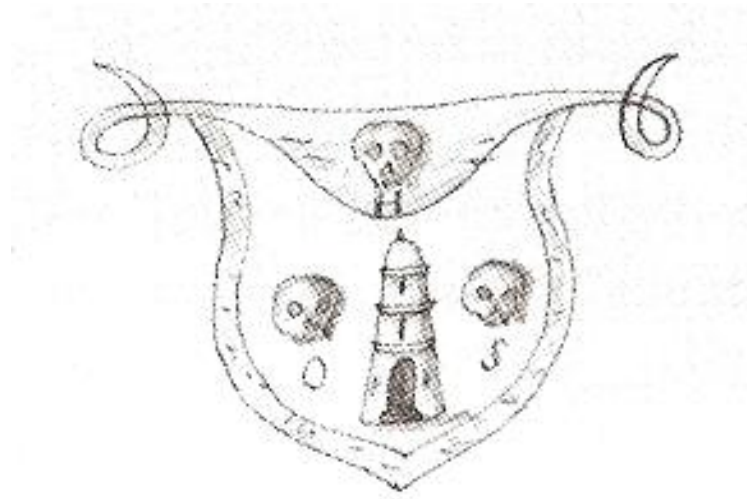


Fig. 5.109: Apron for the degree of Élu des neuf (Chosen Master of Nine), as illustrated in *Collection de 84 tableaux* (1784). Collection CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Reproduced from: Kroon 2001, p. 240.

The abbreviations of course stand for Élu and Élu Maître, Scots Master or Écossais, 3rd degree Master and *Sovereign Prince Rose Croix*. On 17-9-1807 a payment of 96 Rds was recorded 'for Elu bands [= sashes] with three heads'.¹²²⁹ Another mention of a design is found on a receipt dated 28-7-1809 of widow A.C. van der Linden (née Klijn) for, amongst others, '6 Elu aprons with towers' for a total of 120 Rds.¹²³⁰ This matches the description of regalia for this degree in *Collection de 84 tableaux* (1784) (fig. 5.109).

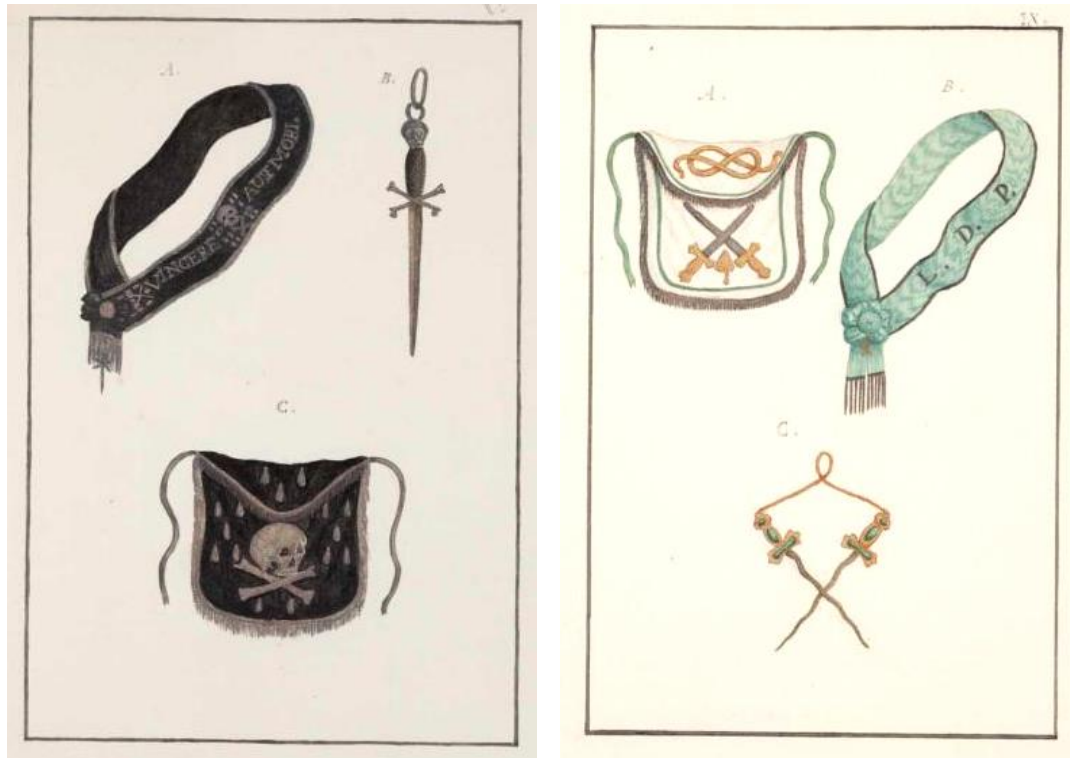


Fig. 5.110: Regalia for the Élu degrees, as illustrated in a *Tuileur* for the Rite Français and Rite Écossais, ca. 1850-1875. Collection: Amsterdam Museum, inv.no. A 16107-189. Reproduced from: am.adlibhosting.com.

Fig. 5.111: Regalia for the Knight of the Sword and the East degree, as illustrated in a *Tuileur* for the Rite Français and Rite Écossais, ca. 1850-1875. Collection: Amsterdam Museum, inv.no. A 16107-189. Reproduced from: am.adlibhosting.com.

When lodge member Jassoij died on 7-1-1808, he bequeathed several masonic objects to the lodge, including:

- Scots Master 4 aprons
- 3 bands [= sashes]
- 2 ornaments
- the Silk cords, concerning [unreadable]
- Elu 5 aprons
- 4 bands [= sashes]
- 3 triangles
- 3 pairs of gloves
- 3 poniards
- Master 5 aprons
- 5 ornaments and 2 Apprentice
- Apprentice 4 aprons¹²³¹

It illustrates how much regalia a single lodge member might collect during his masonic career, which over the years would also require a substantial investment.

On 24-4-1810 the lodge minutes recorded that the Worshipful Master was 'requested for what it costs to order from China 50 Ell red and 50 Ell black watered [moiré] Ribbon for the decorations of the Members of this Temple'.¹²³² The inventory for 1812 included '17 Small Trowels'.¹²³³ These were usually worn on a blue sash in the Chevalier d'Orient degree, and reoccur in the inventories up until 1816. The widow Barends was still working for the lodge by 1813, when she was paid 150,- Spd for supplying aprons, red bands [= sashes] and collars, as well as red gloves for the *Rose Croix* degree, and aprons and green bands for the *Chevalier d'Orient* degree.¹²³⁴ A receipt of 6-8-1816 to J. Kern (nee Heemskerck) lists a payment of 119,- Spd for embroidered red bands, green bands 'with letters', aprons in 'white and *geplout*



Fig. 5.112: Regalia for the Rose Croix d'Heredom de Kilwinning (18th degree), as illustrated in the manuscript *Rite Écossais Ancien et Accepté, Décorations et Costumes (Vol. I)*, ca. 1804-1815. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 16107. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

Fig. 5.113: Regalia for the Rose Croix degree, as illustrated in a *Tuileur* for the Rite Français and Rite Écossais, ca. 1850-1875. Collection: Amsterdam Museum, inv.no. A 16107-189. Reproduced from: am.adlibhosting.com.

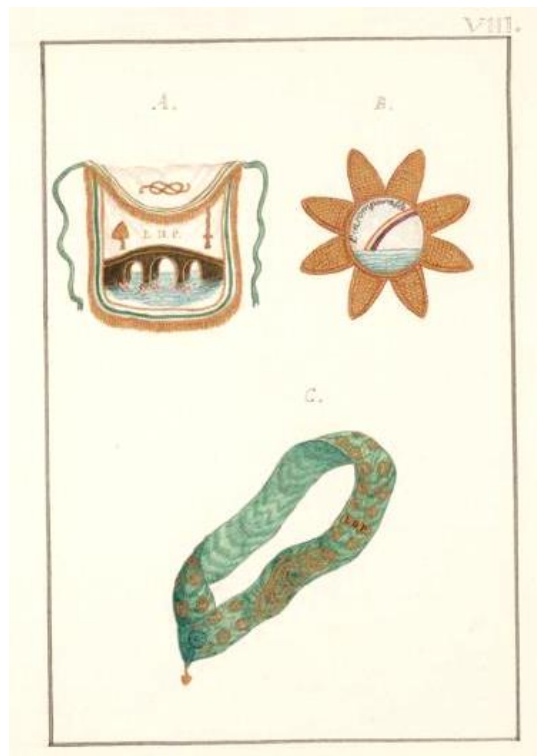


Fig. 5.114: Regalia for the Knight of the Sword and the East degree, as illustrated in a *Tuileur* for the Rite Français and Rite Écossais, ca. 1850-1875. Collection: Amsterdam Museum, inv.no. A 16107-189. Reproduced from: am.adlibhosting.com.



Fig. 5.115: Miniature poniard, worn on a sash in the *Élu* degrees, 19th century. Metal and wood, size not listed. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no 1833. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

(= pleated?) red', aprons in white and green, and lastly collars 'red with black roses' (= rosettes).¹²³⁵ Later accounts do not show significant changes, as the same degrees were practised for a long time.

■ *Crowns, swords and sceptres*

The 1819 inventory of La Fidèle Sincérité for the Jacatraweg building listed:

1 silver poniard with silver scabbard for the Junior Warden
 [...] 2 gilt Sceptres, with 2 Sticks for the Elu Lodge'.¹²³⁶

The poniard belonged to the *Élu* degree, where it was a symbol of revenge (for Hiram's death). The 'sticks' may be ceremonial staffs, or clubs, but it is not clear what precisely is meant here. In the masonic rituals of various higher degrees, lodge officers took on the 'role' of king Solomon and other biblical figures. Ceremonial crowns, sceptres and staffs etc. were therefore all part of the regalia or 'costumes' for the performance of such a higher degree.

The 1822 version added '1 Copper Sword', possibly the one for the Chamber of Reflection¹²³⁷, while the 1825 version listed:

2 Two swords with Silver hilts
 1 One Silver poker
 1 one ditto ditto with scabbard
 [...] one copper sword.¹²³⁸

All swords were included in inventories up until 1833. As mentioned above, that year La Fidèle Sincérité employed (the firm of) Giraud again. Amongst others, he was paid for 'the making of a sculpted Head And a Sceptre' and 'For Two Satin Blue and Red capes with gilt Garlands And Two Crowns'.¹²³⁹ These items were listed in the separate inventory for the higher degrees of 1835 as '2 Silver Cloaks, 2 Crowns, 1 Sceptre of wood'.¹²⁴⁰

Similar items appeared on the inventories of La Vertueuse. The 1797 inventory for the Freemasons' Hall on the Moorish Hospital grounds included '2 chests for the Elus', containing amongst other regalia '1 red 1 blue Robe for the Elus' and '6 pokers [for] bands [= sashes]'.¹²⁴¹ The financial records, however, listed what

must have been one of the most precious and extraordinary pieces of masonic regalia of all time, ordered by La Vertueuse in 1798 from gold- and silversmith Wyszynski. An addendum to a 1807 inventory gives the following description of this luxurious object:

Specification of Such Jewels and Precious Stones which are contained in the crown of Solomon and belong to the Lodge La Vertueuse, being held by the Worshipful Grand-Master J[ohan] H[endrik] Holle, being:

In the 1 st triangle	a large topaz set in gold surrounded with flower work in which 24 diamonds a rose with 21 diamonds and 24 garnets a rose with a sapphire and 8 pearls set in gold three roses with 29 diamonds
In the 2 nd triangle	a branch set with 13 Diamonds a pendelot ¹²⁴² with an enamelled rose with 7 sapphires and 2 roses with 18 diamonds
In the 3 rd triangle	a rose with 11 diamonds and 48 garnets two doves and two roses with 29 diamonds
In the 4 th triangle	a branch with 21 diamonds 2 roses with 18 diamonds two flowers with various precious stones
In the 5 th triangle	three flowers with 47 diamonds and 7 precious stones
In the 6 th triangle	a branch with 24 diamonds Two roses and two flowers with a ruby, a sapphire and 17 diamonds
In the 7 th triangle	a rose with an entourage and a pendelot covered with 40 diamonds and 25 garnets 2 roses with 18 diamonds
In the 8 th triangle	a rose covered in various Stones a rose with 19 diamonds 2 roses with 18 diamonds and an enamelled flower with a sapphire
In the 9 th triangle	two flowers with a ruby, six sapphires and 17 diamonds Three roses with 30 diamonds
In the 10 th triangle	a branch, two enamelled flowers and two roses, together with 38 diamonds and 2 sapphires
In the 11 th triangle	a branch, a flower, two roses and a dove, covered with 46 diamonds and 7 garnets
In the 12 th triangle	a branch, a pandelot, two roses and a dove, together with 27 diamonds and 6 sapphires

The value of the crown with the fashion of over 700 precious stones	RDs	1330,-
The sceptre weighting in gold over 5 real		100,-
To the Gentleman Wyzynsky paid for invoice of the Freemasons' Lodge for the two crowns		<u>120,-</u>
	Together	RDs 1550,- ¹²⁴³

This description mentions two crowns, of which only one is described in detail. Apparently that one consisted of 12 golden triangles, set with precious stones outlining delicate flowers and birds. The question is for which particular degree and officer this spectacular crown was meant. Masonic symbolism was undoubtedly used, but is not easy to interpret from this description. The crown could have been worn by an officer playing the role of King Solomon, for instance in the *Élu* degrees, in which case the second crown could belong to the officer representing King Hiram of Tyre. It is not clear if rose should here also be interpreted as flower, or as rosette. The doves and olive branch were symbols belonging to the (Harodim) Adoption tradition (later incorporated to the Royal Ark Mariner degree). The twelve triangles represent the twelve tribes, while topazes, sapphires, garnets and diamonds all feature in the breast plate of the High Priest (Exodus 28:17-20). The latter plays a part in some versions of the Royal Arch degree, in which a

Specificatie van Zesvanige
 Juweelen en Edelgestanten die
 in de Kroon van Salomon
 vermaat zijn en de Loge La
 Vertueuse toebehooren, bevindes
 in handen van den Achtbb
 Groot-Meester J. H. Kollé, av.

In de 1^{te} Driehoek Een grote Lepas in 't goud gezet,
 omringd met een Bloemwerk,
 waerin 24. f. Diamanten
 Een Kros met 21. Diamanten
 en 24. f. granaten
 Een Kros met een Saphir en 8.
 paalen in 't goud gezet.
 En drie Kroon met 29. Diamanten

In de 2^{de} Ho. Een ketje ketel met 13. f.
 Diamanten.
 Een pandelot met een g' emailleerd
 Kros met 7. Saphieren en twee
 Kroon met 18. Diamanten

In de 3^{de} Ho. Een Kros met 11. f. Diamanten
 en 48. granaten.
 Twee Druifje en twee Kroon
 met 29. Diamanten

In de 4^{de} Ho. Een ketje met 21. Diamanten
 Twee Kroon met 18. Diamanten
 en een Bloem met diverse
 Edelgestanten.

Fig. 5.116: Description of a crown for the Chapter of lodge La Vertueuse, purchased in 1798 (written in 1807).
 Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

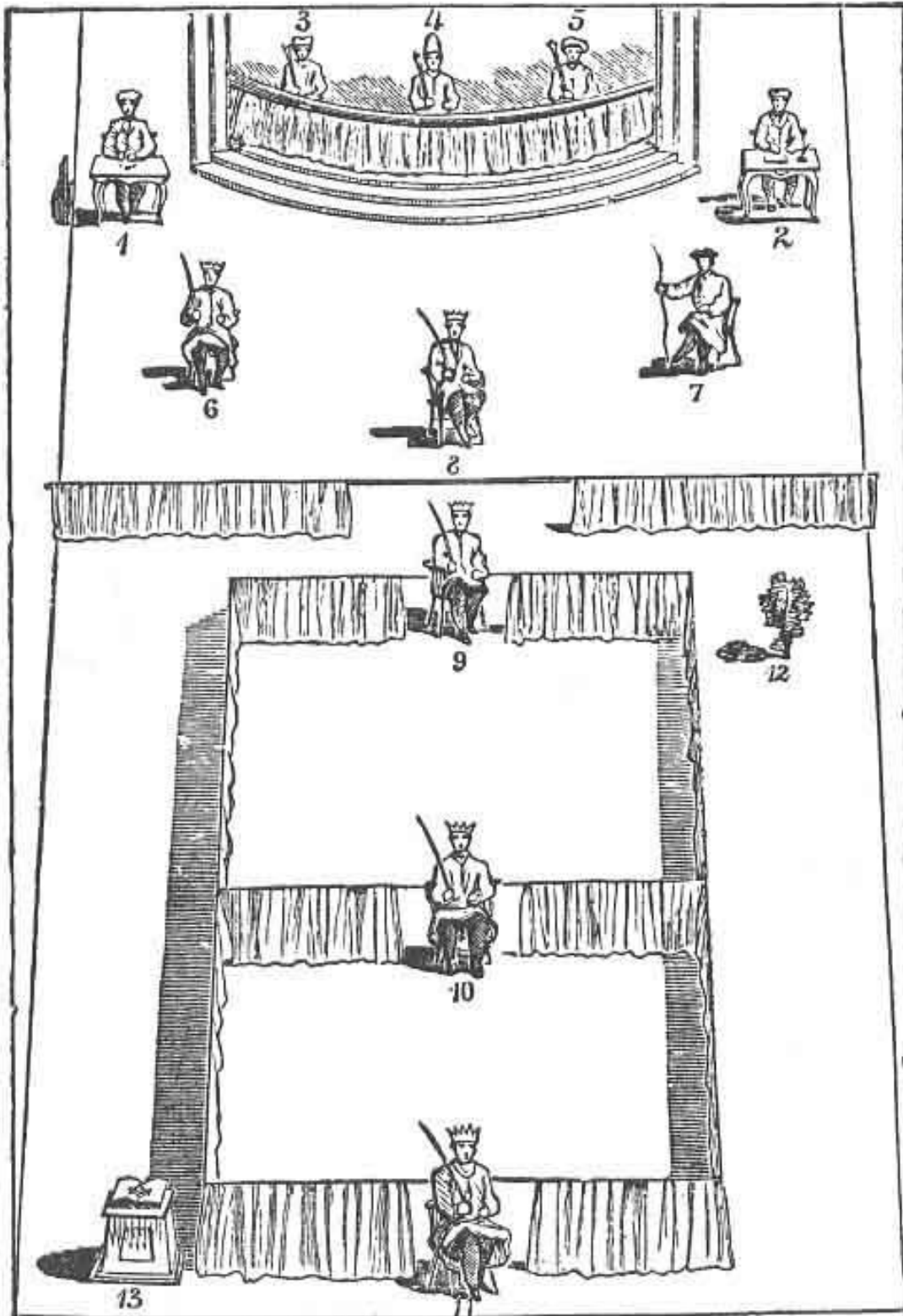


Fig. 5.117: Lodge for the Royal Arch degree, as illustrated in Duncan's *Masonic Ritual and Monitor...* (1866).

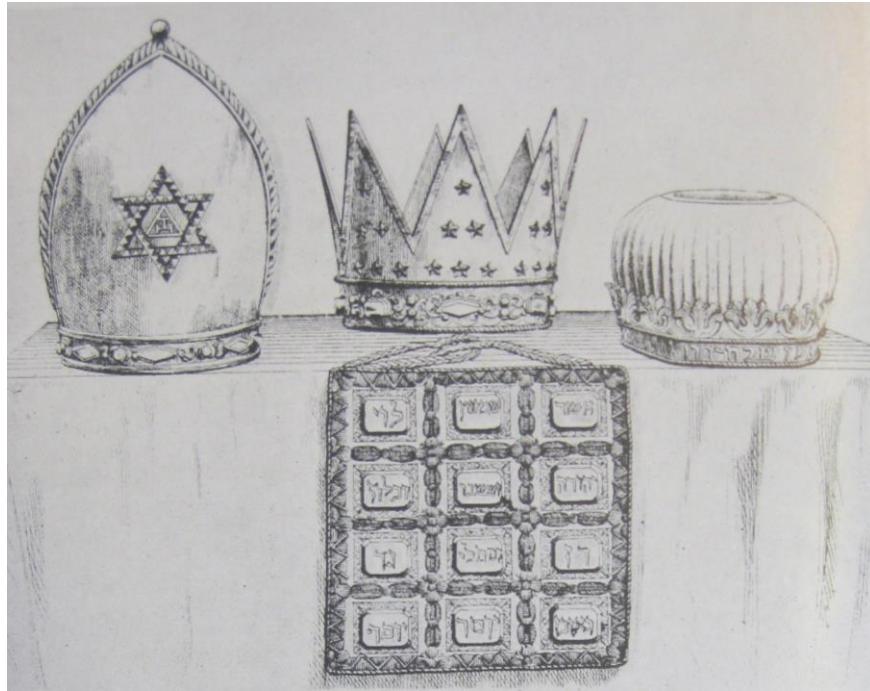


Fig. 5.118: Headdresses (mitre, crown and turban) and breastplate for the (British) Royal Arch degree, as advertised by Messrs Spencer, 1856. Reproduced from: Jones 1957, p. 209.

crown is also worn. But this (British) degree was not yet commonly practised by the Dutch at the time the crown was commissioned, so the crown of Solomon for the *Élu* degree seems the most obvious choice.

So this precious object illustrates very well how the lodge inventories reflect the development of Dutch rituals in the East Indies as a result of cross-pollination between French and English degrees. Snoek has pointed out that the Royal Arch degree seems to have borrowed elements from the *Écossais* degree, before its ritual was established around 1780.¹²⁴⁴ We also know that Dutch freemasons travelling in Asia relied for a long time on British lodges to visit, as there were no Dutch lodges before the second half of the 18th century and few before 1800. So Dutchmen who were used to the French rituals practised in the Netherlands, came into British lodges in Asia, and worked along with whatever ritual they were using. By the time the Dutch designed their own rituals for their lodges in the East Indies around 1800, both French and British elements may have been used. This could explain why the lodge inventories include items like a turban (for the *Terrible* in 1786), breastplates (for the *Maître Écossais* in 1796-1801) and crowns (for the *Élu* in 1798), all of which were also associated with the Royal Arch degree - probably not practised in the Netherlands yet. If by chance the Royal Arch was already practised at this time in the Dutch East Indies, the history of that degree needs to be revised.

In 1796 Engelhard had been initiated into the *Rose Croix* degree by the French Chapter, and in 1798 he was named Provincial Grand Master for both the basic and higher degrees in the Dutch East Indies. He may have been the first allowed to wear this crown for an hour or two once a month, or less often, among a handful of initiates in the building at the Moorish Hospital grounds.¹²⁴⁵ The baffling price of 1.550 Rds (3.875 guilders), would amount to over € 33.000,- today.¹²⁴⁶ Regalia of this spectacular calibre were and are unknown to Dutch freemasonry. This example does not only underline the extreme wealth of lodge La Vertueuse, but also how members seriously invested in their masonic labour, rather than in a personal asset that would have done more to enhance their public status.

On 8-6-1798 La Vertueuse reimbursed jeweller Reemer for the full 1.550 Rds, who apparently worked together with Wyszynsky.¹²⁴⁷ It is therefore likely that other payments to Reemer for gold- and silverware, mentioned above, are in fact for work by Wyszynsky, even where he is not explicitly mentioned in the lodge accounts.

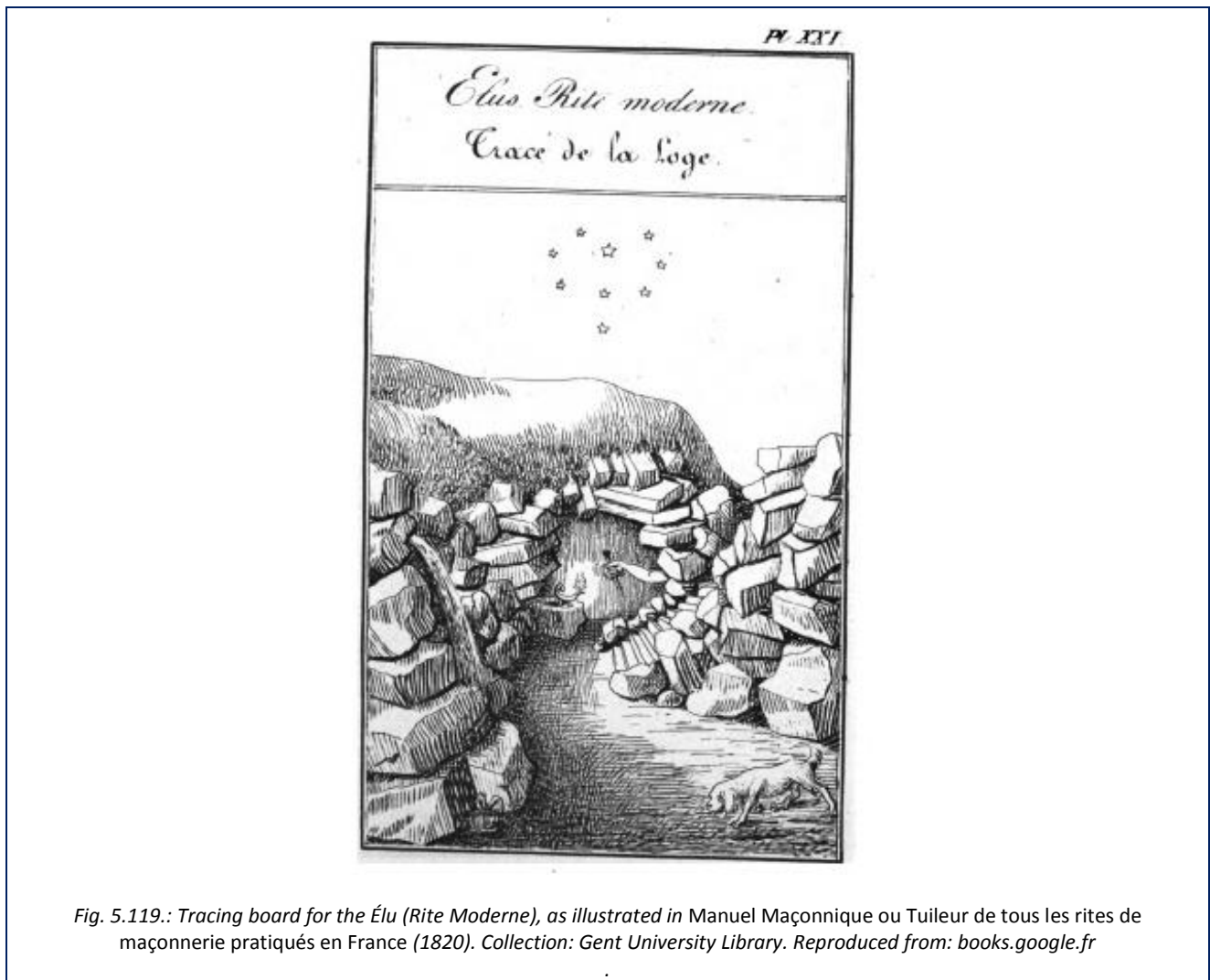


Fig. 5.119.: Tracing board for the Élu (Rite Moderne), as illustrated in *Manuel Maçonique ou Tuileur de tous les rites de maçonnerie pratiqués en France* (1820). Collection: Gent University Library. Reproduced from: books.google.fr

The detailed description of the crown was added to the 1807 inventory. Also included in this overview were ‘two small silver swords’¹²⁴⁸, probably for the Wardens, which reappeared up until 1816. La Vertueuse moved with the times. On 4-2-1808 the minutes recorded a request to buy two pistols for the *Terrible*, indicating swords were becoming a thing of the past.¹²⁴⁹ Pistols and *snaphanen*, a type of rifle, were already been kept ‘in the apartment of the mandur’ according to the inventories from 1797 onwards.¹²⁵⁰

■ Higher degree props

Towards the end of the 19th century, props for the higher degrees started to be mentioned in the lodge papers. In 1796 ‘1 iron shackle with its copper handcuffs’ and ‘2 copper handcuffs with chains’ were added to the inventory of La Fidèle Sincérité.¹²⁵¹ These may have been used in the degree of *Chevalier d’Orient*, where the candidate is lead as a prisoner in front of King Cyrus. In 1797 the Chinese Thoe Sainkho received 22 Rds ‘for the making of a lamp window with thirteen candle holders and a metal trough’.¹²⁵² This may have been a representation of the sun with 13 rays, which in the same degree represented the rulers of the twelve tribes plus king Zerubabel. In that case, the (round) lamp construction would be lying on the floor with a chair at each candle, while a fire the trough or vessel in the middle would function as the sun.¹²⁵³

That same year, triangular lamps (lanterns) and pokers or poinards were added for the Élu degrees. Between 1797 and 1816, a ‘chair with iron hooks’ is mentioned.¹²⁵⁴ This may be a reference to the (British) Royal Arch degree, and used to lift the candidate.¹²⁵⁵ The financial records of La Vertueuse included a payment on 8-4-1797 ‘for 3 pieces of paper *beonsoeka* rds 12’ under which is written ‘or the fake heads for the Elu Lodge’.¹²⁵⁶ A Chinese signature indicates these too were made by a local craftsman, who must have wondered what such dead faces could be needed for. In 1798 ‘Four chalices’ were added to the inventory of La Fidèle Sincérité, probably used for the joint drinking from the same cup in Rose Croix Chapter



Fig. 5.120: Apron for the Élu degrees by Maison Guérin, ca. 1800. Printed silk, 29.5 x 29.5 cm. Collection: Musée de la Maison des Maçons, Paris, inv. No. T2-1143. Reproduced from: glmf-musee.fr.

meetings.¹²⁵⁷ ‘Two [severed] heads’ were also listed, most likely wooden or *papier maché* props for the Élu degrees referring to the punishment of Hiram’s murderers by beheading (see chapter 2). In 1801 ‘a chest for the elus and scots’ was included.

On 25-5-1807 the minute books of the Chapter of La Fidèle Sincérité, housed at the Amanusgracht, noted: ‘the reception of Brother Brandel is postponed until the same will have made good on his duty, to paint within the temple the necessary decorations onto the surfaces left open to do so’.¹²⁵⁸ We can only speculate if these painted panels were to include general decorative figures, or specific allegorical or masonic designs. If Alexander Brandel, a former soldier from Dresden and now land master, complied, he would be initiated free of charge. This trade of services for initiations was not uncommon, and a useful way to ensure secrecy.

The inventories of La Fidèle Sincérité made after the move to the Jacatraweg still listed one ‘wooden Head’ between 1819 and 1825.¹²⁵⁹ Tracing boards were specified for the Apprentice and Fellow-Craft degree, as well as the Élu, Écossais and Chevalier d’Orient degrees.¹²⁶⁰ A ‘gilt frame with glass, being left for a membership list’ appeared on the 1831 inventory of the same lodge. This corresponds with a receipt dated 6-8-1831 ‘for having made A Gilded Frame in Glass meant for a [Constitution?] letter of the Grand Chapter of the High Degrees of the Kingdom of the Netherlands silver f 9,-’.¹²⁶¹ The 1831-1833 inventories specified that four tracing boards were ‘painted on canvas’.¹²⁶² These may have been painted by the aforementioned Giraud, who was employed by the Chapter around that time and again delivered not only paintwork, but also ritual props and regalia. A payment to him (or his firm), made on 21 February that year, covered:

For the making and painting of a new Elus lodge
The painting of the Tracing board¹²⁶³ Again G

The 1835 inventory for the higher degrees mostly lists regalia for the three most commonly practised higher degrees, and a few ritual props. The ‘Cave complete for the Elu’s lodge’ should be read quite literally as a number of set pieces to construct a decor resembling a cave, in which according to the myth of the Élu degrees one of Hiram Abiff’s murderers was hiding. This cave is described in ritual manuals and depicted on

several aprons belonging to this degree (fig. 5.119-5.120). Such set pieces again show how closely freemasonry and theatre were linked. The inventory again included three different tracing boards for the *Élu*, *Écossais* and *Chevalier d'Orient* degrees.¹²⁶⁴ Lastly a receipt dated 10-5-1835 recorded the payment of 'sixty guilders silver for the producing and engraving of a large silver seal [by] Master Kornelen'.¹²⁶⁵ The name Kornelen does not appear on lists of known silversmiths in Batavia, but there is a master mark consisting of the letter 'K' of which the silversmith was not yet identified.¹²⁶⁶ Further research is needed to determine if Kornelen can be linked to this mark. The seal in question was probably made for the Chapter of La Fidèle Sincérité, as its 1835 inventory mentioned '1 Silver seal [kept] by the Grand Chancellor'.¹²⁶⁷

◆ *Consumption pattern*

Freemasonry is anecdotally associated with copious drinking, but this can probably be said of most gentlemen's clubs with a social function. That the table lodge, its ceremonial drinking and drinking songs were part of the masonic ritual, made it inevitable that special attention was paid to the shared meal. Because lodge also functioned as a social meeting place or bar after the ritual, this meant that catering facilities were quickly developed on site in lodge buildings. In some cases, the catering service even extended to the houses of (married) lodge members, serving meals for intimate parties. Surviving financial administration provides an overview of the contents of the wine cellar, as well as the ingredients bought for the meals, the supply of candles and lamp oil, and as such of the consumption pattern of both lodges in Batavia. It is simply too tempting not to have a look at the menu served at the table lodge and the liquids that filled those *canons*. It is also highly relevant, as a large part of the material culture of freemasonry consists of the table wares used at the table lodge. When drawing conclusions about the place of freemasonry within colonial society, changes in the menu can be indicative of cultural exchange taking place.

The financial records of La Fidèle Sincérité for 1778 show that 'Seven times an ordinary Table' provided by the Worshipful Master cost 105,- Rds (15 Rds per meeting), while the more luxurious 'table on the days of St. John Baptist and Evangelist' cost 120,- Rds for one meeting.¹²⁶⁸ In 1779, the beverages used were reimbursed to the Worshipful Master Christiaan Hendrik van Erath every three months. During eight regular meetings in August-October a total of 145 bottles of heavy beer, 140 light beer, 67 red wine and another 50 fine red wine were consumed, for a total of 120 Rds. That is a little over 50 bottles per evening, while the lodge counted 16 members that year, not all of whom were present. La Vertueuse kept a different accounting system. It reimbursed the Master of Furniture Hartsink monthly for 'expences', presumably for the table lodge, which for a quarter of a year amounted to over 200 Rds in 1779. While the lodge counted 19 paying members, 59 bottles of red wine and 190 heavy beer were bought during those same months for a little over 86 Rds. But it is not clear how many meetings were covered by this supply.

A bill presented to Worshipful Master Nicolaas Maas on 3-7-1788 by the widow Pothoff for a table lodge, gives an impression of what was on the menu on St. John's Day in La Fidèle Sincérité:

1 wet pastry	Rds	5:-	
1 dry pastry		5:-	
1 boiled Dutch ham		6:-	
1 fresh ham		2:-	
1 front haunch of a calf roasted		3:-	
2 dishes of braised pork chops		4:-	
2 ditto <i>frikadellen</i> [= minced meat balls or patties]		4:-	
1 dish steamed fish		2:-	
1 ditto baked ditto		1:32	
2 dishes of boiled crabs		<u>1:12</u>	Rds 33:44
2 dishes boiled peas		4:-	
2 ditto ditto asparagus		4:-	
2 ditto stewed green beans		3:-	
2 ditto spinach		2:-	
2 ditto potatoes		3:-	
2 ditto endive salad		1:12	
2 ditto lettuce		1:12	

2 ditto baked oysters	4:-	Rds 22:24
1 dish turban cake	2:-	
2 ditto <i>broeders</i> [= small yeast pancakes]	5:-	
2 ditto <i>colombijntjes</i> [= sweet cakes]	5:-	
2 ditto profiteroles	5:-	
2 ditto <i>spritsen</i> [= a type of shortbread]	5:-	
1 ditto almond tart	4:-	
1 ditto praline ditto	2:24	
½ sweetmilk cheese	4:-	
6 dishes [illegible] various	6:-	
1 ditto Dutch butter	-:36	
1 ditto fresh butter	-:24	
40 pieces of bread at 2 ½ Stuivers each	2:4	
10 wax candles	<u>1:12</u>	Rds 43:4
for table rice, atjar, Sambal, oil, & Vinegar &c	2:24	
the use of [a] silver table Service	5:-	
for tea, Coffee, chocolate, sweetmilk, jam & sweet rice	2:24	
use of tables, tablecloth, dishes, pierings, napkins as well as done dishes	<u>6:-</u>	<u>Rds 16:-</u> Rds 115:24 ¹²⁶⁹

The lodge counted about 24 members in 1786, but there may have been guests. From the number of bread rolls, we may assume this was for a party of 40 or more. Similarly, lodge La Vertueuse celebrated St. John's Day on 24-6-1788 (fig. 5.121). Its menu looked a little different:

A <i>paaterstuk</i> [= best ribs of a cow]	Rds	1:-
A ham		4:24
A suckling pig		2:24
Turkey		3:36
Goose		1:-
Large grouses		-:24
Small ditto		1:-
Young pigeons		1:12
Greens & potatoes		3:-
Two ducks		-:40
Fruits		-:30
A fish		-:8
Fresh butter		-:40
Bread and biscuit		1:12
Eggs		-:20
Milk		-:20
Sugar, <i>maniesan</i> [= candied fruits] and Tea		-:30
Atjar		-:15
Rice		-:12
A day's rent		1:32
To the cooks		5:-
For coolie wages		-:30
For distributing the money		<u>5:12</u>
	Rds	42:40 ¹²⁷⁰

actually had a cheaper meal, and (as is apparent from other bills) clearly favored poultry. The lodge minutes recorded on 3-5-1788 a complaint, that members did not give notice that they would be absent in time, 'without taking in consideration the costs and trouble taken to arrange the table'. So it was decided to increase the fine for that offence.¹²⁷¹

Many similar bills, illustrating the changing eating pattern of the lodges in later years, have survived. Some things stand out. The financial records of La Vertueuse for 1-11- 1798 included a payment of 15 Rds for 'the 29th try out lodge of the French cook and farewell to Brother Cornabe'.¹²⁷² By the end of the century, more and more local dishes were listed on the invoices for the table lodge of La Vertueuse. These included Japanese soy and *so-oen* (noodles) in 1798-1799.¹²⁷³ In the years 1800-1802 ingredients such as *koeping tiekos* (dried Chinese mushrooms), local fruits including *rammenas*, *mangistan*, *ramboetan*, *doekoe*, *pisang mas*, Japanese and Bantam *soetappels* (sweet apples) were on the menu, as well as Danish beer and *jammoen* (probably Indian *gulab jamun*, a sweet dish).¹²⁷⁴ An imported Edam cheese costing 3,- Rds was enjoyed in 1813.¹²⁷⁵ On 31 July of the same year, the menu for a table lodge for special guests from the Grand Lodge in The Hague included 'a quarter Catje [= measure] Birds' Nests 10,- Rds' for a Chinese style dish.¹²⁷⁶ Probably for the same meal, was the purchase of 'A white Jug of Japanese soy' costing 2½ Spd.¹²⁷⁷

The aforementioned Mrs. Garisson-van Nimwegen supplied linen wares and meals for the table lodge to La Vertueuse in the beginning of the 19th century. When she died in 1807, Miss Hopkeert took her place as supplier.¹²⁷⁸ However, in a lodge meeting on 7-10-1807 it was discussed that the lady had accompanied her husband to Timor, so the lodge would be without meals. On 28-10-1807 it was suggested that 'the in this Municipality seated Citizen and Inn keeper Aart de Jongh' would be willing to arrange the table for 3 Rds per person, as well as a coffee table for 10 Rds per occasion. After a try out meal, it became clear on 4-11-1807 that the price would have to be set at 4 Rds per person, which was approved.¹²⁷⁹

A bill for a joint table lodge of La Fidèle Sincérité and La Vertueuse also held in honour of visitors from the Grand Lodge in the Netherlands on 16-5-1809 (fig. 5. 122), is astonishing:

125 bottles Red wine	at Rds	5	Rds	625		
81 Heavy beer	"	2		162		
98 Light beer	"	2		196		
17 Rhine wine	"	3		51		
27 Madera wine	"	3		81		
11 white "	"	4		44		
12 Carafes of Dutch water	"	1 ½		18		
1 cellar bottle genever				3		
1 Brandy				4		
½ gross pipes				6		
2 chests of spermacetie candles at 90 Rds				180		
¼ picol [= measure] of wax candles at 140 Rds				<u>35</u>	Rds	1405
On top of which						
The payment for the Illumination						280
For pastries, coffee, &c the 15 th May						35
" the table, the 16 th May						800
" coolie and praaw [= boat] wages						28
" Lamp oil						96
To the musicians						<u>150</u>
			Together		Rds	2794 ¹²⁸⁰

The drinks amounted to 373 bottles of different sizes in a single night for 84 members and guests, not counting the water. If 100 people were present, this still implies more than 3½ bottles per person were consumed. The money spent was the equivalent of more than 50.000,- euro in 2013, while a mandur in service of the lodge earned about 30 stuivers per month (the equivalent of circa € 600,- per year).¹²⁸¹ The dinner cost more than he would have earned in his whole lifetime.

De Rekening der gemaakte Overkomsten op den
16. mey 1809 by gelegenheid van de Receptie
receptie der Commissie uit het groot Vosten
van Holland, te Wester.

Verbiijkt

12½ bott. Noordwijn a 20 ^{fl.}	250
St. Maanbich " 2 ^{fl.}	102
98 " Ligtblis " 2 ^{fl.}	196
17 " Zynscheuysen " 3 ^{fl.}	51
27 " Maarsa " 3 ^{fl.}	81
11 " Witte " 4 ^{fl.}	44
12 1/2 " Stiltwater " 1 1/2 ^{fl.}	18
1. Kelduylles gineera	3
1. " Brandwijn	4
1/2 grov. Papier	6
2. Kistjes Pharmacie Kaars a 50 ^{fl.}	100
1/2 St. waskaarsen a 20 ^{fl.}	10
	<hr/> 2140
Waerby komt	
Hel betaalde voor de Illuminatie	280
Voor gebak Coffij 8 ^{fl.} der 16. mey	50
" de Tafel " 10	800
" Coolij en Franse Loon	28
" Lamp Oly	96
Aan de musicanten	150
	<hr/> 2140

Maakt voor ieder der beide St. 1090

Fig. 5.122: Bill for a joint table lodge by La Fidèle Sincérité en La Vertueuse at the occasion of a visiting committee of the Grand Lodge in The Hague, 16-5-1809. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.

On 25-9-1817 the minutes of La Fidèle Sincérité recorded a complaint, that too many visitors were welcomed at the table lodge. Entertaining them became too expensive, so a fee was asked in future.¹²⁸² The financial administration for 1818 illustrates whose services La Vertueuse employed to organize the celebration of summer St. John:

For turkeys, grouse, capons, ducks, greens, fruits, eggs and other table necessities as pig, meat and suckling pigs	f 259,-
" the widow Wenkelaar for a calf, two sheep, sauerkraut, sausages, tripe, jams, kitchen pickles, &	f 138,-
" the widow Zwarts for pastries, Party and biscuits etc	f 149,18
" Miss Engel for 6 dorated Salads	f 35,6
" different payments for coolie wages for bringing the goods	f 194,-
" the Gentleman Lutjens for candles & glasses	f 229,3

“ the Gentleman Leps H. for cheeses	f 26,12
“ the Gentleman Hommes for wines	f 306,16
“ the Gentleman van Tienen for ditto	f 528,-
“ the Gentlemen van Rijck for hams, Brandy etc	f 262,5
“ the Chinese for 200 bread rolls	f 17,6
“ the Carpenter Boss for the Illumination & repairing windows and doors &c	f 227,-
	Somma f 2372,- ¹²⁸³

La Vertueuse met on 2-5-1820 to discuss the budget for St. John’s Day, estimated at fl. 1.000,-, excluding borrowed furniture, but including the table lodge, drinks and lights. Voluntary donations of brethren raised fl. 832,-. Restaurant owner Paijen was allowed to have a try out for the table lodge, which if successful meant that he would be hired for the bigger occasion as well.¹²⁸⁴ On 8 -8-1820 his meal at fl. 5,- per person was approved.¹²⁸⁵ However, later minutes show that he served three dinners without being paid the fl. 450,- owed to him, which sum then had to be advanced by several well-to-do brethren.¹²⁸⁶

By the 1820s lodge La Fidèle Sincérité stocked the same types of wines, genever and brandy, as well as bitters and ‘Zelters’ or Selters water, an early type of carbonated drink.¹²⁸⁷ In the 1830s a difference was made between red wine and ‘fine wine’, presumably white, while liqueurs and champagne were added to the stock. That same year, lemonade was also in stock. Next to tobacco, the lodge now also stocked soap, combs and pomade, so the members could look their best.¹²⁸⁸ (This would have been especially welcomed visitors living on the other side of the island or travellers just arriving with a ship.) In 1837 the lodge paid fl. 60,- silver for one dozen bottles of champagne.¹²⁸⁹ All in all, lodge archives do little to counteract the traditional prejudice that freemasons liked their liquor. Most drinks were alcoholic and imported from Europe, or as my professor once subtly put it: ‘Whole shiploads of booze must have sailed to the East just to keep the lodges wet.’ Indeed, there were some excesses, but mostly on special, festive occasions such as the visit of Grand Lodge delegations.

A receipt dated 14-3-1837 for the widow Dekker, earlier responsible for supplying regalia and now for catering a table lodge of La Fidèle Sincérité for 31 people, sums up the following ingredients:

2 Cans Steamed Salmon	f 12 Rds
2 “ Sardines on oil	f 12
½ Sweetmilk cheese	f 5
1 pitje [= measure] anchovies	f 4
1 Ham	f 8
2 salted Tongues	f 8
Lard for Steak	f 4
1 Turkey	f 6
1 Bronswijk sausage	f 10
potatoes	f 2
Butter	f 6
1 Bottle gherkins	f 3
Oil Pepper vinegar mustard and Salt	f 3
Salad and Beets	f 2
Bread	f 3
Baked goods and Sugar work	f 35
Cook and servants	<u>f 10</u>

f 133.¹²⁹⁰

The records show that lodge meals in the years 1767-1837 consisted mostly of European fare, making use of imported (canned) foods and drinks, as well as familiar animals raised and vegetables grown locally. Asian additions were the use of sambal, atjar, soy, local fruits and Chinese vegetables. But we can only guess if meals were spiced and prepared in a European or an Asian manner. From building accounts discussed above, it is clear that the lodge’s kitchens were especially renovated to place grill racks. Should we consider that Javanese *sateh* was among the grilled dishes served at the table lodge? While the discussion of the consumption pattern of the lodge has to be limited here to such anecdotes, the many,

many documents deserve to be studied further by researchers of socio-economic developments in the colonial era as well as by lovers of the Dutch-Asian kitchen.

♦ *Cultural interaction*

After reviewing the inventories and spending pattern of the lodges, several observations can be made. The lodges relied heavily on two types of suppliers of regular services: the local craftsmen in Batavia, and the wives and widows of lodge members. The first group mainly saw to the upkeep and decoration of the lodge building, the latter to the regalia and catering. By especially employing widows, the lodges offered an early form of social security to widows and children of members, who could also apply to an allowance from the Almoners charity box. The contractors and overseers of (building) works were usually Chinese men, the labourers from the indigenous population of the islands. The lodges allowed a mandur, servants and their families to live on the lodge grounds, creating a small community behind the lodge's fence.

Purchases of furniture were seldom made from stores, most necessities were obtained at auction, particularly from the sale of estates of lodge brothers. The lodge also made efforts at these occasions to prevent masonic objects from falling into 'profane' hands. The lodge members, mostly the Masters of Furniture, advanced many purchases, as a result of which the actual suppliers are not always known. Precious regalia and other gold- and silverworks were obtained from silversmiths in Batavia, both from European and Chinese backgrounds. Likewise, paintings were ordered from both European and Chinese artists. Lodge La Vertueuse made unsurpassed investments in regalia and decorations for the lodge, indicating that the members took their masonic 'labour' very seriously. There is always a fine line between expressing devotion and display of social status, but as the lodge members could only show off their regalia behind closed doors to a handful of initiates, who were already part of the Dutch elite, surely there would have been more to gain from displays made in public.

The lodges were a very visible presence in the community. As commissioners of services, various goods and art works, but also as hosts of festive spectacles, such as the St. John's Day illuminations and inaugurations of buildings. Prominent members of society, including non-members and their wives, attended these celebrations. In the 19th century lodge meetings were regularly announced in local newspapers. And while a government figure such as Daendels incidentally took action against lodge members for political reasons, there were no notable disturbances involving any of the lodges. Freemasons were a respected and accepted part of society. So much so, that those in need, not just orphans and widows of members, but also travellers fallen on hard times, would regularly appeal to the lodge for financial assistance or a return ticket home. The lodges maintained their position because so many high ranking officials, even the freemasons among the British occupiers, were members. When the lodges needed government loans or new plots of land, these connections certainly did not hurt. However, most large acquisitions were made privately by a group of lodge members, who then either bequeathed or loaned the acquisition to the lodge. The lodge itself rarely acted as a legal body.

While the laws of the Order prohibited the sharing of secrets with the uninitiated or profane, both Asian and European craftsmen, artists and musicians, as well as members' widows, were clearly involved in the preparation of regalia, the decoration of temple interiors, and the illuminations at big events. Secrecy may have been part of the masonic ritual 'game', but what the running of its affairs was concerned, lodges clearly favoured practicality above secrecy.

The lodge inventories demonstrate that Asian influences on various aspects of lodge life, ranging from the use of local materials and techniques, the import of Chinese silk and porcelain, and Japanese lacquer and porcelain, to the use of incense in rituals. There are little surviving objects and visual documentation of the lodges in Batavia predating 1900, but we may assume there was a mixing of decorative styles as well. Lodge interiors will have been no different in that respect from other Dutch colonial interiors. Lodge members travelling to other parts of Asia in service of the VOC, including captains and diplomats, were commissioned to arrange purchases and advances for the lodges in Batavia. Not just supplies of textiles or functional objects such as porcelain dinner ware, but even ritual objects, such as tracing boards. This is a new aspect of the private trade taking place within the VOC network, which is further discussed in chapters 6 and 7. These are also interesting aspects of the cultural mediation, long preceding the introduction of Asian men into the lodge membership.

The first contact between lodge members and the (Eur)Asian community on Java was clearly commercial, with the lodge needing goods and services. From brief mentions in 18th century lodge records it is clear, that several lodge members owned slaves, which from present day perspective seems abhorrent and contradictory to masonic ideals. However, slavery was already common practise among the native population of many regions of the Dutch East Indies before the arrival of the Europeans. One could become enslaved as a result of war, debt or birth from parents who were slaves. Java was an important exception, as slavery was not practised by the local population, only in Batavia after the arrival of the Europeans. While the West India Company was heavily involved in the slave trade from Africa, its counterpart the VOC much less. However, some 300.000 slaves were transported to Batavia during the 18th century, and half the population of Batavia would have consisted of slaves or former slaves.¹²⁹¹ The Company and its servants owned slaves, but their treatment, as well as their and import and export, was bound by strict rules. Slaves were sometimes borrowed or hired by the lodges from their members, when extra labourers were needed for work on the building or the organisation of events. The region of birth is never mentioned, and the distinction between *slaves* and *coolies* in the lodge records is not always clear. Nor is there any indication how many lodge members owned slaves and how many did not.¹²⁹²

On 3-1-1803 La Vertueuse received a complaint about their member P.H. Fietz, a merchant from Rodenstock, 'because of his ill treatment of the slaves' when he was a visitor in La Fidèle Sincérité.¹²⁹³ La Vertueuse decided to take the matter up with La Fidèle Sincérité, but apparently things were not resolved. On 17-1-1803 it was announced that La Fidèle Sincérité had barred Fietz from attending any further meetings.¹²⁹⁴ Similarly on 6-4-1809 a complaint by Age Iges was registered. He wrote a report about an incident with the Serving Brother Dakanowitz, who at a table lodge supposedly hit two slave boys and then manhandled the female slaves, belonging to the caterer, widow Winkelaar, who then refused to serve coffee and tea.¹²⁹⁵ A memorial publication mentions another event, the date not specified, when the luitenant governor-general [= Raffles] was present at a banquet during the British occupation of Java:

Assisted by male and female slaves, the loyal brother Servant was passing the cup of friendship, and making sure the diners did not want for anything. Much embarrassment occurred however, when on a certain day the pastry baker submitted a complaint to the master of the lodge concerning the forward behavior of the brother Servant and some other gentlemen, towards the slave girls, and based on these liberties at first refused to offer the assistance of his cooking skills to the brethren.¹²⁹⁶

The financial records show that slaves members of La Fidèle Sincérité's could 'rely on their accompanying slave', presumably to wait on them during the table lodge and/or the social gathering afterwards. The lodge may even have owned its own slaves, as the contract between lodge La Fidèle Sincérité and the Chinese builder Atjeh in 1818, included the building of two blocks of 'slave houses', one and two stories high.¹²⁹⁷

Authors on freemasonry and colonial politics, including Harland-Jacobs, Révauger and Deschamps, have discussed the contrast between freemasonry's tolerant and inclusive world view and the very exclusive racial politics of the western governments represented by a large section of the lodge members. The situation in the lodges in the Dutch East Indies has not yet been comprehensively studied from that perspective. While some freemasons clearly had no problem owning slaves, others would be involved in promoting less oppressive colonial politics and abolition movements. Freemason and author Eduard Douwes Dekker (Multatuli, 1820-1887) is the most famous Dutch example of such an activist from the 19th century. As for this particular project, the lodge accounts were searched for information on material culture, and although some references to slaves were found, these were accidental and too few to base any useful conclusions on. Examples like the minutes quoted above do suggest, however, that it would be very worthwhile having another look at these same archives with a clear focus on issues of race, slavery and abolition politics.

Apart from the dark side of colonial history touched upon here, the presence of these men and women is also significant for another reason. Quite a number of Asian people must have been intimately familiar with the lodge building and its contents, some being involuntary involved in the upkeep and decoration of the temple, the preparation of both ritual meetings, meals and public spectacles, and others being hired to do so, including local artists and craftsmen. The lodge grounds, with the servants houses

8 | F | 62^a

London 10th March 1789.

The Hon^{ble} Society of Free Masons
to Tho^s Colcomb.

To a Free Masons Apron richly Embroider'd in Gold
Silvers & Stones on white Leather Lined with Kiew
Satin and Trim'd with rich Gold fringe and Bullions
with strings and Tassels &c &c £ 20⁰ 0⁰

Fig. 5.123: Invoice for the purchase of an apron by Umdat-ul-Umrah Bahadur 1789, in: Hamill/Gilbert 1991, p. 93.

(57)

Op de Vierendeeljaars-Vergadering in de Grootte Vrymetzelaars-Halle te LONDEN, op woensdag den 5 February 1777, gaf de Broeder GAGHAGEN, van Trichinopoly Loge, onder MADRAS, kennis, dat zyne Hoogheid OMDIT UK OMRAH BAHADRE, oudste Zoon van den Nadab van Carnatica, als Metzelaar was aangenomen geworden te Trichinopoly, en eene groote eerbewyzing voor de Societeit hadt doen blyken.

Waarop zynde gerefolveerd:

Dat een Begroetings-Brief aan zyne Hoogheid zal gezonden worden, benevens een Vrymetzelaars-Schootsvel, fraai uitgemontferd, en een Constitutie-Boek, kostbaar gebonden; —

Zoo wierden deeze Brief en geschenken overgelaten aan de zorg van Sir John Day, die als Advocaat-Generaal naar Bengalen stont te vertrekken, en welke deeze commissie tot genoeg der Societeit volbragt; zynde de volgende Brief, tot eene inleiding, aan zyne Hoogheid geschreeven:

Het behaage Uwe Hoogheid,

De Ondertteekende, vercoerd zynde gewor-

C 5

(58)

den met de bevelen van de Grootte Vrymetzelaars-Loge van Groot Britannie, om aan Uwe Hoogheid een Schootsvel en Constitutie-Boek ter hand te stellen, als een blyk van derzelver hoogagting voor U, en voor Uwen Doorluchtigen Vader, de standvastige vriend en bondgenoot van hunnen Souverein, tevens en het genoeg welk by hen gesmaakt wordt, op het zien van zulk een verheven naam op de lyst van hunnen Orden, hadde gaarne gewild deeze hem opgelegde commissie te volbrengen in zoodanige manier, als best konde beantwoorden aan de intentie zynrer Lastgevers, en aan de waardigheid en deftigheid der zaak zelve.

Dan, het is nu zoo, dat de onlangs gebeurde onlusten in dit Etablissement, dermaate alle takken van de menschelyke verkeering hebben uit een geschokt, en zoo wezentlyk de banden van vrendichap en trouwelyken omgang in de waereld hebben geslaakt, dat zelfs de Broederlyke band der Metzelayry geheel ontfrikt is in de algemeene loslating.

Het is uit dien hoofde dat de Vergaderingen der Loge dus lange zyn agter wege gebleven, als of zy hadt opgehouden te bestaan.

Dewyl het, in deeze gesfeldheid van zaken, ondoenslyk is, Uwe Hoogheid te moeten in eene volle Loge, en met die glans en glans als de waardigheid van Uwe

(59)

karakter, zoo wel als het gewicht der commissie voegt, hoopt de Ondertteekende, dat Uwe Hoogheid zal gedooogen, den eenigen weg die open staat inteslaan ter aanbieding van het Verbondsteken van vrendichap en hoogagting, welke van wegens de Vrymetzelaars van Groot Britannie hier nevens gaat.

Blyvende met den diepsten eerbied,

Uwe Hoogheids,

Ootmoedigste en meest toegedaane Dienaar.

(w. g.) JOHN DAY.

Zyn Hoogheid heeft zedert, in de Persische taal, een antwoord aan de Grootte Loge toegezonden. Hetzelve was zeer fraai vercierd, en in goud-laken besloten, van den volgende inhoud:

C 6

Fig. 5.124: Announcement of the initiation of Umdat-ul-Umrah Bahadur as a freemason in De Nederlandse Vry-metzelaars Almanach ('s-Gravenhage 1793). Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague

built upon it, formed small gated communities. Hageman noted in 1858 that lodge De Vriendschap was looked upon curiously, but at the same time accepted by the community:

[...] within the Javanese world the practise of the Royal Art in all its facets is without any scandal or hindrance whatsoever. The common Javanese calls [...] the Workplace and its surroundings 'Gedong Setan' (the Devil's house), but the nineteen Javanese families on the grounds, never experience the least of which, that the superstitious and still civilised European in his homeland, under the same circumstances, would experience. Thee nineteen families, or about 130 souls, live wholly free of charge, and guard and serve only the buildings and the Brethren.¹²⁹⁸



Fig. 5.125: Friedrich Carl Albert Schreuel (ascribed), portrait of raden Sarief Bastaman Saleh (ca. 1810-1880), ca. 1840. Oil on canvas, 106.7 x 85.5 cm. Collection: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv.no. SK-A-4703. Reproduced from: rijksmuseum.nl.
 Fig. 5.126: Portrait of Aquasi Boachi, ca. 1849. Photograph of the original oil on canvas by atelier P. Herrmann in Buitenzorg, 10 x 7 cm. Collection: Archief Delft, inv.no. 10478. Reproduced from: virtueeldelftslexicon.nl.

Both diplomatic, economic and personal relationships between the Dutch and the indigenous population reached a point, where the acceptance of Asian men as lodge members became a logical next step. It is difficult to pinpoint, however, what the exact starting point for this new development was.

The initiation of Umdat-ul-Umrah Bahadur (1748-1801) son of Muhammad Ali Khan Walajah (ca. 1717-1795, the *Nawab* of Alcot or ruler of the Carnatic region in India), is considered the earliest record of the acceptance of an Asian man, as well as a Muslim, into the Order.¹²⁹⁹ Muhammad Ali was an ally of the British East India Company, seeking support for plans to invade a neighboring region. The initiation of his son was probably a diplomatic move. However, information about the precise date and place is conflicting.¹³⁰⁰ The current Grand Lodge of Madras places the initiation as early as 1767 in Trinichopoly Lodge no. 3, but without providing a source.¹³⁰¹ In the collection of the Library and Museum of Freemasonry is a letter by Umdat-ul-Umrah Bahadur from 1778, for which the provenance record notes that an announcement of the initiation in 1774 was made in the Grand Lodge meeting of 1775.¹³⁰² This letter by Bahadur, together with a letter by Sir John Day, the Attorney General of Bengal, commenting on this occasion, was published and eventually translated in Dutch in the masonic almanac of 1793 (fig. 5.124.).¹³⁰³ Day stated that the (earlier) initiation had been announced on 5-2-1777 by Terence Gahagen, military surgeon and member of Lodge Trichinopoly, upon his return to England. So between 1774 and early 1777 seems most likely. Welcoming the news, the Grand Lodge sent Bahadur an embroidered apron as a gift, for which the purchase invoice survived (fig. 5.123), as well as a book of Constitutions. Sir John Day brought these gifts over when he came to India.¹³⁰⁴

Eurasian men may have been involved in Dutch lodge activities at a much earlier stage, probably from the founding of the first lodges in the region onwards. Like most VOC-settlements in Asia, the European society in Batavia consisted mainly of Company employees and freeburgers, often former Company employees. Such settlements had a large so-called *mestizo* culture; part of the population was of mixed European and Asian descent. As there were less European women in the trade posts than men, many

men took an Asian woman as a lover. Sometimes the Asian women involved would be baptised and given a European name. Provided a child from such a mixed relationship had been formally recognized and adopted by the European father, the child would also be considered European, although discrimination against people of such mixed descent was very common.¹³⁰⁵ Children who remained unrecognized by their European fathers had no other choice than to blend in with the Asian population, which might not accept them either. The VOC made good use of Eurasian men, who understood and could easily navigate the customs of the local population, whereas for Asian rulers, Eurasian men could do the same towards the Europeans.¹³⁰⁶

The lodge records do not mention matters of birth and provide little clues. The 1775 the new laws for lodge La Fidèle Sincérité included instructions for the admission of members. Article 23 stipulated:

No one of low status, that is, Offensive Behaviour or born out of wedlock or Slavery, will be allowed to be proposed into this Royal Order, let alone accepted.¹³⁰⁷

This rule seems to be a confirmation of an already existing practise, rather than a change in policy. It is important to note that this rule did not explicitly exclude Eurasians or Asians, provided they had a certain status in local society. In practise, that was of course a substantial barrier, as were the high costs of initiations, regalia and contributions. As Jean Gelman Taylor's study on the subject has pointed out, lodge members were among the men marrying Eurasian women, and for men of mixed parentage the membership of a lodge could be an important step in defining one's identity as European or Western.¹³⁰⁸ But such Eurasian men are difficult to identify in the early lodge records, as both parents could carry a European name. It is likely they participated in the founding of the first lodges in Southeast Asia in the 17050s-1760s, but the earliest records are also the most incomplete and more genealogical research of the membership lists is needed to determine this and understand how this may have influenced later acceptance of Asians as members.

For instance, what to make of Joseph Dat, born in Neral (India), who travelled as a sailor to Java in 1772, became a freeburger in 1782 and joined La Fidèle Sincérité in 1783? Of some members joining after 1800, we already know their Eurasian background. Examples include military draughtsman Pieter Jacob Beetjes (who had a Javanese mother), a member of La Fidèle Sincérité in 1814, government architect Johan Hendrik Horst (who had a Kantonese mother), a member of La Fidèle Sincérité, and William Titsingh (who had a Bengal mother), assistant-Resident and a member of La Vertueuse in 1822. There are no clues that being from either Indian, Javanese or Chinese descent, was more acceptable than any of the others, all seem to be represented in the lodge records.

None the less, the initiation of Asian men remained a rarity until well into the 19th century. The fact that until ca. 1815-1820 the masonic 'game' heavily relied on allusions to the bible, with which most Asians were still unfamiliar, may have been one of the contributing factors. Mestizo's raised within European culture would be more familiar with the symbolism used.¹³⁰⁹ In 1827 the initiation of a local Muslim was recorded in a British lodge in Penang (Malaysia). Hassan bin Ibrahim became a member of a lodge in July of that year.¹³¹⁰ Curiously, the first recorded initiation of a man of Javanese descent did not take place on Java itself. In 1836 the painter raden Sarief Bastaman Saleh (circa 1810-1880) was accepted as a member in the lodge Eendracht maakt Macht in The Hague (fig. 5.125).¹³¹¹ As *raden*, a respectful form of address for people of high birth, indicated, he came from a royal Javanese family.¹³¹²

Raden Saleh had as a child been taken into the home of the resident of Tjiandjur, R.L.J. Baron van der Capellen, brother to the governor-general. He was taught how to paint by the artist A.A.J. Payen (1792-1853). In 1829 raden Saleh travelled to the Netherlands in the position of clerk to the inspector of finances, Jean Baptiste De Linge. He then decided not to return to the East Indies, but to stay and further his education as an artist. Although initially raden Saleh was allowed to do so for two years under the supervision of J.C. Baud, director of business relating to the Dutch East Indies in The Hague, he ended up spending more than 20 years in Europe.¹³¹³ While studying and working in the Netherlands he befriended many artists, including Charles Rochussen (1814-1894), Bartholomeus Johannes van Hove (1790-1880), Jozef Moerenhout (1801-1874), Samuel Leonardus Verveer (1813-1876) and Johan Friedrich Welsch (born 1796), who were all members of local lodge Eendracht maakte Macht, which eventually lead to him also being proposed as a member. Raden Saleh's initiation took place at the same day as that of another



Fig. 5.127a-b: Commemorative coin, marking the 75th anniversary of lodge De Ster in het Oosten on 16-9-1844. Silver, 5.4 cm. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 1463. Photos: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.



Fig. 5.128a-b: Commemorative coin, marking the laying of the first stone for the Freemasons Hall in Batavia on 19-12-1856, and the dedication of the building on 28-6-1858. Bronze, diam. 4.2 cm. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 1900. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl

candidate, Arnoldus van Otterloo. During his lifetime, raden Saleh collected many honours, including the title of court painter to King William II. He would not return to Java until 1852, where he was appointed curator of the *Rijks Schilderijcollecties* (the Dutch State collection of paintings) in Batavia.

The initiation of raden Saleh did little to open the membership up to other Asian men. Said bin Abdul Rachman bin Hussin bin Sabil is thought to be the first muslim merchant initiated into a lodge on Java. He was accepted as a member in lodge De Vriendschap in Surabaya in 1844.¹³¹⁴ Described in literature as a 'descendant' or 'great-grandson of the Sultan of Pontianak on Borneo', Abdul Rachman is simply listed as a merchant in the membership list of 1845.¹³¹⁵ The dates of his birth and death are unclear and he remains to be identified more precisely. Initiations of men of other ethnic groups followed. On 26-6-1852 the initiation of Aquasie Boachi (1827-1904), prince of Ashanti in West-Africa, was recorded in lodge La Constante et Fidèle in Semarang (fig. 5.126).¹³¹⁶ He had studied at the Technical University in Delft and was by then a mine engineer in service of the Dutch government. Because he suffered discrimination throughout his career, he settled in the Dutch East Indies. Boachi would later become co-founder of the masonic society in Bogor and Worshipful Master of a new lodge in the area.

In 1856 a Chinese sugar merchant, The Boen Keh, requested to be admitted to lodge De Vriendschap in Surabaya. His request was rejected in the ballot:

[...] after a two-hour debate during which numerous objections were raised to 'the opinionated and indelible Chinese concepts of virtue and vice, life and death, promises and secrets' which seemed 'diametrically opposed to Western tenets and conceptions.'¹³¹⁷

After a special committee had observed his motifs for a year, his application was reconsidered and The Boen Keh was admitted in 1857 along with four other Chinese men.¹³¹⁸ His request to have the rituals explained to him in Malay, however, was rejected, so he was forced to learn Dutch.¹³¹⁹

All the examples mentioned above deal with men, and we have no information whatsoever on the (possible) participation of (Eur)Asian women in the Adoption lodges held in the Dutch East Indies. That too is a research area calling for more attention. It would also be interesting to compare the complex relationship between freemasonry, slavery, abolition politics, and the initiation of non-Europeans in the East Indies to those in the West Indies. Cécile Révauger has already contributed much to this subject regarding developments in America.¹³²⁰

◆ *Later developments*

The 75th anniversary of freemasonry in the Dutch East Indies was celebrated in De Ster in het Oosten on 16-11-1844 in a grand fashion. In attendance were formal representatives of De Vriendschap and La Constante et Fidèle, as well as Deputy Grand Master Van Beusichem.¹³²¹ For this occasion, the lodge building was accordingly decorated with green drapes and ornaments on the in- and exterior, while the front of the building was illuminated with masonic symbols, just like in the 18th century.¹³²² Flowers were strewn at 'the memorial, erected in honour of the founders'.¹³²³ A commemorative coin was made for the occasion and distributed in both silver and bronze copies (fig. 5.127).¹³²⁴

In 1866 Prince Frederik celebrated 50 years as Grand Master National, for which occasion the lodges in the East Indies presented him with a testimonial, bound in black velvet stamped with silver symbols, placed in a chest of Asian wood decorated with masonic symbols.¹³²⁵ Developments in freemasonry in the East Indies in the second half of the 19th century have been described by authors including Van der Veur and Stevens, but not in relation to material culture. By the middle of the 19th century, most lodges had acquired a proper Freemasons' Hall. Both in the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies these buildings functioned more and more as community halls, meeting places where important local events took place and public lectures were given. As such, masonic halls became places that facilitated the transfer of 'modern' ideas, not just on esoteric thought.¹³²⁶

The Order would come to flourish in other areas of Java and on the other islands of the Archipelago. After the failed first attempt Padang finally got its own lodge in 1858. Significantly it was the first to carry a Malaysian name, *Mata Hari* (Eye of the Sun), indicating that the relationship between the Dutch and the indigenous population and culture was now rapidly changing. While De Ster in het Oosten, La Constante et Fidèle and De Vriendschap continued their activities, 14 lodges would be founded in the second half of the 19th century by the Order of Freemasons under the Grand East of the Netherlands (see Table 5.W).

The first surviving photographic images of lodges on Java date from around 1900 and depict a world about to change. Yet these images are also very helpful in visualising how the earlier lodge interiors must have looked, for two reasons. Firstly, freemasonry strongly valued its traditions. Over the course of decades rituals changed in details only and lodges honoured their ritual and commemorative objects. Even in modern interiors, much older pieces such as officers' chairs and lodge banners were still used lovingly. Secondly, during the 19th and early 20th century the Dutch Order had a somewhat conservative character when it came to decorative fashions, being a trendfollower, not a trendsetter. Many temples still had a distinctly 19th century feel, while the streamlined design of the 1920s was already conquering Europe and the Dutch East Indies. Photography itself is an aspect of material culture, but clearly lies outside the timeframe of the objects discussed here. We should only consider them visual sources, helpful in understanding earlier developments and imaging objects of which no images exist.

■ *Masonic hall in Semarang*

On 19-4-1845, La Constante et Fidèle finally realised its wish to have a proper Freemasons' Hall. The members acquired a plot and building, just outside the city, between the Boebaan, the road to Ambawara and the road to Jernaton.¹³²⁷ It would be located between the prison and the *Fröbelschool*, and was also

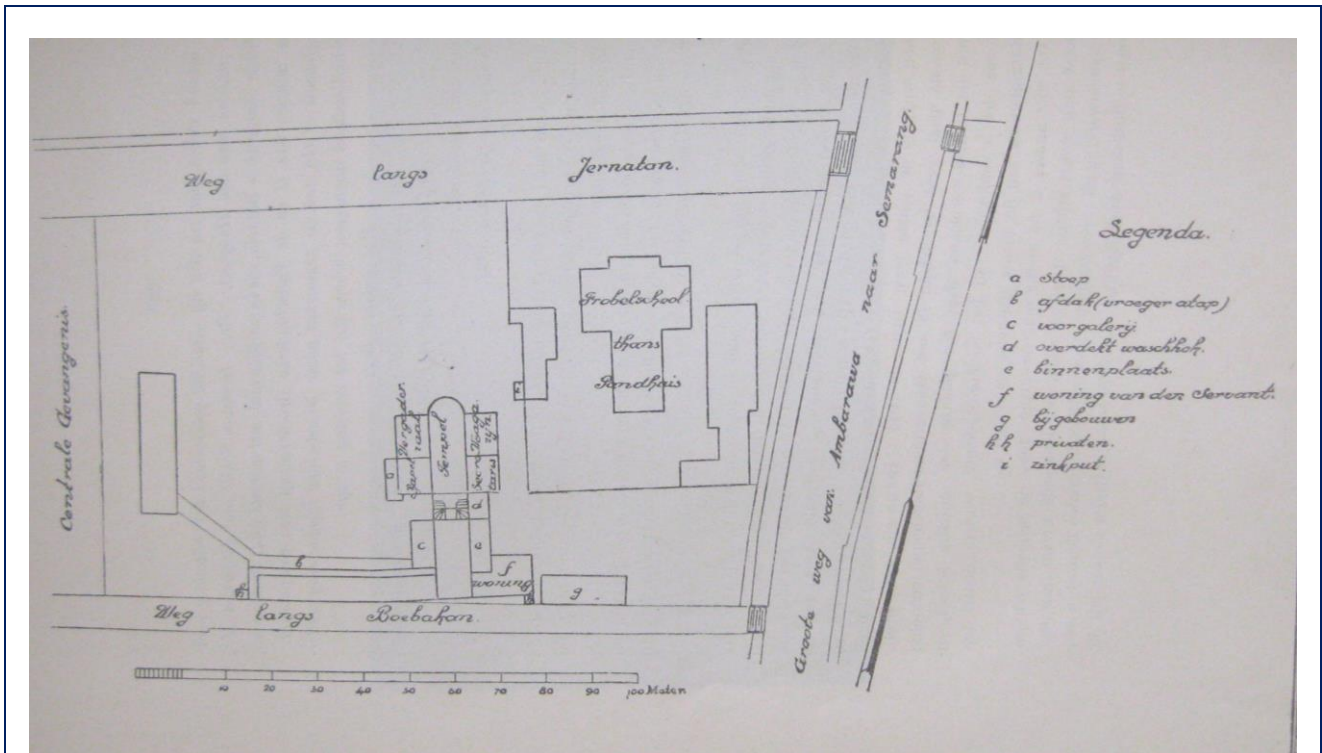


Fig. 5.129: Freemasons' Hall of lodge La Constante et Fidèle on the Boebaan in Semarang, used between 1845-1900. Reproduced from: Gedenkboek 1917, p. 222.

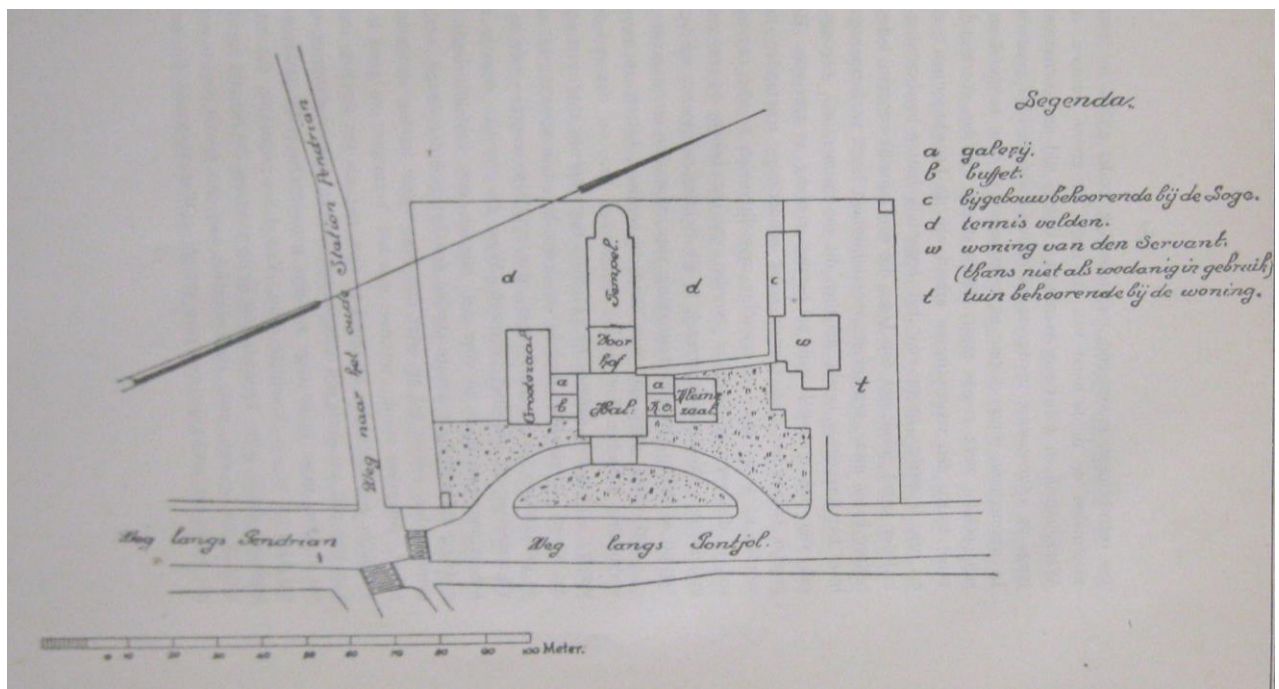


Fig. 5.130: L.A. de Pagter, floor plan of the Freemasons' Hall of lodge La Constante et Fidèle on the Pendrian in Semarang, used after 1900. Reproduced from: Gedenkboek 1917, p. 224.

described as a building in 'Boebakan' in the centre of Semarang (fig. 5.129) The renovation was financed by a subscription by the members, who bought stakes of fl. 50,- free of interest, and raised about fl. 20.000,-.¹³²⁸ The building works and its interior decoration were overseen by lodge members Henry Louis van



*Fig. 5.131 (and detail_): Interior of the temple in the Freemasons' Hall of La Constante et Fidèle in Semarang, after 1900.
Reproduced from: Stevens 1994, p. 128.*



Fig. 5.132: Freemasons' Hall of lodge La Constante et Fidèle at the Prins Hendriklaan in Semarang, photographed after 1900. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague (postcard). Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

Bloemen Waanders (1796-1851), Overseer and later Architect 1st class of Engineers, and Clignett. This building would be in use until 1900 and would later become the office of the *Landraad*.

On 28-6-1851 Lodge La Constante et Fidèle celebrated its 50th jubilee.¹³²⁹ For this occasion a jubilee ensign (banner) and a memorial jewel were made, the latter consisting of 'a silver trowel with a gilt handle, to which a ribbon is attached, in the color of the lodge [= sky blue, to which white was added for that occasion], so it may be worn in [the Lodge] besides the membership jewel'.¹³³⁰ The ceremony started with a procession and the 'guiding of the jubilee ensign before the Temple where the same, whilst heralding the proclamation and lighting of a celebration vase, set upon the altar, by the R.M. was solemnly thuryified'.¹³³¹

On 27-10-1900 another Freemasons' Hall was inaugurated in Semarang. It was located on the *Pendrian* (Prins Hendriklaan) in Pontjol (figs. 5.130-5.132). Although the earliest lodges were active in Batavia, one of the earliest surviving photographs depicts the interior of this Freemasons' Hall in Semarang (fig. 5.131). It is dimly lit and shows a throne with a canopy, flanked by 19th century throne lamps, with an altar in front of it. The triangular officers' tables with covers, gavels and candles are also visible, as are the neo-classical candle stands around the tracing board and the dark, wooden members' chairs. To the right in the background are two banners, one belonging to the lodge and the other perhaps belonging to the Chapter. The walls are decorated with a series of arches, part modelled, part painted. On the throne is not only the chair of the Worshipful Master, but also the tables of the Secretary (left or North) and Orator (right or South), following not the Dutch but the French custom.¹³³²

The building would be demolished in 1978 to make room for the office of the Vereeniging van Sigarettenfabrikanten.¹³³³

■ *Masonic hall in Surabaya*

The Resident of Surabaya decreed in 1838 that lodge De Vriendschap had to enclose the *kampong* or village that had grown on the grounds around the lodge building at Tundjungan with a wall. To cover the



Fig. 5.133: Aerial view of the Freemasons' Hall (top right) in Surabaya by K.N.I.L.M. in 1936. Reproduced from: IBT Lokale Techniek/Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift (1936) no. 5, cover.

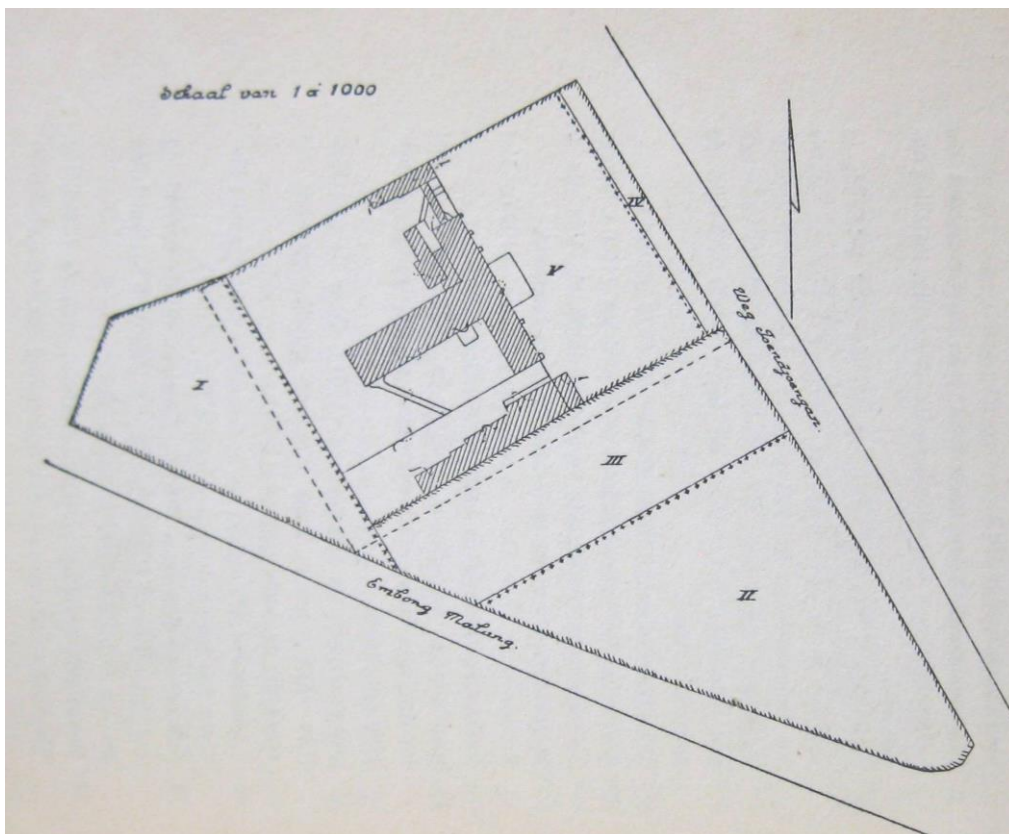


Fig. 5.134: Floor plan of the Freemason's Hall in Surabaya, ca. 1934. Reproduced from: Loge 'De Vriendschap' 1934, p. 54.



Fig. 5.135 and detail: Interior of the temple in the Freemasons' Hall of lodge De Vriendschap in Surabaya, 1898. Photo by R. Treuerbach in an album presented to Th. Ameschoot. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 21012. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

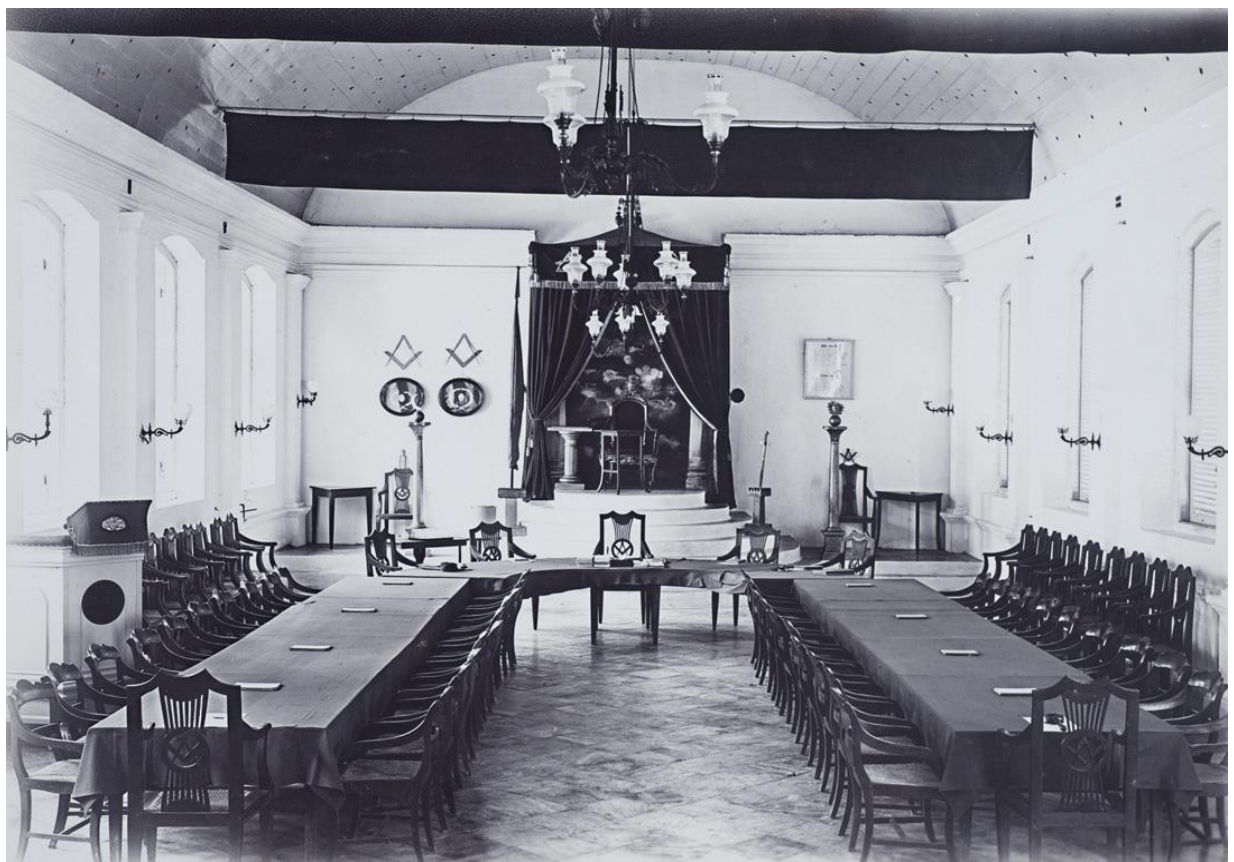


Fig. 5.136a-b: Interior of the Freemasons' Hall of lodge De Vriendschap in Surabaya, 1898. Photo by R. Treuerbach in an album presented to Th. Ameschoot. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 21012. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.



Fig. 5.137: Officers of lodge De Vriendschap in Surabaya around the throne (detail), 1898. Photo by R. Treuerbach in an album presented to Th. Ameschot. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 21012. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.



Fig. 5.138 and detail: Raffles-type chair of lodge De Vriendschap in Surabaya, remake [?] of 19th century model, wood and rattan. The name of the lodge is carved in the back of the seat. Private collection. Reproduced from: marktplaats.nl.



Fig. 5.139: Non-ritual space in the Freemason's hall of lodge De Vriendschap in Surabaya, 1898. Photo by R. Treuerbach in an album presented to Th. Ameschot. Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague, inv.no. 21012. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

costs, the lodge had to sell part of its land. The grounds at back of the building bordered on the Chinese cemetery. It was agreed to sell this plot to a Chinese luitenant on the condition he would build a wall behind the lodge building for the sum of fl. 50,-. The deal fell through, and the lodge then arranged with the inhabitants of the kampong that they would build a wall together, but that plan fell through as well. Finally it was decided that the families would continue to live on the land and pay 50 cents in rent each, as well as

perform both paid and unpaid services. The grounds at the back were eventually sold in 1838 to Oei Tjing Lian for 160 guilders in copper money and the wall was built by the lodge itself.¹³³⁴ In 1837 en 1838 De Vriendschap already made its building available for formal public celebrations by non-members.¹³³⁵ By 1845 plans were made for a library in the front rooms of the building, which was realised in 1852 and also open to the public.¹³³⁶ The masonic hall would remain in use until [1960] (figs. 5.133-5.134).

The building in Surabaya was photographed by R. Trouerbach around 1900, when it still had much of its 19th century character (fig. 5.135-5.139).¹³³⁷ The photographs were enclosed in an album, presented to Dr. Theodorus Aneschot when he stepped down as lodge Orator and Fiscal. These images, now in the CMC collection, depict the interior of the temple in mourning style, with the candles, columns and the chair of the Worshipful Master covered in black (fig. 5.135). Black drapes painted with tears cover the windows (here only halfway to leave enough light to take the photo). The throne has a canopy and the officers' tables are triangular, just as in the earlier descriptions. In the middle of the space stands a coffin with a skull, covered in flowers and palm leaves. The light fixtures seem 19th century.

A second photograph depicts the same space, without drapes, and in this lodge the tables of the Secretary and Orator are placed in Dutch style, in front of the Throne (fig. 5.136a). The candle sticks shaped like classical columns can now clearly be distinguished, as are the lids on top. Curious is that not three, but four are present here, as sometimes used to be the case in the Élu degree. The columns, not part of the architecture but 'loose' objects placed in the room, appear topped with a sun and moon. A third image shows the room set up for a non-ritual or household meeting (fig. 5.136b). The officers' chairs had an open back with a masonic design, while the Raffles-style members' chairs had the name of the lodge and compasses and square carved in the back (fig. 5.138).

A photograph of a group of officers around the throne, offers a glimpse of the chair of the Worshipful Master of De Vriendschap (fig. 5.137). It has a radiant sun as a headpiece. The inside of the throne is painted with clouds and, somewhat unusually, the scales of Justice. A last photograph offers a view of one of the non-ritual spaces in the building, by the look of the rocking chairs meant for relaxation. Again elements such as the light fixtures, mirror and some of the chairs appear older (fig. 5.139).¹³³⁸ The lodge also had a bar-area, piano and pooltable, not depicted here.

■ *Masonic Hall in Batavia*

As discussed earlier, from 1856 onwards lodge de Ster in het Oosten occupied a building at the Vrijmetselaarsweg in Batavia, designed by David Maarschalk. To thank him for his efforts he received a precious gift from the lodge in 1859 in the form of a silver goblet, made by the court's gold- and silversmith Philip de Meijer (1812-1869) in The Hague (fig. 5.141).¹³³⁹ The elaborate design with masonic symbols was reproduced and described in *De Kunstkroniek* (fig. 5.140):

The foot of the cup, as one sees, consists of a three sided set of steps of which the carpet has been artificially encrusted. The surface, on which the steps meet, forms a mosaic pavement, on which are three cast statues, hollow and worked without seems, depicting Wisdom, Beauty and Strength, to express the idea, that man, whom God gave wisdom to discern good for evil, and moral strength to let virtue and truth conquer sin and lie, should try to rise to the highest possible beauty, on a moral level.

The three statues have been grouped around an acacia tree, on which rests the bowl of the cup. That bowl is divided into three surfaces, on one of which three masonic symbols have been embossed, of which ompasses, set square and trowel take the first place, while those surfaces have been separated by the busts of three sphinxes as karyatids. The sphinx, one knows it, is the symbol of Silence.

[...] On the lid is a star in a triangle, symbol of both the lodge in Batavia, and the exalted idea that this light and hope creating heavenly phenomenon stirs in the human hart.

On another of the three surfaces of the cup is an appropriate inscription, stating the name of the man, whom his bretheren have deemed worthy of such a sign of homage. [On the third surface is the image of a temple.] While the foot of the cup restricted the artist to the symbols he had to show, elsewhere he could follow the style that seemed most fitting to him: he therefore chose the renaissance style, in which the bowl and lid, the frames and bands, as well as other ornaments have been executed. The whole has been executed in a beautiful alteration of matte and unworked silver.¹³⁴⁰

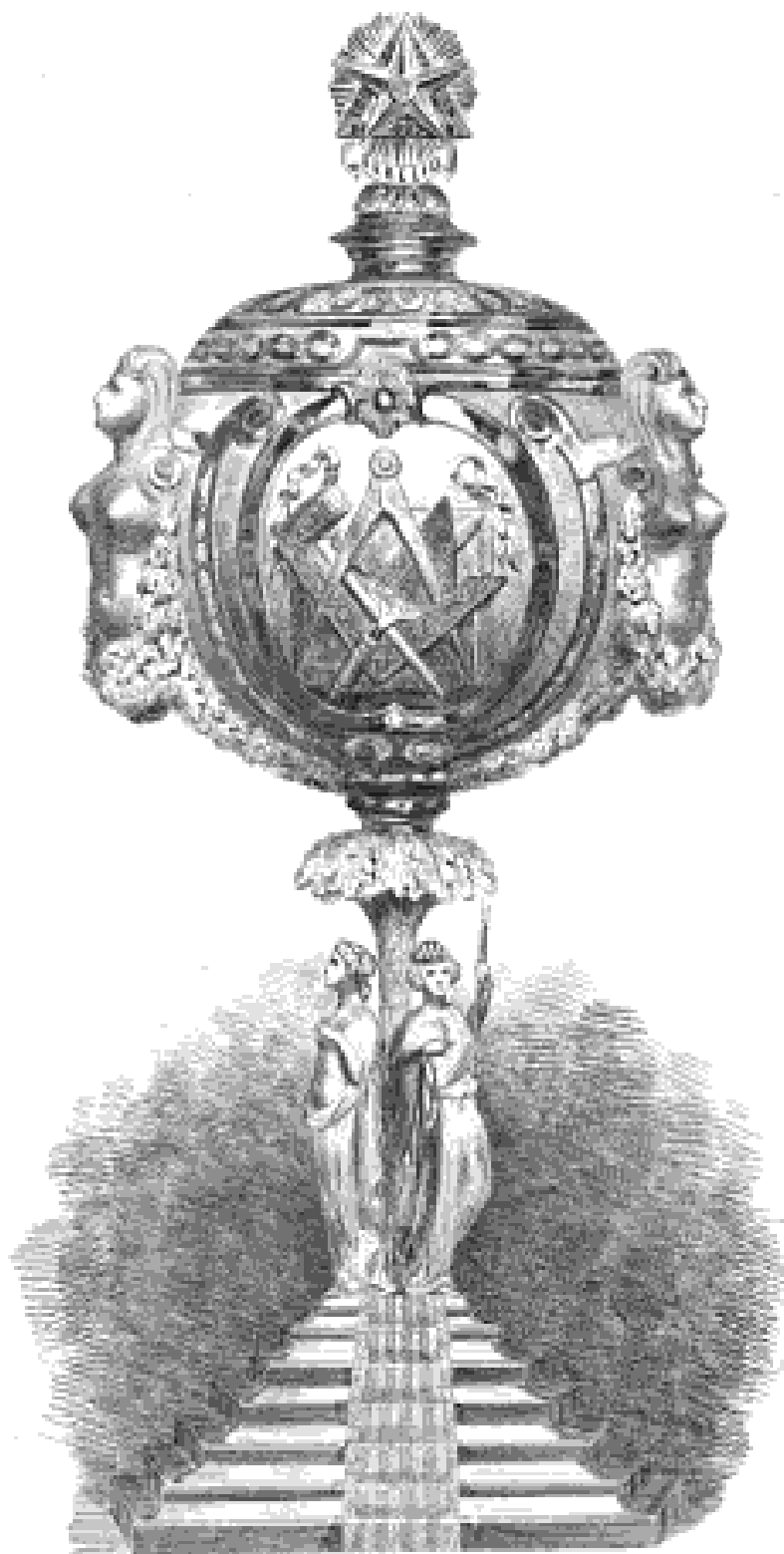
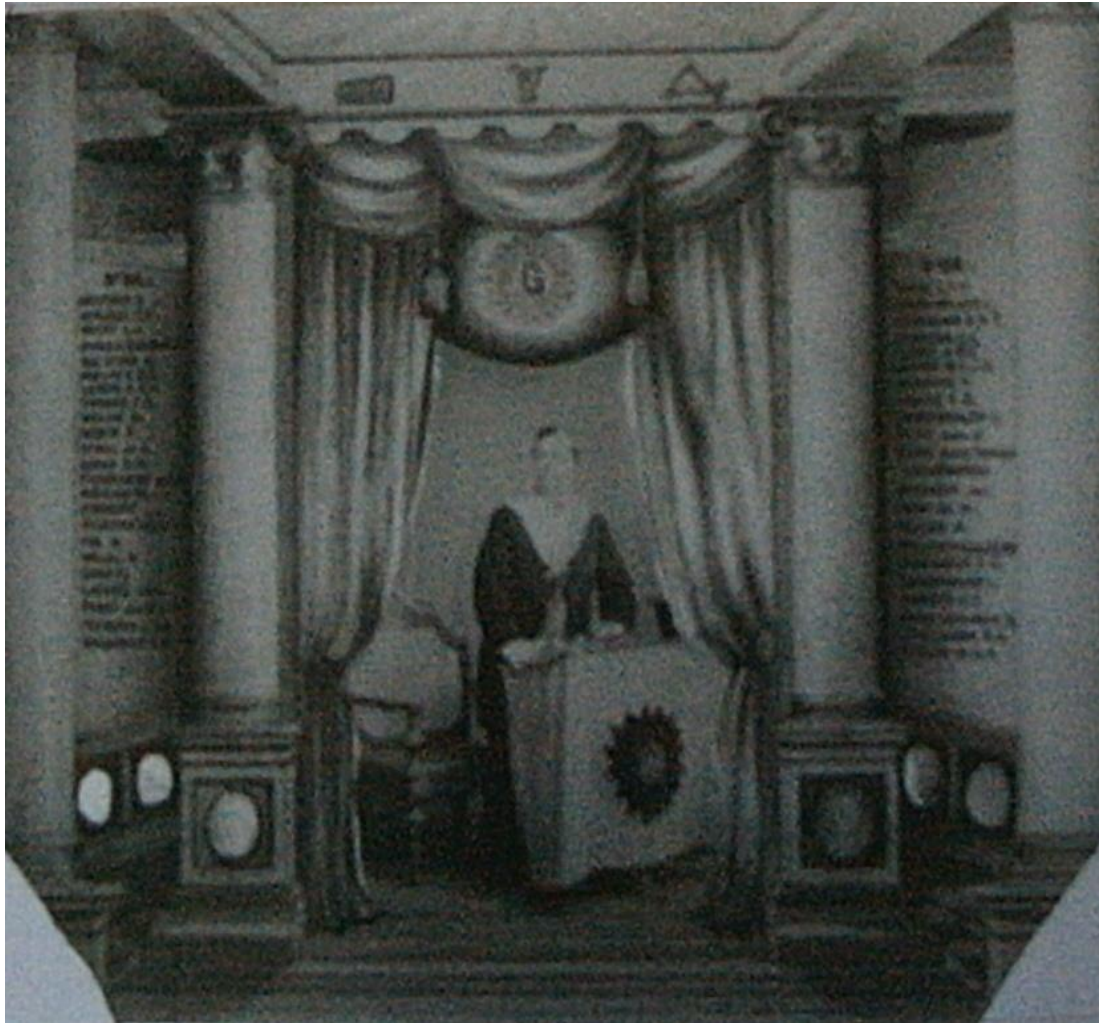


Fig. 5.140: Design for a covered cup by Philip de Meijer, 1859, litho by E. Spanier. Reproduced from: Kunstkroniek 1860, p. 47.



Fig... 5.141: Philip de Meijer, covered cup, presented to lodge De Ster in het Oosten by the maker in 1859. Silver, height 42 cm (lid 14.4 cm). Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Photo: Kroon & Wagtberg Hansen, The Hague.



*Fig. 5.142: Portrait of Th. DerKinderen (1823-1898) at the occasion of his 25th year as a freemason.
Collection: CMC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague*

There is little information about the lodge interior. The chair of the Worshipful Master of lodge De Ster in het Oosten in Batavia was documented in a portrait of Th. DerKinderen (1823-1898) (fig. 5.142). He is standing behind a table, covered with a cloth depicting a sun, reminiscent of the many draperies in 18th century lodge interiors. The interior of the masonic hall at the Vrijmetselaarsweg was photographed before the lodge moved away in 1934 (fig. 5.143). The same chair can be seen on the throne. To the sides of the throne, a sun and a moon with stars were depicted on the wall in continuation of the 18th century tradition. Below them are officers' chairs with ornamental headpieces, which considering their shape and colour stand out from the rest of the interior, and have a more 19th century feel to them. To the left, is the lodge banner from 1837. Much of the other furniture seems to date from around 1900. The candlesticks around the tracing board, however, are clearly contemporary.

In the beginning of the 20th century, the design of Dutch masonic objects and buildings would radically change and take on an austere, streamlined look, which was also introduced into the lodges of the Dutch East Indies (see for example fig. 5.145). The interior of lodge buildings seemingly became more sober, with their white, stylized look, but in fact complex design theories based on 'sacred geometry' were incorporated. Symbolism shifted from allegorical decorations which could be easily 'read' to shapes 'hidden' in the architecture and the composition of furniture.

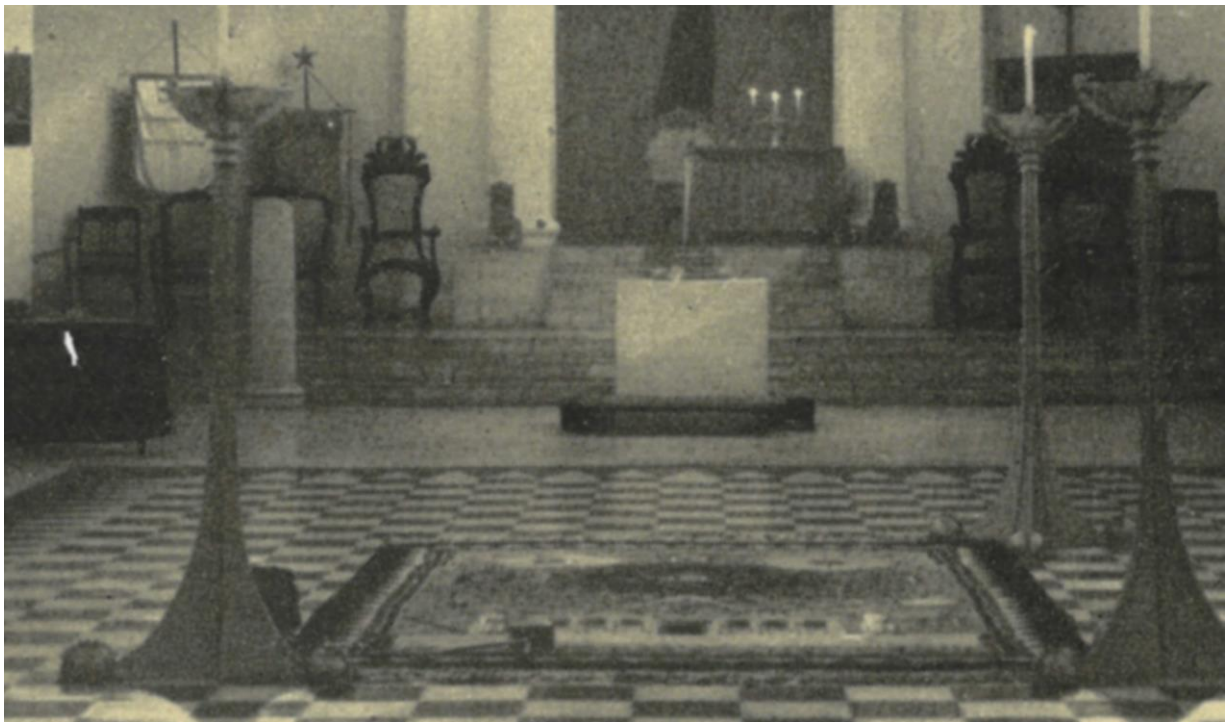


Fig. 5.143 and detail: Interior of the Freemasons' Hall at the Vrijmetselaarsweg in Batavia, built in 1856. Photograph ca. 1934. Reproduced from: 100 jaren 1937, p. 41.

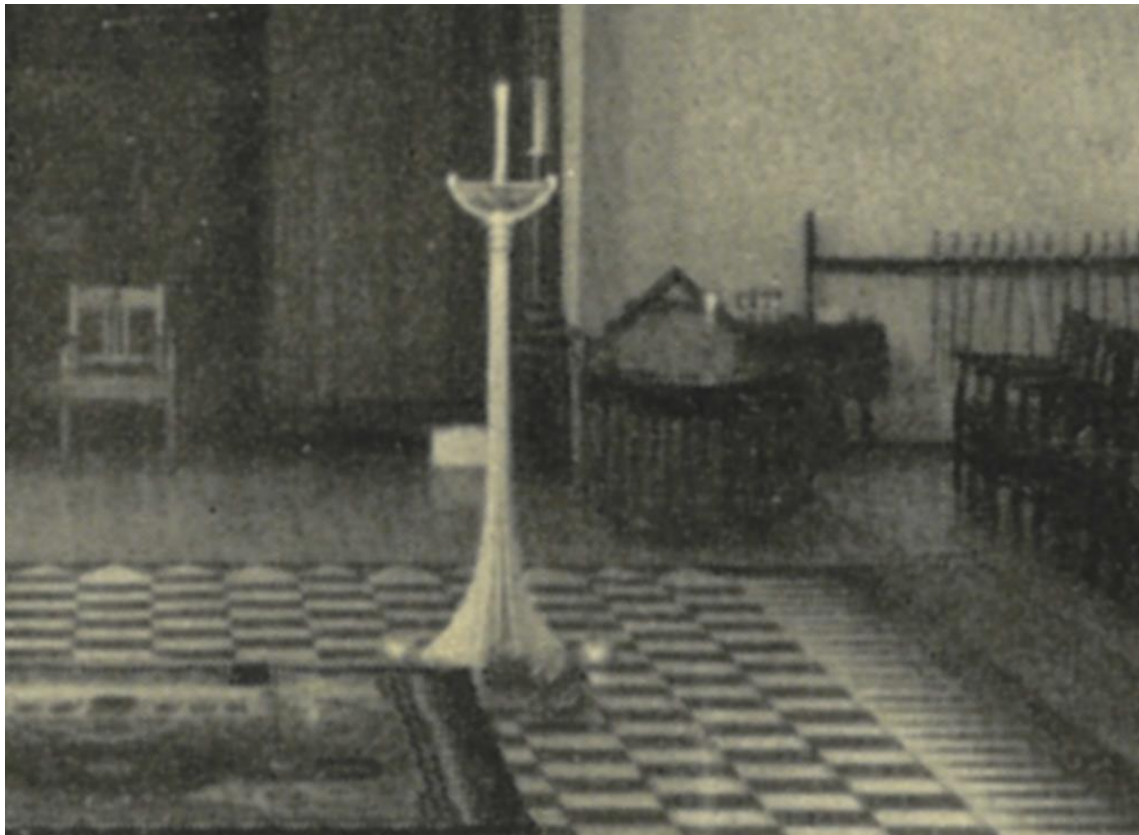
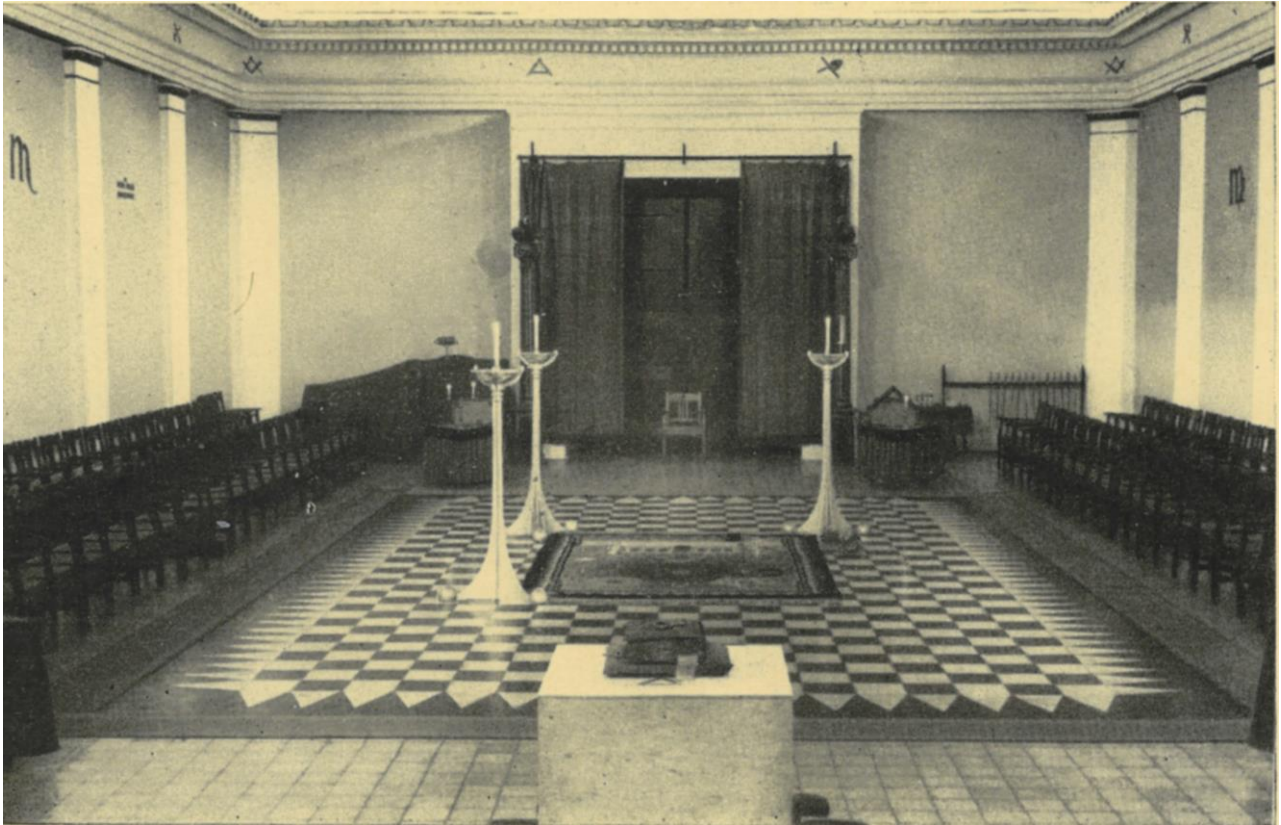


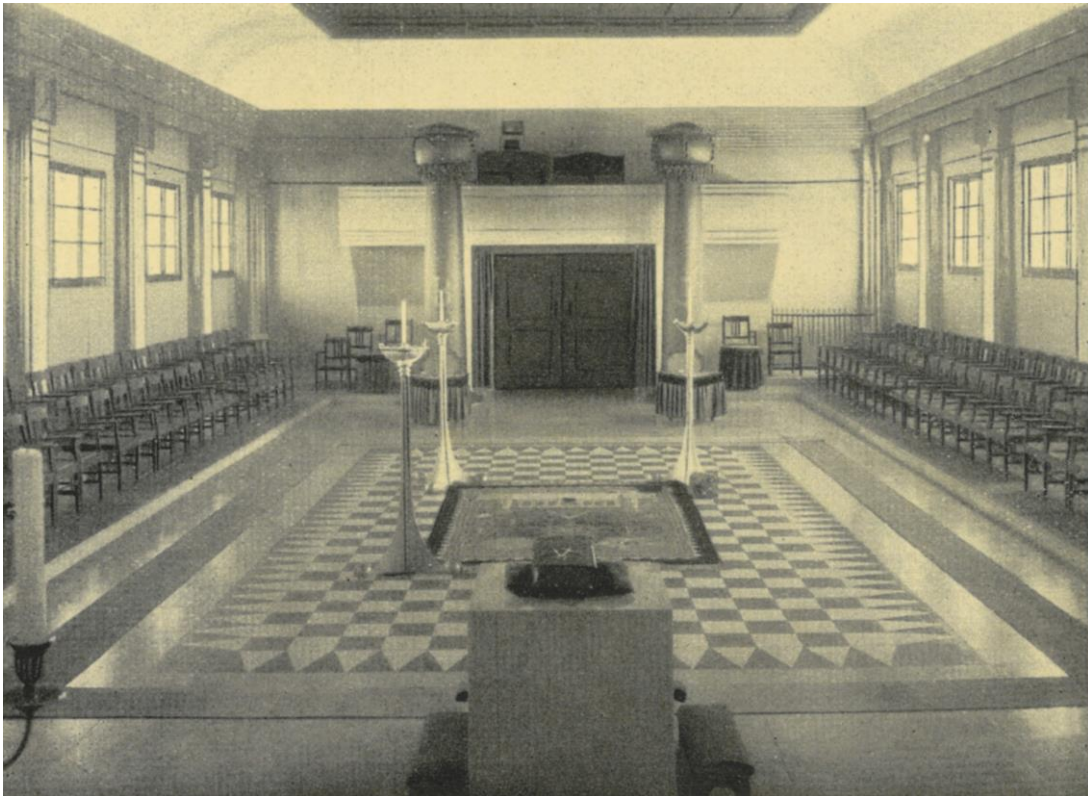
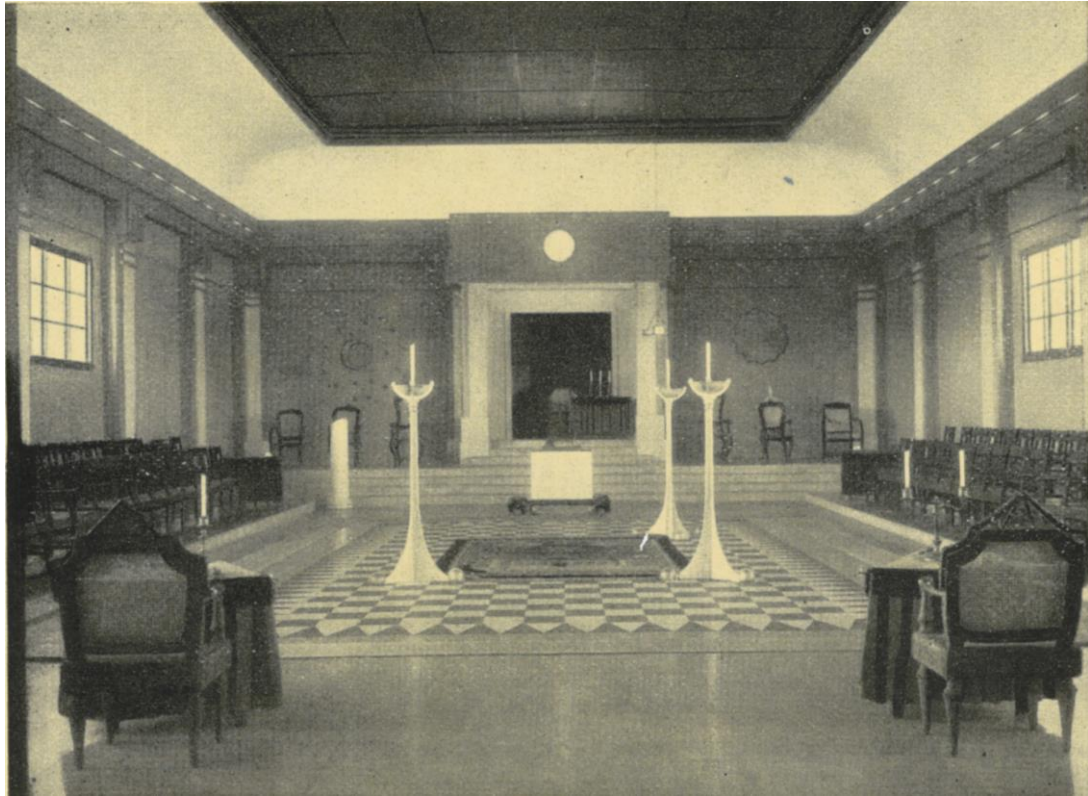
Fig. 5.144 and detail: Interior of the Freemasons' Hall at the Vrijmetselaarsweg in Batavia, built in 1856. Photograph ca. 1934. Reproduced from: 100 jaren 1937, p. 41.



*Fig. 5.145: Freemasons' Hall of lodge La Constante et Fidèle in Semarang, ca. 1935. Collection: KITLV, Leiden, inv.no. 121156.
Reproduced from: media-kitlv.nl.*



*Fig. 5.146: Freemasons' Hall 'Adhuc Stat' at the Bisschopsplein in Batavia, ca. 1930. Collection: KITLV, Leiden, inv.no. 4261.
Reproduced from: media-kitlv.nl.*



*Fig. 5.147a-b: Interior of the Freemasons' Hall 'Adhuc Stat' at the Bisschopsplein in Batavia, c'a. 1930.
Reproduced from: 100 jaren 1937, p. 16.*



Fig. 5.148a-c: Stained glass windows from the Freemasons' Hall 'Adhuc Stat' at the Bisschopsplein in Batavia before 1960. Collection: CC 'Prins Frederik', The Hague. Reproduced from: vrijmetselarij.nl.

In 1933 lodge De Ster in het Oosten bought the former home of H. 's Jacobs at the Burgemeester Bisschopsplein.¹³⁴¹ The building was to be extensively renovated by N.E. Burhoven Jaspers, losing the tympanon and adding a second floor. The result was an example of the typical Art Deco style with both Dutch and East Indies' elements, which had developed in the early 20th century (fig. 5.146-5.147). The first stone was laid on 28-1-1934 and the building, carried the motto *Adhuc Stat* (Still Standing) on the facade, a reference to the fundament of the temple.¹³⁴² It was consecrated on 30-3-1934. On the first photographs of this Freemasons' Hall at the Bisschopsplein, dating from or shortly after 1934, some of the earlier furniture can be seen. After the closure of the lodges in Indonesia in 1960, three of the stained glass windows with masonic symbols were removed. They are now in the collection of the CMC (fig. 5.148a-c).

Besides the change to seemingly sober lodge buildings, the turn of the century brought a much more significant change to freemasonry: mixed lodges. While another nine lodges of the Order of Freemasons under the Grand East of the Netherlands were to be founded before the Second World War, these now competed in popularity with lodges under the jurisdiction of the International Order for Co-Masonry 'Le Droit Humain', that admitted both men and women on an equal basis. The first Dutch lodge of Le Droit Humain was founded in the Netherlands in 1904, followed by at least nine lodges in the Dutch East Indies between 1911 and 1940. These became independent from the Dutch Federation in 1919, and were incorporated in the Eastern Federation with lodges in other Asian countries in 1934. The history of this Dutch Co-masonic Order has yet to be written.¹³⁴³

Veterans tell stories of secretly holding lodge meetings in the camps under the Japanese occupation, just like the stories about freemasons in German camps, using whatever scraps they could find to make the necessary ritual objects. After the war, many lodges did not manage to regroup. Those that did succeed to continue their work after the new Republic of Indonesia declared itself independent of the Netherlands in 1945 (and was recognized as such by the Dutch government in 1949), finally had to 'dim their lights' in 1960, when the political regime of Soekarno nationalised many former Dutch organisations and buildings.¹³⁴⁴ As many of the former lodge members moved to the Netherlands, so did lodges De Ster in het Oosten, St. Jan, De Vriendschap and Het Zuiderkruis. The lodges of Le Droit Humain were not forced to close, but some did so anyway because many members left for the Netherlands.¹³⁴⁵

◆ *The Dutch East Indies in the CMC collection*

While the inventories of the lodges in Batavia conjure up images of a rich material culture, very little of it survived. From 19th century catalogues of the museum room of the Freemasons' Hall at the Fluwelen Burgwal, it is clear that *oud-Indiegangers*, repatriates from the Dutch East Indies, made regalia and other objects from Java available for display. During WW2 the confiscation of masonic collections by the Nazis meant that many objects were destroyed or melted down, or sold to subsequently disappear from view. Both during the looting and the (partial) retrieval processes, objects were separated from the documentation on their provenance. While archives and libraries were partially retrieved, most objects were not.

Table 5.W: Lodges founded under Dutch jurisdiction in the Dutch East Indies, 1850-1945¹³⁴⁶

Island	Location	Lodge name	Masonic Body	Active years
Banka		NN	Le Droit Humain	?
Java	Bandung	Sint Jan	Grand East of the Netherlands	1895-1960, continued in the Netherlands
		Broedertrouw	Grand East of the Netherlands	1931-1942
		Hermes	Le Droit Humain	1915-1942
	Batavia	De Ster in het Oosten	Grand East of the Netherlands	1837-present
		De Broederketen	Grand East of the Netherlands	1919-1955
		Lux Orientis	Le Droit Humain	1911-1942
	Blitar	Blitar	Grand East of the Netherlands	1906-1960
	Buitenzorg	Excelsior	Grand East of the Netherlands	1891-?
		Serapis	Le Droit Humain	1917-1942
	Djember	De Driehoek	Grand East of the Netherlands	1926-1942
	Djakakarta	Mataram	Grand East of the Netherlands	1870-1942
		NN	Le Droit Humain	Before 1935-1942
	Kediri	De Dageraad	Grand East of the Netherlands	1918-1942
		NN	Le Droit Humain	Before 1935-1942
	Malang	Malang	Grand East of the Netherlands	1899-1960
		Sirius	Le Droit Humain	1915-1942
	Mangelang	Tidar	Grand East of the Netherlands	1896-1960
	Meester Cornelis	Het Zuiderkruis	Grand East of the Netherlands	1918-1960, continued in the Netherlands
	Poerwokerto	Serajoedal	Grand East of the Netherlands	1933-1942
	Probolingo	Veritas	Grand East of the Netherlands	1882-1942
	Rembang	Prins Frederik der Nederlanden	Grand East of the Netherlands	1871-?
	Salatiga	De Vooruitgang	Grand East of the Netherlands	1873-?
		Fraternitas	Grand East of the Netherlands	1896-?
	Semarang	Thomas Moore	Le Droit Humain	1915-1942
	Sukabumi	De Hoeksteen	Grand East of the Netherlands	1932-1942
	Surabaya	St. Germain	Le Droit Humain	1913-1942
	Surakarta	L'Union Frédéric Royal	Grand East of the Netherlands	1872-1942
	Surakarta	NN	Le Droit Humain	1915-after 1917
	Tegal	Humanitas	Grand East of the Netherlands	1898-1960
	Sumatra	Medan	Deli	Grand East of the Netherlands
Deli			Le Droit Humain	Before 1935-1958
Padang		Mata Hari	Grand East of the Netherlands	1858-1942
Palembang	Palembang	Grand East of the Netherlands	1932-1958	
Lombok	Kota Radja	Prins Frederik	Grand East of the Netherlands	1880-1942
Celebes	Makassar	Arbeid Adelt	Grand East of the Netherlands	1883-?

For lodge collections in the Dutch East Indies managed to survive the Japanese occupation, things became difficult after the founding of the Indonesian Republic. Much was lost in the political turmoil of the 1960s which forced lodges into closure. The chaos in which people, objects and documents were hurriedly transported from Indonesia to the Netherlands also accounts for the lack of documentation on relevant objects currently in the CMC collection.

There are some 18th and 19th century objects in the CMC collection that seem to fit descriptions in the inventories of the lodges in Batavia. Identification may be possible, provided inventory descriptions are closely matched with 19th century exhibition catalogues, pre-war photographs of the museum room, the archives of former curators (containing correspondence on acquisitions) and correspondence on the looted collections in WW2. However, practical obstacles, including the closure and move of the CMC in 2014-2015, has so far prevented this last crucial phase of research from being performed.¹³⁴⁷ Future research of the regalia collection, especially involving a specialist on silver from the Dutch East Indies, might make for some interesting discoveries.